# **‘Man is a dining animal’: the** archaeology of the English at table, c.1750-1900

Thesis submitted in accordance with the requirements of the University of Liverpool for the degree of Doctor in Philosophy by

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# Abstract

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This study investigates the role of gender and, within that, class in changing English dining styles in the eighteenth and nineteenth centuries. The period c.1750-1900 has been chosen to cover a major period for dining change, as it is during this time that service à la Russe superseded service à la Française as the dominant formal dining style. This change has been much discussed by food historians and sociologists, but the materiality of change has not hitherto been placed within an archaeologically-informed framework. Equally, while the artefacts of dining are among the most frequently recorded finds in domestic contexts in the historical period, archaeologists have rarely considered them in the context of long-term dining development.

Drawing on data from country houses, collections, and published material on middle class and elite settings, this thesis investigates the hypothesis that dining change was driven by women, specifically middle class wives; and that dining-related ephemera must therefore be understood in its relationship with women. It also proposes a narrative of stylistic change using historical archaeological paradigms, introducing the concept of a third, clearly identifiable stage between à la Française and à la Russe. After introducing the data sets and giving a background to dining in the historical period, the first part of the study uses table plans and etiquette, together with depictions of dishes, food moulds and experimental archaeology in the form of historic cookery, to demonstrate the way in which the process of change was driven by middle class women. It argues that à la Russe suited gender and class-specific needs and that, far from being emulative, as has hitherto been assumed, the adaption of à la Russe broke with aristocratic habits. It proposes that a transitional stage in dining style should be recognised, and interprets food design and serving style in the light of this intermediate phase. The setting of dining is explored next, with data on dining décor, plates and physical location interpreted to support the conclusions of the previous section. Following this, the impact of change on food preparation will be used to demonstrate that à la Russe was the result of changes in underlying mentalities which also affected household structure and organisation. The ways women used the materiality of food, including cookbooks, to negotiate status will be demonstrated.

A final section will broaden the discussion of gender, class and food. Tea has been chosen as a case study for the further testing of the conclusions drawn from the study of dinner for two reasons: firstly it was, from its introduction, immediately associated with women; and, secondly, tea-related artefacts are among the commonest of archaeological finds, but are rarely understood as engendered and active objects in a domestic context.

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# 1. 'Where is the man who can live without dining?'

> We may live without poetry, music and art;
> We may live without conscience, and live without heart;
> We may live without friends; we may live without books;
> But civilised man cannot live without cooks.
> He may live without books – what is knowledge but grieving?
> He may live without hope – what is hope but deceiving?
> He may live without love – what is passion but pining?
> But where is the man who can live without dining?
>
> Meredith, O (Edward Robert Bulwer-*Lytton) (1860), „Lucile"*
> Quoted by Mrs de Salis (1902, preface).

This thesis covers the material culture of food and dining c.1750-1900. At first view this is a long period to attempt to cover within the remit of a doctoral thesis, which might reasonably be expected to concentrate on one specific aspect of the dining experience or a single case study within the period, or to consider a few decades only. The length of the period to be considered has been dictated by the wish to study and explain large-scale changes in dining in England in the late eighteenth and nineteenth century. At either end of the period lie different styles of formal dining, each with a set of behaviours and encapsulated meanings as expressed through the material culture associated with them. The names most usually given to them are service à la Française and service à la Russe. The beginning and end points for this study have been chosen to approximate the period before which à la Russe was unknown in England, and after which à la Française was no longer in general use (fig. 1).

Concentrating on the context of formal dining by necessity excludes detailed consideration of those people not participating in structured meals, or participating in them in such a way that the impact of service style and its expression through material culture is not particularly pronounced. This thesis therefore uses data drawn more from upper and middle class contexts than from that of the working class. Until an income level was reached where two courses could be expected and expenditure made upon items beyond those strictly necessary, it is difficult through the archaeological record to chart the impact of

changes in dining technique. However, as will be seen throughout this study, middle and upper class experiences also impacted upon the working class, especially through the many domestic servants directly affected by changes in their employers' habits.

A key concern throughout this study will be the impact of archaeologically theorised structuring principles, mainly that of gender. Much contemporary writing on food, of which the ditty above is just one example, includes gender assumptions which make men the focal point of dining. Yet, throughout the period, as well as before and after it, archaeological and historical theory makes clear the association of women with food preparation. This tension makes the area of food and dining an important one for the exploration of gender as a structuring principle, especially in the light of modern gender conventions and the aspiration to equality versus the images of women as cooks and home-makers still broadcast in advertising and popular culture.

## Service à la Française

In 1750 the accepted method of serving dinner was service à la Française, a style which had been in development since the middle ages, reaching its most formal phase with the rise of discernable court/country divisions within Europe from the 1660s. Although its nature varied from country to country and host to host, in England it usually consisted of two courses plus dessert. All of the dishes for each course were presented on the table at once. In France, which by the seventeenth century had replaced Italy at the forefront of culinary style-setting, the elaboration of service à la Française led to a discernable set of rules to eat by (Flandrin 2002). In England, in contrast, the study of cookbooks and diaries suggests a more fluid version of à la Française (Lehmann 2007 unpublished) with less obvious internal structures. In the past this has been viewed as a sign of culinary immaturity in comparison to the over-referenced French version (Flandrin 2002, 183), rather than as a response to the particular set of historical precedents and social requirements of English dining. The placement of food-laden dishes in the right way upon the table was key, and symmetry the overriding concern. Frequently the folds of the tablecloth were used as a grid by

which to position dishes; alternatively the indentations left by previous courses could be used as a guide (Cosnett 1825). The most frequent arrangement to appear in cookbooks contains three lines of dishes: a central line culminating at either end with the host and hostess' chairs; and two flanking lines. However, the four corner dishes were usually grouped together in planning the menu, as were the top and bottom central dish, the middle flanking dishes and the dishes between the extremities and the central dish – which by the late eighteenth century was frequently replaced by a frame. Each of the dishes was usually different, and symmetry was achieved by use of complementing colours, textures, flavours and ingredients.

Service à la Française had the scope to be immensely complicated for both hostess and cook. Visually, which is the only form in which we can fully appreciate it today from contemporary sources, it could be stunning, and it had further advantages in terms of ease of service – once the final course had been served, staff could be dismissed and privacy in the dining room assured. A la Française has been viewed as essentially communal, emphasising large cuts of meat and shared dishes (Deetz 1996). However, an elaborate system of etiquette surrounded it, dictating in what order dishes were consumed and how they were to be approached. Those who made mistakes could find themselves not only socially embarrassed, but professionally disadvantaged as well (Brown 1990, 14). With no apparent imposed limits, self-control was key, and through it could be shown the civilised aspect of enlightened man – crucial as fin de siècle anxiety over the relative dispositions of men and women versus untamed nature reached its peak, and France, source of culinary inspiration and personnel, imploded after the Revolution (Clery 2004). Even George IV, hardly the most obvious example of self-discipline, managed to demonstrate his civilised credentials through his sampling of only four of the 20 dishes on offer at one point during his flamboyant 1822 Coronation Feast (Day 2000, 50). Chapter 2 contains a synopsis of the style, and this study will concern itself specifically with the ways in which its associated material culture was used in the negotiation of status and through this explore why it declined as a dining system.

Service à la Russe

By 1900 a new format had become accepted as the dominant way of experiencing dinner. Service à la Russe forms the basis of today's linear menus for formal meals, wherein dishes are grouped together to form a series of distinct, named, courses with a limited choice of foodstuffs in each. Each course was served in succession and individually to each diner. It was first used and recognised as being a distinct form of serving style around the beginning of the nineteenth century, and over the course of the following hundred years it slowly replaced à la Française. This format change was not completed quickly or easily, and numerous spin-offs and alternative serving styles emerged and disappeared along the way. Even by the late 1890s Queen Victoria had not fully adopted à la Russe, though her ladies in waiting dining at a separate table had (OH 1897 unpublished). Flandrin (2002, 147), points out that many of the changes associated with à la Russe – increased courses, decreased number of dishes – were evident in nascent form by the third quarter of the eighteenth century, but in French food writing the impact of the events of 1789 has been to see that date as a crucial one for sudden change in every sphere, including the culinary one, and it is only recently that the early development of à la Russe has been recognised.

In the most advanced à la Russe format little or no food was present on the table during the meal, though it is clear from visual depictions of tables set à la Russe that in many cases nuts, dried fruits or sweetmeats were displayed on the Victorian version of the eighteenth century epergne, or stand. These formed part of the dessert course. Instead of symmetrically arranged dishes replete with food, nineteenth century tables groaned under the weight of flowers and greenery (BBC 2006a), sometimes to the extent of obscuring the view across the table (Beeton 1888). Each course was presented already divided into portions and was served by a footman or female servant in cases where the expense of hiring male staff was too much. Courses were known by name and followed a prescribed order – soup, fish, entrée, roast, entremêts and dessert – although elements could be removed or added as desired. The dishes themselves and the order in which they were served were not, at first, significantly different from those served à la Française, which, in some forms, had contained soup, fish and then another

meat-based dish following each other on the table within the first course (the latter being known as the _remove‘ as it replaced a dish which had been _removed‘ from the table). The key difference was the removal of individual choice from the table. As Kaufman (2002) points out, à la Russe was deceptive: it seemed to privilege the individual while at the same time imposing uniformity across the table. The main aim of this thesis is the elucidation of the crucial mental changes which enabled it first to gain acceptance, and then to replace à la Française so completely that even where earlier forms seemed to be maintained, they existed within an à la Russe framework.

## The material culture of food and dining

The material culture associated with dinner does not show a sudden break as à la Russe replaced à la Française. Nor should it be expected to: the two styles co-existed for nearly a century, and in many cases were used concurrently within the same household. The basic requirements of dining in the eighteenth and nineteenth century did not alter – plates and bowls plus flatware and serving vessels – but the way in which they were used did. Additionally the adoption of à la Russe by a family cleared the table, making room for objects other than serving vessels. Victorian invention and technological development quickly provided possible ways to fill up this space, and it is from this period that the proliferation of specialist equipment such as celery boats, asparagus tongs and orange bowls dates (Williams 1996). There was no intrinsic reason for the purchase of these items, and the take-up of new objects and alteration of old ones enables changes in dining style in the nineteenth century to be followed through time. Changing views on subjects used as justification for dining etiquette, such as hygiene, property and education can also be charted through their material expression on the table.

The archaeology of dining is not limited to dining vessels, however, or even to dinner itself. It extends to other occasions for the consumption of food and drink and to the spaces of both eating and food preparation. Although the period covered by this thesis has been determined by changes in formal dining style, it is important to recognise that the changing nature of dinner, as the main meal of

the day, influenced other food and drink related occasions. This study argues that the social and cultural changes which led to the rise of à la Russe indicated a fundamental shift in the mental outlook of the English dining classes, in particular the middle class. This shift impacted upon other meals in their role as a social facilitator through the sharing of food and drink. This thesis will take as a case study the example of tea and its associated material culture as a means of examining both gender as a structuring principle and the impact of à la Russe mentality on other meals.

The seventeenth and early eighteenth century tea ceremony had by the late eighteenth century been integrated into the afternoon rituals of visiting for the leisured classes. It filled a gap between lunch and dinner for the middle and upper classes, but also developed a parallel format as an evening meal for the working classes. Many of the customs of à la Française appeared to survive in the various forms of tea-taking, especially those with a substantial food element. Moreover, while much of the data on dining in the eighteenth and nineteenth centuries relates to the elites and upper middle classes, the impact of changes in format, and the mentality which underlay them, still affected the working classes through their interaction with the mental world of their social superiors. This can be explored through such occasions as group teas organised to celebrate Victoria‘s Coronation and Jubilees.

Another means by which the working class dining experience can be considered is through house plans, which were often dictated by the middle classes, with decidedly idealistic views of the working class meal. Dickens (1842) portrays the Cratchits‘ Christmas dinner as an evening meal, having two distinct courses, divided along the lines of savoury and sweet, at a time when such divisions were still unfixed and the concept of dinner and dessert at any time, but especially in the evening, was decidedly middle class. The habits of the upper and middle classes affected some workers more directly: as the middle class burgeoned, domestic service became one of the most significant areas of employment in England, especially for women. By 1871 domestic service accounted for the employment of 12.8% of the female population in England (Horn 1975, 24).

Those who reached the top of their profession and became cooks and housekeepers could go on to have a servant of their own, perpetuating the habits learnt in the English country house.

Neither the reasons for the elaboration and adoption of à la Russe in England nor its effects have been much studied. Additionally, those scholars who have considered it site their works within disciplines other than archaeology and do not engage with the material aspects discussed here. Food historians (Wilson 1973; Lehmann 2003), art historians (Emmerson 1992), sociologists (Mennell 1996) and social historians (Burnett 1966) are amongst those who have used changing dining habits as evidence in thematic works, or indeed have simply chronicled the changes with greater or lesser analysis of them. Yet the changes contributed to, and were in turn furthered by, material cultural change. Specifically archaeological work has been sporadic (Jameson 1987; Samuel 1996; Scott 1997; Milne and Crabtree 2001) and lacks follow-up. A corpus of archaeological studies exists on ceramics which is useful (most notably DiZerega Wall 1994), but which too often considers pattern or form divorced from its context (e.g. Lucas 2003). Increasingly, however, important work is emerging from a set of explicitly interdisciplinary scholars (Brears 1996b; Pennell 1998) although each specific work still sits within the norms of the academic discipline within which it is produced. Dining in the historic period should be rich territory for the archaeologist. Not only is evidence available in the form of faunal data, although this is more useful as evidence of nutrition, but artefacts and dining spaces survive in quantity. Additionally, rich written and visual sources are available for contextualisation. Yet the study of dining is problematic, not least because of the sheer quantity of material. The presence of so many cookbooks, all seeming to offer solid guidance on mores and behaviours can be a trap, and it is easy to believe that the ideal menus must have represented a true picture – especially when written by culinary giants (for instance Burnett 1966, 90-94). Cookbooks are a vital source, but care must be taken to site archaeological studies within the material world, and remain centred on archaeological themes and approaches.

## Gender and class

This study will argue that the shift from à la Française to à la Russe was driven by women, in particular middle class, married women. Historical archaeology studies the formation of the modern world (Johnson 1993, 186) which, in many ways, is the story of everyday conflict within which individual and group relations are constantly being negotiated and renegotiated. Gender is recognised as a fundamental field of conflict, especially within the domestic environment (Spencer-Wood 1999) in which so much dining took place. Although opportunities for eating outside the home were available for every budget throughout the period, in the shape of booths, chop houses, taverns, clubs and restaurants (Burnett 2003, 660-1; Davidson 2006), the majority of meals were consumed in a domestic, engendered context. Dining rooms have traditionally been considered as masculine spaces (Girouard 1978) while kitchens are more often designated as feminine (Yentsch 1991). More recently that dichotomy has been disputed and straightforward links between gender and space based upon twentieth century assumptions challenged (Pennell 1998). Both men and women used the dining room, and although in the stereotypical country house men remained there after dinner while women moved to the (with)drawing room (denoted as being feminine space in such a reading) (Girouard 1978), during dinner gender relations were more complicated. The gradual devolution of duties from host to steward and hostess to cook/housekeeper and subsequent decline of the position of steward and reassigning of his duties to the butler, housekeeper and/or cook is apparent in etiquette books (e.g. Adams and Adams 1825; Beeton 1861; Anon. c.1897). Etiquette was not static, and in performing or delegating certain duties, such as carving, the status of family and household members was negotiated. Throughout the period under consideration, the mistress had command over the table – seating plans, menus, service style. The success or failure of a dinner party relied on her, and with that came considerations of social and political standing.

In many cases mistresses were also cooks, even in country houses (Willes 1996), and played an active role in the preparation of food. Even where mistresses had succeeded in distancing themselves entirely from the act of cooking, the majority

of cooks and kitchen staff were female. Male cooks were regarded as a luxury, something to be aspired to and the employment of whom necessitated special architectural provision in the shape of private offices (Kerr 1871). Female positions were on occasion advertised with the proviso that the applicant must have worked under a male cook (Wilson 1996, 80) and the grandest houses employed not just a male cook, but also male kitchen assistants. Women dominated the culinary establishment numerically, but occupied an inferior position vis-à-vis their male compatriots. Women also dominated the cookbook market, carving out a niche targeting both the middle classes and professional female cooks which rapidly became a significant sector of the self-help market from the early eighteenth century. This was in contrast to France, where neither women nor the middle classes were evident in the written culinary tradition until the nineteenth century (Lehmann 2008 unpublished). In America female authorship of cookbooks was the norm, mainly in the shape of American editions of English books. The first truly American cookbook, making use of native ingredients and practices was by Amelia Simmons in 1796 (Davidson 2006, 723). This may be one reason why American scholars such as Yentsch (1991) have been so unquestioning in their association of kitchens and culinary preparation with women. The influence of structuralism has been to encourage binary divisions of this kind which seem logical but which perpetuate associations with little basis in historical behaviours (Spencer-Wood 1999). Unravelling the nature of gender relations in the context of the changing ways of approaching the meal in the eighteenth and nineteenth century has to include food preparation as well as consumption. A dish, as served, has always undergone some form of transformation. Even a dish of fruit has been selected according to pre-set criteria, cleansed of extraneous matter and arranged in order to please the senses. How, where and by whom this has been done imbues that dish with meaning for the diner as well as the cook.

Additionally, the assumed divisions between gendered spaces and processes take place within a wider context. _Masculine' dining rooms and _feminised' kitchens are physically situated within the home, associated in the dominant nineteenth century dialogue with women. The home in turn is sited within a predominantly

patriarchal society. _Man' might dine, but the view of this study is that in this period women enabled men to dine – and shared the dining experience. In considering changes in dining in the eighteenth and nineteenth centuries, this study concentrates particularly on the role of gender tension within the middle and, to a lesser extent, upper class. Through that focus both the reasons behind, and impact of, these changes are elucidated while the conclusions drawn form a contribution to the debate over the effect of gender as a structuring principle in the past.

## Thesis Structure

This thesis uses the material culture of both the preparation and consumption of dinner to explore the causes and impact of the change from à la Française to à la Russe. Additionally, tea will be used as a detailed case study through which to consider the relationship of dining change to other social occasions involving the consumption of food and drink. The central hypothesis to be explored is that change was driven by women, specifically middle class wives, as they sought a means not only of formulating and enforcing class identity in general, but of displaying membership of specific social groupings based on shared views and tastes. Dining is therefore seen as a crucial arena for the negotiation of gender relations within the household as well as on a wider social level. Furthermore, in contrast to current culinary writing, this study postulates that à la Russe should be seen as more than just a way of serving dinner: it was a way of thinking about the structure and organisation of the domestic context which had the potential to affect any or all of the people, processes and material culture associated with the preparation and consumption of food.

The thesis is structured as follows: this chapter provides an overview of the main issues and areas to be considered and introduces the key themes of the study. Chapter 2 enlarges upon this, giving background historical and historiographical information. It discusses the theoretical stance taken to the data, stressing the need for an interdisciplinary approach while remaining grounded in archaeological theory. The next three chapters take a dramaturgical approach to the preparation and serving of dinner. Chapter 3 uses table plans, both ideal and

as served, in order to explore the idea of grammatical concepts as structuring principles. Building on Deetzian theories of structure (Deetz 1996), which go beyond the binary divisions of pure structuralism, and taking into account the more nuanced theories of structuration (Barrett 2001), it charts changing patterns in the layout of dishes. It then places this in a sensory and performative context. As with the other chapters, it will also consider change through time, and the impact à la Russe had on physical and mental order in dining practices. It will consider the gender tensions inherent in dining and how these were negotiated through space, household hierarchy and mealtime etiquette.

Chapters 4 and 5 turn to the location of, and preparation for, dinner. Chapter 4 is concerned with the set and the props, drawing on house plans, dining room décor and the design and size of tableware to illustrate the choices open to meal planners, and what the impact of such decisions could be. Chapter 5 then considers food preparation, specifically seeking to demonstrate the archaeological uses of cookbooks and the potential of applying archaeological approaches to documentary sources – in this case, ones which have been much used by other disciplines. It will show that using books both as texts and as active items of material culture in themselves can not only shed light on archaeological themes and hypotheses, but also has the potential to clarify the key questions asked by other disciplines, notably literary scholars and historians.

Chapters 6 and 7 move away from the formal meal to explore further the role of women in driving change. They do this by focusing on one particular food and drink-related experience, namely tea. The term can refer either to a drink or to a meal with varying forms depending on class context. Drawing on ceramic data from museum collections and documentary sources ranging from pattern books to visual depictions of tea drinking, these two chapters will place tea in its social and temporal context, showing how the former altered as the latter moved on. Chapter 7 will contribute to the discussion over ceramic design and how identity could be expressed or indeed imposed through choice of printed or painted teawares.

The study ends with a set of concluding remarks which draw together the data sets and individual chapter conclusions into a coherent shape. Each area of study – preparation, performance and the wider meal – will have led to conclusions pertinent to that topic only. However, the purpose of this thesis is to consider the reasons for changes in dining which, as will be seen, necessitated a massive shift in the underlying mentality of diners. To that end, the conclusion will concentrate on elucidating overarching themes in the shape of the hypotheses listed above. The material culture of the table was used as an active element in the negotiation of tension within individual households. This tension could be generation, class or gender-based, reflecting the innate tensions within English society itself. No household operated independently of the rest of society, or its rules and structures. The conclusions reached in this study will shed light on the relationship of the part (the household) to the whole (society) and enable generalisations to be made which inform our view of the development of behaviours and meanings which still influence the way in which we eat today. Man in the eighteenth and nineteenth century was a dining animal, but so too was woman, and both were cooking animals, shopping animals and animals which imbued the foodstuffs they consumed with the knowledge of gender and class conflict at every stage of the preparative and consuming process.

# 2. 'The Mysteries of the Kitchen'[1]: research aims and objectives

This chapter will introduce the main themes and objectives of the study. It will also set out the theoretical approach to be taken, and contextualise this with an examination of current writing on food and dining both within and outside the archaeological establishment. As indicated in the cartoon shown in figure 2, food is a common source of metaphor, and references to food and dining abound in the literature of the eighteenth and nineteenth century. Punch, the source for this example, had a circulation of around 90,000 for its yearly almanacs (Punch 2006), targeting upper and middle class men with a mixture of topical comment and wit. Food was a constant presence, usually referenced as completed dishes, the form in which it would have been most common to its target audience. Food was used because, like Punch's material, it was varied and complex, able to change quickly and disappear completely. It held meanings for readers – who were also diners – which are often difficult to understand from the viewpoint of the twenty-first century. Food is the ideal medium for communicating cultural and social references. It is ephemeral – prepared, consumed and disposed of – but present in everyone's lives. It is surrounded by rituals of consumption and their associated material culture, both expressive of identity and status. It is a crucial area to understand, and, as the next section will demonstrate, the period c.1750-1900 is one in which the potential of dining to illuminate key archaeological questions is substantial but, as yet, largely untapped.

## The significance of food and dining

Humans do not eat only to live, and have not done so since the habit of cooking became accepted, which is estimated to have happened somewhere between 500,000 and 150,000 years ago (Fernández-Armesto 2002). Social commentators and anthropologists agree that just as a fire creates a visual focus, so cooking provides a temporal marker – when the food is cooked it will be eaten (Symonds 2001, 69; Fernández-Armesto 2002, 12-13). It therefore fosters social bonds and

[1] Punch (1851), 27

the bringing together of communities with one shared purpose. Even simple cooking methods transform raw food into cooked, changing the visual appearance, the texture, smell and taste of the original ingredient. Food continues to carry cultural significance in twenty-first century England, where two opposing views hold sway. On the one hand is a supposed dearth of native traditions and inferiority versus *„fancy foreign food"* (Irvine 2005), and on the other is the constant rediscovery of traditional ingredients, methods and ways of thinking about food (Mason and Brown 2006). However, the seemingly inbuilt bias of the English against the perceived fussiness of foreign – predominantly French – food as opposed to plain English fare stretches back at least as far as the sixteenth century, and is one of the founding tenets of English national identity (Rogers 2003).

One of the explicit rationales behind modern historical archaeological research is to explore the formation of the modern world (Johnson 1993, 186). This can mean the development of characteristics such as the global economy (Orser 1996) or economic and political systems such as capitalism (Johnson 1996). Interpreting social structures through class, race and gender has also been a key area for development as the discipline matures and expands beyond the collection of data on an individual, site-focussed basis, to encompass a set of theoretical paradigms and approaches of its own. The material culture of food and dining has, as will be seen, been used by historical archaeologists. However, dining-derived data rarely forms the focus of archaeological study, despite the ubiquity of ceramic wares and food remains in post-medieval excavations. The very frequency of such goods is one reason dining deserves a better appreciation among archaeologists. Too often data is used without a full, archaeologically theorised understanding of its implications. This is especially true of teawares (e.g. Roth 1988). This study takes the view that the dining table shows society in a microcosm, enabling the exploration of any given theme through the medium of food, its related material culture and associated etiquette. However, while that may be true, it is also unfocussed. Major changes in procuring and preparing food, as well as in the way in which it was consumed, can be identified in every century or block of three or four generations since the medieval period (Thirsk

2007). The change from *à la Française* to *à la Russe* which forms the basis of this thesis, while deeply significant for the study of the late eighteenth and early nineteenth century, is mirrored by other noteworthy changes in earlier periods – for example the move from a virtually butter-free cuisine to one reliant on dairy products in the late sixteenth century (Paston-Williams 1993; Thirsk 2007). The decision to base the period covered in this study on the change in service style came from a belief that this change was indicative of, and in turn an influence on, a major shift in mentality, towards compartmentalisation and imposed discipline. In choosing to consider this particular set of dining changes, this study explicitly seeks both to contextualise dining-derived data and to demonstrate the importance of seeing dining wares as a crucial tool in the negotiation of class identity and gender status in the nineteenth century.

## Current approaches to historical food and dining

### Theory-rich: anthropology and sociology

Archaeology is not, of course, the only discipline to have considered food and dining as data sources. A strong anthropological and sociological tradition exists examining the meanings given to past and present foodways (Douglas 1975; Forster and Ranum 1979; Mennell 1996). Norbert Elias's *The Civilising Process*, first published in 1939, was the first major effort to set out clear agendas for future culinary researchers, and looked at development of the self-regulating modern society through dining etiquette and habits (Elias 2000). Elias argued, based on continental dining patterns, that the French aristocracy attained the basic standard of table manners at the end of the eighteenth century and that this set the pattern for dining through to the present day. All further change was purely technological (Elias 2000, 89). Several tenets of his interpretation of change, which is derived purely from etiquette books, have since been challenged: the emulative pattern of constant reinvention and aping of the upper orders by the lower sorts (Pennell 1998); an implicit belief that 1789 is a deeply significant date across all fields of social development (Flandrin 2002); the lack of culinary innovation or change before c.1400 (Thirsk 2007); and an unquestioning belief that the French are superior in the culinary sphere

(Lehmann 2003). In showcasing the way in which dining etiquette could be used to explore deeper social structures, however, Elias opened up potential routes for exploration which proved rich territory for the development of structuralist theories in the 1960s and 1970s. The development of a new tool in the shape of the culinary triangle, and a corresponding desire to locate binary oppositions and mathematical equations in individual dishes and daily eating patterns were predominantly used to explore modern foodways (Douglas 1975), but have also been applied to historical periods (Symonds 2001). A belief in universal food norms, such as the association of meat with men (or the family, or hospitality, depending on the scholar) also found favour in food writing (Goody 1982; Lupton 1996). Structuralism was criticised for an inability to take into account change, or the polysemous nature of material objects. It could easily be taken to extremes: one feminist writer called for all women to be ethical vegetarians on the grounds that meat represented male violence and perpetuated domestic aggression (cited in Lupton 1996).

Structuralism has since been assimilated into the post-processual school of archaeological thought, and the self-acknowledged heirs of Elias now offer a developmental approach (Mennell 1996; Fernández-Armesto 2002). Recent developments in dining away from the formal family evening meal and towards the microwave dinner have highlighted issues with Elias's belief in a perfect standard of etiquette towards which society progressed, and from which point gentle honing was all that was required. Although formal dining etiquette is still reliant on historic precedents, in England these are Victorian and Edwardian more than Georgian, and this thesis will argue that the underlying philosophy of à la Française dining had been irrecoverably lost, rather than developed to a greater degree, by 1900.

### Fact-rich: food history as a specific discipline

Interest in culinary history as a field in its own right is by no means new: developmental histories of English cuisine form part of the wave of popular published texts in the second half of the sixteenth century (Thirsk 2007). Discourses on particular foods and diets have been a consistent component of

food writing from then until the present day, and a historical element is present in many historic cookbooks. Beeton's Book of Household Management (1861), which contains lengthy entries on the development of particular food groups and dining habits is the most well-known, but is by no means an isolated example of the recipe as a basis for a historical text. In the twentieth century, belated disquiet over the disappearance of regional traditions in the wake of industrialisation and urbanisation led to the foundation of the English Folk Cookery Association, followed shortly by the first concerted attempt at gathering ‗traditional and regional recipes" which were published in the form of Florence White's Good Things in England (White 1932) and accompanied with historical notes and dates, where known. This was eventually highly influential, leading to the publication from the 1950s of academic texts on food history. However, it was not until the 1970s that popular cookbooks such as those by Jane Grigson started explicitly to call for the rediscovery of English food (Humble 2005, 181).

The 1980s was the key decade for the development of food history as a discernable discipline. By 1990 the UK had two established annual symposia, one specifically on food history and the other a more general culinary gathering; a journal (Petits Propos Culinaires); and a number of academic books published both by specialist publishers and, increasingly, more mass market companies. However, while much of the work emerging from the field was meticulously researched and footnoted, it lacked the theoretical impetus of sociological studies. Obscure cookery texts were reprinted and the details of plagiarism documented, but the field lacked – and indeed in many ways still lacks – a set of overarching research criteria. It also suffered from gender stigma for, as Pennell (1998) points out, the process of preparing food, as opposed to eating it, remained associated with women, and, as such, was viewed with disdain by male establishment historians and feminist scholars alike. As a result, and despite a growing body of data and easily accessible secondary literature, both food and dining in the past continued to be largely ignored by mainstream history (Mintz 1993; and e.g. Brewer 1997). With the occasional exception, (e.g. Varey 1996) even when areas as obviously relevant as the arts or the growth of consumerism were under discussion those of the table often did not merit a mention (Lehmann 2003, 94).

More recent scholarship has finally started to integrate the study of the culinary past into wider analysis of social and cultural trends. Inevitably, given the richness of documentary sources, discussion centres on text-based conclusions, although there is recognition of the drawbacks of cookery books, most saliently the aspirational nature of them and the lack of proof that they were ever really used as instructional texts (Glaisyer and Pennell 2003; Humble 2005). Important monographs, such as Lehmann (2003) have emerged from within the food history establishment which have fed historical analysis, and anthropological and sociological studies have been integrated into food history. Cookbooks themselves have been subjected to critical examination, with publication due of a collection of papers emerging from a 2008 conference on the use of cookbooks not just as collections of recipes, but as autobiographical texts, historical documents and material artefacts in their own right (Pennell and DiMeo 2008). However, although it should not be over-played, in both the UK and America a dichotomy has become evident between those who consider the processes of food preparation and meal planning (e.g. Broomfield 2007), and those who study the table and the etiquette of dining (e.g. Williams 1996). In part this is a continuation of the gender bias mentioned earlier: the divide is certainly not between male and female scholars, and there is rarely any overt assignation of gender to cooking versus dining, but the mental division remains in place. It may also be due to a feeling that cooking processes belong with technological studies, and should be considered with an eye to the history of industrialisation and agrarian change, whereas the layout of the table is somehow more artistic and open to interpretation. This is where an archaeological framework can be of value. This thesis takes the view that, while dining change is important and interesting of itself, it is in its ability to elucidate key research questions arising from historical archaeology that its worth really lies. By approaching the data with a set of hypotheses and a focussed set of research criteria, both cooking and dining can be considered and integrated into a coherent set of conclusions. Historical and sociological analysis and theory can be used while the wealth of data available from culinary studies is vital for providing context and background. An interdisciplinary approach of this nature is crucial bearing in mind the

overwhelming number of documentary sources which need to be fully explored along with the material data.

## Current historical archaeological work on food and dining

Modern historical archaeology is intrinsically interdisciplinary, drawing freely on the theories and analyses of other disciplines but siting these within its own set of theories and methodologies (Goodwin 1999, 6). However, the process by which this situation was reached was not always straightforward. Until the last few decades, a tension between a historical and an anthropological approach was still very much in evidence (e.g. Austin 1990), indicative of a youthful discipline not yet confident enough to challenge more established subject-led paradigms. Calls to move away from history were based on genuine concerns about the Eurocentric focus and westernised worldview of much English historical writing (Brooks 2000 unpublished, 15), but they were also part of a process of forging a distinctive identity for historical archaeology. This led to the seeking out of areas in which archaeology could be seen as different and valuable; areas in which historians could not operate for lack of evidence. However, as Moreland (2001, 109) points out, those who sought out *„text-free zones"* were destined for disappointment. Even where groups were illiterate and unable to commit their own views to paper, others commented for and on them. Moreland called for archaeologists to embrace text, and to recognise its potential when approached as material culture in its own right. In parallel in the field of literary history, scholars were looking for new ways to use documents, particularly didactic text (Glaisyer and Pennell 2003), and especially gendered texts, though this was still sometimes assumed rather than made specific (e.g. Floyd and Forster 2003).

In this atmosphere, the use of food and dining-related data should have been an obvious choice for historical archaeologists. Both preparative methods, in the form of butchery marks, and dining goods in the form of flatware were used by Deetz in his deeply influential In Small Things Forgotten (Deetz 1996). Theories centring on a _Georgian Order' which emerged from work led by both Deetz and Glassie (1975) were applicable across the full range of material culture, and could be applied to artefacts as diverse as standing buildings, dress, tableware

and grave markers, as well as to other forms of cultural expression, not just text but also language itself, all of which Deetz argued could and should be regarded as part of the material world. The _Georgian Order‘ theory centred on the idea of a discernable set of late eighteenth century ideas based on order, rationalism and science. These arose in England out of the Enlightenment and were expressed materially through design, which moved away from the idea of nature, towards symmetry and balance. In housing design especially, a tripartite symmetry is visible in late Georgian houses, with a slight emphasis upon a middle section flanked by two identical wings (Deetz 1996, 62-7). The _Georgian Order‘ was rendered significant in American archaeology because the adoption of its physical manifestations coincided with the last few decades before Independence: decades in which Deetz argues that America returned to the English cultural and social sphere, embracing recognisably modern customs such as the fork, while simultaneously entering into the legal and political discourse which eventually resulted in an independent nation. He also suggests that one aspect of the Georgian worldview, as opposed to older mentalities, was the emphasis placed upon the individual. One of the pieces of evidence he uses to support this is smaller cuts of meat.

The theory of the _Georgian Order‘ has been generally accepted, in that a set of differentiated ideas and their material expression can be identified in the late eighteenth century. However, on an individual basis, many of the concepts suggested by Deetz as being an integral part of the _Georgian Order‘ have been extended back in time or shown to have taken longer to develop than his interpretation allows for. Specific tenets of the whole have been taken up and explored as the basis for further theoretical frameworks, such as the neo-Marxist school exemplified by Shackel (1993) and Leone (2005). One approach within this is to explicitly link the adoption of certain objects to the rise of the individual, and through that to the western capitalist mindset. Using probate inventories as well as excavated data, recent work on household possessions such as clocks and toothbrushes, as well as forks and teawares, has demonstrated the adoption of these indicators, now not just of the _Georgian Order‘, but of a recognisably modern economic and social belief system, much earlier than Deetz postulated.

In an English context, early adoption applies not only to the elites, but also to the middle classes, especially in an urban environment (Weatherill 1986). Furthermore, work on medieval and early post-medieval data has shown that classic English indicators of a more ordered and individual mentality, such as the partition of great halls and development of private dining areas, started to take place at least as far back as the sixteenth century (Girouard 1978; Johnson 1996).

The ‗Georgian Order' model has also been challenged by studies looking forward in time. Ewins (1997) demonstrates from manufacturers' records that, far from adopting the latest English fashions, Americans lagged behind, unable to obtain up-to-date goods due to a deliberate policy of sending rejects and outmoded supplies to American wholesalers. The underlying emulative model upon which the ‗Georgian Order' to a large extent relies has been discredited by work on procurement (Vickery 1998) and a deeper understanding of the middle and working classes (Young 2003). However, while challenged, the concept of a ‗Georgian Order' has not been entirely discredited, and it is a useful tool for interpreting the late eighteenth century archaeological record. As chapter 3 will show, the grandest table layouts did use a tripartite, symmetrical arrangement. There were underlying structuring principles of order and rationality, but these were interlaced with a sense of knowing playfulness which fulfilled a set of criteria specific to elite dining. On the other hand, the rise of individual cuts of meat will be shown to have been used to enforce rather than negate group identity, and while nineteenth century dining superficially emphasised the individual it was the imposition of uniformity which truly characterised the late nineteenth century meal.

Not all work using food has been based upon the formation of the modern western worldview. Within the corpus of work studying under-represented groups, American work on ante and post-bellum slave sites has used both faunal remains and cooking wares to consider the formation of group identity and resistance strategies (Singleton 1995). Again in America, as well as in Australia, dining ware in particular has been used to interpret inter- and intra-household relations in middle and working class districts (Seifert 1991; Fitts 1999), in the

latter case being used explicitly to refute historical myths centred on slum areas (Karskens 2003). Kitchen wares have been less well studied, although inventory data has provided a means to consider the nature of room categorisation (Pennell 1998) and (somewhat notoriously) as a way of analysing gender associations in the domestic context (Yentsch 1991). Archaeologists have struggled to find a way to retain the materiality of food and dining when so much data is inevitably drawn from documentary sources and the food itself has long since disappeared (Samuel 1996). This has led to food as a potential area for study being almost entirely divorced from its sensory context. This is by no means applicable only to archaeologists – remarkably few students of cookbooks seem ever to have tried cooking from them with a view to experiencing, however far removed, the tastes of the past. However, it does mean that cooking and dining ware has not been studied in relation to the food with which it were associated or the manner in which it was used. Faunal remains, meanwhile, are most often considered as evidence of diet and nutrition, and in an English context very little data is available beyond a few studies of small, mainly poor, urban contexts (Matthews 1999). The documentary data on dining has largely remained the province of historians, with the notable exception of Jameson (1987).

The lack of attention paid to dining as a sensory and social phenomenon, and integration of the food itself into discussions of related material culture, has started to change in recent years. Thematic studies considering the development of group and class identity have finally acknowledged the crucial role played by the dining table as a forum for display and assessment (Goodwin 1999; Young 2003). Tea has also featured in critical analysis (DiZerega Wall 1994; Richards 1999), though no investigation of it as a topic in itself has been undertaken archaeologically. The integration of documentary sources into an archaeologically informed discussion covering key themes in historical archaeology – gentility and cultural capital, gender roles and domesticity, consumption and consumerism – is now established as an archaeologically acceptable methodology. Meanwhile the concept of sensory engagement is also under investigation. Work on smell (Bartosiewicz 2003), hearing (DiPaolo Loren

2008) and taste (Gray 2009 forthcoming), shows that a more nuanced view of data can have exciting results.

## Theorising the historical archaeology of food and dining

This thesis covers the period c.1750-1900. The entire span – and beyond – has been significant in formulating emulation models and considering the impact and causes of conspicuous and inconspicuous consumption (Young 2009 forthcoming). It is also a particularly pertinent time for exploring the role of gender as a social structuring principle, being the focus of debate over the concept of ‗separate spheres' and the influence of class on notions of appropriate engendered behaviour (Spencer-Wood 1999; Rotman 2006). Meanwhile, the early part of the period coincides with theories of the development of a ‗Georgian Order', along with recent neo-Marxist-influenced work on discipline, control and improvement (Tarlow 2007). The latter part does not have a neat set of period-specific theories, but does have the most discernable change in dining style versus the style of the eighteenth century.

There are, therefore, many theoretical approaches which could be applied to the subject and time-period discussed here. As noted in chapter 1, the rationale behind the choice of period was to cover a time of significant change in dining style with the intention of analysing the process of change: its drivers, its consequences, and the interaction between the material culture of one style and the practices of another. Cookery and etiquette books provide a set of static rules, and can be regarded as a fixed deposition in the same way as can a dated excavated assemblage. They may not give the whole picture, but neither do assemblages, as both have been through processes of selection by human forces and the ravages of time. They are also artefacts in themselves, and each recipe may be manipulated according to circumstance, taste and need. The structure suggested by the recipe will change through this process and each finished dish will be slightly different. Through studying the materiality of dining, the consequences of living the ideal structures postulated by authors can therefore be

examined, and the impression of static structures challenged by a more dynamic model of constant change.

## Structure and dining development

While the rigid tenets of structuralism have been discarded or adapted by later theorists, post-processualist and interpretive archaeology alike recognise the importance of identifying underlying structures for specific artefact categories at given points in time. In the case of this study, a broad structuralist approach will be applied to the ideal table layouts contained in the 14 core cookbooks which make up the primary documentary data set. Each set of layouts will be examined in detail, so that the structuring principles can be compared for evidence of change across time. Rather than form an end in itself, the conclusions from this will be used to inform discussion of why à la Russe was better suited for the needs of the middle class women who drove its acceptance. A knowledge of the underlying principles of à la Française will also be useful in considering later layouts which superficially resemble late eighteenth century à la Française dinners but which, as will be seen, adhere more to the norms of à la Russe.

A consideration of structure will also enable the Deetzian concept of the ‗Georgian Order' to be explored, although this study starts during the period by which it was supposed to have been developed, and so will not be able to consider antecedents for the various characteristics identified by Deetz as indicative of its acceptance. However, by looking at the interplay of communality and individualism and self- and imposed discipline, it will be possible to demonstrate that, far from privileging the individual, changing dining habits, culminating in à la Russe, represented imposed uniformity and the removal of individual choice, even down to controlling allowable hunger through portion size. While the idea of the ‗Georgian Order' can be useful in considering the development of eighteenth into nineteenth century society, the conclusions of this study will be to argue that a more nuanced view of dining must be accepted; one in which tension between the individual and his or her identity as a faceless member of a social group or class was a key part of the experience of formal dining.

## Gender and class

The quotation used as the title of this thesis – ‗*man is a dining animal*" (Beeton 1888, 1331) – is taken from what is still the best known historic British cookbook, Beeton‗s Book of Household Management. Both the book and Beeton‗s image have been the subject of much myth-making, and the popular image of the book, and hence of Victorian food is of extravagant, slightly stodgy food with little that would appeal to modern tastes (Sweet 2001). Recent scholarship has emphasised both the dynamism of the book and its nature as a compilation (Humble 2005), as well as Beeton‗s own position as an experienced writer with a clear, middle class female readership in mind (Hughes 2005). Throughout the book she draws a picture of the mistress of the household as an organising force, the ‗commander of an army' (Beeton 1861, 1), in charge of hiring and firing servants, ordering household supplies, administering medical assistance and, most importantly and therefore afforded most space, especially in later editions, planning meals. Yet when she describes the abstract diner, ‗he' is a man (Beeton 1861, 907). This is partly because much of her philosophising on dining is lifted verbatim from Brillat-Savarin, which in nineteenth century translation to English used the masculine third person singular (Simpson 1859), but the contrast between Beeton‗s busy, capable, meal-planning, housekeeping and cooking mistress and her male equivalent whose only role in the book is to dine, is nevertheless marked.

The way in which food was experienced in the past was, as this example indicates, a deeply engendered experience. Gender roles and relations have been the subject of numerous studies considering dominant discourse and resistance to the norm through such varied means as literature (Clery 2004), political activism (Foreman 1998) and commerce (Rotman 2006). While notions of absolute divisions between public and private have been refuted, late eighteenth and nineteenth century discourse did emphasise the role of the ideal women as being within the domestic environment (Howarth 2000). Predicated on the household having enough income that the wife did not to have to work, this model could not apply to working class women, although as investigation of American working

class housing has shown, some of the accoutrements of middle class domesticity were present even in very low income households (Mrozowski et al. 1996). The domestic model, which at times verged on a _cult', especially in America (Clark 1988), did not preclude involvement with the world of business, since women according to this model were active consumers and key decision-makers in the purchase of domestic goods. Neither did it exclude a public role, in the shape of involvement in the domestic reform movement, including visiting _slum' housing and presiding over charitable efforts to reform the poor (e.g. Hallack 1838). It did, however, contribute to a physical shift from urban to suburban areas for the middle classes, and left many women isolated in communities filled only with equally bored women of their own class (Nicholson 1994). This, combined with a work ethic which abhorred waste and leisure with no useful purpose contributed to the involvement of women in charity and in the building of class links based on reciprocal dinners, luncheons and _at homes', based around tea. The use of eating and drinking in the formation of identity became part of the female toolkit, a means by which the middle class wife could usefully and actively contribute to the status of her household and at the same time locate herself within a network of like-minded people. Such networks were never static, as opinions and beliefs changed, along with wealth and opportunities, and so invited dinners and other occasions were constantly in a state of flux, continual markers of identification with a range of people who themselves used dinners in a similar way.

This thesis seeks to explore the role of middle class women, and will argue that they not only appropriated the material culture of dining to forge household identity, but also actively engaged with it as a means of negotiating gender status. Both the context for this and the results were specific to the middle class female experience. Despite recent scholarship, mentioned above, demonstrating the presence of middle class material markers in working class homes, working class women were not in the financial position to host regular formal dinners of the sort on which this study concentrates. The women considered here are those targeted by books such as Beeton (1861): wealthy enough to invest in tableware and to change it if desired; employing at least one servant (not always live-in) but

aspiring at least to have more; leisured in the respect that they did not have a paid occupation; and married, with a household to run. They were immersed in the middle class values of hard work, economy and, for much of the nineteenth century, inconspicuous yet meaningful consumption (Young 2003). Most of these values were perceived as forming a contrast to both the profligate upper classes and the wastrel working class, and were underpinned by the knowledge that money could be as quickly lost as gained, and that too much loss had the potential to plummet the household into the ranks of the working class (Kasson 1991). Too much gain was rather less likely and the middle class spanned a huge range of income brackets and lifestyles. The most usually accepted figure for the ‗inclusive' middle class (i.e. lower middle class clerks and professionals as well as upper middle class lawyers and manufacturers) is around 20% of the total population (Hoppen 1998, 34), though the number earning more than £200 p.a. – the equally generally accepted wage for a live-in servant – could be considerably less, depending on geography. Upper class women, whose experiences will also be analysed, inhabited a different milieu, with a household income primarily derived from land and a husband often engaged in politics through hereditary right. Largely confined to a domestic role, including charitable provision, they also had much more experience of hosting regular dinners for people beyond the immediate family circle through the conceits of the ‗season' and, outside it, house and hunting parties (Girouard 1979; Horn 1991).

Although detailed study of all aspects of dining for every class is not the purpose of this particular study, not least through the constraints of time and space, the experiences of the working and upper classes will be considered alongside those of the middle class where relevant. As will be discussed further below, this is in part due to the availability of surviving evidence for kitchen and domestic office design, along with provenanced collection data. It also enables the role of emulation in determining dining style to be considered. It is now recognised that straightforward top-down emulative models are too simple, and that goods or behaviours adopted by the upper classes were not slavishly copied by those below them on the social scale (Pennell 1999). Even where it appears that they were copied, theorists agree that the meanings attributed to them differed from

class to class, and that adaptation was a key part of the process of dissemination (Mintz 1993; Campbell 1995). By considering in detail aristocratic and middle class formal dining, comparisons can be made which elucidate the hypothesis that middle class wives were major drivers of the à la Française – à la Russe shift because the latter style suited their specific requirements. It also makes more robust the conclusions drawn on the subject of gender as a fundamental influence on the way in which food was experienced in the past and on the role of food as a tool in negotiating gender relations.

## Core data sets

This thesis draws upon data from published cookbooks and the spaces and artefacts of cooking and dining. Most of the data is from collections or extant buildings rather than excavated sites. It does not consider technological development, except in passing, as this aspect and its effect on culinary change has been explored elsewhere (Broomfield 2007), and mainly effects the very end of the period. It also does not use zoo-archaeological remains. Partly due to the availability of sources in an English context, where zoo-archaeological data in particular is rare for the middle and upper class, it is also indicative of the dramaturgical approach taken to dinner, which considers objects in use and in relationship to other material culture. This study seeks to generalise about the upper and particularly middle class experience of dinner, setting up hypotheses against which future excavation-derived data might be considered. Working class contexts have been discussed briefly where relevant, but such discussions are based on published data and do not seek to generalise about the working class dining experience. There is potential for further research into the impact of culinary change on the lower classes, but this study has focussed upon the data deemed to have the most potential for exploring the central hypothesis that women, specifically those of the middle class, drove dining change. At the current time, so little work has been done towards an archaeologically-informed theory of historical dining that a broad view has to be taken and where specific case studies are used it is with the aim of reinforcing a set of general conclusions. These focus on gender and, within that, class, but do not seek to explore regional

differences or delve into specific expressions of religious, cultural or political belief.

Integrating text and materially-derived data is crucial to understanding a society increasingly reliant on print as a means of conveying information (Goodwin 1999; Moreland 2001; Young 2003), and in which printed and written ephemera should be regarded as belonging to the archaeological record as artefacts in their own right. The core print data is drawn from 14 cookbooks published between 1730 and 1901, with a view to considering not only equipment and techniques, but also the relationship of text to practice, and the way in which changing gender conventions within the realm of food and dining were reflected in print. All 14 books include ideal table layouts which form the basis of the examination of pattern and structure in chapter 3. It is important to note that most of the meals discussed in chapters 3-5 are formal dinners, frequently with invited guests. As Jaine (2004) points out, the majority of meals, even at gentry level in familial or informal contexts, were probably served as one or two courses. Lehmann (2003) also argues that one course meals were the most usual form in middle class households unless a formal meal, often with invited guests, was to be held. However, even a simple meal carries with it implicit meanings based on the experiences and habits of diners. In the case of one course meals, the order in which dishes were consumed and they way in which they were presented, would have reflected the dominant service form. This thesis argues that the underlying mentality of dining shifted, and that from a study of the minority of meals, generalisations can be drawn which apply to the mindset of diners in the majority of cases. With this in mind, it is useful to discuss the nature of cookbooks and the place that they should occupy within an archaeological framework.

## Cook and etiquette books

Cookery books are the single most-used category of data for the study of foodways in the eighteenth and nineteenth centuries. Termed _by far our best source for any examination of the history of cookery' (Lehmann 2003, 11), culinary guidance books have been used to draw conclusions about subjects as diverse as meal times (Lehmann 2003), settings (Kaufman 2002), and the

development of specific recipes (White 2007). Critical discussion of their usefulness as a source and the nature of the relationship between contemporary readers and published (and unpublished) sources, is less in evidence. Didactic literature was and is rightly regarded with ambivalence even by its authors. Agnes Marshall, a career cookbook writer, teacher and lecturer, admitted that, *„no perfect cook was yet made from mere book study."* (Marshall c.1888, preface). Questions can also be asked about the reliability of advice given in books, especially given the tension between aspiration and reality in the increasingly competitive eighteenth and nineteenth century publishing industry. Study of reading habits has illustrated the multiplicity of ways in which readers approached books, treating even instructional text as merely a pleasurable way to pass time (Glaisyer and Pennell 2003, 14-15). Any given set of instructions might result in an infinite number of finished products as the interplay of individual taste, experience, resources and equipment came to bear on the original text. While it is now acknowledged that text is useful to the archaeologist as long as it is approached within an archaeological framework, it is still difficult to know how to make use of seemingly detailed data when we have no idea how, or even if, it was used in a contemporary context.

### Cookery books and the authority of print

Due to selection by antiquarian booksellers and libraries, most volumes available for study show little signs of ever having been in a kitchen, lending credence to the notion that cookbooks cannot be used as a source for investigating the processes involved in food preparation. However, frontispieces like those in figures 3 and 4 show how authors or publishers intended their books to be used, and may go some way to addressing concerns over condition as a guide to use. That from Henderson (c.1790) is a beautifully idealised scene of harmony, not only containing examples of the multiplicity of uses to which kitchen equipment might be put, but also indicating the variety of processes to which this particular author wished to be relevant. If used in this way regularly, the volume would almost certainly not have physically survived. In figure 4, however, an alternative option is suggested; as a mistress is shown giving her cook a hand-

written copy of a recipe. In this scenario the book becomes a tool for physically enforcing hierarchy through restricting access. It could be argued that the practical concern – not to get an expensive book dirty – underlies this, but function – the practical element – always goes hand in hand with deeper meaning. Additionally, used in this way, the book would remain relatively pristine.

One way to approach cookbooks from an archaeological perspective is to consider them as material culture in their own right. The possession, either of printed instruction manuals or of self-authored or family manuscript books has meaning both for the possessor and anyone else coming into contact with them. Objects are not passive or mute, but can carry highly charged polysemous messages depending on the individual or group with which they interact. Thus employers who, as here (fig. 4), gave copies of recipes from published texts to their cooks, or indeed gave mass-produced servant's manuals to their staff, were encouraging adherence to a set of rules which fitted a social norm, rather than their particular set of circumstances. Meanwhile, implicit in any such text was the idea of aspirational learning, not least in the assumption of literacy by employers, especially in the early part of the period. By choosing to use the gift, or in many cases purchase such texts themselves, servants demonstrated a willingness to learn. They also accepted the discipline of the impersonal written word, participating in a text-based culture which increasingly removed individual responsibility for rule-making in favour of the authority of print, and ignored individual circumstances as it imposed a generalised view of the domestic setting. The reliance on the printed word was, as will be seen, one facet of accepting service à la Russe.

Print authority is an important factor in considering the materiality of text. It has been argued that the written form of the recipe enabled culinary development as cooks were able to take printed instructions and refine them (Mennell 1996, 67). It is equally possible to suggest that the nature of the early publishing industry slowed change, as plagiarism was widespread, and innovation not necessary for successful sales figures (Lucraft 1992). Individual dishes or methods can be traced through time in the pages of cookbooks (e.g. White 2007), sometimes

changing in line with wider social trends and pressures, but equally often remaining the same throughout several generations. The writing down and publication of a recipe froze in time concepts and ideas which may have been fluid and flexible in practice. Novice cooks in the past may have suffered through slavishly following recipes, just as they do today, before learning to alter methodologies and ingredients. Readers could be lulled into a sense of security by books, especially as weights and measures grew more standardised. However, when historic recipes are tried, it quickly becomes apparent that few books are foolproof. The interaction between experience (and common sense) and the printed word is difficult to investigate from a modern-day perspective, but it is important to remember that even detailed-looking recipes may still have functioned as little more than an aide-memoire in some cases.

The interaction of experience and text can be more apparent in manuscript cookbooks, from which early printed books were often derived (Jaine 2004). They are also increasingly being considered as a form of autobiography (e.g. Stobart 2008 unpublished). The keeping of manuscript cookbooks by aristocratic ladies started to wane from the mid-eighteenth century (Lehmann 2003, 56). Surviving examples, such as a manuscript cookbook from Wrest Park (WP c.1723 unpublished), typically include culinary, stillroom and medicinal recipes. In this case recipes are also included for cheese and beer along with a short poem. The main content is written in at least two hands, plus additional loose leaves in writing which is different again and which may well be examples of recipes written out for kitchen use. Over half of the recipes in the earliest section have named sources, often titled individuals. With a few exceptions, they are all for stillroom recipes, including preserved fruits, and represent the milieu in which aristocratic ladies were still expected to excel in the early seventeenth century. Later the book includes culinary recipes such as rabbit or chicken fricassee, dishes which were part of the French-influenced repertoire of ‗made dishes', and were relatively difficult to obtain at that time. This indicates a partial change of use, to a repository of recipes which could then be communicated to the kitchen. This and other books in the same tradition show the reproduction of specific recipes within a narrow circle, reinforcing group identity and enabling its

replication across a geographically spread community of interest. Books of this nature continued to be kept by the gentry well into the nineteenth century, often started by women upon marriage and continued by their daughters or other female relatives for several generations (Rycraft 1997). However, not only are examples difficult to locate, but they also seem to become rarer after the mid-nineteenth century – precisely the key period for the changes considered as part of this study.

The primary factor in the scarcity of elite-authored books by the nineteenth century seems to be the devolution of cooking to servants. Where female aristocratic tradition had included the making of expensive confectionery and distilled waters and oils, along with medicines, by the nineteenth century such duties had devolved to cooks and housekeepers, who kept their own notes. For the purposes of this study, these books are potentially more useful than elite or gentry women‘s household books, as they might be expected to provide a view of all the cooking processes in a given context, and not concentrate, as employer-authored books do, on medicines and confectionery. However, they are not easy to locate or contextualise. That shown in figure 5 dates to the 1840s, and probably belonged to a commercial cook, the Thomas Morton named on the front page. However, without further information it would be impossible to pick him out from over 4000 Thomas Mortons listed in the 1841 census (Ancestry 2009). It is explicit in its function; to make copies of pertinent recipes from three named printed cookbooks. Where formerly print took its cue from manuscript, now it is the other way around. There are no annotations, or signs that the volume was used in a kitchen any more than equivalent surviving publications. Where previous writers sourced recipes from friends and acquaintances, now printed matter is in the ascendant, reflecting not just the greater availability and increasingly improved usability of books but also rising literacy rates. Middle and working class individuals were exactly those most marketed to by guidance book publishers, so it is not surprising that they turned to the printed page in lieu of asking a friend. The one manuscript book used as a source in this thesis can, however, be contextualised and its relationship with print matter interpreted through its contents. In August 2009 the cookbook of Audley End‘s cook in 1881,

Avis Crocombe, was donated to English Heritage by one of her descendants. This is a rare and, in the context of this thesis, highly fortuitous case where both the cook in question's biographical details and the physical context of her work in 1881 has been investigated, as part of the restoration project which is detailed below.

### Print matter and archaeological context

Cookbooks set up an ideal. They assume the presence of specific equipment; suggest menus and table plans based on easy and consistent access to ingredients; and where they give advice on running a household they project a characterless average and give universal solutions. Being an ideal does not preclude the use of text as a quantitative tool: if enough books show a trend in a certain direction, then that trend was probably real. Food historians have debated the time lag between specific recipes and techniques being introduced versus their appearance in print. The most commonly quoted figure is 30 years (Mennell 1996, 65), but it has also been argued that those books which billed themselves as being up-to-date would not have sold had they not reflected current practice (Thirsk 2007). Taken at a quantitative level and freed from the concentration on the development of individual dishes which characterises much food history output, the time lag is not so important. A study of datable material culture from kitchen and dining contexts shows format change through time and enables these changes to be accurately mapped: cookbooks allow the table to be populated, regardless of the exact stage of development of the spice balance in, for example, plum pudding. Cookbooks also afford insights into the mentality of culinary preparation: how past cooks saw the hierarchy of ingredients, and the way in which knowledge was ordered. Within that there is scope for the investigation of print structures and the interplay of imposed order in the French style with a very different way of planning dishes and meals in the English tradition.

The most obvious specifically archaeological use of cookbooks is in contextualising existing data drawn exclusively from the material record. Not only do books contain illustrations useful in identifying artefacts, but the instructions contained within them act as a warning against the straightforward

association of form and function or even the assumption that any object will be used for its given purpose. Not only may artefacts change or be changed over their lifespan, but through that may represent different meanings at different times. It is important to question the uses and therefore meanings of the material culture of the kitchen. A ceramic mould, for example, may be intended for jelly: a time-consuming dish, which melts in the heat but reflects light beautifully, making it ideal for candlelit dinners. The same mould may also be used, then or later, for moulded cakes, a completely different sensory experience requiring different skills and equipment and giving a different end result (fig. 6 and 7). The same applies to glasses, pots, bottles, jars, cups – as well as string, writing paper, saws and hammers: almost anything could become part of the batterie de cuisine, challenging gender assumptions based on tools, and indicating that the range of material culture which could be associated with culinary preparation is far greater than might be assumed. Meanwhile, on a different note, watching the spread of such specialist vessels as tea cups into the kitchen as objects to be used in culinary preparation provides information to feed the debate over emulation and class tension. More significantly for excavated contexts, the subsequent use of old high status vessels in the kitchen reduces the accuracy of ceramic shards when assigning economic status to a site (e.g. Miller 1988).

The archaeological record can equally be used to contextualise data derived from printed ephemera. For example, graph 1 shows the percentage of recipes using various meats in the core cookbooks. It gives an indication, not of the proportion of different food on the table, but of the ways in which raw products were likely to have been transformed before reaching the table and, later, the ground; an aspect sometimes overlooked by authors using cookbooks to study diet (e.g. Thirsk 2007). Further transforms once deposited can then be taken into account before coming to conclusions about exactly how representative a deposit might be. From both archaeological evidence and account books it is apparent that beef was the staple meat consumed by all classes throughout the early modern and modern period. Despite this, veal consistently forms the highest proportion of recipes in English-authored cookbooks until the mid-nineteenth century. This is not a conflict. It merely shows that veal was more likely to be highly transformed

– not just roasted or boiled as joints, but chopped, hashed, and mixed with ragouts or sauces. Veal is the standard ingredient in dishes requiring a high level of processing; the _made dishes‘ of the eighteenth century and the entrées of the nineteenth. The association of veal with time-consuming and often intricate preparation impacts not just on buried deposits but also surviving storage facilities, preparative tools and the associative value of the contemporary ingredient above and below stairs.

### Culinary literature: selection details

Hundreds of cookbooks were published between 1750 and 1900, and many of them went through a number of editions. The purpose of this analysis is to sample the data provided in cookbooks through a manageable data set. It is unnecessary – and impossible – to examine all published data for the period, so it has been divided into blocks of fifty years, and a selection made based on the following criteria:

- Original publication date (the first known edition) to fall within a given time block;
- Edition studied, if not the first, to have been published within the same block of time; and
- Contains bills of fare and/or table plans.

The selection was designed to include both male and female authors, drawn from those writing in the French (courtly) tradition and those aiming more explicitly at the middle classes. In order to fully cover the core period of 1750-1900, the allowable timescale was extended to 1725-1925. The books are as follows:

| | | |
|---|---|---|
| 1725-1775 | Carter, C (1730) The Complete Practical Cook. London. 1st edition. | Thacker, J (1758) The Art of Cookery. Durham. 2nd edition? |
| 1750-1800 | Mason, C (1773) The Ladies Assistant. London. 1st edition | Henderson, W (c.1790) The Housekeepers Instructor, or, Universal Family Cook. London. 1st edition |

| | | |
|---|---|---|
| 1775-1825 | Briggs, R (1794) The English Art of Cookery. London. 3rd edition | Mollard, J (1801) The Art of Cookery made Easy and Refined. London. 1st edition |
| 1800-1850 | Simpson, J (1807) A Complete System of Cookery. London. 2nd edition | Hammond, E (1815) Modern Domestic Cookery. London. 5th edition? |
| 1825-1875 | Francatelli, E (1846) The Modern Cook. London. 1st edition | Beeton, I (1861) The Book of Household Management. London. 1st edition |
| 1850-1900 | Jewry, M (c.1878) Warne s *Everyday* Cookery. London. Unknown edition | Marshall, A (c.1888) Mrs A. B. *Marshall s Cookery Book*. London. 1st edition? |
| 1875-1925 | Senn, C (1901) The New Century Cookbook. London. 1st edition | Mellish, K (1901) Cookery and Domestic Management. London. 1st edition |

Table 1: Core cookbooks

Each book targets a distinct readership, and each author is writing from their own perspective. All books are aiming at the domestic environment even when their authors work in a commercial milieu. A synopsis of the general characteristics of each volume can be found in appendix A.

## The spaces of cooking and eating

This study considers exclusively domestic food preparation and dining. Throughout the period, meals were taken outside the home, both in corporate environments including the army, schools and university colleges; and also in more public forums such as restaurants and coffee shops. The working class, both rural and urban, habitually took meals with them to their place of work or bought food from street vendors (Burnett 2003). Within the middle and upper class the majority of meals at which both men and women were present were situated within a domestic context. The spaces of food preparation – kitchens and related offices, were occupied by female and male servants, and both servants and employers ate in separate, designated rooms. Examination of the situation,

layout and décor of these areas will enable conclusions to be drawn about the use of dinner as a means of imposing discipline, as well as clarifying the below stairs impact of dining change. Large numbers of women were directly exposed to middle class dining habits through their employment as maids. Although evidence of change is difficult to place within the context of working class meals, the mental shift required for à la Russe nevertheless affected many of those who prepared them.

The layout of middle class housing will be studied through published plans of nineteenth century model housing. Many households occupied older or less planned properties, but the boom in suburban growth means that model housing would have been recognisable to many families. However, few kitchens or other spaces survive for visual analysis, as these are precisely the houses which have been continuously occupied and therefore altered since their construction. Access analysis has shown just how much small changes to an original layout can alter perceptions by altering the ‗ringiness' of the plan (Hillier and Hanson 1984, 156-157). Country houses, which have also been used for this part of the study, raise different problems. The houses and domestic offices often survive, but plans of service areas or parts of the house incorporating service areas are not as easy to locate as those showing the grander aspects of architectural planning. Despite Girouard's (1978; 1989) demonstration of the importance of studying the English country house as a social entity, and not just as a series of examples of architectural progress, little attention has been given to interior planning as a means of reflecting and enforcing social discipline. Where archaeologists and building historians do take up the challenge, primacy is still given to the living spaces of house owners, rather than to the auxiliary areas. Even those calling for attention to be given to class tensions within the house still dismiss service wings in the practical application of techniques such as access analysis (e.g. West 1999). Nevertheless, plans drawn from various social contexts from country house to working class terraces have been published both as part of modern analytical studies (Lloyd and Simpson 1977; Girouard 1978; 1979; Muthesius 1982; Brears 1996a) and in contemporary discussions over architectural planning (Walsh 1856; Kerr 1871). Extant spaces are of course common, though often it can be a

challenge to assign original room function or study change through time when evidence has been swept away by later alterations. In the context of the country house it is common to find tea rooms, shops, education facilities and storage in the spaces once occupied by service areas, and although there is increasing recognition of the significance of kitchens in interpretive plans, many auxiliary areas have been altered to the extent that the potential for analysis is limited.

Equipment such as ovens, ranges and fireplaces often feature on house plans, and are the most likely objects to remain in situ. Other, more movable goods have normally been decontextualised, although it is sometimes possible to re-link artefacts such as pans and plates through crests and other familial motifs, or through inventory data. Although it has been argued that goods without context are of limited use, in the study of the archaeology of the kitchen this is not the case. From inventories, visual sources and advice books it is evident that the equipment of most kitchens did not differ hugely in its basic constituents. The physicality of the kitchen can therefore be measured through pans in general, without needing a specific example tied to a specific kitchen. Such objects survive in the collections of museums and country houses, as pictures in books or archives, and are widely available for at least the late nineteenth century onwards through antiques dealers, junk shops and the ubiquitous eBay.

### Case Studies

Data from three aristocratic sites has been used to inform this study: Audley End House (the Barons Braybrooke), Harewood House (the Earls of Harewood), and Osborne House (Queen Victoria and Prince Albert). The main case study used in the study of spatial change through time in chapters 3 and 4 is that of Audley End House in Essex. Now owned and run as a tourist attraction by English Heritage, the eighteenth and nineteenth century service wing, comprising dairy, laundry and kitchen complex, opened to the public after a multi-million pound restoration and refit in May 2008. With the exception of the bakehouse, out of use by c.1850 and now the shop, and the brewhouse, converted to a gunroom in the 1830s and now the shop storeroom, all of the main ground floor rooms have been restored. Within the house itself, and not included in the restoration project are the

servants‘ hall and housekeepers‘ sitting room (both inevitably now the tea room); and the butlers‘ areas of strong room, lamp room, pantry and wine cellar, which are open for limited public viewing. The project involved site-specific research into the functioning and fittings of the service wing, as well as into daily life as a servant at Audley End in the nineteenth century. None of this is, as yet, in the public domain, and although Essex Record Office holds the bulk of the Audley archive, key estate maps are held at the house by English Heritage. As part of the project, a team of live interpreters staffed the service wing at weekends and during the school holidays throughout 2008-9. They wore replica dress including corsetry and carried out the quotidian tasks of washing dishes, churning butter and cooking a selection of nineteenth century recipes for both household and family consumption. A mixture of replica and original equipment was used in the process, although an electric hob and oven were used in place of the range, which had a roasting fire and spit only. Information from the work carried out by that team has been incorporated into the parts of this study which consider practical elements of the eighteenth and nineteenth century country house kitchen. Additionally, the manuscript cookbook referred to above and belonging to the 1880s cook, Avis Crocombe, has been used in chapter 5.

Audley End is, at its core, Jacobean, and was originally built by the Earls of Suffolk. It passed through royal hands in the seventeenth century, before being returned to the family as it had become too dilapidated to be a royal palace. Much of the house was demolished in the years that followed, and when the earldom became extinct in 1745 it devolved to the Countess of Portsmouth, who bequeathed it to her nephew, Sir John Griffin Griffin (Baird 2003). He was later ennobled as the first Baron Braybrooke, and the house passed through that family line until the twentieth century (Jeffrey 2005). Slave reparation money contributed to a major internal renovation in the 1830s when the house was redecorated as a Jacobean pastiche. By 1904 rising costs forced the family to rent out the house, a situation which lasted on and off until the Second World War at which point it was requisitioned as a training base. After the war it was gifted to English Heritage, which has run it as a tourist attraction ever since (Jeffrey 2005). The house lacks provenanced artefacts, although rooms have been furnished

according to various inventories (Oxford Archaeology 2001 unpublished). A few objects and one servants' dining set are on loan from the Braybrookes, but Audley has been used more as a rich source of spatial and documentary data than for examining objects associated with the house.

Harewood House, the second site from which contextualised data has been drawn, is in private ownership and is still inhabited by the Lascelles family. Built in 1759-1771 with major changes in the 1840s, again using slave reparation money, the house served as a hospital during both world wars, and although money shortages in the early twentieth century led to a period of neglect (Mauchline 1992), it remained both a family seat and an important repository of Lascelles goods, such as paintings and ceramics. The ceramic collection at Harewood has been extensively used for examining the impact of à la Russe on the moveable objects associated with dinner and for considering take-up of the new style among the aristocracy. Its domestic offices, situated in a part-sunken basement storey, have survived intact, although fixtures and fittings have inevitably been altered as the rooms have been in constant use. Their layout was much altered in the 1840s with few plans surviving to enable consideration of continuity and change. The paucity of verifiable evidence means that for this study, Audley's service areas have been more useful.

The final case study, Osborne House (Isle of Wight), was constructed in 1848-51 as a royal retreat. A few parts of an earlier structure on the site survive, most notably in the stable and service block which contained the royal kitchens. However, the vast majority of the house was new-build, masterminded by Prince Albert and Thomas Cubitt, and intended to set an example of modern construction on a tight budget. As a comparative site with Audley and Harewood it has the obvious difference of having been a royal palace, intended to house a much larger number of people than any country house, and cater for a vast number of hierarchical levels from the Queen herself through ladies-in-waiting, crown officials, upper servants and down to the coal men and scourers. However, the Queen regarded Osborne as a home rather than a palace, and it was much smaller than Buckingham Palace or Windsor. It was a conversion from an earlier

house, albeit one which involved more demolition than adaptation, and, as will be seen, it is a prime example of the way in which household structures were reflected in dining arrangements. Little data exists for Osborne, which was abandoned as a royal residence on Queen Victoria's death, and used, firstly as a naval college and then as a convalescent home, until the present Queen opened it to the public in the 1950s. One dining ledger remains at the house – no others have been identified as existing. Scattered inventory data covers the main rooms of the house, but not the service quarters, and plan data is erratic. However, Osborne provides a means of considering the impact of change on a deeply hierarchical household, demonstrating the way in which dining style had the potential to affect the working classes as well as the upper and middle class diners themselves. Plans are afoot to restore the kitchens, currently used as a garage and boiler room, and research from the initial investigatory stages has also been used as part of the discussion in chapter 5 on kitchen layouts and planning.

### Kitchen and tableware

The final data set upon which this study will draw comprises smaller material goods from both a preparation and dining context. As mentioned above, kitchen equipment is relatively easy to obtain for study, both in the form of provenanced objects and individual examples of specific items. It is very rare to locate a complete collection of entirely contextualised cooking equipment, not least as very small items such as spoons, petits fours moulds and kitchen cloths would have been easily lost and regularly replaced through wear and tear. However, inventory data and ideal equipment lists in books such as Jewry (c.1878) and Senn (1901) give a fairly good idea as to the range of goods deemed necessary, even if many households did not live up to the ideals of writers. Verral (1759, 17-20) stresses that good dinners require the right equipment, illustrating this with the example of a severely underequipped gentry kitchen (with a female cook). He is probably exaggerating in order to show his own ingenuity and make a point, but he obviously felt the anecdote would be credible. The physicality of the kitchen can be explored through working with original equipment and in

replica dress, which even on a limited scale gives an idea of the labour involved and requirement for staff with strictly defined roles. Equally, systematic experimenting with recipe books and recipe types affords valuable insight into the need (or not) for named equipment. It also allows for an appreciation of the different types of dishes deemed suitable for different groups.

Food taste and texture can be ascertained to some degree by cooking and consuming recipes based on those in cookbooks. Many varieties of vegetable and fruit are sadly no longer available, while changing farming techniques have altered the characteristics of those products which do survive, but an approximation can still be made of most dishes. The visual appearance of food is sometimes hinted at or, as time goes on, explained more fully in cookbooks, and later volumes are increasingly good at providing illustrations. Mellish (1901) even includes coloured photographs. Food moulds are another useful way to consider the appearance of dishes, especially the ceramic moulds which provide continuity across the 150 years covered by this study.

In considering tableware, this study concentrates on ceramic wares. Metal in the form of silver, and, later on, electroplate, retained an importance on the table throughout the period. Queen Victoria possessed a gold dinner service, which she may have transported with her (Hunter 2009, pers.comm). Silver was a clear means by which wealth could be both expressed and invested, and it could last decades – at least. It is for this reason that ceramics have been used as a way of investigating change. They were cheaper, mass-produced and came in a wider variety of shapes, sizes and patterns than metal ware. They are also more commonly found surviving in collections. For dining ware the main study set comes from Harewood House, Yorkshire, which holds a range of wares, not all of which are original to the house in this time period, but which are clearly provenanced and accessioned. The family always employed French male cooks, despite the dip in finances occasioned by the agricultural depression in the 1880-90s. The Braybrookes at Audley meanwhile employed a mixture of women and men, saving on wages. During the period discussed here, the Lascelles also had a London residence, for which they purchased substantial amounts of Sèvres,

including pieces made for Marie Antoinette. This was displayed there in cabinets designed for the purpose and not used for dining. Some of the ceramics now at Harewood may have been purchased for London, and later moved. Notes on the Sèvres inventory indicate that some or all of it was transported to Yorkshire in the 1850s (Anon. 1838 unpublished).

Ceramic data has also been used from the collection of Norwich Castle Museum and York Museums Trust. Both collections are formed of largely unprovenanced pieces, and have been used as a quantitative sample enabling consideration of teawares in chapter 7. As Young (2003) points out, lack of context for objects does not mean that they are of limited value for archaeological study, despite accusations that collections are inevitably comprised of elite and unused items (Symonds 2002, 24). Intact objects are invaluable in considering the physical attributes of artefacts, and may be used to examine stylistic and technological change over time. While the prevalence of the pristine examples of the deeply impractical ‗Cadogan' teapot in collections is attributable to its design flaws, wear marks on many items belie the idea that museum pieces have not been used. In any case, excavated items have been subjected to formation processes of a different type (Renfrew and Bahn 2000, 119-170) and provenanced examples in museums are usually treasured because of their rarity or monetary value. By the nineteenth century industrialisation and the introduction of mass-production had brought ceramic wares within the price range of most of society (McKendrick 1982). Those who could not afford new wares had access to a flourishing second hand market, as well as factory rejects (Ewins 1997). As will be seen, the collections of both York and Norwich include middle class wares along with more elite objects. Wares of this type – fashionable and relatively disposable – may have been used in many contexts throughout their life, depending on age and condition, and any one object may represent a plethora of different meanings depending on the point in time at which it is considered. The quantitative analysis carried out in chapter 7 concentrates on the wares as dated to the decade of the production, and considers them as a whole, unrelated to financial value or probable status, as it is impossible to ascertain the lifecycle or buyer of individual items, and, especially for the later decades of the nineteenth century, the sample

size is often very small. Far more value is placed upon early items than later, more commonplace ones, both by earlier curators and public donators of goods, and so data for the latter part of the period is less robust than that for the first 70-80 years. However, taken with the qualitative consideration of the development of tea wares and their use by women in the period, it has still been possible to draw conclusions which support and enhance the understanding of dining reached through chapters 3-5.

## Key terms and definitions

This thesis centres on the causes and impact of a change in dining style from à la Française to à la Russe. These names were those given by contemporaries to specific ways of serving dinner which, in their most developed forms, were highly distinct from one another in almost every way. The differences between à la Française and à la Russe are crucial to the experience of dinner at any level in the eighteenth and nineteenth century. They underlie all of the data explored in the next five chapters. A detailed examination of changing table layouts and the way this impacted upon food presentation can be found in chapter 3. However, in order to understand the assumptions made throughout chapters 3-5, it is first useful to briefly explain the main characteristics of the two service styles. A timeline showing the approximate periods in which the primary service styles dominated can be found in figure 1.

### A la Française

A la Française was the accepted means of serving dinner from around the early-eighteenth century until the mid nineteenth century. It was served around 5pm in the 1760s and as late as 9.30pm by the mid-nineteenth century, dependant on class and region, and was the main meal of the day. While it could consist of only one course, even for invited meals, its most usual form was as three courses, sometimes with an additional cheese course. Opinions differed on whether the dishes should move from heavy to light or vice versa, but by 1750, a pattern had become largely established in which the first course consisted of what we would today term savoury dishes, while the second course included some sweet dishes,

most commonly jellies, puddings, custards and fruit tarts. Dessert, meanwhile, was geared towards sugar-based confectionary, dried and fresh fruit and nuts. Dishes were presented on the table, not as individual portions, but on communal vessels from which diners were served or served themselves and others, depending on the exact stage of development and the habits of that particular household. Plates were arranged on the table symmetrically, usually in three rows and with key dishes occupying the central, top and bottom places. Cosnett (1825) suggests that footmen use the imprint of dishes left by one course as guides for laying out the next. The host sat at one end of the table and the hostess at the other. Where soup, roasts and whole fish were served it was customary for them to carve and serve what was in front of them. Soup and fish were served in that order (Flandrin 2002), ignoring at first the other dishes on offer, which would usually be covered or sit upon a spirit burner to retain heat (Brears 1994). It is likely that other dishes were also consumed in a set order but, unlike in France, the exact nature of English service as yet remains unknown (Lehmann 2007 unpublished). In some forms of the service, soup or fish or both would then be taken away in favour of another dish, known as the ‗remove'.

With an à la Française table visual and sensory impact relied on the food itself. In some cases an inedible central display piece was used, such as an epergne or stand, though this usually incorporated food held in dishes or on plates. The importance of the food itself to dining à la Française is more fully explored in chapter 3. More detailed explanation of the way in which meals à la Française were served, predominantly from a servant's viewpoint, can be found both in a few contemporary books (mainly from the period of its decline) (e.g. Williams 1823; Cosnett 1825) and a small scattering of recent scholarship (Brears 1994; Lehmann 2003; 2007 unpublished).

### A la Russe

From the early nineteenth century a new method of serving dinner was gradually introduced. Its origins are obscure, despite the inevitable creation myth linking it to the Lord Mayor's dinner for the Prince Regent, Emperor of Russia and King of Prussia in 1814 (Mars 1994b, 121). It was an English style, despite the name –

the same applied to the English version of à la Française, which bore only a passing resemblance to the continental style (Lehmann 2007 unpublished). The most marked change versus the earlier style was a move to successional serving. The exact nature and depth of the change will be fully explored in chapter 3, but the move away from dishes presented on the table and towards service from the sideboard or, in extreme versions, the kitchens, was the single most significant physical difference. Each diner was now presented with a written menu, setting out the number of courses – usually 5-8 – and the choice of dishes within them. It was usual to provide a choice of two dishes (Kaufman 2002), especially for the soup course where one light and one dark soup would be offered (Devereux 1904). These would be served by waiting staff, who were increasingly regulated in terms of how and with what dishes could be handled (Jameson 1987). As Mars (1994b) and Jameson (1987) both point out, servants acted as mediators between host/ess and diners, removing much of the personal nature of service à la Française. This thesis will build on existing work demonstrating the depersonalised nature of à la Russe, which seemed to privilege the individual, but in fact imposed uniformity across the table (Kaufman 2002). It will consider in detail the change to à la Russe and the way in which this change impacted upon, not just etiquette, but also tableware, the visual appearance of food and the way in which dining space and kitchen hierarchies were organised. It will demonstrate that these changes were both cause and effect of growing social stratification as middle class women sought to demonstrate personal identity and group affiliation in a world of rapidly shifting social boundaries.

# 3. Trial by Dinner: the performance of the meal

> *„In an aristocratical country, like England, not the Trial by Jury, but the Dinner is the Capital Institution."*
> (Emerson 1856)
>
> The rank which a people occupy may be judged by their way of taking their meals, as well as by their way of treating their *women."*
> (Beeton 1888, 1331)

This chapter will take a dramaturgical approach, considering dinner as a performance replete with meaning beyond the simple action of eating. The focus will be upon the layout of the table and how it related to the etiquette of dining; a complicated interplay between edible and non-edible material culture and personal control, the acceptable standards of which changed as service styles shifted in the nineteenth century.

Regarding social ritual as a performance is a useful means by which to study the formation and maintenance of group identities (Goodwin 1999). In the historical period, especially the late nineteenth century, ‗scripts' exist, in the shape of advice books, for almost any occasion upon which an individual might interact with another individual or a group. The market for advice literature grew hugely after the 1860s in both the UK and America (Kasson 1991), and, echoing similar trends among cookbooks, specialist editions were quickly produced (especially for bachelors (e.g. Devereux 1904)) as well as those aiming at a more general readership. Some were written as straightforward didactic texts, while others were written in the first person and used personal anecdote (Hunter 1994). Again, this reflects different approaches taken by cookbook authors in the 1840s to 1860s (e.g. Soyer 1846; 1849). Just as in theatrical pieces, however, a script is only a starting point for a performance, and may be unrecognisable when dinner is really ‗played'. Any script only comes to life with improvisation around a structure and the props, performers and set which enhance a given set of actions.

The concept of dinner as theatre is especially pertinent to invited dinners. ‗Dinner' could denote any one of a number of different types of evening meal,

from small, family-oriented meals in a convenient room, to large banquets filling a temporary space such as a long gallery or ballroom. Contemporary commentators were well aware of the difference:

> „*When invited to dine, even with an intimate friend, he was not* pleased if something better than a plain dinner was not prepared for him. I have heard him say on such an occasion, „*This was a good dinner enough, to be sure, but it was not a* dinner to ask *a man to"."*
> (Boswell 1791, 332)

Behavioural guides generally contained sections on invited dinners, public and restaurant dining, but it was the first which occupied the most space. An awareness of the performative aspect of dining permeates etiquette literature, with the reader often addressed as a new performer in a room full of experienced social actors, alert for any mistakes (e.g. Warne n.d.). Such books take a personal tone, addressing the individual, but with the unstated aim of aiding him or her to subdue that individuality in order to be fully accepted by the wider social milieu.

## Scripting the culinary show

This chapter will build on the limited amount of secondary literature on table structures and postulate a new theory of change with three distinct phases. In demonstrating how these phases were reflected in not just table layout, but also the visual appearance of food, it will demonstrate the all-encompassing nature of the shift to à la Russe. Table plans from the 14 core cookbooks listed in chapter 2 (table 1) will form the backbone of an examination of structure and pattern at the Georgian and Victorian dining table, and how these changed. Etiquette books aimed both at servants and would-be social high flyers will also be examined to provide context for static depictions of meals, and as a useful way to consider dining changes in their own right. Finally, visual depictions of dinner and dishes along with recreations using contemporary moulds will enable the table to be populated.

## Etiquette books

Guides to behaviour have been part of the publishing corpus since the fifteenth century, and have long been used as a source of information on both practicalities and attitudes for scholars in a number of fields (e.g. Mennell 1996; Brears 1999; Kapetanios Meir 2005), including archaeology (e.g. Jameson 1987). Elias' (2000) seminal theories of the transformation of society through manners, relied on such sources in describing the rise of the modern mentality and challenging dismissal of past societies as _uncivilised', because their behavioural codes differed from those of the mid-twentieth century (Kasson 1991, 10). Etiquette guides as studied predominantly take the form of published books, pamphlets or book sections (with the notable exception of Lord Chesterfield's letters, though these were published shortly after his death (Gutenberg 2009)). In reference to dining, advice on best practice menu compilation appeared in books from the fifteenth century (Paston-Williams 1993) and guidance for servants on how to lay and wait at the table from the eighteenth century. The uncertain diner, however, had to wait until the mid-nineteenth century for guidance on how to behave when invited to dinner – including detailed instructions on tackling specific food items. As stated in chapter 2, the inclusion of menus was one of the criteria for choosing the 14 core cookbooks included in this study: other authors deliberately avoided including table plans. Hannah Glasse's Art of Cookery Made Plain and Easy is often quoted as an example of eighteenth century restraint:

> *„Nor shall I take it upon me to direct a Lady how to set out her* Table; for that would be impertinent, and lessening her Judgement in the Oecomony of her Family. I hope she will here find every thing necessary for her Cook, and her own Judgement will tell her how they are to be placed. Nor indeed *do I think it would be pretty, to see a Lady"s table set out after the Directions of a Book. "*
> (Glasse 1747, ii)

Successive editions maintained this sentiment until the late eighteenth century, by which time the phrase had been quietly dropped and table plans appended to a revised edition, enlarged to compete in the more crowded cookbook market of fifty years later. Ideal table plans were also available in magazines, an ephemeral

medium, more open to change than a book, and newspapers were also quick to see the potential of detailed reporting on social occasions, publishing lists of diners and dishes as part of news reportage (e.g. ILN 1850). Behavioural guidance was less in evidence in the eighteenth century, and took the form more of moral than practical advice. Kasson (1991) argues that changing social classification in the mid-nineteenth century – from family and rank to money and class – together with capitalist emphasis on the power of the individual, led to a loss of self-identity on the part of the middle classes. This created a mass-market opportunity, and, given impetus by rising literacy rates, into it came self-help books. This chapter goes further, arguing that, within the realm of dining, such books were instrumental in hastening the decline of à la Française, as authors seized upon new ways of dining which were more easily categorised and codified, making it much easier for them to be explained in print.

The idea of self-improvement was born out of enlightenment thinking on the nature of man and his capacity for individual action (Tarlow 2004 unpublished). Women were also grudgingly admitted to the ranks of self-improvers, though granted a blow by the ‗unfeminine' actions of French revolutionaries such as Charlotte Corday (Tomalin 1992). The discrediting of Mary Wollstoncroft, previously lauded for her progressive writings on women's education (Wollstonecraft 2004), was an additional difficulty, and after a brief fin-de-siècle period notable for the visibility of women in public life (Foreman 1998), reaction set in. This is not the place to detail theories of women's rights and the stifling of the feminine voice in the first half of the nineteenth century which have been explored elsewhere (e.g. Colley 1996; Howarth 2000). The general consensus is that by the 1840s, despite the presence of a female head of state and a large number of working women, the prevailing view of women was positive only in the domestic context, where they were defined as wives, mothers and relatives of men (Horn 1991). However, this should not be taken to suggest an absolute divide between public (male) and private (female) spheres; a concept long since discredited (Vickery 1998). As will be further discussed in chapter 4, women regularly made decisions about household purchases, and etiquette books support studies of letters, diaries and legal proceedings which suggest that by the mid

nineteenth century if not before, women at both aristocratic and middle class levels were expected to manage the household, appoint and dismiss servants, and participate fully in the cash nexus. Yet, until the nineteenth century, explicitly ‗improving' literature (as opposed to spiritual guidance) concentrated on male-oriented topics such as agriculture and landscape design. Women's topics were present in the marketplace, especially in the form of magazines, but have been disregarded by the limited modern commentary on improvement (e.g. Tarlow 2007). Cookbooks were a fundamental part of this market, both as a source for self-help and as a means by which middle class women could aspire to educate and aid the poor.

Of the selection studied here in detail, Beeton's Book of Household Management (Beeton 1861) is the first to contain guidance to mistresses on running a household, and is often held up as the advice book to aspire to. Combining behavioural advice and recipes was, however, commonplace in the published books of the seventeenth century. For example, Woolley (1675) contains guidance on conduct, appearance and attitude, along with recipes for beauty products, medicines and food. Now shown to have been compiled by another author taking advantage of Woolley's success (Herbert 2008 unpublished), this particular volume is nevertheless typical of the seventeenth century genre, which in its inclusion of a range of topics – derived from the manuscript household books commonly kept by ladies and informally circulated within social groups – formed useful aide-memoires for aspiring mistresses. The new books of the nineteenth century revisited this concept, but exploited it commercially, aiming deliberately at a growing body of impractically-educated women who needed a less piecemeal approach than books of the seventeenth century. Eighteenth century cookbooks had largely avoided the topic of dining behaviour, and the general etiquette advice which could still be found elsewhere also left the specifics unsaid, so the books of the nineteenth century seemed entirely new. Inclusion in printed cookbooks of ideal tables, on the other hand, was not new; nor was a tendency to philosophise about the meaning of dining. The apparent novelty of Beeton (1861) in including a lengthy section on dinner was therefore largely due to layout tweaks in comparison to existing books. Following ‗dinner'

through the various editions of Beeton is, however, instructional. From the 1861 first edition, to the c.1888 rewrite and then the changes authored by Senn in 1904 (Hughes 2005), advice on dinner continually expands. Other meals make their appearance in the c.1888 edition along with pictures of tables set out for various occasions as fold-out plates. As will be shown in chapter 5, this is consistent with the increasing compartmentalisation of Victorian society, which was reflected, and indeed promoted by, cookbook authors constantly on the alert for ways to innovate in format and layout and, through this, stand out in a crowded marketplace.

The increased inclusion of behavioural advice along with menu-planning guidance in books after the mid-nineteenth century echoes a boom in the publication of etiquette literature itself. Kasson (1991) attributes this to new markets for advice as rising literacy levels combined with social upheaval, though it should be remembered he is writing from an American perspective, where the emphasis on individual entrepreneurship and the possibility of unlimited social recognition were greater than in England. Kapetanios Meir (2005, 136) argues that dining advice was particularly in demand as the introduction of service à la Russe to England meant a programme of public re-education was necessary. She further suggests that the middle class audience for such books was new. However, the middle class female market for reading and writing cookery advice had been growing since the seventeenth century (Lehmann 2003). In the nineteenth century a higher percentage of women than ever before sought to give up work once married and live a leisured ideal, even when they could scarcely afford it (Horn 1975). Previously, more women had remained in service when married, and had played a more active role in shop or workshop management (DiZerega Wall 1994; Sambrook 1999). By the 1850s suburban development and the growth of the rail network meant that the middle classes could live away from the working centre of the city (Broomfield 2007). The Beetons lived in a semi-detached villa in Pinner and Samuel Beeton commuted into London on a daily basis (Hughes 2005). Home and workplace were separated, ending women‘s informal involvement in their husband‘s work, and emphasising their attachment to the domestic sphere. The same trend was

visible in America, with similar results (DiZerega Wall 1994). At the social levels from just below that of the aristocracy, to just above that of the manual worker, women were physically isolated from the means of making money and cast in the role of the household manager, by whose actions their household could be judged.

Sources of support and information for women of the mid-late nineteenth century were scarce. The pace of technological development was such that the experiences of the previous generation were not always relevant, especially when they were higher up or lower down the social scale than the mistress in need of help. The support network offered to middle class women by tea-parties in the eighteenth century, which literary and visual depictions frequently portray as convivial female-oriented gatherings, was partly negated by the elevation of afternoon tea to a formal occasion with set rules, an aspect which will be more fully explored in chapter 6. Etiquette book writers addressing this need faced a paradox: on the one hand they offered to explain social codes and demystify the rituals of invited dinners; but, on the other, the codification of manners threatened to expose the whole edifice as an unnecessary human construct (Kasson 1991, 94). Writers tended to address this in two ways: firstly by emphasising the natural aspect of modern manners, especially in comparison with the antiquated customs of the past, and secondly by equating etiquette to law, acknowledging the man-made nature of it, but stressing that breaches could lead to disaster. Tensions remained, however, and the use of learnt behaviour to disguise a true – dastardly – nature was a staple of fiction from the 1860s onwards (Kasson 1991; and for a good example see Braddon 1907).

The boom in books explaining dining etiquette coincided with the growth of service à la Russe. Rather than needing to educate an ill-defined public on a dining style set by the wealthy (Kapetanios Meir 2005), this thesis argues that cook and etiquette book authors aimed squarely at the middle class, driving acceptance of a dining style which better suited the needs of writers as it could be codified, packaged and sold. It also suited manufacturers of dining and kitchen equipment who could provide items listed by books just as books could further

add to the detail of their advice by suggesting manufacturers in a symbiotic relationship that benefitted everyone except, potentially, the consumer. Agnes Marshall took the process one step further, providing not only the advice through her published books and lecture tours, but also patent ingredients and equipment (Weir 2006 unpublished; Marshall c.1888). A la Russe's origins will probably always remain obscure, but despite initial aristocratic associations it rapidly became a symbol of a commercial age, accepted by the middle classes as a powerful tool for the display and enforcement of status. As will become clear in chapter 5, it also suited the confines of modern, space-restricted kitchens and the exploitation of labour-saving ingredients such as packet gelatine in households with limited numbers of servants (Broomfield 2007). Again, in contrast to traditional interpretations of dining change as being top-down, this was a reason for the middle class to prefer it as a dining style. It was a style intimately linked to text in the form of table-top menus, cookery books and etiquette guides. It took nearly a century from the first appearance of à la Russe in print to a time when cookbook writers were able to assume its use, at least for invited dinners. Although the demise of à la Française has, with hindsight, been used to support all manner of arguments about the social landscape of the nineteenth century (Lucas 1994; Hughes 2005), it was a very gradual process, reliant on increasing literacy rates, decreasing book prices, and mass production of the paraphernalia of the à la Russe table. However, this thesis argues that while à la Française continued to be used by the elites and indeed by the middle class for informal dinners, the formal rules and opportunities for materially-led negotiation of social status suited the values and existing behaviour of the middle class, and so became not just accepted, but actively promoted by them as the preferred style of dining by the end of the nineteenth century. Additionally, in contrast to the accepted view that à la Française structures continued in use into the twentieth century, this study will show that by the third quarter of the nineteenth century the mentality of à la Russe had permeated thinking about food and dining to such a degree that any continuity was purely superficial, and that à la Française was no more.

## The à la Française table

The à la Française table developed over the seventeenth and early eighteenth centuries into an elaborate system of dining dependant on unwritten rules and structures which, while complicated but comprehensible in France are frustratingly hard to analyse for English diners (Flandrin 2002). Despite its name, à la Française in England bore only a passing resemblance to the style elsewhere in Europe – especially in France. Basic principles such as numbers of dishes in each course, whether these should change between courses, and the types of dish which should be present in each course were still sources of disagreement for cookbook writers even as à la Française began to be superseded. The accepted norm for Charles Carter (1730) for example, was to progress from heavy to light, while others preferred to build up to the roasts and darker meats. However, there were specific characteristics which all meals served à la Française had in common: symmetry, pattern and a layout which leant itself to a bird‘s-eye view in the pages of cookbooks. Deetz (1996, 66) argued that the Georgian worldview had a *„bilaterally symmetrical, three part format"* which applied across food, houses and garden design. As discussed in chapter 2, the idea of a ‗Georgian Order‘, while rarely unquestioned, has been influential in formulating some of the key research directions of historical archaeology, especially in the USA.

The study of the English dining table is of relevance not just to notions of order in the Georgian period in England, but also to American commentators. While American dining habits lagged behind fashionable practice in England, notably in the adoption of the fork (Deetz 1996), they largely followed English convention until the Revolution and subsequent burgeoning of American identity. The first American cookbook author to be published in 1796 declared that she was *„an American orphan"* (Simmons 1796). Patriotism to the new nation was integral to the book, which made use of native American ingredients missing from what were proving to be impractical imported English books (Kasson 1991). Throughout the eighteenth century, however, it was English style rather than French or nascent American style which prevailed at the top of colonial society. The next section seeks to explore the patterns within the English version of à la

Française, treating it as a distinct style which evolved to suit English preferences and needs.

## Basic layout

Unlike the French system, which had discernable rules for setting out the table, and what seems to have been fairly inflexible ordering of dishes within courses (Flandrin 2002), in England à la Française remained fluid throughout its period of use. The style was adjustable for small or large dinners as the number of dishes in each course could be increased or decreased depending on the number of diners. In its most commonly illustrated form, two main courses were served, with dessert forming a third, quite separate course. Cheese could be served before dessert (Trusler 1788) which consisted of sugarcraft, fresh and dried fruit and nuts (Brears 1994). The dessert course was regarded as quite distinct; contemporary commentators dwell on the first two courses, while those authors who provide table plans tend to omit dessert. Specific books were available for confectionery, the mainstay of the dessert course, and the dishes displayed required expertise and equipment beyond that needed for the earlier courses. Lack of commentary in diaries on dessert food (e.g. Woodforde 1978) suggests that it was less responsive to short-term or fashion-led change than dinner dishes. At a conscious level, its presence and components were taken for granted in much the same way as the décor and table settings. This parallel is supported by the eighteenth century adverts for hiring sugarcraft confectionery for the dessert table (Brown 1990). Anyone present at a table sporting hired food would either have had to be warned not to eat the hired sculpture, or naturally not have eaten it anyway. This was the case with the sugarcraft landscape noted by Parson Woodforde in 1783, at which dinner he also notes in admiration the hothouse fruits which were part of dessert (Woodforde 1978, 212). Guests were complicit in a complicated game of status display and negotiation, with food treated as an integral part of the sensory impact of the table.

Within the core data set considered for this study, sample plans for which are contained in table 2, the more upmarket authors are the most likely to suggest the same number of dishes for each course. This matches French convention

(Flandrin 2002). Other authors, however, suggest differing numbers of dishes for the first and second course, usually increasing the number for the second course. Mason (1773) published 150 bills of fare in a book professing to be from the manuscript collection of a housekeeper with over 30 years of experience in *„families of the first fashion"*. Extracts were also published in successive editions of the New Lady's Magazine (fig. 8). Layouts are further complicated by the inclusion in some cases – again mainly the more upper end books – of removes in the first course. The remove, which normally applied to the first course only, consisted of one or more dishes brought in to replace an existing platter, normally soup, after the latter had been served. The usual replacement for soup was fish, which would then be served next, before the other dishes on the table received their due attention. In a few cases a third remove course then followed the fish (e.g. Simpson 1807), indicating that some à la Française diners were already used to multiple courses before sequential serving became a key feature of à la Russe in the nineteenth century. Other diners would have been less familiar with the concept. *The Footman"s Guide* (Williams 1823), one of a relatively small number of books aimed specifically at servants in the nineteenth century (Attar 1987) assumes six diners and one footman as the norm. It contains advice on waiting and laying out the table for greater numbers, including detailed illustrations, but is an example of a book whose market seems a difficult one: male servants were expensive (the tax remained on them until 1937 (Sambrook 2005, 55)) and footmen were therefore the privilege of the wealthy who presumably could also afford to pay for experience over book-learning. It may, of course, have been useful for the legion of grocers and other tradesmen popularly supposed to have been rented for the evening by families attempting to fake gentility. In cartoons of the time they are normally pointed out by an unfortunately observant child (Broomfield 2007, 145).

An indication of the lower status target market for *The Footman"s Guide* can be found in the lack of inclusion of removes, even on the grandest of the pictorial layouts: a dinner for fourteen. However, instructions for waiting suggest that the division of the first course by use of removes was only one step beyond an alternative way of serving, in which the fish and soup, at either end of the table,

were uncovered, served and eaten before the joints, placed at the sides, were then uncovered. Removes became more common in the mid eighteenth century and prefigure the adaption of à la Russe (as well as the transition table as will be seen below). Additionally Williams' basic layouts (fig. 9) suggest dinners of one course, although his written instructions comply with the more usual two or more (in dinners of any pretension). One course à la Française dinners are detailed in the lower status books, being practical and easy, especially in households with one servant. That said, for informal elite dinners, a hostess declaring as diners were seated that ‗you see your dinner' was entirely acceptable (Brears 1994). Reaction against the formality of à la Française is ironic in the light of the even more formal à la Russe which followed it. A key element of its attraction was the ability to dismiss the servants after the second course and be free from prying eyes. Servants were often key witnesses in trials concerning adultery and other misdemeanours: no aristocrat was ever truly unobserved. Books such as *The Footman*"*s Guide* did not sell well, even the best known failing to make it beyond one edition (Attar 1987). Just as the middle class housewife in possession of a Beeton compendium may have read the pages on employing butlers and owning carriages with a degree of wistfulness, so too might the steward's room boy have perused the pages of *The Footman*"*s Guide*. Written instructions could not replicate the experience of serving à la Française.

The table layouts shown in figures 8 and 9 are typical of eighteenth century à la Française dinners. They are, in line with Deetz's remarks on the Georgian world view, symmetrical through 180° and tripartite. The 3x3x3 layout is very common across all of the core study set, regardless of the inclusion of one or more removes in the first course. A minority of authors include fewer dishes in the middle column than on the flanks, and most suggest an uneven number of dishes in the middle column to afford the central dish pride of place. Each position on the table had a name, although they are not consistent across these authors, and a wider selection reveals even less consistency. Additionally, as will be discussed in chapter 5, dishes were categorised according to ingredient and method, including the ‗made dishes' or ‗entrées' with their Francophile associations. Authors frequently asserted that particular dishes or types of dishes would fit in

specific places on the table, especially on the corners which seem to have been reserved mainly for ornate and often sweet dishes in the second course. There is no question that soup was consumed first, followed by fish: it is beyond this that the order becomes more uncertain. Although the later succession of dishes for à la Russe may be mapped onto the à la Française table it is important to be wary of making direct comparisons between two very different approaches to dinner. The exact formula by which the table was translated onto a diner's plate and then the fork as the meal progressed will probably never be known.

## Pattern and structure à la Française

Proponents of the _Georgian Order' have followed Glassie's (1975) work on colonial architecture and used domestic housing design as a primary example of order at work. Formal gardens and designed cityscapes also indicate underlying principles of symmetry and, to a lesser extent, tripartite division. Yet, just as Williamson (1995, 67-8) argues for designed landscapes, on the dining table a sense of playfulness is also apparent. From above, and without any food populating the plates, the à la Française table adheres to the broad principles suggested by American Structuralists, but once the table is filled, and the sideboard covered with cutlery and bottles – and the various salts, butter dishes and indeed people added in – additional, deeper structures are visible.

There are a number of ways in which to lay out the bills of fare from cookbooks so as to make qualitative comparisons between them. A la Française lends itself to a grid, as used in table 2, and most authors also use this. Here, spelling has been modernised and the layouts have been put into a table to make them more directly comparable. Deliberate patterns are most obvious in the second course, during which sweet dishes were present on the table at the same time as savoury, and a greater variety of dishes were therefore open to authors in planning their layouts. Although this analysis concentrates on the second course, examination of first course layouts yields similar results. Table 3 colour-codes one of the sample layouts to illustrate graphically the way in which basic complementarity worked across the table.

## The centrepiece

The most striking change in the layouts detailed in table 2 is in the level of detail and increasing inclusion of non-edible elements as part of the bill of fare. Early bills of fare, in particular those by aristocratic male chefs such as Lamb (1710) and Carter (1730) were laid out on stylised bird‘s-eye views of the table (fig. 10). They often purported to be (and probably were) based on genuine meals (Day 2004a), and this reinforced such claims, while also adding to the novelty and visual impact of what were very expensive books. However, although the dish names were shown in situ on shapes approximating to plates, no other tableware was shown. These bills of fare specify primary ingredients or types of preparation rather than complete dishes, and vary between: using a grid layout approximating the layout of plates on the table but with no further embellishment (Mason 1773); names of dishes written on stylised plates of appropriate shape (rarely just round) (Mollard 1801); and lists of dishes corresponding with a universal diagram of an unlabelled set of plates viewed from above (Hammond 1815). It is not until c.1790 in this particular set of cookbooks, that more than basic details appear, in the form of a _Stand of Jellies‘ (Henderson c.1790). Over 20% of the central dishes within the full set of table plans (one plan per month for each book) are jellies, the type and flavour of which is usually left to the reader‘s discretion. Increasing detail in bills of fare – even to the extent of specifying the type of plate to be used – prefigures à la Russe menus, which as will be seen, left little open to interpretation. In this particular case the use of a stand full of food situates the book midway between an era of fully edible centrepieces and entirely inedible floral arrangements or candelabra. Food mould analysis suggests that eighteenth century moulds were smaller than those of the nineteenth century (Gray 2004 unpublished), and both jellies and creams were also commonly served in glasses (Brown 2004, pers.comm). The use of reflective substances such as jellies as a centrepiece would have been visually impactful, but also meaningful within the context of the à la Française meal: each portion was individually-sized, but displayed as part of a composite whole. This shows in graphic and edible form the inclusion of the individual within the group and

reflects what Kaufman (2002) regards as the essentially individual nature of *à la Française* despite the shared dishes.

The move away from edible central dishes toward ornaments spread the focus of dinner. The eighteenth century authors considered here use visually impactful, often sizable edible centrepieces, many of which were moulded. With the exception of the layouts in Briggs and Hammond they are usually sweet, with pastry proving popular, easily moulded by hand or in a mould. Alternatively, large cuts of meat were used. In the case of Briggs, responsible for some of the most generous layouts in this study, it is likely that the joint was placed in the centre, after having been carved at the sideboard by the butler, or by the host at the head of the table. Flowers were used as a centrepiece in the middle of the table from around the end of century, but first appear here in Mollard (1801). By the time Isabella Beeton wrote the *Book of Household Management* in 1861 she was able to state that they were *de rigueur*. Turn of the century authors also use frames in the central position, though they were certainly in use earlier. A manuscript planning document from York's Mansion House in the 1780s contains layouts with extensive use of frames (YCA 1785). Additionally the elites were laying their tables out with elaborate sugarpaste models of people and architecture. Parson Woodeforde encountered one in 1783:

> „*A most beautiful Artificial Garden in the Cente*r of the Table remained at Dinner and afterwards, it was one of the prettiest things I ever saw, about a Yard long, and about eighteen inches wide, in the middle of which was a high round Temple supported on round Pillars, the Pillars were wreathed round w*ith artificial Flowers.*"
> (Woodforde 1978, 212)

In Brighton Pavilion in the early nineteenth century the Prince of Wales was widely satirised for having a mirrored aquarium, complete with fish, running down the centre of his table (Jones 2008). Reflecting disapproval both of the perceived excesses of the Whig elite in the late eighteenth century and Prince George's circle of devotees in the Regency period, highly elaborate decorations of this type seem to have been rejected by the cookbook-buying classes, or at least their authors. What Young (2003) emphasises as inconspicuous

consumption was well illustrated at the dining table. The use of an inedible centrepiece was, as will be seen, a characteristic of the transition table as well as that of à la Russe. Reducing the physical attention drawn to the middle dish allowed the gathering to fragment into smaller conversational groups, while retaining the appearance of social equality around a visually significant point. Its introduction was one sign that service styles were changing. An edible, visually impressive centrepiece focussed diners' attention and emphasised a shared sense of belonging. This apparent equality was, however, sited within a narrowly defined social context where ease of conversation and apparent communality belied inbuilt hierarchies which were, as will be seen, expressed through the food itself. It was an inclusive style – but only to the tiny number of people able to afford to dine in true à la Française style.

### Sensory impact in arranging dishes

The table layouts in table 2, and the example graphic in table 3, follow the basic symmetry and three part layout of the ‗Georgian Order', but are far more structured – or can be – than may be suggested by the standard bird's eye table views with their static plates. When the table is populated the role of all of the senses in creating structure becomes apparent. For ease of analysis the characteristics of each dish have been broken down into those based on sight (colour and form) and those more reliant on scent, taste and texture (ingredient and method).

Visual mapping of the table (e.g. table 3) immediately reveals patterning of dishes on the flanks of the tripartite layouts. In most cases the two middle dishes match in colour, shape and/or type. Hence Thacker pairs tongue and lobster, both red and similarly shaped. Whether hare or jellies are chosen to go between them there will be a visual contrast. Elsewhere moulded dishes are used: Mollard pairs trifle with jelly, both sweet dishes open to heavy ornamentation. The shellfish in an ornamented dish which will sit between them rely on the inedible plate for visual impact. Potentially the moulded items could be raised above the shellfish or vice versa if a tazze were to be used in the central position, providing another form of contrast. Roast birds are used by both Simpson and Briggs, the two

authors with the grandest table suggestions in this study. Larks, which both authors suggest for the right hand side of the table, were an expensive item. Henderson also places his larks in the central right hand position, suggestive of hierarchies which are not immediately evident. In today's royal banquets the Queen is seated to the right of the table on the bird's-eye view (Jones 2008), suggesting that the right hand side of the table is indeed higher status than the left.

Where five or more dishes make up each flank those immediately above or below that in the middle usually consist of a different ingredient base: Briggs uses vegetables while Simpson opts for sweet recipes not reliant on meat for the main ingredient (mince pies by this era are defined as sweet, but still may contain meat). Briggs' version echoes that of Williams (1823) in giving the vegetable dishes less emphasis than the meat-based ones. Other authors, notably Hammond and Henderson, state explicitly that they have not included vegetables on their plans as they should be left to the host/esses discretion dependant on season; *„all kinds of garden stuff suitable to your meat, &c, should be sent up…and all your sauces…to answer each other at the corners"* (Henderson c.1790, 388). Briggs places his vegetable dishes in direct visual opposition to each other with the two types of fungi (mushrooms and morels) matching each other as well as complementing the white of the (Jerusalem) artichokes, and what would in January have been pale-coloured forced asparagus. An additional game is played in that, according to his recipes, the buds are removed from the asparagus stalks, while the artichokes, albeit carefully divided for easy eating, are formed only of the bud. Simpson, meanwhile, uses diagonal opposition and twins French beans with asparagus. This diagonal positioning is common across all of the authors. Mollard uses it as a method of placing his vegetables (cardoons and mushrooms, both stewed), as does Thacker (pears and apples). When analysis is extended to the corner dishes the use of diagonal oppositions is even more striking. Earlier layouts are more likely to use these corner positions for sweet dishes – 75% of Thacker's monthly layouts have sweet dishes at each of the four corners – and in almost all cases the corner dishes are more overtly open to elaborate decoration than middle dishes.

Eighteenth century dinner services contained a variety of shaped plates. Lozenges or ovals were characterised as corner plates in makers' catalogues and on those table plans which show dishes in situ. Other shapes were also used and could be placed at various angles to make the table layout appear circular and disguise the tripartite layout, masking the oppositions which are apparent when a straightforward grid is adopted. Figure 11 demonstrates the use of oval plates and soup tureens, and is also an example of a layout in which a there is no central dish, spreading the focus of diners amongst the company, and again prefiguring the more diffused nature of transition and à la Russe tables. However, diagonal oppositions are still in evidence at the corners. Corner dishes need to be viewed both as two sets of horizontally paired dishes, and as diagonally opposed items. They also need to be seen as a set of four. Briggs (table 3) uses both diagonal pairing (tartlets and small mince pies; jelly and blancmange, both of which would be moulded) and binary opposition across the table and in this way subverts notions of straightforward Georgian symmetry. Likewise, in the middle flanking dishes authors pair complementary items rather than deliberately similar ones. Henderson opposes tartlets (many, small and baked with dark interiors) with orange pudding (one, large and baked with light coloured interior (Henderson c.1790, 173)). Next to them and forming the central top and bottom dishes are a turkey (one item as a counterpoint to the tartlets) and woodcocks (several birds equally contrasting with the pudding). Elsewhere, straightforward binary forms were used to structure the table, as illustrated by figure 12, which is a document from Mansion House, York, showing the working out of dish placement along the table. However, this layout is indicative of the move towards a transitional form of dining, midway between à la Française as presented in the bills of fare so far discussed here and the à la Russe of the late nineteenth century, and as such will be considered in more detail in the next section.

The choice of dishes for the top and bottom positions on the table was rendered significant by gender conventions for dining. Women were encouraged by proscriptive literature to favour lighter meats and to exhibit small appetites (White 1994). At a working class level this was easy – dietary investigation, albeit much of it covering the nineteenth century, suggests that in working class

households women were habitually undernourished through allocation of larger portions to their husbands and children (Burnett 1966). The more extravagant layouts suggested by the authors here act as reminders of the convention to women who did not have to starve themselves, with darker and richer meats regularly to be found at the bottom of the table while lighter or blander dishes are at the top. Thacker in his suggested first course for January makes this very obvious, with roast beef at the bottom (male) end of the table versus soup and fish at the top. This was also because of – or possibly a reason for – the widespread advice that the mistress served out soup while the male head of the household carved. Raffald (1769) expanded on this however (Lehmann 2008, pers.comm), placing transparent soup with a fish remove at the female end and hare soup with a venison remove at the other. First courses show this tendency more obviously, but the second courses illustrated here are also indicative of gender as an active means of structuring the table. Farmed meats such as turkey and chicken are more likely to appear at the female end of the table, while the roasts at the bottom of the table are explicitly labelled as ‗wild' by both Thacker and Briggs (tables 2 and 3). It is impossible to know how closely such conventions were followed on the tables of either the wealthy or the middle class readership of cookbooks, but their presence across this selection of table plans indicates that gender certainly had a strong influence.

## Food design

Symmetry was a significant factor in arranging the Georgian table. As seen above, however, the way in which symmetry was used was not always straightforward and though dishes were paired or grouped together, this was often done in a spirit of playfulness. Contrast and complementarity were extensively used in the form of colour, number of items, texture and primary ingredient. Tableware of matching shapes emphasised similarities, while differing patterns or pictures, revealed as the food was consumed, belied the appearance of symmetry and added a further element of dynamism to the table. Additionally, it is important to consider the shape and positioning of the foods themselves, a factor which could also affect symmetry. Analysis of food moulds

across the period c.1780-1880 indicates that early moulds were more likely to be symmetrical through 180° than later ones which more often had more lines of symmetry including, by the 1880s, regular castellated forms. Figure 13, for example, shows a nineteenth century version of a mould design first produced by the 1790s (Kevill-Davies 1983). Figure 14 meanwhile is a more typical late nineteenth century design. Border designs on food moulds also became more regular; eighteenth century borders were limited, perhaps only consisting of a few enclosing lines which emphasised the central design, while nineteenth century borders played more of a role in the overall design, eventually eclipsing any separate central motif. The placing of eighteenth century asymmetrical moulded foods on plates and those plates on the table would have emphasised the seating plan, pointing out the hierarchies of the table beyond the top and bottom positions reserved for the host and hostess. Other food could also be used in the same way: roasted or boiled animals were served with the head and legs intact and could therefore be placed directionally, and the same applied to fish. It was precisely these types of dishes which were placed at the pivotal focal points of middle, middle flanks and top and bottom of the table.

Figure 15 shows individual dishes as portrayed in a variety of cookbooks from the peak period of à la Française. The directionality of whole or parts of animals and fish is evident, and depictions of this type are repeated with minimal changes across the period in those books which contain graphic guides to trussing and carving. Conventions existed in the presentation of food which did not start to change in books until the second quarter of the nineteenth century. One of the most significant was the way in which birds and game were treated: strict rules were given in cookbooks regarding the positioning of the head and beak relative to the wing of birds. Prior to the mid nineteenth century birds were habitually served with both head and legs still intact, enabling recognition and enhancing the visual appearance of the dish. After this, as à la Russe became more common, books suggested the removal of the head, at the very least, sometimes citing feminine delicacy as a rationale. The written menus characteristic of à la Russe removed the need for instantly recognisably foodstuffs, as any explanation could be made with pen and paper. It is unlikely that those dining as invited guests at

the kind of dinner being discussed here could not read; yet the lack of written menus at the à la Française meal was nevertheless predicated on restricting accessibility. Although à la Russe was, it will be argued, more aggressively and consciously used to draw social lines and assess relative status, à la Française was nevertheless an exclusive way of dining. Newcomers to the table had to be able to demonstrably recognise the dishes in front of them based on sensory clues such as the placement of a beak or head. Different conventions also applied to cooking methods, with (for example) a roast rabbit being trussed and served in a different arrangement to a boiled one (e.g. Smith 1825).

Elsewhere on the table, dishes were arranged and garnished in more conventionally symmetrical ways, with built-in portioning evident in Bradley‘s (1760) and Thacker‘s (1748) suggestions for arranging _made dishes‘ such as ragouts, stews and a multitude of small items such as the fried smelts in figure 15. Designs for these in cookbooks, which are admittedly few, suggest that dishes still bore a marked visual resemblance to Stuart food. Written descriptions of food display confirm this, with directions such as *„lard them with a row down the* middle with very little pieces of bacon, then a row on each side with lemon peel cut the size of w*heat straw"* (Raffald 1769, 52). The garnish was a key element of edibility and forcemeat balls, lemons, pickles and eggs all feature prominently, if rather indiscriminately, in mid to late eighteenth century books. Lehmann (2003) suggests that overuse of certain ingredients as a garnish is indicative of English cuisine losing direction, as the elements she identifies are those commonly used with more precision in French cuisine. In the nineteenth century garnishes became less of a collection of individual items or parts of items, and more prone to moulding into a continuous border or integrated design. They lost the element of portion suggestion – without rigid enforcement – inherent in the à la Française dish, as under an à la Russe regime portions were served to the plate by servants and diners did not, as in the earlier style, help themselves.

## The meal in progress

Dinners à la Française were overtly communal and relaxed; a thin veneer over underlying structures dependant on social hierarchy. They suited the needs of the

aristocracy, who could display not only their tableware and the abilities of their expensive chefs, but also their knowledge of fast-changing social conventions. Prior to 1750 emphasis on due precedence made the style an active demonstration of rank and status. This was indicated by seating, by serving, and by the saying of Grace by a high-ranking person (Lehmann 2003, 339-341). By the latter half of the eighteenth century such behaviour was seen as old-fashioned and had been superseded by a more fluid means of serving: the host and/or hostess still usually served the soup and carved the main joint, but other dishes were served by guests themselves, usually with men helping the ladies next to them (Trusler 1788). The diagonal symmetries meant that diners on each side and at each end of the table, especially at large meals, were faced with a roughly similar choices and would not have to ask servants to pass dishes too frequently (Lehmann 2003). They also meant that each set of diners had a similar sensory experience in terms of sight, smell and texture of the food in front of them. Servants were on hand to serve drinks and to clear and reset the table between courses, but could otherwise be unobtrusive. In cases where dinner was served as one course they could be dismissed entirely, making the meal even more informal in feel. This was a type of service predicated on the existence of small interest groups with similar social status, who could come together around a central focal point and reinforce shared values. Dish placement could be used to enhance the seating plan, just as food type and colour could be used as a means of reinforcing gender identity, whether diners were conscious of such social manipulation or not. Emphasis was on the individual as part of a group, and although large banquets were held à la Française, by the late eighteenth century the larger functions often used a new version which discarded to a large extent the tripartite formula and reintroduced a level of formality which made the eventual transition to à la Russe much smoother. Such banquets, which are characteristic of corporate entertainment, will be discussed as part of the next section.

Surviving depictions of English dining à la Française are few. As a style it was unquestioned: dining involved many dishes placed on the table at once and no alternative was needed. Those pictures which do exist contain similar objects

regardless of social context: wine or beer containers (often including a large cooler on the floor), a multitude of plates, forks and knives and, especially in satires, an observant dog. Such items were material markers of a style which could apply across classes, and whose meaning was dependant on the food and arrangement of the food itself. By the end of the eighteenth century à la Française in its habitual form was a deeply structured occasion at which the education, breeding and genuine understanding of social convention by all present could be exhibited. With little or no set order for eating, and fluid rules for layouts beyond the all-important symmetry, host/esses could demonstrate their modernity through ephemeral means – food – while at the same time emphasising their family credentials through the inedible material culture below and around it. It was ideal for the elite, and though the presentation of dishes changed in line with nineteenth century technological and cultural changes, elements of the style as described here survived until the very end of the nineteenth century. Even then it was not entirely abandoned: teas, suppers and buffets continued to adhere to the template into the twentieth century. However, as will be demonstrated, while the superficial look of à la Française survived, the innate and unstated structures which made it so exclusive had disappeared.

## The transition table

Despite the popular attribution of a set date, normally 1814, for its first appearance (e.g. Rossi-Wilcox 2005), the introduction of à la Russe to England was not accomplished overnight. It was, as are all such significant changes, gradual. Some of the most obvious elements of it, for example multiple courses, had featured in dinners before the nineteenth century (Broomfield 2007), and were just one among many different variations on the prevailing style. There was no intrinsic reason for the elaboration and adoption of à la Russe: proponents claimed it was better suited to modern society (Warne n.d.), but in order for this to be true, society itself must have differed from that of the late Georgian period. A la Russe, despite the name, bore little apparent resemblance to Russian dining: the inevitable creation myth links it to a dinner given by the Lord Mayor and Corporation of London for the Prince Regent, Emperor of Russia and King of

Prussia in 1814, but this is unsubstantiated by visual or documentary evidence (Mars 1994b). Nothing has been published in England on the development of dining in Russia in the eighteenth century, so it is impossible to know whether Eastern European habits did indeed influence English dining to the extent of precipitating massive stylistic changes. However, just as an in-depth understanding of the French version of à la Française is not necessary in considering the social and cultural implications of the English eighteenth century table, knowledge of the geographical precedents for changing dining styles in the nineteenth century is interesting rather than vital for looking at English à la Russe. Just as à la Française referred to an overall set of stylistic features, and not to a rigid set of unbreakable rules, so too did à la Russe encompass infinite variations in behaviour. The difference was that à la Française diners, and writers upon the subject, acknowledged its flexibility and assumed experienced diners would aid those *„not so much used to company"* (Bradley 1760, 210). After all, the pool of guests was not that large, and if the invited party failed to appreciate the cleverness of the table arrangement it was everyone's loss.

A la Russe's many variants were explicitly designed by each insular group to confuse outsiders and expose those who relied on etiquette books (Mars 1994b). A la Française, increasingly dependant on patina and learnt behaviours, defeated new money; à la Russe differentiated between its possessors. That is why this thesis argues that it was perfect for the middle class.

The desire to exclude new money and close ranks among the elite was not a new trait; the standard emulation model relies upon it. In the case of nineteenth century dining, however, the corresponding wish among the non-elite to join those above them was missing. The aristocracy, or at least many members of its upper echelons, had become very unpopular by the late eighteenth century. The dubious morals and enormous debts of most of George III's offspring, especially the Prince of Wales, contributed to a Regency period characterised by pointed satire and repeated spats between parliament and Monarchy. The biographies of the Duke of Clarence and Duke of Kent in particular read like farces, and it is no wonder that the accession in 1837 of an inexperienced young girl with a suitable

husband already in the wings was greeted with relief (Hibbert 2001). Yet after 1861 Victoria largely withdrew from public life. At the same time the nature and influence of the aristocracy was changing: the urban centres of an increasingly industrialised England did not rely on local magnates for their largesse, and the titled mingled with the untitled in ownership of large estates. New opportunities meant new ways of making money, and new money eclipsed old. While many did still purchase their house in the country and settle into the ways of an earlier generation, others did not. The various city corporations and their chief office holders were drawn from this body of men, wealthy enough to afford to dine as they wished, but with their own morality founded on individual effort, self-improvement and a firm belief in modernity.

This is, of course, a generalised view of the development of Victorian society, a subject which has been explored in more depth elsewhere (e.g. Cannadine 1990; Horn 1991; Colley 1996), but it is important to be aware of the distinction between the landed, titled aristocracy and the equally (in some cases more) wealthy but more urban new elite. The distinction was not absolute: many titled aristocrats were involved in industry, just as many industrialists built or bought country houses (Girouard 1979). However, the existence of a group wealthy enough to invest in dining but unbound to and potentially uneducated in the ways of the established aristocracy meant that new styles were more likely to be adopted, and old ways adapted to fit their needs. The development of the transition table was heavily influenced by corporate, large-scale dining, while this study contends that the move which followed, towards à la Russe, was urban and more middle class, fitted to the needs of that part of society in which money could be made or lost quickly and in which family names were no guarantee of quality. It developed, however, out of a transitional form of dining which, this study believes should be seen as a style of dining in its own right.

## The plan

The transition table both looked back to à la Française and forward to à la Russe. Three main elements differentiated it from the earlier style: the decline of a tripartite arrangement of food and a central focal point in favour of fixed,

inedible central decoration along the length of the table; the introduction of more courses with fewer, more demarcated dishes in each; and the elaboration of dishes to explicitly include sauces or accompaniments.

Figures 16 and 17 illustrate two bills of fare from the mid-nineteenth century: one from a highly aspirational book (Francatelli 1846) and one from a firmly middle class source (Beeton 1861). Beeton‘s Book of Household Management, published in part form from 1858 and in full in 1861, contained two bills of fare for à la Russe, and 87 for à la Française. Additionally she gave suggestions for family dinners which could be served either successionally or as one course. Yet she also stated that à la Russe was a better way to enjoy food (Beeton 1861, 955), probably taking her cue from Grimod de la Reynière, from whom she quotes extensively, both with and without acknowledging it. De le Reynière was the author of the Almanach des Gourmands, and one of the primary contributors to the nascent market for gastronomic criticism, including restaurant reviews. When tasting dishes for assessment he and his jury of tasters were served dishes in succession (Mars 1994b) – indelibly associating this element of à la Russe with food appreciation. Both Soyer and Francatelli also advocated successional serving (Brandon 2004), which by the 1860s meant à la Russe, although the full version involved more changes to the à la Française format than just division of courses. The Beeton bill of fare illustrated here is, however, already very different to those considered earlier in this chapter. The division of two courses into four is a progression from the multiple removes of earlier authors, although Beeton combines what is already a greater number of courses with further sub-division, as there are removes suggested for both the first and fourth courses. It is notable that the fourth course is labelled as the _third course‘ on the plan, as the entrée is still implicitly an addition to the first course. Her first course and entrées would have formed the first course of true à la Française, while the second and third courses would have been served as a whole, forming one distinct course. Brears (1994) argues that all that is needed to move from this bill of fare to true à la Russe is the separation of the fish and soup into two courses and the carving of the roasts at the sideboard. However, successional courses and the removal of the roast are only two elements of à la Russe and the underlying

structures of this bill of fare indicate that it is still closer to à la Française than it might at first appear.

Although the diagonal symmetries of à la Française have gone from this layout, the dark/light, male/female convention is still observed to some extent, along with the distinction between farmed and wild meats. The use of contrast and complementarity of earlier layouts has disappeared, and diners would now struggle to find nearby substitutes for dishes on the other side of the table. This transitional layout is not therefore as practical for diners – even the fourth, sweet, course does not use diagonal symmetry to match up the four corner dishes. The division of the sweet dishes from the earlier savoury courses is not yet complete – pheasants and snipes are to be found on the table along with the moulded pudding and fruit pies, though they are removed by other sweet dishes, indicating that they are to be consumed first. Already by the 1750s sweet dishes rarely appeared in the first course, and by the mid nineteenth century they had been pushed to the very end of the main meal, just before dessert.

Francatelli takes this trend even further, renaming the sweet dishes entremêts and making the division between them and the second course roast before them more absolute in his bill of fare. Beeton‘s table diagrams can be written out in the same form as Francatelli‘s, making the similarities between the two even more pronounced. However, while both could be served in the same way, with a limited number of dishes upon the table, the latter could also be served entirely successively. This bill of fare is taken from the 1846 edition of the Modern Cook, but the same menu appeared in editions up to and including the posthumous edition of 1896 (Francatelli 1896), by which time à la Russe was the assumed norm in published cookbooks.

Successional serving has always been assumed to have necessitated a larger servant presence, as Beeton (1861, 955) makes explicit;

> *„Dinners à la Russe are scarcely suitable for small* establishments; a large number of servants being required to carve, and to help the guests; besides there being a necessity for

> more plates, dishes, knives, forks and spoons, than are usually *to be found in any other than a very large establishment."*

This was certainly true when a substantial dinner à la Russe was compared to the informal à la Française style developed at the end of the eighteenth century. However, although the Book of Household Management contains frequent examples of aspirational recipes and advice inapplicable to the social class at which it aimed, in this case the reasons given for à la Russe being unsuitable for smaller household were easily surmountable. Tableware was available to fit a wide range of income brackets, with the advantage for à la Russe that the need for large quantities of display plates was alleviated by service from the sideboard or kitchen. Even in the transitional form fewer plates were needed as courses were smaller and dishes, as will be seen, more composite, alleviating the need for every element to be served separately. The proliferation of smaller objects – flatware of varying sizes and specialist equipment such as grapefruit spoons – was not expensive when compared to an à la Française set of plates, with different shapes and designs intended to fit a playful, hierarchically arranged table. Serving from the sideboard could give substantial savings in food as well. Even extra serving staff could be hired: one reason for the infamous middle class habit of the monthly dinner party (and scrimping to afford it for the rest of the month). Jewry (c.1878, 12), writing nearly 20 years after Beeton's cautious embracing of à la Russe, has more experience of the ways in which the new style caters to middle class needs:

> *„Dinner parties of the present day are rendered much less* expensive affairs than they used to be, by the fashion of serving them in the Russian style. But this mode requires a sufficient number of waiters, and a good carver, also the table should be elegantly ornamented with fruit, flower, etc. No-one should attempt to give such dinner, who has not the means to render *them perfect".*

She goes on to explain what she calls a modified Russian style which corresponds to Beeton's (1861) earlier four course à la Française layouts. This study argues that both versions should be seen as distinct, forming part of a transitional phase. The characterisation of à la Russe as expensive and elaborate

was part of its mythology. It was a style to aspire to, not because it was aristocratic, but because etiquette books presented it as if it was.

Another variation of à la Russe, known later as demi-Russe (Mars 1994b), was a service style with successional serving from the sideboard for all dishes except the joint, which was carved on the table by the host. Alternatively the joint could be displayed on the sideboard for the duration of the meal rather than carved and removed. This was sometimes known as *à l"Anglaise* and was the style customary at Osborne House in the 1890s (OH 1897 unpublished). The removal of the joint entirely, to be apportioned in the kitchen and delivered as neat parcels to each diner formed yet another version. Many or all of these could easily co-exist even within establishments, depending on the number of diners and the budget available. Where transitional versions of the table were habitually used the main continuum from à la Française was, as with the Beeton layout, the apportioning of food by gender. Warne's Modern Etiquette (Warne n.d.) contains what it suggests is à la Russe for small establishments wherein meat is carved and served by the host, poultry by the hostess, game by the host and puddings by the hostess. The side dishes of à la Française – entremêts of à la Russe – are handed by the servants.

The roast, especially where it was beef, was of too much significance to English identity (Mars 1994b; Rogers 2003) to leave the dining room easily, and meat plates of mid- to late nineteenth century date are found in most ceramic collections in stately homes. Moving the joint, and its carving, to the sideboard and the ministrations of the butler was a significant moment. It emasculated the host, representing the end of explicit engendering of dishes on the table and the triumph of the feminisation of the dining room, already evidenced in smaller dinner plate sizes as will be seen in chapter 4. It also removed the sole remaining single focal point from the dinner table, furthering the process of diffusion around the table which had started with the removal of an edible central dish. More practically, the challenge of carving, long regarded as a genteel art, has been suggested as one reason for the ease with which the middle classes divested themselves of the joint as a display item (Brears 1994). The lack of a joint is one

characteristic of full à la Russe, and equally its presence, especially on the table itself, suggests an interim stage.

Another significant aspect of the transition phase was that bills of fare became more prescriptive, expressing author's ideas about the ‗correct' way of dining with increasing detail. Previously authors had assumed personal interaction with the suggestions for menus would lead to changes according to taste and seasonality:

> *„A strict attention is not to be paid to the respective articles that* form these Courses, as they are to be varied according to the productions of the different seasons and the taste and ingenuity *of the Cook"*.
> (Henderson c.1790, 390)

Hammond (1815) also advised serving vegetables as appropriate and according to season. In the data set used here Simpson (1807) is the first author to take a noticeably less fluid approach, publishing a bill of fare for every day of the year, together with cross-referenced recipes and an appendix with basic stocks, sauces and a few extras. While he stresses that readers can mix and match dishes and plans to suit their needs, his book is nevertheless more didactic and formulaic than those of earlier authors. Regardless of encouragement to work outside the plans, the inclusion of every element – sauces, vegetables, and detailed titles for dishes rather than a vague *„puddings of sorts"* (Thacker 1758) – gives the impression of a fait accompli. Composite dishes were increasingly present on the table; or at least in the tables portrayed on bills of fare. The changing nature of garnishes furthered this, with a move away from single items arranged symmetrically around a platter and toward a mass, often moulded, of one ingredient which doubled as garnish and vegetable accompaniment. Francatelli (1846) contains two chapters just on vegetables for garnishes, usually boiled, pureed and mixed with a sauce before being moulded or sculpted around the main dish.

Food design

The visual appearance of dishes changed in parallel with the shift in stylistic emphasis. Birds continued to be trussed with beak and feet in place, with admonitions in cookbooks to ensure the correct placement of the head; „*…turn* the head of the bird under the wing, with the bill laid straight along the breast, skewer the legs, which must not be crosse*d…*" (Acton 1855, 250). Elsewhere, however, both the use of directionality and geometrical shapes to enhance dishes declined. Dishes were now as regular as possible, and the inclusive circular form gained in popularity. Figure 18 shows food as illustrated in cookery books while figure 19 is a one-off dish created for the visit of the Prince Consort to York in 1850. Where full circular regularity could not be achieved, dishes were still designed to be viewed democratically from as many sides as possible. The emphasis lay on diffusion around and equality at the table, completely at odds with the reality of a society increasingly divided along multiple class boundary lines, but typical of the mentality which, as will be seen, underlay service à la Russe.

The use of fully circular dishes reached its apogee in the first half of the nineteenth century, before being eclipsed by other regular geometric forms as typified by late Victorian jelly moulds (fig. 14). This time period, coinciding with the introduction of à la Russe, but at a time when most households still seemed to be serving à la Française, supports the idea of a clearly identifiable transitional style between the two. Food was still largely served on the table, but was more likely to be passed around and served by servants rather than diners themselves, and dishes were no longer instrumental in indicating hidden hierarchies. Figure 20 shows three pies from the period covered by this study: one adopting the form of the contents and symmetrical through one axis, one fully round, and a final design symmetrical through two axes, but with a regularity of fluting and top decoration reminiscent of gothic and fluted food moulds of the same period. Both of the first two would have been hand-raised. Thacker's (1758) design looks back to Stuart pies, and further than that, Tudor pastries which could include the tail and head of the bird with which they were

stuffed. Beeton's (1861) pie would have required a pie mould, but once such a thing was purchased her version would have been created easily and invariably spectacular (fig.21). The regular lines would have aided in cutting it up and apportioning it (although it remains challenging to the novice!).

### Performing the transition table

Figures 22-25 show the table in transition. These are bigger dinners than the Beeton and Francatelli bills of fare included above, and are indicative of the way in which changes to small dinners were translated at grander tables. At large dinners it was easier to retain a choice of platters roughly similar across the table for each diner. Royal banquet records indicate that each dish was replicated several times along the length of the table, a move away from the use of contrast of the true à la Française table, but retaining one of its motivations. More significant, especially in terms of theories of the Georgian Order, was the partial loss of the three part symmetry so integral to earlier table arrangements. In figure 24 the centre of the table is occupied, not with food, but with inedible tableware: plateaux, candelabra, vases and plants. Figure 22, in which dinner is being consumed à la Française, shows the effect of this on the artistic mind: the middle dishes are given a prominence out of proportion to the flanking dishes in such a way that they have become akin to the gold centrepieces marching along the line of the later royal table. This contrasts with figure 23, in which the same occasion is portrayed by an artist thinking à la Française. No single central dish is present upon the transition table; the attention of diners is now forced outward and is diffused among all present. Rather than emphasising group identity and unity, the gathering is able to split into smaller groups, carefully controlled by tall central decorations which in some cases seems to form an impenetrable wall of greenery between diners. Dishes are now placed between the fixed central motif and the diners, making reaching for food easier. Diners no longer have to ask others, apart from possibly their immediate neighbours, to pass dishes, and have no reason to interact with the wider group around the table. This reflects a growing fastidiousness which both Williams (1996) and Jameson (1987) argue was part of the impetus for à la Russe. Middle class concerns with property, and

emphasis on the individual, also played a role in the changes at the table, and would play an even bigger one in the eventual adoption of à la Russe – ironic since one effect of the new style was to increase uniformity. Already this can be seen in the restriction of choice for diners at the transition table, bound by what they could see and no longer able to compile the meal they wanted from the selection on offer.

This large-scale version of the transition table was quickly adopted by city corporations and adapted for use and encouraged into middle class homes by the authors of cookery guidance literature. The new Queen was exposed to it through corporate dinners celebrating her accession (fig. 23), and it was in use at large royal gatherings by the mid century. Small dinners were served a version of the Francatelli/Beeton transition table (WC 1856 unpublished), while large banquets such as that shown in figure 24 repeated dishes several times on each table (BP 1876 unpublished). Although it seems to bear more resemblance to à la Française than the smaller versions of the transition style, it was fundamental in changing attitudes towards table style. The bird's-eye view of the table still seems to suggest a three-part division on the table (fig. 25), but this is a false picture. Meal-planners concentrated on the food, rather than the decoration, which was often used for every meal and therefore taken as read. The result on the early nineteenth century and even late eighteenth century mind can be seen in figure 12 where the plan no longer has definable parts, but is a simple list of twinned dishes. With less food on the table and more mental and physical space for other objects, it is not surprising that advice books meanwhile started to dwell on the inedible aspects of the table more and more. It is equally unsurprising that manufacturers changed their offerings to suit the new style. Whether manufacturers or consumers drove further change is a point which will probably never be settled, and it is likely that attitudinal differences between generations played as large a role as any other factor. However, by the 1880s even the transition table was being superseded in the homes of the image-conscious middle class.

## Dinner à la Russe

Service à la Russe in its most advanced form was a drastic change from à la Française as it was used in elite circles in the eighteenth century. Yet, as has been demonstrated, such change did not happen overnight. It is vital to remember that in choosing how to serve meals, households faced a huge variety of possibilities by the mid nineteenth century, not just between à la Russe and à la Française, but also all the variants in between, including the transition table, which this thesis has identified as a distinct entity. Nor was the decision to serve a meal in a newer style an irreversible step. Choices had to be made for every meal, depending on invitees, occasion and the availability of suitable material accoutrements. Breakfast, for example, was almost always served in an echo of à la Française, with the covered dishes placed all upon the table at once as it meant parties could arrive at different times and still find food set out for them (Beeton 1888; Devereux 1904, 105). In this case there was normally no joint to carve, but the hostess still served out her gender-specific dish: tea.

The full version of à la Russe, as explained, at length, in etiquette books, and used almost exclusively for dinners with invited guests by the Edwardian period was, as Beeton suggested in 1861, heavily reliant on servants. Dishes were completely removed from the table, other than a few decorative dessert items (Beeton 1861, 954; Jewry c.1878). Portioning was carried out in the kitchen, even down to the roast in the most extreme version (Warne n.d.). Dishes were offered and served by servants. Some courses, such as soup, would already be served up on the plate which was to be put in front of the diner, while for others, such as entrées, platters were offered from which the diner either served himself or in most cases was deftly served by a servant. Although some commentators have suggested that a choice of two dishes was common (Kaufman 2002), in some cases little choice was offered other than to accept or reject each dish (Mrs Humphrey 1897). A written menu set out the order of courses and removed any element of surprise. Although there was an infinitesimal scope for subtle variation, the etiquette books give the impression of strict rules, and proceed to give details of them. Customary ways of eating different foods had almost

certainly existed for meals à la Française, but methods of approaching dishes seem not have been fixed at that time. It was the acceptance among the classes not brought up to grand dining that there must exist rules for eating, and that these must be learnable in a spirit of self-improvement which enabled writers to promise to elucidate them, and so sell books to enable social acceptance for all.

The dichotomy between what à la Russe seemed to be and the effect it had on diners has long been recognised (Mars 1994b; Kaufman 2002). It seemed to be a style which privileged the individual, ending the reliance on communal dishes and ensuring everyone was able to have an equal share of the food on offer. However, in removing choice, in some cases completely, and setting a written timetable for eating, it in fact made the meal into an industrial experience, devoid of what Kaufman (2002, 127) calls a „*sense of communion*". She suggests that the driving force behind the change was chefs, seeking to improve the status of cooking through transferring much of the host's role to the kitchen. Hence carving devolved to the kitchen, while menu selection and decisions about pacing were also driven from below stairs. The claim that à la Russe was better for food appreciation (Brandon 2004) certainly supports this idea, forgetting as it does that eating was only one element of a successful dinner. However, if appreciation of their culinary art was hoped for from adopters of à la Russe, chefs were due for disappointment; etiquette writers in the last quarter of the nineteenth century forbade commentary on the food at all costs (Mrs Humphrey 1897, 66). This study argues that it is etiquette, or rather etiquette books, which are the key to understanding the adoption of à la Russe. It was a service style dependant on the exhibition of correct forms of physical discipline. Where à la Française had relied upon the individual to show self-restraint, and tested social compatibility predominantly through the exhibition of self-discipline (Kaufman 2002), à la Russe imposed behaviours through presentation of a range of specialist equipment in a restricted physical space. Specialist tools could have been exclusive if the knowledge of how to use them was lacking, but that knowledge seemed to be readily available in books and manuals, provided the aspiring diner was prepared to invest time and money in keeping up-to-date. If in England, as Emerson (1856) suggested, ‗not the Trial by Jury, but the dinner is the capital

institution,' better, surely, for those not bred into its intricacies, to encourage such trial by methods which could be learnt, than to risk the more fluid, open structure of service à la Française.

## Structuring the meal

Figures 26 and 27 are illustrations of menus set out for meals à la Russe. The structure is an extrapolation of that of the bills of fare of Francatelli and Beeton discussed above. Soup is followed by fish, now entirely separate courses; then entrées; a relève (the remove rendered into French); a roast, earlier called by Francatelli the second course roast and indicating the division between the à la Française first and second courses; and the sweet entremêts, which in the case of the royal household table are further subdivided with yet more relèves. Since dishes are no longer placed upon the table, but served from the sideboard or kitchen, no patterning is required. The choice of two soups is the only indication of continuity, with one thick and one clear (Mrs Humphrey 1897, 71). However, advice books no longer indicate any overt gender specificity, and by the Edwardian period authors felt quite able to advise young men; _you will be doing a wise action and *a kindly one to your digestive organs if you eschew thick soups"* (Devereux 1904, 58). Structure on the table was replaced by structure on each plate, wherein every dish as named had a _correct' method of preparation and serving. A diner facing a menu, invariably written in French (English books provided glossaries or translations of titles), would have been able to identify exactly what s/he could expect from the lengthy titular descriptions of dishes. Hence fruit à la Condé were always filled with apricot jam while fruit à la Portugaise were flavoured with maraschino syrup and stuffed with redcurrant jelly (Senn 1901). This was taken to its logical extreme by Escoffier's codification of French cuisine in early twentieth century (Saulnier 1914). Service à la Russe was far more French-influenced than service à la Française had ever been. Chapter 5 considers the role of French chefs working in England in making French food acceptable to the wealthy English palate, by renaming dishes and allowing for the continued inclusion of English dishes such as pies, puddings and cakes. French inflexibility in compiling named dishes was imported without

comment, however, and accepted even by the hitherto anti-French middle classes, who provided a market for such titles as *Cookery for amateurs; or, French dishes for English homes of all classes* (Madame Valerie 1884), which provided menus for meals divided into _divisions' from the plain to the grand: French style for all pockets.

The form of the meal therefore fundamentally changed; from a structure based on sensory patterning and fluid timing, to one based on strict demarcation and a linear progression. This echoes Shackel's (1993) argument that the modern capitalist worldview could only come about once a change was complete from a task-based economy to one predicated on linear time. Books increasingly suggest timings for the composite parts of a meal, even down to the previously undisciplined (at least in French eyes) after-dinner recess, when women and men parted company. Another stiffening of boundaries occurred in the physical space allotted to diners. *A la Russe* removed the need to reach away from the immediate confines of the plate and focussed the attention of diners on the objects in front of them. Harewood House's late nineteenth century earl and countess even had extra blocks of wood added to the back legs of dining chairs, forcing a more upright and focussed position (Lascelles nd.). The full range of cutlery required throughout the meal was laid out to either side of the plate, rather than being brought from the side as had been the case with *à la Française*. Wine glasses were also corralled together awaiting their contents as the meal progressed. This reflected the significance afforded to personal possessions: for the duration of the meal the diner _owned' his or her place setting and the food in front of them. Once in the dining room, servants were encouraged to treat the food and plates it was served on with the respect due to another's possessions, handling tableware only through a cloth (Jameson 1987) and using trays to deliver filled glasses from sideboard to table. The stated reason for such fastidiousness was often concern over hygiene, also used as a rationale for other changes entirely unrelated to food, such as the movement of burial grounds outside city confines (Tarlow 1999). In both cases the underlying driver appears to be changing attitudes towards property.

Objects and how each diner approached them were a measure of social compatibility at the table. Etiquette books promised to teach how objects should be handled, and particular foods tackled, with very little difference between the guidance given in each:

> „*Cut* the orange in two, then in four pieces, afterwards cutting the pulp from the skin, and conveying it on the fork to the mouth. *It sounds simple!*"
> (Devereux 1904, 62)

> „*Oranges are cut in two, then in four, and* with the aid of a knife and fork the contents of each section are extracted in two or *more parts , and carried to the lips on the fork.*
> (Mrs Humphrey 1897, 76)

However, etiquette books are not an absolute guide. Their authors admit this themselves:

> „*A manual of etiquette in possession of a diner out is almost a pice de conviction.*
> ('Fin Bec' (1868) quoted in Mars 1994b, 131)

> „*The etiquette [of the table] is still important, and its correct* observance is considered as the ultimate test of good breeding. Persons new to society may master its simpler forms, but dining is a great trial. The rules to be observed at table are numerous and minute, and none of them can be violated without exposing *the offenders to instant detection.*"
> (Warne n.d., 137)

It was quite possible to be an ‗offender' to the rules of à la Française. Brown (1990) quotes the example of a young clergyman at dinner in York mistaking the dish in front of him for his intended dish, not realising it was for sharing. He ate everything on it before it was realised and as a result did not progress much further in his profession. Mistakes like these cost everyone at the table though, and destroyed the carefully maintained illusion of shared identity. Mistakes at the à la Russe table rebounded only on the individual who made them. This was dinner as war. The appeal of à la Russe in late Victorian society was precisely the scope for spotting the outsider at no cost to anyone else. Additionally its reliance on objects – for eating with, for decorating the table and in terms of the

food itself meant that the à la Russe table carried with it an infinite capacity for the display of identity in a way which à la Française did not. Middle class dinners were reciprocal affairs, the host one week reasonably able to expect to be an invitee the next. Marion Sambourne's diaries in the late nineteenth century are an endless stream of hosting and attending dinners, negotiating social standing by the act of sharing a meal (Nicholson 1994). She frequently notes the menus of both the meals she plans and those she eats, and it is possible to see social groupings in the similarities between her and others' menus.

Sambourne also makes notes on the visual appearance of certain of the dishes she experiences (Mars 1994a). With the advent of new technologies in both equipment and ingredients very few foods were entirely out of reach of the middle class. Wealthier members of society could engage a French cook and have dishes prepared from scratch using equipment drawn from a huge batterie de cuisine, fit for any dish and any season. The less wealthy, dependant on female cooks about whom a huge snobbery continued to exist, could nevertheless serve similar dishes using short cuts and cheats, and using a narrow range of equipment (Broomfield 2007). They simply had to ensure that the dishes chosen fitted their means. The same applied to dining ware. The amount of equipment for food available by the end of the nineteenth century was phenomenal (Williams 1996). Asparagus servers, grape spoons and a whole array of tools for fish are evident in any household goods catalogue (Bosomworth 1991). They were also available at a wide range of different prices. With à la Russe, a large array of different plates was no longer required: small, affordable objects could be purchased instead, along with increasingly plain tableware. Not everything had to be bought immediately: it would be easy for a family starting out to expand on Jewry's (c.1878) advice and host dinner parties in May – asparagus season – based on an investment in asparagus equipment and very little else, other than the obligatory fresh flowers (Anon. 1885). Archaeological investigation of urban areas, even those at the bottom of the social scale (Mrozowski et al. 1996; Young 2003), indicates flowers were present in most homes: a cheap, easy way to create visually pleasing tables and dazzle diners into submission. Dinners now were entirely dependent on the decisions of the hosting

household: food choice for the diner was non-existent; walls of greenery restricted conversational companions to those allocated to neighbouring seats; and from the plethora of dining ware available to buy or rent, choices had been made that denoted the particular worldview of that household and reflected their view of their place in society.

## Food as object in à la Russe dining

Only the most extreme versions of à la Russe banished display dishes entirely. However, the mentality behind such a move is clearly indicated by those etiquette books which advocate it:

> *„Dinner à la Russe is by far the pleasantest way of dining. The eye* is not disgusted by the sight of large joints, the attention is not distracted by the troubles of carving, all the disagreeable elements *of a meal are spirited away and only the ethereal ones left"* (Warne n.d., 25).

Contemporary critics suggested that that the table was being feminised, with the removal of the roast symbolising the triumph of domesticity over the male attributes that the roast stood for. Modern commentators have agreed, branding the roast the ‗stuff of hunting and outdoors' (Mars 1994a, 112). Critics of over-garnishing also found it (and still find it) easy to accuse women of ruining food by disguising and beautifying it, making full use of the stereotype of women as appearance-obsessed and frivolous (Mars 1994a). Rejection of the natural look and feel of food was universal in both male and female authored books, for example using tongue, hitherto boiled and served whole, as the primary ingredient in moulded terrines – served in the shape of a tongue. One suggestion is that the separation of women from the process of food preparation and Victorian fastidiousness about dirt encouraged sensory disguise in the dining room (Mars 1994b). However, this process had been ongoing (as had complaints about it) for at least 200 years (Lehmann 2003). The forest of greenery which characterised most Victorian dining rooms suggests that nature was not rejected; rather it was controlled, another theme endemic in any dining setting, which by necessity involves the transformation of food from one state to another.

Food in the late nineteenth century was more stimulating to the eye than any other sense (fig.28), including in some cases taste, possibly because it was now seen from a greater distance, situated on the sideboard, and then not experienced for very long before its systematic destruction by waiting staff. Portioning was crucial, being both a functional requirement of food display, and carrying all the meaning implicit in the choice of à la Russe at a time when alternative service styles were still available. Another reason for the removal of the roast joint from the dining room may have been its potential for disruption by undermining the compartmentalisation which characterised the à la Russe mentality. As ever, no generalisation about food can be applied across all tables, or even all recipe books, and as can be seen on the photograph of quail from Mellish (1901) (fig. 28), birds served in a relatively natural way with their feet still on were by no means outlawed under the new service regime. Food was more objectified than hitherto, and therefore became more integral to the expression of identity through material culture than it had been on earlier tables. Technology, in the form of moulds, ovens, fridges and early food processing tools, enabled food to be presented by households not employing expensive experts and lots of kitchen staff in ways it had not been possible to envisage 50 years earlier (Broomfield 2007). As with tableware, choices had to be made between many styles and ingredients, and could be used to maintain the boundaries of exclusive social circles.

### Resisting à la Russe

As with any social trend, not everyone embraced all the elements of the new service style. Mainstream etiquette books up to and into the Edwardian period assumed that food would be brought into the dining room on large platters but then served onto diners' individual plates by skilled service staff. This fundamental element of à la Russe contributed to a growing – but by no means novel – ‗servant problem' (Sambrook 2005) as middle class households struggled to find staff good enough to serve at dinner, especially when male servants were most desired, but probably only required once or twice a month. The reliance on servants was one reason why à la Russe had so many variants. Some households

hired men on an occasional basis, others used existing staff, especially if they were wealthy enough to retain a butler, and some adapted the service to suit their particular circumstances. Most households retained elements of à la Française to a greater or lesser degree, and both the menus published in cookbooks (Beeton 1888; Mellish 1901) and internal notes on meals from households across the social scale (OH 1897 unpublished; Nicholson 1994) indicate that à la Russe was used deliberately as a tool of sociability: family meals did not habitually contain seven courses or use foreign-language menus as a test of dish recognition.

Contrary to accepted views of the survival of à la Française into the twentieth century, the interpretation of change set out here argues that where à la Française or a style approximating it was retained in middle class households, the particular structures and meanings pertaining to it in the eighteenth century were largely lost. Figure 29 shows a supper table laid out for friends in 1885. At first glance the room bears a strong resemblance to those of 100 years before, but underlying this table is the mentality of à la Russe. The accompanying table plan (fig. 30) is laid out in the form of lines of dishes with little reference to each other, and only basic dish matching. The corner and central positions are all taken up with inedible display items, although the illustrated table does not show the _glass of flowers' called for at each corner on the plan. Floral displays also account for the top but one and bottom but one position on the central line. As the three dimensional version shows, the effect of multiple floral elements diffuses the focal point. Although the central epergne is markedly higher and more intricate than the surrounding dishes, it does not carry that much more weight than the baskets of flowers. Multiple tazzes also compete for attention, and the size of the top and bottom dishes outweigh it completely. Although three lines of food are present in this arrangement, echoing eighteenth century tripartite division, the middle dishes are decorative and divorced from those on either side as well as each other. The two dishes of fruit contrast with each other, but, partly due to their positioning on the central line and not as paired dishes, do not complement each other in the way that a similar arrangement across a central line would have done in true à la Française style. The same is true of the galantine of veal/oyster patties and gateau napolitain/trifle combinations. Placed as they

are along the central line, with no reference to dishes on either side, they are merely a selection of (easy and cheap) dishes suitable for the supper table, and not a carefully thought out sensory arrangement.

The two side rows do show evidence of pairing, but it is not the playful, knowing combinations of two and four dishes with reference to their position on the table that was so characteristic of eighteenth century à la Française. This is much more basic, and aimed purely at ensuring people along both sides of the table have the same choice as they move along it. The savoury dishes are repeated twice each, as was the case with large transition meals, while the desserts are half-heartedly paired across the table: two cream-based dishes, two jellies and two sets of pastry/small sweet items. The jellies and the almond cream are shown to be moulded on the illustrated version, but the nougats with cream are not, meaning that the potential for a four-dish pattern is wasted. The only combination of four is the pastry-cake-sweetmeat-pastry arrangement on tazzes at the corners. The sophistication of à la Française layouts, together with the required understanding of the role of multiple senses in structuring a pleasing dinner has been lost. Additionally, plates and place settings are complete, as would have been found at a dinner, with cutlery marking out boundaries to each side and above the plate. This was despite the fact that this was designed to be a buffet, with chairs placed around the room for elderly guests. Diners could move freely around the table and mingle, but the accompanying article notes that a waitress was also hired for the evening (Anon. 1885), avoiding the need to reach across the table or risk a show of independence. The platters here are large, probably those also used for a dinner à la Russe.

The social milieu most likely to resist the advent of à la Russe was that of the aristocracy. Harewood's ceramic collection, as discussed in chapter 4, shows no evidence of the adoption of à la Russe until the twentieth century, despite a series of well-paid French chefs. It is likely that by the end of the nineteenth century some form of successional serving had been adopted at Harewood, especially given that the Lascelles' chef publically endorsed modern culinary trends in 1881 in his contributions to *Garrett"s Encyclopaedia of Practical Cookery* (Day

2004b). A la Française was more suited to aristocratic needs however, and the limited evidence available indicates that, after initial flirtation with various forms of transition table, a move to full à la Russe was resisted. Unlike new arrivals on the social scene, whose expectations could be different to those of their parents, especially where one generation had made the money and the next merely benefitted from it, youthful members of aristocratic families were educated in the ways of the table by their elders. At Harewood the second wife of the fourth earl rarely sat at the head of the table, at least at luncheon, relinquishing her place to her daughter, and actively educated her various children, step-children and younger relatives in dining etiquette (Lubbock 1939). Anyone with enough money could buy the accoutrements of the new style, and even those with lots of money had no choice, if embracing à la Russe, but to buy brand new items. Much of the material culture associated with à la Russe simply hadn‘t been around long enough to acquire the patina which was so valued by the aristocracy as something which could not be bought (Bourdieu 1979; McCracken 1988; Lucas 2005). An understanding of the understated and yet deeply complicated ways of structuring the à la Française table could also not be bought. Etiquette books only promised to educate in the ways of the new style, and not in the old. There are several examples of aristocratic eating being at odds with accepted behaviour as laid out in etiquette guides: cheese, eschewed by middle class cookbooks as being the food of the poor, was also consumed by the aristocracy (Burnett 1966). Meanwhile in breach of admonitions in behavioural guides not to comment on the food, Lord Harewood actively engages with his meal, commenting on the mutton and asking from which sheep it derives in his granddaughter‘s horrified account of eating at Harewood in the 1870-80s (Lubbock 1939). Written in the 1930s, Lubbock‘s depiction of life at Harewood as antiquated hints at one reason for the eventual universal adoption of à la Russe in the twentieth century.

Generational change was a huge influence on dining style in the nineteenth century, as can be seem from the timings of change (fig. 1). In the 1830s à la Française still reigned supreme, albeit with transitional elements, and a move away from strict tripartate table layouts. By 1860 successional serving and full

adoption of the transition table was paving the way for more significant change, while continuing urbanisation and female separation from the workplace was creating a body of people as socially competitive as their husbands, but focussed on the domestic environment. By the 1890s à la Russe was the norm for middle class invited dinners, a means of negotiating social status through material choices, made by women for the good of the household. Lubbock, looking back on the dining habits of 1880s Harewood, is expressing the views of her own generation, as she acknowledges*: „I hated to hear this sort of talk; if mutton had to be consumed, I did not want to associate it with a sheep that was recently alive"* (Lubbock 1939,148). No doubt in her household, roasts were safely removed from the dining room and carved away from the table.

## Conclusions

The move from dining à la Française to dining à la Russe was neither straightforward nor quick. As chapters 4 and 5 will demonstrate, it affected every aspect of dining, from food preparation to ceramic design. Multiple variations on both styles were adopted depending on social class, number of diners and the time of year. It is difficult to generalise but analysis is nevertheless necessary and worthwhile, for the dining style of the early 1900s was so different to that of the 1800s that investigation of the underlying processes and structures should help to elucidate some of the key research agendas of historical archaeology of the period. The analysis presented in this chapter is centred on the materiality of the table, but by necessity uses documentary sources as a key way to both gain information on material culture, and to explore the interaction of the written word with the material world. Increasingly, dining style is not separable from dining etiquette; and that etiquette was dictated by the written word. A la Russe was a style dependant on text: books rendered it accessible, and authors encouraged its adoption precisely because it was so open to written explanation. Kitchen staff by the end of the nineteenth century would have struggled without the ability to read, and already by the mid-century some employers cited illiteracy as a reason for dismissal (Sambrook 2005).

Advice on hosting was aimed at women almost exclusively, making dinner a feminine tool in the ongoing social war which etiquette books sought to encourage. It was women who made decisions concerning dinner, and middle class women who promoted the change in service style. In their role as arbiters of social status, women chose to adopt a way of dining which suited them. The written word empowered, calling for women to recognise their jurisdiction over the household (Beeton 1861, 1). Wives and mothers embraced their role, taking control of dinner. They made decisions on menus, seating, ceramics and timing. They set portion sizes, dictated who would be able to converse with whom and, from their position at one end of the table, surveyed a performance of their own production. Their guests had become spectators, no longer participants in formulating a meal of their own design as had been the case with à la Française, but an audience for female achievement. A la Russe was a middle class dining style, suited to the needs of middle class women struggling to find a means by which to balance pressure to live a leisured life with a morality that emphasised hard work and usefulness. By the end of the nineteenth century, however, aristocratic hostesses, even up to the Queen herself, had largely adopted the new style, and à la Française had been relegated to lesser meals, losing the structures which had made it distinct and fading to a shadow of its former self.

Emulation was a two-way process (Muckerji 1993; Young 2003): the middle classes may on occasion have adopted habits, such as tea drinking, which emerged through the aristocracy, but equally the elites were capable of learning from middle class habits. As English society fragmented into multiple class-based strata, the individual disappeared (Kasson 1991). Chapter 4 will go on to show the loss of individuality inherent in the written form of the ‗household à la Russe ‟at the end of the century. It was the ultimate falsehood. It promised personal service, the safeguarding of personal property and a safe, timetabled few hours spent, as long as the diner adhered to the rules, in a reciprocal exchange of signals of social acceptance within that group. It also promised to highlight the individual within the group; just what à la Française had achieved. Instead of fulfilling these promises, it enforced uniformity, within and across social circles, as food and its associated material culture was repeated on tables

from the top of society to the lower middle ranks. Although stylistically twenty-first century dining still ostensibly uses the structures of à la Russe, modern dinners are as close to Victorian dining as late nineteenth century buffet tables were to true à la Française meals. As the anonymous author of Modern Etiquette in Public and Private (Warne n.d., 136) stated: *„dining in public must have been a terrible ordeal in the days of our grandfathers…"*

# 4. 'Cordiality and Comfort[2] : the materiality of the dining room

> „*A well*-served table is a striking index of human ingenuity and *resource* .
> (Beeton 1888, 1331)
>
> „*The dining room used by the household…is a very pretty little* room, octagonal in shape and decorated in oak, gold and cream. It overlooks the North Terrace, and contains a very rare old *Boule clock*".
> (Anon. 1897, 139)

Having explored the impact of changing service styles on dinner as a public performance, the following chapter will consider its wider implications. The change from service à la Française to service à la Russe was most evident at the table: the terms themselves refer only to the way in which meals were served. They have not previously been seen as part of a more wide-ranging set of changes with the potential to affect not just diners but also the people and processes connected with putting dinner on the table. This and the next chapter will address this gap, considering continuity and change beyond the act of eating. Building on the metaphor of the meal as a performance, this chapter covers the stage management of dinner: physical location, set design, and props. Chapter 5 then moves beyond consumption to explore food preparation. Both aim to explore the reasons for, and impact of, change, and argue that à la Russe should be seen as a way of ordering a household and not just a dinner table.

In order to explore the differing material contexts of dinners, this chapter will draw upon data from Osborne House, Isle of Wight; Audley End House, Essex; Harewood House, Yorkshire and published studies of middle and upper class housing. The case studies are intended to provide examples of three different types of country house, in order to allow comparisons to be drawn, and the impact of à la Russe on large households to be explored. Osborne has been selected because it was purpose-built at a comparatively late date (1848-51) and remained relatively unchanged structurally from 1861 onwards. As a royal palace

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[2] Walsh (1856, 624)

it is atypical, but nevertheless it represents the architectural thinking of the time. It was an adaptation of an earlier house, and as such can be used to show the process by which a reasonably well-equipped country house was rendered suitable for royal residency. Even in the comparatively small and informal surroundings of Osborne this still involved a huge and deeply hierarchical household, with far more divisions, and far more people open to the effects of à la Russe than the average aristocratic unit. Meanwhile, although it is difficult to generalise with such a small sample size, both Audley and Harewood – especially the former – developed in line with country house trends in the eighteenth and nineteenth century, and may be taken as representative of elite housing and households. Audley is an example of an older (Jacobean) house renovated and rebuilt several times across the 150 year period considered here. By the 1780s the domestic offices were situated in a separate block to one side of the house, linked to the main house by a service passage. The situation of the family dining room and the servants' hall changed several times, but by the 1830s they were to be found in the east wing, with the family dining room on the first floor. Harewood, on the other hand, was constructed within the period, in 1759-62, and subsequent alterations to the fabric of the house, with the exception of a small extension to the kitchens, took place within the footprint laid down by its architects, John Carr and Robert Adam. The service areas were to be found in the basement of the west wing, with family dining facilities on the principal floor linked by a service stair and vestibules.

The ceramic data used in this chapter is drawn predominantly from Harewood, the only one of the three case studies to still have associated with it significant quantities of eighteenth and nineteenth century tableware. Limited information is available on royal tableware, but no plates can be firmly and specifically linked to Osborne. Audley also retains few ceramics, apart from a selection from the servants' hall and a few large meat platters. Additional ceramic data is therefore drawn from the two volumes of the Dictionary of Blue and White Printed Pottery, 1780-1880 (Coysh and Henrywood 1982; 1989), the collection of the Norwich Museums Service and various manufacturers' catalogues. Limited work has been done in an English context on excavated ceramic data beyond using shards to

date sites, but where interpretation of pattern and style exist they have been used (Brooks 1999; Brooks 2000 unpublished; Lucas 2003). Cookbook data is derived from the core texts (table 1), with supplementary data from other volumes of the period, as well as magazines covering the domestic environment. The key elements to be considered are the physical location of dining rooms for different groups, their décor, and ceramic tableware in the form of plates and other serving vessels.

## Diners and decision-makers

This thesis concentrates on the middle and upper class experience, aiming to explore the hypothesis that food and dining played a fundamental role in the negotiation of gender relations within those classes. However, the domestic context of the middle and upper classes also included the working class, in the shape of servants. A tendency to view the ‗household' as a homogenous entity (Kruczek-Aaron 2002) has obscured not only tensions within governing families, but also class and gender divisions within a body of people who could range from the scullery maid, through cooks, housekeepers, governesses, children, married and unmarried relatives and up to the head of the household him or herself. In the royal household these divisions were multiplied even further. Houses of the servant-employing classes needed at least two spaces suitable for dining; one for employers and one for employees. Along with such spaces went different ceramics, flatware, furniture and food. In larger households, as will be seen, these different spaces and their accompanying material culture multiplied in a reflection of the divisions within the population of the house. The weighty 1880s edition of Beeton's Book of Household Management (Beeton 1888, 1353-1439) gave suggestions for various sizes of dinners with invited guests as well as ‗little', ‗quickly prepared', ‗family' and ‗kitchen' dinners. It also included advice on meals served in the sickroom and nursery. Even before the late Victorian obsession with categorisation, Mason (1773) advised specifically on family dinners as opposed to more elaborate occasions with invited guests. Dinners, even within a defined category of people – for example the family at the top of the household hierarchy – could differ hugely in nature and therefore meaning.

Decisions about dinner could be complicated, and impact on many people's experiences of dining. Through both literary and cookbook evidence, it appears that women were the key decision-makers in the period 1750-1900, with wives, cooks and housekeepers all playing a role in planning as well as executing meals. Charlotte Mason (1773) made explicit the link between positive attitudes towards women and successful manipulation of the material elements of dinner:

> *„It is certain that a women never appears to greater advantage* than at the head of a well-*regulated table…though a dinner be* small and simple, the manner of serving it will make it appear *to great advantage."*
> (Mason 1773, iii-iv)

There is general agreement among commentators that among the middle and upper classes, menus were planned by the mistress of the household and discussed with the cooks on a daily basis (Davies 1989; Wilson 1996). Throughout the period, and despite the emphasis on servants as a mark of class, many middle class mistresses also participated in cookery. On the other hand, if a separate housekeeper was kept one of her roles was often to draw up the initial menus (Wilson 1996, 79), and if a male cook or experienced female cook was employed, as was the case at most large establishments, menu-planning would be part of their remit. The head chef under Queen Victoria planned royal and household menus himself and sent them to the Queen to be approved. Occasionally requests from various members of the royal family would have to be taken into account, but until the accession of Edward VII there was little active engagement from the head of the household in making choices about dinner (Tschumi and Powe 1954, 82). The kitchens, which employed a permanent staff of 45 in 1898, were run like a factory and cooked every day for over 300 people (Tschumi and Powe 1954, 31). It is unsurprising that the food noted in the planning ledger seems monotonous, if plentiful (OH 1897 unpublished).

Food was not the only item to require planning. Decisions were made about every aspect of material culture to find its eventual way onto the table. Men could interact with these decisions at every level, but it is unlikely that they

habitually involved themselves with them, except with the very occasional need to plan houses and dining room de̒cor. Dickens played a role in deciding on dining room furniture and lighting (Rossi-Wilcox 2005) in the mid-nineteenth century, but a few decades later Linley Sambourne left all such matters in the hands of his wife (Nicholson 1994). No generalisation can be proved absolutely, but anecdotal, diary and sales evidence can be interpreted to show that the latter example was more typical. Vickery‘s (1998) analysis of the household accounts and diaries of an eighteenth century Yorkshire gentlewoman clearly shows feminine engagement with the purchase of everyday items while elsewhere records indicate male involvement only in non-routine ceramic purchases (Vickery and Styles 2006, 26). Evidence from aristocratic contexts shows similar trends (Larsen 2003 unpublished). Harewood‘s third countess masterminded building alterations in the 1840s, even to the extent that tradesmen‘s bills were addressed directly to her (Mauchline 1992). In most cases it is likely that both men and women were involved in the purchase of domestic ceramics and tableware, with a bias toward male decision-making in more expensive or unusual items. Once in the house however, and firmly under feminine control, decisions needed to be made on the use or display of such items in a dining context, an aspect which will be further considered below.

## Locating dinner: little and big; rooms and parlours.

By the mid eighteenth century dining rooms were becoming a standard feature in large houses. Developing from the parlours of Elizabethan and early Stuart England, most at first were small, informal rooms for family or personal dining, normally situated off the main hall (Wilson 1991). State or formal dining still took place in the great hall or, by the late seventeenth century, salon (Girouard 1978). By the 1750s, new country houses were usually constructed with a designated dining room, normally to be found on the ground floor, and a secondary, often smaller space for other meals or private dining (Girouard 1978). They also included a servants‘ hall, usually near the kitchen, and a secondary space in which the upper servants ate one or more courses of their meal (Sambrook 2005, 105), most commonly the housekeeper‘s or steward‘s room.

In the nineteenth century designated dining rooms became more common in middle class housing, while in the country house context they were integrated into what Girouard (1978) argues is a more informal house layout. His interpretations of house design have remained largely unchallenged, but he has been criticised for his androcentric approach (Larsen 2003 unpublished, 71). He also fails to understand the nuanced nature of gender relations, and has an overly top-down approach to space. While he includes service wings and nurseries in his examination of spatial planning, his view of an increasingly informal Victorian society can be challenged by a comparative approach using access analysis and sensory engagement with houses and their various food-related spaces.

The next section, comprising of three case studies, considers how the location of dinner changed and whether this can be linked to the themes identified as being part of the shift to à la Russe in chapter 3. It will also explore the engendering of the dining room, which is invariably labelled a masculine space (e.g. Wilson 1991), following Girouard's (1978, 205) attribution of gender by room function. He also terms the drawing room a feminine space, based on the separation of men and women after dinner. As Larsen (2003 unpublished, 73) points out, not only does this indicate a misunderstanding of the multi-functional nature of eighteenth century rooms, but also fails to take into account change. Although eighteenth century depictions of after-dinner rituals support the separation of men and women, inventory data suggests tea-related artefacts became less prevalent in the drawing room in the nineteenth century than the eighteenth (1792 unpublished; 1888 unpublished). Walsh (1856, 625) contains several alternative ways of serving tea and coffee explicitly designed to replace the separation of company on gender lines. To assign gender on the basis of one set of briefly experienced habits, which took place only at one point in the day, ignores the role of women in furnishing dining rooms and planning dinner. As will be seen from the following examples, class considerations underlay those of gender and were in this instance a more significant factor.

Harewood House

Harewood‘s principal dining room was established as being in position B (fig. 31) by c.1771, when house plans were published in Vitruvius Britannicus (Mauchline 1992, 38). It remained in this position despite otherwise sweeping changes to the house in the 1840s. The auxiliary dining space however moved in the period between the plans of 1762 and those published in 1771, from the east wing, where it was located on the edge of the private apartments (A), to the west wing (C), adjoining the drawing room and long gallery (although it seems to have been quickly adapted to be an additional drawing room (Mauchline 1992). In early plans by Robert Adam, which were amended as part of a dual planning process between himself and John Carr (Mauchline 1992), the only dining room was to the west (right) of the entry hall, and it is likely that an additional, probably primary dining space was located here in the house as constructed in 1759. This was shifted towards the long gallery once the internal courtyard originally occupying the space below B and C on figure 31 had been reduced, only three years after its initial construction (Mauchline 1992, 40).

The arrangement of family and formal dining rooms in the west wing was a practical one: the kitchens were located directly below the long gallery, with a service stair providing direct access via a short corridor to both rooms. In the 1840s, by which time room C was no longer in use as a dining space, a service corridor was added running along the back of the main dining room (B) from the service stair, while the passage linking C and B was closed to the stair, but opened for family and guest use. This plan clearly delineated the private side of the house from the public rooms, set out in a way which exemplifies what Girouard (1978) calls the ‗social house‘, in which rooms lead into one another in a circle.

The plan can be considered through access analysis. Such analysis has rightly been criticised for an inability to take into account change and variation in function (King 2003), for example the use of a long gallery for dining as well as a recreation, but is nevertheless useful in considering some aspects of space. Figures 32 and 33 use it to consider differential access to rooms at Harewood

prior to the 1840s changes. Here the carrier icon denotes access points for different groups to the principal floor. The route for visitors, entering through the main entrance, is exactly as would be expected, with two lines of rooms leading off the central hall-salon arrangement, and the long gallery forming the most private space. However, this model only shows how visitors would have experienced the house. Servants had access to the servery and corridor leading down to the kitchens, but would not have entered the suite of rooms from the main entry hall. In the alternative arrangement, the plan differs in the order of rooms (fig. 33). Before servants even gained access to the carrier point they would have negotiated a series of domestic offices and climbed a staircase from a basement level to the principal floor, which was lighter, loftier and had larger rooms. Recent work has emphasised that multiple access structures could co-exist within the same society (Richardson 2003), and this example acts as a reminder that different interest groups experienced houses in differing ways. Access to rooms and corridors was restricted, and what could be an enforced route for one – in this case a guest to the house – might not apply to another. Guests were given a route which could follow a story or other theme depending on the décor of the room (Lancaster 2003 unpublished) – a facet which was not designed to be conceptually accessible to servants and which, being dependant on sensory stimulation, is not indicated by access analysis. The location of dinner could therefore be viewed by invited guests as a controlled space to which access was only possible via a series of physically and mentally restricted spaces. For waiting staff it could be entirely accessible on a physical level, but conceptually closed. Analysis of the post 1840s plan show even more drastic differences between visitor and service routes. The plan for visitor and family access differs from that in figure 32 only by the addition of a line, representing the new linking passage joining the south dining room and the dining room. Figure 34 is the new servant access plan, indicating even more clearly the way in which status impacted upon the experience of the house. More _ringy‘ plans of this type are traditionally taken to indicate less hierarchical social structures (Hillier and Hanson 1984). However, when considered with the new floor plan, it seems that at Harewood changed routing was designed not just to increase accessibility to

rooms for all parties, but also to conceal servants' activities more effectively, therefore emphasising the relative status of each hierarchical level.

### Audley End

Audley (figs. 35, 36) is an example of a house where room function and location changed in line with contemporary ideas about optimum room placement. In analysing the way in which these changes impacted upon the phenomenological experience of the house, access factors have been taken into account, and the principle of differential access integrated into the analysis. Audley, like Harewood, lacked a designated main dining space on plans of the 1750s, and dinner probably continued to be served for formal occasions in the main hall or parlour. By the 1780s the parlour had been recognised on plans specifically as the dining parlour, remaining in use until the mid-nineteenth century. By 1836 it was described as a summer dining parlour (Braybrooke 1836, 105). However, the rebuilding and internal rearrangements of 1825 included a new first floor dining room (fig. 36, room A) which replaced the earlier parlour for formal occasions. With the addition of the small dining room in place of the 1787 Steward's Parlour (fig. 35, roughly in position E) when the north wing was rearranged in 1835, the dining parlour largely passed out of use. On the 1904 plan it is labelled as a billiard room while the attached antechamber was used for displaying tapestries.

Audley's various spaces reflect the changing needs of country house owners in terms of room placement. They also illustrate the hierarchy within the house at the times at which the various house plans were drawn up. All the floor plans included at least two eating spaces for the Braybrookes themselves. In 1787 they were labelled as dining parlour and supper room (A and C on fig. 35). Dinner at this point was held in the late afternoon or early evening, with supper a later and lighter meal (Lehmann 2002). By the 1830s dinner was being eaten in the evening, with lunch the auxiliary meal. Some houses by this date contained breakfast rooms and/or luncheon rooms which had the advantage that servants could prepare for dinner while the family lingered over their midday meal. Audley's new first floor dining room (fig. 36, A) was situated over what had

been the supper room in 1787, with a relocated library above its previous incarnation at the top of the south wing (B), and a drawing room (D) again situated directly above the 1787 version. Occupying the space above the 1787 dining parlour was the upper floor salon, which performed the same function as the hall-salon at Harewood, acting as a link between the entrance and the private apartments. The circular nature of the lower floor apartments is similar to Harewood‗s public wing – unsurprising given that Adam worked at both properties – and was retained as an internal arrangement when the suite of rooms was moved to the upper floor.

Girouard (1978) points to changing uses of country houses as being the key to understanding why spatial layouts became more open: the ‗social house' needed multi-functional spaces between which guests could move easily. Previously the enfilade had enforced hierarchy by acting as a room-by-room filtering system. At Castle Howard it was accompanied by a service corridor, ensuring that only those who could appreciate the classical and landscape allusions of the decorative scheme of the main rooms moved through it (Lancaster 2003 unpublished). At Harewood servants would still have had to access some rooms via others, as corridors were limited, even after the alterations of the 1840s. However, the use of the basement storey for all of the domestic offices maintained a strict sense of hierarchy between inhabitants. At Audley the re-siting of the principal rooms achieved a similar effect. Audley does not have a basement level, except for a small wine cellar and a few remnants of earlier building phases, including a truncated corridor which once led to a kitchen (see chapter 5). Nineteenth century architectural guides were adamant on the need for the delineation of the areas by function and status, increasingly situating service wings outside the body of the house, while those servants that remain were confined to basements and attics (Kerr 1871; Girouard 1978; Brears 1996a). This meant that family spaces could become more open: segregation from the outside world was completed rather than started by entering the house, and within the family area it was safe to move freely.

With the relocation of the main family living spaces to the first floor at Audley, the ground floor was redefined as inferior space. The south wing, containing the public rooms, was made more obviously separate from the north wing, which on the ground floor contained the servants' hall and other service offices. Above them were family bedrooms and dressing rooms. It is likely to have been around this time that the offices of butler and steward were amalgamated, since the 1835 rearrangement of the wing contained a streamlined set of rooms with no mention of a steward's suite. Auxiliary offices, such as the bottle room, were moved to a neighbouring enclosed courtyard which, following the construction of the laundry between the kitchen and dairy, had become a largely male space containing rooms pertaining to footmen and steward's boy's activities. Room allocation along gender lines was explicit at Audley, with female servants – laundry and dairy maids – being physically situated at the furthest point from the family living quarters. The kitchen, which was a mixed space for much of the period, was next, while within the main body of the house were the housekeeper, and the male servants. The latter group inhabited rooms to the north of a new dividing corridor separating service rooms from those used by Lord Braybrooke for administration and storage.

Key spaces for dining were now the servants' hall, which was in the location shown on figure 37 from c.1762, the housekeeper's or the steward's room, and the two family dining spaces. The lower servants would have dined in the first of these, which would also have formed the main gathering point for occasional below stairs festivities, such as the Christmas party held at Audley on December 27th in the late nineteenth century (Hann 2007 unpublished). It was customary in the eighteenth and nineteenth centuries for the higher ranking servants to dine separately to the others, either in the steward's room or the housekeeper's room (Wilson 1996, 78-9; Glanville and Young 2002, 7). Included would be the butler, governess, ladies maids, valet, cook, housekeeper and any visiting valets or ladies maids (Horn 1975, 86-7). At Audley the steward's room is listed as a dining space in the consumption books throughout the nineteenth century (AE 1855 unpublished; 1868 unpublished; 1877 unpublished). The exact phasing is difficult to ascertain, but it is likely that the room which would by the end of the

nineteenth century be labelled as the small dining room, was known as the steward's room from the changes of 1835 until at least the 1870s, and was used for senior servant dining (and the corresponding Christmas function). By the twentieth century in a context of smaller household numbers and declining Braybrooke fortunes, it was used for informal family dining and it is not known for certain where the upper servants dined. At other houses the housekeeper's room filled the role of upper servants' dining room, and this may have been the case at Audley. Such enforced separation by gender and status was the culmination of a process which had started in the sixteenth century, and which Matthew Johnson (1996, 174-178) notes as being part of the genealogy of capitalism. It is also indicative of the compartmentalising mentality which underlay à la Russe. It is at its most stark in the largest household in the country: the royal household.

## Osborne House

Figure 38 shows an extract from a provisioning ledger for Osborne House, Isle of Wight (a further, transcribed, example can be found in appendix B). The various groups of people to be fed, together with their allotted meals, are laid out in status order across the pages. Queen Victoria's table (for dinner) occupies the primary reading position at top left, while on the right-hand page can be found the Steward's Room, the electricians, nurses, sick room, police and so forth. This shows the organisation of the Queen's household in graphic form, and indicates the importance of dinner in ascribing status and group membership. Throughout the ledger the layout remains the same, although additional individuals or groups are sometimes included such as choristers around Christmas. Their relative status and the type of meal they will be consuming can be judged through their positioning on the page. For example, the ambivalent position occupied by the governess is illustrated by the way in which her section drifts from page to page throughout the ledger.

This is an internal ledger, used for planning and recording. Amounts of the various meats and sometimes their origin (for instance if from outside the royal estates) are recorded in the margins, along with the occasional translation to

English. It is likely that the head chef, M. Menager, wrote the ledger himself, as it is known that he wrote out the menus for the royal table on occasion (Tschumi and Powe 1954, 62). Alternatively it may have been written by one of the clerks of the kitchen. In addition to the layout of the page, another indication of status is the way in which dishes are named. Dining space and the language of dinner are closely linked: dishes for the Queen and the Household are written in French, except where of German origin or intended for the sideboard. At Christmas it was the sideboard which held such long-standing English Christmas dishes as a baron of beef and a boar's head. The Household's dinner is set in the more standard à la Russe arrangement, with dishes again written in French (see also fig. 27). These layouts could be directly copied to the menu cards provided on both tables. At the next social level down – the steward's room – menus are written in English, and the layout is more ambiguous, ceasing to divide courses rigidly, and indicating that for most of the groups fed at Osborne changing service styles had little impact upon the table itself. Beyond the steward's room only meats are noted, and take the form of a simple list.

The categorisations in the ledger reinforce the delineation of the household through space, and indicate the way in which à la Russe affected the household beyond mere service style. As discussed in chapter 2, the late eighteenth century has been recognised as a key period for the rise of an ordered and disciplined worldview, which has in turn been connected to the rise of capitalism. One of the primary markers for this is the emphasis placed on the individual (Kasson 1991). More recent work has shown that the roots of this categorising mentality can be seen by the end of the medieval period. Johnson (1996) considers ways in which theories of discipline and order may be applied to the changing nature of household space, and suggests that division of large multi-purpose rooms, such as the medieval great hall, into smaller more specifically designed spaces reflects increasing delineation of household members. At both Audley and Harewood, family spaces were divided by occasion, and servants' spaces by rank, and both houses contained four primary dining spaces. At Osborne the multiplicity of hierarchical groups, each with their own dining space, took this to new levels.

Figure 39 shows the lower ground floor at Osborne, which in basic structure has changed little from the 1840s. Rooms marked in red are dining spaces named in the ledger (the pink room is a probable dining space – the exact location of the cook‗s dining room mentioned in the Osborne works accounts is not known). In addition to this, between 10 and 15 extra named groups were also dining, as well as 2-3 named individuals and the royal and household tables. The divisions were hierarchical rather than department-based. The kitchen staff at Buckingham Palace in the 1840s was divided into at least four groups for dinner: senior staff, assistant cooks, junior staff and maids, and the yeomen of the confectionary and pastry chef who ate with other senior personnel in the steward‗s room (Strange 1848). The planning ledger gives the illusion of increasing awareness of the individual, dividing the household into ever smaller groups based on status, and allocating dining space accordingly. However, names are noted only for the two top tables and on the occasions where specific, high-ranking individuals require special meals such as travelling baskets. The governess is never named although a Mr Frazer features frequently. He was probably one of the Highland servants (Hunter 2007, pers.comm) and as such outside the norms of aristocratic household division. His meals include soup, always served separately, which indicates he is of higher status and has more linear, successively served meals than other, unnamed meal-takers. Below the named individuals come interest groups such as the police, nurses and messengers. At the bottom of the hierarchy, the lower servants are denoted only by the place in which they eat (‗hall‗, ‗coffee room‗ and so on). The individual is, therefore, entirely missing from this household. Earlier ledgers from other palaces (no other example exists from Osborne) contain more reference to people, for example listing the kitchenmaids (BP 1888 unpublished). The application of internal hierarchy through page layout and language in a working document of this type reflects the way in which the late Victorian mentality had embraced the dictatorial, categorising, style of à la Russe, and implemented it as a global domestic system.

## **The 'Gourmet's theatre'** (Senn 1901, 862): The décor of dining

As might be expected, different dining spaces also had different décor, whether to distinguish the breakfast room from the dining room, or a servants' eating space from an aristocratic one. Figures 40-43 show the various named dining spaces at Osborne House while figures 44-46 show the fireplaces – the main surviving fixtures – from the servants' hall, housekeeper's room and first floor dining room at Audley End. Figures 47-49 are those from Harewood's servants' hall, steward's room and dining room after the alterations of the 1840s. Figure 49, the dining room fireplace, was originally situated in the long gallery, and was moved by Barry into the dining room as part of a complete overhaul of the decorative scheme there. The ceiling was raised and Adams' mouldings replaced by larger, more ornate plasterwork to elevate the status of this one room, emphasising its importance over the other public rooms as well as over other dining spaces. Elsewhere the eighteenth century decorative scheme survives intact. The fireplace was put back into the long gallery in the 1980s and the dining room was written off as _*irredeemable*" (Mauchline 1992, 151).

The status differences between both rooms and fixtures are immediately evident. At Audley the repeated conversion of rooms left earlier fixtures and fittings in place. The fireplace in the servants' hall conceals the remains of an earlier range and bread oven; that of Harewood looks to have been similarly altered to fit the space. In contrast, that in the Audley housekeeper's room would not look out of place in a multi-purpose middle class parlour (which is what the room effectively is), while the mock-Jacobean fireplace from the dining room was installed to match a genuinely sixteenth century example in an adjoining room which became part of an enlarged space when the dividing wall was taken out in c.1825. Previously the two rooms had been part of a suite constructed as private rooms for an earlier occupant, rendered obsolete by changing living arrangements in the house. Retention of the late seventeenth century fireplace, Jacobean ceiling mouldings and construction of the rest of the room's dcor to match, reflects a carefully constructed decorative scheme intended to reinforce the impression of dynastic longevity.

Dining room imagery in the early seventeenth century could be straightforward: the original fireplace from Harewood no longer exists, but that in the neighbouring music room is an example of directly connected imagery, with a design integrating musical instruments into the decorative scheme. Windsor Castle has a dining space containing food-related elements in the ceiling mouldings; however, even in the 1750s dining room imagery was not just connected with food or its procurement. With the development of enclosed sets of multi-functional public rooms as at Audley and Harewood, obvious links of this nature declined in favour of more subtle decoration. Country houses have often been studied in detail and continuous motifs identified across rooms in the interior scheme (Lancaster 2003 unpublished), but dining spaces have not hitherto been cross-referenced to demonstrate the way in which interior design was used to maintain order and communicate family values to invited guests, kept captive in a designated space. When they are considered as a data set in their own right, it is possible to identify shared elements unique to dining rooms.

As chapter 3 demonstrated, Georgian dining was predicated on diners knowing how to conduct themselves without recourse to etiquette books, which did not appear en masse until the nineteenth century. Though not commonly recognised, this made service à la Française a far more difficult social experience than the codified structures of à la Russe. Décor could increase that pressure. In country houses, as discussed above, two familial dining spaces were usual: one for informal dinners and one for formal occasions, often with invited guests. The décor of the latter room seems on occasion to have been quite plain – Adams specifically planned to have no paintings in the revamped dining parlour at Audley (Oxford Archaeology 2001 unpublished). However, more common from the late eighteenth century and throughout the nineteenth century is the hanging of family portraits (see for example, Beatniffe 1773, 65; Bartell 1800, 46). In figure 40 the Queen‘s dining room at Osborne contains pictures of her immediate family, which are still in situ. In contrast the Household dining room has pictures of land- and seascapes. The display of family members around the walls of dining rooms can be interpreted in two ways. On the one hand it denotes the intimacy of dinner: by the nineteenth century it was recognised that to be invited

to dinner (as opposed to tea or a lesser meal) was to be invited into the heart of a family – to be accepted in public as a fitting social companion (Strong 2002, 273). Displaying dead or absent family on the walls emphasised this connection. For the invitee, it was a reminder of the weight that an invitation carried. On the other hand, portraiture can be read as a conspicuous display of lineage, a way to showcase illustrious connections lacking from the average arriviste's family tree. For families such as the Braybrookes, whose title had only been awarded at the end of the eighteenth century, it was a vital means by which to identify with previous owners of the estate and gloss over the indirect way in which it had descended through the family line since the seventeenth century. This was not only socially exclusive, but could also be educative. If, as Jewry (c.1875, 19) suggested, ‗you will find the style of your table one of those unconscious home-influences which will form the taste and tone of your children"s minds, and greatly act on their manner', how better to impress upon them the weight of their ancestry and future responsibilities?

Landscapes were also popular. In an aristocratic context these appear more frequently in the eighteenth century than the nineteenth, when portraiture becomes more usual. This confirms the interpretation set out above, and suggests that in an era when money could increasingly buy membership of the elite, including a country estate, those who held estates by right of descent sought increasingly to display proven personal connections and standing, rather than simply show a relationship to the land. The latter connection was still important, however. Property was, after all, the foundation of aristocratic wealth, and it is unsurprising that dining room choices in the earlier period also included views of the estates of the hosting family. In 1745 the inventory drawn up for sale at Audley (AE 1745 unpublished) referred to ‗the print of Audley End and fifty six others" hanging in the dining room. This was the year that Audley changed hands after the Earls of Suffolk became extinct. When Sir John Griffin Griffin inherited the house in 1762, it was refurnished to suit a new owner with his own priorities for communication. The 1797 inventory (AE 1797 unpublished) sadly does not list paintings, so it is impossible to tell whether the newly ennobled Baron

Braybrooke chose to establish himself temporally through familial links, rather than spatially through pictures of his estates.

## The middle class experience

Middle class interiors are difficult to investigate in the absence of the inventories commonly compiled by early country house admirers in their enthusiastic quest to expose upper class interior design. Few depictions of middle class settings exist, and these are normally idealised. However, although table settings, neatness and context may have been slightly altered to fit the purpose (for example in selling billiard tables as in figure 52), certain aspects remain constant. Pictures are one of these: familial portraits do not feature as conspicuously in middle class settings as they do in elite dining rooms. Preferred themes are landscapes and classical buildings (fig. 50). Most middle class families would not have had relatives wealthy enough to commission portraits in the pre-photography period, and even if they did, care would have had to have been taken not to indicate inadvertently a fall from previous social levels. Moreover, the presence of a seascape as opposed to a relative would immediately have struck the dining room observer, marking the room as being class-specific. In a display of group solidarity it may well have been that the exhibition of family connections flouted accepted consumption patterns among the middle classes in the mid-nineteenth century. Middle class reticence when choosing objects for public display supports Young‘s (2003) argument that middle class identity was based on shared values with an emphasis on economy, practicality and, in this case, individual effort.

Landscapes could also be used to indicate learning, in exactly the same way that Grand Tourists in the seventeenth and eighteenth centuries invariably brought back a portrait of themselves amidst suitably classical ruins. The middle class ethic of self-improvement favoured the display of personal achievement rather than inherited wealth, and this was more easily communicated by associative pictures than by portraits of dead relatives. Additionally, as shown in chapter 3, for the middle class mistress, dinner was a tool by which personal prowess could be demonstrated and relative status defined. Portraits, by necessity, favour the

individual, whether s/he is depicted or merely descended from the sitter. In aristocratic marriages, women were expected to identify with their husband's families (Horn 1991), subsuming personal identity in favour of that of their new line, at least in the choice of décor for public areas. As a titled wife, being surrounded by portraits of one's husband's family was an indication of that loss of personal identity. Middle class households, in contrast to the elites, tended to be tenants, or purchase houses later in life. They did not usually inherit rooms already decorated, but were able to choose their own schemes, new at every move, and the women who largely made such choices seem to have opted not to subsume their identity beneath a selection of pictures tied uniquely to their husbands. Rather, they used the dining room to display to outsiders a sense of communal and familial identity based upon their household unit, making it distinct from previous generations on both sides, and emphasising their dedication to their household in the immediate moment, and not to nebulous links over which they had no control.

## Little elegancies: tableware and other decoration

The situation and decoration of dining rooms was affected by changing attitudes towards dinner, and was, as described above, class dependant and not tied directly to service style. More significant was the impact of à la Russe upon tableware and table decoration. The latter element has been documented as part of narrative descriptions of how the table looked (e.g. Mars 1994b), but not considered as a means of elucidating the process of change itself. The way in which tablewares changed has again been documented, primarily by the antiques trade, but few studies of the social implications of this are evident and work is predominantly descriptive (Smith 1975; Coysh and Henrywood 1982; 1989). As Richards (1999, 6) points out, there has been a tendency to regard ceramic wares as *„isolated fossils on the historical record of styles"*. Within archaeology, detailed consideration of the patterns on offer, their distribution and appeal is increasingly popular (Brooks 1999; Lucas 2003). Others have combined an understanding of ceramic change with site-derived data (DiZerega Wall 1994). Very little work using tableware from excavated sites has been published in the

UK, and it continues to be an area where the relationship of people with objects in their original state and as used is not fully understood. This section will explore the connection between changing tableware forms and changing service styles and emphasise that fashion is always driven by social needs.

Figures 50 and 51 show dinner à la Française while figures 52 and 53 illustrate à la Russe. The traditional view of à la Russe is that it was a more expensive undertaking than à la Française, necessitating more servants and more tableware, and therefore that it was adopted by the elites before gradually being adapted for middle class use (e.g. Lucas 1994). However, as discussed in chapter 3, its eventual acceptance was driven by the middle classes and not by the aristocracy. A la Russe was a highly regulated way of serving dinner, not just in terms of behavioural norms, but also with regard to the dishes and formulation of menus. Provided a girl could read, she could learn how to regulate her future table from a young age – issues of The Girl's Own Paper abound with didactic essays disguised as jolly short stories (Forrester 1980). Normally the heroine, for some reason in a position of authority over a household despite her tender years, is obliged to devise and cook a meal from sparse ingredients at short notice. This she does – with detailed narrative on amounts and techniques – to loud acclaim. In at least one story she also wins herself a rich husband through her command of the table and its decoration. This was in stark contrast to à la Française, where menu structures have proved elusive to modern commentators (Flandrin 2002; Lehmann 2007 unpublished). Chapter 3 argued that à la Française¸ far from being rejected by the elites, was maintained by them as a means of contrasting with the print-based behaviours of the middle classes. Just as the format suited upper class needs, so too did its associated material culture.

As a tool for display, service à la Française necessitated a range of plates and serving vessels. The most expensive material remained silver or occasionally gold, and the shapes of serving plates on plans in eighteenth century recipe books reflect those characteristic of silver services (Mason 1773; Farley 1801). Metal vessels are rare in both archaeological excavations and collections in proportion to ceramics. Being more valuable they were more likely to remain as part of a

family's possessions, bequeathed through generations during which time they were easier to alter or melt down entirely than porcelain. They also fetched a better price if sold or pawned. House inventories frequently listed plate separately to other items in recognition of both its monetary and heirloom value (e.g. Gladwell 1787 unpublished; Anon. 1817 unpublished). During the 1840s the development of Sheffield Electroplate (also known as EPNS) brought metal tableware within financial reach of the middle classes (Goss 2005), but already by then the introduction of à la Russe enabled those who adopted it to move away from table-top displays of bought or inherited goods and negated the need for large and expensive sets of serving plates. Additionally, by the 1750s, several porcelain factories had been established in England, and by the 1780s offered a wide variety of shapes, sizes, patterns and prices. In the nineteenth century bone china replaced the hard and more common soft-paste English porcelain (Draper 2001) and achieved rapid acceptance. While silverware could be etched or moulded, china could be moulded, painted or, from the 1780s, printed with an inexhaustible range of designs.

### Changing plates for changing service styles

The advent of service à la Russe did not end the need for plates for the serving and display of dishes, but it did simplify requirements. In most cases diners were not presented with a complete course already arranged upon a plate: an element of choice remained, not least to cater for varying appetites. Individual portions were offered by waiting staff from large plates, and diners were able to select which of the courses they desired (Mrs Humphrey 1897, 72-3). For the transition table and, later, those households such as that of the Queen at Osborne House which retained the sideboard for the display of food, plates were required which would complement the food as they had done under an à la Française regime. However, these vessels were a decreasing part of the table display. Discarding à la Française meant that fewer plates were required in the dining room at any one time. Courses, whether laid out in the table (transition) or served from the sideboard (à la Russe), usually consisted of no more than four separate dishes, plus any sauces and condiments required. Even if several staff were serving the

same dish at once, for example at a large party with separate tables, the number of serving platters required would still have been less than that needed for à la Française. They would, however, have been bigger, able to contain individual portions for everyone at the table, should all present desire the same dish. With the exception of a few large vessels for the centrepiece, however, plates for à la Française needed to be no bigger than the plates off which diners ate: dishes were not designed to serve everyone but be part of a composite table in which each dish contributed to a whole and each diner could formulate the dinner s/he wished.

A few large serving vessels would have been easier to procure and store than the many small dishes of different shapes which service à la Française required, suiting the middle class purse. Silver, EPNS or plain chargers were available to buy individually by the 1880s while patterned pieces came as part of dinner sets (Bosomworth 1991). EPNS was especially prevalent for covered dishes and vessels which could be filled with hot water to keep the contents warm. While the ideal may have been to have enough serving platters to provide for the entire meal, it would have been easy to wash and reuse plates from one course for another later on. Fewer serving plates would also have meant cheaper rental costs for those families who chose to obtain their ceramic, glass or silverware in that fashion. Even aristocratic households made use of the flourishing market in renting tableware: Harewood probably rented a gold service for the visit of Princess Victoria in the 1830s (Gallimore 2004, pers.comm). References abound throughout the period to renting parts of the dining setting, from flowers in the nineteenth century (Attar 1991) to sugarcraft confectionery in the eighteenth (Brown 1990, 38).

Service à la Française required a much greater number of plate sizes and shapes for successful display. This applied whether the dinner was small (fig. 50) or large (fig. 51). Most cookbooks suggested courses of 5-7 dishes plus sauces and sundries, and there would have been little scope for sly plate reuse, as there were commonly only two courses plus dessert for which those who could afford it could buy specific services. By the late eighteenth century the range of plates in a

dinner or dessert service included shapes specifically intended for certain positions on the table. Figure 54 shows a set of plates from one of the Harewood dessert services, which comprises square, lozenge, round and corner plates as well as sauce boats and stands. The variety of shapes and their symmetrical arrangement on the table has obvious parallels in the shapes suggested for food itself, as well as in a wider Georgian context ,which includes garden and house design (Lehmann 2008 unpublished). Victorian dinner sets increasingly contained only round plates (fig. 55), echoing the general pattern of food design, which, as discussed in chapter 3, itself reflected an underlying concern to display communality as a way of masking social tension. That said, the examples shown in figure 55 indicate that geometric and abstract forms may have appeared on plates before they become dominant in food moulds. Time and study scope preclude a detailed examination of ceramic plate design, which has formed the basis of a thesis in its own right (e.g. Brooks 2000 unpublished). However, based on the teawares considered as part of chapter 6, as well as examples of plates from manufacturers, sales catalogues and collection data, it does appear that, while a wide range of designs was available throughout the period, regular geometric patterns did become more common in the mid-nineteenth century, just as à la Russe was gaining ground.

Service à la Russe required small round plates off which to eat, and larger, shaped plates for serving. A clear differentiation was made between the two through shape, size and pattern. The à la Française table did not differentiate so precisely between serving and dining vessels. Although shaped plates would have been intended for the former purpose, and plates for the latter would all have been circular, size and pattern were used to emphasise continuity across the table. The table could be viewed as a single uniting entity with all the dishes open to all the diners and the centrepiece forming a natural visual climax. However, shaped vessels could still be used to create emphasis and support the directional placement of the foodstuffs themselves. Directional prints also played a role when used as part of the display of dishes on the table as they had to be positioned facing someone. The gradual uncovering of the design as food was removed added a further playful element to dinner, and a sense of movement and

change throughout the meal which has not hitherto been recognised in discussions of etiquette, which derive almost purely from servants' manuals. This was in contrast again to à la Russe in which directional printed plates still featured, but were laid in front of the diner, with the print exposed at the start of the meal, and then covered up, removing all element of surprise. Each diner was afforded the same emphasis by having directional prints placed in from of him or her, once more imposing uniformity while appearing to privilege the individual.

### Service à la Française and aristocratic dining practice

The ceramic collection of Harewood House, Yorkshire, comprises china drawn from various contexts, assembled over around 200 years. The main attraction to ceramicists is the significant collection of Sèvres including pieces known to have been made for Marie Antoinette. It was collected by Edward, Viscount Lascelles in the late eighteenth century (Lascelles nd., 16) and seems always to have been used exclusively for display. Until the 1850s much of it was housed in the Lascelles' London house, where it was ranged in cabinets in various drawing rooms and anterooms on the main visitor route (Anon. 1838 unpublished). Much of this collection remains at Harewood, where it is given a room to itself along with a page in the guidebook (Lascelles nd., 16). Dinnerware was used for display from at least the medieval period, when buffets containing silver were a frequent fixture behind the lordly dining table (Wilson 1991, 31). By the late eighteenth century the ubiquity and price of ceramics enabled them to be used purely for ornament – on dressers (Webster 1999), as wall hangings (Lucas 2003) or as here, in cabinets. It is a reminder of the power of meal-taking: even in contexts free of the act of eating or drinking, objects associated with dinner could still be present.

The items in the Harewood collection known to have been used (or which can reasonably be assumed to have been) are of more relevance to this study. Of the thirteen services with significant numbers of pieces remaining at the house, ten are dessert services. At least one of these is a later acquisition, and did not enter the collection until the twentieth century (Lascelles nd.). The services with a more certain provenance range in date from c.1774 to the 1860s, mirroring the

most wealthy period of Harewood‘s history. There are no large serving platters at all, suggesting that either silver dishes were used and later disposed of – although no such items are mentioned in the Harewood archive and there is no record of any further service being sold or given away (Gallimore 2004, pers.comm) – or that the small plates which were the accepted form for presenting dishes à la Française continued to be used until the twentieth century.

Harewood‘s circular plates average 20-30cm in diameter. This is in line with plates drawn from elsewhere. Graph 2 illustrates a data set drawn from Norwich Castle Museum‘s online collection, which is unprovenanced but still provides a quantitative sample with which to compare contextualised data. Based on this, and supported by the nineteenth century ceramics at Harewood, it would appear that after c.1860 plate sizes, which had been gradually rising, fell. This proposal is based on a small sample size (46 items in the Norwich collection and 5 sets at Harewood), but isolated examples from other collections such as that of the Museum of London seem to support it. The circular plates in figure 54 measure 240mm in diameter. In figure 55 the measurements are 229mm, 206mm and 200mm Standard guides to ceramics, such as the two Coysh and Henrywood (1982; 1989) volumes, do not give dimensions, and nor do catalogues such as Bosomworth (1991). However, Miller‘s (1988; 1991; Lucas 1994, 84) examination of makers‘ catalogues in an American context also suggests that the larger dinner plates were withdrawn from sale in the 1880s and 1890s.

Function has been proposed as the primary reason for decreasing plate sizes (Lucas 1994), based on the idea that à la Russe led to smaller portions as the need to put elements of every dish on the table on the plate at once diminished. Study of the etiquette of dining à la Française negates this: there was a regulated order in which dishes were sampled (Flandrin 2002), and the physical presence of many dishes on the table should not be equated with the piling of food from each of them on the plate without discernment. This is precisely why the style had such long-lasting appeal to the upper classes, bred to and brought up within its rule system: outsiders were excluded from a complicated, unwritten form of dining. The shift to a transitional table, and later à la Russe may have influenced

plate shape through changing function: vessels used directly for eating, as opposed to displaying, food seem always to have been round and as the need to present myriad dishes upon the table declined, so too did the need for shaped vessels. Silber and Fleming's 1883 catalogue (Bosomworth 1991) contained only one dining set with small shaped plates: the rest comprised round dining and side plates and round or oval serving dishes and platters.

More significant was the role of women in the dining room. A decline in the size of plates is noticeable from the 1860s, a few decades before à la Russe became generally accepted. This period was a key one for the development of the middle class leisured ideal (Matthews 1987), wherein the core household moved out to the newly built suburbs (DiZerega Wall 1994) and women became locked into a circle of afternoon visits, dinner-giving and what is currently regarded at its worst as a life of unfulfilled boredom (Nicholson 1994; Howarth 2000). This view can be taken too far, but it is certain that dinner-giving became a significant means by which middle class women occupied their time and contributed to the way in which their household was regarded by their peers. Successful dinners were a key means by which male business interests could be advanced, prospective matches for offspring introduced, and manners – a ‗new civil religion' (Kasson 1991, 40) tested and maintained. By the 1860s women reigned in the dining room, regardless of room function and association. Nineteenth century fiction and diaries contain plenty of references to female-organised dinners (Braddon 1907; Forrester 1980; Lewis-Jones 2007), and it is the odd occasion masterminded by a man which is the exception. Changing plate size therefore may be seen as indicative of a feminisation process within the dining room. Women were exhorted in the advice literature to eat small, delicate portions and favour pale, supposedly ladylike foods. The gender-based positioning of foods at either end of the table reinforced these behaviours. Smaller plates reflect firmer feminine control of the table, and, by extension, of those around it. The period of slightly larger plates up to the 1860s may also reflect the use of the transition table, wherein food was still displayed on the table, but in more courses and smaller groups. Plates with more room, but which were not yet serving platters,

can be seen as characteristic of a transition from small to large, just as the transition table itself forms a bridge between à la Française and à la Russe.

The prevalence of older services at Harewood – none of the ceramic sets associated with the Lascelles prior to 1900 date from after 1860 – indicates not only the survival of à la Française or its transitional form beyond the turn of the twentieth century, but also reflects the more patriarchal nature of aristocratic society. Marriages for the landed elites were carefully calculated, designed to ally family interests and, increasingly, bring money to the estate (Horn 1991). This is not to suggest that affection or even love did not exist within couples, but in titled families the title and estate, tied to the male line, were paramount, and individual interests were always deemed second to the survival of the inheritance. Aristocratic women still made most of the decisions around dining, but in the negotiation of gender status within the household they had a less favourable starting position, weighed down as they were by attitudes, buildings and movable goods which reflected the masculine focus of aristocratic wealth.

A la Française suited the aristocracy. The service depicted in figure 54, bought at a time of affluence at Harewood, reflects à la Française at its most visually stunning. Tens of dishes might have been presented on the table at once which, given the nature of dessert foods – meringues, jellies, crystallised sweetmeats and so forth – would have made for a dynamic display. Dinner by the 1830s was habitually held after 7.30pm (Lehmann 2002), which meant darkness would have fallen or be falling by the time dessert was served. Candlelight reflecting off gilt plates with the rich colours shown here, off the flatware, candlesticks, glassware and finally off the food itself would have ensured a constantly moving play of light across the table. The sense of shared drama was thrown into relief by the shape of the plates. With the exception of the corner plates all are symmetrical through 180° across both axes, intimating accessibility within a set structure just as the service style itself emphasised shared values within a narrow context. While the less well off could potentially afford large plain services as ceramic innovation brought cost down, only the truly wealthy could invest in sets such as

the Coalport one (fig. 54) in the 1830s and pay for cooks expert enough to fill them with suitably breathtaking food.

However, as demonstrated in chapter 3, by the end of the nineteenth century, while the forms of à la Française may have continued, the structures inherent in the late eighteenth century version had been lost. By the end of the nineteenth century, despite looming financial difficulties, Harewood still employed leading French chefs, paying substantial amounts over the cost of a female cook. Louis Lecomte, appointed in 1876, publically endorsed à la Russe in his published works, and it is likely that the Lascelles adopted some means of successional serving. It is, however, possible that the outlay on new dinner plates was deemed unnecessary. All the older services contained round plates, suitable for putting in directly front of diners. If a form of à la Russe was adopted that relied on serving in the kitchen, and not from platters in the dining room, any additional expenditure could be avoided – a theory which would explain the lack of large platters in the Harewood collection and suggest a direct leap from à la Française to the most advanced form of à la Russe. By the 1880s, falling rents and agricultural depression (Burnett 1966) meant that many aristocratic families, those most dependant on their land for income, were not able to invest heavily in new tableware. À la Française was an expensive way of serving dinner precisely because of the outlay required on plates, but if a family already possessed them, resisting à la Russe could prove economically practical. Additionally, as with the display of portraiture in the dining room, using older plates reinforced values which by the socially mobile 1880s were more significant than in previous generations: patina, and the value of a long lineage despite momentary financial problems.

The significance of ceramics as an active marker of values was made explicit by Mary Elizabeth Braddon, best-selling author of sensation novels in the latter part of the nineteenth century:

> „*Sir Joseph laid down his half*-smoked cigar in the old Derby dessert plate. He had observed that in noble families, however impecunious, one always found old china and Queen Anne

> *silver, to excite the envy of the newly rich."*
> (Braddon 1894, 31-2)

Adapting aging china for modern use required imagination. By the 1880s the range of specialist equipment for aiding in the demolition of a prepared dish was bewildering (Williams 1996). If dinner was served à la Russe the expanse of table previously needed for the display of food was freed up for other items. Manufacturers rapidly realised the opportunities inherent in the new service style, and etiquette books indicate that among the middle classes pressure to invest in exciting new table-filling objects was immense. Celery boats, vases, sweetmeat stands and vessels for holding all manner of condiments quickly filled the gaps left by plates – all of which could be rented (Francatelli 1861; Attar 1991). The transition table contained strong elements of à la Russe in the form of tazzes and stands marching along the centre of the table. Used for displaying items such as nuts and dried fruits, these were available to match dessert services or as separate pieces (Bosomworth 1991, 166). Despite the supposed prevalence of matching sets of tableware (e.g. Williams 1996), study of the Harewood collection supports the idea, occasionally voiced, of complementary rather than matching wares (Fitts 1999, 51). Harewood has a Sèvres dinner service from the 1760-70s (separate to the display Sèvres and with obvious signs of use), with additional and replacement pieces in a similar pattern from Derby before 1811. Both patterns complement various Meissen items from the late eighteenth century (fig. 56). They could have been used to differentiate between two separate courses, or used together if a large meal was to be served. Complementarity rather than strict symmetry also reflected the approach to the food of à la Française.

Complementary pieces were useful in the adaption of ceramics to fit new styles without losing the presence of patina on the table. Figures 57-8 show one of the Coalport dessert service plates in the Harewood collection which has been converted into a tazze by dint of a stand attached to the plate with a white-painted screw through the centre. Several plates in each of the various shapes needed for à la Française have been converted in this way, though it is notable that none of the circular plates has been converted, supporting the idea that older services were used at Harewood for à la Russe, since this would have been the

one shape which was required for continued use under the new regime. Figure 59 shows an earlier, genuine stand, also from Harewood, while figure 60 is an illustration from Silber and Fleming's 1883 catalogue of household goods (Bosomworth 1991). The plates were probably converted in the 1870s under the direction of Diana, second wife of the fourth Earl, at a time of comparative retrenchment. Once food was upon them the screw would have been less obvious, but diners would still have been complicit in the deception – the foot on the plate is at odds with the design of a genuine tazze, and the stand itself is not a particularly good match. Other pieces in the collection show signs of similar adaption and reuse, in particular a glass service, drilled through with holes which were probably intended to fasten the plates onto a large many-armed stand (Gallimore 2004, pers.comm). The Coalport service shows significant signs of wear and tear, in particular cutlery marks, indicative of sustained use as tableware before its current function as a display item.

The middle class vogue for properly matching sets of ceramics, evident in depictions of dining ware in advice books (Beeton 1888) and sales catalogues (Bosomworth 1991) is borne out in the small amount of evidence for middle class dining purchases. Excavation data is rare for the UK, but published reports on American middle class sites indicate that matching sets were present in most households (Fitts 1999; Brighton 2001). Many of the shards upon which the American research is based are indicative of white or creamware services, with moulded or simple gilt details (DiZerega Wall 1994; Lucas 1994). Such sets are rarely illustrated in English sources, suggesting that they were less popular, although they are frequently found on site (Barker 2009 forthcoming). Instead, the gothic or abstract patterns which also appear on tea services are more prevalent in advice literature, sales catalogues and collections. As will be discussed in chapter 7 in relation to teawares, these highly regular patterns reflected the middle class worldview. They were muted and ostensibly apolitical, supporting middle class self-definition as inconspicuous consumers (Young 2003). Gothic-style plates were often symmetrical through several axes, their aggressive regularity emphasising the uniformity and loss of individuality inherent in service à la Russe although, as mentioned above, they predate it by

several decades. The style has been linked to the mid century _cult of domesticity' (Clark 1988) which, while more evident in the USA where it was linked to religious revivalism and domestic reform, had a limited effect in the UK as well. None of the Harewood plates features this design: when the services considered here were finally replaced in the twentieth century, it was with fine white bone china edged with gilt and crested. These bear a resemblance to another category of ceramics, namely those designed for corporate or service contexts.

## Discipline on a plate

Service à la Française in its most developed form came out of the behavioural changes of the seventeenth and eighteenth centuries. Enlightenment discourse emphasised the humanity and civility of men over animals, and present day man over historical societies. The manners of the late eighteenth century were far removed from those of even a hundred years before (Kasson 1991; Elias 2000), but were to undergo even bigger changes over the next century. With the growth of the print industry and an increasing literacy rate, it was in this period that the democratisation of etiquette took place. As discussed in chapter 3, as the middle classes defined themselves against profligate elite behaviour and uncivilised lower class conduct their system of manners was codified and promulgated as the Victorian _norm' through written etiquette and advice books (Mars 1994b). It is these books which have defined the Victorians to later generations, who seem as secure in the knowledge that anything can be learnt from a book as were readers 150 years ago. The recent BBC series The Victorian Farm (2009) provides evidence both of the approach and its shortcomings. However, despite the impression given by popular culture of this type, etiquette was not the only way in which social behaviours were enforced.

Ceramics could be used for discipline in two ways. Firstly, the very nature of their materiality was a useful tool. China breaks easily, and was frequently used as a metaphor for (female) virtue and gentility in the late seventeenth century when it first became popular (Kowaleski-Wallace 1995). Use of ceramics in dining ware enforced delicate behaviour upon its handlers, whether they were diners being careful with flatware on painted surfaces or servants handling plates

on the way to and from the dining room. Servants' guides are full of advice on how to touch and clean breakable objects such as glassware with which familiarity is not assumed, even in the nineteenth century (e.g. Adams and Adams 1825). Preparative spaces were altered in the seventeenth and eighteenth centuries to suit breakable tablewares, for example with the introduction of wooden (Davies 1989, 14) or, later, soft lead-lined sinks for washing up (Hann 2007 unpublished). These hardware changes increased the emphasis on the breakable nature of fine ceramics, enforcing discipline upon servants at a time when china had yet to become widespread in lower class settings.

By the nineteenth century, by which time ceramics were more commonplace in working class homes, the mere fact of their presence was no longer enough to enforce class status. Country houses therefore started to invest in wares (figures 61 and 62) emblazoned with the family arms, and in some cases labelled with the name of the room in which they were to be used. With status already denoted by space, as discussed above, such plates, which were typically earthenware rather than the bone china of the upper table, enforced discipline by their design as well as their physicality. In the case of Harewood, such plates only exist for the nursery and steward's room. This emphasised differences within the ranks of servant as the upper servants ate off marked wares while presumably the lower staff did not. The pictures of the Osborne staff dining spaces (figs. 42-43) indicate that cups made from horn were still in use in the 1870s: very old-fashioned and a clear indication of where the drinker stood in the household hierarchy. In an increasingly competitive job market, where young people could choose from a growing range of options – including, by the 1880s, options for women not restricted to domestic service – the provision of branded wares echoed similar designs to be found in hotels and boarding houses (Lucas 1994, 85) as well as in railway tearooms and dining cars. They linked the working environment of the country (and large town) house to new technology and opportunities, implying a career structure and dynamism within the working environment that could compete with other areas of work. Such uniform tableware also, once again, depersonalised service even while seeming to mark out small groups for particular note.

## Conclusions

The impact of changing service styles upon such material constants as dining rooms and plates has not been considered before, either by the food history establishment or by archaeologists. A la Russe has been viewed simply as a way of serving the meal, and although it has been recognised as providing impetus for the manufacture of dining implements aimed at filling space vacated by the display of food characteristic of à la Française, it has not hitherto been investigated as a system of household organisation. A consideration of the material culture of dining across the period when service à la Française was being superseded by service à la Russe indicates significant continuities, as well as differences. Class emerges as a key principle behind the materiality of dining, although it is important to remember that this study situates class within an engendered reading of dining change. Among the country-house-owning elites, à la Française was retained as a service style until the end of the nineteenth century, and the advent of alternatives was resisted. It was ideally suited for the aristocracy to display wares upon and around the table which would emphasise the values which defined them: heredity, wealth and imperial and political power. As explained in chapter 3, the unwritten and still unknown etiquette of the English version of à la Française was used as a means of excluding the uninitiated, in contrast to à la Russe, whose rules were written down and circulated at prices for every budget. The degree to which a diner adhered to written guidelines would have marked him or her out as learning from books, but this in itself was a mark of the middle classes and as such a badge of class identity. Aristocratic dining was predicated on acquired knowledge, and the practical teaching of daughters was part of the role of a mother. Dining room décor was used to inculcate aristocratic values into family members as well as to communicate them to guests. An increasing tendency to emphasise age, blood ties and patina is apparent as social pressures increased and the revenues from rents and food prices which upheld the aristocratic lifestyle fell.

Women led dining change, being the key decision-makers in acquiring tableware, decorating dining rooms and choosing menus. The element least open to change

in the light of new service styles – the physical situation of the dining room – was that most likely to have been influenced by men. Other material aspects of dining were increasingly feminised as the nineteenth century progressed, and, far from being a bulwark of unrestrained masculinity (Girouard 1978), the dining room seems to have been one of the more significant ways in which women could influence their husbands, children and wider social circle. The adoption of service à la Russe was suited to middle class financial means in general, and middle class female needs in particular. In the second half of the nineteenth century, tension between the ideal of the leisured wife and middle class values of work and economy could be partially resolved by dinner parties, which if held successfully, could materially contribute to male prospects as well as household standing. Command of the materiality of dinner had long been recognised as a mark of a successful woman, and a test of new wives. À la Russe was a more economical option than à la Française. It was easier for cooks and menu planning and it had been largely rejected by the aristocracy. It could be learnt from books and was not dependant on cross-generation teaching. As a middle class identifier it was therefore ideal. Meanwhile, attitudinal change linked to the uniformity of the new style caused more subtle but also more socially diffused change, as ranks within the household were increasingly defined impersonally after à la Russe started to supersede the transition table in the 1860-70s. Within the kitchen, the division of labour was also affected; an aspect to which we turn in chapter 5.

# 5. **'A Practical Art'**[3]: gender, discipline and domestic food preparation

> *„I am of the opinion that cookery being a practical art, no* perfect cook was yet made from mere boo*k study.*
> (Marshall c.1888, preface)
>
> *„All is performed in so exact a Manner, that infallible Methods are thereby pointed out…so that all other Direction and Assistance…is thereby render"d unnecessary"*
> (Carter 1730, xx)

Meals do not reach the table on their own. Behind each dish, at any point in time lies a series of completed actions which may have been performed by one or more people, in one or more places and using a range of equipment. In a period before the explosion of domestic labour-saving devices and mass-produced food short-cuts, even fairly simple dishes required forethought and often lengthy, laborious preparation. This is especially true of the type of food to which the majority of data used in this thesis is related, namely that of the rich or comfortably off. Consumers of food thus prepared, whether servants or served, were aware of the processes behind the sensory experience of their meal and the skills and habits of cooks were a topic for discussion in contemporary literature and diaries (e.g. Lewis-Jones 2007). Chapters 3 and 4 have already analysed the meal as a performance, replete with social meaning. This chapter will go backstage, considering the ways in which the material culture associated with food preparation, including the ingredients themselves, were used to formulate and enforce gender and class divisions within the domestic context.

Goody (1982) argues that cuisine, in the form of the product to be consumed at the table, cannot be divorced from the processes of cooking or indeed the procurement of food. The disposal of food remains forms a fourth stage (fifth if procurement is separated into production and distribution). Awareness of the continual process of obtaining, transforming, consuming and disposing of food underlies food writing in any period, and the cookbooks considered here usually contain advice on shopping (_marketing'), along with preparing ingredients. A

[3] Marshall (c.1888, preface)

concern with the reuse of leftovers is also evident, though is not always as overt as Beeton's (1861) ‗Cold Meat cookery'. Authors were themselves aware of the transformative role of the cooks: *„everything that is edible, and passes under the* hands of the cook, is more or *less changed, and assumes new forms"* (Beeton 1888, 101). If male, cooks were among the highest paid indoor servants, along with the steward and butler. If female, they usually earned less than the housekeeper, who was herself on less than the butler/steward (Beeton 1888), but still considerably more than most other servants. At Audley in 1871 a female cook, Priscilla Conway, earned £40p.a., which was less than only the butler, valet and housekeeper. Her male, probably French, replacement in the same year, John Merer, was paid £120p.a., £40 more than the next highest paid servant, the butler (on £80) (Hann 2007 unpublished). The chief royal cook in 1869 meanwhile earned £250 plus at least £90 in perquisites and fees (RA 1851-1881 unpublished). Additional staff was provided in the shape of assistant cooks (male), kitchen maids (female), scullery maids and, in larger establishments, specialists such as bakers, confectioners and roasting cooks. The royal household had all of these and more, but they were not limited to the royal kitchens. Harewood, for example, employed several bakers in the nineteenth century (Harewood 2004 unpublished).

Kitchen staff required kitchens in which to work, and with them could be a host of auxiliary spaces such as sculleries, larders and stock rooms. Meanwhile as the variety of available equipment grew, so too did the amount of objects in the kitchen. Inventories and kitchen depictions from the eighteenth century, if taken at face value at least, suggest that fewer items were present in kitchens in the 1750s than were deemed necessary by 1900. By the latter half of the nineteenth century, equipment lists were increasingly present in cookbooks (Senn 1901; Jewry c.1875; Marshall c.1888). The decreasing price of tin goods promised to render accessible previously unachievable effects through food moulds, while time requirements were cut by an increasing range of time-saving ingredients including dried yeast and tinned fruit (Goody 1982; Broomfield 2007). The classic marketing definition of the cash rich, time poor middle class, still a major target for manufacturers today, was equally applicable to the urban middle

classes at the end of the nineteenth century. Time became a marker of class: the very wealthy could pay for it, in the shape of skilled and plentiful kitchen staff, but further down the social scale it was more difficult. The interplay between the printed version of preparation and the reality of it was affected by both class and gender. Additionally, as set out in chapter 3, à la Russe was a style reliant on print, and if, as is hypothesised here, it should be seen as more than just a way of serving dinner, its effects should also be visible in the material culture of food preparation.

## Kitchens, cookbooks and cooks: a brief background

The basement or service wing-situated preparation spaces characteristic of the eighteenth and nineteenth century should be seen as part of a series of experiments with kitchen positioning. Early kitchens tended to be situated away from the main body of the house in sites of any size, mainly due to the fire risk (Paston-Williams 1993), but also to remove smells and noise from the main body of the house. They were connected to the great hall, the central focus for dining, via a series of passages and serveries. The best known surviving example, that at Hampton Court Palace, operated on a grand scale, feeding up in excess of 1000 people at times, and has been described as *„a complete Tudor factory complex"* (Brears 1999, 14). By the early seventeenth century, kitchens had moved into, and often under, the main house as houses became more compact and symmetrical (Girouard 1978). Smells and noise continued to be a problem, and various solutions were tried to separate living quarters and domestic offices over the next 150 years, including sunken kitchens, and distant kitchens with concealed access corridors. As the use of the great hall for communal eating died out, the hall joined the kitchen and other offices as part of the service complex, to be replaced for the nobility by one or more dining spaces, as discussed in chapter 4. In the early eighteenth century, service wings were often built to house the kitchen complex, though this arrangement did not replace basement or half-storey solutions. In urban areas the placing of kitchens in separate wings was rare – constraints of space and planning restrictions necessitated the most compact planning possible. The rise of the terraced house from the mid seventeenth

century placed kitchens and related offices firmly in basements (Muthesius 1982; Summerson 1993) and, as will be further discussed below, this became the standard middle class form even when villas and detached houses started to be constructed en masse in the new suburbs in the nineteenth century.

Changes in kitchen form were accompanied and influenced by changes in the staffing of large houses. The medieval and Tudor model of gentry retainers and predominantly male households declined in the early part of the seventeenth century. Women, hitherto attendant only upon the women and children of the house, or employed as laundry maids, entered the new domestic areas as kitchen staff, housemaids and housekeepers. Partly due to changing notions of privacy, the removal of gentry service from large houses was also influenced by shifting power structures at a governmental level (Girouard 1978, 143) and the development of a discernable _middling sort�spec with an urban and business bias not geared toward service. Cooks and other key personnel such as butlers or stewards (the main _front of house‘ staff) continued to be men in the courtly context of large estate houses and their London equivalents. Far from being associated with women, culinary preparation at the highest social level was the exclusive preserve of men (Goody 1982; Wilson 1996), even before the rise of the French male chef as the most desired attribute of the aristocratic kitchen. In the period under discussion here, male cooks earned more and were regarded as being of higher quality than female cooks. Frenchmen were even more sought after, and the leading cooks in both private and public establishments were French and male. Well-known examples include the Reform Club whose kitchens were part-designed by Alexis Soyer (Brandon 2004), and the Savoy and Carleton Hotels which both employed Auguste Escoffier (Escoffier 2007). This trend was given more impetus by the French Revolution, after which it is generally agreed that a surge in the availability of French male cooks took place as staff from aristocratic houses fled the country (Mennell 1996).

In the mid-eighteenth century, the general arrangement at large houses was one in which a steward overlooked the domestic arrangements, with the cook working under him. A third male office, clerk of the kitchen, was already

obsolete (except in the royal household) (Wilson 1996, 78). Female cooks were employed by those not wishing for, or unable to afford, a male cook, and formed the majority of employed cooks, although they were always viewed as inferior to their male counterparts. In houses with no male staff, the housekeeper normally took on the administrative role played by the steward, as well as controlling the housemaids and laundry. She also often provided some culinary preparative services in the form of pickling and preserving, and the traditional ladies' occupation of the stillroom (Beeton 1861). Later on, wage lists such as those for Audley (Hann 2007 unpublished) suggest that even in large houses the office of steward declined, with the cook, butler and housekeeper between them taking on his duties, dividing the house along skill and gender lines which were echoed in the spatial arrangements of service wings.

Kitchens were by no means closed environments during the seventeenth century. Studies of inventories and legal records, most notably that by Pennell (1998), have shown the variety of non-culinary equipment, such as bibles, stored in kitchens, and illustrated the range of human experiences with which kitchen spaces could interact. At a working class level no servants were employed, and kitchens, normally without any auxiliary spaces, were situated within the core of the home, forming an additional room which may or may not have doubled as living or working space. Even where servants – or a servant – were employed by the middling sorts, this did not preclude the entry of household females into kitchens. Until the end of the Stuart period one important part of women's work was the preparation of sugarcraft confectionery, together with other work in the stillroom (Lehmann 2003). This was connected to the feminine role in early modern medicine, where women routinely kept collections of medicinal and culinary receipes together, and on occasion debated with the male medical establishment as to the best course of treatment of medical conditions (Stobart 2008 unpublished). Published cookbooks continued to include medicinal recipes until the nineteenth century, with cookery for invalids and the invariable inclusion of medicinal beef tea remaining as a shadow of earlier practice into the twentieth century. Even Francatelli, one-time Queen's cook and later author of upmarket cookbooks included a recipe for ‗decoction of snails for inveterate

coughs‘ (snails, frogs, turnips and hay saffron in spring water) among his broths for invalids, which appears even in very late editions (e.g. Francatelli 1896, 53). However, by 1750 women were encouraged to aspire to a leisured ideal, one which left the kitchen firmly to the kitchen staff and did not include preparation of food, no matter how elaborate (Horn 1991; Lehmann 2003). The decreasing cost of key elements, such as sugar (Mintz 1985), for the visually stunning displays previously connected to the aristocratic tradition, meant that mistresses did not need to oversee use of ingredients and could delegate kitchen and ingredient management to the cook and housekeeper. As will be explored in chapters 6 and 7, the same trend is visible with tea. Pressure from advice books added to the impetus to stay out of the kitchen whenever possible, and by the end of the seventeenth century the general assumption in printed manuals was that the kitchen in a house of any size was the servants‘ domain (Lehmann 2003, 50). This is not to suggest that women below the rank of the elite adhered to the leisured ideal, but, by 1750, the publishing industry was content to give the impression that it believed they did.

The involvement of women on a hitherto unprecedented scale as employed cooks, twinned with rising literacy rates, spurred the cookbook publishing industry. By 1750 women not only formed the backbone of the professional culinary industry, but also authored the majority of books published for it. Men, however, still dominated elite cookery, which adhered to French styles and language. These styles were not up-to-date with continental French cookery, but nevertheless a divergence was evident between female-led anglicised cookery with the occasional bastardisation of elite styles, and male-led French cuisine with the occasional concession to English specialities. The exact techniques and development of national culinary styles have been covered elsewhere (Mennell 1996; Lehmann 2003), and for the purposes of this analysis it is only necessary to look at the broad differences between the two. French cookery was popularly perceived as being more fussy and transformative than English cuisine. It was seen as expensive and frivolous, and one of the most common claims made by eighteenth century female-authored cookbooks is that they have taken French dishes and anglicised them, making them quicker and cheaper (Glasse 1747;

Lehmann 2003). True French cookery was indeed in many cases more heavily worked than the English repertoire of roast and boiled meats and plain vegetables in the omnipresent melted butter sauce. The _made dishes' or entrées which flanked the central roasts were usually derived from French sources, and in the early nineteenth century – when the transition table was taking over from à la Française – Carême was particularly notable for the variety of preparations he deemed necessary for making one final dish (Mennell 1996, 148). The nature of French cookery lent itself to a pyramidical kitchen structure, whereby simple sauces, stocks, purées and other preparations were made by junior staff, and built up in successive layers until the head cook assembled the final dish (e.g. Tschumi and Powe 1954). A kitchen organised for more English fare divided tasks more clearly by dish, and the kitchen maid would have worked on plain meats and vegetables (Adams and Adams 1825, 79-80), which by extension meant that she took primary responsibility for servants' food. In 1750 both of these culinary frameworks were situated within a context of à la Française. By 1900 they worked to populate the à la Russe table, and it is to the changes this occasioned and the way in which women actively worked to change how cooks and kitchens were viewed by their employers that this chapter now turns.

## Engendering spaces and imposing discipline

The gender distinctions implicit in early cookbooks, between skilled male and less skilled and amateur female cooks, were reflected in the planning of kitchens and other culinary preparation spaces. The majority of kitchen workers at any social level, regardless of professional status, were female. Even where men were employed as chefs in elite houses, most of their staff was female. At both Audley and Harewood male cooks were regularly employed until the twentieth century, but extant wage lists and census data list only female kitchen maids and not male assistant cooks (Harewood 2004 unpublished; Hann 2007 unpublished). The Braybrookes at Audley started to use female cooks in the 1870s, although for a while men and women succeeded each other. The records of all three case studies – Harewood, Audley and Osborne – indicate career progression within the household, and although this was gender dependant, in that households

employing male cooks were unlikely to promote a female kitchen maid in his stead, it clearly shows the way in which domestic career structures worked. Biographical details of specific examples, such as Audley's Avis Crocombe and Gabriel Tschumi (Tschumi and Powe 1954) from a royal context, indicate that habits learnt in one house would be taken to the next, setting a general standard for culinary practices and results. Cooks and kitchen maids moved frequently between houses, importing recipes and sets of behaviours. They married, and brought up children, and could employ servants of their own as several examples from Audley End testify (Hann 2007 unpublished). The influence of large kitchens therefore spread to smaller households including those of the working classes, and they should not be seen as operating in a vacuum, as can be the impression given by current literature (e.g. Sambrook and Brears 1996). A brief consideration of one, purpose-built set of working class spaces, namely the new urban working class housing constructed after the end of the eighteenth century is included as an example of how the approach taken in this study can be applied to lower class space. Further work in this area could elucidate middle class thinking on a wider scale, as such houses were masterminded by middle classes speculators, and are therefore a good example of the imposition of the spatial structures of one class upon another. However, both in the next section and that which follows, on middle class housing, the focus remains on the way in which gender conventions were expressed through spatial planning without extending the analysis to other aspects of design. More data was available for the spaces of upper class food preparation, and they will be explored in more depth.

### The working class kitchen

Working class housing encompassed not only purpose-built, generally terraced, urban housing, but also rural dwellings old and new, house conversions and flats. For the purposes of this study, consideration will be given to planned urban developments, normally built by entrepreneurs or commissioned by industry magnates – middle rather than upper class speculators (Chalklin 2001, 38). These tended to take the form of the terraced house and ranged from the clearly working class two to four-roomed dwelling to a blurred line between lower

middle and upper working class provision (Muthesius 1982, 101). Such houses included cooking facilities, which after 1850 normally meant a cottage range with small built-in oven (Eveleigh 1983, 21). Kitchen spaces doubled as living spaces in most cases, and although houses tended to be equipped with a second downstairs room which could act as a parlour, this could also be called upon to act as a bedroom. The kitchen was invariably situated to the rear of the house within the main structure (Muthesius 1982, 102), reflecting the situation of the main kitchen user – the wife – whose role lay within the family structure, but subordinate to the male head of household.

In some cases wash-houses and sculleries were also built, even further away from the front of the house, although it should also be said that in some cases where two entries were provided the front entrance seems hardly ever to have been used, and the back privileged despite careful planning (Muthesius 1982, 105). These areas were also important to culinary preparation. In Dickens' Christmas Carol, Mrs Cratchit, one of eight residents in a four-roomed house, cooks her Christmas pudding in the wash-house copper, leading to the following spectacle:

> „*Mrs Cratchit left the room alone* – too nervous to bear witnesses – to take the pudding, and bring it in.
>
> „*Suppose it should not be done enough! Suppose it should break* in turning out! Suppose somebody should have got over the wall of the back-yard, and stolen it, while they were merry with the *goose*".
> (Dickens 1842, 81)

The use of these auxiliary spaces for such purposes is not surprising: coppers were standard fittings in elite kitchens where they were used solely for boiling stock and preparing calves' feet (as in fig. 3), so this is an adaptation of an item provided by planners from one class for one purpose, to render it more useful in fulfilling two roles in a different class context.

This outside space, however, was dangerous. It lay beyond the immediate control of the household. In many houses back entrances were provided and access to

these auxiliary spaces would have been comparatively easy, especially where they also held workshops and other working spaces. The worry over the pudding in A Christmas Carol is more revealing of the middle class mentality than the working class experience. It was lack of privacy – as seen from a middle class perspective – which left the poor open to abuse. Back yards in working class housing gained high walls (Muthesius 1982) as privacy was imposed upon working class areas. The notion of privacy and a closed domestic environment was made gender specific by the close association between women and cookery (and laundry). However, imposition of middle class gender ideals on housing had a limited effect in contexts where most cookery was carried out in a room used for many other purposes. It took larger houses with more clearly defined room functions to truly express ideas about gender roles in culinary preparation.

### Middle class spaces of preparation

By 1871, when domestic service was at its peak, it and allied occupations such as taking in outside laundry absorbed 12.8% of the female population in England and Wales. Over three-quarters of these women worked in households of only one or two servants, and the majority were employed as general servants with a mixture of duties (Horn 1975, 24). The middle class experience therefore applied to working class women in their thousands as they interacted with the culinary spaces of middle class housing. The development of a specific type of housing for the urban middle class came about in the early years of the nineteenth century. As the expansion of the railways opened up new suburbs and the middle classes left the city centre, detached or semi-detached villas were constructed to house them. The most common design had the kitchen and domestic offices in the basement, with servants' bedrooms in the attic (e.g. Walsh 1856). Examination of the floor plans of middle class housing in Exeter (Newton 1977) shows that clear assumptions were made as to which servants would be employed at different rent levels: below around £30p.a. houses did not include either a housekeeper's room or a butler's pantry. Above that level they could include one or both, with the butler's pantry most often to be found on the ground floor, and therefore away from the more female-dominated areas of the kitchen and laundry.

The emphasis placed on gender segregation even in a context where male and female servants would have regularly met as they performed their allotted tasks is indicative of the dual nature of the Victorian household: on the one hand structures which imposed middle class values including gender differentiation, and, on the other, a practicality which belied any such imposition.

Positioning service areas in basements was a development of the mid-seventeenth century elite model, still current in some new-build large houses at the beginning of the nineteenth century (Girouard 1989). It was a practical solution where space was a consideration, as could be the case in suburban developments with finite plots of land. It was also beneficial in minimising the journey from kitchen to table. However, experiments with methods of keeping food warm, such as serving onto hot plates, covering with plate covers, or using specially designed vessels filled with hot water under a ceramic plate suggest that the popular idea of food being served lukewarm at the Georgian and Victorian dining table due to the distance between kitchen and dining room is a myth. Elaborate methods were also employed to keep iced food cold, such as the meringue beehive used to cover moulded ice cream in Gouff's Royal Pastry and Confectionary Book, published in 1874 (Day 2007). Architecturally, a basement level enabled the elevation of the main floor to slightly above ground level, and in townhouses allowed for the addition of steps to the entrance, emphasising the separation between street and home. The practical need for light and ventilation in damp and hot service areas was therefore set aside in favour of the obvious application of hierarchy through physical position in the house. At Buxton Crescent, built in the 1780s by one of the architects of Harewood, John Carr (Lloyd 1998, 144), the basement kitchens and storage spaces are small and dark, contrasting with the high ceilings and large windows to be found in the rooms above, which variously functioned as family houses and hotel rooms. Light was usually let in through grills and windows from street level, and even the kitchens at Brighton Pavilion, rebuilt for the residency of Antonin Carême under the Prince Regent (Kelly 2003) relied upon artificial light. Lack of ventilation could be a life-threatening problem. Soyer was not the only chef to die from respiratory problems linked to years spent over charcoal chafing stoves (Brandon 2004).

It seems obvious to draw attention to use of space and décor to differentiate between servants and served, but in the case of kitchens the middle class preference for basement areas over external kitchens is revealing beyond the apparent. Offices were not always in basements, even in the urban terraces and detached villas which characterised middle class developments. For example, at St Leonard‘s Place, York, the basement arrangement exists, but in The Crescent, Norwich, the low-ceilinged cellars appear to have been for storage, while the kitchen was probably situated at the rear of the house, linked to the attic rooms by a separate enclosed back stair. These are relatively small family dwellings, with only three family rooms on each of the two main floors, and it is unlikely that more than one or two live-in servants were employed, in contrast to St Leonard‘s Place, where between two and seven are recorded in the houses used as family residences (Poole 1996). The inclusion of the kitchen within the main body of the house, and not set to one side outside it, reflected the role of the mistress in its class context: middle class mistresses may have wished to ignore the kitchen, but cooking was often a significant part of their duties, and an area with which most would have had familiarity, despite the presence of a cook. As indicated above, gender lines were drawn in the planning of domestic offices, and in many cases it is possible to predict the rooms which could be found in the – quite literally – below stairs areas. The description of the development at Exeter referred to above (Newton 1977) is one of very few secondary analyses of English middle class housing to mention the service areas. There, rooms habitually located with the kitchen in the basement included the housekeeper‘s room (where present), larders and cellars and a servants‘ hall or other leisure space. One advertisement referred to the presence of the _*usual domestic offices*‟, a clear indication that a middle class model existed and was generally adhered to. The inclusion of basement offices in larger houses enabled gender and class distinctions to be drawn more clearly than could be done with kitchens bordering reception rooms, and had the added benefit of enforcing privacy both upon servants and the family employing them.

## Service wings and other elite arrangements

The kitchen spaces within estate houses are significant, not just for considering upper class mentalities, but also as spaces in which groups of lower class individuals cohabited and coexisted. Moreover, some of the workers in elite kitchens would go on to become part of the middle class and employ servants themselves, so the low percentage of servants employed in large households does not reflect the influence of big houses. In an example from Audley End, the 1880s cook, Avis Crocombe, who came from an agricultural background in Devon, was by 1891 running a guest house in London with her husband, his daughter and a domestic servant (Hann 2007 unpublished).

Kitchens in large houses were frequently mixed spaces, with male cooks requiring a particular set of spaces, including a room of their own. According to Kerr (1871), this room would double as office and sleeping quarters. If men were employed as under-cooks as well, the sleeping arrangements would have been further complicated, as by the mid-nineteenth century the segregation of the sexes was regarded as the norm. Where previous generations would have been in separate but often linked dormitories, Victorian notions of morality and the perceived need to impose moral structures on the working classes led to the distancing of male and female servants (Girouard 1979). In houses with limited grounds, the usual arrangement was for women to sleep in the attic while men slept in the basement, but in estate houses with separate service wings, those who worked in the service wing slept there. Management of access to the female staff was strictly controlled through spatial planning, often negated by the reality of everyday life in the kitchen. As access analysis and work on urban contexts has shown, kitchens and kitchen areas were liminal spaces (Hillier and Hanson 1984; Pennell 1998), forming a bridge between the outside world both economically, as a key area for financial expenditure, and in a literal sense as one of the points of access to the house. Even when buried deep in gendered service wings, the spaces around kitchens still had this function as gardeners, butchers and other suppliers delivered goods to the scullery, while footmen retrieved finished dishes

from the serving area. Emphasising segregation through space was one way in which to limit the resulting potential for corrupted morals.

### Audley and Osborne: exterior service wings

Figures 63 and 64 show the service wing at Audley End and an access analysis of the kitchen areas. The service wing is screened from the main house by a large hedge, over which only the factory-like roofline can be seen. It was constructed in three main phases: 1760 (kitchen, dairy, brew-house and courtyard offices), 1780 (dry laundry) and c.1816 (wet laundry) (Oxford Archaeology 2001 unpublished). Prior to the 1760s the placing of the kitchen had followed a classic historical pattern. The Jacobean Great Kitchen and offices (under the current laundries) survived throughout the seventeenth century, but were demolished c.1708 and temporarily superseded by use of an auxiliary kitchen situated in the former north-west pavilion, which was all that remained of the outer courtyard and apartments. This was joined to the house by an underground tunnel, part of which survives and was converted into cellars during the eighteenth century. In c.1753 the kitchen, servants' hall and upper servants' offices moved into the main building, and the house reached its smallest point. New entrances were created, later to be blocked up once construction of the current service wing began in the 1760s. In 1835 internal arrangements in the west wing were altered; up to this point the access corridor had adjoined the wall nearest to the main house, but now it was shifted into the middle of the wing and almost the entire wing, including the former chapel situated in what became the housekeeper's rooms, was given over to the servants as they increased in number. The corridor became a dividing line, with male servants to one side and auxiliary rooms used by both upper servants and Lord Braybrooke on the other: namely the lamp room, strong room and museum room, as well as the private dining room mentioned in chapter 4. Lines which had already been drawn along gender and status lines by the third quarter of the eighteenth century were strengthened by changes in the internal arrangements to the house which reflected increased pressure to discipline servants. The date of the 1830s ties in at Audley with an injection of capital due to slave reparations, and coincides with a major phase of rebuilding in

the house itself, but this is not uncommon in estate houses; changes were made at Harewood House (Yorkshire) around the same time and for the same reasons.

*The cook"s room*

When the kitchen and associated offices at Audley are considered in detail using access analysis (fig. 63), the degree of privacy afforded to the cook is notable. This reflects both the gender and the high status of the cook in relation to the rest of his staff. Equally the sleeping quarters of the female staff are restricted by use of corridors and stairs. Analysis of all of the departments indicates that social stereotyping played a role in the planning of sleeping arrangements. When the full laundry was constructed the bedrooms of the laundry maids were placed at the deepest point of any of the rooms. It was probably not a coincidence that laundry maids had the worst reputation for immorality of any group of servants (Sambrook 1999). Within the kitchen the pastry was also a restricted room, possibly indicating its nature as a clean space. Pastry has physical similarities to butter, and likewise requires specific conditions for success. The room in which it was made was generally separated from the kitchen in order to retain low temperatures, and, like dairies, fixtures were often of marble or slate. Dairies, especially model dairies of the type at Audley, were one of the cleanest spaces of the domestic complex. Partly due to the possible presence of the mistress in model dairies, and party due to the risk of curdling and rancid butter if conditions were not ideal, advice books all contain strict admonitions to dairy maids on cleanliness (Adams and Adams 1825; Walsh 1856). At Audley access to the dairy is only possible by passing through two auxiliary spaces first.

However, access analysis is only one tool for investigating the physical structure of the kitchen. Consideration of visual factors – who can see what from where – is also revealing. From the pastry window at Audley kitchenmaids would have had a clear view into the masculine enclosed courtyard, housing not only the bottle room and brushing room, but also male water closets and a bathroom. Meanwhile the cook's room (fig. 65) is placed in such a way that it acts as a panoptican. Standing in the doorway the cook would have been able to see in one direction the scullery; and entrance to the scullery from the coal store; and in the

other the pastry, and entry to the kitchen from the corridor leading to the main house. This is also visible from an internal window placed in the cook‘s room. The exterior window gives a view of the entry to the larders and upper floor and bedrooms. Within the kitchen the main workspace is the central table (fig. 66). Plans and visual depictions of nineteenth century kitchens indicate that this was the standard layout, with side surfaces being only for storage, either of goods or finished dishes. The table top, lower than twenty-first century worktops, is the right height for corseted working, which necessitates a very different ergonomic environment to cooking in modern underwear. Duckboards were a common feature to preserve long gowns and ease wear and tear on the feet. The usual layout seems to have been a series of workstations, enabling the cook to work with his or her staff and have an immediate view of most of them. At Audley, placement of the pastry and scullery entries opposite each other, and in line with the table, would have ensured an unrestricted view into both. Figure 66 shows the visual impact of the cook‘s room on the kitchen. Mentally the discipline exerted by this was – and is – considerable.

Placement of the cook‘s room inside the kitchen ensured that the cook could physically survey his (later her) domain easily. However, the reverse was also true: s/he could not escape the gaze of his or her workers. Doors could, it is true, be locked and curtains drawn, but the positioning of the cook‘s room nevertheless reminded the cook where his or her place was. Cook‘s rooms were not constructed specially for female cooks, though in some cases, as at Audley, they inherited them when employment patterns changed. Butlers and housekeepers also had their own distinct offices, but these usually opened onto corridors and not onto busy working spaces. The internally sited cook‘s room therefore imposed discipline and status upon the cook, despite his high status, as much as upon his or her staff.

### Service wing placement

The placing of service wings to one side of the house was characteristic of what Girouard (1978) calls the informal country house in the late eighteenth and early nineteenth century. They were usually placed to the north so that the main house

could continue to take advantage of natural light from other directions (Brears 1996a). The development of distinct offices and sexual segregation which service wings facilitated was made more explicit as their popularity rose after c.1830 though, as is clear at Audley, its roots lie in the eighteenth century. Privacy was a key driver in the placing of service areas, both in terms of family privacy from servants and vice versa. Unlike in middle class and indeed earlier aristocratic contexts, mistresses rarely ventured into the kitchens of nineteenth century estate houses. Their placement reflects this. Houses can be seen metaphorically as bodies, an extension of the physicality of mistresses themselves, who were so closely identified with the home environment in Victorian discourse. The placing of service areas outside the immediate space of the house divorced them from the physical control of the house itself; just as in the same way, servants fell under the immediate jurisdiction of housekeepers, butlers and cooks and no longer that of their mistresses.

At Osborne House the positioning of the kitchen was even more markedly removed from the house itself. There, (as can be seen on fig. 39) the royal apartments were positioned as far from the service areas as possible, with the main and household wings inserted between the two. An auxiliary service area containing the table-deckers' room lay beneath the royal pavilion. Plans of the kitchens only exist for the early phase of the house, before the incorporation of the stables into the kitchens in 1861. Figure 67 shows Cubitt's plan for the immediate rearrangement and extension of the cooking facilities, to render a small eighteenth century country house suitable for royal residence. The 1861 census, the only one to have been taken at Osborne, lists two cooks, 3 ‗cooks of the kitchen' and two apprentices, all male (Shepherd 1998 unpublished). This can be compared to a list of positions given in Strange (1848), wherein 30 kitchen staff are given of whom 8 are female. The number of kitchen staff was almost certainly reduced when the Queen travelled to Osborne – baked goods in particular were certainly prepared at Windsor and shipped across to the Queen (Anon. 1897; Gray 2009 unpublished). Some staff may have lived out, as they are known to have done at other palaces. The head cook in particular was highly respected, having apartments of his own and arriving at work at Buckingham

Palace by hansom cab and dressed in a top hat (Tschumi and Powe 1954). It is unlikely therefore that the cook's room at Osborne doubled as a bedroom as well as an office. There, the cook's room was directly accessible from outside, not linked to the kitchen at all, even by a window. On an access analysis graph of the type in figure 63, it would be shallow space, but this is only one way of considering the experience of moving through the kitchens. It was a private, individual space, rendered inaccessible by the enclosure of other workers within the kitchen complex with no physical means of getting to the cook's room apart from leaving the kitchen and walking through the courtyard. By positioning the cook's room outside the physical space of the kitchen complex it was made distinct from the kitchens themselves. Likewise, the confectionery and the larder were made into discrete departments, in the same way that at Audley the physical separation of the laundry and dairy from the kitchen using outside space as a separator emphasised their distinctiveness. The observatory and disciplinary role of the cook's room was lost, but the cook was given higher status by having a personal space away from the workplace.

At both Osborne and Audley discipline through space was increased between 1840 and 1880, at the time when the transition table was dominant, and the structures of à la Russe starting to be felt. Sexual segregation was enforced, at Audley by the construction of the interior courtyard and increased delineation of male and female activities by distance from the south (family) wing, and at Osborne by the building of gender-specific dormitories. In the 1880s a racially distinct extension was constructed to house between two and five Indian servants, one of whose tasks was to prepare and serve the Queen's curries. They also had their own supplies of ingredients (BP 1888 unpublished, see entry for 26th July 1889), and worked in a separate preparatory space (Tschumi and Powe 1954, 69). The kitchens also increased in size in both cases, as did those at Harewood, which will be considered in the next section. At Audley between c.1816 and 1877 a direct entrance from the service courtyard to the scullery was blocked, and a new entry constructed incorporating a stock room, coal store and short corridor. Sinks were built over the old entrance. The scullery was rendered less accessible and outsiders, such as male tradesmen, thereby reminded physically of

the enclosed nature of the kitchen. At Osborne the former stables were taken over, and the scullery moved into them. The kitchen (fig. 68) was expanded to fill what is labelled as the scullery on figure 67, and other parts of the former stable became additional small rooms, the function of which is not clear. It is probable that one of them was used as a cook's dining room, as this is mentioned in the works accounts along with a master cook's sitting room (Gray 2009 unpublished). This increased size, which further delineated along gender and status lines, reflected the more markedly hierarchical approach to household organisation already noted as being linked to the rise of à la Russe in chapter 4.

### Harewood: basement offices

External wings were not the only possible place to situate kitchen offices. Earlier internal plans from Audley End show the kitchen in the north wing, within the house but as far to the north as possible, maintaining the distinction on the ground floor between south (family) and north (service and administrative areas). Elsewhere, for example at Harewood, the characteristic seventeenth century solution of basement offices (Summerson 1993) was continued. It is unclear exactly how the development of the offices at Harewood progressed. The only extant plan known to the house dates from the 1840s, and is of proposed changes, not all of which were carried out. Brears (1996a) illustrates a 1760s plan, but does not cite his source, and elsewhere on interpretive panels at the house itself, he suggests a different layout for the service areas in the 1790s. For that reason, no detailed analysis has been carried out, though it is clear from even a quick reading of the plan, that it would be very different from Audley End. Figure 69 draws together the various sources and suggests a likely plan for the Harewood service wing after the 1840s rebuilding work. At Audley the different departments of the house were clearly demarcated by their placement in physically distinct buildings. Within the house the use of corridors and placing of the housekeeper's rooms in the north-west corner maintained a similar distinctiveness between engendered service departments. In the 1760s kitchen complex the relationship of larders, scullery, kitchen, cook's room and pastry reflect the linear internal house layouts seen on the main floor at both Audley and

Harewood in the same period (see chapter 4). This is similar to other contemporary pavilion kitchens or service wing layouts (Girouard 1979). By the nineteenth century differences are evident in service wings and basement kitchen design alike, mainly through the inclusion, again to be seen in more general house design, of access corridors.

At Harewood a corridor was in place below stairs from the house‘s inception and bordered the internal courtyard, vital for allowing natural light into the basement area. Windows at both the back and front of the house also initially let in good quantities of light, though this was subsequently diminished when the ground was raised in the 1840s (Mauchline 1992, 125). The various rooms all led off the corridor, with departmental differentiation through the subdivision of rooms, so that each entry point led to a miniature apartment. In the case of the kitchen, it is unclear whether the door at the bottom right (into the scullery area) led from there to the exterior. On figure 69 room E, the strong room, was probably the scullery prior to the 1840s construction of new sculleries in position I. The exterior elevation shows signs of having been altered to replace doors with windows. It is possible that E also held a butler‘s pantry which Mauchline (1992, 129) notes as having been removed to the first floor service corridor area when is was constructed. It is not clear whether Harewood amalgamated the positions of butler and steward in the nineteenth century: stewards are more prevalent than butlers in the servants‘ database (Harewood 2004 unpublished), and in a few cases individuals are noted as having held both positions. However, unlike at Audley, the rooms associated with the most senior male servant were called after the steward, and it is likely that senior servants ate in the steward‘s room (A) rather than the housekeeper‘s rooms. If E was, as is probable given the presence of bars on the windows, the strong room, Harewood‘s internal gender divisions were less marked than at Audley where female and male working areas were kept physically separate and grouped together. Other than E, room G is the only other one not to have a direct entrance off the access corridor. Now set-dressed in part as a pastry, it was probably part of the housekeeper‘s suite prior to 1840, when it seems to have had an entrance off the corridor, and was not linked to the kitchen. Given its proximity to the scullery – it not only has a direct entrance in

the post 1840s arrangement, but also a viewing arch affording it natural light – it may well simply have formed an auxiliary working space, in the same way that Osborne had two kitchens, one of which was specifically for roasting. It certainly does not reflect the depth and exclusiveness afforded to the Audley pastry.

*The cook"s room revisited*

The internal changes of the 1840s coincided with the main period of the transition table. The expansion of the kitchen is indicative once more of increasing differentiation of skill sets and personnel, and of regulation through space. In the case of Harewood, where cooks were always male, it also elucidates the changing status of the cook in comparison to the steward/butler and housekeeper. It has been suggested that dining change favoured cooks, as their skills could be better showcased with a procession of beautiful dishes than with a large display of them (Kaufman 2002). While this study disagrees with that, not least as such arguments normally rely on the dubious theory that food could not be kept hot under an à la Française regime, aristocratic cooks did at least gain more control over dining in the nineteenth century as ladies‘ involvement in the kitchen declined. The placing of the cook‘s room at Harewood, which shares characteristics with both Audley and Osborne, shows the effect of this on mid nineteenth century kitchens.

Published plans for nineteenth century service wings (Girouard 1979; Brears 1996a) indicate that cooks‘ rooms were by no means the norm. Kerr (1871) suggests that they should be installed only if a man-cook is kept. Given the low number of examples, any generalisation can only be tentative, but there seems to be a tendency towards placing cooks‘ rooms next to kitchens, rather than in them, after the 1860s. This should not be exaggerated: Girouard concentrates on the public areas of houses while Brears‘ examples are mainly eighteenth century and unreferenced. However, the positioning of the cooks‘ rooms in these three examples does support the idea that they were increasingly placed adjacent to the kitchen. Audley‘s cook‘s room, probably 1760s and certainly installed by c.1816, when it appears on a plan (Lowerre 2006 unpublished) is within the kitchen, sitting neatly between scullery and main kitchen. Osborne‘s of 1845-8 is

completely removed from the workplace, and does not even have a view of the main entrance point. Harewood‘s cook‘s room, installed as part of the 1840s rebuilding programme, (figs. 70-71) is both removed and a part of the kitchen. To enter it, the cook must exit the kitchen and climb a staircase to a mezzanine level. This echoes Osborne‘s status-led removal of the head chef from the confines of the workplace. On the other hand, the panoptican structures of Audley are even more in evidence here: two internal windows give a view of either end of the kitchen (though not into the auxiliary space or scullery), and an external window enables the occupier to see all activities in the outside space leading to the service wing entrance. The cook‘s room at Harewood is grander than either that at Osborne, or at Audley, consisting of two separate but linked rooms. It was almost certainly used as sleeping space as the maid‘s quarters were at the other end of the house (Mauchline 1992). The example at Audley was probably also used as a bedroom, whilst that at Osborne was almost certainly just an office. The addition of a cook‘s room at Harewood in the 1840s reflects the increased status demanded by, and afforded to, male cooks as they sought to be seen as gifted professionals. Even those writing cookbooks promoted the idea of professional exclusivity at the same time as publishing recipes for upmarket French meals: *„For persons…desirous of indulging occasionally in d*ishes of a sumptuous character, no written directions would probably suffice, the only sure *method in such cases to resort to professional aid*‟ (Francatelli 1846, preface). However, tension between the need for discipline and oversight at all times in the workplace, and the chef‘s standing as professional and middle class, able to leave the workplace at the end of the day, is evident in the placing of the Harewood cook‘s room. This tension had been resolved in the royal household, where the head chef lived off site, and had on site quarters commensurate with this status, but was as yet unknown in middle class houses where female cooks struggled to elevate their status and remained confined to the workplace.

In houses such as Audley and Harewood the cook‘s room‘s position reflected the ongoing negotiation of status by male cooks in the latter half of the eighteenth century, and first half of the nineteenth. By the mid nineteenth century, Mennell (1996) argues that male cooks had succeeded in being recognised as

professionals, and that a growing divergence was evident between male-dominated *haute cuisine* and feminised domestic cookery. A number of factors played a role in this: the increased number of French chefs working in England; the publicity generated by a few well known individuals such as Carême, Soyer and Francatelli; the rise of the restaurant, and with it food criticism, and the use of food as a key means of displaying class affiliation and identity. The smaller number of dishes present on the transition table threw into perspective the French _made dishes' or *entrées* which, being the most highly transformed, reflected most obviously the skill of the cook as well as the acceptance by the household of French influence. In the quest for professional recognition, the change to a more delineated way of serving dinner was encouraged by cooks seeking to showcase the skills they possessed. Meanwhile, in published texts, writers deliberately sought to link cookery with art and science (Mennell 1996, 148), elevating it from the domestic and the everyday, to the extraordinary and mysterious. This meant associating culinary preparation with its own language, processes and equipment in such a way as to daunt the outsider – which included employers.

## Kitchen equipment

The urban middle class experience was the one most likely to have been close to that proposed by recipe books. Thus, although evidence of the equipment of the middle class kitchen complex is scarce, cookbooks can be used to contextualise the spaces of middle class culinary preparation, as well as shed light on the basic range of goods deemed desirable for a large kitchen. From a reading of recipes, and a consideration of the equipment required in general terms for preparing eighteenth and nineteenth century meals, it is evident that certain items, such as cake rings and graters would have appeared in all kitchens, while others were regarded as more specialist. Lack of specialist equipment would not, however, have precluded cooks from producing the dishes that it was designed for. Earlier books, such as Bradley (1762) suggest alternatives (Lehmann & Pennell 2008, pers.comm), and any experienced cook would have been able to make choices about quantity, cooking equipment and vessels appropriate to each dish. Later

books become more prescriptive, to the extent that Agnes Marshall (c.1888, 255) calls for the cook to *„take some little red-edged souffl cases…* ". Marshall probably sold little red-edged soufflé cases, and had a vested interest in their use, but this is also indicative of a wider trend in which mainstream cookbook writers become less flexible. The assumption that particular pieces of equipment could be found in the reader's kitchen is found in elite, French-authored books such as those by Soyer and Francatelli a generation earlier and is one of the characteristics adopted from them by female writers by the end of the century. By the 1870s all of the books used in this study make assumptions about the kind of equipment to be found in the workspace. Some of them also include lists of equipment, differing by the size of the kitchen (e.g. Jewry c.1875). This was partly due to a perceived need to provide better instructions for girls emerging into the workplace via the new domestic training colleges, in which they would have used specific equipment, and many training college tutors also wrote books and endorsed products, as their names and credentials became trusted brands (e.g. Senn 1901; Marshall c.1888). However, the overall effect was to remove an element of personal choice and individual decision from cookery. In the light of the new appellation of ‗domestic science' which came into use in the 1890s (OED 2009), and the emphasis on method and instruction over empathy and experience, it also reinforced the links to science, calling for exact equipment for each endeavour.

One of the more exact and significant elements present in the batterie de cuisine from the seventeenth century was the clock (for example figure 68 where it is over the door). Shackel (1993) attributes this to the imposition of discipline – not always overtly – by employers, and clocks are also standard features in industrial contexts. Increasingly, recipe books categorise dishes by meal and by course, which is indicative of the reordering of time in the historic period. Concepts of the day based upon linear time as opposed to division by task had taken a firm hold in the popular mentality. Every kitchen had a clock, and food preparation was geared towards producing finished products at specific times. The mentality which underlay division of dishes by meal – i.e. time of day – was one which lived by the clock.

Clocks furthered the move from task-based activities to time-based ones, a trend graphically illustrated in cookbooks when they call for a cook to _*work the sugar…with the yolks…for twenty minutes*" (Francatelli 1896, 418). Time is not the most useful measure in a culinary context, however, and the same book also used the more practical method of sensory judgement; „*work it with a wooden spoon until it presents the appearance of a creamy substance*" (ibid., 403). Furthermore, clocks could be subverted, and cooks were known, on occasion, to put the kitchen clock back when running late for dinner (Paston-Williams 1993, 227). Cooks had always been required to prepare food for a given time, and clocks hardly made this any more important. Time can only ever be a guide when cooking – a cake may take half an hour, but it may equally take 40 minutes if the oven is not as hot as it could be, or the ingredients not exact or the door was opened regularly during cooking. Improved weights and measures and more accurate cooking equipment enabled time to be more relevant towards the end of the nineteenth century, a trend again furthered by the middle class. New build suburban villas were more technologically advanced than either the dwellings of the working class, reliant on coal or wood-fired ranges, or the aristocracy, working with old-fashioned kitchens and reluctant to forgo the open fire, seen as instrumental for a proper roast. Even among the middle class, debate raged as to whether baked meats were acceptable in lieu of a roast, and how to get the best effect from a gas oven (Mrs Warren (ed.) 1871). For the aristocracy, for whom the roast was more significant (see chapter 3), replacement of the open fire was unthinkable. At Osborne House 10 gas ovens were installed in 1861. The only extant pictures of the kitchen, dated c.1874, show banks of gas-fired hobs, a gas bain-marie and gas ovens. An open fire with hastener and spit mechanism is also in place (fig. 68) – and this is in addition to the neighbouring roasting kitchen, for which little evidence survives. Even in the absence of improved technology, clocks did give the impression of order, and to the outsider, as middle class mistresses aspired to be, they were reassuring. Hence, in this instance, clocks were more useful in creating a sense of control for mistresses, than in enabling control for or of cooks.

Exact equipment, on the other hand, along with increasingly technical culinary language, reinforced the claims of cooks to be professionals, with abilities which had to be studied and learnt and were not open to all. Linking cookery to science was a growing trend in the late nineteenth century, and by the early twentieth century most books feature a quasi-scientific section on the apparent digestive and nutritional qualities of food. The unashamedly middle class 1903 edition of Beeton (1903) includes a lengthy discourse with illustrations and tables, which Senn (1901) in his more upmarket New Century Cookbook also couldn't resist. However, the latter also asserts that, „*it is only within the last twenty*-five years that cookery as a fine art has been recognised and develope*d in this country*" (Senn 1904, i), a change which he attributes – naturally – to better knowledge of French cookery. The nature of cookery as an art as opposed to a science remained an unresolved tension as cookery – or domestic science – entered the classroom in the twentieth century. Its roots lie in precisely the period under discussion here. As an artist, the cook's abilities were exclusive, personal and worthy of respect. As a scientist, the cook's role was as a regulator, maintaining order and rigour and producing consistent results. The academic scientific establishment had the additional feature of being overwhelming male. For female cooks trying to establish credentials which would appeal to the middle class, it is unsurprising that the scientific path was more appealing. Both of the books cited above, which contained scientific-sounding sections on nutrition, were authored by men, and it could be argued that the push towards cookery-as-science was driven by men. Yet women were the primary consumers of such books, and they would not have sold had they not had popular appeal for a group fighting against deep-seated gender assumptions about cooks which, given the preponderance in the media of male rather than female chefs today, still have validity.

The demarcation between male chefs and female cooks on half the salary had been established by the seventeenth century (Verral 1759; Wilson 1996). Male cookbook writers deliberately aimed at a higher culinary level than female-authored books, or if they did look further down the social scale, adopted at best a professorial and at worst a patronising tone (Soyer 1849; 1855). The middle class attributes of economy and practicality, established as the markers of

English, as opposed to frivolous French, cookery were regularly cited (Soyer 1849; Francatelli 1861), but innovations in this area came from female authors. It was female-authored middle class books that first started to include equipment lists and, as will be seen, borrowed the language and layouts of books aiming at higher social classes in order to promulgate the idea of the professional female cook. The best cooks, it could be argued, should be able to produce excellent and well-presented food without long lists of specifics, but in the increasingly prescriptive atmosphere of the nineteenth century kitchen, some items were simply vital. A dariole, for example, could not be produced without a dariole mould – if it was made in a pudding mould then it was simply a pudding. Likewise a Savoy cake made in any other mould than a Savoy cake mould was merely a fatless sponge. As explored in chapter 3, the adoption of French menu terms indicated to diners the contents of each specific dish. In the kitchen, not only ingredients but also equipment were standardised. A combination of factors contributed to this, but the acceptance of a regulated way of dining above stairs must have made it easier to accept the idea of rules for cooking below stairs. Household spending had to go through the mistress, and she had therefore to believe in the necessity for specific equipment. The reliance on print which has already been noted as a feature of à la Russe affected the processes of preparation as much as the experience of eating. The timings suggest generational change (Rotman 2005) played a large role in the acceptance of set equipment, with à la Française largely abandoned in all but superficial ways by the 1840s, and equipment lists starting to emerge in the 1870s. Those growing up with written rules for the table were far more likely to seek similar guidance for stocking their kitchens when they in turn became mistresses.

It was in manufacturers' and retailers' interests to link certain dishes with specific equipment, a ploy Agnes Marshall used highly successfully, linking lecture tours, teaching and published books with mail order adverts and a retail outlet (Marshall c.1888). She also held a number of patents, especially for ice cream-making equipment. As Broomfield (2007) points out, the ready availability of dehydrated, tinned and bottled versions of fruit, vegetables, colourings and gelatine made the task of preparing à la Russe dishes easy for

those able to afford the ingredients, but lacking the space or skills to cook a dish from scratch. Likewise the hand-carved or sculpted foods of the aristocratic table, such as the carved bread chalices recommended in Francatelli (1846, 243) could be replaced with moulded vegetables and aspic-based creations. As indicated in chapter 3, the food of à la Russe was increasingly French-influenced and consisted of composite dishes which in a large household relied on a labour-intensive pyramidical structure. In a small kitchen, by the end of the nineteenth century, the stocks and sauce bases could be bought in, combined easily, and a dish assembled quickly. Successional serving allowed time for cooks to concentrate on each dish in turn, while also alleviating concerns of space when assembling finished platters. À la Française food, with its garnishes of cut vegetables, carefully arranged cooked ingredients and juxtaposition of symmetry with directionality, was an altogether more difficult proposition. Additionally, all the dishes needed finishing before being served simultaneously, creating problems of space and personnel. This was solved at Brighton by using a large hot table designed to mirror the table above (Kelly 2003) – hardly a solution for those pressed for space.

Female cooks, middle class mistresses and manufacturers all had an interest in furthering the scientific and text-led regulation of cookery within an à la Russe structure. However, the tension between the easy creation, through ready-made ingredients and bought moulds, of haute cuisine dishes; and the desire of cooks to be viewed as professionals working in a skilled metier reflected the dilemma inherent in à la Russe itself. On the one hand anyone could host a dinner – or produce a dish – but on the other, the infinite varieties of etiquette, and the exact juxtaposition of money and skill evidenced by a dish, demonstrated group identity, and the ability of the cook to work to a budget while fulfilling that group's needs. Middle class à la Russe cooks in some ways had a far harder task than their à la Française-cooking elite equivalents: to fit a common and print-led culinary ideal, while at the same time striving to be seen as practising an exclusive profession, wherein skill should be recognised, whether of a scientific or artistic nature. The existence of books such as the manuscript cookbook of Avis Crocombe (Crocombe 1870-1890 unpublished) shows that even within a

print-led environment, cooks maintained their own collection of recipes to differentiate their repertoire from a set norm. The desire to differentiate elite food from that of the middle class was another factor in the former‘s resistance to à la Russe.

The example of the boar‘s head (fig.72) illustrates the difference between an upper class kitchen and a middle class establishment. The boar‘s head was one of the most established elite dishes in the eighteenth and nineteenth century culinary repertoire, but dates back at least as far as the sixteenth century, when it is referred to in the ‗Boar‘s Head Carol‘ (Brears 2009 unpublished). Immediately, access to the core ingredient marked out those with land from those without – wild boar was repeatedly driven to extinction, but farmed stock was equally repeatedly introduced (Goulding 2009). Boar was also available imported from Germany, but Beeton‘s characteristically difficult to follow version of the dish, intended for breakfast, uses a domesticated pig‘s head instead (Beeton 1861, 388). Marshall (c.1888), a key example of the middle class drive to à la Russe, does not include it, being both more realistic about middle class means and more imbued in the intricacies of à la Russe. A stuffed boar‘s head is not intrinsically difficult, despite its reputation for needing *„advanced butchery skills"* (Day 2009, 121) and specialist tools (Brears 2009 unpublished). It does however take time, patience and a good knowledge and experience of cookery in general, as each written recipe differs and the exact contents of the stuffing are left very much up to the individual cook. It requires space, both to prepare and cook, and would not be suitable for cooking in an establishment with limited hob space. It additionally needs a cool place in which to stand in brine for two weeks. Even without previous experience of making the dish, it is possible, given these elements, to produce a version which is not dissimilar from the one photographed on the Queen‘s sideboard in 1888 (fig.72). Other versions would have been more intricately decorated, for example with chopped aspic, pastry shields and piped lard (Francatelli 1896, 377-79), dependant on the skill of the cook and could be breathtaking. The boar‘s head survived as a focal dish on the Queen‘s sideboard until at least 1888, an indication of the way in which elite houses resisted not only the relegation of the roast (it is difficult to imagine a more realistic and

bestial dish than the boar's head), but also the adoption of dishes which could be produced in small kitchens with few staff. The decline of dishes of this type was once more indicative of a new type of cuisine emerging from the middle class dining experience.

## Cookbooks and the professionalisation of cookery

The discussion in chapter 2 gave a general background to the use of cookbooks as a source throughout this study. This section concentrates specifically on textual forms and language rather than the content of cookbooks, in their context as part of the materiality of food preparation. Books entered the kitchen in a number of guises, although they were not always used openly. Paper copies of recipes were written out, first by mistresses, and later by cooks. At other houses, blackboards or noticeboards were part of the batterie de cuisine – one hangs from a shelf in the picture of the Osborne kitchen in c.1874 (fig. 68). In some cases these were used to write the menu (Sambrook 2005, 72), in others they were used for writing out recipes. Books were kept out of the kitchen to keep them clean and, explicitly or not, to limit access to information (BBC 2006b). Some belonged to employers, who were thus able to educate their cooks in their own tastes, while some aimed explicitly at, and were presumably owned by, cooks themselves. Printed books lasted, especially when not taken into the kitchen, and an early publication date cannot be taken as an indication as to when a book passed out of use (Driver 1989). Many books remained in print long after their first publication date, and although some underwent textual changes or additions (e.g. Beeton 1861; 1888; 1903; c.1923), others remained unaltered (e.g. Francatelli 1846; 1896). In this way the traditions of à la Française co-existed with à la Russe and the transition table in print as well as at the table itself. Additionally, printed books were used alongside manuscript cookbooks, which themselves could contain recipes copied from printed books, whether annotated or copied verbatim. However, the layout of these does not noticeably change across time, unlike in printed forms. Printed culinary texts can be used to explore a number of the questions which have emerged thus far in this chapter, most

notably the tension between male and female cooks and the drive to professionalism in the latter half of the nineteenth century.

Viewing cookbooks as essentially middle class and urban phenomena does not mean that they should be disregarded as a source for investigating the context of upper class food preparation. Books were certainly used in the upper class kitchen and not just by self-taught female cooks – Kerr (1871, 211) advises on the inclusion of a cook's room when a man-cook is kept just so that he can ‗consult his *authorities*". Avis Crocombe, cook to the 5th Baron Braybrooke in the 1880s, certainly consulted a copy of Acton's Modern Cookery at some stage before 1870 as her recipe for Nesselrode Cream has been copied verbatim (Acton 1855, 394; Crocombe 1870-1890 unpublished, 12-15). A straightforward emulative model would require that once written down and circulated, recipes became obsolete for the upper classes as they strove to differentiate themselves from the middle classes. It is not known whether Avis Crocombe used recipes taken from middle class cookbooks when she later cooked for the aristocracy, but she was certainly influenced by them. Surviving records, such as those from Osborne House, also support this: the recipes noted on the Queen's table at the end of the nineteenth century (1897 unpublished) can easily be found in books such as Francatelli (1896). Although the use of French-style cookery acted as an indicator of class in the eighteenth century, as à la Russe started to take over from the transition table it also became acceptable to the middle classes, who had hitherto resisted it (Lehmann 2003). As established in previous chapters, this was partly because the codification of French cuisine, ongoing in France itself and outside the scope of this study, lent itself to a dining style dependant on the written word. It was furthered by the way in which books were used by English cooks as part of their parallel fight to increase the status of their profession.

Even within an elite context, the use of French cuisine was balanced by a display of patriotism on the table. The significance of certain identifiably English ingredients, most notably beef (Rogers 2003), and the importance of the roast for filling in key positions on the à la Française table were established in chapter 3. Under a transitional regime, dishes which were part of the established English

middle class repertoire (Lehmann 2003) in the eighteenth century were reworked as aristocratic markers of Englishness. Avis Crocombe's cookbook contains a large proportion of puddings (16% of the 145 recipes in her handwriting) and cakes (13%). The former predominantly fall into the part of the cookbook when she was cook at Audley and the latter range across her time at Langley Hall and Audley End. Both types of dish were overwhelmingly English (the French do not even have linguistic equivalents) and this may indicate that she was filling in the omissions in what was almost certainly a French-oriented style of cooking and set of books. At Audley, where she succeeded a male cook, John Merer (Hann 2007 unpublished), England may well have been better represented on the table than at the middle class à la Russe dinner party if the menus for the latter suggested in books were replicated to any degree of accuracy. However, printed books on their own can be interpreted to suggest that the part puddings and cakes played in the everyday culinary repertoire was inversely proportional to social status. Francatelli (1846) and Soyer (1852) barely mention them in their upmarket books, compared to Beeton (1861), 7.5% of whose recipes are for puddings. Jewry (c.1878), aiming at a lower income group still, includes an impressive 223 puddings; 12.3% of the total. Conversely, the number of sauces, a marker of French cuisine, increases with rising social status. Given that cookbooks do not aim explicitly at the highest echelons of professional male cooks (Francatelli 1846, preface), and so their habits can only be inferred from other sources, this may indicate that the aristocracy in some ways shared more culinary habits with the lower middle and working class than the wealthy upper middle classes. The same trend is visible in cheese consumption where the elites and working classes consumed more than the middle class (Burnett 1966), who looked down upon it for its working class associations (Gaskell 1865, 114). The balance between cooking styles and dishes remained in flux, and printed books could be a tool for the dissemination of ideas above and beyond recipes themselves.

## Layout, font and language

Domestic service was a career for many women, and not merely a step on the way to getting a husband. Printed books may have served as a repository of ideas, but anyone who has tried to follow a recipe, be it from the past or today, will know that every cookbook requires a different approach. Possessing a printed cookbook was no guarantee of being able to cook – that still came with practice and mastery of the various techniques involved. There is no guarantee that any given recipe was ever produced as written, despite the occasionally slavish following of text by modern commentators and interpreters (e.g. BBC 2009). Recipe titles and their ingredients within the French tradition become more codified, as indicated in chapter 3, and inevitably recipes in the books of authors publishing French cuisine show marked similarities (as opposed to blatant plagiarism in the English tradition). Moreover, the layout of both recipes and books show a growing degree of standardisation, which reflected and influenced the mentalities of those cooking and eating.

It is by considering books at a qualitative level in terms of their intended readership, and at the same time applying quantitative analytical techniques that essential differences between them can be noted and used in exploring gender tension and class identity. Intended readership is sometimes made obvious in the preface, but can also be ascertained through the style and type of recipes, as well as the book‘s price and physical attributes (such as colour photographs in Mellish). For example, Francatelli (1846), Carter (1730) and Simpson (1807) contain examples of aristocratic cookery and sell themselves on an aspirational basis, while other authors such as Mason (1773) and Jewry (c.1875) explain how to present a good table on a tight budget. Cookbooks fall into the category of self-help books that Tarlow (2007) considers to be characteristic of the late eighteenth century, and can be indicative either of a desire of improve oneself, or to encourage improvement in others. The role of authors is significant in that they have an opportunity to promulgate personal beliefs through text, but it is important to remember that the consumer ultimately decides how influential each book can become through the act of purchasing and using it.

Mass-produced print matter played a significant role in the promotion of specific ordering principles to the extent that they became the norm. The standardisation of weights and measures and timings explored in the context of the kitchen equipment above are examples of this. Elsewhere, it is the layout of recipes themselves which is standardised. Beeton (1861) is especially keen to homogenise her recipes, both disguising their plagiarised origins and aping Acton (1849), one of her main sources, whose clear layouts, with methodology and then checklist of ingredients, made her book eminently usable. Yet occasionally Beeton includes an unaltered recipe, an indication of drawing on earlier sources, and a reminder that the reliance on given weights competed with an alternative way of compiling ingredients; one which saw each component in its relation to the others, and not as single entities which just happened to be juxtaposed:

> „*Carr*ot Pudding
> 1/2lb of breadcrumbs, 4oz of suet, 1/4lb of stoned raisins, 3/4lb of carrots, 1/4lb of currants, 3oz of sugar, 3 eggs, milk, 1/4 *nutmeg"*.
> (Beeton 1861, 637)
>
> „*Canary Pudding*
> The weight of 3 eggs in sugar and butter, the weight of 2 eggs *in flour, the rind of 1 small lemon, 3 eggs"*.
> (Beeton 1861, 636)

Both ways of formatting recipes are used in manuscript books as well as other published sources. The impact of more standardised recipes upon cooking processes as opposed to perceptions of them is, however, debatable. Unlike equipment, quantities and cooking times could vary immensely, and no matter how much they promised, recipes could not have provided a substitute for experience. Ironically, the provision of more exact recipes may have contributed to a drop in standards as cooks were encouraged not to trust their instincts. As with clocks, recipes gave the illusion of control without the reality, and in their exactitude again drew the link to science.

## Gender differences

The difference between male and female-authored books in this study is marked. Male-authored books consistently seek a higher-end readership and attempt to portray a better class of cooking than the female ones. Between 1750 and 1870, when French cookery was in vogue at an aristocratic level, they are most likely to include French recipes, and assume a kitchen structure able to assimilate pyramidical working styles. Even before 1750 Thacker and Carter included more ‗made dishes' than the female authors immediately following them in date. This engendering of written material reflects the reality of life as cook in the eighteenth and nineteenth century, where man-cooks earned on average double the wage of a female cook, and where women were sometimes employed on the condition that they had first worked for a male cook (Wilson 1996, 80). However, analysis of the structuring of books indicates that the process of engendering was more complicated than it first appears. Moreover, outside the prefaces gender was not made explicit in cookbooks: recipes used the second person singular where they do not use the imperative. As has been established in the preceding chapters, gender was a key structuring principle in the experience of dining, and it is to be expected that this is evident in the printed culinary text. This section will also explore more fully the association between French cookery and dining à la Russe.

The process of codification of the accepted form of the cookbook is clearly visible across the period (see appendix C). Eighteenth century books tend to order recipes according to method, with roasting being the prestige method and boiling the more practical route. Ingredient-based layouts briefly compete (Beeton 1861; Jewry c.1878) but are rapidly superseded by ordering by function (i.e. place within a meal or dish). French-authored books or those aspiring to promote aristocratic French-style cuisine are the most function-based – e.g. Francatelli, Marshall and Senn. This is because the pyramidical structure of French cuisine leant itself to books which followed the preparatory order of the kitchen. They start with basic mixtures – cullises, stocks and gravies – before building these up into sauces and garnishes and then in turn adding these together

to construct finished dishes. French-style cooks had to think of each dish in terms of a series of feeder dishes culminating in a final product. The manpower required was considerable before the invention of ‗cheats' such as colourings and raising agents, one reason why this style of cooking was initially more prevalent among the aristocracy, who had both the money and space to enable this food hierarchy to exist. It also reflected, and indeed facilitated, the working of the cooking hierarchy within large households.

Authors versed in this style of cookery use extensive cross-referencing and have more sections to their books than others – Francatelli (1846) has 45 chapter headings with over 50 sub-sections. To use the book, the potential cook needed to be able to identify each section, which meant knowing what croustades, mirepoix, panadas and so forth were. Knowledge of aristocratic conventions in ordering each course was also essential – while many of the chapters are prescriptive, for example ‗*cold entres for ball suppers*", others contain a bewildering number of preparation stages with little indication where in the meal they will end up. This was an aspirational book which assumed professional know-how in its readers and dismissed „*those whose culinary practice is limited*" (Francatelli 1896, vii). The same trend is discernable in the naming of dishes across the period. The change from ingredient or technique based nomenclature, to that based on names and places, was influenced by a wider process of codification taking place within the French culinary establishment. As established in the discussion of naming dishes in written menus in chapter 3, this was a way of restricting accessibility to diners, and one way in which diners could identify the uninitiated. For cooks working in England but within the French tradition it was a way of restricting access within the kitchen as well. As long as the cook knew what „*à la mode*" meant in culinary terms s/he would know what the ingredients and techniques used to prepare it were, but by restricting knowledge of these terms could maintain superiority over lower staff through knowledge as well as skill. The development of a codified culinary language was quickly co-opted by writers in the English style. In this way, significant English dishes for which recipes could vary immensely, also gained apparently unrelated names which came to denote a particular set of ingredients

and known end result. Names such as Queen Mab's Pudding, New College Puddings and Roly-Poly Pudding gave little hint as to the contents and were solidly English – and most often appeared in female-authored books – but by the late nineteenth century the recipes for them are remarkably similar. The naming of them in this way is a clear sign of the adoption of aristocratic conventions to strengthen the position of the middle class feminised culinary repertoire. Thus even puddings were professionalised.

Male cooks had always been professionals. Paid female cooks did not become common until the end of the seventeenth century, whereafter they quickly became a majority as they were the most common choice for the increasing number of middle class homes (Girouard 1978). By the end of the nineteenth century the convention than women gave up work upon marriage had take firm hold, and even lower middle class women aspired to have help in the kitchen. Domestic service was a huge employer, and the kitchen staff could include many more women than just a cook. Additionally, even where cooks were employed, many mistresses still played an important role. Nineteenth and early twentieth century sources show not only that middle class women habitually inhabited the kitchen (Lewis-Jones 2007), but that they instructed their daughters to look forward to doing the same (Bennett 1983, 70). Yet the major books of this period assume professional status in a cook – even Jewry's cut-down books (e.g. Jewry c.1875) are explicitly aimed at mistresses who are their own housekeepers, but employ a separate cook. Earlier books are more ambiguous and draw links between mistresses and the suggestions for table layouts and decoration, rather than necessarily dwelling on the cookery itself.

> *„[It] will be of great use to the younger part of my sex…greatly* at a loss how to conduct their table with that decency and propriety which are much to be desired, not only in making *dinners for company, but also in a family way"*
> (Mason 1773, ii).

Later, however, Mason goes on to recommend her book explicitly for servants aiming to better themselves.

Female authors were careful to try to draw distinctions between paid women who cooked, and mistresses who regulated the table. This was of less concern to male authors, and reflects the tension around the role of women. On the one hand the leisured ideal still carried much weight, and enabled instant differentiation versus the working classes, while on the other middle class rejection of aristocratic norms meant that women needed a useful role. In the nineteenth century, women and women's publications still sought a balance between leisured and lazy. The *Englishwoman"s Domestic Magazine*'s solution was to print coloured Parisian fashion plates of women-as-objects enjoying doing very little – and then provide dress-making patterns for the gowns it portrayed (Beetham 1996, 79). For cookbooks, an initial route was to concentrate on the regulation of the house, with recipes being the means to that end. By the mid-nineteenth century a new solution was being explored: cookery was to be viewed and written about as a professional art, regardless of the number of amateurs practising it. Authors portrayed a fantasised version of the household, wherein mistresses remained out of the kitchen, even when their target audience was one where the mistress would certainly have played a role in the kitchen. Thus from the lowest status book of the core data set comes the advice that, ‗A lady will find it best to give her *servants orders for the day before breakfast"* (Jewry c.1875, 1). This benefitted mistresses who cooked, elevating unpaid domestic tasks into jobs worthy of pay in a different context. It also benefitted their cooks. Both parties provided an active market for authors who took this route and furthered its success.

The co-opting of the physicality of male-authored cookbooks was another means by which women were able to elevate cookery into a skill on a par with male achievements. Figures 73 and 74 show double page spreads from two very similar looking cookbooks, one first published in 1846 (Francatelli 1896) but still in print at the turn of the century, and the other dating to the 1880s (Marshall c.1888). Marshall's page layouts, fonts, use of illustrations and use of language is a clear adoption of the elite cookbook style, although her recipes are more geared towards a middle class milieu. Furthermore, Marshall appropriates the function-based ordering system of French cooks, applying it to her own recipe corpus. The result of this is that elements of the French pyramidical structuring system are

implicit in her books. Habits of discipline therefore found their way into print which emphasised the primacy of French male methodologies even while attempting to subvert them. Equally, the French language was adopted by English authors, whose characteristic solution to the potential language barrier was to label recipes in both French and English. Alternatively, glossaries could be provided or menus given which used both for ease of copying (Beeton 1888; Anon. c.1897). Eighteenth century authors had published French recipes prefaced with justificatory paragraphs explaining that they were deeply inferior to good economical English fare (but were nevertheless included in detail, ostensibly for comparison). Nineteenth century female authors deliberately integrated French recipes into the middle class repertoire to dispel the division between professional, French and male cookery as opposed to ‗amateur' (even if paid), English and female cuisine. In this way the French dishes which had been so resisted in the eighteenth century became an embedded part of the late nineteenth century dining experience. The drivers behind this were not explicitly linked to the change from à la Française to à la Russe, and it is important not to view à la Russe cuisine as intrinsically more French than that of earlier styles. French dishes did not take over the table, and roasts continued to have a significant presence, along with puddings. However, the impression given by cookbooks is that, for the formal middle class meal, French cuisine was ascendant by the time à la Russe became popular. Emulation of restaurant and aristocratic style may well have played a role in diners' acceptance, along with the potential for exclusion via written menus, but from the study of cookbooks this thesis argues that the desire of cooks to be seen as on a par professionally with their male counterparts, was a key factor in the association of French cookery with à la Russe.

This appropriation of male, upper class attributes was not a one-way exchange, and one of the other reasons for the acceptability of French cuisine was that the men promulgating it increasingly adapted it to English tastes. The sales of books did not always reflect their usability or innovativeness. Beeton (1861) is a good example. Probably the best-known of any historic cookbook, it still circulates in revised and facsimile form today. Available already in four different formats by

1865, it went through a series of editions, growing ever larger, until it was completely overhauled by Charles Hermann Senn, the author of the New Century Cookbook, in 1906 (Hughes 2005, 385-88). Yet the book was a cobbling-together of older recipe books, most notably Acton‘s Modern Cookery, first published in 1845, and is unreliable as well as being difficult to follow. In the tweaking of recipes to disguise plagiarism, Beeton sometimes forgot crucial instructions or listed ingredients without mentioning them in the instructions. Other books were easier to follow and contained better recipes – yet the Book of Household Management sold over 60,000 copies in its first year, and nearly 2 million by 1868 (Humble 2005, 7).

As Lehmann (2003) points out, while French cookery was a huge influence in England, French-authored cookbooks were not the only means by which this was achieved. By the end of the eighteenth century, new French books were not translated and rushed into print with the speed with which they had been in the seventeenth century. More significant was the role of French chefs in England, and the nineteenth century publications of Soyer and Francatelli as well as a host of other French men and women resident in England spread French ideas and techniques among both professionals and amateurs (e.g. Madame Valerie 1884). However, tonal changes in the books, as well as consideration of the type of recipes they included, indicate that these publications were as influenced by middle class cookery as middle class books were by the principles of French ordering and layouts. Many of the recipes in French-authored books – and these are French men and women integrated into English culture through employment and marriage – have patriotic English names (à la Victoria*, à l‟Albert* especially). They include recipes for pies, puddings and cakes from the middle class repertoire, as well as affording more eminence to beef than might be expected. Most importantly, they were written within an English cultural context, where cooks could be male or female, and in which the latter were not an audience to be ignored. Both male and female cooks and kitchen staff could receive and be influenced by the same texts, unlike in other areas of the self-help market where engendering led to text created to be gender-specific. The ideas and structures underlying the books affected both men and women, and led to changes within

the market. Female authors appropriated male techniques for the physical layout of their volumes, fighting to professionalise cookery as a whole, while at the same time adopting deeply hierarchical French-style culinary structuring principles, with consequences for both kitchen and dining table. Meanwhile, male authors recognised the significance of the female audience share, and changed the emphasis of their writing, including English recipes and pitching their tone more towards that of a friendly advisor (Senn 1901) and away from the possibly patronising professional (Verral 1759). The result was a homogenised culinary style which could be presented as French in a formal context, but retained a strong English identity.

## Conclusions

The archaeological analysis of culinary preparation sheds light on underlying principles and trends which have not been explored by either food or architectural historians. The majority of kitchens were female environments, but male cooks continued to dominate professional cookery and lead aristocratic kitchens. Gender, rather than class, tension was the prevailing driver for culinary change which coincided at the end of the nineteenth century with the rise of à la Russe. In culinary preparation spaces the role of men proved difficult to manage, leading to differing placements of cook's rooms as their professional status changed. In the middle class household female cooks were the norm, and kitchens resolutely feminised space – on paper. Yet, as work on the contents and layout of kitchens has shown, they were liminal spaces, and men were not excluded from them. Where no male servants were kept, suppliers and, on occasion, friends or family (Sambrook 2005), could gain access and, although attempts were made in the second half of the nineteenth century to render kitchens more exclusive, this occurred in mixed gender contexts as much as in female-staffed kitchens.

Modern assumptions of drudgery and gloom, arising out of the first and second wave of feminist critiques of androcentric archaeology in the 1960s and 1970s, have too often been allowed to cloud analysis of culinary preparatory space, just

as the nineteenth century assignation of masculinity to dining rooms has been unquestioned in consideration of culinary consumption. Equally, efforts to locate women outside the confines of the home, and challenge the dichotomy of the public/private divide, has led to a denigration of the levels of skill, knowledge and intuition needed for culinary success. Cooks in the nineteenth century fought hard to elevate the status of their profession. This applied as much to mistresses who cooked as it did to paid cooks. Rather than open up cookery, print culture was used to render kitchens increasingly inaccessible by dint of specialist equipment and language, which excluded all without the requisite knowledge, male or female. In this way, nascent professional boundaries could be built despite the increasing availability of ready-made ingredients and cheap moulds, which meant that cooks could also aspire to create dishes previously beyond their abilities. At the same time, regulation of equipment and recipes occurred, though, at least at first, this was of more use to mistresses in giving the impression of control, than to cooks who knew the value of experience. Both gender and class differences could thereby be negotiated through the acquiring or deliberate ignorance of practical knowledge of material culture.

Nineteenth century cuisine can be viewed as losing its English distinctiveness as French menus, dishes and styles were adopted, due at least in part to a wilful desire on behalf of female authors to integrate male approaches into their books. Women embraced the regulatory approach which was also evident on the table and in household discipline under the depersonalised à la Russe regime. They used the language and approaches of science to enshrine cookery as dispassionate and impersonal in printed books, although the few manuscript survivals indicate that it was still a deeply personal art. Despite their efforts, the tension between everyday female tasks and extraordinary masculine achievement has, in many ways, still not been resolved. Meanwhile as English cuisine developed its own distinct repertoire, French cooks themselves had to adopt feminised approaches and tones in order to maximise their market. The development of a distinctive and very good English cuisine followed – though it should be stressed that this was through continuous development and adaption rather than a sudden coalescing of food trends. Unfortunately the convergence of

French and English styles in print also left the impression, for future generations considering Victorian food through cookbooks, that all of England ate in a disappointingly middle class style.

## 6. **'The** liquor of the fair and wise'[4]: Tea in the English Psyche

> It is very strange, this domination of our intellect by our digestive organs. We cannot work, we cannot think, unless our stomach wills so. It dictates to us our emotions, our passions. After eggs and bacon it says, "Work!" After beefsteak and porter, it says, "Sleep!" After a cup of tea (two spoonfuls for each cup, and don't let it stand for more than three minutes), it says to the brain, "Now rise, and show your strength. Be eloquent, and deep, and tender; see, with a clear eye, into Nature, and into life: spread your white wings of quivering thought, and soar, a god-like spirit, over the whirling world beneath you, up through long lanes of flaming stars to the gates of eternity!"
> Jerome (1889, 92-3) Three Men in a Boat

In the last three chapters the context and development of dinner were examined in order to explore the hypothesis that change was driven by women seeking a means of formulating and enforcing identity. They also considered the extent to which the characteristics of à la Russe impacted on the culinary environment beyond the act of dining. The next two chapters will extend the scope of the study, seeking to consider the role and influence of women in other food and drink-related contexts. They will also examine whether the changing structures of the dining table affected the way in which food and drink were consumed outside formal invited dinners. To that end, chapters 6 and 7 will focus on tea. ‗Tea' can refer both to a beverage and to an occasion upon which it may be drunk. As an experience it was, in most contexts, based around drinking rather than eating and was, as will be seen, associated with informality, at least when contrasted with large dinners of the type considered in chapter 3. Within a few decades of its introduction, it was engendered as a feminised occasion, despite plenty of evidence for masculine consumption of the beverage itself. In contrast to the engendering of dining and drawing rooms mentioned in chapter 4, the association of tea with women was explicit in contemporary commentary although, as indicated in the quotation above (Jerome 1889), no stigma was attached to male tea consumption. Tea has deliberately been chosen in order to

[4] Duncan Campbell, Poem upon Tea (1735), quoted in Pettigrew (2001, 78)

explore the process of engendering through a clear-cut example of an occasion with, by the end of the nineteenth century, deeply embedded feminine associations. Additionally, although the food which was consumed with tea in an upper or middle class context was prepared by cooks and served by waiting staff, tea was more closely associated in its preparative stages with the consumers themselves. It therefore forms a contrast to dinner, and is an ideal case study for testing the conclusions reached in chapters 3-5.

Tea is, in many ways, as identifiably English as beef. Yet it was only introduced to the country less than 350 years ago and, has never been produced in any quantity in the British Isles. In slightly over 200 years, from the 1650s to the 1880s when Three Men in a Boat, the source for the opening quotation, was published, tea went from being an exotic and minority fad to being an accepted part of the English diet. It became part of the national stereotype, a role which it still fulfils, despite the growth of the market for coffee since the 1950s (Ellis 2004, 228). Figure 75 demonstrates the way in which tea was used to show national superiority, in an illustration of a story current from at least as far back as the end of the eighteenth century. It also highlights the specificity of teawares and their use in an English context. Indeed, the material culture of tea and how to use it is an intrinsic part of its history and, as will be seen, played an active role in the scope and shape of its spread. However, to date much of what has been published on tea does little beyond setting out facts and figures and repeating common stories. Although it has been used in its role as a trading commodity to consider imperial themes within history (Mintz 1985; Lawson 1997). Teawares are ubiquitous on historical sites from the period covered by this thesis, and are often used by archaeologists (DiZerega Wall 1994; Ewins 1997) but often without a full understanding of the role of teawares as agents in the process of social change. On the odd occasion when tea has been considered as a specific archaeological topic, no explanation of change has been put forward; merely a narrative of its introduction and usage (Roth 1988). This chapter aims to remedy this omission, proposing that tea should be seen as an engendered drink, and its artefacts understood within that context. In chapter 7 the impact of gender upon

the tea equipage will be analysed and a theory of change proposed which draws upon the conclusions made in the rest of this thesis.

## General approach and data sets

This chapter primarily uses existing research and knowledge as a basis for the application of the theories which have emerged from chapters 3-5. The current corpus of work, especially that by Pettigrew (2001; 2003) details how and when tea was introduced to England, includes the facts and figures of its success and the locations in which it was consumed. The most recent work is clearly referenced, albeit usually to a relatively small set of primary sources. However, it is primarily narrative and puts forward few theories as to the impact of tea on society, or the reasons why it was so rapidly and generally accepted. Additionally, despite drawing upon the materiality of tea, it is not archaeologically-informed.

In order to expand on the sources used by writers on tea and thoroughly investigate the role of women in its acceptance and use, additional data has been integrated into the following two chapters. The cookbooks used to inform chapters 3-5 form the basis of the examination of tea in written sources and provide a continuum across the whole thesis. Additional accounts of tea-drinking have been taken from fictional and autobiographical literature, as well as accounts of Coronation and Jubilee teas in the nineteenth century. Attacks on, and defences of, tea-drinking in the eighteenth century were published outside cookbooks and have been consulted as a guide to the debates surrounding its acceptance (e.g. Hanway 1757). Visual depictions, in the form of formal paintings, satires and illustrations in books such as Beeton (1888) are a rich source of data on everyday activities, and have also been consulted. This data, together with the general literature on tea referred to above, has been used to consider the development of tea based on the central hypotheses of this thesis: that food and drink were fundamental to the negotiation of gender relations, and that women drove change within the dining environment. The rest of this chapter will explore the use of tea as a tool for combating prevailing contemporary negative views of femininity in the early eighteenth century, and for negotiating

the role of women in the light of the _cult of domesticity' (Clark 1988) in the nineteenth. It will view the act of taking tea as an engendered occasion through which social networks could be cultivated and maintained. For suburban middle class women especially, afternoon tea was a key element in a feminine support network. It was also another means by which identity could be displayed and negotiated within established interest groups. Even at the end of the nineteenth century, tea remained a crucial tool in the feminine armoury, and was fundamental to the movement of women outside the home and – although outside the scope of this thesis – their eventual liberation through work, war and universal suffrage (Macfarlane and Macfarlane 2003, 86-7). In the course of researching this chapter it became evident that the period 1750-1900 needed to be extended in order to fully comprehend the way in which women appropriated the material culture of tea and used it in negotiating gender roles. This chapter therefore also briefly discusses the interaction of women and tea from the 1650s to c.1750 before concentrating on the core period of c.1750-1900.

## The exciting novelty, c.1650-1750

### Trade background

The first documented cup of tea to be drunk in England was by Pepys, noted in his diary for September 1660 (Pettigrew 2001, 8). Adverts for tea sales appear from the previous decade (Brown 1995, 51), and it is probable that it was known and drunk, if not widely, then at least consistently, in small quantities by the upper echelons of English society by that time. European discovery of the drink was through the Portuguese, who reached China by sea in 1557 (Pettigrew 2001, 12). European trading posts were rapidly established in the East, predominantly to cater for the lucrative spice trade. Gradually, tea drinking was adopted by envoys, merchants and missionaries, who then took the habit with them, and spread it on return to their native countries. At first supplies were sporadic, and dependant on individual agreements in the Far East. The market was difficult to predict, and evidence from the East India Company records suggests that on more than one occasion imports risked flooding the market and had to be curtailed the following year (Chaudhuri 1978, 390).

By 1717 a permanent base had been acquired by the East India Company at Canton (Brown 1995, 56). From this point onwards, tea imports grew steadily (graph 3). From one decade to the next increases of up to 85% in volume can be seen (Chaudhuri 1978, 388). Two types of tea were available to the seventeenth century consumer; green (unfermented) and black (fermented). In the 1680s taste seemed to incline towards the former, but a swing towards black blends became apparent from the 1760s (Brown 1995, 56). Both types of tea were commonly adulterated, the green with colorants such as Prussian blue (Pettigrew 2001, 47), and black with dried foliage (Kemp 1856, 281). The reasons for the switch to black are unclear. Trade monopolies may have played a role as the East India Company's state-granted monopoly on trade with China gave it the power to dictate the market (Macfarlane and Macfarlane 2003, 73). On the other hand, smuggling was rife, and alternatives to either type of tea were readily available, both in the form of coffee and chocolate, and the more traditional options of beer, cider and punch. The East India Company does not seem to have marketed tea any more fiercely than its other wares, and was essentially a reactive company, following the market, rather than leading it (Chaudhuri 1978). Mintz (1985) argues that the popularity of tea in England and the exploitation of the sugar islands are intrinsically linked. Elites wishing to display imperial connections and their own wealth and purchasing power may have used tea as a means of so doing, especially in light of the number of conversation pieces which feature tea and its accoutrements (Lawson 1997). Milk was also commonly added to tea in England, and it is possible that the more robust taste of black tea made it more suitable for drinking with milk and sugar than the more delicate green version (Brown 1995). Bovine husbandry was already part of the national myth (Rogers 2003), so combining milk with tea reinforced its links to the Empire in a specifically English context.

## Domestication

As will be seen in chapter 7, by 1750 the tea equipage was extensive, and far outweighed similarly specialist equipment deemed necessary to prepare chocolate and coffee. Concentration on the early period of the history of hot

beverages (e.g. Brown 1995), or on only one of the three to the exclusion of the others (e.g. Coe and Coe 1996; Pettigrew 2001) has obscured the way in which teawares proliferated despite a limited initial equipage. A primary factor in this was a strong link with the domestic environment which enabled the use of breakable porcelain in storing, preparing and drinking the beverage. This association with the home both influenced, and was influenced by, a similarly close and even more enduring link with femininity in the popular mindset (Richards 1999; Pettigrew 2001). Explaining the growth of tea and the changes in consumption patterns in the eighteenth and nineteenth centuries requires an understanding of the way in which women used tea in its domestic context, and how these links came about.

Most commentators agree that the popularity of the caffeinated hot beverages which were introduced in the seventeenth century was influenced by their role as alternatives to alcoholic drinks. For the coffee trade, the rise of coffee houses and the culture of sociability that surrounded them has been viewed as pivotal (Ellis 2004; Cowan 2005). Though alcohol was freely available at most coffee houses, in their role as places of business, non-alcoholic options were better for negotiations and, at a time when water, milk and fruit juices were either unheard of or deemed unhealthy, tea, coffee and chocolate filled a gap in the market. The late Stuart period has been termed that of the _financial revolution' (Hoppit 2002, 4), and in this reading, the new beverages were the catalyst for the development of the City in a recognisably modern form. Tea was available at coffee houses, but by the late seventeenth century was already associated with a domestic setting. It is the most commonly portrayed item of food or drink in elite portraiture of the period, and although it was available outside the home, it is telling that the masculine alternative to taverns was the coffee house, and not linked to tea. The influence of the Court was still strong in the seventeenth century, and Catherine of Braganza was a committed tea-drinker (Pettigrew 2001, 22). However, Mary II preferred chocolate, and had a chocolate kitchen, still extant but closed to the public, installed in the new wing at Hampton Court Palace. Court influence, while important in explaining the take-up of hot beverages by women is not enough to explain the rapidly entrenched association

specifically between tea, women and the domestic setting. Nor does it explain the total dominance of the hot beverage market by tea by 1750, and its wholehearted acceptance into the English diet.

One reason for the popularity of tea was its relative practicality. It had the advantage of being easier to prepare than both chocolate and coffee, both of which required extensive and messy preparation – melting, mixing and frothing in the case of chocolate and roasting and grinding for coffee. Both of these processes were commonly carried out in auxiliary spaces next to the drawing or dining rooms where beverages were consumed in a domestic setting. Osborne House, for example, contained a coffee room with an attached scullery for preparing the beans (AHP 2009 unpublished). Tea, on the other hand, could be prepared and served by the host or hostess without any need for external interference, making it quick and easy and ideal for informal private consumption. This immediately favoured women who were unable to enter the masculine coffee houses and whose consumption of hot beverages had to take place in the home.

It was also a useful means to display status within the domestic setting. Depictions of tea drinking often show not only the tea caddy, but also a lockable tea chest in the room where tea was consumed (for example, fig. 76). It is usually situated next to the primary female figure – the mistress of the house. The generally accepted reason is that the mistress of each house kept the keys to the caddy to avoid theft (Pettigrew 2003, 90). However, coffee and chocolate were also pricy commodities, and yet there is little evidence that they were handled in a similar manner. There would have been little point as, in order to prepare the beverages, the raw materials had to be given to a servant to remove and prepare away from her sight. In figure 76 the tea has been prepared in situ, though it is being served by a maid. The male servant entering to the right meanwhile bears a chocolate pot, evidence of preparation elsewhere – and that the two beverages have already gained gender associations. Tea does seem more prevalent in contemporary commentary on pilfering servants and the importance of a securely locked caddy (Pettigrew 2003), but given other beverages were more accessible

in the first place, this may be a circular argument. The keeping of tea in ornate and highly visible locked boxes was nevertheless a means of asserting control. In the context of the overall household, mistresses were able to emphasise the servant/served divide through restricting access to tea, and thereby strengthen their authority. At the same time they were able to demonstrate that control and their ability to maintain responsibility to their husbands. Tea chests continued to be produced into the nineteenth century, but declined after the reduction of tax on tea in 1784 as control of tea devolved to the housekeeper, and women's place as responsible domestic overseers was established. Initially however, tea and its material culture were key means by which that place was won in the face of prevailing views of women as spendthrift and frivolous.

## Feminisation

The existing association of women with ceramics, and ceramics with tea, was a key factor in the engendering of tea. Expensive imported ceramic goods were by no means unknown in England before the Restoration, but it was only afterwards that their impact became marked. Shipped in large quantities by the East India Company, first as ballast for their dry goods and then as lucrative products in their own right, Chinese porcelain goods – which became known generically as china – were generally intended for domestic use (Draper 2001). As such, their purchase and care fell within the remit of women. The debate over women and the domestic context in the late seventeenth century continues to fuel research (e.g. Kowaleski-Wallace 1997; Clery 2004), but the fact that women largely controlled their domestic environment by 1700 is generally agreed upon. This is not to suggest that men did not also buy china and other exotic goods – they certainly bought tea – simply that the context in which most fine ceramics were used was one which women dominated. China and women were immediately linked in visual and literary culture. Women were compared to china vessels, especially vases; they were easily broken, delicate and often pale, or they were hollow and passive, waiting to be filled (Kowaleski-Wallace 1997, 60). China came to stand as a metaphor for virtue. Hogarth's *Harlot's Progress* (1732) uses the overturned tea table, with its broken ceramics, as a clear indication of the

downward spiral of the central figure. China could also stand in for male sexuality in the context of female desire:

> Lady Fidget: And I have been toiling and moiling for the prettiest piece of china, my dear
> Horner: Nay, she has been too hard for me, do what I could.
> *Squeamish: O Lord, I ll have some china too. Good Mr Horner, don t you think to give other people china, and me none. Come* in with me too.
> Horner: Upon my word, I have none left now.
> Squeamish: Nay, nay I have known you deny your china before *now, but you shan"t put me off so. Come.*
> Horner: That lady had the last there.
> Lady Fidget: Yes madam, to my certain knowledge he has no more left.
> Squeamish: Oh but it may be he has some you could not find.
> *Lady Fidget: What, d"y think if* he had had any left, I would not have had it too? For we women of quality never think we have china enough.
> Wycherley (1675, 108-109)

This quote is characteristic of the way in which china and women came to be viewed negatively. Here the desire for china drives the two women to immoral extremes, prepared to betray their husbands in order to obtain their wants. Elsewhere china was at the centre of a debate over female spending power and the desirability of women having access to consumer goods which were not yet regarded as necessities (Kowaleski-Wallace 1997, 56-7). Because of its fragility, china was seen to be a dangerous way to invest wealth – one careless movement and it was gone (Richards 1999, 71). Kowaleski-Wallace (1997) argues that the masculine establishment was wary of china purchases because they detracted from male success – previously women were criticised for overspending on clothing, but this at least meant that their husbands' fortunes were reflected on their bodies, and therefore could be seen and admired outside the home. It can be argued that women buying china deliberately sought to deobjectivise themselves and to deflect attention onto goods and off themselves as possessions. However, this assumes that there is evidence that women were really buying more china than men, whereas inventory analysis indicates that men were just as likely to possess collections of china goods as women (Kowaleski-Wallace 1997, 57). The

perception of women as china-mad spendthrifts was not easily combated, however, and the use of this image as a literary stock figure occurs well into the nineteenth century (e.g. Ferrier 1818).

As will be further explained in chapter 7, ceramics and tea were quickly associated, and with tea dominating other beverages in a domestic context, it is perhaps unsurprising that the link between women and tea was so quickly made. Even as early as 1694 Congreve referred to ladies retiring to *„their tea and scandal, according to their ancient custom"* (Partington 1996). Figure 77 illustrates that, just as china was not always associated kindly with women, neither was tea. The _chit-chat' of the central figures as they play cards and read unedifying pamphlets is illustrated by the allegorical scene played out in the background (Brown 1995, 78). Meanwhile the heads at the window indicate a greater sense of masculine unease; not only are these men idling away their time eavesdropping, but they are excluded from the home, and cast in the low status role of servants, figures often depicted as eavesdropping or skulking in corners in the seventeenth century. Tea-drinking here is therefore seen to lead to effeminate behaviour in men and behaviour unfit for a productive, moral nation in general. The turn of the eighteenth century, in common with that of the nineteenth century, witnessed a guarded output of _feminist' literature, resulting in a backlash which forced female writers out of the market until the 1750s (Clery 2004). Tension over the economic and moral impact of luxury combined with that over the role and nature of women in what Clery (2004) terms _the Feminisation Debate'. As the links between women, china and tea became increasingly strong, so did the assumption that the associations were understood by the literate. In one of the most vehement attacks on tea, which quickly disintegrates into a polemic against women and the lower classes, a pamphlet of 1757 declared:

> *„Some of the most effeminate people on the face of the whole* earth, whose example we, as a wise, active and warlike nation, would least desire to imitate, are the greatest sippers."
> (Hanway 1757, 17)

This attack was answered in robust style by Dr Johnson, who famously declared himself to be:

> *„A hardened and shameless tea*-drinker who has for 20 years diluted his meals with only the infusion of this fascinating leaf; whose kettle has scarcely time to cool; who with tea amuses the evening; with tea solaces the midnight; and with tea welcomes *the morning."*
> (Quoted in Brown 1995, 60)

By this time the debate was in its last stages; tea had become an accepted part of the English lifestyle. Despite strong and voluble support for it by men, it was irreconcilably linked to women, but, due to a successful counter-attack by female tea-drinkers, this was no longer viewed as overwhelmingly bad.

The negative associations of tea, china and women were fought as soon as they became commonplace. Engendered satires such as that in figure 77 co-existed with conversation pieces of the style of figure 76 in which tea was used as a marker of wealth and pride in England's status in global trading networks (Lawson 1997). Yet even in these pictures tea is associated with women. In figure 76 the mistress controls the tea chest and a maid (somewhat absent-mindedly) holds the kettle. In coffee houses the only female presence was in the form of the attendant (fig. 78), though she also masterminded the provision of coffee, chocolate and any other items on offer. (For discussion of the role of women in coffee houses, see Clery 1991; Ellis 2004.; Cowan 2005) Control of the teapot and leaves put the woman managing it firmly in the role of provider. It was she who regulated the amount of tea in the pot, and she who controlled how much each person present could have. This predated the feminine control of the dining room explored in chapter 4, and may well have been an influence in enabling women to gain a firmer grasp of dining-related occasions in the home.

Both female writers and men who opposed the misogynist anti-tea party used this regulatory aspect to argue for a different view of the association of tea and women. In this reading, far from encouraging men into dangerously indolent and immoral ways, women were a disciplining force, presiding over a domestic sociability which echoed the sobriety of the (positive views of the) coffee house (Clery 1991). They acted to cultivate, rather than emasculate, savage man. The language of the debates of the early eighteenth century reflected parallel

discussion on the nature of men and women, wherein men were viewed as _wild‘ and women as domesticated (Pomata and Daston 2003). Women were promoted as refining influences, typified – at length – by Richardson‘s Pamela and Clarissa. Delicate china vessels were redrawn as the active implements of refinement (Richards 1999, 99) – they broke, and that was the point. Careful handling and knowledge was required to manipulate successfully the teabowls, saucers and other china objects which were both used and displayed. The early eighteenth century was pivotal in the development of service à la Française which, as seen in chapters 3 and 4, took the display and use of china to an extreme. China objects became markers of civilisation, accompanying the increased regulation of behaviour through written etiquette (Elias 2000). China was common in the dining room by 1750, supplementing and in some cases replacing silver for dining ware. Yet when it first became popular it was in the form of teawares. The dual association of women with tea and china ensured that as china moved into the dining room and elsewhere women were able to use it as a means of extending control throughout the house.

In addition to specifically engendered defences of tea and china, writers such as Defoe lauded the uplift that the consumption of hot beverages had given to the economy (Pettigrew 2001, 37), and helped negate the idea that money spent on china was money wasted. By 1750, therefore, tea had become established as a popular drink with strong domestic and female associations. It was drunk in both formal contexts such as balls, and after dinner, as well as in a more relaxed way as part of the daily routine of both women and men. It also became an instrument of engendered sociability in the form of the _tea ceremony‘ as it is usually termed within archaeology (e.g. Roth 1988, 444), although the term is not easy to find in contemporary commentary. While men and women could both be present at specific tea-drinking occasions, women almost always presided over them in visual and written depictions. As an extension to the daily range of meals, taking tea, often accompanied by biscuits or breads, but nothing substantial (fig. 79), was a significant addition to the corpus of occasions on which social networks could be maintained and status, both within and outside the household, recognised and enforced. Over the next 70 years this function was to be exploited,

but also altered, as tea and the tea equipage underwent changes in line with social and cultural currents within eighteenth and early nineteenth century English society.

## A very English Exotica, c.1750-1820

> *„I and my family could not well dispense with our tea and toast in the morning…before we left Paris we laid in a great stock of tea, chocolate, cured neat"s tongues and saucissons."*
> (Smollett 1797, 73)

By 1750 tea was an accepted part of the upper class English diet. It was also drunk, much to the disgust of commentators such as Hanway (1757), by the lower sorts, who had to be content with low grades of often heavily adulterated teas. Tea was surrounded with an assortment of material culture, no longer just Chinese export porcelain, but increasingly likely to be items bought from English or European manufacturers as they developed hard and soft-paste porcelain factories of their own. The development of a domestic ceramics industry and the elaboration of the tea ceremony among the upper classes characterise the period c.1750-1820, by the end of which tea-drinking was no longer the province only of the wealthy. The Commutation Act of 1784 was explicitly passed in recognition of the fact that tea had become a necessity for all classes (Emmerson 1992, 11). The subsequent price drop made the beverage even more available to a growing mass of tea-drinking English public. By 1820 tea had become synonymous with England and English-influenced society wherever it was found. However, women wielded the teapot, and continued to use it as a tool to promote positive views of femininity.

Georgian tea-drinking was not limited to one or two occasions. Tea was widely drunk at breakfast along with coffee and chocolate, and, as the above quotation demonstrates, eighteenth century British consumers abroad did little to dispel the perception of Britain as a tea-obsessed nation. It was drunk by both men and women as they worked and socialised, albeit in different environments. Tea-parties were referred to in elite society (Roth 1988), and were used as an intimate form of mixed gathering which enabled the sexes to mix in much the same way

as at Assembly Rooms. The upper classes had a tense relationship with the large, semi-public gatherings of Assembly Rooms and ticketed balls (Borsay 1984), which also served tea. Both contexts were a useful solution to the problem of allowing marriageable heirs to meet prospective partners in a safe forum as the notion of free choice gained currency (Baird 2003). Tea was used as an enabler for social interaction throughout the English Empire. Emmerson (1992, 14) notes the relieved return of Americans to the tea-table following the Declaration of Independence; foreign visitors to America before and after the revolution commented on the prevalence of tea-parties as a form of civilised sociability (Roth 1988). Meanwhile for the gentry or less socially inhibited, local centres such as York reinvented themselves as service towns, their main industries being tourism, banking and retailing, especially of luxuries such as chocolate (both Terry‘s and Rowntree Mackintosh‘s forbears were already present within the city walls) (Brown 1995; Poole 1996). Evidence from York‘s Mansion House indicates regular dinners taking up most of the tableware budget, with alcoholic drinks remaining in the forefront of consumption, at least judging from the breakages records. Tea also played a role, however, and teawares are mentioned several times in the accounts (c.1779-1785 unpublished). It is probable that teawares were purchased for use or, if in silver, brought from the family home by each Mayor and so are under-represented in these particular accounts, which mainly deal with rentals. Bath‘s New Assembly Rooms, opened in 1771, meanwhile placed huge orders for teawares (Pettigrew 2001, 75), as tea became an accepted part of ball-going and a necessity for the gentry and middle class.

Tea was also a fundamental part of the reinvention of the Stuart pleasure gardens. Vauxhall, subject of a particularly dubious reputation by 1730, spearheaded the change from _pleasure‘ to _tea‘(Conlin 2006). Tea booths had always been present at Vauxhall, but now the opportunity to take tea came to the forefront, as new entertainments were added and attempts made to attract a more upmarket – and above all feminine and refining – clientele. Figure 80, though casting aspersions on the refinement of tea gardens, does indicate the success of these attempts. Tea gardens were seen by many as facilitating social cohesion, and, with their relatively open entrance policy, a good way to encourage the lower

orders to emulate their betters (Conlin 2006, 722). Their appeal was increasingly lost on the upper classes, however, which had the means to recreate the experience on their own estates without the pickpockets, prostitutes and pretenders. Felus (2005) demonstrates the way in which many of the banqueting houses, orangeries and other buildings common in the late eighteenth century garden could be used for hosting tea-parties, especially as after-dinner novelties. In the 1820s the gardens were once more reinvented, this time for a lower social dynamic with more spectacular, staged events such as the re-enactment of the battle of Waterloo (Conlin 2006), but tea continued to be crucial to their appeal.

After-dinner tea was one of the most common occasions on which to drink tea (Adams and Adams 1825, 29). Often it involved sexual segregation as men remained at the table while women moved into a neighbouring space and were served tea. The two parties would then reintegrate when the men joined the ladies and also partook of tea (Girouard 1978, 204-5). This practice was partly pragmatic – after a lengthy dinner it enabled both sexes to use chamber pots without the presence of the other – but it also emphasised once more the association of tea and femininity. The importance of the after-dinner ritual should not be ignored. The final set of teawares in the Don Pottery Pattern Book (1807) specifically includes a punch jug. Large teapots with political motifs are sometimes attributed as punch pots, although there seems no reason for this other than androcentric assumptions. Some wares were specifically marketed as after-dinner teawares, although the material record shows no obvious differentiation through which to attribute occasion-based functionality.

## Women and tea

The identification of women with tea remained a constant throughout this period, despite its widespread consumption by men in both mixed and strictly masculine contexts. The expansion of the tea equipage to encompass not only bowls and pots but also sugar boxes, milk, cream and water jugs, side plates and an array of differently patterned and shaped teapots suited home consumption. The range of material culture on display in a public environment in figure 80 is markedly smaller than that to be seen in the domestic context of figures 75 or 81. As

established in chapter 4, women made the majority of everyday household purchases (Vickery 1998), and by the 1750s teawares fell into this category for the elite and, increasingly, for the middle classes (Brown 2008 unpublished). In the sample of cookbooks used to inform chapter 3, authors from Henderson (c.1790) onwards assume access to tea and contain recipes using it as an ingredient. It is not until Beeton (1861) that advice is given on making tea as a beverage, but this is an indication of the encyclopaedic and didactic nature of the Book of Household Management, rather than that the target audience would lack familiarity with the substance. Choosing teawares was not necessarily an easy task. As will be further explored in chapter 7, by the end of the eighteenth century a massive range of designs was on offer, making it quite possible for women to display virtually any conceivable message through the medium of tea. Teawares had the additional benefit of being cheap – or comparatively so – enabling several alternative identities to co-exist within the physical space of the household and to be brought out depending on context. Work in American contexts has interpreted differing designs found in the same excavated site as being intended for different occasions, namely afternoon tea-parties and after-dinner tea (DiZerega Wall 1994), but there is no reason why pieces could not have been regarded as interchangeable for the same occasion but with different audiences. From their position at the head of the tea table, women were able to retain control of the tea ceremony in the eighteenth century in ways which would not occur at the dinner table until the advent of service à la Russe nearly a century later.

The late eighteenth century witnessed a brief flourishing of mixed social interaction at levels below that of the aristocracy. Though the ‗season' existed in London and continued to retain considerable importance throughout the nineteenth century (Horn 1991), the significance of provincial service centres such as York, Bath, and Tunbridge Wells peaked in the Georgian period (Borsay 1984). In such contexts but outside formal organised occasions such as balls, women were recognised as enablers for sociability centred on tea:

> *„We are upon quite a different* footing, than last year. Then we were never free from Company; we had hardly time to eat, or read a Letter: now we are all to ourselves, unless now and then *we drink Tea at the Colonel"s…We have had no Tea*-visitant, *but Miss Grant to Dolly."*
> Rvd Penrose, 1766 (Penrose et al. 1983, 170).

Not only were well-treated, visible women emblematic of the free society England wanted to be seen as (Burke 1790), but they also played a very real role in the negotiation of social status. They maintained familial and associative networks (Sweet 2006) and, in their role as overseers of the physical world of the household (Vickery 1998), acted as guardians of the social order as well as ensuring the smooth running of the estate - often the source as well as the outward result of familial wealth. The successful promotion of a view of women as hostesses came through a positive command of the tea table. From this women were able to assert mastery over associated occasions, namely dining, and extend this to the whole domestic environment. By the end of the eighteenth century it was rare for cookery writers to allude to male decision-makers in the prefaces of their books, and most firmly targeted women (e.g. Mason 1773).

The late Georgian and Regency period was when à la Française was at its peak. Commentators have viewed this as the key era to concentrate on in describing the material culture of tea (e.g. Roth 1988; Brown 2008 unpublished), perhaps following, however unconsciously, the division within the food history establishment between those who study predominantly à la Française meals (e.g. Lehmann 2002) and those who cover à la Russe (e.g. Mars 1994a). It may also follow from older divisions into pre-industrial and industrial society. Writers on tea – few as they are – usually have an art history background, and the era before mass production is often viewed as more interesting and valuable than the post-industrial period. Museums' collections also follow this, and the nationally significant teapot collection of the Norwich Castle Museum, used extensively in chapter 7, is singularly lacking in late nineteenth century examples. It is certainly easier to find both visual and diary sources which reference tea in the eighteenth century. However, its apparent decline in sources in the nineteenth century may be as much a function of increasing ubiquity as of a decrease in significance. As

figure 81 suggests, tea remained emblematic of refinement and femininity, even without tea gardens and other spaces of semi-public sociability in which to display it. Indeed, as majority discourse on the role of women increasingly emphasised their domestic and family ties, and the middle classes moved out to the suburbs, tea became a means of creating and maintaining permissible support networks within the _private' sphere (Howarth 2000).

## Angels and commanders, 1820-1860

By 1820 tea had become a universal part of the English diet (Burnett 1966). The contents of the tea service had largely been established, although only the wealthy had every piece, and matching sets were not necessarily the norm, even within upper class circles (Brown 2008 unpublished). Black tea was preferred to green tea, and was commonly drunk with milk and sugar. Between the 1830s and the 1860s plantations were established in India, enabling English control of production as well as importation, although it took mechanisation and the application of a factory system before supply could be assured, after which Indian tea sales overtook those of China (Macfarlane and Macfarlane 2003). The very existence of tea was, it has been argued, a key driver in the expansion of the British Empire into territories such as Assam and Burma (Macfarlane and Macfarlane 2003). For women, it is generally accepted that, following the turmoil of the late eighteenth century, women's roles became more proscribed and domestically-focussed (Colley 1996; Howarth 2000). By the mid nineteenth century, the middle classes were avoiding public socialising in favour of the invited dinner, the subject of the bulk of this thesis. Women risked being sidelined by discourse on domesticity, cast in the role of domestic angels (Clark 1988), when some at least aspired to be the _*commander of an army*" (Beeton 1861, 1).

In the light of pressure to be leisured, domestically focussed full-time housewives and mothers, it is unsurprising that the material culture of the home took on more significance for middle class women than it may have had hitherto. The expected behaviours for aristocratic women changed less: their role had

always been to provide an heir (and spare), and then administer the home and estate. The breadth of activities depended on the individuals involved, but usually included charitable works in aid of the poor of the estate, running the domestic workforce and playing an active role in family affairs where they could be affected by social activities, such as canvassing for votes or hosting balls for matchmaking purposes (Horn 1991; Baird 2003). They were not completely unaffected by reactionary anti-feminism and the drive towards domesticity. For example the furore over Georgiana, Duchess of Devonshire‘s support of Fox, which was driven in part by his position as a non-family member, led to more muted campaigning by women in the nineteenth century (Foreman 1998). Middle class women were more directly affected, however, especially as the drive towards the suburbs separated them physically from the arena of work and differentiated the mid-Victorian generation from that which had preceded it. Additionally, since the middle classes tended to set up home and purchase goods at marriage rather than wait to inherit a whole house and its contents (Hughes 2005; Rossi-Wilcox 2005), they were more able to express ideologies through a greater range of goods. Some mainly bulky and room-dominating items have been discussed in this context. Altar-like sideboards and gothic-inspired design has been interpreted as indicating compliance with the domestic ideal, as well as a demonstration of religious belief (Clark 1988; Ames 1992). These features were more common in an American context. In English bulk-built middle class homes consumption patterns were also used to indicate belief systems, but often in a more subtle and nuanced way

The objects through which women chose to display their beliefs were a medium of communication. The move of tea-drinking among the upper classes into the domestic environment and away from Assembly Rooms and tea gardens helped those affected to take a firmer grip on the tea ceremony and thereby use it more effectively for their own ends. They could ensure the use of specific designs on the tea service, and control more easily seating and behaviour in the home. Participants could be invited, and visits reciprocated in such a way as to make clear the significance of shared ideologies. Not only the ceramics, but also the food accompaniments and indeed the type of tea itself had to be chosen carefully

in order to convey the desired messages. In Gaskell's *Cranford* the various widowed, unmarried or spinster ladies negotiate relative status through the taking of tea. Meanwhile Miss Matty's tea shop succeeds because – indicating her class – she is selling a better type of tea than the grocer (Gaskell 1853). The lower middle and working class may have seemed freer in the public spaces of conviviality, but upper and middle class women were able to use the material culture that they had chosen to directly influence those around them. The children playing by the table in figure 80 are learning through (bad) example. In the wealthy, domestically-focussed household they would be under far more control. Miniature tea sets and dolls' houses with tea services became popular in the late Georgian period as children were introduced to the Georgian view of what constituted civilised norms through playthings that aped those in everyday use. Meanwhile that everyday use inculcated values and beliefs into tea-takers through the medium of the tea service.

As tea became more deeply embedded into everyday English life, the habits, equipment and timing of the tea-taking became more certain and regulated. Just as the 1860s saw the start of an upsurge in publishing on dinner, so too did it see the first books dealing with the etiquette of tea-taking. The period 1820-1860 was perhaps the equivalent of the transition table for tea and, as such, key for its development as a social ritual. As will be discussed in the next section, one of the most regulated occasions upon which tea was consumed in a semi-formal context was at afternoon tea. The inevitable creation myth dates its invention to 1842, but there is no reason to suppose that the Duchess of Bedford, usually credited with its _invention', was aware of consuming anything more significant that a cup of tea in the afternoon. The food accompaniment which supposedly made the difference between the tea ceremony and afternoon tea (Hopley 2009, 58) was, as can clearly be seen in figure 79, present from at least the early eighteenth century. With dinner moving steadily later in the day, and other meals still in a state of flux until the first quarter of the nineteenth century, it is unsurprising that tea and a small snack were used to alleviate hunger. Pictorial depictions of tea-drinking such as figure 79 indicate that foods were usually flour-based and probably sweet. Illustrations of chocolate-drinking often show similar foods (Coe and Coe 1996).

The consumption of tea in the afternoon also fitted in with established visiting customs. In Cranford the habits of the previous generation are maintained, and visiting takes place between 12pm and 3pm (Gaskell 1853). Afternoon calls remained an established part of feminine sociability until the twentieth century. Although women were by no means house-bound in the nineteenth century, and interacted regularly with tradesmen and their female counterparts, servants and their own guests as well as their families, the leisured and domestically-focussed ideal woman was also likely to be bored and frustrated, especially when isolated in the suburbs (Sweet 2001, 181). In an example of this, Marion Sambourne's repeated illnesses and obsessiveness about her children's welfare contrasts with the liveliness with which she notes dinner menus and plans reciprocal hospitality (Nicholson 1994). Tea, especially planned afternoon teas which fitted visiting conventions, could be more than a demonstration of shared values, and provide a much-needed support network (Macfarlane and Macfarlane 2003, 86). More work is needed to fully explore the use of tea and tea-based occasions as a gender-specific tool for surviving middle class life. However, it seems likely that the feminine associations of tea aided in the creation of an intimate environment in which topics could be discussed which might not be mentioned in a mixed environment.

Tea was also used more directly in furtherance of feminine agendas. The role of women in the anti-slavery movement of the 1790s and 1820-30s has been shown to have been pivotal in the eventual abolition of the slave trade and, later, slavery itself (Walvin 2007). The sugar boycott, which was one of the most publicised campaigns, was most directly demonstrated through tea-taking, as sugar was habitually added to tea. In mixed after-dinner situations women could demonstrate their political credentials to men, while in feminine contexts avoiding sugar was a shared hardship, and a means of reinforcing group identity. In a similar vein, Americans had boycotted tea in the opening flourishes of the American War of Independence, and despite both men and women participating, women were seen as the key movers (Roth 1988) due to the close link between women and tea. By using the association of femininity with tea, women were able to impact upon the political sphere and challenge the patriarchal social

structure from within. The Temperance movement was linked with tea as an alternative to alcohol from its early days, perhaps deriving a link from the Society for the Reformation of Manners, founded in the 1690s to combat gin-drinking, and promoting tea as an alternative (Brown 2008 unpublished). Women were active and publically visible campaigners for Temperance, which they linked not only to tea, but also to domesticity, combining all three in the shape of fund-raising tea-parties (Macfarlane and Macfarlane 2003, 88). Tea legitimised these activities, supporting the slow process by which women gained a voice in political affairs, and furthering what Gaskell referred to in 1853 as ‗the modern idea of women *being equal to men*" (Gaskell 1853, 17).

## Emerging from the home, 1860-1900

> ‗*A lady"s taste and nicety are very perceptible at the breakfast-*
> table. She should never allow a soiled table-cloth to appear on it. The linen should be fresh and snowy-white, the silver brightly cleaned, the tea, coffee, cocoa, etc nicely made, and, if possible, *fresh flowers and fruit should adorn the table.* "
> Jewry (c.1875, 65)

In the latter half of the nineteenth century tea was perceived as being so quintessentially English that life would be unimaginable without it for its millions of consumers. Yet it was not until the 1860s that cookery books felt the need to give advice on its preparation. The word ‗tea' had been introduced into the written form of the cookery book as early as 1730 (Carter 1730), in the form of beef tea, primarily intended for invalids (essentially beef stock), and this version of tea continued to appear in books into the twentieth century. When Mrs Beeton (1861, 870) published her guidelines for making the beverage as discussed here, it was identified closely with breakfast. As linear time replaced the completion of tasks as a means of dividing the day (Shackel 1993), cookbooks were increasingly organised by meal, moving forward through the day. Where cookbooks include tea after the mid-century, it is nearly always within a chapter on breakfast. Tea was, however, consumed throughout the day, with meals and independent of them, especially by the working classes. The placement of tea with breakfast recipes is more indicative of the late Victorian

love of categorisation, evidenced also by the conventions of à la Russe, than of the consumption of tea at one moment over any other. The way in which tea was consumed in different contexts differed however, with each occasion marked by a specific set of material culture. The association with femininity and the domestic environment remained strong; with the latter especially important when, as will be discussed below, the physical act of drinking tea increasingly took place outside the home.

The Victorian period was, as Shackel (1993) argues, one of growing segmentation. The _time discipline' which he sees as characteristic of the nascent capitalist mindset was, however, only one among many forms of segmentation apparent in the period. The labelling and categorisation of the material world, including of individuals, is apparent in the layout of household documents and commercial printed matter (see chapter 4). It is also visible in the preoccupation with the correct way of doing things, evidenced by the growing market for advice books and self-help manuals. The tension between the desire for self-improvement – self-imposed discipline – and discipline imposed from above, for instance by employers installing clocks in kitchens, is a major theme within historical archaeology (Shackel 1993; Johnson 1996; Tarlow 2004 unpublished). Tea did not escape the labelling process, and nor did its material culture. Although early books include recipes for _Tea Cream' (Mollard 1801, 196) and other recipes using leaves or liquor from them, by the second quarter of the nineteenth century tea had virtually disappeared from cookbooks as an ingredient, and by the 1850s was defined as a hot beverage, with just occasional appearances in iced glazes (Marshall c.1888, 42) or as a cold drink (Senn 1901, 570). Chocolate, meanwhile underwent the reverse process, and was increasingly labelled as an ingredient. After the invention of the Van Houten process in the 1830s (Coe and Coe 1996) it passed out of the repertoire of drinks almost entirely, to be replaced by cocoa powder or derivatives thereof. These nineteenth century definitions of what constitutes an ingredient and what is a drink are still evident in the twenty-first century.

Modern commentators on tea, especially in the eighteenth century, have a tendency to refer to the _tea ceremony' in reverential terms, in some cases going so far as to refer to rituals and codified rules, suggesting the existence of a rigid etiquette for the serving of tea (e.g. Brown 2008 unpublished). However, the often rare or valuable objects used to illustrate this do not in themselves explain the behaviours or habits or tea-drinking. Satires such as figure 75 provide more of a clue, but it is important to remember that for tea just as much for as dinner, no one set of generally applicable rules can or should be posited. As will be discussed further in the next chapter, the material culture of tea differed by occasion, and the tea tables and other paraphernalia beloved of eighteenth century aristocratic ladies had no place at the late nineteenth century breakfast table. It would not be unrealistic to suggest that the way in which tea was drunk differed equally according to occasion and who was consuming it. The depiction of lower class tea-drinking in figure 82 plays on upper and middle class fears of the wastrel working class, and contains all the material elements which could be expected to be found in an upper class context – cloth, kettle, teapot, ceramics and dog – in ragged forms. The scene is deliberately set outside a typical middle class terrace, indicating exclusion and rendering the domestic setting of the tea party even more wrong according to middle class norms. Young (2003) argues that the lower classes were indeed emulating what they perceived to the behaviour of those above them, but that they did this on their own terms and with their own structured set of meanings – and that this did not preclude resistance to overt middle class pressure to conform. Studies of working class contexts in America and Australia have interpreted the discovery of material culture commonly associated with the middle class such as tea sets as a working class challenge to views of a lack of working class gentility (Seifert 1991; Milne and Crabtree 2001; Karskens 2003).

### Tea for every occasion

Bearing in mind the above considerations, where etiquette can be investigated using text and visual sources, conclusions can be drawn which illustrate the ways in which tea continued to be associated with women and the home. Breakfast was

one of the more informal meals of the day in an upper class context – it was served in an echo of à la Française, even after à la Russe became the accepted norm for formal dinners and, although servants were present to hand out plates from the sideboard, and replenish any dishes as required, their presence could be minimal. The hot water urn ensured a ready supply of tea, and the food was presented as one complete course without removes (Beeton 1888). It is likely that the arrangements described in etiquette books were current in upper class houses at some point between 1850 and 1880, but evidence is scanty as to how rigidly they were followed by the end of the century. Anecdotal evidence suggests that country house breakfasts especially were served as a buffet, with guests arriving on an ad-hoc basis, rather than being seated at a set time (Girouard 1979). It is likely that in a middle class context the guidelines were followed more closely (figs. 83-4). The mistress's role in command of the tea things at the head of the table emphasised her role as the primary figure within the domestic context, reflecting earlier emphasis at dinner on the male head of the household as carver. The kettle and teapot replaced the key item of an à la Française dinner – the roast – as the focal point for breakfast, and enabled the server to assert her status as provider and organiser. This fitted well with the middle class emphasis on useful work for women, and built upon the idea of wives as commanding the household, present as they were in this context to supervise the first meal of the day. By the late nineteenth century, mealtimes had become established in a pattern which would be recognisable to us today, even allowing for differing emphases and nomenclature depending on class. Douglas (1975) suggests that meals are significant temporal indicators across the day, marking out the start, middle and end point through communal food-taking. The way in which tea was used at breakfast reinforced the pivotal position of women in ensuring the smooth running of the home at the start of every day. If tea was taken after dinner, the same message could also be conveyed as one of the final acts of the day.

In mixed company tea could therefore be used to reinforce the idea of women as the lynchpin of family and domestic life. In the predominantly female atmosphere of afternoon tea it could be, as suggested above, more of an equaliser.

It could also be used, as with dinner, as a test of gentility, or as an alternative occasion to which to invite guests if they were undesired at the dinner table. There is no reason it could not be used for all of these purposes by the same hostess, upon different occasions, making it useful for its flexibility, especially versus dinner. Its significance therefore grew as dinner became less flexible, and it was given a new importance by being named as a specific occasion around the mid-century. As Pettigrew (2001) points out, tea-parties with invited guests had taken place in the afternoon for at least fifty years prior to the apparent ‗invention' of afternoon tea in 1842. The appearance in print of what Pettigrew (2001, 102) terms *„a national institution"* occurred concurrently with the appearance of tea in advice books and the codification of food-related actions, including tea-taking, in line with middle class requirements. ‗Afternoon tea' was a direct continuation of the late eighteenth century ‗tea ceremony'. Its reinvention with a different, time-specific name and aristocratic associations through a creation legend typify the mentality which both Shackel (1993) and Young (2003) associate with the middle class. The segmenting of ‗tea' into different occasions, each with its own set of material culture, occurred during the period identified in chapter 3 as that of the transition table, but the peak period for afternoon tea seems to be the late nineteenth century, and the period more closely associated with à la Russe.

Use of the term ‗afternoon tea' to describe the taking of tea with small amounts of food seems to have come through the mediation of the advice book writers in the 1870s and ‗80s. Beeton (1888, 1439) uses it as a caption (fig. 85), and includes an lengthy section on the various types of ‗teas' as a term for an eating and drinking occasion. The 1861 original edition (Beeton 1861) includes many of the foods commonly eaten at teas, as well as instructions on making the beverage itself, without mentioning tea as a meal at all. Once invented, the term was projected back into use in documents when describing the 1840s-60s, but it does not appear to have been in use by those taking it at that point. Beeton (1888, 1439) also lists *„wedding teas, high teas, „at home" teas, ordinary family teas and,* in some old-*fashioned places…a quiet tea…that is only the precursor to a good supper.* "There is little evidence to suggest that the reality of afternoon tea as named was at all different to that of tea in the afternoon. Once labelled, however,

it was immortalised in print and by 1901 Mellish's Cookery (Mellish 1901) was able to be quite specific about what constituted afternoon tea (which she combined with the _at home', and high tea). Etiquette books rapidly codified its behaviours, introducing a stronger masculine element as it was defined as a mixed occasion. Elevating afternoon tea to a formal, regulated occasion, threatened to limit its potential as an informal support forum. However, it is not certain how many men really attended. Devereux (1904, 35), aiming at the bachelor about town, advises his readers not to dread afternoon tea, despite the risk of being the lone man in a room full of ladies. Twenty years after Beeton's confusion, the various occasions upon which tea could be consumed had become codified into neat, segmented versions of occasions which were still not totally defined in 1888. Contrary to the invention myth, afternoon tea had very little to do with aristocratic hunger pangs, and everything to do with the acceptance of the authority of the written word by the middle class readership at which such books were aimed. As with cookery and etiquette books, users of such volumes consciously chose to accept their discipline, firstly in their decision to buy the book, and then in choosing whether or not to follow the guidelines contained within them. Such guidelines were centred on the material expression of the gentility they promoted, reinforcing the close link between text and object in the à la Russe world.

Figure 85 demonstrates the role of material culture in the middle class afternoon tea. The accoutrements of domesticity are all present – flowerpots, ornaments and stained glass in the windows. The tea itself is the province of the hostess, who in this way retains control of the gathering. Hats remain on heads, as they always had done during afternoon visits. Although afternoon tea often involved invitations, and some form of organised entertainment, it was not dinner, and dress reflected this. The setting of the material culture is further used to emphasise the supposedly ad-hoc nature of the occasion. Low tables are all that are available for placing tea cups and food plates upon, while the food available consists of dainties – cakes, biscuits and other easily manageable titbits. Mason (1994, 89) believes that afternoon tea occupied a new niche in nineteenth century dining habits, with a significantly different format to other meals and earlier

versions of the _tea ceremony'. It was certainly another means by which gentility could be asserted, especially within entirely or predominantly feminine circles. Contrary to assumptions that after-dinner wares, intended for mixed company, were more elaborate and expensive than those used for the more overtly feminised afternoon tea (e.g. Fitts 1999), it may well be that on some occasions the latter were more upmarket as they would then be the main material focus. The format of the tea in figure 85 is certainly superficially different to that of earlier depictions of tea. However, this illustration, and much of the evidence for the format of afternoon tea, comes from the very advice books that were instrumental in the defining and solidifying of it. The essential elements have not changed – the female controller of the pot, the food, cloth-clad table and domestic setting all feature in eighteenth century depictions, as well as the invited guests who were part of the earlier tea-parties. By the late nineteenth century, afternoon tea had its own existence, but its roots were very much those of an earlier period.

Another of the nineteenth century teas which occurs in books and is therefore discussed by modern critics is high tea. High tea sits more closely with breakfast in material terms. Unlike afternoon tea it could involve substantial amounts of food, and therefore dishes and plates upon which to serve it. In the late nineteenth and twentieth century it became synonymous with a supposed rural idyll. Mason (1994) and Pettigrew (2001) both quote from nineteenth century fictional accounts of high teas to illustrate the idea of high tea as an occasion for groaning tables, generous hospitality and class informality. Mellish (1901, 93), on the other hand, simply describes it as a more substantial version of afternoon tea, with the inclusion of meat-based dishes as a defining feature of her menus. Beeton (1888, 1440) likewise suggests that high tea can be a simple and light meal, but adds that it can also be a *„substantial meal with several courses that is in all but name…a dinner"*. For the advice book-reading classes, high tea as it evolved when first named in the 1880s was an alternative to a formal dinner. Light suppers and cold evening meals featured in earlier cookbooks such as *The Lady"s Assistant* (Mason 1773), and the main differences between these small dinners and high tea seems to be the addition of tea itself and the presence of

predominantly cold dishes. Otherwise, once more, only the name has changed. High tea is overwhelmingly associated with the working class by modern commentators, though there is little evidence to suggest that the meal was known as high tea by the working population before middle class advice-mongers decided that it should be so-called. Far from being what Mason (1994, 90) calls *„the upward osmosis of a social custom"*, the study of tea through time indicates that the naming and detailing of what constitutes high tea by etiquette manuals and romantic authors masked the continuation of earlier customs by different class groups. The upper classes continued to eat cold suppers and shift their meals to accommodate leisure activities, while the working class continued to eat their meals early to match their different lifestyle requirements and financial means. Meanwhile the middle classes, whose lifestyle requirements were closer to those of the working class – since the male contingent of the middle class worked – but whose aspirations were closer to those of the upper class, were able to appropriate elements of both eating occasions, and adopt a meal which would fit into a daily structure of their own invention.

Figures 86 and 87 demonstrate the materiality of high tea by the end of the nineteenth century. The former bears a strong resemblance to the supper table illustrated in chapter 3 (figs. 29-30). Like the supper table, the appearance of à la Française has been retained to some degree, with all of the dishes on the table at once (and, in the case of fig. 86 on a side table). However, once again, the playful food-matching and sensory nature of earlier layouts has been lost. Placing all of the dishes on the table at once, in one course only, was a practical solution for middle class household struggling to recruit or retain good staff (Horn 1975). High teas and suppers were simply an informal version of the evening meal, and a means of avoiding the formality of à la Russe, if desired. Not every dinner needed to serve as a test of dining ability, and this format provided an alternative for informal or family dining. If finances were tight, serving a tea-based meal was also considerably cheaper than providing the wines recommended for the à la Russe table (Devereux 1904). Food was still presented and portioned in accordance with à la Russe convention. By the twentieth century the portions were already divided (fig. 87), reducing the need for serving staff.

## Femininity and liberation

> *„She stood by the tea*-table in a light-coloured muslin gown, which had a good deal of pink about it. She looked as if she was not attending to the conversation, but solely busy with the tea-cups, among which her round ivory hands moved with pretty, noiseless daintiness. She had a bracelet on one taper arm, which would fall down over her round wrist. Mr Thornton watched the re-placing of this troublesome ornament with far more attention than he listened to her father. It seemed is if it fascinated him to see her push it up impatiently, until it tightened her soft flesh; and then to mark the loosening – the fall. He could almost have exclaimed – *„There it goes again!"* There was so little left to be done after he arrived at the preparation for tea, that he was almost sorry the obligation of eating and drinking came so soon to prevent his watching of Margaret. She handed him his cup of tea with the proud air of an unwilling slave; but her eye caught the moment when he was ready for another cup; and he almost longed to ask her to do for him what he saw her compelled to do for her father, who took her little finger and thumb in his masculine hand, and made them serve as sugar-tongs. Mr Thornton saw her beautiful eyes lifted to her father, full of light, half-laughter, and half-love, as this bit of pantomime went on between the two, *unobserved, as they fancied, by any"*.
> (Gaskell 1854, 120)

The literature of the nineteenth century identified tea with women without questioning the link. Women had so successfully subverted the initially negative associations of femininity and tea that their mastery of the teapot in literary sources, such as that above, reflected their role as the commander of the household. This included both personnel and material culture, and, far from being ethereal angels, women were fully involved with all aspects of the domestic sphere, from employment of staff to the display of identity through room decor. The women portrayed in such novels as North and South (above) were neither weak nor idle. They struggled with financial problems and emotional traumas, but ultimately, and through their own actions, found their places as wives, mothers and teapot-wielders. The erotic nature of this particular passage, and the identification of Margaret with tea so completely that she becomes an element of its material culture – the sugar tongs – not only confirms the association of tea and women but goes further, explicitly excluding the masculine element from the ceremony around serving the tea, and thereby

rendering it inexplicable and exciting. Elsewhere, similar imagery is used, for example in Braddon‘s *Lady Audley‟s Secret* (Braddon 1862, 222), where the beautiful but morally dubious Lady Audley is compared to a witch among her potions as she makes tea for the narrator. This is a middle class view of the place of women within society. Both Young (2003) and Spencer-Wood (1999) argue that the middle class in the mid-late nineteenth century embraced the aristocratic ideal of the leisured women, while at the same time rejecting the associations of idleness, boredom and conspicuous consumption which accompanied it. The middle class feminine ideal revolved around work, but not as part of the cash nexus. By the 1860s a position had been worked out whereby women could be both leisured and useful, their role being centred on the education of children, the maintenance of a suitable level of material comfort and the bettering of wider society through charitable works and involvement in campaigns. Though the worlds within which men and women operated have been called ‗public‘ and ‗private‘ (DiZerega Wall 1994), the physical reality of these was not bounded by the immediate confines of the home, and the discourse which operated in written works was not necessarily played out by individuals in their everyday lives (Spencer-Wood 1999). That discourse was still significant, however, since it influenced women and men through the words they read, and dictated the mental boundaries within which literate society acted.

Outside the immediate confines of the house, the female role included charitable work, often linked to the Temperance Movement and the perceived degeneration of the working classes. Aristocratic wives had always had a duty of care towards the poor on their estates (Horn 1991; Baird 2003), and another reason for the continuance of à la Française was the way in which the distribution of leftovers could be used to enforce status. Almsgiving, in the shape of food parcels and leftovers, continued well into the twentieth century (Tschumi and Powe 1954). Meanwhile, in both rural and urban environments, tea became a favoured way of offering charity, especially to the elderly and children (fig. 88). With two Jubilees providing an excuse for celebration, large-scale teas were a way to show patriotic zeal while forcing the needy into middle class behavioural patterns. Committees of men would organise the venue, fund-raising and decorations

through such aptly named sub-committees as the _Committee of Taste and Flowers' (Hallack 1838). Women were welcome to subscribe through their Parish Church, but their primary role was to impose discipline and provide an example of feminine adherence to the middle class ideal through their command of the teapot. The stewards at the similar public suppers (roast beef, plum pudding, more tea and copious amounts of ale) were men. Segmentation into those deserving or undeserving of charity was made visible through the apparently socially levelling medium of tea. Attendees at such teas sometimes had to provide their own mugs (Anon. 1887 unpublished-b), emphasising status differences, while at the same time allowing an element of individuality to the deserving poor. These events used the skills of both men and women as defined by the middle class. They show the way in which notions of _public' and _private' overlapped and interlinked. They also demonstrate that although tea was entirely acceptable as a drink for both sexes, its material culture was identified with women, whose use of it therefore no longer subverted cultural assumptions, but reinforced them.

Women used tea in three formal ways; firstly as part of a domestically-bounded, predominantly afternoon ceremony with invited guests; secondly as a means of enforcing middle class values in a charitable context; and thirdly as a means by which the association of women and the home could be challenged. As commentators such as Rotman (2006) have argued, notions of the _private sphere' were conceptually rather than physically limiting, and middle class women regularly moved outside the spatial boundaries of their homes. Towards the end of the nineteenth century, tea became a tool for extending the physical spaces of domesticity into new areas from which the tenets of later Victorian patriarchy could be contested. Initially then, the new spaces of tea consumption were an extension of domesticity, rather than a break with it. Tea was served in spaces such as liners, train restaurants and refreshment rooms and hotels where it represented _home' and as such helped to alleviate any worries over travel and the dangers it could represent, especially for women. Serving tea represented a good opportunity for male business owners, as it was a drink that could be could be drunk by all, and at any time. However, it was eagerly seized on by women as

a tool of liberation. Molly Hughes' (1946) travels in America as a young teacher in the 1880s are peppered with references to tea on the move, creating a secure structure within which her unchaperoned existence could take place without fear of raising social indignation. Likewise the difficulties of her years training in Cambridge, as one of very few women in an overwhelmingly masculine environment, are centred on the deliberately feminised safe space of the lodging house which was one of the few places the trainees could socialise together.

Serving tea in hotels and other environments aided in the creation of a home-like environment, with helping women in leaving the home unlikely to have been an initial aim. The tea rooms which started to appear from the 1870s (Pettigrew 2001, 136) were deliberately conceived of as feminine spaces, initially catering to a perceived desire in the working classes to emulate the upper class afternoon tea. The Temperance Movement had already contributed to a resurgence in coffee houses (Pettigrew 2001, 134), and tea rooms were seen as the female equivalent. They emphasised the ‗private' in the heart of the urban landscape, by now largely a place of work (DiZerega Wall 1994), physically situating a remainder of home near the workplace. However, while the aim may have been to remind working women that their focus should be the domestic environment, by extending the home into the city they also opened up a new space for middle class women. Statistics on the market for tea rooms are not available, but literary evidence from the early twentieth century (Woolf 1925) does suggest that the middle class used tea rooms as a legitimate means of escaping suburbia, and increasing their visibility, at a time when the rights of women were finally being legally asserted. Adverts for tea rooms stressed their suitability for middle class consumers (Pettigrew 2001, 136). The sociability they encouraged has in turn been viewed as fundamental to the women's suffrage movement and rise of feminism (Pettigrew 2001, 136; Macfarlane and Macfarlane 2003). Women's rights and the role they occupied within society were fundamentally altered by the effects of the First World War. The associations and perceptions of tea continued to alter in line with such changes. Tea was a staple part of the troops' diet on the frontline, and millions of adult men learnt to associate tea with a whole range of new, shocking experiences, entirely separate from existing female

and domestic associations. It could, however, be argued that the role of tea as a comforter and its nostalgic associations with home were strengthened. When Britain emerged from the war, both tea and women would be seen in different lights, and their close association was finally challenged and changed.

## Conclusions

A consideration of tea in from the seventeenth to the nineteenth centuries demonstrates its nature as a flexible and varied experience, especially in comparison to dinner, the subject of chapters 3-5. Dinner was a time-specific event, tied to certain sets of behaviours and foods and a focal point of the day. Tea, on the other hand, was never linked exclusively to a particular meal or other occasion, and was drunk across classes and by both men and women. Archaeologists have categorised it as being used predominantly as part of the Georgian _tea ceremony', although the phrase does not appear to have been in use at the time, while by the late nineteenth century it had been codified and given a place at breakfast, afternoon and high tea, and after dinner. However, this codification did not invent new occasions and behaviours: it merely named and solidified existing habits.

The narrative of the development of tea proposed in this chapter does, however, suggest a strong continuity across time, in that tea was rapidly associated with women, and remained a feminised drink throughout the period. By the 1750s tea was already part of the middle class lifestyle, and although with the passing of the Commutation Act in 1784 it was recognised as having become a necessity for all ranks of society, it was the middle classes which set the agenda for its development in the nineteenth century. Chapters 3-5 supported the central hypothesis of this study: that middle class women drove dining change, and the narrative put forward in this chapter further reinforces this idea. Middle class women adapted the eighteenth century _tea ceremony', and combined it with the development of set visiting hours to establish their own, tea-led, social behaviours. By the late nineteenth century and the development of the classifying mentality which has already been seen to underlie service à la Russe, this

feminine, tea-reliant sociability had been classified as afternoon tea, a term which was then projected backward to refer to tea-taking from the 1840s. Like service à la Russe, afternoon tea was subject to an invention myth suggesting aristocratic origins. It was quickly codified and regulated and wrapped up in the pages of the etiquette manuals.

Given the flexibility of tea, and the nature of afternoon tea as a predominantly female, and at times informal, occasion, it is unsurprising that tea was never codified to the same extent as was dinner. However, a specific set of material culture developed around its consumption, and, as will be seen in the next chapter, by the end of the nineteenth century this differed according to the exact nature of the occasion upon which it was being consumed. The association of women with tea was fundamental to the development of the tea equipage, which always included ceramics, and had a larger proliferation of equipment than either of the two hot liquors introduced around the same time: coffee and chocolate. Women quickly appropriated the materiality of tea to manipulate their environment, and retain control of their lives. In the late seventeenth and eighteenth centuries, tea was a means by which to assert feminine civility and forge a role for women as educators, deliberately setting up the idea of women as domesticated in comparison to men as wild and uncivilised. By the 1790s the way in which a society treated its women had come to act as a marker of civilised values, hence the confusion caused in England by the actions of and against women during the French Revolution (Burke 1790).

From the 1790s to the mid nineteenth century dominant discourse concurred with this view of women as fundamental to civilisation, but strictly within a patriarchal context wherein they were defined as wives and mothers. Tea became a means by which networks of women with shared values could be forged and maintained, both as a means of support for isolated middle class wives, and as a feminised means of displaying and negotiating class identity. As with dinner, it became an important weapon in the middle class negotiation of gender and class relationships. Unlike dinner, it remained flexible and, although formal etiquette existed, tea-drinking took many forms, not all of which can be clearly understood

from documentary or material sources, but which all relied on material objects as active agents for communication. From around the 1860s tea was increasingly codified but also increasingly ubiquitous and as it was introduced into public spaces such as tea rooms and trains, women used its domestic associations as a means by which they could safely accompany it, using tea-drinking as a means by which to achieve physical and eventually legal liberation from the patriarchal view of the domestic angel. Tea things were associated with feminine identity and female ownership. The materiality of tea could therefore be used to convey messages about individual belief in a way in which dinner things could not. It is to this aspect that this study now turns.

# 7. '12 cups, 11 saucers[5] : Teawares in use, 1750-1900

This chapter considers the material culture of tea as it was selected and used in the core period of this thesis, c.1750-1900. Contextualised by the discussion in chapter 6, the data in this chapter draws on complete pieces from museum collections in England. Such pieces are normally curated according to art historical criteria; this study seeks to place them within an archaeological context. This is not to suggest that art historical categories are not useful – the changes in popularity of specific styles and designs at specific times cannot be denied. Work that has attempted to reassess such categories through the inevitable battleship curves has been forced to conclude that they are largely correct (e.g. Sinclair 1987). However, this approach lacks the dynamism of a more archaeologically-informed interpretation, tending to see the rise and decline of styles as evidence of _fashion' without defining what this really means. It is vital that objects are seen in their human context, and understood as culturally constructed repositories of meaning as well as physical objects. Although functional attributes play a role in denoting the form of all material culture, in many cases objects can only be understood through an examination of contemporary meaning. This is especially pertinent to tableware in the eighteenth and nineteenth centuries due to the significant format changes which form the main subject of this thesis. Chapter 4 considered the setting of dinner, including aspects of tableware design, and this chapter will take that analysis further, concentrating on one category of tea-related material culture, namely ceramic tea services, in particular teapots.

The chapter explores the way in which the changing relationship of women with tea was expressed through its material culture. In order to work towards a materially identifiable narrative of the meaning and history of tea across time, it is necessary to map material changes against the interpretation of the way in which women used tea described in chapter 6. The purpose of these two chapters is to form a short case study for testing the hypotheses arising from earlier chapters, and material aspects of tea beyond ceramic services (for example

[5] OH 1901 (Swiss Cottage, kitchen sitting room)

surroundings, location, and food accompaniments) will not be considered. Equally, the formal etiquette of tea-drinking and the edible accompaniments to the beverage itself have not been set out in detail. This chapter specifically seeks to place a frequently-used category of material culture into the theoretical framework proposed by this thesis, demonstrating how the conclusions drawn about the role of gender in tea-taking can be used in furthering the interpretation of teawares in an archaeological context.

## The development of the tea equipage

The consumption of tea called for objects with which to consume it. These objects were not part of the existing repertoire of consumer goods in seventeenth century England. Just as tea was an entirely new experience to the mid seventeenth century English consumer, so too was the material culture used to drink it. Tea, coffee and chocolate all had specific and unique items associated with them which are instantly recognisable in seventeenth and eighteenth century visual depictions of their consumption. As Lawson (1997, 7) points out, the tea leaves themselves are rarely visible in such depictions; it is the surrounding ceramics and/or plate which denote the presence of tea. These associated artefacts, rather than the leaves themselves, are the cultural signifiers. Artefacts such as pots, bowls, saucers and caddies are widely represented in archaeological investigations, museum collections and contemporary visual and written culture. The materiality of tea differs in most cases from that of its fellow hot liquors, and in this way it is possible to follow the specific material culture of tea as it changes throughout the eighteenth and nineteenth centuries.

When tea was first introduced to England, it was drunk in way which would have been recognisable to the Chinese, from whom it was adopted. The tea equipage was not large. Leaves were kept a sealed container and a vessel was needed with which to measure out the required quantity. Water was boiled in a coquemar or kettle of silver, copper or ceramic, after which the tea was added, and the resulting liquor poured into ceramic cups (Dufour 1681, 214-5). This equipment formed the basis of the Chinese-derived English tea ceremony as it was first

introduced in the 1650s. Rapidly, however, it began to change. Figure 79 illustrates the materiality of tea in an upper class context in c.1727. The sealed container has the characteristic form of the English caddy at this time, which may have been derived from the vases noted as being associated with tea in China (Dufour 1681, 212). In England the lid frequently acted as the measuring device (Pettigrew 2003, 84). Ceramic cups are present in the form of the tea bowls and saucers which the family drink from. The silver kettle on its spirit stand boils water. However, the range of other equipment has expanded. The centre of the table holds an ornate slop bowl, for discarded leaves. A scalloped platter contains teaspoons, while a pair of sugar tongs is in evidence next to it – the sugar box itself is shown invitingly open to indicate its contents. The function of the tall lidded vessel to the right of the caddy has been debated. Brown (1995, 57) suggests it may contain milk, added to tea since the seventeenth century. Its shape is more reminiscent of a water jug, which formed part of the later tea equipage (Emmerson 1992, 25), ensuring that drinkers could have tea exactly to their taste. Often the kettle or tea urn performed this function, since the process of steeping the leaves was quickly divorced from that of boiling the water. While the kettle in figure 79 is evidently in use for water boiling, there is no indication in this case that a separate teapot exists and so that could be the function of the lidded vessel. Early teapots were often tall and tapering rather than pear-shaped (Pettigrew 2001, 37).

The mixture of plate and ceramics in evidence in figure 79 is indicative of the early date of the painting in relation to tea. Tea, coffee and chocolate pots were all manufactured in silver and other metals, but by the mid-eighteenth century ceramics dominated the industry (Goss 2005). Silver and its cheaper substitutes – _fused‘ silver and electroplate – remained on offer, though their most frequent appearance in later visual sources is in the form of the spirit burner or kettle. Metal has evident advantages for heating water, but equally obvious disadvantages for carrying and drinking hot liquids. There is little evidence that tea bowls or cups were ever popular in anything other than porcelain or china. Ceramic (often Chinese redware) teapots appear in both accounts and visual

sources from the early seventeenth century onwards (one can be seen in fig. 76), and by the 1690s the Elers brothers were successfully producing redware in Vauxhall (Pettigrew 2003, 18). Early ceramic teapots were either Chinese imports, copies of Chinese imports or derived from silver models, which tended to be globular or an inverted pear shape. It was not until the 1760s that the European ceramics industry, boosted by successes with hard-paste porcelain in Germany and France, began to innovate in shape and pattern (Coutts 2001; Goss 2005, 9), offering greater choice at a wide variety of prices. Silver and silver substitutes could not be moulded in the same way as earthenware and china, nor could they be painted or printed with designs such as those found on ceramics which ranged from the abstract to the political and everywhere in between. On the other hand, polished silver reflected light and added beauty to the table, especially after dinner. Later depictions of tea consumption in upper class contexts usually show silver teapots and kettles, emphasising patina as well as financial security.

### 1750-1820

In 1807 Don Pottery published a pattern book to aid both its wholesalers and individuals in ordering its wares. It included a separate section for teawares, under which were listed 54 items, with a further 10 available but not illustrated (Don Pottery 1807). Graph 4 gives a breakdown of the main categories, along with the same data from the earlier Castleford Pottery Pattern Book (Castleford Pottery 1796). Individual items which were optional parts of the tea equipage in the 1750s have by now become set elements in the material context of tea. As previously seen with the etiquette and associations of tea, the early flexibility disappeared as it became integrated into everyday Georgian life. Neither the Don nor Castleford Potteries were particularly upmarket. Their wares sold to the upper classes, but were aimed mainly at the solid, gentry and middle class-based wealth of their localities. They were two among many relatively short-lived enterprises that flourished for a few decades before declining rapidly and being sold off (Smith 1975; Pettigrew 2003, 28). The two catalogues show remarkable similarities, with a further link to the pattern books of the Leeds pottery – over 50%

of the items displayed in the Castleford book are directly comparable to Leedsware (Castleford Pottery 1796, xiii-xvii). Many of the smaller manufacturers copied from each other, as well as from larger concerns. Personnel from one factory moved to another, some factories _finished‘ other manufacturers‘ plain wares, and, prior to the nineteenth century, maker‘s marks were infrequent. Any of these pattern books could therefore be deemed to be reasonably representative of the whole corpus of mid-range teawares on offer in this period.

Of the wares illustrated in the Don Pottery pattern book, the majority are plain or fluted with little applied decoration. These fit into Miller‘s (Miller 1988; 1991) lower categories for attributing status by ceramic shard. They are listed as individual items, including single cups and universal saucers. The final few illustrations are of much richer, more decorated tea pots (fig. 89) and a set of what is described as _beehive‘ design (Don Pottery 1807). Though the pieces in the pattern books are made to similar designs, and could therefore be bought as a matching set, the layout of the books indicate that customers were not thinking in these terms. Other than one sugar cup, listed as coming with a spoon and stand, the only pieces in either pattern book which are specifically labelled as being sets are these last few teapots in the Don Pottery book. There can be no coincidence that these are also the most upmarket items; matching pieces may have been on offer for the mid-range consumer, but at this stage complete matching sets were marketed as being more elaborate and costly. Sets were by no means obligatory. Visual depictions of the time show even upper class tea drinking, at least in informal contexts, taking place with mismatched ceramics (Brown 2008 unpublished). It would be easy to suggest, based on the assumed cost disparity, that the mid-range, plainer wares would be predominantly bought by the middle or lower class, and the matching sets by wealthier consumers. Miller (1991) bases his CCC Index on just this assumption. However, as discussed in chapter 6, it is equally feasible that different wares were used for different occasions – inventory and excavated data concur in indicating multiple types of teawares within many homes (Fitts 1999; Pettigrew 2001).

The concept of matching services, however, seems to have entered the popular mindset by the 1780s, and figures 80-82 all seem to show matching crockery, perpetuating the idea that matching sets were the _norm'. That in figure 82 is deliberately unfashionable – tea bowls had largely been superseded by handled cups by the 1830s and the bowls are bigger than would have been normal, presumably to emphasise the quantity of tea being consumed. Belying Fitts' (1999) assumption that the more decorative ceramics would have been in use for formal, sexually-mixed occasions such as after-dinner tea, the set in figure 81 is plain, apart from possible gilding around the rim, while that in figure 80 is brightly patterned in pink. The matching sets in both of these illustrations are used as a contrast to the unruly behaviour taking place around the tea-table. In choosing to use a matched set of wares, the various artists who produced such pictures consciously set up what they perceived to be the greatest material signifier of refinement, which indicates that, although teawares were not at this point purchased only in sets, at least some elements of society perceived sets as being desirable, or at least reflective of a desirable cultural standard. East India Company records indicate that attempts were being made in the 1780s to obtain _table', _breakfast' and _tea' sets in matching patterns with variable success (Emmerson 1992, 20-21). Imports of Chinese porcelain officially stopped in 1791, and thirty years later matching sets had become the assumed standard, supporting the idea that the English tea equipage was driven by English manufacturers and consumer and had little to do with Chinese customs. After this point illustrations showing mismatched crockery are predominantly those which show a lower or working class context.

## Contents of the tea service

A consumer purchasing a tea service at the turn of the nineteenth century would look for the same elements as s/he would have done in 1750, but with a view to possessing all of them, rather than a selection. Pattern books and illustrations, as well as surviving material culture, all indicate that a tea-table of c.1800 would have been furnished with a tea urn or kettle, increasingly now with taps at the

bottom, so that the vessel could hold more water, as it no longer needed to be lifted. This not only meant that more people could have tea, and more of it, but allowed tea to be taken without the presence of a servant, if desired. It was a practical solution in tea gardens, although one is not shown in figure 80. The kettle or urn was normally of metal: silver in households that could afford it, or fused plate or pewter in those that could not (fig. 83). Ceramic kettles were advertised (Don Pottery 1807), but it is likely that these were kettle-shaped teapots, intended for brewing, rather than having a heat source applied directly to them. Tea would be added to a teapot, which was often the centrepiece of the tea display. The teapot had such a distinctive shape that even alone it came to signify tea and tea-taking. Although many shape variants were on offer the basic globular shape never disappeared entirely and is the form most often used to indicate tea is being consumed. Emphasis was afforded to the teapot which was not given to the rest of the service, and it was always possible to buy teapots as stand-alone items, often with novelty designs or poems on them.

Caddies continued in use as containers for tea, though tea chests declined as the price of tea fell and part of the impetus for keeping tea locked away lessened. Caddies (or canisters) were often on display on the table along with the rest of the service. One additional item which made its appearance in the 1760s was the caddy spoon (Pettigrew 2003, 100) which, along with the mote spoons used to skim errant leaves off the surface of the tea, and small, saucer-sitting teaspoons, kept silver in use for the tea service even when nearly everything else was ceramic. Mote spoons became infrequent after c.1800 due to improvements to the grate in teapot spouts and the introduction of separate strainers (Pettigrew 2003). Sugar tongs were interchangeable with sugar spoons, as sugar could be served loose or in lumps. Such spoons could be silver, but were also manufactured in soft-paste porcelain. Sugar bowls or cups could still be lidded, and were available with an optional stand. Slop bowls were still in use, and were normally around the same size as the sugar bowl. Milk jugs, milk ewers and cream boats were on offer and, together with the sugar cup formed part of the basic set advertised by the Don Pottery (1807). Pettigrew (2003, 117) suggests

that lidded jugs disappeared as the use of hot milk declined under George II, but the Castleford Pottery was still making them in 1796, as well as lidded pots not named specifically for milk, but listed among the teawares (Castleford Pottery 1796). Finally the buyer would have to select his or her drinking vessel. Teabowls were still widely available in the 1750s, especially Chinese imports. They were easy to stack and transport, and carried associations with the exotic. However, as tea became more entrenched in the English diet, such exotic associations became less important. Chinese designs faced mounting competition from a variety of alternative patterns, including classical and domestic scenes. Figure 90 is an example of a teabowl decorated with both an English landscape and classical ruins. Cups with handles gained in popularity, and teabowls rapidly went out of use. Practicality undoubtedly played a role in their quick decline – handled cups were easier to use, as evidenced by the various ways in which the drinkers try to avoid being scalded in figure 79. On the other hand, cups, with their delicate handles, were easier to break than teabowls, and may therefore have been seen as even more refined than bowls. Their acceptance is also once again indicative of the anglicisation of tea-drinking. English manufacturers rushed to supply the wants of tea-drinkers, with figure 90 indicative of early manufacturing challenges. At the opposite end of the scale, figure 91 illustrates the way in which women could use teapots to emphasise visual beauty and delicacy. Black basalt ware was expensive, difficult to keep clean (it marked easily with sweaty or greasy fingers), and not widely available. Clever marketing by Wedgwood, among others (McKendrick 1982), created a brief trend for black basalt ware, and this example also picks up on other design strands of the time, in particular the interest in classicism which was once again in vogue at the turn of the nineteenth century.

### 1820-1900

Late nineteenth century tea services were not dramatically different to those of 100 years before. Prior to the invention of teabags, the teapot, flatware and slop bowl all remained functionally necessary, although the latter is afforded less emphasis and is frequently masked by other pieces in visual depictions of

services (e.g. Bosomworth 1991). This coincides with trends in food presentation which mask the nature of the raw ingredients in favour of presenting dishes as far removed from their natural state as possible. Figure 92 shows a typical service as set out for afternoon tea. Similar tea tables with foldout cake stands on many levels are advertised in Beeton (1888), while the Victorian Catalogue of Household Goods (Bosomworth 1991) also contains travelling tea sets complete with insulated flasks. Victorian inventiveness and commercial drive led to a great range of functionally-led designs for teawares. Figure 93 shows just one among many of the new ideas on offer – the moustache cup, armed with a ceramic guard to prevent beautifully waxed moustaches melting and deteriorating in contact with hot liquid. Meanwhile figures 93-95 indicate the sheer variety of patterns available – to suit all budgets – in the nineteenth century. Working class consumers, meanwhile, seem to have adapted the traditional beer container – the mug – for the purposes of tea-drinking. Most commentaries on tea concentrate on tea cups and bowls, if they consider materiality at all, as they fit more easily into an art historical approach. However, mugs were an important part of the output of manufacturers, and late nineteenth century mugs in the collections studied here show that patterns ranged from floral, through satire and on into the flourishing souvenir market. Even working class purchasers of teawares at the end of the nineteenth century faced a wider choice of material culture than ever before.

Deciphering the archaeology of tea is, therefore, by no means straightforward. Multiple designs and types of ceramics could be owned (or rented) by any given household and used according to the occasion or time of day. As discussed in chapter 6, tea was consumed throughout the day, and the tea equipage of the later nineteenth century differed according to its intended use. For example, although specific breakfast sets appeared in the period 1750-1820, they became more common in this period, and are listed as such in both inventories (e.g. OH 1901 unpublished) and cookbooks (e.g. Jewry c.1875), as are other types of tea service. Tea was regarded as a fundamental part of the breakfast routine. Visual and written sources all indicate the availability of coffee and chocolate/cocoa as well

as tea, and breakfast sets included different types of cups. More than one set could be in use – Beeton (1888, 1317) advised that they should be placed at opposite ends of the table. The cups were sometimes bigger than those in use for other tea-drinking occasions (Pettigrew 2003, 58) and came as part of specifically-designed and marketed sets of breakfast wares. These sets included plates for hot and cold food, covered dishes, cruets, preserve pots and toast racks (fig. 84). However, although upper class visual sources suggest that they all matched, and they were certainly available as matching sets (Bosomworth 1991), advice books such as Beeton (1888) and Jewry (c.1875) which aimed at the middle class remain ambiguous on the topic. Illustrations such as those in Bosomworth (1991) and Beeton (1888) suggest that they may have been more brightly patterned and prone to geometric moulding than services for other occasions, but without a detailed investigation of catalogues – not many of which survive from before the end of the nineteenth century, it is difficult to draw firm conclusions.

## Buying patterns

The central aim of this thesis is to investigate the ways in which women used food and dining as a means of negotiating status and identity. Chapter 6 demonstrated the way in which the association of femininity and tea was used to combat negative views of women and promote their role as the commander of the household. Tea was, and to an extent remains, a feminised drink. The wares from which it was drunk were crucial to achieving this, and are therefore central to understanding the potential for communication. By focusing on one clearly defined set of material objects, the rest of this chapter will seek to explore the specific ways in which pattern, shape and colour could be used in the display and enforcement of female identities. Women were the primary buyers of teawares throughout the period c.1750-1900 (fig. 96) (DiZerega Wall 1994; Pettigrew 2003; Larsen 2003 unpublished, 135) and had the power through them to demonstrate their commitment – or otherwise – to the middle class feminine ideal. This included a patriotic adherence to Britain and the wider Empire, as evidenced by the number of British manufacturers supported by tea-drinkers.

Middle class purchasing patterns in America and Britain indicate that buying British was a conscious choice (Ewins 1997). On the other hand, upmarket European ceramics continued to find a ready market among the upper classes in England (Coutts 2001), who chose to display different values and beliefs on the table. The unprovenanced data used here is drawn from British manufacturers, and from collections held in England in order to approximate the middle class English choice of wares. No published statistics exist on the popularity of designs, and although some idea could potentially be derived from sales catalogues and order books, where extant, that would be the subject for further study and falls outside the scope of this thesis. The aim of the following section is instead to describe some of the options open to women, and consider the similarities and differences across time.

## Data collection and identification

As described above, from its introduction to Europe, tea was consumed using a set of material culture with which it was rapidly identified. By c.1700 European manufacturers were starting to compete for the tea ceramics market, while importers were broadening the scope of their sales by shipping increased amounts of imported tea ware which was sold off cheaply in the United Provinces and Britain (Chaudhuri 1978, 407). Though silver was widely used for elements other than drinking vessels, and continued to be popular for tea urns, kettles and spoons throughout the period, the material used for many pieces – china – was easily breakable, and so archaeologically it is over-represented in excavation data compared to metalware. This study concentrates on ceramic teawares since they are the type most commonly used by archaeologists working from excavation data. They are also widely represented in the collections of heritage sites, whether these are primarily typological or attempting to portray a ‗moment in time'.

Tea-related ephemera are infinitely collectable. The popularity of tea in the nineteenth and twentieth century meant that most homes possessed a teapot and some form of appropriate drinking vessel, whether this was a mug or a matched

set of Minton porcelain. There is, therefore, a lot of material culture to collect. Inevitably, however, certain manufacturers and styles are more prized than others, and the material data available in collections reflects this. Secondary literature aimed at collectors categorises vessels according to period, style (shape and pattern) and material (e.g. Emmerson 1992). Work on specific collections also exists, and can include detailed examination of border types and handle styles (Smith 1975; 1985). The most sought-after examples are, predictably, the older or more expensive or elaborate ones (see, for example, Wild 2005, 84-5). In museum collection terms, this means that the mid- to late-eighteenth century is over-represented, since these pieces are comparatively easy to find, but deemed historic enough to be of interest. They tended not to be mass-produced, and are satisfyingly difficult to identify, due to poor or non-existent makers' marks.

The data used in this chapter is based predominantly on the collection of ceramics in the Norwich Castle Museum (online catalogue at NMAS 2007). This nationally significant collection of tea-related data includes in excess of 3000 teapots (NMAS 2007). It is heavily skewed toward the late eighteenth century, to the extent that by the 1860s it is difficult to locate 10 records for each decade. The collection is also biased by the presence of a large number of items from the locally and nationally important (and highly collectable) Lowestoft Factory, which ceased to manufacture in c.1801 (Smith 1975, 1). Further data has been drawn from the collection of the V&A (VAM 2007) and York Museums Trust. The pieces in these collections are rarely provenanced, but have been used for quantitative analysis of type, size and pattern across time, allowing for consideration of generic standards in the period.

There is debate on the usefulness of collection data. Symonds (2002, 24) argues that collections of objects are of limited use, because they are biased towards the elite, and excavation data rarely correlates with them. As mentioned above, in the case of collectable objects, the selection of museum items may be according to criteria which have little to do with archaeology and more to do with market value and availability. Collections may show bias based on locality, on type or

due to donations by the public (Young 2003, 2-3). Additionally, the lack of provenance in some collections, including those used here, makes it difficult to draw conclusions based on class, gender or regionality. However, Symonds' argument rests on the idea that historical archaeologists' aim should be to study the lower and middle classes using excavated data. This approach underestimates the scope and potential of historical archaeology to contribute to the wider field of historical knowledge, as well as to related disciplines such as sociology, anthropology, material culture studies and museology. Collection-based data calls for different methodologies, and allows different conclusions to be drawn. Pieces are more likely to be undamaged and therefore indicative of their condition when in use. Admittedly, pieces in continuous use are under-represented in collections; items tend to survive better ornamenting a dresser than being used on a daily basis for making tea, and there is an undeniable bias in many cases towards more expensive and therefore elite pieces. The teawares used in this study are inevitably from a middle class context, leaning towards the elite for the earlier pieces, and may contain a bias towards display or _best' items. While this does not allow for consideration of emulation or class identity, it does mean that the entire data set is cross-comparable through time. Evidence of use is clear on some items; others were almost certainly not used. Additionally, two further elements are worth noting: a flourishing rental market in tableware (Gray 2004 unpublished; YCA c.1779-1785 unpublished), and the dispersal of fine wares through charitable giving (Cunzo 2001). These factors mean that documentary data on pricing structures and assumptions about the initial market for wares must be taken as a guide to the context of goods only at the beginning of their life. However, they also broaden the scope of studies of ceramic data of this type, which can now be seen to encompass issues of acceptability and imposed versus self discipline at class levels beyond those of the immediate purchasers of fine china.

## Criteria

In order to carry out a quantitative study of ceramics, a body of data was needed which would be sufficient to represent broad changes in pattern, size and shape

across time. This study covers the period c.1750-1900, but some items were also selected which fell outside these boundaries in order to give a limited context beyond the immediate scope of the date range. Initially a broad range of items was chosen for analysis with the aim of selecting at least ten examples from each category for each decade. These were: teapots, cups, tea bowls, mugs and saucers, all selected as key parts of the consumption experience. Teapots formed a focal point either upon the table when in use, or on display on mantelpieces or shelves. They have a bigger surface area for decoration than other items. Teapots could be purchased individually and stand-alone pieces were produced throughout the period (Castleford Pottery 1796; Don Pottery 1807). Additionally, with the extra surface area they have the potential for being a more useful medium for examining pattern than other items. They were handled only by the hostess or server of the tea. Cups, mugs, bowls and saucers, on the other hand, were items designed for use by all the participants in any tea drinking occasion. They entered the possession of the drinker for a short while, and were designed to be handled regularly. Cups have been defined here as vessels with handles and which have or could have a matching saucer. They are usually tulip-shaped, and the assumption has been made for the purposes of data collection that straight-sided cups are coffee cans, which have been excluded from this analysis. Mugs are generally straight-sided or pot-bellied, though some may taper outwards at the top.

In the course of the online data collection and initial analysis, categorisation problems became apparent with both cups and mugs. In some cases coffee cans were not fully differentiated from cups. Often catalogue data had been written up by several different parties, making it difficult to ascertain exactly what the item was when pictures or shape data were lacking. Mugs have therefore not been included in the final quantitative analysis of drinking vessels below. It is impossible to differentiate mugs intended for beer and those for tea. Indeed, many mugs may have been used for both, either starting as a beer mug and becoming a tea mug (or vice versa) or as a multi-functional vessel throughout its period of use. Early mugs were certainly used primarily for beer, and later mugs

may have performed the same function (Petyt 2007, pers.comm). Macfarlane (2003, 66) notes that tea, like beer, was served from barrels when it was first introduced. On the other hand, as stand-alone items, they are an interesting category of data. Based on the data gathered for this chapter they have a larger range of decoration than any other category other than teapots. Some of this is of the souvenir variety (‗*A Trifle from Lowestoft*'), which may be indicative of a lower class market.

Tea bowls have been defined as cups without handles. Again, the labelling of tea bowls has been a problem – some records file tea bowls as cups, with the lack of handle mentioned only in passing. The size range of bowls is significant, and it is also difficult to know which bowls were used for tea, for slops, or which were primarily decorative. It may be possible to shed light on this, based on indications of use (staining, spoon marks etc), but contemporary accounts indicate that cups and bowls of many sizes were used for drinking tea (e.g. James 1882, 59) and that modern assumptions on the size of vessels may therefore be unhelpful. Bowls were both imported and manufactured in England intended for purposes other than drinking tea, and inevitably many inclusions in the database were based on arbitrary decisions by anonymous cataloguers. Where doubt could be cast on records within the data set as gathered from the catalogues, decisions were made based on the maximum size of tea cups, whose use was not in doubt. Bowls declined in use after the turn of the nineteenth century and none are recorded here by the 1830s. The analysis of size below is therefore based on all tea vessels rather than just bowls. Saucers have also not been included in the detailed discussion below. Preliminary analysis indicated that any information to be concluded from them could also be drawn from consideration of other categories, especially cups.

Whilst using the online catalogue of decorative ceramics from the Norwich Castle Museum has proved problematic in the areas mentioned above, it has also provided valuable continuity, since data is catalogued uniformly across the collection, which forms the backbone of the data set for c.1780-1820. Much of

this is drawn from the Lowestoft Pottery. As with any other manufacturer such as Don and Castleford, Lowestoft made items which were commercially viable, and did not just sell within the immediate area. Lowestoft wares are often confused with Bow porcelain, possibly due to a direct connection through Robert Browne, thought to have worked at Bow, and who was later one of the proprietors of the Lowestoft factory (Smith 1975, 8-9). A reliance on one manufacturer, therefore, does not necessarily mean that the data is unrepresentative of the general state of the ceramic market in the period under consideration.

The quantitative survey data should be read in conjunction with chapter 6 which provides context and examines the major themes of and associations with tea c.1750-1900. Limited pricing data is available, mainly in Miller (1991). In the light of the factors affecting use, as opposed to purchase, discussed above, pricing is of limited use, but has been used to inform assumptions on the relative scale of wares.

## Preliminary analysis

Although Brooks (2000 unpublished, 5) complains that the reliance on form-based art historical categories in post-1750 ceramic analysis is frustrating, it also provides a useful corpus of terms and dating information. He argues that vessel form is more useful in attributing status than other factors such as pattern. In his examination of provenanced excavation data from sites in the UK and Virginia he demonstrates that the mere presence of teawares can be taken as an indicator of wealth. Furthermore, the form – bowls or cups – provides a clear guide as to social group. Miller (1991) takes this further in using the CCC Index, based on vessel moulding (reeded, fluted or scalloped edges) to categorise sites within tightly defined boundaries. Analysis does however indicate that art historical or any other shape-based categorisation is biased towards the minority of pieces. Of the cups examined in this study only 20% had moulded edges. Meanwhile nearly half (48%) of the teapots in the study were of a basic globular form. Plain teawares never went out of fashion, and more factors than shape need to be considered in analysing them.

As mentioned above, in the course of data collection and analysis, it became apparent that the most useful categories of data to use for detailed analysis were teapots and drinking vessels (cups and bowls). In this section the preliminary results of a consideration of the other data sets – saucers and mugs – will be discussed briefly, before moving onto a more thorough examination of teapots and vessels.

### Saucers

The decoration of saucers was found to be broadly similar, if not identical, to cups throughout the period of study. In many cases saucers explicitly matched cups also included in the data sets. Though examples of saucers lacking a matching cup were present, museum catalogues often record cup and saucer as a whole. Cups or bowls and matching saucers were the usual form of drinking equipage from 1750 onwards, and so it is not surprising that as individual items they would be regarded as lacking value, whether functional or monetary, and therefore be unlikely to feature in museum collections. Pattern data for saucers was not therefore deemed to be necessary to collect. A brief study of size was, however, undertaken within the confines of the limited data collected once it was decided to concentrate on other items. As graph 5 shows, the average width of saucers increased across the period, while remaining constant in height. This is in contrast to dining plate size which shows a small, yet steady decrease across the nineteenth century (Gray 2004 unpublished; and see graph 2). At the same time the variety of saucer widths available increased, perhaps reflecting the range of different types of defined service available by the end of the nineteenth century, which included the larger-sized breakfast services. Visual sources are sometimes used to suggest that early saucers were deeper than the later ones, a suggestion which, along with literary sources, has been used to fuel the debate over whether they were themselves used for drinking out of (Pettigrew 2003, 66). The evidence here suggests that while a few saucers resembled bowls, most would not have been deep enough for practical sipping, and that therefore tea cup saucers, like chocolate mancerinas, were purely for holding the hot cup, and perhaps for protecting the surface beneath. Saucers were sometimes sold as part

of a set with coffee cups as well as tea cups (Don Pottery 1807), in which case the same saucers were intended for use with both sets of vessels. Yet coffee is rarely said to have been drunk out of the saucer. Although some people may well have found it a practical solution for drinking hot liquors, it is unlikely that the habit was widespread.

### Mugs

As discussed above, it is impossible to know whether mugs were being used for beer or tea in any given context. There is little correlation in volume conversant with a division into half pints or other constant measures, although some examples are specifically labelled with liquid volume measurements. They are easily confused with coffee cans in museum categorisation. The latter normally had a matched saucer by the 1750s, however, so all of these examples are ones which do not. Use at the time is in any case unlikely to have been dictated by modern typological definitions, and so it seems reasonable not to become too dependent on them when categorising them for the purposes of this study. Many of the pre-1800 examples used here follow similar lines to teawares, with Chinese and floral elements. However, by the end of the nineteenth century a wider range of patterns is evident than in any other data category (figs. 97-99). Mugs tended to be painted rather than printed throughout the period, indicating that they were at the cheap end of the market. Only 18% of the full sample had indications of gilt or lustre decoration while less than 25% were polychrome, which supports the idea that mugs were aimed at a lower wealth bracket than other ceramic wares. Records of Jubilee teas in the 1890s which include the stipulation that invitees would bring their own drinking vessel specifically referred to mugs (1887 unpublished-b), further demonstrating the identification of mugs with lower class tea drinking. Whether the examples in figures 97-99 were intended or used for tea or beer is unknown; however, the burgeoning tourist trade quickly realised the potential of the market in souvenirs (fig. 98). Mugs could equally be used to demonstrate loyalty to an area or region (fig. 99) or indicate gentility through purchase of a mug which was as close as possible to

upper class tea wares (fig. 97). Mugs have the widest range of patterns of any of the drinking vessels studied here, one reason for which may be their association with beer, which put them outside the feminine sphere of tea-drinking and into a less engendered context.

## Detailed analysis

This section refers to graphs 6-31, located at the end of the figures and tables.

### Drinking vessels: cups and tea bowls

Graph 6 shows an increase over the 150 year period of about 20mm in the diameter of tea-drinking vessels. This is driven by the changing measurements of teacups, as indicated in graph 7, which shows the mean height and width of tea bowls remained roughly constant throughout the main period of their use. While the increasing size of tea wares is normally attributed to the decreasing price of tea, these two tables suggest that it is also linked to stylistic changes – the popularity of the wide _Empire' shape in the 1810s-20s is clearly borne out by the sharp rise in the average width of cups shown in graph 7. Of course, the decreasing price of tea may have been a factor in the possibility of wares holding more, and therefore influenced the styling of this new shape, but these tables indicate that cups did not remain large once the popularity of the _Empire' shape waned. In the late nineteenth century Henry James (1882, 59) commented on one of his characters drinking from *„an unusually large cup, of a different pattern from the rest of the set".* The size of mugs at the end of the century was significantly superior to cups, which averaged 65(h)x77(w)mm in 1900 based on these figures. Young (2003, 153) argues that one of the defining characteristics of the upper middle class was inconspicuous consumption, and a desire for expensive simplicity. Keeping teacups small, in contrast with the lower class mugs, was one way to emphasise quality over quantity. As argued in chapter 6, by the last quarter of the nineteenth century, how tea was drunk was a more significant marker of social status than the mere fact of drinking it, and small teacups were one aspect of this.

Few of the cups included in this study are specifically labelled as being of a particular stylistic category such as _Empire‘ (fig. 100). The proportional changes visible in the 1810s and _20s are therefore particularly noteworthy as they indicate that the fashioning of generic wares followed trends set by more upmarket styles. The _Empire‘ form as noted in art history-based style guides is often illustrated by beautiful, high quality wares, and studies of such manufacturers as Wedgwood who catered for the upper end of the market have indicated that they sought to lead stylistic change in tablewares by designing them in line with trends in clothing, furniture and, more widely than this, philosophical discourse (McKendrick 1982). This was at its most obvious with the classically inspired items produced at the height of the Regency period, which differed in detail to appeal to different markets (McKendrick 1982; Coutts 2001). Although not immediately attributable to a specific stylistic form, the makers of the wares in this study were evidently influenced by the same trends, either concurrently with the traditional fashion leaders such as Wedgwood, or in imitation of popular upmarket wares. The proportional changes reflect the introduction and period of popularity of key styles, but indicate that they were available not just from well-known (and expensive) makers, but also from local, lower quality manufacturers. They indicate stylistic diffusion, for example in figure 101, which shows a cup which is not of the _Empire‘ shape, and would therefore have dated less quickly in use, but which nevertheless has significantly different proportions to cups which date from before and after the peak period for its popularity.

Graph 8 shows the results of the pattern data collection for tea-drinking vessels, with graphs 9 and 10 breaking this down by type of vessel. Each vessel was attributed to one category in the final, tabulated analysis, though subsidiary categories were also noted. For example figure 101 would have been categorised as _floral‘ for this graph. Further discussion of the interpretation of different patterns follows as part of the teapot data analysis, and encompasses both data sets.

The popularity of floral patterns is immediately obvious in graph 8. It is even more marked in the teapot data, which will be discussed further below. Floral patterns are at their most common in the early nineteenth century, just as tea bowls were disappearing from English shops (though not homes). The spike in the 1880s should be regarded with caution – this is the smallest data set in the study. On the other hand, between 1800 and the 1860s a minimum of 50% of the sample has predominantly floral decoration, and the decline in the percentage of cups with overwhelmingly floral elements is very gradual. Later samples indicate growing competition, with more minority patterns (_other') entering the market and stealing significant market share from the more established categories. An increase in explicit demonstration of identity and/or loyalty is also evident in the later period, as commemorative wares are more in evidence to celebrate the Diamond Jubilee (1897) than at any other time. This is linked to successful nation-building and destruction of horizontal class-based ties across Europe in favour of vertical country-based loyalties (Colley 1996).

As might be expected, a decline in Chinese imagery is evident in the years following the cessation of the Chinese china trade (1791). However, this decline is gradual, indicating that the link between China and tea remained strong until progressively eclipsed by the link of England and tea in the mid-nineteenth century. The decline of Chinese tea in favour of Indian tea may also have affected this, and from the late nineteenth century more Indian designs are found, at least on teapots. However, a steady growth in English scenes, often copied from prints, is evident, peaking in the 1820s. Figure 102 shows a late tea bowl with a typical example of this genre. Brooks (1999) notes similar trends in plates, where a number of series such as _titled seats' made their appearance at around the same time. Brooks links this to national unrest and aristocratic uncertainty in the years preceding the Reform Act of 1832, but in this reading it may also link to the position of women in the first quarter of the nineteenth century. This was a key period for the promotion of the domesticated and leisured feminine ideal. Choosing scenes of English idylls and pleasant estate-based life emphasised the harmonising effect of women while undermining the physical constraints of the

home. Such scenes can be seen as a reminder of the scope of the female role in running the household and estate, and not being limited to the confines of the house itself (Larsen 2003 unpublished). There is no direct link between type of vessel (bowl or cup) and type of imagery by the nineteenth century.

### Teapots

Many of the trends for teapots are broadly similar to those for drinking vessels. However, with more data available, they can be studied on a more detailed scale. Additionally, teapots formed a focal point, whether in active use or as a display item. They were selected on an individual basis and when in sets formed the major decorative item. With more surface area available for decoration, pattern data can be considered in more depth than with cups and bowls. The relative size of teapots is significant in understanding consumption in relation to falling prices in a way that the study of cup size cannot. Although the size of drinking vessels gradually increased, they remained small compared to mugs. As explained above, the size differential emphasised the gentility of those who drank from cups over those drinking from mugs. They looked daintier and required more delicate physical handling. Cups were able to remain small only when other vessels were present to hold extra tea, and therefore they drew attention to the teapot and kettle. More tea may have been available; because of the drop in price, but it did not all have to be served at the same time, and multiple servings focussed attention on the server – the hostess – and her physical command of the materiality of tea. Since tea will only grow cold once transferred away from the pot, it was also an advantage to the drinker to take it in small amounts so that it could always be consumed hot.

#### Size

Graph 11 demonstrates the changing nature of teapot size over the period c.1750-1900. An increase in both height and width is immediately evident. However, the striking trend line for the width measurement masks another characteristic of the later nineteenth century; a great increase in variety. The Osborne House

inventory (1901 unpublished) supports this. It refers to at least four different types of tea set, probably discarded, as they are listed as being in the Swiss Cottage, well away from the main house. They include a miniature and a _tiny set'. Opinion differs as to the use of below-size tea sets – it has been variously suggested that they were intended for use in dolls' houses, by traders as demonstrative items, or by children in the nursery. In this case they were almost certainly for use by the royal children, whose playhouse Swiss Cottage was. The kitchen was stocked with culinary equipment and the children learnt to cook and held tea parties there to which adults were invited (HRH the Duchess of York and Stoney 1991).

The size increase for teapots seems to be more significant over time than for tea drinking vessels. However, as can be seen from the mean width data, the overall trend towards larger teapots is by no means a steady one, and pot size did not significantly increase until the very end of the nineteenth century. It should be pointed out that the number of records that include width measurements for the middle section of the nineteenth century is low – in some cases only the height was recorded – making detailed analysis of individual decades difficult. Overall teapot volume did increase from 1750 to 1900, and based on this data was influenced in the short-term by known price changes in tea – the Commutation Act of 1784 for example, after which the mean width of pots jumps dramatically. Pot height remains fairly constant, with only a small increase over time. This may indicate a functional aspect – teapots were often placed on a table between seated drinkers. Tall pots would not only be more unwieldy, but also form a barrier to conversation. Additionally, coffee pots and chocolatières were normally tall, while being short and stout was identified with the teapot – making for easier visual recognition of the tea ceremony in popular culture.

### Shape

As with drinking vessels, a large number of teapots (48%) are basic in form. In art history narrative the globular pot gave way to new shapes in the early

nineteenth century, which in turn rapidly succeeded one another as fashion changed (Goss 2005). Within the categories used here, both the _rococo' and _oval/London' shapes are close to art history categorisations. Both can be seen to follow roughly a battleship pattern, entering the market, peaking, waning and then peaking more strongly before sales drop for good. The categories used here are intended to reflect the underlying shape of pots, rather than just follow collectors' categorisations. Hence the pear shape incorporates the rococo designs, which are a pear with added decoration. In this way, and by extending the period of study, it is possible to see that pear shaped pots also underwent a period of popularity in the 1720s, and that the rococo designs were a reinvention of a theme, rather than an entirely new concept. Examples of the different categories used here are given in figures 103-110. Graph 12 indicates the changing popularity of each style. The constant presence of the globular form is striking; although equally so is its decline in the first quarter of the nineteenth century. This period is one which immediately follows the dramatic drop in the price of tea following the Commutation Act, and the ending of the trade in ceramics with China in the 1790s. The increase in alternative shapes available, and the evidence provided here of their acceptance, suggests that the boost given to the English ceramics trade was genuine, and led to a proliferation of different styles in the succeeding generation. By the 1830s, as chapter 6 showed, tea was more closely identified in the popular mindset with Englishness than it was with the Orient. This was also the period when, looking at the data here, the globular form seems to have regained significant market share from the more decorative forms. Cost may also have played a role – unmoulded goods are afforded a lower figure in Miller's CCC (1991) index, and globular forms were easier to produce than some of the highly elaborate moulded examples such as that in figure 106. The market penetration of tea continued to increase throughout the nineteenth century, with less adulteration of the inferior grades as both price and legislation inhibited the practice. Although it would be dangerous to assume all globular teapots in the later nineteenth century were associated with the lower class, the trends indicated in graph 12 do suggest a link between increased tea consumption as the lower classes adopted tea as their staple drink, and the popularity of globular teapots.

The dates of the rise and decline of patterns do not link to changing dining styles, confirming that the immediate effects of à la Russe were limited to formal, invited dinners, although, as discussed in chapter 6, the codifying mentality which underlay it also extended to tea.

Another significant characteristic of the latter half of the nineteenth century is again an increase in the variety of shapes on offer. The technological category encompasses any design which has as its primary feature a gimmick or supposed technological improvement. Figure 110 shows the Cadogan design, of which many examples survive in remarkably good condition. It is unlikely that many of them were used – the design hinges on the lack of obvious lid. Liquid is introduced into the pot via a tube at the base, which means that it can then be turned the right way up without (much) spillage. It would be difficult to use the design as a teapot – there is no way to remove the leaves. Goss (2005, 24) suggests that it was intended for hot water, but given the lack of evidence of use of collection examples, it may also be an instance of failed technology. The self-pouring teapot was more useful and the York Museum Trust example shows clear evidence of staining – again there are impracticalities in its use, including the potential for burnt fingers – but because it does not need lifting it enables the pot to double as a small tea urn, ideal for larger gatherings. Other technologically-driven ideas included attempts to integrate a cosy into the pot, and occasion-specific pots intended for picnics and travelling (Goss 2005).

## Colour

A consideration of colour in teapots once more indicates that teapot design can be roughly divided into three phases in the period 1750-1900 (graph 13). Until the 1790s the prevalence of blue monochrome teapots is influenced by Chinese designs such as those in figures 111 and 112. This study concentrates on ceramics manufactured within the British Isles, and so does not include any Chinese export ware, but the continued influence of such wares on the domestic output can clearly be seen. Early polychrome designs were also frequently Chinese-influenced, though as the next section will show, both mono-and

polychrome schemes could cover a wide range of elements. From the 1790s polychrome colour increased in popularity, along with the new shapes as shown in graph 12. Between c.1790-1820 polychrome colour was little challenged by other colour schemes, which take up under 10% of the sample. This period corresponds with that identified above as being the peak period for British manufacturers following the end of the trade with China and the reduction of tea prices. A generation later a third phase is identifiable: as with shape and size the variety of pieces on offer increased and while polychrome pots retained market leadership, consumer choice was broadened in line with technological change and competition within the marketplace.

Graph 14 shows the results of secondary data collection based on the presence of colour-based effects – gilt, lustre and white clay relief applied to plain colour clays. Gilt detailing appears on both poly- and monochrome pieces, but may be under-represented, since it wears off and fades to brown when in use, and can therefore be missed by cataloguers. Lustre ware, which tended to be pink, was popular in specific phases, as can be seen here. Figure 113 shows a mass market commemorative teapot with lustre detailing. As an alternative to gilt it performed many of the same functions, reflecting light and attracting attention. However, it is only a small part of the overall sample: 3% of the total teapot and cup data and only 1% of the bowl data. Gilt is a more significant category of data. 32% of the total teapot sample has gilt detailing, compared with 37% of cups, 29% of bowls and 18% of mugs. These latter three figures correspond with what would be expected if gilt were used as a marker of social status – cups were more expensive than bowls which were unfashionable by the 1830s, and mugs, as discussed above, were associated with low social status. It appears that gilt can be used to infer social status to some extent. With regards teapots, which cover a broader range of social groups than any of the other categories, the high proportion of gilt may reflect the degree to which they were regarded as focal items – a gilt teapot may not always have been associated with matching cups – or it may reflect the status of the sample here.

## Pattern

Graphs 15-31 illustrate the most robust of the data sets discussed here: pattern. For the purposes of graph 15 each pot was placed in one category only, with _print/scene' encompassing any design probably copied from other visual sources (e.g. fig. 112) or explicitly based on published prints. This chart clearly shows the decline, noted above, of Chinese imagery in the 1790s. Oriental designs never went of favour entirely, however, and a resurgence is visible here in the late nineteenth century, driven in part by Japanese and Indian patterns. These are grouped with Chinese style pots under the attribution _Far East' in graph 15. There also seems to be an upturn in the popularity of redware, in the shape of copies or reinterpretations of seventeenth century Yixing and other Chinese teapots.

The continuing popularity of predominantly floral designs is also well-illustrated in graph 15, while graphs 16-31 demonstrate the overwhelming presence of floral elements across the entire data set. At least 50% of each decade's sample features marked floral elements. Figure 103 is an example of a purely floral design, while figures 104, 107, 108, 110 and 113 also all show significant floral features. Floral patterns peak in the 1810s when considered as the most significant element in each design (graph 15). This is in part linked to the popularity of rococo designs at the time, but may also be influenced by wider social and political factors. This will be further discussed below.

When teapot patterns are considered in more detail (graphs 16-31), a more nuanced picture of pattern rise and decline emerges. As described above, floral elements form a significant part of teapot patterning across the entire sample. While they are still seen to peak in the 1810s, when floral elements are considered as part of a range of possible categories into which each teapot may fit (each teapot could fit into up to three categories), it is evident that the fashions of the early part of the nineteenth century cannot provide the only explanation for their prevalence. The continuity in the presence of floral elements can, however, be explained through the association of tea with women. Flowers were another

material object commonly associated with femininity in the eighteenth and nineteenth centuries, to the extent that a _language of flowers‘ flourished in various literary sources (Goody 1993, 232-253). With explicit instructions on how to make up and then decode a bouquet for friendship or love, it echoed the prevailing social conceit of the leisured women, waiting around for a clever floral puzzle with which to exercise her mind. Women and gardens had been linked since chivalric depictions of women‘s private gardens drew unsubtle links between virtue and high garden walls (Goody 1993). Flowers and herbs fell into the province of the domestic environment, not least because of their medicinal and culinary role. Cookbooks continued to include advice on gardening and herbal medicines well into the nineteenth century. The narrative proposed in chapter 6 suggests that the key period for feminine self-expression through the tea-table was up to the first quarter of the nineteenth century. In this sample it is noticeable that the proportion of teapots with floral elements declines slightly towards the latter half of the nineteenth century. The choice of an entirely flower-free teapot may have represented an attempt to challenge the discourse of feminine domesticity by deliberately highlighting other aspects of the female experience.

Flowers are generally not highly politicised elements of teapots. In many ways they oppose the unsubtle communication inherent in pots emblazoned with mottoes such as _Wilkes and Liberty‘, usually interpreted as being for political entertaining (Emmerson 1992, 77-78). They are, however, redolent with meaning of a different kind. In depicting nature, floral elements hint at one of the tensions underlying late eighteenth and nineteenth century society: the rural idyll versus the savage wilderness (Pomata and Daston 2003). The growth of suburbia, with its regimented villas and gardens, was driven by a desire to escape the industrialised city and physically remove the household from the workplace (DiZerega Wall 1994). Flower gardens came to symbolise this countryside retreat while vegetable gardens, if present, were kept out of sight as a reminder of rural subsistence (Hepworth 1999, 27). Flowers from the garden were used as a means of display and featured prominently in visual depictions of Victorian

interiors, especially on the table. Late nineteenth century etiquette advice is unanimous in advising on the prolific use of flowers as a decoration for the à la Russe table (Beeton 1888; Jewry c.1878; Marshall c.1888). On the other hand, gardens required constant vigilance, in the shape of weeding, pruning and defending against trespassers. Nature could be terrifying in its uncontrolled form; even when domesticated, the danger of losing control was always present. Certain sections in Beeton (1861) are almost fearful at the concept of so much savagery – and rampant sex (Buzard 1997). Nature could, however, be controlled if it was not quite real (Eden 1999). Flowers on teapots required no care, but were a safe means of depicting the rural idyll as well as making feminine virtue unassailable and unchanging. Through them women could demonstrate their control over untamed nature and, by extension, man. The same driver – a fascination with control and the subordination of the natural world – led to the late nineteenth century vogue for ever less natural presentation of food on the table (Mars 1994a). It also contributed to the popularity of majolica teapots depicting grotesque beasts in lurid colours (fig. 106). Fauna is another significant continuity in teapot patterns (graphs 16-31) for the similar reasons, and follows the trend set by floral elements in its rise and decline.

Floral designs were at their most popular between c.1790 and 1820. One reason for this can be attributed to the fashion for rococo and stylised floral elements which peaked at this time. However, fashion does not exist in a vacuum and influencing factors should be sought elsewhere. Britain was in conflict with France from 1793-1815, with significant publicity afforded to the war at sea. Although British troops were almost constantly engaged somewhere throughout the entire period 1750-1900, the Napoleonic wars were particularly close to home. Domestic legislation reflected the tense mood in the country as a whole, especially with the porphyria of George III and the usual Georgian antagonism between King and heir (Colley 1996). The backlash against the behaviour of the bon ton in England and female visibility in the French Terror was reflected in writings such as those by Hannah More, emphasising women‘s civility and giving a boost to the process of pushing women away from public life (Howarth

2000). Display of floral motifs was a means by which women could reassure witnesses as to their adherence to the majority discourse, by linking themselves to the civilising associations of flowers as noted above. The dominance of floral patterns may also reflect a more general desire to retreat away from the realities of social unrest and international discord. It is notable that this sample does not contain many explicitly patriotic designs, although Britannia appears on two examples, both from the period 1800-1810. On the other hand marine elements peak in the 1810s, reflecting a natural preoccupation with the sea in the wake of publicity virtually deifying Nelson and the navy through orchestrated public thanksgivings – the first held for 100 years (Colley 1996, 228).

The growth of recognisable patriotism centred on Britain and involving the masses has been attributed to the ‗long' eighteenth century (Colley 1996). However, explicit patriotic demonstration involving the lower classes, voluntarily or otherwise, became more prevalent in the nineteenth century. The succession of Queen Victoria and resulting tension between her dual role as head of state and dutiful wife contributed to the wider debate over the role of women in society (Hibbert 2001). The influence of domestically-focussed portraits, rapidly circulated as prints, was significant. For example, Dickens and Victoria between them have been seen as having a fundamental role in the reinvention of Christmas as a family festival in the nineteenth century (Pimlott 1978). Victoria's role as head of state was equally important. Under Victoria the monarchy regained a measure of dignity which it has lost since George III's determined campaign in the 1790s, culminating in public celebration of George's Jubilee in 1809 (Colley 1996, 231-233). The monarchy became a focal point for popular opinion as never before. Improved communications, adroit management and a genuine swell of lower class – often female – sentiment contributed to the strengthening of patriotic feeling exemplified by loyalty to the monarchy. This is not to suggest that there were not dissenting voices, nor that Victoria's prolonged absence from the public arena did not do harm both to her reputation, and that of the monarchy as a whole (Mallet 1968; Hibbert 2001). But teas such as those mentioned in chapter 6 were undeniably popular, and by the Golden Jubilee of

1887, even small villages were hosting celebratory events (Anon. 1887 unpublished-a). The teapot pattern category which includes commemorative and souvenir designs is markedly more constant at the end of the nineteenth century than in earlier periods. This data also includes crested and monogrammed designs, along with regional or holiday souvenirs – any design which serves as a reminder of a fixed moment in time rather than illustrating a more general theme. Figure 113 shows a mid-range teapot produced in c.1842 and showing the Royal Family in typically saccharine pose. The matching cup contains a picture of the Princess Royal (also on the lid of the teapot) while the saucer replicates the main picture from the pot. The celebration of patriotism is evident, but so too is that of femininity, especially since it is the Princess who is illustrated separately, and not the Prince of Wales.

The decline of family-crested teawares, which are at their most prevalent in this sample in the eighteenth century, in favour of more time-specific designs reflects the increasing affordability of ceramic wares, and the growth of patriotism and tourism. It also reflects the engagement of women – the purchasers – with preserving memories on both an individual level (‗*a souvenir from…*') and national one. The role of women as the repository of family knowledge was a well-established one, most evidenced by the keeping of manuscript household books or cookery books. Although the prevalence of recipe books dwindled in the nineteenth century as printed literature obviated the need for long books of recommended recipes, household account books and notebooks still existed (Rycraft 1997). Women were viewed as more passive and prone to sentimental attachment to objects, and, as they were usually in charge of household purchases and decoration, the task of balancing the materiality of old and new fell to them. They took charge of rendering a family's experiences and aspirations in material form. The way this was manifested in dining room décor and portraiture has already been discussed in chapter 4, but it could also be displayed at the tea table. Small, souvenir objects enabled short-term memories and experiences to be replayed without necessarily having to become part of a long-term domestic display. Teapots were an ideal medium for communication in this respect, not

least as, with a choice both at the point of purchase and the point of use, they afforded an almost unlimited potential for changing the intended message depending on who would be interacting with the teapot.

The market in tourist souvenirs seems to have concentrated on mugs, and of all of the examples of place-related souvenirs in this study, only one is a teapot (figure 116). Mugs would have been cheaper than teapots, and it has already been established that they aimed at a less engendered and working and lower middle class market – precisely those who took up the opportunities offered by package tours and special trains with such enthusiasm (Flanders 2006). Exhibition of a mug such as that in figure 98 echoed the habit, a hundred years before, of aristocratic display of relics from their grand tour, but made such display part of the everyday. Even if such items were kept mainly or entirely for display purposes, their form carried connotations of everyday life, adhering to the more middle class ethic of usefulness and reserve. In terms of emulative behaviour, the popularity of such souvenir items indicates a lower class assimilation of parts of both aristocratic and middle class belief systems, and the appropriation of these to their own ends.

The display of identity was implicit in any choice of tea ware. Even the choice of a pot with plain or limited decoration carried implications. Plain wares have long been seen as being associated with the lower classes, since undecorated items are likely to have been cheaper in many cases than their painted or printed counterparts. Figure 114 shows a plain glazed earthenware example, designed to be robust – yet also reminiscent of the redware Chinese imitations also popular at the time. On the other hand Young (2003, 153) argues that as goods became more available both in terms of function and decorative value, the middle classes opted for inconspicuous consumption, buying specific, tasteful goods as opposed to filling their houses with everything on the market. Visual evidence as well as Miller‘s price index (Miller 1988) suggests that plain wares for the discerning still included moulded decoration – reeding, fluting or scalloped edges. These were also available in cheaper, earthenware copies (fig. 115). The small number

of plain teapots in this study indicates that in many cases perhaps it was still deemed better to opt for decorated ceramics – or silver, which was still popular and is depicted in a number of middle class visual representations of tea.

Given the link between tea and domesticity it is worth considering explicit use of domestic motifs on tea wares. This category encompasses scenes obviously set within the home (dining, tea-taking, playing with children), as well as designs such as figures 105 and 112. Over half the teapots in this study containing domestic elements are also included within the Chinese category – unsurprising given that the majority occur within the period when Chinese imagery still has a significant market share. Domestic scenes decline after the 1810s, although as has been explained, royal commemorative items which increase in number also carried strong domestic connotations. As established in chapter 6, by the 1820s tea was overwhelmingly associated with the domestic environment and this may be one reason why explicit imagery in the painted and printed designs on teapots declined: the teapot itself exemplified the domestic, and there was no further need to elaborate upon this theme. The end of the nineteenth century witnessed the move of tea away from the home, and into public contexts such as tea rooms and restaurants. Information on the wares used in such environments is sparse – the everyday is not collectable – but those examples which do survive indicate both an awareness of current fashion and a deliberate attempt to render wares as neutral as possible. The late nineteenth century vogue for repeated patterns such as that in figure 117, whether floral or more abstract, is indicative of the highly regulated nature of late Victorian society. They appear frequently on dinner plates where, as indicated in chapters 3 and 4, they reflect the serving style and mentality of à la Russe. They are also the patterns which tend to feature on wares from mixed-gender corporate contexts such as railway refreshment rooms, hotels and buffet cars. Corporate-owned wares also introduce another element into decorative design that is not represented in the quantitative sample used for the analysis here: branding. Tea and dining ceramics in the collection of the National Railway Museum, York and which pre-date 1923, are branded with companies' crests and initials, and in some cases hotel names. Wares from liners and

commercial sailing vessels also follow this theme. Even where sets were made for specific occasions – such as for royal travelling – they did not deviate from the corporate feel, which was also extended to servants' wares for country houses. Just as the choice of floral patterns sought to mask social tension in the early nineteenth century, so repetition and formality on teawares belied the fragmentation of nineteenth century society into a mass of shifting interest and class groups with agendas – such as increased women's rights – which undermined the discourse which had briefly given the impression of social stability in the mid-century.

## Conclusions

Changes in the design of tea wares were gradual across the period of study. None of the data illustrated in graphs 5-31 indicates sudden breaks with previous decades based on either economics or social factors. That said, the period 1750-1900 can be roughly divided into three phases based on key visual features – shape and pattern. These divisions reflect the changing associations of women with tea laid out in chapter 6, and support the hypothesis that gender is fundamental to understanding the consumption of tea. Phase one is that leading up to the 1790s. Tea wares were heavily influenced by the Chinese origins of tea, and tended to be globular in shape, with pastoral and domestic scenes as popular motifs. Tea was still, up to this point, expensive and indicative of gentility, and the lack of variety in wares reflects the fact that the consumption of tea in itself was a marker of refinement.

The 1790s witnessed the outbreak of war, the cessation of the Chinese ceramics trade and the continuing effects of the dramatic price drop in tea which followed the Commutation Act. Tea wares took on more explicitly western design elements, complementing other contemporary trends in architecture and dress. Floral motifs dominated the market, both as designs in themselves and as part of other patterns as the position of women was renegotiated following the social upheavals of the French Revolution, and the English political landscape was redrawn around the 1832 Reform Act. Phase two, from the 1790s to the 1860s,

corresponds with a period in which dominant discourse viewed women as domestically-focussed, and during which the middle classes sought to balance the dual ideas of leisure and usefulness. It was during this period that the à la Française was superseded by the transition table, and towards the end of which à la Russe began to be accepted. Tea remained flexible, and an increase in the variety of wares on offer can be seen, though blue monochrome and floral designs continue to dominate the market.

The succession of Queen Victoria in 1837 ushered in an era of apparent harmony and progress, in which commercial interests flourished and market forces were able to interact without much interference. However, the discourse of domesticity masked social division and increasing dissatisfaction with gender roles, and by the end of the century women were playing an active role in social rituals, often based around public displays of patriotism and institutionalised charity. The third identifiable phase goes form the 1860s to the 1900s, during which the range of designs of teawares on offer grew dramatically as the marketing industry began to take on a recognisably modern form. The codification of tea drinking, and the definition of specific occasions along with the wares which should accompany them meant that services needed to be more clearly differentiated according to occasion. The middle and upper classes generally possessed multiple tea services, and were therefore able to display different ideologies and identities depending on the occasion. Commemorative and souvenir items became more popular as women were by now fully established as home-makers and repositories of family memory. However, as women started to fight to move out of the home, overtly feminine associations were eschewed in favour of plainer or abstract patterns which also echoed dinner services à la Russe. Refreshment and tea rooms opened in stations and then towns across the country, and tea moved into the public realm. The wares used in such contexts reflected the less overtly engendered environment in which they were designed to be used.

Tea was a widely consumed drink. Although it was tied to specific occasions by the late nineteenth century, this was not so for much of the period discussed here.

In the home, in the homes of others or in more public forums, individuals interacted with more than one set of wares, and therefore more than one set of meanings. This chapter has gone some way towards exploring the nature of these meanings with reference to the narrative of the development of tea as an engendered occasion as proposed in chapter 6. It has demonstrated that the theories advanced in this thesis are supported by a detailed consideration of related material culture and that dining-derived objects must be considered in the light of their association with women.

# 8. **'The last stimulus to enjoyment**[6] : Final conclusions

This thesis set out to explore two hypotheses to explain the change from service à la Française to service à la Russe in the period c.1750-1900. Firstly, that women, specifically middle class wives, drove dining change in the eighteenth and nineteenth century; and, following on from this, that dining-related material culture should be viewed in the light of gender as a crucial structuring principle. It also sought to place dining change in an archaeologically-informed framework, and in doing so highlight the new ways for archaeologists to use the material culture of dining.

Chapter 3 used table plans and visual depictions of food, as well as food moulds and experimental archaeology in the form of historic cookery. It proposed a narrative of change which encompassed not only table settings, which have been discussed at length, but not always critically, by food historians, but also the food itself. Taking a dramaturgical approach, it set dinner in its sensory context and in doing so uncovered a transitional stage of change which has not hitherto been recognised as distinct. This _transition table' had its own set of characteristics and, while bearing a resemblance to both à la Française and à la Russe was clearly distinguishable from either. Chapter 3 supported the Deetzian concept of the _Georgian Order' but argued that the patterning and structure of the à la Française layout was more complicated and more nuanced than commentators have previously recognised. The loss of this order was one of the key characteristics of the _transition table', and even where later layouts superficially resemble à la Française this lack of structure means they are part of a different tradition.

Chapter 3 also established, in line with the central hypothesis, that the move from the transition phase and towards à la Russe was driven by middle class women. The development of à la Russe as a text-dependant dining style enabled members of the middle class to learn _correct' dining techniques. Although the term _middle class' is much used within this study, it is with the knowledge that this

[6] Marshall (c.1888, 403)

encompassed multiple groups at different wealth levels. The creation and maintenance of class identity and, beyond that, membership of ever smaller interest groups was part of the feminine role, as the ideal of the middle class woman was, by the mid nineteenth century, one of a leisured, domestically-focused wife and mother. Status could change quickly, certainly between generations, and women – and men – could not rely on their parents' teachings being acceptable in an upwardly mobile society. A codified, written form of dining was a far easier thing to manipulate than the shifting, aristocratic forms of la Française. Etiquette writers encouraged women to feel empowered by the dictats of the written word, and promoted à la Russe as the passport to civility. The à la Russe mentality which this study uncovers is part of a wider Victorian trend towards categorisation and definition. Ironically, however, as at the à la Russe table, as society was defined in ever more accurate ways, the individual was lost.

Chapter 4 explored the way in which service style change affected the wider environment of dining through consideration of dining room décor, plates and the physical location of dinner. It established that women used the materiality of dinner to promote supposed feminine characteristics such as smaller portions. It also strengthened the conclusions reached in chapter 3 by demonstrating through a study of aristocratic ceramics a resistance to change which has hitherto been ignored in light of the traditional view of à la Russe as an masculine, aristocratic style, spread by top-down emulation. Both chapters 3 and 4 instead propose that à la Russe was a feminised and middle class style, diffused upwards very slowly and in a time scale which in fact postdates the cut-off point for this study. Chapter 5 meanwhile completed the study of dining by demonstrating that the mentality which underlay à la Russe was one which affected the whole household. It looked at the spaces and processes of food preparation, and the way in which gender structures affected the working lives of country house servants. It also added to the current debate over British food, by proposing a narrative of culinary development wherein French and English cooks adapted their repertoire to cater for specifically English tastes. In considering cookbooks as active agents of change, it drew on the conclusions of chapter 3 in viewing à la Russe as a text-

dependant style. In this case, the physical layout and language of cookbooks enabled female cooks to start to challenge male dominance of the cookery field – a struggle which is still ongoing.

In order to test the conclusions of chapters 3-5, which strongly supported the hypotheses that middle class women drove dining change, and that gender should be seen as crucial to understanding dining, chapters 6 and 7 extended the study to consider tea. Tea was chosen because its material remains are commonplace in archaeological excavations, but seldom considered in reference to gender. It is also as an area which has been the subject of a number of narrative histories, and whose material culture has been minutely described by from the perspective of art history, meaning that a wealth of secondary literature existed from which to work. Chapter 6 proposed a new, gender-based narrative of the introduction and adoption of the beverage, and of the development of the various occasions on which it was drunk. It was shown that tea was a fundamental means by which women fought seventeenth and eighteenth century negativity surrounding their gender, and that later it provided a way in which to negotiate status within the household. At the end of the nineteenth century the continued association of tea with women enabled women to challenge the patriarchal Victorian society and provided a means by which they could move out of the home. Chapter 7 used a detailed study of teapots in order to demonstrate the material ramifications of such an interpretation of the history of tea, and to propose future ways in which archaeologists could consider the material culture of dining as a whole.

Overall, this study of dining and its material culture has shown that middle class women did indeed drive change. In doing so it has challenged long-held assumptions within the food history and archaeological establishment about the way in which dining change happened and the pace of that change. It has introduced the concept of a distinct transitional phase in serving styles, and demonstrated why it is important to consider not just the food itself but also plates, pictures, room location and preparative process as part of a study of dinner. Although the data has been predominantly drawn from upper middle and elite contexts, it has shown how their experiences affected the lower middle and

working classes. It has set out a narrative of the development of tea which supports the conclusions drawn in the main study and should directly aid archaeological understanding of this important category of wares. It has proven that for every man who dines, many women worked to create the dining experience.

# Figures, tables and graphs

## Chapter 1

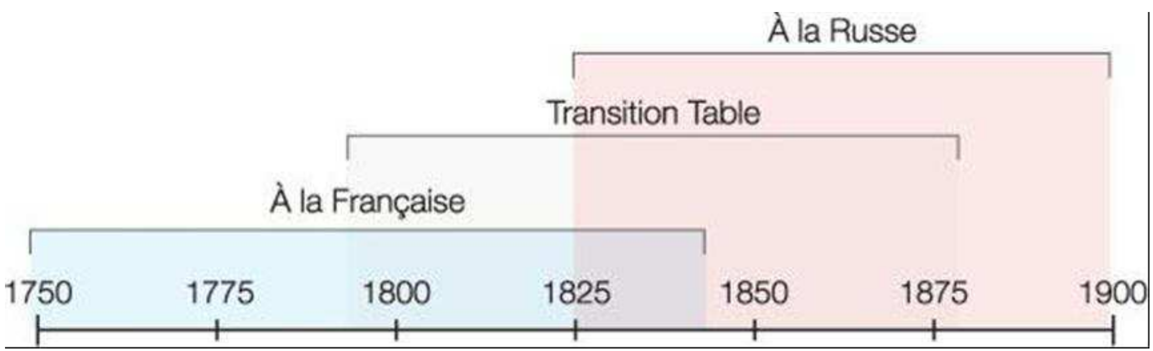



Figure 1: Timeline showing service style

# Chapter 2

COMPARATIVE LOVE.

*Papa: So, Charley, you really are in love with the little black-eyed girl you met last night?*

*Charley: Yes, Papa, I love her dearly!*

*Papa: How much do you love her, Charley? Do you love her as much as Pudding?*

*Charley: Oh yes Papa! And a great deal better than Pudding. But -(pausing to reflect)- I do not love her - so much as - Jelly!*

Figure 2: Comparative Love (Punch 1851, 165)

This text box is where the unabridged thesis included the following third party copyrighted material :

Frontispiece from Henderson, W (c.1790) The Housekeepers Instructor. London. Copy in The Brotherton Library, Leeds

Figure 3: Frontispiece from Henderson (c.1790)

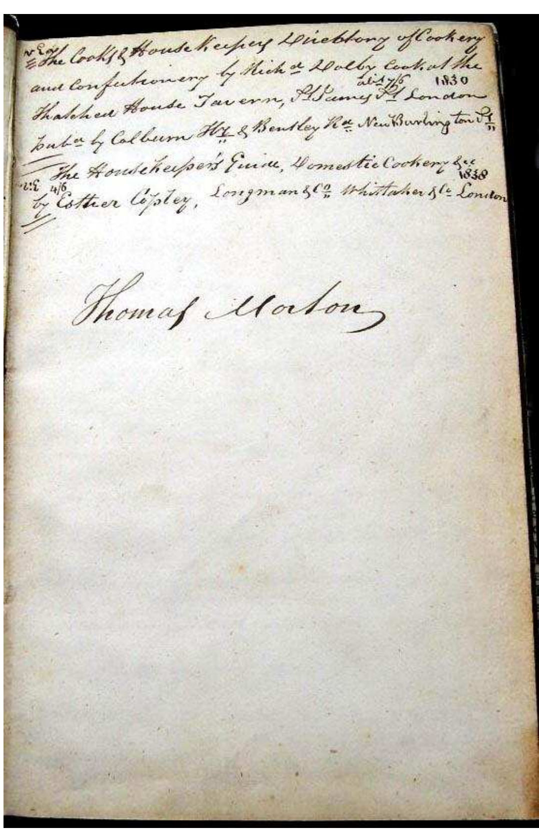
The interplay of service hierarchy and instructional book is clearly shown. The caption underneath further identifies the central female figure as the mistress. The woman in the background is basting a joint while the men to the left are preparing to boil a pudding in the copper.

This text box is where the unabridged thesis included the following third party copyrighted material :

Frontispiece from Glasse, H (c.1780) The Art of Cookery. Copied from White (2002)

Figure 4: Frontispiece to a late eighteenth edition of Glasse's Art of Cookery (White 2002)

The mistress is giving her cook a copy of a recipe, written out from the book open on the table. While this can be taken to illustrate concern over the perils of the kitchen with regards books, it also indicates the careful control of print matter and the imposition of discipline through restricted access to manuals.


The Cook's & Housekeeper's Dictionary of Cookery
and Confectionery by Richd Dolby Cook at the
Thatched House Tavern, St James St London 1830
pubd by Colburn Hy & Bentley Rd New Burlington St
The Housekeeper's Guide, Domestic Cookery &c 1838
by Esther Copley, Longman & Co Whittaker & Co London

Thomas Morton

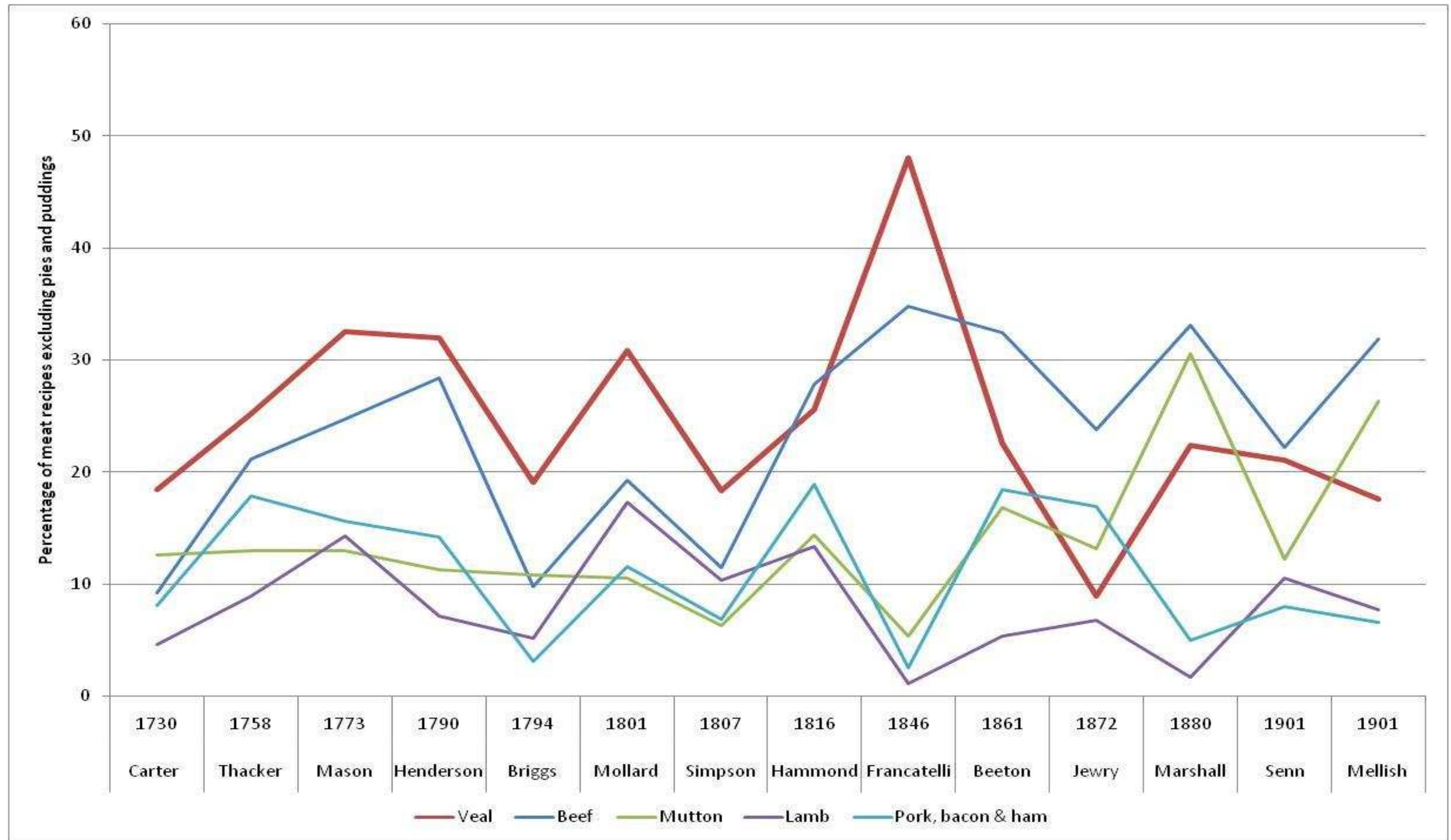
Figure 5: Unpublished book of recipes, c.*1840s (in author's possession*)

This handwritten book is marked on the front *cover „P3" indicating that it is part* of a series of such volumes. In itself it is just a collection of recipes deemed useful by the compiler: its interest lies in his selection if Thomas Morton can be linked to a place and time, and in the evidence it provides of the circulation of print material beyond the confines of the published form.

Figure 6: Orange Jelly set in a stoneware mould

Figure 7: Savoy Cake baked in a stoneware mould

Food moulds are misleadingly labelled as jelly moulds when experimentation shows that they can be used for a range of foods. The cake and jelly shown here are modern versions cooked by the author, assisted by her team of interpreters at Audley End. In addition to these; mayonnaises, marmalades, potted meats and blancmanges, among others, can also be shaped using ceramic moulds.




Graph 1: Graph showing percentage of recipes for key meats in cookbooks, 1730-1901

# Chapter 3

Table 2: Bills of fare for selected à la Française authors, 1758-1807

Thacker (1758): Bill of Fare for January (second course)

| | | |
|---|---|---|
| Stewed Pears | Four Woodcocks | Blancmange |
| Dried Tongues | A Hare, or Jellies, etc | Lobsters |
| Raspberry Cream | Two Wild Ducks roasted | Apples in Jelly |

Mason (1773): Bill of Fare, second course (no specific time of year given – menu chosen on basis of seasonality and similarity of dishes to the comparison data )

| | | |
|---|---|---|
| | Forced Fowl or Turkey | |
| Raspberry fritters | Orange Cream | Mince Pies |
| Veal in Jelly | Floating Island | Snipes in Jelly |
| German Puffs | Pistachio Cream | Custard Fritters |
| | 3 Partridges | |

Henderson (c.1790) : Bill of Fare for January (second course)

| | | |
|---|---|---|
| | Roast Turkey | |
| Marinated Smelts | Tartlets | Mince Pies |
| Roast sweetbreads | Stand of Jellies | Larks |
| Almond tarts | Orange Pudding | Lobsters |
| | Woodcocks | |

Briggs (1794) : Bill of Fare for January (second course)

| | | |
|---|---|---|
| Tartlets | Roast Turkey with Chestnuts | Mould of Jelly |
| Artichokes | Sweetbreads, fricasseed | Asparagus |
| 5 Woodcocks | Forequarter of house lamb | Larks |
| Mushrooms | Rabbit, fricasseed | Morels |
| Blancmange | Wild Fowl | Small Mince Pies |

Mollard (1801): Bill of Fare for January (second course)

| | | |
|---|---|---|
| | Roast woodcocks | |
| Scollop shells | Apple Fitters | Stewed mushrooms |
| Trifle | Shellfish in an ornamented dish | Jelly |
| Stewed cardoons | Fried puffs with sweetmeats | Omelette with cullis |
| | Partridges | |

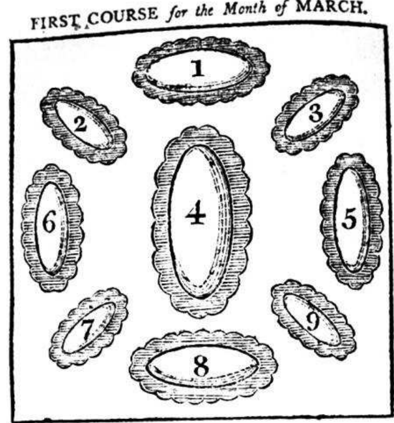
Simpson (1807): Bill of Fare for January (second course)

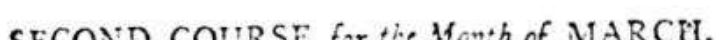
| | | |
|---|---|---|
| Potted ham | | Brawn |
| Ragout mêlé | | Asparagus |
| Mince pies | 5 partridges | A trifle |
| 3 teal | Frame | 12 larks |
| A trifle | 2 rabbits | Mince pies |
| French beans with béchamel | | Macaroni with parmesan |
| Brawn | | Potted hare |

| | | |
|---|---|---|
| Tartlets | Roast Turkey with Chestnuts | Mould of Jelly |
| Artichokes | Sweetbreads, fricasseed | Asparagus |
| 5 woodcooks | Forequarters of house lamb | Larks [12] |
| Mushrooms | Rabbit, fricasseed | Morels |
| Blancmange | Wild Fowl | Small mince pies |

Many, small, sweet pastries
Large, sweet, moulded
Many, green vegetables
Gamebirds
'Made Dishes'
Fowl
Fungi with Sauce
Farmed Meat

Table 3: Graphic form of Briggs (1794) as per table 2



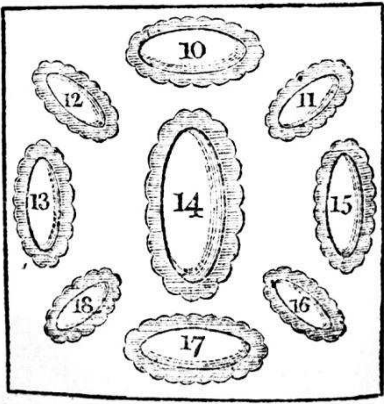




Figure 8: *The New Lady‟s Magazine (1776). Recipe* advice directly lifted from Mason (1773)

Charlotte Mason had a regular monthly slot in the *Lady s Magazine, each time with the same table plan* and recipes given for each numbered dish. The recipes are largely identical to those in her published cookbook.

Figure 9: *Table layouts from The Footman‟s Guide (1823)*

*The Footman s Guide uses* the same conceit of a universal table layout, but instead of going on to *give recipes, concentrates only on the „correct placing of different types of dish. Needless to say,* this formula is not followed by other authors.

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Table layout from Williams, J (1823) The Footman's Guide. Copy in Cambridge University Library.

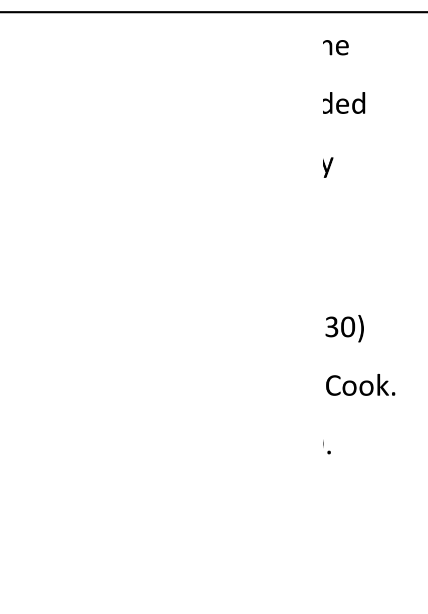

Figure 10: Bill of Fare for January (Carter 1730)

Figure 11: Bill of fare for January ('A Lady' 1836)

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Page from YCA 1785 (see bibliography). Copy available through York City Archives.

Figure 12: Dinner at Mansion House, 1785 (YCA 1785)

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Food Moulds from York Museums Trust, as detailed below.

Figure 13: Food mould representing a recumbent game bird, unknown date (YMT 1935.43)

Figure 14: Food mould in castellan form, c.1860, Benham & co (YMT 130.1)

This text box is where the unabridged thesis included the following third party copyrighted material :

Illustrations as detailed below. Copy of Bradley (1760) available from the Brotherton Library, Leeds; Thacker 1758 republished through Southover Press, 2004, or available in original form at the Brotherton Library, Leeds.

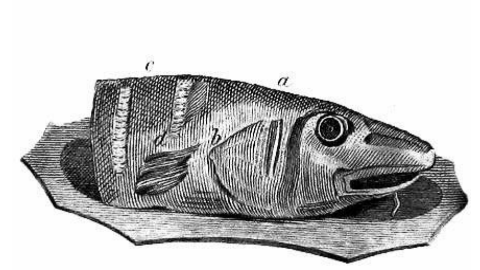


Figure 15: Food à la Française

Top row: Roast woodcock and roast pheasant (Bradley 1760);

Middle row: *Cod"s Head (Bradley 1760), Cod"s Head* ('A Lady' 1836);

Bottom row: *Fry"d Smelts* (Bradley 1760), suggested garnish for a soup (Thacker 1758)

DINNER FOR 6 PERSONS. *January.*

Julienne soup.

1 *Fish.*

Fried soles, anchovy sauce.

Fowl and rice. [2 *Removes.*] Roast leg of Welsh mutton.

2 *Entrées:*

Salmis of partridges, à l'anciènne. Fricandeau with purée of sorrel.

SECOND COURSE.

Roast snipes.

3 *Entremêts:*

Spinach with cream. Blanc-manger.

Apples à la Portuguaise.

Figure 16: Menu for January from Francatelli (1846)

Figure 17: Menu for January from Beeton (1861)

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Table plan from Beeton (1861), reprinted by Cassel & co, 2000

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Pictures from Acton (as per caption). Copied from republished copy of Acton (1993, Southover Press)

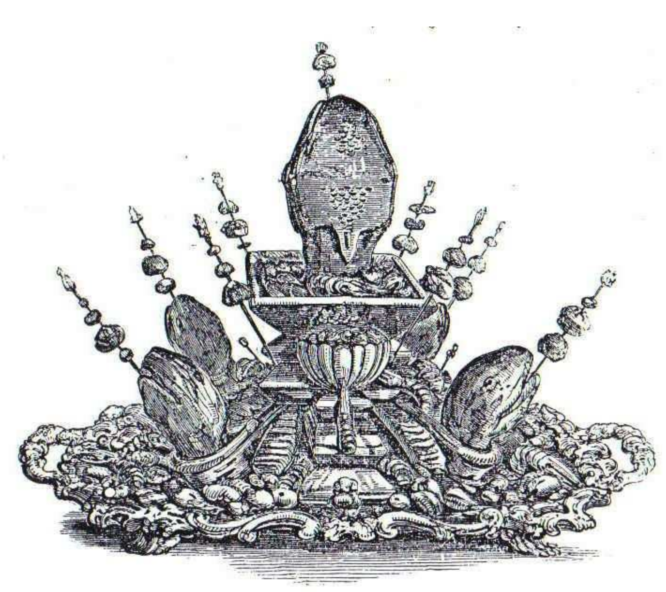
Figure 18: Transition food

Top row: Croustade of Larks, Vegetable Timbale (Francatelli 1846);

Bottom row: Oranges filled with jelly, Apple hedgehog (Acton 1855). The latter recipe is repeated almost verbatim in cookbooks until the end of the century

Figure 19: The hundred guinea dish, created by Soyer for the Grand Banquet, York, 1850

Every bit as esoteric as it looks, this one-off platter, served on the royal table, contained elements of 15 different types of fowl or game birds, 5 turtle heads and 10 different garnishes, as well as a *„new sauce . Soyer accounted for its name by commenting that in order to obtain only this dish, a* diner would have to order the whole of every element, whereas in the true spirit of middle class balance and economy, he essentially used leftovers from other dishes. (ILN 1850)



THE HUNDRED GUINEA DISH.—(DESCRIBED AT PAGE 350.)

This text box is where the unabridged thesis included the following third party copyrighted material :

Pies illustrated as per caption. Thacker taken from reprinted edition (2004, Southover Press); Beeton from reprinted edition (2000, Cassell & co)

Figure 20: The development of pies, 1748-1861

Rabbit pie (Thacker 1748); hand raised pie (contents unknown) *(„A Lady 1836); Raised pie* (using a tin mould) (Beeton 1861).

Figure 21: Game pie made in a tin mould

It is virtually impossible not to gain visually impressive results using the equipment available to *Beeton"s readers: a pie tin (the two halves latch together and are entirely separate*), and a pastry *cutter. The rosette on top of Beeton s pie disguises the air hole. On this version a simple circle of* pastry has been used and the leaves brought up to overlap.

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Queen Victoria at the Guildhall Banquet, 1837: The Royal Collection

Figure 22: Queen Victoria at the Guildhall Banquet, 9 November 1837

This is à la Française portrayed in a transition style: the middle dishes are emphasised while the surrounding dishes are an afterthought. The presence of the decanters on the table is at odds with the advice in etiquette guides to have servants on hand to supply drinks, but concurs with other pictures of later versions of the style. Fig.23 shows the same occasion, this time by an artist thinking à la Française. Courtesy of The Royal Collection © 2009 Her Majesty Queen Elizabeth II

Figure 23: T. Dighton, Queen Victoria attending the Lord Mayor's Banquet, 1837.

[Next page]. One of the rare pictures to show diners enjoying themselves, the contrast with fig.22 shows the effects of service style on the mentality of the artist. This has the more familiar tripartite divisions, although the presence of static, sculptural object along the central line indicates that the shift away from pure à la Française has nevertheless commenced. Courtesy of The Royal Collection © 2009 Her Majesty Queen Elizabeth II

This text box is where the unabridged thesis included the following third party copyrighted material :

T. Dighton, Queen Victoria attending the Lord Mayor's Banquet, 1837.: The Royal Collection

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L. Haghe, the Christening Banquet for Prince Leopold at Buckingham Palace: The Royal Collection

Figure 24: L. Haghe, the Christening Banquet for Prince Leopold at Buckingham Palace, 1853

The transition table is clearly indicated here. Two rows of food flank inedible central decoration which itself draws the eye away from the food. Courtesy of The Royal Collection © 2009 Her Majesty Queen Elizabeth II

Figure 25: Dinner Party of fourteen, first course (Williams 1823)

Another version of the transition layout: still tripartite from above, but lending itself to paired dish layout and a two-part symmetry.

This text box is where the unabridged thesis included the following third party copyrighted material :

Dinner Party of 14 from Williams (1823). Copy in Cambridge University Library

MENU DU DINER.
(*For 14 to 16 persons. Can be modified for a less number.*)

HORS D'ŒUVRE.
Saucisson de Lyon aux Œufs.

POTAGES.
Chiffonade de Volaille à la Princesse.
Faubonne Potage.

POISSONS.
Whitebait Naturel et à la Diable.
Filets de Saumon à la Morny.

ENTRÉES.
Petites Crèmes à la Sherard.
Cailles à la Chaponay.

RELEVÉ.
Selle d'Agneau rôtie, Sauce Menthe.
Pommes de Terre nouvelles et Olives
Petits Pois au Beurre.

RÔT.
Poulet en Kari à la Simla.

ENTREMETS.
Asperges en Branches, Sauce Hollandaise.
Soufflé Vanille aux Ananas.
Gâteau Metternich.
Sardines à la Cambridge.

Figure 26: Dinner menu, no month given (Marshall c.1888)

Figure 27: Household dinner, 2 July 1897 (OH 1897)

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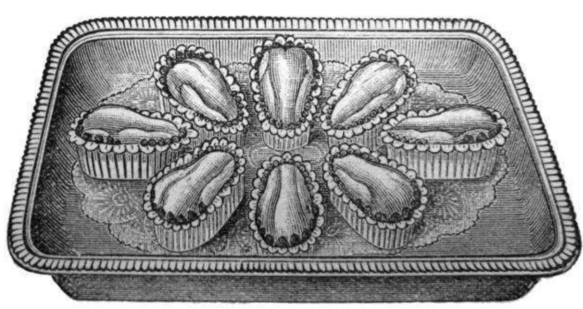
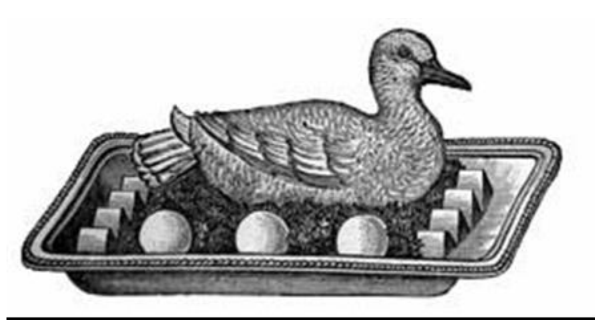
Extract from dining ledger, Osborne House (English Heritage)





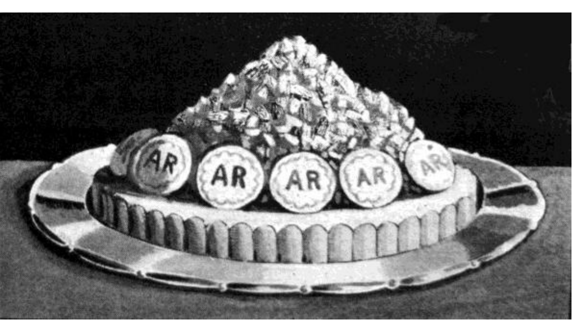
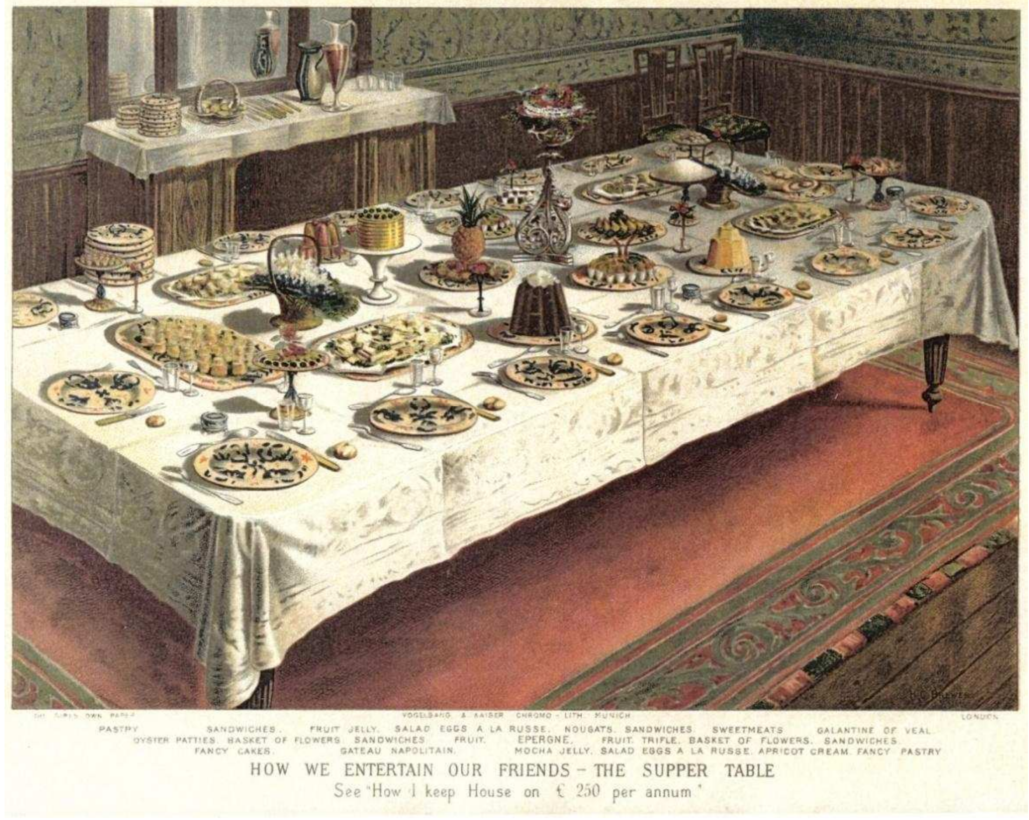



Figure 28: Dishes à la Russe

*Top row: Petits Poulets en Caisses de l‟Impratrice* (Marshall c.1888), Sweetbreads à la Vigo( Mellish 1901);

Middle row: Quails with Cress (Mellish 1901);

Bottom row: Crème Glacée au Foie Gras à la Caneton (Marshall c.1888), Médaillons de poularde à la Reine Alexandra (Senn 1901).



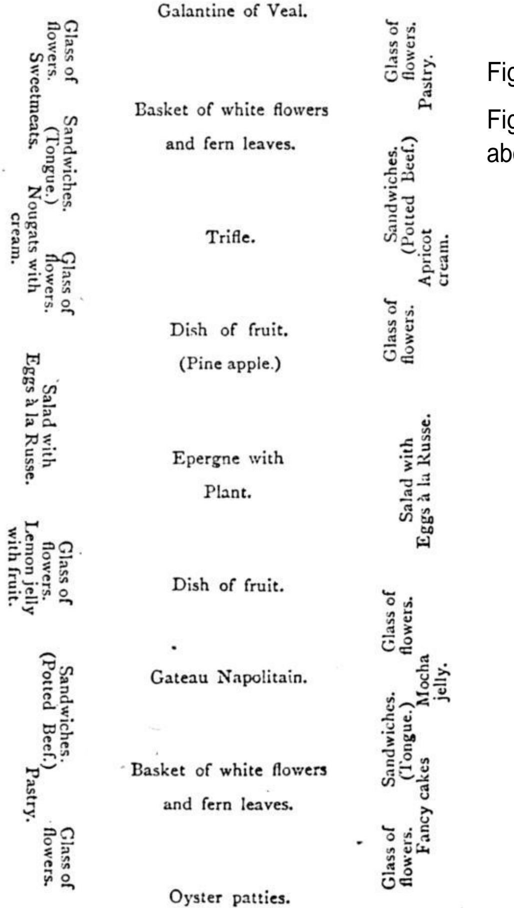




Figure 29: The Supper Table (Anon. 1885)

Figure 30: Table plan of The Supper Table (as above)

# Chapter 4

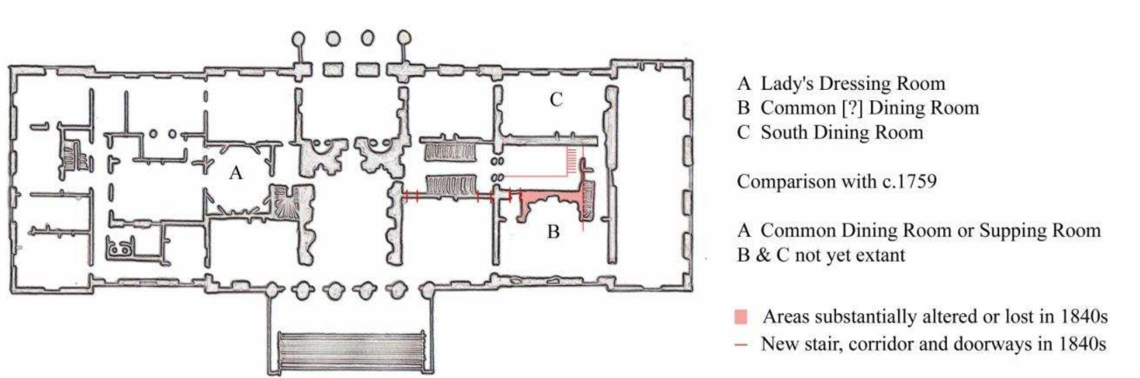



Figure 31: Harewood House: John Carr's plan of the principal floor, as published in Vitruvius Britannicus, 1771 showing 1840s changes to dining room

This plan had already undergone signifciant changes from the c.1759 plan, signed byJohn Carr In the earlier version, on which few rooms were labelled, rooms B and C did not yet exist, and in their place was a semi-circular courtyard. A, meanwhile, was the Common Dining Room – here *it has become Lady Harewood*"*s dressing room. Plan after* Mauchline (1992, 38). Marked in red and pink are the 1840s changes made under Barry and the 3 rd Countess.

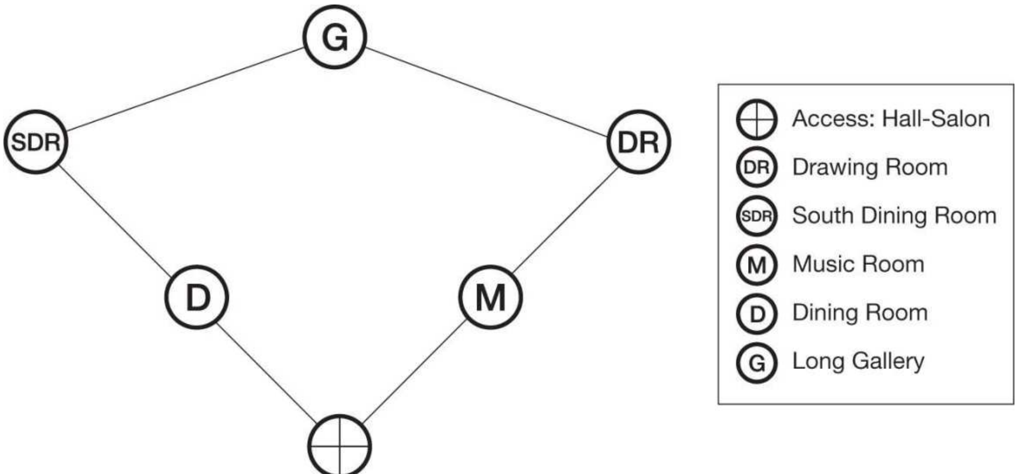



Figure 32: Justified gamma map of access from hall-salon to public rooms at Harewood House

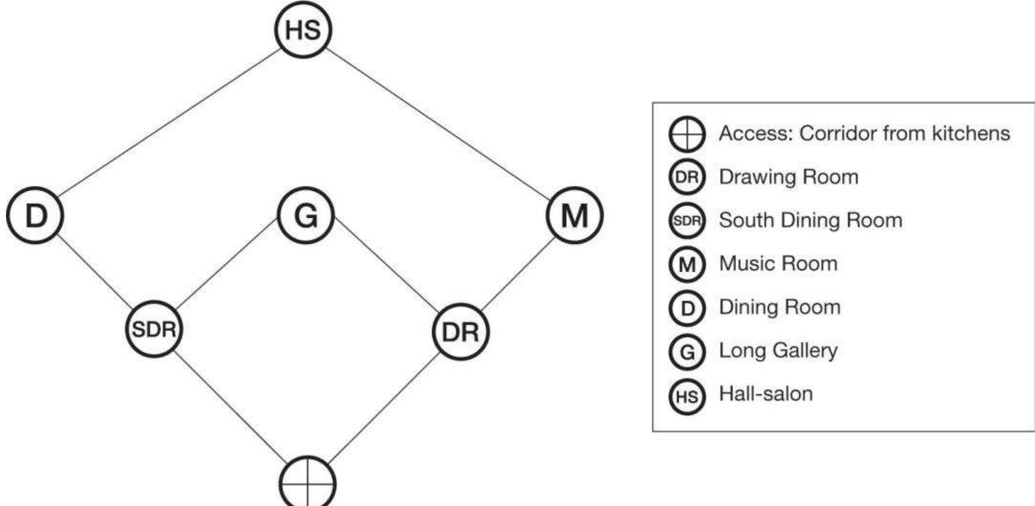



Figure 33: Alternative access plan where the carrier icon denotes access from service wing for waiting staff

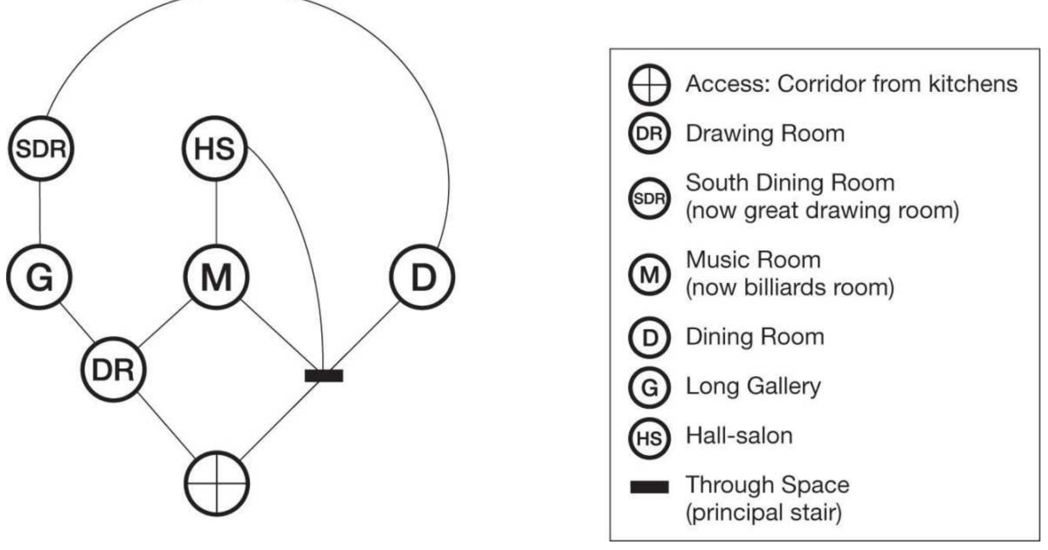



Figure 34: As per fig 33, for post 1840s house

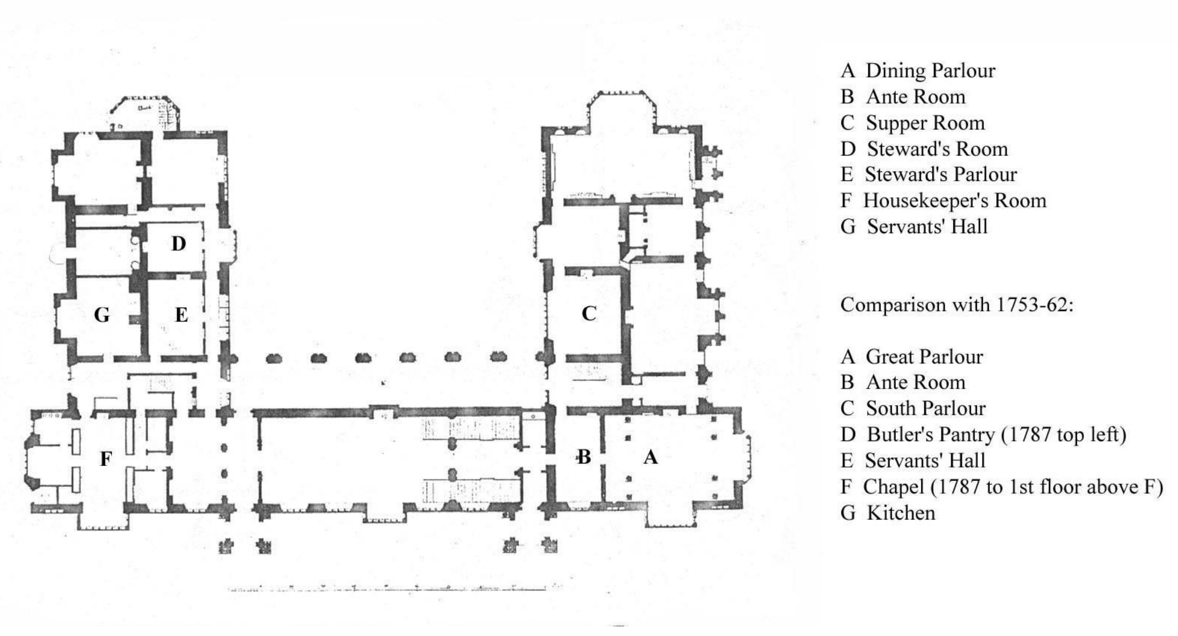



Figure 35: Audley End: *William Ivory*"s ground floor plan, 1787

This plan post-dated the building of an exterior service wing in the 1760s, but pre-dated sweeping internal changes to the house under the 3rd Baron. The main eating spaces have been labelled, clearly showing the spatial separation of family, upper and lower servants. This was to be taken even further in the nineteenth century, when the *Braybrookes*" dining room was resited on the first floor. Plan after Oxford Archaeology (2001 unpublished).

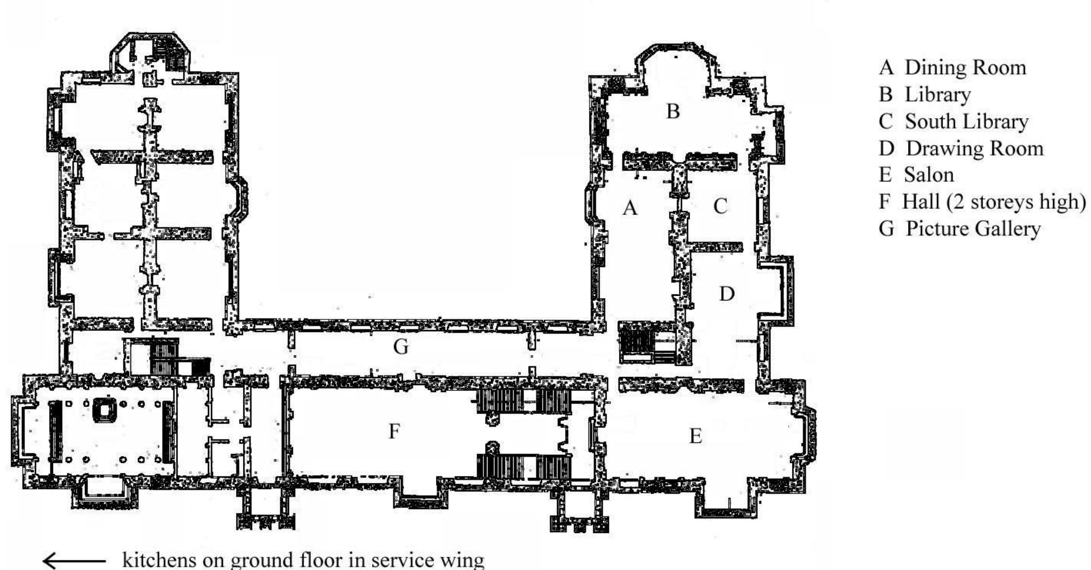



Figure 36: Audley End: first floor plan (Richard, Lord Braybrooke, 1836)

The resited first floor dining room was about as far from the kitchens as was conceivable. Plate covers and a rapid pace would have ensured food was served hot, and in this arrangement smells and sounds would have been eradicated as much as possible. The main stair leading out of the hall (F) would have enabled family and visitor access from the main entrance.

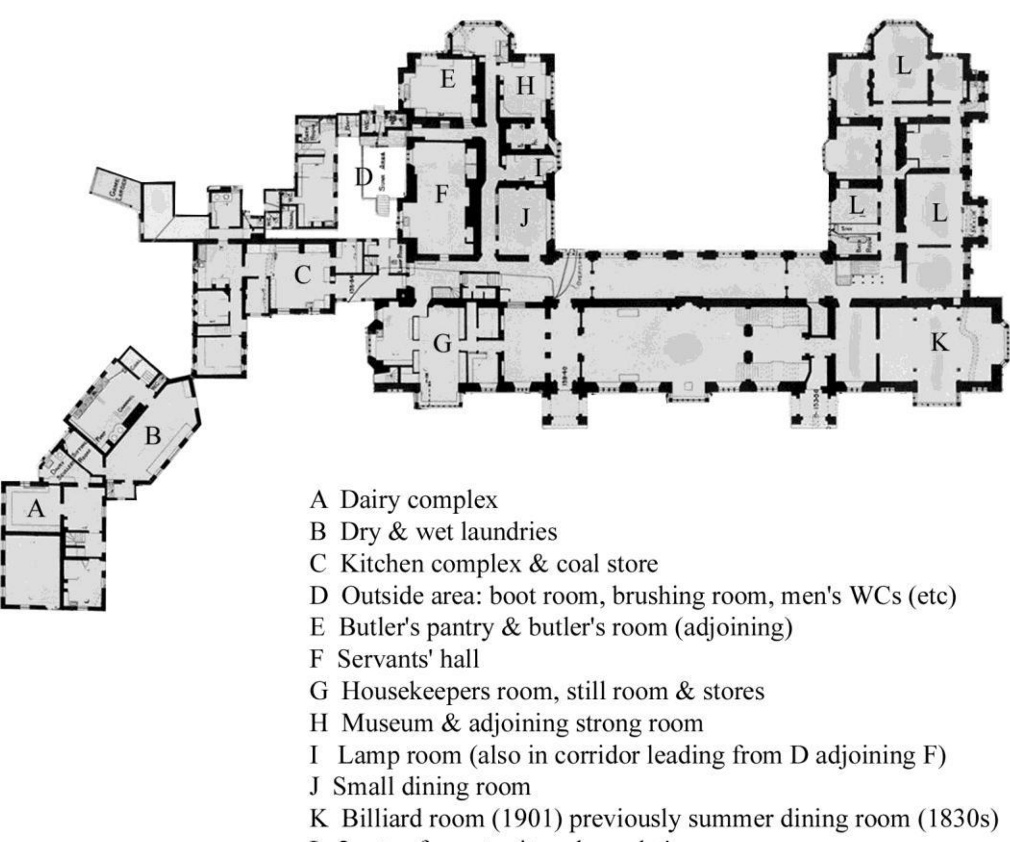



Figure 37: Post-1836 arrangement of Audley End

The reallocation of rooms on the upper floor for entertaining freed the lower floor for redevelopment. In the north wing (on the left of this plan), a corridor was added dividing the *block in two: the rooms to the left were servant*‟s rooms, while to the right were administrative rooms used by Lord Braybrooke.

Figure 38: Osborne House Kitchen Ledger (1897)

*The hierarchy of the royal household is illustrated visually across each double page spread. The Queen˝s menu is laid out as* it will be on her menu card at top left, with other groups arranged in order across the next page. See also appendix B.

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Double page spread from Osborne House dining ledger (English Heritage)

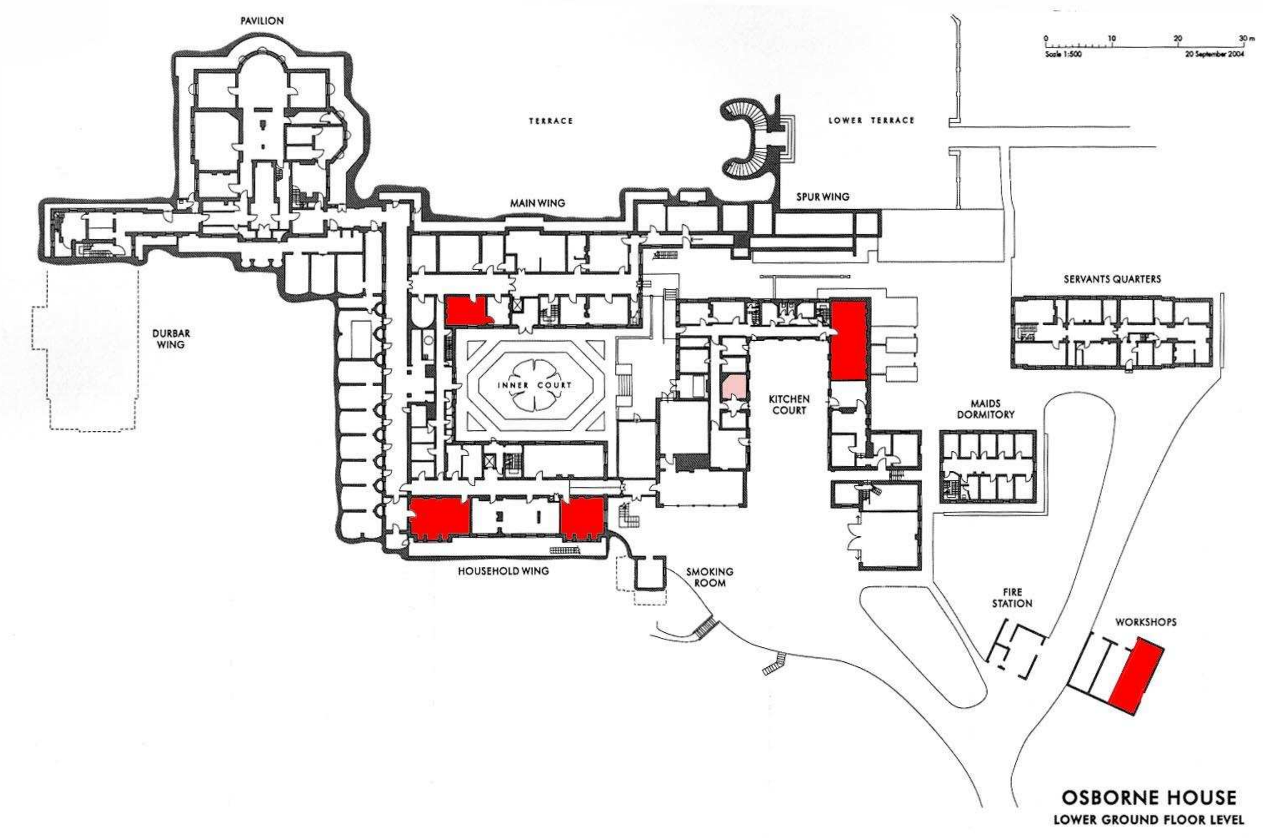


Figure 39: Osborne House, Isle of Wight, 2009

The rooms marked in red are those corresponding to named dining spaces for servants and staff in the 1897 ledger. That in pin *k is the possible cook˝s dining room mentioned* in the sources but not identified by the architectural survey. T*he Queen˝s and Household dining rooms were situated on the floor above. Plan after AHP* (2009 unpublished)

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Pictueres as detailed in captions.
English Heritage Photo Library.

Figure 40: *Osborne House: Queen"s dining room (late C19)*

Figure 41: Osborne House: Household dining room (late C19)

Both rooms contain the same elements: table and chairs, sideboards, pictures and rugs. The *higher status of the Queen s room is emphasised by the style and detail of both furnishings and the* room itself with its ornate ceiling mouldings.

Figure 42: *Osborne House: servants" hall in* former stables (late C19)

Figure 43: Osborne House: outside servants' hall (late C19)

In contrast to figs. 40 and 41, in these pictures neither sideboard nor decorative fixtures are present. Osborne was substantially rebuilt under Prince Albert in the 1840s, but its accommodation was never ideal for any but the royals themselves. Servants dined in many different spaces, even after the construction of two large servants "halls in 1861. This reflected the strict internal hierarchy of the Royal Household. Even the two spaces shown here are differentiated through use of bench length, decorative scheme and design and frequency of the cruet sets.

Figure 44: *Audley End: servants‟* hall fireplace

*The former servants hall is now one part of the tearooms, and as such the original fixtures and* fittings have been largely obscured by later alterations. The modern floor has been significantly raised above the original floor level, while the wall makes it difficult to ascertain exactly what remains of the fireplace, itself a conversion and part-replacement of a 1720s kitchen range.

Figure 45: *Audley End: housekeeper‟s room fireplace*

(left)This room also forms part of the modern day tearooms, with views out to the front lawn, river and cricket pitch. The fireplace, with its tiling and innocuous landscape above would not look out of place in a middle class parlour, which is one of the functio*ns of the housekeeper‟s room.*

Figure 46: Audley End: Dining Room fireplace

(right)The upper floor dining room was created out of two earlier rooms which were converted in the 1830s, and retain different friezes and ceiling mouldings. One fireplace is original, the other an copy. The arms are those of William III and Mary II. Care was taken by the 3rd Earl to retain a Jacobean feeling to the extent that the portraits around the walls were all seventeenth century sitters (Braybrooke 1836, 111-2) .

Figure 47: Harewood House: *servants"* hall fireplace

The limited decoration and iron material of the fireplace is similar to that at Audley, and is also a conversion, as indicated by the truncated side panels.
Picture included courtesy of the Earl and Countess of Harewood and the Harewood House Trust.

*This fireplace was also resited, from Adams long gallery to Barry s redesigned and heightened*

Figure 48: Harewood House: steward "s room fireplace

This may also have been brought from elsewhere, possibly Gawthorpe, one of the other Lascelles residences (Page 2009, *pers.comm). The steward"s room was relocated in the 1840s and it is not* certain exactly when this fireplace was installed.
Picture included courtesy of the Earl and Countess of Harewood and the Harewood House Trust.

Figure 49: Harewood House: dining room fireplace, 1840s-1980s dining room. In the 1980s the fireplace was reinstalled in the long gallery, and a replacement, possibly by William Kent, installed in the dining room in its place.

Picture included courtesy of the Earl and Countess of Harewood and the Harewood House Trust.

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See captions below.

Figure 50: Mary Ellen Best, *„My dining room at York", 1838 (Brown 1990)*

Figure 51: Washington Irving, „Christmas *dinner",* 1876 (Brears 1994, 95)

A la Française in a middle class context contrasts with an imagined scene of lordly jollity at Christmas. It is difficult to find visual depictions of à la Française in an English context, and this table errs towards the transition table.

Figure 52: Burroughes & Watts, *„A Billiard Table in Every Home!"* from The Queen, The Lady's Newspaper, March 30th 1889

Figure 53: Anon, engraving c.1870

The first illustration is intended to show the amazing conversion from billiard table to dining table, proving that the spirit of multi-functional rooms was flourishing among the readers of the *thoroughly middle class „The Queen . The lower height and relative scarcity of the wares on the* table contrasts with fig.53, indicative both of a lower social status and later period. Complaints about restrictive table furniture in the mid-late nineteenth century abounded,

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Illustration from Strong (2002), 268

Figure 54: Coalport dessert service (1830s). Harewood House, Yorkshire

Probably painted by Stephen Lawrence (Gallimore nd. unpublished), this set dates to the 1830s-40s and comprises pieces of various shapes in line with those illustrated on ideal table plans for service à la Française. Many of the pieces show signs of wear and tear, in particular cutlery marks and rubbing of gilt edges consistent with being carried or handed round. Several plates have been converted into tazzes (see figs.57- 58)

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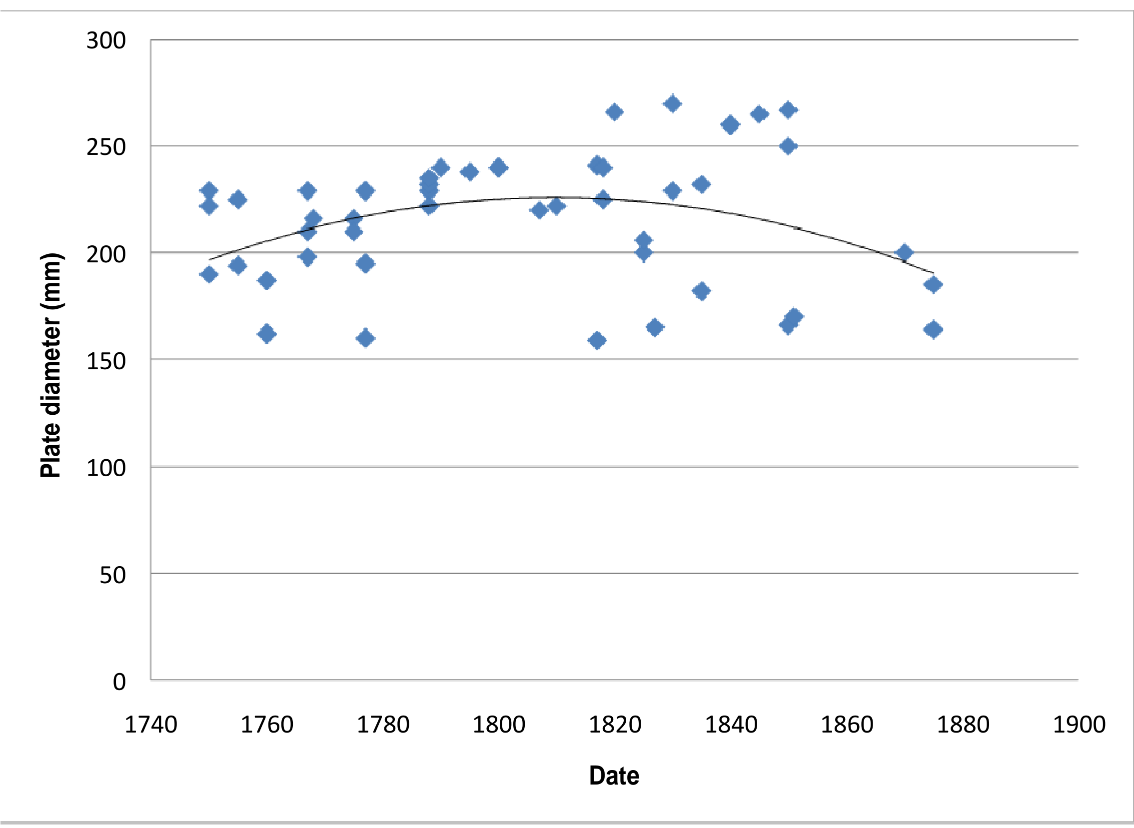
See captions below.

Figure 55: Nineteenth century dinner plates

(L-R) Coalport, c.1800-1850 (Norwich Castle Museum NWHCM1937:101D, © Norfolk Museums & Archaeology Service); Wedgwood c.1830 (Norwich Castle Museum NWHCM1921:118D, © Norfolk Museums & Archaeology Service); Wedgwood 1891-1900 (Museum of London A1123)




Graph 2: Diameter of plates in the collection of Norwich Castle Museum (NMAS 2007)

Although based on a relatively small sample size (46 items) the general trend illustrated here supports data from Harewood House (Gray 2004 unpublished) indicating that plate sizes decreased slightly from the 1860s. Prior to that size increases slightly, perhaps an indication that larger plates from standard sets were initially used for serving dishes à la Russe before services were redeveloped for the new style to include dining plates and chargers as separate categories..

Figure 56: Complementary Harewood dinner services

(L-R) Meissen feuilles-de-choux, late eighteenth century ; Sèvres feuilles-de-choux c.1762-1776 ; Derby part dinner service designed to match the earlier Sèvres set, and probably available off-the-peg (Gallimore 2006, pers.comm), 1784-1811. Picture included courtesy of the Earl and Countess of Harewood and the Harewood House Trust.

Figure 57: Coalport botanical dessert service plate converted into tazze, Harewood House, Yorkshire.
Picture included courtesy of the Earl and Countess of Harewood and the Harewood House Trust.

Figure 58: Coalport botanical dessert service plate converted into tazze, Harewood House, Yorkshire – detail
Picture included courtesy of the Earl and Countess of Harewood and the Harewood House Trust.

The conversion, probably in the 1870s, of several plates of differing shapes from the Coalport dessert service, is an indication of the way in which the material culture of the table was adapted as serving styles changed. Even tables set à la Française had plates at different levels by the 1860s, and this conversion not only meant the Lascelles could show awareness of current trends, but importantly still use family ceramics. This single artefact embodies the tension between popular fashion and retention of old values and patina.

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Comport (tazze) from Bosomworth, as per caption.

Figure 59: Staffordshire tazze, 1823-27, Harewood House, Yorkshire

In common with most of the Harewood collection, this service is incomplete, whether through breakage or because only some pieces were purchased. It complements the Meissen and Derby dinner services – and indeed most of the ceramic collection – in both colour and pattern.
Picture included courtesy of the Earl and Countess of Harewood and the Harewood House Trust.

Figure 60: *Tazze, from Silber and Fleming"s Catalogue of Household Goods (Bosomworth 19*91, 185)

The fluted shape and floral decoration of this tazze echoes the lines of the converted dessert plate (above). Pieces like this were available to match or complement china services elsewhere in the catalogue. They were used for the display of dried or crystallised fruit and nuts which were the sole food items to remain on the table throughout the meal à la Russe.

Figures and tables

Figure 61: P*late used for servants‟ di*ning, Audley End House, Essex

Figure 62: S*teward‟s room plate, Harewood House, Yorkshire*

These plates are characteristic of corporate designs in the late nineteenth century. That of Harewood is probably Staffordshire-produced, and similar plates also exist for the nursery. It also includes serving *platters suitable for the large roast or boiled meats which characterised servants‟* meals. Both plates show signs of wear, with that of Audley particularly well-handled.

# Chapter 5

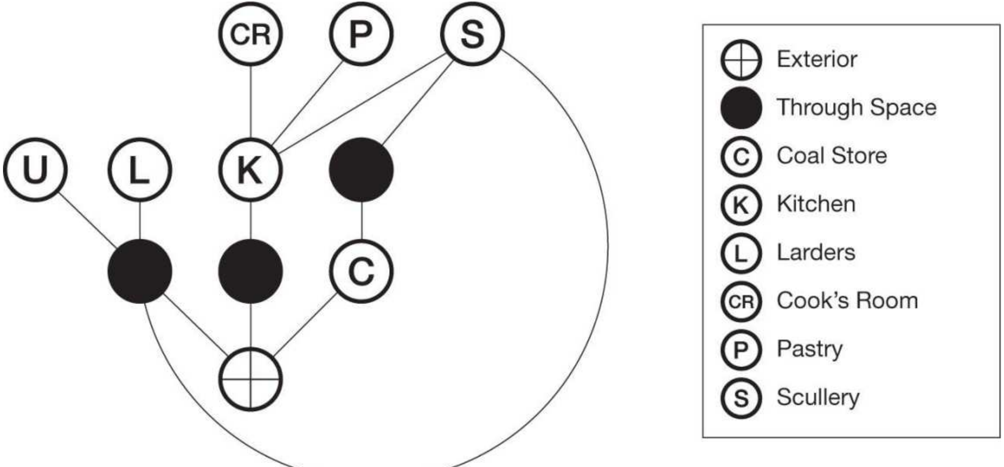


Figure 63: Justified gamma map of Audley End kitchen complex, 1904

This plan illustrates the way in which kitchens acted as hubs for the machinery of culinary *preparation. What it does not show is the complexity of viewing access: the cook s room acted as a* viewing platform for the entire complex, making it the control room for the whole.

Figure 64: Audley End House service wing (1904 drainage map)

[Over page]. This plan was probably prepared for the renting out of Audley as Braybrooke fortunes suffered at the end of the nineteenth century. The kitchen and auxiliary offices were constructed in the 1760s along with the model dairy, while the laundry joined them in two phases, c.1780 and c.1816. A fire in 1881 necessitated some reconstruction, but while traditionally the *cook"s* room has been attributed to this phase, it is clearly marked on a plan of c.1816 and was almost certainly constructed as part of the original building and with a male cook in mind.

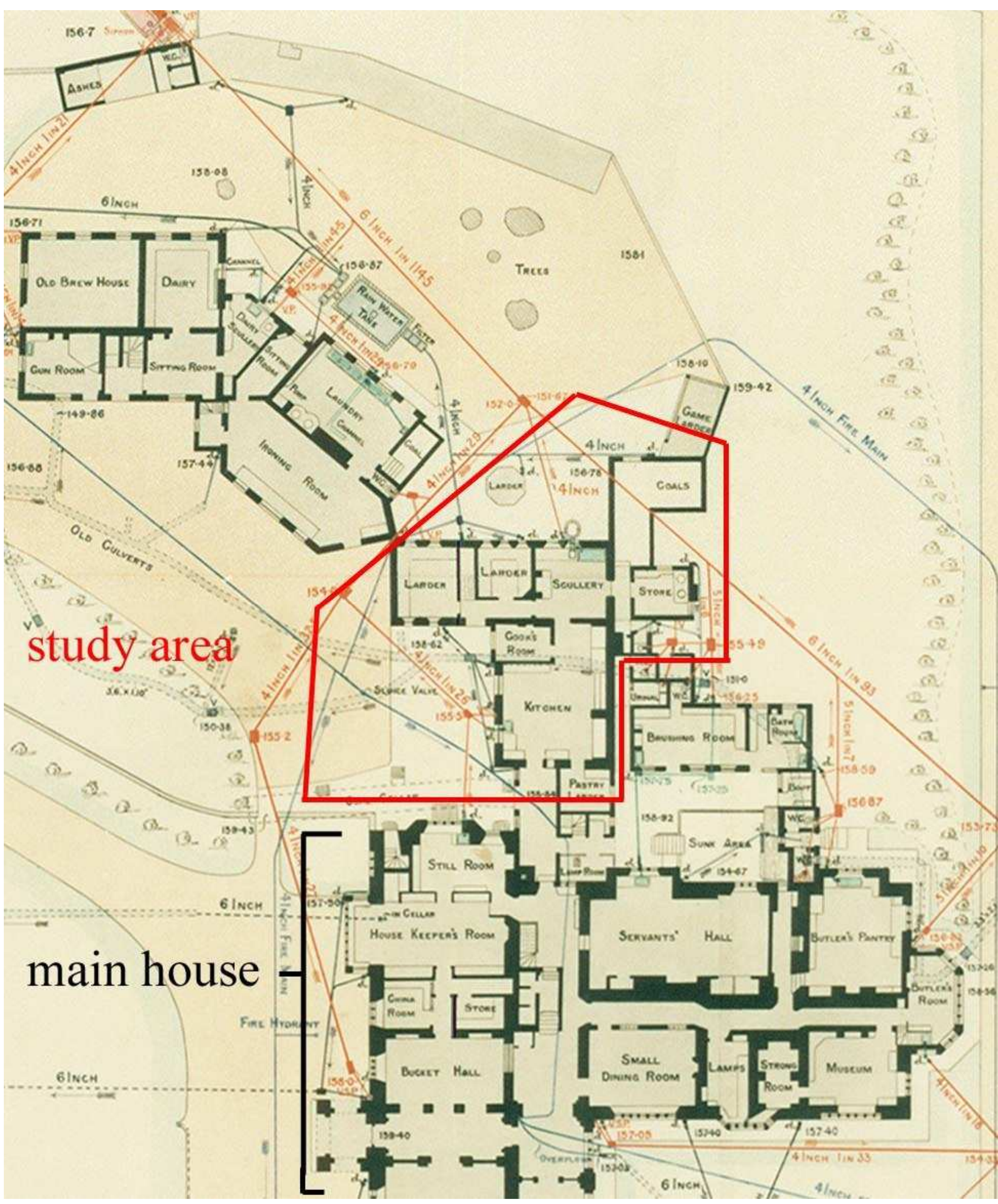
study area
main house
Ashes
Old Brew House
Dairy
Gun Room
Sitting Room
Laundry
Ironing Room
Rain Water Tank
Trees
Game Larder
Coals
Larder
Larder
Scullery
Store
Cook's Room
Kitchen
Pastry
Brushing Room
Bath Room
Still Room
House Keeper's Room
China Room
Store
Bucket Hall
Servants' Hall
Butler's Pantry
Butler's Room
Small Dining Room
Lamps
Strong Room
Museum
Sunk Area
Old Culverts
Sluice Valve
Fire Hydrant
4 Inch Fire Main
6 Inch
4 Inch

Figure 65: Audley End House: *cook‟s r*oom

This view is one which would have been familiar to kitchen maids passing from the kitchen to the scullery, which is to be found to the right of the picture. From the window can be seen the outside entrance to the larders and upstairs areas, while a window just visible on the left gives an interior view of the kitchen itself as well as over to the pastry room. When a male cook was kept it would have been furnished as a bedroom and office.

Figure 66: Audley End House: kitchen

Within the kitchen the table is a focal point and dominates the room. In the background here can *be seen the dresser and, just behind the character‟s shoulder, the internal window from the cook‟s* room. To the far right is the entry to the scullery. T*he door to the cook‟s* room is on the left just after the dresser.

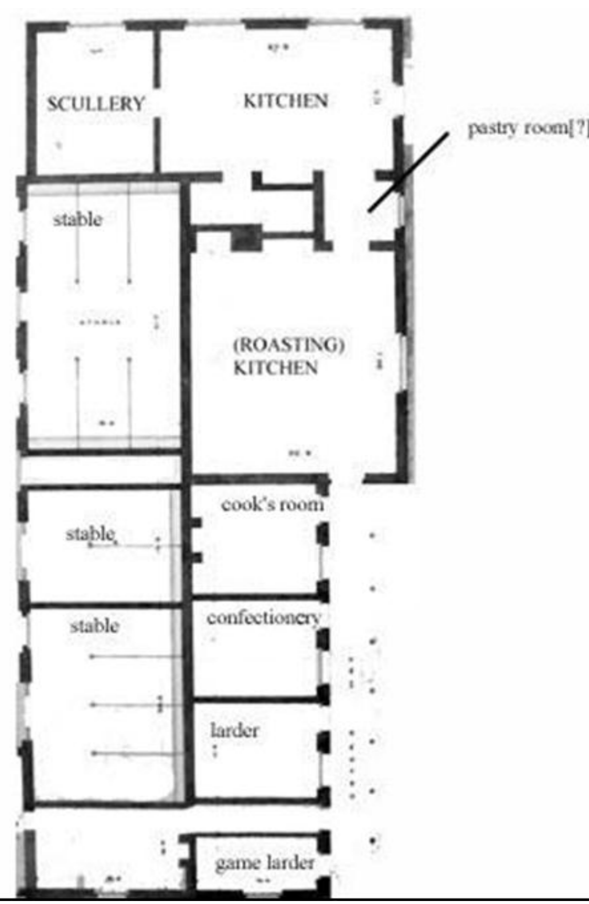


Figure 67: Osborne House kitchens, c.1845-61, after Cubitt (c.1844)

The rebuilding of Osborne to render it suitable for royal residence encompassed the demolition of most of the eighteenth century house which stood on the site when Victoria and Albert bought it. The former stable block was retained, however, and became the basis of a service wing. A new kitchen complex was wrapped around the stables, with access to the main house via a short exterior passage and basement corridor. After 1861 the stables were resited and the former stables converted into a scullery and other associated rooms. The kitchen was then enlarged to fill the space labelled here as the scullery, and the partition wall removed.

Figure 68: Osborne kitchens, c.1874

This view looks north to the exterior door leading to the main house. To the right on the east wall can be seen a bank of gas ovens and a hastener (fire screen) in front of an open fire. The spit mechanism above it indicates that it was used for roasting. An adjoining roasting kitchen was probably also solid fuel-fired.

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Osborne Kitchens, 1870s. English Heritage Photo Library.

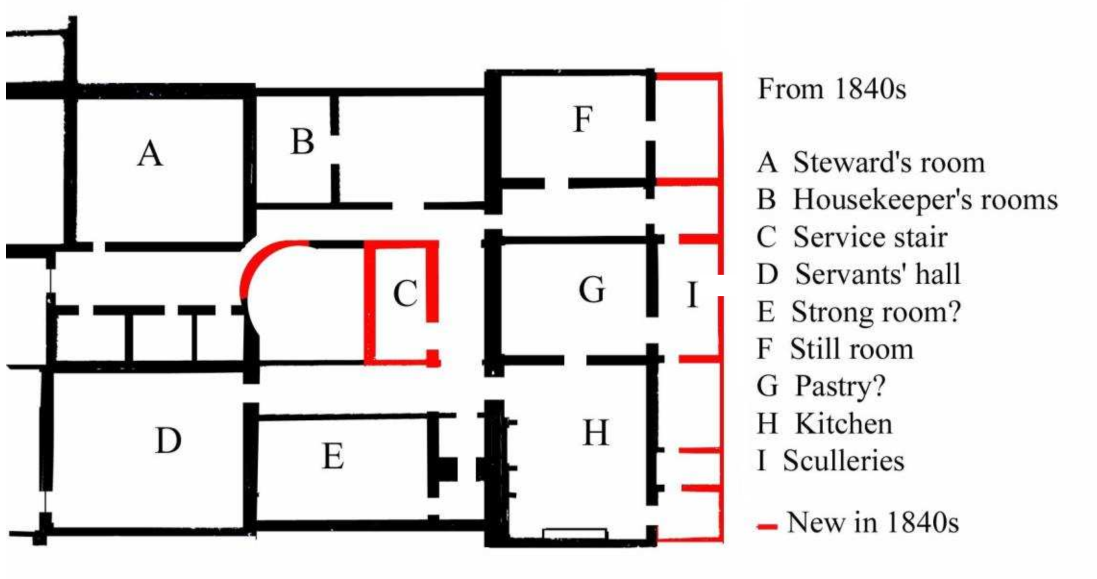



Figure 69: Harewood house service wing, c.1840 onwards

This simplified plan shows the approximate use of rooms from the Barry alterations of the 1840s. No plans survive for the service wing other than a proposed plan from which room use prior to *1840 can be interpreted. Rooms A and B were related to the steward and butler*"*s roles, possibly including pantries. F and G were within the housekeeper*"*s* domain, while E held sculleries with an *outside entrance. The servants*" *hall (D) was smaller. As shown on fig.3*1, the inner courtyard bordering C was reduced in size to incorporate a resited service stair (C), but overall light levels seem to have been improved despite the addition of the scullery extension which blocked natural light from the kitchens on the west front.
Included courtesy of the Earl and Countess of Harewood and the Harewood House Trust.

Figure 70*: Harewood House: cook*"s room entrance stair.
Picture included courtesy of the Earl and Countess of Harewood and the Harewood House Trust.
Figure 71: Harewood House: view *from cook*"s room window (one of two) into kitchen.
Picture included courtesy of the Earl and Countess of Harewood and the Harewood House Trust.

To the left of the stair is the kitchen door and the window from which fig. 71 is taken. Underneath is the door to the sculleries. A window just inside the upstairs door looks onto the access path, giving the cook the same panoptican-like *outlook as the cook*"*s room at Audley, but with* separation from the immediate environment of the workplace as at Osborne House.

Figure 72*: Stuffed boar*"s head, 1888 and 2009

The head on the left *is a detail from a photograph of Queen Victoria s sideboard, 25*th December 1888. That on the right was cooked by the author using modern equipment but roughly following *Francatelli s (1896, 377*-79) recipe and advice. The eyes were peeled radishes with a black olive *held in place with a cocktail stick and the tusks were carved potatoes. Carme*"*s version (Day* 2009, 120-*121) reused the animal*"*s own tusks, but this being a pig rather than a boar, the option* was not available.

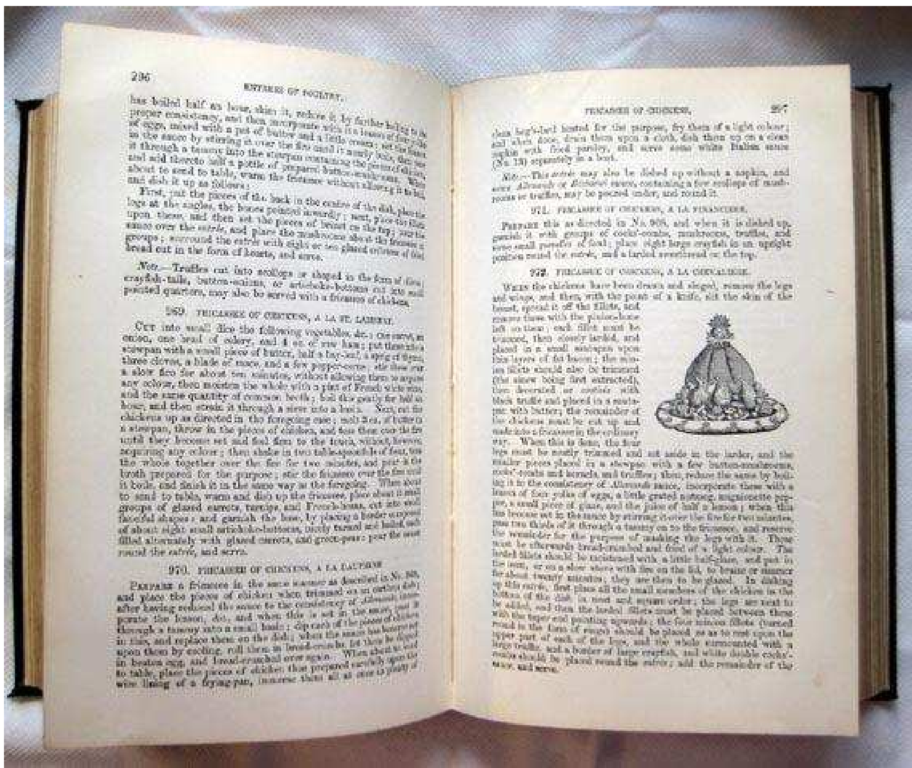
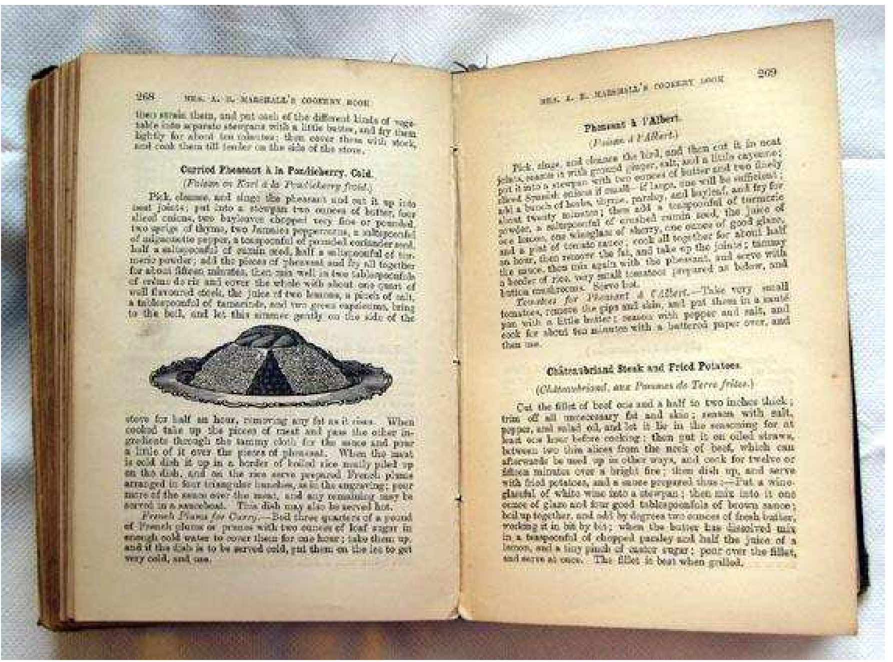


Figure 73: Double page spread from Francatelli (1896, 296-7)

Figure 74: Double page spread from Marshall (c.1888, 296-7)

*Francatelli"s Modern Cook was very similar in layout to his rival Soyer"s* equally upmarket Gastronomic Regenerator. Clear line drawings enlivened occasional pages, while the recipes were laid out as single paragraphs. Titles were given in pigeon English, with a glossary to aid in *formulating a French menu. Marshall"s Cookery Book used very similar conventions in l*ayout and ordering, though she was less caustic about English cooks.



268 MRS. A. B. MARSHALL'S COOKERY BOOK

Curried Pheasant à la Pondicherry. Cold.

Pheasant à l'Albert.

Châteaubriand Steak and Fried Potatoes.

269

## Chapter 6

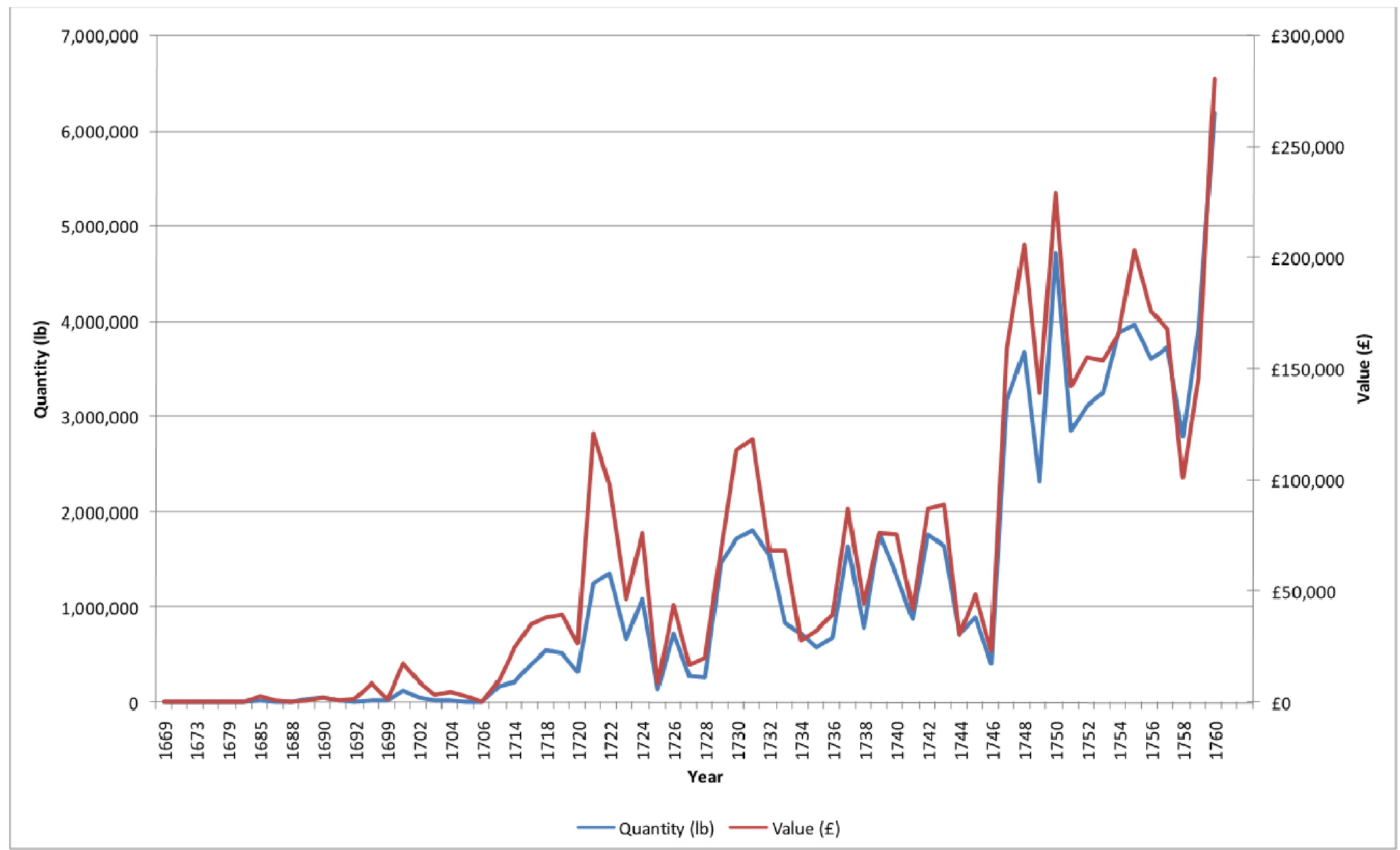
This text box is where the unabridged thesis included the following third party copyrighted material :

See caption below.

Figure 75: *„A Tea Party, or English Manners and French Politeness" R.C Feat[?] 1835. (*Lewis Walpole Library)

This illustration is of a story which is told in various forms in both contemporary and modern commentary. The bandy-legged Frenchman, leaping from the table with a full bladder after consuming 13 cups of tea in succession, is crying for mercy. His mistake lay in not knowing the English custom, specific to that time and quite probably that particular social circle, of indicating that he had had enough by leaving the spoon in his cup. Other ways of stopping eager hostesses refilling cups included turning the bowl upside down and laying the spoon across the cup (Pettigrew 2001).

Graph 3: Chinese tea imported by the East India Company, 1660-1760 (after Chaudhuri 1978).



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See caption below.

Figure 76: J. Van Aken (c.1720), An English Family at Tea.

This family displays both ceramics and their silver kettle. The tall cups on the table have the shape characteristic of chocolate cups, and derived from early cocoa-pod cups. The servant entering on the right carries a chocolate pot, using tablets prepared elsewhere, while the tea *chest open at the mistress" feet indicates the care taken to retain control of the tea*-making process. © Tate London 2006

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See caption below.

Figure 77: The Tea Table, c.1710 (Lewis Walpole Library)

Truth and Justice are banished by Eloquence in the background (Brown 1995, 78), while the women idle away their time regardless. The lack of servants seems to suggest intimacy and privacy; the male heads at the window belie this.

This text box is where the unabridged thesis included the following third party copyrighted material :

See caption below.

Figure 78: The Coffee-House Mob, 1710 (Cowan 2005, 227)

This picture not only illustrates the negative view of coffee, as an anti-social, inflammatory influence, but also shows the presence of women in such establishments – a presence which was the focus for much masculine agonising over the nature of women and sociability (Clery 1991; Clery 2004; Cowan 2005)

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See caption below.

Figure 79: R. Collins (attr.), c.1727. A Family of Three at Tea. (V &A)

In addition to indicating the volume and mixture of plate and ceramics used in the tea ceremony at this date, this picture is also interesting in depicting three different ways of holding the teabowl. Porcelain bowls of this type were so thin as to be translucent, and the heat from the tea would have made them difficult to hold. The masculine figure in the centre may therefore be holding an empty cup.

This text box is where the unabridged thesis included the following third party copyrighted material :

View of the Tea Gardens at Bayswater (detail) – Lewis Walpole Library

Figure 80: View of the Tea Gardens at Bayswater (detail) (1796) (Lewis Walpole Library)

Mixed sociability was available through the pleasure gardens, in existence since the seventeenth century, but now rebranded as tea gardens in attempt to shake off the sinister reputations some of them had gained (Conlin 2006). As can be seen here, they were not entirely successful, although it did lead to an increase in visitor numbers as their class appeal broadened.

This text box is where the unabridged thesis included the following third party copyrighted material :

Rowlandson – Miseries Personal, copied from Pettigrew 2001, 65

Figure 81: Rowlandson (1807) Miseries Personal (Pettigrew 2001, 65)

The contrast between the ladies, waiting patiently for their gentlemen to attend them for after-dinner tea and coffee, and the men, finally joining them after several bottles of wine, pokes fun at feminine refinement. Most of the men, including the liveried manservant, are sloshing tea all over themselves. It must be said that with the exception of the central female figure, most of the others seem amused.

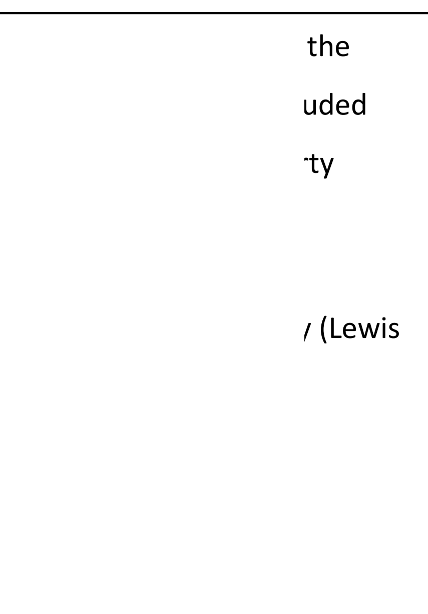

Figure 82: Genuine Tea Company (1825) (Lewis Walpole Library)

As tea became the national drink, it continued to provide fuel for satirists. Here the ragged set-up plays on fears of the idle working classes, aping their superiors, though physically excluded from the spaces they occupied. All of the elements visible in fig.81 are present here, including the dog. Dogs and cats often feature in this type of satire, sometimes as onlookers, but equally often being scalded or otherwise abused by the unheeding tea-drinkers above them.

Figure 83*: Breakfast, 1885 from The Girl*"s Own Paper

The middle class breakfast setting shown here matches etiquette book advice. The mistress of the house sits at the head of the table, commanding the hot water urn and tea pot. The lone male is absorbed in his newspaper, ignoring womanly gossip as the central character divulges the contents of an exciting letter. Although the food is all upon the table at the same time, the place settings and ready-portioned foods are clearly those of à la Russe. (Thorne 1885)

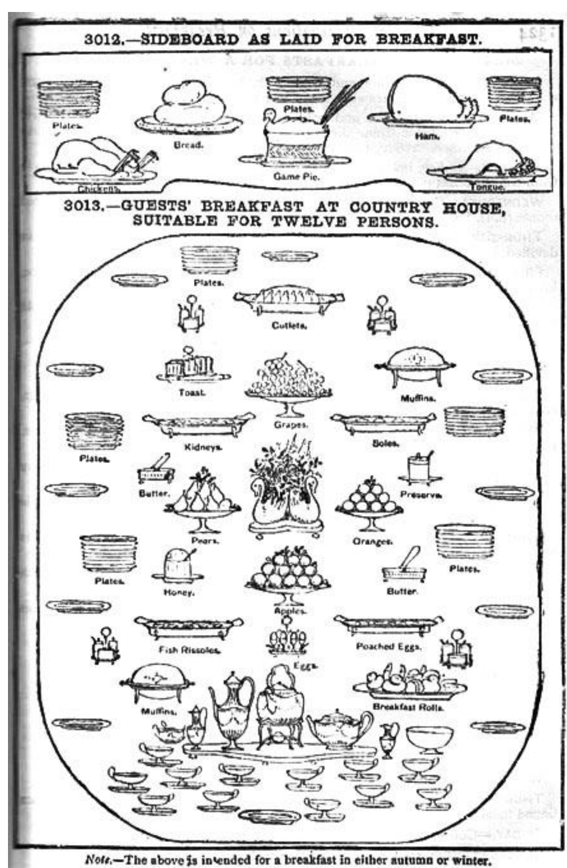


Figure 84: Breakfast (Beeton 1888, 1323)

According to Beeton (1888, 1317), English hostesses were guilty of providing repetitive breakfasts, lacking in variety. It is unlikely anyone at this table would complain on these counts. The teawares are all arranged so that the mistress of the house can easily distribute the beverages. The cups bear a resemblance in shape to fig. 94 and are unlikely to be of English origin.

Figure 85: Afternoon Tea (Beeton 1888, 1439)

In the idealised household interior of the 1880s, the hostess hands the milk while a butler stands by with sweet accompaniments. Flowers in pots, knick-knacks and teawares are all used to as archaeologically recoverable ways to measure Victorian gentility, especially in urban environments, albeit with an American bias (Fitts 1999).

Figure 86: High Tea Table (Beeton 1888, 1438)

High tea was defined by the presence of meat, and could be a substantial meal. Although it started life as a lower class meal, it was adopted by the middle classes, named, and given the form shown here. This depiction resembles the Supper Table shown in figs.29 and 30 and shares with it the illusion of à la Française within an à la Russe mindset.

Figure 87: Sardine Eggs (Mellish 1901)

This dish was part of a high tea menu that also comprised pressed beef, prune shapes and lemon buns. Mellish gave each of her menus in French and English, and the lavish colour illustrations which would have made the book costly to produce indicate the wealthy market she was aiming at. Fussy, small finger food was typical of late Victorian and early Edwardian teas.

Figure 88: A Jubilee Dinner at Minehead (Somerset County Council)

The Victorian era saw an increasing number of organised public celebrations for key points in *the Queen"s reign. Charitable giving had become part of the middle class ethos, and large*-scale meals and teas for the deserving poor (often specifically children and/or the elderly) were held in villages and towns across the country.

## Chapter 7

Graph 4: Teawares listed in Don (1807) and Castleford (1796) pattern books

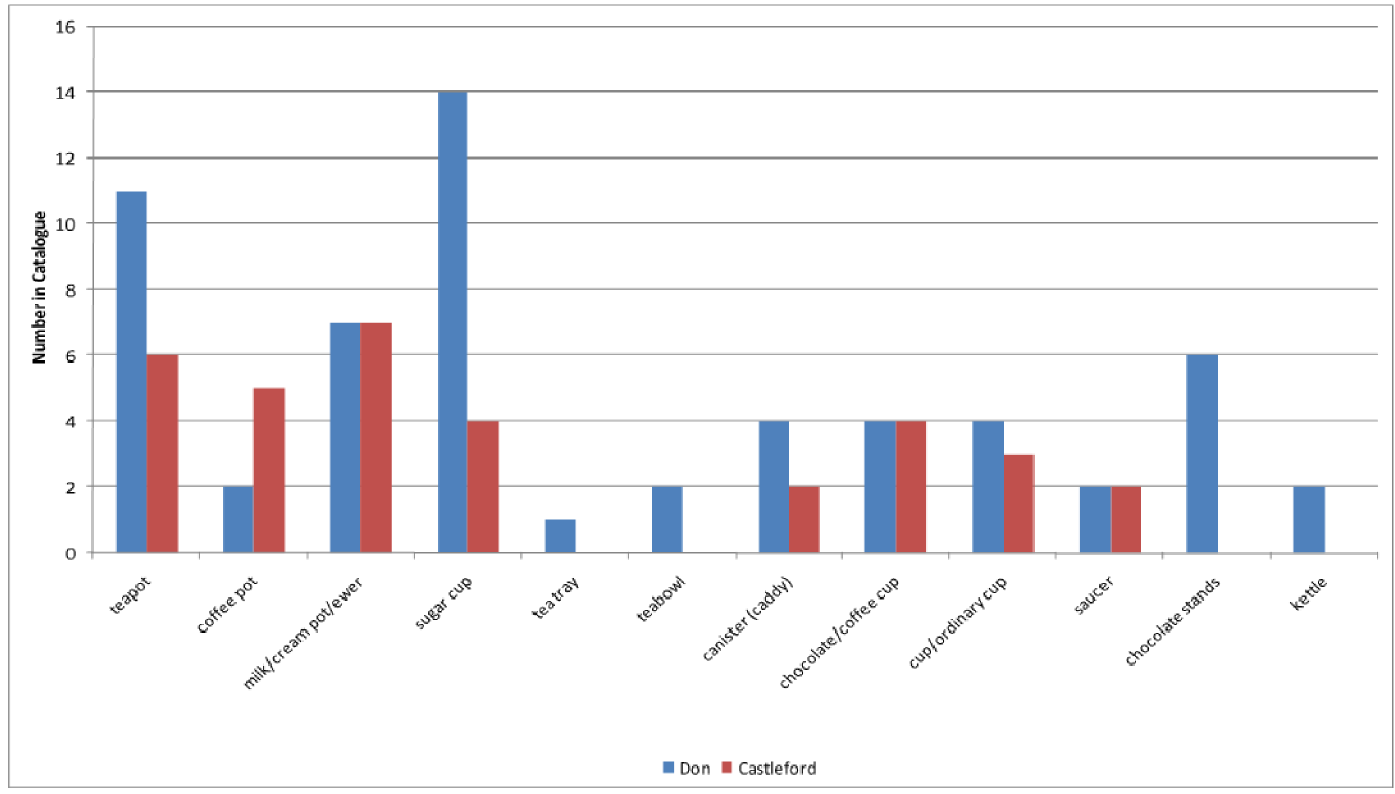

Figure 89: Don Pottery Pattern Book (1807): *Teapot no. 45, „Octagon Ornamented"*

The design on this pot is characteristic of the classically-influenced styles of the turn of the nineteenth century. Similar designs may be seen form other manufacturers, including those in black basalt ware by Wedgwood and other leading factories. This example is listed as being part of a set which comprised: teapot, cream jug, sugar cup and a punch jug, indicating that it was intended for use after dinner.

Figure 90: Teabowl (unknown maker, 1820s) YMT 161.74.

The join in this early transfer printed design can clearly be seen. This is a cheap cup – a simple one-colour print – and at first glance reminiscent of Chinese export porcelain. However, the scene depicted is contemporary, showing male and female figures walking in a landscape scattered with classical ruins.

Figure 91: Teapot (Neale, 1785) NWCHM: 1992.226.231

Black basalt ware flourished briefly between 1880 and 1820. It emphasised the whiteness of *ladies hands as they handled the pot.. The English lion final contrasts neatly with the chinoiserie* still evident in the shape of the tree within the cartouche. Picture © Norfolk Museums & Archaeology Service

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Picture from Pettigrew 2003, 122

Figure 92: Tea on the lawn (Pettigrew 2003, 122)

This Edwardian photograph contains all the elements of late Victorian afternoon tea: the foldable tea-table and cake stand, the matching equipage and a touch of silver in the form of the kettle. It is reminiscent of the conversation pieces of the early eighteenth century, redolent with ease and luxury, and intrinsically exclusive.

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Figure 93: Moustache cup, unknown maker. C.1880-1900. *Inscription reads „A present from Bleaunaufestiniog[?]"* YORCH( unaccessioned)

Figure 94: Cup and saucer. Unknown maker, possibly Austrian or Italian. 1830-50. YORCH116-69

Figure 95: Cup belonging to tea set, unknown maker. Commemorative, showing Queen Victoria and family, 1842. YORCH332.79

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Picture from Pettigrew (2001, 142)

Figure 96: Lady choosing teapots, early nineteenth century (Pettigrew 2001, 142)

The variety of items available is well-illustrated here: a pear-shaped pot, two globular pots of different sizes and a barrel or drum-shaped example are fairly typical of the forms on offer at the time.

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Figure 97: Worcester soft paste porcelain painted mug with Chinese pastoral scene, 1750-1759. NWCHM: 1976.207.105

Figure 98: Bone china printed mug commemorating the Great Exhibition, Unknown maker, 1851. NWCHM: 1968.1040.2.

Both of the above © Norfolk Museums & Archaeology Service

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Figure 99: Martin Bros. earthenware mug with applied Norwich banner and city arms decoration, 1891. NWCHM: 1966.42

© Norfolk Museums & Archaeology Service

Figure 100: Anstice, Horton & Rose bone *china „Empire" teacup*, c.1811-1820. NWCHM:1997.192

Dimensions: 53(h)x95(w)mm. Picture © Norfolk Museums & Archaeology Service

Figure 101: Bone china teacup, unknown maker, 1800-20. YORCH:123.70.

Dimensions: 57(h)x80(w)mm

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Figure 102: Liverpool tea bowl with English (or British) scene, c.1805. YORCH: AA10124-5.

Figure 103: Lowestoft globular teapot, 1770s. Pattern category: floral. NWCHM: 1946.70.688.
Picture © Norfolk Museums & Archaeology Service

Figure 104: Staffordshire rococo/pear teapot, 1840s. Pattern category: print/scene – pastoral – floral. NWCHM: 1992.226.1025.
Picture © Norfolk Museums & Archaeology Service

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Figure 105: Wedgwood creamware square teapot, 1750s. Pattern category: domestic – fauna – crest. NWCHM: 1938.139.8.

Picture © Norfolk Museums & Archaeology Service

Figure 106: Minton moulded flora/fauna teapot, 1880s. Pattern category: fauna. NWCHM: 1992.226.1291.

Picture © Norfolk Museums & Archaeology Service

Figure 107: Neale redware drum/barrel teapot, 1780s. Pattern category: Marine – floral – classical. NWCHM: 1992.226.344.

Picture © Norfolk Museums & Archaeology Service

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Please see individual captions for details of items and collections in which they reside.

Figure 108: Beleek kettle shaped teapot, 1870s. Pattern category: floral – fauna. NWCHM: 1992.226.1137.

Picture © Norfolk Museums & Archaeology Service

Figure 109: Minton oval/London teapot, 1800s. Pattern category: Chinese – pastoral – other (hunting). NWCHM: 1992.226.1973.

Picture © Norfolk Museums & Archaeology Service

Figure 110: *Copeland and Garrett „Cadogan" teapot (technological), 1840s. Pattern category:* floral. YORCH: 2005.217b.

Figure 111: Lowestoft teapot, 1760s. Pattern category: Chinese – pastoral. NWCHM: 1946.70.610.

Picture © Norfolk Museums & Archaeology Service

Figure 112: Lowestoft teapot, 1760s. Pattern category: Chinese – domestic. NWCHM: 1946.70.40.

Picture © Norfolk Museums & Archaeology Service

Figure 113: Teapot, unknown maker, 1842. Pattern category: print/scene – commemorative – floral. YORCH: 332.79.

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Please see individual captions for details of items and collections in which they reside.

Figure 114: Teapot, unknown maker, 1860s. Pattern category: plain/limited. NWCHM: 1992.226.113.4.

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Figure 115: Edge Malkin teapot, 1880s. Pattern category: plain/limited – reeded. NWCHM: 1992.226.1906.

Picture © Norfolk Museums & Archaeology Service

Figure 116: Teapot, unknown maker, 1870s. Pattern category: print/scene – souvenir. Possibly produced on the continent and painted in the UK. NWCHM: 2002.121.7.

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Figure 117: Teapot, unknown maker, 1860s. Pattern category: floral - abstract. NWCHM: 1992.226.1435.

Picture © Norfolk Museums & Archaeology Service

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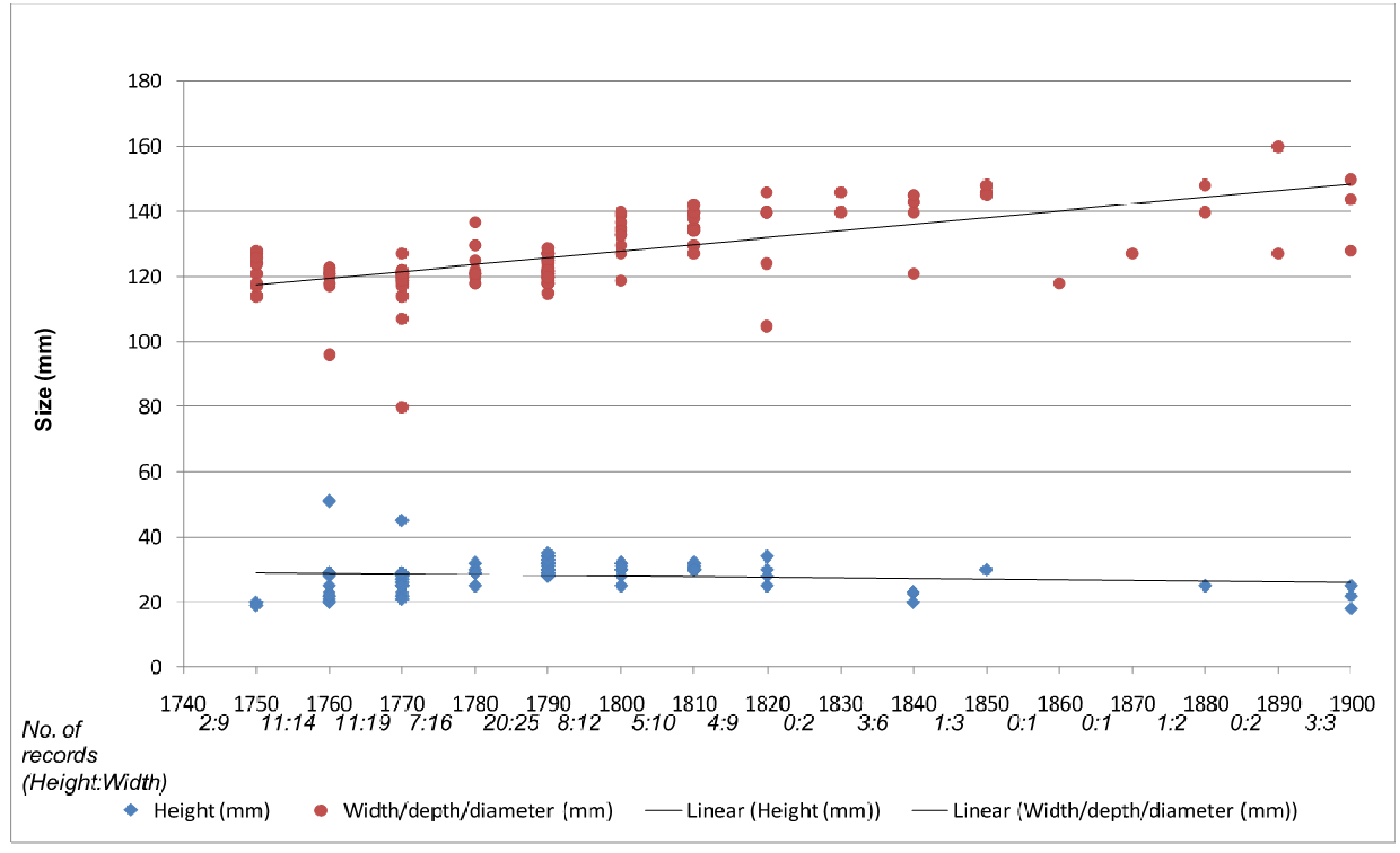
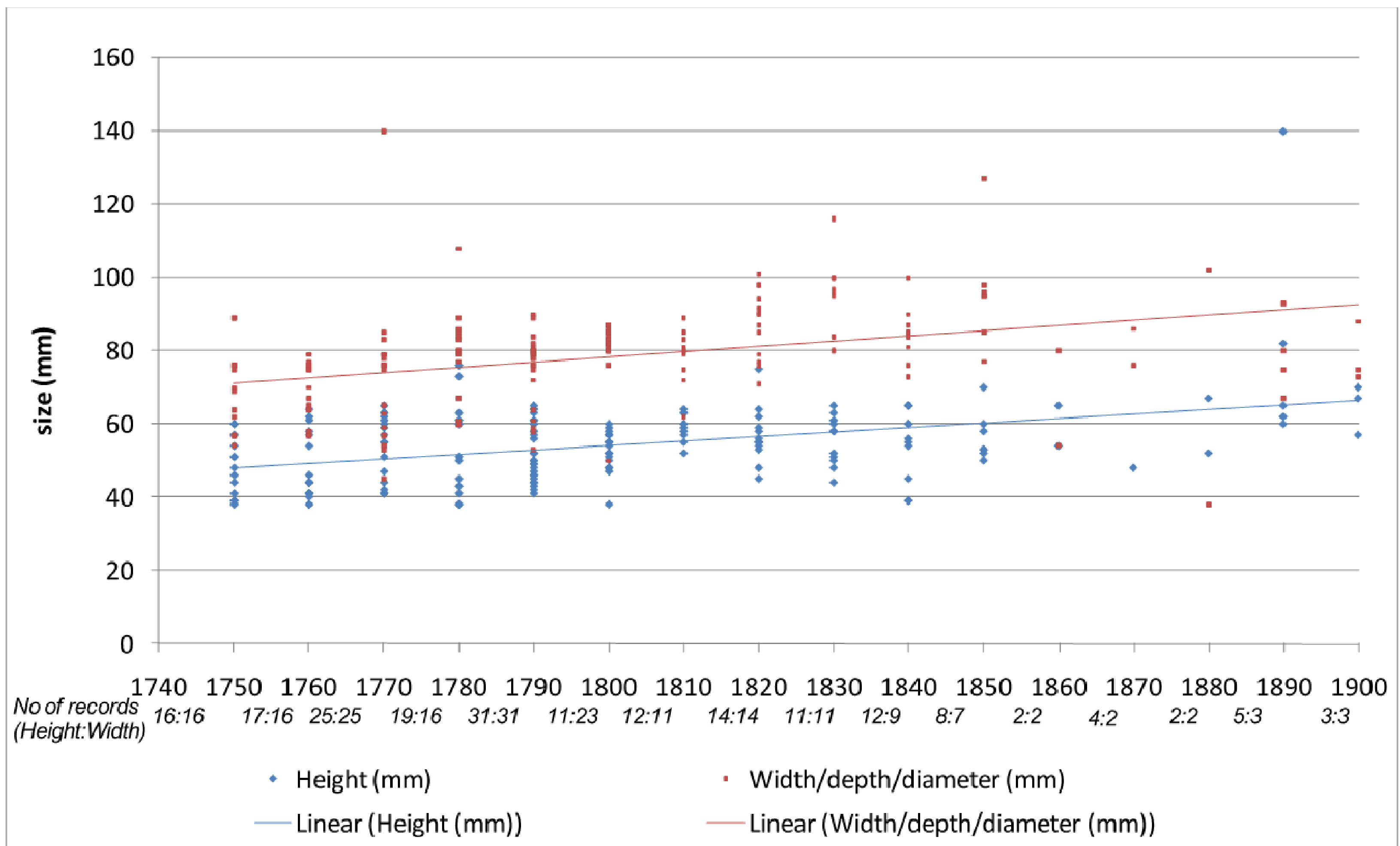
Graphs for chapter 7

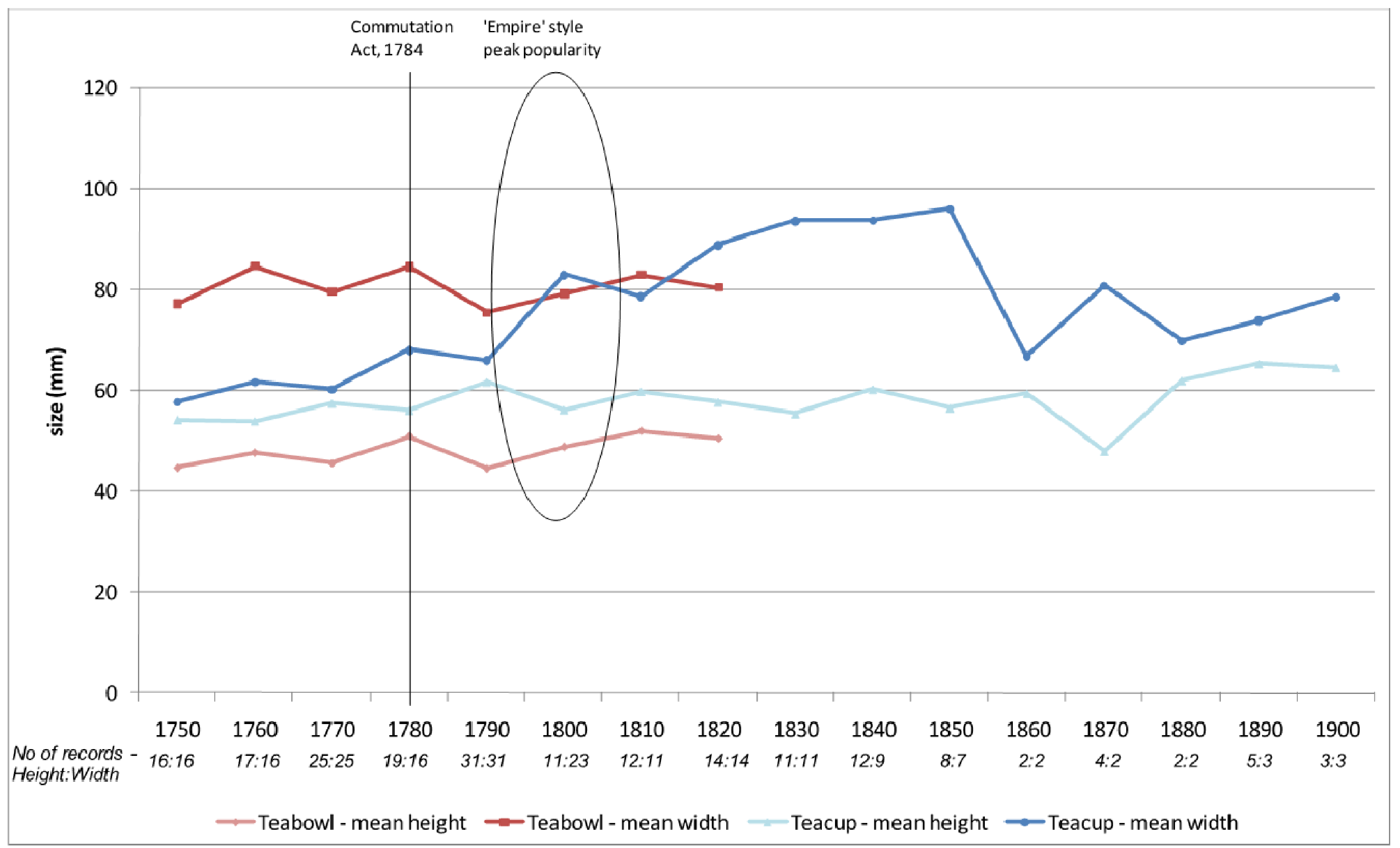
Graph 5: Saucers: size



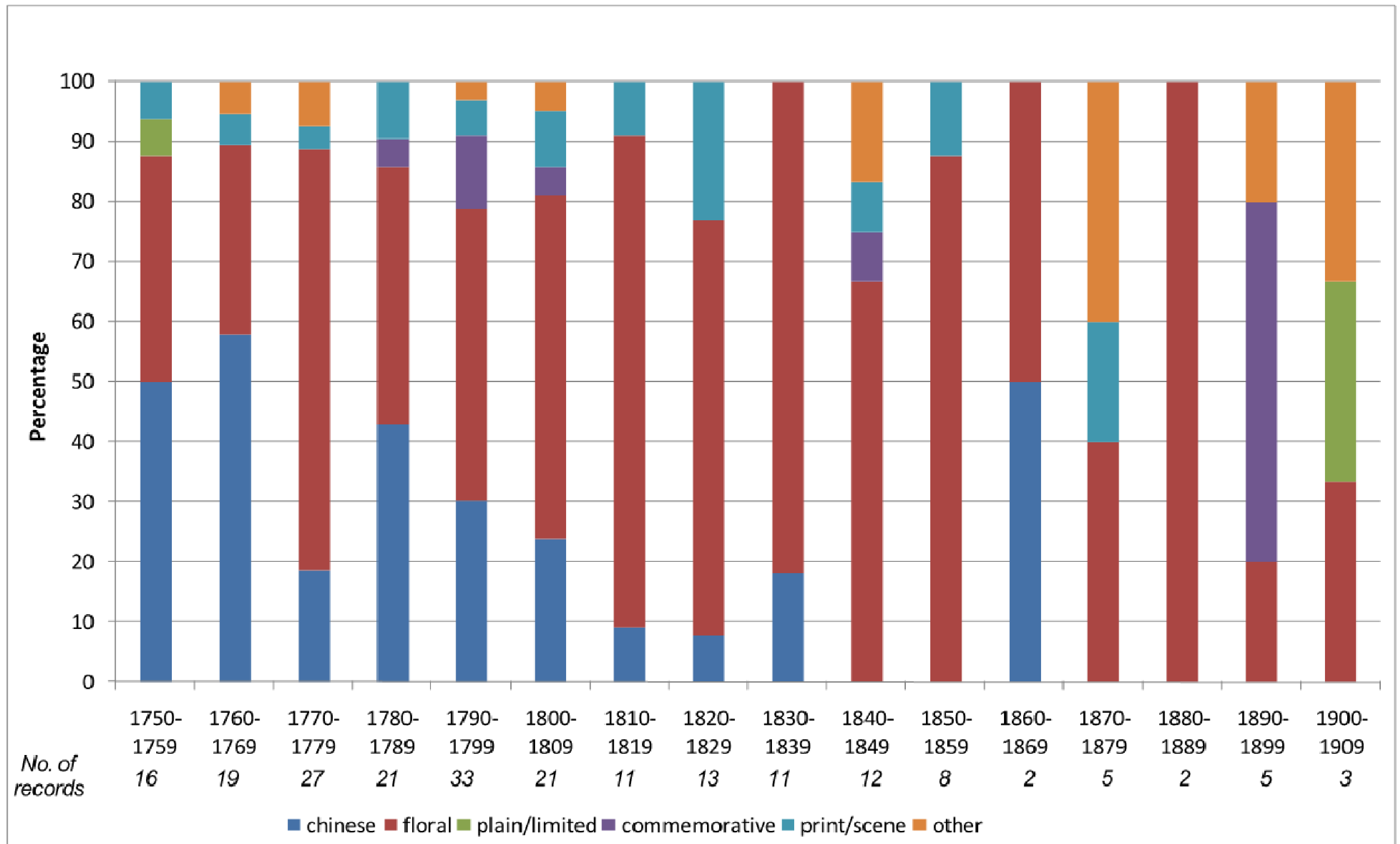
Graph 6: All tea drinking vessels: size



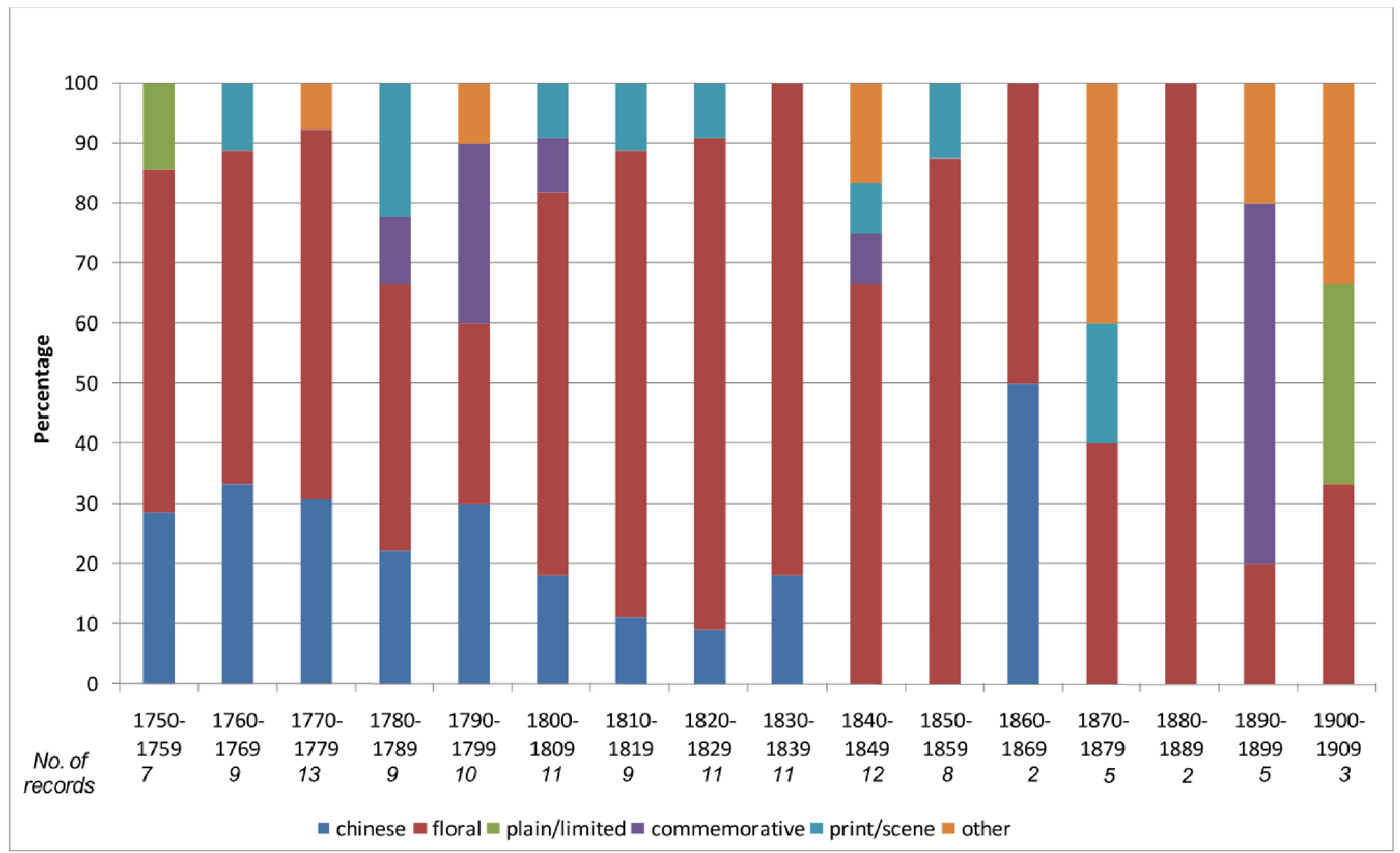
Graph 7: All tea drinking vessels: mean height and width



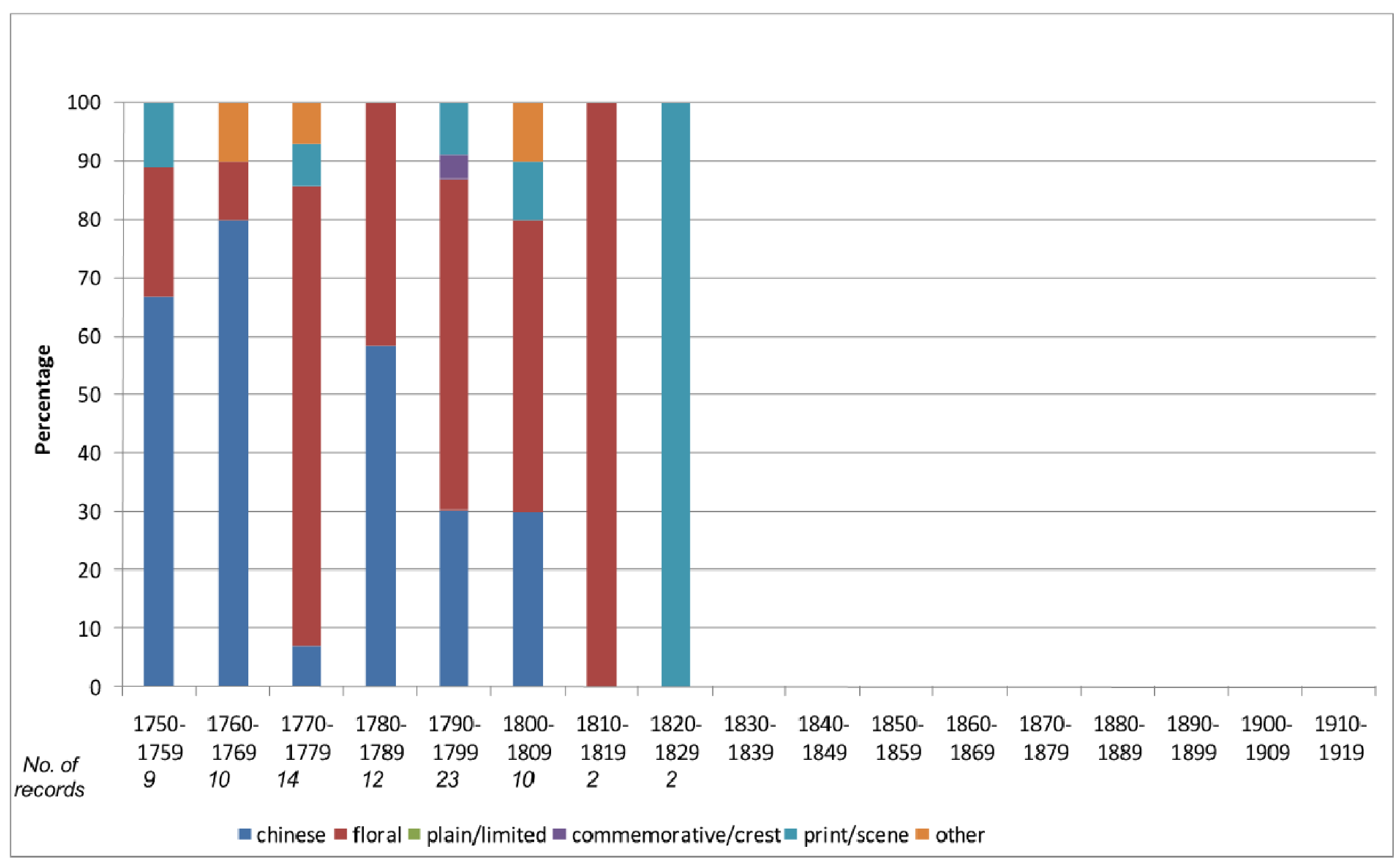
Graph 8: All tea drinking vessels: pattern



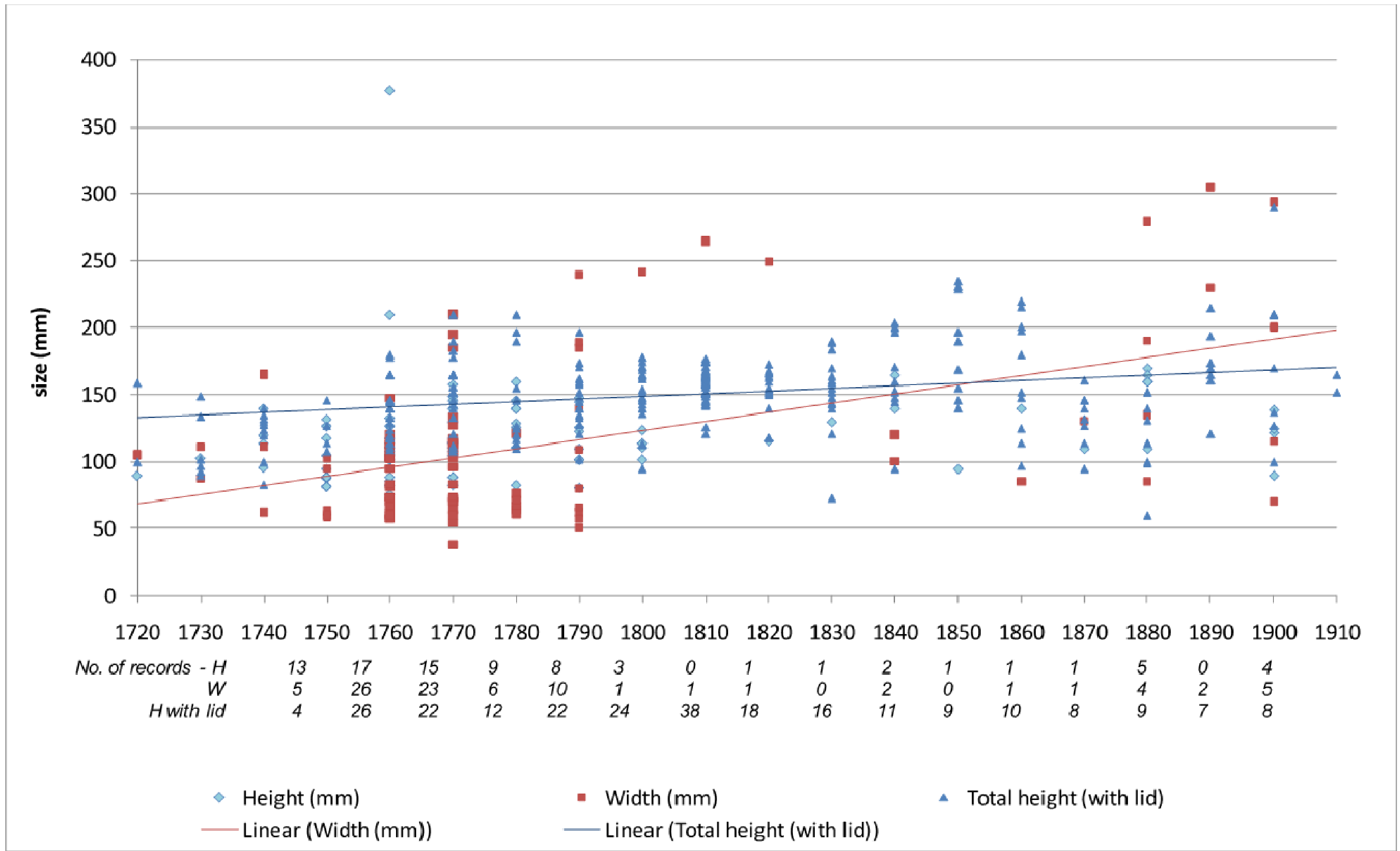
Graph 9: Tea cups: pattern



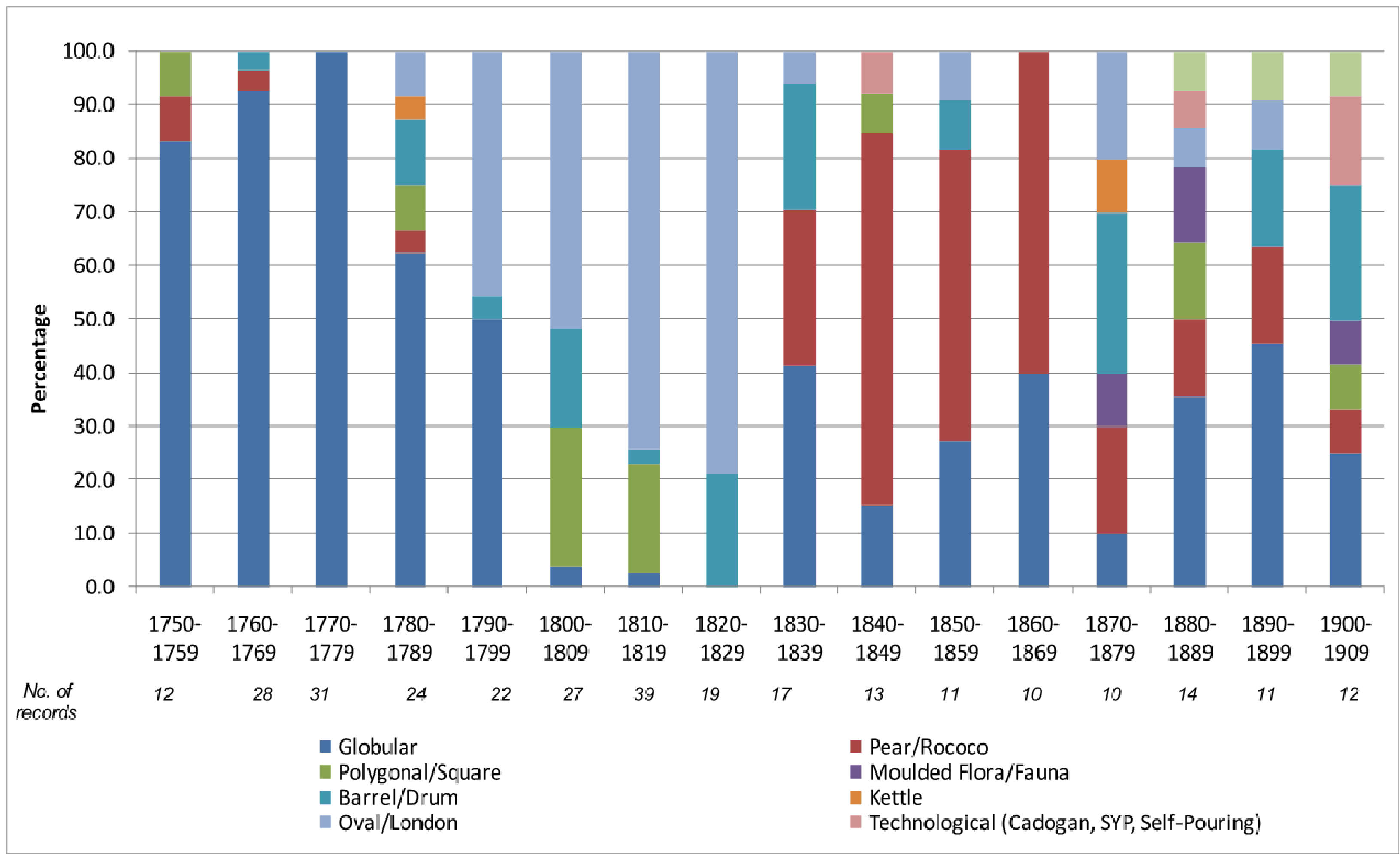
Graph 10: Tea bowls: Pattern



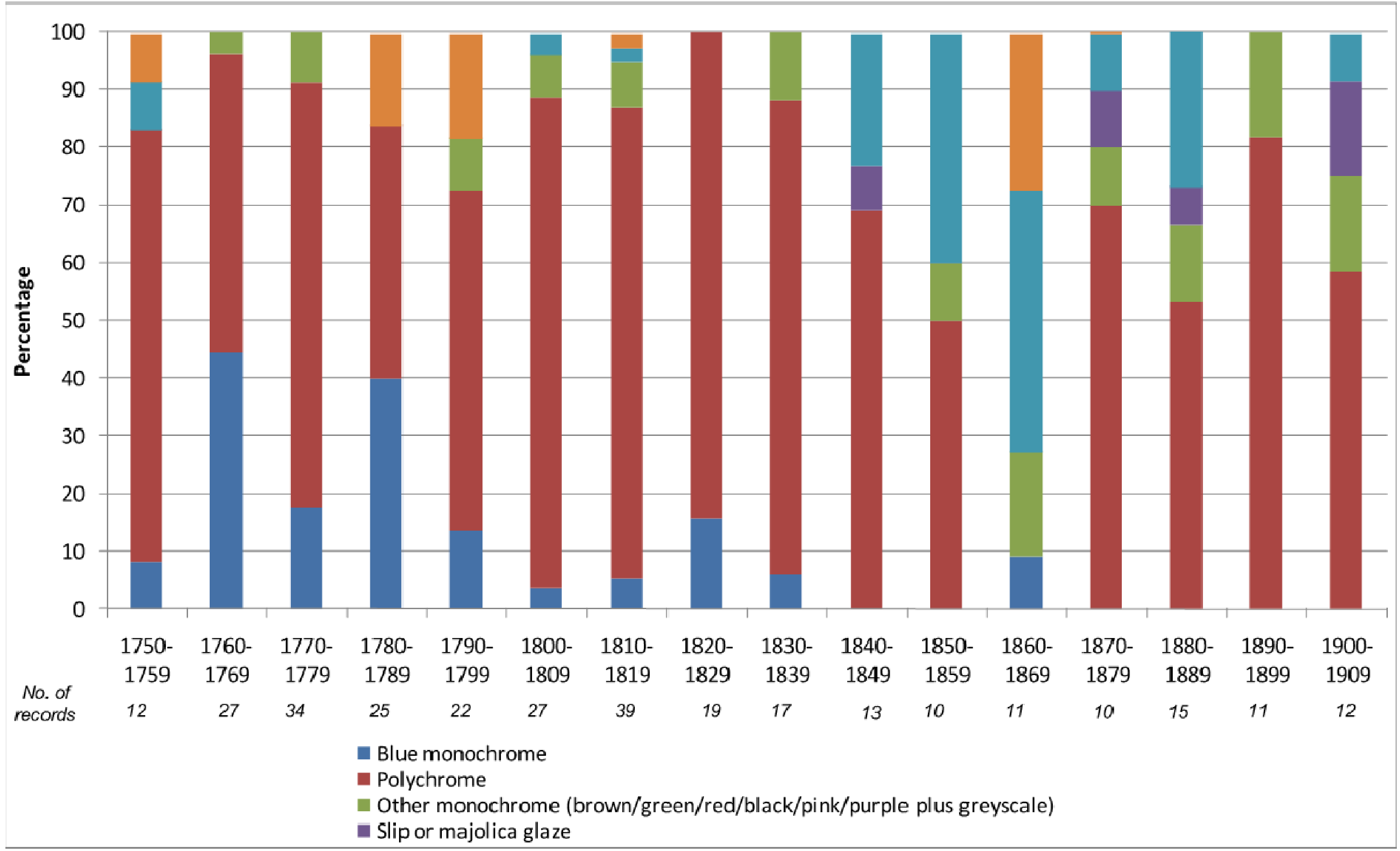
Graph 11: Teapots: size



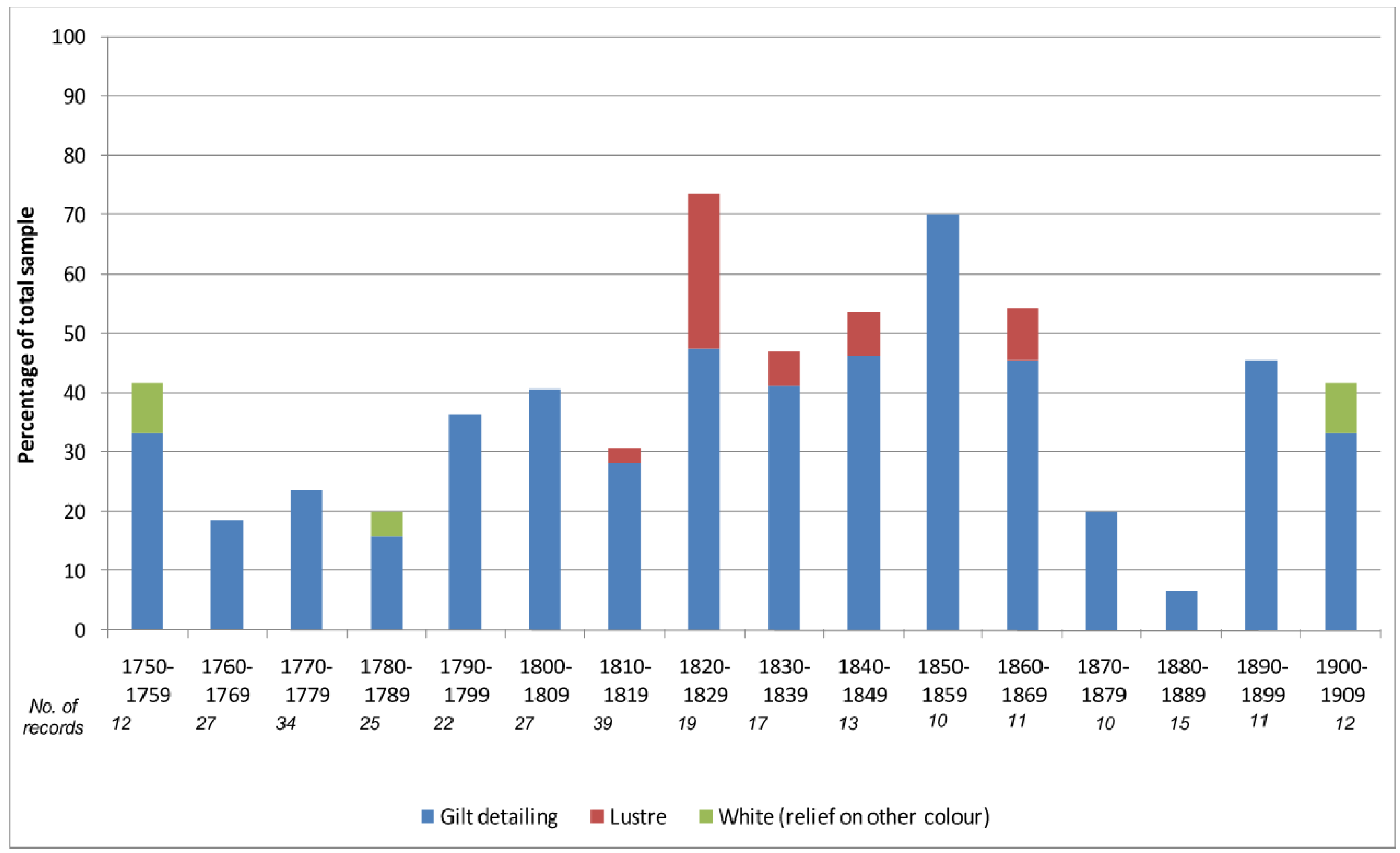
Graph 12: Teapots: shape



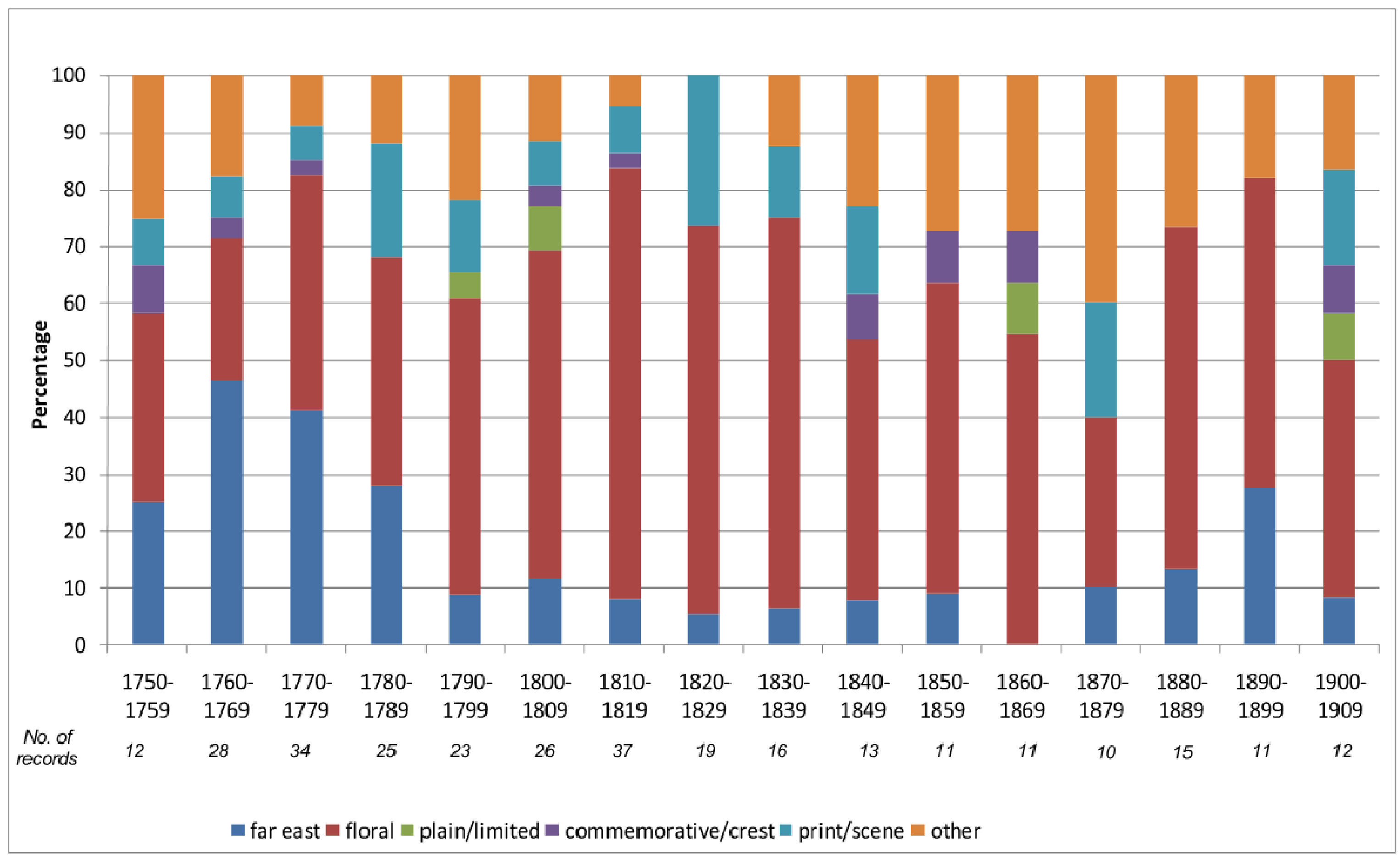
Graph 13: Teapots: colour



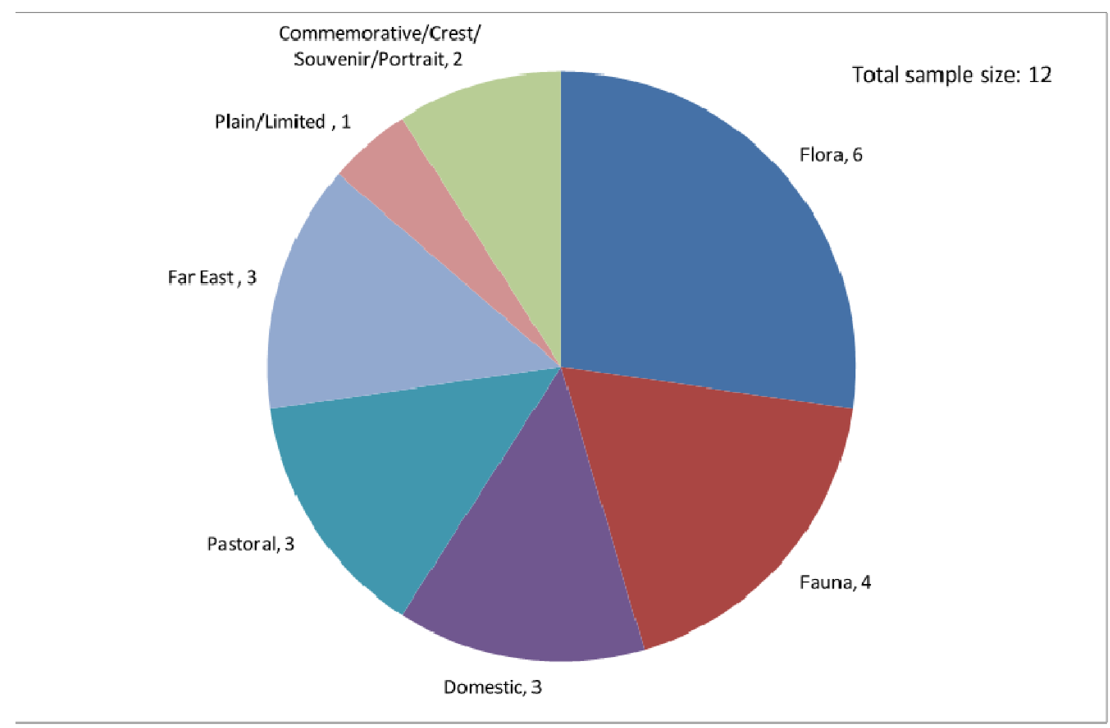
Graph 14: Teapots: finishes



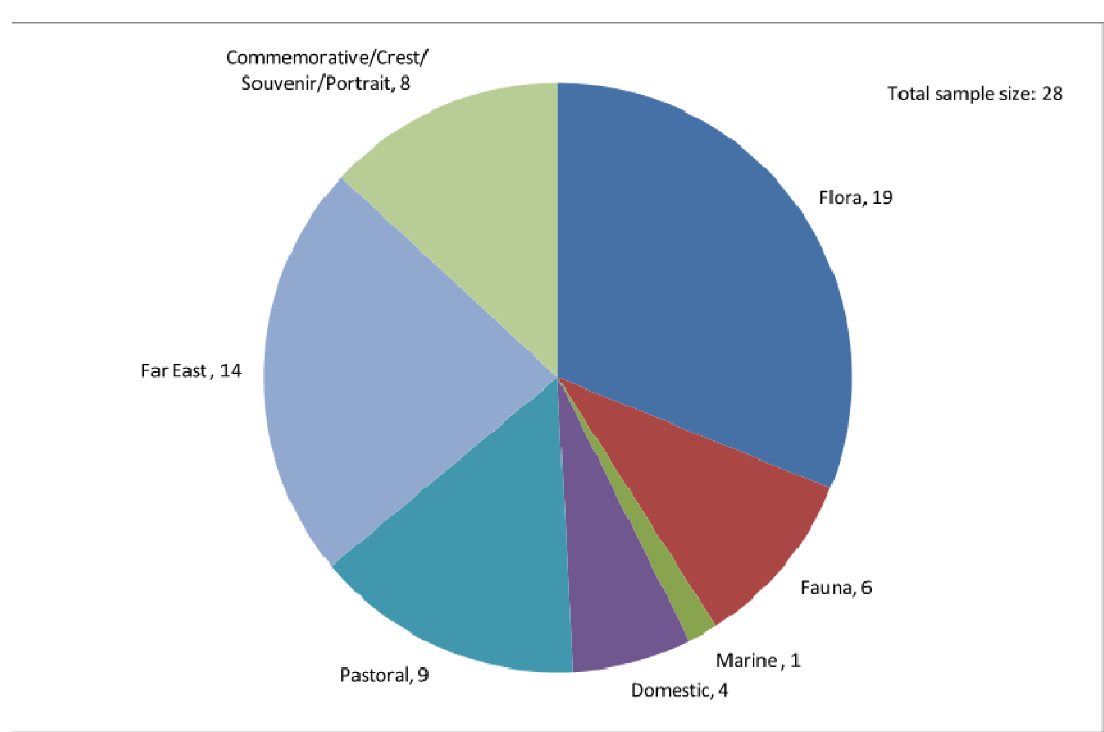
Graph 15: Teapots: pattern (primary category only)



Graph 16: Teapots 1750-1759: patterns (multiple categories allowed)



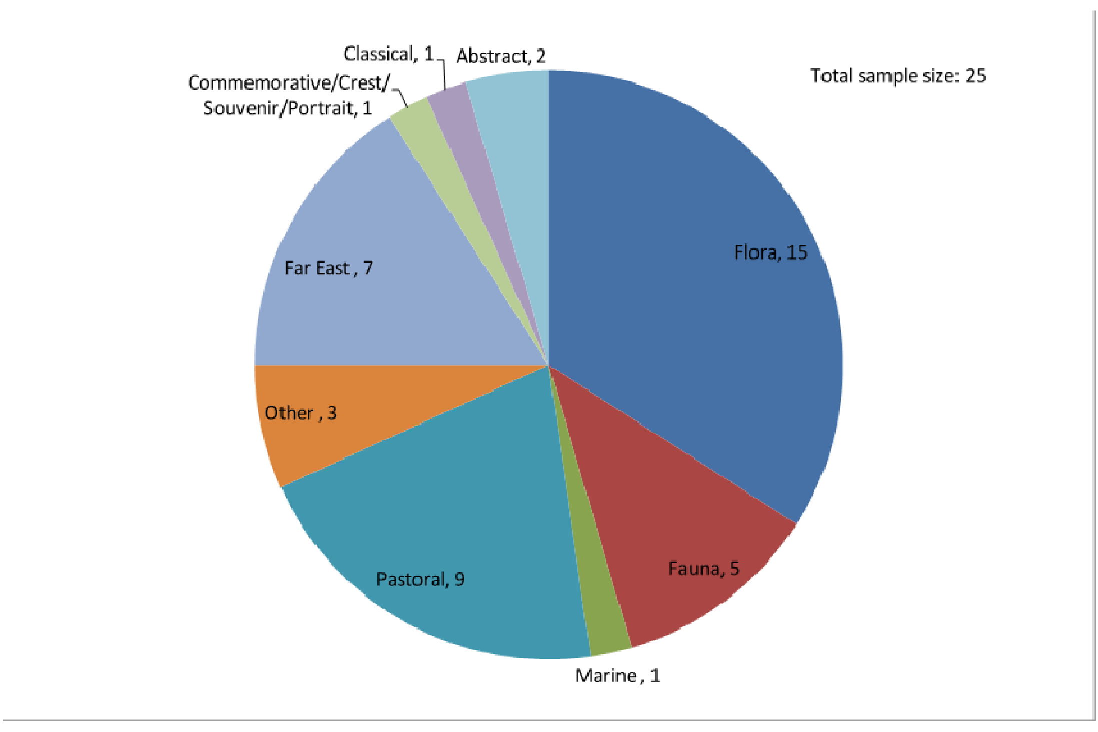

Graph 17: Teapots 1760-1769: patterns (multiple categories allowed)



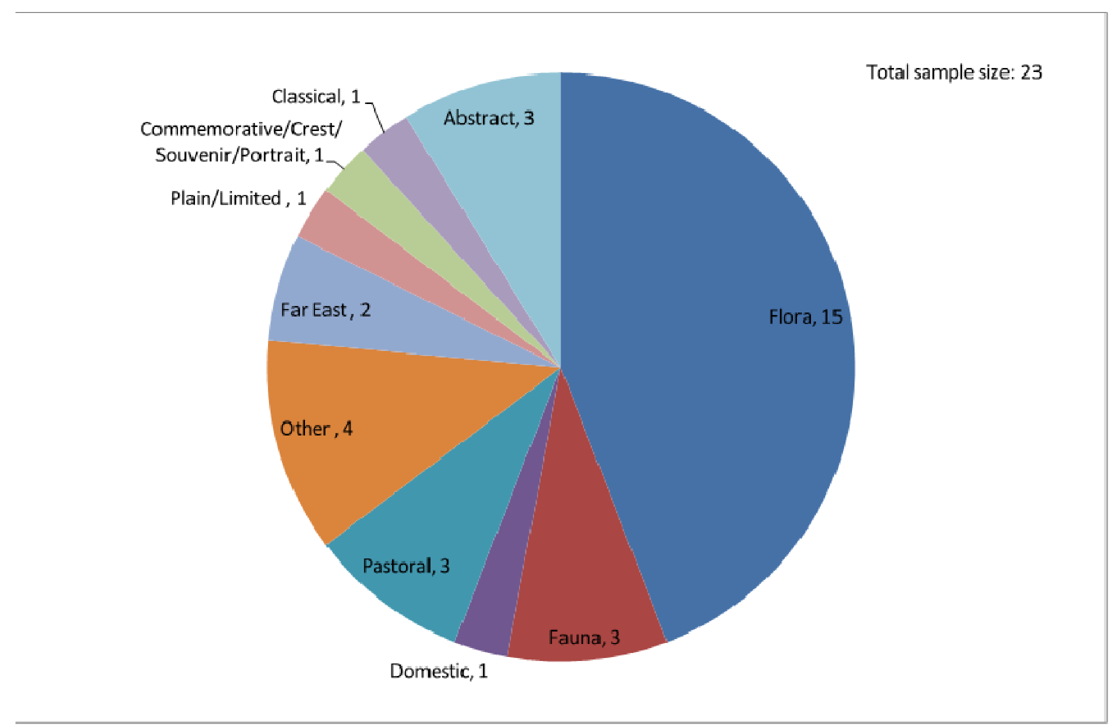
Graph 18: Teapots 1770-1779: patterns (multiple categories allowed)

Commemorative/Crest/ Souvenir/Portrait, 2
Abstract, 3
Total sample size: 34
Far East , 14
Flora, 25
Pastoral, 6
Domestic, 7
Fauna, 5

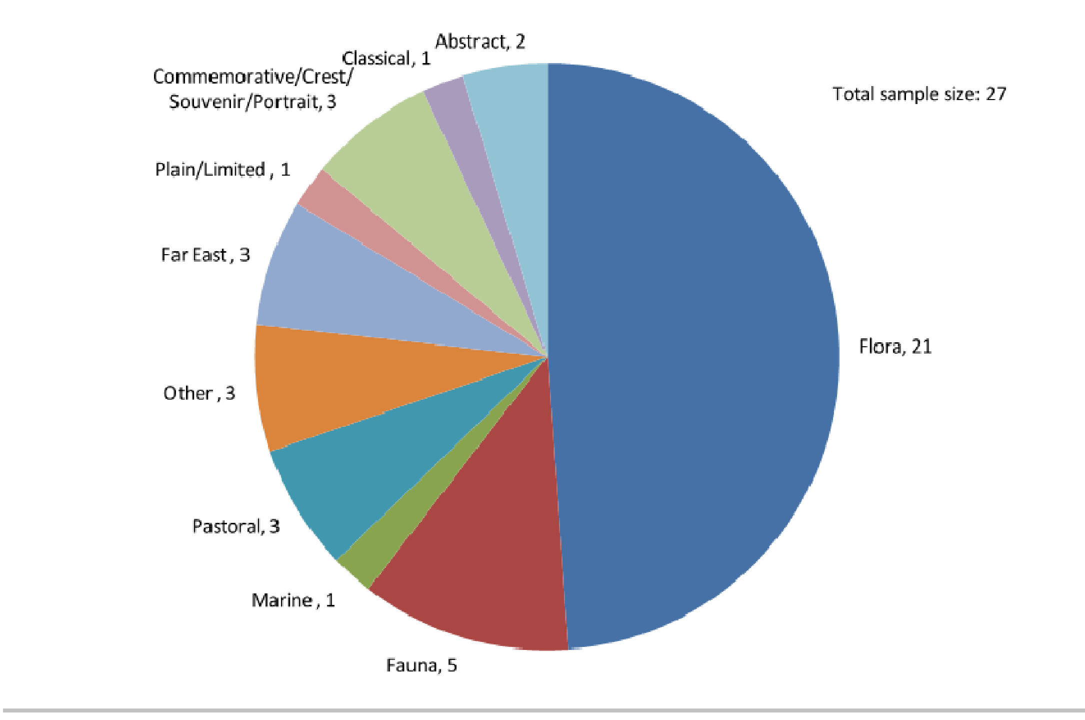
Graph 19: Teapots 1780-1789: patterns (multiple categories allowed)



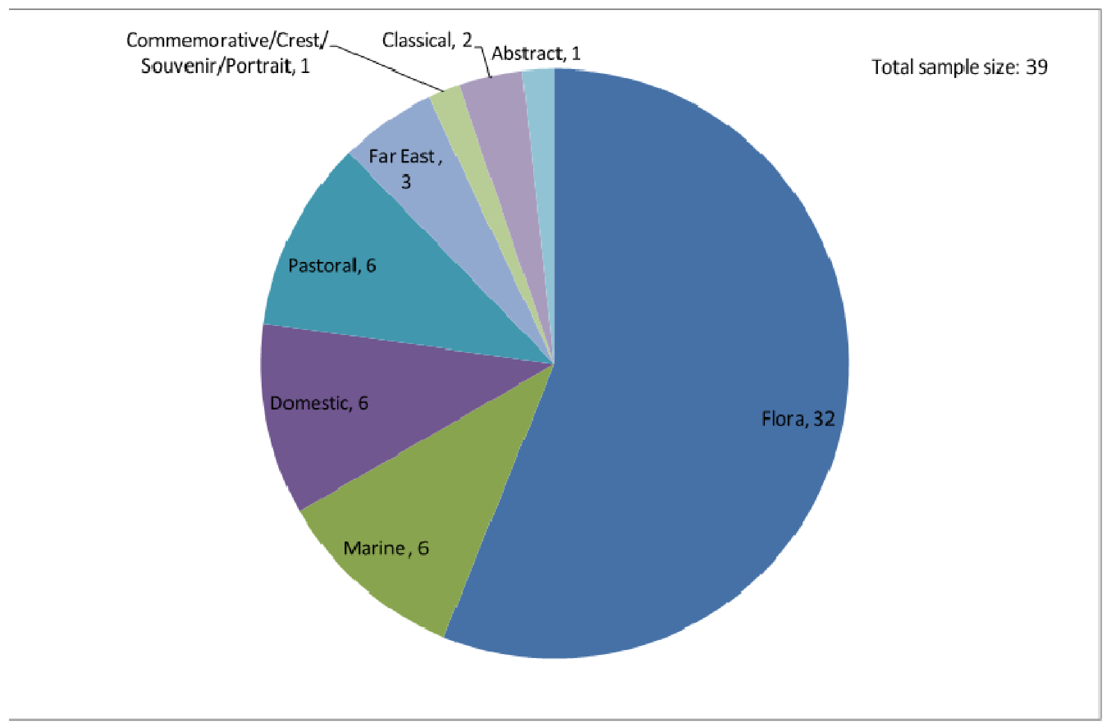
Graph 20: Teapots 1790-1799: patterns (multiple categories allowed)



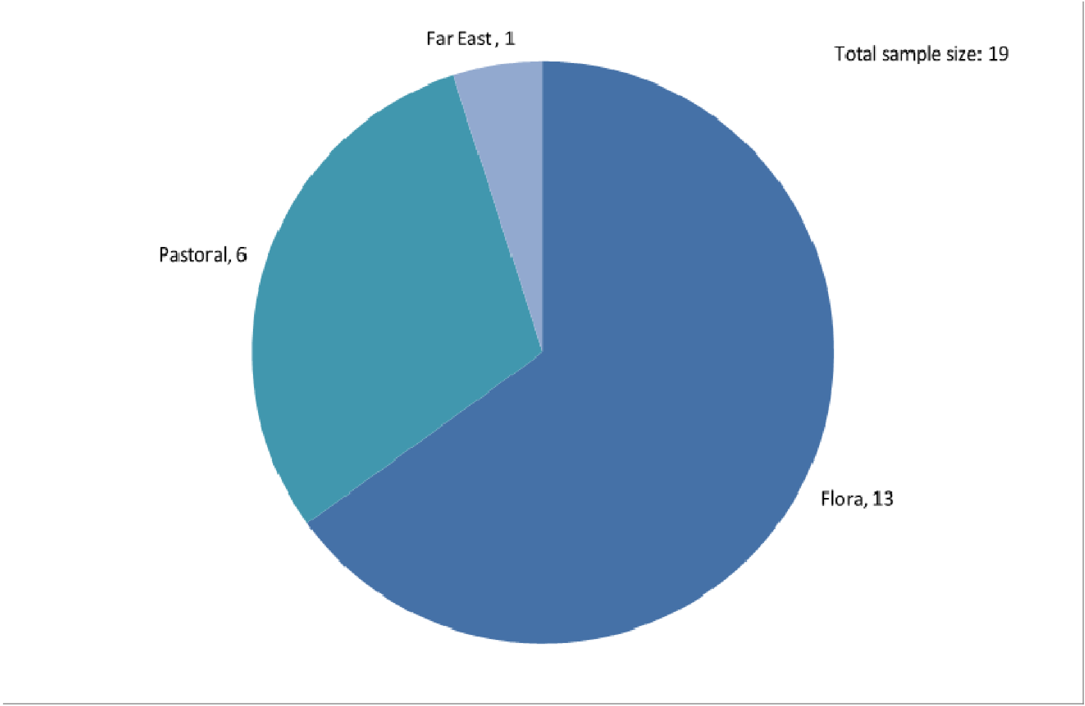

Graph 21: Teapots 1800-1809: patterns (multiple categories allowed)



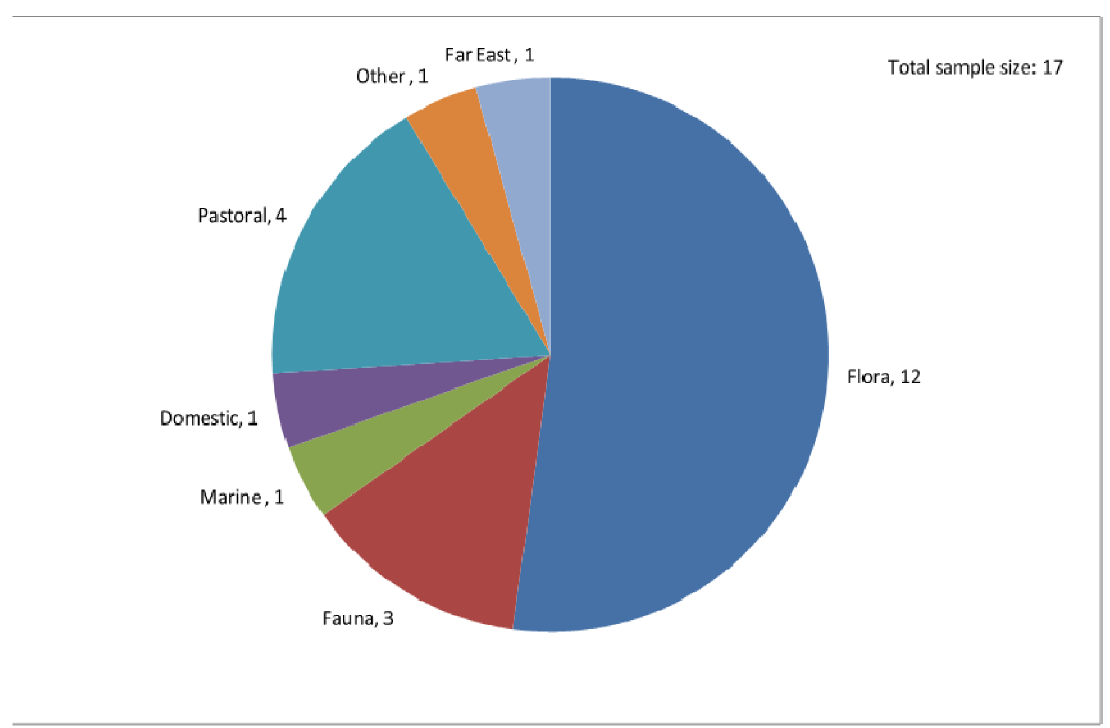
Graph 22: Teapots 1810-1819: patterns (multiple categories allowed)



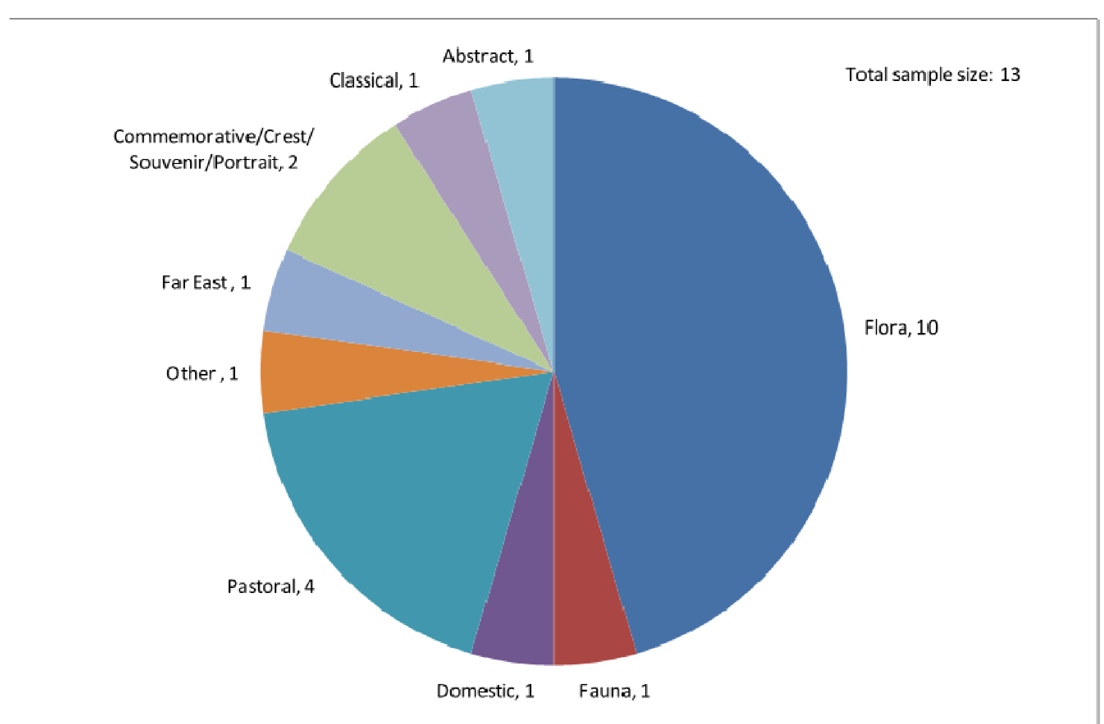

Graph 23: Teapots 1820-1829: patterns (multiple categories allowed)



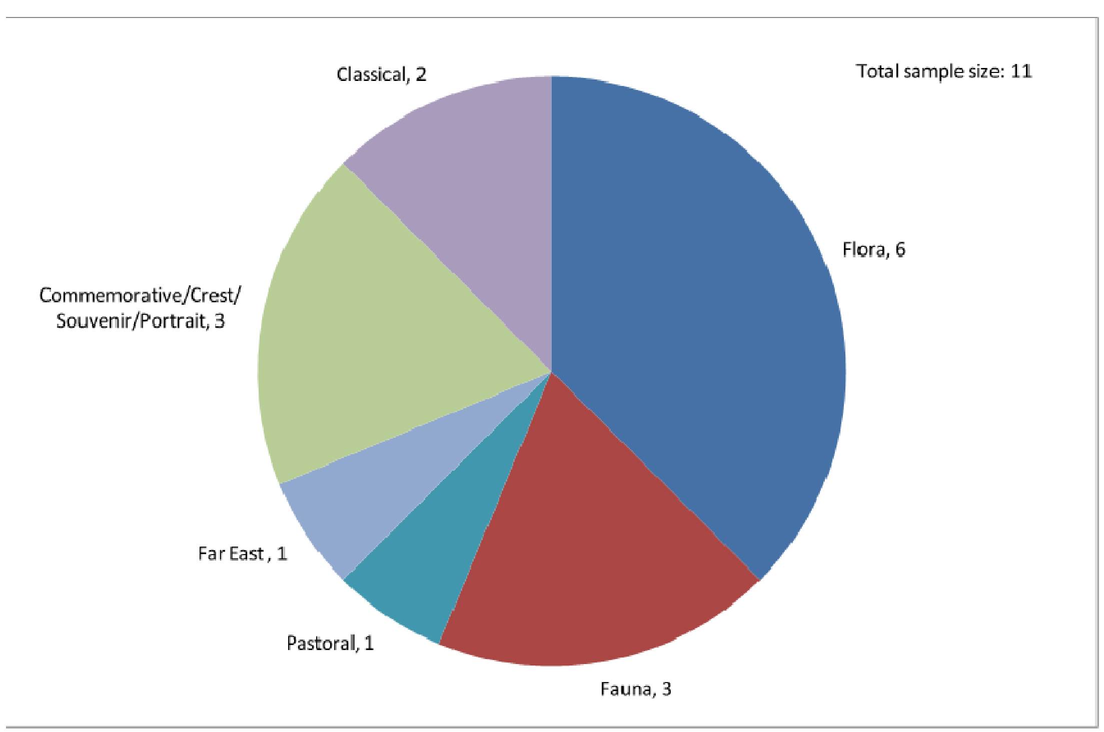
Graph 24: Teapots 1830-1839: patterns (multiple categories allowed)



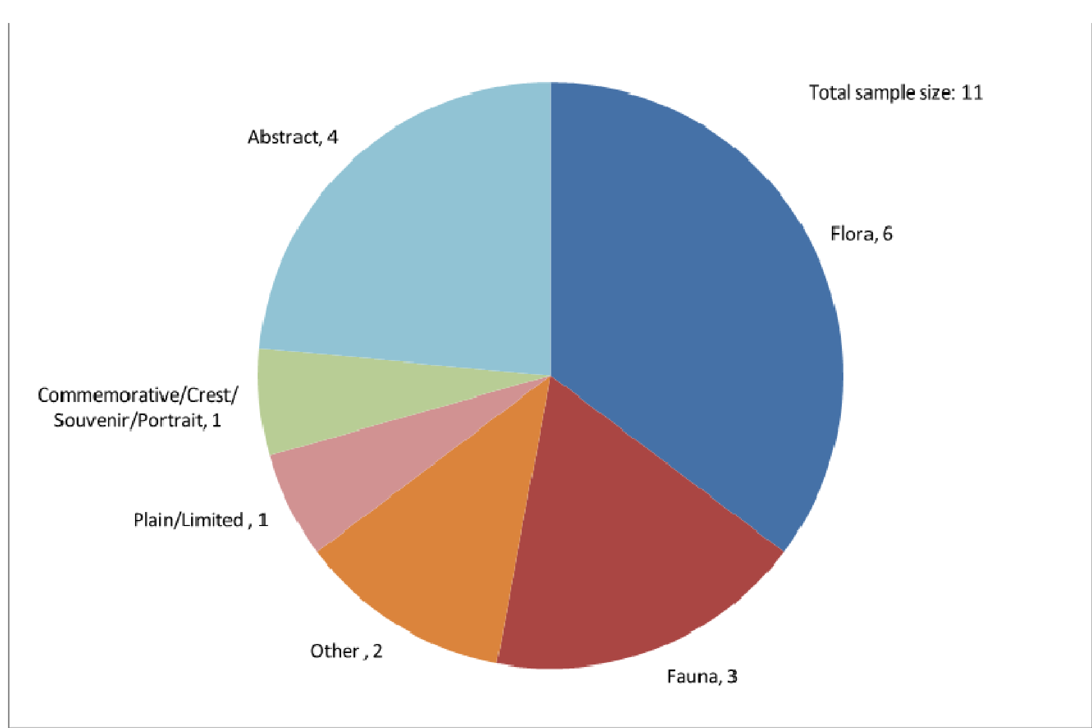

Graph 25: Teapots 1840-1849: patterns (multiple categories allowed)



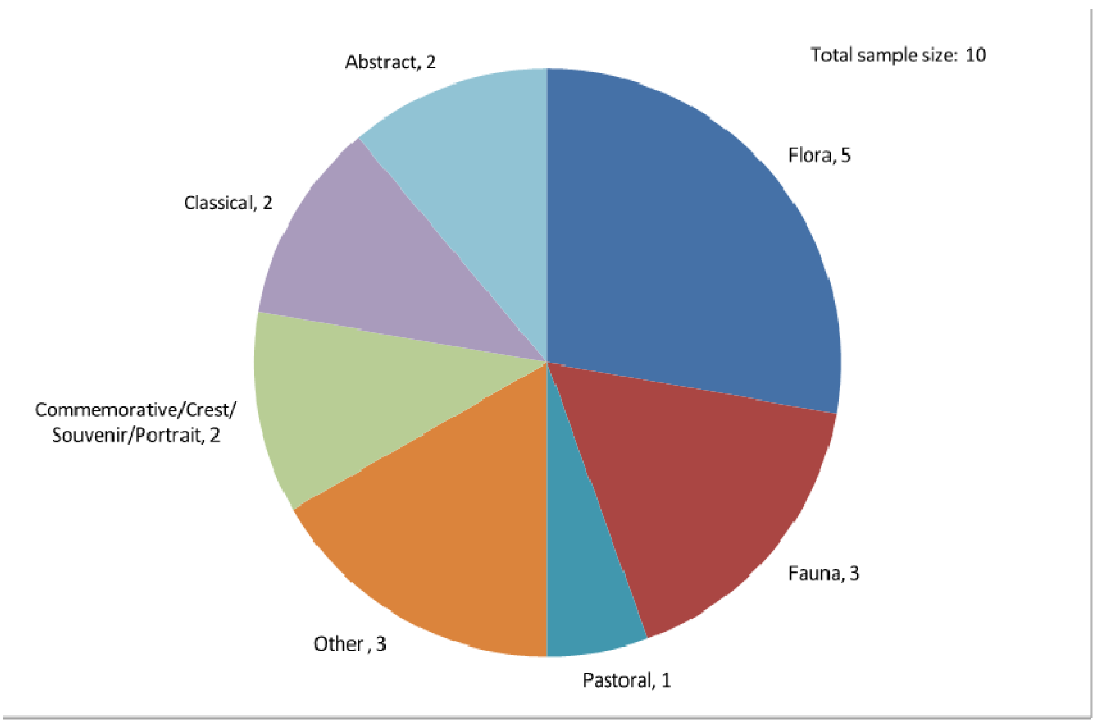
Graph 26: Teapots 1850-1859: patterns (multiple categories allowed)



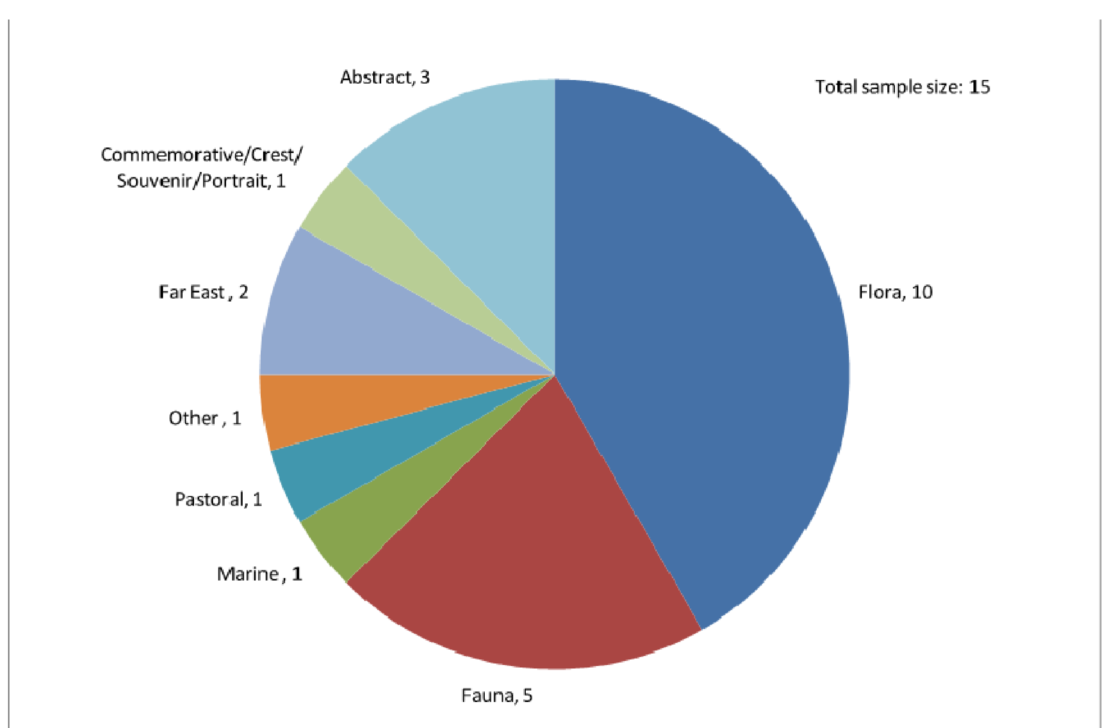

Graph 27: Teapots 1860-1869: patterns (multiple categories allowed)



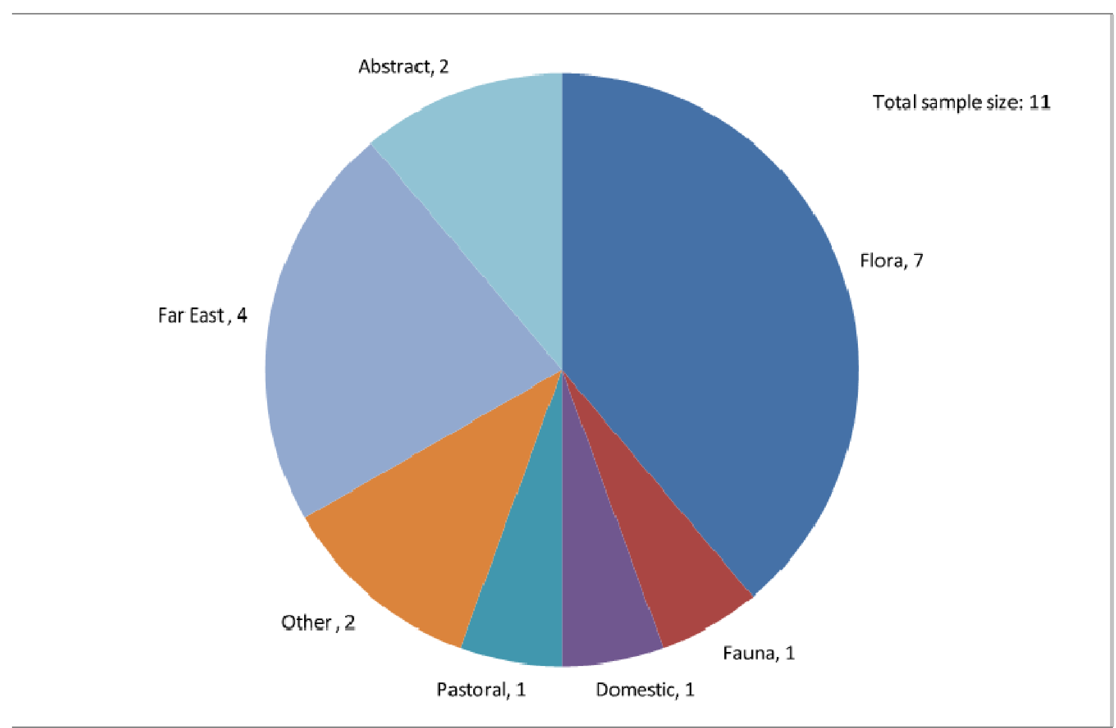
Graph 28: Teapots 1870-1879: patterns (multiple categories allowed)



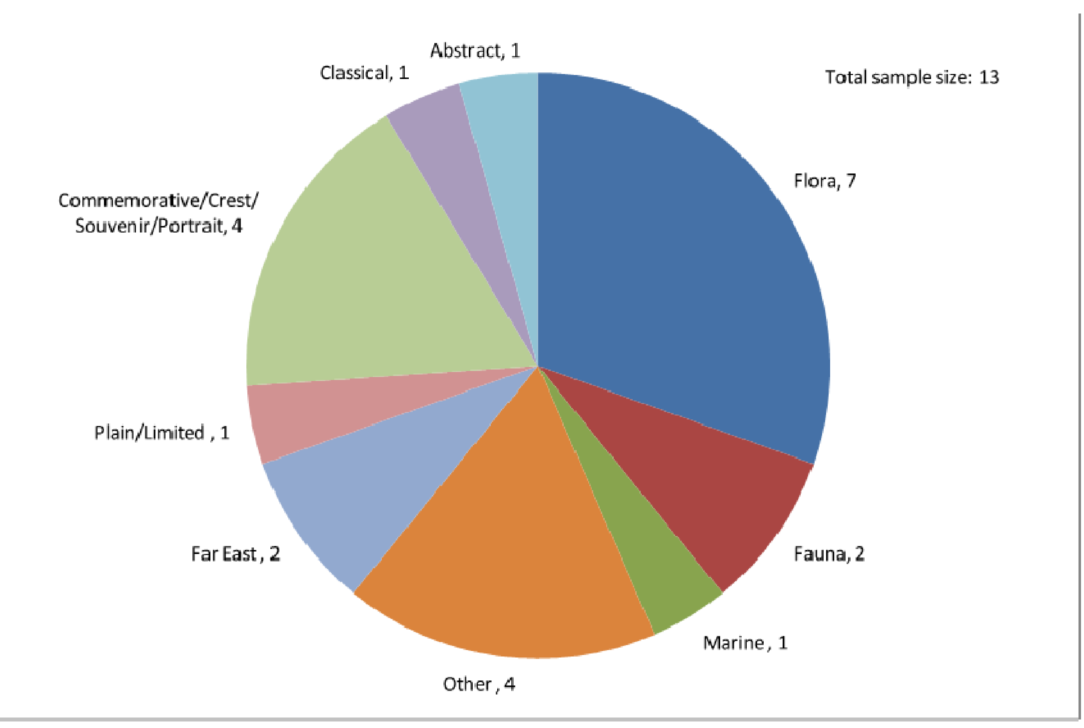

Graph 29: Teapots 1880-1889: patterns (multiple categories allowed)



Graph 30: Teapots 1890-1899: patterns (multiple categories allowed)




Graph 31: Teapots 1900-1909: patterns (multiple categories allowed)



# Appendices

## A: Cookbook details

| Book | Gender of author | Background of author | Explicit audience | Type of cookery |
|---|---|---|---|---|
| Carter | Male | Private cook | (Male) professionals (cooks), Masters (noblemen or gentlemen) | Aristocratic-courtly |
| Thacker | Male | Episcopal cook & Cookery instructor | Professionals (cooks) | Aristocratic-courtly |
| Mason | Female | Private cook | Young ladies, female professionals (cooks) | Middle class |
| Henderson | Male | Commercial cook | Mistresses, professionals (male and female) [fig 1] | Middle class |
| Briggs | Male | Commercial cook | Professionals (cooks) | Upper middle class |
| Mollard | Male | Commercial cook | Professionals working for the _nobleman, gentleman and tradesman‘ | Middle class |
| Simpson | Male | Private cook | Professionals, including women and tavern keepers; gentlemen (where no man cook is kept) | Aristocratic |
| Hammond | Female | Self-appointed expert | Mistresses | Middle class |
| Francatelli | Male | Private cook, French | Professionals | Upper class-French |

| | | | | |
|---|---|---|---|---|
| Beeton | Female | Self-appointed expert | Mistresses (Professionals (HK/Cooks)) | Lower middle class |
| Jewry | Female | Self-appointed expert | Housewives who are their own housekeepers (but have a cook) | Lower middle class |
| Marshall | Female | Cookery instructor, entrepreneur | Professionals (Cooks) (Mistresses) | Upper middle class |
| Senn | Male | Private cook, French | Professionals | Upper middle class |
| Mellish | Female | Self-appointed expert | Professionals (cooks) | Upper middle class (‗moderate and nice-class') |