FOOD AND SOCIETY

TRADITIONAL FOOD EAST AND WEST OF THE PENNINES

C. Anne Wilson, E
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EDINBURGH
22 George Sq
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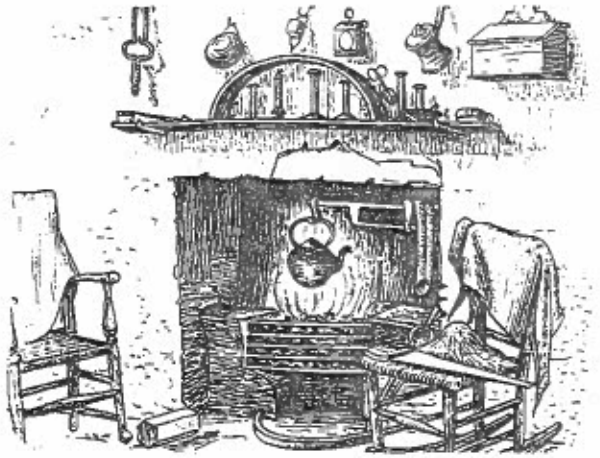

Papers by
Peter Brears, Lynette Hunter, Helen Pollard, Jennifer Stead and C. Anne Wilson

EDITED BY C. ANNE WILSON

with illustrations by
Peter Brears

Edinburgh University Press

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ETER BREARS is the Director of Leeds City Museums. He ombines his interests in archaeology, architecture and the raditional food of Northern England with a great deal of ractical experience of recreating the culinary confections f earlier centuries. His publications include *The Gentle-woman's Kitchen: Great Food in Yorkshire 1650-1750*, nd *Traditional Food in Yorkshire*.

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selling the traditional foodstuffs as the older generation dies off and demand drops below an economic level, and will new, small, specialist shops then come into being to sell those same foods at much higher prices to middle-class enthusiasts for things traditional who never tasted that type of fare in their childhood? Will the cooked dishes and baked goods be altered, as vegetable oils are introduced in place of the chloresterol-rich suet, lard and butter of the old recipes, and perhaps new substitutes are found for other ingredients, too?

The rate of change in dietary practices has speeded up very much during the last twenty years. Some individual traditional foods may survive for a long time yet, but most of the traditional diets described in the chapters of this book have already become a thing of the past.

Notes and References

1. T. Jolly, *Notebook of the Rev. Thomas Jolly* (Chetham Society, Remains, N.S. 33, 1894), p. 110.
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2.

Printing in the Pennines: the publisher and provincial taste 1683–1920

LYNETTE HUNTER

Talking about cookery books is a bit like taking the lid off an ant-heap – the seventeenth century, which is where we begin, would have preferred the analogy of the beehive, but the interrelations are neither so orderly nor so defined. We look at a cookery book from 200 years ago and, initially at least, we read it for what we can bring from it into our modern world, surprised, perhaps, by the method of expression or the quantities of ingredients or the arbitrary-looking indexes. But beyond the book as this object in front of us lie whole worlds of experience more, or less, familiar to us. To understand why this book is here now, we need to understand something about who made it and about who used it. And there is a double dilemma since not only is very little known about provincial printing in the eighteenth and nineteenth centuries, but even less is known about the day to day domestic lives of the people who used the books.

Although printing had gone on in England since the late 1400s, until 1695 virtually all printing took place in London, Oxford and Cambridge.[1] This monopoly was a result of government joining hands with the guilds to insist on strong control over the new and powerful medium of printing.[2] York was one of the first towns outside the three to be allowed a press in 1662.[3] It was from York in 1683 or 1685, that one of the first provincial books remotely to do with cooking came: George Meriton's *The*

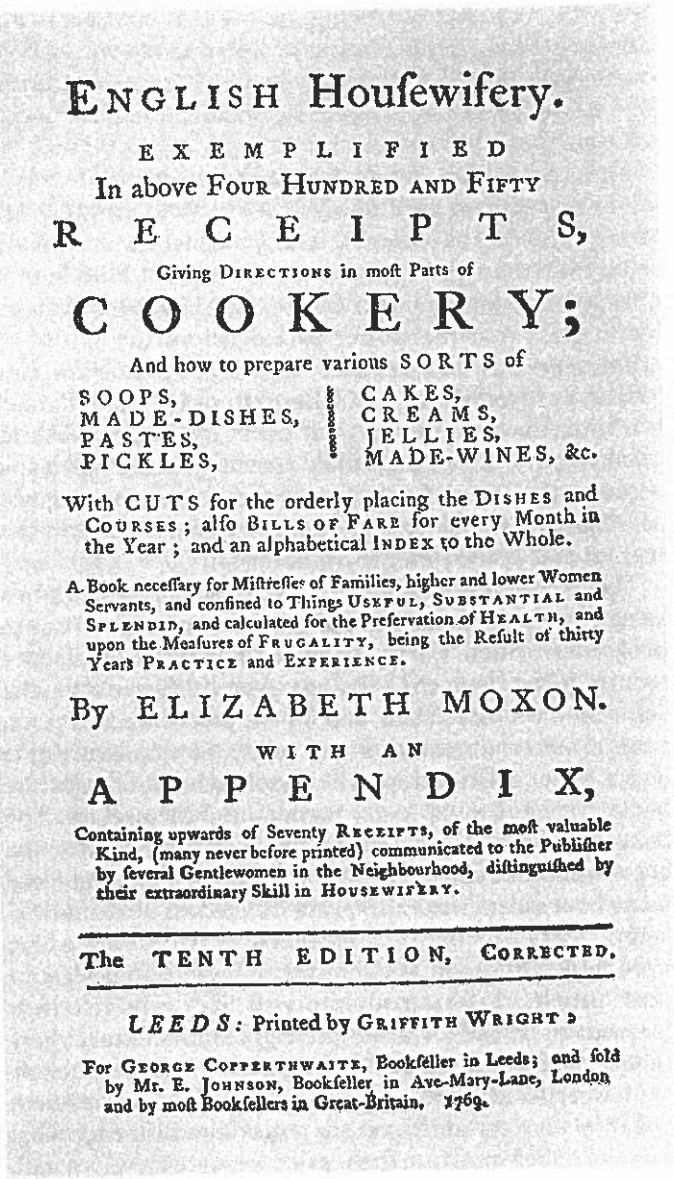
Praise of Yorkshire Ale. The introduction tells us that it was published shortly after a series of Bills before Parliament concerning the adulteration and measures of food; and the book itself is almost defiantly regional, bringing together Meriton's *The Praise of Yorkshire Ale*, with his rather racy *Yorkshire Dialog* and a *Clavis*, one of the first recorded dialect dictionaries, being a guide to the Yorkshire speech pronounciation. But this production was highly unusual, and little, if anything, on cookery was published in the regions until well into the eighteenth century.

In 1695 the government lifted the monopoly on printing, and presses began to proliferate throughout England. Scotland, of course, only joined the Union in 1711 and had its own separate system of printing legislation – even today the organisation of Scottish printing houses is significantly different from the organisation of those in England. To understand what happened next, we have to ask ourselves by whom the books were made and for whom. What kind of cook-books were being printed in London (since Oxford and Cambridge rarely moved into the genre)? Why not simply purchase them from there? The books, and here we are referring to the end of the seventeenth century, fall into three genres: there are the compendious books of household management, the often slim volumes of specialised cookery and confectionery for vocational or educational use, and the grand recipes from the cooks of great houses. If we move ourselves back 250–280 years to life in Leeds in the early 1700s, what would we need a cookery book for? – and indeed could we read it? Most cooking traditions of ordinary people would still have been orally transmitted, tied to traditional occasions and well-established foodstuffs and supplies. The great, and indeed several lesser houses, would have had their family manuscripts of receipts. The main group of people wanting a new printed cook-book is the newly growing urban middle classes, with more money to buy the wider range of

foodstuffs that was becoming available as transportation links improved. These classes formed a group with a new ambivalent social status, which meant learning about the food of the aristocracy and using food to establish social position.

These people not only may have had the money to hire a servant but were also those who gave birth to the great age of the English housekeeper. The great names in cookery books from the eighteenth century are those of Eliza Smith, Elizabeth Moxon, Hannah Glasse, and Elizabeth Raffald. Smith was from the earlier period before the spread of printing presses, and she lived and worked in London. But Moxon was from Pontefract, Glasse from Hexham, Raffald from Manchester. Glasse went on to live and publish in London, but Moxon and Raffald remained in the north and became successful business women – something made possible only by the arrival of the printing presses in the regions and by the new copyright laws.

These days a publisher commissions a book, sends it to a printer for printing and binding, and then sends it out to booksellers to sell. An oversimplified story but in essence this is what happens. Things were different in the eighteenth century. Then, and for the preceding 200 years, book printers, distributors and sellers of standard works had a closer relationship. The people who purchased the books were supposed to get them bound themselves. The bookseller often had the book printed – after all, he or she knew what they could sell, they knew their market; indeed many booksellers were also printers. Almost by definition, before 1695, the markets or audiences being catered for were largely those in London, Oxford and Cambridge, or those people wealthy enough to visit the towns relatively frequently. At the turn into the eighteenth century there were booksellers in the northern regional towns, particularly in Newcastle, Manchester, York and Leeds, but not many, and they were certainly not in a position to influence what was published because their sales were relatively small.



ENGLISH Houſewifery.

EXEMPLIFIED

In above FOUR HUNDRED AND FIFTY

RECEIPTS,

Giving DIRECTIONS in moſt Parts of

COOKERY;

And how to prepare various SORTS of

SOOPS, MADE-DISHES, PASTES, PICKLES, CAKES, CREAMS, JELLIES, MADE-WINES, &c.

With CUTS for the orderly placing the DISHES and COURSES; alſo BILLS OF FARE for every Month in the Year; and an alphabetical INDEX to the Whole.

A Book neceſſary for Miſtreſſes of Families, higher and lower Women Servants, and confined to Things USEFUL, SUBSTANTIAL and SPLENDID, and calculated for the Preſervation of HEALTH, and upon the Meaſures of FRUGALITY, being the Reſult of thirty Years PRACTICE and EXPERIENCE.

By ELIZABETH MOXON.

WITH AN

APPENDIX,

Containing upwards of Seventy RECEIPTS, of the moſt valuable Kind, (many never before printed) communicated to the Publiſher by ſeveral Gentlewomen in the Neighbourhood, diſtinguiſhed by their extraordinary Skill in HOUSEWIFERY.

The TENTH EDITION, CORRECTED.

LEEDS: Printed by GRIFFITH WRIGHT &

For GEORGE COPPERTHWAITE, Bookſeller in Leeds; and ſold by Mr. E. JOHNSON, Bookſeller in Ave-Mary-Lane, London and by moſt Bookſellers in Great-Britain. 1769.

1. Title-page of E. Moxon, *English Housewifery*, the tenth edition, corrected, Leeds, 1769.

The other primary mode of publishing a standard book, particularly after copyright effectively passed to authors in 1710, was by subscription, where an author would persuade between a dozen and several hundreds of people to subscribe to an edition. In this way, the book was largely paid for before it was printed, and any subsequent proceeds were income to the author. Clearly distribution was limited, influence small.

At the same time there was a flourishing trade in 'nonstandard' printed matter such as broadsides, chapbooks and ballads, which did reach the regions in quantity, as the chapman with their cottons and ribbons also distributed printed sheets along their well-beaten tracks.[4] The chapbook was aimed at an entirely different market. Its contents were popular songs, ghost stories, sensational murders, romances, wars, pornography, almanacs and such – quite similar to the tabloid press of today. A chapbook is simply a folded sheet of paper, often folded four times to make thirty-two pages. The purchaser would fold it, sew it along the spine, possibly adding a protecting cover, and cut its edges so that it became a small paperback book. Unlike the bulky and heavy standard books, chapbooks were light, cheap and easy to distribute. They were also distinctly different in taste. A good example of a regional chapbook format book is *The Praise of Yorkshire Ale* which does not appear to be competing with the serious productions of the London trade, despite the fact that it went into at least two editions.

However, Elizabeth Moxon's *English Housewifry* (1741) was making quite different claims. The format is still small and the leaves folded as in a chapbook, but there are now several folded sheets gathered together. We have a 200-page work addressing itself to 'mistresses of families, higher and lower women servants'. This enormously successful work was one of the first non-theological books printed by John Lister of Leeds.[5] Leeds got its first press in 1718 and, as with most provincial presses, its main work was to

produce the local newspaper, *The Leeds Mercury.*[6] Newspapers fulfilled a clear role in the regions. Then as now they acted primarily as advertising sheets for local produce and local traders.[7] Buying a press to print a paper was a sure way not to lose your investment, while at the same time provide an opportunity for encouraging a market in local printing. John White in York started the *York Courant* and went on to publish books in the same way;[8] and William Eyres of Warrington who published H. Kirkpatrick's *An Account of the Manner in which Potatoes are Cultivated and Preserved* (1796), and Thomas Slack in Newcastle printer of Mary Smith's *The Compleat Housekeeper and Professed Cook* (1772) were both newspaper publishers.

John Lister bought the *Leeds Mercury* in 1735; on his death in 1753 it was purchased by Griffith Wright. Griffith Wright, and after 1784 his son Thomas, continued to publish Moxon into the nineteenth century. What happened here is another example of the eighteenth-century printing trade practice. In 1709 parliament passed a bill vesting copyright in the author rather than the printer or bookseller and the profession of 'writer' came into being. However, apart from influential and highly successful authors such as the poet Alexander Pope, the book trade maintained an oligopoly of copyright until well into the 1770s.[9] Griffith Wright in all likelihood bought the copyright from Lister's estate when he bought the press. Elizabeth Moxon may have received very little for her work despite the fact that, as the imprints tell us, from the second edition the book was sold not only by the authoress from her home in Pontefract and by John Swale who was the most influential and respected bookseller in Leeds at the time,[10] but also by a J. Lord in Wakefield as well as in London.

Moxon's *English Housewifry* was a clear message to the London book trade that things were beginning to happen in the regions. Yet over the next thirty years, while several books did come out in the provinces, few attained the

popularity of Moxon or near-contemporary Hannah Glasse who was published primarily from London. Indeed the provincial market for cookery books began to be exploited by London. John Thacker's *Art of Cookery* (1746) was brought out in parts specifically to appeal to the provincial bookseller and his or her audience.[11] Publishing in parts meant printing the book one sheet at a time, rather like a chapbook. Thacker's book presents recipes for each month of the year, and it is arranged so that each sheet of twenty-four pages has the recipes for a single month – except that the first part of the following month is printed on the last page of the preceding one. To have the recipes for a complete month you would need to buy the sheet from the previous month as well, thereby encouraging people to buy the entire set of sheets and bind them together into a book. Sold in this manner, the book would be more simple to distribute than a complete item. We need to recall that travel was still by stage-coach, lengthy and arduous, and that books are heavy objects. It would also have been more affordable to pay out a smaller sum of money each month rather than a large sum all at once. The first edition of Moxon cost five shillings to non-subscribers, although further editions were only two shillings. Hannah Glasse sold for three shillings unbound and five shillings bound; Elizabeth Raffald's work cost six shillings. These prices are high at a time when the average weekly wage for an artisan was eighteen pence.[12] Thacker may have charged as little as three or four pence for each sheet, softening the fact that the book as a whole cost three shillings or so.

However, from the 1760s provincial cookery books start to come into their own. There is evidence to show that it was at about this time that the provincial press stabilised and found confidence from the previous period of experimentation with products and markets.[13] But the growth in the cookery book market may also be due to the new enforcement of the copyright law which made writing an attractive way for women to earn money, and most of

the straightforward cookery books from the north of Britain were written by women. These women, mostly housekeepers, innkeepers or teachers in the cookery trade, included among many Ann Peckham and Catharine Brooks from Leeds, Mary Smith, Ann Cook and Elizabeth Marshall from Newcastle, and Sarah Martin from Doncaster. But the most widely known is probably Elizabeth Raffald, a woman from Doncaster who had taught in Cheshire and was running a school of confectionery in Manchester by the mid-1760s. Her *Experienced English House-keeper* was first published in 1769 by J. Harrop 'for the author', and its success is attested to by an appearance of a London edition published soon after in 1771.

These two editions coming so close together allow one to make an instructive comparison between regional and London printing. The first aspect one notices is that neither is a chapbook. The book has been published as a 'respectable', long-lasting work. But apart from format and contents, there are a number of stylistic differences in design. The Manchester edition uses the older style of simply listing the contents on the title-page rather than separating them into columns with a rule. The ornaments of the Manchester edition are Jacobean in appearance, heavily ornate, and most likely date from over a century earlier in design. In contrast the London edition has lighter, geometric patterns, indicating the main fashion for neo-Classical design that had dominated the London presses from the early eighteenth century.

Yet the London edition is still printed 'for the author'. It is probable that Elizabeth Raffald retained her copyright until she died in 1781, when an R. Baldwin took it over.[14] This would have meant that she published the book herself, had a printer print it for her and engaged several booksellers to sell it. Raffald was a canny businesswoman with shares in her local newspaper in Salford where she went to run an inn during the 1770s. She also produced one of Manchester's earliest local directories which ran into many editions

from 1772.[15] This is a woman who is skilled, intelligent and a substantial person of business. That she also produces a best-selling cookery book in the provinces is an important indication of the national status perception of provincial food. However, her book covers few specifically regional foodstuffs or recipes. The appearance, cost and contents of the book indicate that its intended audience is the growing urban middle class which seeks familiarity with the London tastes.

In Raffald's dedication she comments that she is aware of the 'number of books already in print upon this subject', yet her book holds up well and continues to be published well into the nineteenth century. As such it is an indication most of all of the growing maturity of the provincial presses, of the increasingly easy modes of transportation and of greater contact between London and the provinces. There is at the same time still a trade in chapbook literature, but not a large number of these books are about cookery, since, on the whole, the audience addressed by the chapbook is still part of an oral food tradition. People like E. Spencer or the Kellett sisters were being published in Newcastle by Thomas Saint, possibly the largest chapbook publisher outside London, yet their books do not get printed in that format. One of the few examples of a late eighteenth-century chapbook format is *The Young Ladies School of Arts* by Hannah Robertson, which came out of York in 1777. In many ways it is an indication of new trends, and its format may reflect its trendy status. There is no simple cookery in it although there is a section on confectionery, but it is largely made up of a collection of various pursuits suitable for a young gentlewoman including crafts, jelly-making and canary-breeding. The book is an indication not only of a new pattern of reading, but also of the changing in the roles women were expected to play in society. The great age of the competent and powerful English housekeeper does seem to have lasted a little longer in the north. The housekeeper Sarah Martin

published her *The New Experienced English House-keeper* by subscription in 1795, and the subscription lists indicate an extensive pattern of relationships right across the north of England. Yet she publishes contemporaneously with Maria Eliza Rundell who wrote her book as the woman of the house, as a guide for her daughter.

Along with the changes in the social role of the audience for the earlier cook-books came a new pattern of reading which was a result of something which had been happening back in London. Throughout the second half of the eighteenth century a new development had been taking place in printing and publishing; this was the growth of the magazines. The end of the eighteenth century sees the beginning of the age of the editor in domestic books which would continue into the twentieth century, epitomised by Robert Philp and his *Enquire Within* which was drawn from the pages of the *Family Friend* magazine.[16] At first, of course, these domestic books are from London magazines and have London editors,[17] but by the early 1800s there were a few provincial magazines and, more important, there were a growing number of writers who were modelling their work on edited books: in other words individuals who were not in fact editors began to publish their work as a collection of articles. In Liverpool one finds *The Female Instructor* (1811) or Elizabeth Alcock's *The Frugal Housekeeper's Companion* (1812). Manchester follows Alcock in 1813 with *The Young Women's Companion: or Frugal Housewife*, claiming superiority because it contains no arithmetic, and Watkin Poole's *The Female's Best Friend* (1826). Newcastle produces *The Young Woman's Guide to Virtue, Economy . . .* (1817), and Sheffield gives us Priscilla Hazlehurst's *The Family Friend* (1802).

Most of these writers claim to be editors; they are not providing original work but a compendium of the best that there already is. This may partly have been to do with trying to get around copyright laws since in the great

tradition of cookery writing many of these writers copied wholesale from other books, but in large the genre has to do with the length and the purpose of the books. Many of these are large books, 400 pages upwards. They are costly and clearly directed at the emerging middle-class young woman aspiring to be a lady. On the one hand, she does not need to know how to cook or housekeep although she does need to know how to direct servants to do so. On the other hand, this concept is based upon her marrying. Unmarried, she will probably have to find work as a governess, so most of the books also contain a smattering of history, geography and arithmetic suitable for a young woman. In other words the books resemble a series of magazine articles partly because of a new reading pattern but also because of their diverse function which can adapt easily to that pattern. Again, seeing one of these books we need to ask who it is for, and who made it. These weighty volumes seem to have appeared in the provinces from around 1800 to the 1830s, exactly that period when the change in social roles demanded them, and up to the time of the introduction of the railways which made distribution from London cheaper and more efficient.

A curious lacuna in provincial cookery printing occurs roughly between 1830 and 1870. It was filled partly with the products of those London editors and by the work of the great chefs: Careme, Francatelli (Queen Victoria's cook), Soyer (chef to the Reform Club, among other things), Ude and Dubois. There were also the exceptional straightforward cookery books such as Maria Rundell's *New System of Domestic Cookery* (1806) which was published continuously throughout the century, or Eliza Acton's *Modern Cookery* (1845). But all of these were printed and published almost exclusively in London. During this period the whole printing business was reorientating itself around London mainly because the distribution of books was so much easier with the coming of the trains. The provinces exhibit a considerable amount of plagiarism

and pirating, from the subtlety of Mary Radcliffe's *A Modern System of Domestic Cookery* (1822) trading on the similarity in name and title with Rundell, to the overt example, but one among many, of S. W. Staveley's *The New Whole Art of Confectionery . . .* (1812–15). This work has boldly on the title-page of the second edition (1815), 'No person will be permitted to re-print this work, on CHARGE OF FELONY'. By 1821, S. W. Stavely is 'late' and the seventh edition, printed Chesterfield, carries the same warning and the same preface claiming that the author has been 'frequently solicited for many years, by several of the nobility' to write the work. Oddly enough another seventh edition is published in 1828 in Liverpool with the same warning and the same preface; and by 1834 a 'new' edition arrives from Leeds, no longer Stavely but by J. E. Thomas, lacking the warning about felony but – what cheek – with the same personal preface.

The whole muddled position on copyright was exacerbated by the fact that both Ireland and the United States did not recognise the law and produced many English-language versions of British books which often found their way back into the country.[18] Later in the century it looks as though Milner and Sowerby's reprinting throughout the 1850s and 60s of Maria Rundell's original book, was taking advantage of this muddle. Far from plagiarising, as in the Stavely case, which would only have been effective within the relatively isolated regional areas of the 1820s and 30s, Milner and Sowerby of Halifax seem to have benefitted from the vastly improved transportation systems and used their printing of Rundell to establish a second office in London.[19] But for the most part in the provinces one finds only a number of servants' books, innkeeper's guides, shopkeeper's promotions. It is not a flourishing trade, the books are resoundingly local, often in small format, chapbook-style, intended only for a small immediate audience.

It was not only the coming of the railways that changed

the book trade patterns. From 1800 to 1850 the newspapers once more led a new revolution in printing by introducing large, powerful, fast steampresses.[20] They encouraged the development of more efficient methods of typesetting and cheaper paper. Co-incident with these changes, and partly as a result of the cost and specialist expertise demanded by the new technology, came the rise of the publisher as a separate entity, separate both from printer and bookseller, acting essentially as the middle person, co-ordinating the different aspects of the trade. Outwardly this became apparent in the widespread introduction of publisher's bindings which provided the sign of the independent publisher. Incidentally they also distanced the reader one further step from the book trade by making it unnecessary to provide private binding.

The new presses meant a large initial outlay of money, in terms of tens of thousands rather than merely thousands of pounds; and yet again, the purchase was often made by a newspaper company. However, once a press had been bought, the printing itself, especially in large quantities, was relatively cheap. Because the new presses could produce material at a lower cost many of the old presses became uneconomical. The provincial trade, still running the old presses yet unable to afford the price of the new technology, became marginalised. At the same time, with the working-class uprisings of the early 1800s, the government slapped a large tax on newspapers in an effort to control them, as well as higher taxes on advertising and paper. These events put even more provincial newspapers out of business and with them went their presses. Without the new technology, provincial printers were restricted to small runs and a local audience; they also maintained the dual role of printer/publisher much longer than in London.

Also without the new technology it was difficult to break into the lucrative magazine market. Just as John Thacker's *Art of Cookery* made the most of the easy distribution and apparent cheapness of part publication, so

Phillip's *Family Friend* (1849), Dickens's *Household Words* (1852) and Beeton's *English Woman's Domestic Magazine* (1856) burst onto the scene and came to dominate publishing. The impetus for their success was partly the repeal of those 'taxes on knowledge', on newspaper, advertising and paper, and partly the standardisation of sales outlets, particularly in W. H. Smith shops on railway platforms. But mostly it was because they addressed a new audience in an appropriate manner and at a price they could afford. The new urban artisan and middle-class woman was persuaded that she needed continual guidance in social fashion, just as she most certainly did need help with learning where to find and how to use imported foodstuffs and changing kitchen technology. But most of all, this group of readers had a little leisure time and a little money, both of which could be directed by the magazines. Mrs Beaty-Pownall of *Queen*, 'Madge' of *Truth*, 'Isobel' of *Pearson's Weekly* all followed and continued the success of the early magazines.

Impetus only returned to the provincial printing of cookery books in the second part of the nineteenth century, particularly after the Education Acts of 1867 and 1870. By this time the provincial centres, such as Manchester, Liverpool and Leeds were in their heyday of industrial wealth and the printers were able to move into the new technology. Possibly more important was the establishment of the school system which not only ensured a broad degree of literacy and made necessary the writing of textbooks to be used in school cookery classes, but also emancipated women into writing-related work. Even then the concentration of large, influential publishers in London, such as Longmans or Simpkin Marshall, seems to have meant that potentially successful books were usually submitted first to them, as is indeed the case now. The Liverpool training school of cookery's Fanny Calder published her teachers' manual with Longmans (1891). F. T. Paul, teaching domestic science also in Liverpool at

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ART
OF
COOKERY.

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BOILING,	CHEESE-CAKES,	PRESERVING,
FRYING,	TARTS,	PASTRY,
BROILING,	PYES,	COLLERING,
BAKING,	SOOPS,	CONFECTIONARY,
FRICASEES,	MADE-WINES,	CREAMS,
PUDDINGS,	JELLIES,	RAGOOS,
CUSTARDS,	CANDYING,	BRASING, &c. &c.

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By JOHN THACKER,

COOK to the Honourable and Reverend the DEAN and CHAPTER in DURHAM.

NEWCASTLE UPON TYNE:

Printed by I. THOMPSON and COMPANY.

MDCCLVIII.

2.
Title-page of J. Thacker, *The Art of Cookery*, Newcastle-upon-Tyne. Parts issued together as a complete volume in 1758.

Edge Hill, also published with Longmans (1893). The famous Leeds doctor Henry Allbutt published his controversial book on contraception *The Wife's Handbook* (1886) with W. J. Ramsay. Catharine Dodd from Owens College, Manchester, published with Joseph Hughes (1897). The Leeds School Board publication *Our Dwellings Healthy* by Catherine Buckton was published in 1885 with Longmans; and twenty-five years later in 1910, Wilena Hitching from Meanwood Road Girl's School (Leeds) published *Home Management* for the Derbyshire County council with the London firm W. R. Chambers.[21]

It is helpful to have a feel for the books published in London to understand the development of provincial publishing in the cookery book area. The successful educational books just noted were nearly always published in London, since they attempted to become curriculum standards for schools nationwide.[22] Just so the great cookery book writers of the period, with names now probably forgotten – Dorothy Peel, Agnes Marshall, Mrs De Salis, Janet Marshall, Eliza Kirk, Florence Jack, Arthur Kenney-Herbert, Phyllis Browns, Rose Brown, Rose Cole, Nancy Lake and of course Charles Herman Senn – all published in London. These writers each wrote books with an average print run of 50,000–100,000; each author sold near to or more than a million copies of their books, and some, such as Senn, sold many millions. Writers of this kind rarely published in the provinces, and the exceptions such as L. Sykes's *The Olio Cookery Book* or H. Tuxford's *Cookery for the Middle Classes* indicate the rule.[23]

Tuxford began publishing with John Heywood of Manchester in 1902. Her book became so popular that as Heywood published it over the succeeding forty years he went into collaboration with a series of London publishers to ensure its success and wide distribution. Sykes also started with John Heywood in 1911, and the early editions of *The Olio Cookery Book* were printed in Preston. In an almost casebook study, her work was adapted by G. A.

Riley for teaching in Morecambe schools from the fifth edition whereupon we find Heywood's collaboration spreading from London to Dublin and Belfast. From the tenth edition it was taken up as a standard text for the Board of Education Examination in Cookery, a national examination, which encourages Heywood to include publishers in Glasgow as well. The book was reprinted frequently and from 1928 it was brought out solely by the London publisher Ernest Benn, who continued to publish it up to 1954.

What is quite clear is that from the 1870s onwards the provincial presses once more began to find substantial reasons for printing locally, and again we are looking at the question of who made the books and who used them. From 1870 to 1920, printing of cookery books in the regions became quite widespread. More people had access to print and there was a fairly large market generated in part by the London trade and its associated distributary channels and bookselling outlets. But few of the regional printing houses actually competed with London. The areas developed by publishers and printers in the north of England fall roughly into the following categories: specialist publications such as vegetarian cookery, educational text books, work by local authors, fund-raising books, company promotional material, commercial advertising and books related to the cookery trades.

The primary example of specialist publishing must be John Heywood in Manchester who published most of the works of the Vegetarian Society as well as being a major publisher of mainstream books. His edition of Helen Taylor's *Soups, Savouries, Sweets* (1897) provides a neat point of comparison with the first, non-vegetarian and London, edition of 1889. Just as with the two Moxon examples of London and Manchester printing in the mid-eighteenth century, these two editions of *Soups, Savouries, Sweets* show the relative slowness with which provincial presses adopted printing fashions. Richard Bentley's edition

shows all the influence of John Lane's Bodley Head design policies and of the Arts and Crafts movement focus on design, which were soon to flower into Morris's Kelmscott Press.[24] The wide margins, the use of rules, of broad leading, of page by page design with head and foot quotations, of simplicity and lightness. In 1897 John Heywood is trying to do a similar job, but it does not work as well. He uses heavy, almost mock black letter type, highly inappropriate for a cookery book of this kind, and an intricate floral capital that is fussy rather than effective; the attempt to mimic overall page design fails dismally because he doesn't have the courage to box in the text. As a result, the horizontal rules float aimlessly creating patchy spaces of white. At the same time the attempt does indicate his awareness of the new movement, if also his newness to it.

Heywood's vegetarian publications, and the location of the Vegetarian Society in Manchester encouraged many other publishers such as Albert Broadbent into the field.[25] In nearby Liverpool, the great nineteenth-century seaport, one of the specialty publishing areas was sea cookery. Alexander Quinlan published *Cookery for Seamen* (1894) with E. E. Mann of the Liverpool Training School of Cookery, specifically for seamen. The introductory pages of the book advertise the class they ran jointly and state firmly that no more than eight students will be accepted. With the radical change brought to sea cookery over the following ten to fifteen years by the new refrigeration units, new guides for cooking on ships were needed. One of the more successful works in this field was Robert Bond's *Sea Cookery* (1907), originally published in Glasgow but later, and appropriately, in Liverpool.

Promotional books were essential if people were to learn how to use new products. Some were soon forgotten as products, such as Cottolene, a kind of margarine, or Bananine, a banana-based flour, which failed to catch the popular imagination. But Borwick's baking powder and

Goodall Backhouse products became best sellers as did the books like *Good Things Made, Said and Done* (1879) from Goodall Backhouse which ran into many editions, being printed up to 1949, or Lever Brothers 'Sunlight' year books. Promotional books were normally published in the towns where the company was based – Leeds, Port Sunlight – just as commercial books presenting the pros and cons of new sugar refineries or flour manufacturers came from the places like Liverpool where the factories operated.

More important for regional tasks were the trade related books by local food suppliers and shopkeepers. Both groups often wrote for their immediate regional audience. Hannah Young of Warrington used her cookery writing to advertise the products in her local grocery shop, although these goods could also be ordered by post; and Lillie Richmond based her work on the use of the 'Richmond' gas stove.[26] May Whyte, a confectioner, published from Birkenhead where she worked. In Scarborough the baker Robert Wells began by publishing books specifically for the trade primarily with London publishers; but as he moved toward writing for 'the amateur' as well, he shifted his publishing outlet to Scarborough itself. The format of his specifically trade related books is formal, as is the old-fashioned typography. But the later more general works are in a smaller, pocket-sized, format with attractive typographic covers. *Toffy and Sweets* (1893), *Bread Cakes Buns and Biscuits* (1905), and *Pleasant Drinks* (1909) illustrate the changes in design taking place at the turn of the century.

The most important area of provincial publishing was educational. A multitude of books was put out by and for the Local School Boards which range from pamphlets to standard works running into many editions.[27] One of the earliest is a pamphlet on Jewish cookery by Yates and Hess (1877) for the Liverpool Jewish schools, although it included a fair number of regional foods such as Lancashire cakes. Among many others, examples are Mary McNaughton's *Lessons in Practical Cookery* (1891) for elementary

schools in Liverpool, the Carlisle City Education Board's *Cookery* (1907), and the *Lancashire Cookbook* (1896) which was used throughout Lancashire and went through at least twenty-four editions.

While educational books made up the mass of provincial cookery publishing, more important for an idea of regional taste are the fund-raising booklets. These booklets began to be published in the second part of the nineteenth century by women who were trying to become involved with social welfare and charity causes. Not being from a class which could simply donate money, they raised money and formed expressions of their small communities as they did so. The booklets 'in aid of . . .' became more and more numerous as the decades passed, and indeed are popular today. Hospitals, churches, societies and schools all benefitted. There is Blanche Leigh's *Souvenir Cookery Book* (1905) in aid of the Leeds Maternity Hospital, *The Goole Cookery Book* (1907), *The Grimsby Cookery Book* (1905), the *St Andrew's Cookery Book* (1908) from Derby, and dozens of other examples. Again, it was often the local newspaper office which did the printing of these booklets. They are cheap, fairly short and the contributors would all probably have expected not only to produce them free, but also to purchase several copies themselves. What are missing, and oddly so in view of the preoccupation of the late nineteenth century with regional folklore customs, are books devoted to popular regional traditions and taste although there are a few facsimile productions such as the *Arcana Fairfaxiana* (1890) of much earlier manuscripts from great houses.

Curiously, the lack of competition with London publications, which meant that all these categories of books published in the provinces were primarily for distribution there, is an indication of their firmly local basis. However, while this may have helped to record and disseminate a few local traditions at first, in the long run it could never spread them broadly enough to counteract the institutional neutralising of local flavour. By 1920 the colonising of

provincial taste was well under way. Given that printed cookbooks are still not a dependable source of information about popular taste, the works from local shopkeepers and particularly from the fund-raising groups, do provide some insight into what people ate and what they were interested in passing on to other people. The books from the local education boards are Trojan horses. As the competition for the London publisher and broad acceptance into the National examination schemes shows, while some of these works may have included regional foods and traditions, there was also enormous pressure to conform to national foodstuffs and examinable ways of preparation. And as a corollary, as the books achieved national status, the cookery that was taught in schools became less regionally distinct. The process is similar to that occurring in the case of the loss of dialect in the radio and television age.

Notes and References

1. In 1695 the Licensing Act which had kept a strict control over the number of presses, and where they were located, was revoked.
2. See S. Steinberg, *Five Hundred Years of Printing* (Penguin, 1974).
3. J. Feather, *A History of British Publishing* (London, 1988) outlines the background to these developments and provides a general introduction to publishing history in Britain.
4. L. Shepherd, *Chapbooks* (Detroit, 1968).
5. E. Parr, *Early Leeds Printers, Publishers and Booksellers* (University of Leeds M.Phil thesis, 1973).
6. An account of the establishment of *The Leeds Mercury* in 1718 can be found in E. Parr (1973).
7. M. Norris, 'The structure, ownership and control of the press, 1620–1780', in *Newspaper History from the 17th Century to the Present Day*, eds. G. Boyce, J. Curran and P. Wingate (London, 1978).
8. See J. Feather, *The Provincial Book Trade in Eighteenth-Century England* (Cambridge, 1985), p. 21ff. for an account of the connection between newspapers and the provincial press.
9. During the 1760s the legal case of Donaldson vs. Millar disrupted this oligopoly, see J. Feather, *A History of British Publishing* (London, 1988), pp. 82–83.
10. E. Parr (1973).
11. J. Feather (1985), p. 36.
12. E. P. Thompson, *The Making of the English Working-Class* (Penguin, 1963/86), p. 264.

13. See J. Feather (1988), pp. 116–125.
14. Despite V. Maclean's suggestion that Raffald sold her copyright to a London publisher 1782.
15. Dictionary of National Biography, 1909, volume 16, rp 602–3.
16. See D. Attar, *Household Books Published 1800–1914* (London, 1987) for a background to Philp's work.
17. L. Stewart, *The Domestic Manual in England, 1755–1831* of Leeds MA thesis, 1986.
18. P. Gaskell, *A New Introduction to Bibliography* (Oxford, 1972), pp. 307–309.
19. At least, it is at this time that they begin to show a double imprint of Halifax and London.
20. See A. Lee 'The Structure, ownership and control of the press, 1855–1914', in *Newspaper History* (1978).
21. See the entries in D. Attar, *Household Books* (1987).
22. For an account of the growth of cookery and domestic teaching in schools, see the introduction in D. Attar, *Household Books* (1987).
23. See the entries in E. Driver, *Cookery Books Printed in Britain 1875–1914* (London, 1989) to get a sense for the enormous quantity of books being published by these writers.
24. William Morris is well-known for his role in developing the crafts related to printing and design. He was part of a broader movement in Arts and Crafts emerging from the work of the Pre-Raphaelites and John Ruskin, and eventually flowering into the Central School of Art and Design in London in the first decade of the twentieth century.
25. See the introduction to E. Driver, *Cookery Books . . .* (1989) for an account of the Vegetarian Society in the latter years of the nineteenth century.
26. See the entry in E. Driver, *Cookery Books . . .* (1989).
27. See the 'Education' index in E. Driver, *Cookery Books . . .* (1989).

Early Cookery books published in and around the Pennine region

Accrington:
Mayflower, [*Accrington Circuit Wesleyan Methodist Bazaar*] *The 'Mayflower' book*, 1910

Alnwick:
Our Own, *Our own and other people's cookery receipts*, 1910

Ashton-under-Lyne:
Stalybridge Congregational Cookery Book, *The Stalybridge congregational cookery book*, 1906

Berwick:
Taylor, E., *The lady's, housewife's and cookmaid's assistant*, 1769

Birkenhead:
Whytle, Mrs Mary, *High-class sweet making*, 1910
St Michael's, *St Michael's cookery and household book*, 1912
'Silver Queen', *The 'Silver Queen' cookery book*, 1912

Bradford:
Pope, Mary, *Novel dishes for vegetarian households*, 1893
Recipes, *Recipes from All Saints Church Bradford*, 1905
Cuff, Miss Marian Eva, *Recipes compiled by . . .*, 1908
Pesel, Louisa Frances, *Entente recipes in English, French and Flemish*, 1914

Burnley:
Crossley, Miss Margaret Ada, *Cakes: plain, rich and decorated*, 1901
Crossley, Miss Margaret Ada, *Puddings: boiled and baked*, 1902

Carlisle:
Modern, *The modern family receipt book*, 1831
Cookery, *Cookery* [*City of Carlisle Education Committee*], [*1907*]

Darlington:
Homely Letters, *Homely letters on household things*, 1879
Cookery School, The 'cookery school', 1879

Derby:
Modern Cookery, *The modern cookery*, 1818
Modern Confectionary, *modern confectionary*, 1826
Millswood, G., *The new receipt book*, 1825
Greening, Mrs Eliza M., *Food and its preparation*, 1878
Warren, Mrs Eliza, *Cookery for an income of £200 a year*, 1887
Wiss, Thomas Carter, *The feeding of infants*, 1880
Moss, Catherine, *Every-day work in the household*, 1883
Doncaster, Mary W., *Luxurious modern cookery*, 1889
Biddle, L. F. and A. H. Elmitt, *St Andrew's cookery book*, 1908

Dewsbury:
Recipe Book, [*The Church of the Holy Innocents, Thornhill Lees*] *Recipe book*, 1910

Doncaster:
Martin, Sarah, *The new experienced English-housekeeper*, 1795

Gateshead:
Wilson, Mrs Sarah P. and Miss Bella Coysh, *Tested recipes*, 1910

Goole:
Goole Cookery Book, *The Goole cookery book*, 1907

Grimsby:
Grimsby Cookery Book, *The Grimsby cookery book*, 1905

Halifax:
Young woman, *The young woman's companion or female instructer*, 1820
Rundell, M. E., *A new system of domestic cookery*, 1851
Chase, A. W., *England and America's new and useful receipt book*, 1868

Harrogate:
Eccles, Anna K., *A manual of what to eat*, 1897
Braithwaite, Alice, *Plain dinners*, 1905
Braithwaite, Alice, *Plainer fare*, 1908

Hartlepool:
Barker, Miss J., *Cookery recipes*, 1896
Barker, Miss J., *Cookery recipes*, 1898

Hexham:
Keswick, Professor and Mrs J. B., *Health promoting food*, 1895

Huddersfield:
Ritchie, Mrs, *St James' Presbyterian Church Huddersfield cookery book,* (nd)
Household Cookery Recipes, *Battersea Polytechnic/Household cookery recipes*, 1914

Hull:
Compleat, *The compleat family cook*, 1766
Moxon, Elizabeth, *English housewifry — The compleat family cook*, 1766
Pybus, William, *A manual of useful knowledge*, 1810
Pybus, William, *The family useful companion*, 1810
Pybus, William, *The ladies receipt book*, 1810
Colley, Ada, *Domestic economy for students and teachers*, 1893
Clarke, Lihan, *The 'ideal' cookery book,* 1899/1900
Milburn, Mrs Edith, *The imperial cookery book*, 1913

Kendal:
Heatherington, Mrs [*Kendal Wesleyan Circuit Bazaar*] *'The red city'*, 1909
Cowx, Miss Jane, *The Kendal penny cookery book*, 1910

Leeds:
Moxon, Elizabeth, *English housewifry*, 1741
Peckham, Ann, *The compleat English cook*, 1767
Brooks, Catherine, *The complete English cook*, 1765
Davies, John, *The innkeepers and butler's guide . . .*, 1808
Wallace, James, *The confectioner's guide*, 1826
Servant's companion, *The servant's companion*, 1833
Thomas, J. E., *The housewife's guide*, 1833
Thomas, J. E., *The new whole art of confectionary*, 1834
Goodall's, *Goodall's palatable cookery*, 1881
Good Things Made, *Good things made, said and done*, 1876
Kenney-Herbert, Arthur Robert, *Tinned foods*, 1893
McCullock, Miss, *Cookery recipes*, 1897
(Armley) — Leigh, Blanche L., *Souvenir cookery book*, 1905
Leigh, Blanche L., *Leeds household book*, 1914
Atkinson, Miss Amy and Miss Grace Holroyd, *Practical cookery*, 1900
Alfonse, Monsieur, *Homely hints on food*, 1902
Bond, Richard, *Sea cookery*, 1911

Liverpool:
Cakes Puddings and Pastry, *Cakes puddings and pastry* (nd)
New, *A new and complete book of cookery*, 1742
Garnett, Thomas, *A lecture on the preservation of health*, 1742
Female Instructor, *The female instructor*, 1811
Alcock, Elizabeth, *The frugal housekeeper's companion*, 1812
Stavely, Mrs, *The housewife's guide*, 1827
Stavely, S. W., *The new whole art of confectionary*, 1828
Servants, *The servants' companion*, 1829
Millington, S. M. T., *The servant's companion*, 1864
Aunt Sarah, *Aunt Sarah's directions for teaching economical cookery*, 1877
How, *How she managed without a servant*, 1883
Maitland, Miss Agnes Catharine, *The rudiments of cookery*, 1883
Thwaites, Isabella, *Fish cookery*, 1883
Thwaites, Isabella, *Recipes of ten days' cookery lectures*, 1887
Recipes for Use, *Recipes for use at the cookery classes established by the Board*, 1888
Thwaites, Isabella, *Further new dishes*, 1891
McNaughtan, Mary, *Lessons in practical cookery*, 1891
Plain cookery, *Plain cookery and laundry-work recipes*, 1892
Quinlan, Alexander and Miss Ellen E. Mann, *Cookery for seamen*, 1894
Head, Helena, *Manual of housewifery*, 1904
Original Royal Baking Powder, *The original royal baking powder*, 1896
Dictionary, *Dictionary of 'Bill of Fare' terms*, 1897
McNaughtan, Mary, *Dinners a la Francais*, 1901
Cookery recipes, *Cookery recipes*, 1910
Edwards, Mrs W. H., *Recipes worth trying*, 1912
'Silver Queen', *The 'Silver Queen' cookery book*, 1912
R., S. N., *Household guide and cookery book*, 1914

Manchester:
Smallwood, Miss M., *Miss Smallwood's goodies* (nd)
Smallwood, Miss M., *Commonsense cookery* (nd)
New Prize Cookery, *Specially selected new prize cookery* (nd)
Broadbent, Albert, *Recipes for forty vegetarian dinners* (nd)
Rex, *'Dainty dishes'* (nd)
Raffald, Elizabeth, *The experienced English house-keeper*, 1769
Alcock, Elizabeth, *The frugal housekeeper's companion*, 1812
Young Woman's, *The young woman's companion: or, frugal housewife*, 1813
Radcliffe, M., *A modern system of domestic cookery*, 1822
Poole, Watkin, *The female's best friend*, 1826
Houlston and Sons, *Houlston's housekeeper's assistant*, 1828
Vegetable, *Vegetable cookery*, 1829
Rundell, M. E., *A new system of domestic cookery*, 1848
Recipes, *Recipes, for a trial of vegetarian diet*, 1849
Vegetarian Cookery, *Vegetarian cookery*, 1852

Lewis, Miss Amelia, *A lecture on food and cooking*, 1878
Simple Cookery, *Simple cookery for the people*, c.1878/9
Buck, William Elgar, Mrs Marion Buck and H. Major, *The 'Little housewife'*, 1879
Trall, Russell Thacker and Mrs Mattie M. Jones, *The Hygeian Home cook-book*, 1883
Tarrant, Thirza, *Food reform cookery book*, 1884
Confectioner's *Confectioner's receipt book*, 1886
Kilvert's Book, *Kilvert's book of economical cookery*, 1887
Baker, Miss, *The vegetist's dietary*, 1887/8
Recipes Used, [*Manchester School Board*] *Recipes used at the classes*, 1889
Young, Mrs Hannah M., *Choice cookery*, 1890
Young, Mrs Hannah M., *The housewife's manual*, 1890
Butler, W. C., *Butler's modern practical confectioner*, 1890
Butler, W. C., *The modern cook*, 1894
Wells, R. B. D., *The best food and how to cook it*, 1893
Young, Mrs Hannah M., *The housewife's manual*, 1890
May, Mrs Ernest, *Comprehensive cookery*, 1897
Richmond, Miss Lillie, *Domestic and economical cookery recipes*, 1897
Taylor, Helen, *Soup, savouries, sweets or vegetarian dishes*, 1897
Wells, Robert, *Wells' cakes and buns*, 1897
Surridge, Miss Florence, *Domestic and economical cookery recipes*, 1898
Broadbent, Albert, *Fruits, nuts and vegetables*, 1900
Broadbent, Albert, *Science in the daily meal*, 1900
Tuxford, Miss Hester H., *Cookery book for the middle classes*, 1902
Broadbent, Albert, *Simple and healthful food*, 1903
Wells, Robert, *Bread, cakes, buns, and biscuits*, 1903–15
Broadbent, Albert, *A book about salads*, 1905
Nield, Miss Mary and Miss Annie Nield, *A condensed summary of the principles of cooking*, 1906
Schulbe, Ernest, *Advanced piping and modelling*, 1906
Book of the Banana, *The book of the banana*, 1907/8
Wells, Robert, *Pleasant drinks*, 1908
Burrows, Jessie Wharton, *What's for dinner?* 1909
Sykes, Miss L., *An olio of proved recipes*, 1911

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Forster, William, *A treatise on the various kinds and qualities of food*, 1738
Pauli, Simon, *A treatise on tobacco, tea, coffee and chocolate*, 1746
Douglas, C., *The summer's amusements*, 1746
Cook, Ann, *Professed cookery*, 1754
Thacker, John, *The art of cookery*, 1758
Smith, Mary, *The complete housekeeper and professed cook*, 1772
Choice, *The choice collection of cookery receipts*, 1775
Marshall, Elizabeth, *The young ladies' guide in the art of cookery*, 1777

Kellet, Susanna and Elizabeth and Mary, *A simple collection of cookery receipts*, 1780
Spencer, E., *The modern cook . . .*, 1782
Useful, *Useful hints on a variety of subjects*, 1791
Armstrong, John, *The young woman's guide to virtue, economy . . .*, 1817
Bell, Joseph, *A treatise on confectionary*, 1817
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Oldham:
Lewis, Mrs Amelia, *A lecture on food and cooking*, 1878
Blyth, Harry, *Magic morsels*, 1879
Lancashire Cookery Book, *Lancashire cookery book*, 1896
Economical Confectionery Book, *The economical confectionery book*, 1897

Openshaw:
Cookery Book [*Moorside Wesleyan Methodist Bazaar*] *Cookery book*, 1907

Otley:
Housewife's Guide, *The housewife's guide*, 1838
Walker's, *Walker's new family receipt-book*, 1838
Alexander, Charles Wesley, *The housewife's friend and family help*, 1888

Port Sunlight:
Good Plain Cookery, *Good plain cookery*, 1886
Sperling, Edith, *'Sunlight' year books, 1895*, 1895
Family Advice, *The family advice book*, c.1895
Sunlight, *The 'Sunlight' almanac*, 1895
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Gardner, Miss A. and Mrs M. Swan, *The 'Gardale' cookery book*, 1912

Rochdale:
Worrall, Joseph, *The domestic receipt book*, 1832

Salford:
A New System, *A new system of vegetable cookery*, 1821

Scarborough:
Keswick, Professor and Mrs J. B., *Health promoting food*, 1895
Wells, R. B. D., *The best food and how to cook it*, 1893

Sheffield:
Haslehurst, Priscilla, *The family friend*, 1802
A New System, *A new system of vegetable cookery*, 1821
Angwin, Miss Margaretta Carthew, *Simple hints on choice of food*, 1898
Sorby, Miss Edith, *Handbook of wholesome cookery*, 1894

Skipton:
Skipton Cookery Book, *Skipton cookery book*, 1910

Southport:
Trinity Circuit, *Trinity Circuit recipe book*, 1907

Stockton-on-Tees:
Wright, W. M., *How to spend sixpence*, 1881

Sunderland:
Cookery Book, *Cookery book comprising recipes*, 1906

Todmorden:
Worrall, Joseph, *The domestic receipt book*, 1832
Recipes, *Mankinholes Wesleyan Chapel. Recipes*, 1909

Wakefield:
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Philip, Robert Kemp, *Consult me, to know how to cook . . .*, 1886

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Poole, Watkin, *The female's best friend*, 1826
Universal, *The universal family recipe book*, 1830
Advice, *Advice to a young married woman*, 1887
Sure, *A sure guide to rapid wealth*, 1875

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Lyttleton, Mary Kathleen, *Commonsense for housewives*, 1896
Mather, J., *Commonsense for housewives*, 1896
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Grains, *Grains of gold for every household*, 1895