From Banquet to Dessert: The English Sweet Course 1500-1700

The development of the dessert course has been written about before, however discussions have tended to draw heavily on writings from other countries, especially those of Alexis of Piermont and publications such as Le Ménagier de Paris. This paper will examine the development of the sweet course from an English perspective, re-evaluate banqueting houses and the idea that the sweet course was taken standing, and examine the composition of two centuries of English sweet courses.

What is a banquet?

The word banquet has had many meanings since it first appeared in English over five hundred years ago¹. In this first instance, it referred to a sumptuous meal, but from 1509, it was also used to describe a between-meal snack², for visitors, such as well-wishers dropping in following the birth of a child.

"Consider then what cost and trouble it will be to him, to haue all things fine against the Christning day, what store of Sugar, Biskets, Comphets and Carawayes, Marmalet, and marchpane, with all kind of sweete suckets, and superstitious banqueting stuffe, with a hundred other odde and needlesse trifles, which at that time must fill the pockets of daintie dames"³

In this context it was also known as a running banquet, its delicacies selected by the guests standing around, without the formality of a sit-down repast, and with brevity being the watchword.

"we are but yet in the morning of the day, the feast is to come; in the meane time a running banquet, a breakfast, a taste shall suffice to stay the stomach"

"and like a Bird ... dart up to Heaven, make a short visit thither, refresh it self with some heavenly dainty; ... have a running Banquet of heavenly sweet-meats, when it cannot sit down and feed at large by a fuller set Meditation."⁵

^{1 1483,} cited by the OED, "He there bayned and made bankettis in etyng and drynkyng." W. Caxton tr. J. de Voragine Golden Legende 246/2 https://www.oed.com/view/Entry/15298 Accessed 08/04/2021.

^{2 &}quot;Eschewyge bankettes / reresoupers / ioncryes betwyxe meales." 1509, Bishop John Fisher, in "Here after foloweth a mornynge remembraunce had at the moneth mynde of the noble prynces Margarete countesse of Rychemonde et Darbye moder vnto kynge Henry the. vii. et grandame to oure souerayne lorde that nowe is, vppon whose soule almyghty god haue mercy", Wynkyn de Worde, London

³ CHAP. III. The humour of a woman lying in Child-bed in 'The bachelers banquet: or A banquet for bachelers' Printer T. Creede, 1604, London.

^{4 &}quot;The case and cure of a deserted soule, or, A treatise concerning the nature, kindes, degrees, symptomes, causes, cure of, and mistakes about spirituall desertions", 1639, Joseph Symonds, Printer: M. Flesher, London, p507.

^{5 &}quot;Solitude improved by divine meditation, or, A treatise proving the duty and demonstrating the necessity, excellency, usefulness, natures, kinds and requisites of divine meditation", 1670, Nathanael Ranew, Printer J.M., London, pp204/5.

"The fight continued halfe an hour" How, no longer? I wonder where this fellow got the nack of dispatching businesses of this nature in such a trice: What! Table spread? guests come? a running banquet? all either eaten or pocketed up, and then the Bells rung backward, Cloath taken away! Company gone! yea and room swept too, that no bodie can tell any bodie was there, and all this in lesse then an houre?

From 1523, the word banquet was also being used in reference to the sweet course served at the end of a feast⁷.

"This, and the other Meals were usually heretofore closed with Comfits, Spices, and Wine, and of late times with a costly Banquet."⁸

Coverdale's 1535 translation of the Bible offers two further usages for 'banquet': that of a feasting place (banquet house)⁹, and also a drinking session (a banquet of wine)¹⁰. The additional examples provided by the OED are evidence that there is a certain degree of overlap amongst all of these meanings, and that the word banquet, at a single point in time, can have several different meanings, so failure to take into account the context in which the word banquet is used can lead to erroneous conclusions being drawn. For example:

"One of the first specific references to an outdoor banqueting house was in 1535, when Miles Coverdale mentions a banqueting house in such a way as to make it clear that it is separate from the house"¹¹

On face value, there is nothing incorrect about this statement. However, when context is taken into account, the fact that this mention is actually from Coverdale's ground-breaking translation of the Bible into English, that many of the 'banquet' references therein were to banquets of wine¹², and that the banquet house was where these banquets were held, it's a challenge to then accept the suggestion that the banquet house in England was an outdoor place for the consumption of the sweet course, especially when the OED contains no such references.

^{6 &}quot;A second edition of the new almanack for the year 1656. Or, the nocturnall revised", 1656, Henry Seaman, London, p8.

^{7 1523 &}quot;He gaue dyners, suppers, and banketes to ladyes and damosels." https://www.oed.com/view/Entry/15298 Accessed 08/04/2021.

^{8 &}quot;The Institution, laws & ceremonies of the most noble Order of the Garter", 1672, Elias Ashmole, Printed by J.Macock, London, p545.

^{9 &}quot;So by reason off this matter, yt had happened to the kynge & his lordes, the quene went vp herself in to the bancket house, and spake vnto the kynge," Daniel Vh5, verse 10. Coverdale Bible online, https://www.studylight.org/bible/eng/mcb/daniel/5.html Accessed 08/04/2021.

^{10 &}quot;And the kynge arose fro the bancket & fro ye wyne in his displeasure" Esther Chapter 7 verse 7, Coverdale Bible online, https://www.studylight.org/bible/eng/mcb/esther/7.html Accessed 08/04/2021

^{11 &}quot;Bowers of Bliss: the Banquet Setting" in "Banquetting Stuffe", 1991, C.Anne Wilson (ed.), The Alden Press, Oxford, p120.

¹² Especially in the book of Esther. Esther organised a lot of banquets, practically all of them wine-based.

Banqueting Houses

The partaking of sweet refreshments in a location away from the usual dining location is related less closely to the dessert course and more with the development of English gardens and gardening. As aesthetic, as opposed to practical (fruit/vegetable/herb), gardens developed, they became objects of enjoyment, and so features such as arbors or summer houses erected on artificial mounds were created in order to best enjoy the surrounding scenery. The mount constructed by Henry VIII in Hampton Court Palace gardens in 1533, surmounted with a lantern arbor, was one of the earliest of just such a building in England, and the presence there of a table would support the possibility of refreshments being made available. Visitors went for the view, and enjoyed a snack-banquet whilst they were there.

There is a probability that, initially, these outdoor buildings were, if not temporary, then intended for use only during the summer months. On a practical level, there's not going to be much view to admire in the winter months, however diligent your gardener, especially with the British climate. Also, the outdoor approach would be discouraging unless covered in some way or accessible from the main building.

"The whole frame of this somer banqueting house, stood (at the ground line) upon 4 foote;" 14

"For have not they all their houses furnished with all such stuffe as is requisite for the same? have they not Gentlemen to attend upon them, wayting women to follow them? have they not theyr Coches, to take the aire when they list? and may they not, if they so like, go for their recreation unto their gardens of pleasure, and banquetting houses in the Summer time?" ¹⁵

As gardens and landscaping became increasingly popular, so did the edifices from which to view them, but primarily, they were places to admire the scenery, where refreshment could be served, rather than the other way around. There's a stronger argument for banqueting houses being more akin to picnic destinations rather than sweet course locations, especially when the temporary summer pavilions and arbours of the Tudors gave way to the permanent structures of brick and mortar of the Stuarts. The quintessential nature of banqueting houses is borne out by this snippet from a mid-seventeenth century comic tale of a weary traveller hoping to find some hospitality, being tuned away from what appears from the outside to be a

¹³ As described by Willem Schellinks, the Dutch artist on a visit in 1662 "One goes through a door up some steps to a very pleasant octagonal summer-house, which stands on a higher level; from which one has a view over the whole garden; in its middle stands a marble table on a pedestal, and its ceiling is painted with a heaven full of cupids. There is nothing but glass windows all around and under them are nicely carved benches. Below this place is a deep vaulted wine cellar." https://thegardenstrust.blog/2015/09/12/mounts-and-mounds/ Retrieved 31/03/2021.

¹⁴ The magnificent entertainment given to King James, Queene Anne his wife, and Henry Frederick the Prince, upon the day of his Maiesties tryumphant passage (from the Tower) through his honourable citie (and chamber) of London, being the 15. of March. 1603. As well by the English as by the strangers: with the speeches and songes, deliuered in the seuerall pageants.", 1604, Thomas Dekker, Printed by T[homas] C[reede, Humphrey Lownes, Edward Allde and others], London.

^{15 &}quot;Of mariage and wiuing", Ercole Tasso, 1599, Printer Thomas Creede, London.

"goodly, faire and gorgeously-built house, which stood as it were a mile from a citie near adjoining. ... I met with a foole in a pyed coate, who looking upon mee, after he had outlaughed himselfe, told me: Sir, you are mistaken, this is a Banqueting House, where the gazers are onely fed with conceipts, for there is not a chimney that smokes, nor a doore open, it is called a Mock-beggar, ha, ha, ha.¹⁶"

They key points from this being:

- those frequenting the Banqueting House are 'gazers', i.e. there to admire the view.
- · the only food forthcoming would be 'conceits', sweet and dainty fancies,
- since the house has no chimney (and by extension, no means to cook hot food), more substantial fare is not available.
- A Mock-beggar is "something which serves to disappoint the hopes of beggars. ...a house that has an appearance of wealth but is either deserted or has poor or miserly inhabitants"¹⁷

Thus it would appear that, rather than being the location for the banquet of a feast, banqueting houses were labelled as such because the only type of refreshment available there, was the sugared preserves and sweetmeats typical of the banquet course.

Location of the banquet course.

If it was not the custom to serve the sweet course in a distant banqueting house, then where?

The earliest¹⁸, or at least the most cited, suggestion that the banquet course was served in a separate room is an 1805 footnote by W. Gifford:

"A banquet was what we now call a dessert; it was composed of fruits, sweetmeats, &c. ... The banquet was usually placed in a separate room, to which the guests removed as soon as they had dined: thus, in The Unnatural Combat, Beaufort says: "we'll dine in the great room, but let the music and banquet be prepared here."

The common place of banqueting, or of eating the dessert, among our ancestors, was the garden-house or arbour, with which almost every dwelling was once furnished. To this Shallow alludes in a simple passage, which has had a great deal of impertinent matter written to confound it:

^{16 &}quot;A mad world my masters, mistake me not. Or, A merry dialogue betweene two travellers, the taker, and mistaker", 1635, Nicholas Breton, R. Raworth, London.

^{17 &}quot;Mock-beggar, n." OED Online. Oxford University Press, March 2021. Web. 10 April 2021.

¹⁸ Allow me to qualify this with: that I have been able to find.

"Shallow: "Nay, you shall see mine orchard, where, in an arbour, we will eat a last year's pippin of my own grafting, with a dish of carraways, and so forth." Henry IV Part II" 19

There are several concerns with this commentary, which appears to stem from a misunderstanding of the term 'banquet'. As previously mentioned, the multiple meanings of the word banquet can be misconstrued, without careful examination of the context in which it is used. Is Gifford claiming that the 'usual' place of banqueting was inside, or the 'common' place outside, because he appears to suggest both.

Although the line by Beaufort does indeed indicate use of a separate room, crucially, it is for *music and banquet*. Grand feasts invariably included some kind of entertainment, an elaboration of the between-course subtleties of the Middle Ages, after which some sweet refreshment could be partaken. In these situations, when sweetmeats and the like are partaken of a significant interval after the feast, it is difficult to argue the case that this could rightly still be determined to be the dessert course. In such instances, it would be more accurate to refer to them as running banquets.

Gifford's assertion that Shallow's apple and a dish of comfits in an orchard arbour constitutes proof that the "common place of banqueting" was outside is also a challenge. Is one line in a play evidence enough to suggest that something was commonplace? If so, how does that square with these lines from The Taming of the Shrew (Act 5, Scene II, circa 1592), that suggest that even guests at a post wedding-feast banquet, take their enjoyment indoors and seated. When the newly-married Lucentio welcomes the guests to his home, he urges:

Lucentio: My banquet is to close our stomachs up

After our great good cheer. Pray you, sit down,

For now we sit to chat as well as eat.

Petruchio: Nothing but sit and sit, and eat and eat!

Wilson (1991)²⁰ has suggested the precedent for removing to a separate room is set by a mention in Le Ménagier de Paris (1393). However, this relocation is for the *boute-hors*, and comes after diners have already enjoyed both *dessert* and *l'issue*²¹. The *boute-hors* was typically wine and (sugared) spices, believed to settle the stomach and promote digestion, the medieval equivalent of our modern coffee, liquers and petit-fours. And fundamentally, this is a French book about French customs, and therefore is not a strong argument for English dining habits.

¹⁹ The City Madam, pp29/30, in **"The Plays of Philip Massinger: in four volumes, with notes critical and explanatory by W. Gifford, Esq"**. Volume 4, 1805, printed by W. Bulmer and Co., Cleveland-Row, St James's.

^{20 &#}x27;The Evolution of the Banquet Course' C. Anne Wilson, in "Banquetting Stuffe", 1991, Alden Press, Oxford, p13

²¹ Second dessert, a concept probably much approved of by Hobbits. Dessert consisted of preserves and sugared fruits and nuts, l'issue of hippocras and wafers (winter) and cheese and apples in summer, sometimes with pastries and other sweet things.

The above line from Petruchio is perhaps more pertinent than at first glance, because in all of the records that I have managed to find, the sweet course of a banquet in England, is served to the diners whilst seated. Admittedly, these records tend to be of lavish feasts given either by, or for, royalty, and consequently are very much displays of pageantry or wealth. However, I was unable to find a single record of an actual feast where the banquet/dessert was not brought to the table. Far from rising and departing to another room, as early as the reign of Henry VII, the anonymous Boke of Kervynge (1508) was advising that the table be cleared only *after* the serving of the (mostly) sweet dishes:

"The thyrde course.

Fresshe sturgyon breme perche in gelly a joll of samon sturgyon and welkes apples & peres rosted with suger candy. Fygges of malyke & raysyns dates capte wt mynced gynger / wafers and ypocras they ben agreable / this feest is done voyde ye the table."²²

Dishes of the Banquet - Tudor treats

Sources for Tudor banquets are sparse. Oxford (1913)²³ lists fewer than thirty cookery books published in the 16th century, not all of which contain recipes, let alone banquet ideas. Those that do contain sweet recipes rarely suggest how they are to be served as part of banquet fare. The final menu suggested in *A proper newe booke of cokerye* (circa 1577)²⁴ advises the last course include tart, cheese, figs, raisins, apples, pears, blanched almonds. In his book of 1587²⁵, Thomas Dawson provides a list of

THE NAMES OF ALL thinges necessarie for a banquet.

Suger.Pomegranat.Rie flower.Sinamome.seedes.Ginger.Licoras.Damaske water.Swéete Orenges.PennerTorneseliPaner White and

Pepper. Torneseli. Paper White and Nutmegs. Lemmans. browne All kinde of Comfets. Prunes. Cloues and Mace.

Safron. Rosewater. Wafers.

Saunders. Dates. For your March-panes Anniséedes. Currants. seasoned and Coleander. Reasons. unseasoned,

Orenges. Cheries conserued. Spinnedges.

Barberies conserued.

^{22 &}quot;The boke of keruynge", 1508, Anonymous, Enprynted by Wynkyn de Worde at London in Fletestrete at the sygne of the sonne, London.

^{23 &}quot;English Cookery Books to the Year 1850", 1913, Arnold Whitaker, Oxford University Press, London.

²⁴ A proper newe booke of cokerye, reproduction text edited by Catherine Frere, 1913, Heffer & Sons, Cambridge, p17.

^{25 &}quot;The good husvvifes jewell", 1587, Thomas Dawson, John Wolfe, London, pp22-23.

although, with the presence of the papers, and spinach for marchpanes (but oddly no almonds), it looks more like a store-cupboard checklist of ingredients from which to create banquet dishes. It is interesting to note that, first among equals, - or at least, listed as such - is sugar.

Away from the cookery books, two poetic extracts from mid Elizabethan times provide examples of differing banquet menu choices.

"Great was our cheare, yet supper being done, to furnish furth the table new agayne, Of sundry sorts a banquet new begonne: of Apples, Peares, Marmlade, and Marchpayne, Sucket, sugarde Almondes, and canded Plummes: with many other prety didledummes."²⁶

All this theyle haue, and else much more, sydes Marchpane and gréene Cheese, Stewde wardens, Prunes, & sweete conserues with spiced Wine like Lées. Gréeneginger, Sucket, Suger Plate, and Marmaladie fine:
Blauncht Almonds, Peares and Ginger bread²⁷.

It is interesting to compare these last two banquets with the sweet course described at the beginning of the century in The Boke of Kervynge. Back in 1508, there's roasted autumnal fruits, dried fruits, candied ginger and wafers. In the first of the extracts, from 1577, the list has been added to and now includes marmalade, marchpane, sucket, sugared almonds and candied plums. The range of banquet items in the second poem extract, published just two years later, is expanded even further, with cream cheese, stewed wardens, prunes, sweet conserves, spiced wine, green ginger and gingerbread. Nearly every addition to the banquet table contains sugar.

Despite being expensive, during Elizabeth's reign sugar became popular both for the taste and as a display of wealth. The English voracity for sugar (and its associated effect on the teeth) became well known even in other countries, as noted by the German traveller Paul Hentzner in the account of his visit to England in 1598:

"next came the queen, ... her lips narrow, and her teeth black; (a defect the English seem subject to, from their too great use of sugar)²⁸"

And as we'll find in the seventeenth century, to coin a phrase, you ain't seen nothing yet.

²⁶ The vvorkes of a young wyt, trust vp with a fardell of pretie fancies", 1577, Nicholas Breton, Printer Thomas Dawson, and Thomas Gardyner, London,

^{27 &}quot;Newes out of Powles Churchyarde", 1579, Edward Hake, Printer Iohn Charlewood, and Richard Ihones, London, The thyrde satyr.

^{28 &}quot;A journey into England. By Pau-l Hentzner, in the year M.D.XC.VIII." (1757), Paul Hentzner, Twickenham, pp48-49.

Dishes of the Banquet - Stuart sweeties

During the seventeenth century, the quantities of sugar entering England skyrocketed as the harvests of the sugar plantations established in Jamaica and Barbados made their way across the Atlantic ocean²⁹. However, at the beginning of the century, sugar was still very much a luxury item. Although cane sugar had first made its way to British shores in the 14th century, prices remained high at around a shilling a pound³⁰ and demand was on the rise. To put these prices in context, the shilling price of a pound of sugar represented a week's wages for a skilled labourer (mason/carpenter/thatcher³¹).

The seventeenth century is much more fruitful in providing both suggestions for the serving of a banquet and records of what was to be found on banqueting tables of magnificent feasts. The high price of sugar meant it could be used as a demonstration of generosity and honour towards one's guests: I hold you in such high esteem I honour you with this lavish banquet. The unspoken implication being: see how rich I am to afford such luxuries. Sugared sweetmeats became a Jacobean humble-brag.

At a time when cookery books were still relatively few and far between, it is still possible to find details of just how sumptuous these occasions were by delving into less obvious sources. To set the banquet standard at the turn of the sixteenth century, albeit in a rather extreme way, we have details of the feast served to James I and his son Prince Henry, by the Guild of Merchant Taylors in July, 1607. The king had visited the Clothworkers Hall the previous month and eager not to be outshone, the Merchant Taylors invited the King, the Queen and the soon to be Prince of Wales to dine with them on July 17th.

Eager to impress James, the Guild spared no expense and the eye-watering expenditure of their efforts is recorded in their account books in jaw-dropping detail. The Queen ultimately did not attend, but the King and Prince Henry both put in an appearance. The King dined alone, in King's Chamber upstairs, the Prince at his own table in the main hall, flanked on either side by tables of the guild members. Most of the food purchased for the feast is listed as individual ingredients, so the dishes they ended up as is unknown, however the foodstuffs for the Banquet were purchased 'ready made' from confectioners and are itemised in all their sumptuous glory. In addition to the sweet items, the Guild also rented 840 glass plates on which to display the Banquet sweetmeats³².

^{29 &}quot;The English connection between sugar production and sugar consumption was welded in the seventeenth century, when Britain acquired Barbados, Jamaica and other "sugar islands", vastly expanded her trade in African slaves, made inroads into the Portuguese domination of the Continental sugar trade, and first began to build a broad internal consumer market." 'Sweetness and power: the place of sugar in modern history', 1986, Sidney Mintz, New York: Penguin Books, p61.

³⁰ In 1311-12 "In 8 lib. de sucore de Roche et Marrok, 7s 8d" (p9) and in 1440 "Item 1 layf de suggir, 4s. 6d." from 'Extracts from the Account Rolls of the Abbey of Durham', Andrews & Co., Durham, 1898, Volume 1.

³¹ List of price of medieval items, http://medieval.ucdavis.edu/120D/Money.html Accessed 07/03/2021.

^{32 &}quot;For the use of 70 dozen plate glasses: 1l. 3s. 4d." Alas, it would appear that the servers were rather careless, as a little further on in the accounts we find "For 13 dozen and eight plates of glass lost: 4l. 2s." Memorials of the Guild of Merchant Taylors of the Fraternity of St. John the Baptist, in the City of London: and of its associated charities and institutions, 1875, Charles Clode, Harrison & Sons, London, p174 & p176.

Due to the unusual seating arrangements, the Banquet items are split into three sections, one each for the King, the Prince and the Lords themselves³³, so it is possible to know exactly what was laid before each. The quantities and range of items is breathtaking. Over a dozen types of comfits of seeds, fruits and flowers, mountains of fruit fresh and dried, candied, preserved and made into pastes, biscuits, marchpanes and cakes. The King's Banquet consisted of eighty-three different plates each containing a pound³⁴ of sweetmeats, plus at least one marchpane³⁵. The Prince and Guild members each enjoyed a Banquet of just sixty-four plates of sweetmeats plus marchpanes.

They must have made for a stunning spectacle: the glass plates piled high on the rich table coverings, beneath the flickering light of the torches and candles, the banquet courses must have sparkled as jewels. Almost 130 different items made up these three spectaculars, so of course, not all of the selections were the same. A certain hierarchy is apparent, and visible to all, with the greatest and finest items being laid before the king. For example, all three banquets contained musk millions (musk melons) and green peaches, but only the king had pastes of medlars and of quince, and only the prince enjoyed rose and violet comfits. Serving the banquet in this manner means the differences between the tables is all the more pronounced; everyone is able to see that the young prince receives more choice items than the lords themselves.

Overall, the evening cost the Guild a whopping £1061.5s.1d, with £80.0s.0d. being spent on the Banquets alone. This equates to roughly £150,000 and £11,000 respectively in modern terms³⁶: an astonishing amount. There was unlikely to have been any waste, as it appears that it was accepted practice of the times to fill ones pockets from the banquet or, if you were particularly brazen, pile things into a napkin³⁷.

This was no-doubt a splendid evening for all, and it is possible it also made a lasting impression on Prince Henry. There is a manuscript in the Bloomington Lilly Library stamped with Henry Frederick's coat of arms. Whilst he is not thought to be the author, he is believed to have commissioned the manuscript shortly after his investiture as Prince of Wales in 1610, keen to establish

With a Cheese-cake and Custard for my little Johnny,

³³ See Appendices 1, 2 & 3.

³⁴ With the exception of the plate of Cakes of Janua (Genoa), which held 1½lbs.

Forty marchpanes are listed separately (See Appendix 4) in sizes (cost) ranging from 20 shillings, down to 2 shillings, and records give no indication as to how they were distributed. It is likely that the King and the Prince were each presented with the most expensive marchpanes, and possibly also some of the smaller ones.

³⁶ Costs converted using the online currency converter at the National Archives. The most recent year available is 2017. https://www.nationalarchives.gov.uk/currency-converter/ Accessed 08/03/2021

^{37 &}quot;I'll step but up, and fetch two Handerchiefs

To pocket up some Sweet-meats, and o'r take thee;"

[&]quot;Two new playes ...", Thomas Middleton, 1657, Printer Humphrey Moseley, London, p144.

[&]quot;Particulars of Servants. ... Altho' there are great Quantities of Victuals brought from the Kitchin, yet do they rarely carry any back, for the Servants immediately seize on what is left, and their Ladies make them carry each of them a Napkin to prog [forage] for dry'd Sweet-meats or Fruit."

[&]quot;The history of Poland", Bernard Connor, 1698, Printer J.D. London, p217.

[&]quot;When their Stomacks were Cloi'd, what their Bellies denied,

Each clap'd in his Pocket to give to his Bride;

And a handful of Sweet-meats for poor Daughter Nanny."

[&]quot;O raree-show, O pretty show, or, The city feast", Edward Ward, 1698, Printer/Publisher s.n, London, p2.

himself as 'an educated, cultured Renaissance prince'.³⁸ Aside from the intrinsic interest in the availability of such an early manuscript with such an illustrious association, this substantial³⁹ tome's additional draw are the final four pages detailing 'Severall sort of sweet meates fitting for a Bankquett'⁴⁰.

The list is impressive. Under several headings are recorded over a hundred items including marchpanes, dried suckets, rock candies, fruit pastes and comfits of fruits, spices, flowers and seeds - very similar to the items provided by the Merchant Tailor's Guild. In commissioning this manuscript, it is possible that the prince recalled the sumptuous spread he experienced just a few years previously and wished to record it's magnificence as a standard to aim for. There is even an instruction for the plates and dishes to be made of glass, as they were for the banquet of 1607. There is definitely a sense of 'more is more' about the Prince's banqueting items, and without further direction, a suggestion that the more you can cram onto the table, the better the banquet.

The early recipe books of the century concerned with banqueting stuff list many recipes for sweetmeats, but offer no instruction as to their use or presentation. As the century progresses, however, evidence emerges that more thought was being given to the arrangement and contents of a banquet. Some organisation is required, and luckily, into this breach steps Gervase Markham. He goes into great detail on the specifics of The Ordering of Banquets⁴¹:

"I will now proceede to the ordering or setting forth of a Banquet, wherein you shall observe, that

- Marchpanes have the first place, the middle place, and last place;
- your preserved fruits shall be disht up first,
- your Pastes next,
- your wet Suckets after them,
- then your dried Suckets,
- then your Marmelades and Goodiniakes,
- then your Cumfets of all kinds;
- next, your Peares, Apples, Wardens bak't, raw or roasted and your Oranges and Lemons sliced;
- and lastly your Wafer cakes."⁴²

These are clear instructions on precisely what to bring to the main table and how, an orderly procession of sugary delights. Sugar was still an expensive luxury, and so displaying banquet dessert items perfectly preserved by sugar (fruits), covered in sugar (pastes) and swimming in sugar (wet suckets), and so on, was no doubt intended as a reminder to guests not only of their host's generosity but also their wealth.

Markham also had opinions on how the dessert should be served. Immediately following the above order of service comes:

³⁸ Henry Frederick, Prince of Wales (1594-1612) manuscript volume of recipes and medical remedies https://www.manuscriptcookbookssurvey.org/collection/Detail/manuscripts/471 Accessed 05/03/2021.

^{39 448} inscribed pages.

⁴⁰ See Appendix 5.

⁴¹ Reformatted for clarity.

^{42 &}quot;Countrey contentments, or The English husvvife", 1615, Gervase Markham, Printed By Iohn Beale, London, p78.

"Thus you shall order them in the Closet; but when they goe to the table,

- you shall first send forth a dish made for shew onely, as Beast, bird, Fish, or Fowle, according to invention:
- then your Marchpane,
- then Preserved Fruite,
- then a Paste.
- then a wet Sucket,
- then a drie Sucket,
- Marmelade,
- Cumfets.
- Apples, Peares, Wardens, Oranges and Lemmons sliced;
- and then Wafers,
- and another dish of preserved Fruites, and so consequently all the rest before:
- no two dishes of one kind going or standing together, and this will not onely appeare delicate to the eye, but invite the appetite with the much varietie thereof."⁴³

These instructions are made with thought not only for the visual appearance of the banquet but also of the pageantry of presentation. This is a banquet that is brought in to (one would hope) gasps of admiration from the guests. It allows each item time in the spotlight, however fleeting. The parade of sweetmeats, seemingly all different would, again, reflect well on the host and their apparent generosity, and in case supplies were a bit sparse, by keeping them well separated, the illusion of plenty could be created.

The celebrated and celebrity cook Robert May spent the first sixty years of the seventeenth century as a career cook to some of the most prominent families. He then wrote a cook book that influenced food for the remainder of the century. For such an icon in culinary history, it's disappointing that he doesn't spend much time on detailing the dessert course. His book includes bills of fare for the months of the year, but no banquet courses are included.

May's Bills of Fare⁴⁴ consist of two, multi-dish courses, with some sweet dishes included in the second course, but of display or presentation suggestions, there are none. Beginning in November, with All-Saints day, his menus suggests oranges, lemons, jellies, tarts royal⁴⁵, gingerbreads and other fruit. The second course for Christmas Day recommends more oranges and lemons, preserved fruits, jellies, pippins, etc., and similar for New Year's Day with oranges and lemons, jellies, tarts, gingerbread and other sweetmeats. This flurry of activity seems to exhaust May's sweet repertoire: February and March repeat the same suggestions of jellies, gingerbread and tarts royal, and then May appears to give up altogether, for there is nothing sweet at all for the remaining months' bills of fare. Possibly banquets were never his responsibility during his career, being more the province of the confectioner or even the lady of the house and consequently outside his sphere of interest.

⁴³ Ibid. pp78/9.

^{44 &}quot;The Accomplisht Cook", 1660, Robert May, Printed by R.E. Cornhill.

⁴⁵ Curiously, many subsequent bills of fare from other authors list Tarts Royal as part of a sweet course but, like May, none of them provide a recipe or even elaborate on what they are.

The most important contributor to the organisation of the banquet course in the 17th century was Hannah Woolley. In her third book,⁴⁶ in addition to numerous recipes, Ms Woolley includes several detailed two and three course Bills of Fare,⁴⁷ many of which include notes regarding the banquet. These notes are intentionally brief, as there is an entire section following that is addressed to "the Gentlewomen who have the Charge of the Sweetmeats, and such like Repasts "⁴⁸.

"I Think it not amiss, since I have given you, as I think, a very full Direction for all kinds of Food, both for Nourishment and Pleasure, that I do shew also how to eat them in good order; for there is a Time and Season for all things: Besides, there is not any thing well done which hath not a Rule." 49

Ms Woolley's banquet advice is both structured and detailed to the several occasions when a banquet might be required:

- a private dinner or supper in a noble house
- for visitors in the afternoon,
- for visitors in the evening,
- at the end of a grand feast.

She appears to be a strong advocate of cheese and fruit to end a meal, especially cream cheeses, recommending the serving of several sorts. Additionally, a range of fresh fruit, a selection of sweetmeats decorated with flowers and greenery, and jellies. Ms Woolley also demonstrates a practical eye to thrift, recommending repacking any uneaten sweetmeats in boxes, and melting down leftover jellies and re-setting them in smaller glasses for use at another time.

Visitors, she suggests, should be offered a pared-down version of this banquet, with either syllabub or possets, and home-made wine. During winter, she advises following these arrangements wherever supplies allow, and adds a reminder that a range of dried and citrus fruits are available at that time.

This is the first acknowledgement since the temporary Tudor summer arbours of the seasonal nature of a banquet, and also details a much expanded of the range of components that can be employed in a banquet. Thus, even a store-cupboard of meagre means can present an enticing banquet, bolstered by the assistance of the dairy and the orchard.

In 1672 Elias Ashmole published a weighty tome⁵⁰ that contained everything one might ever want to know about the Order of the Garter, in painstaking, some might say excruciating, detail. Happily, this also includes the form and preparations for the traditional Grand Feast celebrating St. George's Day.

^{46 &}quot;The Queen like Closet" (1670) Hannah Wolley, Printed for R. Lowndes, London

⁴⁷ Ibid. pp353-369.

⁴⁸ Ibid. pp378-383. See Appendix 8.

⁴⁹ Ibid p351

^{50 &}quot;The institution, laws & ceremonies of the most noble Order of the Garter", 1672, Elias Ashmole, Printer J. Macock, London.

Several menus for this and other occasions are recorded, specifically to paint a picture of just how grand and impressive they were⁵¹.

"This, and the other Meals were usually heretofore closed with Comfits, Spices, and Wine, and of late times with a costly Banquet: which, after the Soveraign hath washed, is brought in and placed upon the Table." p545

The banquet for the Feast of St George, and the supper the preceding evening (22/23 April 1667, Appendix 6) and the evening and day of the Grand Feast of 28/29 May, 1671⁵² (Appendix 7) are much less extravagant than those presented in 1607 by the Merchant Taylors Guild. Nevertheless, there is still a distinct ranking of the quality and quantity of banquet according to social status.

In the last place comes in the Banquet, brought up to the Soveraign's Table by the Pensioners, in the same order, and with the same Attendants as are the Soveraign's Messes; only, in the place of the Clerk of the Kitchin, the chief Clerk of the Spicery waits, but the Banquet for the Knights-Companions, is brought up by the Yeomen of the Guard.⁵³

For the St George's feast, the banquet for the King's table is sumptuous: eight large basins each containing 20 pounds of (dried/candied) sweetmeats in individual boxes, eight pounds of preserves (in syrup), two dishes of creams and a pound each of rock candy sugar and candied eringo roots. The lower tables of the Knights-Companions and the Prelate have fewer basins, with fewer and smaller quantities of sweetmeats and preserves. It would be impossible for the King to eat anything more than a tiny fraction of his banquet, but that is not the purpose. The quantities reinforce the superiority of the monarch, even among this glittering company.

Similarly with the feast at Windsor four years later and just a year after Hannah Woolley's book was published: yes, there are excessive quantities for the king and reduced quantities for the lower tables, but the exclusive luxuries that the king, and only the king, receives are fresh fruits and dairy, viz. oranges, white strawberries and ice-cream⁵⁴. Although the quantities of preserves and sweetmeats is still excessive, it is a relief to see more freshness creeping into the banquet. Fresh (sweet) China oranges, bright red cherries, strawberries both red and white as well as the very special ice-cream mark the beginnings of a shift away from the sugary excess of the Merchant Taylor's banquet, and might well have been influenced by the banquet recommendations of Ms Woolley herself. It helps a little that the King's birthday feast was in the late spring/ early summer, but even so, to acquire these fresh fruits at this time of

^{51 &}quot;WE were unwilling to interrupt the Course of the Ceremonies relative to this Grand Feast, with what some will esteem perhaps improper, if not trivial: nevertheless since others judge it may contribute to the setting forth the Grandeur and Magnificence of it, if the particulars of the Diets be made known, we shall add for Corolary, an account of some of them here." Ibid. p602.

⁵² Held at Windsor for the king's birthday on the 29th May.

⁵³ Ashmole, p596.

⁵⁴ Which, together with the Jelly that was served in the second course (Ashmole, p609), makes for quite the birthday meal for the Merry Monarch.

the year would have been expensive whether imported or home-grown by skilled gardeners⁵⁵.

The sweet course has, until this point, been referred to as a banquet, served after the second course, but there are changes afoot. The Accomplish'd Lady's Delight⁵⁶ differentiates between a last (fourth) course and a banquet.

The fourth course consists of a mixture of sweet pastries⁵⁷ and fresh fruit, while the banquet comprises dried and preserved fruits. This insinuation of sweet dishes into the traditionally savoury courses harks back to the mixed course in the Boke of Kervynge, but is also reflected in the 1688 menu guidance from Randle Holme⁵⁸. His recommendations for the first and second courses are dotted with what we would regard as sweet dishes. However, it is the third course where the full potential of a sweet course is laid out:

- Marchpanes
- Fruits preserved in syrup
- Candied fruits, fruit pastes, dried fruit and conserves
- Biscuits, comfits, gingerbreads, fruit pastilles, marchpane fancies
- Sugar plate, jemellos, cheesecakes and jumbles.
- Fresh fruit and raisins

Despite this section of his book claiming bills of fare for all seasons, Holme, in fact, merely produces a master list from which he recommends people choose as supply and season dictates.

"According as the season is for them, all which several things are mixt and interchangably set on the Table according to the discription of the Gentleman Sewer." ⁵⁹

As the century draws to a close, an anonymous manuscript⁶⁰ held by the Wellcome Collection and helpfully dated 1697, offers a glimpse of the dessert as served by the well-to-do families in the countryside. On a single page⁶¹ is outlined dessert items for both winter and summer. It is written in the style of a mother to a daughter, as many surviving manuscripts appear to be, and is refreshingly straightforward in including comments on the fads and fashions of serving. In contrast to Hannah Woolley's advice, the writer begins with suggestions for a winter dessert and suggests a mouthwatering selection of both baked goods, fruits, nuts and sweetmeats:

⁵⁵ King Charles II employed the very skillful John Rose as his Royal Gardener, who would succeed, just a few years later in growing a pineapple which was duly presented to the King and commemorated in a painting by Hendrick Danckerts "King Charles II, receiving gift of a pineapple from the Royal Gardener, John Rose." (1675).

^{56 &}quot;The Accomplish'd Ladies Delight in preserving, physick, beautifying, and cookery" 1675, Anonymous, Printer B. Harris, London, pp381/2.

⁵⁷ In this context, bacon tart is indeed sweet, made with a mixture of ground almonds, sugar, rosewater and rendered bacon fat. Other recipes of the time create a filling with chopped bacon, sugar, candied peel, eggs and breadcrumbs.

⁵⁸ See Appendix 9.

^{59 &}quot;The academy of armory", Book III, Chapter III, p80.

⁶⁰ MS8097.

⁶¹ See Appendix 10.

- Oranges, several varieties of fresh plums, apples, figs, and pears are named⁶² alongside dried versions of the same,
- wafers, biscuits and jumbles,
- · a large marchpane, strewn with sweetmeats,
- · blanched almonds and walnuts
- wet sweetmeats and fig cheese
- chocolate almonds and sugarplate shells

The bill of fare ends with a serving suggestion:

"This is what may seasonably be had in winter. You may dress it up as your fancy pleases, but in salvers they now reckon it most genteel amongst persons of quality at dinners, but at great feasts they dress high and all sorts of things together."

The gentle shade of disapproval cast upon those serving great feasts who pile everything up all mixed together, is particularly delicious: a veiled implication that the type of people who have feasts are rather brash and unrefined in their food fashions, whereas polite society is much more genteel and cultured. Ironic then, that these are just the kind of dessert arrangements seen in the translation of François Massialot's 1691 *Le cuisinier roïal et bourgeois*⁶³ published six years later.

Oddly, the suggestions for summer appear fewer in number, but the selection available is actually greater, given that the types of fruit in season would be numerous. The summertime suggestions being:

- all sorts of fruit that is in season.
- syllabubs
- pyramid cream
- hedgehog cream
- almond & orange butter
- lemon cream
- chocolate cream
- or any other cream whatsoever.
- If fruit be not ripe, you may make white and red leach
- iellies
- a salver of whole, preserved oranges and lemons and citrons cut in slices

Hannah Woolley would be disappointed at the lack of cream cheeses, but the dairy is amply represented in the whipped dishes (syllabubs), set creams (lemon and chocolate creams) and more elaborate dishes in the pyramid cream and the hedgehog cream.

Pyramid Cream is a hartshorn-set, almond cream perfumed with ambergrece and/or musk. It is set in drinking glasses - quaintly described in another manuscript⁶⁴ as 'old fashioned glasses' - forming a conical or sugar-loaf shape. The recipe in this manuscript gives instructions for six small cones surrounding

⁶² Including my very favourite phonetic spelling ever: bum-gritten pairs (Bon Chretien pears).

⁶³ In English, The Court and Country Cook (1702).

⁶⁴ MS1796, Wellcome Collection.

a seventh larger cone. Hedgehog Cream consists of sweetened egg-and-cream curds formed into the shape of a hedgehog and adorned with currants for eyes and almond slivers for prickles and served on a lake of sweetened rosewater cream. These two dishes are a definite step up from set-it-and-forget-it recipes, both demonstrating attention to form and presentation on the dessert table.

As with Randle Holme's suggestions, the author adds a reminder that seasonality is important:

"This may suffice for a direction, but you may do it according to your fancy and as you like best, this only shows you what may be had at those times of the year."

There are a couple of less obvious things to note in this single manuscript leaf. Firstly, the title refers to the sweet course as a (capriciously-spelled) Dessert. The word had been in use, albeit infrequently, for over eighty years. Writing in 1612 and in reference to ending a meal with fruit, William Vaughan wrote:

"Surely we must needs confesse, that such eating, which the French call desert, is unnaturall⁶⁵"

By the last quarter of the seventeenth century, 'dessert' is being included in not only in dictionaries, but also in wider writings, and thus had trickled down to common usage:

Dessert: the last course at a Feast⁶⁶

Dessert (m.) the last course or service at table, consisting of fruits, confits, sweat meats, &c.⁶⁷

"To give thee all thy due, thou hast the Heart To make a Supper, with a fine dessert; 68 "

Secondly, the differences between the seasons is pronounced. Randle Holme's multi-seasonal list of dessert recommendations consisted of every conceivable dish that could be served on the dessert table, and left the actual choice up to individuals. This manuscript page suggests a very clear difference in the types of items for the two separate seasons. Winter embodies 'cosy', with citrus and autumnal fruits, both fresh and dried, nuts, rich marchpane and fruit pastes, crisp, baked biscuits, fruits preserved in sugar and sugar-based confectionery. Summer screams freshness, both from the orchard and the dairy with its range of creams, jellies, fresh berries and stone fruits.

^{65 &}quot;Approved directions for health, both naturall and artificiall", 1612, William Vaughan, Printer T. Snodham, London, p56. Although Vaughan published both earlier and subsequent versions of this tract, this edition is the first where dessert is mentioned.

^{66 &}quot;An English dictionary", 1677, Elisha Coles, Printer Peter Parker, London.

^{67 &}quot;A new dictionary French and English with another English and French according to the present use and modern orthography of the French", 1677, Guy Miege, Printer Tho. Dawks., London.

^{68 &}quot;The satires of Decimus Junius Juvenalis", 1693, Juvenal, Jacob Tonson, London, Persius, Sat. I, p9.

Before concluding, it is worth mentioning just how frequently the imagery of the banquet was used in religious and philosophical discussions, much of it concentrated in the middle years of the seventeenth century.

> "Mr. Latimer says, the assurance of heaven, is the sweet meats of the feast of a good conscience: In great feasts there are good meats and banquets: There are other dainty dishes in this feast, and the assurance of heaven is the sweet meats and the banquet."⁶⁹

Writing in 1659, the English ecclesiastic Peter Heylyn likens the word of God to perfect sustenance for all ages. To the babe, it is as milk, to the adult, meat, and for the discerning:

"Are ye of curious tasts and affected palates? then it is a banquet, a banquet of all others the most rich and nourishing. A banquet full of all Varieties; in which there are both Sweet-meats to delight the Tast, Salsado's to revive the Palate, Tart stuff to set an edge upon the Appetite, Lenitives to open and unknit Obstructions, Cordials to heighten and advance our Spirits." ⁷⁷⁰

Inadvertently, in this passage Heylyn has given a glimpse into, if not the fashion of the times, then at least his own opinion of what a fine banquet should consist: not just an excess of sweetness, but a mixture of contrasting tastes and textures, sharp and spiced, soothing and beneficial to health and well being.

However, not every banquet was being seen as sugars and spice and all things nice. Isaac Ambrose, the seventeenth century Puritan divine, was of the opinion that the banquet was not something to be admired, but rather as a thing of shame in it's display of the fruits, real and figurative, of the plunder of other countries.

"Do we not see how the earth is plowed, the sea furrowed, and all to furnish one Epicures table? Sivill sends fruit, Canary sugars, Moluques spices, Egypt balsamum, Candy oyls, Spain sweet meats, France wines, our own land cannot satisfie, but forrein kingdomes and countreys must needs be sacrificed to our belly-gods"⁷¹

In summary, by examining the English records and publications of the sixteenth and seventeenth centuries, it is possible to trace the development of the English dessert course. From the simple fresh and dried fruits in the time of Henry VII, the banquet became a stage upon which the passionate and obsessive consumption of sugar was displayed for personal satisfaction and social standing during Elizabethan and Jacobean eras. Surprisingly, as sugar imports increased and prices fell, the sugar banquet as status symbol gave way to wider selections of more choice items, and the variety of delicate, seasonal mix of fruit, nuts, creams, jellies and baked goods as the seventeenth century draws to a close. From banquet to dessert, the English enjoyed the whole sweet

^{69 &}quot;Moses his choice", 1650, Jeremiah Burroughs, Jeremiah. Printer/Publisher John Field, London, p695.

^{70 &}quot;The parable of the tares", 1659, Peter Heylyn, Printed by J.G., London, p383.

^{71 &}quot;Ultima", 1650, Isaac Ambrose, Printer J.A., London, p142.

procession being laid before them, in their own style, from the comfort of their dining chairs.

Appendix 1The King's Banquet, July 17th 1607.

Item	Quantit y	Cost	Item	Quantity	Cost
Plums of Janua	1 lb.	8 <i>s</i> .	Buccones of Genoa	1 lb.	5s. 4d.
Plums of Damasco	1 lb.	6s. 8d.	Past of greene petrogots	1 lb.	4s.
Pruons de roy	1 lb.	6s. 8d.	Past of greene reddish	1 lb.	4s.
Venis apricocks	1 lb.	8 <i>s</i> .	White peach	1 lb.	4 <i>s</i> .
Venis azer plums	1 lb.	6s. 8d.	Past of rasberies	1 lb.	4s.
plums of Arabia	1 lb.	6s. 8d.	Frayses of Genoa	1 lb.	5 <i>s</i> . 4 <i>d</i> .
Plums Valencia	1 lb.	6s. 8d.	Plums, Damesine	1 lb.	6 <i>s</i> .
Venis dat plums	1 lb.	6s. 8d.	Pruons of Marcelis	1 lb.	6s. 8d.
Pruons of Genoa	1 lb.	8 <i>s</i> .	Peach of Roane	1 lb.	6 <i>s</i> .
Venis peach stond	1 lb.	7s.	Quartered pruons	1 lb.	5 <i>s</i> .
Dryed aprecocks	1 lb.	8 <i>s</i> .	Past of quinces	1 lb.	4s.
Peach of Genoa	1 lb.	8 <i>s</i> .	Madere citrons	1 lb.	4s.
Venis verduse plums	1 lb.	6 <i>s</i> .	Candied nutmeggs	1 lb.	5 <i>s</i> .
French aprecocks	1 lb.	6 <i>s</i> .	Candied Damasco plums	1 lb.	6s. 8d.
Venis amber plums	1 lb.	5s. 4d.	Canded aprecocks	1 lb.	6 <i>s</i> .
Dryed peach	1 lb.	6 <i>s</i> .	Oranges canded	1 lb.	5 <i>s</i> .
Canded plums of Genoa	1 lb.	6s. 8d.	Canded date plums	1 lb.	5 <i>s</i> .
Dried pedrogots	1 lb.	6 <i>s</i> .	Canded peches	1 lb.	5s. 4d.
Gooseberies dryed	1 lb.	5 <i>s</i> .	Canded cloues	1 lb.	5s. 4d.
Plums of Marcelis	1 lb.	6s. 8d.	Canded goosberies	1 lb.	5 <i>s</i> . 4 <i>d</i> .
Peares of Roan	1 lb.	4s.	Canded eringas	1 lb.	5s. 4d.
Past of medlers	1 lb.	4s.	Canded gilliflowers	1 lb.	5s. 4d.
Past of verduces	1 lb.	4s.	Canded musk peares	1 lb.	5 <i>s</i> .
Past of redd dates	1 lb.	4s.	Candied cheries	1 lb.	6 <i>s</i> .
Past of gooseberies	1 lb.	4s.	Canded white date plums	1 lb.	5 <i>s</i> .
Past of damsons	1 lb.	4s.	Candied plums of Roan	1 lb.	5s. 4d.
Past of Genoa	1 lb.	5 <i>s</i> . 6 <i>d</i> .	Amber greete comfitts	1 lb.	4s. 4d.
Past of green dates	1 lb.	4s.	Mucakine conf.	1 lb.	3 <i>s</i> .
Past of aprecocks	1 lb.	5 <i>s</i> . 6 <i>d</i> .	Fyne syneamond	1 lb.	3 <i>s</i> .
Past of amber plums	1 lb.	4 <i>s</i> .	Annis seed conf.	1 lb.	14 <i>d</i> .

Past of red peach	1 lb.	4s.	Cheries p'served		3 <i>s</i> .
Past of green verduses	1 lb.	4s.	Damsins p'served	1 lb.	4s. 5 <i>d</i> .
Past of rubies	1 lb.	4s.	French apricocks p'served	1 lb.	4s. 5 <i>d</i> .
Cakes of Janua	1½ lbs.	9 <i>s</i> .	Greene verduss quinces p'served	1 lb	4s. 5 <i>d</i> .
Past of muske millions	1 lb.	4s.	Rasberies	1 lb.	3s. 4 <i>d</i> .
Past of grapes	1 lb.	4s.	Date plums p'served	1 lb.	3s. 4d.
Past of greene peach	1 lb.	4s.	Goosberies p'served	1 lb.	3s. 4d.
Past of orenge	1 lb,	4s.	Apricocks p'served	1 lb.	3s. 4d.
Past of musk peach	1 lb.	4s.	Peches p'served	1 lb.	3s. 4d.
Dryed plums	1 lb.	4s.	Damsins white p'served		5 <i>s</i> .
Pruons brembe	1 lb.	4s.	Pippins p'served		3 <i>s</i> .
Apples of Damasco	1 lb.	4s.			

Source: Memorials of the Guild of Merchant Taylors of the Fraternity of St. John the Baptist, in the City of London: and of its associated charities and institutions, 1875, Charles Clode, Harrison & Sons, London, p174

Appendix 2The Prince's Banquet, July 17th 1607.

Item	Quantity	Cost	Item	Quantity	Cost
Amber greene comfitts	1 lb.	4s. 4d.	Past of Genoa	1 lb.	5s. 6d.
Apples of Damasco	1 lb.	4s.	Past of green dates	1 lb.	4s.
Buckhones of Genoa	1 lb.	5s. 4d.	Past of greene peach	1 lb.	4s.
Cakes of Genoa	1 lb.	8s. 4d.	Past of greene verduss	1 lb.	4s.
Candied plums of Genoa	1 lb.	6s. 8d.	Past of muske millions	1 lb.	4s.
Candied amber plums	1 lb.	5s.	Past of muske peares	1 lb.	4s.
Candied aprecocks	1 lb.	6s.	Past of orenges	1 lb,	4s.
Candied eringos	1 lb.	5s. 4d.	Past of rasberies	1 lb.	4s.
Candied peach	1 lb.	5s. 4d.	Past of red peach	1 lb.	4s.
Candied quinces	1 lb.	5s.	peach of Genoa	1 lb.	8s.
Cheries p'served		3s.	Peaches press	1 lb	3s. 4d.
dried petrigots	1 lb.	6s.	Plumes de roy	1 lb.	6s. 8d.
Dryed aprecocks	1 lb.	8s.	plums of Arabia	1 lb.	6s. 8d.
Dryed peach	1 lb.	6s.	Plums of Damasco	1 lb.	6s. 8d.
Dryed plums	1 lb.	4s.	Plums of Marcelis	1 lb.	6s. 8d.
English apricocks	1 lb	5s.	Plums Valencia	1 lb.	6s. 8d.
French aprecocks	1 lb.	6s.	Pruons of Brunello	1 lb.	4s.
French aprecocks	1 lb.	3s. 4d.	Pruons of Genoa	1 lb.	8s.
French pyppins p'served		3s.	Quartred quinces	1 lb.	4s.
Fyne Synamon comfits	1 lb	3s.	Resberies p'ss	1 lb	3s. 4d.
Goosberies p'served	1 lb.	3s. 4d.	Rose comfits	1 lb	18d.
Gooseberies dryed	1 lb.	5s.	Synamon comfits	1 lb	18d.
Greene dates p'ss	1 lb.	3s. 4d.	Vagasses of Genoa	1 lb	5s. 4d
Greene verduses	1 lb	3s. 4d.	Venis amber plums	1 lb.	5s. 4d.
Imperiall plums	1 lb.	3s. 4d.	Venis apricocks	1 lb.	8s.
Plums of Genoa	1 lb.	8s.	Venis azer plums	1 lb.	6s. 8d.
Madera citrons	1 lb.	4s.	Venis date plums	1 lb.	6s. 8d.
Muscakine comfits	3/4lb	3s.	Venis date plums press	1 lb	3s. 4d.
Musk comfets	1 lb.	18d.	Venis peach	1 lb.	7s.
Nutmegg comfets	1 lb.	4s.	Venis verenss	1 lb.	6s.
Past of amber plums	1 lb.	4s.	Violet comfets	1 lb.	18d.
Past of apricocks	1 lb.	5s. 6d.	White Quinces press'	1 lb.	3s. 4d.

Source: Memorials of the Guild of Merchant Taylors of the Fraternity of St. John the Baptist, in the City of London: and of its associated charities and institutions, 1875, Charles Clode, Harrison & Sons, London, p175

Appendix 3The Lord's Banquet, July 17th 1607.

Item	Quantity	Cost	Item	Quanti ty	Cost
Alman past		18d.	Past of greene peches	2 lbs.	8s.
Almond comfits	2 lbs.	2s. 4d.	Past of musk millions	2 lbs.	8s.
Amber greece comfits	2 lbs.	8s.	Past of Orenges	2 lbs.	8s.
Anniseedes	2 lbs.	2s. 4d.	past of rasberies	2 lbs.	8s.
Apricocks	12	8s.	Past of rubies	2 lbs.	8s.
Buckhones of Genoa	2 lbs.	10s. 8d.	Past of verduss	2 lbs.	8s.
Candied apricocks	2 lbs.	12s.	Past of white petrogots	2 lbs.	8s.
Candied cloves	2 lbs.	10s.	Peach of Marcelis	2 lbs.	12s.
Candied eringoes	2 lbs.	10s.	Peaches of Genoa	2 lbs.	16s.
Candied millions	2 lbs.	10s.	Peare plums	2 lbs.	6s. 8d.
Candied peach	2 lbs.	10s.	Peares	200	4s.
Candied plums of Genoa	2 lbs.	13s. 4d.	Peches p'ss	2 lbs.	6s. 8d.
Cheries p'ss	2 lbs.	6s. 8d.	Petigots p'ss	2 lbs.	6s. 8d.
Coriander comfits	2 lbs.	2s. 4d.	Plums	200	2s.
Damsons press.	2 lbs.	6s. 8d.	Plums Azarello	2 lbs.	13s. 4d.
Ffrench aprecocks	2 lbs.	6s. 8d.	Plums of Damasco	2 lbs.	13s. 4d.
French apricocks	2 lbs.	12s.	Prince biskett	2 lbs.	2s. 8d.
French pippins preserved	2 lbs.	6s. 8d.	Pruons de roy	2 lbs.	10s. 8d.
Fyne synamon comfits	1 lb.	4s.	Pruons of Brewnello	2 lbs.	8s.
Gooseberis p'ss		6s. 8d.	Quartered quinces	2 lbs.	8s.
Greene verduss	2 lbs.	6s. 8d.	Resberies p'ss	2 lbs.	6s. 8d.
Imperiall plums		13s. 4d.	Sucket orenges candied	2 lbs.	5s.
Imperiall plums press'	2 lbs.	6s. 8d.	Sucket peares	2 lbs.	5s.
Past of Genoa	2 lbs.	11s.	Synamon comfits	2 lbs.	3s.
Marmalett	2 lbs.	3s.	Vagases of Genoa	2 lbs.	10s. 8d.
More for 10 lbs. of rawe cheries	10lbs.	2s. 6d.	Venis amber plums	2 lbs.	13s. 4d.
Muscadine comf:	2 lbs.	4s.	Venis date plums p'ss		6s. 8d.
Musk millions	2 lbs.	6s.	Venis quinces candied	2 lbs.	10s.
Muske comfets	2 lbs.	3s.	Venis verdusses	2 lbs.	12s.
Orenge comfets	2 lbs.	3s.	Violett comfets	2 lbs.	3s.
Past of apricocks	2 lbs.	11s.	White damsons press.	2 lbs.	6s. 8d.
Past of grapes	2 lbs.	8s.	White quincs p'ss	2 lbs.	6s. 8d.

Source: Memorials of the Guild of Merchant Taylors of the Fraternity of St. John the Baptist, in the City of London: and of its associated charities and institutions, 1875, Charles Clode, Harrison & Sons, London, pp175/6

Marchpanes for the Feast, July 17th 1607

Item	Cost
Two marchpanes at	20s.
Two marchpanes at	10s.
Two marchpanes at	6s. 8d.
5 marchpanes at	5s.
Nyne marchpanes at	3s. 4d.
3 marchpanes at	4s.
5 marchpanes at	3s.
Eight marchpanes at	2s. 6d.
4 marchpanes at	2s.
40 marchpanes cost the some of	9l. 3s. 4d.

Source: Memorials of the Guild of Merchant Taylors of the Fraternity of St. John the Baptist, in the City of London: and of its associated charities and institutions, 1875, Charles Clode, Harrison & Sons, London, p176

Appendix 5
"Severall sorts of sweet meates fitting for a Bankquett"

Severall fort of fourt means felling op no groads March pand of Many pandlight Too of part Maniforands of Many pandlight Too of part Maniforands of Many pandlight Too of part works and not to old fold forty bast defaunt plomos do Jamos grind Protock Drios Moutones Drios Dadonomes Drios Dannofoo Drios Damos Dela Damos D	

Polos Dom Drysel Pasts of fewall forts. O Cox 08 Oim sifted giminds rook soiolotts Dom Reformary Dom all 20? Pages of Operior De rafts of Thomasion Mulho Dom Dallo of Goofborros Somond Dom Amber ground Dom Dall of Army 08 Multmoyer Dom Muffarding while Muffardings rods Tall of Papoboroids Amo 8 y namon Com All forts of Confrits. Date of Joles Apples AS ams post of violotte madmitte Tellis of fewall Collows Hong Mas Avoono8 Allmons Borning (Jone Hoods Exratte prind bifto 4 Mullborrios Manlos bisko H

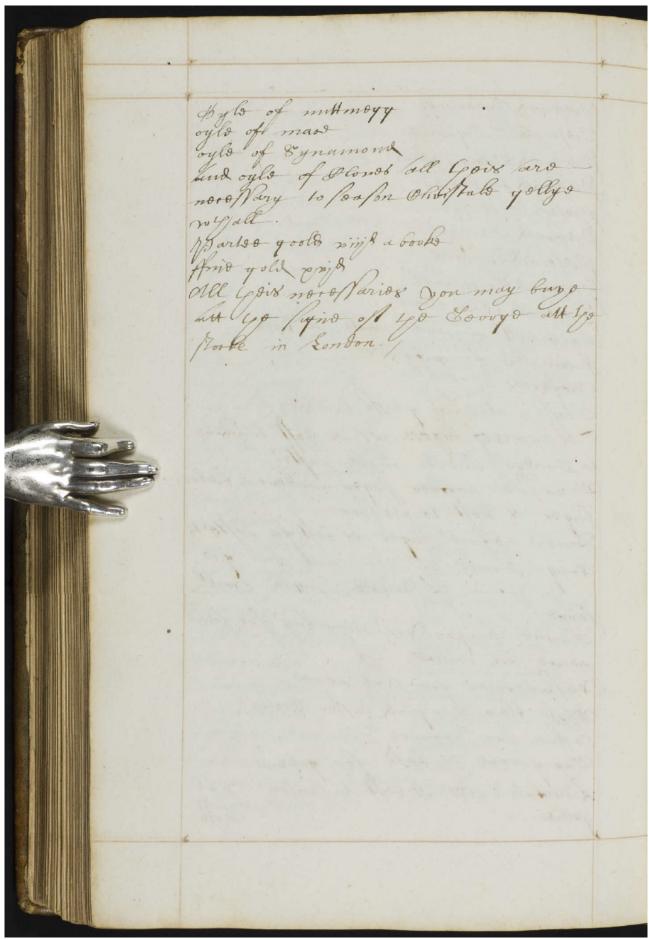
Donsbitos of Many pano hufe 8 han borriss

Engor platos

All forts of Comfrits.

Doeshous of dins forts. att 16 % vo formon Damfons Or Clianto Dom Amy foode Oom profound barborios Bigootte am Garawaiss 12 volovod Refolovios Synamon Jom Brodered popula myor Dom Moroforodo Oprotote. Frings Dom. profored

poroforos operor of Re Doffond Mally atoonds Droforod Soulonia ploms Droforod burbolios 10 vo forso des Arigge proformos Springos Proformas Someous Profomod Bil poroonds Droforosa Loaro ploms Marmalott of gimest white and hook Normalott of pippins The hames of fugers wif is coff to forms Its rathe porder fugor madoro or burbara Louble rofino Jugor is both for softe to come of Jouble, fringle will Lumo Drayon Jon may buy for fours Opoforbornios for from ponso Oktyfo blow its a good, affor Doolor Pa from for goalons Cap groond is both for groons
Emmala ogles is both to forfor go &



Source: Henry Frederick manuscript volume of recipes and medical remedies. https://www.manuscriptcookbookssurvey.org/collection/Detail/manuscripts/471

The Banquet served at the Feast of St. George, the 22. and 23. of April an. 19 Car. 2. 1667

Supper on the Eve.

For the Soveraigns Table:

- 8 Basons, 20 Boxes in each Bason, one pound in each Box.
- Preserves 4 Dishes, two pound in a Dish.
- Creams 2 Dishes
- One pound of Eringoes
- One pound of Rocks to garnish each Bason.

For 4 Mess of the Knights-Companions, and one Mess for the Prelate, &c. to each Mess:

- 2 Basons, 16 Boxes in a Bason, 3 quarters of a pound in a Box.
- 2 Dishes of Preserves, 2 pound in a Dish
- 2 Dishes of Creams
- Half a pound of Eringoes
- Half a pound of Rocks to garnish each Bason.

The like for Dinner on St. Georges Day.

After Dinner and Supper, when the Soveraign and Knights-Companions wash, 6 Bouls, one for the Soveraign of 6 pound of Comfits, and 5 other Bouls for the Knights-Companions and Prelate, &c. 4 pounds in each Boul, garnished with Eringoes, and Rocks and Violet Cakes, half a pound of each to each Boul.

Source: "The institution, laws & ceremonies of the most noble Order of the Garter", 1672, Elias Ashmole, Printer/Publisher J. Macock, for Nathanael Brooke, London. p607

The banquet for the eve and day of The Grand Feast, held on 28th and 29th May, 1671

The Banquet served at the said Feast.

The Soveraign's Table on the Eve.

- One Charger of China Oranges, containing 50.
- Seven Chargers of Confections, in each Charger 20 Boxes; in each Box one pound of dried Confections.
- Two Plates of Duke Cherries, 4 pound in each Plate.
- One Plate of Red Strawberries, containing one Gallon.
- One Plate of White Strawberries, containing two Gallons.
- · One Plate of Ice Cream.
- Three Plates of liquid Sweetmeats, in each Plate 3 pound.

The same for the Feast day at Dinner.

To each of the 7 Tables for the Knights-Companions, on the Eve.

- Two Chargers of Confections, in each Charger 14 Boxes.
- One pound of dried Confections in each Box.
- One Plate of Duke Cherries, containing 2 pound.
- One Plate of Red Strawberries, containing 1 Gallon.
- One Plate of liquid Sweetmeats, containing 3 pound.

The same for the Feast day.

For the Prelate of the Garter, &c. on the Eve.

- Two Chargers, 14 Boxes in each Charger.
- One Plate of Duke Cherries, containing 2 pound.
- One Plate of Red Strawberries, containing 1 Gallon.
- One Plate of liquid Sweetmeats, containing 3 pound.

The same Service to the Lords who attended the Soveraign, And so the same to the Prelate and Lords the next day.

One Charger of Confections for the Heralds, containing 10 Boxes each Meal."

Source: "The institution, laws & ceremonies of the most noble Order of the Garter", 1672, Elias Ashmole, Printer/Publisher J. Macock, for Nathanael Brooke, London. p611

To the Gentlewomen who have the Charge of the Sweetmeats, and such like Repasts.

Gentlewomen,

Perhaps you do already know what belongs to serving in fine Cream Cheeses, Jellies, Leaches or Sweetmeats, or to set forth Banquets as well as I do; but (pardon me) I speak not to any knowing Person, but to the ignorant, because they may not remain so; besides really there are new Modes come up nowadays for eating and drinking, as well as for Cloaths, and the most knowing of you all may perhaps find somewhat here which you have not already seen; and for the ignorant, I am sure they may ground themselves very well from hence in many Accomplishments, and truly I have taken this pains to impart these things for the general good of my Country, as well as my own, and have done it with the more willingness, since I find so many Gentlewomen forced to serve, whose Parents and Friends have been impoverished by the late Calamities, viz. the Late Wars, Plague, and Fire, and to see what mean Places they are forced to be in, because they want Accomplishments for better.

I am blamed by many for divulging these Secrets, and again commended by others for my Love and Charity for so doing; but however I am better satisfied with imparting them, than to let them die with me; and if I do not live to have the Comfort of your Thanks, yet I hope it will cause you to speak well of me when I am dead: The Books which before this I have caused to be put in Print, found so good an acceptance, as that I shall still go on in imparting what I yet have, so fast as I can.

Now to begin with the Ordering those things named to you:

- If it be but a private Dinner or Supper in a Noble House, where there they have none to honour above themselves, I presume it may be thus;
 - In Summer time, when the Meat is all taken away, you may present your several sorts of Cream Cheeses;
 - One Meal one Dish of Cream of one sort, the next, of another;
 - one or two Scollop Dishes with several sorts of Fruit, which if it be small fruit, as Raspes or Strawberries, they must be first washed in Wine in a Dish or Bason, and taken up between two Spoons, that you touch them not.
 - With them you may serve three or four small Dishes also with sweet meats, such as are most in season, with Vine Leaves and Flowers between the Dishes and the Plates, two wet Sweet meats, and two dry, two of one colour, and two of another, or all of several colours.

- Also a Dish of Jellies of several colours in one Dish, if such be required.
 If any be left, you may melt them again, and put them into lesser
 Glasses, and they will be for another time:
- If any dry ones be left, they are soon put into the Boxes again.

If any persons come in the Afternoon, if no greater, or so great as the Person who entertains them, then you may present

- one or two Dishes of Cream only,
- and a whipt Sillibub, or other, with
- about four Dishes of Sweetmeats served in, in like manner as at Dinner, with
- · Dishes of Fruit, and
- · some kind of Wine of your own making;

At Evenings, especially on Fasting Daies at Night, it is fit to present

- some pretty kind of Creams, contrary from those at Dinner, or instead of them
- some Possets, or other fine Spoon Meats, which may be pleasant to the taste, with
- · some wet and dry Sweetmeats, and
- some of your fine Drinks, what may be most pleasing.

At a Feast, you may present these things following. So soon as the Meat is quite taken away, have in readiness

- your Cream Cheeses of several sorts and of several Colours upon a Salver, then
- some fresh Cheese with Wine and Sugar,
- another Dish of Clouted Cream, and
- a Noch with Cabbage Cream of several Colours, like a Cabbage;
- then all sorts of Fruits in season, set forth as followeth:
 - First, You must have a large Salver made of light kind of Wood, that it may not be too heavy for the Servitor to carry, it must be painted over, and large enough to hold six Plates round about and one larger one in the middle, there must be places made in it to set the Plates in, that they may be very fast and sure from sliding, and that in the middle the seat must be much higher than all the rest, because that is most graceful; your Plates must not be so broad as the Trencher Plates at Meat, and should be either of Silver or China.
 - Set your Plates fast, then fill every one with several sorts of Fruits, and the biggest sort in the middle, you must lay them in very good order, and pile them up till one more will not lie; then stick them with little green Sprigs and fine Flowers, such as you fancy best;
 - then serve in another such Salver, with Plates piled up with all manner of Sweetmeats, the wet Sweetmeats round about and the dry in the middle,

- your wet Sweetmeats must be in little glasses that you may set the more on, and between every two glasses another above the first of all, and one on the top of them all;
- you must put of all sorts of dryed Sweetmeats in the middle Plate, first your biggest and then your lesser, till you can lay no more; then stick them all with Flowers, and serve them:
- And in the Bason of Water you send in to wash the Hands or Fingers of Noble Persons, you must put in some Orange Flower Water, which is very rare and very pleasant.

In Winter you must alter, as to the season, but serve all in this manner; and then

- dryed Fruits will also be very acceptable, as
 - dryed Pears and Pippins,
 - Candied Oranges and Limons, Citrons and Eringoes,
 - Blanched Almonds,
 - Prunelles,
 - Figs,
 - Raisins,
 - Pistachoes and
 - Blanched Walnuts.

Source: "The Queen-Like Closet, 1670, Hannah Woolley, Hannah Wolley, Printed for R. Lowndes, London, pp378-383

Other Bills of Fare for every Season in the Year, also how to set forth Meat in Order accordingly.

First Course.

Oysters, Muskmelons.

- 1. Brawn and Mustard, Eggs and Collops, Hasty Pudding, Pudding Boiled, a Pot Ball or Dumpling or baked of Bread, or Rice, Puddings in skins of Blood and Oate-Meal.
- 2. Boiled Capon in stewed Broth, Fresh Neats-Tongues and Udder, Hens and Bacon, Beef and Cabbage, Capon pottage, Panado, Compound-possed or white Broth, Olio, Gruel, *Furmenty, Honey Sops*, Soops, Caudles of Oate-Meal or Eggs, Alebury.
- 3. Turkies in Stuffado, Hash of Rabbits, Ducks in Stuffado, Haunch of Venison Roasted, Scotch Collops of Beef, Mutton or Veal.
- 4. A Hash or a Shoulder of Mutton, a Grand Fricasee, Loyn of Pork, Hash Capons, Calves Head stewed, Bisk.
- 5. Geese boiled, a Grand Sallet.
- 6. A Boiled Meat of Ducks, Roast Pork.
- 7. A Marrow-Pudding baked.
- 8. A Surloyn of roast Beef, a Chine or Ribb of Beef.
- 9. Minced Pyes, Steak Pye, or Hare, Pumpion, Artichoke, Umble, Potatoes, an Oline or Pallate Pie, Chaldron Pye, Giblet Pie, Calves head or feet Pie.
- 10. Loyn of Veal, Roast Venison.
- 11. A Pasty of Venison or Mutton.
- 12. A Pig Roasted, Leg of Mutton Roasted, Hare Roasted.
- 13. Geese Roasted, Swan Roasted.
- 14. Capons or Hens Roasted.

Second Course.

Oranges and Lemmons.

- 1. Lamb or Kid, Sallet of Herbs, Pease and French Beans, Rabbits.
- 2. Sowced Pig, Capon, Swines head and feet.
- 3. Rabbits roasted and larded, Widgeons, Teal, Dotterells, Curlews, Ruffs.
- 4. Ducks roasted and larded, Shovellers, Gulls, Herns, Cranes, Bittorn.
- 5. Teal or other Fowle, Woodcocks, Quailes.
- 6. A made Dish or Batalia Pie, Sweet-bread Pie, Fried Fish or Buttered Fish of any sort: as Pike, Salmon, Dace, Mullet, Turbut, Ray, Lump Fish, Plaice, Flounders, Soals, Lampry, Eels.
- 7. Neats-Tongues, Florentine of Tongues.
- 8. Pigeons, wild or tame larded: Olines or Plovers, Sparrows, Black-birds, Thrushes, Fieldfare, Railes.
- 9. Sowced Capon, Sowced Eels or other Fish, Ray, Salmon, Conger.
- 10. Pickled Mushrooms, Oysters and Anchovis, Lobsters.
- 11. Orangado Pie, or Tarts of green Pease, Hips, Rice, Cheries, Goosberies, Plums, Prunes, Barberies with wet Suckets, Pippin Pie, Warden Pie, Quince Pie, Codling Tarts of diverse colours in puff paste, Quaking Pudding.
- 12. Sturgeon, Collar of Beef, Turbut, Pickled Puffins, Scallops, Cockles, Muscles, Sprawns, Shrimps, Crabs, Tortoise, Crawfish, Snails.
- 13. Westphalia Bacon, Bolonia Sausages.
- 14. Turkey or Goose Pie, Marinate Flounders, Artichoke Pie, Smelts, cold Hare Pie, Selsey Cockles.
- 15. Jelly of five or six colours, Tansies, Fritters, Pancakes, Balls roasted.
- 16. Creams made of Codlings, Quince, Plums, Goosberries or Almonds, Clouted Cream, Snow Cream, fresh Cheese and Cream, Sillabubs & Cream, Egg Pies.
- 17. Custards, White pots, Fools, Leach, Blamangers.
- 18. Lay Tarts of diverse colours, Tarts Royal, Codlings and Cream, Cheese.

Third Course.

- 1. March-pan set with several sorts of Sweet-Meats.
- 2. Preserves or wet Sweet-Meats in Plates as, Pears, Plums, Cherries, Quinces, Grapes Respass, Pippins, Oranges, Lemmons, young Walnuts, Apricocks, Peaches, &c. with their Syrup about them.
- 3. Dried Sweet-meats & Suckets of Oranges Lemmons Citron: or Conserves, or Candies, and Rock-Candies of Cherries, Apricocks, Plums, Damasius, Pippins, Pears, Angelica, Rosemary and Marygold Flowers, Pippins, Pears, Apricocks, Plums, Ringo roots: or Marmalet of Quinces, Damasins, Plums, Oranges, or Pastes made of Citron: Pippins, Apricocks, Rasbery, English Currans.
- 4. Bikets, Mackroons, naple Bisket, Italian Bisket, Comfeits round, Longs and Loseng like, Gingerbread, Almond Cakes, Apricock Cakes, Losenges, Quince Chips, Orange cakes, Marchpane Collops.
- 5. Sugar cakes, Iamballs, Iemelloes, Sugar Plate, Plum and Rasbury cakes, Cheese cakes.
- 6. Tree Fruit as Apples and Pears of diverse kinds, Cheries, Plums, Strawberies, Currans, Raspes, Walnut, Chestnuts, Filbernuts, Dates, Graps, Figgs, Oranges, Lemmons, Apricocks, Peech, Dried Raisins and Currans, Prunes, Almonds blanched

According as the season is for them, all which several things are mixt and interchangably set on the Table according to the discription of the Gentleman Sewer.

Source: "The academy of armory, or, A storehouse of armory and blazon" 1688, Randle Holme, Printer/Publisher: the author, Chester, Book III, Chapter III, pp79-80.

Sweet dishes indicated by italics.

Directions for a Disart. Any sort of Biskets, Jumbolds of 2 or 3 sorts, wayers white & brown, a large marchpain finely covered with sweetmeats, cheny oranges, prunello's spanish plumbs, figeheese, blew figs, soft almonds, pistatoes, bunches of ranons, wet sweetmeats, bumgritton pairs, walnuts peiled, paremains, golden pipins, pomgranets, dryed pain apples, severall sorts of plumbs, chacolet all = monds troo sorts, shells of all sorts, this is of what may be had scasonably in winter, you may dreft it up as your fancy, pleases but in salvers they now reckon it most genteel amongst persons of quality at diners, but at great feasts they dreft high & all sorts of things togeather. # As for Summer. All sorts of fruit yt is in season, sillibuls, ye pyramid, I hedghog cream; Almond I orange butter, Lemon cream, chacolet Cream, or any other make creme whatsoever, if fruit be not ripe you may white I red leach & Jellies, I a salver of preserved whole oranges I lemons, I sittorns cut in slices. this may suffice for a direction, but you may do it according to y' fancy, I as you like best, this only shows you what may be had at those times

Source: MS8097, Wellcome Collection "17th and 18th century English recipe book comprising culinary receipts, along with a small amount of medical receipts, in several hands." Image 179.

e year. 1696. #