

A CANDID EXAMINATION OF MRS MARY COLE

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Despite the passing into law of the Statute of Anne, otherwise known as the Copyright Act 1709, plagiarism in eighteenth-century cookery books was commonplace. The Act was mainly concerned with the re-publication of entire books and thus the borrowing of recipes was not viewed as being in the same class. Recipes were regularly plundered from extant books for inclusion in new titles. Even Hannah Glasse was not above borrowing from the successful publications of her day for her *The Art of Cookery made Plain and Easy* (1747), copying wholesale from *The Whole Duty of a Woman*, which had appeared in 1737.

MRS COLE'S STAND

In 1788 there appeared a work which made a stand against this practice. Mrs Mary Cole published *The Lady's Complete Guide; or Cookery in All Its Branches*. This was the first British cookbook to openly acknowledge the sources from which its recipes were drawn. In a candid preface, Mrs Cole is refreshingly open on her approach to recipe selection, cherry-picking only the very best: 'It is indeed a library of cookery: and contains the essence of all the established modern authors.'¹

Mrs Cole writes that she hopes to gain her readers' approval both of the quality of her selections and her systematic organization: 'And, like the sages of the law, I have quoted my author, where the receipt is not original; so that the cook, like the barrister, may know upon what authority he acts.'²

Alongside her own originals, derived from many years of conscientious work as a cook, she explains that she has also selected

recipes from the noted authors of the day of which she personally approves. She observes that occasionally, she will make note that the same recipe has been included in more than a single publication, but has refrained from pointing out all of these instances in order to save her readers from unnecessary bulk.

Mrs Cole declares that the recipes she has chosen have been selected with thought to taste, simplicity and economy – all extravagant and impractical dishes dismissed – since she believes, ‘The most frugal and least complicated dishes are generally the most excellent.’³ Her aim was to present recipes ‘in familiar language, adapted to the comprehension of every class of reader.’⁴

The breadth and scope of the work is impressive. The title page announces the recipes include ‘several translated from the productions of cooks of eminence who have published in France, particularly M. Commo’s *Histoire de Cuisine*, M. Disang’s *Maitre d’Hotel*, M. Dupont, M. Valois, M. Troas and M. Delatour’. The second (1789) and third (1791) editions also mention the Duke de Nivernois. In addition, Mrs Cole claims in the preface, ‘The following pages are enriched with every article that merits preservation in the productions of Clermont, Glasse, Mason, Dalrymple, Dupont, Commo, Desang, *Verno, Troas, Delatour, Valois, Verral, Raffald, Farley, &c.*’ The elaborate nature of French cookery was still seen as both desirable and aspirational, despite it being over 40 years since Hannah Glasse derided the unnecessary expense and wastefulness of fashionable French chefs. By boldly citing sources from abroad, Mrs Cole was shrewdly appealing to the newly emerging and socially ambitious, moneyed middle classes.

Having been at pains to establish the breadth, range and thoroughness of her recipe collection, Mrs Cole reports that in her quest for perfection, ‘I purchased, with avidity, every new publication on the subject of cookery, which appeared in either the French or English languages.’ Consequently, ‘I soon perceived that every subsequent writer had borrowed very largely from those who had preceded.’ The gentle note of reproach momentarily hangs in the air, allowing the full significance to settle in the

reader's mind. Then, just to hammer the point home, Mrs Cole points a genteel but explicitly accusatory finger at Hannah Glasse, Charlotte Mason, Elizabeth Raffald and John Farley who 'have pursued similar steps; but have not, like myself, candidly acknowledged their obligations.' Mrs Cole's indignation at such an apparent betrayal is such that she appears justified in including a critical footnote: 'If all the writers upon cookery had acknowledged from whence they took their receipts, as I do, they would have acted with more candour by the public. Their vanity, to pass for authors, instead of compilers, has not added to their reputation.'

THE ANNOTATIONS

The undertone of muted outrage persists throughout the text. When Mrs Cole's diligent studies reveal a recipe appearing in more than one publication, she takes one of two approaches. For the most part, the author surnames are listed at the end of the recipe, together with a page reference, as in the recipe cited in the preface:

Partridge Soup.

Skin two old partridges, and cut them into small pieces, with three slices of ham, two or three onions sliced, and some celery; fry them in butter till they are as brown as they can be made without burning; then put them into three quarts of water with a few pepper corns. Boil it slowly till a little more than a pint is consumed, then strain it, put in some stewed celery and fried bread. *Glasse*, 133. *Mason*, 198. *Raffald*, 14. *Farley*, 155.

One interpretation of this approach might be validation of the recipe itself: it is so perfect a recipe, that these authors insist on its inclusion in their publications, and at the same time can find nothing to add nor to subtract and therefore its appearance in at least four separate publications is testament to its quality. Another interpretation, and given Mrs Cole's admonishing preface, the more likely, is that she is drawing attention to the (in her eyes at least) shameless copying of recipes being perpetuated by the highly-regarded cooks of the day.

Curiously, in addition to this simple attribution, dotted throughout the text are instances where Mrs Cole has felt compelled to add extra comment on the duplication of recipes.

Most are brief:

[To Fry Beef Steaks] Another Way: *Farley*, 54. from *Glasse*, 39. (p. 67)

To Roast Ox Palates: *Glasse*, 44. *Farley*, 37. from *Glasse. Mason*, 134. (p. 73)

To ragoo a goose: *Glasse*, 85. *Mason*, almost the same words, 269. (p. 169)

Caper Sauce: *Farley*, 139. from *Mason*, 320. (p. 312)

Others are longer-winded:

To Stew a Calf's Head: *Glasse*, 55. *Mrs Mason* has the same receipt, though differently expressed, in *The Ladies Assistant*, page 153. (p. 102)

A shoulder of mutton called Hen and Chickens: *Raffald*, 104. *Mrs. Mason* has got this receipt under the title of "A Shoulder of Mutton in Disguise," page 164. (p. 127)

Lamb's Head and Purtenance: *Raffald*, 109. *Farley* (without any material alterations), 113. (p. 144)

Some positively verbose:

Beef A-la-mode Another Way: *Farley*, 91. *Mrs. Raffald*, in page 16 of *The Experienced English House-keeper*, has the same receipt as the next above except the following trifling difference. She says it is to be baked *three hours*, *Mr. Farley* says, *three or four hours*. (p. 54)

To Hash Veal: *Farley*, 66. N.B The same receipt as the preceding, though conveyed in language somewhat different, is to be found in *Mrs. Raffald's Experienced English House-keeper*, page 73. (p. 116)

To Broil Chickens: *Farley*, 50. *Mrs. Glasse*, page 78, has the above receipt with the following addition :— "Or you may take this sauce:— take a handful of sorrel, dipped in boiling water, drain it, and have ready half a pint of good gravy, a shallot shred small, and some parsley boiled very green; thicken it with a piece of butter rolled in flour, and add a glass of red wine; then lay your sorrel in heaps round the chickens, and pour the sauce over them. Garnish with lemon. (p. 194)

[Ducks à la mode] Another way: *Glasse*, 81. *Mr. Farley*, page 118,

gives the same receipt as the above, with the following addition or improvement :— Instead of the words— “Garnish with lemon,” he says, “Garnish with lemon and barberries.” *Mrs. Mason*, page 272, has also the same receipt, though differently expressed. (p. 198)

And a very few don't beat about the bush at all:

(Pigeons en Compote) Another Way: *Raffald*, 129. *Farley*, 124. *Mrs. Raffald* has evidently borrowed the principal part of this receipt from *Mrs. Glasse*, as may be seen above, in her article of Pigeons Compote; yet as there are variations in the *substance*, as well as the language, we have thought proper to lay them both before the reader. (p. 203)

To florendine a Hare: *Raffald*, 136. *Mr. Farley*, page 130, has given the above in substance, with a little transposition. The fact is, both *Mrs. Raffald* and *Mr. Farley* have taken from *Mrs. Glasse* — see her Art of Cookery, page 101. (p. 224)

Scate Soup: *Mason*, 201. *Mr. Farley*, page 168 has the same receipt in substance, though expressed in different words. *Mrs. Glasse*, page 155, has also the same receipt; to whom *Mrs. Mason* and *Mr. Farley* appear to be indebted. (p. 266)

Page 423, Hartshorn Cream: ‘*Glasse*, 292 *Mrs. Raffald*, page 250, and *Mr. Farley*, page 311, have the same receipt, with this single alteration — they have left out the four ounces of sugar, which I suppose proceeded from a mistake, instead of being meant as an improvement. (p. 423)

It is easy to picture the scene: Mrs Cole poring over an array of books from the most popular cookery writers of the day, trying to select the very best of the best for her readers, and time after time she comes across the same recipes, recycled and re-used without attribution or acknowledgment. Even though the practice was widespread at the time, her ire at this deception is palpable. One certainly gets a sense of Mrs Cole's rising indignation as her annotations become progressively less subtle until she can contain her ladylike demeanour no longer and she has to let off a little steam with a barbed comment.

Mrs Cole appears to harbour a particular resentment for Mrs Raffald, frequently taking the opportunity to single her out when a recipe has been duplicated:

To boil a chicken: *Farley*, 18. *Mason*, 262. N. B. *Mrs. Raffald* has got the same receipt (page 64.) the phraseology only being altered. (p. 31)

Beef Olives: *Mason*, 128. *Mrs. Raffald* has given the same receipt in other words, page 117. (p. 59)

To Hash Veal: *Farley*, 66. N.B. The same receipt as the preceding, though conveyed in language somewhat different, is to be found in *Mrs. Raffald's Experienced English House-keeper*, page 73. (p. 116)

Perhaps Mrs Cole is more critical of Mrs Raffald because (at the time) she had the higher profile. Hannah Glasse had been a trail-blazer, but her book, although a classic, was then 40 years old. Did Mrs Cole resent Mrs Raffald's fame and fortune built, as she saw it, on plagiarism? Did she see Mrs Raffald as no more than the compiler of which she was so contemptuous in her preface?

MRS COLE'S RESOURCES

Some of the unjust implications against Mrs Raffald might have been due to the resources with which Mrs Cole was working. As already mentioned above, in her preface, she assures her readers that 'I purchased, with avidity, every new publication on the subject of cookery, which appeared in either the French or English languages.' With a little detective work, it is possible to determine precisely the editions from which she drew both her recipe selections and her notions of plagiarism.

Between 1747 and 1788 there are at least forty-nine editions of *The Art of Cookery* (Glasse), *The Experienced English Housekeeper* (Raffald), *The Lady's Assistant* (Mason) and *The London Art of Cookery* (Farley). Identifying the correct edition of each title might be a daunting task but is aided by snippets of helpful information from Mrs Cole herself. Since Mrs Cole's book was published in 1788, it is fair to say that she would probably not have had the time to consult any editions appearing in that same year (Glasse and Raffald) to use in her own book, limiting the latest versions of the books she consulted to 1787. At the other end of the scale would be the lower limit of 1747, the year of the first edition of Hannah Glasse's *The Art of Cookery*.

Mrs Cole obligingly provides not only the author's name but also the page numbers for the recipes she selects from her four main authors. A further helpful snippet of information comes from the preface, in which she declares, 'I purchased, with avidity, every new publication on the subject of cookery.' This gives a starting point: the newest available editions, beginning with the year 1787, then working backwards until the relevant source is located.

Finally, Mrs Cole's zealous annotations. In her eagerness to cast aspersions, she has occasionally made errors in her assumptions. Further discussion of these will come later, but the main one to catch my eye was her assertion that Mrs Raffald was guilty of copying recipes from Mrs Mason.

To Roll Salmon: *Raffald*, 24, from *Mason*, 215. (p. 288)

Page 341, Green Codling Pudding: *Raffald*, 178. From *Mason* 377, with very little alteration. (p. 341)

A Custard Pudding: *Raffald*, 169, from *Mason*, 369; 'with this difference, *Mrs. Mason* recommends but *five* eggs, *Mrs. Raffald*, *six*. (p. 341)

Page 343, Herb Pudding: *Raffald* 182, from *Mason*, 372. (p. 343)

A Sago Pudding: *Raffald*, 175, from *Mason*, 380. (p. 350)

This despite Mrs Cole's own researches demonstrating a certain degree of copying by Mrs Mason, albeit phrased in less accusatory terms:

A shoulder of mutton called Hen and Chickens: *Raffald*, 104. *Mrs. Mason* has got this receipt under the title of "A Shoulder of Mutton in Disguise," page 164. (p. 127)

To Barbicue a Leg of Pork: *Raffald*, III. *Mrs. Mason*, page 175, has nearly the same receipt as the above; the only difference is, that she omits the lemon-pickle and tarragon, as well as the green parsley for garnish. (p. 161)

Mrs Raffald's *The Experienced English Housekeeper* was first published in 1769, Mrs Mason's *The Lady's Assistant* in 1773. One explanation for Mrs Cole's error might be that the edition of Mrs Raffald's book that she was working with had a later publication

date than her copy of Mrs Mason. If one was unfamiliar with the publication history of both, it would be an understandable mistake to make. Working within our predetermined time-frame, the latest edition of Mrs Raffald that Mrs Cole could have acquired was 1787. The latest version of Mrs Mason that is older than the 1787 Raffald is the fifth edition of 1786. Cross-checking the page references given by Mrs Cole confirms that these are indeed the two editions she was referencing.

John Farley's two most recent editions of *The London Art of Cookery* within the specified time-frame are the third of 1785 and the fourth of 1787. The pagination is exactly the same for both, and so either would fit the criteria for being Mrs Cole's reference copy. And indeed, the page references support this assertion. However, being a bit of a stickler for details, I believe there is a case to be made for favouring one edition over the other. Mrs Cole's annotations make it clear that in her opinion, Mrs Raffald has copied from Mr Farley, however she refrains from being as forthright as she is with Mrs Mason.

To boil a chicken: *Farley*, 18. *Mason*, 262. N. B. *Mrs. Raffald* has got the same receipt (page 64.) the phraseology only being altered. (p. 31)

Beef A-la-mode Another Way: *Farley*, 91. *Mrs. Raffald*, in page 16 of *The Experienced English House-keeper*, has the same receipt as the next above except the following trifling difference. She says it is to be baked *three hours*, *Mr. Farley* says, *three or four hours*. (p. 54)

To Hash Veal: *Farley*, 66. N.B. The same receipt as the preceding, though conveyed in language somewhat different, is to be found in *Mrs. Raffald's Experienced English House-keeper*, page 73. (p. 116)

Shoulder of Mutton Surprised: *Farley*, 107. *Mason*, 164. The above receipt is inserted in page 103 of *Mrs. Raffald's English House-keeper*, with the phraseology a little different. (p. 126)

Mrs Cole evidently suspects shenanigans, and having already accused Mrs Raffald of copying recipes once, plainly would like to do so again with reference to Mr Farley, yet she holds back. A scenario which might prompt this uncharacteristic reticence, and in contrast to the Raffald/Mason plagiarism charge, is because she

is uncertain from her resources who copied whom. The reason for this uncertainty could conceivably stem from her copy of Farley having the same publication date as her copy of Mrs Raffald, 1787. This would also fit with her claim of purchasing the very latest editions.

Identifying which edition of the hugely influential Mrs Glasse Mrs Cole referenced was potentially going to be the most difficult, as it ran to at least 20 editions in the 40 years between its first publication and the appearance of Mrs Cole. As it turned out, it was one of the speediest. The most recent edition was the sixteenth, of 1786. Looking up the recipes referenced by Mrs Cole, the numbering was out by as much as 80 pages. The next version available was the 'new' edition of 1784. There were a great many issues with this appellation of 'new', and not one of them can boast an official edition count. In his annotated bibliography,⁵ A.W. Oxford implied that these 'new' editions were unofficial. Put more bluntly, they were pirated. Unfortunately, the pagination of this 1784 edition matched Mrs Cole's references exactly. The notion of Mrs Cole railing at plagiarism by referencing a plagiarized edition is one I find deliciously ironic.

In addition to these four main sources, Mrs Cole cites other cookery writers, albeit much less frequently. They are:

The Practice of Modern Cookery (1781) by George Dalrymple;
The Professed Cook (1776), a translation of Menon's *Les Soupers de la cour*, with additional recipes, edited and translated (and cited by Mrs Cole as being written) by B. Clermont;
A Complete System of Cookery (1759) by William Verral.

MRS COLE'S RECIPE SELECTIONS

Mrs Cole's rather harsh treatment of Mrs Raffald is all the more puzzling as she is by far the most cited author. Of the 1373 recipes, Mrs Raffald's name is attached to 350, either singly or alongside one or more of the other authors. Mrs Mason just pips Mrs Glasse, with 268 citations over 265, and Mr Farley trails 'the big four' with 235. George Dalrymple has been credited with 95, B. Clermont, 87 and William Verral, 46. Two minor French authors,

du Pont and Le Maitre, have been selected four and three times respectively. The unaccredited recipes, which number 415 and constitute just over 30 per cent of the whole, are assumed to be original to Mrs Cole herself, who has assured us in her preface that she always acknowledges her sources.

It is interesting to cast a critical eye over the recipes that Mrs Cole cherry-picked from the bestsellers. From the preface we already know that she has no truck with frippery because she makes it clear that ‘all extravagant, and almost impracticable receipts, I have purposely rejected.’ However, the recipes from Messrs Dalrymple and Clermont are invariably just this kind of froth. This is understandable from Clermont, as his book is a translation of a renowned French work, so it would be expected to be rather lavish. Dalrymple’s recipes for the most part go hand-in-hand with Clermont, so much so that it would be interesting to compare them with each other to see just how much genuine originality there is.

Mrs Cole’s opening chapters are very densely populated, with many cross-references and multiple versions of recipes from a range of authors. Her own recipes are initially infrequent. It is not until page eight that she humbly proffers her version of roasting a pig, and we have to wait until page 22 for a stand-alone recipe for roast pheasant, unencumbered by any attribution. Aside from the plagiarism of recipes, it can be observed that many of the named authors have each their own versions of popular dishes, which might serve to form an impression of what was most favoured by late-eighteenth-century diners. Then again, they may have become popular because they abounded in all available recipe books. It’s perfectly possible, of course that they were never popular, just included by everyone through fear of criticism by omission.

As one might expect, there is a lot of interest from the various sources in roasting big joints of meat and poultry as well as boiling hams and tongues. Later in the book, there is less duplication of recipes and much more of a sense of recipes being selected for intrinsic interest, offering a broad range of options for choice things to do with, for example, a leg of mutton (12), sweetbreads

(13), eggs (12) or a calf's head (14), to name but a few. At first glance, it would appear that Mrs Cole has maintained the championing of wholesome, tasty fare by deftly inserting her simpler recipes amongst the grander dishes of her contemporaries. For a more detailed picture of Mrs Cole's tastes, a thorough examination was called for.

MRS COLE'S RECIPES.

Which recipes of her own did Mrs Cole deem worthy of appearing alongside these giants of the eighteenth-century culinary world? Might this be the source of her pent-up frustrations? Resentment that not only were others forging careers by 'getting away with' recycling the same old recipes, but that they were blocking the potential of gifted and skilled cooks such as herself?

In order to understand the broader picture, it was necessary to separate Mrs Cole's recipes from her attributed sources and view them as a separate collection. As already mentioned, at the beginning of her book, Mrs Cole is quite the wallflower in terms of 'putting herself forward'. However, by the time the pudding chapter rolls around (p. 355), her recipes are filling entire pages at a time.

The un-attributed recipes number 415. As a precaution, before studying them in greater detail, I decided to cross-check these recipes against sources available at the time, up to and including 1787, and remove any written by others that had erroneously crept in. I had already spotted that Mrs Glasse's recipes for *Yorkshire Pudding* and *Currey the Indian Way*, recipes unique in themselves, had not been correctly attributed, and suspected that they weren't the only ones. In true Sherlock Holmes style, whatever remained, however improbable, would be Mrs Cole's originals.

Which is where things become a little awkward. Because there aren't any. Every one of the 415 unattributed recipes in Mrs Cole's book, notable for its stand against plagiarism, was written by someone else. Specifically, they were written by the very same authors she had spent a considerable amount of time and effort castigating for their shameless appropriation of the work of others.

The detailed list is reproduced at the end of this article but, in brief, the uncredited authors and the size of their contribution is as follows:

George Dalrymple – 6

B. Clermont – 8

John Farley – 15

Elizabeth Raffald – 90

Hannah Glasse – 136

Charlotte Mason – 160

Mrs Cole had been bold in thought and word and deed. She had addressed a widely practised habit of unattributed recipe-borrowing and had called out the most famous authors of the day. She had taken a moral stand against such practices and was defiantly open in uncovering and identifying plagiarism. She claimed the moral high ground by acknowledging her sources, yet stole all of ‘her’ recipes from others. She even openly invited her audience to judge her against the same strict rules. And nobody did. To paraphrase a favourite author,* I am lost in admiration. I have seen people bluff on a bad hand, but I’ve never before seen anyone bluff with no cards.

MRS COLE RE-EVALUATED

In the opening article of the published proceedings of the 1984 Oxford Symposium on Food & Cookery, Alan Davidson singled Mrs Cole out for praise, congratulating her for her plagiarism protest. He also noted that her protest didn’t include portraying herself as ‘a picture of overwhelming piety’,⁶ indicating her title-page and preface ‘joke’ with the illustrious French authorities she consulted: ‘It is not possible to trace these books or authors; and it seems inconceivable that they are all ‘lost works’. Mrs Cole was having a jest at the expense of those who paid exaggerated respect to the French in matters of cuisine.’⁷

* Sir Terry Pratchett (mayherestinpeace), a master of the footnote. The words I paraphrase are from his book *Men At Arms*, book 15 of the Discworld series.

This is, in my opinion, precisely what Mrs Cole was doing. It is also my contention that the ‘joke’ actually goes much further. I would go so far as to suggest that Mrs Cole’s entire tome mocks both the cookery writers who copy the recipes of others to pass off as their own, and also the gullible purchasers of these books. In addition to providing the French flourishes that are foolishly seen as elegant or desirable, Mrs Cole gently pokes fun at the repeated, unquestioning acceptance of recipes that are, in reality, mere duplications of the work of others.

This motive could certainly explain Mrs Cole’s expanded annotations on the duplications she found. Re-visiting and re-reading them with a tone of exasperation rather than outrage, it is possible to hear her frustration that no-one else sees the deception being perpetuated. It would certainly explain her more pettifogging comments against some of the recipes, such as the following:

[Ducks à la mode] Another way: *Glasse*, 81. *Mr. Farley*, page 118, gives the same receipt as the above, with the following addition or improvement:— Instead of the words— “Garnish with lemon,” he says, “Garnish with lemon and barberries.” *Mrs. Mason*, page 272, has also the same receipt, though differently expressed. (p. 198)

For a long time this annotation had bothered me. I must confess to having thought: ‘Hang on now, Mary, “and barberries” is hardly a ground-breaking innovation. John Farley shouldn’t be credited with having a different recipe just because he’s tossed a few barberries over it as garnish. Just as Charlotte Mason shouldn’t get to claim it as hers either, by using just one duck as opposed to two.’ On reflection, this might be precisely what Mrs Cole pointing out: ‘Look!’ she is saying, ‘See how little these recipes differ! These two authors have both copied from Hannah Glasse and think their small changes somehow relieve them of the charge of plagiarism.’ She’s not nitpicking *per se*, Mrs Cole is trying to show her readers how they have been hoodwinked, by trifling changes, all the while avoiding libellous commentary.

Similarly, her remark here:

Beef A-la-mode Another Way: *Farley*, 91 *Mrs. Raffald*, in page 16 of *The Experienced English House-keeper*, has the same receipt as the next above except the following trifling difference. She says it is to be baked *three hours*, *Mr. Farley* says, *three or four hours*. (p. 54)

And this:

To force a fowl: *Raffald*, 124. *Mr. Farley*, in page 120, gives the above receipt, with only the following addition:— “Serve it up, garnished with oysters, mushrooms, or pickles.” (p. 184)

Which might conceivably be considered an improvement, were it not for the fact that *Mrs Raffald’s* recipe contains the line ‘Garnish with pickles, mushrooms, or oysters.’⁸

Also here, aside from the error on who copied whom, *Mrs Cole* justifies taking up half a page with two identical versions of the same recipe that differ only in the quantity of caraway seeds: ‘a few’ versus ‘half an ounce’.

[Shrewsbury Cakes] Another Way: *Mason*, 403 Though the article which precedes this is evidently borrowed from it, yet as *Mrs Raffald* has ascertained the quantity of caraway-seeds, we have laid them both before the public. (p. 412)

‘Don’t just take my word for it,’ she is saying, ‘see for yourselves just how similar these recipes are.’

On her title page, *Mrs Cole* drops names with casual authority: ‘...particularly *M. Commo’s Histoire de Cuisine*, *M. Disang’s Maitre d’Hotel*, *M. Dupont* and *M. Valois*, *M. Troas* and *M. Delatour...*’⁹ She repeats these in her preface, misspelling (deliberately?) *Disang/Desang* and adding *Verno*, together with the British authors, ‘*Clermont*, *Glasse*, *Mason*, *Dalrymple*, *Dupont*, *Commo*, *Desang*, *Verno*, *Troas*, *Delatour*, *Valois*, *Verral*, *Raffald*, *Farley*, &c.’ Not only do no recipes belonging to any of the alleged French authors appear in *Mrs Cole’s* book, they don’t appear anywhere in either English or French. However, it would be over 120 years before someone would think it worthy of comment: ‘It is strange that none of the French books mentioned

on the title-page seem to be in Vicaire, and some other French writers, who are mentioned in the preface, are not to be found there.⁷¹⁰

That is not to say that there are no French authors referenced in the book at all. Between pages 129 and 141 are dotted seven recipes allegedly by French authors: three by Le Maitre and four from Du Pont. Alas, these too prove to be *les harengs rouges*; the names and page numbers fabricated and the recipes themselves being the work of Mrs Mason (4), B. Clermont (2) and Mrs Raffald (1).

Mrs Cole's passing off as her own the recipes of others might, on reflection, be a case of extending her argument that the buying public aren't discerning enough to notice, and will accept such blatant deception on face value. It also might be a case of: if you can't beat 'em, join 'em. Whatever the reason, Mrs Cole did make some little effort to disguise the recipes she purloined. They most certainly weren't, as she claimed in her preface, rephrased in simple language: 'I have only to add, that these receipts are delivered in familiar language, adapted to the comprehension of every class of readers.'¹¹ I suspect the changes that were made were not for ease of the reader, but rather to help disguise the recipe from its source. The methods include:

Reversing the opening instructions of a recipe:

To boil Sago.

PUT a large spoonful of sago into three quarters of a pint of water, stir it, and boil it softly till it is as thick as you would have it; then put in wine and sugar, with a little nutmeg to your palate.

Hannah Glasse (1784), p. 243

Sago.

To three quarters of a pint of water, put a large spoonful of sago, stir it, and boil it softly till it is as thick as you would have it; then put in wine and sugar, with a little nutmeg to your palate.

Mary Cole (1788), p. 460

Dispensing with extraneous and/or individualistic flourishes:

To make APRICOT MARMALADE.

WHEN you preserve your apricots, pick out all the bad ones, and those that are too ripe for keeping, boil them in the syrup till they will mash, then beat them in a marble mortar to a paste; take half their weight of loaf sugar, and put as much water to it as will dissolve it, boil and skim it well, boil them till they look clear, and the syrup thick like a fine jelly, then put it into your sweet-meat glasses, and keep them for use.

Elizabeth Raffald (1787) p. 225

Apricot Marmalade.

Take ripe apricots and boil them in the syrup till they will mash, then beat them in a marble mortar; add half their weight of sugar, and as much water as will dissolve it; boil and skim it well, boil them till they look clear, and the syrup like a fine jelly, then put them into your sweetmeat-glasses, and keep them for use.

Mary Cole (1788) p. 444

Slightly altering the quantity of a single ingredient

To make fine PANACKES.

TAKE a pint of cream, eight eggs (leave out two of the whites) three spoonfuls of sack or orange-flower water, a little sugar, if it be agreeable, a grated nutmeg; the butter and cream must be melted over the fire; mix all together, with three spoonfuls of flour; butter the frying-pan for the first, let them run as thin as you can in the pan, fry them quick, and send them up hot.

Elizabeth Raffald(1787), p. 166

Fine Pancakes.

To a pint of cream add the yolks of eight eggs, but no whites, three spoonfuls of sack, or orange-flower-water, a little sugar, and a grated nutmeg; the butter and cream must be melted over the fire; mix all well together with three spoonfuls of flour; butter the frying-pan for the first, let them run as thin as you can in the pan, fry them quick, and send them up hot.

Mary Cole (1788), p. 372

Adding a garnish:

To dress Mutton the Turkish way.

FIRST cut your meat into thin slices, then wash it in vinegar, and put it into a pot or sauce-pan that has a close cover to it, put in some rice, whole pepper, and three or four whole onions; let all these stew together, skimming it frequently; when it is enough, take out the onions, and season it with salt to your palate, lay the mutton in the dish, and pour the rice and liquor over it.

Hannah Glasse (1784), p. 49

Mutton the Turkish way.

Let the meat be cut in slices, wash it in vinegar, put it in a pot, with whole pepper, rice, and two or three onions; stew these very slowly, and skim them very often. When it is tender, take out the onions, and put sippets in the dish under them.

Mary Cole (1788) p. 134

Jumbling sentences:

Plain Fritters.

PUT a pint of boiling cream, or milk, to the crumb of a penny-loaf grated; mix it very smooth; when cold, add the yolks of five eggs, near a quarter of a pound of sifted sugar, some nutmeg grated; fry them in hog's lard; pour melted butter, wine, and sugar, into the dish. Currants may be added.

Charlotte Mason (1786), p. 382

Plain Fritters.

Grate the crumb of a penny-loaf, and put it into a pint of milk; mix it very smooth; when cold, add the yolks of five eggs, three ounces of sifted sugar, and some grated nutmeg; fry them in hogs'-lard; pour melted butter, wine, and sugar, into the dish. Currants may be added, as an improvement.

Mary Cole (1788), p. 374

Paraphrasing:

To preserve Eringo-roots.

TAKE some eringo-roots, and parboil them till tender, peel and wash them very clean, dry them with a cloth, put them into as much clarified sugar as will cover them; boil them gently over a stove till they look clear, and the syrup is a little thick; put them up when half cold.

A silver sauce-pan is best to boil them in.

Charlotte Mason (1786) p. 423

To preserve Eringo Roots.

Parboil some eringo roots till they are tender, peel them, wash them, and dry them with a cloth, and cover them with clarified sugar; boil them gently till they look clear, and the syrup seems to be thickish; put them up when half cold.

Mary Cole (1788), p. 442

Creating portmanteau recipes from two or more sources:

To dress French Beans.

FIRST string them, then cut them in two, and afterwards across: but if you would do them nice, cut the bean into four, and then across, which is eight pieces. Lay them into water and salt, and when your pan boils put in some salt and the beans; when they are tender they are enough; they will be soon done. Take care they do not loose their fine green. Lay them in a plate, and have butter in a cup.

Hannah Glasse (1784), p. 17

French Beans.
IF not very small, split and quarter them; throw them into salt and water; boil them in a quantity of water, with some salt.
N. B. Make all greens boil as quick as possible, for it preserves their colour.

Charlotte Mason (1786), p. 335

To dress French Beans.

String them, and if not very small, split and quarter them, throw them into salt and water; boil them in a quantity of water, with some salt. When they are tender, they are enough. They will be soon done.

N. B. Make all greens boil as quick as possible, as it preserves their colour.

Mary Cole (1788), p. 442

For the majority of recipes, however, no changes were made and they were included verbatim.

Merlans frits. Fried Whittings.

GUT the whittings by the gills, trim and dry them well, bathe them with beat eggs, and roll them in fine bread-crumbs mixed with a very little flour; fry them with hog's lard of a good colour, and garnish with fried parsley; serve with plain butter, or what sauce you think proper, in a sauce-boat.

George Dalrymple (1781), p. 326

To fry Whittings.

Gut the whittings by the gills, trim and dry them well, bathe them with beat eggs, and roll them in fine bread-crumbs, mixed with a very little flour; fry them with hog's-lard of a good colour, and garnish with fried parsley. Serve with plain butter, or what sauce you think proper, in a sauce-boat.

Mary Cole (1788) page p. 298

MARY COLE – THE BROADER PICTURE

From the perspective of the twenty-first century, there are new details to add to the context of Mrs Cole's publication. It is now known that John Farley was not the author of *The London Art of Cookery* at all. Through painstaking research, Fiona Lucreft demonstrated Farley's book was almost entirely assembled from the works of Hannah Glasse and Elizabeth Raffald.¹² The man responsible was one Richard Johnson, a publisher who also dabbled in proofreading, indexing, editing and now, it seems, plagiarism. In Mr Johnson's account books, bequeathed to the Stationers' Company¹³ have been found the transactions relating both to the writing of Farley's *London Art of Cookery* and the compilation of Collingham and Woollams' *Universal Cook*. In light of this, I am driven to wonder whether Mrs Cole knew about Richard Johnson. Is he, perhaps, the editor she scathingly refers to in her preface? 'I have not, like the editor of a book now in considerable estimation, composed a large volume from only two publications.'

Might this even have been her inspiration? If a cookery book could become famous, despite being manufactured from two previously published cookery books, how much more successful

would a book be that could boast multiple sources, both English and French? The answer is: very. Mrs Cole wrote in the preface to the second edition of 1789: 'I also thank the public for the pleasing stamp of approbation which they have given to this work, by purchasing the first edition, consisting of a large impression within six weeks.' A third edition followed in 1791, with the following added to the preface: 'I am now able to give substantial proof of the superior utility of this collection, viz. two large impressions have been sold in a much shorter space of time than can be instanced even of one edition in any other book of cookery in the English language!' And that 1791 edition is the last we hear from Mrs Mary Cole. It is not, however, the last to be heard from her book.

In 1794 there appeared *DOMESTIC ECONOMY: or, A Complete System of English Housekeeping*. The author's apparently impressive name was Maximilian Hazlemore. Title page and preface both refrain from advertising the slew of (spurious) French authors favoured by Mrs Cole; however, the main body of the work is essentially identical, with the following exception: 278 recipes within are attributed to *Cole*. It would appear that this publication had succeeded in granting Mrs Cole her heart's desire; to be ranked alongside the great cooks of the eighteenth century, as an equal.

The book was included in A.W. Oxford's chronological bibliography of English cookery books, with the following rather dismissive comment: 'The whole of the title-page is not given, as it is almost identical with that of "The Lady's Complete Guide" by Mrs. Mary Cole. The contents of the book are also identical, and one wonders who was the real author.'¹⁴ At face value, this seems a little harsh, as Mr Hazlemore's book appears a full six years after Mrs Cole's but, on reflection, it occurred to me that Mr Oxford might be implying something completely different altogether. Mr Oxford might, in fact, be suggesting one of the following scenarios: that Mrs Cole wrote Mr Hazlemore's book, once again playing on the susceptibility of her audience to accept, unquestioningly, the same old rehash of recipes that had been being recycled for 45 years. In so doing she wrote herself into glory, by adding her own name alongside Glasse, Raffald, Mason

and Farley. Alternatively, that Mr Hazlemore wrote Mrs Cole's original book and, by replacing her name with his, sought to take advantage of the success enjoyed by the previous three editions. He embellished and gave authenticity to the fraud perpetuated by Mary Cole by attributing recipes to her in his edition. Thirdly and finally, that both books were published an anonymous third party trying to capitalize initially on the success of 'assembled' books such as Farley's, and subsequently on the success of the first three Cole editions, and that both Mrs Mary Cole and Maximilian Hazlemore were mere figments of this person's imagination.

The third scenario is beguiling. Essentially, we have a single manuscript, and two names. Neither name is ascribed to any other publication that I am able to find. Both 'authors' appear from nowhere and subsequently disappear within a brief six-year span. In light of (relatively) recent information, a candidate that springs to mind would be Richard Johnson. Although he died in 1793, it's not beyond the realms of possibility that he was working on the Hazlemore publication when he died and his son finished and published the work himself. From the records in his account books, Richard Johnson appears to have had rather a flair for cookery books. If his son didn't share his interest or enthusiasm, it might also explain a lack of further Hazlemore editions.

I find myself asking: who was Mrs Mary Cole? Did she ever exist? Certainly her alleged employer, the Earl of Drogheda did. If the Earl employed Mrs Cole in Ireland, why do her books all list a publisher based in London? Are there records of birth, marriage and death to be found? It would be interesting to learn what a keen genealogist could dig up.

CONCLUSION

How does Mrs Mary Cole and her book emerge in light of all this? Overall, I would have to say, 'bloodied but unbowed.' Her book is admirable in it's highlighting of the elephant in the room of eighteenth-century cookery books, plagiarism. And if we now harbour resentment at the deception she perpetrated, whatever the motive, it isn't as if she didn't invite scrutiny, almost daring

her readers to do so. Why else would she take, for example, two of Hannah Glasse's most original and recognizable recipes (Yorkshire Pudding and Currey) and claim them as her own, if not to test whether such a bold move would be challenged? She can hardly be blamed if no-one accepted her invitation.

It's not so different a situation to its modern equivalent: the celebrity chef and the recipe editor/developer. 'In my career as a food editor, I've worked on the recipes of all kinds of people, from models to Michelin-starred chefs, many of them household names. If you're reading this, you'll know them. You've probably got their books on your shelves. Some of them are so involved in and excited about their books that I've had lively conversations with them at 10pm about the nuance of a word or whether it's 5g or 10g of cumin. For others, the biggest contribution they make to their recipes is reading them. Possibly. ... Wandering into someone's kitchen and finding a book you've edited on their shelves, fat with Post-it notes and splattered with sauce, is a great feeling. And when they say, "I just love XYZ's recipes, they always work," you just smile, nod and (sometimes) think, if only they knew...' ¹⁵

The Lady's Complete Guide offers a concise selection of late eighteenth-century recipes and can be viewed as a valuable one-stop resource for anyone seeking to understand food fashions of the time or wishing to try a variety of interpretations of a single dish. Although she did not, as she claimed, simplify the language of the recipes for all to understand, Mrs Cole did at least organize the recipes into the best semblance of order to date. She dismissed the huge, jumbled section of 'made dishes' favoured by earlier writers, and separated her chapters clearly, by main ingredient or style of dish. The news that none of Mrs Cole's book was original might be viewed as reason to dismiss it altogether. Personally, I think it opens up exciting avenues of enquiry: establishing evidence to determine how widespread this practice was, which recipes were most popular in their plagiarism, charting the popularity, rise and fall of recipes over time, even recipe genealogy and evolution.

NOTES

1. Mrs. Mary Cole, *The Lady's Complete Guide; or, Cookery in all its Branches* (London, G. Kearsley, 1788), preface text. In its fullest expression, the book's title went on to state that it also included *The Complete Brewer ... also The Family Physician*. This article, and the table which follows, consider only the culinary portions of the work.
2. Ibid.
3. Ibid.
4. Ibid.
5. Arnold Whittaker Oxford, *English Cookery Books to the Year 1850* (Oxford University Press, 1913).
6. Alan Davidson, 'Acknowledging Sources: A Message From Adelaide and Two Notes', in Tom Jaine ed., *Oxford Symposium on Food & Cookery, 1984 & 1985: Cookery: Science, Lore & Books: Proceedings* (Totnes, Prospect Books, 1986), p. 3.
7. Ibid.
8. Elizabeth Raffald, *The Experienced English Housekeeper* (London, A. Millar, W. Law & R. Cater, 1787), p. 124.
9. Mrs. Mary Cole, op. cit., title-page text.
10. A.W. Oxford, op. cit., p. 118.
11. Cole, op. cit., preface text.
12. Fiona Lucraft, 'The London Art of Plagiarism', *Petits Propos Culinaires* 42 (1992), pp. 7–24, and *Petits Propos Culinaires* 43 (1992), pp. 34–46.
13. Detailed in M.J.P. Weedon, 'Richard Johnson and the successors to John Newbery', *The Library*, 5th Series, IV, No. 1 (1949), pp. 25–63, cited in Peter Targett, 'Richard Johnson or John Farley', *Petits Propos Culinaires* 58 (1998), pp. 31–33.
14. Oxford, op. cit., p. 122.
15. Deborah Robertson, 'What it's like to be a recipe tester: Culinary secrets, celebrity chefs' foibles, and what happens if you make a mistake', *The Independent*, 17 October 2015, <<http://www.independent.co.uk/life-style/food-and-drink/features/what-it-s-like-to-be-a-recipe-tester-culinary-secrets-celebrity-chefs-foibles-and-what-happens-if-a6695476.html>> accessed 17 September 2016.

APPENDIX: MARY COLE'S BORROWINGS

The table below contains several pieces of information. Columns 1 & 2 indicate the page numbers and titles of the **unattributed** recipes contained in the 1788 first edition of Mrs Mary Cole's *The Lady's Complete Guide*. Column 3 contains the references to the recipe's original author and the page number of the original recipe. Column 4 is the recipe page number in the 1791 third edition of *The Lady's Complete Guide*, as referenced in Maximilian Hazlemore's 1794 *Domestic Economy* (Column 5).

Key:

- BC – B. Clermont, *The Professed Cook* (1776)
- GD - George Dalrymple, *The Practice of Modern Cookery* (1781)
- JF – John Farley, *The London Art of Cookery* (1787)
- HG – Hannah Glasse, *The Art of Cookery* (1784)
- CM – Charlotte Mason, *The Lady's Assistant* (1786)
- ER - Elizabeth Raffald, *The Experienced English Housekeeper* (1787)

| p. | Title | Source author & p. no. | MC 3rd ed p. no. | MH no. |
|----|-------------------------------------|------------------------|------------------|--------|
| 8 | Another way to roast a Pig | HG4 | | |
| 10 | Another way to roast venison | HG10 | | |
| 13 | Another way to roast a Turkey | HG69 | | |
| 15 | Another Sauce for a Turkey | HG69 | | |
| 19 | To roast Woodcock or Snipes | JF42 | | |
| 22 | To roast Pheasants | HG97 | | |
| 24 | Different sorts of Sauce for a Hare | HG7 | | |
| 26 | Another way to roast lobsters | HG191 | | |
| 32 | Another way to boil a Turkey | CM257 | | |
| 36 | Another way to boil Pigeons | HG88 | | |
| 39 | Another way to boil Pig's Pettitoes | CM187 | | |
| 46 | Another way (to boil a pike) | ER25 | | |
| 48 | To boil Plaice or Flounders | HG241 | | |
| 50 | Another way to boil Soals | HG189 | | |
| 50 | Another way (to boil herrings) | CM223 | | |

| <i>p.</i> | <i>Title</i> | <i>Source author & p. no.</i> | <i>MC 3rd ed p. no.</i> | <i>MH p. no.</i> |
|-----------|---|---------------------------------------|---------------------------------|--------------------------|
| 53 | Beef a-la-mode | HG37 | | |
| 56 | Beef Tremblant-Trembling Beef | CM125 | | |
| 63 | Another way (to Stew a rump of beef) | HG40 | | |
| 65 | Another way (to force a sirloin of beef) | HG34 | | |
| 67 | Another way (to fry beef steaks) | HG39 | | |
| 68 | Another way (to Stew beef steaks) | HG39 | | |
| 77 | To force a Neat's Tongue | HG43 | | |
| 82 | Breast of veal Stewed white | CM137 | | |
| 82 | Breast of veal Stewed with Peas or Asparagus | CM138 | | |
| 85 | To ragoo a Neck of Veal | HG28 | | |
| 86 | Neck of Veal Stewed with Celery | CM138 | | |
| 89 | (Veal Olives) Another way | JF99 | | |
| 90 | Fillet of veal Stewed | ER100 | | |
| 90 | To ragoo a Fillet of Veal | ER100 | | |
| 92 | To Stew a Knuckle of Veal | HG32 | | |
| 95 | To ragoo Sweetbreads | ER99 | | |
| 96 | Sweetbreads larded | CM157 | | |
| 97 | To fry Sweetbreads | CM156 | | |
| 98 | Veal a la Bourgeoise | HG55 | | |
| 99 | Veal Rolls | HG57 | | |
| 101 | Calf's Head boiled | CM152 | | |
| 102 | To roast a Calf's Head | CM154 | | |
| 103 | To hash a Calf's Head brown | CM153 | | |
| 105 | To grill a Calf's Head | ER88 | | |
| 107 | Calf's Heart roasted | ER281 | 82 | 65 |
| 109 | To dress a Calf's Pluck | CM158 | 84 | 66 |
| 109 | Ragoo of Calves Feet | CM159 | 84 | 66 |
| 111 | Veal Cutlets in Ragoo | CM147 | 85 | 67 |
| 114 | To dress Scotch Collops brown | ER96 | 88 | 69 |
| 115 | (To dress Scotch Collops brown) Another way | HG20 | 90 | 69 |
| 117 | To fry cold Veal | HG119 | | |
| 119 | (To make Calf's foot Jelly) Another way | CM447 | 91 | 72 |
| 120 | (To make savoury Calf's foot Jelly) Another way | ER192 | | |
| 123 | (To Ragoo a Leg of Mutton) Another way | CM163 | | |
| 124 | (To roast... Mutton with Oysters) Another way | CM162 | 95 | 76 |
| 125 | To make Mutton Hams | HG265 | 96 | 76 |
| 127 | A Shoulder of Mutton with a Ragoo of Turnips | HG49 | | |
| 128 | To boil Shoulder of Mutton and Onion Sauce | ER104 | | |

| <i>p.</i> | <i>Title</i> | <i>Source author & p. no.</i> | <i>MC 3rd ed p. no.</i> | <i>MH p. no.</i> |
|-----------|--|---------------------------------------|---------------------------------|--------------------------|
| 129 | (To collar a Breast of Mutton) Another way | ER301 | | |
| 130 | A Harrico of Mutton | HG46 | 99 | 79 |
| 132 | To dress a Neck of Mutton like Venison | ER102 | | |
| 134 | Mutton the Turkish way | HG49 | 103 | 82 |
| 137 | To hash Mutton | HG48 | 105 | 84 |
| 137 | (To hash Mutton) Another way | ER73 | 106 | 84 |
| 138 | (To hash Mutton) Another way | CM168 | | |
| 139 | A hodge-podge of Mutton | ER141 | 107 | 85 |
| 139 | Mutton Chops in Disguise | HG76 | | |
| 141 | Sheeps Trotters fried in paste | GD122 | | |
| 144 | (Lamb's Head and Purtenance) Another way | CM173 | | |
| 146 | (To force a Leg of Lamb) Another way | HG52 | | |
| 147 | To fry a Loin of Lamb | HG53 | 114 | 90 |
| 150 | Shoulder of Lamb neighbour fashion | GD167 | 116 | 92 |
| 151 | Lamb Chops larded | HG54 | 117 | 93 |
| 152 | Grass Lamb Steaks | CM171 | 118 | 93 |
| 156 | A Pig Matelot | HG67 | 121 | 96 |
| 158 | (A Pig in Jelly) Another way | CM187 | | |
| 158 | To dress a Pig like a fat Lamb | HG67 | 123 | 97 |
| 159 | To dress a Pig the French way | HG66 | 123 | 97 |
| 159 | Dress Pig's Pettitoes | HG48 | 123 | 98 |
| 160 | (A ragoo of Pig's Feet and Ears) Another way | CM180 | 124 | 98 |
| 161 | To stuff a chine of pork | CM176 | 125 | 99 |
| 162 | Hog's Head Au Sanglier – Not Mary Cole,s | | 123 | 99 |
| 162 | Hog's Head like Brawn | CM178 | 126 | 100 |
| 164 | Mock brawn | HG263 | | |
| 164 | Hog's Tails of different fashions | GD145 | | |
| 166 | Toasted Bread and Ham with Eggs | BC170 | 129 | 102 |
| 168 | (To marinade a goose) Another way | CM270 | | |
| 169 | To smoke a Goose | CM268 | 132 | 104 |
| 170 | (To Stew Giblets) Another way | HG86 | | |
| 172 | Turkey à-la-daube, to be sent up cold | ER123 | 133 | 106 |
| 173 | Stew a Turkey with Celery | CM257 | 135 | 107 |
| 177 | Turkies and Chickens after the Dutch way | HG383 | | |
| 178 | To dress a Turkey or Fowl to perfection | HG73 | | |
| 178 | Turkey coloured | BC228 | | |
| 179 | To roast Turkey with Cray-fish | CM260 | 139 | 111 |
| 181 | To force a Fowl with a ragoo of Oysters | CM263 | | |

| <i>p.</i> | <i>Title</i> | <i>Source author & p. no.</i> | <i>MC 3rd ed p. no.</i> | <i>MH p. no.</i> |
|-----------|---|---------------------------------------|---------------------------------|--------------------------|
| 183 | A Fowl with Rice called a Pillow | CM264 | | |
| 185 | Fowls stuffed | CM264 | | |
| 185 | To hash Fowls | ER74 | 145 | 115 |
| 187 | To dress cold Fowl or Pigeon | HG118 | | |
| 190 | Chicken in Jelly | ER282 | 147 | 117 |
| 191 | A Currey the Indian way | HG105 | 148 | 118 |
| 194 | Chicken Pulled | CM266 | 151 | 120 |
| 195 | Chickens hashed, called Bichamele | CM266 | | |
| 198 | To boil Ducks the French way | HG84 | | |
| 199 | To boil a Duck à-la-Francoise | CM271 | 155 | 123 |
| 200 | (To dress a Duck with green Peas) Another way | CM272 | 156 | 123 |
| 201 | To dress a Wild Duck in perfection | HG81 | 157 | 124 |
| 202 | (To Stew Ducks) Another way | CM272 | | |
| 204 | Pigeons in disguise | CM281 | 159 | 126 |
| 205 | Pigeons à-la-charmante | BC242 | 160 | 127 |
| 207 | Pigeons à-la-braze | CM279 | 161 | 128 |
| 210 | To Stew Pigeons | HG94 | 164 | 130 |
| 210 | (To Stew Pigeons) Another way | CM276 | | |
| 211 | (Pigeons boiled with Rice) Another way | ER131 | | |
| 213 | (Partridges in Panes) Another way | ER133 | | |
| 215 | Partridges rolled | CM305 | 167 | 133 |
| 216 | Partridges with consommée Sauce | GD230 | 168 | 133 |
| 216 | Partridges à-la-paysanne | CM304 | 168 | 133 |
| 219 | Snipes or Woodcocks in surtout | HG98 | 171 | 135 |
| 221 | To dress Ruffs and Reifs | HG100 | 173 | 137 |
| 222 | Larks à-la-francoise | CM286 | 174 | 138 |
| 223 | A ragoo of Larks | CM286 | 174 | 138 |
| 226 | A Hare Civet | HG102 | 177 | 140 |
| 227 | To hodge-podge a Hare | ER137 | 177 | 141 |
| 228 | To hash a Hare | ER76 | 178 | 141 |
| 232 | To roast a Rabbit Hare fashion | HG11 | | |
| 233 | A Scotch Rabbit | HG196 | 182 | 144 |
| 233 | A Welch Rabbit | HG196 | | |
| 234 | An English Rabbit | HG196 | 182 | 145 |
| 242 | Mock Turtle from Calf's-Feet | CM160 | | |
| 249 | Soup Santé the English way | CM192 | 194 | 153 |
| 251 | A Transparent Soup | ER3 | 195 | 156 |
| 252 | (Green Peas-Soup) Another way | CM194 | | |

| <i>p.</i> | <i>Title</i> | <i>Source author & p. no.</i> | <i>MC 3rd ed p. no.</i> | <i>MH p. no.</i> |
|-----------|---|---------------------------------------|---------------------------------|--------------------------|
| 253 | (A common Peas Soup) Another way | HG130 | | |
| 255 | Peas Soup without Meat | CM205 | 198 | 158 |
| 257 | Soupe au Bourgeois | CM193 | 199 | 160 |
| 259 | Asparagus Soup | CM196 | 201 | 162 |
| 260 | Calfs Head Soup | CM189 | 202 | 162 |
| 260 | Giblet Soup | CM197 | 202 | 162 |
| 261 | (Soup Maigre) Another way | JF152 | | |
| 263 | (Oyster Soup) Another way | HG156 | 204 | 165 |
| 265 | Mussel Soup | HG155 | 206 | 167 |
| 266 | Barley Soup | HG157 | 207 | 167 |
| 267 | Milk Soup | CM205 | 208 | 168 |
| 267 | Milk Soup the Dutch way | HG355 | 208 | 168 |
| 268 | Good brown Gravy | HG195 | 209 | 169 |
| 268 | Gravy for white Sauce | HG125 | | |
| 269 | (To make Gravy) Another way | JF137 | | |
| 270 | Gravy for a Fowl ... meat nor gravy ready | HG126 | 210 | 170 |
| 270 | Mutton or Veal Gravy | HG127 | 210 | 170 |
| 271 | Stock for brown or white Fish | JF166 | | |
| 272 | Veal Broth | CM207 | 211 | 171 |
| 272 | Scotch Barley Broth | HG132 | 211 | 171 |
| 273 | Beef Broth | HG132 | 212 | 172 |
| 274 | Chicken Broth | HG242 | 212 | 172 |
| 276 | To fricassee Rabbits brown | ER139 | 214 | 175 |
| 276 | To fricassee Rabbits white | ER139 | 214 | 175 |
| 279 | To fricassee Calf's Feet | CM159 | 216 | 176 |
| 280 | To fricassee Sweetbreads brown | CM156 | 217 | 177 |
| 282 | To fricassee Flounders and Plaice | CM249 | | |
| 284 | To fricassee Skirrets | HG195 | | |
| 284 | (To fricassee Skirrets) Another way | CM341 | | |
| 286 | To fry a Turbot | CM212 | 220 | 181 |
| 288 | (To broil Salmon) Another way | CM214 | | |
| 290 | To dress dried Salmon | HG392 | | |
| 291 | Sturgeon Mayence fashion, or à-la-Mayence | BC364 | 224 | 185 |
| 293 | To broil Cod | CM220 | 226 | 186 |
| 293 | To crimp Cod | CM220 | 226 | 187 |
| 294 | To dress Cod sounds | ER23 | 227 | 187 |
| 294 | To broil Cod sounds | HG181 | | |
| 294 | To dress Herrings | CM223 | 227 | 187 |

| <i>p.</i> | <i>Title</i> | <i>Source author & p. no.</i> | <i>MC 3rd ed p. no.</i> | <i>MH p. no.</i> |
|-----------|---|---------------------------------------|---------------------------------|--------------------------|
| 295 | To bake herrings | CM224 | 228 | |
| 297 | To stew Soals | CM226 | 229 | 189 |
| 297 | To fry Soals | CM225 | 230 | 190 |
| 298 | To bake Soals | CM227 | | |
| 298 | To fry Whittings | GD326 | 230 | 190 |
| 299 | To broil Mackerel whole | HG179 | | |
| 299 | (To broil Mackerel whole) Another way | HG177 | | |
| 300 | To bake Mackarel | CM229 | 231 | 191 |
| 301 | To marinade Trout | CM231 | 232 | 192 |
| 302 | Pike au Court Bouillon | CM233 | | |
| 304 | To dress Carp the best way | ER26 | 235 | 194 |
| 305 | To fry Carp | HG172 | | |
| 306 | To fry Tench | CM239 | 236 | 195 |
| 306 | To dress Perch in Water Souchy | ER37 | 236 | 196 |
| 307 | Smelts in Savoury Jelly | CM240 | 237 | 196 |
| 308 | To Stew Eels | HG180 | 238 | 197 |
| 308 | To broil Eels | ER37 | 238 | 197 |
| 309 | (To fry Eels) Another way | HG185 | | |
| 310 | Sauce Poivrade | CM324 | | |
| 311 | Parsley and Butter | CM319 | 240 | 199 |
| 311 | Poor Man's Sauce | CM319 | 240 | 199 |
| 311 | Lemon Sauce for boiled Fowls | HG72 | 240 | 199 |
| 312 | (Mushroom Sauce for ... Fowls...) Another way | CM320 | | |
| 312 | Shallot Sauce | CM320 | 241 | 200 |
| 312 | Egg Sauce | CM321 | 241 | 200 |
| 313 | Apple Sauce | ER59 | 241 | 200 |
| 313 | (Onion Sauce) Another way | CM321 | | |
| 313 | Gooseberry Sauce | CM321 | | |
| 313 | Fennel Sauce | CM321 | | |
| 313 | Bread Sauce | CM321 | | |
| 314 | Mint Sauce | CM322 | | |
| 314 | Shrimp Sauce | HG123 | 242 | 202 |
| 315 | (Shrimp Sauce) Another way | CM327 | | |
| 315 | To crisp Parsley | CM322 | 242 | 202 |
| 315 | Plain Sour Sauce | CM322 | 242 | 202 |
| 315 | White Sauce for Fowls or chickens | HG70 | 243 | 202 |
| 316 | A white Sauce for veal | ER91 | 243 | 202 |
| 316 | Sauce for Pheasants or Partridges | HG6 | 243 | 203 |

| <i>p.</i> | <i>Title</i> | <i>Source author & p. no.</i> | <i>MC 3rd ed p. no.</i> | <i>MH p. no.</i> |
|-----------|---|---------------------------------------|---------------------------------|--------------------------|
| 316 | Sauce for Wild Duck, Teal, etc. | CM326 | 244 | 203 |
| 318 | An excellent Sauce for most kinds of Fish | ER28 | 244 | 204 |
| 319 | A cullis for all sorts of ragoos | CM329 | 246 | 205 |
| 319 | Lobster Sauce | ER28 | 245 | 205 |
| 320 | A Cullis for Fish | CM331 | 247 | 206 |
| 321 | A Cullis of Craw-fish | HG109 | | |
| 324 | A ragoo of artichoke bottoms | CM340 | | |
| 325 | A ragoo of celery | CM336 | | |
| 325 | To fry celery | ER286 | | |
| 326 | Cucumbers with eggs | ER142 | 250 | 209 |
| 326 | Cucumbers stuffed with forcemeat | GD440 | | |
| 327 | (To ragoo Mushrooms) Another way | CM339 | | |
| 327 | To Stew mushrooms | ER287 | | |
| 327 | (Stewed Peas and Lettuce) Another way | CM339 | | |
| 328 | Asparagus and eggs | HG198 | 252 | 211 |
| 328 | An amulet of asparagus | ER291 | 252 | 211 |
| 329 | To make an amulet | ER291 | 253 | 211 |
| 329 | To broil Potatoes | HG199 | 253 | 212 |
| 330 | To fry Potatoes | HG199 | 253 | 212 |
| 330 | To mash Potatoes | HG199 | 253 | 212 |
| 331 | (To fry Chardoons) Another way | CM340 | | |
| 331 | (To fry Chardoons) Another way | CM340 | | |
| 331 | Chardoons a la fromage | CM340 | 254 | 212 |
| 331 | To Stew Pears in a sauce-pan | HG167 | 254 | 213 |
| 332 | To Broil Eggs | HG205 | 255 | 213 |
| 333 | Spinach and Eggs | HG200 | 255 | 214 |
| 333 | To force Eggs | CM290 | 255 | 214 |
| 334 | Eggs with sausages | CM288 | 256 | 214 |
| 336 | Almond hog's Puddings | HG255 | 257 | 215 |
| 336 | A baked Apple Pudding | CM376 | | |
| 337 | A baked Apple Pudding | ER169 | 257 | 216 |
| 337 | Another Apple Pudding | CM372 | | |
| 339 | A Batter Pudding | CM368 | 259 | 217 |
| 338 | A Bread Pudding | CM375 | | |
| 340 | A Carrot Pudding | HG216 | 259 | 218 |
| 340 | Another (Carrot Pudding) | CM377 | | |
| 342 | Hard Dumplings | HG227 | | |
| 343 | A Hasty Pudding | JF188 | | |

| <i>p.</i> | <i>Title</i> | <i>Source author & p. no.</i> | <i>MC 3rd ed p. no.</i> | <i>MH p. no.</i> |
|-----------|--|---------------------------------------|---------------------------------|--------------------------|
| 343 | A Hunting Pudding | HG137 | 261 | 220 |
| 344 | A Lemon Pudding | HG214 | 262 | 220 |
| 344 | Another (Lemon Pudding) | ER170 | | |
| 344 | A Marrow Pudding | ER179 | 262 | 220 |
| 345 | Another (Marrow Pudding) | ER179 | 262 | 220 |
| 345 | Norfolk Dumplings | HG227 | 263 | 221 |
| 346 | An Oat Pudding | HG136 | 263 | 221 |
| 346 | An Oatmeal Pudding | HG212 | 263 | 221 |
| 347 | An excellent plum Pudding | CM371 | 264 | 222 |
| 347 | Peas Pudding | HG252 | | |
| 347 | Another (Plain Pudding) | ER174 | 264 | 222 |
| 347 | Plum Pudding | HG137 | | |
| 348 | Another (Potato Pudding) | HG212 | | |
| 349 | A Ground Rice Pudding | ER171 | 265 | 223 |
| 349 | A cheap plain Rice Pudding | JF187 | | |
| 349 | Another Rice Pudding | ER172 | 265 | 223 |
| 350 | A Spoonful Pudding | HG220 | 206 | 224 |
| 351 | A Suet Pudding | CM368 | 206 | 224 |
| 352 | Vermicelli Pudding | ER175 | 267 | 225 |
| 352 | Yeast Dumplings | HG226 | 267 | 225 |
| 352 | A Yorkshire Pudding | HG138 | 267 | 225 |
| 353 | (Yorkshire Pudding) Another way | CM374 | 268 | 226 |
| 355 | Paste for Tarts | HG150 | | |
| 355 | Crisp Paste for Tarts | ER144 | 296 | 227 |
| 355 | (Crisp paste...) Another way [<i>recte</i> , for icing] | ER144 | 269 | 227 |
| 356 | Puff Paste | CM355 | 269 | 227 |
| 356 | Short Crust | CM355 | 270 | 228 |
| 356 | A good Paste for great Pies | HG150 | 270 | 228 |
| 356 | A Paste for Custards | ER146 | 270 | 228 |
| 356 | (A Paste for Custards) Another way | HG151 | 270 | 228 |
| 358 | A Beefsteak Pie | HG142 | 271 | 229 |
| 358 | A Bride's Pie | ER155 | 271 | 229 |
| 359 | A Calf's-head Pie | ER151 | 272 | 229 |
| 359 | A Cherry Pie | HG231 | 272 | 230 |
| 360 | A rich Chicken Pie | CM359 | 272 | 230 |
| 361 | A Duck Pie | HG143 | 273 | 231 |
| 361 | An Eel Pie | CM364 | | |
| 361 | An Egg Pie | HG229 | 274 | 231 |

| <i>p.</i> | <i>Title</i> | <i>Source author & p. no.</i> | <i>MC 3rd ed p. no.</i> | <i>MH p. no.</i> |
|-----------|---|---------------------------------------|---------------------------------|--------------------------|
| 362 | A plain Goose Pie | CM358 | 274 | 232 |
| 362 | A rich Goose Pie | CM358 | 274 | 232 |
| 363 | An Herb Pie for Lent | ER153 | 275 | 233 |
| 365 | Mutton and Lamb Pie | HG142 | 277 | 234 |
| 366 | A Pigeon Pie | HG142 | 277 | 235 |
| 366 | A Rook Pie | ER157 | 278 | 235 |
| 368 | A rich Veal Pie | CM356 | | |
| 369 | A savoury Veal Pie | ER158 | 279 | 237 |
| 371 | Cream Pancakes | ER165 | | |
| 371 | Common Pancakes | CM387 | 281 | 238 |
| 372 | Fine Pancakes | ER166 | 281 | 238 |
| 372 | Rice Pancakes | CM387 | 281 | 238 |
| 372 | Cream Pancakes – [repeat of 1st recipe] | ER165 | | |
| 373 | Clary Pancakes | ER166 | | |
| 374 | Plain Fritters | CM382 | 283 | 240 |
| 374 | Currant Fritters | CM383 | 283 | 240 |
| 375 | Fine Fritters | HG162 | 284 | 241 |
| 376 | Almond Fraise | CM388 | 285 | 241 |
| 378 | (To pickle Cucumbers) Another way | ER343 | | |
| 380 | To pickle Onions | HG273 | 287 | 244 |
| 383 | To pickle French Beans | CM347 | 289 | 246 |
| 383 | (To pickle Red Cabbage) Another way | ER354 | 290 | 246 |
| 386 | To pickle Beet Roots | CM350 | 291 | 248 |
| 386 | To pickle Barberries | ER350 | 291 | 248 |
| 387 | To pickle Artichoke-bottoms | HG278 | 292 | 248 |
| 387 | To pickle Nasturtium Buds | ER351 | 292 | 249 |
| 390 | (To pot a Hare) Another way | ER297 | | |
| 390 | To pot Chars | HG238 | 295 | 251 |
| 391 | To pot Veal | CM151 | | |
| 392 | To pot Tongues | ER296 | 296 | 252 |
| 392 | To pot Pigeons | CM283 | 296 | 253 |
| 393 | To pot Woodcocks and Snipes | CM275 | 296 | 253 |
| 393 | To pot Moor Game | ER298 | 296 | 253 |
| 396 | To Collar a Calf's Head | CM155 | 298 | 255 |
| 397 | To collar a Breast of Mutton | ER301 | 300 | 256 |
| 399 | To collar Mackarel | ER43 | 301 | 257 |
| 399 | (To collar Mackarel) Another way | CM228 | | |
| 401 | To make Rhubarb Tarts | CM391 | 302 | 259 |

| <i>p.</i> | <i>Title</i> | <i>Source author & p. no.</i> | <i>MC 3rd ed p. no.</i> | <i>MH p. no.</i> |
|-----------|----------------------------------|---------------------------------------|---------------------------------|--------------------------|
| 402 | Baked Custards | HG289 | 303 | 261 |
| 403 | Orange Custards | ER256 | 304 | 261 |
| 403 | Rice Custards | CM398 | 304 | 261 |
| 404 | (Almond Cheesecakes) Another way | CM395 | | |
| 405 | Lemon Cheesecakes | HG288 | 305 | 262 |
| 405 | Citron Cheesecakes | ER259 | 306 | 263 |
| 406 | Rice Cheesecakes | ER259 | 306 | 263 |
| 407 | To make the red Colour | BC539 | 306 | 264 |
| 407 | The blue Colour | BC540 | 307 | 264 |
| 407 | The yellow Colour | BC540 | 307 | 264 |
| 408 | The green Colour | BC540 | 307 | 264 |
| 410 | A common seed Cake | CM399 | 308 | 266 |
| 410 | A good common Cake | CM399 | 309 | 266 |
| 411 | A plain Cake | CM399 | 309 | 267 |
| 412 | Bath Cakes | ER271 | 310 | 267 |
| 412 | Little fine Cakes | HG284 | 310 | 267 |
| 414 | Heart Cakes | CM402 | 311 | 268 |
| 414 | Naples Biscuit | CM407 | 311 | 269 |
| 414 | Common Biscuit | JF295 | 311 | 269 |
| 415 | Savoy Biscuit | CM406 | 312 | 269 |
| 416 | German Puffs | HG368 | 313 | 270 |
| 416 | Lemon Puffs | ER277 | 313 | 27 |
| 416 | To make Wafers | CM407 | 313 | 270 |
| 418 | To candy Ginger | ER243 | 315 | 273 |
| 420 | To dry Apricots | ER244 | 316 | 274 |
| 422 | Barley Cream | HG291 | 318 | 276 |
| 422 | Codling Cream | CM446 | 318 | 276 |
| 423 | Whipt Cream | HG293 | | |
| 424 | Spanish Cream | CM445 | | |
| 425 | Pompadour Cream | ER253 | 321 | 279 |
| 427 | Calves'-feet Jelly | HG295 | | |
| 428 | Red or white Currant Jelly | CM422 | 323 | 281 |
| 428 | Raspberry Jelly | CM439 | 323 | 281 |
| 429 | Ising glass Jelly | CM448 | 323 | 281 |
| 430 | (Red Raspberry Jam) Another way | CM439 | | |
| 430 | Apricot Jam | ER212 | 324 | 282 |
| 432 | Syrup of Quinces | HG316 | 326 | 284 |
| 433 | To preserve Damascenes | ER229 | 327 | 285 |

| <i>p.</i> | <i>Title</i> | <i>Source author & p. no.</i> | <i>MC 3rd ed p. no.</i> | <i>MH p. no.</i> |
|-----------|---|---------------------------------------|---------------------------------|--------------------------|
| 435 | Currants preserved in Jelly | CM422 | 328 | 286 |
| 435 | To preserve Currants for Tarts | ER215 | 329 | 287 |
| 436 | To preserve Grapes | JF334 | 329 | 287 |
| 438 | To preserve Walnuts green | HG318 | 331 | 289 |
| 438 | To preserve Barberries for Tarts | ER229 | 331 | 289 |
| 441 | To preserve Green-gage Plums | CM435 | 333 | 291 |
| 441 | To preserve white Citrons | CM420 | 333 | 291 |
| 442 | To preserve Eringo Roots | CM423 | 334 | 292 |
| 444 | Apricot Marmalade | ER225 | 335 | 293 |
| 444 | Apple Marmalade | CM414 | 336 | 293 |
| 445 | (A whipt Syllabub) Another way | CM448 | 336 | 294 |
| 446 | Solid Syllabub | ER207 | 337 | 294 |
| 447 | Blance mange with isinglass | CM448 | 338 | 295 |
| 448 | Blanc mange with a Preserved Orange | CM449 | 338 | 296 |
| 449 | Welch Flummery | CM451 | 339 | 297 |
| 449 | Yellow Flummery | ER196 | 340 | 297 |
| 450 | Oatmeal Flummery | HG297 | 340 | 297 |
| 451 | To make Colouring for Flummery or Jellies | ER194 | 341 | 298 |
| 453 | Floating Island of Chocolate | CM450 | 342 | 299 |
| 454 | A Hedge-hog | HG169 | 343 | 301 |
| 456 | (Sack Posset) Another way | HG161 | | |
| 457 | An Orange Posset | ER309 | 377 | 302 |
| 457 | Wine Posset | ER310 | 345 | 302 |
| 457 | Ale Posset | ER311 | 345 | 302 |
| 458 | A White Pot | HG158 | 345 | 303 |
| 459 | Brown caudle | HG243 | 346 | 304 |
| 459 | Salop | HG244 | 346 | 304 |
| 459 | Beef tea | ER312 | 346 | 304 |
| 459 | Water Gruel | HG243 | 346 | 304 |
| 460 | Barley Gruel | ER315 | 347 | 304 |
| 460 | Sago | HG243 | 347 | 304 |
| 461 | Orgeat | CM454 | 347 | 305 |
| 461 | Lemonade | CM455 | 348 | 305 |
| 462 | Syrup of Orange peel | CM455 | 348 | 306 |
| 464 | Elder wine | HG301 | 349 | 307 |
| 464 | (Elder wine) Another way | CM466 | | |
| 465 | Red Currant Wine | HG303 | 350 | 308 |
| 466 | (Red Currant Wine) Another way | CM464 | 351 | 308 |

| <i>p.</i> | <i>Title</i> | <i>Source author & p. no.</i> | <i>MC 3rd ed p. no.</i> | <i>MH p. no.</i> |
|-----------|--|---------------------------------------|---------------------------------|--------------------------|
| 466 | Raspberry wine | HG305 | 351 | 309 |
| 468 | Cowslip Wine | ER325 | 352 | 310 |
| 469 | Smyrna Raisin Wine | ER319 | 353 | 310 |
| 471 | To cure Hams | JF270 | | |
| 473 | To make Hung Beef | JF273 | 355 | 312 |
| 473 | To pickle Pork | ER308 | 356 | 313 |
| 474 | (To make very fine Sausages) Another way | CM182 | | |
| 475 | Common Sausages | HG257 | 357 | 314 |
| 476 | To dress Artichokes | HG17, CM335 | 358 | 315 |
| 476 | To dress Asparagus | HG17, CM334 | 358 | 315 |
| 477 | To dress Beans | ER78, CM335 | 358 | 315 |
| 477 | To dress Broccoli | JF175 | 358 | 315 |
| 477 | To dress Cabbage | CM334 | 358 | 316 |
| 477 | To dress Carrots | CM335 | 358 | 316 |
| 477 | To dress Cauliflowers | HG17, CM334 | 359 | 316 |
| 478 | To dress French Beans | HG17, CM335 | 359 | 316 |
| 478 | To dress Parsnips | HG16, CM335 | 359 | 316 |
| 478 | To dress Peas | JF176 | 359 | 316 |
| 478 | To dress Potatoes | JF170 | 359 | 316 |
| 478 | To dress Spinach | JF171 | 359 | 317 |
| 479 | To dress Turnips | CM335 | 360 | 317 |