‘Broiling is the poetry of cooking’: The Imaginative Symbolism of Gridirons and Broiling in Nineteenth-century Food Writing

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Abstract: Broiling meat on the gridiron faded from popularity over the nineteenth century but remained prevalent in food writing. This paper questions why, using a literary reading of nineteenth-century recipes to examine how the gridiron is imaginatively depicted in culinary writing, and the literary techniques utilised within that writing. Taking the theme ‘Food and Imagination’, I use my study of broiling and the gridiron to make a case for the consideration of foods and implements which are not routinely viewed as innovative or imaginative, and for the critical reading of recipes and food writing.

In a *London Magazine* review of William Kitchiner’s cookbook *Apicius Redivivus, or, The Cook’s Oracle* (1817), the reviewer describes broiling food as such: ‘The lyre-like shape of the instrument on which it is performed, and the brisk and pleasant sounds that arise momentarily, are rather musical than culinary’.[1] The instrument being described is the gridiron, and this review captures how nineteenth-century recipes and food writing viewed the gridiron as more than a cooking implement. Not simply a grid of parallel iron bars with a handle, held over the fire to broil meat, the gridiron is elevated in nineteenth-century writings to become an imaginative cultural emblem which symbolised multiple things explored in this paper, including literary and cultural history, British national identity, and masculinity.

While histories of food and the kitchen from scholars like Andrea Broomfield and Sara Pennell outline how cultural and social changes altered the way foods were cooked, eaten, and thought of, there has been less attention paid to how food writing turned kitchen implements into symbols which expressed those changes.[2] In terms of culinary writing, critics including Susan Zlotnick, Margaret Beetham, and Natalie Kapetanios Meir have recognised the role cookbooks played in integrating ideologies like imperialism, domesticity, and cultural taste into the nineteenth-century home.[3] This scholarship, however, tends to focus on the discussions cookbook authors included in the paratextual written material that surrounds recipes, rather than considering the literary strategies at play within recipes themselves. This paper builds upon existing scholarship by arguing that recipes enlisted cultural discourses and literary techniques to interpret changing foodways via interactions with culinary implements. Taking the gridiron as a case study through which to explore the theme ‘Food and Imagination’, I show how gridirons were depicted imaginatively in recipes. In turn, I unravel the wider discussions recipes engaged in, highlighting those perceptions of culinary technologies and culinary writings are both inherently imaginative. That is, the meanings ascribed to kitchen implements and the written ways those meanings are communicated are dependent on acts of imagination: the creation of stories which give significance to the humblest parts of domestic life.

The evidence my paper draws upon is gathered from a survey of thirty nineteenth-century recipes which address broiling food on the gridiron.[4] This process was prevalent in cookbooks, and typically involved holding a gridiron over a hot fire, greasing its bars with fat, placing a cut of meat like a chop on it, and turning the meat on the gridiron until cooked. Paying attention to the tropes common to broiling recipes, as well as the literary techniques like allusion and satire they employ, allows for a nuanced understanding of how they function as individual texts, seemingly written to instruct readers how to broil food. It also illuminates the places where authors gesture outside the recipe to other texts or sources. This happens in one of two ways. Firstly, within a recipe the author may refer to other sections within the overall text, be that periodical or cookbook, as when Eliza Acton writes 'the fire, as we have already said in the general directions for broiling (page 175), must be strong and clear'.[5] This directs the reader to another point in the cookbook, so they gain a complete understanding of process. Alternatively, authors explicitly or implicitly allude to external sources, items, texts, or historical figures in their recipes. This could be as simple as Alexis Soyer suggesting 'a little Harvey's or Soyer's sauce is an improvement' in his recipe for broiled mushrooms, and steering the reader towards the purchase of a condiment.[6] Yet allusions can also be as far-reaching as Isabella Beeton's lobster recipe in *The Book of Household Management* (1861), where she notes that when 'this fish was to be served for the table, among the ancients, it was opened lengthwise, and filled with a gravy composed of coriander and pepper. It was then put on the gridiron and slowly cooked'.[7] Beeton's instructions are infused with historical resonance, so the reader following the recipe pictures themselves dining with 'the ancients' and the recipe envisions a world, and time, beyond the page. In this paper I focus on the latter form of expansion, highlighting instances in broiling recipes where authors employ allusion or engage with historicity. I utilise evidence from multiple recipes and cookbooks throughout and focus a portion of my paper on an article called 'Chops' from the periodical edited by Charles Dickens, *All the Year Round,* to reveal how gridirons became embedded in nineteenth-century culinary imagination.

Broiling's Fading Functionality

As Beeton's 'ancient' broiled lobster suggests, what emerges from a close literary analysis of recipes is that nineteenth-century writers frequently used food and cooking to situate themselves within culinary and literary histories. These discussions often referred to how the materials and tools used for cooking changed over time. Food writers created teleological histories whereby changes to cooking demonstrated their distance from or connection to the past. In another section of *Household Management* for instance, Beeton contrasts the use of fire cookery by the Ancient Greeks with the 'simplicity of the primitive ages', declaring that 'the use of fire, as an instrument of cookery, must have coincided with this [Greek] invention of bread'.[8] The use of heat and 'instruments of cookery' are framed by Beeton as things that distance Greeks and nineteenth-century readers from 'primitive' peoples, which speaks to a proliferating self-consciousness about food as a means of cultural separation from the past. Then when discussing baking Alexis Soyer describes the 'air-tight chambers, called ovens, the best of which have the same form as in the time of the Egyptians', while Arthur Gay Payne declares that global food trade is 'the history of civilisation itself' and asks 'how our ancestors did so well without' tinned foods, in the introduction to *The Housekeeper's Guide to Preserved Meats, Fruits, Vegetables, &c* (1880).[9] Nineteenth-century recipes and food writing are peppered with historical comparisons, and cooking and kitchen implements thereby came to symbolise a person's place in civilisation.

When nineteenth-century recipes are concerned with the gridiron, their literary workings take on an intriguing temporal nuance. Gridirons had been cooked on in Britain since at least the fifteenth century, but during the nineteenth century open-fire cookery was gradually replaced for much of the population by enclosed ranges and stoves.[10] These ranges required money and space, meaning they were not a viable option for the poor and working classes or those in rented accommodation. But when they could be afforded, ranges were more economic in terms of fuel and heat use than hearth cookery; they directed heat around ovens and stove tops so it was not lost into the kitchen.[11] In terms of broiling, seventeen of the thirty recipes that make up the sample for this paper mention how 'bright' and 'fierce' a broiling fire had to be. If the fire was not hot enough it would smoke, charring the meat. Burning a fire until it was 'fierce' required large amounts of fuel for adequate heat, and the author of *Mrs Beeton's Everyday Cookery and Housekeeping Book* (c.1900) noted that broiling was 'not an economical mode of cooking, as a great deal of fuel is needed for a good broiling fire, the meat loses weight, and only the best kinds can be submitted to this process with satisfactory results'.[12] 'Losing weight' refers to fat which dripped from the meat through the gridiron bars and into the flames, resulting in the loss of valuable flavour and nutrients, as well as undesirable smoke.[13] The expense required for broiling and the potential for food waste meant cooking on gridirons became increasingly uneconomic as the nineteenth century progressed. Indeed, in an article called 'Grilling and Devilling' in the *Girl's Own Paper* (1899) Dora De Blaquiére wrote:

> I have taken the trouble to look in the dictionary for the word 'grill,' and I find it is derived from the French word 'grille' – a grate or gridiron. But to-day, in point of fact, grilling is rarely performed in this manner, few people having the gridiron; and if not done in the oven, it is performed in an open frying pan. I have begun with this piece of information because some of my readers may say on seeing the word, 'Oh, we can't grill! We have no means of using a gridiron!'[14]

> While this refers to grilling rather than broiling, and the notion that the author had to look up 'grill' adds a satirical tone, the publication of this piece during the last year of the nineteenth century signifies that cooking on gridirons was becoming less common. Here, kitchen implements still signified advancement from the past, but the gridiron was depicted as a primitive tool that was being left behind.

Despite their implied decline, however, gridirons remained prevalent in cookbooks and recipes until the century's end – even cookbooks aimed at middle-class readers who probably owned ranges. But if using gridirons was so impractical, why did they keep appearing in texts? And what else did broiling on gridirons signify that made it a lasting process within writing? Pennell suggests that '[f]or every domestic manual cautiously welcoming technological change in the mid-Victorian kitchen [...] there was an influential defender of the flame, who trumpeted the taste as well as the traditions of food cooked over an open fire'.[15] The notions of taste and tradition are pertinent to the gridiron, and broiling recipes show that gridirons were imaginatively woven into numerous traditions which the rest of this paper explores.

Gridirons, Historicity, and Imagination

In his popular cookbook, *The Modern Housewife, or, Ménagère* (1849), Alexis Soyer includes a section on broiling which immediately engages with historicity: 'Broiling is, without doubt, the earliest and most primitive mode of cookery, it being that which would present itself to man in a state of nature. It is one of the easiest parts of cookery, and therefore should be done well.'[16] Like Beeton, Soyer uses 'primitive' to describe a cooking process. Here, however, it is not a disparaging remark indicating lack of civility, but highlights how longstanding broiling is in culinary history. This timeline connects the nineteenth-century reader to what is depicted as a masculine history of self-sufficiency through the reference to 'man in a state of nature', evoking images of ancient man cooking their quarry over open fires. The second part of Soyer's evaluation refers to broiling's simplicity. By simultaneously emphasising the age and ease of broiling, Soyer implies that because broiling has been done for centuries it must be a straightforward process.

Other nineteenth-century recipes, however, posit that broiling was not easy. In the fourth edition of *The Cook's Oracle* (1822) William Kitchiner wrote in his broiled rump steaks recipe that: 'It requires more practice and care than is generally supposed to do Steaks to a nicety; and for want of these little attentions, this very common dish, which every body is supposed capable of dressing, seldom comes to table in perfection.'[17] This is a revision from the first edition, which lacks the statement about practice and care. Kitchiner has expanded his instructions between cookbook editions to emphasise how difficult broiling is. Then in an edition of *Warne's Model Cookery* published in 1890, the author Mary Jewry writes that 'much care, niceness, and skill are required to broil properly', and so even seventy years on, cookbooks were still warning readers that broiling was not uncomplicated.[18] In an articled called 'Leaves from the Mahogany Tree' in *All the Year Round* (1868), Charles Dickens writes that 'Broiling, to tell the truth, however, requires no common mind [...] a thousand impish difficulties surround the broiler'.[19] These references to skill, intellect, and instinct highlight the challenges that faced the cook attempting to broil on a gridiron. Meat burnt if it stayed over the fire too long; it stuck to the gridiron bars if they were not rubbed with fat; dripping fat caused smoke that marred the meat's taste; and if a gridiron was not closely monitored, it only took seconds to ruin a dish. Indeed, the fact that instructions for broiling were so prevalent in nineteenth-century cookbooks accents that it was difficult, despite being longstanding. The precarious nature of cooking on the gridiron was perhaps another reason their popularity faded over the nineteenth century. But regardless of whether authors thought it was easy or difficult, it is telling that their discussions of broiling and gridirons repeatedly engaged with historicity, demonstrated by Soyer's primitive man. In most nineteenth-century recipes, however, this was not just a general history of cooking but a distinctly British history.

In Dickens's 'Chops' article, published in May 1869, Dickens plays with familiar recipe tropes to simultaneously illuminate and poke fun at the significance ascribed to broiled meat in nineteenth-century food writing.[20] Unlike cookbook recipes which are typically numbered blocks of text, or separated by line spacing, the recipe is part of the article's continuous prose. While it is a functional recipe, containing instructions on how to select and cut a chop, attend a fire and service your gridiron, it is clearly written to entertain. The recipe contains satirical jibes and comic instructions, as when Dickens declares it 'is generally a dangerous thing to touch the fire during cooking' and, 'The cook that would turn a chop by sticking a fork into it, and so letting out all its most delicious gravy, out to be treated in a precisely similar manner, and the broiled over a slow fire'.[21] These farcical remarks are woven throughout instructions that otherwise read as if they have been lifted directly from a cookbook. For instance, Dickens notes that 'our chop should be put down over a bright, clear, and somewhat fierce fire', mimicking the language used in serious broiling recipes, like when Beeton writes that 'the cook must have a bright, clear fire'.[22] Sometimes Dickens intentionally contradicts himself. He remarks that cooks are 'not to let a drop more of these doubly valuable juices escape us than is absolutely unavoidable', but later tells the reader to make sure the 'gridiron is placed well slanting forward, so the fat may trickle along the bars and drop into the fire away from the chop'.[23] This latter instruction is in direct opposition to Dickens's other mentions of fat, and to most broiling recipes. Kitchiner writes that 'Gridirons should be made concave, and terminate in a trough to catch the Gravy and keep the Fat from dropping into the fire and making a smoke, which will spoil the Broil'.[24] Dickens's playful inversion of the typical broiling recipe makes a mockery of the detailed, even pedantic instructions that are recycled and repeated between cookbooks. But something needs to be culturally resonant to be laughed at, and so by satirising these features, Dickens draws attention to the literary patterns recipes rely upon for functionality. Recipe writers created and utilised a recognisable culinary vocabulary that was suited to their context. A nineteenth-century reader would know that a 'bright' fire referred to the fierceness of flame, and that dripping fat was to be avoided. It was these tropes and writing traditions that gave Dickens the material for pastiche, and the article that surrounds the recipe similarly plays upon the common discourses that surrounded broiling, foregrounding literary and culinary history.

Striking intertextual references and allusions dominate Dickens's 'Chops' article. He opens it with an exchange between Portia, Antonio and Bassanio from Shakespeare's *The Merchant of Venice*. Situating Shakespeare's characters in London, Dickens places them in 'the coffee-room of the Cock, in Fleet-street' and has them ordering broiled chops.[25] This allusion sets the tone for a discussion of chops that transcends culinary boundaries and transforms the chop from a cut of meat into a national emblem. Dickens then satirises Shakespeare's characters, writing that 'Portia is unhappily in delicate health – indeed, she never quite recovered from the fright that horrid Jew gave her'.[26] This refers to Portia's encounter with Shylock, when the latter demands 'a pound of flesh' from Antonio, but characterises Portia as a sensitive, delicate woman.[27] Dickens then uses bodily descriptions to draw comparisons between broiled chops and the mutilation that nearly befalls Antonio in the play, writing that 'the bare mention of' chops 'had frozen the very marrow in Antonio's bones, and curdled every drop of blood in his veins'.[28] Intriguingly, one of the first mention of gridirons in the English language was in *The South English Legendary* published in 1290, where a 'gredire' was cited as a torture device.[29] Dickens therefore takes up the correlation between cooking meat over flames and human torture, and through these subtle yet grotesque allusions to a classic British play, highlights the power food and cooking have in the culinary and literary imagination as something that can instil pleasure and fear in equal parts.

Through his allusion to Shakespeare and mention of identifiable London eateries, Dickens turns broiled chops into a symbol which is both imbued in literary history and framed as an integral part of life in nineteenth-century London. Indeed, though the reference is comical – the idea of Bassanio and Antonio eating chops on Fleet-street in the 1860s is bizarre – it sets the tone for the rest of the essay, which discusses the broiled chop as 'the alpha and the omega, the first and the last, the best and the worst of British dishes'.[30] In keeping with the satirical overtone there is a touch of self-mockery here, as Dickens's repetitive phrasing is reminiscent of 'it was the best of times, it was the worst of times' from *A Tale of Two Cities*.[31] What is pertinent, however, is that this entertainment value uses the cultural ubiquity of broiled chops as its imaginative currency. Readers in 1860s London and wider Britain were so familiar with broiled chops that this comic accentuation of their national resonances would have been amusing. The gag would not operate, however, if broiled chops were not viewed as culturally and nationally symbolising 'Britishness' in the first place. By relocating characters from a play written and set in sixteenth-century Venice to London, and having them order broiled chops, Dickens is invoking 'the taste as well as the traditions of food cooked over an open fire' to return to Pennell.[32] Though *The Merchant of Venice* had an Italian setting, it was written by Britain's most famous playwright, and by merging the cultural cachet of Shakespeare's name with London's chophouses, Dickens emphasises that British eaters were consuming a food that has been part of Britain's culinary identity for centuries.

The satirical tone that accompanies Dickens's description perhaps implies that as 'the last' and 'worst' of British cuisine, broiled chops marked the end of culinary prowess, suggesting a stasis in the development of new dishes or food trends. This may also be a satirical critique of the demise of British theatre since Shakespeare. But nevertheless, Dickens groups Shakespeare and broiled chops together as representations of quintessential Britishness. Moreover, the imaginative nature of Dickens's recipe and article demonstrates that even if broiled chops were occasionally the 'worst', they were still significant to both culinary and cultural imagination in nineteenth-century Britain. Dickens also emphasises this national importance in 'Leaves from the Mahogany Tree', writing that 'To broil, is to perform an operation which is the result of centuries of experience acquired by a nation that relishes, always did relish, and probably always will relish, broils'.[33] This statement invokes the history of broiling food on the gridiron, and simultaneously suggests that broiled foods would always have resonance in terms of British cultural heritage and identity. Not only is broiled meat imbued in literary history via Shakespeare then, but also in culinary, national, and masculine history - the food of successful men who symbolised British success and would 'probably always' relish a broiled chop.

As Dickens's satire elucidates, many texts and recipes that addressed broiling enlisted an imaginative engagement with nationalistic historicity. In *Buckmaster's Cookery* (1874), Charles Buckmaster notes that '[t]he national beef steak and mutton chop have made us the best of broilers' with his use of 'national' laying indisputable claim to broiled chops, steaks, and the broiling process as a symbol of Britishness.[34] Beeton also ties chops to England's national identity, declaring that 'the beef-steak and mutton chop of the solitary English dinner may be mentioned as celebrated all the world over'.[35] An article by 'an Epicure' in *The National Magazine* (1857) notes: 'If a steak feeds one, it has its moral uses also; it suggests country, and calls to mind whole pages of Thomson, and Clare, and Carrington, and Tom Miller'.[36] This notion of 'country' and 'moral uses' suggests that consuming broiled foods is nourishing on a symbolic as well as nutritional level: to eat broiled steaks is to imbibe the essence of Britain. Once more broiled meats, famous men and literary culture are aligned, and the humble steak signifies British intellectualism and masculinity. This article also includes the gridiron in its adulating praise: 'See the gridiron, with its geometric bars checking with black lines the ground-colour of incandescent charcoal; the steak itself nicely lined with oleaginous bark, frizzling for your good, and gradually changing from sanguinary red to palatable brown; then how the gravy runs from it in luscious streams.'[37] The repeated references to colour and shape in this description, paired with evocative and onomatopoeic words like 'sizzling' and 'luscious', have an ekphrastic effect on the image of the gridiron, elevating it to become an imaginative instrument or tool which creates art. Indeed, the above quote is reminiscent of the *London Magazine* quote that opened this paper, which continues its praise of broiling by stating: 'We are transported at the thought of the golden gridiron in the beef-steak club, which seems to confine the white cook in his burning cage, which generates wit, whim, and song, for hours together, and pleasantly blends the fanciful and the substantial in one laughing and robust harmony.'[38]

While the flowery language in both articles again suggests satire, the gridiron is given symbolic weight, becoming a conduit for the imagination. Here, the 'golden', lyre-like gridiron evokes myth, with the reference to beef and lyres perhaps referring to the Olympian god Hermes. In Homer's *Hymn to Hermes*, the child Hermes creates a lyre from the shell of a tortoise and the innards of cows and sheep, before stealing Apollo's cattle and 'cutting their fat-rich / meat, / Transfixed on wooden spits he roasted together the flesh'.[39] This sensuous description becomes an in-joke that only those well-versed in the classics can enjoy. The gridiron is thus framed as a signifier of knowledge, and is transformed into an instrument the nineteenth-century reader can use to access the centuries of civilisation gridirons have been involved in. This mythical history is then tethered to British eating practices through the mention of the 'beef-steak club', much like Dickens's chophouse, and so the imaginative framing of the gridiron and broiling once more extends into British cultural belonging. All these texts, whether recipes in cookbooks or in satirical articles, use literary and historical allusions and nationalistic claims to carve a distinctive, symbolic place for gridirons and broiled meat in the nineteenth-century culinary imagination.

Conclusion

The writers discussed did not frame broiling or the gridiron as merely a cooking process and its accompanying implement. Instead, their recipes and discussions approached both things with inherent imagination. Broiling food on the gridiron is elevated in these writings to represent art, civilisation, myth, national success and belonging, and the epitome of British cuisine. Broiling remained so prevalent in nineteenth-century food texts because it was a cooking process repeatedly imbued with nostalgia and national pride. By placing broiled meats on a symbolic, imaginative pedestal, both food writers and eaters in the nineteenth century could indulge in nostalgia for simpler times and uphold the connotations of strength, culture, and literary history that they inscribed onto broiling and its spoils. A cooking process that has been around for centuries carries with it a sense of proliferation, which can be translated into a sense of stability – even though broiling itself was anything but stable. Dickens, Kitchiner, and Jewry were amongst multiple writers who highlighted the precarity of using a gridiron within a discussion of the national identity of broiled meats. This suggests that while food writers acknowledged the difficulties of the process, they also sought to safeguard broiled meats and gridirons as cornerstones of British cuisine.

What this study has ultimately shown, then, is that gridirons, broiling, and broiled foods are inextricable from imagination – imagination which bound the cooking process to narratives of nationalism, historicity, masculinity, and literature. Through the creation of teleological histories, food writers established alternate realities where broiled foods and gridirons retained their place in British cuisine due to their symbolic resonances, despite fading from use. By embroiling this cooking process in their own versions of history, nineteenth-century food writers highlighted the symbolic power food has, and the way this symbolism was meticulously crafted in texts to signify, capture, and establish a place in time. Culinary imagination is thus not limited to the invention of the new but can turn to history and tradition to present a seemingly simple cooking process as a nuanced cultural symbol. Imagination is present in the simplest acts of cooking, and in the literary workings of the recipes which describe them. When we pay close attention to these corners of culinary history, it becomes clear that there is potent imagination behind even the most unassuming broiled chop.

Notes

1. No Author, 'The Cook's Oracle', *London Magazine,* 4.11 (October 1821), pp. 432-439 (p. 436).
2. See Andrea Broomfield, *Food and Cooking in Victorian England: A History* (Westport: Praeger, 2007); Sara Pennell, *The Birth of the English Kitchen, 1600-1850* (London: Bloomsbury, 2016).
3. See Susan Zlotnick. 'Domesticating Imperialism: Curry and Cookbooks in Victorian England', *Frontiers: A Journal of Women Studies,* 16.2/3 (1996), pp. 51-68; Margaret Beetham, 'Good Taste and Sweet Ordering: Dining with Mrs Beeton', *Victorian Literature and Culture,* 36.2 (2008), pp. 391-406; Natalie Kapetaneos Mier, '"A Fashionable Dinner is Arranged as Follows": Victorian Dining Taxonomies', *Victorian Literature and Culture,* 33 (2005), pp. 133-148.
4. While in North American English the word 'broiling' is still used today, the word has faded and become archaic as a cooking term in British English. In nineteenth-century food writing it referred to cooking meat over an open flame, using a gridiron.
5. Eliza Acton, *Modern Cookery for Private Families* (London: Longman, Green, Longman and Roberts, 1860), p. 186.
6. Alexis Soyer, *The Modern Housewife, or, Ménagère* (London: Simpkin, Marshall & Co, 1849), p. 322.
7. Isabella Beeton, *The Book of Household Management* (London: S O Beeton, 1861), p. 139.
8. Beeton, p. 26.
9. Soyer, p. 68; Arthur Gay Payne, *The Housekeeper's Guide to Preserved Meats, Fruits, Vegetables, &c* (London: Crosse & Blackwell, 1880), p. iv.
10. Though stoves or ranges often gave the user some access to open flame, they were comprised of ovens and used enclosed fire to heat the stovetop.

11. Pennell notes: ‘By the end of the eighteenth century, the fully closed range (with the fire shut away in a fire box), supplemented by an oven on one side and water boiler on the other, took the closure of the hearth to its logical conclusion.’ There were exceptions to this rule, however, and later Pennell notes that cooking over flames in smaller hearths remained important for the poor and those living in lodgings. *The Birth of the English Kitchen,* pp. 67, 78.
12. Isabella Beeton died in 1867, though publishers continued to use her name to sell cookbooks; No Author, *Mrs Beeton’s Everyday Cookery and Housekeeping Book* (London: Ward, Lock & Co, [1877] c.1900), p. lxv.
13. Some gridirons were designed with slanted bars or reservoirs to collect juices from the meat. Many broiling recipes still warn against gravy loss however, suggesting it was a common problem.
14. Dora De Blaquière, ‘Grilling and Devilling’, *The Girls’ Own Paper,* XX.1023 (August 1899), pp. 710-711 (p. 710).
15. Pennell, pp. 69-70.
16. Soyer, pp. 72-73.
17. William Kitchener, *Apicius Redivivus, or, The Cook’s Oracle* (London: A. Constable, [1817] 1822), pp. 201-202.
18. Mary Jewry, *Warne’s Model Cookery and Housekeeping Book,* peoples edn. (London: Frederick Warne and Co, [1879] 1890), p. 20.
19. Charles Dickens. ‘Leaves from the Mahogany Tree’, *All the Year Round,* 20.482 (July 1868), pp 127-131 (p. 129).
20. As there is no author attributed to the *All the Year Round* articles or the recipes within them, this paper credits them to Charles Dickens.
21. Charles Dickens. ‘Chops’, *All the Year Round,* 1.24 (May 1869), pp. 562-564 (p. 564).
22. Dickens, ‘Chops’, p. 563; Beeton, p. 264.
23. Dickens, ‘Chops’, p. 563, 564.
24. Kitchiner, p. 107.
25. Dickens, ‘Chops’, p. 562.
26. Ibid., p. 562.
27. William Shakespeare. ‘The Merchant of Venice’, in *The Complete Works of William Shakespeare* (Ware: Wordsworth Editions, 2007), pp. 388-415 (p. 410).
28. Dickens, ‘Chops’, p. 562.
29. ‘Gridiron’, in *The OED Online*, < https://www-oed-com.ezproxy.lib.gla.ac.uk/view/Entry/81386?rskey=AbhEn8&result=1#eid> [accessed 22 July, 2019]
30. Dickens, ‘Chops’, p. 562
31. Charles Dickens. *A Tale of Two Cities,* ed. by P Merchant (Hertfordshire: Wordsworth, [1849] 1999.), p. 3.
32. Pennell, p. 70.
33. Dickens, ‘Leaves from the Mahogany Tree’, p. 129.
34. Charles Buckmaster, *Buckmaster’s Cookery* (London: George Routeledge and Sons, 1874), p. 203.
35. Beeton, p. 264.
36. No Author. 1857. ‘An Epicure’s Steak’, T*he National Magazine,* 1.5: 335.
37. Ibid., p. 335.
38. No Author. ‘The Cook’s Oracle’, p. 436.
39. Homer, *The Homeric Hymns,* trans. by M. Crudden (Oxford: Oxford University Press, 2001), p. 47