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## ICE CREAM AND WATER ICES IN 17th AND 18th CENTURY ENGLAND

W. S. Stallings, Jr.

It was a delight to see Elizabeth David's articles on ice cream in 18th century England, in the first and second issues of *Petits Propos Culinaires*.<sup>1</sup> My interest in the subject comes from pewter ice cream moulds which as a collector of pewter I first encountered some 15 years ago. The literature of pewter has in large part neglected them and in an effort to find something on their development and dating I turned to writings on the history of ice cream and to the body of old books on cookery, confectionary, and ice cream making, not alone for descriptions of moulds but to learn something of the history of the stuff that went into them and how the moulds related. What I found written as history was disappointing, usually undocumented and often no more than conjecture hardened by repetition until it is embedded in the literature as fact. Mrs David's observations were most welcome. I should like to add to them, avoiding repetition wherever possible, and to present some questions. If readers of PPC are able to throw light on these, to add to my sequence of contemporary mentions, or to comment on such conclusions as I indicate, I shall be grateful.

### THE BEGINNINGS

It is clear that water ices and ice cream were a French import from Italy, and that from the French court and Paris they spread throughout Europe. Italians continued to be noted for their proficiency in making ices and many Italians made their fortunes in Paris and other capitals of Europe, but it was the French court and Paris that were the stylistic center of diffusion, both in the ways of making and the fashions of serving. References to water ices and ice creams appear after 1660; and before the end of the century it is evident that they had become fashionable in the great houses of France and, riding the cultural emanations from the court of Louis XIV, were being adopted by the other courts and aristocratic houses of Europe.

There is a story that England's Charles I was served ice cream by his French cook, and was so delighted that he rewarded him with a stipend for life. This tale, like that attributing to the retinue of Catherine de' Medici the introduction of ices to France when she was married to the future Henry II in 1533, is undocumented and is first

seen in print in the 19th century. The documentation of ice cream in England begins following the return of Charles II from his exile in France.

#### EARLY REFERENCES

The earliest English reference to ices I have seen is in Ashmole's description and history of the Order of the Garter, 1672.<sup>2</sup> He gives a list of the food served at the Feast of St. George at Windsor on 28 and 29 May 1671. For *The Sovereign's Table on the Eve* and *The same for the Feast day at Dinner*:

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

The King's table was the only one with ice cream. The tables for the Knights-Companions had lesser amounts of the same items except for the oranges, white strawberries, and ice cream; nor did the tables for the lesser lords have these. Mrs David, in PPC 2, further describes an entry in the Lord Steward's Creditors Book (LS 8/7, Public Record Office) relating to this occurrence.

In 1688 *The London Gazette* had an account of a grand entertainment given in Stockholm by Edmond Poley, Envoy Extraordinary to the Court of Sweden, in celebration of the birth of the Prince of Wales:<sup>3</sup>

'After the Meat was taken off, there was served up a very fine Desert, with many great Pyramids of dry Sweet-meats, between which were placed all such Fruits, Iced Creams, and such other Varieties as the Season afforded.'

Other 17th century events where ice cream was served have been noted, but with no or inadequate references. One such is a statement that the accounts of the Lord Steward's department for 1686 have an entry for a dozen dishes of ice cream which were purchased for James II while he was camped at Hounslow Heath. No further citation is given. Perhaps readers of PPC can provide the documentary source for this or other reports of ices in 17th and early 18th century England.

Early in the 18th century ices of some sort appear to have been on the tables of the fashionable who admired French manners. Addison, in *The Tatler* (No. 148, 1709-1710),<sup>4</sup> lampooning a dinner at a friend's

house, 'who is a great admirer of the French cookery, and, as the phrase is, "eats well", described a dessert which, 'when ranged in its proper order, looked like a very beautiful winter-piece,' with great quantities of cream beaten up into a snow and guests cooling their mouths with lumps of ice. In 1716 the Lady Mary Wortley Montagu, in a letter from Vienna to England,<sup>5</sup> wrote:

'The assemblies here are the only regular diversion, the Operas being always at Court and commonly on some particular Occasion. Madam Rabutin has th' assembly constantly every night at her House and the other Ladys whenever they have a fancy to display the magnificence of their apartments or oblige a freind by complementing them of the day of their Saint; they declare that on such a day the assembly shall be at their House in Honour of the Feast of the Count or Countesse such a one. These days are call'd Days of Gallá, and all the Freinds or Relations of the Lady whose Saint it is, are oblig'd to appear in their best Cloths and all their Jewells . . . The company are entertain'd with ice in several forms, Winter and Summer.'

It appears that ices were not unknown to her friends at home.

#### THE EARLIEST PUBLISHED RECIPE FOR ICE CREAM

The earliest recipe for ice cream in an English cookery or confectionary book I have seen is that of Mrs Mary Eales, 'Confectioner to her late Majesty Queen Anne', 1718.<sup>6</sup> It was reprinted in 1733, 1744, and (cf. Oxford) in 1753. Here is the recipe; with a few minor editorial changes it is the same as that in Nathan Bailey's *Dictionary Domestickum*, 1736,<sup>7</sup> which is given by Elizabeth David in PPC 1.

#### TO ICE CREAM

'Take tin Ice-Pots, fill 'em with any Sort of Cream you like, either plain or sweeten'd, or Fruit in it; shut your Pots very close; to six Pots you must allow eighteen to twenty Pound of Ice, breaking the Ice very small; there will be some great Pieces, which lay at the Bottom and Top: You must have a Pail, and lay some Straw at the Bottom; then lay in your Ice, and put in amongst it a Pound of Bay-Salt; set in your Pots of Cream, and lay Ice and Salt between every Pot, that they may not touch; but the Ice must lye round 'em on every Side; lay a good deal of Ice on the Top, cover the Pail with Straw, set it in a Cellar where no Sun or Light comes, it will be froze in four Hours, but it may stand longer; then take it out just as you use it; hold it in your Hand and it will flip out. When you would freeze any Sort of Fruit, either Cherries, Raspberries, Currants, or Strawberries, fill your Tin-Pots with the Fruit but as hollow as you can; put to 'em Lemmonade, made with Spring-Water and Lemmon-Juice sweeten'd; put enough in the Pots to make the Fruit hang together, and put 'em in Ice as you do Cream.'

We may note here an incomplete and somewhat tenuous reference to 'creams iced' by Charles Carter, late cook to the Duke of Argyll, the Earl of Pontefract, and Lord Cornwallis, who had also served British generals, ambassadors, and envoys abroad. He stated that his book *The Complete Practical Cook* of 1730 was 'Fitted for all occasions: but more especially for the most Grand and Sumptuous Entertainments,' and that it contained foreign as well as English recipes. The book has 60 engraved plates showing table settings. One of these, a banquet table for all courses combined in a single arrangement (Plate 13), shows four places, next to a central 'Grand Pyramid of Sweetmeats and Fruit', for dishes of 'Rasberry Cream Ic'd', 'Pistacho Cream Ic'd', 'Chocolate Cream Ic'd', and 'Lemon Cream Ic'd'. His text has no instructions for icing or freezing beyond a cryptic statement at the end of the recipe for Lemon Cream: '. . . put in glasses: you may colour some of this as jellies; and this may be iced likewise.' The recipe called for bruised lemon peel to be steeped in milk or cream all night, the cream to be boiled the next morning, 'turned' with lemon juice, sweetened with fine sugar, and a little orange flower water, sack, and 'a Musk Comfit or two' added. The recipes he gives for raspberry, pistachio, and chocolate creams were all somewhat complex and the creams were thickened with egg yolks or biscuit crumbs.<sup>8</sup>

#### LA CHAPELLE

Although it would hardly have been considered an English cookery book, one cannot omit *The Modern Cook* of 1733 by Vincent La Chapelle, Chief Cook to the Earl of Chesterfield, the same urbane earl who is more widely known for his letters of advice to a son than for the name of his French cook. La Chapelle left Lord Chesterfield to be *Chef de Cuisine* to the Prince of Orange and, while he was at The Hague, French editions of his work were published (in 1735, 1736, and, with lengthy additions, in 1742). The original publication in English was reprinted in London in 1736, 1744, and 1751.<sup>9</sup>

His writings, particularly the latest edition in French, are to be taken as landmarks in description of the elegant use of ices and of decorative moulds. La Chapelle's English books contain an appendix, '*Of Sweetmeats*', which he prefaces by saying, 'Tho' the Business of making Sweetmeats does not directly belong to me, nevertheless, as I have some Knowledge and Experience in that Art, to oblige several of my Worthy Subscribers to this Book, I have added, by Way of *Appendix*, some of the most essential Things belonging to it. . .'. In this appendix are ice creams (custard based) and water ices, the latter served moulded

and painted as fruits. The cookbook proper also had recipes for ice-creams, in a chapter titled 'Of dainty Dishes with Cream', which were entremets, hot and cold. Below are two of the recipes for ice cream in his English work. The first, for 'Cream-cheese in Ice' (which the French called *fromage glacé*), is from the appendix on confectionary. The second is an iced entremets, 'Cream with Ice for Custards' (which the French called a *tourte à la glace*), and comes from his cookbook proper.

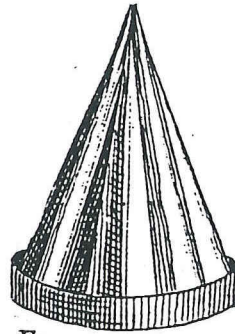
#### CREAM-CHEESE IN ICE

'BOIL about two Quarts of Cream, with some Sugar, a Stick of Cinnamon, and a Couple of Yolks of Eggs beaten; when boil'd, put in a green Lemon-peel, strain it, and mix some Orange-flower Water therein; take Care it be relishing, and that the Sugar prevail; being grown cold, put in a Vessel, which cover Top and Bottom with pounded Ice and Salt mixt together. ANOTHER Time, put in this Cream some pounded Pistachoes, without boiling them, straining the Whole through a Sieve. YOU may likewise boil with your Cream either some Chocolate, some Coffee, or some Tea, straining it through a Sieve. YOU may make Canelons with this Cream.'

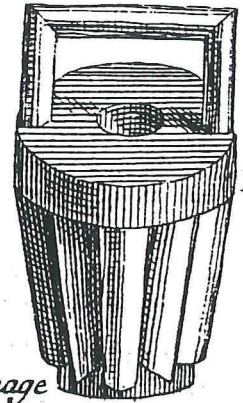
Canelons were moulded in horizontal, fluted moulds. Examples of the shape are illustrated in Gilliers, 1751,<sup>10</sup> and Emy, 1768.<sup>11</sup> Gilliers' example is similar to Emy's, figured here, but has a flat bottom. Emy's engraving also shows two moulds labelled *Fromage*; the left hand one is the earlier and might have been used by La Chapelle.



*Canelon*



*Fromage*



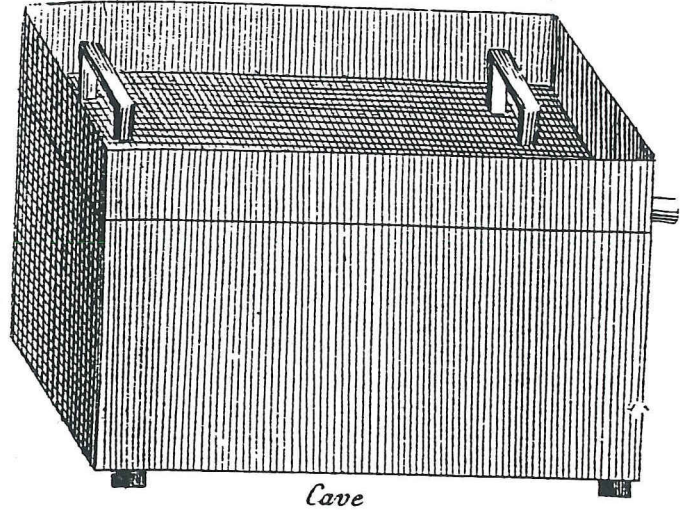
*Fromage*

CREAM WITH ICE FOR CUSTARDS

PUT a Spoonful of fine Flour in a Stew-pan with six Yolks of Eggs, and some Cream, or Milk, seasoned with a little Salt, Sugar, a Stick of Cinnamon, and green Lemon-peel; let it boil together, keeping it thin, and, being strained through a Sieve and grown cold, mix it with some Whites of Eggs well beaten up; then put it into several tin Boxes, into Ice mixt with Salt, and, at the same Time, take Half a Dozen of preserv'd Apricots, half-sugar'd, in such another Box, with Ice, as before. You may take ripe Apricots strewed with Sugar, instead of the other. Also you may take Peaches, Cherries, Strawberries and Raspberries. Whilst the Fruit and Cream are in Ice, make an Abbess with fine Almond-paste, raising the same on the Border round; being of a good Colour, put the Cream in it, with the Fruit over it, and serve up your Dish hot. If you make your Cream with Pistachioes, blanch and pound some of them, and put them in your Cream, before you strain it off, to be iced, as aforesaid.

La Chapelle served water ices of fruits, moulded and tinted to imitate the fruit, in iced goblets, remarking also that ices of 'Orange-water may be served in Oranges, and Lemon-water in Lemons'. He noted that lemonade, orange, strawberry, currant, raspberry, apricot, peach, pear, pomegranate, verjuice (green grape), and cherry waters were frozen 'in proper Moulds, each to its Particular', and gives detailed instructions for preparing ices in the shapes of citron, oranges, bergamot pears, lemons, peaches, etc. These ices were frozen in the fruit moulds from the liquid state, the joints of the moulds being sealed with a mastic composed of wax, suet, and rosin, the liquid being poured into the mould through a small hole appropriately placed. A small green branch then was inserted in the hole to represent the stem of the fruit and sealed in place with the mastic. The moulds were embedded in ice and salt in a tub for three hours until the contents were well frozen, stirring the tub occasionally. Unmoulded, the ices were tinted the color of the fruits, and 'after giving them their Colour, put them in a tin Pan or Box, with a Cover made on Purpose, to preserve your Fruit from melting, and to put them in the Ice again, until you design to serve them'. These instructions for using fruit moulds are similar to those given by the French author Massialot (to whom we come on page 8 and from whom La Chapelle borrowed extensively, as noted by Philip and Mary Hyman in PPC 2) in the versions of his work subsequent to a *Privilège du roy* of 1719.<sup>13</sup> Emy, in his engravings reproduced on the next page, shows examples of fruit moulds and a utensil used to preserve the unmoulded ices, which Emy calls a *cave*. The interior of the *cave* was compartmented, so that many ices need not be stacked one on another. Similar fruit moulds and a *cave*

Engravings from Emy's *L'Art de Bien Faire les Glaces d'Office*, 1768.  
Photograph by the Library of Congress.



are also illustrated by Gilliers. Photographs of English moulds of grapes and pineapple, somewhat later in date but which have the hole described by La Chapelle, are on the cover.

Although La Chapelle served elegant dishes, it may be noted here that his early writing indicates no use of an important simple technique in freezing ices, mentioned early in French literature but not always followed: a secret for making smooth and creamy ices was to stir them during the freezing process. Nowhere in his English books does La Chapelle indicate that he followed such a practice, although he did agitate his fruit moulds during freezing. He later regarded this lack of stirring as a serious deficiency, which he strongly corrected in his 1742 edition in French.



## WATER ICES

There were earlier recipes for water ices, in English translations of French books and in ones of English writers who copied them. The earliest I know of these is in *Modern Curiosities of Art & Nature*, 1685, the author being given as 'Sieur Lemery Apothecary to the French King'.<sup>12</sup> The work covers a wide range of subjects and in Chapter XIV, 'Sweet-meats, Flowers, and Fruits', are recipes for drinks, waters of fruits and flowers, followed by this heading and instructions:

### TO FREEZE THEM EVEN LIKE THE FRUIT

Take a little Tub, and a tin Vessel of what size you please, then put in the Fruit into the Water you would freeze, a little wider at top than at bottom, that the buried Ice may come out, with a tin cover; then fill the said tin Vessel with the said Waters, or else, with the Fruit with clear Water to make it freeze; at the bottom of the Tub lay a little Straw, and a bed of Ice, with a quarter of small Salt, then another bed of Ice and Salt over it, and put in your Vessel into the middle, far enough from the sides of the Tub, that there may be space enough to put in Ice and Salt as above, and so continue till you cover your Vessel half a foot above it, and leave it thus in a cool Place for four or five hours, the Water will be frozen; and because it will stick to the Vessel, heat a Cloth, with which rub the said Vessel round, and it will loosen.

These directions for freezing are essentially those given by Mary Eales and Nathan Bailey: straw in the bottom of the tub, set in a cool place, frozen in four or five hours (Eales says four but you can leave it longer), lack of stirring during freezing, the freezing of fruit itself—and there are other similarities. Mary Eales reports the fruit frozen in lemonade. Freezing fruits and flowers in clear ice shaped in pyramid moulds will be noted later.

Massialot's *Nouvelle Instruction pour les Confitures, Les Liqueurs et les Fruits* was first published in 1691 and began a changing series of editions that was to become the principal French printed matter on confectionary until the 1740s; and reprints continued to appear throughout most of the rest of the century.<sup>13</sup> Massialot was also the author of a standard work on cookery, *Le Cuisinier Royal et Bourgeois*. The two works were published together in London in 1702 under the title, *The Court and Country Cook . . . Together with New Instructions for Confectioners*,<sup>14</sup> internal evidence indicating the *New Instructions for Confectioners* to have been translated from the 1698 French edition. The English translation was somewhat selective in recipes and remarks but is reasonably complete. The instructions for ices are contained in the first three chapters of the section, 'NEW INSTRUCTIONS FOR LIQUORS': 'Chap. I, *Of the iced Waters of Flowers*'; 'Chap. II, *Of the iced Waters*

of Fruits, &c.'; and 'Chap. III, Of Liquors that are proper for the Winter-Season'. There were eight recipes for waters of flowers: violets (two), orange blossoms, jonquils, musk rose, pinks, tuberose, and jasmin, ending with the statement: 'Thus such Waters as these may be easily made after the same manner, of all Kinds of Flowers that have a sweet and pleasant Smell'. The waters were prepared by infusing the petals in water with sugar, and the process could be speeded by pouring the infusion back and forth from one vessel to another. Chapter II had recipes for cherry, strawberry, raspberry, currant, apricot, peach, orange, and lemon waters, as well as orangeade (which required more oranges), and three headings for lemonade, the last having three recipes in itself; there were also ones for 'White, or Virginal Water' (made with one lemon and a quarter of a pound of sugar, and milk to whiten and to give it a 'relish'), chocolate water, and rosade (made of pounded almonds, milk, and clarified sugar). It is said that some of these waters could be used in winter, but Chapter III adds waters of herbs and spices as more properly belonging to the winter season: cinnamon, coriander seed, anis seed, cloves (mixed with cinnamon), and juniper berries. There also was a recipe for 'Kernel-Water', brandy in which fruit pits and spices were steeped, but one may doubt it was frozen. It was an addition in the 1698 French edition. The general freezing instructions were given at the end of Chapter I:

#### HOW TO ICE ALL SORTS OF WATERS AND LIQUORS

For that purpose, a kind of Cistern in form of a Box is to be provided, that may be of any convenient size, but set out on the inside with Tin-moulds [the French version has Etain, the word for both the alloy, pewter and the mineral, tin], into which the Liquors are to be put. These Moulds or other Vessels being fix'd in order on this Cistern, and cover'd with their respective Lids, the remaining void Spaces are to be fill'd up with broken Pieces of Ice, as also several Handfuls of Salt strew'd up and down everywhere and laid over the Moulds; by which means the Liquors will effectually congeal: A Hole ought also to be made in the Cistern, about the middle of its height, to give passage to the Water, into which the Ice dissolves by degrees, lest it should over-flow the Moulds: Then care must be taken from time to time, to break the Ice, that is first made on the Surface; and to put Salt again quite round the Moulds, to cause the rest to freeze: Lastly, when the Liquors are ready to be serv'd up to Table, the *China*-dishes and other Cups, are to be fill'd with these little pieces of Ice.

Elsewhere the cistern in which the freezing took place is described:

The Cistern is another kind of portable Instrument, in the form of a Box, into which Blanc-mangers, Jellies, Creams, and more especially Liquors

are put, in order to be iced.

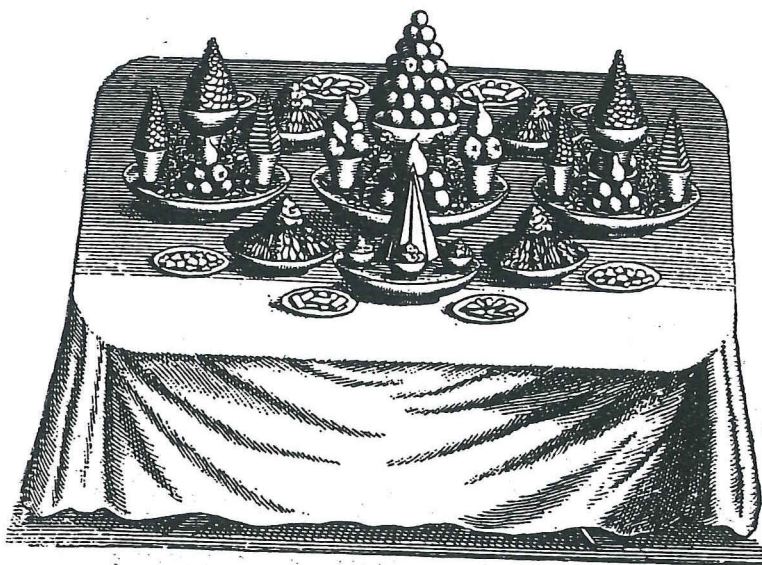
Massialot's instructions for freezing were paraphrased, almost *verbatim*, in *The Cook's and Confectioner's Dictionary*, 1723, by John Nott, "Cook to his Grace the Duke of Bolton".<sup>15</sup> They were used also by the lexicographer Nathan Bailey, 1736, who gave two *recipés* for ices; the one, TO ICE CREAM, taken from Mary Eales, and the one which I have just quoted from Massialot, headed TO ICE LIQUORS.<sup>17</sup>

Noel Chomel's *Dictionnaire Oeconomique*, translated from the second French edition, 1718, was published in London in 1725, revised and recommended by Richard Bradley, Professor of Botany at the University of Cambridge and Fellow of the Royal Society.<sup>16</sup> Bradley tells us that the translation had been done by a friend who had died and that the translator had added to those of Chomel many recipes relating to cookery and confectionary, among other subjects. One addition was the insertion of the translation of Massialot's instructions for freezing (quoted on page 9) under the heading 'ICING' at the end of which is 'SEE GLAZING'. Here there is a description of the use of flowers and fruits frozen in ice moulded in pyramid moulds for table decoration. This description can be traced to Audiger's *La Maison Reglée* of 1692.<sup>17</sup> It was copied by Masson, 1705,<sup>18</sup> and by Massialot, appearing in the editions of *Nouvelle Instruction pour les Confitures* . . . beginning with those published under a *privilège du roi* of 1711.<sup>13</sup> The French version of Chomel, under the word, *Glacer*, has the same heading as Audiger, Masson, and Massialot: this translates as 'To Freeze all sorts of flowers and fruits to make a-show at grand repasts and to augment the decoration'. Here is the text of the instructions as they appeared in English ~~in the 1725 translation~~ in the 1725 translation of Chomel:

GLAZING, a Term used in reference to all Sorts of Fruits and Flowers, had at great Entertainments, and for the Improvement of Ornaments. To this Purpose you must have Tin-moulds in the Form of a square or triangular Pyramid, and at the End of the Point a Round of Tin to keep them together, that so you may garnish them with Flowers or Fruits from the Top to the Bottom, which is done thus. If it be a Pyramid of Flowers, you must range them in Order, shadow, and diversify them by Beds; and if a Pyramid of Fruits, you must likewise range and diversify them by Beds, always putting the smallest at the lower Side, until the Mould is full; then you are to fill with Water, stop them with their Covers, and put them into a Pail, Bucket, or some other Vessel, according to the Quantity, together with the pounded and well salted *Glazing* [ice], with which you are to lap and cover the Pyramids, and to have them well glaz'd; and when they are so, and petrified, and that you have a mind to put them up, take them out of the Glazing, and as gently as you can from the Moulds; and

that you may prevent their being bruised, you must have some boiling Water ready, and wetting a Linnen-cloth therein, rub the Surface of your pyramid Moulds with it, which will loosen the said Pyramids from the Moulds; you must afterward put them into the Middle of a Dish or Salver, which you are to get ready for this Purpose, and garnish them round with Goblets or standing Cups, into which you must put your glaz'd Waters. [Audiger and the others add: "These sorts of affairs display well and have a very fine effect on a table of consequence.]"

It appears that the triangular moulds were segments which, when assembled, composed pyramids, and that the ring at the point held the segments together so that the placement of the flowers or fruits could be properly coordinated. Massialot had engraved plates of dessert tables which show these pyramids, cups of ices around them. Ones illustrated have eight and ten facets and thus, unless the individual moulds themselves were faceted, were composed of eight or ten triangular segments. A photograph of one of Massialot's plates is reproduced here.



*A dessert table for 12 to 14 covers, from Massialot's Nouvelle Instruction pour les Confitures, les liqueurs et les Fruits, 1716. The pyramid in center front is moulded ice, with cups of ice around it. Another like it is on the far side of, and obscured by, the center pyramid of fruit. Photograph by the Library of Congress.*

## MRS GLASSE

Hannah Glasse's now famous recipe for ice cream, which first appeared in the 1751 edition of her *The Art of Cookery Made Plain and Easy*,<sup>19</sup> presents interesting problems. More than once it has been quoted as illustrating the quaint and simple way ice cream was made in England at the time. The evidence is that the way was not as simple as the language and brevity of her statement might suggest to some, and very good ice cream could be made by the method Mrs Glasse was describing. For historical reasons it is worth looking at the elements in her statement. In preface, I have wondered whether she had ever made ice cream when she wrote, or was reporting what she had seen and been told. She is cursory. Here again is the recipe:

### TO MAKE ICE CREAM

Take two Pewter Basons, one larger than the other; the inward one must have a close Cover, into which you are to put your Cream, and mix it with Raspberries, or what ever you like best, to give it a Flavour and a Colour. Sweeten it to your Palate; then cover it close, and set it into the larger Bason. Fill it with Ice and a Handful of Salt: let it stand in this Ice three quarters of a Hour, then uncover it, and stir the Cream well together; cover it close again, and let it stand half an Hour longer, after that turn it into your Plate. These things are made at the Pewterers.

Interesting is the direction to stir the cream well together three quarters of an hour after being put in the ice and salt. I have noted this stirring during the freezing process in commenting on La Chapelle. Audiger, 1692,<sup>17</sup> and Massialot after 1711,<sup>13</sup> in their general instructions for freezing 'waters and liquors' directed it be done in a manner like Mrs Glasse did, Audiger waiting a half to three quarters of an hour, Massialot a half hour. Where Audiger's and Massialot's instructions appear, almost all of the recipes are for water ices, but each included an ice cream (Massialot after 1711). Audiger called his *creme glacée*, while Massialot called his *eau de lait*. When ice creams called *fromages glacés* (iced cheeses) first appeared they were grouped with unfrozen creams, cheeses, and similar dishes in a different part of a book than with other ices, and the stirring procedure was not indicated for them, nor for *tourtes à la glace* when they appeared later. Shortly before Mrs Glasse wrote, stirring and working these mixtures while freezing began to be recorded. La Chapelle made much of its importance in 1742, Menon so directed in 1749 and 1750,<sup>20</sup> and Gilliers gave it thorough attention in his extensive treatment of ice creams and water ices in 1751.<sup>20</sup> (Gilliers called ice creams *fromages glacés* or *neiges*; water ices, *fruits* or *neiges*; all were called *glaces*.) *Fromages glacés*

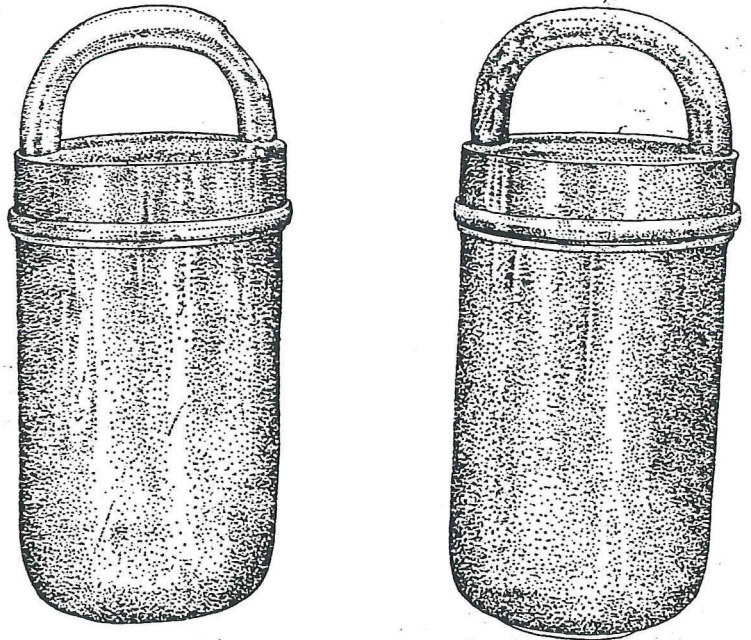
and other ices had begun to be grouped together, to have the same freezing instructions, and to be considered one, ornamental moulds determining their designation, if moulded. The procedure reported by Mrs Glasse is quite different from the recent and contemporary descriptions of turning and stirring and working written by La Chapelle, Menon, and Gilliers, and the parallel in her statement with the earlier directions of Audiger and Massialot is clearly marked. Mrs Eales had not adopted Audiger's and, more recently, Massialot's technique when she published in 1718, nor had La Chapelle in his earlier writing; <sup>Here</sup> ~~there~~ was a survival of a simpler and early method, represented by Lemery. The evidence is thin but would suggest that Audiger's technique began to be used in England after Mrs Eales' day. Mrs Glasse has the earliest known recording of it in England.

It is worth noting here the use of eggs or egg yolks in ice cream. Mrs Glasse mentions none, nor did Mrs Eales, and Audiger's *creme glacée* and Massialot's *eau de lait* had none. Although ice cream in this older tradition still was being made in France, La Chapelle's and Gilliers' mixtures (as well as some of earlier recipes ~~for~~ <sup>for</sup> *fromages glacés*) called for egg yolks, as did most of Menon's. Mrs Glasse and Mrs Eales did differ from Audiger's and Massialot's recipes in flavouring: Audiger used orange flower water; Massialot, orange flower water and lemon zests; Mrs Eales and Mrs Glasse, fruit. Mrs Eales and Mrs Glasse refer only to cream; Audiger and Massialot used milk and cream, Audiger in proportion two to one or one and a half, Massialot, two to one. A recipe similar to Audiger's but calling only for fresh cream was given by La Varenne in a book published in 1682 under a *privilège du roy* of 1664.<sup>21</sup> The manuscript recipe of the Countess Granville reported in PPC 2 by Elizabeth David, evidently late 17th century in date, similarly called for sweetened cream and orange flower water.

The 'two Pewter Basons' used in freezing 'one larger than the other, the inward one must have a close Cover, into which you are to put your Cream,' and her remark, 'These things are made at the Pewterers', suggest that Mrs Glasse was reporting a fitted set of pewter vessels specifically made for the purpose. The description is unique. French writings of the era have as the outer vessel a fitted tub or pail, presumably of wood ordinarily and so figured by Gilliers; and a spigot or tap near the base of the tub is usually mentioned. The nearest description to Mrs Glasse's I have seen, in that a fitted set of metal containers is described, is that of Massialot's *cave*, called a cistern in the 1702 English translation. This was a sort of box or chest (*caisse*) set out with the moulds into which the 'waters' were to be put. Early editions of Massialot do not note the material of the *cave*

but, beginning with those published under a *privilège du roy* of 1711, it was said to be of tin plate, and the freezing moulds were described as being of either pewter or tin plate. The earlier editions had specified only pewter for the freezing moulds. The *caisse* also had a spigot, about half way up. If Mrs Glasse's outer container was part of a fitted set made at the pewterers, perhaps she neglected to mention that it had a tap. (The *cave* in the plate I reproduced from Emy may have been similar in external appearance to Massialot's but served a different purpose, as noted in discussion of La Chapelle.)

Elizabeth David suggests that Mrs Glasse's freezing mould was like those figured in Emy, 1768, and illustrates his frontispiece showing cherubs working them (Gilliers, 1751, also illustrates an example; and I reproduce herewith an illustration of a later English example.) This is possible, but these moulds appear to have come into use in France



*A pair of freezing moulds or sarbotières. English late 18th century or early 19th in date. Capacity of each: three old English quarts. Author's collection. Drawn by Soun from a photograph by Leonard Eesley.*

only a short time before Mrs Glasse wrote and she describes none of the procedures associated with them. The moulds were turned during the freezing process, particularly at its beginning, by means of a handle each had on its close fitting top. One of the cherubs in Emy's frontispiece is so occupied. The purpose was to promote uniform freezing of the mixtures (some later said it also speeded the freezing process). This turning was followed by the use of a spatula to scrape off crystals which formed on the interior wall of the vessel and stir them into the mixture, followed by stirring and working the mixture with the spatula as it congealed more.

These moulds were called *salbotières* or *sarbotières*, later *sorbetières*, and there are other spellings. The earliest use of the term which I have seen is in Menon's *La Science du Maître d' Hôtel, Confiseur*, published in 1750 under a *privilège du roy* of 1749. However, there is an indication that the form itself was in use in France as early as 1738. Menon, in a work published under a *privilège du roy* of that year, does not at that time use the term *sarbotière*, but directs that 'you turn the mould constantly (*toujours*) until the cream is frozen.'<sup>20</sup> La Chapelle, in 1742, stirred and worked the mixtures but did not turn his '*moules à neige*', and later in the century some makers substituted, for turning the mould, stirring the mixtures continuously at the beginning of the process. Mrs Glasse describes neither turning nor initial stirring, nor is there subsequent working after her first and only stirring. Her method survived into the 19th century, long after *sarbotières* were commonplace, and was used by some with the *sarbotière* as the utensil; but if Mrs Glasse's 'Bason' was a *sarbotière*, at that time a relatively recent innovation in France, it was not being used by her in the manner directed by Menon, Gilliers, and Emy, and none of the techniques associated with a *sarbotière* are mentioned by her.

In her *The Compleat Confectioner* (c. 1760, cf. Oxford) Mrs Glasse inserted into her original recipe the statement: '... your Basons should be three cornered, that four Colours may lie in one Plate; one Colour should be yellow, another green, another red, and a fourth white'.<sup>22</sup> Elizabeth David suggests that these three-cornered moulds were like Gilliers' illustration (reproduced by her) of the mould for his *fromage glacé de Parmesan*, the mould simulating a wedge of parmesan cheese (pewter ice cream moulds to simulate cheese wedges were made in the 19th century and indeed in the 20th century.)

Again, this is possible—no doubt similar moulds were used in different ways—but there is no known continuity of such use, and there is another possible explanation. The big period of desserts presented in pyramids was in the 17th century, but pyramids remained popular through the 18th and into the 19th. Mrs Glasse's three-



cornered moulds suggest to me the segments of pyramids described by Audiger, Massialot and Chomel. In summary, I see no evidence in Mrs Glasse's recipe of what were then the most recent developments in France.

In *The Compleat Confectioner* Mrs Glasse also appends a statement: 'Some make their ice cream in tin pans, and mix three pennyworth of saltpetre and two pennyworth of roach allum, both beat fine, with the ice, as also three pennyworth of bay salt; lay it around the pan as above, cover it with a coarse cloth, and let it stand two hours'. As Elizabeth David observes in PPC 2, this description of the freezing process is identical with that of the Countess of Granville. Allowing the contents to stand and freeze recalls Lemery's and Mary Eales' procedure. The use of saltpetre for freezing is old, going back at least to the 16th century, and was used by many makers of ices in the 18th and 19th centuries, with and without salt. The inclusion of alum is unusual and recalls the experiments in freezing by the famed natural philosopher, Robert Boyle, who, as discussed by Elizabeth David, in 1665 reported alum to be a refrigerant in the production of artificial ice.

#### LATER EIGHTEENTH CENTURY WORKS

There were at least four works by Englishwomen who had been housekeepers or cooks first published between 1767 and 1775 which gave recipes for ice creams (one for water ices as well): by Elizabeth Raffald of Manchester; Martha Bradley, late of Bath; Mary Smith of Newcastle; and Charlotte (or Sarah) Mason, 'a Professed Housekeeper, who had upwards Thirty Years Experience in Families of the first Fashion'. There were also two by foreigners living in England: by Clermont, 'who had been many Years Clerk of the Kitchen in some of the first Families of this Kingdom', and by Borella, 'Head Confectioner to the Spanish Ambassador'. Later in the century there were books by Mary Cole, cook to the Earl of Drogheda; by cooks of London taverns, John Farley, Richard Briggs, and Collingwood and Woollams; and by two late apprentices to confectioners in Berkeley Square, Frederick Nutt and Robert Abbot. No doubt there were others. Most of these went through several printings, some through many.

The earliest of all these books was the translation by Clermont of Menon's *Les Soupers de la Cour*,<sup>20</sup> which had been first published in 1755. Clermont's book, appearing in 1767, had for its title *The Art of Modern Cookery Displayed*; in the second edition, 1769, this was changed to *The Professed Cook*. The tenth edition was in 1812.<sup>23</sup> In his preface, titled 'The Translator's Apology', Clermont tells us that '... the Author has also added Confectionary; in which I have been

more particularly exact, as knowing it to be very much wanted amongst English Servants. Ladies who delight in the *profitable* Amusement of making their own Sweet-meats, and Housekeepers, whose Business it is to do in most Families in England, will find it of very great Utility'. I have not seen a complete copy of the very rare 1755 edition of *Les Soupers de la Cour*, but comparison of the 1778 edition with Clermont's shows the texts to be comparable.

Clermont named recipes in French and gave English translations. The treatment of ices is extensive. There are four *tourtes à la glace* in the cookbook proper. In the confectionary section there are ~~three~~ <sup>four</sup> recipes for mousses (whipped cream) which could be frozen, besides three recipes for 'Iced Cream' (one with egg yolks, two without), seven fromages glacés, 'Iced Cheeses' (made with egg yolks, and so called, it is said, because 'moulded like a cheese'); and twenty-three water ices of fruits (12), flowers (5), and spices (6). There was one exception to the moulded cheeses: a confection made to stimulate the appearance of stamped pats of butter. Fruit ices were moulded and painted to simulate fruits. All ices were to be frozen in the same way. Clermont's description of the freezing process does not exactly follow Menon's. Menon directed that at the beginning of the process the *salbotière* should be turned 'without cease for a good half-quarter of a hour' until the mixture was starting to freeze: 'have care from time to time to detach with the spatula that which has formed on the walls so that it ices equally; . . . and so they do not develop pieces of ice (*en glaçon*), you work them with the spatula, and stir them well until you see that there are no bits of ice'. Clermont omitted mention of turning the icing pot. Instead he directed 'stirring continually with a flat pewter spoon till it begins to freeze: work the ice so in freezing, that it not be in harder flakes in one part than another'. He noted that the best icing pots were made of pewter.

Another innovation which came in with the *salbotière* was what might be termed 'double stage freezing'. Ices destined to be moulded in decorative shapes were first frozen in the *salbotière* with turning and stirring techniques. After this they were transferred to the ornamental moulds, which were then embedded in ice and salt and the contents allowed to rest and harden more. Previously, as represented by Massialot, the early work of La Chapelle, Hannah Glasse and others, they had been frozen in the ornamental moulds from the liquid state. Now, if not to be moulded, after the first freezing they were allowed to rest and meld in the *salbotière* repacked in ice and salt. This double stage freezing was the procedure of Menon and Clermont.

The other foreigner's book, *The Court and Country Confectioner*, was published in 1770, ~~the second~~ <sup>the first</sup> edition in 1772 giving the author's

name to be Borella.<sup>24</sup> He gave nineteen recipes for ice cream (which he called cream ices) and sixteen for water ices (called simply ices). It is of interest in passing to note that he used the term 'ices' only in the plural, even when referring to the singular, thus applying to the English word the stricture of the *Académie Française* of the time which recognized only the plural form, *glaces*, as proper for food ices. Of his ice creams, eight were of fruits (one with, seven without egg yolks), and of pistachio nuts (2), chocolate, coffee (2), and tea (all with egg yolks). Three were of flowers (no egg yolks), of orange flowers, violets, and jessamines, the flowers also being used for water ices. Of the other water ices, twelve were of fruits and one, called muscadine, had elder flowers added to a lemon or currant water ice mixture. His freezing technique is given in lucid detail. The icing pot 'we call *sabotiere*'. Double stage freezing was followed, turning and stirring and working the mixtures during the first stage, and he has a good description of moulding ices to simulate fruits.

Elizabeth Raffald's very popular and much reprinted book, *The Experienced English Housekeeper*, had appeared in Manchester and London in 1769.<sup>25</sup> Mrs Raffald, née Whitaker, was housekeeper to the Hon. Lady Elizabeth Warburton of Arley Hall, Cheshire in 1763, when she married the gardener, John Raffald. The couple moved to Manchester where, in the course of a busy life, besides writing, publishing, and marketing this book, she operated a successful confectionary shop, managed several inns, conducted a cookery school, compiled city directories, contributed to two newspapers, and bore 16 daughters. Like Mrs Glasse's and Mrs Eales', her book contained a single recipe for ice cream and, like theirs, her ice cream was made of cream and fruit and sugar. Elizabeth David gives the recipe in full, and also points out that it was substituted for Hannah Glasse's own in posthumous editions, from 1784 onwards, of *The Art of Cookery Made Plain and Easy*. It also appears in the books of Mary Cole, John Farley, Richard Briggs, and Collingwood and Woollams. It was a practical recipe. So that the ice cream would freeze evenly, '... when you see your cream grow thick around the edges of your tin, stir it, and set it in again till it grows quite thick'. Use was made of the double freezing technique. After initial freezing the ice cream was transferred to an ornamental mould and allowed to stand packed in ice and salt for four or five hours.

*The British Housewife* by Mrs Martha Bradley, 'late of Bath; being the Result of upward of Thirty Years Experience', is a large undated work.<sup>26</sup> Oxford suggests a dating of c. 1770. Among the several recipes for creams one was frozen, 'Cream with Ice for Fruit', a slight modification of La Chapelle's 'Cream with Ice for Custards' quoted earlier.

Instead of a hot almond paste crust Mrs Bradley used a 'Puff-paste Crust' which she allowed to cool. Freezing the cream and fruit was done as La Chapelle did. She writes that they were put 'into a Number of small Tin Boxes, and put them into Iced mixed with a good deal of Salt'.

Mary Smith published her book, *The Complete House-keeper, and Professed Cook*, in Newcastle in 1772. Another edition was printed in 1786 by booksellers for release in Newcastle and London.<sup>27</sup> On the title page she is identified as 'Late House-keeper to Sir Walter Blackett, Bart, and formerly in the Service of the Right Hon. Lord Anson, Sir Thomas Sebright, Bart. and other families of distinction, as House-keeper and Cook'. In the preface of the first edition she offers to teach cookery in her own house in Newcastle.

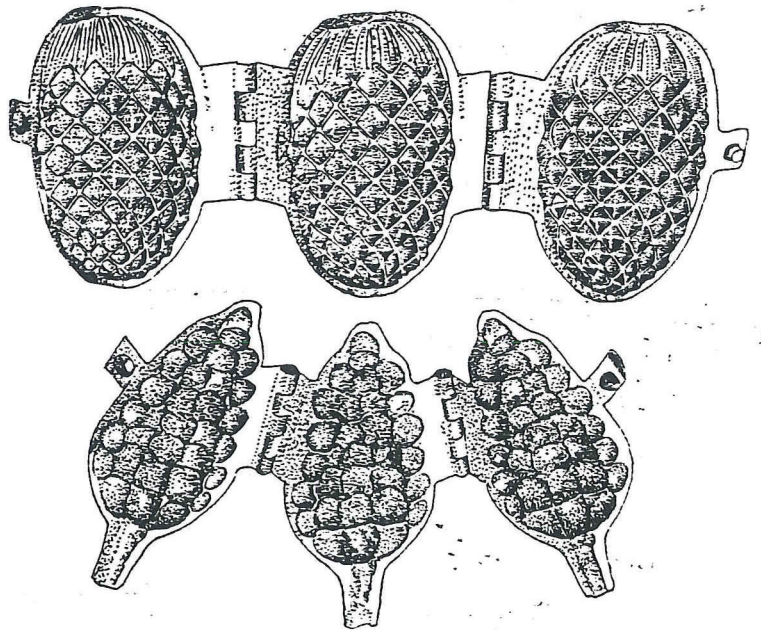
Mary Smith gives several recipes, under the headings: Rasp ICE CREAM, Brown Bread ICE (with a variation, Biscuit ice), Shadderot CREAM, Italian ICE CREAM, Orange ICE CREAM (and a variation, Lemon cream), Peach ICE CREAM, ICE CREAM of Apricots, and 'ICE CREAM another Way'. No eggs were used in any. What is most interesting is that, of the ten named, five were ice creams and five were water ices, but all except two were called ice creams or creams, and those two, brown bread ice and biscuit ice, were in fact ice creams. The water ices were the shadderot, orange, lemon, and peach 'ice creams' or 'creams', and 'Ice Cream another Way'.

After initial freezing, Mary Smith's mixtures were put into ornamental moulds, some in moulds simulating fruits, some in fluted moulds or 'in what shape-mould you please'. Frozen and unmoulded, the ices were tinted appropriately with cochineal (red), saffron (yellow), and spinach juice (green), and cochineal was added to the raspberry ice cream mixture 'to give it a fine colour'.

Shadderot, I take it, probably referred to cedrat (citron). Mary Smith's shadderot 'ice cream' was made by steeping thin lemon parings and lemon juice in water; this was strained, sweetened with clarified sugar, and 'a little essence of shadderot to give it a fine flavour' was added. After initial freezing, a pint of the water ice was put into four or five shadderot moulds and put to harden more; when unmoulded the casts were tinted with saffron.

Italian ice cream was made by boiling cream with coriander seeds, a stick of cinnamon, and a piece of lemon skin for ten minutes, sweetening with loaf sugar, straining, cooling, and then freezing. Unmoulded, it was brushed with saffron, 'if you chuse to have them yellow'. Jam was used for rasp ice cream and peach water ice, fresh fruit for apricot ice cream. 'Ice Cream another Way', used the juice of eight oranges and a half pint of water, sweetened and strained. After

initial freezing it was put into a pineapple mould and allowed to freeze further for three hours. Unmoulded, it was garnished with leaves of a pineapple, their color heightened with spinach juice. It could also be put into melon or pear moulds. 'If a melon, you must green it with spinach juice:— If a pear mould, you must streak it with red'.



*The English ornamental ice moulds which are shown on the back and front of the cover are here illustrated in the open position, viewed from the inside. See description on the inside of the front cover. The drawings are by Soun, after photographs by James Q. Reber.*

Mary Smith's directions for freezing are in the recipe for rasp ice cream and reflect the most advanced procedures: a mixture of a pound of raspberry jam and a pint of thick cream was put into . . . a tin or lead mould that has a close cover and will hold two quarts, which is generally called an ice-well; then put it into a pail of broken ice, with a good deal of salt in it—work the mould round for half an hour, and keep the ice close to the sides of it; take off the cover, and take great care that you do not let any of the salt or ice get into it, or it will spoil the cream; stir it from the edges of the mould, and do so until all

the cream is frozen up; then put it into a fluted lead mould that will hold a pint, put a piece of paper over it, put the cover close on, set it in the middle of a pail, with ice and salt under and over it, and let it stand among the ice for two or three hours, to grow stiff. When you want it, dip the mould in cold water, turn it out on a plate, and serve it up with the dessert after dinner.

By ice-well, she is apparently referring to a *sarbotière*. Describing it and the fluted mould as being made of lead is unusual, but perhaps not so strange as it first might seem. Elsewhere she writes also, of lead fruit moulds. This is not abnormal. In the 18th century they were commonly so called, while *sarbotières* were described as made of pewter or tin plate, and fluted moulds usually of tin plate. However, at least in the last quarter of the century fluted moulds and fruit moulds as well as *sarbotières* were being made of pewter.<sup>28</sup> Many of the pewter ornamental moulds cast in the next century were of alloys containing high proportion of lead. Perhaps Mary Smith's moulds were like these, and she was indiscriminate in her choice of words.

*The Lady's Assistant*, said to have been published from the manuscript collection of a Mrs Mason, strangely gives as her given name either Sarah or Charlotte. This occurs in different printings of the same editions, the extended title, pagination, and publisher being identical, viz. the third of 1777 and the sixth of 1787, the publisher being J. Walter, London. Vicaire gives an edition by Sarah Mason, London, 1773, and a second edition London, 1775; Oxford gives the second edition by Charlotte Mason, London, J. Walter, 1775. The earliest edition I have seen is the fourth, 1778.<sup>29</sup> The eighth edition appeared in 1801. The book contains many recipes for creams, one iced. In ~~the present~~ it has parallels with those of Eales, Glasse, Raffald, and some of Mary Smith's. Here is the recipe:

#### ICE CREAM

SWEETEN the cream, put it into a tin made for the purpose, with a close cover; set it into a tub of ice that is broken to pieces, with a good quantity of salt; when the cream thickens round the edge, stir it; let it stand as before, till of a proper thickness; turn it out, first dipping the tin in warm water; it must stand in the ice four or five hours. If for apricot-cream, mix apricots with it (first pared, stoned and beaten) and work it through a sieve. If raspberry or any other fruit, do it in the same manner.

Oxford commented on books of about 1780 which bore the names of Elizabeth Price as author (in another, as signer of a preface) and Alexander Hogg as publisher, which seem to be fraudulent. There

were two called *The New Universal, and Complete Confectioner*.<sup>30</sup> I have seen only one of these, and it is a larger book than the one with the same title described by Oxford. It has a copy of the recipe for ice cream in Mrs Glasse's *The Compleat Confectioner*, including a typographical error from the original.

#### TOWARDS THE END OF THE EIGHTEENTH CENTURY

Several books by cooks of London taverns, beginning with John Farley's *The London Art of Cookery*, 1783,<sup>31</sup> were all much alike and all were highly successful, going through several editions, Farley's many. Richard Briggs' *The English Art of Cookery* appeared in 1788,<sup>32</sup> Collingwood's and Woollams' *The Universal Cook* in 1792.<sup>33</sup> (Editions of Briggs were printed in Philadelphia in 1792 and 1798 with the title, *The New Art of Cookery*; a German edition of Collingwood and Woollams was published in Leipzig in 1794, and Oxford and Vicaire note a French edition in 1810.) Another book of the same period was *The Lady's Complete Guide* by Mary Cole, 'Cook to the Right Hon. the Earl of Drogheda', 1788, with other editions in 1789 and 1791.<sup>34</sup> This has a bit of Irish puckishness, purporting to include recipes from noted French writers, only one of those she names, the translator Clermont, being known to have existed. However, she prided herself on properly citing the sources of individual recipes copied from or based upon English books.

Each of these four books gave a single recipe for ices; this was Elizabeth Raffald's for ice cream. For 'elegant ornaments for a grand entertainment', they turned, not to moulded ice cream, but to gelatin-based blancmange and flummery, moulded and colored, for dishes with names such as: the hedgehog, eggs and bacon in flummery, hen and chickens in jelly, desert island, green melon in flummery, moonshine, Chinese temple or obelisk, Solomon's temple. Glasse, Raffald, and Mary Smith all gave recipes for such dishes.

Of the books by the two late London confectioners' apprentices, Frederick Nutt's *The Complete Confectioner* was first published in 1789. It went through several printings (one in New York in 1807). The earliest I have seen is that of 1790.<sup>35</sup> He has a chapter on 'Ice Creams of all Sorts' (in which he gives recipes for 32), and another on 'Water Ices of all Sorts' (24 recipes). French influence is evident and ten of his recipes for ice cream use eggs. His freezing method follows best accepted French practice. He used the *sarbotière*, which he called the freezing pot, turning it, scraping the ice forming on the interior wall, and turning again, 'till your cream is like butter'. It was then moulded and put back into ice and salt to set. Fruit moulds are mentioned.

The other late confectioners' apprentice, Robert Abbot, appears to have written his book, *The House-keeper's Valuable Present*, about the same time. It bears no printed date but a copy in the Pennell collection of the Library of Congress has an inscription of a former owner on the title page: 'Anne Jones Dec 18 1791'.<sup>36</sup> Part VII is entitled 'Of Ice Creams', in which are included water ices and a punch. In the text ice creams are labelled variously ices or creams; water ices, ices or water ices. He has 29 recipes in all, of which 20 are for ice creams (4 using egg yolks), 8 for water ices, different but similar to ones given by Nutt. His description of the freezing process is also similar and he used ornamental moulds, specifically mentioning those simulating fruits.

We may note the first appearance of ice cream in a <sup>THE</sup> British encyclopedia. It was in the third edition of *Encyclopaedia Britannica*, 1797.<sup>37</sup> Following a lengthy article on ice there is a small entry:

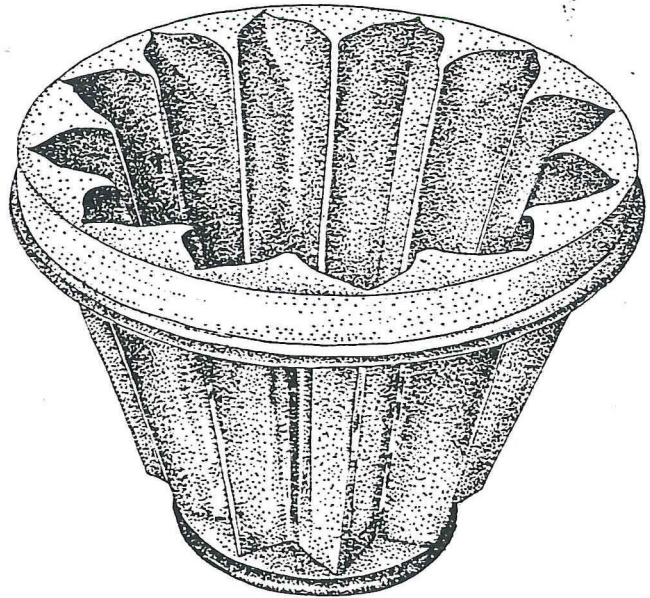
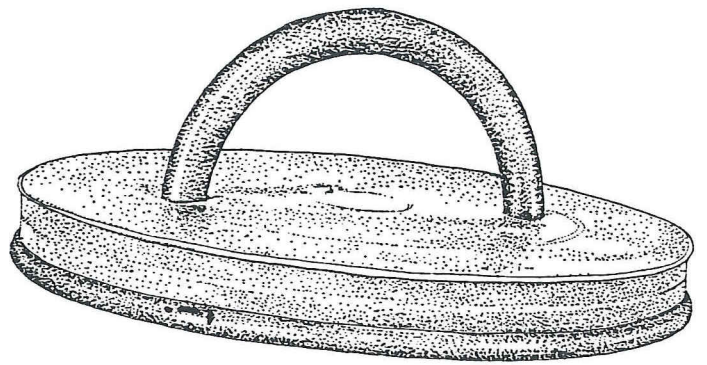
*Method of making Ice-Cream.* Take a sufficient quantity of cream, and, when it is to be mixed with raspberry, or pine, a quarter part as much of the juice or jam as of the cream; after beating and straining the mixture through a cloth, put it with a little juice of lemon into the mould, which is a pewter vessel, and varying in size and shape at pleasure; cover the mould and place it in a pail about two-thirds full of ice, into which two handfuls of salt have been thrown; turn the mould by the hand-hold with a quick motion to and fro, in the manner used for milling chocolate, for eight or ten minutes; then let it rest as long, and turn it again for the same time; and having left it to stand half an hour, it is fit to be turned out of the mould and to be sent to table. Lemon juice and sugar, and juices of various kinds of fruits, are frozen without cream; and when cream is used, it should be well mixed.

The description of the moulds, having hand-holds and varying in size and shape (and lack of directions for stirring), suggest it refers to moulds like a *fromage* mould figured by Emy (page 5, right), reproduced here. I have seen a similar fluted pewter mould, but with an arched handle, in the Aalborg Historiske Museum in Denmark. Thanks to Mr H. Ravnkilde, the Director, we reproduce overleaf a drawing of it by Soun, based on the photograph supplied by the Museum. The mould has the touch marks of Magnus I. Schionfelde, a Copenhagen pewterer.

#### FRENCH AND ENGLISH PRACTICE COMPARED

Such then is an outline of documented mention of food ices in England in the late part of the 17th century and through the 18th. Two main and opposing themes run through the record: continuous French influence versus English selectivity in adoption. Most marked





*An 18th century pewter ice cream and water ice mould. Aalborg Historiske Museum, Denmark, catalogue number 5834. Height, 147 mm. without cover; diameter, 192 mm. Touch marks of Magnus I. Schionfelde, Copenhagen, one with the date 1764, the year in which he was admitted to the pewterers' guild. Drawing by Soun after a photograph supplied by the Museum.*

is the persistent English attachment to ice cream over water ices.

In France, although the earliest known recorded recipes involve one for an ice cream and one for a water ice,<sup>21</sup> water ices receive the great preponderance of attention in the literature until within the second quarter of the 18th century and a comparable role with ice cream is maintained thereafter. English translations of French cookery and confectionary books and ones written in England by foreigners contain many recipes for water ices. However, although English writers copied from them freezing instruction that involved water ices, it is ice cream that is dominant in books by English authors, and when water ices are treated with ice creams they are given a secondary position, being usually subsumed under ice cream, although an exception occurred late in the period (Nutt, 1790).

As we have seen, it was ice cream that was listed for Charles II's table in 1671, and for the celebration of the birth of the Prince of Wales by the British envoy to the court of Sweden in 1688. In 1718, Mary Eales, confectioner to the late Queen Anne, gave instruction for freezing fruit in lemonade but appended it to her recipe for ice cream. Although Carter in 1730 superficially reflected current French influence, his reference was to creams iced with no mention of water ices. Glasse in 1751 and c. 1760, Raffald in 1769, Mason in 1773, Farley in 1783, Cole in 1788, Briggs in 1788, and Collingwood and Woollams in 1792 wrote only of ice cream. Mary Smith, 1772, gives some recipes for water ices but calls them ice creams; near the end of the century, Abbot sticks his recipes for water ices into his chapter, 'Of Ice Creams'; and the entry in the Scotsmen's *Encyclopaedia Britannica* in 1797 is 'Method of making Ice Cream'.

Also indicated is an English attachment to ice cream made without eggs. In the 18th century, English recipes consistently call for cream and sugar and fruit, without egg yolks, Mary Eales (1718) also recording that in her day sweetened and unsweetened cream without fruit was frozen as well. Countess Granville's manuscript recipe, reported by Elizabeth David and evidently late 17th century in date, used orange flower water for flavoring, like the French recipes of the time, which used orange flowers or orange flower water.

As in England, early French recipes did not call for eggs or egg yolks; but with the development of the ice creams called *fromages glacés* egg yolks appeared as ingredients and came to characterize the most prevalent of French ice creams. No parallel trend is indicated in England. Except for two instances, one of which is tenuous, eggs or egg yolks did not appear in recipes by English writers until late in the 18th century. The tenuous instance is Charles Carter's reference to 'creams iced' in 1730 (see page 4). The other is provided by

Martha Bradley of Bath who, writing in about 1770, gave a recipe which she did not call ice cream but 'Cream with Ice for Fruit', the source of which was La Chapelle (see p. 4 ff.).

It would be true to say that other French developments in this field do not appear in cookery or confectionary books by English writers of the same period, who ignored such things as frozen mousses and, except for Bradley, ice creams made with egg whites, not to mention a great variety of the flavorings used by the French.

It is nonetheless evident that English freezing methods changed and followed the evolving French practices. However, both in regard to a survival of the early English freezing method (shared with the French) and the primary position given to ice cream in England, it is suggestive that (although it called for egg yolks and omitted mention of salt in the freezing mixture) the earliest reference I have found to the iced creams called *fromages glacés* is a recipe for *fromage à l'Angloise* (i.e. in the English fashion). It appears in an edition of Massialot's *Nouvelle Instruction pour les Confitures* . . . published under a *privilege du roy* of 1709.<sup>13</sup> Later in the century *fromage à l'Angloise* was also called *fromage aux épingles*, in reference to the slivers of ice which it contained as a result of not being stirred during the freezing process. Mrs David has called attention in PPC 2 to a passage in Emy (1768) which confirms this synonymy.

In considering this whole subject it is well to bear in mind that confectionary was not primarily the business of a cook, and that ices were a speciality in themselves. It would thus be wrong to expect the majority of cookery books to include them, especially if their use was not commonplace. Even so, it is worth mentioning that in books by cooks who practised in the late 17th and early 18th centuries, and which gave some attention to sweets, neither ice creams nor water ices are present. A list of such books examined, some of which dealt extensively with creams and other confections, is given in the literature cited.<sup>38</sup>

Early in the 18th century ices of some sort were on the tables of the fashionable who followed French ways, behavior which was viewed with distaste or scorn by many. English writers of cookery books, who faced the competition of French influence, shared these feelings. Charles Carter, who, as noted on page 4, claimed his book of 1730 to be 'Fitted for all occasions: but more especially for the most Grand and Sumptuous Entertainments' and to contain foreign as well as English recipes, used some French terms and gave some French recipes; but he had contemptuous words for French taste and bitterly remarked 'that a good ENGLISH COOK is often slighted, and some of our most hospitable Noblemen and Ladies cannot think

themselves well serv'd, 'till they have sent to a neighbouring Kingdom for a Cook'. He had cryptic reference to 'creams iced' and no mention of water ices. A second book of his, *The Compleat City and Country Cook*, first published in 1732, also has fancy dishes, including confectionary, but no mention at all of creams iced or any kind of ice.<sup>39</sup>

Nor is there any in E. Smith's *The Compleat Housewife*, the best-selling cookery book of the second quarter of the 18th century and still very popular through the third. The preface tells us:

... what you will find in the following Sheets are Directions generally for dressing in the best, most natural and wholesome Manner, such Provisions as are the Product of our own Country, and in such a Manner as is most agreeable to English Palates; saving that I have so far temporized as, since we have to our Disgrace so fondly admired the French Tongue, French Modes, and also French Messes, to present you now and then with such Receipts of French Cookery, as I think may not be disagreeable to English Palates.

She gave many recipes for sweet dishes for dessert, but no ices.<sup>40</sup>

Hannah Glasse, in *The Art of Cookery Made Plain and Easy*, also gave vent to feelings about French dishes and French cooks, writing *inter alia*: 'if Gentlemen will have French Cooks, they must pay for French tricks...' and '...so much is the blind folly of this Age, that they would rather be impos'd on by a French Booby, than give Encouragement to a good English Cook!' In 1751 she saw fit to add a recipe for ice cream, presumably by then a dish of more general use in England; and later, in *The Compleat Confectioner*, she wrote: 'Ice Cream is a thing used in all Desserts, as it is to be had both Winter and Summer, and what is <sup>in every</sup> always to be had at the Confectioners.' Ice creams and water ices were to remain chiefly the domain of affluent households and professional confectioners,<sup>41</sup> although their use would continue to become more widespread.

#### EPILOGUE

The period of the 19th century was to see more French influence, fancy ice creams with many names (including a new English one, ice puddings) and a more abundant use of water ices (including cheap penny ices by the thousands—someone remarked that ices were either for the wealthy or the poor). Applying previous French practice, all were to be termed ices.

In America, ice cream is recorded to have been served as early as 1744<sup>41</sup> (by the lady of Governor Blandon of Maryland, née Barbara Jannsen, daughter of Sir Theodore Jannsen, Bart, and sister-in-law to Lord Baltimore), but it does not appear to have

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been generally adopted until much later in the century. Although its adoption then owed much to French contacts in the period following the American Revolution, Americans shared 18th century England's tastes and the English preference for ice creams over water ices, and proceeded enthusiastically to make ice cream a national dish. In 1900, an Englishman, Charles Senn, would write: 'Ices derive their present great popularity from America, where they are consumed during the summer months as well as the winter months in enormous quantities.'<sup>42</sup> The enormous quantities of which he wrote were of ice cream.

This phenomenon has had a curious side effect in Britain and on the Continent. In our own century the term ice cream came to mean, for many people on both sides of the Atlantic, a dish of American origin; to such a point as to reinforce the failure of antique dealers, and even of some museums, to identify their ice cream moulds for what they are.

Ice moulds or ice cream moulds were specialized products. Except in France, where they are still usually known as *moules à glace*, small pewter fruit and flower ice cream moulds (and ones of other subjects) are most commonly called marzipan moulds, a household use to which some were no doubt put; but they were not designed for this use nor so identified in 19th century catalogues or in old writings on confectionary. A parallel situation prevails in Britain, where larger pewter fluted ice cream moulds with fruit or otherwise decorated tops are called jelly moulds. No doubt many of them served this secondary use. However, 19th century illustrations identify them not as jelly moulds but as ice or ice pudding moulds; and registered designs for them in the Public Record Office are designated as 'Ornamental designs for ice moulds' or (in one instance) 'For ornamenting ice, etc.'. Ice or ice cream moulds required tight fitting covers (unless the moulds were hinged, and their bottoms and tops were parts of the same casts as the side walls); whereas jelly moulds did not, unless the jelly was to be frozen.

In continental Europe large as well as small ice cream moulds may be called marzipan moulds, or chocolate moulds, or refuge may be taken in the generic term 'confectionary mould'. More than once I have seen *sarbotières* in Holland labelled 'groats containers'.

Known surviving 18th century pewter ice cream or ice moulds are very rare. Today's collectors would hope that, as more people become aware that such things existed and what they are, more will come to light. I began this essay with a reference to my own special interest; and I thus conclude it likewise.

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