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Possessing the Foreign: The Introduction of Chocolate to England

By

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For Tom

My half of "Climbing Our Mountain"

Abstract

Chocolate was introduced to Europe as a novel, exotic experience. Initially seen as a medicinal substance, over the course of the seventeenth and eighteenth centuries chocolate came to be seen as more of an expensive indulgence and a highly taxed commodity. How chocolate was perceived and the meanings it was imbued with changed over time. Studying this change in use and meaning can be challenging using only the literary sources available. In order to get a full and true picture of chocolate's place in society, it is necessary to go beyond the written sources and to treat chocolate as a cultural artefact. Examining cycles of imitation, adaptation and appropriation allows the historian to place chocolate within a larger context, and to reach a more complete interpretation of its place in history.

Acknowledgements

The writing of this thesis has been a somewhat long and arduous process, and there are a number of individuals to whom I owe heartfelt thanks.

First I must thank my supervisor, Dr. Julian Martin, who has doggedly stuck with me. I'm sure I would still be languishing somewhere in the stacks reading up on interesting, but unrelated, topics if it were not for his patient guidance, thoughtful advice, and his gentle prodding. His determination in seeing me through to the end is greatly appreciated.

Thanks also to Dr. Richard Connors. It was he who first introduced me to the work of the late Dr. Philip Lawson on tea, and who encouraged me to embark on this small adventure. His enthusiasm for eighteenth century British history was infectious, and his suggestion that I pursue graduate studies is what led me here in the first place.

I cannot thank my parents, Murray and Helen McMillan, and my parents-in-law, Don and Carol Ogaranko, enough for the many hours of free babysitting. While I know they would say that spending time with their grandchild was certainly no burden, without their support, I would never have found the time to finish writing the bulk of this paper.

My greatest thanks must go to my husband Tom. His unwavering support and encouragement, even through those times we were experiencing great personal upheaval, has meant more to me than he will ever know. In the decade we have been married, I have always been a student. I am sure he is looking forward to a life without a thesis in it!

And finally, I must thank my son Alan. He has shown more patience with his mom than any two-year old should ever have to.

List of Illustrations

Introduction

> "If the Amorous and Martial Turk should ever taste it, he would despise his opium."[1]
>
> "Luxury, like a Whirlpool, draws into it the Extravagancies of other People."[2]

Through the course of my undergraduate arts degree, I became particularly interested in studying seventeenth- and eighteenth-century England. What caught my attention most were issues surrounding the development of a global empire, the introduction of exotic goods from that empire, and the debates surrounding the emergence of the 'Middling Sorts'. From architecture to fashion, these three areas of study appeared to be inextricably linked and reflected in the day-to-day lives of the average citizen. Through the direction of one professor, I was introduced to the work that had been done by the late Philip Lawson on tea and Empire.[3] This example of studying an exotic good that became the epitome of Britishness was intriguing, complex and highly nuanced. It also led me to examine another exotic beverage introduced to Europe at about the same time: chocolate. As little work on this topic had been done, and because I have an insatiable sweet tooth, it seemed the perfect choice for a thesis topic.

In the mid-seventeenth century, the tentacles of English trade and commerce were beginning to move outward on the ocean trade routes. Explorers and adventurers were

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[1] John Chamberlayne, *The Natural History of Coffee, Thee, Chocolate, Tobacco; In Four Several Sections; with a Tract of Elder and Juniper Berries, Shewing How Useful They May be in Our Coffeehouses; And Also the Way of Making Mum, with Some Remarks upon That Liquour* (London: Printed for Christopher Wilkinson, at the Black Boy over against St. Dunstan's Church in Fleetstreet, 1682), p. 18.

[2] Martin Lister, *A Journey to Paris in the Year 1698* (London: Printed for Jacob Tonson at Gray's-Inn Gate, next Gray's Inn Lane, 1699), p. 169.

[3] See such works as Philip Lawson, "Sources, Schools and Separation: The Many Faces of Parliament's Role in Anglo-American History to 1783," *A Taste for Empire and Glory* (Aldershot, Hampshire: Variorum, 1997), pp. 5-27. Philip Lawson, "Tea, Vice and the English State, 1660-1784," *A Taste for Empire and Glory* (Aldershot, Hampshire: Variorum, 1997), pp. 1-21. Philip Lawson, "Women and the Empire of Tea: Image and Counterimage in Hanoverian England," *A Taste for Empire and Glory* (Aldershot, Hampshire: Variorum, 1997), pp. 1-19.

traveling beyond the borders of the known world, finding new worlds, making discoveries, and staking claims of possession. As a result of these exploits, exotic goods were introduced to European markets and to an increasingly knowledgeable and consuming public. Many of these goods, such as silks and spices from the Far East, were already known as a result of ancient European-Asian trade routes. Other goods were a completely new experience for European markets, the result of the introduction of the flora and fauna of the New World. Most, if not all, of these exotic items were within the economic grasp of a select few only, being extremely expensive. Over time, some of these exotic goods became the centre of a vast, transoceanic trade, from England to the Caribbean, from Asia to the west coast of Africa. What once was exotic, however, eventually became commonplace, part of the daily routine of the average Englishman. Tea, most famously, became so commonplace as to be the very embodiment of what it meant to be English.[4] The gradual transformation from exotic good to luxury good to basic commodity was a complicated one for all of these new products, with many different facets and phases. Each new product, whether it was tea, coffee, tobacco, sugar, rhubarb or chocolate, was subjected to intense scrutiny, was the focus of heated debate, and aroused the curiosity of scientists, physicians and philosophers. Chocolate provides a particularly instructive example of how a foreign and exotic product was first encountered by Europeans, adapted to suit European tastes, consumed initially only by the elite, and then over time, became a general commodity consumed by the majority. Chocolate, an end product of cacao, displays the many phases that an exotic product

[4] See such works as Peter B. Brown, *In Praise of Hot Liquors: The Study of Chocolate, Coffee and Tea-Drinking 1600-1850* (York: York Civic Trust, 1995); John Burnett, *Liquid Pleasures: A Social History of Drinks in Modern Britain* (London: Routledge, 1999); Antony Wild, *The East India Company Book of Tea* (London: Harper Collins, 1994).

could go through as it slowly gained acceptance by a consuming public. From its discovery by Europeans at the beginning of the sixteenth century to the present day, chocolate has been transformed from a food of the Gods to a food of the masses.

Studying the journey and transformation that chocolate took from South American native culture to the tables of England involves wading through a morass of information and sources. These sources are varied, including anything from travel diaries to cookbooks to state documents. One can find treatises on the topic written by doctors and philosophers, or small advertisements placed by London shopkeepers. At first glance, the variety and quality of the sources available is confusing, but the challenge thereafter becomes a matter of organization and focus. In approaching a topic such as this, one seeks similar works by other authors, in hope of finding an appropriate framework within which to undertake a cohesive study of an exotic good such as chocolate. The secondary literature, however, is as vast and as varied as the primary materials themselves. For every history of a good or commodity, there appears to be a different approach to the material. So, once again, the issue becomes one of organization and focus.

Where to begin? For our purposes here, the logical place to start is with an overview of the available historiography, including that on commodities and food more generally. Broad themes in the cultural history of seventeenth and eighteenth century England and Britain also need some attention, for instance areas such as consumption and a consumer society, rise of the 'Middling Sorts', national identity and the growth of empire. While it will not be necessary to cover everything in the related historiography, the main themes and genres will be outlined in brief, highlighting their relative strengths and weaknesses. At this point, it will be helpful to review what chocolate is and was,

where it comes from and how it is produced. Chapter 2 surveys the botany of the cacao plant, its singular peculiarities and limitations, the production and manufacture of chocolate, and then how it was introduced to Europe. This context helps us to assess the primary documents and then helps us understand why chocolate as a commodity developed as it did. Chapter 3 examines the primary sources with relation to chocolate's history and introduction to England. The changes in the types of primary material available reflect the shifts in use and meaning of chocolate over the course of the seventeenth and eighteenth centuries. Once chocolate had been introduced to England and had become less of a foreign exotic good, other types of sources become of interest and use to the historian. Chapter 4 will undertake a brief discussion of some of these sources and what they reveal, especially with regard to the changes in the use of chocolate and how contemporaries viewed it. These sources, and the changes they reveal, are discussed in relation to concepts of imitation, adaptation and appropriation.

The transitory nature of food presents certain challenges to the historian attempting to study it. While economic and statistical analysis may provide clues as to how chocolate developed, it does not necessarily tell us why. An examination of other sources and an understanding of the changing nature of this material over time, reveals much about chocolate's history that numbers cannot. In studying a good such as chocolate, a reliance on literary sources alone does not suffice. A broader and more varied scope of material is required in order to provide a clear picture of chocolate's history and transformation. The changes in how chocolate was perceived and used highlight aspects of the cultural exchange occurring between European colonial powers and New World societies. I aim to treat chocolate as a cultural artefact. Examining some

of the tools, rituals and cultural associations linked with it provides a much clearer picture of why chocolate as a commodity developed as it did in the seventeenth and eighteenth centuries. While the study of the transformation of an item such as chocolate from a luxury good to a common commodity is in and of itself interesting, it is only by studying the associated cultural meanings and social rituals related to that good that we are able to fully understand and appreciate the impact of the extensive cultural exchange that was occurring between North America and Europe.

Chapter 1: Historiography

The methodologies and approaches used by historians when writing histories of food or commodities are extremely varied. Each has its own advantages and limitations: some more than others, as we shall see. While it is difficult to categorize works by major themes or methodologies, an attempt is made here in order to bring clarity to a vast array of material. It should be noted that no classification of a work is mutually exclusive, with many works crossing several genres.

Commodities

The historiography of commodities shows several different approaches to the material. One of the most obvious approaches is that of the basic inventory, in which texts are used typically for object identification alone. There are countless examples of this type, ranging from the history of clothing to the history of airplanes. Many of these types of works rely heavily on visual representation, often having more pictures than written text. They read more like a chronological inventory than a historical investigation, and can be used effectively for object identification, classification and dating. Typical of this approach is W. B. Honey's *Wedgwood Ware*, a brief history of Wedgwood pottery.[5] Like many works of this type, Honey begins with a very brief history of Josiah Wedgwood and his pottery business, followed by many photographs showing examples of the pottery produced by the Wedgwood factories. The written text of the book is quite short, taking up about one quarter of the work, with the balance being devoted to pictures

[5] W.B. Honey, *Wedgwood Ware* (London: Faber and Faber, 1948). See also Hilary Young, *English Porcelain 1745-95: Its Makers, Design, Marketing and Consumption* (London: V & A Publications, 1999); Phillis Cunnington and Catherine Lucas, *Occupational Costume in England: From the Eleventh Century to 1914* (New York: Barnes and Nobel, 1967); Jane Ashelford, *The Art of Dress: Clothes and Society, 1500-1914* (London: The National Trust, 1996).

and examples of the makers' marks with corresponding dates. The author did not intended to provide the reader with an understanding of the place of Wedgwood pottery in the social history of Britain in the eighteenth century, but rather to provide a concise reference guide for identifying and dating various pieces produced by the Wedgwood factories. This type of discussion of a commodity, while useful as a reference guide, does not allow for a closer and more detailed examination of a good or product in relation to social, economic or political history. One of the main challenges faced by scholars using works such as these is the tendency for such works to focus exclusively on the rare or expensive. It is easy to find many different works to assist with the identification and valuation of Wedgwood pottery, but it is difficult, if not impossible, to find a similar work discussing the more mundane and everyday articles that may have been used in a typical eighteenth century British home.[6] Due to these limitations, inventory- or identification-focused works do not provide a helpful framework for discussing the human history of a good or commodity. The scope is too narrow and provides limited information regarding the general availability of these goods, the number of households that would have used them, or the social nuances of their use and introduction.

Moving from the micro-level of identifying objects to the macro-level of world history, we encounter a very different approach to the history of a good or commodity. In this genre we find such works as Redcliffe Salaman's *The History and Social Influence of the Potato*. This dense piece of work, first published in the late 1940s, attempts to cover the entire known history of this dietary staple. Salaman begins with "The Archaeological Record", and slowly makes his way towards the post-World War II era. This work is

[6] Lorna Weatherill makes note of this discrepancy. See Lorna Weatherill, *Consumer Behaviour & Material Culture in Britain, 1660-1760* (London: Routledge, 1996), pp. 21-22.

Whig history at its finest, following a methodical, linear, progressive course from pre-Spanish America through to the Irish Famine and beyond. While large portions of the text discuss the uses of the potato and its transplantation around the world, much of what is included consists of descriptions of various local histories. For example, Salaman includes a section regarding Irish housing and Irish Brehon laws in his discussion of the potato in Ireland in the sixteenth century.[7] As a comprehensive examination of a single commodity, it would be difficult to find this book's equal. Salaman scoured the world, peeking into every possible corner, looking for evidence and information regarding the potato, its use and its impact on different cultures. One wonders, however, if Salaman wanted to write about the history of the potato around the world, or the history of the world around the potato? This whole history/whole world approach can be a tempting model to follow when trying to examine a single commodity or good, as it allows the author to examine in some detail the known chronological history of an item. It also allows the author to wander across continents and cultures, comparing and contrasting uses, adaptations and impacts. If a good or commodity has a particularly interesting past or a wealth of documentary sources, this type of work allows the author to feel he has written a 'complete' history, ensuring the reader does not miss any interesting bits of fact or fiction.[8] This particular approach aims to be very comprehensive, all encompassing and entertaining, but it does have its limitations. At one extreme we are introduced to information that is not directly relevant. At the other extreme, the strategy is to discuss

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[7] See Chapter 11 of Redcliffe N. Salaman, *The History and Social Influence of the Potato* (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 1970), pp. 191-194. Salaman's predilection for taking the occasional historical detour can be found throughout the book, often veering off with a simple "A word must be said about...", which is then followed by two or three pages of interesting, but not directly related, material.

[8] Other authors take this world history approach to a single good as well. For an equally global, albeit less detailed and wordy example, see Sophie D. Coe and Michael D. Coe, *The True History of Chocolate* (London: Thames and Hudson, 1996).

many topics in a cursory manner when a more detailed examination of a few key points might be more appropriate. It is apparently difficult with this type of work to resist including material that is only of passing interest to the central narrative. Almost by default, the resulting tome becomes a world history book with the chosen good as the common theme. Unfortunately, the reader is either overwhelmed by the density of extraneous facts, or is left with a cursory examination of the importance of the good in a specific location or culture. Neither of these situations is a desirable outcome.

From the all-encompassing single-commodity study, we move to those that look at groups or categories of goods. There are a number of examples available where an author has looked at more than one commodity or a group of commodities to illustrate their point. Carole Shammas outlined the changes in consumption patterns of what she refers to as "groceries" and "consumer durables".[9] Shammas defines groceries as such things as sugar, tobacco and tea, generally items that were imports and therefore relatively easy to trace through the use of trade statistics. Consumer durables are defined as those goods more likely to be manufactured within the country and include such things as pottery, clothing, wood, iron, brass or paper products. These types of goods, Shammas points out, are more easily traced through examining probate inventories. By looking at these two groups of commodities, and at some specific examples within these groups, Shammas traces consumption patterns in England over the eighteenth century, paying particular attention to any changes in the percentages of the average person's budget these two categories represented. While Shammas discusses tea and tobacco, her intent is not to examine these goods specifically, but rather to use them as illustrations to analyze

[9] Carole Shammas, "Changes in English and Anglo-American Consumption from 1550 to 1800," *Consumption and the World of Goods* (New York: Routledge, 1993), p. 178.

increases in demand, production and, in some cases, the economic effects of smuggling. Using the available data, Shammas is able to show that overall, there was no change in the proportions of a household's budget devoted to groceries or durables, while there were changes in the individual goods that made up these categories. As Shammas herself points out, it is not possible with this approach to determine how the changes in the choice of goods affected people.[10] This method of examining groups of items, while certainly interesting in outlining general consumption patterns, will not be effective in assessing the effect or impact of the introduction of a specific exotic good. While Shammas is able to point out that caffeine drinks became an important part of "groceries", she is not concerned to discuss why this happened or what the implications were for eighteenth century English society.

Like many other disciplines, the increasing accessibility and usability of computers have affected the study of history. Nowhere is this more apparent than in the analyzing of inventory data. The compilation and analysis of large amounts of statistical and financial data over dispersed geographic areas has become much easier and less time consuming. The result is the appearance of such works as Lorna Weatherill's *Consumer Behaviour & Material Culture in Britain, 1660-1760.*[11] Weatherill delves into the morass of information available from personal diaries, household accounts and probate inventories, attempting to discover what they reveal about consumption patterns. Using computers and statistical analysis, she attempts to track changing consumption patterns surrounding such durable goods as clocks, window curtains and utensils for hot drinks and to compare these patterns to occupations and relative social standing. The relation of

[10] Shammas, p. 201.
[11] Lorna Weatherill, *Consumer Behaviour & Material Culture in Britain, 1660-1760* (London: Routledge, 1996).

these consumption patterns to the concept of social emulation, the general economic growth of the period and social status are all examined statistically using the available evidence. Weatherill tempers her statistical analysis with qualitative analysis and commentary, infusing the work with thoughtful comments regarding the social meaning of various objects and their meaning in the lives of those who owned them. This quantitative method is useful in providing a trend analysis of more than one good at a time and in examining the relationship between various groups of goods over an extended period of time. The examination of related goods, such as teapots, silverware and related furniture, can be particularly illuminating in examining changes in consumption patterns and differences in consumption patterns between various social status groups. Weatherill points out that her approach does have its limitations. Only those individuals that left probate inventories can be included, thereby excluding many individuals in the lower ranks. It is also difficult to know how indicative of the population the available probate inventories are, as the drawing up of probates was not a universal occurrence. Gaps in the available data can also make it difficult if one is interested in studying a single commodity, making it difficult to achieve statistical relevance. While certainly useful in outlining large, long-term trends, the statistical approach to the study of a good or commodity can be limiting for the social historian attempting to trace the social meaning of or attitudes towards various exotic commodities. Statistical studies and probate inventories may reveal when and to what degree a new luxury commodity penetrated local markets, but they do not provide the historian with any solid clues as to why this occurred.

Moving beyond the statistical and quantitative approach, we find examples of more qualitative studies of commodities. In this category, we find authors concerned with discussions that go beyond raw data, encompassing politics, economics and social history. Often, these authors come from fields other than history, providing a new and refreshing perspective on topics that have often been otherwise thoroughly covered by historians. Differing interpretations and different purposes often underlie these works, adding layers of complexity and understanding to a topic. For example, Sidney Mintz's *Sweetness and Power: The Place of Sugar in Modern History* provides a good general history of the development of the sugar industry in the Atlantic, encompassing such topics as European demand, trade routes and the related slave trade. Mintz is a cultural anthropologist; his aim in studying the sugar industry is not to provide a comprehensive and complete history, but to study a new food introduced to Western culture to "contribute to an anthropology of modern life."[12] Mintz argues for a broader range of inquiry in the field of anthropology, including the examination of the modern world and non-primitive societies. The history of the sugar industry is certainly covered, yet Mintz is more interested in deeper cultural meanings to be found in the uses of sugar, in its adoption as a food by Europeans, and in the cultural meanings attributed to it by these newly addicted users. From this anthropological perspective, Mintz turns his attention to the power relationships between the different groups of people involved in the production and consumption of sugar, from the plantation owners, to the slave population, to the domestic users in Europe. These power relationships also extend to a national level, involving national politics and diplomacy between European nations. In this instance, the

[12] Sidney W. Mintz, *Sweetness and Power: The Place of Sugar in Modern History* (New York: Viking Penguin Inc., 1985), p. xxviii.

historical study of a commodity is incorporated into an anthropological study of power relationships, with a strong argument for the incorporation of history into anthropology, and *vice versa*.

This approach of using the historical study of a commodity to explore other topics can also be found in other areas of the humanities and social sciences. Marina Bianchi examines the tulip market of early seventeenth century Holland, paying particular attention to the infamous speculation in the tulip market that occurred at this time.[13] Much of the article is devoted to discussing the idea of 'novelty' and this concept's relationship to consumption and demand. Yet this article is less about the history of tulips, than about the speculative tulip market as an example illustrating economic modeling. Bianchi's main argument is that exotic commodities, such as the tulip, do not lie outside the realm of traditional economic theory as has often been argued; instead, once the concept of novelty is taken into account, exotic and luxurious items display rational demands. Bianchi does provide an introduction to the tulip market in the seventeenth century, but it is not her aim to provide a comprehensive history. For her, the tulip provides an excellent historic example to demonstrate a reinterpretation of traditional economic modeling. Once again, as with Mintz, the history of a commodity is merely the vehicle through which another subject matter is illuminated or illustrated.[14]

Both Mintz and Bianchi discuss the general history of the object or commodity. Each has the advantage of providing new layers of understanding and interpretation to

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[13] Marina Bianchi, "In the name of the tulip. Why speculation?", *Consumers and Luxury: Consumer Culture in Europe 1650-1850*, eds. Maxine Berg and Helen Clifford (Manchester: Manchester University Press, 1999), pp. 88-102.

[14] Redcliffe Salaman's *The History and Social Influence of the Potato* fits into this category as well. After traveling over many continents and across centuries, we find that Salaman's ultimate aim was to show that the potato provided the ruling classes with a tool to exploit the working classes.

studying social history by incorporating other disciplines, while at the same time arguing a point that is seemingly unrelated. The incorporation of other disciplines into the history of an object is important as it allows the historian to put the object into different contexts and aids in the examination of the cultural meaning behind objects. As the study of history is ultimately about people and not things, incorporating other viewpoints goes far in allowing the historian to examine an object's true place in human history. This being said, however, we can ask whether such works can be seen as real histories of objects, or whether they are merely background material for other disciplines and other aims. Is it better to examine the past from the perspective of the object and discuss the many different nuances that may arise, whether they are related to economics, anthropology or some other social science? Or is it better to study the history of an object from a disciplinary viewpoint and use the history of the object to sustain that view? The first approach allows for a broad and all encompassing study, while the second allows for a more direct and narrow interpretation.

Food

As with commodities, it is easy to find many examples of works on the history of food that rely heavily on identification or basic facts, with little attention paid to the historical context. For many foods, we have studies available regarding the scientific study of various plants, especially those introduced into the Western diet after the discovery of the New World. Examples of this include the numerous works available on the potato. In *The Potato: Evolution, Biodiversity and Genetic Resources*, J.G. Hawkes follows a pattern similar to many others providing a scientific study of the potato, covering such topics as potato cytology, reproductive biology, evolution, systematics and

biodiversity.[15] Hawkes' concern centres on the correct identification and classification of the many different types of potato to be found around the world. In order to set the stage for the bulk of his discussion, Hawkes begins by providing a brief history of the potato, outlining its origins and subsequent spread around the world. This section is fairly brief, and provides a general outline of the history of the potato with very little beyond dates and names. This section is heavily illustrated as well with maps and pictures of ceramics, which outline the geographic spread of different varieties and provide evidence of domestic use. Hawkes makes no attempt to examine the potato in its social, economic or political context.

W.G. Burton uses the same methodology in *The Potato.*[16] Again we see a scientific work studying such aspects of the potato as crop yield, diseases, pests and processing quality. It is only in the first thirty pages that the history of the potato is discussed. Again, this history is very brief, with numerous charts and photographs outlining its early cultivation and transportation out of South America. This brief outline of the potato's origin is provided to supply a context for the scientific material to follow, not to provide commentary on the social, political or economic implications of this particular plant.

Both of these works are typical of how the history of many foods is written, namely, as general introductions to scientific treatises. For the historian, these types of works do not provide a useful framework for an historical study of a food. They do, however, provide an interesting basis for discussing various biological facts that may provide some insight into why a plant and its production developed the way it did. When

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[15] J. G. Hawkes, *The Potato: Evolution, Biodiversity and Genetic Resources* (London: Belhaven Press, 1990).
[16] W.G. Burton, *The Potato*, (New York: Wiley, 1989).

studying the history of a food, it is imperative to have some understanding of its biological limitations and peculiarities, as these may explain the success or failure of transplantations, the ability or inability to increase productivity, or why a particular plant was deemed to be a luxury item. The biology of a plant may hint at why a crop became dependent on slave labour, or why trade routes developed in the manner they did. While the historian may not be directly interested in the scientific study of a food, these works are a reminder that the biology of a plant food needs to be considered and understood in order to fully appreciate its place in history.

Related to the scientific examination of a food's history is the investigation of its medicinal history. It is a curious fact that when first introduced, many exotic food items were touted as medicinal drugs, and used to relieve many different ailments. One such food that falls into this category is rhubarb. Clifford M. Foust's *Rhubarb: The Wondrous Drug*, traces the introduction of the rhubarb plant into Western Europe, paying particular attention to the medicinal qualities attributed to the plant and the resultant search for a 'pure' or 'true' variety.[17] Chapter Seven, in particular, focuses on rhubarb as a medicine, outlining various views on the subject held by eighteenth-century physicians. Included in the long list of ailments for which the intake of rhubarb in various forms was prescribed were rickets, thrush, dysentery, consumption and gout. It was especially favoured as a purgative, a treatment widely believed to rid the body of superfluous humors.[18] As rhubarb became more wide spread and readily available as a drug, the need for consistency in quality became a much more important factor. Foust outlines how this need, along with issues of fair pricing, led to increased scientific investigations and

[17] Clifford M. Foust, *Rhubarb: The Wondrous Drug* (Princeton, NJ: Princeton University Press, 1992).
[18] Medical theory at this time was largely based on the humoral theory and the works of Galen. For a lengthier discussion, see Chapter 3 below.

testing. The need to prove what was and what was not the 'true' rhubarb became of the utmost importance. This drive for scientific proof in turn led to advances in scientific methods as well as the process of clinical study. By the end of the chapter, what we are left with is a discussion of the development of the clinical method of drug testing, as well as insights into early chemical analysis of a plant. Using rhubarb as his example, Foust provides the reader with brief histories of a few scientists of the eighteenth century along with general discussions of some of their work. This avenue of study, using one instance of an exotic food to illustrate how it led to advances in various fields, is an interesting example for us to consider. Rhubarb, while certainly the impetus for the discussion of scientific advances, is not the central theme of this chapter. Instead, it is merely the example used to discuss these advances. Here we are presented with an approach that allows for discussion of related historical themes using an exotic food as a general framework. This allows for a broader investigation, and for a closer look into how an exotic food was interpreted and integrated into the everyday lives of people.

Even within the genre of the medicinal history of food there are variations. While Foust focused his attention on one particular food, other works choose to study diet as a whole. One shining example of this is J.C. Drummond and Anne Wilbraham's *The Englishman's Food: Five Centuries of English Diet.*[19] First published in 1939, with a second edition in 1957, this work examines the English diet from late Medieval and Tudor England right through to post-World War II. Attention is not focused on one particular item, but rather, on changes in the English diet over time. Large parts of the work are devoted to examining the nutritional value of the average person's diet as a

[19] J.C. Drummond and Anne Wilbraham, *The Englishman's Food: Five Centuries of English Diet* (London: Pimlico, 1991).

whole, and what effects this would have had on the general population of England. This work follows a chronological path, discussing various diet-related diseases such as scurvy and rickets, or the effects of various vitamin deficiencies, at the appropriate point in the narrative. Also covered are such related topics as food adulteration, changes in food production and differing methods of food preservation. This work is much broader in scope than Foust's work on rhubarb, encompassing many possible food items. Yet it too focuses on the medical history of food.

Paying heed to the medicinal history of a food item would seem to be almost mandatory. Food, diet and health are inextricably linked. Even if one is examining a food item from an economic, political or social history viewpoint, gaining an understanding of how a food was interpreted from a medical perspective can be helpful. For example, the cures attributed to the consumption of a particular exotic food item may go some way to explaining demand, as may efforts to secure a reliable source, or how the consuming public received and interpreted a new, exotic food. For our purposes, as cacao is ultimately a food item, it will be important to examine its medicinal history and how this is related to other issues surrounding its introduction to Europe.

The historical study of some foods seems nearly impossible without an examination of the institutions that emerged around them. This is especially true for coffee. Unlike other histories of hot beverages that usually spend some time discussing the drink itself, it is difficult to find a history of coffee in England that does not skip over this and immediately delve into the world of the coffee houses. Of all the individual food based commodities discussed in an historical context, the literature surrounding coffee is almost exclusively devoted to the emergence and rise of this most English of institutions

in the seventeenth and eighteenth centuries. For example, Steve Pincus discusses the emergence of a public sphere in English social life, and the coffeehouse as a venue for political discourse.[20] For Pincus, the drink is merely subtext for a discussion of the influence of the coffee house on the social and political life of London.

Another interesting example of a food being examined in relation to an institution is the case of rhubarb and the Society of Arts. In Chapter Six of *Rhubarb: The Wondrous Drug*, Clifford Foust provides details regarding the search for 'true' rhubarb and experiments undertaken in Britain to further the goals of creating a reliable domestic supply in the mid-eighteenth century. Through the awarding of prizes and medals, the Society strove to "stimulate selected improvements in manufactures, agriculture, commerce, the colonies, and related arts."[21] The Society's involvement in promoting the study of rhubarb led to the awarding of two gold medals in 1769 and 1770 for the identification of what was deemed to be the 'true rhubarb', and the subsequent offering of a premium and gold medal for whoever could grow the greatest number of 'true' rhubarb plants before the end of 1773.[22] Foust discusses the Society of Arts and its workings, using rhubarb as the means through which to do this.

The history of certain foods have become inextricably linked to corresponding institutions and organizations. No history of coffee would be complete without the English coffee house, just as rhubarb's introduction to England needs to be linked to the

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[20] For further discussions on the English coffee house, see Steve Pincus, "Coffee Politicians Does Create: Coffeehouses and Restoration Political Culture," *Journal of Modern History* 67 (December 1995), pp. 807-834; John and Linda Pelzer, "The Coffee Houses of Augustan London," *History Today* (October, 1982), pp. 40-47; Alison Olson, "Coffee House Lobbying," *History Today* (January, 1991), pp. 35-41; James Walvin, *Fruits of Empire: Exotic Produce and British Taste 1660-1800* (New York: New York University Press, 1995), pp. 32-47. For a discussion of early Turkish coffee houses and their tendency to be centres of political discourse, see Maguelonne Toussaint-Samat, *A History of Food*, trans. Anthea Bell (Cambridge, MA: Blackwell, 1992), pp. 581-595.

[21] Foust, p. 112.

[22] Foust, p. 121.

Society of Arts. Discussions of these institutions provide insights into how an exotic food was perceived and used and they need to be included in any thorough examination of a particular food's history. The trap into which one can fall, however, is the loss of focus. The temptation to discuss the history of an institution at the expense of the exotic food to which it is associated can be hard to resist. Institutions, organizations, their proceedings and the personalities involved, can in some ways be the easier and more straightforward avenue of inquiry. The examination of institutions and organizations is a valuable component of the history of an exotic food, but it does not provide a complete picture, and it needs to be augmented substantially.

One obvious framework for discussing exotic foods is to examine them from an economic and trade perspective. The exchange of goods, resulting trade routes and the monetary gains and losses that occur have been the focus of a large part of the literature available that looks at specific foods and their place in history. This particular genre allows for the examination of more concrete evidence, such as import and export figures, domestic sales, changing prices and sales volumes. One work that relies heavily on this type of information is John Burnett's *Liquid Pleasures: A Social History of Drink in Modern Britain*.[23] This work, while titled a 'Social History', uses numbers and figures predominantly in its discussion of various beverages such as water, coffee, tea and milk. In Chapter Three, volumes of imports, price levels (and even estimated caloric intakes), are all referred to in the discussion of the introduction and subsequent widespread use of tea. This chapter does begin with discussions on the introduction of tea and its social uses and meanings, but quickly moves to a more quantitative look at the emergence of tea as a commonly consumed necessity, charting its meteoric rise from luxury to necessity. There

[23] John Burnett, *Liquid Pleasures: A Social History of Drink in Modern Britain* (London: Routledge, 1999).

are numerous charts, outlining everything from annual consumption per capita, to changes in the tea duty, to foreign sources of tea supplies. Some time is also spent discussing the differences in consumption patterns between various social classes. Burnett writes a linear, factual history of the introduction and eventual widespread use of tea in Britain, illustrating changes in consumption patterns through the use of the available data. From this information, he is able to briefly discuss some of the social issues surrounding this commodity, such as tea being regarded as a symbol of "domesticity, sobriety and respectability."[24] The remaining chapters follow the same pattern, relying on the use of economic data to tell the story of changing consumption patterns in beverages in Britain over time.

The economic focus of this and other such histories does have a few advantages. The concrete evidence regarding the changing patterns of consumption over time can provide a sound basis on which to form a thesis regarding the introduction and market penetration of various foods. Examining this data over time provides the historian with an ability to benchmark changes in consumption patterns and to track these changes against the backdrop of other events or social movements. The economic perspective can also support some interesting arguments with the use of comparisons such as price ratios when examining the difference in the popularity of one food commodity over another similar food commodity. It is difficult to argue that issues surrounding price do not affect consumers' purchasing choices, and the examination of price ratios can provide one explanation for consumer choice.

There are drawbacks, however, to the sole use of economic data in the examination of a food commodity. Using an extensive amount of economic data and

[24] Burnett, p. 69.

quantitative analysis can lead to the erroneous belief that this evidence is sufficient to adequately examine the use of a good or commodity over time. Unfortunately, while numbers may not lie, they do not necessarily tell the whole story. No amount of trade figures will shed light as to why an exotic luxury food became a dietary staple over a short period of time, or give any indication as to the social meanings that may become attached to it. Economic figures will provide valuable information as to the scale and usage level of a commodity, but they cannot provide information regarding what the use of a particular good meant, why it became fashionable, or how it came to be a considered a necessity.

The last general category of works discussing the history of food we can classify as general surveys. Often short in length and heavily illustrated, these works are usually in the form of "coffee-table" books or short general interest surveys. Excellent examples of this are the *East India Company Book of Chocolate* and the *East India Company Book of Tea*, which present brief histories of these two commodities through short anecdotes, quotations, pictures and illustrations.[25] We are offered a general discussion of the commodity, as well as much trivia and unconnected data. Both books cover the period from early, pre-history to present-day production, though neither one ever delves into its subject in any great detail. Similar to these works is *A Passion for Chocolate*, which is highly stylized in its presentation, and relies heavily on graphic design and short anecdotes and statistics to present its material.[26] Information is provided in brief paragraphs or sidebars, often in a disjointed and haphazard fashion. A small book at 128

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[25] Antony Wild, *The East India Company Book of Chocolate* (London: Harper Collins, 1995); Antony Wild, *The East India Company Book of Tea* (London: Harper Collins, 1994).

[26] Dominique Ayral, *A Passion for Chocolate: From the bean to the bar: discover the benefits of chocolate and indulge your senses* (London: Cassell & Co., 2001).

pages (and only 5"x7"), it covers everything from the early Aztecs to modern day production and manufacture. Again, one is left with a cursory understanding of chocolate and its place in history, along with much interesting trivia. Works such as these are good at providing the general interest reader with the basic information and history of a particular commodity. They rely heavily on graphic design, pictures and illustrations, and are entertaining in their presentation if lacking in content. They provide little for the historian by way of analysis or commentary and they treat the subject in far too superficial a fashion. These works do not provide a workable framework within which to pursue a serious study of chocolate's history.

Themes

Commodities and foodstuffs did not exist within a vacuum. Within seventeenth- and eighteenth-century English historiography, a number of important themes have emerged that are relevant in a discussion of the history of chocolate. These include the emergence of a consumer society and consumption, the rise of the 'Middling Sorts', the making of a nation and the emergence and growth of Empire.

Consumer Society and Consumption

In the last twenty years, the study of consumption patterns and consumer behaviour in the eighteenth century has received considerable attention.[27] Looking at such topics as advertising, fashion, leisure, and the consumption of durable commodities such as pottery, consumption studies have broadened our understanding of middle class aspirations and identities. An increasingly affluent middle class gained the financial ability to purchase and consume a wider and more diverse range of products than their predecessors. This allowed more people to partake of the varied and ever-growing assortment of new and exotic goods being imported from the far reaches of a growing commercial empire, including luxuries such as chocolate.

The study of consumption is the study of goods from a cross-disciplinary perspective. Economic historians, cultural historians and sociologists have all contributed to the current historiography on the subject.[28] The history of food has a place in this historiography. However, studying food-based commodities is slightly more difficult and presents a unique set of problems.[29] Sydney Mintz identified a number of key themes that are specific to the study of food and consumption. First, food is transient. Once eaten, it is gone. Because of this, it is sometimes easier to talk of food in terms of its production, packaging or marketing, activities which are more tangible and longer lasting. It also

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[27] See for example Neil McKendrick, John Brewer and J.H. Plumb, eds. *The Birth of a Consumer Society: The Commercialization of Eighteenth-century England* (London: Europa Publications Ltd., 1982); John Brewer and Roy Porter, eds. *Consumption and the World of Goods* (London: Routledge, 1993); Ann Bermingham and John Brewer, eds. *The Consumption of Culture 1600-1800: Image, Object, Text* (London: Routledge, 1995); Weatherill, *Consumer Behavior and Material Culture*. For discussions of consumption and consumer behaviour in the clothing industry, see such works as Beverly Lemire "Second-hand beaux and 'red-armed Belles': Conflict and the Creation of Fashions in England c. 1660-1800" *Continuity and Change* 15 (3), 2000, pp. 391-417 and Beverly Lemire "The Theft of Clothes and Popular Consumerism in Early Modern England" *Journal of Social History* 24 (2) 1990, pp. 255-276.

[28] For example, see Brewer and Porter, *Consumption and the World of Goods*.

[29] See Sidney W. Mintz, "The Changing Roles of Food in the Study of Consumption", *Consumption and the World of Goods*, eds. John Brewer and Roy Porter (London: Routledge, 1993), pp. 261-273.

presents the problem of having two distinct perspectives on what food is and its ultimate purpose; it is either a subsistence necessity or a rare luxury. Mintz' second theme concerns the difficulties in determining why, as opposed to how, the English populace chose to consume these new and exotic food products. Items such as coffee, tea, chocolate and sugar are not staple foods. They are not able to replace basic items in a healthy diet. Mintz' summarizes his perspective on this situation by suggesting

> that the consumption of these items by proletarian consumers marked a turning-point in western history. Masses of European working people, none of who had ever before had access to products coming from more than a few miles away, now became the everyday consumers of what had quite recently been remote and precious luxuries. As they did so, their relationship to their own labour changed. Without recognizing it, they became dependent upon markets that far exceeded their own visions of the world. In time, they came to recognize external, social standards that measured them by the things they consumed; and they came to measure themselves by the same standards.[30]

Mintz suggests that the act of consuming these exotic food products was a reflection of a change in how Europeans perceived themselves and their place in the world. This perspective on food and consumption presents the historian with an interesting and challenging set of issues with regards to studying the history of an exotic food product such as chocolate.

The 'Middling Sorts'

Along with the emergence of a consuming society is the concept of the rise of the 'Middling Sorts'. Class structures in England during the sixteenth and seventeenth centuries were reasonably fluid (compared with France, for instance), with movement both up and down the social hierarchy. Of particular interest to social historians are the

[30] Mintz, "The Changing Roles of Food", pp. 266-267.

'middle ranks' or 'Middling Sorts', that echelon of society located somewhere between the aristocracy and the labouring poor.[31] During the eighteenth century, this particular group began to experience increased levels of affluence, due in part to moderate price inflation and reasonably low taxation rates.[32] This new-found affluence allowed many in the middle classes to indulge in what only a generation or two previously would have been luxuries. Chocolate, as well as the paraphernalia associated with its consumption, was one of the new exotics that became accessible to a wider population.

An interesting concept within the study of the 'Middling Sorts' is that of emulation. Emulation theory suggests that the reason people consume is to emulate or copy the behaviour and lifestyle of their social superiors.[33] As Paul Langford succinctly phrased it, "Nothing unified the middling orders so much as their passion for aping the manners and morals of the gentry more strictly defined, as soon as they possessed the material means to do so."[34] As chocolate was a beverage of the European elite before it became more universally consumed, this particular explanation is a tempting one to apply to the introduction of chocolate to England.

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[31] For discussions on the 'middling sorts', see such works as Paul Langford, *A Polite and Commercial People: England 1727-1783* (Oxford: Oxford University Press, 1992); Jonathan Barry and Christopher Brooks, eds. *The Middling Sort of People: Culture, Society and Politics in England, 1550-1800* (London: Macmillan Press Ltd., 1994); H. R. French, "Social Status, Localism and the 'Middle Sort of People' in England 1620-1750", *Past and Present*. (Vol. 166, Issue 1), pp. 66-99; Margaret R. Hunt, *The Middling Sort: Commerce, Gender, and the Family in England 1680-1780* (Berkeley: University of California Press, 1996).

[32] Langford, p. 68.

[33] This theory does have its flaws. For a more complete discussion of emulation theory as it relates to consumption in the eighteenth century, see Bermingham and Brewer, pp. 11-13; Colin Campbell, "Understanding traditional and modern patterns of consumption in eighteenth-century England: a character-action approach", *Consumption and the World of Goods*, eds. John Brewer and Roy Porter (London: Routledge, 1993), pp. 40-44.

[34] Langford, p. 67.

Making a Nation and the Rise of Empire

> "(Empire)...was seen as vital to Britain's economic well-being, to her standing as a great power, and even to her national survival."[35]

Over the course of the period from 1689 to 1815, English (and after the Act of Union in 1707, British), controlled territories overseas expanded greatly. From the thirteen colonies, the areas around Hudson Bay, Nova Scotia and Quebec, to the West Indian islands of Barbados, Jamaica, and Trinidad, England began to claim dominance over vast areas in the Atlantic region that provided them with large quantities of raw materials and new avenues of trade. This period of overseas expansion has been well documented and researched, with many recent works examining aspects of Empire from slavery to colonisation, literature to war.[36]

Paying heed to the historiography of early Empire is important for the study of commodities such as chocolate. Chocolate and cacao are inextricably linked with the history of Jamaica, other West Indian islands, the Atlantic trade, the slave trade, and England's relationship with Spain during this period. The growing British Empire also served to define some aspects of British identity. Linda Colley argues that a 'cult of commerce', a commerce largely based on trade with colonial holdings and overseas markets, became an important component of what it meant to be British.[37] This imperial trade, which imported goods for domestic consumption and re-export, ensured that goods that had at one time been reserved strictly for a wealthy elite became increasingly more abundant and available to a wider section of society. The availability of these foreign

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[35] P.J. Marshall, "Introduction", *The Eighteenth Century. The Oxford History of the British Empire, Volume 2* (Oxford: Oxford University Press, 1998), p. 1.
[36] See such works as The Oxford History of the British Empire series, including Nicholas Canny, ed. *The Origins of Empire: British Overseas Enterprise to the Close of the Seventeenth Century.* Volume 1 (Oxford: Oxford University Press, 1998) and Marshall, *The Eighteenth Century.*
[37] See Linda Colley, "Chapter Two: Profits", *Britons* (London: Pimlico, 1992), pp. 55-100.

goods – porcelain, spices, tobacco, tea, coffee, rice, sugar, and chocolate – was a tangible reminder of Britain's naval dominance around the world. In a small way, the consumption of these products allowed a consumer in the British domestic market to partake of and participate in Empire without ever leaving home. To a certain degree, the consumption of these products could also be interpreted as a patriotic act, one individual's small investment in a rapidly expanding global empire.

Chocolate in Current Literature

The historiography of tea and coffee is extensive. Both of these caffeine beverages have been well documented and researched, from examinations of trade and taxation to their place in English social history. Considering that chocolate arrived on the European scene at about the same time, and that each of these three beverages possessed similar attributes in terms of their origin and European introduction, it is curious that the available literature on chocolate is sparse. No economic or trade studies appear to exist, no thorough examination of taxation has been undertaken, and any analysis of its place in a consumer society is cursory or piggybacked onto discussions of coffee or tea. Unlike foods such as rhubarb or sugar, no study seems to exist that focuses its discussion on chocolate's medicinal history and interpretation. While coffee-table books and heavily-illustrated general interest books on chocolate are numerous, serious academic studies remain scarce. Only in recent years have scholars begun to look at chocolate, and even these studies still tend to work in broad brushstrokes.[38]

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[38] Sophie D. Coe and Michael D. Coe's *The True History of Chocolate*, covers chocolate's history from the archaeological record to the present day, providing a reasonable amount of detail. However, due to the breadth of the subject, Coe is only able to provide a cursory examination of any one topic. Marcia Susan Norton, *New World of Goods: A History of Tobacco and Chocolate in the Spanish Empire 1492-1700* (PhD Thesis, University of California at Berkeley, Spring 2000) discusses the Spanish history of chocolate, covering in some detail the early writings of Spanish authors on the subject.

This is not to say that the case of chocolate has been completely ignored, but works devoted solely to chocolate are rare. Chocolate is often lumped into works focused largely on other caffeine beverages. For example, in John Burnett's *Liquid Pleasures: A Social History of Drinks in Modern Britain*, chapters are devoted to water, milk, tea, coffee, soft drinks, beer, wine and spirits.[39] Any mention of chocolate is restricted to brief lines within the chapters on tea and coffee. Only at the end of the book does Burnett devote a paragraph to chocolate, condensing its entire history to a few comments.[40] James Walvin's *Fruits of Empire: Exotic Produce and British Taste 1660-1800*, touches on a number of early exotic goods such as coffee, tobacco, sugar and the potato.[41] Walvin devotes a small chapter to chocolate; this is one of the few discussions of chocolate with a focus on Britain. Walvin still manages to give a brief overview of chocolate's early Aztec history, but he does sketch chocolate's introduction and use in English society. Chocolate, after all, is not Walvin's focus of attention.

Much of the current literature on chocolate focuses on two distinct periods: chocolate's early Aztec history and chocolate in the Victorian era. This dichotomy is perhaps not surprising, as chocolate was introduced to the rest of Europe via Spain, and it did not truly become a mass consumed commodity sold in large volumes until it was made in a solid, sweet form. The intervening period of chocolate's history is typically dealt with quickly, or is meshed with other caffeine beverages or exotic New World products. Chocolate as a beverage did not have the same impact on English society as tea or coffee, but its discovery, adaptation and use deserve greater scrutiny. As will be

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[39] John Burnett, *Liquid Pleasures: A Social History of Drink in Modern Britain* (London: Routledge, 1999).
[40] Burnett, p. 180.
[41] James Walvin, *Fruits of Empire: Exotic Produce and British Taste 1660-1800* (New York: New York University Press, 1995).

shown, there is a significant amount of documentation surviving in relation to chocolate in England, and a number of interesting topics yet to be adequately explored.

This brief survey of the relevant historiography reveals two things. First, there are a wide variety of approaches to commodities and foodstuffs, few of which seem appropriate models to adopt. Second, there exists very little scholarly literature focused on chocolate, specifically regarding early modern England. In light of this, my approach to this topic is to conduct a general survey of the primary documents, noting the purpose, content and style of each. This general classification, along with a chronology of printing dates, will allow us to explore the process by which chocolate moved from exotic medicinal product to widely consumed commodity.

Chapter 2: The Basics of Chocolate

Before any meaningful discussion of chocolate in seventeenth- and eighteenth-century England can be undertaken, we should understand something of the cacao plant and its properties.[42] The cacao plant was a truly exotic item to Europeans, being unlike any plant they had ever encountered. Its peculiar properties and unfamiliar growing patterns provided unique challenges to those intent on its description and classification and initially caused difficulties in its large scale cultivation. The very nature of the cacao plant, and the labour intensive production of chocolate, lends much to our understanding of why the chocolate trade developed as it did, and provides insights into how the plant and its end product was interpreted by Europeans.

The Plant

The cacao tree is a bizarre-looking member of the plant kingdom. It was unlike anything that Europeans would have been familiar with prior to their discovery of the Americas. Early accounts of the plant struggled to provide a description that would be meaningful to European audiences, often using analogies and comparisons to familiar trees and shrubs. For example, William Hughes in his *The American Physitian*, first compares the cacao's size to English plum trees, its proportions to a Heart Cherry Tree, and then describes the leaves as being "pointed, but smoother on the edges, and in colour

[42] At this point, a definition of terms is needed. 'Cacao' usually refers to the plant, 'chocolate' to the end product, whether the result is solid or liquid. 'Cocoa' usually refers to the defatted powder, and the drink made from it, invented by Conrad Van Houten in 1828. See Coe, p. 18 and Raymond Sokolov, *Why We Eat What We Eat: How the Encounter Between the New World and the Old Changed the Way Everyone on the Planet Eats* (New York: Summit Books, 1991), p. 30.

of a darker green, more like the leaves of an Orange Tree."[43] By far the strangest concept for Europeans to grasp was the manner in which the cacao tree flowers and produces seeds. Unlike trees familiar to Europeans, the cacao tree does not flower along branches or from branch tips, but rather produces its fruit by a process referred to as 'cauliflory', with seedpods developing directly on the tree's trunk.[44] The result is a somewhat gangly looking plant with large, bulbous, almond shaped pods protruding from the main trunk of the tree. This caused great consternation for many artists. There are a number of examples where engravers have moved the seedpods from the trunk to the branches, obviously never having seen the plant themselves and not trusting the work of those that had. [Plate 1] The pods themselves vary in shape, size and colour, depending on the particular variety of the plant. The seedpods usually produce anywhere from 30 to 40 seeds or 'beans', imbedded within a thick layer of juicy pulp. [Plate 4] It takes four to five months for the pods to reach full size and another month for them to ripen.

The cacao tree itself is an evergreen, capable of producing seedpods year round, and if left in the wild it is able to grow to heights of 12 metres.[45] Unlike many plants that were transported around the world and cultivated in locations far from their place of origin with relative ease, the cacao plant is very particular about its growing conditions.[46] To the annoyance of European plantation owners who were accustomed to farming

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[43] William Hughes, *The American Physitian; or a Treatise of the Roots, Plants, Trees, Shrubs, Fruit, Herbs, Etc, Growing in the English Plantations in America, Describing the Place, Time, Names, Kindes, Temperature, Vertues and Uses of them, either for Diet, Physick, etc. Whereunto is added a Discourse of the Cacao-nut-tree, and the use of its Fruit; with all the ways of making Chocolate.* (London: 1672), pp. 104-105. Hughes' account and description of the cacao tree were cited in a number of later works, such as Chamberlayne, pp. 13-14.

[44] Coe, pp. 20-21.

[45] Wild, *Book of Chocolate*, pp. 17-18.

[46] For discussions regarding empire, colonization and the transplanting of local flora and fauna, see such works as Alfred W. Crosby, *Ecological Imperialism: The Biological Expansion of Europe, 900-1900* (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 1986), pp. 145-170.

practices that relied on neat rows and tidy, relatively weed-free crops, the cacao tree proved particularly tricky to grow.[47] Early writers and explorers noted that the cacao tree appeared to do best when under the protection of other, taller trees. In James Wadsworth's translation of Antonio Colminero of Ledesma's *Chocolate: or An Indian Drinke*, we see an early description of this planting strategy. Wadsworth notes that,

> The Tree, which beares this fruit, is so delicate; and the earth, where it growes, is so extreme hot, that to keepe the tree from being consumed by the Sun, they first plant other trees; and when they are growne up to a good height, then they plant the cacao trees; that when it first shewes it selfe above the ground, those trees which are already growne, may shelter it from the Sunne[48]

Ironically, the belief that the cacao tree is to some degree delicate, or in need of protection from the sun, is actually false. Modern botanists believe that it is the pollinating midge populations amongst the organic 'litter' on the rain forest floor

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[47] Some superstitions regarding the difficult task of cultivating cacao persisted for some time. Some slaves left behind by the Spanish after the capture of Jamaica in 1655 thought that its cultivation depended on religious rights and ceremonies known only to the Spanish. Some Englishmen thought that the Spanish had withheld information regarding its cultivation from the slaves, for fear they may learn to grow it to well and for their own benefit. See Eric Williams, *From Columbus to Castro: The History of the Caribbean* (New York: Vintage Books, 1984), p. 118.

[48] Antonio Colmenero, *Chocolate: or An Indian Drinke. By the wise and moderate use whereof, Health is preserved, Sicknesse Diverted, and Cured, especially the Plague of the Guts; vulgarly called The New Disease, Fluxes, Consumptions, & Coughs of the Lungs, with sundry other desperate Diseases. By it also, Conception is Caused, the Birth Hastened and facilitated, Beauty Gain'd and continued. Written Originally in Spanish, by Antonio Colminero of Ledesma, Doctor in Physicke, and faithfully rendred in the English by Capt. James Wadsworth* (London: Printed by F.G. for John Dakins, dwelling neare the Vine Taverne in Holborne, where this Tract, together with the Chocolate it selfe, may be had at reasonable rates, 1652), pp. 13-14. As an interesting note, this same passage, nearly verbatim and not cited, also appears in Thomas Gage's *A New Survey of the West-Indies, or, The English American his travel by sea and land containing a journal of three thousand and three hundred miles within the main land of America : wherein is set forth his voyage from Spain to S. John de Vlhna ... and forward to Mexico : with the description of that great city, as it was in former times, and also at this present ... with his abode XII years about Guatemala, especiall in the Indian towns ... : as also his strange and wonderful conversion and calling from those remote parts to his native countrey : with his return through the province of Nicaragua and Costa Rica, to Nicoya, Panama, Portobello, Cartagena and Havana, with divers occurrents and dangers that did befal in the said journey : also a new and exact discovery of the Spanish navigation to those parts : and of their dominions, government, religion, forts, castles, ports, havens, commodities, fashions, behavior of Spaniards, priests and friers, Black-moors, Mulatto's, Mestiso's, Indians, and of their feasts and solemnities : with a grammar, or some few rudiments of the Indian tongue, called Poconchi or Pocoman* (London : Printed by A. Clark, and are to be sold by John Martyn, Robert Horn and Walter Kettilby, 1677), p. 49. Gage refers to the protective trees as *las Madres del Cacao*, or 'Mothers of the Cacao'.

provided by the protective, larger trees that is the true secret to cacao growing success.[49] The rational, controlled environment of cacao plantations, or 'walks', actually resulted in a less productive crop. If early cacao plantation owners had only known this, their work would have been much easier!

To frustrate even further the enterprising Europeans and the attempt to create cacao plantations, the cacao tree has a very limited geographic range in which it grows and bears fruit. It only grows successfully between 20°N and 20°S of the Equator, does poorly when temperatures fall below 16°C, and is not very tolerant of drought-like conditions, being known to shed its otherwise evergreen leaves if it goes without moisture for any great length of time.[50] As a result, there are few locations in the world that are conducive to the development of cacao plantations. At the time of the Spanish conquest, modern day El Salvador and Guatemala were producing the most cacao. The Spanish then introduced production to South America and as other European powers entered the scene, the cultivation of cacao spread further. Plantations were developed in Martinique by the French, in Brazil by the Portuguese, and in Trinidad and other parts of the Caribbean by the British. Today, the greatest concentrations occur in such areas as the Caribbean, the Amazon basin, Ecuador, Columbia, Costa Rica, Mexico and El Salvador.[51]

The plant genus *Theobroma* is diverse, and has about 22 different species. For our purposes, the only species that is of real interest is *Theobroma cacao*, which can be

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[49] Coe, p. 21.
[50] Coe, pp. 19-20.
[51] The cacao plant was successfully transplanted to locations in the Pacific as well, including the Philippines. The Dutch are known to have introduced cacao to Jakarta in about 1778. The *criollo* variety of cacao was actually introduced into Southeast Asia as early as 1560. See Coe, pp. 177-178; Allen M. Young, *The Chocolate Tree: A Natural History of Cacao* (Washington, D.C.: Smithsonian Institution Press, 1994), pp. 37-39.

further broken down into three varieties, *criollo*, *forastero* and a hybrid called *trinitario*.[52] There is much debate about the number of varieties of cacao, and about whether or not a true 'wild' version of the plant still exists. Most of the varieties in existence today are thought to have been the result of some amount of hybridization due to cultivation by humans. There is also considerable debate regarding the true origin of the cacao plant. It is thought that the plant originated in South America, with its subsequent introduction to Central America resulting from ancient trade routes.[53] This resulted in a split in cacao populations, separated by the area of Panama, which is thought to have allowed the cacao plant to develop two distinct varieties, that of the *criollo* and the *forastero*. Along with this difference in varieties is a difference in how the native populations of Central and South America are thought to have used the cacao plant. South American populations sucked on the pulp of the cacao plant, using it in a fermented beverage, with no use for the actual seeds, while those in Central America and Mexico used the cacao seeds (or beans) to make chocolate. This distinction in use was further highlighted by the separation of varieties, with *criollo* cacao in Central America and *forastero* cacao in South America.[54] The distinction between these two varieties and the *trinitario* variety lies mainly in the quality of chocolate that they produce. *Criollo* ultimately produces the best quality chocolate, but the plant itself has its limitations. Producing fewer pods, more susceptible to disease and being particularly difficult to grow, the *criollo* variety has a limited use and is usually reserved for producing today's high quality, exclusive

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[52] Other species are used as a source for chocolate, such as *Theobroma bicolor*; however, these are not involved in large-scale production. See Coe, pp. 25-26; Allen M. Young, p. 22.
[53] For a more complete discussion of the origin of cacao and its genetic history, Allen M. Young, pp. 2-13.
[54] Allen M. Young, pp. 14-16. It was the encounters with the populations of Central America that introduced the Spanish to the wonders of chocolate in the 16th century, and it was from these encounters that chocolate was later introduced to Europe.

chocolates. The heartier *forastero* is generally a tougher plant, easier to grow, and produces more pods and seeds. As a result, the production of *forastero* accounts for about 80% of today's chocolate production.[55] The third variety, *trinitario*, is a hybrid, the result of the introduction of *forastero* and its subsequent mingling with the surviving *criollo* trees in Trinidad after most of the existing crop died in 1727. This variety takes the best of both worlds, providing the taste of *criollo* with the robustness of *forastero*, and it provided an easier means by which cacao could be introduced to the rest of the world.[56]

Chemical Properties

It is nearly impossible to discuss chocolate without making reference to its chemical composition and resulting addictive qualities. Chocolate is known to contain more than 300 different chemical substances, including caffeine, theobromine, serotonin and phenylethylamine. Serotonin and phenylethylamine are both mood-enhancing substances that act on the mood centres of the brain. Serotonin is a naturally occurring hormone, while phenylethylamine is a drug attributed with aphrodisiac qualities, said to induce a sensation similar to falling in love.[57] Caffeine and theobromine are alkaloids, organic compounds that can be found in about 10% of plants. These alkaloids have a physiological affect on humans, and can be found in coffee, tea and chocolate. It was the consumption of these three beverages that first introduced seventeenth century Europeans to the pleasures of alkaloid consumption, and chocolate was the first of the three to arrive on the scene.

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[55] Wild, *Book of Chocolate*, pp. 17-18; Coe, pp. 27-28.
[56] Coe, p. 200.
[57] See Coe, pp. 28-34, Allen M. Young, p. 13. This may go some way to explaining why chocolate was initially promoted as an effective aphrodisiac.

Caffeine is the better known of the two alkaloids. The affects of caffeine include stimulation of the nervous and cardiovascular systems, insomnia and anxiety. It is also said to lessen fatigue and enhance intellectual faculties. While the amount of caffeine found in chocolate is considerably less than that found in coffee or tea, there is enough in chocolate to act as a mild stimulant. As well as being a stimulant, caffeine is known to be addictive, producing withdrawal symptoms if consumption is stopped.[58] Theobromine, the second of the two alkaloids, is quite rare in the plant world, identified in only 19 different species. It too acts as a stimulant to the central nervous system and as a diuretic. While its effects are similar to those of caffeine, it is much milder. Given the stimulating and addictive effects of the new beverages of coffee, tea and chocolate, it is little wonder that they soon had a firm hold on the palates of seventeenth century Europeans. The novelty, taste and addictive qualities would have heightened the initial curiosity around their consumption and enhanced the demand for them.

Cacao Production

The transformation of the cacao beans into chocolate is a long, labour intensive process. It takes nearly six months for seedpods to reach full size and ripen, though the cacao pods are produced year round, allowing for continuous harvest. Once the pods have been harvested and the beans extracted from the pulp, the real work of creating chocolate can begin. The process by which cacao is processed into chocolate has remained relatively unchanged from the time of the Aztecs to the present day, and consists of four basic steps: fermentation, drying, roasting and winnowing. Once the cacao pods are harvested and the beans extracted from the surrounding pulp, the beans are allowed to

[58] As Coe points out, caffeine is more addictive than marijuana, less addictive than heroin! See Coe, p. 31.

ferment from one to six days. The length of time fermentation is allowed to occur depends on the variety of cacao used. The temperature of the beans is maintained at somewhere between 45° and 50°C, and they are turned often during this stage. Once the fermentation process has finished, the beans are left to dry in the sun. This step takes from one to two weeks, and the beans will lose half their weight. The next step is roasting. The beans are roasted for one to two hours at temperatures from 99° to 121°C, depending on whether the beans are to be used for chocolate or for cocoa. The last step is winnowing, where the thin shell of the bean is removed, leaving behind the nibs which are then ground into a type of paste or 'cacao liquor'.[59]

European Encounters

Chocolate among the Aztecs was a bitter, oily drink, and it was produced through a labour intensive process. It was usually served cold with a generous amount of froth. Unlike modern day cocoa, the chocolate produced by the Aztecs was usually laced with some type of spicy additive. Maize, chili powder, ground seeds, vanilla, flowers and allspice are some of the substances known to have been used. One documented variation amounted to little more than a chocolate and maize gruel. Needless to say, initial European encounters with chocolate were not always positive. The concoction brewed by the Aztecs had limited appeal to their Spanish conquerors. In one of the earliest recorded accounts of a European encountering chocolate, Girolamo Benzoni admitted that the drink could be satisfying and refreshing, "though seeming more suited for pigs than for men."[60]

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[59] Coe, pp. 21-26.
[60] Benzoni, Girolamo, *History of the New World*, trans. W. H. Smyth (New York: Burt Franklin, 1970), pp. 150.

It is generally believed that Christopher Columbus, while on his fourth voyage to the New World in 1502, was the first European to encounter chocolate. A reference to "many of those almonds which in New Spain are used for money" is thought to refer to cacao beans.[61] However, it is Hernán Cortés who is credited with bringing the first chocolate to Europe. While there is some dispute about this claim, the general consensus is that by 1528, Cortés had brought back to Spain a small amount of cacao beans.[62] It took much longer for chocolate to be available in any sort of quantity, with the first official shipment of cacao beans reaching Seville in 1585.[63] Even with the start of shipments from the New World, chocolate remained an exotic luxury enjoyed only by the elite of society. Over the course of the next half-century, chocolate would slowly make its way across Europe, traveling from one royal court to the next. How exactly this transmission occurred is a matter of some dispute and conjecture. What is known is that by 1650, chocolate was available in the larger cities of Europe, taking nearly a hundred years from the first European encounter to its widespread availability on the Continent. However, the chocolate being consumed in 1650 had changed from that initially tasted by Cortés in the early sixteenth century. The palates of most Europeans found the bitter beverage initially introduced to be unsavoury, and a difficult acquired taste. As chocolate became more readily available to Europeans, different recipes were developed with different additives. The cold Aztec concoction with chilli peppers gave way to one served hot and mixed

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[61] Christopher Columbus, *Journals and Other Documents on the Life of Christopher Columbus*, trans. and ed. by Samuel Eliot Morison (New York: The Limited Editions Club, 1963), p. 327

[62] Coe is reluctant definitively to credit Cortés with the introduction of chocolate to Europe, pointing out the scant historical documentation available. Even the date of introduction is somewhat obscure, placed somewhere between 1519 and 1544. However, most other authors attribute Cortés with bringing the first chocolate to Europe. See Coe, pp. 129-133; Marcia Morton and Frederic Morton, *Chocolate: An Illustrated History* (New York: Crown Publishers, 1986), pp. 1-6; Brown, *In Praise of Hot Liquors*, pp. 27-30; Wild, *Book of Chocolate*, pp. 8-12.

[63] Coe, p. 133.

with sugar, that other increasingly available luxury item.[64] This sweeter drink, flavoured with spices more familiar to the European palate such as cinnamon and black pepper, was the beverage that finally made its way to England.

The exact date of the arrival of chocolate in England is not known with certainty. The first known recipe for chocolate printed in English dates to 1652, a translation by James Wadsworth of Antonio Colminero de Ledesma's *Chocolate: or An Indian Drinke.* The first known advertisement for chocolate in England appears in 1657, advertising a 'West India drink', available in Queen's Head Alley in Bishopgate.[65] The arrival of chocolate in England lagged slightly behind the introduction of coffee and tea, but was quickly adopted along with them, and was soon much wore widely available, at least in London. With the acquisition of Jamaica by Cromwell's forces in 1655, a more ready supply of chocolate became available. Chocolate houses, along with coffee houses, eventually spring up throughout London later in the century.[66] Over the course of the following 150 years, the exotic drink of the Aztecs would become a ubiquitous part of the English diet.

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[64] Brown, *In Praise of Hot Liquors*, pp. 27-28.
[65] Coe, pp. 168-169; C. Anne Wilson, *Food & Drink in Britain: From the Stone Age to Recent Times* (London: Constable, 1973), pp. 408-409; Morton, p. 16.
[66] A number of these chocolate houses became famous in their own right, including White's Chocolate House and the Cocoa Tree. White's opened in 1697, eventually becoming the establishment favoured by fashionable society. The Cocoa Tree, never quite as fashionable as White's, eventually became the quasi-official headquarters of the Jacobite party in Parliament. See Morton, pp. 19-25.

Chapter 3: The Changing Perceptions of Chocolate

Like many other exotic goods introduced to Europe in the seventeenth and eighteenth centuries, chocolate was the focus of much heated debate and curiosity.[67] Chocolate certainly embodied the strange, the unusual and the foreign. Along with tea and coffee, chocolate introduced Europeans to a series of tastes and sensations unlike anything else available at the time. The new tastes, coupled with the unfamiliar sensations of caffeine, ensured that these new beverages held a degree of novelty. Chocolate was initially subjected to intense scrutiny and debate, not least among scientists and philosophers, whose curiosity was aroused. More predictably perhaps, due to its high cost and limited availability, chocolate was initially limited to the elite few who could afford the indulgence. However, as trade to the West Indies increased and knowledge of this new beverage spread, chocolate became more readily available.[68] By the late eighteenth and early nineteenth centuries, chocolate, along with tea and coffee, had ceased to be an exotic good. The novelty had waned, and chocolate started to become a mass consumed commodity. How did this come about? What process occurred that allowed chocolate to move from rare exotic good to mass consumed commodity over a relatively brief period of time? An examination of the primary documents and sources from the period is necessary in order to address these queries.

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[67] See such works as Foust, pp. 136-157. Chocolate was also the focus of an intense debate within the Catholic Church over whether or not drinking chocolate broke the fast. See Toussaint-Samat, pp. 576-577; Wolfgang Schivelbusch, *Tastes of Paradise: A Social History of Spices, Stimulants and Intoxicants*, trans. David Jacobson (New York: Pantheon Books, 1992), pp. 85-95.

[68] For an interesting discussion of the causes for the increase in overseas trade, see Kevin H. O'Rourke and Jeffrey G. Williamson, "After Columbus: Explaining Europe's Overseas Trade Boom, 1500-1800," *The Journal of Economic History*, 62, 2 (June 2002), pp. 417-456. O'Rourke and Williamson conclude that the demand for imports in Europe was an important component of the increase in intercontinental trade, based on what information is currently available.

Influence of the Renaissance

In order to fully understand the context in which chocolate was introduced to Europe, we should first recall the cultural resources of the European Renaissance. In the century prior to chocolate's European introduction, much of the work on medical botany was concerned with the resurrection and retrieval of the Greek *materia medica*. During this period, there was a renewed interest in the writings of the ancient Greeks and a general belief that the Arabic and Latin translations current at the time were inaccurate and flawed. Correctly identifying a plant could be difficult, and using potentially flawed translations of Greek sources could make the task very confusing. Translation errors occasionally led to the incorrect identification of plants listed in early Greek remedies, thereby creating the possibility of someone being prescribed the wrong drug.[69] Accurately recreating early Greek remedies depended upon using the correct plants, thereby making the correct translation of the Greek sources of paramount importance to Renaissance medical practitioners.

One of the consequences of this renewed interest in the Greek sources was an increased interest in the works of Galen of Pergamum (129-c. 200/16). Galen's complete works were printed in Greek in 1525, and many new Latin translations were based upon this edition.[70] Between 1500 and 1600, over 590 different editions of Galen's works were published, which reflects the intense interest in this classical medical philosopher. The volume of available new translations of the Greek writers lent considerable weight to their influence on early modern medicine and its practice. For much of the sixteenth and

[69] For example, in 1492 Nicolaus Leoniceno argued that Pliny the Elder had erred in his Greek translation, confusing the Greek words for ivy and cistus (Kissos and Kisthos respectively). See Andrew Wear, "Medicine in Early Modern Europe, 1500-1700", *The Western Medical Tradition: 800 BC to AD 1800*, eds. Lawrence I. Conrad, Michael Neve, Vivian Nutton, Roy Porter and Andrew Wear (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 1995), p. 252.
[70] Wear, p. 253.

seventeenth centuries, the theories and methods of Galen's humoral system formed the basis of medical practice. Galen's humoral system was the general medical paradigm of the time of the New World conquests. It provided the conceptual framework within which to place illnesses and their related treatments.[71]

The emphasis on correct identification, the retrieval of early Greek remedies and Galen's humoral system provided the mental framework within which plants such as cacao were discovered and interpreted. Arriving in the New World with this medical and scientific background, early explorers and botanists had pre-conceived notions of how plants were to be interpreted, classified and used. Eager to reap the rewards of these new found plants, early writers diligently inventoried the flora and fauna they encountered, and of course, sought to place New World plants within their understanding of Galen, Theophrastus and Dioscorides. The New World was often seen as an idyllic Garden of Eden, a treasure trove of new and exotic plants waiting to be discovered and sent back to Europe. It was hoped that these newly discovered plants would provide panaceas for Old World diseases. This reliance on the Greek medical tradition tempered how Europeans perceived cacao. Expectations were raised about what such a plant might be capable of. A high intrinsic value would be placed on any plants deemed particularly promising.

Just as important as this European mindset, *how* chocolate was introduced to them affected chocolate's use and meaning at this early juncture. The earliest European encounter is attributed to Christopher Columbus on his fourth voyage of 1502 to 1504. When Columbus encountered and captured a large Honduran trading canoe, an observer of the event commented on its cargo, including "many of those almonds which in Mexico

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[71] Other classical works were also influential, including those of Theophrastus and Dioscorides. See Roger French, *Ancient Natural History* (London: Routledge, 1994).

are used for money. They seemed to hold these nuts at a great price; for when they were brought on board the ship together with their goods, I observed that when any of these nuts fell, they all stooped to pick it up, as if an eye had fallen from their heads."[72] The Spanish quickly grasped cacao's monetary value and economic importance to the region; at one point they demanded and received cacao as tribute from the conquered Aztec.[73] The Spanish might have understood cacao as currency, but its high value as a beverage was harder for them to understand. Restricted to use by the Aztec elite, including the royal household, nobility and warriors, chocolate was seen by Europeans at banquets and ceremonial events. Often served in silver or decorated cups, chocolate was afforded a special place in the dining rituals of the Aztec. However, its bitter taste did not appeal to the Spanish palate. Not immediately enamoured with the experience of drinking chocolate, the Spanish conquistadors gradually came to appreciate various aspects of it, including its reputed restorative quality. Girolamo Benzoni, in one of the earliest European references to chocolate, indicates "it satisfies and refreshes the body without intoxicating."[74] Chocolate and cacao beans were thus presented to the Spanish as currency, tribute and luxury items of high value, available to and consumed by a select few. Taken together with the European search for the Greek *materia medica* and new botanical drugs, it is not surprising that cacao began to catch the attention and imagination of European explorers. It is within this context that we begin the examination

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[72] Columbus, p. 327. At the age of 13, Ferdinand Columbus accompanied his father on the Fourth Voyage. This is from his account of the voyage. This encounter reputedly took place near the island of Bonacca, off the shore of present day Honduras.

[73] Coe, p. 180.

[74] Benzoni, p. 150. This work was first published in Venice in 1565, reprinted in 1572, translated into French in 1579, and finally published in English by the Hakluyt Society in 1857. Benzoni also thought that chocolate was "seeming more suited for pigs than for men."

of chocolate's introduction to England, the transformation of its use and meaning over time.

Early Written Sources

The examination of chocolate's introduction to England encompasses a period from the late sixteenth century to the mid-eighteenth century, and includes a wide range of sources and materials. The nature of the available sources changed over time, reflecting the concurrent changes in how chocolate was used and interpreted. It is possible to place the available resources into a number of general categories that follow a rough chronological order. This categorization, while somewhat subjective, is valuable to understanding how chocolate was perceived and used. It should be noted that these categories are not mutually exclusive, and several available resources fit into more than one category. The early writings are characterized by a focus on identification. Explorers of the New World were eager to inventory the riches of their recent conquests, and references to chocolate can be found in their travel writings and general natural histories. Nearly seventy years after cacao first began to appear in these general surveys, more detailed works focused specifically on chocolate begin to make their appearance, first in Spanish, then English translations. These works include medical writings and natural histories devoted specifically to chocolate. The next major category encompasses recipes, both medicinal concoctions and those for the general taking of chocolate. Such recipes plausibly reflect the increased availability of chocolate domestically and commercially. By the late seventeenth and early eighteenth centuries, chocolate began to make an appearance in the English coffee house, playing a part in the civil and political life of London. At the end of the seventeenth century, the importation of cacao had reached a

point where taxation had become an issue. The regulation of the cacao trade became important to the English state.

What follows is a more detailed examination of each of these categories, tracing the literary and other sources available that outline the introduction of chocolate to England, and leading to chocolate's place among the sweets of the Victorians in the mid-nineteenth century.

The first phase of chocolate's transformation from exotic good to mass commodity is a period of explanation and description. This phase lasts until the mid-seventeenth century. Because very few Europeans had the opportunity to see cacao growing in its natural environment in the sixteenth century, interested individuals had to rely on the few bits of information that trickled back to Europe from enterprising explorers and Spanish missionaries. By the 1570s, however, Spain had begun to send individuals whose main task was to catalogue and describe the flora and fauna they encountered. These "missionary naturalists" were sometimes the first Europeans to encounter these plants, and their resulting manuscripts would form the basis of European knowledge of New World botany well into the next century. The number of literary sources for this period is few, and it was not until the early years of the seventeenth century that English translations of earlier Spanish works began to become available. Generally, the sources from this period fall into one of two categories, natural histories or surveys, and herbals. A closer look at some of these works provides a clearer picture of chocolate's early introduction to England.

Early Natural Histories

In 1570, Francisco Hernández (1515-1587) was sent to New Spain by Philip II to act as the chief medical officer. His duties, outlined in a letter dated January 11, 1570, were mainly to learn about and inventory the plants and herbs he encountered, gathering as much information regarding "their uses...in practice, their powers, and in what quantities the said medicines are given, as well as the places in which they grow and their manner of cultivation."[75] The resulting manuscripts formed what became known as his *Natural History of New Spain*, the translation and dissemination of which had lasting effects on the related scientific literature in Europe.[76] With regards to cacao, Hernández reported on its use as currency and on its transformation into a drink, briefly outlining and describing the different varieties of cacao he encountered. He touches briefly on various characteristics of the plant, such as its apparent need to be shaded by larger trees, and mentions the different known varieties of cacao with their Aztec names. Of most importance, however, was Hernández' description of the drink being used as a medicinal substance. He was careful to point out the different additives that could be used, ranging from corn to vanilla to chillies, and he outlines what condition each concoction was reputed by the Aztecs to alleviate. Labelling chocolate as "somewhat cold and moist in nature," Hernández was one of the first to place chocolate within the framework of

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[75] Simon Varey, ed., *The Mexican Treasury: The Writings of Dr. Francisco Hernández* (Stanford, CA: Stanford University Press, 2000), p. 46.

[76] For a discussion of Hernández' work and its evolution, see Varey, *The Mexican Treasury* and Simon Varey, Rafael Chabran, and Dora B. Weiner, eds., *Searching for the Secrets of Nature: The Life and Works of Dr. Francisco Hernádez* (Stanford, CA: Stanford University Press, 2000). Of particular note, the authors have included a stemma outlining Hernández' work and its influence on other later authors such as Henry Stubbe, John Chamberlayne and Sir Hans Sloane. See Varey, *The Mexican Treasury*, p. 25. Hernandez' "Natural History of New Spain" was never published in its entirety. Of the two original manuscripts, one survives split between two repositories in Madrid. The other, which incorporated his corrections, was lost in a fire in 1671.

Galen's Humors.[77] Part of what makes Hernández' work so important was the influence he had on later writers. Sections of his manuscripts would be quoted verbatim in later herbals, and his influence can be seen in the works of John Ray, Henry Stubbe, John Chamberlayne, and Sir Hans Sloane.[78]

A contemporary of Hernández, José de Acosta (1539-1600) was a Jesuit missionary who spent twenty years in the New World.[79] His observations from his travels were first published in Spanish in 1590, and appeared in an English translation in 1604, as *The Naturall and Morall Historie of the East and West Indies*. The work is a compendium of information related to the flora, fauna and minerals he encountered. In Chapter 22, Acosta turned his attention to cacao.[80] Like Hernández, Acosta noted the cacao bean's use as currency, and seems somewhat surprised at the use of the beans for the creation of a beverage, "for it is loathsome to such as are not acquainted with it,

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[77] Varey, *The Mexican Treasury*, p. 108.

[78] For example, John Ray reproduced thirty-three chapters and twenty extracts from Hernández in his *Historia plantarum* (1686-1704). See Varey, *Searching for the Secrets of Nature*, p. 131. Henry Stubbe, in his *The Indian Nectar, or a Discourse Concerning Chocolata: Wherein the Nature of the Cacao-nut, and the other Ingredients of that Composition, is examined, and stated according to the Judgment and Experience of the Indians, and Spanish Writers, who lived in the Indies, and others; with sundry additional Observations made in England: The wasy of compounding and preparing Chocolata are enquired into; its Effects as to its alimental and Venereal quality, as well as Medicinal (especially in Hypochondriacal Melancholy) are fully debated. Together with a Spagyrical Analysis of the Cacao-nut, performed by that excellent Chymist, Monsieur le Bevure, Chymist to His Majesty* (London: Printed by J.C. for Andrew Crook at the Sign of the Green Dragon in St. Paul's Church-yard, 1662), makes references to Hernández in many of his side notes. John Chamberlayne, in a translation of an earlier work by Antonio Colmenero, added descriptions of plants, including cacao, which he took from various manuscripts of Hernández. See Varey, *The Mexican Treasury*, p. 19. Sloane, in his *Natural History of Jamaica*, incorporated forty-eight extracts from Hernández. See Varey, *The Mexican Treasury*, p. 20.

[79] It should be noted that, at a time when few naturalists actually traveled to the New World, both Hernández and Acosta spent considerable time there, thereby providing first hand accounts for much of what they wrote.

[80] It is interesting to note that this chapter also includes information on another, more potent, addictive substance: coca, the plant from which cocaine is derived. Acosta notes that the natives say, "...it gives them great courage and is very pleasing unto them." He also notes "...it is like the taste of leather." See Jose de Acosta, *The Naturall and Morall Historie of the East and West Indies: Intreating of the Remarkeable Things of Heaven, of the Elements, Mettalls, Plants and Beasts Which are Proper to That Country: Together with the Manners, Ceremonies, Lawes, Governements, and Warres of the Indians; Written in Spanish by Joseph Acosta and Translated Into English by E.G.* (London: Printed by Val: Sims for Edward Blount and William Aspley, 1604), p. 273.

having a skumme or froth that is very unpleasant to taste."[81] In spite of this, he notes that the local Spanish population is "very greedy of this chocolate. They say they make diverse sortes of it, some hote, some colde, and some temperate, and put therin much of that chili...they say [it] is good for the stomacke, and against the catarre."[82] Acosta's account of chocolate was very brief, and did not provide any details regarding how it was made, nor what the plant itself looked like.

These two early works are indicative of the first European references to cacao and chocolate. Listed as one of many new and exotic plants, the bean's use as currency was recorded as a curiosity and its supposed medicinal attributes were duly noted. Its unpalatable taste to Europeans is certainly mentioned. However, at this time no special significance was awarded to this plant. It was merely one of many new and interesting plants needing to be identified and examined. The entries pertaining to it are brief and succinct. It was not the intent of these early works to provide any great detail regarding cacao's cultivation, its botanical attributes, or details regarding the making of chocolate. Rather, it was to provide their audience with an inventory of the riches and resources available in the New World. The potential usefulness of each plant to the European conquerors was of the most interest. As such, the initial placement of each new plant within the European medical tradition was important, thereby placing an initial relative value on each. Hernández' and Acosta's description of chocolate as being hot or cold, dry or moist, and their references to medical claims by the Aztecs is a reflection of this. At this early juncture, the use understood for chocolate was primarily that of a medicine, with its ceremonial and social uses being noted but not heavily emphasized.

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[81] Acosta, p. 271.
[82] Ibid, p. 271.

Early Herbals

Herbals provide the next category of early writings on chocolate. Herbals served as early reference manuals, providing descriptions and pictures of plants that were useful for physicians, apothecaries and botanists.[83] English herbals were important in the dissemination of information regarding New World plants because they very often contain information gathered from other sources.[84] Of particular interest are two: John Gerard's *The Herball or Generall Historie of Plantes*, and John Parkinson's *Theatrum Botanicum*. John Gerard (1545-1612), a barber-surgeon, maintained a garden in Holborn and supervised others in and around London. His *Herball* was originally published by John Norton in 1597. In 1633, a second edition was printed, enlarged and amended by Thomas Johnson.[85] It is in the 1633 edition that cacao makes its first appearance. Cacao is said to be "well knowne in divers parts of America," and its use as money is noted, as well as its use in making a bitter drink. The believed need for the tree to grow sheltered from the sun is also mentioned. Accompanying this brief entry is a small illustration of what is referred to as "small cocoes", or the cacao beans.[86]

The entry for cacao found in John Parkinson's *Theatrum Botanicum* is somewhat longer and more detailed than Gerard's. In an effort to bring order to this large work, Parkinson classified plants as belonging to seventeen different classes or "tribes".

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[83] Julaine Juel Gosling, *Understanding Gardens: An analysis of Seventeenth Century Culture*. MA Thesis, Department of History and Classics, University of Alberta, Fall 2000. p. 61-64.

[84] For a discussion of the early English herbals through to the seventeenth century, see Chapters III and IV in Agnes Arber, *Herbals: Their Origin and Evolution, A Chapter in the History of Botany 1470-1670* (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 1986).

[85] Gerard's 1597 *Herball* was virtually without competition for 40 years. The second edition was completed after it became known that John Parkinson was producing a new herbal, eventually printed as *Theatrum Botanicum* in 1640. See Arber, *Herbals*, p. 134.

[86] John Gerard, *The Herball or Generall Historie of Plantes: Gathered by John Gerarde of London Master in Chirurgerie, Very Much Enlarged and Amended by Thomas Johnson Citizen and Apothecarye of London* (London: Printed by Adam Islip, Joice Norton and Richard Whitakers, 1633), pp. 1550-1551.

Fittingly, cacao finds its place in Tribe Seventeen, "Strange and Outlandish Plants", where it is referred to as "The Peare bearing wholesome Almond Tree". Parkinson's entry included the usual information on cacao's use as money, its need to be sheltered from the sun, and its use in a bitter drink.[87] He went further, however, and provided a brief description of how the cacao seeds are harvested and dried.

These two English herbals are indicative of the information available about cacao in the later part of the sixteenth and early part of the seventeenth centuries. Used primarily as reference works, it was enough to identify the existence of cacao and mention a few of its outstanding attributes without providing any great amount of detail. Both these herbals contained many illustrations, yet it is telling that the only illustrations included for cacao are small sketches of the cacao seeds. The actual cacao tree and cacao pods, rarely or never seen in Europe, let alone England, are left to the imagination. The entries for cacao in both these works are quite short, bordering on perfunctory. At this period, it is clear that cacao and chocolate have as yet to make any impression on the English public.

An Explosion of Knowledge

It had been nearly 150 years since Columbus had sailed to the New World when

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[87] Parkinson refers to Benzoni's description of the drink chocolate from Benzoni's "History of the New World". It is obvious that Parkinson relied heavily on Benzoni's description, stating, "at the first it seemeth a wash fitter for hogs." Compare this with Benzoni's comments quoted earlier in this chapter. See John Parkinson, *Theatrum Botanicum: The Theater of Plants, or an Herball of a Large Extent: Containing Therein a More Ample and Exact History and Declaration of the Physicall Herbs and Plants That are in Other Authours, Encreased by the Accesse of Many Hundreds of New, Rare, and Strange Plants from All the Parts of the World, with Sundry Gummes, and Other Physicall Materials, Than Hath Beene Hitherto Published by Any Before; and a Most Large Demonstration of Their Natures and Vertues. Shewing Withall the Many Errors, Differences, and Oversights of Sundry Authors That Have Formerly Written of Them, and a Certaine Confidence, or Most Probable Conjecture of the True and Genuine Herbes and Plants. Distributed Into Sundry Classes or Tribes, for the More Easie Knowledge of the Many Herbes of One Nature and Property, with the Chiefe Notes of Dr. Lobel, Dr. Bonham, and Others Inserted Therein* (London: Printed by Tho. Cotes, 1640), p. 1642.

Gerard and Parkinson's herbals were published. Information regarding specific New World plants remained sketchy at best, incorrect at worst. With regards to cacao, reliable sources were few. First hand accounts were restricted to a small number of Spanish sources. Chocolate was still a rarity to European consumers, and was only now beginning to take hold of the Spanish court.[88] Prior to 1640, the available information on chocolate was generally restricted to brief entries in natural histories, early herbals and personal correspondence. As the use and taking of chocolate was still limited to royal courts and a few monasteries, this lack of widespread knowledge is not surprising. By the mid-seventeenth century, however, this situation had changed. European botanical knowledge of the Americas had expanded beyond the general history or simple herbal inventory.[89]

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[88] While chocolate may have been introduced to the Spanish court as early as 1544, the first official shipment of beans did not reach Seville until 1585. See Coe, pp. 132-133.

[89] This increase in the knowledge of the New World was not restricted to botany. In 1648, Thomas Gage published his *A New Survey of the West Indias*. Gage, an English Dominican friar, spent a number of years in Guatemala, Mexico and Hispaniola (modern day Dominican Republic). A devout Catholic, Gage became extremely disillusioned with the Roman Catholic Church, eventually converting to Anglicanism and throwing his support behind Cromwell. His purposes for writing this work were many, however, he is explicit in stating in the 'Epistle Dedicatory' that he wanted to "impart what I there saw and knew to the use and benefit of my English Country-men". With this objective in mind, Gage's work also made special note of information that would be helpful to an invading army, including roads, populations, resources, fortifications and information on towns. Using this information, Cromwell invaded Hispaniola in 1654, sending a military expedition with Gage serving as chaplain. Unfortunately, this expedition was a complete failure. However, after leaving Hispaniola, the expedition sailed to Jamaica, which was successfully captured in May of 1655, and became the first British holding in the Caribbean. See Thomas Gage, *The English-American His Travail by Sea and Land: or, a New Survey of the West Indias, Containing A Journall of Three Thousand and Three Hundred Miles within the Main Land of America. Wherin Is Set Forth His Voyage from Spain to St. John de Ulhua; and from Thence to Xalappa, to Tlaxcalla, the City of Angeles, and Forward to Mexico; with the Description of That Great City, as it Was in Former Times, and Also at This Present. Likewise His Journey from Mexico through the Provinces of Guaxaca, Chiapa, Guatemala, Vera Paz, Truxillo, Comayagua; with His Abode Twelve Years About Guatemala, and Especially in the Indian-Towns of Mixco, Pinola, Petapa, Amatitlan. As Also His Strange and Wonderfull Conversion, and Calling from Those Remote Parts of His Native Countrey. With His Return through the Province of Nicaragua, and Costa Rica, to Nicoya, Panama, Portabelo, Cartagena, and Havana, with Divers Occurrents and Dangers That Did Befal in the Said Journey. Also, a New and Exact Discovery of the Spanish Navigation to Those Parts; and of Their Dominions, Government, Religion, Forts, Castles, Ports, Havens, Commodities, Fashions, Behaviour of Spaniards, Priests and Friers, Blackmores, Mulatto's, Mestiso's, Indians; and of Their Feasts and Soemnities. With a Grammar, or Some Few Rudiments of the Indian Tongue, Called, Poconchi, or Pocoman* (London: Printed by R. Cotes and are to be sold by Humphrey Blanden at the Castle in Cornhill, and Thomas Williams at the Bible in Little Britain, 1648), and Hether Sebens, "Gage, Thomas", *Historical Text Archive*, www.historicaltextarchive.com, © 2003.

After a century of identifying and cataloguing the plethora of unfamiliar plants encountered, attention became more focused and detailed. The taking of chocolate was also becoming more widespread, having made its way from the Spanish court to those of Italy and France. It is from the mid-seventeenth century onward that more detailed works on the natural history and medicinal uses of specific New World plants begin to make their appearance, and cacao was among them.

Chocolate as a Drug

"By this pleasing drink health is preserved, sicknesse diverted..."[90]

As with other exotic beverages, chocolate was first and foremost promoted as a drug.[91] While early Spanish accounts often referred to chocolate's use in Aztec ceremonial events and its near-exclusive use by the upper ranks of Aztec society, it was its medicinal qualities that first garnered the most attention. Its inclusion in early herbals and the subsequent spread of information among apothecaries, herbalists and other medical practitioners certainly attests to this. It is not surprising therefore that the first major work devoted solely to chocolate that was printed in English is a medical treatise. Antonio Colmenero's *A Curious Treatise of the Nature and Quality of Chocolate* appeared in an English translation in 1640, and is a milestone in chocolate's introduction

[90] Anon., *The Vertues of Chocolate* (1660).
[91] For examinations of the introduction of other exotic goods as drugs, see such works as Foust, *Rhubarb*; Walvin, *Fruits of Empire*, and Mintz, *Sweetness and Power*.

to England.[92] Colmenero's work is the first detailed study of chocolate's medicinal qualities and characteristics. The book is divided into four sections: what chocolate is; its qualities with reference to Galen's humors; instructions as to how to use it in compounds; and how and when chocolate should be consumed. Throughout the work, Colmenero was combating the opinions of "a Physitian of Marchena", a contemporary of his whom it seems was of the opinion that, as cacao is "cold and dry", chocolate is "stopping", and therefore, should not be consumed by everyone. Colmenero took issue with this, and his

> "desire is, to take this paines, for the pleasure, and the profit of the publicke; endeavouring to accommodate it to the content of all, according to the variety of those things, where with it may be mixt; that so every man may make choice of that, which shall be most agreeable to his disposition."[93]

Colmenero methodically analysed the properties of cacao and chocolate within the context of Galen's humoral system, and included a discussion of additives such as pepper, cloves, sugar, maize and chillies. It was his belief that by altering the substances with which chocolate is compounded, it would be a beverage that all could enjoy and use for the betterment of their health.

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[92] Antonio Colmenero, *A Curious Treatise of the Nature and Quality of Chocolate: Written in Spanish by Antonio Colmenero, Doctor in Physicke and Chirurgery. And Put Into English by Don Diego de Vades-Forte*, (London: Imprinted at London by F. Okes, dwelling in Little St. Bartholmewes, 1640). It was first printed in Spanish in 1631. This English translation likely preceded the actual appearance of chocolate in England by a number of years. Chocolate arrived in England at about the same time as coffee and tea. As Coe has noted, the exact date of chocolate's arrival in England is unknown. Advertisements were beginning to appear in English newspapers in the late 1650's, including one in a June 1659 edition of Needham's *Mercurius Politicus*. "Chocolate, an excellent West India drink, sold in Queen's-Head-alley, in Bishopgate-street...there you may have it ready to drink, and also unmade at easie rates". See Coe, pg. 169. For a discussion of other advertisements related to chocolate, see later in this Chapter.

[93] Colmenero, *A Curious Treatise*, p. 1.

This same type of treatment of the subject is seen with the publication of Henry Stubbe's *The Indian Nectar* in 1662.[94] Stubbe provided a thorough compendium and summary of many of the works that had been published on the subject up until 1662, making reference to early Spanish writers such as Hernandez, Benzoni, and Colmenero. Stubbe believed that chocolate was an effective means of restoring and preserving good health. He spends considerable time analyzing the composition of chocolate and the use of different ingredients in making the beverage. Stubbe was very exacting in his descriptions of both the cacao beans and in the drink itself, and he was careful to include many personal observations on the effects of taking chocolate in various forms and quantities. On the eating of the cacao nuts, Stubbe indicates that "they are observed to be more laxative, then binding, and that neither Mr. Boyle, nor my self (who did eat two pound once, and great quantities since on purpose), ever felt any heavyness, or annoyance in the stomach, head or elsewhere."[95] Stubbe also spent considerable space outlining the various ways of making chocolate that had been advocated by previous authors, providing his comments and particular medical bias on each. Stubbe goes so far as to critique Thomas Gage's comments on making chocolate in his *A New Survey of the West Indies* paragraph by paragraph. Quoting Gage's description of dissolving chocolate in cold water, removing the scum, and then heating the remainder on the fire, Stubbe comments that "I understand not the reason of this procedure, unless it be for ornament

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[94] Stubbe, a radical Protestant in the post-Restoration age, had another motive for writing this work. Chocolate was widely considered to be somewhat of an aphrodisiac, and the Presbyterians at this time had condemned the use of it, as they said it encouraged luxury and 'venereal inclinations'. Stubbe used this work to attack what he deemed to be Presbyterian prudery, equating their views on sex with those of the Roman Catholic Church. For a more complete discussion on Stubbe and his politics in The Indian Nectar, see James R. Jacob, *Henry Stubbe: Radical Protestantism and the Early Enlightenment* (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 1983), pp. 45-48.

[95] Stubbe, p. 33.

sake"[96] The entire work, arguably the largest published on the subject in the seventeenth century, is devoted to the medical analysis of the cacao beans and the chocolate drink.

The analysis of chocolate's medicinal benefits would be touched upon in subsequent works on the subject, but not to the extent to which Henry Stubbe went to firmly place chocolate within the understanding of Galenist medicine.[97] While Stubbe's work may have been the largest and most thorough of the seventeenth century, it is the original 1631 Spanish and the 1640 English publication of Colmenero's *A Curious Treatise on the Nature and Quality of Chocolate* that would continue to have the greatest and longest lasting influence. For over 50 years, all or parts of this work would be quoted, re-translated and copied in nearly every major work on chocolate printed in English. Eight years after its first appearance in English, Thomas Gage copied whole sections nearly verbatim into Chapter XVI of his *The English American his Travail by Sea and Land or A New Survey of the West Indias*.[98] The 1640 translation was popular enough that the translator, Don Diego de Vades-forte (this time styled as Capt. James Wadsworth) produced a second, slightly expanded, printing in 1652. This time it was titled *Chocolate or an Indian Drinke*; perhaps it was given this title to place greater emphasis on chocolate's exotic, foreign nature. The popularity of this second printing is evident: eight years later, verses from Wadsworth's introduction are used in an advertisement extolling the many virtues of chocolate and "cavee", including its

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[96] Stubbe, p. 105.
[97] Works such as William Hughes' *The American Physitican* would include chocolate and cacao in their rubric of New World herbs and medicines, but would not necessarily provide any new information on the subject.
[98] See Gage, *New Survey of the West Indias*, p. 107, and Colmenero, *A Curious Treatise*, p. 7 for comparison.

beautifying effects on "Nut-Browne Lasses of the Land."[99] Henry Stubbe, in his *The Indian Nectar* of 1662, makes reference to both Colmenero and Gage, even pointing out Gage's direct transcription of Colmenero's work.[100] In an indirect fashion, Colmenero also influenced the 1672 work of William Hughes, *The American Physitian*, where Hughes makes reference to many previous authors, including specific references to Chapter XVI from Gage.[101] By 1682, enough had been written on chocolate that John Chamberlayne, in *The Natural History of Coffee, Thee, Chocolate and Tobacco*, produced a compendium and synopsis of most of the works written at that time.[102] In it, he makes reference to many of those authors who in turn had relied heavily on Colmenero, including Gage, Stubbe and Hughes. The copying and translating of Colmenero's work was not restricted to English authors. In 1685, John Chamberlayne translated Philippe Sylvestre Dufour's *The Manner of Making Coffee, Tea and Chocolate* from French. Dufour had in turn used Colmenero's original 1631 Spanish edition for his section on chocolate. The end result was a third translation of Colmenero's work appearing in 45 years, this time from Spanish to French to English.[103]

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[99] See *The Vertues of Chocolate*, and Colmenero, *Chocolate: or an Indian Drinke*, p. vii. Curiously, chocolate is referred to as an East-India drink in the title, while coffee is labelled as Egyptian.

[100] See Stubbe, p. 3.

[101] William Hughes, *The American Physitian, or A Treatise of the Roots, Plants, Trees, Shrubs, Fruit, Herbs, Etc. Growing in the English Plantations in America, Describing the Place, Time, Names, Kindes, Temperature, Vertues and Uses of them, either for Diet, Physick, etc. Whereunto is added a Discourse of the Cacao-nut-tree, and the use of its Fruit; with all the ways of making Chocolate*, (London: Printed by J.C. for William Crook, at the Green Dragon without Temple Bar, 1672), p. 154.

[102] John Chamberlayne, *The Natural History of Coffee, Thee, Chocolate, Tobacco in Four Several Sections; with a Tract of Elder and Juniper Berries, Shewing how Useful they may be in Our Coffee-Houses: And also the way of making Mum, with some Remarks upon that Liquor*, (London: Printed for Christopher Wilkinson, at the Black Boy over against St. Dunstan's Church in Fleetstreet, 1682).

[103] It should be noted that the two works produced by John Chamberlayne in the 1680s were done when he was about 16 and 19 years of age. John Chamberlayne went on to become a member of the Royal Society (elected in 1702), and spent his career as a courtier and author. It is not surprising that he spent some of his time producing translations, as he knew 16 languages. See the Sackler Archive Resource, www.royalsoc.ac.uk/DserveA/.

Later Natural Histories and Herbals

By the mid-seventeenth century, the available information on cacao and chocolate had expanded greatly from the short entry found in John Parkinson's *Theatrum Botanicum*. In the forty-five years after its publication in 1640, Colmenero's work had been translated and printed into English three times, Thomas Gage had written his survey on the West Indies, Henry Stubbe had written his tome on chocolate, and William Hughes had provided his work on American plants. It is significant that each of these writers had been to the West Indies, and could provide first hand accounts of what they had seen and learned. This is a plausible reason for the growth in the substantial discussions of cacao in England. By 1685, the medicinal virtues of chocolate had been thoroughly debated and analyzed, and the cacao plant had ceased to be a complete mystery. The last fifteen years of the seventeenth century saw few major works that discussed chocolate in a scientific or medical manner, as the emphasis began to shift to more commercial and domestic matters. Two major scientific works do make their appearance, however. John Ray's *Historia Plantarum* and Sir Hans Sloane's *Catalogus Plantarum Que In Insula Jamaica* appeared in 1688 and 1696 respectively. Both list cacao and include references to previous writers and works. Ray's work discusses the cacao plant, followed by a section on chocolate and the various additives or compounds that could be used, including achiote, chilies, and vanilla.[104] Sloane's catalogue of Jamaican plants was a result of his trip to the island as the personal physician of the Second Duke of Albemarle in 1687. [Plate 7] A list of the plants that Sloane encountered on his trip, the work includes a reference list of works by other authors. Sloane would

[104] John Ray, *Historia Plantarum*, Tomus Secundus (Londini: Prostant apud Henricum Faithorne Regia Societatis Typographum, ad insigne Rosa in Cemeterio D. Pauli, 1688), pp. 1671-1672.

expand on this catalogue, eventually producing the two volumes of what is commonly referred to as his *Natural History of Jamaica*, published in 1707 and 1725. In the 1707 volume, Sloane briefly discussed chocolate in his Introduction. He refers to some of chocolate's medicinal qualities, saying he "found it in great quantities, nauseous, and hard of digestion...and therefore I was very unwilling to allow weak Stomachs the use of it, though Children and Infants drink it here, as commonly as in England they feed on Milk."[105] He also discussed the cacao walks or plantations that he encountered, noting that by this time they had been ruined, or 'blasted'.[106] In his second volume of 1725 we find more detailed information on cacao, including a number of illustrations. [Plate 8] Sloane provided a detailed description of the tree and fruit, indicated where it is grown, mentioned its use as currency, and included information gleaned from previous authors on the subject.

These two works provide a contrast to the information on chocolate available in earlier herbals and natural histories. Both Ray and Sloane were able to draw upon the large volume of material that had been produced in the previous fifty years. Where previously only limited information was available and brief entries were to be found, we now find herbals and natural histories providing more detail on the plant and on the frothy beverage created from it. Sloane is even able to provide a large, detailed plate depicting the cacao leaves, pods and seeds. While Sloane does mention some of the

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[105] Sir Hans Sloane, *A Voyage to the Islands Madera, Barbados, Nieves, S. Christophers and Jamaica with the Natural History of the Herbs and Trees, Four-footed Beasts, Fishes, Birds, Insects, Reptiles, etc. Of the last of those Islands; To which is prefix'd An Introduction, Wherein is an Account of the Inhabitants, Air, Waters, Diseases, Trade, etc. of that Place, with some Relations concerning the Neighbouring Continent, and Islands of America.* Volume 1 (London: Printed by B.M. for the Author, 1707). pg. xx.

[106] The Jamaican cacao walks were devastated by a blight or disease in the 1670s. See Coe, p. 198.

medicinal qualities attributed to cacao and chocolate, it is the botanical information that received the most attention.

Recipes

Debating the characteristics and medicinal properties of chocolate was a philosophical enterprise for John Ray and many others. Actually creating the drink itself was a much more practical matter. Transforming the cacao beans into a frothy beverage was a labour-intensive process and, for the uninitiated, it required a certain degree of instruction in order to be successful. Instructions and recipes for the creation of this exotic brew were an important resource in the transformation of chocolate from exotic novelty to mass consumed commodity. It allowed for a transfer of knowledge from a privileged few to a wider consuming population. There were two distinct types of recipes that emerge during the course of the seventeenth century: those recipes reflective of the perceived medicinal nature of chocolate, and those reflecting chocolate's use as a warming beverage in the domestic sphere.

Medical Recipes

> "Concerning this Receipt, I shall first say, This shooe will not fit every foote."[107]

Fitting cacao and chocolate into the parameters of Galen's humoral paradigm was tricky business. Not only were the properties of cacao and chocolate debated, but how to prepare chocolate so as to be suitable to treat particular ailments was also an issue. It was believed that different additives to chocolate would affect the efficacy of the beverage,

[107] Colmenero, *A Curious Treatise*, p. 8.

and that by changing the additives, one would render some version of the beverage suitable for each individual and his needs.

Recipes of this sort were not written with the domestic consumer in mind. Rather, they were intended for doctors or apothecaries. Instructions for making chocolate were often detailed and lengthy, with a great deal of emphasis placed on selecting the right additives for an individual's particular circumstances. As a result, recipes contained in medical treatises or scientific works tended to be more like lengthy instruction manuals. The information included is usually threefold: an initial recipe listing ingredients and quantities, a list of substitutes or alternatives to allow for the treatment of particular named ailments, and often a lengthy description of different methods of creating the beverage.

An excellent example of this is Colmenero's *A Curious Treatise of the Nature and Quality of Chocolate*, (1640) in which the first recipes for chocolate printed in English are found. The first is one that Colmenero attributes to "him who wrote at Marchena".[108]

> "Of cacaos, 700; of white Sugar, one pound and a halfe; Cinnamon, 2 ounces; of long red pepper, 14; of Cloves, halfe an ounce; Three Cods of the Logwood or Campeche tree; or in stead of that, the weight of 2 Reals, or a shilling of Annis-seeds; as much of Achiote, as will give it the colour, which is about the quantity of a Hasell-nut. Some put in Almons, kernel of Nuts, and Orenge-flower water."[109]

Colmenero then proceeded to analyze the contents of this recipe, making it very clear that this particular mixture should not be taken by everyone. He believed that cloves should not be used, as they are "binding".[110] Almonds and nuts, however, were recommended, as they "strengthen the Belly". Maize is not recommended, as it "doe

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[108] Ibid., p. 8.
[109] Ibid., p. 8.
[110] Ibid., p. 9.

beget a very melancholy Humour." Adding cinnamon is suggested for those with kidney problems, and is apparently good for the eyes.[111] Colmenero took great pains to analyze each ingredient and to indicate which additives are best avoided.

After thoroughly assessing this particular recipe and pointing out all of its faults, Colmenero presents his own special concoction, though he is still careful to clarify that "one Receipt cannot be given, which shall be proper to all."[112] Interestingly, Colmenero provides two alternatives for a number of the ingredients, reflecting the availability of New World plants versus what would be available in Spain. His recipe reads

> "To every 100 Cacaos, you must put two cods of the long red Pepper, of which I have spoken before, and are called, in the Indian Tongue, Chilparlagua; and in stead of those of the Indies, you may take those of Spaine, which are broadest and least hot. One handful of Annis-seed Orejuelas, which are otherwise called Vinacaxlidos: and two of the flowers called Mechasuchil, if the Belly be bound. But in stead of this, in Spaine, we put in sixe Roses of Alexandria beat to Powder: One Cod of Campeche, or Logwood: Two Drams of Cinamon; Almons, and Hasle-Nuts, of each one Dozen: Of white Sugar, halfe a pound: of Achiote, enough to give it the colour. And if you cannot have those things, which come from the Indies, you may make it with the rest."[113]

This was followed by a lengthy discussion of how to make the beverage, including proper heating, the removal of the frothy scum, and the use of a *molinet* or *molinillo*. The emphasis here is on creating the right medical concoction to treat specific ailments in individuals, not a general recipe for simple enjoyment.

The emphasis on chocolate's medicinal properties and instructions for preparing it is seen as well in other works. Henry Stubbe, in his *The Indian Nectar*, takes this same

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[111] Ibid., p. 10.
[112] Ibid., p. 15.
[113] Ibid., pp. 15-16. This recipe is repeated in Gage's *The English American*, p. 108, including Colmenero's assessment of each ingredient. The same recipe also appears in Wadsworth's translation of Colmenero's *Chocolate: or An Indian Drinke*, pp. 19-20.

approach to discussing chocolate recipes, albeit on a grander scale. In Chapters II and III, Stubbe went on at great length regarding different additives and their effects. He attributes the cacao nut with providing the greatest nourishment, saying that "All the other are but Spicery...and serve at best but as a Vehicle to distribute the Cacao nut into the body, and to make it agreeable to the stomach".[114] He then presents a discussion of various peppers, vanilla, achiote, and a number of Mexican spices, relying heavily on such sources as Benzoni, Hernandez and Colmenero.[115] Chapter VI is devoted to the actual preparation of the drink.[116] Buried within his book are a few recipes. Stubbe is not so bold as to include one of his own, but relies on those "authenticated by Physicians" such as Colmenero (as quoted in Thomas Gage's *A New Survey of the West Indies*), and other Spanish writers.[117] For Stubbe, chocolate is very much a medicinal item. *The Indian Nectar* is the first major work on chocolate to appear in English after its introduction to London some time in the 1650s. This work appeared at a time when chocolate was still very much a novelty, if not a mystery, to most of the population. The medical and scientific curiosity aroused by chocolate is evident by Stubbe's inclusion of "An account of the Distillation of the Cacao-nut perform'd by Mr. Le Febure", in which experiments on cacao are described and commented on.[118]

This emphasis on the medicinal nature of chocolate recipes is seen again in William Hughes' *The American Physitian*. As with other medical treatises, Hughes' inclusion of a chocolate recipe was accompanied by detailed instructions about creating

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[114] Stubbe, p. 45.
[115] See Girolamo Benzoni, *History of the New World*. Trans. W. H. Smyth. (New York: Burt Franklin, 1970); Simon Varey, ed. *The Mexican Treasury: The Writings of Dr. Francisco Hernandez*, trans. Rafael Chabran, Cynthia L. Chamberlin, and Simon Varey (Stanford, CA: Stanford University Press, 2000).
[116] It should be noted that, by some odd editorial error, there are two Chapter VIs in this work, one beginning on page 101 and the other beginning on page 121. The first Chapter VI is referred to here.
[117] Stubbe, p. 13.
[118] Stubbe, pp. 175-178.

the beverage. Hughes discussed cacao as both a compound and as a simple. Hughes also makes a distinction between a recipe to make chocolate into what he refers to as "balls, rowls, lumps, cakes, tablets, etc.", and recipes to make the chocolate into a beverage.[119] In both instances, Hughes' provides detailed instructions as to the methods employed, but is rather sketchy about the amounts required. Of particular note is a glossary of terms that Hughes included, providing brief descriptions of some of the additives and terms related to chocolate, including a number of spices and plants particular to the New World.[120]

Each of these works is indicative of the emphasis placed on the medicinal nature of chocolate, and the recipes included in them are a reflection of that. Detailed in their instructions and accompanied by lengthy discussions of various additives and compounds, these 'receipts' were of interest to apothecaries and doctors. Scholarly in their approach and detail, each emphasized chocolate's place in the pharmacology of the New World. The recipes found in these documents were not intended for use in the average English kitchen. They were instead written for medical professionals and scholars. Chocolate, along with many of the New World spices and additives, was not readily available in large quantities at an affordable price. Its limited use as a medical rarity or as an elite luxury was still very much the case.

Domestic Recipes

By 1680, chocolate had begun to noticeably move from the medical sphere to the domestic and commercial one. More than twenty years after chocolate's arrival in London coffee houses in the 1650s, this shift in emphasis is readily seen by the inclusion

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[119] Hughes, p. 116.

[120] Hughes, p. 156. Included are such things as achiote, various chilies, atolle, different spellings of chocolate and maiz. Hughes is careful to point out various spellings for each, including their Mexican names.

of chocolate in domestic householders' recipe books in the latter part of the seventeenth and early part of the eighteenth century. Likely one of the factors in this shift was the increasing availability of chocolate in England after the capture of Jamaica by Cromwell's forces in 1655. Providing a secure and steady supply of cacao was an important step in chocolate's increased availability. Another factor in chocolate's move to the domestic sphere was its appearance in a more readily usable form. By this time, chocolate was available and being sold in the form of chocolate wafers, not necessarily as raw cacao beans.[121] This shift in form is reflected in the recipes themselves. Recipes and instructions included in medicinal treatises referred to the number of cacao beans to use, while later domestic recipes refer to the number of ounces of chocolate.[122] This 'unmade' chocolate eliminated some of the labour intensive work of grinding the cacao beans down into a paste, the wafer merely needing to be grated into flakes, thereby making the process somewhat easier for the final consumer.

An early example of the domestic use of chocolate appears in a compilation of recipes made by Rebecca Price in about 1681. The daughter of a London merchant, Price later became a gentleman's wife and was responsible for the running of a sizeable household. Her book of receipts was extensive in its breadth, covering all manner of foods, including meats, bread, preserves and beverages. It is under 'Desserts' that we find

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[121] Coffee houses in London that served chocolate often sold 'unmade' chocolate as well. Coe quotes from *Needham's Mercurius Politicus* for 12-23 June, 1659, "Chocolate, an excellent West India drink, sold in Queen's-Head-Alley...There you may have it ready to drink, and also unmade at easie rates, and taught the use thereof". See Coe, p. 169.

[122] As mentioned previously, this difference in form is reflected in William Hughes' *The American Physitian*, where he makes the distinction between recipes to make chocolate "balls, rowls, lumps, cakes, tablets, etc." and recipes to make the beverage. See Hughes, p. 116.

a recipe "To make Chocolate Creame: Newtons Receipt".[123] Emphasizing technique, the recipe reads in part:

> "Take a pinte of sweet creame just boyle it up then take it off ye fire and put to it 2 ounces of chocolate, stir it well with ye chocolate stick till ye chocolate be all dissolved and mill it a little with the stick, then set it over the fire and let it just boyle up, take it off ye fire and stir it about with the chocolate stick for some time, but not mill it for fear of its turning to butter, then put in it the yolks of 2 or 3 eggs beaten in 2 or 3 spoonefulls of raw creame stir them well in and set it over ye fire again just to give it one little boyle, then take it off and put in as much fine suger as will sweeten it to your tast...."[124]

The differences between this recipe and earlier examples such as Colmenero's are striking. Not only has the shift from cacao beans to chocolate wafers occurred, but gone are the peppers and spices of the New World. Instead, much more common ingredients such as cream and eggs are used. This was still a luxurious item to consume, however, as both chocolate and sugar was still too expensive to be widely used by large sections of the population.[125]

While Price's recipe book was strictly for personal use, there are a number of examples of published recipe books from the late seventeenth century and into the mid-eighteenth century. One of the earliest is a book titled *The Accomplished Ladies Rich Closet of Rarities, or the Ingenious Gentlewoman and Servant Maids Delightful Companion*, published in its fourth edition in 1690. A compendium of information regarding the running of a household, the contents include everything from the art of distilling to midwifery. Buried within "Chapter II: Instructions for a Gentlewoman how

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[123] Rebecca Price, *The Compleat Cook: or the Secrets of a Seventeenth-Century Housewife* (London: Routledge & Kegan Paul, 1974), p. 171. Price's work was for her own personal use. It was published in 1974 after being discovered by an individual interested in antique books.
[124] Price, pp. 171-172.
[125] It should be noted that while still expensive, the price of sugar was dropping dramatically in the late seventeenth century due to increased production. See Mintz, *Sweetness and Power*, pp. 159-160.

to make artificial Wines, and other pleasant Liquors", we find a brief entry for chocolate. Similar to Rebecca Price's recipe, this is much simpler in its ingredients than those found in medical treatises, using more readily available materials.

> "Chocolate is made with Chocolate, Milk, Eggs, White-wine, Rose-water, and Mace or Cinamon, which the party fancies, they being all boiled together over a gentle fire two ounces of Chocolate, eight Eggs, half a pound of Sugar, a pint of White-wine, an ounce of Mace or Cinamon, and half a pound of Sugar answering in this case a Gallon of Milk."[126]

Similar to this work was one published fifty years later. *The Compleat Housewife: or Accomplish'd Gentlewoman's Companion* provided advice on anything from how to treat rabid dog bites to how to arrange courses of a meal. Interestingly, the recipe for chocolate included here is not for a hot beverage, but rather "To Make Chocolate-Almonds". It reads:

> "Take a pound of chocolate finely grated, and a pound and a half of the best sugar finely sifted: then soak gum-dragant in organge-flower water, and work them into what form you please; the paste must be stiff; dry them in a stove."[127]

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[126] J.S. *The Accomplished Ladies Rich Closet of Rarities, or the Ingenious Gentlewoman and Servant Maids Delightful Companion: Containing many Excellent Things for the Accomplishment of the Female Sex, after the exactest Manner and Method, viz. 1. The Art of Distilling, 2. Making Artificial Wines. 3. Making Syrups. 4. Conserving, Preserving, etc. 5. Candying and Drying Fruits, etc. 6. Confectioning. 7. Carving. 8. To make Beautifying Waters, Oyls, Pomatums, Musk-balls, Perfumes, etc. 9. Physical and Chirurgical Receipts. 10. The Duty of a Wet Nurse and to know and cure Diseases in Children, etc. 11. The Compleat Chamber-Maids Instructions in Pickling, making Spoon-meats, Washing, Starching, taking out Spots and Stains, Scowring Gold or Silver-Lace, Point, etc. 12. The Experienced Cook-Maid, or Instructions for Dressing, Garnishing, making Sawces, serving up; together with the Art of Pastry. 13. Bills of Fare. 14. The Accomplished Dairy Maids Directions, etc. 15. The Judicious Midwifes Directions, how Women in Travail before and after Delivery ought to be used; as also the child; and what relates to the Preservation of them both. To which is added a Second Part, Containing Directions for the Guidance of a young Gentlewoman as to her Behaviour and seemly Deportment, etc. Together with a New Accession of many Curious Things and Matters, profitable to the Female Sex, not published in the former Editions* (London: Printed by W. Wilde, for N. Boddington, 1690), p. 20.

[127] E. Smith, *The Compleat Housewife: or Accomplish'd Gentlewoman's Companion* (London: Printed for J. and H. Pemberton, at the Golden Buck, against St. Dunstan's Church in Fleetstreet, 1741), p. 199.

It is not clear if these chocolate-almonds were meant to be eaten as a sweet, or if this is simply another recipe for creating chocolate wafers from which a chocolate beverage could be created.

Also published in the mid-1740s, Edward Kidder's *Receipts of Pastry and Cookery* was strictly a book of recipes. Kidder, a pastry cook and cooking teacher, likely dictated these recipes for use by his students. As a result, many of them are notable for their brevity, as the assumption was likely made that his cooking students would be well versed in many aspects of basic cooking skills. Kidder's recipe for chocolate is extremely short, and like Rebecca Price's, uses only the simplest of ingredients. It reads:

> "Take a pt. of cream with a spoonful of scrapt chocolate boyle them well together Mix with it the yolks of 2 eggs & thicken & mill it on the fier then pour it into your chocolate cups."[128]

Interestingly, Kidder omits the use of sugar, thereby leading one to believe that his version of the beverage would retain some of chocolate's bitterness.

One very interesting example regarding chocolate recipes was published in 1695. James Lightbody's *Every Man His Own Gauger* was an instruction manual for "Brewers, Victuallers, Vintners, Wine-Coopers, Distillers, Strong-water-men, Coffee-men, and all other Traders."[129] Lightbody provided information on how to calculate volumes and weights, especially with regards to calculating prices. Along with this were sections on brewing beer and ale, making wines, and a section titled "The Compleat Coffee-Man", wherein one finds instructions on how to make coffee, tea and chocolate. The differences in effort required to make these three beverages quickly becomes apparent, as does

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[128] Edward Kidder, *Receipts of Pastry and Cookery*, ed. by. David E. Schoonover (Iowa City: University of Iowa Press, 1993), p. 167.
[129] James Lightbody, *Every Man His Own Gauger* (London: Printed for G.C. at the Ring in Little-Brittain, 1695), p. 1.

chocolate's need for additional ingredients. While both coffee and tea simply require the boiling of water and the addition of an appropriate amount of ground coffee or tea leaves, chocolate requires boiling water, grating chocolate, beating eggs, stirring often with a *molinet*, and, if desired, a toasted slice of white bread that "will eat extraordinary well."[130] Lightbody also included a recipe for 'Chocolate Cakes and Rowles', from which the hot beverage would be created, thereby showing further how labour intensive the whole process could be.

The change in the ingredients used in chocolate, from New World peppers and spices to eggs and cream, was a reflection in part of the adaptation of chocolate to the European palate. The bitterness of chocolate in its raw form was greatly alleviated by the use of cream and that other New World commodity, sugar. Transforming the drink into a sweeter beverage made it more palatable to a greater number of people. It is also a reflection of attempts to make the act of creating chocolate an easier task. Of the three hot beverages introduced to Europe at this time, tea and coffee were considerably easier to prepare.

Over a period of about a hundred years, chocolate recipes underwent changes reflecting chocolate's use and availability. From Colmenero's extensive instructions and careful analysis to Edward Kidder's few short scrawled lines, chocolate went from exotic medical curiosity to a more readily available warm beverage. Colmenero's work, published before chocolate had made its way to London in the 1650s, provided academic information and careful medical analysis, information that would have been of interest to a small, but growing, group of people. This emphasis on the medicinal continued for a further forty years. By 1680, the emphasis had begun to shift. Chocolate supplies in

[130] Lightbody, p. 63.

England had become more stable with the capture of Jamaica in 1655, and the success of the London coffee shops had ensured that chocolate was no longer a rarity enjoyed only by a social elite. Recipes began to reflect the use of chocolate in the domestic sphere, indicating its slowly increased availability and the extent to which this exotic from the New World had become a part of the daily life of some households. Extensive instructions on how to create the frothy beverage are now reduced to a few lines, while milk and eggs replace exotic spices and chillies.

Coffee Houses of London

The history of the London Coffee house is well documented.[131] The first Coffee house to appear in London was opened by Pasqua Rosees, a servant of a Turkish merchant, in 1652 in St. Michael's Alley in Cornhill.[132] By 1663 there were enough Coffee houses in London to lead to a Statute requiring them to be licensed.[133] They quickly became a widespread part of London life. By 1700, there were over 2000 Coffee houses in London alone, or one for every 300 or 400 Londoners.[134] In an age in which postal services were unreliable and the press was in its infancy, the coffee house served as both post office and news outlet. Individuals could receive mail, and everyone had access to newssheets recounting the day's business and political activities. Coffee houses were egalitarian establishments, open to all willing to pay the one-penny admission and the price of a warm beverage. Not surprisingly, coffee houses quickly gained the

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[131] For a complete list of known coffee houses in London over three centuries, see Bryant Lillywhite, *London Coffee Houses: A Reference Book of Coffee Houses of the Seventeenth, Eighteenth and Nineteenth Centuries* (London: George Allen and Unwin, Ltd., 1963); for discussions regarding coffee houses and their connection to London political life, see such articles Pelzer, pp. 40-47; Olson, p. 35; Pincus, pp. 807-834; Brian Cowan, "The Rise of the Coffeehouse Reconsidered", *The Historical Journal*, 47, 1 (2004), pp. 21-46.

[132] Pelzer, p. 41. The first coffee house in England is thought to have been opened in Oxford in 1650.

[133] The Excise Reform Act of 1663 required retailers of coffee, tea, chocolate and sherbet to obtain licenses to operate, much the same as alehouses and taverns. See Cowan, p. 27 and Lillywhite, p. 17.

[134] Olson, p. 36.

reputation of being centres of political discourse and debate. In 1675 Charles II made the first of a number of attempts to suppress them, deeming them to be "places where the disaffected met, and spread scandalous reports concerning the conduct of His Majesty and his Ministers".[135] However, the coffee houses survived and flourished well into the eighteenth and early nineteenth centuries.

While coffee was the main item sold, tea and chocolate were also usually available.[136] The written sources regarding chocolate's participation in the life of the London coffee house are allusions and fragments scattered amongst diaries and advertisements. The most famous references to chocolate by a diarist are those made by Samuel Pepys. Pepys may have tasted chocolate before 1660, yet we see his first mention of it on June 19, 1660. "When I came home I found a quantity of chocolate left for me, I know not from whom."[137] His next recorded encounter with chocolate is on April 24, 1661, the day after the coronation of Charles II.

> "Waked in the morning with my head in a sad taking through the last night's drink, which I am very sorry for; so rose and went out with Mr. Creed to drink our morning draft, which he did give me in chocolate to settle my stomach."[138]

A frequent patron of various coffee houses, Pepys makes reference to chocolate a number of times through the course of his diary.

Advertisements are the other main source of information regarding chocolate's place in London coffee houses. They are often found attached to larger works on

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[135] Lillywhite, p. 18.
[136] As one author has noted, given that tea was more expensive than chocolate and chocolate was more expensive than coffee, it is no wonder that they became known as 'coffee houses' and not 'chocolate houses', let alone 'tea houses'. See Coe, p. 172.
[137] Samuel Pepys, *The Diary of Samuel Pepys*. Volume I. Eds. Robert Latham and William Matthews (London: G. Bell and Sons Ltd., 1970), p. 178.
[138] Samuel Pepys, Volume 2. p. 88.

chocolate, such as James Wadsworth's *Chocolate: or and Indian Drinke.* The colophon reads "Printed by F. G. for John Dakins, dwelling neare the Vine Taverne in Holborne, where this Tract, together with the Chocolate it selfe, may be had at reasonable rates."[139] Other examples include a number of broadsides, one dating from 1660 extolling the virtues of chocolate and 'cavee', indicating "These drinks are to be sold by James Gough at M. Sury's neare East gate."[140] Another example dates from 1674 in a tract titled "A Brief Description of the Excellent Vertues of that Sober and wholesome Drink, Called Coffee", where the reader is told that it has been "Printed for Paul Greenwood, and are to be sold at the sign of the Coffee-Mill and Tobacco-Roll in Cloath-fair near West-Smithfield who selleth the best Arabian coffee-powder and chocolate, made in cake or in roll, after the Spanish fashion."[141] We may conclude that coffee houses sold not only the beverages ready made, but also appear to have sold the main ingredients for personal preparation and consumption as well.[142]

Examples of chocolate's presence in English society are not always restricted to written sources, as is evidenced by the number of coffee houses in London that included 'chocolate' or 'cocoa' in their names. Records exist for 'Colsoni's Chocolate House', 'The Spread Eagle Chocolate House', 'The Chocolate House', 'Sash and Cocoa Tree', 'The Chocolate Room', and of course, two of the more famous coffee houses, 'White's

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[139] Colmenero, *Chocolate: or an Indian Drinke.*
[140] Anonymous, *The Vertues of Chocolate*, 1660.
[141] Printed in John and Linda Pelzer, "The Coffee Houses of Augustan London", *History Today*, 32, 10 (1982), p. 42.
[142] It is unlikely that raw cacao beans were sold to the general public. Plantation owners would export raw cacao beans that would be purchased by merchants, occasionally preparing the cacao to a merchant's specifications. Instead, chocolate was more often supplied to the public in the form of cakes or rolls. There was a disadvantage to shipping prepared chocolate rather than cacao beans. Shipping prepared chocolate ran the risk of the cargo being eaten by worms, or equally damaging, picking up the smells, good or bad, of other cargo. See Brown, p. 30.

Chocolate House' and 'The Cocoa Tree'.[143] Other coffee houses alluded to the exotic locale of chocolate's manufacture. Place names such as Jamaica, Barbados, Haiti, Madeira, and West India are to be found in a number of different coffee house names. The number of references to chocolate in coffee house names is not surprising. What better way for a proprietor to promote the exoticism and foreignness of his wares than to make reference to the beverage and its source? While these references to chocolate in coffee house names is interesting, it needs to be remembered that they were still called *coffee* houses, not chocolate houses. Chocolate in England was certainly more readily available to the average consumer than in Continental Europe, albeit at a very steep price, due in large part to the egalitarian nature of the English coffee house in the later seventeenth century. While still retaining its importance as a medicinal, chocolate by this time had begun to move into the realm of being drunk strictly for pleasure. More expensive than coffee, and harder to prepare than either coffee or tea, chocolate's place in London's social life remained small, but less of a novelty.

Taxation, Trade and the State

As part of his 'Western Design', Oliver Cromwell sent ships and men to the West Indies with the intent of capturing Hispaniola (modern day Dominican Republic). When this attempt failed, they sailed on to Jamaica, successfully taking the island in May of 1655. The capture of Jamaica not only provided the state with increased access to the lucrative West Indian trade and new sources of taxable revenue, it also provided a secure and reliable source of cacao and other prized trade goods.

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[143] For more information on each of these establishments, see Lillywhite, *London Coffee Houses*. White's, which exists to this day, became known for its high-stakes gambling and eventual transformation into a gentleman's club. The Cocoa Tree, originally a meeting place for Jacobites, later became a favorite haunt of the Tory party.

Up until this time, English access to cacao had been restricted, because the Spanish had a tight hold on supply. Instances of the English capturing Spanish ships carrying cacao have been documented, and this continued through the Spanish War of 1655 to 1659.[144] One such instance of this occurred in November of 1658, and is recorded in the State Papers, Domestic. Captain Robert Storey reports on his activities escorting fishing ships and his encounters with four Spanish ships near Gibraltar. Unable to capture them, he does report that he did not come up empty handed, as "we found the St. Mary of Amsterdam from St. Domingo, with 13,000 hides and 50 tons of cocoa, which the master pretends to belong to Dutch merchants, but I find she came out under a Spanish commander, and Spanish crew".[145]

Capturing Spanish ships laden with cacao may have been financially lucrative, but any ability for England to have a secure supply of cacao rested in the successful establishment and development of plantations. Sir Charles Lyttelton, Lt. Governor of Jamaica in 1663, was a great supporter of developing cacao plantations or 'walks', as they were commonly referred to. In listing reasons why Charles II should promote the settling of Jamaica at his own expense in 1664, Lyttleton suggests that "Cacao walks, to be managed by 16 men, who might grow indigo and tobacco besides, could be planted with advantage; a gentleman obtained last year from 20 acres of plants 12,000 weight of nuts, which he has sold himself since his arrival."[146] Sir Thomas Modyford, Governor of Jamaica from 1664-1671, also a staunch supporter of developing cacao walks, owned a

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[144] Early on in chocolate's history, the English obviously held little regard for cacao. In 1590, Jose de Acosta recounts, "an English Pirat did burne in the Port of Guatulco in New Spaine, above a hundred thousand charges of cacao." As one load consisted of about 24,000 beans, this was a veritable fortune in cacao! See Acosta, p. 271.

[145] SP 18/183/148.

[146] *Colonial Papers* Vol. XVIII No. 113

model plantation in Jamaica. He viewed the cacao tree as the "most profitable tree in the world", especially given England's new found love affair with caffeine. This unbounded sense of optimism did not always translate, however, into huge profits for plantation owners. The initial costs of starting a plantation were high, including food, materials and the purchase of slave labour.[147] Early cacao plantation owners were also thwarted by the destruction of Jamaica's cacao crop by blight over the period of 1670 to 1672, a blow from which the Jamaican cacao industry never fully recovered. In many instances, planters turned to that other lucrative New World luxury, sugar, a crop that Jamaica would become closely associated with.

By the end of the seventeenth century, the volume of cacao beans and processed chocolate being traded into England from the West Indies (whether from English-held territories or those of other European powers), had reached the point that taxation of this already highly priced commodity became a potentially lucrative source of income for the Crown. While the amount of chocolate and cacao that was being imported into England continued to increase, it never reached the levels of imports of coffee or tea. It is difficult to know exactly what quantities of chocolate were being imported prior to 1698, as records for this time period remain sketchy. We do have glimpses of its scale and importance. John Houghton produced a broadsheet outlining the amount of chocolate imported and exported to England from October 29, 1682 to March 1, 1683. Houghton indicates that 114,240 lbs of cacao beans and 2240 lbs of prepared chocolate were imported, while 19,040 lbs of cacao beans and 784 lbs of prepared chocolate were re-

[147] For details about the costs and problems surrounding the development of a cacao plantation, see J. Harry Bennett, "Cary Helyar, Merchant and Planter of Seventeenth-Century Jamaica", *The William and Mary Quarterly* 3rd Ser., Vol. 21, No. 1 (January, 1964), pp. 53-76.

exported.[148] These were impressive amounts to be sure, but certainly not spectacular. However, sufficient amounts were being imported, and the cargo was certainly valuable enough, that import and excise taxes began to appear.

In 1673, a duty of 1 pence per pound was imposed on cocoa-nuts (cacao beans), if they were exported somewhere other than England. As early as in 1675 and 1676, bills to tax the importation of cocoa-nuts were proposed to the House of Commons, but they either did not pass or were never presented.[149] By January of 1689/90, "An act for charging and collecting the duties upon coffee, tea, and chocolate, at the custom house" was given Royal assent. Its intent was to provide "a further means of supply for their Majesties".[150]

By 1695, Parliament was again seeking more revenue from the taxation of coffee, tea and chocolate, this time in order to raise £20,000 per annum to help pay for costs incurred for the 'reducing of Ireland'.[151] Cacao nuts were imposed a duty of sixpence per pound for any imports from English plantations, and 9 pence per pound for any imported from foreign plantations. Chocolate was imposed a duty of 12 pence per pound, and

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[148] Brown, p. 31.

[149] *Proceedings and Debates of the British Parliaments respecting North America, Volume I, 1542-1688* Leo Francis Stock, ed. (Washington, D.C.: Carnegie Institution of Washington, 1924), pp. 407-410.

[150] *Proceedings and Debates of the British Parliaments respecting North America, Volume 2, 1689-1702.* Leo Francis Stock, ed. (Washington, D.C.: Carnegie Institution of Washington, 1927), p. 13. This Act proved to be unpopular with merchants, who produced a broadsheet and petition addressed to Parliament in protest. Merchants tried to make the argument that the excise tax should be changed to an import tax, thereby making the collection of the tax easier and more efficient. The original tax was against the liquors or beverages made from coffee, tea and chocolate, not the actual raw commodities themselves. The merchants' argument was that this led to inexact accountings, 'whereby the King was wronged, or the Subjects grieved". By changing the tax to an import tax on the actual commodities, merchants argued that "The King cannot be wronged, nor the Retailers: For no Man can pay for more or less than what he really makes use of." This petition was rejected by the House of Lords on January 13, 1689/90. See Anon., *To the Honourable, The Knights, Citizens and Burgesses in Parliament Assembled* (London: 1689).

[151] The Crown had incurred a debt of over £330,000, payable to owners of the ships used in the campaign to defeat the Jacobite forces in Ireland. See *Journals of the House of Commons, From November the 7th 1693, In the Fifth Year of the Reign of King William and Queen Mary to November the 23rd 1697, In the Ninth Year of the Reign of King William III* (London: Re-printed by Order of the House of Commons, 1803), pp. 291-293.

cocoa-paste received a 2 shillings per pound duty. As a comparison, tea was taxed at 1 shilling per pound (5 shillings per pound weight for tea imported from Holland or non-tea producing areas). These duties were to be paid above and beyond any rates then currently in effect for a period of three years.[152]

Amendments and extensions to this Act continued to be made over the course of the early eighteenth century. About every three years, a motion was put forward to extend the duration of the tax. This happened in 1698, 1701, 1704 (when it was proposed that the extension go until June of 1710) and 1708 (when it was successfully proposed that the tax continue indefinitely). In 1724, the tax upon the importation of cacao was repealed, replaced by an inland duty upon the sale of chocolate.[153] This high level of taxation continued through the eighteenth century, ensuring that chocolate remained a high priced good.

While the quantity of chocolate imported into England never reached the astronomical levels of tea imports, it continued to be taxed at similar levels. Together with coffee, these three caffeine beverages had come to be viewed as sources of revenue for the state.[154] By 1750, while chocolate was still touted for its healthful benefits, it had moved from being considered as a strictly medicinal substance to being viewed as a taxable domestic good. Cacao and its by-products had become common enough, and

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[152] *Journals of the House of Commons, 1693 to 1697*. pp. 291-293; *Proceedings and Debate Volume 2*. pp. 115-6.

[153] See *Proceedings and Debates Volume 2*; *Proceedings and Debates of the British Parliaments respecting North America, Volume III 1702-1727*. Leo Francis Stock, ed. (Washington, D.C.: Carnegie Institution of Washington, 1930). Philip Lawson outlines this same trajectory and timeline for the taxation of tea. See Lawson, "Sources, Schools and Separation", pp. 21-23.

[154] This was especially true for tea. For discussions related to tea, the state and taxation, see such works as Lawson, "Sources, Schools and Separation"; Philip Lawson, *The East India Company: A History* (London: Longman, 1993), pp. 96-101; Burnett, *Liquid Pleasures*.

consumed at sufficient levels, that they were now deemed viable and lucrative sources of income for the Crown.

Summary

The chocolate we encounter in the early-to-mid-eighteenth century is different than that in the late sixteenth and early seventeenth century. Over the course of a hundred and fifty years, how chocolate was perceived and used changed from being rare, exotic and an extremely expensive medicine, to become a commodity consumed in quantities large enough to attract high levels of taxation by the state. Chocolate's form had changed as well, from an oily beverage laced with New World spices, to a sweeter concoction made with cream, eggs and sugar. The available English written sources changed from translations of Spanish natural histories to English domestic recipes and to Parliamentary records. How chocolate was used, how it was perceived by contemporaries, and the meanings it conveyed all evolved over a relatively short period of time. It was transformed from exotic New World oddity to one of the spoils of a growing British empire.

Chapter 4: Chocolate: Imitation, Adaptation and Appropriation

Chocolate was only one of many new and exotic goods that were introduced to Europe during the seventeenth century. A function of expanding empires and trade routes, these new goods did more than simply add to the coffers of governments and merchants. They also served as a cultural exchange. If we consider a commodity such as cacao or chocolate as a cultural artefact, we can move beyond examining how chocolate was used and interpreted, to looking at *why it developed as it did* as a commodity. Maxine Berg has pointed out that "historians of material culture trace the transmission of cultural artefacts across historical periods and cultures through processes of imitation, product adaptation, and what they refer to as 'skeuomorphism': the imitation of a form or shape in one material to another."[155] This framework of examining a commodity as a cultural artefact is a valuable one, providing the historian with a broader scope of resources to examine. By surveying the ideas surrounding cultural imitation, adaptation and appropriation, the reasons for chocolate's evolution from a luxury beverage to a commodity become more apparent.

Before examining these three themes, one must remember that food is a unique consumable commodity. Unlike books, art, clothes or furniture, food and drink are transitory items. Once consumed, they are gone. This transitory nature is combined with a dual use: at one extreme, a daily necessity, at the other, a rare and exotic luxury.[156] Food and drink are also ultimately social goods, as the simple act of eating or drinking is a social act. We eat to celebrate and to socialize, as well as merely to exist. As a result,

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[155] Maxine Berg, "From imitation to invention: creating commodities in eighteenth-century Britain", *Economic History Review*, LV, 1 (2002), p. 9.
[156] For an interesting perspective on food as a commodity, see Mintz, "The Changing Roles of Food", pp. 261-273.

food and drink as consumable items can be heavily laden with meaning and significance that go far beyond a basic need to survive.

With this in mind, we turn our attention to chocolate. As we have seen, chocolate's introduction to Europe and England was a lengthy process, moving from exotic oddity to rare medicine, to a luxury beverage and heavily taxed import. By the early-eighteenth century, chocolate as a drink was no longer viewed as a strange exotic Aztec brew. European nobility had consumed it for over a century, and it had been available in London coffee houses for fifty years. The volume of discourse examining its physical and medicinal properties ebbed as cacao and chocolate became more common.[157] This does not imply that chocolate at this time was any less a luxury or novelty item. It was still an expensive indulgence, whether it was consumed in a coffee house or in the privacy of one's home. While chocolate shared many similar characteristics with coffee and tea, especially in the eyes of revenue officers, it remained less common and more exotic for a far longer period of time, never experiencing the levels of consumption in the eighteenth century that coffee or tea did.[158]

The significance of chocolate to British culture is illustrated in several non-literary sources, such as the tools to create and consume the beverage, and the art created depicting it. These sources reveal much about chocolate as a consumable good and the meanings its European consumers imbued it with.

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[157] To a certain extent, chocolate continued to be viewed as a medicinal substance throughout the eighteenth century. With the replacement of the Galen's system of humors by more modern medicine in the nineteenth century, chocolate's value as a medicinal declined. Chocolate began to be consumed strictly for pleasure. By the early part of the twentieth century, chocolate was again touted as a beneficial elixir, as Milton Hershey enlisted the help of nutritionists in his marketing campaigns. See Coe, p. 256.

[158] It is estimated that by 1800, tea consumption in Britain had reached 1.41 lb per person per year, compared to 0.08 lb per person per year for coffee. Rates for chocolate would be much smaller than those for coffee. See Burnett, pp. 57, 79.

Imitation

The importation of chocolate, coffee and tea for European consumers introduced not only the beverages, but their associated paraphernalia as well. This led to the development of a number of industries producing the tools needed to prepare and consume chocolate, including pottery, porcelains, silver, linens and furniture. Many of these new goods were developed and designed to imitate foreign goods and customs. The specialty items associated with caffeine consumption generally emulated their exotic origins, incorporating the manners and paraphernalia of the Arab coffee house and the Chinese tea ritual. Heavily laden with foreign cultural associations, this imitation of foreign goods speaks to an admiration of the exotic by European consumers. One illustration nicely encapsulates this phenomenon. [Plate 2] Included in a work written by Philippe Sylvestre Dufour in 1688, the illustration depicts three men in the appropriate costumes of the Arabs, Chinese and Aztecs. Next to each individual is the corresponding pot associated with his respective drink. The shapes of the pots have retained their exotic origins, with the curvaceous coffee pot remaining tall like its Arab counterpart, and the teapot remaining short and squat, just like those examples from China.[159] The chocolate pot stands out, with its straight, horizontal handle and its accompanying *molinillo* or stir stick. The chocolate cup held aloft by the Aztec warrior, also imitates the shape and style of the Aztec *xicalli.* With its two handles and distinctive gourd-like shape, the *xicalli* was adapted by the Spanish, and was a standard part of early chocolate services.

It was not only the drink and its associated paraphernalia that was transported back to Europe, a point typically missed by economic historians. What was transported

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[159] Ross W. Jamieson, "The Essence of Commodification: Caffeine Dependencies in the Early Modern World". *Journal of Social History*. 35, 2 (2001), p. 279.

was the entire experience surrounding its consumption. This cultural phenomenon was learned and imitated. The imitation of tools and items from chocolate's place of origin speaks to an appreciation of aesthetic qualities and of a desire to retain some of the exotic attributes of the experience of drinking chocolate. This included not only things like chocolate pots, but social cues as to chocolate's proper use. Its restriction to the Aztec nobility and warrior class indicated its perceived high value and status, making this new product even more desirable to its new European consumers. If chocolate had been a beverage of peasants would it ever have found its way to the Spanish court? Probably not. The social status and importance that the drink had in the Americas was imitated across the Atlantic, including its use as a medicinal substance, its conspicuous consumption at social events and gatherings, and its careful preparation by servants.

While the drink itself was barely palatable to the first Europeans to encounter it, the cultural experience surrounding its consumption must have made an indelible impression, one strong enough to encourage its continued consumption. The fact that Aztec tools and techniques continued to be imitated for nearly two centuries speaks to the strong cultural associations chocolate had with its place of origin, and that these associations were deemed desirable enough by its European consumers to continue being highlighted. It would not be necessary to adopt the style and aesthetics of the pots or cups of the Aztecs if one was only interested in consuming the beverage. That could be accomplished without specialized equipment. It was the use and imitation of culturally foreign objects and the vicarious transfer of socially elevated activity that ensured that the experience of drinking chocolate remained exotic and special.

Adaptation

The transmission of chocolate from the West Indies to Europe was not therefore a straightforward process. While the Spanish may have initially consumed chocolate as the Aztecs did, they did not find the experience palatable or pleasurable. Instead of dismissing the drink outright, it was adapted and changed to better suit their palates and their belief in Galen's system of medicine. As a result, the beverage slowly changed from a spicy, oily concoction served cold, to a sweeter, frothier brew served hot. The change in chocolate recipes over the course of the seventeenth century dramatically reflects this. The medicinal versions, heavily laden with chillies, maize, and spices, were not designed to make the taking of chocolate a necessarily pleasurable experience. Domestic recipes towards the end of the seventeenth century and early eighteenth century, incorporating cream, eggs and sugar, offered a completely different experience of tasting chocolate.

Tools were also developed to accommodate the creation of the beverage for European consumption. These tools included the chocolate pot itself and *molinillos* or stir sticks. Reflecting its Mesoamerican and Spanish origins, the typical chocolate pot retained its tall shape, equipped with a horizontal handle. The lid was usually made with a round opening, so as to allow the *molinillo* or stir stick to protrude through. [Plates 9 and 10] Over time, a curved handle, more in line with those on coffee and teapots, would occasionally replace the straight horizontal handle. [Plate 13] The *molinillo* was a grooved wooden stir stick used to create the froth or foam. Placed in the chocolate pot, the protruding stick is rubbed rapidly between the palms of the hands, creating the layer of froth. There is no record of *molinillos* being used by the Aztecs in the preparation of their chocolate beverage. Their preferred method for creating foam was to pour the

chocolate from one jar to another, usually from a standing height. The *molinillo* is more likely a later Spanish innovation developed in the sixteenth century.[160] [Plate 5]

The paraphernalia for chocolate's consumption was also gradually adapted to meet European and English sensibilities. When the Spanish first encountered chocolate, the Aztecs consumed the drink from highly decorated gourd cups called *xicalli*, whose shape and design were copied and adapted to become the Spanish earthenware cups called *jicara*. [Plate 9] Somewhat cumbersome and awkward to use, the *jicara* went through a further adaptation with the introduction of porcelain chocolate cups.[161] These became easily identifiable by their tall, slender shape and deep saucers, and occasionally had a metal ring attached to the saucer in which the chocolate cup could rest. [Plates 9, 10 and 11] This adaptation of chocolate cups, from gourd to earthenware to porcelain, reveals a refinement in the actual consumption of the drink and an ongoing process of adapting the drink to fit with a European sense of gentility and civility. It also reveals a combining of two foreign goods from two distinctly different cultures: chocolate from the West Indies and porcelain from China. This merging of different cultures and materials, and their adaptation to accommodate English sensibilities and tastes, resulted in what could be referred to as an über exotic experience.

Appropriation

The spoils of Empire in the eighteenth century had exposed British subjects to a wide array of goods and raw materials, items that "were now perceived to be indigenous

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[160] See Coe, pp. 87-88.

[161] The *jicara* was not necessarily the easiest or most delicate way in which to drink chocolate. Essentially a large bowl, its replacement by tall narrow cups suited the European sense of decorum and manners. It was also less likely to spill on the dresses of the ladies of the court! See Coe, p. 137.

to the wider Britain."[162] At some point, the consumption of chocolate and other caffeine beverages became less of a foreign, exotic ritual, and more of a British or European one. By the mid-eighteenth century, the chocolate being consumed in Britain would have been unfamiliar to the Aztec originators of the drink. The adaptation of ingredients, tools and techniques had changed what chocolate was, as well as how it was perceived and used. Chocolate had become culturally appropriated to the point of losing some of its foreign identity, being more strongly associated with the European ideals of civility and manners.[163] This chocolate was strongly associated with wealth, status and polite society, not with apothecaries, Spanish conquistadors or Aztec warriors. This cultural appropriation is evidenced in a number of different ways.

One sure sign of cultural appropriation can be seen in the changes in how chocolate was pictorially displayed. Few drawings outside of herbals and botanical sketches exist of chocolate prior to the early eighteenth century. The few illustrations of chocolate actually being consumed include that of Dufour's, with the majority of illustrations instead focusing on the cacao plant itself. [Plates 1 and 3] By the mid-eighteenth century, the pictorial evidence of chocolate's existence has shifted, with its consumption becoming the subject of paintings by European artists. By this time, any direct reference to the Aztec culture or cacao's American origins has been expunged, replaced with bucolic settings and family groupings. [Plates 11 and 12] No longer displayed as part of an exotic foreign setting, chocolate and its consumption were now depicted as part of a familiar, local setting.

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[162] Berg, "From imitation to invention", p. 16.
[163] For a discussion on the concept of civility, see Chapter 2 in Anna Bryson, *From Courtesy to Civility: Changing Codes of Conduct in Early Modern England* (Oxford: Clarendon Press, 1998).

Another sign of chocolate's cultural appropriation concerns the development of institutions around its consumption and distribution. In Aztec culture, chocolate was consumed by the elite, often at ceremonial events or banquets. These social cues and rituals were transported by the Spanish back to Europe, where chocolate remained in the realm of the wealthy elite. In England the experience was different. The availability of chocolate to a wider audience via coffee houses in the late seventeenth and early eighteenth centuries allowed it to become part of the cultural milieu of London and other parts of England. To a degree, the English democratized the consumption of caffeine beverages, ensuring that they could more easily and quickly be culturally appropriated and assimilated into local customs. The existence of English coffee houses also hints at the expectation that these new and exotic beverages would be available in sufficient quantities and at reasonable enough prices to ensure the long-term viability of these businesses. At some point, therefore, chocolate ceased to be seen as an exotic novelty and became part of the economic and cultural life of London and other centres.

The domestic rituals that were developed around the consumption of chocolate also demonstrate degrees of cultural appropriation. While ordering a caffeinated beverage in a coffee shop may have been expensive, being able to duplicate the process in the privacy of one's own home had the added cost of employing servants. This ability to serve exotic beverages in the home was a conspicuous display of wealth and privilege. Due to the labour intensive process of creating the beverage, the use of servants in the ritual of taking chocolate is of particular interest. Two paintings of about the same date are excellent examples of this. In "A Lady and Gentleman with Two Girls in a Garden (The Cup of Chocolate)" (1742), Nicolas Lancret depicts a cozy scene of a family in their

garden drinking chocolate. [Plate 12] Included in the scene is a male servant, pouring the chocolate from a silver chocolate pot. Not a central part of the scene, he is off to the side, hidden in shadows. His presence is important, not as part of the family grouping, but as part of the display of tools and cultural equipage required for the taking of the chocolate. This painting may be contrasted to one painted by Jean-Etienne Liotard, "La Belle *Chocolatière*" (1743/44). [Plate 14] Here, the servant is the main focus of the painting, depicted carrying a tray with a cup of chocolate to her master. These European artworks to some degree reflect the level of conspicuous consumption associated with chocolate and the degree to which the beverage was culturally appropriated and assimilated. In the case of "La Belle Chocolatière", it is interesting to note that it is this image that to this day is the corporate logo for the Baker Chocolate Company. This image of a servant girl serving chocolate is more closely associated with chocolate than any image related to its Mesoamerican origins, demonstrating just how closely chocolate had become associated with European culture and separated from Aztec culture. A labour-intensive beverage to create, extremely expensive due to taxation, and not available in the large quantities that tea was during this same period, the inclusion of servants in the depiction of its consumption is of note.

As with other exotic goods, it was the use of chocolate in conspicuous displays of consumption that set it apart as a consumable commodity. As Ann Birmingham has noted, "the activity of consuming culture enables individuals to construct social identities."[164] This is certainly true in the consumption of chocolate. Whether consumed publicly in a London coffee house or in the privacy of ones home with family and

[164] Ann Bermingham, "Introduction: The Consumption of Culture: Image, Object, Text", *The Consumption of Culture 1600-1800: Image, Object, Text*, eds. Ann Bermingham and John Brewer (London: Routledge, 1995), p. 9.

friends, the ritual of taking chocolate signalled the users status, financial wherewithal, and place in British society. Like tea, the consumption of chocolate signalled the consumer's participation in a wider British empire, both socially and economically. Philip Lawson makes this point in a discussion on tea and its depiction in family portraits:

> "It was the best reward for all the efforts and sacrifices of Britain's overseas traders and companies...there is pride writ large in the faces of individual families who have prospered, and part of that success lay in possessing the resources to display and to offer the finest blends of tea from China...which cost vast sums of money."[165]

It should be remembered that it was not just the chocolate beverage that was a part of this conspicuous display of wealth. As with tea, the use and display of the associated equipage was an integral part of the ritual of consumption. Fine porcelain cups, silverware and linens were all required to properly enjoy the experience. The display and use of these items acted as one more indication of the consumer's wealth and status. [Plate 13] The use of these objects in the consumption of caffeine beverages were a sign of the users civility and manners, qualities that were important in distinguishing an individual's social identity and status. As Mary Douglas and Baron Isherwood point out, "Food is a medium for discriminating values, and the more numerous the discriminated ranks, the more varieties of food will be needed...Goods, then, are the visible part of culture."[166] Not only did the consumption of a foreign, exotic good like chocolate set its consumers apart, but the use of the associated tools allowed for a greater degree of discrimination between social ranks. The appropriation and assimilation of chocolate into

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[165] Lawson, "Women and the Empire of Tea", pp. 5-6.
[166] Mary Douglas and Baron Isherwood, *The World of Goods: Towards an Anthropology of Consumption* (London: Routledge, 1996), p. 44.

European and British culture endowed it with a set of meanings and associations that went beyond its use as a basic medicinal or food. The history of chocolate in Britain illustrates how a culture consumed an exotic item that eventually came to embody and reinforce the many characteristics one associates with the rise of the British Empire. For the British, the imitation of chocolate rituals, recipes and tools illustrates a cultural fascination with novelty and the exotic. As chocolate was adapted to local ingredients, tools, customs, and values, it became more widely available and more commonly experienced. It came to embody, like tea and coffee, a more mature sense of Britishness – a sense of a cultural confidence in its expanding empire.

Conclusion

> "The European Renaissance population was increasingly urbanized and divorced from traditional folk remedies, allowing caffeine beverages to be introduced as exotic medicinals. The consumption of caffeine drinks soon became more than medicinal, as Europeans created rituals and places of consumption modeled distantly on both the tea rituals of China and the coffeehouses of the Arab world...The caffeine drinks served at European tables were an essential part of the demonstration of colonialism, a visible reminder of the possession of the foreign."[167]

Chocolate, like tea and coffee, provides a rich symbol of much that Britain was experiencing in its early colonial endeavours through the seventeenth and early eighteenth centuries. Foreign exploration and expansion led to many exciting discoveries, which like chocolate, returned to Britain as novel, exotic experiences. As these varied global experiences became a part of the British consciousness, they adapted, fused, and became associated less with their countries of origin and more with various aspects of British culture. To understand this transformation with chocolate is to gain an understanding of the process of cultural appropriation, and its relation to Britain and its emerging sense of colonial power.

The primary documents show us how chocolate was transformed over the course of the seventeenth and early eighteenth centuries from a rare and exotic medicinal to a heavily taxed import. The changing use of chocolate is reflected in the types of documents that were produced during this period, from herbals, advertisements, state documents, literature and paintings. More significantly, these sources reflect the changing meaning with which chocolate was imbued and reflects an increasing awareness of the plant and its biology, growing access to supplies, and developing institutions and rituals

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[167] Jamieson, pp. 279-280.

around its consumption. Placing these changes of use and meaning into a larger context faces several challenges. Within the current historiography surrounding chocolate, no detailed economic study has been done. While import and export figures for commodities such as tea exist, figures regarding chocolate's trade are sketchy and incomplete. While it is clear that chocolate imports lagged behind coffee and tea, solid numbers outlining this trend have not been compiled, making it difficult confidently to assess the trajectory of chocolate consumption through the eighteenth century. Along with the lack of economic data is a scarcity of known references to chocolate and its consumption in the personal records of contemporaries. While Pepys' diary is a valuable resource, and certainly one of the more famous examples, a survey of other diaries, letters and personal correspondence likely would provide a clearer picture of chocolate's consumption and use amongst the various classes of British society. Where literary sources are lacking, one can turn to other sources such as artwork and artefacts. Again, the known references to chocolate are few. Many of the artworks depicting chocolate are pieces painted by French or Spanish artists. A survey of works depicting chocolate by British artists would be beneficial in assessing the cultural impact of chocolate, how it was perceived, and what it came to represent in British society. More work, and of a basic empirical kind, remains to be done.

Until more complete surveys and compilations of other source documents is made, the most useful vantage point for assessing the changing perception, role and use of chocolate is that of a product innovation, treating chocolate and its associated tools as cultural artefacts. Studying an item such as chocolate as a cultural artefact allows the historian to highlight the different aspects of cultural exchange that were inherent to its

introduction to European society. Often lost among economic data, statistics and consumption studies is the transmission of the rituals and cultural associations that many of these exotic goods carried with them. It is these cultural associations that gave items like chocolate their sense of exoticism and made them desirable, even after the emphasis on their medicinal properties had faded away.

Taking a cultural artefact approach is all the more important given the key challenge that food items are transitory in nature. We must turn to its relationships with other goods to reach an understanding of how a particular food was used and what meanings it conveyed. For historians, this means going beyond the written sources to examine some of the associated goods and other non-literary items that may be available. By turning our attention to some of the tools and equipment used in making and consuming chocolate, as well as examining some of the depictions of chocolate consumption in art work, we are able to see not only how the perception of chocolate changed over time, but how that change was manifested in the day-to-day culture of English society. Treating chocolate as a cultural artefact, we can begin to understand the process by which it slowly became a ubiquitous part of British culture by the mid-Victorian period. The cycle of imitation, adaptation and appropriation illuminates a process whereby the unfamiliar becomes the familiar, the unknown the known.

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Royal Albert Memorial Museum
www.exeter.gov.uk

The Royal Society
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Provenance: Royal Collections, Aranjuez Palace.

Plate 11 François Boucher, "Le Déjeuner", 1739. As produced in Coe, Sophie The True History of Chocolate. Thames and Hudson, Ltd., London, 1996.

Plate 12 Nicolas Lancret, "A Lady and Gentleman with Two Girls in a Garden (The Cup of Chocolate), 1742. As produced in Holmes, Mary Tavener Nicolas Lancret 1690-1743. ed. by Joseph Focarino. Harry N. Abrams, New York, 1991.

Plate 13 Part of the thirty-piece 'great breakfast service' owned by the Empress Maria Theresa of Austria (1717-1780). As produced in Norton, Marcia and Frederic Chocolate: An Illustrated History. Crown Publishers, Inc., New York, 1986. Pg. 31. For a look at the complete service, including coffee, tea and chocolate pots, see the collections at the Kunsthistorische Museum, Vienna. http://www.khm.at/system2E.html?/staticE/page1832.html.

Plate 14 Liotard, Jean-Etienne, "La Belle Chocolatière" (The Beautiful Chocolate Girl), 1743-45. As produced in Norton, Marcia and Frederic Chocolate: An Illustrated History. Crown Publishers, Inc., New York, 1986. Pg. 32.

Plate 1: Woodcut from Benzoni's "History of the New World", 1565

Shows a cacao tree and cacao pods laying out to dry. Notice that the cacao pods on the tree have been drawn incorrectly, hanging from the tips of the branches.

Plate 2: Plate from Dufour's "Treatises on Coffee, Tea and Chocolate" – 1688

This picture makes reference to the origins of coffee, tea and chocolate, namely, Arabs, Chinese and Aztecs. Note the chocolate pot and molinillo in the foreground.

Plate 3: 18th Century engraving of a cacao tree

Plate 4: Cacao pods and nibs

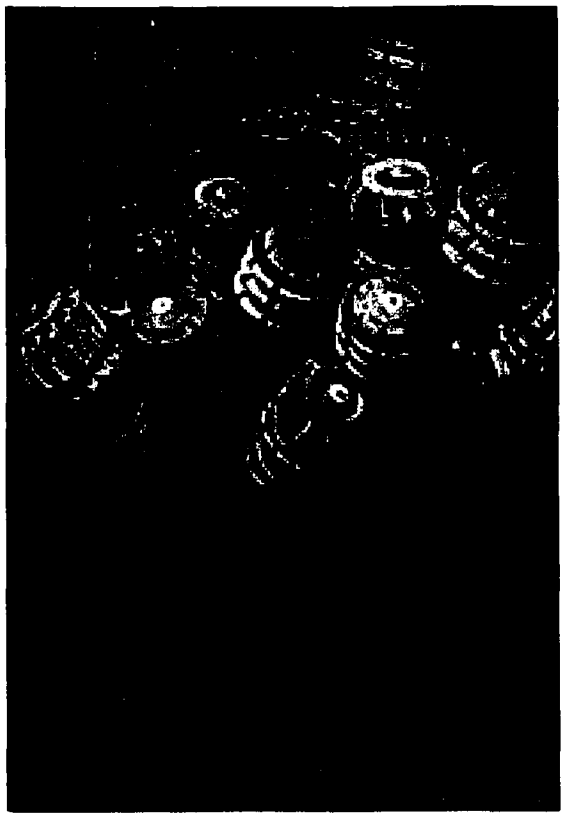

Plate 5: A Collection of molinillos


QVESTION MORAL
Si el Chocolate quebranta el
ayuno Eclesiastico.

Plate 6: Title page of a treatise by Leon Pinelo, 1636

Plate 7: Specimen of *Theobroma cacao* from The Sloane Herbarium, 1687-1689, ©The Natural History Museum, London

Collected by Sir Hans Sloane during his voyages to Jamaica.

Plate 8: 'Cacao' from Sir Hans Sloane's *Natural History of Jamaica*, 1725.

The smaller of two images that Sloane included in the 1725 volume of his *Natural History of Jamaica.*

Plate 9: "Still Life: Bread, Chocolate Service, a Basket of Grapes and a Melon", Luis Melendez, c. 1770's

The chocolate pot has a hole in the center of the lid to allow the molinillo through. Note the tall, slender porcelain chocolate cups with deep saucers, and the chocolate 'cakes' at the lower right corner. The decorated earthenware pot to the left is a *jicara*, or traditional Spanish chocolate dish.

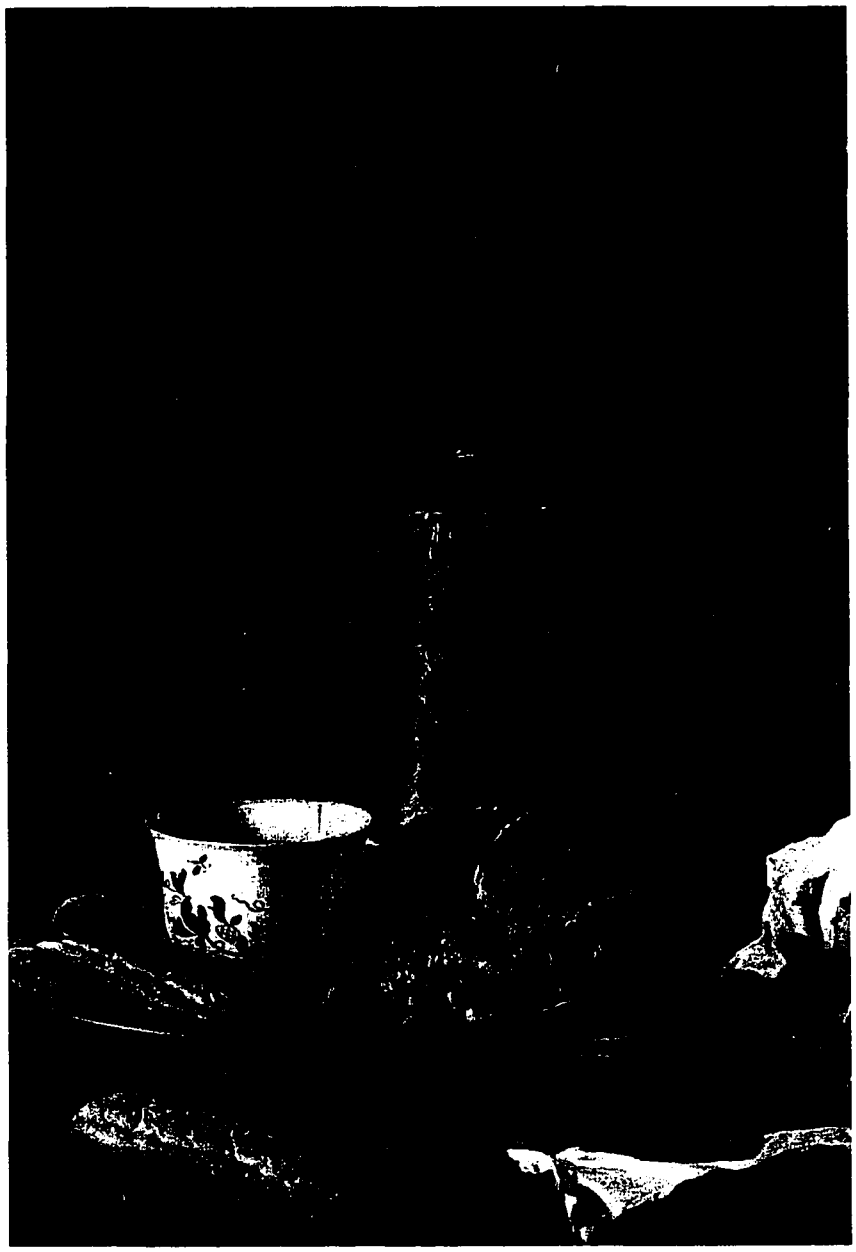

Plate 10: "Chocolate Service", Luis Melendez, 1770

Chocolate cakes or wafers rest next to the characteristically deep saucer and tall, narrow porcelain chocolate cup. The bread depicted here would have been used to dip into the chocolate drink.

Plate 11: "Le Déjeuner", François Boucer, 1739

Notice the difference between the short, squat teapot on the shelf and the tall, slender chocolate pot with a long, straight handle. Tall narrow porcelain cups are also depicted.

Plate 12: Detail from "A Lady and Gentleman with Two Girls in a Garden (The Cup of Chocolate)", Nicolas Lancret, 1742

Plate 13: Some of the thirty-piece 'great breakfast service' that belonged to the Empress Maria Theresa of Austria (1717-1780).

The smaller pot and short porcelain cup and saucer were used for tea. The tall pot and narrow cup mounted in gold were used for chocolate. The two cups are Chinese porcelain, while the pots are gold vermeil.

Plate 14: "La Belle Chocolatière" by Jean-Etienne Liotard (1702-1789)

Painted by Liotard between 1743 and 1745, this image of a chambermaid taking chocolate to the artist later became one of the first registered corporate trademarks when the Baker's Chocolate Co. obtained the rights to use the painting in 1862. It continues to be used as the Baker Chocolate Co. logo to this day.