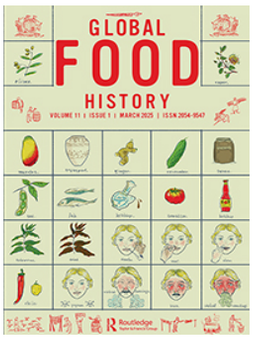

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Colonizing Condiments: Culinary Experimentation and the Politics of Disgust in Early Modern Britain

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ABSTRACT

Condiments are so essential to the modern British table that it is hard to imagine a time before ketchup, pickle, and chili sauce. Yet the creations, adoptions, and adaptations of many of today's most popular condiments were tied to early modern formations of British colonization and empire. Our essay explores the role of disgust in shaping condiments within British households in the seventeenth and eighteenth centuries. Using surviving household recipe books, published cookbooks, and mercantile records, we show that once-novel and potentially unusual South and Southeast Asian condiments, like achaar (remade as "mango pickle"), and fish sauce (remade as "ketchup"), were eagerly sought out and mimicked. By contrast, chili sauce was rejected by British households and rarely adopted. Chili sauce's piquant flavor profile, and perhaps its association with Afro-Atlantic and Indigenous foodways, made it seem unpalatable, undesirable, and even dangerous to British consumers. We therefore offer a nuanced, complex view of how disgust moderated the transmission of foodways, and how it intersects with race, labour and the environment.

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In seventeenth-century Britain, two authors engaged in a furious debate over colonization, nutrition, and geopolitics. Their great cause for conflict? flavored sauces and pastes. John Floyer, a university-trained physician, celebrated that people in Britain were "invent[ing] new Sauces and Pickles … [such] as Mangoes, Olives, Capers, Chatchops, and an Indian liquor."[1] As Floyer argued, these foods were not only tasty, but could also make people healthier: spicy, sour, or bitter sauces and pickles could, as Floyer explained, "help our digestions," and allow early modern European people to process their food more safely and efficiently. In opposition, Thomas Tryon, idiosyncratic religious independent, advocate of temperance, vegetable-based diets, and frugal living, denigrated condiments as symbols of excess, foreignness, and self-indulgent luxury. He exclaimed, "what Tongue or Pen can express the hazards, the horrors, the miseries, that People expose themselves to in Tempests at Sea, and to what purpose. . .to bring Pepper to strew over our Cucumbers, [and] Mangoes for our Mutton." This kind of trade, Tryon warned,

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encouraged Britons to "spend their Means, ruine their Healths, shorten their Lives, be mad, quarrel, [and] kill one another [for] these foreign Need-nots."[2] For people like Tryon, condiments were not only disgusting; they were also dangerous, putting the lives of mariners and merchants, and the souls of consumers, at grave risk.

Tryon's and Floyer's early modern food fight illustrates how condiments, a set of new and influential sauces that acted as flavoring agents, were debated, assimilated, and sometimes rejected within British foodways. While some of these condiments – such as ketchup, pickles, mango pickles, and piccalilli – seemed to represent the potential of empire to connect to new foodways and to provide access to novel and exciting foodstuffs, others – such as chile sauce (sometimes called "chili sauce" or "chilli sauce") – foreshadowed its possible pitfalls. The ways that condiments were received, and how they drew forth feelings of both horror and delight among members of the public, reflect the wider upheaval of the moment when Britain's imperial project was in flux, moving toward settler colonialism in the Atlantic and a more tenuous trade presence in the Indian Ocean; they also, importantly, draw our attention to the relationship between disgust, domestication, and colonization. For bound up in Floyer and Tryon's conceptions of health, morality, eating, and empire were complex ideas surrounding the sensory experience of eating both delicious and revolting foods. This "archive of disgust," to borrow from Carla Cevasco, points to the contradictory and charged ways that novel foods were adopted or, alternatively, spurned by early modern British eaters at the advent of the imperial era.[3] That Tryon and Floyer were particularly concerned with condiments, those specialized flavoring agents and sauces so ubiquitous in modern British cookery, is not accidental. Condiments were at the forefront of how British households grappled with desire, disgust, and empire.

Condiments serve as a useful case-study to explore the relationship between food and disgust. As an analytical category, condiments sit on the periphery of the food studies plate, what anthropologist Sidney Mintz characterized as the piquant, spicy, funky, and smoky "fringe" foods surrounding the starchy "core" of our understanding of the human diet. They are, as Mintz argued, "supplemental foods," designed to provide contrast with main dishes, and despite their placement on the edges of how and why we eat, they are essential to human experience, and, we would argue, to understanding food history.[4] As Swati Chattopadhyay has recently posited in the context of the physical space of the colonial bottlekhana, "attention to small things and small spaces opens up new vistas into the ecology of consumption."[5] As pure carriers of flavor and offering a texture auxiliary to the main dish, condiments, we hold, are one such "small thing," a single but complex foodstuff that illuminates potent points of debate around taste, health, power, ecology, and especially how these debates are reflective of empire. Scholars working on studies of food and empire have explicated the ways that Britain worked to capitalize on food from abroad, as well as helping British people to think about colonies and the people colonized within them. For some scholars, particularly of the early modern period, foods either derivative or symbolic of empire served as continuing and enduring markers of difference; as Gitanjali Shahani has argued so convincingly, this could be a "process by which food comes to be inscribed with racial character and, in turn, the racial other comes to be marked as edible."[6] For other scholars, particularly of the modern period, eating foodstuffs produced throughout the empire enabled Britons in the metropole to make foreign or new foods, and by extension, foreign or new people, seem "safe," knowable, and

ultimately, commodifiable.[7] But schematics based only on single, massively profitable commodities or on novel foods that were either generally accepted or rejected fail to capture the nuance, complexity, and even chaos of empire.

In this essay we untangle the factors which allowed condiments, "small things," but meaningful ones, to be embraced, rejected, adjusted, and altered by early modern Britons. As our essay will show, there are no definitive explanations. The incorporation and translation of new condiments were shaped by many different questions of empire, race, and exoticism, but also by myriad practical matters such as access to ingredients, available substitutes, and ecologies. Rather than an underlying logic of adaptation, the example of condiments suggests the varied and even improvisational nature which marked British engagement with food and empire. For even as colonialism marked certain foods – and bodies – as edible, it simultaneously marked others as "un-food," disgusting and inedible.[8]

Here, we follow these "archives of disgust" from the culinary contact zone to the metropole to interrogate how and why some foodstuffs become marked as inedible and disgusting, when others become assimilated into what literary scholar Parama Roy has called the imperial *cordon sanitaire*.[9] Disgust could produce reluctant acceptance, purposeful modification, and adaptive domestication as often as it did outright rejection. As philosopher of taste Carolyn Korsmeyer reminds us, "When it comes to cuisine…the disgusting and the delicious do not always function as opposites." Rather, she writes, "a good deal of recondite and sophisticated eating actually seems to be built upon (or even to be a variation of) that which disgusts, endangers, or repels."[10] This idea is also explored by Kim F. Hall when she describes food "hybridity," and how foods, as well as languages, can "bear the brunt of colonial encounters."[11] This examination of condiments works to build productively upon Korsmeyer's and Hall's works in order to show how interplays between disgust and acceptance played out in dialogue with changes to the British Empire. In doing so, we show how disgust was closely related to efforts by households to adapt, alter, and domesticate specific recipes for condiments. Condiments offer opportunities to analyze the uneven, complex, and sometimes troubled absorption of foreign flavors, colors, textures – and, of course, ideas – into British diets.

Empire, Domesticity, and Disgust

The century between 1650 and 1750 represents an important inflection point in British imperial history. This was an era of rapid colonial and commercial expansion, but at the same time was the moment before Britain inaugurated itself as a paramount global power. This transformative century therefore resists neat definitions of "empire" or "colonialism." The nature of British imperialism, and the structure and experience of British colonialism, looked radically different depending on where one stood. British merchants had not yet established a permanent foothold in South Asia, even as the East India Company began to play an important commercial and political presence on the subcontinent. The British remained interlopers in a world still dominated by Malay, Indian, Portuguese, and Dutch mariners and traders. By contrast, Britain expanded its presence in North America, but this portion of the nascent empire was still economically and politically marginal to the wider Atlantic economy. Meanwhile, British Caribbean colonies saw enormous growth around the sugar plantation complex, initiating

a transformation in the functioning of transatlantic slavery and sugar consumption. British merchants and political leadership competed not just with rising French and Dutch powers, but with established Portuguese and Spanish global empires. This was an age of experimentation, consolidation, and contestation. Study of condiments shows us that this complexity was reflected in the domestic world of the metropole as much as it was in colonial peripheries.[12]

It was from this experimental context that condiments rooted in Indian Ocean and Atlantic foodways began to proliferate in the British metropole. An elite household of 1650 would have suddenly found access to foodstuffs that had been unheard of or rare decades before. And by 1750, many of these foods were increasingly normalized and domesticated, if not quite yet entrenched in British tradition and custom. For an early modern British person, condiments included traditional, familiar sauces like mustard, horseradish, jam, and jelly; but they also included new and novel sauces like ketchup, soy sauce, miso, pickles, piccalilli, chutney, and chile. British cooks, infatuated with intense flavors as well as durability, used techniques like heating, salting, fermenting, souring, and aging to make their condiments last for months or even years. As the author of the 1727 *The country housewife and lady's director* confidently stated, "I have had a bottle of this sort of Ketchup, that has been open'd and set by for above a Year, that has not received the least damage."[13] Another eighteenth-century book summed it up even more succinctly: condiments were "curious and durable sauces."[14]

Debates around condiments, imperial expansion, and evolving foodways were centered on British domestic experiences. The household was a locus of dietary change, and close study of household food cultures can evince how British women and men either incorporated, aspired to incorporate, and at times spurned global foodways and the so-called "exotic other" within their metropolitan diets. Elite and middling people had the means and scope to experiment with new techniques and ingredients, and by writing and thinking about condiments, they both participated in and assimilated the world around them. Their kitchens and tables were a "front line" of culinary experimentation, places where the adaptation and modification of far-flung foodstuffs took place through ingredient substitutions, sudden changes to the names and makeup of dishes, and sometimes through the outright rejection of new ideas. Household recipe books offer compelling evidence of both actual and imaginative culinary knowledge, purchasing patterns, reading habits, and practices of everyday experimentation. By reinscribing both the importance of condiments and of manuscript cookbooks within the domestic, metropolitan spaces of empire, we can see that in early modern Britain, a bottom-up process of culinary colonization was driven by household experimentation and by the individual, daily choices of British cooks and consumers. These processes enabled British women and men to articulate and contest ideas about delight, disgust, and empire in the kitchen.[15] We now turn to one such articulation: ketchup.

From Kôe-Chiap to Ketchup

In most parts of the world today, what is known as ketchup is a thick, tomato-based sauce with a sharp edge of vinegar and a sweet, sugared undertone.[16] It is a condiment seemingly universally beloved and accepted: even the pickiest eaters often opt for tomato-based ketchup, to the tune of a $37.67 billion market share globally in 2024.[17] But the

later market dominance of ketchup worldwide was no surefire thing in the early modern period. Derived from a sauce originating in South and Southeast Asia, ketchup's global reach stems in part from British and early American attempts to assimilate the condiment into varying regional and national cuisines. Ketchup's many early modern variations were spurred in part by logistical factors, such as lack of access to key ingredients, as well as less quantifiable factors, such as predilections for particular tastes and sensations, and a keen desire for new and novel foods from around the world. Ultimately it was ketchup's adaptability and flexibility, its ability to become something else, which ensured its success in early modern Britain.

Linguistic clues help us to the origin points of ketchup. In print, early modern British people spelled this sauce ketchup, katchup, ketchop, katchop, kitchup, ketsup, catchup, cachup, catchop, and catshup; when this sauce was written into early modern British manuscript recipe books, its spelling was similarly disaggregated: ketchup, catchup, catchope, ketchope.[18] Early modern words, of course, were spelled many different ways, but this represents a wide variation even for the period. This might be, at least in part, because the English-language word "ketchup" was borrowed and translated; the OED posits that it derived either from "kôe-chiap," the name in various south Chinese dialects for a brine of pickled fish or shellfish (with "kôe" as a kind of fish, and "chiap" as juice or sauce) and/or from Malay, with "kecap" or "kicap," as soy sauce.[19] When seventeenth- and eighteenth-century British people wrote about ketchup, they were describing not the thick, sweet, tomato-based sauce with which we are familiar today, but a Chinese or Malay sauce: thin, salty, black-brown, and with a complex flavor profile. It is likely that early modern Britons encountered multiple, regional variations of this sauce as part of early colonial expansion during the late seventeenth century. Myriad communities throughout the Indian Ocean world made sauces from fermented legumes and fish, sauces which have a long history and which went under different names. In all of these spaces, kôe-chiap and kecap were consumed widely, but the sauce was often highly localized, artisanally produced, and reflected the specific and unique tastes, ingredients, traditions, and processes of the people who made it.[20]

When British consumers encountered this salty soy- or fish-based ketchup, it was apparently a revelation. British travelers wrote about these novel sauces with senses of excitement and avarice in their accounts and travelogs. William Dampier, a British mariner, enslaver, explorer, pirate, and author who circumnavigated the world three times over the course of his life (1651–1715), wrote extensively about food in his works. In an entry from 1688, Dampier described a kind of fish sauce that he had observed being made in what is today northern Vietnam. He wrote that he watched people taking a "Mixture of Shrimps and small Fish in a sort of weak pickle made with Salt and Water," and letting them ferment; then, once "the liquor [is] pour'd off…[it] is of a paie [pale] brown color, inclining to gray; and pretty clear." Dampier liked this sauce, explaining that he had eaten it and found it to be "very savory, and used as a good sauce for Fowls." Dampier also recognized its potential as a commodity which could be marketed to people in Britain, for, he noted, it was enjoyed "not only by the Natives, but also by the Europeans, who esteem it equal with Soy."[21] And in 1671/2, soy was included alongside other flavoring agents and liquids in a description of what the Emperor of China bestowed as generous provisions upon visiting ambassadors. The Dutch ambassador was offered "a pound … of Mesoe [miso], one of Soya, [and] one of

Oyl," and "For six Men every day," the Emperor distributed "one Catty [斤 a traditional Chinese unit of mass] and a half of Misoe, the like of Soya, the like of Oyl, and six great Vessels of Drink."[22] That ketchup was often associated with fish, and also with cultures and foodways from China, is further attested to in physician John Jones' 1700 *The Mysteries of Opium*, a text designed to encourage use of the product in metropolitan Britain. Patients prescribed opium were told to adapt their diets to the medicine, for "As to Diet, it must be Nourishing, Warming, Comforting, and Titillating, with realishing and high Sauces." These nourishing, warming "high Sauces" included "Oisters, Anchovy, Caviare, Cockles, [and] Ketchup," as well as "Mango's."[23] We'll return to mango, and its own associations with empire, later in this article, but here it's important to note that, for Jones, ketchup was paired with sauces made from fish and shellfish, and with the product of opium, imagined in this period as connected with and symbolic of China.

There was clearly more than a little confusion about the proper names and distinguishing characteristics of condiments like soy sauce, fish sauce, and ketchup, but they were connected together, and deemed similarly desirable. That ketchup was further valued as a commodity in British markets and an emerging empire is also attested to in print. In 1712, one newspaper advertisement mentioned a shipment of "a great parcel of Soy, commonly call'd Ketchup" arriving in London from the East Indies, which was "as near and fine as ever came to England." This soy ketchup was for sale at three "China-seller[s]" in the city.[24] In his 1711 *Account of the Trade In India*, Charles Lockyer described the sauce as both soy and ketchup and wrote of these sauces that, "I know not a more profitable Commodity;" even John Locke mentioned the condiment, spelling it "saio," and writing to a friend that they could purchase it in London.[25] In the 1699 *A New Dictionary of the Canting Crew*, which aimed to capture vernacular speech – but also, infamously, to denigrate the speech and culture of Gypsy/Roma/Traveler women and men – the author nonetheless noted that the current vernacular definition of "Catchup" was "a high East-India Sauce."[26]

What this evidence suggests is that British travelers, writers, and consumers encountered ketchup in contexts of empire, and that they worked to incorporate it into their meals and dishes. Ketchup appeared as a ready-made condiment in both print and manuscript. In the 1683 *Young Cooks Monitor*, the recipe "To Stew Pigeons" included a note from the author explaining that when you "serve them to the Table, if you have any Ketchup, you may put in half a score drops."[27] For this author, ketchup was a thin enough sauce to be measured drop by drop, and strong enough that even ten drops would make an impact. And in Henry Howard's 1710 *England's Newest Way in All Sorts of Cookery*, the author's directions "To Make Gravy" encouraged readers to "add some Catchup" to their beef- and bacon-based gravies "when you have occasion."[28] In this printed text, Howard, who wrote of himself as a "Free-Cook of London," wrote of ketchup within a text intended to capture the latest cooking trends. But including ready-made ketchup as an additive to recipes was a practice also employed in manuscript books. In one anonymous manuscript recipe book written between 1700 and 1710, the author also paired pigeons with fish-or-soy ketchup, explaining that pigeons could be flavored with "a little Catchope." They also recommended the salty sauce for "a Calves head hash" which called for "a little Ketchope," alongside the dish.[29]

It is likely that ketchup appealed to early modern British consumers because of a combination of need and ignorance. Since the disappearance of garum in the early medieval period, European cookery had been lacking umami-centered condiments. There were numerous local substitutes, and British cookery often employed salted anchovies or salted oysters to offer a kind of ersatz umami. But fish- and soy-based ketchups may have offered a better route to such tastes, as these sauces were strongly flavored, easily stored, and more shelf-stable. They appealed despite the fact that they were made with ingredients – namely, soybeans – which may have seemed new and unusual to many British women and men. For although, as we have seen, British authors used the word "soy" to describe ketchup in the seventeenth century, soybean plants themselves were not widely cultivated or even widely known in Britain in the period. Dampier claimed that "a Gentleman of my acquaintance, who was very intimate with one that sailed often from Tonquin to Japan, from whence the true Soy comes, told me, that it [soy] was made only with What, and a sort of Beans mixt with Water and Salt."[30] A more specific reference to soybean plants in English-language print came in 1778, when Colin Milne included them in the second edition of his *Botanical Dictionary*, writing that "Dolichos Soja," or the "Edible Kidney-Bean of India; Soy," was "doubly useful in the Japanese kitchens," where it served as the base ingredient for miso, as well as "the celebrated pickle termed Sooju, or Soy."[31] British authors and consumers thus knew about ketchup as soy sauce without necessarily understanding its botanical or culinary origins.

In metropolitan Britain, demand for ketchup might perhaps have outpaced supply, for early modern British people soon started trying to make their own. In the process, they turned an imported product into something new. Attempting to replicate the umami flavor found in Southeast and East Asian soy- or fish-based sauces, Britons turned to a variety of more familiar and local ingredients: fish, shellfish, mushrooms, beer, and walnuts. In the *Young Cooks Monitor*, readers were told that they could substitute fish and then lemon as flavoring agents: "if you have no Ketchup, then put in one Anchovy, boyl it a little, then put in a little Juice of Lemon or shred Lemon [probably either lemon peel or zest]."[32] Other cookbooks suggested mushrooms; the early eighteenth-century *Country Housewife and Lady's Director* advised readers to save the "large flaps" and "gills" of their mushrooms each September so that they could turn them into ketchup.[33] Jane Staveley's 1693–1694 manuscript recipe book instructed readers that "a tablespoonful of…Mushroom and Walnut Ketchup" was a good flavoring agent for a sauce to accompany pike.[34] Her recipe collection likewise contained instructions for making ketchup out of British oysters.[35] Similarly savory ingredients were used in a recipe "to make catchup of Wallnut [from] Mrs Richmond" found in an anonymous recipe book from ca. 1720; this recipe author included meaty, rich walnuts to flavor their ketchup, which was supposed to be cooked until "it's the Couler of Clarett."[36] And one of Mrs. Knight's 1740 recipes for ketchup called for "strong stale bear [beer] … the stronger and staler the bear [beer] the better."[37] Staleing beer causes it to oxidize, eliminating the sharp, floral flavors imparted by either hops or herbs, both commonly used to brew beer in the early modern period. Staleing makes beer sweeter, maltier, and less bitter.[38] By using rich, meaty bases like walnuts or oysters; by reducing liquids until they were dark (eg., claret-colored); and by aging or adjusting ingredients in order to impart sweetness or change their flavors from bitter to mellow, it seems that these recipe authors attempted

to replicate the taste, color, and texture of sauces from the wider Indian Ocean world, but only by relying upon ingredients which they already knew how to cook, and which would have tasted familiar to them.

Other early modern Britons were not interested in mimicking or replicating these sauces, even imperfectly. They tried another tactic, making their ketchup sauces spice-filled and "exotic" while employing a core group of British ingredients as a base.[39] Staveley's 1693–1694 manuscript cookbook also included a recipe for ketchup from a "Mrs. Marshall" which was filled with imported ingredients: "a quart of Madira, a quarter of an Ounce of Mace, [and] a quarter of an Ounce of whole white pepper."[40] The oyster ketchup in Staveley's book included a quarter of an ounce of mace, a quarter of an ounce of cloves, and one sliced nutmeg.[41] A ca. 1690–1750 manuscript book called for the addition of nutmeg, mace, and "whole pepper" to its recipe for walnut ketchup.[42] And Jane Webb's ca. 1725–1750 manuscript book called for cloves, mace, and pepper to flavor its recipe "Ketchup for Fish."[43] One ca. 1720 anonymous book even claimed that ketchup should be made with a base of *Dianthus caryophyllus*, the widely cultivated clove gillyflower, with the "top of three clove gilly flowers" joining imported ingredients such as one nutmeg, half an ounce of cloves, half an ounce of mace, and half an ounce of cinnamon. This combination of botanicals created a mixture so potent, the author warned, "a little of this goes a great way."[44]

And some ketchup translations offered complex cultural maneuvers and appropriations. In another of Jane Staveley's many ketchup recipes, the author explained to her friends and family members that a sauce called "white Catchup" could be "thicken'd with flour and butter," using a technique that was "the same as if you were melting butter."[45] In her aim to produce a sauce that, she believed, was a good accompaniment "for [the] Turkey Fowls & Veal" that often appeared on British tables, Staveley thus worked to turn ketchup, thin and salty in its place of origin, into a dense, creamy sauce. These instructions for making ketchup into something it wasn't – thick, not thin; buttery and fatty, not astringent or sharp; white, not brown – were symbolic acts of domestication, a way of claiming the condiment and its global associations while repurposing it for British tastes.[46]

We are left with the great irony of ketchup: as we will see, of the many condiments British travelers encountered in the seventeenth century, this one was met with sincere enthusiasm but also ended up undergoing profound transformations. By the mid-eighteenth century, ketchup sustained its most iconic adaptation and transition, with the introduction of tomato. It is nearly impossible to trace the first instance of any recipe, but an early example of a recipe for tomato ketchup, appearing in an anonymous manuscript recipe book written in Pennsylvania, ca. 1750–1830, offers some brief but very suggestive hints about its evolution. The instructions "To make Tomatto Kechup," called for cooks and makers to "Take your Tomatto's, when ripe," and to combine them with salt, garlic, onions, and "reed pepper," in an earthenware dish, baking them until soft, and then stewing the resulting liquid with allspice, cloves, mace, ginger, nutmeg, mustard, horseradish, and "port wine or a very sharpe vinigar." This tomato ketchup is a domestic product, rather than a mass-produced commercial one; readers are given the suggestion to "put your Dishies in they Bakeoven, after they Bread is out," suggesting that manufacture of this sauce could be thriftily integrated with other household kitchen tasks.[47] The flavor profile of this tomato ketchup, with its allspice, cloves, mace, and

nutmeg, is similar to that of the spice-filled, thin and brown ketchups adapted by British metropolitan cooks. But the inclusion of two plants wild-grown in the Americas – tomato and capsicum, the "reed pepper" in this recipe, to which we'll return later in this article – placed its ingredients within Atlantic as well as Indian Ocean foodways and food systems. This Pennsylvania ketchup thus represented yet one more step in the long, complex transition from kôe-chiap or kecap to the thick, spiced, tomato purees that are so beloved, and so profitable, today.

The case of ketchup is a lesson in the complexity of disgust during Britain's tumultuous early imperial expansion. In pursuit of household production, British consumers changed the very nature of ketchup until it was unrecognizable from the original condiment. They also domesticated and, as we have seen, in some instances quite literally whitened ketchup, translating it into a product which carried the name and cache of an imported product, which was made safe, controllable, and seemingly "British" via its ingredients, preparation, and intended method of consumption. Like the later American use of "white sauce," about which Laura Shapiro has written, this translated version of ketchup brought to bear on the main dish an "enveloping mask of smoothness and purity."[48] Radical acts of domestication and transformation were enacted upon ketchup, not because of disgust, but because of desire. British consumers wanted to make their own umami condiments, and they invested considerable time and energy in attempting to adapt a southeast Asian dish to northwest European foodways. The result of this century-long effort was a break between the new British ketchups and the original condiments found at the edges of their empire.

Pickles, Pickled Mangoes, and Piccalilli

In 1563, Garcia de Orta, a Portuguese physician working in Goa, wrote excitedly about a condiment made from Bengal quinces in his *Coloquios dos simples e drogas da India*: "Yes, I have heard [of], and sometimes I have seen [this dish] … It always preserves that styptic taste [eg., astringent, raw, acidic] however ripe it may be."[49] Orta's book highlighted achar, a new and delightful food for his European readers, stating that achar "gives us a flavor on fish days, and excites the appetite in the salads made with it."[50] Orta was attempting to describe something that most western Europeans had never before encountered: a pickled fruit or vegetable which could be eaten alongside a dish to give the meal flavor, texture, piquancy, and contrast.[51] Orta's achar may have been new to early modern Western European colonizers, but the history of these foods in the Indian Ocean world is extensive. Achar featured in premodern literature, art, and dietary tracts from South Asia. Fruits and vegetables flavored and preserved with salt, vinegar, garlic, cilantro, ginger, mint, lime, sesame, turmeric, mustard seeds, and oil had been grown and consumed in the area for centuries. As Anil Paralkar has shown, these preserved foods had been a feature of royal feasts from as far back as 1000 CE, and, in the Mughal period, routinely featured on the tables of the upper echelons in South Asian society.[52] For Europeans who encountered it for the first time, achar offered both gustatory delight and the promise of profit. Pickles like these did indeed, as Orta claimed, "excite the appetite."

Europeans quickly pulled achar onto their plates and into their lexicons. In Portuguese it was called *achar*; the Dutch called it *atjar* or *atchaer*, and the French *d'achar*.[53] But

when it moved into the English language, achar's translation was not quite as straightforward. William Dampier, one of the first Britons to describe achar, wrote about how it was made in the Mekong river delta:

> When the Mango is young, they cut them in two pieces, and pickle them with Salt and Vineger, in which they put some Cloves, of Garlick. This is an excellent sawce, and much esteemed; it is called Mango Achar. Achar, I presume, signifies Sawce.[54]

Here, Dampier signaled his confusion about achar, saying that the plants were "pickle[d]," then calling the resulting condiment "an excellent sawce," and inferring erroneously that "achar, I presume, signifies Sawce." Dampier's attitude toward achar – that it was delicious, but that it could be translated and appropriated in the way he wished – was echoed in many British treatises about this food. The OED holds that the word achar appears in just five English-language books across a two-hundred -year period.[55] This does not mean that preserved fruits and vegetables from the Indian Ocean world were not discussed; they were incredibly popular, appearing, as we will see, in printed and manuscript cookery books, as well as in correspondence, travelogs, and advice literature. But, as was the case with ketchup, British linguistic ignorance about new condiments was matched by British botanical ignorance about them. British people used a different word to describe achar: like Dampier, they called it "pickle."

The word pickle came from Middle Dutch or Middle Low German, and meant "to pierce or prick:" a description of the sensation that people using these languages felt on their tongues when they consumed salty and sour sauces.[56] When British travelers and colonizers tasted achar, even though the major ingredients were unlike anything they'd eaten at home, they experienced the same prickly mouthfeel that they had grown to expect while eating metropolitan foods preserved in salt and vinegar. And so, when British consumers began to think about, write about, make, and eat foods that were preserved according to South and Southeast Asian methods, they called these foods "pickles."

Like ketchup, achar was quickly written into British recipe books. For instance, in Mrs. Knight's ca. 1740 receipt book, a recipe for "A pickle in imitation of India bambo-[o]," called for the addition of ingredients such as vinegar, red pepper, ginger, and mace. This book also offered a recipe "to pickle small mellons as they do in India," in which melons were preserved with white mustard seeds, bruised garlic, sliced ginger, turmeric, and oil. In this entry it was unclear who "they" were, and whether this recipe was intended to be in homage to the so-called West or East Indies.[57] Mrs. Knight was not alone in her recipe for achar, or her conflation of two distinct geographic spaces and cultures. An anonymous manuscript cookbook, written sometime between 1700–1775, gives a recipe for "Indian Pickle," calling for garlic, ginger, long pepper, mustard, turmeric, and "crab vinegar," or verjuice.[58] Another eighteenth century manuscript, in the recipe "To Make Indian Pickle," calls for similar ingredients.[59] These recipes, for what is ostensibly achar without such a title, demonstrate how achar was translated into the British language and for the British palate, with the Indic title itself lost in favor of a word that was more legible to British consumers: it was simply "Indian Pickle," made with British fruits and vegetables in "imitation of India."

But "pickle" was not the only noun and verb used to describe achar in British manuscript receipt books. The word "mango" emerged simultaneously as a catch-all to describe not the fruit *Mangifera indica*, but the nouns and verbs that described British imitations of achar. Europeans did love mango achar, transporting the plants from Asia to Europe by ship as early as the sixteenth century.[60] Europeans transplanted, cultivated, and preserved mangoes – most likely via the labor of enslaved women and men – in their Caribbean colonies. In the eighteenth century, the infamous enslaver Edward Long made note of a "method of curing Mangoes," which he had received from Dr. Thomas Dancer, a physician in Jamaica. Dancer's recipe called for "full grown" mangoes, and Long wrote that the maker should "steep them in Salt & Water for some Days till they are a little soft – separate the Flesh from each side of the Stone – Stuff them with Garlic Mustard seed &c scalldede in Vinegar" and then "Tie them up, put them in jars, & pour on a boiling Pickle made with Garlic, Siuger [sugar] &c. Turmeric &c. steep'd in Vinegar." Dancer's and/or Long's inclusion of sugar, Jamaica's major export and one made possible via Britain's intense engagement with slavery, is suggestive; few other recipes for pickled mango called for sugar. But Long went on to explicitly place this recipe for mango pickle within Caribbean frameworks, adding "NB There is no good vinegar to be got in Jamai[c]a."[61]

While British people consumed mangoes and mango pickles in South and Southeast Asia, as well as in their Atlantic colonies, they could not easily do so in the metropole: Britain was too cold and its weather too inhospitable for the cultivation of *Mangifera indica*. It was possible to read and learn about mangoes via the written word, for mentions of mangoes, and of mango pickles, appeared in European texts; Orta devoted an entire chapter to them, claiming that they would, in time, "surpass all the fruits of Spain."[62] And in his 1687 travel journal, translated into English and published in London, Jean de Thévenot described "two kinds of *Indian* Trees, to wit *Mango*-Trees, and those Trees which are by the *Portuguese* called *Arbor de Reyzes*."[63] The fact that Thévenot's English translator defined mangoes by their place of origin – they were "Indian trees" – is telling. Mangoes were imagined by Thévenot as other, alien, even as he conflated the so-called West and East Indies into one foreign space. This was also imagined as a delightful, albeit nonspecific, space: in John Fryer's 1698 travelog, he called the fruits "Mangos, the delight of India."[64]

On occasion the fruit might arrive packed in the hold of an East Indiaman, as in 1701 when a "parcel of choice Mangoes lately come from the Indies" was offered at 4s. the dozen in a London coffeehouse; it's unclear whether these were fresh mangoes or mango achar, although it is hard to imagine how fresh, raw fruits would have survived the long journey.[65] But British women and men living in the metropole soon attempted to create their own versions of the preserved mangoes that were global imports. Recipe books offer evidence of the many creative, and sometimes dubious, ways that British people attempted to replicate mango achar. In his *Aceteria*, Evelyn included a recipe for "Mango of Cucumbers" which had many of the components described in Dampier's pickled mango recipe of 1697. Evelyn called for cooks to "Take the biggest Cucumbers . . . of the Mango size . . . that look green: Open them on the Top or Side; and scooping out the Seeds, supply their Place with a small Clove of Garlick." These stuffed cucumbers were to be placed "into an Earthen Glazed Jarr, or wide-mouth'd Glass, with as much White Wine Vinegar as will cover them." Evelyn's recipe carried with it significant assumptions as well as adaptations. His comment that readers should choose plants

that were "of the Mango size" exposed his assumption that most British cooks and/or readers would have a familiarity with, if not access to, *Mangifera indica*. But his adaptations to "Mango of Cucumbers" were perhaps even more revealing. His recipe called for the three basic ingredients of preserved mango: salt, vinegar, and garlic, the same three ingredients listed in Dampier's eye-witness account. But Evelyn didn't stop there: he called for his mango-cucumbers to be boiled with "Pepper, Cloves, Mace, &c." These ingredients, sourced from around the early modern world, would produce "an excellent Mango," according to Evelyn; but by including these new ingredients, he significantly altered the recipe, making it spicier and with a much more complex flavor profile, but using familiar produce available to early modern Britons.[66]

Manuscript recipe books followed suit. In her 1740 collection, Mrs. Knight included an entry "To Pickle Mango Cucumbers" which was very similar to Evelyn's. It, too, instructed cooks to use "mace, ginger, whole Black pepper, bruised Mustard seed, Horse raddish and [some] a Cloves of garlick."[67] This formulation was also used in "To pickle cowcumbers Like mango," in Anne Carr's manuscript book.[68] And in her own hand-written book, Grace Saunderson, Viscountess Castleton, included a recipe for how "to pickel Mellons & quinch [quince] Like mangoe," which called for "a good deall of whole mace & whole peper," as well as mustard-seed.[69] The book kept by M.W. noted that when making pickled walnuts, "if you design them for Mango," readers should use fresh vinegar.[70] Constance Hall's pickled cucumber recipe was simply called "To make Mangoe," and included salt and "sliced garlick," but also "sliced ginger" and "whole pepper."[71] Sometimes mango even transitioned from a noun to a verb, and became a synonym for "to pickle:" in an anonymous late-seventeenth century manuscript recipe book, the author included instructions on how "To Mango Mellons," a recipe which included garlic, mustard seed, vinegar, and salt.[72] Another book from ca. 1706 included a recipe for "Coucombers Mango'd."[73] And in an anonymous recipe book from ca. 1680–1720, the author-compiler noted in their recipe for pickled walnuts that "If you would have them after the Mangoe fashion, Put in Mustard & Garlick into the Last Pickle."[74]

In addition to being "Mango'd" or made in a "Mangoe fashion," achar was, crucially, transmuted into one other popular form: piccalilli. Piccalilli, a dish still sold and eaten in Britain today, is a condiment relish of different preserved vegetables, usually including cauliflower, onion, and green beans, and seasoned with turmeric to give it a bright golden yellow color. It is unclear where the word "piccalilli" comes from. The term appears almost fully-formed in an English manuscript at the end of the seventeenth century, when Anne Blencowe recorded a receipt "To Pickle Lila, An Indian Pickle," which she credited to "Lord Kilmory."[75] Over the next century a number of variations would appear: "Paco-Lilla," "Indian Lile," "To Make Pickle Lillo, an Indian Pickle," and even simply "Indian Pickle."[76] The *Oxford English Dictionary* posits that piccalilli is an "extended form of pickle."[77] The inclusion of "Lila," "Lilla," "Lile" and "Lillo" suggests that English-speakers were adulterating an Indian word, although few similar words in Indic languages were used in British strongholds at the time.[78] By the early nineteenth century, the condiment had standardized to the single word "piccalilli," and this form was widely used in books printed in Britain.[79] Whatever the etymology, descriptions of piccalilli in early modern manuscript cookbooks, as well as the epithet of "Indian

pickles," deliberately marked these recipes as foreign. It was not merely a pickle, it was an *Indian* pickle, and the unfamiliar sound of the word set this food apart.

Piccalilli offers the ultimate example of the British adaptation and domestication of condiments. Even in its earliest examples, piccalilli's major ingredients were resolutely British. Anne Blencowe's ca. 1694 recipe calls for vegetables like cabbage, cauliflower, celery, radishes, green beans, and asparagus, all of which, by the late seventeenth century, had been domesticated and eaten in metropolitan Britain for centuries. To season these vegetables, Blencowe recommended similarly British ingredients: salt, garlic, mustard seed, vinegar, and long pepper, a plant that, while native to the subcontinent, had been used by Western Europeans since the classical period. What, then, made this pickle "Indian"? The seeming exoticism of the pickle probably proceeds from two additional ingredients cited in Blencowe's recipe, ginger and turmeric. Although both ginger and turmeric had been in wide use in metropolitan Britain since the medieval period, for seventeenth- and eighteenth- century British women and men, both foods retained senses of the curious, unusual, strange, and even disgusting.[80] By including turmeric and ginger, Blencowe contributed to the invention of a pickle which was imagined as "Indian," even though its gastronomic history was just as British as the other "household receipts" in her book.

It is possible that it was the imaginary Indian identity of piccalilli which ultimately caused it to become more alien and increasingly exoticized. As British cooks made more and more batches of piccalilli, they increased the number of ingredients sourced from outside of the metropole. A later, anonymous recipe book from the seventeenth through eighteenth centuries, "To make Indian Lile," is based on the Blencowe (or perhaps the "Lord Kilmory") piccalilli recipe.[81] It, too, calls for British vegetables, listing cabbage, cauliflower, celery, and radish as core ingredients. To season the vegetables, the book recommends salt, garlic, and vinegar. And it includes the same supposedly foreign but actually quite typical "Indian" ingredients as in Blencowe's recipe: ginger and turmeric. But in place of the familiar long pepper, a spice that Britons had been using for centuries to give their foods a mild bite and piquancy, this anonymous book calls for a fiery substitution: "1 ounce of fresh Capsicum either green or Red." This anonymous book was not the last to include chile in piccalilli, and the condiment gradually grew hotter. By the time the recipe appeared in Isabella Beeton's iconic 1861 *Book of Household Management*, capsicum had become essential to the British condiment.[82] Beeton's "INDIAN PICKLE (very Superior)" called for whole "capsicums, chilies, &c." to be nestled alongside the mainstay vegetables of cabbage, cauliflower, and green beans, and an additional "1/4 oz. of cayenne," was added to the standard spice blend of garlic, mustard, ginger, and turmeric. This capsicum-laced pickle condiment was imagined as emblematic, with the author declaring that "this recipe was taken from the directions of a lady whose pickle was always pronounced excellent by all who tasted it, and who has, for many years, exactly followed the recipe given above."

The addition of American chiles to British-born piccalilli is noteworthy. In flavor profile, the substitution of capsicum for long pepper changed piccalilli from a salty, tangy pickle with warming spices to a condiment heated with capsaicin. It caused the taste of the piccalilli to become much less familiar, perhaps even off-putting and disgusting, to someone with a traditional British palate. While piccalilli had long been imagined as "Indian," the addition of capsicum to the condiment was, as we will see in the next

section, acceptable only because piccalilli was primarily imagined as British. In seventeenth- and eighteenth-century Britain, capsicum carried persistent connotations of foreignness and otherness; condiments like piccalilli, or like the Pennsylvania tomato ketchup containing capsicum "reed pepper," only *seemed* exotic. Safely domesticated, both of these condiments could become vehicles for new flavors.

Chile Sauce and Its Discontents

But not all condiments, and not all uses of capsicum, could be easily translated out of global contexts and into British ones. Chile sauce was one such failed translation. Generally made from capsicum mixed with salt and suspended in vinegar, chile sauce – like the eponymous pepper which Tryon decried as a "horror" – came to the British Isles as part of colonial conquest of the Americas and the ensuing Columbian Exchange. Neither the pepper nor the sauce was widely adopted in the seventeenth and eighteenth centuries. This is not because Britons rejected it outright, or because they didn't try to domesticate and adapt it. Rather, the limits of chile sauce, and the disgust it evoked for early modern British eaters, reflect a complex multitude of factors, including linguistic and botanical confusion about the origins of the condiment's main ingredients, lack of ready substitutes, fears about its properties, ecological constraints, and racialized assumptions about diet and culture.

At the heart of the chile sauce problem was the enigmatic plant which gave this condiment its distinctive burning flavor. The product commonly referred to as "chile," "chilli," and "chili" is derived from plants of the *Capsicum* genus, consisting of some 20 to 30 wild species and five domesticated taxa.[83] Of the five, *Capsicum annuum*, *Capsicum chinense*, and *Capsicum frutescens* became global commodities.[84] These domesticates were critically important to pre-colonial Mesoamerican foodways. This was recognized in the period itself by the Incan historian Garcilaso de la Vega, or El Inca, who wrote in his 1609 tome that chiles, and chile sauces, were highly valued in Mesoamerica: "With these fruits – and at the head of them all according to the taste of the Indians – we might include the condiment they invariably take with everything they eat, whether stewed, or boiled, or roasted."[85] They also provided Indigenous Mesoamerican people with essential micronutrients, as dried then rehydrated chile in particular served as the base for vitamin-rich, sauce-based dishes. When Europeans began to invade the Americas, these chile sauces, sometimes known as *chilmolli*, were in wide use.[86] And although some colonizers ate and adapted to capsicum, as we will see, many did not; even for those Europeans who did consume chile, the effects and benefits of capsicum were muted. Because the technology of rehydrating dried chiles before crushing them to paste did not transfer to Europe, many of the non-flavor qualities of chile, including its role as a sauce thickener and Vitamin C provider, were lost.[87]

While today we can pinpoint the geographic origin of chile to Meso- and South America based on modern archaeological and paleontological tools, early modern Europeans were far more confused about the genesis and nature of chile peppers, once again demonstrating how linguistic and botanical misunderstandings and ignorance played key roles in the ways condiments were colonized. Europeans first encountered and named the chile plant based on a mistake: as the fabled story goes, Christopher Columbus, hoping he had reached India and thus improved European access to Indian

Ocean spices, himself conferred the name "pimiento" on capsicum fruits, after the Spanish term for black pepper (today categorized as *Piper nigrum*).[88] Despite such misconceptions, chile pepper proved a hit with spice-minded Iberians. Many herbalists focused on the novel appearance and intense color of capsicum, a fact borne out by the ways that the plant was rendered in herbal illustrations. One brief, illuminating example is the 1613 codex *Hortus Eystettensis*, produced by Nuremberg botanist Basilius Besler and held today by the Real Jardín Botánico, which features most illustrations of crops in black and white. The book's five types of chile, however, are rendered in bright color, emphasizing both the deep red of the ripe fruit and its unripe state in a forest green color.[89] Chile was thus a source of both curiosity and wonder for many Europeans. But access to and experiences with chile were not limited to higher-status consumers; capsicum became known as the "poor people's pepper" in Iberia.[90] In the warm climate of the Iberian peninsula, chile grew easily and proliferated as a cheap pepper alternative: as Spanish physician Monardes wrote, chile "doeth differ from that of the East Indias, for that costeth many ducates; and this other doth cost no more but to sowe it, for that in one plant you have spice for one whole yere, with lesse hurt and profite."[91]

Within a generation capsicum had not just been adopted by Spanish and Portuguese interlopers, but had also been spread or carried by them, as they enabled the plant to globalize. In particular, Portuguese voyagers brought chile to their colonial outpost at Goa, from which it spread to Southeastern Africa and eventually West Africa, as well as into southern China and southeast Asia.[92] The quick adoption of chile into these colonial locales is suggested by the European names for the pepper: some sixteenth-century European herbals refer to chile pepper erroneously as originating not in the Americas but rather in India, as delineated by references to "piper Indianum" and "piper ex chalicut" (a city on the Malabar coast); the famous English botanist John Gerard, for his part, described capsicum as "Indian Pepper" and also as "Ginnie" pepper, a reference to what is today the region including the Gambia, Guinea-Bissau, Guinea, Sierra Leone, and Liberia, along the northwest coast of Sub-Saharan Africa.[93] This linguistic confusion surrounding chile suggests the quick adoption of the pepper in parts of Africa, the Middle East, and the Indian Ocean, as well as the circuitous path via which chile was diffused into Europe.

But for all of capsicum's global influence and adoption, it received a markedly chillier reception in British contexts. Many early modern British herbalists refrained from describing capsicum plants in their works, giving some modern scholars "the impression that chili wasn't very common in Albion" when reading early sources.[94] By 1548, the London publication *The Names of Herbes* noted of capsicum that "The herbe groweth in certejne gardines in Englande," although this English-grown capsicum might not have been of high quality; chile plants struggled to thrive in Britain's cooler climate, so much so that English herbalist John Parkinson, writing in 1640, noted that capsicum plants "indeede seldom beareth ripe fruit in our Country."[95] There may have been a slightly better market for chiles grown in warmer places, dried, and then imported to Britain. It is unclear precisely when or how capsicum first arrived in Britain, but scholars have suggested it was likely grown and dried in the Americas, shipped to Lisbon and Seville, and then to Britain.[96] In his influential *Generall Historie of Plantes*, John Gerard noted in 1597 that chile was "well known in the shoppes at Billingsgate by the name of Ginnie

Pepper," suggesting its availability in London's dockside markets by the end of the sixteenth century.[97]

Despite its apparent availability and its global popularity, chile and chile sauce did not take off as a foodstuff in early modern Britain. Present-day historians may draw on chemical principles to point out that capsicum's burning feeling comes from a different chemical reaction than that of spices like black pepper, ginger, mustard, and horseradish. Christopher Woolgar has argued that, in late medieval England, people perceived tastes such as bitter, sharp, and harsh, but a capsaicin burn would not have been part of their familiar sensory worlds; this may have made capsicum taste strange or off-putting to early modern Britons.[98] These distinctions were not always drawn in the period, however; herbalist John Gerard made the connection between chile and black pepper quite strongly, tellingly describing chile as having a "hot biting taste like common pepper," and suggesting their similar sensory experience.[99] Further, while some botanists may have referred to chile as "Ginnie" or "Indian" pepper out of confusion, others seemed fully aware of the linguistic and ecological paths taken by capsicum. For instance, in the mid-seventeenth century, John Parkinson carefully explained in his work *Theatrum Botanicum* that chile "is in these dayes diversely called, for some call it Piper Indicum, Piper Americanum, Piper Brasilicum, or Brasilianum, some Calecuthium, some Hispanicum, and some Piper de Guinea," although "the Indians call it Axi [ají]."[100] Parkinson went on to note that many of these names incorrectly labeled the provenance of chile. He knew that "All these sorts of Pepper, came first from the West Indies, called America."[101]

For many British commentator-consumers, chile pepper was both like black pepper and distinct from it, with qualities that they found to be off-putting, disgusting, and even horrifying. Gerard, despite noting the similarities between chile pepper and black pepper, wrote that capsicum "hath in it a malicious qualitie," and, he had heard that "it killeth dogs."[102] He even claimed that the capsicum plant's leaves, stalks, and stems were "not unlike to those of [the poisonous] garden Nightshade," and that the peppers themselves were "very like to the berries of … wooddy Nightshade."[103] Others echoed Gerard's assessment. In his 1684 work *Friendly Advice*, Tryon described "Guinea-Pepper" as embodying "three extream Qualities:" "1. an astringent Sulpher, or stupifying Poyson from Saturn; 2. A fierce bitter keen sharpness from Mars; And 3. An hot penetrating Poyson from Mercury." The descriptions of the plant as "bitter," "stupifying," and – perhaps most damningly – like "Poyson," twice, suggest how chile may have been experienced in early modern Britain as a disgusting and dangerous foodstuff.[104]

For chile was not only difficult to eat; it was imagined as harmful to the British body. Early modern British physicians and botanists classified chile as hot to either the third or fourth degree, suggesting its strong potential to upset and damage.[105] Many botanists noted the physical harm chile could cause: for example, Gerard wrote that chile "is an enemy to the liver & other of the entrails."[106] Similarly, English botanist Nicholas Culpeper, in his seventeenth-century tome, wrote that chiles "burn and inflame the mouth and throat so extremely that it is hard to be endured." These strong statements about chile's seeming maliciousness or disgustingness are especially noteworthy given that other third- and fourth-degree hot foods, including black pepper, garlic, ginger, and mustard, were readily consumed in early modern Britain. While Gerard castigated chile, he described ginger very positively, as "right good with meate in sauces…for it is of an

heating and digesting quality, it gently looseth the bellie, and is profitable for the stomach."[107] But the smell of chile was, for Gerard, acrid and dangerous to health: "the vapours that arise from the husks or pods. . .will so pierce the brain by flying up into the head through the nostrils, as to produce violent sneezings, and draw down abundance of thin rheum, forcing tears from the eyes, and will all pass into the throat, and provoke a sharp coughing, and cause violent vomiting."[108] These statements reiterate the potential physiological danger, as well as the fraught sensory experience, of consuming chile. Gerard's warning that eating chile could produce obvious and visible forms of disgust, such as "violent vomiting," was additionally telling. As Meghna Sapui has argued in her article "Domesticating Disgust: Food, Labor, and Disgust in Colonial India," also located in this special issue, physical, bodily manifestations of disgust, including those also characterized by capsaicin overconsumption, such as coughing and retching, could be used to "police boundaries between the self and the other" in British imperial contexts.[109]

Assumptions about human physiology, humoral theory, and national identity also helped British commentators and consumers to dismiss chile as an appropriate food for their region and their bodies. Scholars have demonstrated how early modern European imperialists linked their perceptions of hot climates – namely, the colonial "tropics" or "torrid zones" – to ideas about death and disease. The putatively hostile climates of both the Americas and of Iberia, alongside the foods which grew in them, were understood as a racializing force: as Rebecca Earle has shown so persuasively within the context of the Spanish Empire, "settlers worried that the region's climate and foods might work the same transformations on their bodies that had earlier been wrought on the ancestors of the Indians, inducing alarming alterations in their own constitutions."[110] These factors were supposedly exacerbated when Europeans lived in hot places and then also consumed hot foods; as Earle has also shown, even Spanish conquistadors in late sixteenth-century Mexico were repudiated for "drifting about among the Indians, eating chilli and tomatoes," and because chile was imagined to "generat[e] profuse bile [and] blood" it was feared that consumption of the plant contributed to the cocoliztli epidemic in late-sixteenth-century Mexico City.[111]

Early modern British authors, commentators, and consumers believed that condiments made from chile, a "hot" food from a hot climate, were themselves racialized, and that they carried the potential to be dangerously racializing. Many writers placed capsicum within foodways that were non-British. When naturalist Hans Sloane wrote in his *Voyage to the Islands* in 1707 of consumption of chile and what appears to be a form of chile sauce throughout the Caribbean, he imagined capsicum as a food of "the Indians and Negroes," describing how these people would "very often pickl[e]" capsicum by "putting it into Pickle of Vinegar and Salt." While Caribbean communities supposedly "us'd [capsicum] in every thing," Sloane warned his British readers against this practice: "these Peppers ought not to be inwardly used, having something venemous and malignant in them."[112] John Evelyn, in his 1699 *Aceteria*, echoed this understanding of chile as a racializing and racialized foodstuff. He described how "the Africans," ate capsicum "with Salt and Vinegar by it self, as an usual Condiment." Evelyn then drew a stark distinction between non-Europeans, and people like himself, stating that consuming this condiment "wou'd be of dangerous consequence with *us*."[113] Similarly, James Knight, in his 1742 manuscript entitled the Naturall, Morall, and Politicall History of Jamaica, wrote, "Negroes are not only Subject to the Common diseases, but are likewise troubled

with some Distempers peculiar to themselves, and probably owing to their manner of living. . .as they Season so Excessive high salt and Pepper."[114] For many British authors and readers, what began as confusion about chile's origins gave way to a strong association between capsicum and Afro-Atlantic communities in "tropical" and "torrid" zones.

Chile was thus racialized and also rejected by British commentators; and yet we know that many other "tropical" commodities faced a different fate. There was no direct or clear line between where a plant might originate and how Britons might respond to the idea of consuming it. The examples of tobacco and chocolate, two transatlantic commodities that have received ample scholarly attention, might prove a helpful comparison. In Marcy Norton's pathbreaking *Sacred Gifts, Profane Pleasures*, she details the processes and meanings by which people in the Spanish Empire, with their visions of cultural and religious superiority, became "consumers of goods that they knew were so enmeshed in the religious practices of the pagan 'savages' whom they had conquered."[115] While at first many Spanish explorers and colonizers found these goods to be off-putting, as the early modern period progressed, consumables like tobacco and chocolate found firmer footing in Iberian markets.[116] And as Peter Mancall has argued of tobacco in his lively and impressive article "Tales Tobacco Told in Sixteenth-Century Europe," this plant underwent a complex and comprehensive rehabilitation campaign in print before it was widely accepted as beneficial for and desirable by Europeans.[117]

Chile never received this kind of concerted attention and rehabilitation in Britain. The reasons for the unevenness of these patterns are complex, with entangled factors such as climate, ecology, taste, and adaptability. As we have seen, and as was the case with ketchup and pickle, chiles were confused and misunderstood both linguistically and botanically; consumers might also have had to contend with poor supply in the form of both unripe fresh and imported dried capsicum. One additional, very suggestive, but very promising factor in chile's unpopularity in Britain might have to do with economies of scale. While quantitative data on tobacco cultivation can be difficult to parse, its treatment as a plantation monocrop lowered its price so much that it became, as Norton has argued, a commodity of "egalitarianism."[118] European markets were flooded with different forms of tobacco, including snuff, chew, and smoke, thus "reflecting the ubiquity and diversity of American provenance."[119] Similarly, by the end of the seventeenth century, chocolate "found a socially diversified market in Madrid," suggesting its appeal and adoption among broader and more socially diverse populations. It is possible that, for capsicum, the warmer climates of Iberia and the Mediterranean enabled chile pepper to be grown at scale, which meant it could follow tobacco and chocolate along similar paths of wide-scale translation and adoption. More than many of the other flavoring agents which spread about the globe in the seventeenth century, the chile pepper was, and to an extent still is, eaten where it could be easily, cheaply, and rapidly grown, in the Americas, the Mediterranean, and South and Southeast Asia. And so, while in Spain and Italy chile pepper could become the spice of the poor, Britain's colder climate meant that capsicum could not be grown at scale, and thus was not more widely adopted.[120]

All of these possible factors, including linguistic confusion, fears about the body, worries about climate and race, and ecological roadblocks, help us to better understand and contextualize the very few recipes for chile sauce which do appear in British collections. While chile-sauce and (possibly underripe) capsicum fruits may have been

available for sale in some London markets, these ingredients only very rarely made their way into the practical and aspirational manuscript recipe books of early modern British women and men. In most of these sources only a few recipes, including, as we have seen, recipes for some ketchups and some piccalillis, include chile as an ingredient for food. This was also the case in Penelope Jephson Patrick's seventeenth-century book, which contains a recipe "To make Chocolate my Lord Gorg's way," which calls for "four cods of red Guinea. paper: which must be dried before the fire, and the seeds shaken clean out."[121] Only very occasionally did capsicum appear as the leading ingredient in British recipe books. One brief but also very revealing example of a failed chile sauce recipe comes from the ca. 1725–1750 manuscript recipe book kept by Jane Webb; this recipe, "To make Gavatcho," called for "Six Heads of Garlick," as well as vinegar, "a Tea-spoon full of Cayenn Pepper," and "two penny worth of Cochineal," which may have been employed to give the sauce a fiery color. The ingredients were to be combined, placed in a "Bottle in the Sun & shake it frequently for a fortnight," then filtered.[122] That this chile sauce was less appealing or successful is suggested by two components of this recipe; first, the author-compiler inserted an addendum, "Some Lemon Peel & the Juice of a Lemon is an improvement," indicating that the initial version of the recipe was lacking; and second, the name given to the recipe – "Gavatcho" – might perhaps have come from derogatory period slang. The word "gavacho," originating in Spanish but also known in England, was a derogatory term for foreigners.[123] By naming a chile sauce using nomenclature not only associated with Spain but also with derision and foreignness, Webb's recipe conveyed that this condiment was not quite at home in Britain. The existence of failed chile sauces in the British tradition was also recognized in print; Tryon, for instance, admitted that some British people consumed capsicum in the form of a "hot fiery Sawce." This sauce had, Tryon explained, a pickle base, for "the bigger sort [of capsicum] our English do commonly pickle, and so preserve it for a common Sawce to eat with Flesh … pickling of it with Salt and Vinegar." But Tryon was still convinced that chile sauce was bad for Britons, for "the frequent eating of it must needs prove pernicious to Health."[124]

Taken together, these brief but revealing snippets of evidence suggest that the kind of elite British households which, otherwise, were at the leading edge of globalizing their foodways, had some trouble translating chile-based condiments out of Atlantic contexts. There was no single reason for the tepid reaction of British recipe-writers to chile pepper and chile sauces, but as we have seen, a confluence of factors helps us to better understand the slow adoption of chile sauce in Britain. These included a lack of clear analogues in northwest European foodways; confusion about its origins amongst scholars and writers; a fear of its potency and impact on the British body; and, perhaps, environmental and cost limitations. Instead of being marked as delectable, chile sauce's novelty transformed it into a vector of displeasure at best and disgust – if not potential death – at worst.

Conclusions

She sent her priests in wooden shoes,
From haughty Gaul to make ragouts;
Instead of wholesome bread and cheese,

To dress their soups and fricassees;
And for our home-bred British cheer,
Botargo, catsup and caviar.

Jonathan Swift, *A Panegyric on the Dean, in the person of a Lady in the North*, ca.1730 in Jonathan Swift, *The Works of Jonathan Swift; Containing Interesting and Valuable Papers, Not Hitherto Published* (England: Bell, 1880).

By the time that Jonathan Swift wrote his satirical poem *A Panegyric on the Dean*, condiments like ketchup and achar had entrenched themselves in elite British households. Ever one to poke fun at and draw attention to the pretentions and affectations of his fellow Britons, the culinary joke in Swift's poem would have been immediately recognizable to a reader of the early eighteenth century. Having mocked "haughty Gaul" and extolled the virtues of simple British foods, true Britons celebrated with botargo, ketchup and caviar, all imported and fishy delicacies. For Swift, ketchup served as a marker of both foreignness and Britishness. Like caviar and botargo, it came from abroad, and its purchase for elite tables signified wealth and the prestige of access to global foodways.

In many respects, Swift's poem pointed toward a resolution of the debate which had pitted Floyer against Tryon a few decades earlier. The two scholars had wrestled with the newness, disruptiveness, healthfulness, and cultural cost of condiments. In the process, they were trying to determine what condiments were doing to the British body and the British body politic. But by the mid-eighteenth century, it was clear that some of the new global condiments had been domesticated and integrated in the metropole. Swift's verse reflected upon an essential part of British expansion and colonial interaction in the late seventeenth and early eighteenth centuries: the domestication, adaptation, and appropriation of foods from around the empire. Condiments became so popular in the metropole that they had worked their way into domestic manuscript recipe books, demonstrating a British longing for new and unusual tastes and foods, and a simultaneous desire to make these products their own.

Yet Swift's emphasis on certain new foods is matched by his marked silence on others. If ketchup, and soon "Mango Pickle," would be welcomed into the British culinary fold after having undergone proper transformation and domestication, then chile sauce remained outside acceptable norms. As this article has shown, there was no single schematic for determining which foods would become popular and which would not. British writers, merchants, and increasingly, metropolitan households had drawn a distinction between peppery chile sauces and other new condiments. No suitable substitutes had been found for the tropical plant, and its continued association with Black and Indigenous populations ensured that chile was not routinely or popularly added to wide ranges of dishes; chile sauces remained an oddity or outlier rather than a tabletop staple. Finding substitutions, purchasing new flavors, and debating the validity of condiments were all components of British colonization. But disgust, an ever-present force shaping the adoption and transformation of new foods from the edges of empire, was not transmitted or translated in consistent or even logical ways. When Swift wrote of ketchup, the methods of encounter, adoption, transformation, and disgust which had

rendered chile inedible, and fish sauce and achar safe and inviting, had become a punchline rather than a matter of contest.

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Notes

1. Floyer, *The Preternatural State of Animal Humours*, 30, 33. For biographical information on John Floyer, see: Gibbs, "Floyer, Sir John (1649–1734)."
2. Tryon, *Wisdom's dictates*, 99. For biographical information on Thomas Tryon, see Smith, "Tryon, Thomas (1634–1703)."
3. Cevasco, "'Nothing Which Hunger Will Not Devour,'" 264–267. See also Cevasco, *Violent Appetites.*
4. Mintz and Nayak, "The Anthropology of Food," 199. Mintz elaborated on his theories of core-fringe fifteen years later, in Mintz and Schlettwein-Gsell, "Food Patterns in Agrarian Societies"
5. Chattopadhyay, "The Small Spaces of Empire"
6. Shahani, *Tasting Difference*, 5. See also: Norton, *Sacred Gifts, Profane Pleasures.*

7. See: Uma Narayan, "Eating Cultures;" Zlotnick, "Domesticating Imperialism;" Troy Bickham, *Eating the Empire*.
8. Earle, *The Body of the Conquistador*, 119.
9. Roy, *Alimentary Tracts*, 15.
10. Korsmeyer, "Delightful, Delicious, Disgusting," 219.
11. Hall opens her brilliant article with an exploration of salsa, which makes this all the more appropriate to this article on condiments. Hall, "'Extravagant Viciousness'."
12. For a good recent study of this process, see Veevers, *The Origins of the British Empire in Asia*. See too Games, *The Web of Empire*; Pagden, *Lords of all the World*. For the ecological and climatological context and consequences of British expansion, see Ghosh, *The Nutmeg's Curse*; Parker, *Global Crisis*. For some overviews in Atlantic and Indian Ocean contexts see Armitage and Braddick, eds. *The British Atlantic World*; Pearson, *The Indian Ocean*; Games, *Migration and the Origins of the English Atlantic World*; Kupperman, *The Atlantic in World History*; Greer, *Property and Dispossession*; Morgan, *Reckoning with Slavery*.
13. Bradley, *The Country Housewife and Lady's Director*, 143.
14. Séguier, *Bibliotheca botanica*, 345. The work includes an extensive botanical catalog in English.
15. For more on domestic sites of experimentation in early modern Britain, see Leong, *Recipes and Everyday Knowledge*; Werrett, *Thrifty Science*. The study of recipes has become increasingly popular within food studies of the early modern world. For just a few examples, see DiMeo and Pennell, eds. *Reading and Writing Recipe Books*; Goldstein, *Eating and Ethics in Shakespeare's England*; Wall, *Recipes for Thought*.
16. Smith, *Pure Ketchup*.
17. Statista, "Tomato Ketchup – Worldwide"
18. "Ketchup, n.," OED Online. For manuscript examples see UIL, "English Cookbook 1700," ff 20 and 22; FSL "Receipt book of Jane Staveley," 14–15; FSL "Cookbook, c. 1700–1775," ff. 47.
19. "Ketchup, n.," OED Online. Even today, communities in Indonesia make ample use of a condiment made from either a concentrated fermented soy (kecap asin) or mixed soy sauce and palm sugar or molasses (kecap manis), where kecap is pronounced, in English, as kuh-chop. Tanumihardja, "All About Kecap Manis, Indonesia's Sweet and Syrupy Soy Sauce;" Jampel, "Indonesia's Favorite Condiment;" Apriyantono et al., "Flavor Characteristics of Indonesian Soy Sauce"
20. For just some of the extensive scholarship on the history of fermented fish- and soy-based sauces produced around the worlds of the Sea of Japan, the East and South China Seas, and the North, South, and Southeast Pacific, see Yü, *Chinese History and Culture*; Höllmann, *The Land of the Five Flavors*; Mouritsen and Styrbæk, *Umami*; Chee-Beng, ed., *Chinese Food and Foodways in Southeast Asia and Beyond*; Yamamoto and Nawata, "Use of Capsicum Frutescens L. by the Indigenous Peoples of Taiwan and the Batanes Islands;" Du Bois, Chee-Beng, and Mintz, eds., *The World of Soy*.
21. Dampier, *A New Voyage Round the World*, Vol. II, 28. Dampier may also have attempted to transliterate the name for the fish sauce he tasted, writing in his text that he believed it was pronounced "nuke-mum," perhaps a transliteration of Vietnamese nước mắm, the general term for fish-sauce.
22. Montanus, *Atlas Chinensis*, 324.
23. Jones, *The Mysteries of Opium Reveal'd by Dr. John Jones*, 358.
24. "Advertisements and Notices," *Daily Courant*, December 30, 1712.
25. Lockyer, *An account of the trade in India*, 128–129; King, *The Life of John Locke*, 249.
26. B. E., *A New Dictionary of the Canting*, unpaginated.
27. M. H., *The Young Cooks Monitor*, 68.
28. Howard, *England's newest way in all sorts of cookery, pastry, and all pickles that are fit to be used*, 156.
29. UIL, "English cookbook 1700," ff 20 and 22.
30. Dampier, *A New Voyage Round the World*, Vol. II, 28.

31. Milne, *A botanical dictionary*, unpaginated. The *OED* also lists Milne's reference as the first in the English language for soybean plants; soybean plants then also appeared in the *Encyclopædia Britannica* a year later, in 1779.
32. M. H., *The Young Cooks Monitor*, 104–105.
33. Bradley, *The Country Housewife and Lady's Director*, 140–143.
34. FSL, "Receipt book of Jane Staveley," 15.
35. FSL, "Receipt book of Jane Staveley," 10–11.
36. FSL, "Cookbook, c. 1720," 11.
37. FSL, Knight, Mrs. Knight's receipt book, c. 1740, W.b.79.
38. Bennett, *Ale, Beer, and Brewsters in England*; "Drinking 'Expired' Beer," *Cook's Illustrated*.
39. See Ray and Srinivas, eds, *Curried Cultures*; Buettner, "Chicken Tikka Masala, Flock Wallpaper, and 'Real' Home Cooking;" Narayan, "Eating Cultures;" Zlotnick, "Domesticating Imperialism."
40. FSL, "Receipt book of Jane Staveley," 10.
41. FSL, "Receipt book of Jane Staveley," 10–11.
42. FSL, "Receipt book [manuscript], ca. 1690–1750," 39.
43. FSL, "Cookery book of Jane Webb," f. 91 v.
44. FSL, "Cookbook, ca. 1720," 11.
45. FSL, "Receipt book of Jane Staveley," 10.
46. FSL, "Receipt book of Jane Staveley," 10.
47. TWL, "Recipe Book, 1750–1830," f. 5 v–6 r.
48. Shapiro, *Perfection Salad*, 79.
49. Orta also called this "marmelos de Bengala." Following from the 1913 English translation of the work, Orta here most likely was referring to Aegle marmelos, or Bengal quinces. He also noted that it was used by "the physicians of Guzerat," who "use this fruit when young and tender as a conserve in vinegar." Orta et al., *Colloquies on the Simples & Drugs of India*; "Styptic, adj. and n.," OED Online.
50. We made use of two modern editions of this text: Orta, *Coloquios dos Simples e Drogas da India*; and Orta, *Colloquies on the Simples and Drugs of India*.
51. "Condiment, n.," OED Online.
52. Anil Paralkar has recently outlined the history of achar in South Asia and traced its early encounters with Europeans. Paralkar, "Trade, Exoticism, and the Appropriation of South Asian Pickles," 106–122.
53. "Achar, n.," OED Online; see the translators' notes in Linschoten, *The Voyage of John Huyghen van Linschoten to the East Indies*, 26; "ACHÁR," in Yule, *Hobson-Jobson*, 3.
54. Dampier, *A New Voyage Round the World*, 391.
55. These are Linschoten, *Discours of Voyages into ye Easte & West Indies*, which describes an entry on achar from 1628; Dampier's own text, Dampier, *A New Voyage Round the World*; Hamilton, *A New Account of the East Indies*; and Stavorinus, *Voyages to the East Indies*. See also "Achar, n.," OED Online.
56. "Pickle, n.1 (and int.) and adj.," OED Online.
57. FSL, "Mrs. Knight's receipt book," 19.
58. FSL, "Cookbook [Manuscript]," 47; "Crab, n.2." OED Online.
59. UIL, "Recepts in cookery," 36.
60. Reid, *Southeast Asia in the Age of Commerce*, 30. Exactly how the mangoes were transplanted (whether as seedlings or seeds), is not clear from the surviving records.
61. This notation might have been Dancer's, but given its inclusion at the end of the recipe, as well as the "NB," it may well have been Long's own addendum. BL, "Correspondence with Dr. Thomas Dancer," np.
62. In Portuguese, "Se aguora sam rezoadas, daqui vos diguo que no outro tempo excederam todalas frutas de Espanha." Orta, *Coloquios dos simples e drogas da India*, 102; see the English translation in *Colloquies on the Simples and Drugs of India*, 287.
63. In this passage the author was describing "Congo, a little Town in the Kingdom of Persia." Thévenot, *The Travels of Monsieur de Thévenot into the Levant . . . Book IV*, 175.

64. Fryer, *A New Account of East-India and Persia*, 40.
65. "Advertisements and Notices," *London Post with Intelligence Foreign and Domestick*, March 26, 1701–March 28, 1701, Seventeenth and Eighteenth Century Burney Newspapers Collection, https://link.gale.com/apps/doc/Z2001389998/BBCN?u=wash46354&sid=BBCN&xid=b8d00286, accessed May 19, 2020.
66. Evelyn, *Acetaria: a Discourse of Sallets*, appendix.
67. FSL, "Mrs. Knight's receipt book," 33.
68. FSL, "Choyce receipts collected out of the book of receipts," f. 41 r.
69. FSL, "The Lady Grace Castleton's booke of receipts," 162.
70. FSL, "Cookery and medicinal recipes of M.W. [manuscript]," f. 145 r.
71. FSL, "Cookbook of Constance Hall," f. 51 r.
72. FSL, "Cookeries, late 17th century," f. 166.
73. FSL, "Cookbook [manuscript], ca. 1705," 27.
74. FSL, "Manuscript cookery book [manuscript]," f. 32 r.
75. Blencowe, *The Receipt Book of Mrs. Ann Blencowe A.D. 1694*, 34. The "Lord Kilmory" mentioned in the recipe was probably either Thomas Needham, 6th Viscount Kilmorey (1660–1687), or his son Robert Needham, 7th Viscount Kilmorey (1683–1710).
76. Glasse, *The Art of Cookery*, 377; FSL, "Medicinal, Household, and Cookery Receipt," 1; UIL, "Carr Family Cookbook," 54; FSL, "Cookbook [Manuscript], ca. 1700-ca.1775," ff. 47.
77. "Piccalilli, n.," OED Online.
78. We are grateful to Traci Nagle, Joseph Clancy Clements, and Rebecca Manning for their linguistic help on this point.
79. For just two such examples, in 1788 it appears as a single word, "picadillo" in Cole, *The Lady's Complete Guide*, 386. In 1801, "pecallilo" is included in Mason, *The Lady's Assistant for Regulating and Supplying the Table*, 295.
80. Fine, "Plant of the Month: Turmeric," https://daily.jstor.org/plant-of-the-month-turmeric/.
81. FSL, "Medicinal, household and cookery receipts," 1.
82. Beeton, *The Book of Household Management*. Indian Pickle is listed as recipe number 451.
83. McLeod, Guttman, and Eshbaugh, "Early Evolution of Chili Peppers (Capsicum)," 361; Kraft et al., "Multiple Lines of Evidence for the Origin of Domesticated Chili Pepper, Capsicum Annuum, in Mexico," 6165–70.
84. DeWitt, *Chile Peppers*, 2.
85. Vega, *Royal Commentaries of the Incas, and General History of Peru, Vol. 1*, trans. H.V. Livermore, 504.
86. Katz, "Chili pepper, from Mexico to Europe," 216–17. These sauces were not known in the Yucatán, and as Rachel Laudan has pointed out, the chile-based mole sauce of Mexico is probably a Spanish invention. Laudan, "The Mexican Kitchen's Islamic Connection," 32–39.
87. Laudan, *Cuisine and Empire*, 201.
88. Andrews, "The Peripatetic Chili Pepper," 81.
89. Besler, *Hortus Eystettensis Sive Diligens*, vol. 2, unpaginated, but found within section "Primus Ordo Collectarum Plantarum Autumnalium," Primus Ordo Fol. 5. The herbal also included two black-and-white drawings of chile.
90. Earle points to the fact that "spicy, hot substances such as chillies were also appreciated, as they could substitute for the more expensive black pepper imported from India." Earle, *Body of the Conquistador*, 129.
91. Monardes, *Joyfull Newes out of the Newe Founde Worlde*, 20. Quoted in Krondl, "The Chilli Diaspora," 214–15.
92. Andrews, "The Peripatetic Chili Pepper," 88.
93. For more on the various names of chili, see Krondl, "The Chilli Diaspora," 208–20.
94. Krondl, "The Chilli Diaspora," 214.
95. Parkinson, *Theatrum Botanicum*, 357.
96. Andrews, "The Peripatetic Chili Pepper," 90.
97. Gerard, *The Herball*, 293.

98. Woolgar's full range of late medieval English tastes includes sweet, greasy, bitter, salty like the sea, sharp, harsh, vinegary, and tasteless. Woolgar, *The Senses in Late Medieval England*. See also Rozin and Schiller, "The Nature and Acquisition of a Preference for Chili Pepper by Humans."
99. Gerard, *The Herball*, 293.
100. Parkinson, *Theatrum Botanicum*, 358.
101. John Parkinson, *Theatrum Botanicum*, 358.
102. Gerard, *The Herball*, 293.
103. Gerard, *The Herball*, 293.
104. Tryon, *Friendly Advice to the Gentlemen-Planters of the East and West Indies In Three Parts*, 37–38.
105. See Krondl, "The Chilli Diaspora"
106. Gerard, *The Herball*, 293.
107. Ibid., 55.
108. Culpeper, *Culpeper's Complete Herbal*, 127.
109. Sapui, "Domesticating Disgust"
110. Earle, *Body of the Conquistador*, 85.
111. Earle, *Body of the Conquistador*, 146.
112. Sloane, *Voyage to the Islands of Madera, Barbados, Nieves, S. Christophers and Jamaica with the Natural History*, 241.
113. Emphasis added. Evelyn, *Acetaria*, 48.
114. Knight, *The Naturall, Morall, and Politicall History of Jamaica*, f. 184.
115. Norton, *Sacred Gifts, Profane Pleasures*, 3.
116. Norton, *Sacred Gifts, Profane Pleasures*, 161.
117. Mancall, "Tales Tobacco Told in Sixteenth-Century Europe" Of course, British women and men continued to associate tobacco with both people in the Americas and, increasingly, with the Black women and men who were enslaved to grow it there; on this see Molineux, "Pleasures of the Smoke."
118. Norton, *Sacred Gifts, Profane Pleasures*, 161.
119. Norton, *Sacred Gifts, Profane Pleasures*, 171.
120. The production, cost, and limitations of chili are discussed in Katz, "Chili Pepper, from Mexico to Europe," and Smith, "In the Shadow of a Pepper-centric Historiography"
121. FSL, "Receipt book of Penelope Jephson," f. 72 r.
122. FSL, "Cookery book of Jane Webb," f. 92 r.
123. See mention of "gavacho" from 1770 in the definition for "etymology" in the OED. The word has a long history in other Spanish-speaking countries, including in Mexico, where it takes the form "gabacho" and has additional resonances and meanings. "Etymology n. 2b," OED Online.
124. Tryon, *Friendly advice to the gentlemen-planters of the East and West Indies*, 37–38.

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