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Corned beef and cabbage, which is consumed in America in large quantities each Saint Patrick's Day (17th March), is considered by most Americans to be the ultimate Irish dish. However, corned beef and cabbage is seldom eaten in modern day Ireland. It is widely reported that Irish immigrants replaced their beloved bacon and cabbage with corned beef and cabbage when they arrived in America, drawing on the corned beef supplied by their neighbouring Jewish butchers, but not all commentators believe this simplistic explanation . This paper will trace the origins and history of corned beef in Irish cuisine and chart how this dish came to represent Irish cuisine in America. The name corned beef originates in seventeenth century England, derived from corns – or small crystals – of salt used to salt or cure the meat. The paper will discuss the anomaly that although corned beef was not widely eaten in Ireland, it was widely exported, becoming one of Ireland's leading food exports, mostly from the city of Cork. Irish corned beef provisioned the British navy fleets for over two centuries and was also shipped to the colonies. There is evidence of a strong trade in Irish corned beef as a staple for African slaves in the French West Indies and in other French colonies. Irish corned beef also became a staple in Pacific islands visited by the British navy, where it is called keg. These Pacific Islanders later corned their own beef, but sailors labelled it 'salt junk.'

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Corned Beef: An Enigmatic Irish Dish

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Corned Beef: An Enigmatic Irish Dish

Máirtín Mac Con Iomaire and Pádraic Óg Gallagher
Dublin Institute of Technology

> 'I've been going to America for twenty years now, and I can't believe how many times I've had to emphasize that we don't just live on corned beef, potatoes and cabbage in Ireland'[i].

Corned beef and cabbage, which is consumed in America in large quantities each Saint Patrick's Day (17th March), is considered by most Americans to be the ultimate Irish dish. However, corned beef and cabbage is seldom eaten in modern day Ireland. It is widely reported[ii] that Irish immigrants replaced their beloved bacon and cabbage with corned beef and cabbage when they arrived in America, drawing on the corned beef supplied by their neighbouring Jewish butchers, but not all commentators believe this simplistic explanation[iii]. This paper will trace the origins and history of corned beef in Irish cuisine and chart how this dish came to represent Irish cuisine in America. The name corned beef originates in seventeenth century England, derived from corns – or small crystals – of salt used to salt or cure the meat. The paper will discuss the anomaly that although corned beef was not widely eaten in Ireland, it was widely exported, becoming one of Ireland's leading food exports, mostly from the city of Cork. Irish corned beef provisioned the British navy fleets for over two centuries and was also shipped to the colonies. There is evidence of a strong trade in Irish corned beef as a staple for African slaves in the French West Indies and in other French colonies. Irish corned beef also became a staple in Pacific islands visited by the British navy, where it is called keg. These Pacific Islanders later corned their own beef, but sailors labelled it 'salt junk.'

Kurlansky (2002:125) notes that despite giving corned beef its name, the English did more harm to its good name than the Pacific Islanders, by canning it in South America. He notes that the Irish 'continued to make it well, and it has remained a festive dish there with cabbage for Christmas, Easter, and St. Patrick's Day, the three leading holidays.' The entry on corned beef in *Larousse Gastronomique* actually states 'cured beef, of American origin, which can be sold in cans.' In more recent times, tinned corned beef, or bully beef, has been imported from former colonies to

Ireland, most of which was eaten in sandwiches or salads. Davidson (2006) points out that much of modern canned corned beef came from the river port of Fray Bentos in Uruguay where Justus von Liebig had set up a processing plant in 1866 to produce meat extract that was later known as "Oxo". In 1924, the Fray Bentos firm passed into British hands and by the height of World War Two, in 1943, over 16 million cans were exported from this town that called itself 'the kitchen of the world.' Cattle remain important to the economic welfare of Ireland. Over 460,000 tonnes of beef (excluding offal) were exported from Ireland in 2009, more than half of that amount going to the UK market, with France, Italy and the Netherlands as the next largest importers of Irish beef.[iv] However, it is the freshly salted joints of Irish beef – principally brisket or tail end (silverside or topside) – that is the main focus of this paper.

Early beginnings:

Cattle have been central to the Irish way of life for centuries, and have fed on the rich green grass that grows so abundantly in Ireland's damp, temperate climate. Scientists have radio carbon-dated a cow bone found in an archaeological dig in County Kerry to 4,500BC. This places the Irish as early adapters to cow's milk consumption, considering that the estimated dates given for humans first consumption of cow's milk in the Near East is 5,000 – 7,000BC, when they developed the enzyme needed to digest it[v]. The Irish obsession with cattle is evident in Irish place names. '*Bó*' and '*tarbh*' are the words in the Irish language for cow and bull respectively. The word '*bóthar*' is Irish for road and a road was defined in width by the length and breadth of a cow. The word *buachail* which means boy is derived from *bua* (cow) and *chaill* (attendant), literally meaning cowboy or herdsman. Bovine Irish place names include Ardboe, Drumbo, Lough Bo, Drumshambo, Inishbofin, Clontarf and also the river Boyne (from *Bóinne*, Boann, or Bovinda – the goddess of the white cow). The Irish language name for Westport in County Mayo is *Cathair na Mart* – literally 'the city of the beef.'

Cattle were a measure of wealth in Gaelic Ireland. This led to many famous cattle raids in Irish mythology, but also, notes Sexton (1998:27), militated against the consumption of beef during the early medieval period (AD500-1200). Cattle raids, according to Mahon (1998:3) were 'less a method of warfare than a sortie into another

tribe's territory in which a young man might test his manhood.' They were also part of the ceremonial inauguration of a prince or chieftain and are mentioned no less than 402 times in the Annals of Ulster. The most famous Irish cattle raid is *Táin Bó Cuailnge* (The Cattle Raid of Cooley) where Queen Meadhbh of Connacht attacked the men of Ulster in search of a prized Brown Bull of Cooley, so that her wealth would be more than that of her husband. This legendary epic is a part of *Lebor na hUidre*, the book of the Dun Cow, the oldest extant Irish Manuscript, dating from the 11th century. Legend has it that the vellum in this book came from the hide of St Ciaran of Clonmacnoise's pet cow, hence the name. Cattle were used in payment or in barter and are mentioned as such in the seventh and eighth century Brehon Laws, where beef eating is associated mainly with the aristocratic classes.

Kelly (2000:336, 341) points out that salted beef (*bósall*) is rarely mentioned in ancient texts which is not surprising since salting an entire bullock would have required a large amount of salt. He also notes that there is no mention of salt mines or salt pans in pre-Norman texts and suggests that salt was produced from 'sea ash', the result of burning seaweed. The ancient text *Críth Gablach* refers to the use of sea ash for salting joints of meat, and the twelfth century poem *Aislinge Meic Con Glinne* provides evidence that beef was salted as well as bacon (Jackson, 1990):

> Wheatlet, son of Milklet,
> Son of juicy Bacon,
> Is mine own name.
> Honeyed Butter-roll
> Is the man's name
> That bears my bag.
> Haunch of Mutton
> Is my dog's name,
> Of lovely leaps.
> Lard, my wife,
> Sweetly smiles
> Across the kale-top.
> Cheese-curds, my daughter,
> Goes round the spit,
> Fair is her fame.
> Corned Beef, my son,
> Whose mantle shines
> Over a big tail.

Kurlansky (2002:124) discusses the trade in salt between Ireland and France from the middle ages, which would explain how the growth of large scale corned beef and

bacon industries became possible[vi]. The Gaelic reverence for cattle would explain why so little beef was eaten in the Irish diet, which centred on white meats (milk, butter and dairy produce) which did not require the death of the animal. Fynes Moryson, the English travel writer, for example, writing in the early seventeenth century, states:

> 'They feede most on Whitemeates, and esteeme for a great daintie sower curds, vulgarly called by them Bonaclabbe. And for this cause they watchfully keepe their Cowes, and fight for them as for religion and life; and when they are almost starved, yet they will not kill a Cow, except it bee old, and yield no Milke' (Moryson 1908:vol. 4, 200-201).

Lucas (1960) notes that the majority of herds were cows, suggesting that bull calves were killed at birth. Sexton (1998:28) therefore proposes that there must have been a high consumption of veal throughout the calving season among the Gaelic farmers with substantial herds. Noting evidence from Irish legal texts, she also suggests that some herds of bullocks must have been kept for the aristocratic tables. Ireland is a lush country where grass grows nearly all year round and is ideal for cattle production. Andrews (2010) cites a Tipperary farmer who suggested his field of grass was so fertile 'it would fatten a bicycle!' Mahon (1998:7-8) notes evidence that beef was salted and buried in bog holes, a practice common for the preservation of butter. She also points out that corned beef was a festive dish.

The Cattle Acts and Emergence of Corned Beef Industry

In early modern times, significant numbers of live cattle were exported to England. Between 24th June 1663 and 24th June 1664, some 76,754 oxen were exported from Ireland[vii]. There was also a growing provisions trade in salt beef to the West Indies from the late 1650s with the growth of the tropical sugar economies. Intense lobbying by (Northern) English cattle breeders led to the enactment by Parliament of The Cattle Acts of 1663 and 1667 prohibiting the export of cattle and cattle products to England. The first Cattle Acts placed a prohibitive duty on cattle exports to England between July and December. The 1667 Act led to an outright exclusion of exporting live animals to England from Ireland, which drastically lowered the price of beef in Ireland available for sale and export as salt or 'corned' beef (Cullen 1972:13-18). Mandelblatt (2007:26) notes that this change in prices was of great benefit to the incipient Irish provisions trade. Salt beef was central to this provisions trade, indeed

Truxes (1988:26-7) points out that between 1660 and 1688 Irish salted beef was the most important commodity traded from the British Isles. No other products carried from the English ports or from London matched the export volume of Irish corned beef.

Salt obviously played a major role in the production of corned beef and Ireland had a major advantage over both England and France because it enjoyed a much lower rate of salt tax, nearly one tenth that of England. Ireland only imported the best dry high quality white salt from Portugal, Spain or the South West of France. Salted provisions dominated Irish trans-Atlantic trade right up to the American Revolution (Cullen 1972:103; Truxes 1988:147). Cork city developed a highly skilled and efficient provisions industry utilizing its envied skills in curing, packing and scrutiny of product that ensured consistency and high quality of product when it reached the West Indies. There were salt beef industries based in other port cities such as Dublin, Belfast and to a lesser extent Waterford but by 1668 Cork's annual shipment of salt beef (16,960 barrels) represented half of Ireland's entire colonial beef exports (Mandelblatt 2007:27). Cork beef also reached higher prices than that of the other Irish port cities, and remained the leading source of beef entering New York and Philadelphia, despite growing influence of Belfast merchants in trading with mainland America (Truxes 1988:154).

Truxes (1988:24) identifies three stages in Ireland's transatlantic trade between 1660 and 1731. The first phase 1660-88 was a time of massive colonial expansion in sugar monoculture in the West Indies. This industry was driven by a huge increase in slave trade from West Africa. Louis XIV's 1685 *Code Noir* mandated the food requirements of slaves working on French colonial sugar plantations. This edict decreed that each slave should be provisioned with 'two pounds of salt meat' (*deux livres de boeuf sale*), but there is debate as to how strictly it was enforced (Mandelblatt 2007:28). The main consumers of Irish salt beef in the British West Indies were white planters and settlers with the slaves there provisioned on salt fish from Newfoundland. Ships bringing salt beef from Ireland to the Caribbean would then bring rum from the West Indies to Virginia or New York and return to Ireland laden with flax seed for the Irish linen industry.

The second phase identified (1688-1714) was a time of major turmoil in Ireland and of military campaigns in Europe. The battle between James II and William III caused widespread destruction and confusion in the country. The Anglo-French war, 1689-97 brought about severe restrictions on overseas trade. Special licences were issued for West Indies export but French privateers played havoc with this trade up to the mid 1690s. A major outbreak of distemper in 1688 depleted Irish livestock herds and it took nearly eight years to sufficiently rebuild herds to re-enter the West Indian market. Irish salt beef, however, regained its pre-war level within two years. The final phase according to Truxes was from 1714-31. The period post the Treaty of Utrecht saw a surge in trans-Atlantic commerce but was short lived as Ireland fell into its most serious economic depression of the eighteenth century. Nevertheless trans-Atlantic trade increased by more than 40% on average in the four years ending 1731 over the average of the four years ending 1714 (Truxes 1988:24).

So important was the trade in cheap Irish salt beef that both the English and French Parliaments enacted laws specifically around it. The French wrote a decree into law allowing its ships bound for the colonies to load beef in Irish ports, and also to allow Irish beef be landed, stored and re-shipped from the ports of La Rochelle, Nantes and Bordeaux without incurring taxes. Anglo-Irish landlords saw exports to France, despite the fact that England and France were at war, as a means of profiting from the Cattle Acts (Mandelblatt 2007:26). English expansion in the colonies also demanded Irish beef and during the 1760s and 1770s, 65-75% of all Irish beef was purchased by the English and French colonies combined (Cullen 1972:53-55). During the 18th century, wars played a significant role in the growth of exports of Irish beef. Irish salted beef was in demand by the Navy for two reasons, firstly its longevity at sea and secondly its competitive price.

Different Grades of Salt Beef and their Markets

The slaughter of cattle in August marked the beginning of the salt-beef season which ended generally in October (Mandelblatt 2007:27). The three basic grades of salt-beef were determined by the weight of the animal. ‘Small beef’ was the lowest grade and came from underweight animals usually slaughtered first. Next came ‘cargo beef’ or common mess beef and the top grade ‘best mess beef’ was produced from the heaviest cattle and generally slaughtered towards the end of the season. ‘The beef was cut into

eight pound pieces, graded, salted and packed into casks, the lower grades receiving more of the unpopular cuts such as necks and shanks. The casks were left stand for four or five days and then sealed by a cooper' (Mandelblatt 2007:27; Truxes 1988:151-2). Lord Chief Baron Edward Willes described these grades in one of his letters (c.1757-1762) to the Earl of Warrick[viii],

> 'I had the curiosity to enquire how they dispose of all parts of the ox slaughtered for exportation, and was informed, they had two methods of doing it. If it was for merchants service, the whole beef, neck as well as other coarse pieces were barrel'd up together, but if it for the English Navy, the necks and coarser pieces were not put into the barrel. They have a third sort which they call French beef, that is old cows and beeves that but half fat, which in time of peace they sell to the French. This sort of beef turns black and flabby, and almost to a jelly (no wonder sailors fed with this meat can't face our honest English Tars, who have so much better and more substantial food in their bellies).'

By 1800, England had become the main market for salted beef and pork products. This was in some way due to the provisioning of the Royal Navy but also the West Indian market was since 1780s procuring more of its provisions from North America (Cullen 1972:103). The decline continued and by 1815 exports of beef were a quarter of their 1770 peak. By the 1840s pork and beef exports outside the British Isles were less than three percent of their 1780 levels. From the mid nineteenth century, one of Ireland's leading exports was its people.

Immigration

The first great wave of Irish immigration to America occurred in the 1600s during the new country's colonization, with the arrival of 100,000 predominantly young Catholic men. Moloney (2002:6) points out that there was no word in the Irish language for willingly departing the homeland, and that up to the early twentieth century the only term for leaving was *deoraí* – exile. A second wave of immigrants known as the 'Scotch-Irish' settled from Pennsylvania to Georgia between 1710 and the early 1900s. They were descendants of protestant farmers from England and the lowlands of Scotland who had only been in Ireland for a few generations. The largest wave of immigration to America was in the years of and shortly after the Great Famine (1845-1849) when over a million Irish left Ireland for America, ten thousands of whom died on board the 'coffin ships' that transported them. Moloney (2002:14) notes that these were the first ethnic immigrant group in the United States 'to carve their future largely

from the urban industrial landscape.' These immigrants arrived in America to witness large-scale anti-Irish bigotry, but within a few generations they managed to carve out success at all levels of American politics. Businessmen and fraternal Irish-American organisations such as the Ancient Order of Hibernians helped fledgling politicos rise within the wing of the Democratic Party in places such as Tammany Hall. The first St. Patrick's Day Parade in New York City was held by Irish soldiers in the British Army in 1762[ix], but by the mid nineteenth century it became an event that was celebrated by an even more diverse crowd. Perhaps the proximity to St. Patrick's Day influenced President Lincoln's consumption of corned beef, cabbage and parsley potatoes at his inauguration dinner (4th March 1861). Evidence in humorous songs from the early twentieth century links the Irish with other ethnic groups in America. Irish – Jewish connections appear in songs such as the 1910 'It's tough when Izzy Rosenstein Loves Genevieve Malone', the 1911 'My Yiddish Colleen', and the 1912 song by Jerome and Schwartz called 'If it Wasn't for the Irish and the Jews:'

> 'Talk about a combination, hear my word and make a note
> On St. Patrick's Day, Rosinsky pins a shamrock on his coat
> There's a sympathetic feeling between the Bloom's and MacAdoos,
> Why Tammany would surely fall
> There'd really be no Hall at all
> If it wasn't for the Irish and the Jews' (Maloney 2002:37).

Perhaps this inter-ethnic cross cooperation might explain the Irish purchasing corned beef from Jewish butchers in American cities. The most likely reason for the popularity of corned beef over bacon, however, is the fact that corned beef, a luxury product at home, was available cheaply in America. Andrews (2010) suggests that bacon would have been equally available from German butchers in American cities as corned beef was from Jewish butchers. The traditional festive link between corned beef and St Patrick's Day would also help to embed it as an Irish dish in the American psyche.

Corned Beef in Modern Ireland

There are a number of terms (salt beef, pickled beef, hung beef, Pocoke beef) used to describe corned beef. There is also a variation of corned beef in which spices are added to the curing process to produce spiced beef, which was and still is particularly popular around the Christmas period. Some evidence is available from manuscripts in the National Library of Ireland. The O'Hara of Annaghmore Papers (MS

36,375/1/2/3), dated 1817, has a reference to Christmas Beef which is probably both salted and spiced. Both corned beef and spiced beef are ideal twin purpose meats that can be eaten hot with dinner or served cold as an impromptu dish when guests visit during the festive period, or for picnics. In the Headfort Papers (MS 25,370) dated 1953, both salt beef and corned beef are mentioned for a 'picnic lunch going to the Navan Show for 8….sandwiches, lamb, corn beef, mustard, cold egg, whole tomato, lettuce, fruit cheese, biscuits, coffee.'[x] There seems to be regional and also socio-economic variations concerning the consumption of corned beef. Daniel Corkery notes in his work *The Hidden Ireland*[xi] that it was commonplace in large aristocratic households, during the eighteenth century, to salt their own beef in large stone troughs after slaughter for later consumption. He notes that the Martin family would kill a bullock once a month. Cullen (1981) points out that the bulk of the beef consumed by the population at this time was salted, with fresh beef as a rare and luxurious treat for all classes. Indeed, on the 27th December 1829, Amhlaoibh Ó Súilleabháin notes in his diary that he feasted on slices of corned beef with white cabbage, spit roasted goose with bread stuffing, leg of mutton with turnips, bacon and chickens, and a roast snipe washed down with some hot port and whiskey (de Bhaldraithe 1970:61). On the 19th October, the diarist ate '*mairtfheoil méithe agus caoirfheoil cumhra*' (succulent beef and fragrant mutton) with the parish priest in the house of Michael Hickey. He also noted that on the 15th March 1831, he hung five joints of beef, six ox tongues and half a large pig. Was he preparing them for St Patrick's Day!

The butchery of larger animals has historically been more common in cities where there is a large population to consume it. Dave Lang[xii], development officer for the Associated Craft Butchers of Ireland, suggests that some pockets of the country such as Dublin and Cork are stronger for corned beef and that some pockets particularly in the northern counties have little or no knowledge of it. He recalls forty years ago, as an apprentice butcher in Buckley's in Dublin's Moore Street, they would corn 56 tail ends a week. Meat was cut differently then. The tail end was cut straight across and included the topside and the silverside, which are now seam butchered. Of all Irish cities, corned beef has had a long and distinctive regional association with Cork City. Paul Murphy[xiii], a fourth generation butcher at P. Coughlan Family Butchers in Cork's English Market sells over 300lbs of boneless corned beef, silverside and topside each week. He also sells corned brisket on and off the bone. He had stopped selling brisket

corned beef on the bone with about four inches of fat on it, but started selling it again in recent years, as 'all the old people all ate it.' He remembers his grandfather slicing and eating this fat on bread after a few drinks and notes that he lived till he was 98 years old, 'no talk of cholesterol tablets!' Brisket is a cheaper cut than the tail end and also needs more cooking. Murphy notes that although he sells small amounts of spiced beef weekly, that at Christmas he would sell 2000lbs of spiced beef over a ten day period.

Margaret Byrne[xiv] who grew up in Dublin in the 1930s and 1940s recalls eating both corned beef and bacon regularly with cabbage and potatoes but suggests that the consumption of corned beef began to decline when people started buying their meat in supermarkets rather than from their local butchers. She noted that it was mostly silverside that was eaten and that she was often disappointed by how much the joint would shrink during the cooking process. Fergal Quinn[xv], who opened the Superquinn chain of supermarkets with a store in Dundalk and in Finglas in 1960, pointed out that corned beef was a big seller when he first opened but lost market share as the years passed. Tony Byrne, a craft butcher in Rathgar, Dublin, noted that corned beef had been a 'once a week' dinner among many of his customers, but that although he still sold corned beef, bacon is far more popular nowadays. He attributes this to the fact that bacon is cheaper. Liam Mac Con Iomaire[xvi] who grew up in West Galway in the 1930s and 1940s has no memory of eating corned beef, noting that bacon and either lamb or mutton were the main meats, along with poultry and fish that they consumed. Their cattle were sold at market rather than slaughtered at home. It was not until he came to Dublin and married that he began to eat corned beef regularly.

Corning the Beef

Eliza Acton, in her *The Peoples Cookery Book (34th Edition c.1902)* has a number of methods for salting and pickling beef in various ways including 'Hamburgh Pickle, Hung Beef, Collared Beef, and Spiced Beef'. What they all have in common is a combination of salt, saltpetre, sugar and various spices. McGee (1988:103) notes that salt has been used for thousands of years to inhibit microbial growth, which was especially important in the years before refrigeration. He reiterates the English origin of the term corned beef coming from 'corns' or whole grains of salt and points out that, beginning in the 16th and 17th centuries, nitrites began to be added to the curing

process in the form of a nitrate salt, saltpetre. Paul Murphy, previously mentioned, notes that they stopped using saltpetre in his family's business years ago, but recalls buying it in the chemist shop as a boy for the making of corned beef. He recalls that when two older boys went to buy the saltpetre one day, they were detained by the police on suspicion of making explosives! The saltpetre changed the pigment of the meat, so nowadays Murphy adds some colouring to his brine made from coarse salt because 'psychologically people want to see the bloom on the corned beef.' He advises his customers today that there is no need to soak his corned beef as it is not half as salty as it was in the past, when refrigeration was not as widespread.

Summary and Conclusions

From ancient times in Ireland, cattle were highly prized as a sign of wealth, which militated against the consumption of beef during the early medieval period (AD500-1200). Evidence exists in legal and other texts, however, that both fresh beef and salted beef were eaten in Ireland, particularly among the aristocracy and at festive occasions. The Elizabethan period witnessed the end of the traditional Gaelic way of life in most of Ireland and cattle became an economic commodity that was exported to the English markets. The growth of sugar plantations in the West Indies and the introduction of the Cattle Acts (1663, 1667) led to the setting up of commercial corned beef industries in Irish port cities, most significantly in the city of Cork, which prospered for nearly two centuries. Different grades of Irish corned beef provisioned the British Navy for centuries and were also shipped by the French to their colonies. Competition from mainland America in the late eighteenth century was one factor in the demise of the trans-Atlantic trade in Irish salt beef.

Irish salt beef was introduced by the British Navy to the Pacific Islands where it became known as 'keg' and began to be poorly copied and labelled 'salt junk' by the sailors. The setting up of beef processing plants in South America in the late nineteenth century which led to the widespread introduction to England of canned 'bully beef' sold as corned beef damaged the name of the salted joints of beef that Cork and Ireland had been previously known for. This canned corned beef was widely distributed as pack rations during World War Two, which led to its popularity and widespread assimilation into the food habits of various nations. The entry for corned beef in *Larousse Gastronomique* only mentions the canned American version and has

no reference to the earlier Irish salt beef tradition. This paper identifies that corned beef has always been an aristocratic food in Ireland and particularly a festive dish eaten at Christmas, Easter and St. Patrick's Day. It suggests that the most probable reason for the popularity of corned beef among the Irish Americans was not the lack of availability of bacon, as sometimes argued, but that corned beef was widely available at a reasonable price. Irish immigrants aspired to better themselves in America and part of this betterment was the consumption of foodstuff they might not have been able to afford at home. This along with the fact that corned beef has long been associated with St. Patrick's Day has led to the widespread, but erroneous view among many Americans that Irish cuisine consists almost exclusively of corned beef, cabbage and potatoes.

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[i] Darina Allen in her introduction to Colman Andrews (2010) *The Country Cooking of Ireland*

[ii] Numerous websites and articles provide this simple explanation to why corned beef was so popular among the Irish Americans.

[iii] See Andrews (2010)

[iv] Information from Bord Bia (Irish Food Marketing Board)

[v] Murphy, K. (2010) Land of Milk not Money, The Irish Times (13 March) pp.12-13

[vi] Development of the bacon industry in Ireland has been previously discussed in the 2002 Oxford Symposium paper 'The Pig in Irish Cuisine past and present'

[vii] Thanks to Tara Kellaghan for this reference from correspondence papers of the 1st Duke of Ormonde MS. Carte 68 from the Bodleian Library, Oxford
[viii] Cited in Sexton (1998:30)
[ix] www.history.com/topics/st-patricks-day
[x] Many thanks to Dorothy Cashman for this reference
[xi] Cited in Cowan and Sexton (1997:29)
[xii] Telephone correspondence 27 April 2010
[xiii] Telephone correspondence 27 April 2010
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[xvi] Personal correspondence 21 April 2010