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Public Dining in Dublin: the History and Evolution of Gastronomy and Commercial Dining 1700-1900

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Abstract:

Purpose: This paper provides an overview of the changing food culture of Ireland focusing particularly on the evolution of commercial public dining in Dublin 1700-1900, from taverns, coffeehouses and clubs to the proliferation of hotels and restaurants particularly during the latter half of the nineteenth century.

Methods: Using a historical research approach, the paper draws principally on documentary and archival sources, but also uses material culture. Data is analysed using a combination of hermeneutics (Denzin and Lincoln, 2000, O'Gorman, 2010) and textual analysis (Howell and Prevenier, 2001).

Findings: The paper traces the various locations of public dining in Dublin 1700-1900 and reveals that Dublin gentlemen's clubs preceded their London counterparts in owning their own premises, but that the popularity of clubs in both cities resulted in a slower growth of restaurants than in Paris. Competition for clubs appeared in the form of good hotels. The Refreshment Houses and Wine Licences (Ireland) Act 1860, created a more congenial environment for the opening of restaurants, with separate ladies coffee or dining rooms appearing from around 1870 onwards.

Originality / Value: There is a dearth of research on the history of Irish food and commercial food provision in particular. This paper provides the most comprehensive discussion to date on the development of commercial dining in Dublin 1700-1900 and suggests that the 1860 legislation might be further explored as a catalyst for the growth of restaurants in London and other British cities.

Keywords: history, chefs, hospitality, Ireland, restaurant, gastronomy, ladies dining

Introduction

No comprehensive study of the development of commercial public dining in Dublin prior to 1900 is currently available. The history of commercial hospitality has been identified as an under researched area that has practical value to the contemporary hospitality industry (O'Gorman, 2009). This paper, drawing on the author's doctoral research on Dublin restaurants 1900-2000: an oral history (Mac Con Iomaire, 2009), seeks to redress this gap by presenting a review of commercial hospitality locations in Dublin between 1700 and 1900. By 1710, Dublin was the fourth largest city in Europe (Gibney, 2006:17). The importance of Dublin was at its peak around 1800 when it was considered the

'second city' of the British Empire, with a population of 200,000 – roughly twenty three percent the population of London. Despite doubling its population by 1900, Dublin's population was now only a mere five and half percent of London's (Craig, 1980). This paper charts how the food culture of Ireland has changed since pre-Norman times. It discusses a variety of sources for the study of commercial hospitality. It identifies that up until the arrival of restaurants that most food eaten in the public sphere was less spectacular than that served in wealthy houses. The focus, however, is particularly on the rise of public dining establishments in Dublin, ranging from early inns and taverns, through to coffee houses and chocolate houses, chop houses, gentlemen's clubs, hotels, to the emergence of the social phenomenon known as the 'restaurant'.

Sources and Methods

Data was accumulated by applying the historical method to documents and material culture surviving from the past. When researching commercial history, primary sources often emerge from the informal archives of relatives of key individuals rather than the usual state or university archives. The process of oral history can unearth material culture as well as the narratives that have been passed down through the generations (Mac Con Iomaire, 2011). Primary sources employed in this study include guidebooks, directories, newspaper advertisements, and artefacts, such as old menus, commercial brochures, photographs and paintings. Traditional secondary documentary and archival evidence were examined, compared and triangulated with primary sources to provide an academic background and a robust account of the history of commercial dining in Dublin between 1700 and 1900. Data was analysed using a combination of hermeneutics (O'Gorman, 2010, Denzin and Lincoln, 2000), and textual analysis (Howell and Prevenier, 2001). Originally concerned with interpreting sacred texts, hermeneutics is now a scientific methodology concerning the theory of textual interpretations. Textual analysis has long being used by qualitative researchers as one can learn a lot about the world by looking at documents (Travers, 2001). All sources need to be critically assessed to establish their origin, validity and reliability. Since documentary sources on the history of commercial hospitality is limited, this special issue of IJCHM, particularly the work of Bryce et al

(2013), provides guidelines for the use of material culture as a means of enquiry. Both secondary and primary sources used in this paper are discussed below.

Lucas (1960:8-43) provides a detailed account of food eaten in Ireland before the arrival of the potato in the seventeenth century. Cullen (1981:140-192) provides the first broad discussion on diet, hospitality and menu variety during the early modern period. Cullen (1992) compares various aspects of Irish diets – both rich and poor – and contrasts them with diets elsewhere in Europe. Probably the most descriptive accounts of the daily food habits of the upper classes come from the letters of Mrs. Delany (1700-1788) (Cahill, 2005). Much has been written about the potato in Ireland and its effect on increasing population, decreasing diversity and impoverishing Irish cuisine to a rudimentary art (Bourke, 1993, Mac Con Iomaire and Gallagher, 2009). Indeed, a growing body of literature has appeared in recent years on the use of certain commodities in Irish cuisine and culture, including seafood (Mac Con Iomaire, 2006, Wilkens, 2004); the pig (Mac Con Iomaire, 2003, Mac Con Iomaire, 2010); milk and butter (Sexton, 2003, Lysaght, 1994); eggs (Mac Con Iomaire and Cully, 2007, Lysaght, 2003) and other meats (Sexton, 1995, Mac Con Iomaire and Gallagher, 2011).

Not all Irish cuisine centred on the potato, dairy and occasional pig meat. A parallel Anglo-Irish cuisine existed among the protestant elite. Evidence of what was consumed in these wealthier households can be ascertained by the various household account books used by social and nutritional historians (Clarkson and Crawford, 2001:34, Barnard, 2004). One problem with household account books is that they don't include foodstuff, such as fruit and vegetables, or dairy produce that was grown or produced on the mainly self-sufficient estates, or indeed food rents or presents such as venison or rabbits that supplemented the diet of the upper classes. Irish culinary manuscripts, however, are becoming a growing area of academic interest and research (Mac Con Iomaire and Cashman, 2011).

Other sources of evidence include the descriptions of visitors to Ireland and foreign residents, but as with all such sources, these need to be carefully considered since they

can often contain prejudice or exaggeration (Maxwell, 1979a, Sexton, 1998). Food and dining are also depicted in art. Both Laffan (2003) and Rooney (2006) provide pictorial evidence of food sold on the streets of Dublin in the mid-Eighteenth century, and of the various social establishments – taverns, clubs and inns – where food was publicly consumed. Guidebooks (McGregor, 1821, Wright, 1821, Black and Black, 1895) and Directories (Thom's-Directory, 1850, , 1901, Wilson's-Directory, 1793, Hardiman and Kennedy, 2000) also provide an invaluable insight into the development of commercial hospitality in Dublin. Newspaper archives provide an excellent resource. Data gleaned from *The Irish Times* digital archive peppers this paper. Data about food occupations, foreign nationals and gender roles within the hospitality industry can also be gleaned from careful study of Census reports (Crawford, 2003, Mac Con Iomaire, 2008). Triangulation of various sources leads to a more robust account of the story of commercial hospitality in Dublin.

Gaelic Hospitality

The medieval Irish were deeply committed to the practice of hospitality, which transcended social boundaries and endured for centuries (O' Sullivan, 2004:12). The various legal rights to hospitality in Ireland included: 'the right of traveller to food and lodging, the right of a lord to be entertained by his vassals and the right of a king to billet his servants on the inhabitants of his kingdom' (Simms, 1978:68). The native Irish diet of cereal and milk based products, augmented with pig meat, survived relatively unchanged from prehistoric times to the introduction of the potato, possibly in the late sixteenth century (Sexton, 2005:232). The introduction of Christianity (c.430AD), development of towns by the Vikings (9th Century), introduction of feudalism, better agricultural practices, and guilds by the Anglo-Normans (post – 1169), introduction of new crops by Tudor planters (16th Century), all affected the quality and quantity of food production. By the late medieval period, a number of dietary systems were in place in Ireland, according to social rank, region and access to the market. The Black Death (1348) affected the English colonists more than the Gaelic Irish and resulted in redistribution of the land among the natives (Flanagan, 2003:30). Henry VIII's reformation (1534) may be seen as

the beginning of the end for Gaelic Ireland. The Elizabethan administration was the principal agency of the Anglicisation of the country (Lennon and Gillespie, 1997:56).

The Anglicisation of the eating habits, including dining etiquette, did not take hold among the Gaelic Irish outside of the capital until the sixteenth century, when new ingredients were introduced, most notably the potato (Sexton, 2005:232). A recipe for leg of mutton 'roasted the Irish way' published in de Casteau (1604) suggests that sophisticated cooking techniques (battening, marinating, stuffing, larding, spit roasting, basting, and sauce making) and imported luxury ingredients (vinegar, cinnamon, lemons and Spanish wine) were employed in Ireland by the late medieval period. The eating habits of both the English upper-classes, and subsequently the new Anglo-Irish upper-classes were influenced by their continental neighbours. The first two Stuart kings (r.1603-1649) emulated Spanish, French and Italian fashions and ideas, including cooking (Spencer, 2004:134). The battle of the Boyne (1690) marked the beginning of the reign of a powerful ascendancy which controlled Irish affairs in England's interest until the Act of Union in 1800. The Anglo-Irish ascendancy adopted some of the 'extraordinary hospitality' that had been part of the Gaelic tradition, but the conspicuous consumption was much more sophisticated, emulating eating patterns in London and Paris.

Aristocratic Hospitality

An Anglo-Irish gentry class emerged in the seventeenth and eighteenth centuries with a rich and varied cuisine, influenced by the professional French chefs who had become a fashionable addition to their kitchens. Keeping a male cook was the height of sophistication, but a French cook carried extra cachet (Barnard, 2004:300, Cahill, 2005:68). French *haute cuisine* developed in the large kitchens of the aristocracy, during the seventeenth century, from where it was subsequently practised in the kitchens of wealthy households, in restaurants and clubs (Wheaton, 1983:95). In most of Europe, up until the development of restaurants, food served in the public sphere was less spectacular than food served in wealthy houses (Renfrew, 1985:29). In Dublin, Lady Essex was the first vicereine (1672-1677) to entertain as a great hostess. James, Duke of Ormond, who

succeeded Lord Essex as viceroy, is credited with creating a brilliant court by the time he left office in 1685 and setting patterns of exclusivity and hospitality that were carried on by his successors. The standards of hospitality set by the Irish themselves ensured that no incoming lord lieutenant would long be in doubt as to what was expected of him as chief host of the Irish nation (Mac Con Iomaire and Kellaghan, 2012).

Profuse, even excessive, hospitality was the first distinctive quality credited to the protestant elite in Ireland in the mid eighteenth century, the second being philanthropy (Barnard, 1999:66). Maxwell (1940:24) remarks on the 'extraordinary hospitality' of the Irish gentry and 'the conviviality of their manners' as the first thing to strike an English traveller in eighteenth century Ireland. Assuming thirty per cent of upper class incomes went on food and drink, Clarkson (1999:101-2) calculated a workforce of 168,000 brewers, butchers, bakers, millers, cooks, and dealers dedicated to the service of feeding the upper classes in 1770. Clarkson and Crawford (2001:35, 53), however, suggest that eating patterns among the upper classes in both Ireland and England had much in common – both high in meat consumption, and that the drunken reputation enjoyed by the eighteenth century Irish gentry was not always deserved. The second half of the century witnessed a relentless pursuit of style and cultivation of elegance and sophistication among Anglo-Irish society, which considered themselves equal to the wider brotherhood of European aristocracy. At a court ball in London in 1760, Lady Sarah Lennox told the Prince of Wales that the court balls in Dublin were far more enjoyable and frequent than those of St. James' (Robins, 2001:31-3).

The Act of Union 1800 abolished the separate Irish parliament and established direct rule from Westminster, resulting in fewer aristocratic families keeping townhouses in Dublin, some of which were developed into hotels. The Viceregal Court at Dublin Castle continued to entertain lavishly, albeit with fewer aristocrats in attendance. Court life became more formal following Victoria's coronation in 1837, but throughout the nineteenth century successive Lord Lieutenants employed leading French or French trained chefs whose *haute cuisine* was emulated by the upper and middle classes (Robins,

2001:116, Anon, 1896, Anon, 1896a). Many of these chefs and other senior servants went on to open their own commercial hospitality establishments (Mac Con Iomaire, 2009a).

Commercial Hospitality

Public dining in taverns, coffee houses and clubs developed in parallel with the elaborate dinners given in private houses. As O'Gorman (2010) has outlined, commercial hospitality that met the needs of a full spectrum of society has been available since ancient times, with higher levels available to those who could afford it. This paper focuses more on locations of public dining as opposed to the cook-shops and bakers that were so important to the urban poor who had no means of cooking food. Medieval towns had cookshops where hot pre-prepared food could be purchased, or where meat or poultry could be wrapped in pastry and cooked for a fee. Spencer (2004:61) lists flan-makers, cheesemongers, sauce-makers, waferers, mustard sellers and pie bakers among the specialist street cooks in London by the late thirteenth century. Spencer (2004:63) also suggests that the number of cookshops in a town was an indication of how numerous the urban poor were.

Shortage of Inns in Ireland

There seems to have been a shortage of inns in Ireland, perhaps due to the importance of 'free' hospitality to Gaelic life. This dichotomy between 'free' hospitality and 'commercial' hospitality is discussed in a number of the papers in this special edition of IJCHM, particularly Linderman (2013) and Bryce et al (2013), whilst Symons (2013) argues that it is the move from domestic households to corporations that changed market hospitality profoundly. The conspicuous lack of hotels and passable inns was widely noted by visitors to Dublin but the hospitality of individuals was always lavish, particularly in the matter of claret which by the mid eighteenth century was considered the national drink of Ireland (Craig, 1980:209, Maxwell, 1979:76). Inns and guesthouses had been established by the Anglo-Normans, but the industry's fortunes oscillated over the centuries and under various administrations, leading to a noticeable shortage not only in Dublin but throughout the country by the seventeenth century (Rooney, 2006:133). Over time as the 'profit motive' of towns took root, and following the improvement

schemes of certain landlords and their agents, the development of inns 'which was much wanting' were encouraged (Barnard, 2004:231-2, Heal, 1990:300). Commercial hospitality, however, at all levels, both sleeping and eating, was widely available in Dublin by the early decades of the nineteenth century. In 1821, McGregor writes 'those who do not wish to set up at the fashionable hotels or taverns, will meet, in every quarter of the city, respectable eating-houses, where they will find excellent food on the most moderate terms'(1821:309).

Origins of the Restaurant

It is widely agreed that France, towards the end of the eighteenth century, was the birthplace of what we now call the '*restaurant*', which gradually replaced an older variety of eating establishment (Mennell, 1996:139, Spang, 2000:2). Glanville and Young (2002:123) propose that, up until this time people had essentially three choices: to go to an 'ordinary' where a dish of the day was provided for a set price, along with bread and a drink; to buy ready prepared food from a cook shop or *traiteur*; or seek an invitation from an acquaintance. Brillat-Savarin (1994:267) describes what differentiated the modern restaurant from other eating establishments:

> 'A restaurateur is a person whose trade consists in offering to the public an ever-ready feast, the dishes of which are served in separate portions, at fixed prices, at the request of each consumer. The establishment is called a *restaurant*, and the person in charge of it the *restaurateur*. The list of dishes, bearing the name and price of each, is called the *carte* or bill of fare, while the record of the dishes served to the customer, together with the relevant prices, is called the *carte à payer* or bill'.

Restaurants, with their private tables, flexible eating times and choice of dishes on the menu, provided a haven for travellers as opposed to the *table d'hôte* of the tavern or inn that often proved inhospitable to newcomers. The *table d'hôte* offered a limited range of dishes to be eaten communally at large tables. The *table d'hôte* would begin at a set time, normally to suit the *traiteur's* or innkeeper's local clientele. Trubek notes:

> 'The invention of the restaurant, and later clubs and hotels, had inestimable impact on the production and consumption of food because this new institution combined two hitherto separate phenomena in European society: *commercial* food production and *public* food consumption' (2000:35).

A number of French restaurants were opened in London at the turn of the nineteenth century by French cooks fleeing the Revolution, but their success was hampered by the growth of the club which 'robbed the keepers of the best Eating Houses of their most appreciative patrons' (Senn, 1900:42). By 1840 there were twenty West End Clubs, but by the end of the century roles had reversed and it was the restaurateur who was emptying the club dining rooms (Senn, 1900:42-3). One possible reason for the growth of restaurants in the United Kingdom from the 1860s onwards was The Refreshment Houses and Wine Licences Act (1860), that had the stated principal objective to 'reunite the business of eating and drinking', thereby encouraging public sobriety. Prior to this, wine licences would only be granted to someone who already had a spirits licence, like tavern-keepers (McDonald, 1992:203). Wine licences now became available to 'eating house keepers' encouraging wider distribution of better wines and promoting the consumption of weaker liquors than spirits through the unification of eating and drinking.

Dublin peaked in relative importance to London in 1800, and although the city continued to grow in the following century, the Act of Union heralded the end of the golden era that was Georgian Dublin, when Dublin was considered the 'second city' of the British Empire. Despite this, Dublin pre-empted London in a number of hospitality innovations, including ownership of clubhouses (1782) and also the emergence of the Hotel and Restaurant Proprietors' Association of Ireland (1890) and the Irish Tourist Association (1895), which preceded similar organisations in England by a number of years (Taylor, 2003, Wilson, 1901).

Inns, Taverns, Chocolate and Coffee Houses
The function of inns, ale-houses and taverns changed over time. Inns were primarily places to sleep, where food was available. They were never places of fashionable resort, although some London inns in the eighteenth century were reputed for their daily 'ordinary' or fixed price menu or *table d'hôte* dinner (Mennell, 1996:136). Mennell (1996:137) proposes that English taverns were the closest approximations in the eighteenth century to the later restaurants, both in social function and in the food they served. Taverns, however, differed from ale-houses in that they sold wine rather than beer

and were likely to cater for a socially superior clientele. Men also usually ran taverns whereas women often ran alehouses. Brennan (1988) suggests that taverns were not only heavily stratified by class but, as male enclaves, reflected the gendered structure of society, increasing gender-based solidarity. Trubek (2000:40) writes that women were welcome in Parisian restaurants from early on, but Mennell (1996:136) stipulates that 'respectable gentlewomen, of course, did not eat out in public until well on into the next century'. Caesar Ritz is credited with enticing aristocratic ladies to dine in public with the opening of the Savoy Hotel in London. The opening of special ladies rooms in Dublin restaurants in the late nineteenth century is discussed later. Gradually, the distinction between a place selling wine and a place selling beer was disappearing with both being described in legislation as 'public houses', abbreviated to 'pub' during the Victorian period (Molloy, 2002:27).

There are one hundred and fifteen taverns listed in the index of Gilbert's '*A History of the City of Dublin*' ranging alphabetically from Baggot's, Bagnio, and Bear Taverns to White Hart, White Horse, and Yellow Lyon Taverns. Gilbert (1978:I, 153) notes that the number of wine taverns and ale houses continued to increase despite some complaints and that during the reign of Charles II (1660-1667) 'there were 1180 ale-houses and ninety-one public brew-houses in the Irish capital, when its entire population was estimated at 4000 families'. Taverns also served food and provided meals for a large number of single men who lived in cities and towns, either in the tavern itself or sent around to their lodgings (Barnard, 2003:29, Vickery, 2009:59).

Coffee Houses
Public dining or drinking establishments listed in the 1738 Dublin Directory included taverns, eating houses, chop houses, coffee houses and one chocolate house (Hardiman and Kennedy, 2000:157). During the later half of the seventeenth century, Dublin's merchant classes transferred allegiance from taverns to the newly fashionable coffee houses as places to conduct business. Taverns and later coffeehouses became meeting places for gentlemen and centres for debate and the exchange of ideas. Gilbert (1978:I, 160) points out that a newspaper, called the *Flying Post* was published in 1706 by Francis

Dickson at the Four Courts coffee-house in Winetavern-street and that also on this street were the Bear Tavern (1725) and the Black Lyon (1735) where a Masonic Lodge assembled every Wednesday. A history of Dublin Coffeehouses has recently been published which points out how the influence of the East India Company led to both Ireland and Great Britain becoming tea drinking nations unlike their European neighbours (Mac Con Iomaire, 2012).

Clubs (Tavern and Coffeehouse Based)

Clubs of varying types flourished in Dublin and met regularly at specific taverns. These clubs, including the emergent Masonic movement, manifested and cemented informal networks of economic and political power, and created a sense of group identity. The fundamentally social nature of these clubs is indicated by their preference for meeting in inns and taverns (Rooney, 2006:124). The clubs ranged from the Swan Tripe Club (abolished as seditious) which met in the Swan Tavern (Montgomery, 1896); the notorious Hell-fire Club founded in 1735 by the first Earl of Rosse and the painter James Worsdale which met at the Eagle Tavern (Maxwell, 1979); to the Dublin Florists' Society which dined monthly at the Phoenix Tavern, which occasionally laid on a cold dinner for the club when they met in a member's garden (Nelson, 1982). Attorneys and barristers enjoyed dinners at the Black Lion in Queen Street and in the Rose Tavern (Barnard, 2004:127). The Sportsman's Club met at the Rose Tavern in Dame Street, and was responsible for organising the horse races run at the Curragh (Fitzgerald and O'Brien, 2001:21). The Beef-Steak Club in Dublin (c.1730) is mentioned by Johnson (1925:88) which may have been an off shoot of London's Sublime Society of Beefsteaks. Gentlemen's clubs generally met for dinner in the late afternoon, followed by endless toasts, which often continued into the early morning. From 1780, these fraternal societies and clubs became less tavern based and increasingly private entities with their own club houses (Fitzgerald and O'Brien, 2001:21).

Clubhouses

Dublin anticipated London in club fashions with members of the Kildare Street Club (1782) and the Sackville Street Club (1794) owning the premises of their clubhouse, thus

dispensing with the proprietor. The first London club to be owned by the members seems to be Arthur's, founded in 1811 (McDowell, 1993:4, 16). This practice of clubhouse ownership became widespread throughout the nineteenth century in both Dublin and London. The origin of one of Dublin's most famous clubs, Daly's Club, was a chocolate house opened by Patrick Daly around 1762-1765 at 2-3 Dame Street which later became a famous coffee house (Brooke, 1930). It prospered sufficiently to commission its own granite-faced building on College Green between Anglesea Street and Foster Place which opened in 1789 (Liddy, 1992:51). Daly's Club, 'where half the land of Ireland has changed hands', was renowned for gambling (Montgomery, 1896:39). Daly's sumptuous palace catered discreetly and very well for honourable Members of Parliament and rich bucks alike (Craig, 1980:222). The changing political and social landscape following the Act of Union led to Daly's slow demise and eventual closure in 1823 (Liddy, 1992:51).

Dublin's Kildare Street Club was founded in 1782, following the 'black balling' of the Right Honourable William Burton Conyngham at Daly's Club. The club house was located on the site of two houses built by Sir Henry Cavendish, and held in trust by David La Touche for the 'gentlemen of the Kildare-street Club' (Gilbert, 1978:III, 289). The Stephen's Green Club was founded in 1840 and the University Club in 1849. These gentlemen's clubs no longer met in taverns but had their own designated buildings where members could eat, drink, sleep and socialise. The nineteen different Dublin clubs identified as operating in the nineteenth century include The Alexandra 'ladies' club which opened in 1892 (McDowell, 1993:17-26, Smith and Share, 1990:190-2).

Dublin Hotels

Club life in Dublin remained unaltered for the first two decades of the nineteenth century, but began to face some competition from the best Dublin hotels which also had coffee rooms 'in which gentlemen could read papers, write letters, take coffee and wine in the evening – an exiguous substitute for a club' (McDowell, 1993:17). There were at least fifteen establishments in Dublin city, which claimed the title of hotel by the year 1789 (Corr, 1987:1). Three of the better known Dublin hotels, The Gresham (1817), The Shelbourne (1825) and Jury's (1839) were born out of the post Act of Union

environment. Dublin was the principal port of Ireland and following the Act of Union still remained the gathering point for the families of the 'Big Houses', who now no longer had their own townhouses in which to stay and required instead comfortable accommodation for a time before they undertook the second leg of their journey to England (Corr, 1987). Jury's focused on the new breed of 'commercial' traveller. The origin of the Royal Hibernian Hotel, Dawson Street, goes back to 1751, which makes it the oldest known hotel in Ireland (Corr, 1987:5). The hotel was associated with the coaching business and later became the city terminus for the Bianconi long cars (*Irish Hotelier* Oct. 1954:15). With the development of railroads, clusters of hotels appeared in the vicinity of railway stations in Dublin (McManus, 2001). The growth of restaurants cannot be separated from the growth of towns in the late nineteenth century, and the increased national and international mobility that followed the new railway network (Teuteberg, 2003:287).

Two guidebooks to Dublin were published in 1821. Thirty nine hotels were listed in McGregor (1821:334) but only twenty seven hotels listed in Wright (1821:436). Both lists omit hotels mentioned in the other, which suggests there were over forty hotels in Dublin by 1821. McGregor (1821:309-10) sets two hotels out for special mention; The Grand Canal Hotel in Portobello and Morrison's Hotel on Dawson Street where the Grand Duke Michael of Russia stayed in 1818. Over a half century later, *The Weekly News* during 1873 carried a regular advertisement for Morrison's Hotel, Dawson Street, Dublin offering 'French Cuisine and Wines of first quality' and a '*Table d'Hôte* Daily at 6.45pm'. Another regular advertisement in the same paper for the 'European' Hotel on Bolton Street offered 'Soup, Fish, Joints, Fowl, and Entrée in Coffee Room and Restaurant, from two to seven o' clock daily'. The first indicates French food but at a *Table d'Hôte*, while the second alludes to some French food by the use of the word '*Entrée*' but specifies the word 'restaurant'. It is unclear whether individual tables or communal tables were used.

Public Houses

Dublin public houses, however, saw off the competition of coffeehouses and by 1790, Dublin could boast 1,300 pubs (Rooney, 2006:132). Names like the Goose and Gridiron,

Harp and Crown, Horseshoe and Magpie, or Hen and Chickens became fashionable for taverns during the seventeenth and eighteenth centuries in Ireland with pubs having decorative signs illustrating their names for those who could not read. *The Epicure's Almanack* of 1815, cited in Williams (1992:312) drew distinctions between the public house (low class), a chop house (middling), and a tavern (the best grade). With the growth of new public dining clubs and restaurants for the wealthy, pubs and taverns reverted to the working classes. By 1888 the *Licensed Victualler's Gazette* states 'in these days when taverns are voted vulgar, it would be almost the ruin of a barrister's reputation to be seen entering a public house unless it were called a restaurant' (Girouard, 1984:6). This distinction seems to have occurred equally in Dublin as in London. Teuteberg (2003:292) proposes that a real innovation was the fact that the restaurant, in a very close symbiosis with theatres and other modern leisure life, made 'going out' a fashionable phenomenon. Technological improvements also facilitated the phenomenon of mass-scale eating out. Prior to the 'modern lighting' in Europe and America from 1790 to 1900 activities outside the home took place mainly during daylight as walking in the evening was dangerous (den Hartog, 2003:264-5). During the late nineteenth and early twentieth centuries, names such as the Goose and Gridiron were abandoned for the custom of naming a pub after its founder or current licensee (Gilbert, 1978:III, 77, Molloy, 2002:35).

Restaurants Emerge in Dublin

Documentary evidence c.1910 (Fig.1) suggests that Hyne's Restaurant in Dame Street can be considered the oldest restaurant in Dublin. Established in 1775, across from the Parliament buildings, this commercial dining establishment traded under the name of the 'Three Blackbirds' and was renowned for Red Bank Oysters, good Madeira, and a Chop from the Charcoal Grill. The exact dates this establishment was renamed Hyne's Restaurant and began serving the oysters and grilled chops, however, is unclear, as shall be discussed later.

Insert Figure 1 (advertisement for Hyne's Restaurant)

Establishments using the term restaurant became common in the latter half of the nineteenth century. Over twenty six different Dublin based restaurants advertised in *The Irish Times* from 1865 to 1900 including an advertisement in May 1899 announcing of the opening of a 'High-Class Vegetarian Restaurant' by The McCaughey Restaurants Ltd, at 3 and 4 College Street. The success of these restaurants varied, and some re-emerged under different proprietors as the years unfolded. A trawl of advertisements in *The Irish Times* shows the word restaurant in gradual usage from 1860 onwards, nearly fifty years before *Thom's Directory's* first official usage of the word. *Thom's Directory* lists 'Dining Rooms' from the 1870s and 'Refreshment Rooms' are also listed from the 1880s. This pattern continued until 1909, when *Thom's Directory* first includes a listing for 'Restaurants and Tea Rooms'. Table 1 shows the number of hotels, inns, taverns and dining / refreshment rooms listed in *Thom's Directory* for Dublin in ten year intervals from 1850 to 1900. It provides a guide to the development of commercial hospitality, but is not a definitive picture of the amount of establishments in the city, as some double listings occur.

Insert Table 1

The first specific evidence of a French restaurant serving *haute cuisine* in Dublin is an advertisement in *The Irish Times* for the *Café de Paris* in 1861 (Fig. 2). It is clearly aimed at an upmarket clientele as it directs the attention of the nobility and gentry to their establishment where 'Breakfasts, Luncheons and Dinners &c. are supplied in the best French style'. Outside catering was also available as the advertisement states 'Dinners supplied in town and country'. The opening of this restaurant may have coincided with the introduction of The Refreshment Houses and Wine Licences (Ireland) Act 1860 (McDonald, 1992:203). This restaurant was linked with a Turkish Baths in Lincoln Place and was run by Messrs. Muret and Olin. The *Café de Paris* was enlarged in 1865 for the International Exhibition with the addition of three private dining rooms. They also advertised both 'dinners à la Carte and Table d'Hôte; choicest Wines and Liqueurs of all kinds, Ices, &c. &c.' (*Irish Times* 25/9/1865:1). In February 1870 the lease of the *Café de Paris* was offered for sale, and by November of 1870, an advertisement appears for the *Café de Paris* with a T. Woycke as proprietor, heralding a '*Restaurant Francais A la*

Carte' with a ladies coffee room and dining rooms for small parties provided for (*Irish Times* 26/11/1870:4).

Insert Figure 2 Advertisement for Café de Paris

The opening of a second 'French' restaurant at Maloz Hotel, 20 and 21 South Anne Street, was advertised in December 1870. The proprietor was a Mr. G. Beats, late of the Provence Hotel, Leicester Square, London. He advertised dinners at 2 shillings at all times, and noted that 'Every thing served in the Parisian style. French Men-cooks kept. A speciality for soups' (*Irish Times* 9/12/1870:1). It is unclear how long the restaurant prospered since in November of the following year Walshe's Hotel is advertised for the same address. The proprietor of this establishment is one G. Maloz, 'late of the Sackville Street and the Kildare Street Clubs, and Manager to the Marine Hotel, Bundoran'. He notes that in his 'New Restaurant and Luncheon Saloon' that he has the services of a first class man cook and efficient waiters, but does not specify if the man cook is French. Also noted is that a good ladies' coffee-room is attached (*Irish Times* 2/11/1871:4). It is unclear whether G. Maloz is related to the previous owners of the Maloz Hotel. The next specific mention of a French restaurant is an advertisement in *The Irish Times* in August 1890 where a French restaurant is attached to the Bodega on Dame Street (Fig. 3). Prior to this, an advertisement in 1876 for the Corn Exchange Hotel and Restaurant on Burgh Quay boasts that no expense will be spared 'to make the Cuisine under a French Chef, the most attractive in the city'. The manager of this re-opened hotel is Mr John Ross who had previously worked as a 'Messman' in the British Army (*Irish Times* 18/11/1876:6). With the emergence of restaurants, it becomes increasingly common for the proprietors or managers to have trained in the army or in the various private gentlemen's clubs.

Insert Figure 3 Advertisement for Bodega

Oyster Bars and Grill Rooms: Two Case Studies

Just as coffeehouses evolved into clubs in the eighteenth century, many taverns evolved into either restaurants or gin palaces during the latter half of the nineteenth century. Two curious trends appear in the eating establishments of Dublin during the second half of the

nineteenth century. These are the fashion for serving 'Red Bank Oysters', and the popularity of the use of 'The London Silver Gridiron' from the 1860s onwards. The latter could cook chops, steaks and kidneys at five minutes notice. The use of the term Grill Room seems to replace the advertising of Gridirons towards the end of the century. Analysis of advertisements in *The Irish Times* archives shows the presence of a 'London Silver Gridiron' in at least five restaurants in Dublin (Mac Con Iomaire, 2009). Two establishments linked with these trends, The Red Bank Restaurant and The Burlington Restaurant, survived into the twentieth century, and became the leading restaurants in Dublin for over two thirds of the twentieth century.

Burton Bindon's / The Red Bank Restaurant

The Red Bank Restaurant was established in 1845 in D'Olier Street by Burton Bindon on the site of a famous city hostelry. Known originally as 'Burton Bindon's', The Red Bank took its current name from the famous 'Red Bank' oysters which grew on beds owned by Bindon in Co. Clare and were available in season in his Dublin establishment. It is reported that a combination of the red sand, and the fact that both fresh and salt water washed over Bindon's oyster beds, produced such a superior oyster that were 'a luxury for gourmands, lovers of these delicious bivalves' (*Irish Times* 8/7/1897:7).

An advertisement in *The Irish Times* in 1889 shows Luke Waddock as the proprietor of the Red Bank Restaurant. Of particular interest in this advertisement is that the new proprietor has opened 'a Suite of Luncheon, Dining and Supper Rooms for Ladies'. This is directly in keeping with what was happening in London at the time. The Red Bank was purchased later that year by John Whelan, owner of the Star and Garter Hotel, across the road from the Red Bank on D'Olier Street. Having run the restaurant for a number of years, John Whelan spent six months completely remodelling the restaurant both inside and out in 1897, in a style 'calculated to meet the most rigorous demands of an exacting age, when everything from a napkin to the cheese must be *recherché*' (*Irish Times* 20/12/1897:6). In the new restaurant, there was a spacious bar where 'in the London fashion' luncheons were provided at the counter. Coffee and dining rooms for gentlemen were on the ground floor with a capacity to sit one hundred customers at a time. There

were luxurious ladies' dining rooms upstairs where thirty guests could be accommodated at one time. Electric lighting was provided throughout the building supplied by a generator in the basement. A report in *The Irish Times* noted that 'no more complete restaurant of a high class is to be found in Dublin or across Channel than the "Red Bank" in D'Olier Street' (8/7/1897:7). In a subsequent report in the same newspaper it was suggested that following the modern improvements that had been carried out, that 'Burton Bindons may be called the Delmonico's of Dublin' (*Irish Times* 26/8/1897:7). Delmonico's opened in New York City in 1837 as America's first fine-dining restaurant (Shore, 2007:311). The Red Bank Restaurant traded successfully as one of Dublin's best known eateries during much of the twentieth century under the Montgomery family who were related by marriage to Whelan, details of which are available in Mac Con Iomaire (2009).

The Burlington Restaurant

The leading Dublin restaurant specialising in the use of 'The London Silver Gridiron' was the Burlington Restaurant which was opened by Henry Kinsley on the 2nd January 1865. Kinsley is credited in Dublin as 'the pioneer of what became an almost universal method of "feeding the brute"'. An advertisement by Kinsley in *The Irish Times* (22/12/1864, p.2) notes 'It is universally admitted that a first-rate Dining and Luncheon room, fitted up, supplied and carried out in accordance with the advanced ideas of the present day, combined with moderate charges, has heretofore been much required in this city.' The advertisement continues that '(T)he Culinary Department has been entrusted to a distinguished Chef… (and) on trial the Dining Department for comfort and excellence will be found second to none in the Empire'. The advertisement also noted that The Burlington also had a Billiard room and that the proprietor relied on gentlemen both resident in and visiting Dublin to support and patronise his establishment, which does not use the name 'restaurant'. This would change within a few years.

An advertisement in *The Irish Times* first run on 8th August 1876 points out that Joseph Corless, who succeeded Kinsley as proprietor of The Burlington, had formerly been manager of Burton Bindon's, D'Olier Street and had also worked in Hyne's Restaurant in

Dame Street. It also signals a name change to 'The Burlington Restaurant and Oyster Saloons'. Corless seems to have kept abreast of changing trends in London, Paris and elsewhere, as his re-modelled, re-furnished restaurant which opened 28th August 1876 included a ladies room which had separate waitresses. He made Red Bank Oysters a speciality of the house, as he may have done previously in Hyne's following his initial role as manager in Burton Bindon's. An advertisement from 1884 shows a 'First-class French Cook' employed and that Corless continued to modernise the premises, with the inclusion of an American Bar where 'in addition to Spirituous, Teetotal Drinks of all kinds can be had, will be presided over by a "London Smash Maker"'. Wines were also available 'from the wood', supplied from the growers's casks as a sign of quality. 'The Confectionary' was advertised situated on the first floor 'where all kinds of Cakes, Tarts, Patties, Ice Creams, &c., can be had'. A string band played 'all popular operatic and other music' every evening during the *Table d'Hôte* (*Irish Times* 1/11/1884:4).

(Insert Figure 4 Burlington Advertisement)

The Burlington Restaurant and Oyster Saloons became The Burlington Hotel and Restaurant on the 24th August 1892 run by Tom Corless. It is unclear whether Tom is Joseph's brother or his son, although census data could clarify matters. A full page length advertisement in *The Irish Times* in 1895 boasts that the Burlington is the premier restaurant of Dublin and the only one in the city that a nobleman or gentleman could take their families to. A sample list of international guests that have stayed at the hotel since its opening is included in the advertisement which also notes that 'the Visitors' Book is signed by the Queen of Romania, many Princes and Princesses, the Lords and Ladies Lieutenant of Ireland, Chief Secretaries and their families' (*Irish Times* 23/8/1895:4). The Burlington now operated an American Bar, The Fish and Wine Buffet, Grill Room, Dining Saloons, à la Carte Rooms, all of which, according to the advertisement, 'will be found equal if not superior to any House of its kind in the Kingdom'. The Burlington was also the haunt of prominent politicians, poets, singers, playwrights, actors, and some clergy (*Irish Times* 22/1/1926:8). In 1900, two French chefs, Michel and François Jammet, purchased the Burlington and renamed it 'The Jammet Hotel and Restaurant.' Michel Jammet, interestingly, had been *chef de cuisine* to the Lord Lieutenant of Ireland

in the Viceregal Lodge prior to opening the restaurant. Until its closure in 1967, Restaurant Jammet remained one of the leading dining establishments in Dublin and among the best in the world (Mac Con Iomaire, 2009a).

Conclusion

The study of Irish culinary history is in its infancy, with published data on the history of Dublin commercial dining 1700-1900 particularly sparse. Analysis of documentary sources and material culture reveal a complex picture of a vibrant progressive commercial hospitality industry in Dublin. Most developments, such as coffeehouses, clubs, hotels and restaurant were contemporaneous with London and other European cities. Clubs in both Dublin and London 'robbed the keepers of the best Eating Houses of their most appreciative patrons' (Senn, 1900). Dublin, however, pre-empted London in a number of hospitality innovations, including the ownership of clubhouses (1782), and later in the formation of The Restaurant Proprietors' Association (1890) and the Irish Tourist Association (1895). The dichotomy between 'free' hospitality and 'commercial' hospitality led to a shortage of Inns in Dublin, and this theme runs through a number of papers in this special issue. This shortage seems to have been overcome with the growing development of hotels in the post-Act of Union environment. The changing social distinctions in 1815 between a public house (low grade), chop house (middling) and a tavern (best grade) is of interest. The gradual emergence of private clubhouses and the social phenomenon of the 'restaurant' meant that public houses and taverns reverted to the working classes by the late nineteenth century. This paper highlights the influence the Refreshment Houses and Wine Licences Act 1860 seems to have had on the growth of restaurants in the British Isles and suggests that this Act merits further study.

Current available data suggests that Hyne's restaurant and the Royal Hibernian Hotel were the oldest or longest trading of their particular establishments in Dublin, but this paper is more interested in how commercial establishments morphed and changed with the times. This is evident particularly from the case studies of both Burton Bindons Tavern which developed on the site of an old hostelry, renamed The Red Bank Restaurant to become considered 'the Delmonico's of Dublin' by the turn of the

twentieth century; and The Burlington which from 1864 to 1901 continuously stayed abreast of the fashions of the day and regularly re-branded and redefined its core offering. The fortunes of both establishment for two-thirds of the following century can be traced in (Mac Con Iomaire, 2009). The various case studies presented in the paper chart innovations in the commercial hospitality industry from the development of oyster bars, grill rooms, ladies dining rooms, American 'cocktail' bars to the emergence of a vegetarian restaurant in 1899. Further comparative research might reveal whether Dublin pre-empted London in any of these trends. This paper set out to redress the gap in our knowledge of commercial hospitality locations in Dublin between 1700 and 1900. It is hoped that it might provide the impetus to future researchers to pursue a more comprehensive study of commercial hospitality in Ireland and further afield, which O'Gorman (2009) confirms will have practical value to the contemporary hospitality industry.

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Year	Hotel and Taverns	Hotel and Proprietors	Inns	Taverns and Inns	Dining Rooms	Refreshment Rooms
1850	134		10			
1860	174		12			
1870		133		74	12	
1880		145		33	20	19
1890		130		25	23	22
1900		111		24	20	17

Table 1: Number of Dublin Food Related Premises in *Thom's Directory* 1850-1900

The Oldest Restaurant in Dublin.

HYNES' was established in the year 1775, when the Irish Parliament was in full swing. It was to " Hynes' " that Members of the Old House used to walk across College Green and sample a few of the " Red Banks," which, by the way, are the oysters still in vogue at " Hynes'," A.D. 1910.

The House went by the name of the Three Blackbirds," and was noted for a good bottle of Madeira, as well as for a Chop from the Charcoal Grill.

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LUNCHEONS, DINNERS, SUPPERS.
TABLE D'HÔTE OR À LA CARTE.

_____

Telephone 2034.   **BETHELL & WATSON**, *Proprietors.*

Figure 1: Advertisement from The Marine Station Hotel Bray Brochure c.1910
Source: Private Family Collection of the late Frank Bethell

Figure 2: Avertissement for *Café de Paris Restaurant Français* **in Dublin 1861**

Source: *The Irish Times* **14th February 1861 p.1**

Figure 3: Advertisement for French Restaurant attached to the Bodega

Source: *The Irish Times* 28th August 1890 p.4

Figure 4: Advertisement for The Burlington Restaurant under Joseph Corless

Source: *The Irish Times* 8th August 1876 p.1