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From Ancient Ireland to 21st Century Dublin

Submitted by

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Introduction to Volume II

Structure and Scope of Thesis

In terms of delivery, the dissertation is presented in three volumes. Volume I presented the conceptual framework which contextualised the research question, by discussing how food and haute cuisine developed from Ancient Greece and Rome up to the end of the twentieth century, particularly in France and England. This phase of the study critically reviewed the current state of knowledge – principally using secondary sources – of the main development and trends in the history of European cuisine. Changing habits of eating and dining were charted from the Ancient world through the Middle Ages, the early modern period, with individual chapters outlining the origins of the restaurant, and the development of public dining in both France and England during the nineteenth and twentieth centuries and the emergence of French haute cuisine. Volume I, in effect, established the general and historical back-cloth against which the main thrust of the investigation must be seen. Certain themes emerged in Volume I that proved particularly important in understanding the social / cultural place of the Irish experience. These include:

- The introduction of New World foods and beverage.
- The rise of coffee houses.
- The pattern throughout Europe of employing French or French trained male chefs in aristocratic household.
- The transfer of catering staff (chefs, managers, restaurateurs) from working in private aristocratic houses to the public sphere in hotels and restaurants.
- The growth of tourism facilitated by the onset of the ‘steam age’ with trains and ocean liners making travel quicker and more accessible.
- The influence of American visitors on the emergence of grill rooms and cocktail bars in restaurants and hotels.
- The attempted professionalisation of the culinary sphere in the latter half of the nineteenth century with the emergence of cookery exhibitions, trade journals, and professional cookery schools.
- The influence of immigration on the growth of restaurants.
- The manner in which both World Wars affected the restaurant industry.
- Gender issues and social status of both restaurant clientele and employees.
- The rise of *nouvelle cuisine* and later trends such as ‘fusion’ cookery and molecular gastronomy.

Volume II focuses on Ireland and can be separated into two parts. The first part (Chapters 10, 11 and 12) provides an overview of parallel developments in Ireland from pre-Norman times to the end of the nineteenth century. This first part explores how the food culture of Ireland has changed since pre-Norman times, focusing particularly on the rise of public dining locations 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’. These chapters also identify the main influences and the catalysts for change, including the introduction of New World foods and beverages, the influence of the Anglo-Irish ascendancy on the dining habits in Ireland, the emerging legislation that influenced the growth of restaurants from the latter half of the nineteenth century, as well as the emergence and development of *haute cuisine*.

Chapter 13, Volume II, is the beginning of the central study of the thesis in which the methodology, literature survey, and the cardinal importance of oral history in the writing of the thesis are laid out. The main body of the work is presented in Chapters 14 to 17 where the study is divided chronologically into four Phases as follows:

Phase One (Chapter 14): Dublin Restaurants 1900-1922: The Last Years of Imperial Rule
Phase Two (Chapter 15): Dublin 1922-1946: From Independence to Post-Emergency
Phase Three (Chapter 16): Dublin 1947-1974: The Golden Age of *Haute Cuisine*

These four chapters provide an overview of social, political and cultural life in Dublin during the twentieth century and also present case studies of the leading restaurants and hotels in Dublin during the period in question. The research uncovers a ‘hidden Ireland’ of aristocratic and bourgeois life in Dublin which has been hitherto under-researched,
compared to what is available on French society and culture in the twentieth century (Zeldin 1993). Also uncovered are the lives of the various actors (chefs, waiters, restaurateurs) who facilitated the operation of Dublin restaurants, particularly during the twentieth century. Their stories are being told for the first time and the rich tapestries of their life histories are presented in Volume III. Some of the factors that will be discussed in the forthcoming chapters include:

- The growth of bourgeois Dublin.
- The influence of legislation on the proliferation of restaurants.
- The influence of foreign workers in the hospitality business.
- Analysis of Census reports relating to hospitality workers.
- Analysis of data on restaurants from Thom’s Directories (1850-1958).
- The phenomenon of vegetarian restaurants in Dublin from the late nineteenth century.
- The transfer of knowledge of French classical cuisine from French or French trained chefs to indigenous Irish chefs, waiters, and restaurateurs and also to the general dining public through gastronomic literature.
- The shift from German and Austrian workers to Swiss and French staff in the hospitality industry in Dublin following the First World War.
- Gender issues within the public dining sector.
- Attempts at professionalisation of culinary workers (Competitions, Journals, Education Provision, Professional bodies / trade associations / Unions).
- The Irish branch of André L. Simon’s Food and Wine Society.
- The influence of particular individuals and dynastic catering families (particularly the Jammet and Besson families).
- The phenomenon of ‘gastro-tourists’ in Dublin during the ‘Emergency’.
- The gradual appearance of ethnic restaurants in Dublin (Italian, Indian, Chinese).
- Analysis of guide books on Dublin restaurants (Egon Ronay, Michelin).
- The decline of Escoffier style haute cuisine in the 1970s.
- Movement of fine dining from Dublin to country house hotels.
- The rise in restaurants ran by chef / proprietors.
- The emergence of some restaurants ran by enthusiastic amateurs.
- The rise and influence of *nouvelle cuisine* in the 1980s.
- The influence of America on Dublin restaurants (from Grill rooms in the 1890s to cocktail bars in the 1930s, Fast food in the 1970s to Fusion food in the 1990s).
- The Rebirth of *haute cuisine* with Restaurant Patrick Guilbaud, The Commons, Thornton’s, and Peacock Alley awarded Michelin stars in 1990s.
- The direct and indirect lineage between Dublin’s *haute cuisine* restaurants with those of London and Paris.

In Chapter 18, the findings of the thesis, which are wide ranging, will be assessed and analysed. The key themes of Volume II are juxtaposed with the general theoretical perspectives outlined in Volume I, where the Irish experience – particularly that of Dublin – is compared and contrasted with the experience of particularly London and Paris. Conclusions are drawn on how well the aims of the thesis have been achieved and areas for potential further research are suggested.

Volume III consists of the transcribed oral histories and copies of material culture that have underpinned the research. These include a series of over forty interviews with those who played a leading role in the restaurant industry in Dublin mainly from the mid twentieth century which are illustrated with over 150 photographs, menus and advertisements. Also included is a transcribed radio archive interview with Brendan O’ Regan, who died in 2008. Volume III, effectively acts as a repository of information for future scholars within this field or the broader field of social and cultural history. The transcribed interviews describe a rich tapestry of a ‘hidden’ Ireland which makes fascinating reading. Some of the themes that are discussed in the interviews are:

- Immigrant culinary families (Jammet, Opperman, Geldof, Besson, Gygax, Rolland etc.)
- Lived experiences of family life, education and employment in Ireland during the twentieth century
- Chef’s life experience at sea with Cunard lines and P&O lines
- Irish culinary workers’ experiences working in London, France, Switzerland and America
- Social history: closed trades, patterns of unionisation, alcoholism, anti-social hours, changing social status of catering workers, religious influences, and anti-Semitism
- History of entertainment in Dublin from diplomatic dining, cinemas, theatres, dress dances to dining at differing levels of sophistication in the public sphere
- Memories of aristocratic, royal and famous diners in Dublin restaurants ranging from the Prince of Hydrabad, Gaekwad of Baroda, Princess Grace, John F. Kennedy, Cary Grant and Audrey Hepburn
- Behind the scenes insights into the workings of hotels, restaurants, professional kitchens, educational institutions and professional bodies

Volume III is presented in two separate formats. Firstly, a hard copy of Volume III is available. To facilitate word / topic searches for future scholars, an electronic version in PDF format is also included on a CD at the back of Volume II.

Research Aims
This project is framed within the theory that French haute cuisine influenced the development of restaurants in Dublin as it did in London. The aim of the research is, therefore, to investigate whether the development of haute cuisine in Dublin restaurant followed the London example being strongly influenced by French culinary practices as well as French or French trained individuals. In order to investigate the validity of this, the following operational goals and objectives are presented:

- To investigate the history of public dining from the Ancient world to the present day and identify when and how French haute cuisine became the dominant model in the development of public dining in Europe.
- To investigate the history of Irish food and public dining from pre-Norman times to the present day.
- To investigate the chronology and genealogy of restaurants producing haute cuisine or cuisine bourgeoise in Dublin between 1900 and 2000.
There is a current dearth of research on Dublin restaurants and this ‘history from below’ study is in keeping with the post-modern historiography of the late twentieth and early twenty-first century, particularly through the technique of oral history. Iggers (1997) discusses how history’s subject matter has recently shifted from social structures and processes to culture in the broad sense of everyday life, ‘history has assumed a human face as attention is given to individuals, common folks not just the high and mighty’ (Iggers 1997:14). Appadurai (1991) suggests that performing ‘genealogies of the present’ can create a more historical picture of present situations. One of the reasons for using oral history in this project is the lack of written material available, but this is compensated by the fund of outstanding personal experience provided in the oral testimonies. This approach to cultural history, like the hermeneutics of classical historicism, is concerned not with the explanation but with the “explication”, the attempt to reconstruct the significance of the social expressions that serve as its texts. The oral historical approach according to Tosh (1991:227) gives social history ‘a human face’ and recovers ‘lost areas of human experience’. Evans (1957:xiii) contends that to capture the ‘living past’ one cannot rely on traditional historical archival methodology. It can only be gathered and preserved through the oral historical approach before it perishes with the informants. The methodology of this study has been motivated by the pioneering work of Kearns (1991; 1994; 2001) in Dublin’s urban folklore and oral folk history.

The academic fields of food studies and culinary history span many academic disciplines (Duran and MacDonald 2006:234). Therefore, an interdisciplinary approach to the identification and analyses of research material has been adopted in this study. The main primary research methodology employed in this project is in-depth life history interviews with chefs, waiters, restaurateurs and discerning diners who have lived experiences of Dublin restaurants during the twentieth century. Other primary sources employed include artefacts, such as old menus, photographs, and advertisements. Traditional secondary documentary and archival evidence are examined and compared with primary sources to provide an academic background and a robust account of the history of Dublin restaurants between 1900 and 2000. Strauss and Corbin (1998:33) suggest that to build dense, well-developed, integrated and comprehensive theory, a researcher should make use of any or
every method at his or her disposal, keeping in mind that a true interplay of methods is necessary. This research is both descriptive and analytical in nature due to the quantity of primary data, in the form of oral histories, being recorded for the first time. A detailed discussion on the research methods are presented in Chapter Thirteen, since the oral evidence begins in Chapter Fourteen and continues through to Chapter Seventeen. These four chapters form the main thrust of the thesis, with the previous chapters acting as a back cloth against which to compare, contextualise and analyse the research findings.
Chapter 10 – Medieval Ireland

Introduction
Ireland has an ancient history, with the first settlers arriving in the Mesolithic or middle stone age period, about eight thousand years ago. The next settlers were farmers and cultivated the soil, raised animals and traded to limited extent. Excavations have revealed traces of their civilisation including homes, implements, pottery, which can be seen at the folk park near Lough Gur in County Limerick (Ó hEithir 1989:9; Mitchell 1990:37). These Neolithic settlers, along with being farmers and skilled builders, appear to have had knowledge of astronomy. They left elaborate burial chambers in the Boyne Valley, County Meath that date to 4000 BC (Mahon 1991:2; Duffy 1997:10). The first Celtic peoples, according to many historians, began to arrive in Ireland in the second half of the first millennium BC, during what prehistorians call the Iron Age (Byrne 1990:43). More recent research in archaeology and genetics questions whether the Celts ever came to Ireland (Penberthy 2001; O' Toole 2007:7). MacCaoimhín (2007:15) attributes the ‘erroneous notion that the Irish, Scots, Welsh, Cornish and Breton people were “Celtic”’ to the seventeenth century Welsh nationalist Edward Lhuyd. The Celts dominated Central and Western Europe and spoke an Indo-European language which developed into P-Celtic – ancestor of Welsh and Breton – and Q-Celtic – the ancestor of Gaelic (Duffy 1997:14). The way of life of the ‘heroic warriors’ of Ireland as depicted in the Táin, mirrors that of the Celts in Gaul as described by the Greek philosopher Poseidonios in the first century BC. It is also very similar to the Homeric warriors in the Illiad, and the warriors of Northern India, depicted in the Sanskrit epic poem Mahabharata (Byrne 1990:43). Celtic culture from the late Iron Age is known as La Tène after a site in Switzerland and objects in this style survive in the north and west of Ireland, most notably the Turoe Stone in County Galway (Duffy 1997:14). It is now believed that these objects are indigenous versions, produced by local craftsmen, of the international style known to the emergent aristocracy, who commissioned them, from trading and other contacts (O' Toole 2007:7). Early Medieval Ireland was divided into many petty kingdoms and five provinces, each with its own king. Succession to the throne was not
decided by primogeniture but by election, and the country was united by a common language and culture. The religion was druidism, and laws were written and administered by professional lawyers known as brehons (Ó hEithir 1989:13).

**Christianity**
Christianity arrived in Ireland around the late fourth or early fifth-century. Palladius was sent to become Ireland’s first bishop in 431 (O' Sullivan 2004:164). Some scholars from Gaul or Roman Britain may have sought refuge in Ireland from the barbarian invasions of the empire, and trade with Roman Britain and Gaul probably ensured the presence of Christians in Ireland before the arrival of St Patrick. The arrival of Saint Patrick marks the beginning of Irish history, based on written documentation (Ó Fiaich 1990:61). Following Patrick’s death, Ireland became unique in Western Christendom in having its most important churches ruled by a monastic hierarchy, many of whom were abbots rather than bishops. These abbots nominated their own successor (Ó Fiaich 1990:65). Some Irish monasteries such as Clonard and Bangor are believed to have had communities of up to 3000 monks, but upwards of a hundred monks may have been the normal number during the sixth century. Monasteries in Ireland had similar structures to those mentioned in Chapter Two, Volume I, including the posts of scribe, cellarer, cook, guest master, miller, baker, smith, gardener and porter (Ó Fiaich 1990: 72-3).

The seventh and eighth centuries are considered to be the golden age of Early Christian Ireland. Church schools had been set up and young clerics received a Latin education. This learning co-existed with schools of Irish law and Irish poetry, so that much of the previous traditional oral learning was written down. Monastic education was not reserved exclusively for those about to enter religious life, and ecclesiastical laws were influenced by secular lawyers (Hughes 1990:78). The Church did not cut itself off from Irish poets either, and some clerics were influenced by the heroic ideas of the Irish tradition in describing the lives of the saints. Saint Brigit, who allegedly milked her cows three times a day to provide a meal for visitors, is shown as the perfect example of Irish hospitality (Hughes 1990:79).
Although never conquered by the Romans, Ireland was a complex society. Irish monks preserved and copied many of the Greek and Roman texts and Ireland’s monasteries became a safe haven and intellectual centre for Europe’s learned classes (Cahill 1995). Missionaries like Colmcille and Columbanus were pivotal in re-spreading civilised society throughout Europe by evangelising pagan people, building up libraries on the Continent, and writing works of scholarship that formed the foundations of the flowering of learning that followed in ninth century Gaul (Hughes 1990:90).

**Vikings**

Ireland in the ninth century comprised of many small kingdoms with a traditional division of the island into two halves: Leth Cuinn, dominated by the Uí Néill of Tara, and Leth Moga, dominated by the Eógnachta of Cashel. The Laighin, or Leinstermen, had never fully acquiesced to either of the aforementioned, leaving their province as a third crucial division in the country (de Paor 1990:97).

The first Viking raid took place in 795 and by 841 they had established fortified settlements in Dublin. The peak of Norse activity coincided with the first large scale conflict between the Uí Néill and the Eóghnachta. It is suggested by de Paor (1990:97) that the king-bishop of Cashel may have destroyed more churches than any of the Norse in his challenge of the kings of Tara. From 850 onwards there are reports of alliances between the Irish and Norse bands in the incessant warfare, and also of battles among the Norse themselves. New large scale incursions began in the tenth century with the establishment of Waterford and later Limerick. Ireland ceased to be wholly rural with the establishment of these towns (de Paor 1990:102, 105). The Vikings introduced coinage, better ship building techniques, pan-European trading, and new styles in art.

The Uí Néill eventually overcame the Eóghnachta, only to see a new power, Dál Cais, emerge in Munster. The leader of Dál Cais, Mathgamain, captured Cashel in 968 and shortly afterward defeated the Norse in Limerick. His brother Brian Ború became High King of Ireland following his victories over the king of Leinster and the Dublin Norse in the year 999. Máel Mórdha, king of Leinster, formed an alliance with the Dublin Norse
and they in turn gathered Viking allies from overseas for a final show of strength. In 1014 a great battle was fought between the Danes and the Irish, under King Brian Ború in Clontarf. The Danes were beaten but their commercial influence remained, particularly in Dublin, Wexford and Waterford, where they intermarried with the native Irish (Ó hEithir 1989:20-1). The Vikings most enduring effect on Irish life, according to de Paor (1990:104), ‘was to shift the centre of gravity once and for all from the midlands to the east coast – indeed one might say to the Irish Sea’. Having the greatest concentration of economic wealth, Dublin also had an extensive network of trading contacts overseas. Dublin had come to replace Tara as Ireland’s symbolic capital by the time Ireland was invaded by the Anglo-Normans in 1169 (Smith 1997:48).

**The Anglo-Normans**
The Anglo-Normans were descendents of Viking raiders who had settled in North-West France in the ninth century. They invaded England in 1066 and by 1100 they controlled vast areas from England to Southern Italy and were helping establish the new Crusader states in Palestine. Their achievements resulted from a combination of martial prowess and an ability to adapt and integrate with the people they conquered (Smith 1997:32). Martin (1990:123) suggests that apart from the introduction of Christianity, no other event has changed the destinies of Ireland as the Norman arrival in 1169. Norman interest in Ireland was probably inevitable, but their arrival was hastened when Diarmaid Mac Murragh, king of Leinster, in dispute with Tiarnán O’ Rourke, king of Breifne, invited Richard Fitzgilbert de Clare, known as Strongbow, to assist him to reclaim his kingdom. Strongbow married Mac Murragh’s daughter, Aoife, and succeeded his father-in-law as king of Leinster. Fear of Strongbow establishing an independent Norman kingdom led to King Henry II visiting Ireland in 1171 and ensuring that Ireland ‘would pose no threat to England and that its rich lands would be his alone to bestow on his favourites’ (Smith 1997:34). Leinster was formally granted to Strongbow by Henri II in return for homage and performance of military service. It was colonization rather than conquest which changed the course of Irish history after 1171 (Dargan 1996).
Figure 10.0 illustrates how the English hold on Ireland was centred mostly on the east coast and Smith (1997:38) points out how the founding of new towns, clearing of woods and expansion of arable cultivation led to soaring internal and foreign trade resulting in an unprecedented economic boom during the thirteenth century.

Figure 10.0: Map detailing the English hold on Ireland following Norman Invasion

Source: (Duffy 1997:39)

Norman contribution to Irish life was dramatic and impressive. They introduced feudalism and improved agriculture, guilds, established towns, built castles and churches, and introduced new monastic orders. The monastic communities of Celtic times were superseded by highly organised abbeys and priories. By the thirteenth century, Lamb and
Bowe (1995:11) propose the Augustinian Priory of Kells, Co. Kilkenny, would have had eel weirs, fish from the river, and a diverted watercourse that would drive the mill that ground wheat and corn from the monastery’s granges and farms. Separate enclosures within the priory gardens would have produced fruit, roots and herbs.

The Anglo-Normans adopted Irish culture rapidly, intermarried with Irish families and their surnames were ‘Gaelicised’, with the Norman ‘Fitz’ and ‘de’ differentiating between the descendents of the invaders and the natives who used ‘Mac’ (son of) or ‘Ua’ (grandson of). Despite Norman control of two thirds of the country by 1366, the year the Statutes of Kilkenny was passed to prevent the English from adopting Irish ways, Gaelic culture prevailed. By the end of the fifteenth century the English crown ruled only a small area around Dublin, known as the Pale (Ó hEithir 1989:26-7; Smith 1997:35). The outbreak of the plague, known as the Black Death, in 1348 affected the townspeople and settler community more than the Gaelic Irish (Kelly 2001:14). Many of the lands held by Anglo-Norman colonists were abandoned during the prolonged agricultural depression which followed the plague and reverted to the native Irish (Flanagan 2003:30). Following the deposition of Richard II in 1399, his successors chose to let the great magnate families, the Butlers of Ormond and the FitzGeralds in Desmond and Kildare, represent the crown’s interests and defend the settlement (Smith 1997:46). Figure 10.1 shows the changed political landscape of late Medieval Ireland.

**Tudor Conquest**

Three centuries after the Norman invasion, the Gaelic Irish cultural and institutional way of life remained intact. Despite living side by side with the English, they were in fact two different nations (Hayes-McCoy 1990:178). From the Anglo-Norman invasion of 1169 until the sixteenth century, Ireland was a lordship over which the kings of England claimed sovereignty, despite the fact that actual allegiance was not always forthcoming from Irish lords and chieftains (Frame 1981:viii). The reign of Henry VIII (1509-1547) saw a new departure in Irish political and social life. Prior to this, particularly in the preceding century, the English Crown was powerless in most parts of Ireland. Between
them, the four monarchs of the house of Tudor completed the conquest of Ireland (Hayes-McCoy 1990:174).

Figure 10.1: Map of Late Medieval Ireland

Source: (Duffy 1997:47)

The Tudor period in Irish history was one of violence. The rebellion of ‘Silken Thomas’ Fitzgerald, which coincided with Henry’s breach with Rome on account of his first divorce, completed the downfall of the house of Kildare. Henry VIII had the Irish Parliament of 1536-7 authorise the establishment of the Church of Ireland, with himself as supreme head. In 1541 he became King of Ireland and set about the Anglicisation of Ireland through a process called ‘surrender and regrant’ (Jefferies 2003:485; Lyons 2003:1026). Intimidation and plantation augmented the diplomatic persuasive activities
of Tudor viceroy. Offaly and Laois, or Queen’s and King’s Counties as they became known, were planted in 1556. Further plantations took place in Munster and East Ulster during the Elizabethan reign, as illustrated in Figure 10.2 (Lennon and Gillespie 1997:50-58). From 1541 until the formation of the Irish Free State in 1922, the viceroy was to be an Englishman and there was always to be an English army stationed in Dublin (Hayes-McCoy 1990:176).

Figure 10.2: Tudor Plantations including area of Scottish settlement

Source: (Lennon and Gillespie 1997:59)
The Vikings, Normans, English, and Scots have all left their mark on Ireland’s culture, religion, language and landscape over the past thousand years. Ireland’s history was tied by degrees to that of England for over eight hundred years, moving from the margins of English royal interests to that of a colony (Duffy 1997:7).

Hospitality – Guesting and Feasting
Coins were known in Gaelic Ireland but were not the basic medium of exchange in this essentially rural society, based on subsistence agriculture and a barter economy. Coins were chiefly used to purchase imported luxuries but rents, taxes or legal fines were fulfilled by direct consumption regulated by what Simms (1978:67) discusses as ‘guesting and feasting’. Guesting refers to where hospitality is demanded, whereas feasting refers to entertainments where the host has voluntarily issued invitations. The various legal rights to hospitality in Ireland outlined in the brehon law tracts and the legal state papers of the sixteenth century are reduced by Simms (1978:68) to three categories: ‘the right of a 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’.

In the post Anglo-Norman invasion period, three classes of men – holders of Church lands or coarbs, ‘successors’ or ‘heirs’ of the founding saint; the ollamhain, professors of poetry, medicine, law and other crafts; and the briugu or brughaidh, also known as biatach, ‘food-provider’ – are recorded in the annals as maintaining guest-houses for the general public (Simms 1978:70-2). O’ Sullivan (2004:164) points out that Christian hospitality was ethical and founded on notions of brotherly love and compassion for the stranger. This differentiated it from Greek and Roman hospitality, which was based on fear of the stranger and the need to integrate him into the community so that all suspicion of him would be eradicated. Both the coarbs and ollamhain enjoyed lands free of ordinary taxation and may have felt bound to repay the privilege by maintaining a guest house. Some clergymen, particularly followers of the twelfth century reformation abandoned the customs of generosity and their lack of charity is noted by the annalists (Freeman 1944:431; 675). The brughaidh or hospitaller was of the second highest caste, below chieftains and on the same footings as bishops, kings and poets. Although an office
principally held by men, it appears that women hospitalers were also operating during this period (O’ Sullivan 2004:126; 131). One of the many traits that defined a brughaidh was ‘an immovable and ever wet cauldron’ (O’ Sullivan 2004:234). The briugu of early Medieval Ireland, according to the sources, were bound financially and legally to the king. O’ Sullivan (2004:132) writes ‘in a sense, the briugu was a member of the king’s household, a professional representative or custodian of his wealth who dispensed hospitality and distributed largesse in the king’s honour’.

Gaelic courts were traditional with tanists, nobles, freemen, slaves and warriors. Bards emphasised the aristocratic and noble virtues of their patron, the magnificence of their hospitality and their prowess in war (Somerville-Large 1995:32). Feasts often coincided with political meetings (dáil), annual assemblies (oireachtas), religious festivals such as Easter and Christmas, and other occasions worthy of commemoration (Simms 1978:86; O’ Sullivan 2004:98-9).

**Food and Sources**

Ireland’s first settlers lived on wild pig, small mammals, fowl, fish and edible plants. They left behind no evidence of agriculture, but the archaeological record show that middens, or dunghills, filled with shells and bones mark the sites of their foraging, the best known of which probably being the Mount Sandel site in County Derry (Harbison 1994:22; O’ Kelly 1995:27; Wilkens 2004:8). The Neolithic people who arrived around 6,000 years ago were Ireland’s first livestock-breeders and crop-growers (Lamb and Bowe 1995:9; Duffy 1997:10). The plough, which symbolises true agriculture, according to Lamb and Bowe (1995:9), was probably used for the first time in Ireland around 2,700 years ago. Not long after this, in about 500 BC, climatic change occurred which provided the conditions for the introduction of a new crop, namely oats. By the early Christian period, Ireland contained settled, well organised communities, pastoral to a large extent, with cattle as the cornerstone of the economy (Mahon 1991:3).

Cereals and dairy produce were two staples of the Irish diet from prehistoric times to the close of the seventeenth century (Lucas 1960:8). Oats, barley, wheat and rye were used to
make coarse flat breads and porridge. Eggs, milk and butter were used to enrich the widely eaten porridge (Sexton 1998a:11). Sexton (1998b:76-9) identifies four varieties of porridges, namely *littiu*, *brothchán*, *tiuglagan*, and *menadach*, which vary based on the cereal used – oaten, barley or wheaten meal, and on the liquid – water, buttermilk, new milk. Another factor is the accompaniment, whether butter, honey or dried fruit. Citing Gwynn (1914:140; 1927:28), Sexton suggests that *brothchán* could have been an early example of muesli (1998b:77). Sexton (1998b:78) notes contradictory accounts of *menadach* from a watery gruel to a paste of kneaded butter and coarse meal (Gwynn and Purton 1911:157), similar to the Greek *maza* or Roman *puls*, or indeed in culinary terms, a rudimentary form of *roux* or *beurre manié*. Three broad categories of bread can be distinguished from the literary sources. They are flatbreads of oats, wheat, barley or rye, and the standardised *bairgen bainfuine* ‘loaves of woman-baking’ and *bairgin ferfuine* ‘loaves of man-baking’, prepared with wheat and possibly leavened, the latter of which was twice the size and produced on a professional and large scale basis by men within a monastic context where women would not have been tolerated (Joyce 1903:II, 142-3; Lucas 1960:10-11; Sexton 1998b:80).

In the early medieval period, the inhabitants of Dublin consumed a lot of fish and shellfish, unlike the Irish who were noted for their reliance on dairy produce. Based on information taken from studying faecal remains taken from cesspits, animal bones, human skeletons and written sources, Johnson (2004:49) suggests that the diet of Viking Dublin was well balanced but subject to seasonal food shortages. The diet consisted of wholemeal bread, fruit and nuts (especially hazelnuts), beans, meat and fish, shellfish, eggs and dairy produce (including goat’s milk), with honey and sloe juice used as sweet and sour flavourings. Brewing, the use of porridge, salt, herbs and leafy vegetables are also mentioned in literary sources. An eleventh-century Arabic account tells of Dubliners killing ‘baby whales’ (porpoise) for food. Based on animal bone analysis, Johnson (2004:50) suggests that cattle were the most frequent species in the Dublin diet, followed by pigs and sheep. Species of birds identified included laying hens, geese, swan, teal, sparrow-hawk, duck and mallard.
Medieval Ireland was subject to successions of conquest and colonisation from the twelfth to the seventeenth centuries. Prior to this, the diet of Gaelic Ireland was bland, based on ‘white meats’ – milk and dairy products – coarse cereals and occasional meats – principally pork or bacon. New culinary techniques and recipes were introduced in the twelfth century by the Anglo-Normans, including the built up oven, and the use of spices and sweet and sour combinations. The Normans also introduced new varieties of animals, birds and fish, including the white fleeced sheep, domesticated duck, mute swan – as opposed to the native Hooper swan, pike, rabbits, pheasants, pigeons and fallow deer (Sexton 2005:230). The Anglo-Normans became ‘Gaelicised’ over time, but many of the Gaelic chiefs adopted the habits of the newcomers. The chief of the O’Kellys is said to have employed marshals for his forces, a superintendent of banquets, a keeper of the cups and chessboards, but in general the Irish clung to a lifestyle in which austerity and hospitality were blended (Somerville-Large 1995:33).

Legal and other texts mention three sacks essential for a prosperous household: a sack of malt for brewing ale, a sack of wheat for preparing bread, and a sack of salt for making food taste good (O’Sullivan 2004:125). Kelly (2000:341) 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 Críth Gablach refers to the use of sea ash for salting joints of meat, and the twelfth century poem Aislinge Meic Con Glinne provided evidence that beef was salted as well as bacon. 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. 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).

John Stevens, describing County Limerick in 1690, observes: ‘The people generally being the greatest lovers of milk I ever saw which they eat and drink about twenty several sorts of ways and what is strangest love it best when sourest’ (Murray 1912:139).
Evidence of this fondness for bánbidh, ‘white foods’ is found in Aislinge Meic Con Glinne where reference is made to a delectable drink ‘of very thick milk, of milk not too thick, of milk of long thickness, of milk of medium thickness, of yellow bubbling milk, the swallowing of which needs chewing’ (Lucas 1960:22; Jackson 1990).

Both Lucas (1960:30) referring to medieval times, and Cullen (1981:141) writing about the modern period, comment that the per capita consumption of butter in Ireland was the highest in the world. Meat consumption per capita was also relatively high and the range of meats eaten was uniquely wide, making the Irish diet and cooking, although relatively simple compared to the French, ‘one of the most interesting culinary traditions in Europe’ (Cullen 1981:141). Kelly (2000:272) points out that following the introduction of domestic animals and crops by the Neolithic colonists, hunting, fishing and gathering provided a decreasing proportion of the food eaten. The consumption of wild food did continue and would have been of particular importance in times of crop failure or cattle plague. Kelly (2000:272-315) provides a comprehensive description of hunting for deer, wild boar and other land mammals, marine mammals – particularly seals and porpoises; fishing, fowling – using trapping, missiles and hawking, and the gathering of wild nuts, wild fruit, herbs, roots, and seaweed.

Research on specific components of Irish cuisine have been published, including papers on seafood (Wilkens 2004; Mac Con Iomaire 2006); the pig (Ní Chatháin 1980; Sexton 1995; Mac Con Iomaire 2003; Fitzgerald 2005); milk and butter (Lysaght 1994; Sexton 2003; Downey, Synott et al. 2006); eggs (Lysaght 2000; Lysaght 2003; Mac Con Iomaire and Cully 2007); and most notably the potato (Connell 1962; Bourke 1993; Ó Gráda 1993; Salaman 2000; Ó Riordáin 2001). Lucas (1960:8-43) provides a detailed account of food eaten before the arrival of the potato in the seventeenth century. Among the vegetables, wild and cultivated, listed are watercress (biolar), sorrel (samhadh), nettles, celery, parsley, charlock (praiseach), kale and cabbage, shamrock, wild garlic, leek, onion, chives (folt-chep), peas and beans, carrot and parsnip (meacan), beet (biatas), dulse (duilesce) and sloke (sleabhcán). Fruits listed by Lucas include blackberry, sloe, wild cherry, raspberry, strawberry, rowan, crabapple, elderberry, whortleberry and
cranberry. Native hazel nuts and imported walnuts are mentioned but the most frequently mentioned fruit in the early Irish documents is the apple. Orchards were widely distributed particularly in Leinster but also in the counties of Donegal, Mayo, Armagh and Fermanagh (Lucas 1960:37-40).

Plant-cultivation was associated particularly with monasteries; the gardener (lubgortóir) is listed among the seven officers of the church. Prosperous farms also had enclosed gardens. There is no distinction between ‘vegetable’ and ‘herb’ in Old Irish and the term lub (luib) includes plants eaten as part of the normal diet as well as plants used for flavouring or medicinal purposes. Special emphasis is given in the sources on growing plants for medicinal purposes with some texts claiming that the primary function of gardens was the care of the sick (Moloney 1919:59; Lamb and Bowe 1995:12; Kelly 2000:250).

**Preparation and Cooking**

Preparation of food in ordinary households during the medieval period was primarily woman’s work. Male cooks seem to have dominated the larger households such as that of a monastery or king or other rich landowner (Joyce 1903:II, 122; Kelly 2000:322). The sources show no evidence of elaborate dishes in the ancient Roman style, although the upper end of the social scale would have had more variety and may have used exotic flavourings such as pepper, which was introduced to Ireland in the early Christian period and called sciobar (Kelly 2000:342). The Normans introduced new cooking styles and dishes, including the flavouring of meat and fowl with garlic and spices, and the consumption of meat and fish pies and pasties. Trade records of the time testify to the importation of almonds, spices, honey and sugar, pepper, figs, verjuice and rice. Almonds were used to make almond milk, for use during Lent and days of abstinence in areas of Norman influence and settlement (Sexton 2005:230). Wine had been imported from Roman times and Simms (1978:87-8) notes that old undrinkable supplies of wine were used for pickling fish. Salted white fish and herrings were medieval staples, particularly consumed on days of abstinence (Sexton 2005:231). Offal was popular in Gaelic Ireland and particular mention is made in *Aislinge Meic Con Glinne* of Tripe (inbe) and both
maróc and indreachtán, which seem to be types of sausages made using the animal’s intestine (Kelly 2000:339).

During the Bronze Age (c. 2,500-600 BC), Ireland’s rich copper deposits were exploited to produce copper and bronze axe and spear heads, craftsmen’s tools, sickles and cauldrons. During this period, pottery used for food and funerary urns reached a high standard (Duffy 1997:10). The coire or large bronze cauldron was perhaps the most indispensable household utensil used for entertaining. The coire áiged or ‘cauldron of guests’ served several purposes from washing and bathing guests, to brewing the ale, boiling the meat, or cooking the porridge that would nourish them (O' Sullivan 2004:233). The Críth Gablach stipulates the sizes of cauldrons owned by men of various rank, with a high ranking lord needing to own a cauldron large enough to cook an entire cow and a flitch of bacon. A flesh-fork (aél) was used to remove meat from the cauldron and was often believed to have magical properties. The dabach or vat was considered an essential device for entertaining guests, primarily for preparing and storing intoxicating beverages (O' Sullivan 2004:234).

The open hearth dictated baking methods in the absence of the built-up oven. Lucas (1960:10) states that there is no evidence that the built-up oven, so common on the Continent, existed in Ireland as a native cultural element. He suggests it was introduced by the monastic orders and that its use spread in towns and villages in areas of Norman settlement particularly on the eastern half of the country. Harvested and threshed grain was dried in a kiln (áth) and then ground either in a mill (muileann) or quern (bró) (Lucas 1960:10). Baking utensils mentioned in ancient legal texts include the griddle (lann), the griddle slice (lainnin), the wooden vessel for measuring grain (aired), the bucket (sithal), the kneading trough (losat), and the sieve (criathar) (Lucas 1960:10; Sexton 1998b:81). Another more rudimentary baking method was the resting of dough on glowing embers or wrapped in cabbage leaves with embers piled on top as practiced in Ireland, according to Mahon (1991:72), as late as the 1920s.
Fresh meat was prepared a number of ways. The word *inneónadh* was commonly applied to the process of broiling or roasting, as distinguished from the word *fulachta*, which translated to ‘seething, stewing or boiling’ (Joyce 1903:II, 122). One method illustrated in Figure 10.3, from Derricke’s *Image of Irelande*, published in 1581, shows flesh cut up and boiled in its skin over the fire, although Kelly (2000:336) found no account of this practice in Old or Middle Irish sources. Derricke’s words and pictures need to be cautiously considered as they are caricatures (Joyce 1903:II, 111). Derricke mistakenly presents a harper, who held a pre-eminent position in Irish society, as a member of the common entertainer class alongside the bare-bottomed men who were ‘almost certainly professional clowns (*fuirseóir*), buffoons (*clesamnach*) or jesters (*druth*) famous for their outrageous exploits’ (O’ Sullivan 2004:102).

![Figure 10.3: Gaelic chieftain’s feast, from Derricke’s Image of Ireland (1581)](image)

Source: (O' Sullivan 2004:101)

Large cauldrons (*coire*) for boiling meat are mentioned frequently in the law-texts and sagas, clearly regarded as essential equipment in any prosperous household (Kelly 2000:337). Another method was the *fulacht fiadh*, a cooking pit where meat was boiled by putting hot stones in the water. Archaeologists have identified many of these pits in
Ireland and there has been a rise in the experimentation of the use of these pits in recent years (Ó Riordáin 1966; Lawless 1990; Ó Drisceoil 2002). Spit roasting was another method of cooking meat and an illustration of the cooking spit of Deichen, the legendary blacksmith of Tara is shown in the fourteenth century Yellow Book of Lecan. A passage in *Aislinge Meic Con Glinne* describes the roasting of pieces of beef, mutton and ham on four straight spits of whitebeam, where the cook rubbed honey and salt into the pieces and roasted them so deftly that not one drop of juice fell into the fire, and all the flavour remained in the pieces of meat (Jackson 1990:24–735; Kelly 2000:338).

Wheaton (1983:31-33) notes that one of the recipes in de Casteau’s 1604 *Ouverture de cuisine*, the first cookbook in French that was not a reworking of medieval recipes, was a leg of mutton ‘roasted the Irish way’ (Fig. 10.4). This recipe is quite sophisticated, and includes a number of culinary techniques common to haute cuisine including battening, marinating, stuffing, larding, spit roasting, basting, and sauce making. The recipe also includes garlic, sage and marjoram, and imported ingredients such as vinegar, cinnamon, lemons and Spanish wine.

*Vn gigot de mouton rosty à la mode d'Irlande.*

_Prennez vostre gigot, & le battez bien fort sans rompre la peau: puis mettez le tremper dans du vinaigre trois ou quatre heures: apres tirez le dehors, & faites resuyer avec vn drap, & mettez des claussons dedans, & des petites pieces de canelle la longueur d'vn petit doigt, & le lardez avec vn peu de saige & mariolaine, & le mettez rostir en broche, & tousiours bien arrouser de beurre & vin d'Espagne: estant bien cuit couppez deux citrons par petites tranches, & iettez sus avec la graisse qui est en la paelle, & vn peu de vinaigre, & servez ainsii._

Take your leg (of mutton) and batten it well without breaking the skin, then marinade in vinegar for three or four hours: after taking it out and drying with a cloth, stud it with cloves of garlic and finger length pieces of cinnamon, sprinkle with sage and marjoram, and spit roast it, continuously basting with butter and Spanish wine: When well cooked, cut two lemons into little wedges & put into the pan juices with a little vinegar and serve.

**Figure 10.4: Recipe for Leg of Mutton Roasted the Irish Way**

_Source: (de Casteau 1604)_
Food Service and Dining

Dinner, called *praimn* or *praind* in Irish, was the main meal of the day and was taken late in the evening among the laity and in monasteries. The refectory of a monastery was called *praindent*, literally ‘dinner house’. A light meal *estruth* or *etrud*, literally meaning middle meal, corresponding with the modern luncheon was common between breakfast and dinner. It was customary among both laity and monastic communities to serve better food on Sundays and Church festivals than on other days (Joyce 1903:II, 104-5).

Descriptions of early Irish feasts invariably reveal the hierarchical nature of early Irish society. Seating arrangements at feasts provided one of the few occasions where such ranking was plainly visible. Procedures for seating and feeding guests in a king’s banquet hall were specified based solely on rank and profession (O’ Sullivan 2004:88). Those of higher rank enjoyed a greater variety of food than those of lower rank. For example, a high lord (*aire ard*) was entitled to three condiments (honey, onions and celery) with his meals, whereas the lower-ranking *bóaire febsa*, is allowed only one condiment (Kelly 2000:319).

There were specific parts of an animal to be apportioned according to station and rank. No fewer than twenty three parts of the cow were divided among the various professions: the udder to the harper, tripes to a functionary called ‘the Cater’, the kidneys to the physician, and the rump to the person who cut the beef – probably the master or chieftain supplying himself at the upper end of the table. The cook received the skin of the sheep for his fee, but the cowhide was bartered for ‘*wyne* and *aqua vitae*’ and tallow was made into candles (Somerville-Large 1995:32-3).

Figure 10.5 shows an illustration of ‘the seating of the house of the mead-circuit’ specifying both the seating arrangement of each rank and profession, and also the appropriate cut of meat for each person’s rank. The ‘house of the mead-circuit’ or *Tech Midcharda* was the main banqueting hall in Tara, home of the High King of Ireland (Molloy 2002:13). The centre of the illustration shows a low grade bard (*dual*) holding what may be a poetic staff, and above him is the *bir bruinnes*, the cooking spit (Kelly
Legal commentary also outline the feeding of craftsmen, showing a decline in variety and amount among assistants or lower craftsmen compared to the master craftsmen (Kelly 2000:321).

Figure 10.5: Illustration of Suidigud Tigi Midchúarda
‘the seating of the house of the mead-circuit’ from the 12th century Book of Leinster
Source: (Kelly 2000:356)

Food was served on some sort of wooden board (mías) – either a table or platter – cut up with a knife and eaten with the fingers. Joyce (1903:II, 110) suggests that at ordinary meals, two or more persons would sit or recline on low couches or seats, reminiscent of Roman practice, in front of small tables. Such a table, found in a bog in Tyrone, which measures twenty-eight inches long, sixteen inches wide and five inches high, is illustrated in Figure 10.6. O’ Sullivan (2004:218-221, 236) notes the custom of strewing reeds and rushes on the floor of a banqueting house and also the use of straw pallets as seats. It is unclear how widespread the use of large tables, like that shown in Figure 10.3, was
among the Gaelic Irish. Drink was served in wooden mugs (*ian*) or goblets (*escrae*), with those of highest rank drinking from decorated drinking horns (*corn*), perhaps imported from the Continent (Kelly 2000:323). Lucas (1960:40) notes that the importation of wine probably dates back to Roman times but would have been beyond the reach of all except those of highest social standing.

![Figure 10.6: Small Table made from Willow found in a bog in Tyrone](source: Joyce 1903:110)

**Urban versus Rural**

The differences between urban and rural in Europe during the Middle Ages was discussed in Chapter Two, Volume I. Heal (1990:300) has argued that hospitality in English towns differed from in the countryside. Social duties were conceived rather narrowly in the towns where the profit motive was legitimized. The growth of inns and ale-houses in towns provided public provision of care for the outsider, a phenomenon common to most English town by the fifteenth century. Inns seem to have been slower to appear in Dublin than taverns, perhaps influenced by the Gaelic tradition of hospitality. Dublin had developed a reputation for its taverns and ale-houses by the mid sixteenth century, but a shortage of inns was reported by visitors to Dublin up until the late eighteenth century (Maxwell 1979:76).

Anglo-Norman Dublin experienced rapid growth after 1170 with the influx of settlers thought to have doubled the population of 5,000 (Clarke 1995:91). Ease of access to the new and exotic ingredients introduced by the Anglo-Normans differentiated the urban and rural diets in Ireland (Sexton 2005:230). Many of the new arrivals were merchants and craftsmen from Bristol to whom Henry II granted the city as a place to colonise.
Prince John, son of Henry II, granted the citizens of Dublin a charter in 1192 conferring upon them many rights and privileges including the right to have ‘all their reasonable guilds, as the burgess of Bristol had, and in the most advantages manner’ (Webb 1970:2). He confirmed this right as King by charters granted to the citizens in 1200 and 1215 respectively. Webb (1970:9) notes that Irishmen were excluded from the guilds which were predominantly English in composition, with some Welsh, Scottish and also some Continental countries contributing their quota of members. Food related guilds included the cooks, bakers, butchers, brewers, vintners, ‘samountakers’, ‘fisshers’, and ‘haggardmen’ (later gardeners). Their importance to Dublin life is reflected in some of the city’s oldest street names: Cook Steet, Fishamble Steet and Winetavern Street (Webb 1970:53-63; Dawson 1977).

An elite merchant aristocracy developed in the towns that grew up along the south and south-east coast following the rapid economic growth of the thirteenth century. This elite group had access to oven-baked wheaten bread, spices, and other exotic ingredients of the day. Their secure economic standing, according to Sexton (2005:230), ‘set their tables apart and expressed their practical and aspirational links to England and continental Europe to set fashions’.

**Summary**

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, development of towns by the Vikings, introduction of feudalism, better agricultural practices, and guilds by the Anglo-Normans, introduction of new crops by Tudor planters, 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 affected the English colonists more than the Gaelic Irish and resulted in redistribution of the land among the natives (Kelly 2001:14; Flanagan 2003:30). Henry VIII’s reformation 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).

By the reign of Elizabeth I, Dublin was renowned for its taverns and ale-houses (Maxwell 1979:26). However, the Anglicisation of the eating habits 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). The recipe for leg of mutton ‘roasted the Irish way’ published in de Casteau (1604) suggests that sophisticated cooking techniques and imported luxury ingredients 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. As discussed in Chapter Five, Volume I, the first two Stuart kings emulated Spanish, French and Italian fashions and ideas, including cooking (Spencer 2004:134). The influence of this emulation on Ireland from the seventeenth century onwards is discussed in Chapter Eleven.
Chapter 11: Ireland: The Modern Period (1600-1800)

Introduction
This chapter explores the development of dining in Ireland from the reign of Elizabeth I to the Act of Union, taking particular cognisance to the growth of public dining in inns, hotels, taverns, coffeehouses and later clubs, principally in Dublin. In the reign of Henry VIII, Ireland became a sister kingdom of England with the same king but a separate parliament (McCartney 1987:2). The sovereigns of the house of Tudor managed to complete the conquest of Ireland bringing the whole island under the control of a central English government (Hayes-McCoy 1990:174). This conquest may have remained complete had it not been for the schism of Christendom that precipitated a century and half of dynastic and religious conflict. The failure of James II to regain his throne ended the struggle and was followed by nearly a century of peace, probably the longest Ireland has ever known (Green 1990:263-4). It was during this period that much of the uniformity of street and squares that give Dublin most of its character were executed, many through to The Commissioners for Making Wide and Convenient Streets, which formed in 1757 (Guinness 1988:10). This was a time of population growth indirectly due to peace and directly to the adoption of a potato diet which assured the Irish people of an abundant healthful ideal food, particularly when supplemented by milk (Green 1990:265).

The Dublin Castle complex took on the character of a court of a Renaissance viceroy rather than the quarters of a military commander between 1556 and 1570 when Sir Henry Sidney converted it on becoming the first viceroy to reside there. Much of the fashion in food during this period, as noted in Volume I, originated in the court and were copied by the nobility. The battle of the Boyne 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 (Robins 2001:3-5). Many of the Ascendancy families led indulgent hedonistic lifestyles, building large richly furnished houses with ornate gardens, and life, for their women in particular, was ‘a constant round of pleasure’ (Robins 2001:6). Dublin had a
population of around 10,000 at the beginning of the seventeenth century, doubling in mid century, and by 1710 Dublin was the fourth largest city in Europe (Gibney 2006:17). The importance of Dublin was at its peak in around 1800, with a population of 200,000 – roughly twenty three percent the population of London. By 1900, whereas the population of Dublin had doubled, it’s population was a mere five and half percent of London’s (Craig 1980:341).

Potatoes were not the only new food introduced during this period and as the diet of the poorer classes gradually became more monotonous and one dimensional over time, the diet of the Anglo-Irish ascendancy became more elaborate with exotic fruits such as pineapples grown in Irish glasshouses becoming the ultimate mark of social status (Cahill 2005:50). The introduction of tea, coffee, and chocolate resulted in the opening of coffee houses, and later clubs, both in Dublin and elsewhere in Ireland. This development mirrors that of London during the same period as described in Chapter Five, Volume I, where some taverns, clubs and private hotels became renowned for the quality of their food.

**Historic Outline**
Much of the historic outline of this period has been discussed in Chapter Four and Five, Volume I. The following may be described as the micro-historic outline of how English and European history affected Ireland. The close of the sixteenth century and the beginning of the seventeenth century witnessed the end of Gaelic Ireland. By the end of Elizabeth I reign, the conquest of Ireland was complete, and the whole island was brought under English control (Hayes-McCoy 1990:174). Plantations had occurred in parts of Munster, Offaly, Laois, Antrim and Down during the sixteenth century. Following Hugh O’Neill’s defeat in the Battle of Kinsale 1601, and despite signing the peace treaty at Mellifont in 1603, the remaining Gaelic lords felt threatened by the new order and finally fled to the continent in 1607 in what is known as ‘the flight of the Earls’. This exodus led to the widespread plantation of Ulster between 1605-20 (Lennon and Gillespie 1997:58-62). The mid seventeenth century saw Phelim O’Neill’s rising of 1641 followed by Cromwellian involvement in Ireland, which led to further land confiscations where the remaining Gaelic Irish were driven west to Connacht. The 1650s also saw the
development of Trinity College, improvements in the legal system and the abolition of the Irish parliament, replaced by representation at Westminster (Lennon and Gillespie 1997:64-6).

Charles II was proclaimed king in Dublin in May 1660. His successor James II came to throne in 1685, but three years later William of Orange ceased the crown. James II landed in Ireland with French support in March 1689 and held the ‘patriot parliament’ in Dublin from May-July of that year. This led to the Williamite War where James was defeated at the Boyne in 1690 and fled to France while William pushed his campaign west culminating in the signing of the treaty of Limerick in October 1691 (Lennon and Gillespie 1997:68).

British policy in Ireland aimed at maintaining the connection but ensuring that Ireland could not compete with the mother country in matters of trade. This status of colony was resented by Irish members of parliament, but were concentrating mainly in keeping the majority Catholics ‘in a state of permanent subjection’ (Wall 1990:218). The penal laws debarred Catholics from parliament, from holding any government office, from entering the legal profession, and from holding commissions in the army and the navy. By 1738, the penal laws had forced over one thousand families ‘of the highest order’ (including great numbers of barristers and lawyers) to nominally become protestant in order to retain their lands, and were thus ‘recruited into the Anglo-Irish ascendancy’ (Wall 1990:219). The Anglo-Irishman, writes Mortimer (1988:194), ‘never feels at ease in England, even though he is not always and altogether accepted in his own country’. The Anglo-Irish became a unique people, considered Irish by the English and English by the Irish. Even the descendants of the later colonists yielded to the ‘cult of hospitality’ by the eighteenth century (Simms 1978:93-4).

From 1767, lord lieutenants took up full-time residency in Ireland resulting in the Irish court reaching its peak of brilliance and extravagance during the last three decades of the century (Robins 2001:57). The 1st Earl of Harcourt had served as court chamberlain in St. James’ and as ambassador in Paris prior to taking residence in Dublin (1772-1776). He
was a man of immense personal wealth who gave and expected extravagant hospitality (Robins 2001:61-2). The Rutland viceroyalty (1784-1787) was renowned for its hedonism, where the political tensions faded temporarily as ‘the powerful and dissident were drawn into the court’s never-ending round of eating, dancing and unfettered living’ (Robins 2001:69-70).

In the latter half of the eighteenth century, influenced by the war of American independence, the Protestant Anglo-Irish, under the leadership of Henry Grattan, achieved a form of independent kingdom, sharing a monarch with the neighbouring island. An Irish post system separate from that of Great Britain was established. The Bank of Ireland was founded and great building projects were undertaken, such as the Customs House, Four Courts, and the completion of both Rutland and Merrion Squares that transformed Dublin into a capital city (McDowell 1990:233-4; Dargan 2008).

Apart from the legislative independence period of 1782-1800, the Irish parliament remained, in practice, inferior to the English parliament. Splendid conviviality was no longer the answer to Ireland’s problems, political or social by the 1790s, and by the time the 2nd Earl of Fitzwilliam took office in 1794 ‘the golden age of the Ascendancy society had come to an end’ (Robins 2001:78). Inspired by the French Revolution of 1789, the United Irishmen was established by Wolfe Tone to unite Catholic, Protestant and Dissenter to break the connection with England. Bad weather hampered the large-scale invasion of French forces in 1796 and the failure of the 1798 Rebellion meant that the century ended not with the declaration of the republic as sought by the radicals, but with a legislative union (Kelly 1997:82). The coming into force of the Act of Union on January 1st 1801 abolished the separate Irish parliament and established direct rule from Westminster, integrating the two islands constitutionally under the official title of ‘The United Kingdom of Great Britain and Ireland’ (McCartney 1987:3; Kelly 1997:74).

Sources of Evidence
The lack of a comprehensive authoritative study on the history of Irish cuisine has led to the pervasive, but erroneous, belief that Ireland lacks a distinctive cuisine or a tradition of
public dining (Cotter 1999; Myers 2002). Cullen (1981:140-192) provides the first broad
discussion on diet, hospitality and menu variety during this period. Cullen (1992)
compares various aspects of Irish diets – both rich and poor – and contrasts them with
diets elsewhere in Europe. 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 (Connell 1962; Cullen 1981:141-2; Bourke 1993; Ó Gráda 1993;
Salaman 2000; Ó Riordáin 2001). 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, such as the Connolly’s of
Castletown House; the Plunkett family, Earls of Fingall; or the Balfour family of
Townley Hall near Drogheda, used by social and nutritional historians (Clarkson and
Crawford 2001:34; Barnard 2004). One problem with household account books is 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.

The dining and entertaining practices of the Irish Vice-regal Court at Dublin Castle are
outlined by Robins (2001). Probably the most descriptive accounts of the daily food
habits of the upper classes come from the letters of Mrs. Delany (Fig. 11.0) written from
her various houses in Dublin, Down and London during many decades of the mid to late
eighteenth century (Johnson 1925; Maxwell 1979a; Hayden 2000; Cahill 2005; Cahill
2007). Her letters discuss the lives of servants and their role in running a large household.
Other sources of evidence include the descriptions of travellers to Ireland or temporary
residents such as Spencer, De Ceullar, Deveraux and Morison in Elizabethan Ireland;
Brereton, Rocheford, Dineley, Stevens and Dunton in the seventeenth century; and
Delany, Young, Gandon, Pococke, and De La Tocayne in the eighteenth century
(Maxwell 1979a; Sexton 1998). Food and dining are also depicted in art. Both Laffan
(2003) and Rooney (2006) provide pictorial evidence of what food was sold on the streets
of Dublin in the mid-Eighteenth century, and the various social establishment – taverns,
clubs and inns – where food was publicly consumed respectively. Clarkson and
Crawford’s (2001:8) history of food and nutrition in Ireland is the most comprehensive
book covering this period, but they are at pains to point out that their book ‘is not a history of cooking in Ireland’. The authors who have dealt most comprehensively with the history of Irish food to date are Mahon (1991) and Sexton (1998; 2005).

![Portrait of Mrs. Delany by John Opie](image)

**Figure 11.0: Portrait of Mrs. Delany by John Opie**

*Source: (Hayden 2000:2)*

**Food and Sources**

By the fourteenth century there was a fusion of Gaelic Irish and Anglo-Norman food patterns. Cullen (1992:47) suggests that Irish diets prior to the introduction of the potato were retarded reflecting a medieval backwardness rather than poverty in the modern sense. Cullen points out that quite an amount of meat was consumed in the earlier Irish diet, noting that Irish soldiers fighting in France in 1689 were renowned for their butchery skills. Culinary innovation and change followed the Tudor and Stuart conquests of the 16th and 17th centuries, with the introduction of the pheasant, turkey and most significantly the potato. Molloy (2002:35) argues that beer became a less important element of the diet of the rural poor following the introduction of the potato as an alternative source of carbohydrate and vitamin B.

**The Potato**

The potato was introduced to Europe from South America. Whether the introduction of the potato to Ireland can be credited to a Drake, Raleigh or Southwell figure; or that they
may have been washed ashore from wrecks of the Spanish Armada in 1588; it is clear that the potato had reached Ireland by the end of the sixteenth century (Sexton 1998:71; Salaman 2000:142-158). The potato transformed Ireland from an under populated island of 1 million in the 1590s to 8.2 million in 1840, making it the most densely populated country in Europe (Phillips and Rix 1995). Bourke (1993) mentions four phases of acceptance of the potato into the general Irish diet. Stage one (1590-1675) sees the potato used as a supplementary food and standby against famine; Stage two (1675-1750) the potato is viewed as a valuable winter food for the poorer classes; Stage three (1750-1810) the poorer classes became dangerously reliant on potato as staple for most of the year; Stage four (1810-1845) sees mounting distress as localised famines and potato failures become commonplace.

The potato was enjoyed by rich and poor alike, and Cullen (1992:46) points out that potatoes were imported from Ireland to the colonies and also suggests that Irish brandy merchants who settled in Cognac may have been the first to plant potatoes in the Charente region. Two centuries of genetic evolution resulted in yields growing from 2 tons per acre in 1670 to 10 tons per acre in 1800 (Mac Con Iomaire 2003:209). Lyons (1982:35) notes that the potato was useful for cleaning, restoring and reclaiming the soil, and also for fattening pigs. This point is elaborated by Cullen (1992:47), who suggests that increased potato consumption may simply and paradoxically reflect the fact that cereal cultivation intensified in the 1750s and 1760s, resulting in a growing reliance on the potato as a cleaning restoring root crop. The potato provided the growing labour force needed for the move from pasture to tillage that occurred at this time, but resulted in high levels of unemployment following the Battle of Waterloo when the demand for exports fell.

All Irish diets during this period were not dull and centred on the potato, dairy produce and occasional bacon or pickled herrings. Although Ireland was the first European country to adopt the potato as a staple crop – a practice spread to the colonies and to mainland Europe – European fashions in food and beverages also percolated Irish culinary practice.
**Anglo-Irish Cuisine**

Lady Essex was the first vicereine to entertain as a great hostess. James, Duke of Ormond, who succeeded Lord Essex (1672-1677) viceroyalty, 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. Household records indicate sumptuous entertainment with over ‘six thousand gallons of French, Canary and Rhenish wines and large quantities of other alcohol’ consumed between May 1682 and September 1683 (Robins 2001:6). The Irish court at Dublin Castle followed the rituals and extravagances of the London court of St. James’ with balls, banquets, drawing-rooms, levees and elaborate festivities celebrating royal birthdays and other anniversaries (Robins 2001:7).

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 (Sexton 1998a:12; Barnard 2004:300; Cahill 2005:68). 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. Simms (1978:94-5) proposes that the ‘riotous hospitality’ of the eighteenth century Anglo-Irish was not imported from England where in 1752 Henry Fielding reported ‘acquaintance is of almost as slow growth as an oak’. Simms concludes that the narratives of eighteenth century English travellers in Ireland are closer to the Stanihurst (1584:33) account of the Gaelic Irish chieftains:

‘They have fixed manors and habitations, which are daily filled with a great throng of guests. They are without doubt the most hospitable of men, nor could you please them more in anything than by frequently visiting their houses willingly of your own accord, or claiming an invitation from them’.
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 short viceroyalty of the 4th Earl of Chesterfield in 1745 is said to have impacted on the manners and civility of Irish society more than any of his predecessors. The ‘pernicious and beastly fashion of drinking’ was discouraged, duels declined in number and both politeness and literature progressed (Robins 2001:27-8). 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).

**New Ingredients**

New culinary habits required new ingredients, many of which reached Europe from the New World. French Huguenot refugees brought expertise in practical horticulture, and introduced new vegetables to Ireland. A bill for seeds bought by Huguenots from The Hague includes among others ‘asparagus, radishes, tomatoes, sensitive plants, several sorts of lettuces and about 60 sorts of flower seed, lemon or citrus trees, mhirtle balls in pots and turnip seed’ (Lamb and Bowe 1995:26). Despite the failure of *Le Projet d’Irlande* to transplant thousands of displaced Huguenots to Ireland following the Williamite war, many Huguenots reached Ireland and thrived, most remarkably in Portarlington, but also in Dublin and elsewhere. The 280 strong Huguenot community in 1692 Dublin had swelled to 3,600 by 1720, evidence of which is still visible in the Huguenot cemetery beside Dublin’s Shelbourne Hotel, St Stephen’s Green (Vigne 1994:21; Powell 1995:29; Gibney 2006:16). Clearly not all Huguenots were master weavers or silversmiths and some must have brought French culinary practice and techniques with them either professionally or through domestic practice.

Market gardeners were brought from Holland in 1694 to teach members of The Dublin Philosophical Society new techniques of growing fruit and vegetables. This new learning
was enthusiastically put to the test, although the relevance of broccoli, mulberries or silkworms in raising Irish rents has been questioned (Lamb and Bowe 1995:26; Barnard 2004:213). The Dublin Society was founded in 1731 and incorporated by George II as the ‘Dublin Society for promoting Husbandry and other useful Arts’ in 1749. Their Botanic Gardens in Glasnevin had a Kitchen Garden in which six apprentices were constantly employed ‘to advance the great benefits of this department’ (Wright 1821:61-4). As horticultural virtuosity was acclaimed outside, culinary feats impressed guests inside the house. Lord Clanbrassil’s cook was allegedly paid £50 annually in the 1770s (Barnard 2004:300). Diet varied considerably with social status, the basic peasant staples of oats and dairy produce co-existing with the acquired traditions of the gentry.

By the nineteenth century the potato had established itself as a staple of one third of the population, an overdependence that led to the devastation of the Famine in the 1840s when successive harvests failed. Prior to this, such was the abundance of potatoes that they were not only consumed by the poor but began to invade the diets of the better off (Cullen 1992). The custom of preparing potato puddings, both sweet and savoury, was particularly noticeable among the wealthy, where extra ingredients like saffron, sugar and spices differentiated this potato dish from the plain boiled potatoes of the cottiers (Sexton 1998:79). The epitome of exotic luxury among the wealthiest, particularly when contrasted with the humble potato, was pineapples that were grown in heated pineapple houses on landed estates all over England and Ireland. Mrs. Delany was served a pineapple at Mrs. Clement’s Lodge – now Áras an Uachtarán – in the Phoenix Park on the 22 September 1759 (Cahill 2005:50).

Despite suggesting in one of her letters that the subject of food and eating was too crude or too trivial to communicate, thankfully Mrs. Delany’s letters provide us with descriptions of breakfasts, lunches, dinners and snacks ‘in detail and with great relish’ (Cahill 2005:45). Food items mentioned in these correspondences include:

**Beverages:** tea, coffee, chocolate, goat’s whey, syllabub, mulled wine, burgundy, champagne.
Meat: beefsteaks, roast sirloin of beef, collard beef (boned, stuffed, rolled and pickled), potted beef (preserved in sugar, saltpetre and spices, with liquor of gravy and butter poured over to seal the pots), roast pork, hashed venison, venison, turkey, mutton, lamb, brawn (jellied calf’s head), goose, partridge, sweetbreads, collared pig, loin of veal, pigeons, hare, leveret, rabbits, grouse, chicken, quails, wheat ears (small game bird), fried egg and bacon, cold mutton and tongue.

Fish: crabs, salmon, turbot, soles, oysters, lobster fricassee, trout, sturgeon, anchovies, potted lampreys, char.

Baked and sweet goods: bread and butter, roles, cakes, plum cake, creamed apple tart, plum pudding, venison pasty, Perigord pie, pies, fricassee of eggs, cream pudding, plum crocant, blamange, sweatmeats and jellies, dutch cheese, apple pie, almond cream, cheesecakes, Indian sweatmeats, orange marmalade, orange pudding.

Fruit and vegetables: pineapples, cherries, strawberries, raspberries, oranges, currants, gooseberries, endive, greens, olives, potatoes, artichoke, onions, peas, mushroom terrene.

Miscellaneous: various other items are included like soup, comfits (fruits, nuts or seeds coated in boiled sugar), salmagundi (a seventeenth century term for a cold dish made from chopped meat, anchovies, eggs, onions etc.), and isinglass – a gelatine obtained from fish bladders, used to make jellies and other moulded confectionary, but also used to make isinglass cement to mend fine china (Johnson 1925; Davidson 1999; Cahill 2005; Cahill 2007:684-5).

The diversity of ingredients mentioned in describing this Anglo-Irish cuisine is of particular interest; as is the noticeable French influence through items like Perigord pie, lobster fricassee, not to mention the champagne. Distinctive English dishes such as potted lampreys, plum pudding and beefsteaks are also evident. The influence of French cuisine on English cuisine has been previously discussed in Chapters Four, Five and Six, in Volume I.
Food Markets, Merchants and Street Vendors

Food markets were abundant in Dublin in the eighteenth century, ranging in importance from Smithfield (for live cattle), Ormond (likened to the Leadenhall Market in London), Newgate, Clarendon, New Market, the Glib, and St. Patricks which were all said to be well stocked with meat, fish and fowl (Barnard 2003:27). A wide selection of foodstuff was available from the merchants of Dublin including salt, cheese, fruits and spices, Turkey coffee, liquorice, wheat and flour imported from England; brandies, wines and vinegars from France; and oranges, lemons, grapes, nuts, chestnuts, almonds, onions, sugars, aniseeds, figs, raisins and chocolate imported from Spain (Cahill 2005:63-4). Philip Magawley at the Blue Door on Abbey Street sold Bayonne hams, Parmesan cheese, peaches in brandy, West Indian sweetmeats, green ginger, truffles, olives, macaroni, anchovies, Muscatel raisins and Marseille figs (Robins 2001:54).

Hamilton’s *Cries of Dublin* drawn in 1760 portrays the diversity of foodstuff sold on the streets of Dublin. The collection includes itinerant vendors of spring herbs and watercress, oysters, new milk, fish (cod, herring and plaice) (Fig. 11.4), sweet whey, hott gray pease, baked goods, oranges and lemons, black and white puddings (Fig. 11.1), milk or curds, fresh and pickled herrings, root vegetables (Fig. 11.3), eggs, hot pyes, apples and pears, tripe, salmon, cakes and cheese, herbs, turnips, fresh butter, Bullrudderie cakes, ginger bread and apples (Fig. 11.2), and buttermilk (Laffan 2003).

Figure 11.1: Black and White Puddings  
Source: (Laffan 2003:91)  

Figure 11.2: Ginger Bread & Apples  
Source: (Laffan 2003:169)
These drawings offer an insight into the local specialties increasingly in demand: black and white puddings, fresh and pickled herrings, the Bullrudderie (Balrothery) cakes – a type of dry biscuit made in North Dublin which fed much of the British navy in later years, tripe, and Ringsend oysters. Specialities like puddings and sausages were purchased even by wealthy households that had their own cooks (Barnard 2003:28). The variety of dairy produce – new milk, sweet whey, curds, cheese, fresh butter, and buttermilk – is also worth noting, showing the continuing influence of Gaelic diet.

![Figure 11.3: The Root Market](image1) ![Figure 11.4: The Fish Market](image2)

**Source:** (Laffan 2003:101) **Source:** (Laffan 2003:73)

**Preparation and Cooking**
Cooks in Ireland, particularly in the big houses, held a privileged position among the other servants, commanding a better wage than a mere valet or a maid. High wages lured proficient cooks to Ireland from England, Scotland and continental Europe. Archbishop King’s cook, John Nelson, was paid £20 annually, five times more than his gardener (Barnard 2004:300). Male cooks, and particularly French cooks, were paid significantly more than their female counterparts, as illustrated in the account books of Doneraille Court. Between 1787 and 1800, seven cooks passed through its doors, five men and two women. ‘The women were paid £20 and £20 15s respectively in 1787 and 1791, while the men’s lowest wage was £34 2s 6d in 1788, rising to £40 in 1790, and forty guineas by 1800’ (McCarthy 2003:126). There were usually about one hundred people employed in cooking, serving and maintaining the personal apartments of the viceroy at Dublin Castle.
Annual wages ranged from £150 for the house steward, £25 to £40 for the cooks, to £5 for the kitchen servants, porters and other menials (Robins 2001:37). Staff retention among domestic servants was a problem. The Duke of Leinster offered an incentive of one year’s wages to those of his ‘lower’ servants – including kitchen people, maids, footmen, steward’s room men, pantry boys and lamplighters – who complete five years’ service in his household (McCarthy 2003:120). Similar inducements were still being offered to apprentice chefs, over two hundred years later in Dublin’s Restaurant Patrick Guilbaud, as shall be discussed in a later chapter.

The Dublin Guild of Cooks was exclusively protestant but there seems to have been a difficulty in securing protestant cooks and other servants for private households around the country. McCarthy (2003:122) notes that salt fish was eaten once a week by the servants of Lord Kildare, probably on Friday in deference to the Catholics in service there. Some cooks had a bad reputation for drinking. Desperate or indulgent employers often forbore expelling the delinquent cook as illustrated by Richard Allen’s description of his cook, Dan Flanagan, who ‘behaved himself well, honestly and civilly, in my family except when he got drunk which was too often’. Even female cooks could be described as a ‘very honest, quiet woman, but loves drink’ (Barnard 2004:303). Cooks and laundry maids both laboured in a hot atmosphere and were given special allowances of ale. In Lord Kildare’s household in 1758, the cook was allowed one quart of ale at 11am and another at 2pm, and by 1772 the cook was allowed one quart of ale or strong beer between 1pm and 2pm ‘if he desires’, whereas small beer (a very light beer) was available to the kitchen staff and nearly anyone who so wished. Any malt liquor remaining after the Duke or Duchess dined was allowed to be taken to the steward’s room where the upper servants ate (McCarthy 2003:123). A similar beer allocation called the ‘sweat pint’ was still offered in the kitchens of some Dublin hotels up until the end of the twentieth century (Dowling 2004; Clancy 2008; Connell 2008).

The methods of cookery and changing trends during the Early Modern Period have been discussed in Chapters Four and Five, Volume I. The most important change in cooking patterns, among the wealthy, at this time was the introduction of ceramic plates rather
than bread trenchers, facilitating the use of more liquid mixtures, and also firmer items such as pies and meatballs which required the use of knives and forks (Wheaton 1983:117). Cooking in Ireland, as in neighbouring countries, was done on or before the open hearth, using pulleys and cranes to control the heat of the fire, as illustrated in Figure 11.6 (Cahill 2007:21). Spit roasting was still the most popular method of cooking meat for the upper classes, and the spit roasted beef may be considered the height of English cuisine. Boiling was more suited to tougher cuts of meat such as the neck of mutton served by Mrs. Delany in 1745. Cahill (2005:59) points out that soup was followed by fish at dinner and the meats followed the fish; ‘boiled meats usually brought in first, baked next, roast last’. Baking was done either in a built up oven or in a ‘bastible’ – a covered pot with embers above and below it (Sexton 1998:84). Griddle pans and gridirons were also used to griddle cakes or grill beefsteaks respectively. One popular Dublin tavern was called the Goose and Gridiron, and the name Gridiron reappears in the nineteenth century as a previous name of the Burlington Restaurant that the Jammet brothers take over in 1900. Mrs. Delany shows an interest in technological and scientific advances. In 1754 she purchases boilers and fish-kettles made of iron for her new London home, noting the poisonous qualities of brass and copper. She also ‘invests in a smoke-jack, which was a series of spits on a ratchet-and-pulley system, enabling more efficient circulation of meats before the fire’ (Cahill 2005:62-3). A comprehensive insight into technological development in Dublin townhouse kitchens during the eighteenth century is available from the inventory of Lord Viscount Doneraile’s home in Kildare Street, Dublin in 1762 (Griffin 1997:32-3). Figure 11.5 shows the full inventory, which includes early modern items such as pewter plates, knives and forks, tin oven for beefsteaks, coffee pot, gravy dish and cover, and a tin potato roaster existing alongside medieval items such as flesh forks, salt boxes, marble mortar and wooden pestle. Some of the items listed can be seen in Figure 11.6.

Each household had a ‘receipt’ (recipe) book and regularly exchanged ‘receipts’. Receipt books and ladies directories were published as teaching aids as has been outlined in Chapter Five, Volume I. The Modern Cook, or Housewife’s Directory, was printed by James Hoey at the Mercury in Skinner Row, Dublin, in 1766 (Cahill 2005:56). The range
and richness of food in use in the Dublin court can be judged from a book on court cookery published by Robert Smith who had served for a period as cook to James Butler, 2nd Earl of Ormond who held the office of viceroy twice between 1703 and 1713 (Robins 2001:14).

Figure 11.5: Inventory List, Lord Viscount Doneraille’s Dublin Townhouse, 1762
Source: (Griffin 1997:32-3)

Food Service and Dining
Dublin society was influenced by the changing habits of genteel living in London and elsewhere. Communal entertainments in Dublin particularly drew in larger groups of the polite and moderately prosperous. New refinements of silver, imported porcelain, delft, local napery were introduced into private houses and even taverns. Food in aristocratic households was regulated according to rank. On normal non-public occasions, dinner at ‘His Grace’s table’ consisted of a course of sixteen dishes, four removes and a dessert on Sundays, Wednesdays and Fridays, with fewer dishes on the remaining days. The steward’s table had six dishes whereas the ‘maid’s table’ had two dishes, and some lowly servants had to make do with leftovers (Robins 2001:37-8).
Figure 11.6: Kitchen – Strokestown Park House, similar to Mrs. Delany’s at Delville
Source: (Cahill 2007:20)

Fraternal societies and clubs, which met originally in taverns, encouraged the use of convivial objects such as silver cups (Fitzgerald and O'Brien 2001:21). As Barnard (2004:128) writes ‘gustatory novelties were dispensed, often requiring and unwonted elaboration in their presentation and consumption’. By learning and practising the politeness and gentility of those styled as esquires and gentlemen, some Dublin sophisticates began to dispute the cultural leadership of the country squires and gentry. As has been noted in Chapter Eight, Volume I, it did not become socially acceptable for ladies to dine in public until the latter half of the nineteenth century. Taverns, clubs and fraternal societies were male establishments although the inclusion of Mrs. Blennerhassett in Worsdale’s painting (Fig. 11.10) is quite unusual (Rooney 2006:124). Social life for women revolved around dinner parties and balls. Dublin Castle was the pinnacle for the privileged in seventeen and eighteenth-century Ireland (Hayden 2000:46; Robins 2001; Rooney 2006:25). The pace of social life at the Castle and among the Dublin upper-classes generally quickened from the 1720s onwards. The intensity of the Duke of Dorset’s social programme was such that his chief secretary complained that ‘his back was almost broken from bowing and having his belly constantly stuffed from eating’. A fountain in the council chamber flowed all night with wine for guests (Robins
Mrs. Delany was present at this ball and describes it thus:

‘The ball was in the old beef-eaters hall, a room that holds seven hundred people seated, it was well it did, for never did I behold a greater crowd. ….. After an hour’s playing the Duke, Duchess, and nobility marched into the supper-room, which was the council chamber. In the midst of the room was placed a holly tree, illuminated by an hundred wax tapers; round it was placed all sorts of meat, fruit and sweatmeats; servants waited next, and were encompassed round by a table, to which the company came in turns to take what they wanted’ (Rooney 2006:26).

**Figure 11.7: State Ball at Dublin Castle (1731) by van der Hagen**

*Source: (Rooney 2006:25)*

**Meal Times**

As noted in Volume I, meal times changed gradually over time. On the 5th May 1733, Mrs. Delany ate a breakfast of chocolate, tea, coffee, toast and butter and caudle about ten in the morning. Caudle was a sort of fortified porridge, a blend of ale or wine, gruel, eggs, sugar and spice that Mrs. Beeton would later mention as an invalid food. On another occasion when entertaining guests to breakfast in her garden (22 June 1750), she ordered cherries, strawberries and nosegays to be spread on the table and for a harper – hidden in the trees – to play for them during the repast. She was not impressed with the mob that attended the ‘gratis’ breakfast in the Rotunda in February 1751, but at her royal
breakfast with King George III and Queen Charlotte (12 August 1778) all sorts of fruit and ice were served along with the usual cakes, rolls and bread and butter (Cahill 2005:45-56). Dinner was the most important meal of the day and was eaten at around two or three in the day, but as the eighteenth century wore on, the dining hour became fashionably later in the evening finishing around six of seven in the evening. When this happened, afternoon tea was introduced to fill the gap. Dinner was served in two courses of mixed sweet and savoury dishes followed by dessert (Cahill 2005:55-61).

Tea was a luxury at first and grew more popular over time resulting in a fashion for collecting Chinese porcelain tea sets (Cahill 2005:48). It was also fashionable from around 1700 onwards to show off silver on a side-board or buffet. Irish silversmiths were busy during this period and detail of their wares can be found in Delamer and O’Brien (2005). Fitzgerald and O’Brien (2001:34-40) provide a comprehensive list of objects submitted to the Dublin assay office between January and December 1788 which includes bread baskets, sauce boats, epergnes, ewers, 1,502 forks, 631 wine labels, 27,971 tea spoons, and 1,505 sugar tongs, illustrating the growth of tea and sugar consumption following the decline in tea prices during the eighteenth century (Fitzgerald and O’Brien 2001:17). The Conollys of Castletown in Co.Kildare typified conspicuous consumption during the 1780s, consuming 1,900 lbs of sugar and 50 lbs of tea annually when the average annual consumption of sugar was 25 to 30 lbs and for tea 2 to 3 lbs (Clarkson 1999:98). Keeping food hot was a preoccupation of this time and many inventions were adapted including soup tureens, argyles (a gravy or sauce warmer), chafing dishes to a ‘hostess trolley’ made of tin and heated with charcoal, which formed part of the dining room furniture at Newbridge House, Donabate, Co. Dublin. In 1774 Wedgewood advertised his ceramic argyles as ‘gravy cups’, and The English Art of Cookery, printed in Dublin in 1798, includes ten pages on the preparation of gravies and sauces (Fitzgerald and O’Brien 2001:17; Cahill 2005:71).

**Public Dining in Dublin**

Food was available for public sale in Dublin since the Anglo-Normans introduced the guild system. Food specialists belonging to the guilds of cooks, bakers, butchers,
merchants, brewers, vintners, ‘samountakers’, ‘fisshers’, and ‘haggardmen’ (later gardeners) provided raw or cooked food on a commercial basis (Webb 1970:53-63). Food could be purchased from street vendors, cook shops, bakeries, taverns and inns. Dublin had secured a reputation for its ale houses and taverns by the reign of Elizabeth I (Maxwell 1979:76). By 1738, there were 14 bakers, 16 brewers, 33 butchers, 3 cider merchants, 7 cooks, 3 distillers, 25 grocers, 47 victuallers, 9 vintners and wine merchants listed under food, drink and allied trades in a Dublin directory (Hardiman and Kennedy 2000:219-224). Locations for public dining in Dublin during the Early Modern Period are discussed below and include inns, hotels, taverns, coffee houses, clubs and public houses.

Inns and Hotels
There seems to have been a shortage of inns in Ireland, perhaps due to the importance of ‘free’ hospitality to Gaelic life. Charging guests money for staying in ones home was frowned upon even up to the latter half of the twentieth century when ‘bed and breakfast’ accommodation was introduced to provide increased capacity without large-scale capital expenditure, as tourism began to grow (Hopkin 2003:80). Hospitality was available from ordinary householders in towns as late as the sixteenth century according to the anonymous description by an Italian companion of James Fitzmaurice who notes:

‘The use of money is very rare in this region; items are used in exchange for the most part. In the port itself they do not have guesthouses or inns, except by chance. He who travels turns to some private home, (where) all will be given freely to him, however not immediately, but when the father of the family himself eats’ (O’ Sullivan 2004:66).

During his stay with this family, the Italian traveller was offered a number of beverages including beer made from barley and water, milk, whey water, wine, mead, whiskey and water. 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 (Maxwell 1979:76; Craig 1980:209). Commercial hospitality, however, at all levels, both sleeping and eating, was widely available by the end of the Georgian period. McGregor (1821:309) 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’.

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 (Heal 1990:300; Barnard 2004:231-2). The lack of hotels and inns was remedied by the early nineteenth century. Many of Ireland’s guesthouses and inns have been depicted by the artist William Sadler, two of which are illustrated in Figures 11.8 and 11.9 (Rooney 2006:131). The wooden sign hanging from the seaward gable of the inn at Laytown advertise the establishment to passing boats.

*Wilson’s Dublin Directory* commenced annual publication in 1751 but the first listing of hotels and coffee houses did not appear until 1783, with 11 hotels and 9 coffee houses listed. Club houses are listed for the first time in 1789 and coffee houses were no longer listed from 1792 onwards. In 1793 there were 18 hotels listed and 4 club houses, with a note under the club house listing reading ‘none admitted but the respective members of each’ (Wilson's-Directory 1793:9).

![Figure 11.8](image1.png)  ![Figure 11.9](image2.png)

**Figure 11.8:** A View of the Inn, Baldoyle  **Figure 11.9:** A View of the Inn, Laytown

Both by William Sadler (1782-1839)  Source: (Rooney 2006:132-3)
Taverns, Coffee Houses and Clubs

Taverns traditionally served wine and were socially superior to alehouses, which sold ale or beer. Men also usually ran taverns whereas women often ran alehouses. By 1600 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). 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). Maxwell (1979:76) points out that Dublin had been noted for its taverns and ale-houses by Queen Elizabeth’s reign. Public dining or drinking establishments listed in the 1738 Dublin Directory included taverns, eating houses, chop houses, coffee houses and one chocolate house in Fownes Court run by a Peter Bardin (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. Coffee houses were also found in Limerick, Galway, Wexford, Clonmel, Cork and Kilkenny (Molloy 2002:35). Maxwell lists some of Dublin’s leading coffee houses and taverns noting who their clientele were.

‘There were Lucas’s Coffee House, on Cork Hill (the scene of many duels), frequented by fashionable young men; the Phoenix, in Werburgh Street, where political dinners were held; Dick’s Coffee House, in Skinner’s Row, much patronized by literary men, for it was over a bookseller’s; the Eagle, in Eustace Street, where meetings of the Volunteers were held; the Old Sot’s Hole, near Essex Bridge, famous for its beefsteaks and ale; the Eagle Tavern, on Cork Hill, which was demolished at the same time as Lucas’s to make room for the Royal Exchange; and many others’ (Maxwell 1979:76).

Ireland, like England in this age of sword-play, possessed its duelling clubs. Duelling, which had been linked with heavy drinking, and perceived threats to male honour declined in the latter half of the eighteenth century (Shoemaker 2001:190-197). The formation of the ‘Friendly Brothers of St Patrick’ society, whose members bound themselves to abstain from settling differences by duelling reflects society’s changing attitude to violence (Craig 1980:211). A menu from the Friendly Brothers dinner in the Café Royal, London, in 1875 was shown in Fig. 8.2, in Volume I. A menu from The Friendly Brothers House in Dublin in 1875 is shown in Chapter Twelve (Fig. 12.5).
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 (1978:1, 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 ‘there were 1180 ale-houses and ninety-one public brew-houses in the Irish capital, when its entire population was estimated at 4000 families’. Gibney (2006:17) suggests that ‘Dublin had the distinction of possessing approximately 1,500 taverns’ by 1667, noting that pleasure seemingly ‘went hand in hand with business’.

Many of the early taverns were situated around the Winetavern Street, Cook Street, and Fishamble Street area. Copper Alley, off Fishamble Street had its share of taverns including the Red Lion Tavern, ‘a haunt of one-time conspirators and bored carriage drivers!’ (Liddy 1992:89). Taverns and later coffeehouses became meeting places for gentlemen and centres for debate and the exchange of ideas. Gilbert (1978:1, 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), at the latter of which a Masonic Lodge assembled on every Wednesday’. 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; the notorious Hell-fire Club which met at the Eagle Tavern; 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 (Montgomery 1896:41; Maxwell 1979:99; Nelson 1982; Lamb and Bowe 1995:37). 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 races run at the Curragh (Fitzgerald and
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.

The most famous of all the various interconnected clubs, drinking societies and Masonic lodges that arose in the early eighteenth century must be the various Hell Fire Clubs. The Duke of Wharton founded the original Hell Fire Club in London around 1716 and survived various attempts to suppress it until 1730. The first Earl of Rosse and the painter James Worsdale, whose painting of the Limerick Hell Fire Club is shown in Figure 11.10, founded the Dublin Hell Fire Club in 1735. The club met at the Eagle Tavern in Cork Hill (Craig 1980:154; Rooney 2006:124). The poet Daniel Hayes verses describe the riotous activities of the Hell Fire Clubs:

‘But if in endless Drinking you delight
Croker will ply you till you sink outright,
Croker for swilling Floods of Wine renowned,
Whose matchless Board with various plenty crowned
Eternal scenes of Riot, Mirth and Noise
With all the thunder of the Nenagh boys
We laugh, we roar, the ceaseless Bumpers fly
Till the sun purple’s o’er the Morning sky
And if unruly Passions chance to rise,
A willing Wench the Firgrove still supplies’ (Rooney 2006:124).

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).

The origin of 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 (Fig. 11.11) 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. Buck Whaley was one of the Daly’s club most famous members (Craig 1980:222). Arthur Young writing in
the late 1770s notes however, that both Dublin gentlemen’s clubs, Anthry’s and Daly’s were well regulated, and suggests that the anecdotes of ‘deep play’ he heard about the latter were not to the excesses common in London (Maxwell 1979:270). Young’s mention of Anthry’s is the only reference in the literature to this club, which suggests he may have meant Anthing’s Constitutional Club, Granby Row which is listed in Wilson’s Directory. Daly’s heyday seems to have come after Young’s visit, but 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).

Figure 11.10: The Limerick Hell Fire Club (c. 1740) by James Worsdale
Source: (Rooney 2006:123)

Clubs were established later in Belfast than in the rest of the country. A number of clubs and societies, such as the Adelphi Club frequented by the ‘literati’ (Fig. 11.12) began
meeting in Belfast taverns from the 1780s (Rooney 2006:125). Dublin’s Kildare Street Club was founded in 1782, following the ‘black balling’ of the Right Honourable William Burton Conyngham at Daly’s Club in Dame Street. 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.

![Daly’s Club, College Green, Dublin (18th Century)](source: Liddy 1992:51)

Dublin public houses 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. During the late nineteen and early twentieth centuries, these names were abandoned for the custom of naming a pub after its founder or current licensee (Gilbert 1978:III, 77; Molloy 2002:35).
Summary
The 1600-1800 period was a time for dramatic change both in Irish life and diet. The ‘flight of Earls’ led to widespread plantation of Ulster, the Cromwellian army crushed the rebels who became involved in the English Civil War and confiscated large tracts of land that was given to loyal colonists. The Williamite wars culminated in the introduction of the penal laws. The eighteenth century, however, was one of the most peaceful in Irish history where great developments in public building, education and law reform were undertaken. The introduction of the potato and other New World foods led to the narrowing of the diet of the poor and a broadening of the diet of the rich over the course of the eighteenth century. 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. Employing a male cook became fashionable among the Anglo-Irish elite during the first half of the eighteenth century, but employing a French cook carried extra cachet (Sexton 1998a:12; McCarthy 2003:126; Barnard 2004:300; Cahill 2005:68).
Public dining in taverns, coffee houses and clubs developed in parallel with the elaborate dinners given in private houses. 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.
Chapter 12: Ireland – Review of Restaurant Development in the 19th Century

Introduction / Overview
On the first day of January 1801, the Act of Union came into force. This abolished the Irish Parliament, and inaugurated the constitutional integration of both islands under the title of ‘The United Kingdom of Great Britain and Ireland’ (McCartney 1987:2). Old fashioned excessive hospitality, according to Cullen (1981:172), was firmly in the past after 1800, as both fashion and commercialisation had a strong impact on Irish food consumption. The Irish Viceregal court had long considered itself on par with the court of St. James’s in London, if not the courts of other Western European countries. The number of Irish aristocracy at court in Dublin fell gradually during the nineteenth century but their places were filled by merchants, bankers and members of the professions as bourgeois society grew in political and economic power. Some of the thirty different Lord Lieutenants who served in Dublin during the century were renowned for their high standards of hospitality (Robins 2001:94-5).

The first half of the nineteenth century has been called ‘the age of Daniel O’Connell’ following his efforts towards Catholic Emancipation in the 1820s and the unsuccessful struggle to repeal the Act of Union during the 1840s (Whyte 1990:250). Falling demand for grain exports following the Battle of Waterloo led to rising unemployment (Cullen 1992:46). New potato varieties that remained edible over a longer period of time, such as the Black, Irish Apple, and Cup, had been developed and grown in popularity during the latter half of the eighteenth century (Wilde 1854:130; Sexton 1998:71). The period 1810-1845 saw the adoption of new inferior varieties of potatoes, notably the ‘lumper’, which promised excellent yields. However, the strain was not resistant to the potato blight Phytophthora infestans, and this resulted in the dramatic potato failures of 1845, ’46 and ’47. O’Connell died in 1847, the worst year of the Great Famine. The result of the Famine was that by 1851, at least one million of the Irish poor had died and another million had emigrated (Sexton 1998:74). The middle and upper classes, however, were relatively unaffected by famine and retained a varied diet before, during and after the
famine, that would be ‘hard to surpass in contemporary rural France or Britain’ (Cullen 1981:162-3).

The second half of the nineteenth century was a period of intense and rapid commercialisation, with consumption of shop-bought foods increasing dramatically (Sexton 2005:325). This was a result of technological improvements in the flour milling, canning, food preservation, distribution and transportation industries previously discussed in Chapter Eight. Consumer prices fell steadily during the nineteenth century, particularly during the final quarter, as illustrated in Figure 12.0, which also provides a timeline of some of the major historic, social and technological advancements of the period (Daly, Hearn et al. 2003:76-7). Canals developed in the late eighteenth and early nineteenth centuries and had a relatively short commercial lifespan as the onset of the Railway Age in 1834 made them obsolete (Corr 1987:26-8).

![Figure 12.0: Consumer Price Index 1815-1907](source: Daly, Hearn et al. 2003:76-7)
The steam age, both in railways and shipping resulted in growth, both in tourism and commerce. This led to an increase in hotels, inns and eventually to the rise of restaurants. Dining was increasingly deferred to a later hour to allow time for work and more restrained pleasure. The well-off families became more cost conscious during the nineteenth century, they reduced the numbers dining rather than the standard of the food. Intimate suppers and dinner parties became fashionable as previously described in Chapter Eight, and social imitation meant that these habits soon spread downwards to the comfortable farming families (Cullen 1981:173).

**Historic Outline**

Dublin lost its standing as the ‘second city’ of the British Isles following the abolition of the Dublin Parliament. The Parliament had housed 300 MPs and nearly a hundred peers, who had less reason for maintaining residences in Dublin post 1801 (McCartney 1987:16). McGregor writing about Dublin in 1821, notes that ‘not more than 34 peers, 13 baronets, and 5 members of the House of Commons have a settled dwelling within its precincts’, whereas prior to the Act of Union, Dublin was the ‘constant or occasional residence of 271 temporal and spiritual peers’ (1821:311-4). The focus of power in Dublin dwindled during the nineteenth century from the Protestant Ascendancy, as Catholics gradually took control of local politics, and to lesser extent of the city’s businesses and professions (Daly 1984:1). Democracy emerged gradually in nineteenth century Ireland as a result of a combination of mass education, the popular press, organised religion, popular politics and agrarian agitation (McCartney 1987:192). O’Connell led the move for Catholic Emancipation, which was granted in 1829, and then went on to agitate for the repeal of the Act of Union through the use of mass meetings, which had been popularised by Father Mathew’s Temperance Movement. However, O’Connell’s authority as the leader of Irish politics ended with the banning of the great rally at Clontarf (Ó hEithir 1989:38). It was this event that Soyer’s *Souffle à la Clontarf*, mentioned in Chapter Eight, satirised (Timbs 1866:I, 269). A new movement called ‘Young Ireland’ appeared in 1840 and gained a following through its newspaper ‘The Nation’ (McCartney 1987:211). The Great Famine resulted in sharp population decline due to both death and emigration and also saw English increase its linguistic grip since...
the Famine disproportionately affected the Gaelic speaking regions along the western seaboard (Ó hEithir 1989:40; Hoppen 1999:2).

Queen Victoria’s coronation in 1837 resulted in a far more formal court, less spirited and relaxed than those of her predecessors (Robins 2001:116). The routine of social life in Dublin Castle however, was unaffected by the prevailing social conditions during the Famine years 1845-7. Queen Victoria visited Ireland in 1849, and returned in 1853, 1861, and 1900, with as Robins (2001:125) notes ‘diminishing public enthusiasm’.

Apart from the North East – principally Belfast – Ireland remained largely untouched by the Industrial Revolution. Irish goods and manufacturers, however, were championed and showcased at Exhibitions held in Dublin, Cork and London in the latter half of the nineteenth century (Davies 1981; Rooney 1998; Butler and O'Kelly 2000). William Dargan’s 1853 Exhibition was an attempt to restore some sense of national pride and promote Irish manufacturers in the immediate context of post-famine Ireland, where the country’s troubles had become a pariah for business (Kilfeather 2005:143). The inside of the 1865 Dublin Exhibition is illustrated in Fig. 12.1.

![Figure 12.1: Interior view of the 1865 Dublin Exhibition](Source: (Butler and O'Kelly 2000))
The latter half of the nineteenth century witnessed the rise of the Fenians, the Land League, Parnell and the Home Rule movement, and the Gaelic revival. The final decade saw some level of self-determination in the setting up of the Department of Agriculture and Technical Instruction, by Horrace Plunkett, who was also central to the emergence of the Congested Districts Board and the setting up of the Co-operative movement (Travers 1988:60-65; Mac Con Iomaire and Cully 2007:140). The Irish Artisans’ Exhibition held in Earlsfort Terrace in 1885 is credited to being the origin of technical education in Dublin (Duff, Hegarty et al. 2000:3-5). The Kevin Street Technical School opened for evening classes in October 1887. Cookery was one of the nineteen subjects taught there in the 1888/9 academic year. Figure 12.2 shows cookery among twenty five subjects offered by the City of Dublin Technical Schools and Science and Art Schools in 1892.

![Figure 12.2: Advertisement for City of Dublin Technical Schools with subjects](source: The Irish Times 29th September 1892 p.1)

**Sources of Evidence – Research Material**

General historians writing about nineteenth century Ireland include Hoppen (1999), McCartney (1987), Cullen (1981), Whyte (1990), Lyons (1982), Kelly (1997), and Travers (1988). In addition to these, historians writing specifically about Dublin during
the nineteenth century include Craig (1980), Cullen (1992), Boyd (2006), Daly, Hearn et al (2003), Butler and O’Kelly (2000), Prunty (1995), Daly (1984), Dickson (1987), and McCullough (1989). Writers on nineteenth century diet, nutrition, eating habits and entertainment in Ireland include Cullen (1981), Crawford (1981; 1990), Hearn (1993), Clarkson and Crawford (2001), Corr (1987), Sommerville-Large (1995), Robins (2001) and Sexton (1998; 2005). Other sources of evidence include the descriptions of visitors to Ireland or foreign residents such as Carr, Bianconi, Scott, Pückler-Muskau, Kohl and Thackeray. However, as with all such sources, these need to be carefully considered since they can often contain prejudice or exaggeration (Maxwell 1979a; Sexton 1998).

Guidebooks (McGregor 1821; Wright 1821; Black and Black 1895) and Directories (Thom's-Directory 1850; 1901) become increasingly available during the nineteenth century and are an invaluable guide to the development of hotels, inns, taverns and restaurants in Dublin. The short stories of William Carleton, and the novels of Maria Edgeworth and Gerald Griffin offer evidence of certain aspects of the Irish experience in the first half of the nineteenth century (Hoppen 1999:6). Barnard (2005) provides a guide to sources for the study of material culture in Ireland for this period. Newspapers during this period carry advertisements of certain catering establishments and ‘purveyors of supplies’. The availability of *The Irish Times* archives in digital format from October 2007 has proved invaluable for tracking precise dates and ownership of leading restaurants. Pictorial evidence is available from depictions of fairs, markets and pattern days (Rooney 2006), and photographic archives such as the Laurence Collection provide some illuminating sources.

**Food and Sources**

The Great Famine affected the poorer ‘cottier’ class who had developed an unhealthy dependence on the potato in their diet. The farming class was not directly at risk and escaped the worst effects of the famine (Cullen 1981:171). For example, the diet of both family and fed labourers of a thirty acre North Dublin farm, on the eve of the Famine, seemed rich:
‘The food was nearly all home made: wholemeal bread; oaten meal grown on the farm made into stirabout; potatoes, generally all floury; first quality butter; bacon, raised, killed and cured on the premises; milk unadulterated “ad libitum” for everyone and everything and honey bees in almost every garden. I often held the scales for my paternal grandmother to weigh a pound of bacon for each workman’s dinner three days a week, with a quarter of fresh butter and four duck eggs on the other days. No tea, not much butcher’s meat unless at Christmas or Easter, but plenty of pork steaks at the pig-killing periods, and the best of pig’s pudding or sausages’ (Kettle 1958:5-6).

Commercial salting of pork and bacon increased dramatically in Ireland from the mid eighteenth century and by the nineteenth century Irish bacon was a brand leader exported around the world (Mac Con Iomaire 2003:211). Irish bacon producers, Denny’s and O’Mara’s set up curing facilities in Denmark and Russia respectively in the 1890s (Cowan and Sexton 1997:3). In 1873, A.M. Kehoe and Co., wholesale provision stores in Thomas Street, Dublin, ran a weekly advertisement in The Weekly News offering ‘American long and short middles, rib in and boneless’, as well as ‘Limerick, Cork and Wicklow Hams, Gams and Jowles’. New Shetland ling, barrelled herrings and cheese of superior qualities were also offered. There is a certain irony that Irish peasants sold their high quality home-produced bacon on the market and bought cheaper, inferior grade American bacon for home consumption (Sexton 2005:237). This peculiarity highlights the misery of much of the Irish tenant farmers prior to the Famine, who having paid their rent had barely enough money or food to survive. This dilemma is recorded in a conversation the French nobleman, Alex de Tocqueville had with Thomas Kelly, Secretary of the Board of Commissioners of National Education, in 1835, when he posed the question:

‘According to what you tell me, although the agricultural population is poor, the land produces a great deal?’

And the answer he received was:

‘The yields are immense. There is no country where the price of farms is higher. But none of this wealth remains in the hands of the people. The Irishman raises beautiful crops, carries his harvest to the nearest port, puts it on board an English vessel, and returns home to subsist on potatoes. He rears cattle, sends them to the London market, and never eats meat’ (Larkin 1990:29).
Tea and white bread are two items that moved from the exclusive diet of the upper class in the eighteenth century to revolutionise the diet of the ordinary household by the latter part of the nineteenth century (Cullen 1981:183). Daly (1984:268) points out that Dublin labourers at the end of the nineteenth century derived most of their protein from bread, and most of their carbohydrate from bread and sugar. This reinforces the pattern, outlined in Volume I, that the diet of the urban poor often compared unfavourably with the diet of the rural poor. The diet of the urban poor was supplemented by limited consumption of meat – primarily bacon, occasional herrings, and vegetables limited to potatoes onions and cabbage. Tradesmen, however, ate meat twice a day (Daly 1984:268). Bread soda came into use in the first part of the nineteenth century and most households, using flour, buttermilk, soda, and a bastible pot oven, could produce homemade soda bread (Cowan and Sexton 1997:114). The consumption of flour per capita doubled between 1860 and 1900. A concomitant of white flour was the growth of the town bakery, with horse drawn bread vans bringing fresh white loaves daily to the rural and urban shops alike, or direct to the house (Cullen 1981:185).

Food and drink were sold publicly at markets, patterns and fairs which formed a crucial element of the social and commercial life of towns. Donnybrook Fair, depicted in Fig. 12.3, dates back to the thirteenth century and ran annually beginning on the 26th August for eight days. In Nicol’s painting, the temperance tent sits incongruously between vintners ‘Michael Costigan Stoneybatter’ and ‘T. Geoghegan’ and opposite their colleagues ‘Doherty’ and ‘Murphy from Rathgar’ (Rooney 2006:142). Eating and drinking were central activities on the fair green. In 1823 a sign above one tent in Donnybrook read ‘sirloins, ribs, rounds, flanks, shins, brisket, six dozen boiled chickens, 28 Wicklow hams, kishes of potatoes, carts of bread and gallons of punch’. Some of the leading hoteliers and vintners who set up tents in 1833 included a McNamara of Kevin Street with a tent called the ‘Shamrock, Rose and Thistle’ and the proprietor of the Carlingford Beefsteak Tavern, Aston Quay in whose tent the ‘grub and lush’ were said to be excellent (Ó Maitiú 1996:22). Donnybrook Fair was banned in 1855 due to a combination of pressure from the temperance movement and growing Victorian sensibility. Both Catholic and Protestant clergymen, the municipal authorities and the
respectable merchants of Dublin raised £3,000 to purchase from the Madden family the fair’s charter which had been sold off by Dublin Corporation in the 1690s (Ó Maitiú 1996:25).

![Figure 12.3: Donnybrook Fair (1859) painted by Erskine Nicol](image)

Source: (Rooney 2006:141)

Aspects of material culture are also depicted in Maria Spilsbury Taylor’s *Pattern at Glendalough, Co. Wicklow* (1815) (Fig. 12. 4), providing a valuable visual record of what was sold and eaten at such events. Among the foodstuffs depicted are oatcakes, apples, twists of barley sugar, and tables laden with food and bottles (Kinmonth 2006:154).

**Food Service and Dining**

Changes in food service and dining followed a pattern set by the Viceregal court and emulated by the bourgeoisie. Over the course of the nineteenth century the court at Dublin Castle changed in structure with absent aristocracy replaced by wealthy merchants and professionals (Robins 2001:115). One of the most colourful of the nineteenth century Lord Lieutenants was Henry William Paget, the 1st Marquis of Anglesey who held the position twice between 1828 and 1830. In a six week period shortly after taking up office he gave fourteen dinner parties and attended three more, held three levees, two drawing
rooms, and four balls. During his time, there were almost thirty state musicians employed by the castle, including a master and composer (Robins 2001:112, 118). Lady Morgan, who famously described a dinner Carême cooked for her at Baron de Rothschild’s house as a ‘specimen of the intellectual perfection of an art, the standard and gauge of modern civilisation’, was according to *Blackwood’s Magazine* ‘the gayest among the gay in Lady Anglesey’s Court’ (Mennell 1996:147; Robins 2001:113). Puckler-Muskau is also noted as being impressed with the hospitality, breeding and intellect of the Anglesey court.

![Figure 12.4: Pattern at Glendalough (1815) by Maria Spilsbury Taylor](source: Rooney 2006)

Dinner time among the upper classes, which had moved from 2pm to 5pm during the eighteenth century, moved even later during the nineteenth century, settling around 7pm. This allowed the days’ duties to be fulfilled before dinner and effectively separated the day into two sections reserved for work and pleasure respectively. Luncheon – usually lighter, simpler and less formal than the main meal – was a well established meal by the early 1800s (Cullen 1981:174).
The other change in food service and dining patterns that occurred during the latter half of the nineteenth century was the move from ‘service a la française’ to ‘service à la russe’ previously discussed in Chapter Seven. Service à la russe meant one dish per course served in sequence (Kraig 2006:154). The precise year of the introduction of ‘service à la russe’ is unknown but it was clearly in place in Dublin by 1875, based on the menu served at the Friendly Brothers House (Fig. 12.5).

The menu has ten courses beginning with oysters for the hors d’oeuvres; clear turtle soup and cockie leekie (chicken and leek) for the soup course; turbot with lobster sauce and fillets of sole for the fish course; three entrées – chicken, hare, and veal sweetbreads; boiled beef, saddle of mutton, and turkey and ham for the relève course; pheasant, woodcock and wild duck for the roast course; shrimps in aspic for the entremets; cherry

Figure 12.5: Menu from Friendly Brother House, Dublin, 3rd December 1875

Source: Yvonne Gilna
pudding for the sweet course; bombe for the ice course; and finally the dessert course which would have consisted of fresh fruit.

Many elaborate dinners, banquets and balls were held, in public spaces – hotels, taverns and restaurants – and private spaces – clubs and houses, during the nineteenth century. The Dublin Horse Show was one of the key social events as were the numerous race meetings. International exhibitions attracted thousands of visitors daily who needed dining and entertaining services. A total of 932,662 visitors attended the Dublin’s Great Exhibition between the 9th May and the 9th of November 1865 (Fig. 12.1) (Butler and O'Kelly 2000:58). A ball was held in the Mansion House in honour of the Prince of Wales on the first day of the 1865 Exhibition at which 3,000 people attended. Figure 12.6 portrays the Coldstream Guards’ fancy dress ball at the Exhibition Palace in 1873.

![Image](image-url)

Figure 12.6: The Coldstream Guards’ Fancy Dress Ball at Exhibition Palace 1873

Source: (Butler and O'Kelly 2000)

The catering requirements for these events would have necessitated large numbers of skilled professionals both in the procurement, cooking and serving of the food. Dublin’s hotels, restaurants and taverns experienced increased volume of trade during these exhibitions. Dublin’s first French restaurant, the Café de Paris, extended its premises specifically for the 1865 International Exhibition (IT 25/9/1865:1). A public auction
notice in *The Irish Times* in December 1873 shows that Messrs B. and W. Murphy were ‘the eminent Caterers’ who ran the Refreshment Rooms at the Exhibition Palace in 1873, and were now auctioning the fittings, furniture, plate and glassware used during the exhibition to the hotel and restaurant proprietors, and wine and spirit dealers of Ireland (Fig. 12.7). About 600 articles of plated ware, 1000 pieces of cut glass, and 250 articles of linen were offered for sale.

![Auction Notice for contents of Refreshment Rooms, Exhibition Palace](image)

**Figure 12.7:** Auction Notice for contents of Refreshment Rooms, Exhibition Palace

*Source: The Irish Times* December 1873

Probably the largest banquet to be staged in Ireland during the nineteenth century was the great ‘Crimean Banquet’. This was held in 1856 to honour the troops stationed in Ireland who had served in the Crimea (Meredith 1997:57). A sufficiently large venue had to be sought as it was anticipated that 4,000 people would sit down to eat with a further 1,000
spectators enjoying the occasion. Mr Henry Scovell offered the use of his bonded warehouse at Customs House Docks – now known as Stack A – and on the day 3,628 invited guests converged on the transformed warehouse which was painted and festooned with flags and bunting (Figure 12.8).

![Figure 12.8: Great Crimean Banquet, 1856, Customs House Docks, Dublin](image)

Source: (Meredith 1997:57)

A statement of the viands supplied by Messrs Spadacini & Murphy reads ‘250 hams, 230 legs of mutton, 500 meat pies, 100 venison pasties, 100 rice puddings, 260 plum puddings, 200 turkeys, 200 geese, 250 pieces of beef, weighing in at 3,000 lbs, three tons of potatoes, 2,000 two pound loaves, 100 capons and chickens and 6 ox tongues’ (Meredith 1997:59). Apart from the hot potatoes and plum puddings, the meal was cold. The sight of four large vans of freshly cooked potatoes arriving enveloped with clouds of steam was reported in the newspapers the following day.
By the end of the 19th century the dinner-party of the Victorian upper echelons of society developed into a unique institution (Burnett 1994:192-3). Above all, the dinner party provided a magnificent opportunity for the host to show off his material possessions – ornate silver tableware and cutlery and solid furniture – and to demonstrate his good taste in the selection of expensive wines and food dressed according to fashionable *haute cuisine*. The menu had to be French and *recherché*.

**Public Dining in Dublin**

*The Epicure’s Almanack* of 1815, previously mentioned in Chapter Eight, 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 venues – clubs and restaurants for the wealthy – pubs and taverns reverted to the working classes. This distinction seems to have occurred equally in Dublin as in London. Clubs became less tavern-based and built their own club houses at the end of the eighteenth century and the beginning of the nineteenth century. A trawl of advertisements in *The Irish Times* shows the word restaurant in gradual usage from 1860 onwards, nearly fifty years before *Thom’s* first official usage of the word. The restaurants advertising in *The Irish Times* are discussed later in this chapter. *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’. Figure 12.9 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 catering facilities, but is not a definitive picture of the amount of establishments in the city, as some double listings occur.

*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.

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Year</th>
<th>Hotel and Taverns</th>
<th>Hotel and Proprietors</th>
<th>Inns</th>
<th>Taverns and Inns</th>
<th>Dining Rooms</th>
<th>Refreshment Rooms</th>
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<td>111</td>
<td>24</td>
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Figure 12.9: Number of Dublin Food Related Premises in Thom’s Directory Listed under Various Headings 1850-1900

**Hotels and Inns**
The lack of hotels and inns in Dublin was remedied by the early nineteenth century. 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). Hotels increased dramatically in number during the nineteenth century in Ireland. They varied, for example, from the Club House Hotel in Kilkenny, known for its link with the Kilkenny Hunting Club whose ‘exploits in the pursuit of foxes where rivalled only by the boisterousness of their evening dinners’, to the temperance hotels which were inspired by Father Theobold Mathew’s Temperance Movement (Corr 1987:29-34; McDowell 1993:13). Inns, however, declined gradually during the course of the nineteenth century. Five hotels built by the Grand Canal Company along the canal route from Portobello to Shannon Harbour proved to be commercially unviable, but many of the ‘grand hotels’ built by the railway companies around the country are still operating as hotels today. Hotels are discussed in this study not for their lodging function but because some leading Dublin hotels, like their counterparts in London, Paris and elsewhere, became renowned for the quality of their cuisine and the splendour of their dining rooms, particularly towards the end of the nineteenth century, and well into the twentieth century.
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. 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 began its life as two Georgian houses that were run by a Mr Kenny Bourne in the early 1800s. Bourne ran a coaching business with a partner called Hartley, which they sold out to Bianconi in the 1840s. The hotel was the city terminus for the Bianconi long cars (*Irish Hotelier* Oct. 1954:15). It was extremely popular with wealthy country people and British Army officers in the years following the Act of Union and it continued to thrive up to the end of the century (Corr 1987:5).

Two guidebooks to Dublin were published in 1821 (McGregor 1821; Wright 1821). Thirty nine hotels were listed in McGregor (1821:334) as illustrated in Figure 12.10a, but only twenty seven hotels listed in Wright (1821:436) shown in Figure 12.10b. McGregor’s list is alphabetical, but Wright’s list seems like it might be arranged in order of prestige, although the Portobello Hotel is given special mention in the former and a lesser placing in the latter. Both lists omit hotels mentioned in the other, which suggests there were over forty hotels in Dublin by 1821. The Royal Hibernian Hotel at 47 Dawson Street is listed under a Francis Jones in both 1821 guides. McGregor (1821:309-10) sets two hotels out for special mention; Morrison’s Hotel on Dawson Street, and the Grand Canal Hotel in Portobello. Of Morrison’s Hotel, he writes:

‘This new and spacious Hotel is situated in Dawson-street, with a door in Nassau-street for the Tavern, fronting the college garden. There are several beautiful rooms in the building capable of dining large companies. The room over the Tavern is 86 feet by 31, the Coffee room 45 feet by 31. There are several suites of rooms for families and single gentlemen. When the Grand Duke Michael of Russia visited Ireland, he took up his residence at this Hotel, and left the proprietor a substantial proof of his being pleased with the accommodation and reasonable charges, by presenting a very handsome cup, with the following inscription, written by his Imperial Highness’s own hand:

“It is justice due to Mr, Morrison’s Hotel, in Dublin, that I could not have been better served, or with more attention, while I was there, in all respects.”

MICHAEL 19th August, 1818’
Gresham’s Hotel
The only name on either the above lists that is still recognisable as operating today is Thomas Gresham in 21 Upper Sackville Street who founded Gresham’s Hotel as it was called in 1817. After the opening of Carlisle Bridge in 1794, Sackville Street, Rutland Square (Parnell Square) and Britain Street Great (Parnell Street) became the hub of fashionable Dublin replacing Capel Street in prominence both in business and socially (Sands 1994:9). Gresham wanted to build an establishment which would act as an acceptable alternative to the town house, with spacious drawing rooms, elegant staircases and large fires burning in all rooms, day and night. Gresham’s ‘commercial town house’ became a fashionable place for families visiting Dublin. In style it was not unlike the town houses, which these families formerly owned in the city (pre Act of Union) and now acquired in London (Corr 1987:10). Gresham remained in control in Gresham’s Hotel for 48 years, until 1865 when he sold it to a new company who changed the name to ‘The Gresham Hotel’. The new owners were a group of Cork businessmen and they invested in further refurbishment and a massive rebuilding programme that saw the frontages of the three Georgian houses unified under a single elegant façade. Although a number of books were published on the Gresham (O’ Connor 1965; Sands 1994), detailed information of
staffing and menus during the nineteenth century were destroyed along with the hotel archives when the building was burned to the ground during the 1922 Civil War.

The Shelbourne Hotel
The founding father of the Shelbourne Hotel was a Tipperary man called Martin Burke. In the decade following the Act of Union, many wealthy landowners departed Ireland, but Burke, like Gresham, identified that there was an opportunity in the hotel market – particularly at the high end of the market (Corr 1987:13). There were still plenty of moneyed individuals living in the country, who, as Gresham had realised, were no longer able to afford town houses and so wanted to stay in a hotel, which could provide them with the level of comfort that they had come to expect at home. Burke selected three newly built houses on Stephen’s Green on the south side of the city, a district that had just become fashionable following Lord Kildare’s elaborate development of the area around Leinster House, and the construction of the elegant Fitzwilliam and Merrion Squares. Burke opened his hotel in 1825 – just as gas lighting came to Dublin, and his business instincts were duly rewarded by brisk business from the opening day (Corr 1987:15). Later in the following decade, he purchased three further adjoining houses at 30, 31 Stephen’s Green and 12 Kildare Street.

The Shelbourne continued to prosper from the military and the country aristocracy, together with visitors from England, and it got an unexpected boost of publicity following the visit there in 1842 of William Makepeace Thackery, a Victorian travel writer, who was touring Ireland to gather material for his *Irish Sketchbook*. He wrote ‘the hotel to which I am directed is a respectable old edifice much frequented by families from the country’; he found the staff to be ‘slapdash but cheery’ and made great play of the fact that his bedroom window was kept open with a broom handle while the room was being cleaned and aired (Corr 1987:15). After Martin Burke’s death in January 1863, his widow Anne and his heir Milo sold the Shelbourne to Messrs Jury, Cotton and Goodman. The Jury and Cotton families were related by marriage, William Jury’s second and present wife being Charles Cotton’s sister. William Jury had founded Jury’s Hotel in College Green, Charles Cotton was proprietor of the Imperial Hotel in Cork and Christian
Goodman had been manager of the Railway Hotel, Killarney (Bowen 2001:59). The new owners set about to rebuild the hotel and new Shelbourne received its’ first guests in January 1867. In a newspaper advertisement at the time the new owners described the hotel’s many amenities: a magnificent coffee room on the ground floor together with a ladies coffee room, a *table d’hôte* room, rooms for smoking, reading and playing billiards and two important innovations not previously available in a Dublin hotel – a telegraph office and a ladies hairdressing salon. The hotel thrived and benefited from two events that occurred in 1872 – the introduction of Dublin’s first trams and the Great Dublin Exhibition. Other political events affected business, the killings of Lord Frederick Cavendish and his Under-Secretary in the Phoenix Park by the ‘Invincibles’ on the 6th May 1882 sent shockwaves through the country. Country families stayed on their estates fearing revolution and the hotel receipts for the period show a considerable drop in business (O’ Sullivan and O’ Neill 1999). Margaret Cotton had been running the Shelbourne with an iron fist for some time and was finally persuaded to retire following the arrival of George Olden in 1896.

**Jury’s Hotel**

Jury’s Hotel was established by a travelling businessman named William Jury who came to Dublin around 1830. His enterprise was directed not so much at the titled visitors who came just a few times a year, but at the men of commerce who conducted their affairs in the streets around College Green. In 1839 he bought a single Georgian house, number 7 College Green, where the Wide Streets Commission had considerably widened the roadway early in the century and commenced business as a commercial lodgings (Bennett 1991:42). By 1849 ‘The Commercial and Family Hotel’ occupied numbers 6, 7 and 8 College Green and numbers 1 and 2 Anglesea Street. In 1866, William Jury sold the business to his cousin Henry James Jury, who acquired further houses in Anglesea Street in 1874 and 1881 (O’ Dwyer 1981:25). The hotel he created there was comfortable and was well suited to the eating, drinking and sleeping requirements of the bankers, brokers, merchants and traders who frequented it. Around 1870 the entire hotel was rebuilt to a design by the architect Carson, whose Italianate frontage became a trademark of Jury’s and a Dublin landmark for more than a century (Corr 1987:11).
Travelling around Ireland became much easier in the early nineteenth century with the ‘innumerable mail and stage-coaches, caravans, jaunting cars and canal boats leave town every day for various destinations’ (McGregor 1821:309). By the 1840s Ireland had an excellent road network, on which Bianconi’s coaches, based in Clonmel, brought people from town to town at a reasonable price (Maxwell 1979a:238-249). The railway made it possible to travel cheaply and speedily around the country and to the seaside from the 1840s onwards (Daly 2006:5). The English trend for the ‘health hotels’ was mirrored in Ireland with a scattering of ‘Spa Hotels’ or ‘Hydro Hotels’ around the country.

Both Victorian seaweed baths and Turkish baths were popular in seaside resorts and the large cities. There were a number of Turkish baths in Dublin’s main thoroughfare, Sackville Street prior to the 1916 rebellion, one of the best known being the Hammam Hotel. The Turkish Baths at the Hammam were opened in the 1870s by a pioneer of health resorts, Dr. Barton of Blarney, County Cork (Corr 1987:36). Ireland’s first French restaurant, which opened in 1860, was curiously attached to Turkish Baths in Lincoln Place (IT 10/12/1860:1).

A number of organisations were formed in Ireland during the last decade of the nineteenth century to promote tourism and raise standards of accommodation and product offerings. The Irish Tourist Association established in 1893 by the Irish manager for Thomas Cook and Sons, F.W.Crossley, sought to develop Ireland as a tourist destination (Corr 1987:58). The Hotel and Restaurant Proprietors’ Association of Ireland met monthly to discuss how legislation such as the ‘Shop Hours Act, 1892’ or the ‘Factory and Workshop Act, 1895’ affected their businesses and also to discuss matters of how to improve the tourist’s experiences whilst in Ireland. A photograph of members of the Association (Fig. 12.11) taken at their convention in Dublin was given as a supplement in the May 23rd 1896 issue of The Chef journal.
Taverns
Meals were available from most hotels and taverns. By 1850, *Thom’s Directory* lists one hundred and thirty four entries under ‘Hotels and Taverns’. Some may be double entries, such as the Wicklow Hotel on Wicklow Street which is also listed as Clendenning’s, and the Gresham Hotel which is also listed as the Queen’s. Corr (1987:15) points out that the original Wicklow Hotel was on Stephen’s Green and later moved to Wicklow Street. Meals might also be available in inns but not of the same standard as taverns. In 1850, the ten entries in *Thom’s* under ‘Inns’ are Beakey’s, Boulger’s, Cock and Bull, all in Kevin Street; Cherry Tree, Churn, and Yellow Lion, all in Thomas Street; Boot, in Boot Lane; Hawkin’s, in Francis Street; Sun, in Queen Street; and the Wool Pack in Crane Street (Thom's-Directory 1850:1055-6).

Many hotels, such as Morrison’s on Dawson Street, had taverns attached to them. Taverns varied regarding the quality of their food as shown by reports of foreign
travellers to Ireland. They could also be the scene of faction fights as witnessed by Pückler-Muskau in 1828 (Bourke 1997:21). Business in Dublin taverns continued steadily throughout the nineteenth century, despite the Famine. An advertisement for The O’Donohoe Shell Fish Tavern in Abbey Street in the *Freeman’s Journal* on the 9th January 1847 read ‘Beef steaks and oyster sauce as usual’. Among some of the more well known public houses still using the term ‘tavern’ in Dublin in 1850 were The Royal Hotel & Tavern at 12-13 Grafton Street, The London Tavern & Hotel at 27 D’Olier Street, The Rotunda Tavern at 37 Sackville Street Upper and The London & Liverpool Hotel and Tavern at 28 Eden Quay (Shaw 1988). In 1869, an advertisement in *The Irish Times* notes that The O’Donoghue Tavern, mentioned above, having been expanded and fitted up as a ‘fashionable Gin Palace, with costly plate-glass front, circular marble counter, ornamental and costly fittings characteristic of a modern restaurant or drinking saloon’ was offered for sale by public auction in 1869 (IT 31/5/1869:2). This suggests the transformation of some taverns into restaurants in the latter half of the nineteenth century.

**Clubs**
The origins of gentlemen’s clubs were the coffee houses that appeared in London, Paris and Dublin in the seventeenth century. Clubs originally met in coffeehouses, then taverns and later proprietary clubs became fashionable. Dublin anticipated London in club fashions with members of the Kildare Street Club (1772) 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. 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). Dublin clubs operating in the nineteenth century include Daly’s Club, Friendly Brothers, Freemasons, Kildare Street Club, Law Club, Sackville Street Club, Hibernian United Services Club, Union Club, Stephens Green Club, Irish Reform Club, Leinster Club, University Club, City of Dublin
Working Man’s Club, Dublin Clerical Club, Junior University Club, Catholic Commercial Club, both the Lyceum and Sheridan, and The Alexandra ‘ladies’ club which opened in 1892 (Smith and Share 1990:190-2; McDowell 1993:17-26). Daniel O’Connell was on the committee which formed the Irish Reform Club (1844-46) whose clubhouse on Dawson Street became the home of the Royal Irish Academy. Alexis Soyer, chef de cuisine in London’s Reform Club – profiled in Chapter Eight – set up soup kitchens in Dublin during the Famine, feeding up to 8,000 people a day.

Mennell’s (1996:155) theory, discussed in Chapter Eight, that London clubs ‘siphoned off’ the strata of rich gentlemen that frequented Parisian restaurants, thus delaying the growth of restaurants in London, can equally be applied to Dublin. Dublin clubs have received more attention from historians than other locations of haute cuisine (Brooke 1930; Béaslaí 1958; Smith and Share 1990; McDowell 1993). Despite this, little of the dining experiences or the names of those who provided the food or service have been provided. One possible explanation for the lack of named chefs in the club histories is that the positions of chef and house steward were notoriously difficult to fill. McDowell (1993:65, 121) points out that both the Kildare Street Club and in the University Club witnessed a long succession of chefs in their kitchens. The difficulty was in finding an efficient cook who was willing to put up with the hypercritical comments of the members. In 1861, a new cook was appointed to the Kildare Street Club at £130 per annum with permission to stay in London or Paris for a month to ‘improve’ and to take ‘improvers into the kitchen’ (McDowell 1993:65). Wages for chefs had risen to £150 per annum in 1884 but few chefs were willing to make long term commitments to Irish clubs. A number of chefs who spent some time in Irish clubs are profiled later in this chapter.

Restaurants
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, (Fig. 12.12). The advertisement 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, discussed in Chapter Eight, which aimed to ‘reunite the business of eating and drinking’ thereby encouraging public sobriety, through the granting of wine licences to ‘eating house keepers’ (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.’ (IT 25/9/1865:1). In February 1870 the lease of the Café de Paris was offered for sale by the Turkish Bath Company, Dublin, Ltd. The restaurant lease was to be sold unfurnished with the option of purchasing the contents of the restaurant at a further date following valuation (IT 7/2/1871:1). The contents were auctioned on 21st May 1870 including plate and plated ware comprising:

‘several handsome cruets of various sizes, gravy, table, tea, dessert, and salt spoons, superior forks, trays and salvers, some excellent cutlery, a large quantity of superior cut glass of every description: sets of morning and evening china, dinner ware, a collection of superior table linen in cloths, napkins &c: cooking utensils, cover dishes and dish covers, with every requisite necessary for a first class restaurant, together with a small quantity of household furniture, chimney glasses, &c’ (IT 21/5/1870:8).

The lease and contents must have been successfully sold, as 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 (IT 26/11/1870:4).

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’ (IT 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 (IT 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. 12.13). 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’ (Fig. 12.14). The manager of this re-opened hotel is Mr John Ross who had previously worked as a ‘Messman’ in the British Army (IT 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. In November 1884, Thomas Corless advertises a ‘First-class French Cook’ in The Burlington Restaurant and Dining Rooms, Andrew Street and Church Lane (IT 1/11/1884:4). A French Chef is also advertised as an attraction of the Salt Hill Hotel in Monkstown in 1895. This same hotel was purchased and run by the Besson family during the first half of the twentieth century and shall be discussed in Chapter Fourteen (IT 9/5/1895:1). A disengaged French Chef, giving an address in
Belfast, advertised his services to hotel, restaurant or club for weekly, monthly or permanent work in *The Irish Times* in 1897 (IT 26/8/1897:3).

![Advertisement for French Restaurant attached to the Bodega](image)

**Figure 12.13: Advertisement for French Restaurant attached to the Bodega**

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

Establishments using the term restaurant became common in the latter half of the nineteenth century. The success of these restaurants varied, and some re-emerged under different proprietors as the years unfolded. In August 1861, The Ormond Hotel and Restaurant advertised their establishment ‘opens for her Majesty’s visit under new management’. The proprietresses were the Misses Eggertons (IT 17/8/1861:2). A more detailed advertisement for the Ormond in October 1861 boasted Red Bank Burren Oysters fresh every day, with ‘Soups, Stakes, Chops, and Meats in variety, always to be had’ (IT 19/10/1861:2). On the 22nd May 1862, however, an advertisement appeared for the sale of the leasehold of the Ormond Hotel and Restaurant, which provides an interesting inventory of the premises (IT 22/5/1862:2). This inventory is similar to that outlined in Figure 12.7.

A restaurant with a separate entrance is mentioned in an advertisement for the International Hotel, Bray, with private apartments for Ladies use attached (IT 23/5/1862:2). A ‘Restaurant for Ladies and Gentlemen’ is advertised at 101 St Stephen’s
Green in association with the Protestant Orphan Societies of Ireland, which suggests it more an eating house than a venue for *haute cuisine* (IT 29/1/1864:2). The Belfast Hotel and Restaurant in 28 Lower Abbey Street is advertised on 12th March 1864 p.2.

![Advertisement mentioning French Chef in Corn Exchange Restaurant](image)

*Figure 12.14: Advertisement mentioning French Chef in Corn Exchange Restaurant*

*Source: The Irish Times 18th November 1876 p.6*

Other restaurants advertised in *The Irish Times* included:

- The ‘European’, Bolton Street (20/3/1865:1)
- Alexandra Restaurant, Bachelor’s Walk (9/6/1869:2)
- Jude’s Royal Hotel and Restaurant, 18 Grafton Street (28/12/1869:6)
- George Hotel and Restaurant, College Street and Fleet Street (31/5/1870:1)
- Gowan’s Restaurant, 6 Lower Sackville Street (23/4/1872:1)
- Nichols’ Hotel and Restaurant, 27 Fleet Street (16/4/1872:6)
- The Burlington Restaurant and Oyster Saloons, 27 St. Andrew Street (30/8/1872:2)
- Phoenix Hotel and Restaurant, 17 D’Olier Street (11/12/1872:4)
- The XXUVIII Restaurant, 14 Trinity Street (12/12/1872:7)
- Kidney’s Restaurant and Luncheon Bar, 13 Dawson Street (22/9/1874:4)
- Gaiety Restaurant, at Gaiety Theatre (12/10/1874:1)
- The New Grafton Bar and Restaurant, 1 and 2 Harry Street (13/1/1876:1)
The Victoria Hotel and Restaurant, Blackrock (1/9/1876:2)
Duggan’s Commercial Hotel and Restaurant, 5 and 6 Molesworth Street (24/11/1876:1);
Franklin’s Luncheon and Diningroom, 11 College Green (30/11/1878:1)
The Sackville Café and Restaurant, 7 Lower Sackville Street (6/9/1884:4)
Fleming’s South City Restaurant, 37 Exchequer Street (15/9/1886:7)
The Grand Restaurant, 8 Lower Sackville Street (20/9/1888:9)
Jury’s Hotel and Restaurant, College Green (17/12/1888:9)
The Red Bank Restaurant, 19 and 20 D’Olier Street (1/4/1889:6)
The Dolphin, Essex Street and Crampton Court (11/5/1889:4)
Metropole Hotel, Sackville Street (12/9/1892:6)
Tavistock Hotel and Restaurant, 17 D’Olier Street (31/5/1894:1)
The Bailey Restaurant, 2 and 3 Duke Street (28/8/1894:1)
Wicklow Hotel and Restaurant, 6, 7 and 8 Wicklow Street (17/1/1895:1)
The Clarence Hotel and Restaurant, Wellington Quay (3/6/1895:1)
The Empire Restaurant, 29 Nassau Street (4/7/1895:1)
Brazil’s Hotel and Restaurant, Kingstown (2/5/1896:2)
Harrison’s Restaurants, 29 Westmoreland Street and 17 Henry Street (3/12/1896:1)
New South City Restaurant, 20 Exchequer Street (26/8/1898:9)
Fleming’s Restaurant and Diningrooms, 29 and 30 Mary’s Abbey (7/3/1899:1)

and finally in May 1899 the announcement of the opening of a ‘High-Class Vegetarian Restaurant’ by The McCaughey Restaurants Ltd, at 3 and 4 College Street (24/5/1899:8).

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’ that began with the opening of ‘Burton Bindon’s’ in 1845, 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. 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 new century.
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’ (IT 8/7/1897:7). The ‘Red Bank’ oysters ensured a steady loyal clientele. In 1875, J.G. Singleton, son in law of Burton Bindon sold the oyster beds to Lord Annaly’s agent. From then on ‘Red Bank Burren’ oysters were produced by the Curtin family, Mucknish Castle, Oranmore and transported daily to Dublin by rail, where they were sold in Burton Bindon’s, Hyne’s, and Corless’s Burlington Restaurants (IT 2/5/1896:11). Fergus Curtin points out in an advertisement in *The Irish Times* (29/9/1892:1) that his were the only oysters in Ireland to have been awarded ‘medals of the first class at the Dublin Exhibition of 1882, and London Fisheries Exhibition of 1883 for their peculiar flavour and quality’.

An advertisement in *The Irish Times* in 1889 shows Luke Waddock as the proprietor of the Red Bank Restaurant (Fig. 14.5a). 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. Another advertisement during Horse Show week the following year shows P.J. Waddock as manager of Burton Bindon’s Red Bank Restaurant, and notes that oysters were available – albeit slightly early – the season usually ran from September to April (26/8/1890:4). 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*’ (IT 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’ (IT 26/8/1897:7). Delmonico’s opened in New York City in 1837 as America’s first fine-dining restaurant (Shore 2007:311).

**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. There is some confusion regarding the history of this property. O’ Dwyer (1981:33) writes (incorrectly) that Kinsley established the Burlington or ‘Gridiron’ in 1829 and sold out to Corless in the late 1850s. This error is confirmed by Figures 12.15 and 12.16 which show that Kinsley opened the Burlington in 1865 and that Corless took over the restaurant in 1872. O’ Dwyer may have misread an article on the closure of Jammet’s published in *The Irish Times* in 1926 outlying the history of ‘Round Church Corner’ (Anon 1926a:8). The article notes that from 1829 to about 1857, the Andrew Street building is occupied by a clothing firm. From around then Kinsley opens a restaurant famed as The Burlington or Kinsley’s Gridiron, for its use of the London Silver Gridiron on which steaks, chops and kidneys could be cooked in five minutes. The article credits Kinsley as ‘the pioneer of what became an almost universal method of “feeding the brute”’. The article suggests that it was not until the Corless brothers took over that ‘the place began to hum’ (Anon 1926a:8).

The advertisement shown in Fig. 12.15 suggests that The Burlington was providing a service that was required in Dublin for a first rate dining and luncheon room, and that the culinary department had been entrusted to a distinguished chef. The presence of a
‘London Silver Gridiron’ is advertised in the following restaurants in Dublin: Judes Steel Gridiron, Grafton Street (29/8/1867:2); Hood’s Hotel and Luncheon Bar, 24, 25 and 26 Great Brunswick Street (17/12/1873:4); Alexandra Hotel and Restaurant, 31 Bachelor’s Walk (19/8/1875:7); and The Hotel and Restaurant, 27 D’Olier Street (8/7/1876:1). Large Grid Irons were offered for sale at the auction of the contents of Clendening’s Hotel, Wicklow Street in 1883 (IT 8/11/1883:8). The use of the term Grill Room seems to replace the advertising of Gridirons towards the end of the century.

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 16/8/1876). He seems to have kept abreast of changing trends in London, Paris and elsewhere, as his re-modelled, re-furnished restaurant which opened 28th August 1872 included a ladies room which had separate waitresses (IT

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Figure 12.15: Advertisement for opening of ‘The Burlington’ by Henry Kinlsey

Source: The Irish Times 22nd December 1864 p.2
He made Red Bank Oysters a speciality of the house as had been in Burton Bindon’s, and an advertisement from 1884 shows that he 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 grower’s casks as a sign of quality. Confectionery and ices were available on the first floor and a string band played ‘all popular operatic and other music’ every evening during the Table d’Hôte (IT 1/11/1884:4).

Corless provided his own oysters from outside Clifden, Co. Galway following Singleton’s surrender of the original Red Bank Oyster beds to Lord Annaly’s agent in 1875 (IT 23/8/1895:4). Pictorial evidence of this is displayed in Figure 12.17. From this photo it is clear that Corless had 700 acres of oyster beds in Clifden Bay. In 1896 Tom Corless becomes embroiled in a legal action with John N. Curtain of Ballyvaughan over a statement he issued that not a single Red Bank oyster had come into the Dublin Market since 1875. The case is comprehensively detailed in The Irish Times (2/5/1896:11), the
outcome of which saw Corless lose and fined damages of £10, which was much less than the £1000 the plaintiff, Mr. Curtain originally sought.

Figure 12.17: Photo of Oyster Market, Clifden with Corless Signage on Shed Roof
Source: (Fitzgibbon 1994:84)

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 this is Joseph’s brother or his son. 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 Lady Lieutenant of Ireland, Chief Secretaries and
their families’ (IT 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’. It is around this time that Henry Kilbey who later became managing director of the Four Courts Hotel, described as ‘the Grand Old Man of the hotel trade’, worked in Corless’s (IT 20/9/1941:9). During Tom Corless’s time the Burlington was the haunt of prominent politicians, poets, singers, playwrights, actors, and some clergy (IT 22/1/1926:8).

**Restaurants listed in *Thom’s Directory***

*Thom’s Directory* was surveyed in ten yearly intervals to gauge the gradual increased usage of the term ‘restaurant’. In 1870 the *Café de Paris* is listed under Dining Rooms at 15 Lincoln Place owned by Olin and Murat. In *Thom’s* 1880 Directory, the word ‘restaurant’ is mentioned in two listings: ‘London Hotel and Restaurant’ at 27 D’Olier Street run by Robert Mullett; and ‘The Burlington Restaurant and Oyster Saloons’ at 27 St. Andrew Street, listed under Refreshment Rooms, although a listing for the ‘Burlington’ under Dining Rooms has no mention of restaurant. In 1890 the word ‘restaurant’ is mentioned in three listings; ‘Mark’s Restaurant’, 11 Dame Street, and ‘London Hotel and Restaurant’, in 27 D’Olier Street, with S. Kerrigan as proprietor; both in Hotels and Proprietors section, and the ‘Burlington Restaurant and Oyster Saloons’, in 27 St. Andrew Street, under the refreshment rooms heading.

Ten years later, in 1900, the word ‘restaurant’ was mentioned eight times. Three times under Refreshment Rooms: ‘Burlington Restaurant and Oyster Saloons’, 27 Andrew Street; ‘Empire Restaurant’, 29 Nassau Street; ‘Ovoca Hotel and Restaurant’, 24 Abbey Street Lower. The word ‘restaurant’ is mentioned twice under the Hotels and Proprietors section: ‘Central Restaurant’, 17 D’Olier Street; and ‘Waverley Hotel and Restaurant’, 4 Sackville Street lower. There are three mentions of ‘restaurants’ in the Dining Rooms section: ‘Empire Restaurant’, 29 Nassau Street; ‘Grand Restaurant’, 8 Sackville Street lower; and the ‘Metropole Grill and Restaurant’ at 1 & 2 Prince’s Street.
The Great Chefs
By the 1880s food in the public sphere, when Frenchness became attached to it, became a class marker and cultural icon (Trubek 2000:60). In Britain – and in Dublin – to have a fine meal was to have a French meal: ‘civilisation’ and ‘culture’ coalesced around this cuisine. According to Burnett (1994:193) ‘the acquisition of a French chef, or at the very least of a cook ‘professed’ in French practice, was essential for the family with serious social aspirations’. The British were enthusiastic consumers of French haute cuisine with up to five thousand French chefs living and working in Britain by 1890 (Trubek 2000:52). This trend did not stop at the Irish Sea. The extra cachet in employing a French chef among the Irish landed gentry during the eighteenth century has been outlined in Chapter Eleven, but the supply of French or French trained chefs increased during the nineteenth century.

There is a dearth of written material on the chefs who produced haute cuisine for private households, clubs, hotels and restaurants in Ireland during the nineteenth century. Robins (2001:99) points out that the 4th Duke of Richmond and Lennox, who became Lord Lieutenant in 1807, had hoped to be accompanied to Dublin by one of the most celebrated chefs of the period, who had been offered an extravagant salary, but decided to remain in England on learning that there was no Italian Opera in Dublin. The first named French chef linked with Dublin during the nineteenth century is Alfred Suzanne (Fig. 12.18a) (Mennell 1996:160; Trubek 2000:77).

An examination of The Chef: A Journal for Cooks, Caterers, & Hotel Keepers, which was first published in London in December 1895, but renamed The Chef and Connoisseur: a Journal for the Hotel World, the Caterer and the Epicure in December 1896 identifies some key individuals mostly from the final decades of the nineteenth century. The Journal was distributed in Ireland through Easons and Sons, but ceased publication in 1898. There were numerous mentions of Irish hotels and restaurants in the Hotel and Restaurant News section of the journal, particularly The Wicklow, Dolphin, and Metropole Hotels in Dublin, suggesting that their chefs or managers were regular subscribers to the Journal. Chefs who worked in Ireland during the nineteenth century,
identified from the Journal, include: Alfred Suzanne, Reginald Bateman, G. Frederick Macro, Jean Barlerin, Pierre Lechers, Eugene Pouard, A. Bautte, and Montague Kemp.

Alfred Suzanne
Alfred Suzanne, born 1829 in Normandy arrived in Dublin in 1847, during the Famine, to work as chef in the kitchen of the Earl of Clarendon, the Lord Lieutenant of Ireland (1847-1852). He cooked for Queen Victoria who stayed with the Clarendons at the Viceregal Lodge during her visit to Ireland in 1849 (Robins 2001:124). Both Suzanne’s father and grandfather were notable chefs (Anon 1896b:1-2). In the subsequent forty years he spent in Ireland and England he also worked for the Earl of Wilton and the Duke of Bedford (Trubek 2000:77). Suzanne was one of the top French chefs who collaborated with Escoffier on *Le Guide Culinaire* (Mennell 1996:160). In 1894 he published *La Cuisine Anglaise et sa Pâtisserie*, probably the only book on English cooking written by a French chef for a French audience (Mennell 1996:176).

Figure 12.18a: Alfred Suzanne
Source: The Chef (1st February 1896)

Figure 12.18b: Eugene J. N. Pouard
Source: The Chef (11th January 1896)
Reginald Bateman

Reginald Bateman (Fig. 12.19b) the son of a well known brewer and country gentleman was born in England and following an early career as a sailor, and much against the wishes of his family, he decided to train as a chef. He apprenticed with M. Terrollion, a famous Parisian chef who later became chef in the Reform Club, and also with M. Gillé at the Grande Cercle Club in Paris. He followed this with a period working under M. Cunot at the Orleans Club in London before moving to Dublin where he took up the position of second chef to Lord Zetland, then Lord Lieutenant at the Viceregal Lodge (Anon 1896c:2). In Dublin he worked under Jean Weber, described as ‘one of the most able chefs of the day’, where he gained valuable experience of arranging large banquets. He left Dublin to work at the Grand Hotel, Brighton for a year before returning to the Viceregal Lodge as chef de cuisine. Lord Zetland’s hospitality is described as ‘truly regal’ and it was not unusual for a dinner for 200 covers to be followed on the same night by a supper for 500 of 600 guests. ‘To superintend the preparation of recherché repasts on such a scale and of such frequency required a chef of no small ability and genius, and Mr. Bateman amply proved that he was not unworthy of the trust reposed in him’ (Anon 1896c:2). A copy of both the dinner menu and the later supper menu served in the Viceregal Lodge on 6th January 1890 under Reginald Batemans’s supervision is illustrated in Figures 12.19a and 12.19c.


Menus served at Viceregal Lodge, Dublin, 6th January 1890

Source: The Chef (4th July 1896)
In the five weeks of the 1891 season, the Zetlands entertained 16,310 persons at the Viceregal functions. This lavish entertainment provided employment for hundreds in catering, food supplies, dressmaking and other services (Robins 2001:133). As Lord Zetland’s tenure as Lord Lieutenant ended, Reginald Bateman took up the position as *chef de cuisine* in one of London’s most aristocratic and exclusive clubs, the Marlborough Club in Pall Mall.

**Michel and Francois Jammet**

Michel (1858-1931) and Francois (1853-1940) Jammet were born in St. Julia de Bec, near Quillan, in the French Pyrenees to Barthelemy, farmer, and Catherine (née Bourell). The Bourell family were famous hat makers in Carcassonne. The two brothers, aged 12 and 17 respectively, were forced to leave home finding work first in Perpignan and then in Paris where they trained as chefs (Jammet 2005). Michel Jammet (Fig. 12.20b) married Josephine Biro, and had one son Louis and one daughter Catherine (Kitty). He first came to Dublin in 1887 as chef to Henry Roe, the distiller. Following four years working in London for Lord Cadogan, Michel returned to Dublin in 1895, becoming head chef at the Viceregal Lodge, when Lord Cadogan became Lord Lieutenant of Ireland (Mac Con Iomaire 2006:218). The Cadogans entertained generously, and were intimate with the Prince and Princess of Wales who visited in 1897. Queen Victoria stayed with them in 1900 at the Viceregal Lodge during her final visit to Ireland (Robins 2001:149).

Figures 12.20(a): Francois Jammet (left)  12.20(b): Michel Jammet (right)

Sources: Jammet Family Collection  Irish Hotel & Club Manager (April 1934)
In 1888 Francois (Fig.12.20a) became head chef of the ‘Café de Deux Mondes’, Rue de La Paix, Paris, and then moved to the ‘Boeuf a La Mode’, Rue de Valois, Palais Royal, where he married the owner widow’s daughter, Eugenie. The couple legally adopted Catherine, Francois’s daughter from an earlier relationship, who later married Felix Auger, a chef, and ran the family restaurant. In 1900 Michel and François Jammet bought the Burlington Restaurant and Oyster Saloons at 27 St Andrew Street, Dublin from Tom Corless. They refitted, and renamed it ‘The Jammet Hotel and Restaurant’ in 1901, and it became pre-eminent among the restaurants of Dublin. The Jammet family became one of the most influential names in developing haute cuisine in Dublin restaurants during the twentieth century and are discussed in detail later.

**Other Chefs linked with Dublin**

Other noted French chefs profiled in *The Chef* include Pierre Lechers (Fig. 12.21b) from Cluny, in the department of Saône et Loire, who apprenticed in Paris and worked with M. Catalaine at the Hotel de Paris, Monte Carlo before spending time working for the Army mess in Dublin. He later became chef de cuisine at the Piccadilly Club, London (Anon 1897:2).

*Figure 12.21a: Jean Barlerin  Figure 12.21b: Pierre Lechers*  
*Source: The Chef and Connoisseur (10 April 1897)  Ibid (21 August 1897)*
A profile of Jean Barlerin (Fig. 12.21a) in *The Chef and Connoisseur* (10/4/1897) points out that he was born in Genelard, in the French department of Saône et Loire, where he began his apprenticeship. He moved to Paris where he served under M. Villousier, former chef to Queen Isabella of Spain, in the Hotel Continental. He became *chef de cuisine* at the Hotel du Louvre at Boulogne, and the following year he moved to London becoming *saucier* at the Café Royal in Regent Street. The Royal Hotel, Blackfriars and later the Wellington Club, Hyde Park Corner become his places of employment prior to his move to Dublin where he obtained the position of *chef de cuisine* at the Kildare Street Club, reputedly the leading club in Ireland at the time. The profile notes that he remained in Ireland for over two years working the off-season at the Officers Mess of the Kings Royal Rifles at Mallow, Co. Cork. Following a year and half travelling the world as chef on the American millionaire, Mr. W.K. Vanderbilt’s steam yacht ‘Valiant’, he returned to Ireland for the reopening of the Royal Marine Hotel, Kingstown. He was engaged by Richard Burke, Master of Fox Hounds, Tipperary, for the hunting season before returning to London as chef at the Hotel Cecil and later to the Ranelagh Club.

![Figure 12.22: Dinner Menu from Shelbourne Hotel, Dublin, prepared by A. Bautte](image)

Source: *The Chef and Connoisseur* (19th December 1896)

Figure 12.22 shows a dinner menu from the Shelbourne Hotel, Dublin prepared by the *chef de cuisine*, A. Bautte, which was published in *The Chef and Connoisseur* on
December 19th, 1896. It is interesting to note the fillets of sole ‘à la Shelbourne’ and the Irish ham served with noodles.

A dinner menu prepared by Mr. Montague Kemp in Dublin’s Metropole Hotel on the 29th February 1896 was published as a supplement to the The Chef on the 14th March 1896 (Fig. 12.23). The original was an imitation of an illuminated Egyptian papyrus but the journal was unable to reproduce the design. The menu, written in French, reads as impressively as contemporary menus in London or Paris at the turn of the century.

![Figure 12.23: Dinner Menu by Montague Kemp, Hotel Metropole, Dublin](source: The Chef (14th March 1896))

Other Chefs with Irish Connections

G. Frederick. Macro was born in Sudbury, England to a father who was a confectioner and caterer. He apprenticed in Paris at the Maison Gage, and later served under two presidents of the Société des Culinaires Francaise before returning to London to become second cook at the Russian Embassy. He spent some time as a private chef in Scotland, worked in the Officers Mess in Edinburgh Castle, chief cook on P&O’s SS ‘Pekin’ where
he travelled to Calcutta, Bombay, China and the Australian Colonies. He returned to London, taking charge of the kitchens of the Albion Tavern in Covent Garden. Following six years as chef at the North Devon Ilfracombe Hotel, he became chef at the newly opened Grand Hotel in Belfast. From there he moved to become chef de cuisine in the Imperial Hotel Cork and ‘is entitled to great credit for the part he has taken in raising the status of Irish hotels in the estimation of the English public, and thus furthering the good work of the Irish Tourist Development Association’ (Anon 1896d:2). A number of Macro’s menus appeared in various issues of The Chef, one of which is illustrated in Figure 12.24.

![Figure 12.24: Christmas Menu 1897 from G. Frederic Macro, Imperial Hotel, Cork](Image)

Source: *The Chef and Connoisseur* (18th December 1897)
Eugene Julis Narcisse Pouard (Figure 12.18b) was born at Rugny, France in 1841 and apprenticed at Tonnere and later in Paris. He worked in private service in France prior to moving to England from where he was appointed as chef in the Curragh Camp, Ireland, and later served successfully at the messes of the Tower of London and Windsor (Anon 1896e:2). Pouard along with six other French chefs organised the first London culinary exhibition in 1885 at Willis Room, St. James (Mennell 1996:172).

**Summary**

Following the Act of Union 1800, most of the aristocracy left for London or the provinces. The Viceregal Court at Dublin Castle continued to entertain lavishly, albeit with fewer aristocrats in attendance. Lady Morgan, a contemporary and acquaintance of Carême’s was considered ‘the gayest among the gay in Lady Anglesey’s Court’ (Mennell 1996:147; Robins 2001:113). 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 (Anon 1896b; Anon 1896c; Robins 2001:116). Dublin club members preceded their London counterparts in the fashion of purchasing their clubhouses, thus dispensing with the proprietor. Club life was vibrant during the nineteenth century although continuity of good cooking was affected by the difficulty in retaining chefs (McDowell 1993:65, 121). The popularity of clubs in Dublin, as in London, resulted in a slower growth of restaurants than had occurred in Paris. Competition for clubs appeared in the form of good hotels which increased dramatically in number as the steam age facilitated quicker modes of travel. Many of the proprietors of these new hotels and emerging restaurants were ex-club employees or ex-army messmen. The introduction of The Refreshment Houses and Wine Licences (Ireland) Act 1860, which was aimed at re-uniting ‘the business of eating and drinking’, created a more congenial environment for the opening of restaurants. The granting of wine licences to ‘eating house keepers’ without the need to possess a spirits licence promoted the consumption of weaker liquors and the wider distribution of better wines which, when consumed with a meal, did not pose anything like the threats to public order and sobriety that the consumption of other types of intoxicating liquor did (McDonald 1992:201-209).
Democracy emerged gradually in nineteenth century Ireland (McCarty 1987:192). The second half of the century witnessed increased commercialisation and the appearance of ‘Department stores / monster stores’ such as Pim’s, Clery’s and Brown Thomas’s (Daly, Hearn et al. 2003:120-121). 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. The word restaurant becomes familiar in advertisements from the 1860s but is not used officially by Thom’s Directory until 1909. The first French restaurant in Dublin is the Café de Paris which opened in 1860, attached to a Turkish Baths in Lincoln Place. A few other French restaurants opened, and many restaurants employed French chefs or chefs trained in French haute cuisine over the remainder of the century. Both the serving of ‘Red Bank Oysters’ and the use of ‘The London Silver Gridiron’ became fashionable from the 1850s and 1860s. Another change in fashion which had reached Dublin by 1875, based on the menu served at the Friendly Brothers House (Fig. 12.5) was the introduction of ‘service à la russe’.

Other new trends, such as the introduction of ladies dining room, occurred simultaneously in Dublin and London. Menus from the Metropole Hotel (Fig 12.23) and the Shelbourne Hotel (Fig. 12.22) are evidence that the international French inspired haute cuisine was available in Dublin at the end of the nineteenth century produced by a cadre of professional chefs. Profiles of some of these chefs reveal the international scope of their careers. It will become clear from the following chapters that Irish chefs were trained by these foreign chefs. The move towards professionalisation of the catering industry experienced in both France and England is evident in Ireland from the emergence of the Hotel and Restaurant Proprietors’ Association of Ireland and the Irish Tourist Association, which preceded similar organisations in England by a number of years (Taylor 2003). By the end of the century, two restaurants in particular – The Red Bank and The Burlington – were to the forefront of providing ‘haute cuisine’. The influence of French haute cuisine on the development of Dublin restaurants is discussed in the following chapters.
Chapter 13: Research Methods

Introduction
The academic fields of food studies and culinary history span many academic disciplines (Duran and MacDonald 2006:234). Therefore, an interdisciplinary approach to the identification and analyses of research material has been adopted in this study. The main primary research methodology employed in this sector of the project is in-depth life history interviews. Other primary sources employed include artefacts, such as old menus, photographs, and advertisements. Focus groups have also been employed in a semiformal manner to inform the research process and to identify key individuals as potential sources of information. Ratcliffe (2002:24) suggests holding at least one or two strategic conversations with ‘remarkable people’, who might not be central to the study itself, but have the capacity to think creatively and differently. Traditional documentary and archival evidence are examined and compared with primary sources to provide a robust account of the history of Dublin restaurants from 1900-2000. Strauss and Corbin (1998) suggest that to build dense, well-developed, integrated and comprehensive theory, a researcher should make use of any or every method at his or her disposal, keeping in mind that a true interplay of methods is necessary. They also stress that the research design, like the concepts must be allowed to emerge from the research process.

‘Remember, the idea behind varying methods is to carry out the most parsimonious and advantageous means of arriving at theory. Such a task calls for sensitivity to the nuances in data, tolerance for ambiguity, flexibility in design and a large dose of creativity’ (Strauss and Corbin 1998).

Sources of Evidence – Research Material
This section deals firstly with the traditional methods of data collection and then outlines the oral history methodology adopted for this research project to capture original and otherwise unavailable material.
A number of papers have appeared during the last century that provide details of the state of the restaurants in Dublin at specific points in time, such as Burke (1941), Mc Sorley (1955), Condon (1973a), Vandersichel (1979), Burke (1985), Anon (1986), MacGonigal (1991), Sands (1991) and Campbell (1994). The above sources range from literary journals, to trade magazines and travel guides. Secondary sources of evidence employed for this research include books, directories and guide books, peer-reviewed journals, trade journals, newspapers and magazines.

Books

There is a dearth of published books that focus on the history of Dublin restaurants. For example, the Red Bank Restaurant appears in a number of publications, not for its food or beverage content, but rather as a haunt for a Nazi Party cell and German club during the Second World War (Coogan 2003:282; Hull 2003; O'Donoghue 2006; Mullins 2007). A number of books have been published on Dublin hotels but they offer more information about the guests who frequented the premises than the staff who worked in either the kitchens or dining rooms of these establishments (O’ Connor 1965; Walsh 1985; Sands 1994; O’ Sullivan and O’ Neill 1999; Bowen 2001). Some interesting material is available in Corr (1987), but in general, an extensive trawl of published works ranging from Ardagh (1994), Lysaght (1998), Farmar (1991), Findlater (2001) through to Sweeney and Sweeney (2002) has been undertaken. Recent years have seen the publication of books about Dublin restaurants, but refer principally to the last three decades of the century. Some of these, such as Kinsella (1985), O’Daly (2002), O’Sullivan (2003), Clarke,
Clarke et al. (2004), and Walsh (2007) are essentially cookery books with some brief historic outline.

Published conference proceedings from both the *Oxford Symposium on Food and Cookery* (1981-present) and the *International Commission for Ethnological Food Research* have been examined. Encyclopaedia’s and major works on culinary history consulted include Bennett (1991), Davidson (1999), Flandrin and Montanari (1999), Kiple and Ornelas (2000), Katz (2003), Lalor (2003), Watson and Caldwell (2005), Arndt (2006), Freedman (2007), and Counihan and Van Esterik (2008).

**Directories and Travel Guides**

*Thom’s Directory* provides an annual listing of Dublin restaurants from the mid-nineteenth century up until 1958 but offers no analyses of the quality or market level of each establishment. By comparing the listings in *Thom’s Directory* with restaurants and cafes listed in *Black’s Guide to Dublin* (1900), and *Irish Tourist Association Guidebook(s)* (1934; 1943); and information outlined in the Irish catering trade journals, it has been possible to draw tables of the leading restaurants in Dublin for the period 1900-2000 (Figs. 14.1 and 15.2). A full listing of restaurant mentioned in *Thom’s Directory* during the years 1900 to 1958 is provided in the Appendix A.

Descriptions of ‘quality’ restaurants appeared on an annual basis from 1963 onwards with the publication of the *Egon Ronay’s Guide to Great Britain and Ireland*. Restaurants awarded stars or mentioned by the *Egon Ronay Guide(s)* in Dublin and Ireland from 1963-1973 are outlined in Figure 16.2. In 1985 Ronay sold the title to the Automobile Association (AA) who later sold it to Roy Ackerman (Campbell 2008). From 1994 to 1997 a separate *Egon Ronay Jameson Guide to Ireland* was published. This title is superseded in 1999 by the *Georgina Campbell Tipperary Guide to Ireland*, which later becomes the *Georgina Campbell Jameson Guide to Ireland*. Restaurants awarded stars or mentioned in the *Egon Ronay Guide(s)* from 1973-1989 in Dublin and in Ireland are outlined in Figures 17.4 and 17.5.
The Michelin Guide to Great Britain and Ireland first appeared in 1974 and has been published annually since. In Europe, the Michelin Guide is the most respected ranking system for fine gastronomy and cuisine (Johnson, Surlemont et al. 2005). One star denotes ‘a very good restaurant in its category’, two stars indicated ‘excellent cooking, worth a detour’, while three stars display ‘exceptional cuisine worth a special journey’ (Ottenbacher and Harrington 2007). Restaurants are awarded a red ‘M’ to indicate ‘good food at a reasonable price’ (Michelin-Guide 1999). Dublin restaurants awarded stars or a red ‘M’ between 1974 and 2002 are presented in Figure 17.2. Restaurants awarded stars or a red ‘M’ in the rest of Ireland including Northern Ireland from 1974 to 2002 are shown in Figure 17.3. Other guides consulted for this research include The Good Food Guide, The TWA Guide to European Cities, and The Bridgestone Irish Food Guide.

**Peer Reviewed Journals**


Irish non-culinary peer-reviewed journals consulted include Saothar, Irish Economic and Social History, History Ireland, Archaeology Ireland, Irish Architectural and Decorative Studies: The Journal of the Irish Georgian Society, History Studies, Ulster Folklife, Dublin Historical Record, Pages: Journal of the UCD Arts Faculty, and Women’s Studies Review. Also consulted were the Journal of the Cork Historical and Archaeological Society, and Cathair na Mart: Journal of the Westport Historical Society.
Trade Journals
The principal hospitality trade journals available in Ireland during the twentieth century are listed in Figure 13.0. It was outlined in Chapter Eleven that English catering trade journals such as *The Chef* were available in Ireland and often covered Irish news and events. *Food and Cookery* was the journal of the Universal Cookery and Food Association (UCFA) and was renamed the *UCFA Bulletin* in 1932 and then the *Food and Cookery Review* in 1935.

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Date</th>
<th>Food &amp; Cookery Journals</th>
<th>Hotel &amp; Catering</th>
<th>Travel &amp; Tourism</th>
<th>Directory and Restaurant Guides</th>
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</thead>
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<tr>
<td>1900-1922</td>
<td>Food and Cookery (1897-1932) Published monthly by UCFA but Available in Ireland</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td>Black’s Guide to Ireland (1900)</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

Figure 13.0: The Hospitality Trade Journals, Directories and Guides in Ireland
In 1934, *The Irish Hotel and Club Manager* became the first indigenous journal, but was short lived lasting only eight months (April-October). A second indigenous journal *The Irish Hotel Review: Café, Restaurant, and Catering News* was published in 1939 but was similarly short lived with only six issues (July-December). In 1949, however, *The Irish Hotelier* was established and was published monthly until 1972 when it was renamed *The Hotelier*. In 1970 *Irish Catering Review* was formed and in 1974 it merged with *The Hotelier* to become *Hotel and Catering Review*.

**Newspapers**

Newspapers also offer detailed information on restaurants both through advertisements and through the social diary pages. The availability of *The Irish Times* archive in digital format from October 2007 was invaluable. Many of the specific facts concerning opening dates, refurbishments, and new managements were gleaned from a thorough trawl of *The Irish Times* digital archive. Other Irish newspapers consulted during this research include *The Freeman’s Journal*, *Dublin Evening Mail*, *The Irish Press*, *The Irish Independent*, *The Evening Press*, *The Evening Herald*, *The Sunday Press*, *The Sunday Tribune*, *The Sunday Independent* and *The Sunday Business Post*. Other newspapers consulted include the *Daily Express*, and *Journal l’Époque*.

**Magazines**

From 1890 to 1923 Findlater’s published a monthly magazine *The Lady of the House*, providing an insight into the tastes of middle to upper class ladies in Ireland at the time and also offering information on schools of cookery and culinary trends. In January 1958, *Good Cooking*, Ireland’s first monthly food magazine appeared – at first by controlled circulation – however from July onwards it retailed for a shilling a copy and was re-titled *Good Food and Better Cooking*. It only ran for eleven issues but it provides detailed information about the restaurants of the time. The Irish Tourist Association was discussed in Chapter Eleven, and their *Irish Travel: the Official Organ of the Irish Tourist Association* was published monthly from 1925 - 1952. The first 1925 issue proclaimed that ‘The Irish Tourist Association has linked up over four hundred hotels and restaurants
in an organisation devoted to the mutual interest of its members and the travelling public’. *Irish Travel* was followed by *Ireland of the Welcomes* a bi-monthly magazine published by *Bord Fáilte* – The Irish Tourist Board – since 1952. Some interesting material was identified using the archive search facility on their website with the keywords ‘food’ and ‘restaurant’.


**Primary Sources**

**Census Reports**

Census Reports covering the twentieth century available in the Central Statistics Office (CSO) library have been analysed for statistics and data on restaurants, restaurant workers, and foreigners working in the hospitality industry. Censuses were held in 1901, 1911, 1926, 1936, 1946, 1951, 1961, 1966, 1971, 1981, 1986, 1991, 1996, 2002 and 2006, and a summary of the findings are presented in the following chapters. The 1911 census became available online in October 2007 and this research tool has been harnessed to better understand patterns of employment, and the role of foreign employees in restaurants and hotels in Edwardian Dublin (Mac Con Iomaire 2008a; Mac Con Iomaire 2008b).

**Material Culture**

Material Culture is a method used by many different disciplines and as such the definitions of it can vary. One writer defines material culture as the study through artefacts of the beliefs – values, ideas, attitudes and assumptions – of particular community or society at a given time (St.George 1988:18). For social historians in particular, material culture is a useful tool to gather information on groups other than the elites. This is valid for restaurant and hospitality workers. Since the life stories of the ‘working class’ were not often recorded, and very rarely in their own words, some of
their story can be extrapolated by studying the material objects left behind. The main types of material culture analysed in this research were photographs, menus, advertisements, and awards. Some cutlery, crockery, delftware and other catering equipment were also studied. Barnard (2005) provides a source for the history of material culture in Ireland from 1500-2000.

**Oral History**

One of the research tools to emerge in the study of history of the past half century is oral history (Beiner 1999:1), and this plays a significant part in this research project. A wide range of literature exists on best practice in the use of oral history. These include: Baum (1977), Davis, Black et al. (1977), Baum and Dunaway (1984), Cutler (1984), Thompson (1988), Yow (1994), Anderson and Jack (1998), and Perks and Thompson (1998). Starr (1984:4) describes oral historians as ‘modern muses armed with tape recorders in quest of first-hand knowledge that would otherwise decay’. The essence of oral history is that it can record people’s memories through their own voices, a quality that is especially relevant for those marginalised by or excluded from mainstream historical studies. In the context of this project, these include restaurant and hospitality workers. There are a number of terms that are used interchangeably with oral history. They include life history, personal narrative, life story, oral biography, memoir and testament. The term oral history, according to Yow (1994), can equally refer to:

1. A qualitative research process based on personal interviewing suited to understanding meanings, interpretations, relationships and subjective experience.
2. A product – an audio or video recording – or transcription of same, which is an original historical document, a new primary source for further research.

The in-depth interview enables the researcher to give the subject freedom to answer as he or she chooses, to attribute meanings to the experiences under discussion, and to introduce a range of topics. Interviewees are brought through their lives chronologically focusing on family background, education and training, employment history, eating out history and other relevant topics. In this way new un-discovered data may be generated. This freedom often enables the researcher to discover aspects of behaviour, or key
information not previously available. The interview process can also provide a means of revealing the existence of fresh written documents and photographs, which may not have otherwise been identified. The special characteristic of this research method is the high level of interaction between the interviewer and narrator. The researcher pursues the possibility of discovering something previously unknown. The objective is to understand the multiplicity of experiences in a total life context (Taylor 2002:262).

Oral history evidence should never be accepted uncritically. Using what Denzin (1970) calls ‘triangulation’, the insights gained from oral sources are compared and combined with standard archival and published sources to produce a truer picture of the past.

A particular strength in this research technique is that the researcher can draw on first hand experience in the restaurant business in Dublin, and engage in a dialogue where mutual respect and understanding can lead to a very detailed conversation, and secure fresh and significant data. Ratcliffe (2002:24) states that it is rare for a researcher to have the standing and proficiency in a particular field to fulfil this requirement. This shared experience leads to what Douglas (1985) describes as creative interviewing, and derives from the tradition of oral history. The word ‘creative’, however, refers primarily to the interviewer, not the respondent.

‘Creative interviewing involves the use of many strategies and tactics of interaction, largely based on an understanding of friendly feelings and intimacy, to optimise co-operative, mutual disclosure and creative search for mutual understanding’ (Douglas 1985).

This creative approach leads to the disclosure and probing of details that may not have been revealed to a researcher from another field. The strength of oral history according to Burke (1991) ‘is the strength of any methodologically competent history. It comes from the range and the intelligence with which many types of sources are harnessed to pull together’.
Validity of Evidence

Oral sources, like all other sources need to be considered critically. Thompson (1975) reminds us that much of documentary data is suspect. Reports, accounts of war and political diaries are written by the upper echelons of society; the winners write the history and generally represent only the victorious in any conflict and present solely their view. Marriage and birth registration information have been often falsified to hide the fact that the age of parental consent was not reached in the first instance, or that a nine-month gap didn’t exist in the second. Census forms are often completed in haste and without due care. Lummis (1987) concludes that even ‘hard’ contemporary statistical evidence is still what somebody told somebody, and if truth is concealed the facts will be erroneous. Kearns (2005) questions why archival sources like the diaries or memoirs of politicians, clergy or business men should be considered any more valid than oral evidence since he notes that common people have nothing (or significantly less) to gain by not telling the truth, compared to some of the more affluent members of society. Hoffman (1984:72) contends that when undertaken in the most professional way, oral histories may be superior to many written records, noting, “Archives are replete with self-serving documents, with edited and doctored diaries and memoranda written ‘for the record’”. In thirty years of using oral history, Kearns (2005) points out that his research has never been challenged by any academic; on the contrary, most modern histories of Dublin draw on his work (Coogan 2003; Ferriter 2004).

Oral history interviews can contain untruths, or exaggerations. Discrepancies within testimony and differences in comparison to other sources, according to Yow (1994), can point to truths not factually accurate but psychologically true. The subjectivity of oral history is both inescapable and crucial to an understanding of the meaning we give our past and present.

Oral History in Irish Academia

Ferriter’s (1997) study of oral archives described the attitudes and practices relating to the preservation of oral material in academia as ‘haphazard, incomplete and inconsistent’. Beiner (1999) suggests that the continuous compulsion to confront myth and mythology
has characterised modern Irish historiography. This fundamental dichotomy between mythology and history (implying a parallel binary opposition between truth and myth) has prevented modern Irish history in embracing oral history in the past. Ireland’s archival historical sources, according to Beiner (1999), are documented from the point of view of colonial establishment and hierarchical elites. Oral history, he suggests, potentially offers insights into more indigenous, popular perspectives. Oral history can also offer an inclusive perspective to the past that has been otherwise absent as can be seen in the work of Clear (2000) and Muldowney (1998). Occasional oral history articles have appeared in the labour history journal *Saothar* (Kilmurray 1988; Devine 1991; Ó Cainainn 1996). Beiner and Bryson (2003) chart the recent surge in academic interest in oral history in Ireland, particularly in the areas of women’s history, emigration and religion. They conclude however that oral history projects in Ireland, as a whole, are disparate and uncoordinated; and suggest establishing an internet based network for pooling information and as a forum for discussion. Ferriter (2004) draws on data from the Bureau of Military History archives (nearly 2,000 statements from participants in the events 1913-21) to produce a clearer picture of Irish history and markets his book partly on the insights these hitherto un-tapped sources give to our understanding of history. These personal memoirs were written since the tape recorders used by oral historians were not widely available until the second half of the twentieth century. Oral history has been widely used at doctoral level internationally (Tuttle 1980; Wilton 1996; Atkinson 2001; Oosthoek 2001; Dennis 2002; Nishimoto 2002), but its use in Ireland is relatively recent (Clear 1997; Beiner 2001; Smith 2002; Bryson 2003; Muldowney 2005).

**Identifying Informants**
The challenge in oral history is to ‘track down’ members of the ‘old crowd’ as they are affectionately known (Kearns 2001:9). Brewer (1990:18) explains the importance and urgency of seeking out this ‘small number of survivors whose life experiences will be lost to future generations once they pass from the scene’. Oral historians are frequently compared to explorers or as Mac Donald (1972:413) notes ‘a hunter or a prospector’. Memories of stories of Jammet’s restaurant during ‘the Emergency’ from a deceased teacher of professional cookery in the Dublin College of Catering led this researcher to
identify the need to record the life stories of two surviving chef / instructors from that period: Liam Kavanagh and Bill Ryan – thus initiating this research project. In 2002/3, a number of informal focus groups were held among the academic staff in the School of Culinary Arts and Food Technology, Dublin Institute of Technology (DIT) to formulate a rough outline of the principal hotels and restaurants of Dublin’s past, and the key individuals who worked in them. These sessions identified some of the first interviewees. Each interviewee was asked to suggest other individuals who would be worth interviewing. Bryson (2007:54) calls this the ‘snowball sampling’ method. Having interviewed thirteen individuals and received various old menus and photographs that helped illuminate the past, influenced by the methodology used by Guest (2004:64), it was decided to make a public call for information using radio programmes and other media. A 20-minute interview on the Marian Finucane Radio Show RTE Radio One (average listenership 372,000 according to JNLR 2004) was secured on Tuesday 16th November 2004. A similar call for information on Radio na Gaeltachta on Thursday 18th November 2004 was also made. The response was exceptional. Over 45 responses from individuals including retired chefs, waiters, discerning diners and relatives or friends of catering workers furnished stories, names of potential interviewees, pictures and copies of old menus. A request for information was also posted on the DIT’s weekly on-line newsletter ‘Update’. All responses from the public call for information were answered either by return e-mail, telephone or letter.

The Interview Process
Interviewees were originally contacted by telephone, e-mail or letter, and the background to the research project was explained. A suitable time for an interview was sought and the interviewees were asked if they could make any relevant material such as photographs, menus or newspaper clippings they had available on the day of the interview. The names, year of birth and occupation of interviewees are presented in Figure 13.1 and 13.2. The interview process followed best practice as outlined in Yow (1994). Each interviewee was brought through their life in chronological order focussing particularly on whether there was catering in their families, how they got involved in catering, their education and training and the various positions they held over their lifetime. Interviewees were asked
about technological changes they had witnessed, eating out patterns, union involvement and also gender within the restaurants in which they worked. Interviewees were also asked to identify who they felt the main pioneers / instigators of change were during their working life.

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Name</th>
<th>Date of Interview</th>
<th>Year of Birth</th>
<th>Occupation Main Places of Employment</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>Herbert (Sonny) Geldof</td>
<td>3/4/2003</td>
<td>1912</td>
<td>Son of Chef / Restaurateur, Jury’s, Café Belge, Plaza Restaurant</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Liam (Bill) Kavanagh</td>
<td>11/4/2003</td>
<td>1927</td>
<td>Chef / Teacher, Dolphin, Shelbourne, Jammets, Gresham, Intercontinental,</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Frank Farren</td>
<td>28/5/2003</td>
<td>1926</td>
<td>Chef / Lecturer, Jammets’s, Red Bank, Malahide, GMT</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Myrtle Allen</td>
<td>7/5/2003</td>
<td>1924</td>
<td>Chef / Restaurateur / Writer, Ballymaloe House</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Andrew (Andy) Whelan</td>
<td>3/6/2003</td>
<td>1938</td>
<td>Chef / Lecturer, Gresham Hotel, DIT</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Christy Sands</td>
<td>5/6/2003</td>
<td>1937</td>
<td>Waiter / Lecturer / Writer, Jammets, Gresham, DIT</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Jimmy Kilbride</td>
<td>8/10/2003</td>
<td>1929</td>
<td>Chef / Lecturer / Entrepreneuer, Gresham, Dublin Airport, DIT</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Arthur McGee</td>
<td>6/1/2004</td>
<td>1937</td>
<td>Chef, Russell, CIE, Killiney Court</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Bill (Willie) Ryan</td>
<td>7/1/2004</td>
<td>1927</td>
<td>Chef, Russell, Gresham, Moira, Airport</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Seán Mac Réamain</td>
<td>6/2/2004</td>
<td>1920</td>
<td>Retired Broadcaster, RTE</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Matt Dowling</td>
<td>19/2/2004</td>
<td>1945</td>
<td>Chef / Lecturer, Russell Hotel, Sachs Hotel, CERT, RTE</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Johnny Opperman</td>
<td>28/4/2004</td>
<td>1917</td>
<td>Chef / Caterer / Restaurateur, Shelbourne, Regal, Airport, Johnny’s</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Declan Ryan</td>
<td>11/3/2005</td>
<td>1943</td>
<td>Chef Patron Arbutus Lodge, Russell, Arbutus Lodge, Troisgros</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Garret Fitzgerald</td>
<td>21/2/2005</td>
<td>1926</td>
<td>Retired Politician / Taoiseach, Aer Lingus, Dúil Eireann</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Fred Gygax</td>
<td>19/5/2005</td>
<td>1929</td>
<td>Chef / Confectioner, Metropole, Savoy, Gresham, Intercontinental, Airport</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Róisín Hood (Jammet)</td>
<td>18/1/2006</td>
<td>1935</td>
<td>Daughter of Louis Jammet, Jammet’s Restaurant</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Frank Corr</td>
<td>2/7/2007</td>
<td>1940</td>
<td>Editor / Writer, Hotel and Catering Review</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Tommy Smith</td>
<td>20/7/2007</td>
<td>1946</td>
<td>Waiter, Red Bank, Lord Edward</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>David Edwards</td>
<td>10/12/2007</td>
<td>1939</td>
<td>Chef / Restaurateur, Royal Hibernian, Metropole, Clarence, Jury’s, Killake House</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Willy Widmer</td>
<td>14/12/2007</td>
<td>1930</td>
<td>Swiss Chef / Hotelier, Ritz Paris, Jury’s, Boyne Valley Hotel</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Gerry Connell</td>
<td>15/1/2008</td>
<td>1946</td>
<td>Chef / Lecturer, Jammets’s, Intercontinental, Airport, DIT</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>John Clancy</td>
<td>22/1/2008</td>
<td>1952</td>
<td>Chef / Lecturer, Russell, Opperman’s, Jury’s, DIT</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Mervyn Stewart</td>
<td>23/1/2008</td>
<td>1944</td>
<td>Chef / Restaurateur, Hibernian, Metropole, Clarence, Guinea Pig</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Colin O’Daly</td>
<td>24/1/2008</td>
<td>1952</td>
<td>Chef / Restaurateur, Dublin Airport, Kennmare, The Park, Roly’s</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Anita Thoma</td>
<td>24/1/2008</td>
<td>1967</td>
<td>Chef / Restaurateur, La Stampa, Shay Beano, Il Primo</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Michel Treyvaud</td>
<td>4/2/2008</td>
<td>1937</td>
<td>Swiss Chef, Glenagles, Moira, Oppermann’s, Jury’s</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Anthony Conlon</td>
<td>12/2/2008</td>
<td>1952</td>
<td>Waiter / Lecturer, Jury’s, Intercontinental, Celtic Mews</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Patrick Guilbaud</td>
<td>20/2/2008</td>
<td>1952</td>
<td>French Restaurateur, Restaurant Patrick Guilbaud</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Pierce Hingston</td>
<td>21/2/2008</td>
<td>1938</td>
<td>Chef / CERT / Consultant, Metropole, Mayfair, Intercon., Burlington,</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Seán Kinsella</td>
<td>10/3/2008</td>
<td>1931</td>
<td>Chef / Restaurateur, Gresham, Jammets, P&amp;O, Mirabeau</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Seán Hogan</td>
<td>29/4/2008</td>
<td>1953</td>
<td>Waiter / Lecturer, Royal Hibernian, Berkley Court, DIT</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Jim Bowe</td>
<td>30/4/2008</td>
<td>1942</td>
<td>Chef / Lecturer, Metropole, Intercontinental, DIT</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Giles O’Reilly</td>
<td>19/5/2008</td>
<td>1960</td>
<td>Chef, Arbutus, Whites on the Green, The Park</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>John Howard</td>
<td>12/8/2008</td>
<td>1945</td>
<td>Chef Proprietor, Le Coq Hardi, Old Jury’s, L’Ecu de France</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

**Figure 13.1: Names of In-Depth Oral History Interviewees**
Over fifty interviews were undertaken. The interviewees’ year of birth ranged from 1911 (William Montgomery) to 1969 (James Carberry). Thirty seven interviews were formal face to face interviews that were tape recorded. The remaining interviews were carried out over the telephone due to distance, age and convenience to the interviewees. Research notes were taken during these interviews. The names, date of interview and occupations of telephone interviewees are shown in Figure 13.2. Some individuals were visited or telephoned more than once to clarify certain topics or dates or events.

### Telephone Interviews Conducted

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Name</th>
<th>Date of Interview</th>
<th>Occupation</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>Theresa Murray</td>
<td>3/12/2004</td>
<td>Grand daughter of French Chef / Restaurateur Camille Fauvain</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Michael Murphy</td>
<td>7/12/2004</td>
<td>Barrister, Diner in Jammet’s and elsewhere in Dublin</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Prof. Kevin C. Kearns</td>
<td>10/1/2005</td>
<td>Oral Historian / Author</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>David Butt</td>
<td>12/1/2005</td>
<td>Son of Chef / Restaurateur Mike Butt – Golden Orient Restaurant</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>André Jammet</td>
<td>5/5/2005</td>
<td>Grandson of Francois Jammet – Hotel Bristol – La Caravelle NYC</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>George Ennis</td>
<td>11/5/2005</td>
<td>Jesuit Priest and former manager of Red Bank Restaurant</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Terry Joy</td>
<td>22/5/2005</td>
<td>Widow of Mike Butt – Golden Orient Restaurant</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Jimmy Flahive</td>
<td>23/5/2005</td>
<td>Chef in Clery’s, Gresham, Dublin Airport, TV Chef</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Peter Strunz</td>
<td>15/10/2007</td>
<td>Son of Ernst Strunz – Austrian Restaurateur Unicorn Rest. c.1941</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Carmel Byrne (nee Ferns)</td>
<td>22/1/2008</td>
<td>Daughter of Gerry Ferns – Chef Red Bank and Lord Edward</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Alan O’ Reilly</td>
<td>12/3/2008</td>
<td>Chef / Restaurateur – Clarets and Morels Restaurants</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Georgina Campbell</td>
<td>10/4/2008</td>
<td>Food Writer / Guidebook Owner</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Eugene Mc Sweeney</td>
<td>9/5/2008</td>
<td>Chef in Bailey, Berkley Court, Lacken House, 706/3</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>James Carberry</td>
<td>14/5/2008</td>
<td>Chef in Clarets, Adare Manor, The Park, ESB</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Jonathan Mitchell</td>
<td>5/6/2008</td>
<td>Son of Mitchell’s Wines</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Michael Ostinelli</td>
<td>7/2/2008</td>
<td>Son of Italian Chef / Proprietor Ostinelli’s restaurant</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>George Sharpson</td>
<td>14/8/2008</td>
<td>Son of Greek Restaurateur who arrived in Ireland 1953</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Aidan McManus</td>
<td>28/8/2008</td>
<td>Chef Proprietor of The King Sitric</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Biddy White Lennon</td>
<td>28/8/2008</td>
<td>Waitress in Soup Bowl, Actress, Food Writer</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Michael Fitzgerald</td>
<td>28/8/2008</td>
<td>Owner of The Commons Restaurant</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Sebastian Masi</td>
<td>28/8/2008</td>
<td>Chef in Guilbauds, Commons, Pearl Brasserie</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Martin Dwyer</td>
<td>28/8/2008</td>
<td>Chef in Snaffles Restaurant in 1972-74</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Nicholas Tinne</td>
<td>29/8/2008</td>
<td>Owner of Snaffles Restaurant</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Michael Martin</td>
<td>29/8/2008</td>
<td>Chef in Clarence, La Stampa, Gavroche, Nico’s</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Johnny Cooke</td>
<td>29/8/2008</td>
<td>Chef in Grey Door, Old Dublin, USA, Polo One, Cooke’s</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Jack Williams</td>
<td>1/9/2008</td>
<td>Chef in Dublin Airport, Goat Grill, Elephants, Snaffles</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Jan Kaminski</td>
<td>1/9/2008</td>
<td>Owner of The Last Post, Baggot Mews, Troika</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Tom Keaveney</td>
<td>1/9/2008</td>
<td>Owner of Morgan wines, knowledge of Soup Bowl</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Eamon Walsh</td>
<td>2/9/2008</td>
<td>Chef in Grey Door, Old Dublin, shareholder Chapter One</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Evelyn Keegan</td>
<td>2/9/2008</td>
<td>Waitress in Soup Bowl, K.Club</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Ross Lewis</td>
<td>2/9/2008</td>
<td>Chef / Proprietor Chapter One, Old Dublin, London trained</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Martin Corbett</td>
<td>3/9/2008</td>
<td>Manager / Proprietor Chapter One, Shelbourne Hotel</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

* Interview carried out by his grand daughter using my questionnaire

Figure 13.2: Names of Telephone Interviewees
Editing, Coding and Analyses of Interviews
Each tape-recorded interview was transcribed and then edited. Each thread of the edited interviews were numbered for ease of referencing as practiced by Muldowney (2005). For example when discussing the high esteem in which Pierre Rolland was held in Dublin catering circles, the references (Ryan 2004:~67; Clancy 2008:~44) refer to thread 67 of the interview with Bill Ryan (7/1/2004) and thread 44 of the interview with John Clancy (22/1/2008). The edited transcribed interviews along with some material culture not included in the main body of the thesis (Volume III) are presented on compact disk for ease of access at the back of Volume II.

The principle approach in coding and analysing data utilised in this research is the grounded theory approach outlined in Strauss and Corbin (1998). This approach enables the researcher to develop a theoretical interpretation while still grounding it in the empirical reality reflected in the data. Silverman (1993) defines data as interviews, observational field notes, videos, journals, memos, manuals, catalogues, and other forms of written or pictorial materials. Two operations that are essential for the development of theory using this method of analysis are asking questions and making comparisons. Asking questions is an analytic device used to open up the line of inquiry and direct theoretical sampling. Making theoretical comparisons is an analytical tool used to stimulate thinking about properties and dimensions of categories. Theoretical sampling is sampling on the basis of emerging concepts, with the aim being to explore the dimensional range or varied conditions along which the properties of concepts vary (Strauss and Corbin 1998). Using open coding, concepts are identified and their properties and dimensions are discovered in data. Axial coding is the process used to relate categories to their subcategories, linking categories at the level of properties and dimensions. Although the text provides clues about how categories relate, the actual linking takes place not descriptively but rather at a conceptual level (Strauss and Corbin 1998).
Structure of Following Chapters
For the purpose of this research, the twentieth century has been divided into four phases. The first phase ends at 1922 with the formation of the Irish Free State. The second phase covers the period until the end of World War Two. The third phase covers from 1946 until 1974 during which time Dublin experienced the most prolific growth of haute cuisine, but finishes on a low due to the Dublin Bombings of 1974 and the effect the oil crisis had on travel and disposable income. The final phase sees the centre of haute cuisine in Ireland move from Dublin to country house hotels, particularly in the southern counties of Cork and Kerry. Following this, Dublin regained its dominant position as a centre for haute cuisine during the last decade of the century.

A conceptual framework of how haute cuisine influenced the emergence and development of Dublin restaurants from 1900 – 2000 is shown below in Figure 13.3.
<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>1900-1922</th>
<th>1923-1946</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>Restaurant kitchens run mostly by French chefs or foreign born chefs trained in the French culinary canon. Some evidence of knowledge transfer to Irish chefs such as Francis Egan and George Lovell who won awards in Irish Food and Cookery Exhibitions (1909-1912). Jammet’s Restaurant is the only French restaurant in Dublin, and a training ground for aspiring Irish chefs. Service à la Russe and Escoffier orthodoxy in preparation and service of food.</td>
<td>Restaurant kitchens predominantly run by foreign head chefs (mainly Swiss) with Irish chefs in their brigades. Knowledge transfer formalised with training schools operated by the CDVEC first in Parnell Square Technical School and then transferred to St. Mary’s College of Domestic Science, Cathal Brugha Street, which opened in 1941. Chef teachers were foreign – Karl Uhleman, Johnny Annler and Beaucaire Murphy. Jammet’s Restaurant considered among top restaurants in Europe. Escoffier orthodoxy still dominates.</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

|-----------|-----------|

Figure 13.3: Conceptual Framework of how Haute Cuisine influenced the emergence and development of Dublin Restaurants 1900-2000
Chapter 14 – Phase One: Dublin Restaurants 1900-1922: The Last Years of Imperial Rule

Introduction

*Black’s Guide to Dublin 1900* notes that seven centuries previous the Plantagenet King gave the city of Dublin to the men of Bristol, but that by the beginning of the twentieth century the population of Bristol was likely to outnumber that of Dublin. Despite its decline in status compared to Bristol, the guide suggests that the shops of Dublin are ‘as good as can be desired’, and that town travelling reaches its zenith in Dublin and there only, with both automobiles and tramways to transport visitors around the city (Black and Black 1900:3). There were no restaurants listed in *Black’s Guide to Dublin 1895*, but the 1900 edition of the guide lists fifteen restaurants: Metropole (Hotel, Sackville Street), Mitchell’s (Grafton Street), Dolphin (Essex Street), Empire (Nassau Street), The XL (Grafton Street), Bodega and Hyne’s (both Dame Street), The D.B.C (Dame Street and Stephen’s Green), Bewley’s Café (Georges Street and Westmoreland Street), Thompson’s and Harrison’s (both Westmoreland Street), Franklin’s (Dame Street) and Sackville Café (Lower Sackville Street) (Black and Black 1895; Black and Black 1900:1). It is worth noting that neither the Burlington nor the Red Bank Restaurants were mentioned in *Black’s Guide*. The word ‘restaurant’ became more common at the turn of the twentieth century, although *Thom’s Directory* does not use it until 1909.

An article in the *Evening Mail* describes Dublin at the turn of the century as a city of comparative political calm, where a strike was a novelty, and where the level of hurry, supply or desire for pleasure that was evident in the late 1920s were unheard of. The author writes of a strong Italian community in Chancery Lane who sold chipped potatoes from mobile cooking shops at various points in the city. These open air chip shops along with the street coffee booths were extremely rare by the late 1920s (G.D. 1927).

The 1901 census shows the population of Dublin City and County was 448,206. The population of Dublin increased with each census during the twentieth century, and by 2002, Dublin’s population was 1,122,821. In 1901 the census lists 286 cooks (not
domestic) working in Dublin, and 253 hotel keepers. By 2002, there were 17,808 chefs and cooks enumerated in the census as working in Dublin. There were 8,867 restaurant and catering managers, 11,139 waiters and waitresses, and 5,686 hall and kitchen porters also listed working in Dublin in the 2002 census. Census reports do not specify what type of establishment individuals worked in or their competence within a specific position. *Black’s Guide* or *Thom’s Directory* do not offer the detail about restaurants in Dublin available in the specific gourmet guides to London, Paris and other European capitals (Strong 1900; Newnham-Davis and Bastard 1903; Newnham-Davis 1914). The following chapters chart the development of restaurants in Dublin over the twentieth century, focusing particularly on those restaurants that specialised in *haute cuisine*. Oral evidence and material culture puts flesh on the bones of history provided by the census reports and directory listings.

Data concerning the first twenty two years of the century was gathered from relatives of those who worked in Dublin restaurants between 1900 and 1922, as Phase One proved too early for first hand oral evidence, although some interviewees were born during this time. Letters, newspaper cuttings, photographs, anecdotes, and particularly menus from this period supplied by these relatives have been invaluable in piecing together some semblance of the restaurant scene in Dublin at the time. This data has been assessed, compared with other primary and secondary sources and a summary of this information is provided below.

**Historical Background**

The latter part of the nineteenth century saw the rise of cultural nationalism with the formation of the Gaelic Athletic Association, the Gaelic League, and the Irish National Literary Society. In 1900 Arthur Griffith formed *Cummann na nGaedheal* bringing together many of the patriotic societies and clubs that had formed for the centenary celebrations of the 1798 Rebellion. Social conditions at the turn of the century saw the rise of the Connolly-Larkin labour movement with the establishment of the Irish Transport and General Workers Union (IT&GWU) which culminated in the 1913 strike and lockout (Tierney 1988:130-145). By 1914 John Redmond believed that a Home Rule
Parliament would come into existence sometime in 1915 when the war in Europe finished. The First World War became protracted, however, and the Easter Rising in 1916 set off a chain of events which changed the course of Irish history, leading to the War of Independence 1919-1921, followed almost immediately by the Civil War, the impact of which was visible in Irish politics for much of the twentieth century.

**The Rise of Restaurants**

Ireland was under British rule until the formation of the Irish Free State in 1922. Under Imperial rule, gastronomic dining habits in Dublin closely mirrored those in England as previously outlined in Chapter Twelve. The death of Queen Victoria in 1901, and the onset of the Edwardian era was a positive factor for restaurant development equally in Dublin as it was in London. Edward VII, both as Prince of Wales and as King made no secret of his love of food and was a source of inspiration to all those in any way connected with the culinary arts (Bowden 1975:14). The Edwardian era was a historical moment of significant technological and social change. Some of these technological developments were on display at the International Exhibition of 1907 held in Herbert Park which attracted hundreds of thousands of visitors to Dublin, and saw Dublin’s hoteliers and restaurateurs double their business over the duration of the Exhibition (Siggins 2007). The Edwardian era, as discussed in Chapter Nine, was a very significant period for restaurants generally in the British Isles, and one in which they increased both in number and in quality, most particularly in London (Bowden 1975:15). Dublin restaurants serving *haute cuisine* during this time worked mostly within the Escoffier orthodoxy, yet a lingering influence of Carême is still evident in the ‘decorative socles’ shown at the Irish Food and Cookery Exhibitions 1909-1912. Fine dining continued in gentlemen’s clubs and other locations. The menu from an installation dinner held in the Masonic Hall in Molesworth Street in 1906 (Fig. 14.0a) shows continuity in style from those displayed in Chapter Twelve (Figs. 12.5, 12.23 and 12.23). The same style of menu is still evident for the following sixty years as can be seen in Chapters Fifteen and Sixteen. The only real difference is that the separate ‘releves’ and ‘roast’ courses seem to have merged into ‘grills and roasts’, and in latter years the term ‘dessert’ morphed to include all kinds of sweets and puddings rather than the classical meaning of a separate
fruit course as used below. The catering contract for the Masonic Hall was held by the Royal Hibernian Hotel from 1910 to 1935 (Corr 1987:112).

Figure 14.0a: Menu from Clontarf Masonic Lodge Installation Dinner 1906

Source: Rob Collender

The Great War broke out in 1914 and is regarded the last year of the Edwardian era. During the Edwardian age, Americans experienced new-found wealth and indulged in cuisine, fashion, entertainment and travel as never before, resulting in the growth of the tourism industry. Bowen (2001:114) notes that 1912 was a ‘bumper year’ for American tourists in the Shelbourne Hotel, Dublin. By 1913 and in subsequent post war years there emerged another factor, which led to the rise of members of the middle classes going to restaurants. The rising cost of employing servants, up to £26 a year, was affecting middle class homes where a cook-general had traditionally been employed to cook for the family and help in other ways about the house (Bowden 1975:32). The prospect of ‘managing’ without a servant was unthinkable to middle class households in the early 1900s. In
Dublin in 1911, 98 percent of the upper class, 71 percent of the middle class and 23 percent of the lower middle class had servants (Hearn 1993). Many servants had taken jobs in factories during the war and had become accustomed to life away from ‘below stairs’.

The increased interest in food and dining in Dublin during the Edwardian era is apparent from the attendance at the four Irish Food and Cookery Exhibitions which were held in the Rotunda between 1909 and 1912. Racing had been stopped in England between 1914 and 1918, but this ban did not apply to Ireland. The result of this was a huge increase in both English racing enthusiasts and turf accountants arriving in Ireland. Bowen (2001:132) suggests that there had never been as much travel between Ireland and England as at this time despite fears of enemy submarines. This influx of English visitors brought extra business to Dublin’s hotels and restaurants. The Easter Rising in 1916 led to the devastation of many premises including the Metropole and Hamman Hotels in Sackville Street. 1918 saw the formation of the Dublin Hotel, Restaurant and Catering Branch of the IT&GWU, although there appears to have been some organisation prior to this date (Piso 2003:215). The Free State Army shelled the Gresham Hotel in 1922, as anti-treaty forces had occupied it during the Civil War. The hotel was rebuilt with compensation from the newly formed government and was to become, along with many other of the city’s top hotels and restaurants, the theatres within which important decisions were taken as the fledgling state emerged from its colonial past.

*Thom’s Official Directory* lists ‘Restaurants and Tea Rooms’ for the first time in its Dublin and suburbs trade directory in the 1909 edition (Thom's-Directory 1909). Up until then establishments were listed under either ‘Refreshment Rooms’ or ‘Dining Rooms’ and often both. This delay in usage is of interest since the word restaurant was in general usage in advertisements in *The Irish Times* from 1860 onwards as noted in Chapter Twelve. Figure 14.0b shows the listing of restaurants and tea rooms in Thom’s 1919 directory. *Thom’s* has seventy entries under Taverns / Restaurants / Refreshment Rooms / Dining Rooms in Dublin from 1900 to 1922.
Statistics

Census Reports – Patterns of Employment

Information on the development of restaurants and public dining in Dublin available in the 1901 and 1911 census reports are presented in Figure 14.1. This shows a gradual increase in the population of the greater Dublin region from 448,206 in 1901 to 477,196 in 1911 reaching 505,654 by 1926. The gradual decline in the number of domestic servants was evident from every census throughout the twentieth century. The small decline in the number of cooks and hotel keepers registered in 1911 compared to 1901 is puzzling with the gradual growth of restaurants that was evident throughout the rest of the century. There was a slight dominance of females to males in both categories of cook (not domestic) and hotel keeper. There were 73 pastry cooks / confectioners born in foreign countries listed as working in Ireland in 1911. Statistics for pastry cooks / confectioners for the remainder of the century have not been included because they were categorised along with biscuit makers working in large factories like Jacobs and offered little useful data for the purpose of this research.
Census Year | 1901 | 1911
---|---|---
**Population of Dublin County & City** | 448,206 | 477,196
**Working in Domestic Service in Ireland** | 193,620 | 151,534
**Working in other Service in Ireland (includes Hotels etc.)** | 25,798 | 19,216

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Occupations of foreign-born persons working in Ireland:</th>
<th>1901</th>
<th>1911</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>Hotel Proprietor, Inn Keeper, Publican</td>
<td>63</td>
<td>18</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Coffee, Eating-house Keeper</td>
<td>119</td>
<td>7</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Inn, Hotel Service</td>
<td>68</td>
<td>66</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Chef</td>
<td>73</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Cook (not Domestic)</td>
<td>68</td>
<td>73</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Confectioner, Pastry Cook</td>
<td>73</td>
<td>66</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Ice Cream Vendor or Dealer</td>
<td>66</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Cooks (not Domestic)</th>
<th>Male</th>
<th>Female</th>
<th>Total</th>
<th>Male</th>
<th>Female</th>
<th>Total</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td><strong>Dublin</strong></td>
<td>105</td>
<td>144</td>
<td>249</td>
<td>89</td>
<td>72</td>
<td>161</td>
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<td><strong>Suburbs</strong></td>
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<td>21</td>
<td>37</td>
<td>16</td>
<td>43</td>
<td>59</td>
</tr>
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<td><strong>Total Dublin</strong></td>
<td>121</td>
<td>165</td>
<td>286</td>
<td>105</td>
<td>115</td>
<td>220</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td><strong>Total Ireland</strong></td>
<td><strong>163</strong></td>
<td><strong>275</strong></td>
<td><strong>438</strong></td>
<td><strong>166</strong></td>
<td><strong>181</strong></td>
<td><strong>347</strong></td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Hotel Keeper</th>
<th>Male</th>
<th>Female</th>
<th>Total</th>
<th>Male</th>
<th>Female</th>
<th>Total</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td><strong>Dublin</strong></td>
<td>107</td>
<td>123</td>
<td>230</td>
<td>71</td>
<td>95</td>
<td>166</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td><strong>Suburbs</strong></td>
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<td>8</td>
<td>23</td>
<td>4</td>
<td>15</td>
<td>18</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td><strong>Total Dublin</strong></td>
<td><strong>122</strong></td>
<td><strong>131</strong></td>
<td><strong>253</strong></td>
<td><strong>82</strong></td>
<td><strong>99</strong></td>
<td><strong>181</strong></td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

**Figure 14.1: Information from 1901 and 1911 Census**

**Source:** Central Statistic Office 1901 and 1911 Census Reports

The breakdown by specific occupation of persons born in foreign countries, by specific countries, was only given when there were more than forty foreign-born persons working in any given occupation. In 1901, the 139 foreign-born individuals working in inn, hotel service were composed of 74 from the German Empire, 21 from Austria, 10 each from France and America, 8 each from Switzerland and Italy, 3 from Denmark, 2 from Sweden, and one each from Belgium, Norway and Portugal. In 1901, since only twenty nine foreign-born cooks (not domestic) were listed, the breakdown by country was not available. In 1911, however, the sixty eight cooks (not domestic) included 23 from France, 14 from the German Empire, 10 from Switzerland, 8 from America, 5 from Italy, 4 from Austria and 1 each from Belgium, Denmark, Holland and Asia. The 119 foreign-born persons working in inn, hotel service in 1911 included 60 from America, 25 from
the German Empire, 18 from Austria, 9 from France, 4 from Switzerland, 2 from Sweden and one from Italy. This information illustrates the international nature of the catering industry in Dublin during the Edwardian era which is further highlighted by this researcher’s in-depth study of the 1911 census on-line (Mac Con Iomaire 2008a; Mac Con Iomaire 2008b). Figure 14.1 also provides a summary of relevant listings for Dublin and Ireland in both the 1901 and 1911 census reports. There were 7 chefs listed in the 1911 census, which is unusual, since neither cooks nor chefs were listed specifically again until the 1961 census. Increased public and official awareness of the role of chefs provided by the Irish Food and Cookery Exhibitions may have been responsible for the separate listing in 1911. It is also worth noting that there was no mention of restaurants in either the 1901 or 1911 census, and that the category ‘Coffee, Eating house Keeper’ showed signs of the Victorian era rather than the Edwardian era when restaurants became more popular. Restaurants were mentioned for the first time in the 1926 census, but neither coffee nor eating houses were specifically mentioned that year.

The 1911 Census Online
The availability of the 1911 census online in November 2007 made it possible to search for the nationality of award winners in the Irish Food and Cookery Exhibitions. Those details are presented later in this chapter, but it is of note that many hotel cooks or chefs were listed as domestics. Keyword searches of some common foreign first names uncovered individual cooks, chefs, waiters and managers, but the census rarely noted where they were employed unless they lived in a hotel or in specific hotel workers accommodation as shown in Figures 14.21 and 14.22. By analysing the place of birth of the workers’ wives and children, it was possible to identify patterns of employment. Figures 14.2 to 14.6 show lists of catering staff both foreign born and those born in the United Kingdom of Great Britain and Ireland who were working in Dublin in 1911.
<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Name</th>
<th>Age</th>
<th>Place of Birth</th>
<th>Occupation as listed in Census</th>
<th>Place of Employment (if known)</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>Francis Egan Jr.</td>
<td>26</td>
<td>Dublin</td>
<td>Cook in hotel</td>
<td>Mitchell’s &amp; Son</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Peter Brady</td>
<td>34</td>
<td>Dublin</td>
<td>Chef</td>
<td>Mitchell’s &amp; Son</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Thomas Brady</td>
<td>34</td>
<td>Cavan</td>
<td>Male Cook (Chef)</td>
<td>Not Known</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Marrio Fortin</td>
<td>19</td>
<td>Scotland</td>
<td>Chef de Cuisine</td>
<td>Restaurant Continental</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Joseph Graham</td>
<td>18</td>
<td>Dublin</td>
<td>Apprentice Chef</td>
<td>Grand Restaurant</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Edward Joseph Brady</td>
<td>35</td>
<td>Dublin</td>
<td>Cook &amp; Confectioner</td>
<td>Not Known</td>
</tr>
<tr>
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<td>47</td>
<td>Scotland</td>
<td>Cook / Confectioner</td>
<td>The Imperial Hotel</td>
</tr>
<tr>
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<td>30</td>
<td>Meath</td>
<td>Cook</td>
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<tr>
<td>Kate Shelley</td>
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<td>Cook</td>
<td>The Gresham Hotel</td>
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<tr>
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<td>Cook</td>
<td>Central Hotel</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Thomas Roger</td>
<td>25</td>
<td>England</td>
<td>Cook Domestic Servant</td>
<td>The Kildare Street Club</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Jane Walsh</td>
<td>28</td>
<td>Tipperary</td>
<td>Confectioner</td>
<td>Royal Hibernian Hotel</td>
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<tr>
<td>George Lovell</td>
<td>35</td>
<td>Dublin</td>
<td>Caterer</td>
<td>Mitchell’s</td>
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<td>Rebecca Elliot</td>
<td>20</td>
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<td>Pastry Maid</td>
<td>The Wicklow Hotel</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Susan Farrell</td>
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<td>Cavan</td>
<td>Vegetable Maid</td>
<td>The Wicklow Hotel</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Joanna O’Brien</td>
<td>22</td>
<td>Kilkenny</td>
<td>Vegetable Maid in hotel</td>
<td>The Shelbourne Hotel</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Margaret May Larkin</td>
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<td>Dublin</td>
<td>Scullery Maid in hotel</td>
<td>The Shelbourne Hotel</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Kathleen Martin</td>
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<td>Dublin</td>
<td>Scullery Maid</td>
<td>Hotel Pelletier</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>George Owen</td>
<td>22</td>
<td>England</td>
<td>Scullery Man in hotel</td>
<td>The Shelbourne Hotel</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Margaret Byrne</td>
<td>24</td>
<td>England</td>
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<td>The Metropole Hotel</td>
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<td>Lizzie McDonald</td>
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<td>Kitchen Maid</td>
<td>The Salthill Hotel</td>
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<td>Sarah Brennon</td>
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<td>Katherine Mulvany</td>
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<td>Stephen’s Green Club</td>
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<td>Eileen Martin</td>
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<td>Hotel Pelletier</td>
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<td>Annie Bryant</td>
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<td>Meath</td>
<td>Kitchen Maid – Domestic</td>
<td>The Hamman Hotel</td>
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<td>36</td>
<td>Limerick</td>
<td>Kitchen Maid – Domestic</td>
<td>The Hamman Hotel</td>
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<td>Scullery Maid</td>
<td>Stephen’s Green Club</td>
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<td>Dublin</td>
<td>Kitchen Porter</td>
<td>Stephen’s Green Club</td>
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<tr>
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<tr>
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<td>Dublin</td>
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<td>The Kildare Street Club</td>
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<tr>
<td>Anthony Spain</td>
<td>32</td>
<td>Wicklow</td>
<td>Kitchen Clerk</td>
<td>The Kildare Street Club</td>
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</tbody>
</table>

**Figure 14.2: Kitchen Staff born in United Kingdom of Great Britain & Ireland 1911**

Source: [www.census.nationalarchives.ie](http://www.census.nationalarchives.ie)

Figure 14.2 shows details of thirty four kitchen workers born in the United Kingdom of Great Britain and Ireland ranging in duties from chef, cook, caterer, and confectioner to pastry maid, vegetable maid to scullery maid. Figure 14.3 shows details of twenty two waiters and waitresses born in the United Kingdom of Great Britain and Ireland. When the above details of catering workers born in the United Kingdom of Great Britain and
Ireland are compared with details of catering workers born in foreign countries, patterns become apparent.

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Name</th>
<th>Age</th>
<th>Place of Birth</th>
<th>Occupation as listed in Census</th>
<th>Place of Employment (if known)</th>
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<td>Stephen’s Green Club</td>
</tr>
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<td>John Russell</td>
<td>19</td>
<td>Dublin</td>
<td>Waiter in Club</td>
<td>Stephen’s Green Club</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Edward Wynne</td>
<td>23</td>
<td>Carlow</td>
<td>Waiter in Club</td>
<td>Stephen’s Green Club</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Michael Hennesy</td>
<td>19</td>
<td>Cork</td>
<td>Waiter</td>
<td>Stephen’s Green Club</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Timothy Cronin</td>
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<td>Dublin</td>
<td>Waiter in Club</td>
<td>Stephen’s Green Club</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>George Dunne</td>
<td>22</td>
<td>Dublin</td>
<td>Waiter</td>
<td>The Salthill Hotel</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Patrick Horan</td>
<td>33</td>
<td>Kildare</td>
<td>Waiter</td>
<td>The Salthill Hotel</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>John Reilly</td>
<td>53</td>
<td>Mayo</td>
<td>Waiter</td>
<td>Not Known</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Michael Hendrick</td>
<td>22</td>
<td>Wexford</td>
<td>Waiter</td>
<td>Grand Restaurant</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Vincent Owens</td>
<td>27</td>
<td>Roscommon</td>
<td>Waiter</td>
<td>The Metropole Hotel</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>James Egan</td>
<td>46</td>
<td>Westmeath</td>
<td>Waiter Domestic Servant</td>
<td>Unemployed</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Peter Paul Egan</td>
<td>20</td>
<td>Dublin</td>
<td>Waiter Domestic Servant</td>
<td>Not Known</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Thomas Brady</td>
<td>27</td>
<td>Dublin</td>
<td>Hotel Waiter</td>
<td>Unemployed</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Sydney Hitchcock</td>
<td>26</td>
<td>England</td>
<td>Waiter</td>
<td>Hotel Pelletier</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Randolph Beazley</td>
<td>22</td>
<td>Dublin</td>
<td>Waiter</td>
<td>Possibly Red Bank</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Lizzie Byrne</td>
<td>29</td>
<td>Dublin</td>
<td>Waitress</td>
<td>The Gresham Hotel</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Caroline Young</td>
<td>34</td>
<td>England</td>
<td>Waitress</td>
<td>The Four Courts Hotel</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Bridget Rooney</td>
<td>25</td>
<td>Dublin</td>
<td>Waitress</td>
<td>The Four Courts Hotel</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Annie Moran</td>
<td>24</td>
<td>Kildare</td>
<td>Waitress</td>
<td>The Four Courts Hotel</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Angela Ryan</td>
<td>23</td>
<td>Dublin</td>
<td>Waitress in Refreshment Saloon</td>
<td>Not Known</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Mary A. Gavin</td>
<td>20</td>
<td>Dublin</td>
<td>Hotel Waitress</td>
<td>Not Known</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

Figure 14.3: Waiting Staff born in United Kingdom of Great Britain & Ireland 1911

Source: www.census.nationalarchives.ie

Figure 14.4 shows twenty two chefs and cooks listed as working in Dublin in the 1911 census online. They came from Germany, France, Switzerland, Italy and Belgium. Thirteen of the twenty two were listed as chefs, which is nearly double the seven chefs that were listed in the 1911 Census Report for the whole country of Ireland (Fig. 14.1). Figure 14.5 shows thirty one foreign born waiters working in Dublin in 1911. They were mostly from Germany and Austria, but with the onset of the First World War, German and Austrian waiters were interned, thus ending their dominance as waiters in Dublin restaurants. They were replaced by Irish, Swiss and French waiters and waitresses. Figure 14.6 lists thirty four proprietors and managers of Dublin hotels, restaurants and clubs – including some chefs that have progressed to become restaurateurs, hotel managers and
cinematographers. Twelve of these are foreign born with the remaining twenty born in the United Kingdom of Great Britain and Ireland. Fourteen of these are born in Ireland, six of which are Dublin born.

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Name</th>
<th>Age</th>
<th>Place of Birth</th>
<th>Occupation as listed in Census</th>
<th>Place of Employment (if known)</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>Zenon Geldof</td>
<td>30</td>
<td>Belgium</td>
<td>Hotel Chef</td>
<td>Central Hotel</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Vigga Marinon Hanson</td>
<td>30</td>
<td>France</td>
<td>Chef</td>
<td>Imperial Hotel</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Pierre Besson</td>
<td>30</td>
<td>France</td>
<td>Chef</td>
<td>Not Known</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Pierre Lebault</td>
<td>39</td>
<td>France</td>
<td>Chef</td>
<td>Not Known</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Rene Laroche</td>
<td>25</td>
<td>France</td>
<td>Chef</td>
<td>Royal Marine Hotel</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Elie Desachy</td>
<td>60</td>
<td>France</td>
<td>Chef</td>
<td>Jury’s Hotel</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>George Desachy</td>
<td>32</td>
<td>France</td>
<td>Chef</td>
<td>Shelbourne Hotel (by 1920)</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Jean Arthur Marquir</td>
<td>52</td>
<td>France</td>
<td>Chef</td>
<td>Pelletier Hotel</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Victor Espalier</td>
<td>38</td>
<td>France</td>
<td>Cook</td>
<td>Not Known</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Adolf Gehrig</td>
<td>28</td>
<td>Germany</td>
<td>Pastry Cook in hotel</td>
<td>Shelbourne Hotel</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Camille Riss</td>
<td>20</td>
<td>Germany</td>
<td>Cook in hotel</td>
<td>Shelbourne Hotel</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Willy Luft</td>
<td>20</td>
<td>Germany</td>
<td>Cook in hotel</td>
<td>Shelbourne Hotel</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Antonio Haesler</td>
<td>19</td>
<td>Germany</td>
<td>Cook in hotel</td>
<td>Shelbourne Hotel</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Frederick Mack</td>
<td>42</td>
<td>Germany</td>
<td>Cook Domestic Servant in Gresham Hotel</td>
<td>Gresham Hotel</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Otto Camphausel</td>
<td>29</td>
<td>Germany</td>
<td>Chef</td>
<td>Not Known</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>William Heller</td>
<td>31</td>
<td>Germany</td>
<td>Hotel Cook</td>
<td>Not Known</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Fritz Stoddman</td>
<td>23</td>
<td>Germany</td>
<td>Chef</td>
<td>Not Known</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Alfred Boseberger</td>
<td>30</td>
<td>Switzerland</td>
<td>Chef in Dolphin Hotel</td>
<td>Dolphin Hotel</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Lucien Mayor</td>
<td>25</td>
<td>Switzerland</td>
<td>Chef</td>
<td>Not Known</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Gustav Bauman</td>
<td>30</td>
<td>Switzerland</td>
<td>Chef in Hotel</td>
<td>Not Known</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Joseph Ramoni</td>
<td>30</td>
<td>Italy</td>
<td>Cook</td>
<td>Refreshment Rooms Kingsbridge</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Antonio Stratta</td>
<td>26</td>
<td>Italy</td>
<td>Cook in hotel</td>
<td>Shelbourne Hotel</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

Figure 14.4: Foreign Born Chefs and Cooks working in Dublin 1911

Source: [www.census.nationalarchives.ie](http://www.census.nationalarchives.ie)

Patterns emerge from the study of the 1911 census online, such as the frequency of continental chefs and waiters working firstly in London or Scotland where they met or married either an Irish or a Scottish girl, prior to moving to Dublin. There was often a tradition of hospitality in the family, where sons followed their fathers into the business. The pattern of female cooks and kitchen maids predominantly working in private homes and at the lower to middle level of hospitality market was still evident. Male cooks were more frequent in higher class establishments, but foreign born cooks, chefs and waiters seem to still carried an extra cachet, as was the case in Georgian Dublin, discussed in Chapter Eleven.
<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Name</th>
<th>Age</th>
<th>Place Of Birth</th>
<th>Occupation as listed</th>
<th>Place of Employment (if known)</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>Charles Bauman</td>
<td>31</td>
<td>Germany</td>
<td>Waiter</td>
<td>Not Known</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Frederick Voglesang</td>
<td>22</td>
<td>Germany</td>
<td>Waiter</td>
<td>Not Known</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Herman Berthold</td>
<td>24</td>
<td>Germany</td>
<td>Waiter</td>
<td>Shelbourne Hotel</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Otto Reil</td>
<td>20</td>
<td>Germany</td>
<td>Waiter</td>
<td>Shelbourne Hotel</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Otto Laabs</td>
<td>28</td>
<td>Germany</td>
<td>Waiter</td>
<td>Shelbourne Hotel</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Herman Caspor</td>
<td>29</td>
<td>Germany</td>
<td>Waiter</td>
<td>Shelbourne Hotel</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Hans Czech</td>
<td>20</td>
<td>Germany</td>
<td>Waiter</td>
<td>Shelbourne Hotel</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Hans Bezold</td>
<td>35</td>
<td>Germany</td>
<td>Waiter</td>
<td>Not Known</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Louis Kruger</td>
<td>43</td>
<td>Germany</td>
<td>Waiter</td>
<td>Malahide Hotel</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Hugo Englehardt</td>
<td>20</td>
<td>Germany</td>
<td>Waiter</td>
<td>Shelbourne Hotel</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Christie Gutekunst</td>
<td>21</td>
<td>Germany</td>
<td>Waiter</td>
<td>Shelbourne Hotel</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Max Henze</td>
<td>25</td>
<td>Germany</td>
<td>Waiter</td>
<td>Shelbourne Hotel</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Arthur Littroch</td>
<td>22</td>
<td>Saxony</td>
<td>Waiter</td>
<td>Not Known</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Ernst Chamartin</td>
<td>25</td>
<td>Switzerland</td>
<td>Waiter</td>
<td>Shelbourne (by 1919)</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Joseph Trapl</td>
<td>22</td>
<td>Bohemia</td>
<td>Waiter</td>
<td>Shelbourne Hotel</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Mathias Pleiler</td>
<td>22</td>
<td>Austria</td>
<td>Waiter</td>
<td>Shelbourne Hotel</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Fritz Ketmaneek</td>
<td>23</td>
<td>Austria</td>
<td>Waiter</td>
<td>Shelbourne Hotel</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Charles Joseph Stauber</td>
<td>42</td>
<td>Austria</td>
<td>Waiter</td>
<td>Not Known</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Edward Ganz</td>
<td>27</td>
<td>Austria</td>
<td>Waiter</td>
<td>Not Known</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Charles Skala</td>
<td>25</td>
<td>Austria</td>
<td>Waiter</td>
<td>Not Known</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Joseph Kramer</td>
<td>19</td>
<td>Austria</td>
<td>Waiter</td>
<td>Shelbourne Hotel</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>George Korber</td>
<td>30</td>
<td>Austria</td>
<td>Waiter</td>
<td>Not Known</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Charles Schwartz</td>
<td>26</td>
<td>Austria</td>
<td>Waiter</td>
<td>Not Known</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Charles Jasverek</td>
<td>21</td>
<td>Austria</td>
<td>Waiter</td>
<td>Not Known</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Anton Klaftenboik</td>
<td>33</td>
<td>Austria</td>
<td>Waiter</td>
<td>Not Known</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Karl B. Gloschler</td>
<td>31</td>
<td>Austria</td>
<td>Waiter (hotel)</td>
<td>Not Known</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Gustav Bruns</td>
<td>21</td>
<td>Corsica</td>
<td>Waiter</td>
<td>Malahide Hotel</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Louis Pivert Sr.</td>
<td>52</td>
<td>France</td>
<td>Hotel Waiter</td>
<td>Not Known</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Alphonse Drucone</td>
<td>19</td>
<td>France</td>
<td>Waiter</td>
<td>Jury’s Hotel</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Louis Pivert Jr.</td>
<td>21</td>
<td>France</td>
<td>Hotel Waiter</td>
<td>Not Known</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>George Demaizieres</td>
<td>39</td>
<td>France</td>
<td>Head Waiter</td>
<td>Jammet Hotel and Restaurant</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

Figure 14.5: Foreign Born Waiters Working in Dublin 1911

Source: [www.census.nationalarchives.ie](http://www.census.nationalarchives.ie)

**Restaurants and Dining rooms in *Thom’s Directory***

*Thom’s Directories* were published annually and provide valuable information of both businesses listings and individual occupancy of premises. As previously outlined in Figure 12.7 – Chapter Twelve – food related premises were listed under different headings over the years. Figure 14.7 shows the principal Dublin restaurants / dining rooms listed in *Thom’s Directory* in five yearly blocks from 1900 to 1921.
<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Name</th>
<th>Age</th>
<th>Place of Birth</th>
<th>Occupation as listed in Census</th>
<th>Place of Employment (if known)</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>Theodore Witzig</td>
<td>27</td>
<td>Switzerland</td>
<td>Restaurant Proprietor</td>
<td>The Salthill Hotel</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Alfred Bessler</td>
<td>45</td>
<td>Switzerland</td>
<td>Hotel Proprietor</td>
<td>The Salthill Hotel</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Louis Adolphe Duvoisin</td>
<td>27</td>
<td>Switzerland</td>
<td>Assistant Hotel Manager</td>
<td>The Shelbourne Hotel</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Camille Fauvin</td>
<td>51</td>
<td>France</td>
<td>Restaurant Proprietor</td>
<td>Restaurant Continental</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Michel Jammet</td>
<td>53</td>
<td>France</td>
<td>Restaurantateur – Manager</td>
<td>Jammet Hotel &amp; Restaurant</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Louis Henry Schmiedel</td>
<td>44</td>
<td>France</td>
<td>Club Manager</td>
<td>The Stephen’s Green Club</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Marie Pelletier</td>
<td>52</td>
<td>France</td>
<td>Hotel Keeper</td>
<td>Hotel Pelletier</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Louis Sandross</td>
<td>72</td>
<td>Germany</td>
<td>Retired Hotel Manager</td>
<td>Not Known</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Edward Weiss</td>
<td>26</td>
<td>Lorraine Alsace</td>
<td>Second Hotel Manager</td>
<td>The Royal Hibernian Hotel</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>James Farrelly</td>
<td>40</td>
<td>Queensland</td>
<td>Hotel Manager</td>
<td>The Gresham Hotel</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Robert Henry Fortin</td>
<td>32</td>
<td>Belgium</td>
<td>Restaurant Manager</td>
<td>Not Known</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>John George McEntagart</td>
<td>62</td>
<td>India</td>
<td>Restaurant Keeper / Farmer</td>
<td>Empire Restaurant</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Thomas E. Williams</td>
<td>46</td>
<td>England</td>
<td>Manager Restaurant</td>
<td>The Red Bank Restaurant</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Charles Dejonge</td>
<td>45</td>
<td>England</td>
<td>Boarding House Proprietor</td>
<td>Not Known</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Paul George Besson</td>
<td>30</td>
<td>England</td>
<td>Hotel Manager</td>
<td>The Royal Hibernian Hotel</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Henry George Kilbey</td>
<td>54</td>
<td>England</td>
<td>Hotel Proprietor</td>
<td>The Four Courts Hotel</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Gerald Woods</td>
<td>36</td>
<td>England</td>
<td>Hotel Manager</td>
<td>The Metropole Hotel</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Robert Ross</td>
<td>48</td>
<td>Scotland</td>
<td>Hotel Proprietor</td>
<td>4 Sackville Street</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>George Lloyd</td>
<td>43</td>
<td>Wales</td>
<td>Club Steward</td>
<td>The Kildare Street Club</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Leonard McCaughey</td>
<td>70</td>
<td>Antrim</td>
<td>Hotel Proprietor</td>
<td>Ivanhoe Hotel &amp; Veg. Rest.</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Joseph Armstrong</td>
<td>45</td>
<td>Dublin</td>
<td>Hotel Proprietor</td>
<td>The Hamman Hotel</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Harriette Marie Smith</td>
<td>56</td>
<td>Dublin</td>
<td>Hotel Manageress</td>
<td>The Granville Hotel</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Ellen Dowse</td>
<td>28</td>
<td>Wicklow</td>
<td>Restaurant Manageress</td>
<td>The Bailey Restaurant</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>George Robert Olden</td>
<td>50</td>
<td>Cork</td>
<td>Manager Shelbourne Hotel</td>
<td>The Shelbourne Hotel</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Jane Barrett</td>
<td>72</td>
<td>Magherafelt</td>
<td>Restaurant</td>
<td>15 Lincoln Place</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Thomas Mahon</td>
<td>36</td>
<td>Wexford</td>
<td>Hotel Manager</td>
<td>The Wicklow Hotel</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>John Whelan</td>
<td>73</td>
<td>Wicklow</td>
<td>Retired Hotel &amp; Restaurant Prop.</td>
<td>The Red Bank Restaurant</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>William Henry Huish</td>
<td>38</td>
<td>England</td>
<td>Cinematographer</td>
<td>Pillar Cinema and Café</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>William Chas. Jury</td>
<td>45</td>
<td>Dublin</td>
<td>Hotel Keeper</td>
<td>Jury’s Hotel</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Henry Jury</td>
<td>42</td>
<td>Dublin</td>
<td>Hotel Keeper</td>
<td>Jury’s Hotel</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Georgina Jury</td>
<td>43</td>
<td>Dublin</td>
<td>Hotel Keeper</td>
<td>Jury’s Hotel</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Peter Nugent</td>
<td>35</td>
<td>Dublin</td>
<td>Hotel Proprietor</td>
<td>Moira Hotel</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>James Maguire</td>
<td>32</td>
<td>Wexford</td>
<td>Hotel Manager</td>
<td>Central Hotel</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Francis Jennings</td>
<td>31</td>
<td>Cavan</td>
<td>Hotel Manageress</td>
<td>Central Hotel</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

**Figure 14.6: Proprietors and Managers of Dublin Hotels and Restaurants 1911**

Source: [www.census.nationalarchives.ie](http://www.census.nationalarchives.ie)

Patterns become apparent over the years as establishment close, and other establishment open in the same premises. Some establishment such as the Bailey, Bodega, D.B.C., Harrison’s, Hyne’s, Jammet’s and Red Bank remained constant during the 1900-1921 period. Others like the Metropole or the Ship were shelled during the 1916 Easter Rising. The Metropole was re-built as a Ballroom, Cinema and Restaurant in 1922 and will be discussed in Chapter Fifteen (Bennett 1991:137). Some of the restaurants associated with hotels such as the Gresham, Royal Hibernian, Shelbourne, Dolphin, Wicklow, Jury’s or
Moira were not listed separately as restaurants in Thom’s. Newspaper reports, data from trade journals and material culture from interviewees have helped to identify the establishments in Figure 14.7 where haute cuisine was produced. Not all establishments listed as restaurants offered haute cuisine. Details of the most significant establishments are provided in the case studies to follow.

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Principal Dublin Restaurants / Dining Rooms listed in Thom’s Directory</th>
<th>1</th>
<th>1</th>
<th>1</th>
<th>1</th>
<th>1</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>Bailey, 2 and 3 Duke Street (W. Hogan)</td>
<td>9</td>
<td>9</td>
<td>9</td>
<td>9</td>
<td>9</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Bewley’s Oriental Cafe, 10 Westmoreland Street</td>
<td>0</td>
<td>0</td>
<td>1</td>
<td>1</td>
<td>2</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Bodega, Commercial Buildings</td>
<td>0</td>
<td>5</td>
<td>0</td>
<td>5</td>
<td>1</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Bon Bouche, 51 Dawson Street (first ad. with phone number)</td>
<td>*</td>
<td>*</td>
<td>*</td>
<td>*</td>
<td>*</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Burton, The, 18 Duke Street (C. Gavin)</td>
<td>*</td>
<td>*</td>
<td>*</td>
<td>*</td>
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<tr>
<td>Cafe Cairo, 59 Grafton Street</td>
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<td>Cafe Royal, 117 Stephen’s Green</td>
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<tr>
<td>Central Restaurant, 17 D’Olier Street</td>
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<tr>
<td>College Hotel and Restaurant, 3 and 4 College Street</td>
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<td>Corn Exchange, 1 Burgh Quay</td>
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<tr>
<td>Dublin Bread Company, 33 Dame Street and 4 Stephen’s Green</td>
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<td>(6 &amp; 7 Lr. Sackville Street 1910 issue)</td>
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<td>Douglas Hotel and Restaurant, 11 Eden Quay</td>
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<td>Empire Restaurant, 29 Nassau Street</td>
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<td>Franklin’s (becomes Larchet’s Hotel &amp; Rest)11 College Green</td>
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<td>Grand Restaurant, (Grand Central – 1926) 8 Sackville Street lr.</td>
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<td>Harrison and Co, 17 Henry Street and 29 Westmoreland Street</td>
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<td>Hyne’s Restaurant, 55 Dame Street (Bethell &amp; Watson, Props.)</td>
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<td>Jammet’s Restaurant (originally Burlington), 27 Andrew Street</td>
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<td>Kidd’s Ltd, 45 &amp; 46 Nassau Street and 17 Henry Street</td>
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<td>Metropole Grill and Restaurant, 1 and 2 Prince’s Street</td>
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<tr>
<td>Mitchell &amp; Co. 10 Grafton Street (&amp; no.11 in 1921 issue)</td>
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<td>Parnell Restaurant, 158 Britain Street Great (Parnell St. 1926)</td>
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<td>Pillar Cafe Restaurant, 33 Lr. Sackville Street</td>
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<td>Quaney’s Restaurant, 15 Castle Market</td>
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<td>Red Bank (Oyster) Restaurant (Id), 19 and 20 D’Olier Street</td>
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<td>Robert Roberts &amp; Co, 19 Suffolk Street</td>
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<td>Royal Exchange Restaurant, 5 Parliament Street</td>
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<td>Sackville Cafe (Nelson Cafe Co.) 33 Lr. Sackville Street</td>
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<td>&amp; 29 North Earl Street (1910 – 1 upper-prop. Wm. Hy. Huish)</td>
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<td>Shuckleton, George, and Sons, Ltd. 7 Castle Market - expands to no.6 and 7, renamed Central Cafe Restaurant in 1921</td>
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<td>Ship, 5 Abbey Street Lower</td>
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<td>The Princess, (McCaughey Restaurant in 1921) 26 Grafton St.</td>
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<td>Trocadero Restaurant and Grill, 64 Grafton Street</td>
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<tr>
<td>Waverley Hotel and Restaurant, 4 Sackville Street Lower</td>
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<td>X.L. Cafe, 86 Grafton Street</td>
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<td>Total</td>
<td>1</td>
<td>7</td>
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Figure 14.7: Dublin Restaurants / Dining Rooms listed in Thom’s 1900-1922

Source: Thom’s Directories 1900-1922
The Viceregal Court

During the nineteenth century, the Viceregal court was where fashions and standards in fine dining were set and from where they were emulated (Robins 2001). Queen Victoria’s visit in April 1900 and her stay with the Cadogans at the Viceregal Lodge was catered for by Michel Jammet as discussed in Chapter Twelve. Jammet left private service in 1900 and opened The Jammet Hotel and Restaurant with his brother François. The Viceregal court in Dublin continued from the beginning of the twentieth century to its last ceremonial event, on 16th January 1922, when the lord lieutenant Viscount FitzAlan handed over Dublin Castle and the entire administration of government to Michael Collins (Robins 2001:165).

Lord Cadogan was succeeded by the Earl of Dudley in August 1902. In a letter to the editor of The Irish Times in 1931, correcting an inaccuracy in Michel Jammet’s obituary, George W. Narramore, late Comptroller’s Office, Viceregal Lodge, informs that Lord Dudley’s chef was Signor Lama, an Italian with French training. Lama subsequently became chef at Claridge’s, London. Narramore states that both Jammet and Lama were the equals in their artistry of any of the great ‘master chefs’ he had met or heard of in the previous thirty years. He points out that Lord Cadogan could detect the absence of Jammet’s personal touch in some dishes served by temporary chefs employed during the Dublin Castle season. He also recalls that Lord Dudley, whilst dining in Claridge’s, not knowing that Lama was in charge of the kitchen, complimented the manager on the excellence of the cuisine, noting that he had only ever had one of the dishes so delightfully prepared for him by his previous private chef, a Signor Lama. When informed that the chef in charge of the kitchens was indeed Signor Lama, he sent for and personally complimented his ex chef (IT 29/6/1931:6).

The Aberdeen viceregalship lasted ten years from December 1905 to February 1915 and during that time attendance at that Castle changed dramatically with the middle classes replacing the traditional aristocratic participants (Robins 2001:154). One Dublin architect wrote ‘Without being a snob, it was no pleasure, and rather embarrassing, to meet the lady at dinner who had measured you for your shirts the week before’ (Dickinson
The five royal visits between 1900 and 1911 were clearly influenced by threats to British-Irish links arising from the Home Rule movement and struggle for national independence. From Edward VII’s visit in 1903, Dublin Corporation refused to present an address of welcome. Royal visits saw loyalists return in great strength, albeit temporarily, to the festivities of Dublin Castle (Robins 2001:161).

Viscount Wimborne was appointed Lord Lieutenant in February 1915. The court’s social calendar was confined to the Viceregal Lodge, in deference to the war conditions, but nevertheless there was some questioning the flamboyant hospitality of the Wimbornes (who dined off gold plate with a retinue of powdered, colourfully liveried footmen) whilst casualties were mounting on the Western front. Wimborne was replaced in May 1918 by Lord French who by 1920, according to Robins ‘managed to provide a social programme of dances and dinners at the Viceregal Lodge while presiding over a policy of military aggression and reprisal against the population at large’ (2001:163).

The diaries of Sturgis, an English civil servant seconded to Dublin Castle in the summer of 1920 show a lively social calendar during the turbulent ‘last days of Dublin Castle’ (Hopkinson 1999). Sturgis dined regularly at Jammet’s, usually lunch which was often followed by an evening race meeting in Baldoyle or elsewhere. On 11th November 1920 he notes having an ‘Oyster dinner in Jammetts which took a bite out of my “Kilsheelan” win today’ (Hopkinson 1999:69). Sturgis also dined at The Stephen’s Green Club, The Kildare Street Club, and The Royal Irish Yacht Club during his stay in Dublin.

Case Studies
The following are case studies of the most significant restaurants in Dublin during Phase One: 1900-1922. These include The Jammet Hotel and Restaurant, The Red Bank Restaurant, The Bailey, Restaurant Continental, Mitchell’s, and the leading Dublin hotels which were The Gresham, The Shelbourne, The Royal Hibernian, Jury’s, and The Dolphin Hotel and Restaurant. It is clear from newspaper reports and matériel culture that not all establishments produced haute cuisine; some produced cuisine bourgeoise which was influenced by French haute cuisine. The organisational structures of these restaurants
mainly followed Escoffier’s ‘partie system’ detailed in Chapter Seven. Each section of
the kitchen (roast, sauce, fish, vegetables, pastry etc.) were run by a chef de partie and a
number of commis chefs. The kitchen was controlled by the head chef and the sous chef –
or second in command. A similar hierarchy existed in the dining rooms of restaurants
serving haute cuisine.

The Jammet Hotel and Restaurant
In 1900, two French brothers, Michel and François Jammet bought the Burlington Dining
Rooms and Restaurant at 26-27 St Andrew Street and 6 Church Lane, whose speciality
according to Bennett (1991:109) was oysters from the red bank oyster beds from the
Burren in County Clare. It was noted in Chapter Twelve that the previous proprietor of
The Burlington was Tom Corless, and that he sourced his oysters in Clifden. Thoms’
Directory 1901 has an entry for Burlington Restaurant and Oyster Saloons, which was
listed as Jammet’s for the first time in the 1902 edition. The restaurant opened on the 7th
March 1901 and traded at that location until 1926 when the lease reverted to the
Hibernian Bank. The restaurant moved to the Nassau Street premises that had previously
been Kidd’s Restaurant. Figures 14.9a and 14.9b show advertisements for the opening of
Jammet’s new premises in The Irish Times and The Magistrate’s Guide respectively. The
Jammet brothers advertised widely in newspapers and as can be seen in Figure 14.8, they
pointed out that theirs was the only French restaurant in Dublin. Their advertisement in
Figure 14.9b is similar in tone to the advertisement for the Café de Paris in 1861 (Fig.
12.12), specifically targeting the ‘Nobility and Gentry of Ireland’.

![Image of Advertisement for Jammet’s]

Figure 14.8: Advertisement for Jammet’s – ‘The Only French Restaurant in Dublin’

Source: The Irish Times 1st June 1901 p.6
The Jammet brothers’ credentials as ‘master chefs’ are outlined in Figure 14.9b, having worked at the highest level of *haute cuisine* in *Restaurant du Bouef à la Mode* in Paris, and in the Viceregal court, Dublin. Both Michel and François were involved with the Restaurant and Hotel Proprietors Association of Ireland and subsequent Hotel and Tourist Association of Ireland. François Jammet was elected as Dublin representative of the Executive Committee of the latter in 1906 (IT 24/5/1906:3). It is clear that the Jammet brothers were soon accepted among their peers in the Irish catering community as leaders of the culinary arts in Ireland. This is most apparent from the series of correspondence in the letters pages in *The Irish Times* in 1907. The correspondence relates to a failed bid by a syndicate led by the Jammet brothers to run the catering for the International Exhibition of 1907 in Dublin. The tender to manage the catering the Exhibition was given to Messrs Lyons and Co. of London. Many of the letters support the Jammet bid, with the Hotel and Tourist Association of Ireland particularly upset the contract was leaving the country (IT 16-21/2/1907).

**Figures 14.9a&b: Advertisements for The Jammet Hotel and Restaurant**

*Source: (a) The Irish Times 6th March 1901 (b) Jammet Family Collection*
Evidence of Jammet’s place among the leading hotels and restaurants of Ireland is available in the form of advertisements for companies such as Gilbey’s who list Jammet’s among the leading establishments in which their ‘Finest Irish and Scotch Whiskies’ are to be obtained (IT 19/4/1909:5). Other evidence is available from the results of the Irish Food and Cookery Exhibition 1912, where Jammet’s is the most prolific establishment for prize winners with two awards for Robert Schelling and one each to Adam Pierre, André Fillon, and Lucien Morin (IT 15/10/1912). François Jammet returned to Paris in 1908, where he later became involved in the Hotel Bristol. Michel remained in Dublin running his business until 1927 when he handed over control to his son Louis (Ryan 1987). Charles (Carl) Opperman, a Swiss chef who had trained in England, worked in Jammet’s prior to 1927 when he became head chef of the newly opened Gresham Hotel (Opperman 2004:8-12). A painting of Jammet’s in Andrew Street by Harry Kernoff is shown below (Fig. 14.10). The photo of Jammet’s during the 1910 royal wedding (Fig. 14.11) clearly shows O’Neill’s public house beside it on Suffolk Street.

Figure 14.10: The Jammet Hotel and Restaurant (Andrew Street) by Harry Kernoff
Source: Restaurant Patrick Guilbaud – The Merrion Hotel, Dublin
The Red Bank Restaurant

The origin of the Red Bank Restaurant, which was established by Burton Bindon (Fig. 14.12a), has been discussed in Chapter Twelve. The last years of the nineteenth century saw John Whelan re-model the whole building inside and out (IT 26/8/1897:7). The remodelled Red Bank Restaurant was publicly floated as The Red Bank Restaurant Ltd. in September 1899 with a share capital of £15,000. The annual net profit of the business estimated in the floatation prospectus was £1,405 (IT 9/9/1899:5). John Whelan joined the board of directors of the new company and Walter Holder, ‘so long and popularly known in London and Dublin as a capable manager of the restaurant and hotel business’, was appointed managing director (IT 9/9/1899:9). Holder became president of the Hotel and Restaurant Proprietors Association of Ireland in 1902 (IT 6/5/1903:6). An advertisement in April 1903 named R. Beazley as manager of the Red Bank, but another advertisement in November 1903 showed John Townend as the new manager. This latter
advertisement (Fig. 14.12b) included a daily *table d’hote* menu of oyster soup, boiled haddock and egg sauce, and apple tart for 1s. 6d.


Source: (a) Irish Times (1/4/1889:6) (b) Irish Times (13/11/1903:1)

The Montgomery family was central to the history of the Red Bank Restaurant during the twentieth century. According to William B. Montgomery, his father Thomas Montgomery, a solicitor with his own practice, married Kitty Whelan whose parents owned the Star and Garter Hotel and the Red Bank. Thomas and Kitty inherited the Whelan share of the Red Bank Ltd (Montgomery 2005). Other shareholders included Joseph Dunn whose family ran a successful seafood business in Dublin. Another shareholder was Thomas E. Williams, who was also managing director of the Red Bank. At an occasion to mark the silver jubilee of Williams wedding, held in the Red Bank in 1915, Alex Findlater of the Dublin merchant family remarked that ‘the City of Dublin would not be the place it was without the Red Bank Restaurant’ (IT 30/7/1915:7). Comparisons with Delmonico’s and some reports describing ‘recherché’ dinners suggest the Red Bank produced *haute cuisine* for some of this period, but reports of boiled haddock and apple tart suggest an oscillation of standards from *haute cuisine* to *cuisine bourgeoise*. Insufficient evidence exists to provide a definitive picture.
The Bailey Restaurant
The Bailey Restaurant, along with Jammet’s, were two restaurants mentioned by Somerville-Large (1981) where ‘Bowler hated citizens could attend’ pre 1916. The Bailey Restaurant, 2 & 3 Duke Street, Dublin, originated as the Bailey Tavern and in 1850, Thom’s Directory (1850:1055) lists its owner as Eliza Bailey. It is clear that a tavern operated in 2 & 3 Duke Street since around 1795. Records from 1842 showed it was run by a man named Kavanagh as a ‘Shell Fish Tavern’ (IT 10/9/1947:6). In 1860, Thom’s Directory listed Eliza’s son, Nicholas Bailey as the proprietor (1860:1587). An advertisement in The Irish Times (10/5/1875:4) had Nicholas Bailey selling ten year old liquer brandy ‘of delicious Flavour and highly recommended for its Nutricious Qualities’. In 1878 he advertised that the oysters sold in the ‘Bailey’ were original ‘Red Bank Oysters’ from the celebrated beds of Fergus Curtain Esq, Mucknish Castle, County Clare (IT 8/11/1878:1). In both 1890 and 1900, Thom’s Directory listed the proprietor as James Joyce (1890:1892; 1900:1967). In 1894, an advertisement in The Irish Times noted that the Bailey Tavern was known as The Bailey Restaurant and had a new proprietress: A. Dowse, formerly manager of Hynes’s Restaurant in Dame Street (IT 28/8/1894:1). Also of note in the advertisement was the separate ladies dining room upstairs (Fig. 14.13). In a subsequent advertisement it was noted that the Bailey had been established over a century (IT 4/10/1895:1).

The Bailey Restaurant was one of the hostelries mentioned in both Joyce’s Ulysses and Gogarty’s As I was walking down Sackville Street. The Bailey seems to have been a regular resort for intellectual and bohemian Dublin. It was the most popular meeting place for Irish M.P.s when the Irish Party was in its peak of development. Both Charles Stewart Parnell and Michael Davitt were frequent diners at the Bailey (IT 4/4/1959:9). It later became a meeting place for many of the Sinn Féin leaders, with Arthur Griffith and Michael Collins noted as regular customers (IT 10/9/1947:6). Other noted regulars included Seán MacDiarmada, Oliver St. John Gogarty, Piaras Béasláí, Seamus O’Sullivan, James Montgomery, George Redding, James Stevens, Joseph Boyd Barrett, and Seamus O’Connolly (IT 18/2/1958:5; 4/4/1958:9). In July 1911, an application was made under the Restaurants Act by the leading hotels and restaurants of Dublin for an
extension of trading hours for the duration of the Royal visit. Included in the application was the Moira, Dolphin, Shelbourne, Hibernian, Bailey, Red Bank, and Jammet’s (IT 5/7/1911:9). The Bailey was affected by the hotel and restaurant strike that took place in 1918, but re-opened on the 9th September (IT 7/9/1918:8).

Dublin’s Gastronomic Hotels
By the end of the nineteenth century, a group of celebrity restaurant chefs and hoteliers such as the legendary Escoffier – Ritz partnership became the guardians of the world of restaurant cuisine (Shore 2007:323). It is clear that some Dublin hotels emulated the standards set by international hotels such as the Ritz or the London Connaught Hotel.

The Gresham Hotel
The origin of the Gresham Hotel (Fig 14.14) has been discussed in Chapter Twelve. O’Connor (1965:16) notes that Walter Holden was listed in Whammond’s Illustrated Guide to Dublin (1865) as manager of the Gresham and that dinner was two shillings with a table d’hôte costing three shillings and sixpence. It is possible that Walter Holden is actually Walter Holder who became managing director of the Red Bank Restaurant Ltd. The erection of a Concert and Dining Hall in 1905 – which was named the Aberdeen Hall after the Lord Lieutenant – saw the Gresham become a centre for social and cultural
activity in Dublin (O' Connor 1965: 19). Caruso and Dame Melba performed in the Gresham in conjunction with The Corinthian Club, which was founded by Sir Charles Cameron. Percy French also gave concerts there. It has been noted in Chapter Seven that the novelty of ladies dining in public had been matched by Escoffier inventing new dishes that were dedicated to famous ladies including Dame Melba. The identity of the Gresham’s chef at this time is unclear since the hotel’s archives were destroyed along with the building in 1922.

![Image](image.jpg)

**Figure 14.14: Photograph of The Gresham Hotel in 1904**

*Source: (Fitzgibbon 1994)*

The only information available on the chefs working in the Gresham during this period was from prize-winners of the Irish Food and Cookery Exhibitions 1909-1912. Listed as working in the Gresham were Frederick Mack and Alice Monaghan. According to the 1911 census, Mack was German and although sixteen years married, he was living alone in Dublin. The 1911 census confirms that Alice Monahan was a 30 year old cook from Navan, Co. Meath living in The Gresham Hotel. The census also listed another cook, a 32 year old Kate Shelly from Kilkenny, and the hotel manager – a 40 year old James Farrelly from Queensland, as living at the Hotel.
A picture of the Gresham Hotel in 1904 (Fig. 14.14) also shows the neighbouring Crown and Granville Hotels. The Gresham’s competitors on Sackville Street diminished following the destruction of both the Metropole and the Imperial Hotels in 1916. The Crown, The Granville, The Hamman and The Edinburgh Hotels were all destroyed along with The Gresham in 1922 but neither of them was ever rebuilt (O’ Connor 1965:27). The Gresham was occupied by Anti-Treaty forces, under the command of Cathal Brugha, in the last week of June 1922 which led to its destruction, after being shelled by the Free State Army. Figures 14.15a and 14.15b show the Gresham in flames and in ruins. The new Irish government paid compensation to the owners and the Gresham was magnificently restored and reopened in 1927 with 120 bedrooms.

Fig. 14.15a: The Gresham in Flames 1922  Fig. 14.15b: The Gresham in Ruins
Source: (a) (Purcell 2007:36)  (b) National Museum Postcard

The Royal Hibernian Hotel
The origin of the Royal Hibernian Hotel has been discussed in Chapter Twelve. The hotel’s fortunes appear to have been in decline at the beginning of the twentieth century. The Royal Hibernian was purchased by Colonel Walter Tighe in 1905. The new owner brought in Paul Besson, from the Hotel Cecil, in London, as hotel manager (Irish Hotelier Oct 1954:15). Advertisements for the Hotel Cecil in Food & Cookery boast that the Hotel...
Cecil is the largest and most magnificent hotel in Europe (Fig. 14.16) and that their chef, Antoine Coste, is one of the ‘finest’ chefs in Europe (April 1905:133). Under Besson’s direction the hotel was completely refurbished and a Winter Garden and Ballroom were added (Fig. 14.17). It is noted in the Hotel and Restaurant News section of *Food & Cookery* (Oct. 1905:434) that the hotel was partially reconstructed and completely renovated, including a thorough overhaul of the kitchen.

![Figure 14.16: Advertisement for Hotel Cecil, London](image)

*Figure 14.16: Advertisement for Hotel Cecil, London*

*Source: Food and Cookery, April, 1905 p.133*
Besson was born in London. His father was Swiss and his mother was from Dijon in France. Papers supplied by his grand-daughter (Fig. 14.18) suggest that about 1891, Besson’s father may have worked with Auguste Escoffier, Louis Echenard and Caesar Ritz in the Savoy Hotel, London. Worthy of note in Figure 14.18 is the emphasis on the statement ‘No Gas. The Building Absolutely Fireproof’. Also of note is that they spell out that dinner is ‘served in the Salle a Manger at separate tables’. The role of the Ritz-Escoffier partnership in making eating out fashionable, and acceptable for ladies has been discussed in Chapter Seven.

Figure 14.17: Photograph of Royal Hibernian Hotel before Extension
Source: Caroline Wilkinson – Besson Family Collection

There are conflicting accounts of how Besson took control of the hotel in Corr (1987:112) and in The Irish Hotelier (October 1954). A copy of the Memorandum and
Articles of Association of the Royal Hibernian Hotel Limited, supplied by Besson’s
grand-daughter, clarifies the issue. It shows that the company became a private limited
company on the 4th October 1909 with five equal shareholders; Walter Stewart Tighe, his
wife Adelaide Margaret Tighe, Paul George Besson, his wife Joan McLean Besson, and
Richard Edward Maunsell, a land agent with an address at 9 Ely-place, Dublin (Fig.
14.19).

Figure 14.18: Pamphlet from London’s Savoy Hotel & Restaurant (1891)
Source: Caroline Wilkinson – Besson Family Collection

The 1911 census lists Paul George Besson (30) from London as hotel manager; his
Scottish wife Joan McLean Besson (33) as hotel housekeeper; Edward Weiss (26) from
Alsace Lorraine as second (assistant) hotel manager; Kathleen Jane Walsh (28) from
Tipperary as confectioner and Sarah Brennan (23) from Queen’s County as kitchen maid.
There is 29 staff in total listed as resident in the hotel ranging from the manager and his wife to cashiers, assistant housekeeper, linen keepers, stillroom maids, house maids, laundry maids and general servants. More senior staff such as the chefs and waiters must have lived outside of the hotel and may have included some of the individuals identified in the 1911 census, listed in Figs. 14.2, 3, 4 & 5, where their place of employment was unknown.

Figure 14.19: Shareholders in The Royal Hibernian Hotel Ltd. 1909

Source: Caroline Wilkinson – Besson Family Collection

Besson and his wife worked hard and built up a successful business. The adjoining Evans chemist was purchased, demolished and replaced by the Hibernian Restaurant. The Royal Hibernian was described to a London Journal in 1914 as ‘The most fashionable first class hotel in Dublin’ and its’ ballroom was the venue for a succession of elaborate balls and banquets. The management boasted an ‘orchestra daily, free garage and electric elevator’ (Corr 1987:5). In 1918 Besson bought the Salthill Hotel in Monkstown. Besson was active in the Hotel and Tourist Association of Ireland and was involved in the organisation of the Irish Food and Cookery Exhibitions 1909-1912 in the Rotunda. It is not unreasonable to suggest that haute cuisine would have been served in The Royal
Hibernian during this period, considering it was a ‘first class’ hotel, and also Besson’s previous connection with the Savoy and Cecil hotels.

**The Shelbourne Hotel**
The origin of the Shelbourne Hotel is discussed in Chapter Twelve. In 1896, George Olden replaced Margaret Cotton as manager. Figure 14.20 shows the Shelbourne at the turn of the twentieth century with horse-drawn coaches passing by. Part of Olden’s grand scheme for the hotel was to develop the tourist trade and there was a noticeable increase in guest numbers, particularly in American visitors during his tenure.

![Image: The Shelbourne Hotel, St. Stephen’s Green, 1904]

**Figure 14.20: The Shelbourne Hotel, St. Stephen’s Green, 1904**
*Source: The Laurence Collection – National Photographic Archive*

Two royal visits in the first decade of the twentieth century and particularly the Great Irish International Exhibition at Ballsbridge in 1907 boosted the restaurant business. Most front of house staff settled in for long tenure but there was a high turnover of head chefs in the kitchen, with six coming and going between April 1903 and March 1911 (O’ Sullivan and O’ Neill 1999:39). It is known from the *UCFA Annual*, discussed in Chapter
Six, Volume I, that Mr A. Powolny was head chef at The Shelbourne Hotel Dublin in 1902.

By 1911 the assistant hotel manager was Louis Adolphe Duvoisin (27) from Switzerland, who lived on the premises with his English wife Emma (41). The 1911 census listed the following among those who worked in the kitchen of the Shelbourne: Mary Reilly (23 or 24) a plate washer from Co. Longford, Adolf Gehrig (28) a pastry cook from Switzerland, Camille Riss (20) a cook from Germany, Willy Luft (20) a cook from Germany, Antonio Haensler (19) a cook from Germany, Antonio Stratta (26) a cook from Italy, George Owen (22) a scullery man from England, Francesco Clerico (23) a kitchen porter from Italy, Johanna O’Brien (22) a vegetable maid from Co. Kilkenny, and Margaret Mary Larkin (35) a scullery maid from Co. Dublin (Fig. 14.21).

![Figure 14.21: Census Return for 27 St. Stephen’s Green](image)

Census Return for 27 St. Stephen’s Green
Cooks and Kitchen Workers in Shelbourne Hotel

Source: [www.census.nationalarchives.ie](http://www.census.nationalarchives.ie)

The 1911 census listed the following twelve German / Austrian / Bohemian waiters living in a Shelbourne Hotel staff residence in 13 Kildare Street: Hugo Englehardt, Christie
When the war was declared in August 1914, the police arrived at the hotel and arrested the majority of the male (mostly Germans and Austrians) waiting staff (O’ Sullivan and O’ Neill 1999:41). This situation led to junior Irish waiting staff being pressed into action and thus a tradition was created. Another new tradition was the employment of women to wait on tables, which had strictly been a male preserve in the Shelbourne. By 1919, the German head waiter had been replaced by a Swiss, Ernst Chamartin (Fig. 14.5) who was paid £1/12 a week (O’ Sullivan and O’ Neill 1999:41). Information from wage books in the Shelbourne Hotel archive show that in 1920 staff included knifeboy, glassboy, plateman, side tableman, and sculleryman as well as those listed below alongside their weekly salary:

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Position</th>
<th>Name</th>
<th>Wages (£ Shillings Pence)</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>Head Waiter</td>
<td>E. Charmartin</td>
<td>1 14 6</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>2nd Waiter</td>
<td>E F Kelly</td>
<td>1 11 10</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Pastry Cook</td>
<td>P. Cassavello</td>
<td>3 14 8</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Larder</td>
<td>C. Reid</td>
<td>3 1 10</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Carver</td>
<td>G. Desachy</td>
<td>2 10 0</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Breakfast</td>
<td>M O’ Reilly</td>
<td>2 10 0</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Roast</td>
<td>J O’ Neill</td>
<td>3 1 10</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Cellar Man</td>
<td>L. Fielle</td>
<td>1 12 6</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Kitchen Porter</td>
<td>P. Smyth</td>
<td>1 10 7</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>
Rationing was introduced to Ireland towards the end of the First World War, but seemed a little drastic according to Bowen (2001:131) as there was little real food shortage in Ireland. The rationing system that operated during the First World War bore harder upon the caterer and less hard on the private home. Menus in the Shelbourne carried government notices in the top right hand corner noting that only 5oz. meat (uncooked weight), 2 oz. bread, and 2/7 oz. sugar were allowed per meal. Game was plentiful but chicken became extremely expensive when game was out of season. Customers, however, were allowed to bring in their own meat and the Shelbourne kitchen obligingly cooked it for them without breaching any catering regulations (Bowen 2001:130-1).

Christmas dinner in the Shelbourne in 1918 was a combination of a WW1 victory dinner and a celebration of the festive occasion. The menu (Fig. 14.23) clearly featured an Allied theme, and was brilliantly topped with the flags of all the Allies – Great Britain, America, France, Belgium, Italy, Japan – entwined with a Shamrock, Rose and Thistle. By Christmas 1922, in the newly independent Ireland, the menu was decorated in a border of shamrocks and written in a Gaelic script, containing the first course of ‘Filet de Sole Baile Aithe Cliath’ (O’ Sullivan and O’ Neill 1999:56).

\[\text{Huitres Royales Natives} \\
\text{Petite Marmite à la Française} \\
\text{Crème Japonaise} \\
\text{Filet de Sole à l’Américaine} \\
\text{Roast Ribs of Beef} \quad \text{Yorkshire Pudding} \\
\text{Choux de Bruxelles} \quad \text{Pommes Parisiennes} \\
\text{Dindonneau farci à l’Anglaise} \\
\text{Jambon de Limerick braisé} \quad \text{Sauce Italienne} \\
\text{Plum Pudding} \quad \text{Brandy Sauce} \\
\text{Mince Pies} \]

\textbf{Figure 14.23: The Shelbourne Hotel Christmas Dinner Menu 1918} \\
\textbf{Source: (Bowen 2001)}
Jury’s Hotel
The Jury’s Hotel building extended from Dame Street to Cope Street, taking in what is now Blooms Hotel. Jury’s was a haven of the business community during its century long history and was described in 1914 as ‘one of the best known commercial hotels in the United Kingdom’ (Corr 1987:11). It had more than 100 rooms, together with reading, smoking and billiard rooms. An advertisement for Jury’s Hotel and Restaurant from 1919 is shown in Figure 14.24. By 1927, Jury’s restaurant prided itself on being ‘first for comfort, cuisine and service’. The hotel had an American Bar, Oyster Bar and Grill Room in the basement, a Restaurant and Tea Lounge on the ground floor, and a Coffee Room and Banqueting Room on the first floor. Functions, meetings and private dances were catered for and an orchestra entertained the guests during the day (Fig. 15.24). It is unclear whether these facilities were available during Phase One.

Figure 14.24: Advertisement for Jury’s Hotel and Restaurant

Source: Thoms’ Directory 1919

An E. Desachy, chef from Jury’s Hotel was awarded two medals at the 1909 Irish Food and Cookery Exhibition. The 1911 census confirmed that Elie Desachy was a 60 year old chef from France who lived with his 32 year old French son, George Desachy who was also a chef – listed as working as Carver in the Shelbourne in 1920. The 1911 census also
showed three members of the Jury family, William, Henry and Georgina as living in the hotel and listed as hotel keepers.

Belgian born Zenon Geldof was head chef of Jury’s from October 1913 to April 1917 (Geldof 2003). He had previously been employed in the Central Hotel and followed James Maguire, who according to the 1911 census had been manager in the Central Hotel, to Jury’s (Fig. 14.25b). The previous manager of the Central Hotel was M. Geller who left in March 1910, and is not listed in the 1911 Dublin census. It is worth noting Geller’s name on the reference he wrote for Zenon Geldof prior to leaving (Fig. 14.25a). Maguire was listed alongside Francis Jennings as manager and manageress of the Central Hotel in the 1911 census, along with Mary O’Brien, a twenty five year old cook who also lives in the hotel in Exchequer Street. Comparing material culture with census data can uncover patterns of employment and movement within the catering industry. Geldof moved to Cork in 1917, his return to Dublin is discussed in Chapter Fifteen.

**Fig. 14.25a: Central Hotel Reference**  
**Fig. 14.25b: Jury’s Hotel Reference**

*Source: Herbert (Sonny) Geldof*
Restaurant Continental
Camille Fauvin, a chef born 18th August 1859 in Chateau Landun, Seine et Marne, in the Loire Valley, went to London as part of a scheme to improve the standard of food in England. He received acknowledgement for his culinary art from the Duke of Clarence, cooked for the Royal Family in London on many occasions, married Susannah McIntosh from Kent and came to Dublin in 1899 to work as chef in the Stephen’s Green Club (Murray 2004). In 1909 he opened the Restaurant Continental in Sackville Street. The Evening Mail (15 April 1909) wrote ‘there can be no doubt that the Restaurant Continental with its original and distinctive features will command the support of all who recognise that to the French has been granted exceptional skill in the art of preparing food’. A paper bag from the Restaurant Continental (Fig. 14.26) advertises that breakfasts, luncheons, dinners and suppers were served and the telegram address ‘Gourmet, Dublin’ is worth noting. The manager of the restaurant was M. Marie and The Evening Mail reported that Italian, French, Spanish and English were spoken by the restaurant staff.

Fig 14.26: Restaurant Continental Bag
Source: Therese Murray

Fauvin worked at the Restaurant Continental until it was destroyed during the 1916 rebellion. All that was rescued from the ruins of the restaurant was a fork (Fig. 14.27) and a piece of bacon (Murray 2004).
The Restaurant Continental menu changed regularly with daily three course lunch specials available (Fig. 14.28). The menu was organised in the classical French fashion with soup, fish, *entrée*, grill, joints, vegetables, sweets, savouries, and cold joints sections. An *hors d’oeuvres* section, however, is missing. This same structure is apparent in later menus from Jammet’s and The Red Bank in later chapters.
Fauvin won awards at the Irish Food and Cookery Exhibition and some of his show pieces are shown in Figure 14.35. Mr. Senezio from the Pillar Restaurant taught him how to make ice cream in the Italian manner. He returned to England following the destruction of the restaurant in 1916, where he died in 1926 (Murray 2004). The Restaurant Continental, evidenced by the availability of breakfast (Fig. 14.26) served *cuisine bourgeoise* rather than *haute cuisine*, although the owner was clearly skilled in the latter. Shore (2007:301) suggests that most restaurants, outside of hotels or modern day inns, do not serve breakfast.

**Mitchell’s Café**
One of the longest surviving names associated with dining in Dublin is ‘Mitchell’s’. The Mitchell family had a café in number 10 Grafton Street from 1805, and by 1850 they were ‘Confectioner to Her Majesty’. The family opened a restaurant in the 1920s after purchasing numbers 9 and 11, which eventually closed and the building was sold in the 1950s (McManus 2002:468). An advertisement (Fig. 14.29) declares Mitchell’s as Dublin’s leading restaurant for over 125 years, providing breakfasts, luncheons, dinners, teas, a soda fountain and wine cellar. Realising the contribution the sales of wine was making to the family business; Robert Mitchell decided to open a separate wine business in 12 Kildare Street in 1887. They opened a wine bar and restaurant in the basement of Kildare Street in 1978 and operated as Mitchell’s Cellar until 1999 (Mitchell&Son 2003). The building they originally occupied in Grafton Street would in 1979 become Ireland’s first ‘Mc Donalds’ fast food restaurant.

![Figure 14.29: Advertisement for Mitchell’s Ltd.](Image)

**Source:** Saorstát Éireann Official Handbook 1932 (The Talbot Press)
Mitchell’s had a number of prize-winners in the 1910 Irish Food and Cookery Exhibition. P. Brady won two awards; P. Egan won first place in cold entrée and George Lovell won third place in the dressed fish and meat entrée class; Mitchell’s also won the collective exhibit – Buffet Award. The 1911 census tells us that George Lovell (35) was born in Dublin and listed as a Caterer, married to an English girl (26) with 3 children and a servant. His marriage might suggest he spent some time working in England, and the servant illustrates his rank in society. The availability of breakfasts also suggests a café style previously discussed rather than a French style *haute cuisine* restaurant. Mitchell’s is further discussed in Chapter Fifteen.

**The Dolphin Hotel and Restaurant**
The Dolphin Hotel and Restaurant was situated in 45 and 46 Essex Street off Parliament Street and across from the back entrance to the Clarence Hotel. It was first mentioned in *Thom’s Directory* as the ‘Dolphin Hotel and Coffee House’ in 1847 and in the 1873 edition the owner was listed as Jas. Flanagan. In 1881 the owner was listed as Joseph Corless and in 1891 the owner was listed as M. Nugent. The Nugent family stayed in control with ownership passing on to Jack Nugent. An advertisement (Fig. 14.30a) from 1902 promotes the new café bar in the smoke room which is ‘scientifically ventilated’. The 1911 census listed Alfred Boseberger (30) from Switzerland as the chef in the Dolphin Hotel (Fig.14.30b). The Dolphin was renowned for good wholesome food, particularly steaks and was a frequented by legal professionals from the nearby Four Courts, the racing fraternity and was a meeting place before and after sporting events.

![Fig. 14.30a: Advertisement for Dolphin Hotel](image1)  
**Figs. 14.30a: Advertisement for Dolphin Hotel**  
14.30b: Alfred Boseberger  
**Source:** (a) *The Irish Times* 10th February 1902 p.4  
(b) (Boksberger 2008)
Other Restaurants
There was a significant growth in restaurants in Dublin from 1900 to 1922. Thirty two eating establishments resembling restaurants have been identified from Thom’s Directory over this period (Fig. 14.7). In 1919 alone, twenty four entries were listed in Thom’s under ‘Restaurants and Tea Rooms’ (Fig. 14.0b). Information on some of the restaurants which were suggested as providers of haute cuisine in Chapter Twelve, such as the Bodega and Hyne’s both in Dame Street, has been difficult to uncover, despite searches of both census and newspaper archives. Lack of data on these establishments restricts analysis on the style of food and service they provided. However, other Dublin restaurants advertising in The Irish Times during this period included:
The College Vegetarian Restaurant, College Street
The Metropole Restaurant and Grill Room, Sackville Street
Fitz-Henry’s High-Class Restaurant, Grafton Street
Finn’s Hotel and Restaurant, Leinster Street
South City Restaurant, Exchequer Street
Dublin Coffee Palace Hotel and Restaurant, Townsend Street
Four Courts Hotel and Restaurant, Inns Quay
Imperial Hotel, Sackville Street
Moira Restaurant, Andrew Street
Kidd’s High-Class Restaurants, Nassau Street and Henry Street
Spa Hotel, Lucan
And the Café Parisienne, Kingstown.

The 1911 census listed Peter Nugent (37) as the proprietor of the Moira Hotel and lists his brother Edward (17) as an apprentice. There were no chefs, cooks or waiters domiciled in the Moira on Trinity Street. Some restaurants in operation during this period, such as Fitz-Henry’s and Kidd’s advertised as ‘High-Class’ establishments (Figs. 14.31a and 14.31b). The standard of cuisine was also noted in some advertisements (Fig. 14.32), where excellent cuisine was promised in the Spa Hotel, Lucan and in the Grovenor Hotel in Kingstown. The Salthill Hotel advertised ‘perfect service and cuisine’.
The 1911 census listed Alfred Bessler from Germany (45) as hotel proprietor of the
Salthill Hotel. Also listed was George Dunne (22) a Dublin born waiter, Lizzie McDonald (22) a kitchen maid from Co. Galway, Patrick Horan (33) a waiter from Kildare, and Theodore Witzig (27) a restaurant proprietor from Switzerland. This highlights the trend during Phase One of foreign born hotel and restaurant managers and foreign born head chefs holding senior positions in Dublin.

Figures 14.31a and 14.31b: Advertisements for Fitz-Henry’s (left) and Kidds (right)

Source: The Irish Times (a) 1st September 1900 p.11 (b) 19th November 1919 p.1

The Imperial Hotel opened in 1904 above Clery’s in Sackville Street, and advertised ‘special attention given to Cuisine’ (IT 5/9/1905:1). The Imperial Hotel did well in the Irish Food and Cookery Exhibitions with Mr V. Hansen and Mr. J. McLaren winning gold and silver medals respectively in the 1909, and Charles Wagner awarded a prize in 1911. The 1911 census listed Vigga Marinon Hanson (30) as a French chef, John McLaren (47) as a Scottish pastry cook / confectioner, but offered no listing for Wagner. The Imperial Hotel was another casualty of the 1916 Rising.

College Vegetarian Restaurant
The McCaughey Restaurants Ltd, announced the opening of a ‘High-Class Vegetarian Restaurant’ at 3 and 4 College Street in May 1899 (24/5/1899:8). McCaughey was from Northern Ireland and had built a chain of successful vegetarian restaurants in Glasgow, Leeds, Belfast and in Dublin. The 1911 census lists Leonard McCaughey as a 70 year old hotel proprietor from Antrim, living in 72 Harcourt Street with a wife, three children, a cook and two servants. Corr (1987:114) notes that McCaughey owned the Ivanhoe Hotel
in Harcourt Street, Dublin, where his son David McCaughey was born. David McCaughey was chairman of the Hotel and Restaurant Association during the 1951 Dublin hotel strike, discussed in Chapter Seventeen.

Figure 14.32: Advertisement noting Cuisine for Spa, Salthill, & Grovenor Hotels

Source: *The Irish Times* 17th August 1921 p.1

Corr (1987:33,114) suggests that the success of his restaurants were based more on the inexpensive food rather than the health of philosophical aspects of vegetarian food. Analysis of early advertisements suggests McCaughey promoted both health and value for money. An advertisement in *The Irish Times* in February 1900 proclaimed that ‘Vegetarian food is the coming diet’ and suggested that ‘every man and woman that has suffered from influenza should dine at the College Restaurant as the use of a pure diet is the simplest and surest cure for this woeful disease’ (IT 9/2/1900:1). In April 1900, another advertisement noted that ‘The College Vegetarian Restaurant is the seat of learning in the science of food. In it all can learn how to get the best food in the easiest digestible form, at the lowest cost’ (IT 27/4/1900:1). In yet another advertisement (Fig.
14.33), it was stated that ‘the only things low are the prices’. By January 1922 the premises had been sold and the entire furniture, fittings, and appointments of the College Hotel and Restaurant were advertised for sale by auction (IT 2/1/1922:4). McCaughey also owned the Princess Restaurant on Grafton Street as listed in Figure 14.0. It is unclear whether the Princess Restaurant was also a vegetarian restaurant or a more traditional restaurant in the French fashion. What is of interest is that a vegetarian restaurant existed in Dublin for much of Phase One, based on a philosophy of health and frugality rather than the ethical concerns for animal life.

Figure 14.33: Advertisement for Vegetarian Restaurant, Dublin, 1901
Source: The Irish Times 11th November 1901 p.2

Knowledge Transfer
Many of the restaurateurs and chefs working in Dublin during Phase One were foreign born and had apprenticed in the leading hotels and restaurants of Europe, predominantly in Paris and London. Analysis of the 1911 census shows that some of these individuals had met their Irish born wives in London or Glasgow and came to Ireland following the birth of their children (Mac Con Iomaire 2008b). Others, such as Zenon Geldof, answered advertisements in trade journals. The result of their arrival in Dublin was knowledge transfer to Irish born chefs, waiters and restaurateurs. The success of this knowledge transfer is evident in some Irish chefs competing successfully against their foreign colleagues in cookery competitions. Movements towards the professionalisation of cookery, which led to the organisation of Food and Cookery Exhibitions, have been discussed in Chapter Six. Formalised training in catering trade schools did not begin in Ireland until during Phase Two (1923-1946).
Competitions, Associations and Training
The Irish Hotel and Restaurant Proprietors Association was formed in the 1890s as outlined in Chapter Twelve. In May 1903 at its annual meeting held at the H.G. Kilbey’s Four Courts Hotel, Frank Bethel of Hyne’s Restaurant succeeded Walter Holder of the Red Bank Restaurant as president and proposed a change of name for the organisation to the Hotel and Tourist Association of Ireland. The motion was carried. The Association secretary told the meeting that current membership was 114 and that membership was gradually increasing (IT 6/5/1903:6). There were forty members – thirty five men and five women – in the photograph published in The Chef in 1896 (Fig. 12.11). It is interesting to note the work the Association carried out organising cookery exhibitions. Information on the growth of tourism during this era is available in Furlong (2003).

Irish Food and Cookery Exhibitions (1909-1912)
There were four Irish Food and Cookery Exhibitions held in Dublin between 1909 and 1912. Based on newspaper coverage of the time, they became more popular annually, but either, the 1913 lockout, the Great War or a combination of both brought to a close this annual event. A complete list of prize-winners is shown in Fig. 14.34. These competitions were judged by well renowned international chefs and provide some level comparative standard when ascertaining how far some Irish born chefs had progressed in their profession.

The prize-winners in the 1909 Irish Food and Cookery Exhibition were E. Desachy of Jury’s Hotel winning two bronze medals for hors d’oeuvres and a special competition; Mr. W. Forset of the Savoy Restaurant, Dublin, winning silver medals in both soups and sauces and in culinary novelties. Also from the Savoy Restaurant was V.M. Croskery who won bronze medal in both the three tier wedding cake and christening cake classes; Mr. P. Brady of 4 Dolphin Avenue, South Circular Road, winning a bronze medal in soups and sauces; V. Hansen of the Imperial Hotel winning a gold medal in dressed fish and meat relevé, and silver medal and special prize in cold entrée class; Also representing the Imperial Hotel was J. McLaren wining a silver medal for a wedding cake; T. Boshard of the Royal Hibernian Hotel won silver medals and special prizes in both dressed fish
and meat *relevé*, and luncheon, dinner a supper sweets classes. The Dublin Bread Company (D.B.C.) won bronze for a wedding cake, silver medals for both Savoy cake and Continental Fancy Goods, and a gold medal for specimens of freehand piping. C. Juhel of 13 Annville, Phibsborough, won a gold medal for ornamental sugar work. The 1911 census listed Camille Juhel (29) as a French Confectioner married to a Dublin girl. Medals were also awarded to the Savoy Confectionary Company, Belfast, and Messrs Thompson and Co., Cork (IT 26/11/1909:5). Analysis of the results in conjunction with the 1911 census online suggests W. Forset (1909), E. Fortet (1911), and Mario Fortin (1910) to be the same individual (Mac Con Iomaire 2008b).

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Name</th>
<th>Place of Birth</th>
<th>Age</th>
<th>Place of Employment</th>
<th>Year of Award</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>Francis Egan</td>
<td>Dublin</td>
<td>26</td>
<td>Mitchell’s</td>
<td>1912, 1910</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Vigga Marinon Hanson</td>
<td>France</td>
<td>30</td>
<td>Imperial Hotel</td>
<td>1912, 1909</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Gustav Cottin</td>
<td>Not Known</td>
<td>30</td>
<td>Sackville Street Club</td>
<td>1912</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Robert Schelling</td>
<td>Not Known</td>
<td>35</td>
<td>Jammet Hotel &amp; Restaurant</td>
<td>1912</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Adam Pierre</td>
<td>Not Known</td>
<td>35</td>
<td>Jammet Hotel &amp; Restaurant</td>
<td>1912</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>André Fillon</td>
<td>Not Known</td>
<td>35</td>
<td>Jammet Hotel &amp; Restaurant</td>
<td>1912</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Lucien Morin</td>
<td>Not Known</td>
<td>35</td>
<td>Jammet Hotel &amp; Restaurant</td>
<td>1912</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Charles Dejonge</td>
<td>England</td>
<td>45</td>
<td>Unknown</td>
<td>1912</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Zenon Geldof</td>
<td>Belgium</td>
<td>30</td>
<td>Central Hotel</td>
<td>1912, 1911, 1910</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Charles Bauman</td>
<td>Not Known</td>
<td>30</td>
<td>Officers Mess Newbridge</td>
<td>1912, 1911</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Peter Brady</td>
<td>Dublin</td>
<td>34</td>
<td>Mitchell’s</td>
<td>1911, 1910</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Frederick Mack</td>
<td>Germany</td>
<td>42</td>
<td>Gresham Hotel</td>
<td>1911, 1910</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Camille Fauvin</td>
<td>France</td>
<td>30</td>
<td>Restaurant Continental</td>
<td>1911</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Rene Laroche</td>
<td>France</td>
<td>25</td>
<td>Royal Marine Hotel</td>
<td>1911</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>George Lovell</td>
<td>Dublin</td>
<td>35</td>
<td>Mitchell’s</td>
<td>1911, 1910</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Charles Wagner</td>
<td></td>
<td>35</td>
<td>Imperial Hotel</td>
<td>1911</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Alice Monaghan</td>
<td>Co, Meath</td>
<td>30</td>
<td>Gresham Hotel</td>
<td>1911, 1910</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Mario Fortin (E Fortet, W. Forset)</td>
<td>Scotland</td>
<td>19</td>
<td>Restaurant Continental Savoy Restaurant</td>
<td>1911, 1910, 1909</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Joseph Ramoni</td>
<td>Italy</td>
<td>30</td>
<td>Refreshment Rooms Kingsbridge</td>
<td>1910</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Mrs Tanner</td>
<td>Not Known</td>
<td>60</td>
<td>Dublin Bread Company</td>
<td>1910</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Elie Desachy</td>
<td>France</td>
<td>60</td>
<td>Jury’s Hotel</td>
<td>1909</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>J. McLaren</td>
<td>Scotland</td>
<td>47</td>
<td>Imperial Hotel</td>
<td>1909</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Camille Juhel</td>
<td>France</td>
<td>29</td>
<td>Unknown</td>
<td>1909</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>T. Boshard</td>
<td>Not Known</td>
<td>29</td>
<td>Royal Hibernian Hotel</td>
<td>1909</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>V.M. Crosskery</td>
<td>Not Known</td>
<td>19</td>
<td>Savoy Restaurant</td>
<td>1909</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

**Figure 14.34: Culinary Prize Winners Irish Food & Cookery Exhibitions 1909-1912**

*Source: The Irish Times Digital Archive and 1911 Census Online*

A photograph (Fig. 14.35) of the organising committee of the 1910 Exhibition along with their spouses, children and special guests, Sir Charles Cameron and the Countess of...
Aberdeen, appeared in *The Irish Times* (19/11/1910:4). The prize-winners in the 1910 Irish Food and Cookery Exhibition were P. Brady of Mitchell’s and Son, Grafton Street who won two awards; P. Egan and George Lovell, also of Mitchell’s, won first place in cold entrée and third place in the dressed fish and meat entrée class respectively; Mitchell’s also won the collective exhibit – Buffet Award.

Two chefs, M. Fortin winning first place for soups; and Camille Fauvin winning first and fifth places in the decorative *socles* and culinary novelties class, gave as their addresses 1 Upper Sackville Street, which is where the Restaurant Continental was. Sugar pieces produced by Camille Fauvin are shown in Fig. 14.36. The Gresham Hotel was represented by Frederick Mack and Alice Monaghan who won third place decorative *socles*, and first and second places in entremets and artistic cooking respectively. Zenon Geldof of the Central Hotel won first place in dressed fish and meat relevé, and fourth place in the decorative *socles* class. Joseph Ramoni of the Refreshment Rooms, Kingsbridge, was awarded second and fourth place in dressed fish and meat relevé, and second place in the cold entrée class. Charles Bauman of the Officers Mess, Newbridge, won first and second places in the meat, poultry and game entrée class. A Mrs. Tanner from the Dublin Bread Company (DBC) was awarded first place in the Artistic, Classical

Figure 14.35: Photograph of Opening of Irish Food and Cookery Exhibition 1910
Source: *The Irish Times* 19th November 1910 p.4
and Modern Cookery section (IT 19/11/1910:4). The decorative *socles* are more representative of Carême’s aesthetic than that of Escoffier.

![Figure 14.36: Sugar Show Pieces Prepared by Camille Fauvin](image)

Source: Therese Murray – Family Collection

Francis Egan, 14 Armstrong Street, Dublin won awards in six of the nine sections. This is evidence of a Dublin born chef competing against international chefs and performing admirably. French born V.M. Hanson, 21 Nassau Street, Dublin was the second most prolific prize winner with four awards, and was followed by Gustav Cottin of the Sackville Street Club, Dublin, with three awards. The most prolific establishment for prize winners was Jammet’s Hotel with two awards for Robert Schelling and one each to Adam Pierre, André Fillon, and Lucien Morin. Charles Dejonge, 12 Lower Mount street, Dublin, won two awards and other award winners of note include Zenon Geldof, Central Hotel, Dublin, and C. Baumann, Officers Mess, Portobello Barracks.

The 1911 Irish Food and Cookery Exhibition was also held at the Rotunda Rink and the guest chef, who judged the competitions and also demonstrated his ‘paper bag cookery’ method, was Nicolas Soyer – grandson of the Alexis Soyer. Nicolas Soyer had built a reputation as a great chef, working for nine years as travelling chef to King Edward VII. A special silver cup was presented to P. Brady, 4 Dolphin Avenue, Dublin for winning awards in seven of the nine culinary categories. The second most prolific prize winner
was Zenon Geldof of the Central Hotel who won four awards. Frederick Mack from the Gresham Hotel won two awards, as did Camille Fauvin of the Restaurant Continental on 1 Upper Sackville Street. Awards were also won by Reni Laroche of the Royal Marine Hotel in Kingstown, George Lovell of Kenilworth Park, Charles Wagner of the Imperial Hotel, Charles Baumann of the Officers Mess in Newbridge, Miss Alice Monahan of the Gresham Hotel, and E. Fortet of 66 South Lotts Road, Dublin (Anon 1911).

The fourth Irish Food and Cookery Exhibition, organised by the Hotel and Tourist Association of Ireland, opened at the Rotunda Rink building in Dublin on Monday 14th October 1912 and ran for a fortnight. Exhibits entered into the competitive classes were displayed on the side galleries and included sections A – Culinary Group, B – Household section, C – Artistic, classical and modern cookery, D – Artistic confectionary, E – Bakery section, F – Household and invalid cookery, G – School section, H- Competitive Demonstrations, I – Poultry section, J – Honey, K – Butter, and L – Eggs. There were nine classes in the culinary group section – Hors d’oeuvres, soups and sauces; Dressed fish relevé; Dressed meat or game relevé; Cold entrée; Entremet de cuisine (three luncheon or supper sweets); A complete laid luncheon, dinner or supper table; Decorative socles; Any culinary novelty; and Christmas pudding.

The judging for the culinary group section was done by an Italian chef, Aurelio Spaccatrosi, whose career was profiled in The Irish Times (21/10/1912). He began his apprenticeship in the kitchen of the Austrian Ambassador to the Quirinal, then the Hotel Continental in Rome before moving to Switzerland and later returning as head chef to the Grand Hotel in Rome, where he came to the attention of Ishmail Pasha, the ex-Khedive of Egypt, who employed him as personal chef on his many voyages. Spaccatrosi later moved to England as chef to the Royal Military and Naval Club, some periods as chef to Sir Samuel Wilson and the Marquis of Breadalbane who held a position in the Royal Household, before taking up position of chef at the Athenæum Club, London.
Education and Training
Cookery, albeit domestic cookery, was offered as a subject in Dublin Technical Schools from the 1870s as outlined in Chapter Twelve. Advertisements appeared in *The Irish Times* for cookery courses both plain and advanced during this period and courses in domestic economy were widely offered. Specific courses for chefs or waiters were not established in Ireland until after independence in 1922. Up until this time the only course available for training was the traditional apprenticeship in one of the hotels or restaurants. As mentioned in Chapter Six, the *UCFA Cookery Annual 1903* listed twenty one training schools in Great Britain including the Dublin School of Cookery, in Dublin. This provided domestic cookery training as opposed to instruction in professional cookery. In June 1900 *The Lady of the House* included a discussion on whether it was time for a training school for servants in every city and large town in Ireland (Vol. XI, No. 124, p.24). The October and November issues carried news of an ‘Excellent School of Cookery at 20-21 Kildare Street’ called the Royal Irish Society for the Training and Employment of Women (Vol. XI No. 129 p23). In the December 1900 issue of *The Lady of the House*, another Private School of Cookery run by Katie Oulton at 28 Herbert Place, Dublin was discussed (Vol. XI No. 130 p.23). This movement towards housekeeping courses for girl and young women was a common phenomenon in Europe at the beginning of the twentieth century (Teuteberg 2007:255). Teachers of Domestic Economy were involved in the training of chefs and cooks during Phase Two.

Summary
The first twenty two years of the twentieth century were the last of Imperial rule, ending with the establishment of the Irish Free State. This period can be subdivided into the Edwardian era which ends in 1914 with the beginning of the First World War, and the subsequent war and post-war years. The Edwardian era witnessed a growth of restaurants in Dublin as it did in London. This period also witnessed growing interest in food and a movement towards professionalisation of cookery through the Irish Food and Cookery Exhibitions 1909-1912. Results of the culinary competitions held at the Exhibitions show some Irish born chefs competing favourably with their Continental colleagues, which is evidence of knowledge transfer within the industry. Analysis of the online 1911 census
shows the more prevalent use of the word chef than outlined in the 1911 Census Reports. The dichotomy between professional / domestic status for cooks and waiters working in hotels and restaurants is still evident from the 1911 census, with many professionals listed as domestic servants. The leading chefs, waiters and restaurateurs during Phase One were predominantly foreign born and trained in the leading restaurants, hotels and clubs of Europe. The dominance of German waiters in the Shelbourne Hotel ended with the advent of the First World War. From this time on, Swiss chefs, waiters and managers began to dominate top catering positions in Dublin.

Mixed sex dining was now accepted in restaurants and the influence of American visitors is clear from cocktail bars in ‘first-class’ establishments. The days of the Viceregal Court in Dublin Castle setting the fashion in food ended in 1922, although as has been noted, some of the last Lord Lieutenants maintained a very high standard of gastronomy during both the First World War and the War of Independence. Case studies have been presented on some of the leading restaurants and hotels, but little or no information is available on other establishments such as Hyne’s and the Bodega, both in Dame Street. Some of the major players who influenced the growth of haute cuisine during of the first half of the twentieth century arrived in Ireland during this period. They included Paul Besson, Michel and Francois Jammet, Carl Oppermann, Zenon Geldof, and a German chef called Karl Uhlemann. These people brought with them both knowledge and experience of the French classical culinary canon, which laid the foundations for the next phase in the emergence of haute cuisine in Ireland.
Chapter 15: Phase Two – Dublin 1922-1946: From Independence to post-Emergency

Introduction
Patterns in restaurant development in Dublin during Phase Two were similar to those of England. Both England and Ireland were slower to change from the Escoffier orthodoxy and develop the taste for French provincial food that occurred in France during this time with the opening of restaurants by chef / proprietors such as Pic, Dumaine and Point, which prospered due to the growing use of the automobile. More data, both oral evidence and material culture, was available for Phase Two than for Phase One. Growth in Dublin restaurants centred more on large scale dining rooms similar to those of the Lyons Group in London, discussed in Chapter Nine, or restaurants attached to cinemas or theatres. It has been noted in Chapter Nine that cooking standards stagnated following the First World War and that food also stopped being a ‘loss leader’ in hotels, as had been the case in the Edwardian era. Swiss chefs and managers held a number of key positions in Dublin during Phase Two, one of which, Otto Wuest, was quite outspoken about the differences in social standing of chefs in Ireland compared to his native Switzerland (IT 22/3/1927). The first formal training courses for chefs and waiters began in Dublin during Phase Two, but culinary competitions or exhibitions did not reappear until Phase Three. Ireland’s neutrality during the Second World War led to a growth in ‘gastro-tourism’. Restaurant Jammet remained the leader of haute cuisine in Dublin during Phase Two, and until 1947, was also ‘the only restaurant in Dublin with an international reputation for its cuisine’ (Graves 1949). Indeed, according to Lacoste (1947), Jammet’s was the only place in the British Isles where one could eat well in the grand French tradition, ‘A Dublin, ...on trouve une cuisine digne de la grande tradition française’.

Historical Background
The first quarter century of independence saw two administrations – Cosgrave led (1923-1932) and De Valera led (1932-48) face issues of domestic law and order (following the Civil War and later during the period of the Second World War), economic recovery and later the economic war with Britain in the 1930s, and asserting the country’s new
independence as best illustrated by Ireland’s neutral stance during what became known in Ireland as ‘The Emergency’. Clear (1997:1,2) highlights the use of the words ‘malaise’, ‘stagnation’ and ‘drift’ by historians in describing Irish cultural, economic and social life in the first four decades after independence. These terms refer to the levels of unemployment, underemployment, emigration, censorship, civil-war politics, and the all-pervasive overt influence of the Roman Catholic Church on politicians and social legislation.

The Rise of Restaurants
Dublin restaurants continued to increase in number during this period. It is suggested by O’ Sullivan and O’Neill (1999:56) that the fabric of urban social life had little changed following independence, and would remain unchanged until the emergence of ‘the petit bourgeoisie from rural Ireland’ in the late 1950s. Some attempts were made to challenge the dominant position Jammet’s held in terms of haute cuisine. The Plaza Restaurant opened in Middle Abbey Street in 1928, with chefs imported from the Palais George V in Paris; The Ritz on Georges Street was another, albeit a very short lived, attempt at haute cuisine (Geldof 2003:465-6). A fortnightly syndicated cookery column from Paris published in the Evening Mail on Wednesdays from 1927 titled La Cuisine Francaise helped increase public awareness of haute cuisine (Evening-Mail 12/10/1927). A general cookery column by ‘Huswife’ ran on alternate Wednesdays in the same newspaper. Elliseva Sayers writing in the Daily Express (9/10/1936) suggests that life in Dublin is seldom hectic, ‘but there are wit, character, variety, good conversation and good food – if you know where to find them’. Dublin people, she writes, ‘are not much given to dining out’, suggesting that ‘hotels and restaurants exist mainly for utilitarian purposes’. Sayers points out ‘there is one smart restaurant where good food can be had in Dublin. It is Jammet’s’, also noting that the Dolphin was the only other eating-place of interest. She also suggests that a man would be considered odd entering Mitchell’s on Grafton Street, referring to it a ‘ladies pub’; and that a man’s place was the Jammet’s grill room. The Rank Organisation opened some public dining and entertainment establishments in Dublin, including The Metropole (1922), The Savoy (1929), and The Regal Rooms
(1935). Sayers noted that the Savoy and Regal restaurants were run along the same lines as London restaurants.

Some of the key individuals who influenced the development of restaurants during Phase Two include Louis Jammet, Karl Uhleman, Zenon Geldof, Ernst Gygax, Otto Wuest, Joseph O. Kordina, Charles Opperman, Ken Besson and Toddy O’ Sullivan, some of which are shown in Figures 15.0a, b, c & d. The majority of those interviewed for this project, were born, and some started their training and early employment, during this period (1922-1946). The most comprehensive description of eating out in Dublin during Phase Two comes from an article in *The Bell*, ranging from dock workers’ cafés, chop-houses, an Indian restaurant on Baggot Street, to the Unicorn and Jammet’s, and back down the social scale to fish and chip shops where the vinegar bottles were chained (Burke 1941).

Figs 15.0(a):Ken Besson (b)Toddy O’Sullivan (c)Karl Uhlemann (d)Carl Opperman

Sources: (a & b) (Corr 1987), (c) *Good Cooking* (1958), (d) (Opperman 2004)

Formalised professional training for chefs and waiters became available during this period beginning in 1927 in the Parnell Square Technical School and transferring to the purpose built St. Mary’s College in Cathal Brugha Street, which opened in 1941. In evidence reported to the Technical Education Commission in 1927, Otto Wuest, head chef of the Shelbourne Hotel, explained that he wanted them to understand
‘the difficulties of making the profession attractive to the better class of young men anxious for an opening to a lucrative occupation, while their existed a system under which a failure as a billiard marker, or anything equally insignificant in the matter of intelligence drifted into a hotel kitchen and in the course of time could become a “chef”. The art of the chef could be learnt only by long arduous and ill-remunerated apprenticeship to its every branch and by hard work in its every department. Any young Irishman who goes the right way about it can be a chef in his own country and command a salary as large as any of your bank managers get’ (Anon 1927).

This was also a period in which the unionisation of Dublin hotel and catering workers intensified as illustrated in the advertisement from *The Irish Times* showing most of the major restaurants and hotels were unionised (Fig. 15.1). Among the restaurants listed as unionised were The Bailey, Broadway, Clery’s, Capitol, Fuller’s, Hynes’, Harrison’s, Jammet’s, Mitchell’s, Plaza, Red Bank, Rooney’s and Wilson’s. The only fine dining restaurant not listed was The Bodega.

Tourism boomed in the mid 1930s with foreign visitors spending over £4 million in Ireland in 1935. The Second World War brought a new breed of ‘gastro-tourists’ to Ireland, where the peaceful neutrality and the relative abundance of food was in sharp contrast to the austerity of wartime England and continental Europe. Annual visitors
staying at the Shelbourne Hotel rose from 19,333 in 1940 to 61,496 in 1946 (O’ Sullivan and O’ Neill 1999:61). Oral evidence of these ‘gastro-tourists’ are found in Kilbride (2003:~18-20), Sweeney and Sweeney (2005:~1), and Flahive (2005:~4).

Changes in food preparation and service in Ireland did not differ too much from England outlined in Chapter Nine. The same technological changes occurred with canned food, refrigeration and the eventual introduction of fast food and globalisation. An advertisement (Fig. 15.2) from 1929 enticed customers to ‘see how Electricity can transform your home, reduce your bills, lighten your work, and give you comforts you have only had in your dreams’. Some Dublin restaurants, however, were still using coal ranges up until the 1960s (Connell 2008:~78). An article in the Irish Hotel and Club Manager (June 1934:9) suggests that it was only since the introduction of electricity by means of the Shannon Power Scheme that the people of the Irish Free State realised the benefits of refrigeration as a means of food preservation, and considerable advances were made in the use of electric refrigerators both in homes and in hotels, restaurants and clubs. Advertisements in the same magazine declared that ‘Modern hotels & restaurants need Gas – Gas simplifies good cooking’, and noted that gas had recently been installed in both the Savoy and Clery’s restaurants. With the improvements in catering technology, modern kitchens were re-designed putting the work tools and work place together systematically (Teuteberg 2007:253).

![Figure 15.2: Advertisement for ‘Electricity House’, Grafton Street](source: (Corporation-of-Dublin 1929))
Statistics

Information relating to the development and staffing of restaurants and public dining in Dublin was included in the 1926, 1936 and 1946 Census Reports (Fig. 15.3). The most notable listings in *Thom’s Directory* under the restaurant / dining room category are set out in five-yearly blocks from 1926 to 1958 in Figure 15.4. The full listing of restaurants / dining rooms listed in *Thom’s* is available in Appendix A.

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Census Year</th>
<th>1926</th>
<th>1936</th>
<th>1946</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>Population of Irish State</td>
<td>2,971,992</td>
<td>2,968,420</td>
<td>2,955,107</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Population of Dublin City and County</td>
<td>505,654</td>
<td>586,925</td>
<td>636,193</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Working in Domestic Service in Ireland</td>
<td>90,198</td>
<td>88,584</td>
<td>79,504</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>% born outside Ireland</td>
<td>10.7%</td>
<td>13.4%</td>
<td>Breakdown</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Hotel Keepers</td>
<td>7.9%</td>
<td>8.2%</td>
<td>Not</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Waiter / Waitress Domestic Service</td>
<td>8.4%</td>
<td>7.5%</td>
<td>Given in 1946</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Hotel, Restaurant &amp; Boarding House Keeper</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Dublin</td>
<td>Male</td>
<td>Female</td>
<td>Total</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Suburbs</td>
<td>157</td>
<td>1,027</td>
<td>1,184</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Total Dublin</td>
<td>209</td>
<td>1,695</td>
<td>1,904</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Total Saorstát</td>
<td>924</td>
<td>5,853</td>
<td>6,777</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Waiter / Waitress</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Dublin</td>
<td>Male</td>
<td>Female</td>
<td>Total</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Suburbs</td>
<td>284</td>
<td>700</td>
<td>984</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Total Dublin</td>
<td>355</td>
<td>918</td>
<td>1,273</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Total Saorstát</td>
<td>532</td>
<td>1,600</td>
<td>2,132</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Other Personal Service (in Hotels, Restaurants and Clubs)</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Dublin</td>
<td>Male</td>
<td>Female</td>
<td>Total</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Suburbs</td>
<td>212</td>
<td>33</td>
<td>245</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Total</td>
<td>248</td>
<td>39</td>
<td>287</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Total Saorstát (Hotel, Restaurants &amp; Clubs)</td>
<td>532</td>
<td>71</td>
<td>603</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

Figure 15.3: Information from 1926, 1936 and 1946 Census

Source: Central Statistic Office 1926, 1936 and 1946 Census Reports
Census Information
The census data shows that the population of Dublin rose steadily from 505,654 in 1926 to 586,925 in 1936, reaching 636,193 in 1946. In contrast, the numbers employed in domestic service gradually declined. There were 1,904 hotel, restaurant and boarding house keepers in Dublin in 1926. This figure drops slightly in 1936 but drops by 360 or 19% in 1946. Female workers dominated this section, but since the hotels, restaurants and boarding houses were not enumerated separately, it is impossible to draw conclusions for restaurants alone from these figures. A breakdown of workers within this sector by country of birth was given in both 1926 and 1936 and shows a small increased percentage of foreign born hotel keepers and waiting staff, but a small decrease in the number of foreign born domestic staff. This breakdown was not given in 1946.

Curiously there was no individual statistics for cooks or chefs in the census returns between 1926 and 1961. There was an individual heading for waiters and waitresses in the 1926 census which was continued for the rest of the twentieth century. This shows that there were nearly three times the amount of waitresses as waiters in 1926, a trend that was reflected in both the 1936 and 1946 census. The number of waiters and waitresses listed as working in Dublin more than doubled from 1,273 in 1926 to 2,968 in 1946.

Information from Thom’s Directory
There are forty four restaurants / dining rooms listed in Figure 15.4, some of which like Bewley’s and the D.B.C. have multiple branches. Not all of these were suppliers of haute cuisine, but the list is indicative of the growth in restaurants at this time. Nearly half of the restaurants included opened since 1930. Fifteen establishments remained listed from 1926 through to 1958. Arnott’s, Clery’s, Mc Birney’s, Pim’s, Switzers, and Woolworths were restaurants attached to Department Stores. Restaurants such as the Carlton, Adelphi, Grand Central, Metropole and Savoy were all attached to cinemas. It is however curious to note that some hotel restaurants such as the Moira, Jury’s and Royal Hibernian were listed in Thom’s but others like the Shelbourne, Gresham, Wicklow, Central, and Russell were not.
<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Restaurants / Dining Rooms listed in <em>Thom's Directory</em> 1926-1958</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td><strong>Arnott's Restaurant, Henry Street</strong></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td><strong>The Bailey Restaurant, 2 and 3 Duke Street</strong></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td><strong>Bewley's Oriental Café, 10 Westmoreland Street</strong> (by 1930 branches opened in Grafton Street &amp; South. Great Georges Street)</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td><strong>Bodega, Commercial Buildings, Dame Street (Ouzel Gallery in 1955)</strong></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td><strong>Bon Bouche, 51 Dawson Street</strong></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td><strong>Broadway Soda Parlour (Ltd.), 8 Lower O’ Connell St (Broadway Café in 1955)</strong></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td><strong>Café Belge, 34 Dame Street</strong></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td><strong>Café Royal, 117 Stephen’s Green (10 Burgh Quay in 1945)</strong></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td><strong>Carlton Restaurant, 52/54 Upper O’ Connell Street</strong></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td><strong>Clery &amp; Co. Ltd. 18 -28 Lower O’Connell Street</strong></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td><strong>Country Shop, (County Workers Ltd 1940) 23 St. Stephen’s Green</strong></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td><strong>Dublin Bread Company, 33 Dame Street and 4 Stephen’s Green. (only the St. Stephens Green premises mentioned in 1935)</strong></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td><strong>Douglas Hotel &amp; Restaurant, 11 Eden Quay (18 Ormond Quay in 1935)</strong></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td><strong>Flynn, M. (Flynn’s Restaurant in 1945), 28 Fleet Street</strong></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td><strong>Grand Restaurant, (Grand Central – 1926) 8 Sackville Street lr.</strong></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td><strong>Green Rooster, 52 Lower O’ Connell Street</strong></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td><strong>Green Tree Restaurant Ltd., 3 Molesworth Street</strong></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td><strong>Green Tureen, 95 Harcourt Street</strong></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td><strong>Harrison and Co. 17 Henry Street and 29 Westmoreland Street</strong></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td><strong>Hynes Restaurant, 55 Dame Street (Bethell &amp; Watson, Props.)</strong></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td><strong>Jammet’s Restaurant, 27 Andrew Street (moves to 46 Nassau Street in 1927)</strong></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td><strong>Jury’s Hotel &amp; Restaurant, College Green</strong></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td><strong>McBirney &amp; Co. Ltd., Aston’s Quay</strong></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td><strong>Metropole Grill and Restaurant, 1 and 2 Prince’s Street</strong></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td><strong>Mills, J.E. Ltd. 8 Merrion Row (Wagon Wheel Rest. in 1955)</strong></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td><strong>Mitchell &amp; Co. 10 (&amp; 11 in 1921 issue) &amp; 9 (1935) Grafton Street</strong></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td><strong>Moira Hotel, 15 Trinity Street</strong></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td><strong>Monument Bakery and Restaurant, 57 Upper O’ Connell St and 39 Grafton St</strong></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td><strong>Noonan’s, 21 Upr. Ormond Quay (&amp; 55 Lr.O’Connell St. 1940)</strong></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td><strong>Ostinelli’s, 16 Hawkins’s Street</strong></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td><strong>Palm Restaurant (Pim Bros. Ltd.) South Great Georges Street</strong></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td><strong>Parnell Restaurant, 158 Britain Street Great (Parnell St. 1926)</strong></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td><strong>Pillar Café Restaurant,’Gaels’ Restaurant in 1926) (Glen Restaurant in 1930) 33 Lr. Sackville Street (Elite Café 1955)</strong></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td><strong>Plaza Restaurant, Middle Abbey Street – Adelphi Café then Cinema in 1945</strong></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td><strong>Quaney’s Restaurant, 15 Castle Market</strong></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td><strong>Red Bank (Oyster) Restaurant (ltd), 19 and 20 D’Olier Street (3 &amp; 4 Hawkins’s St entrance listed in 1950, Cocktail Bar 1958)</strong></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td><strong>Robert Roberts &amp; Co. 19 Suffolk St &amp; (in 1930) 44 Grafton St &amp; 56 Dame St</strong></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td><strong>Royal Exchange Restaurant, 5 Parliament Street</strong></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td><strong>Royal Hibernian , 49 Dawson Street</strong></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td><strong>Savoy Restaurant, Upper O’ Connell Street</strong></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td><strong>Central Café Restaurant 6-7 Castle Market – (Victory Café in 1940 issue)</strong></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td><strong>Switzer &amp; Co. Ltd., Grafton Street</strong></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td><strong>Unicorn Restaurant, 11 Merrion Row</strong></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td><strong>Woolworth, F.W. &amp; Co. Ltd., 18-9 Henry St. &amp; 65 Grafton St.</strong></td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

Figure 15.4: Dublin Restaurants / Dining Rooms listed in *Thom’s 1926-1958*

Source: *Thom's Directories 1926-1958*
Markers of *Haute Cuisine*

During Phase One, evidence in newspaper advertisements and census reports of a French chef or a chef trained in the French culinary canon linked to a certain restaurant or hotel was taken as a marker of *haute cuisine*. Evidence from material culture in the form of menus became more available for Phase Two than Phase One, but two characteristics of a restaurant serving *haute cuisine* remained consistent: they were predominantly staffed by men, many of whom were either foreign born or foreign trained. Certain food items on a menu are often considered markers of *haute cuisine*. Escoffier’s *Guide Culinaire* (1903) contained a luxurious, sumptuous, and decorative cuisine which

‘used and combined in complex, sophisticated ways the rarest and most expensive produce – truffles, *foie gras*, fillet of beef, pheasant, woodcock, salmon, lobster – for the delectation of a wealthy and privileged clientele of noblemen, bourgeois businessmen and people of independent means, all eager too become gastronomes’ (Drouard 2007:277).

*Haute cuisine* by nature is labour intensive in both production and service. The best raw materials are sourced and then transformed into a cultural product following techniques that have been codified most notably by La Varenne (1618-1678), Carême (1783-1833) and Escoffier (1846-1935). Carême had exchanged the use of spices with the condiments salt, pepper, thyme, bay leaf, and parsley that still characterise French cooking today. Escoffier modernised and streamlined the kitchen organisation along the lines of F.W. Taylor’s scientific management theories. Escoffier also banished garnishes that were not edible, and simplified menus and sauces, breaking with the Victorian partiality with monumental forms of food presentation (Shore 2007:327). By the end of his working life, he boasted to have placed 2,000 chefs around the world – including Karl Uhlemann and Joseph Kordina in Ireland (Drouard 2007:286). Many hotel managers, including Hector Fabron and possibly Paul Besson, also apprenticed under Escoffier in the Savoy and Carlton Hotel kitchens.

Curnonsky (1872-1956) drew attention to two basic features of French cuisine. Sauces, he suggested, ‘are the finery and the honour of French cuisine’ that has helped to ensure its superiority. Many of the sauces were based on slowly simmered stocks. Stockpots are another marker of any professional French kitchen. The other feature was the
combination of dishes and wines. He identified a hierarchy within French cuisine: *grande cuisine*, *cuisine bourgeoise*, *cuisine régionale*, and *cuisine paysanne* (Drouard 2007:268-9). Service of *haute cuisine* was also elaborate with professional waiters performing the ‘table arts’ of silver service, flambé work, and carving of joints in the dining room. Crisp linen tablecloths, table settings and glassware had to be exact. A detailed description of table set up and service, including the service of wine given by Plummery is available in Drouard (2007:279-281). Restaurants serving *haute cuisine* required a steady stream of both inexpensive labour (apprentices) and wealthy diners to survive.

Drouard (2007:286) however notes that *haute cuisine* had practically disappeared in France following the First World War as many chefs had been killed or wounded, and there was a shortage of staff and apprentices. Trends in France during Phase Two moved towards the *cuisine bourgeoise* of chefs such as Dumaine, Point and Pic based in the provinces and influenced by the *cuisine de marché* of Lyon. This cuisine was enjoyed by Parisians with automobiles that Curnonsky christened ‘gastro-nomads’. Escoffier’s influence remained, particularly in the international hotel restaurants in Paris, up until and after the Second World War. Dublin’s Restaurant Jammet, however, remained true to its Edwardian origins in both décor and cuisine until its closure in 1967.

**Case Studies**
The following case studies discuss some of the most significant restaurants in Dublin during Phase Two. They have been divided into old establishments (Jammets, The Red Bank, The Shelbourne, The Gresham, The Royal Hibernian, Jury’s Hotel and Restaurant, The Dolphin, Mitchell’s and The Bailey Restaurant) which have been discussed in Chapter Fourteen, and new establishments (The Plaza, Café Belge, The Palace, The Regal Rooms, The Unicorn, The Metropole Restaurant and Grill, The Savoy Restaurant, Clery’s Restaurant, and The Moira) which opened during Phase Two. Some restaurants such as The Ritz which appeared during this period were unsuccessful and failed and some department store restaurants such as Switzers and Pim’s will also be discussed.
Restaurant Jammet

Somerville-Large (1981) describes the entertainment available in Dublin pre 1916 thus: ‘Bowler-hatted citizens could attend a few good restaurants like the Bailey or the one opened by the Lord Lieutenant’s chef, Monsieur Jammet, in Andrew Street which moved to Nassau Street in 1926’. From the time Jammet’s moved to Nassau Street, the responsibility of running the restaurant was passed from Michel Jammet (1858-1931) to his son Louis (1894-1964). Michel returned to Paris where he was a director and shareholder of the Hotel Bristol and where he died in 1931 (Martin 1934). Louis (Fig. 15.5a) was born July 1894 in London and educated in Belvedere College Dublin. He joined the French army as an ordinary soldier during the First World War and was wounded in his right arm. After the war he studied engineering in l’École Centrale in Paris where he met his wife Yvonne Auger (Fig. 15.5a), daughter of Felix Auger and Catherine Jammet, a second cousin, from a strong restaurant family. One side of the family owned the Hotel Bristol in Paris and the other owned the Boeuf à la Mode, one of Paris’s oldest restaurants founded in 1792. Louis worked as an engineer in France until 1927 when he returned to Dublin, and followed his father in running Restaurant Jammet. A menu cover (Fig. 15.5b) believed to be from Restaurant Jammet c.1940 shows many symbols of haute cuisine, notably the caviar and the wild duck pressed with orange sauce.

Fig. 15.5 (a) Louis & Yvonne Jammet
Fig. 15.5 (b) Jammet Menu Cover c.1940

Source: (a) (Hood 2006) (b) Lisa Lawrence Private Collection
When the lease for the Andrew Street restaurant expired in 1926, Michel Jammet acquired Kidd’s Restaurant at 45-46 Nassau Street and moved the restaurant to the new premises. He brought some of the fittings from their original premises with him, including four murals depicting the Four Seasons painted by Bossini (Fig. 15.6). Ryan (1987) describes the paintings as being ‘of languorous voluptuousness’ and goes on to describe the new premises, ‘the main dining room was pure French Second Empire, with a lovely faded patina to the furniture, snow white linen, well cut crystal, monogrammed porcelain, gourmet sized silver-plated cutlery and gleaming decanters’. It became the gathering place for the artists and the literary figures such as W.B. Yeats, Liam O’ Flaherty, Seán O’ Sullivan, Harry Kernoff, Micheal Mac Liammóir, Dudley Edwards, A.E., Brinsley Macnamara, James Stephens, Lennox Robinson, F.R. Higgins, Seamus O’ Sullivan, Peadar O’ Donnell, Francis Stuart, Frank O’ Connor, Miss Somerville, J.M. Hone and Walter Starkie. The Jammet family took pride in the fact that it was Dublin’s only French restaurant. From examination of personal documents from the Jammet family it appears that the move to Nassau Street may originally have been meant as a temporary arrangement. A newspaper report in 1934 discusses the Jammet’s plan to build a ‘super kinema’ on the Nassau Street site and move the restaurant to another city centre location. This however never materialised.

Figure 15.6: The Four Seasons Room, Jammet’s Restaurant

Source: (Ryan 1987)
The restaurant had two entrances. The exclusive one was at the Nassau Street end (Fig. 15.7b); the ordinary one was at the Grafton Street side at Adam’s Court. It had a smoking room and an Oyster Bar (Fig. 15.7a) where lunch could be taken at a wide marble counter from a high stool. Louis Jammet’s wife Yvonne was a painter and sculptor and was a member of the *avante garde* painters group ‘The White Stag’ which flourished from 1939-1945. The clientele were also drawn from the legal and medical professions along with the auctioneering and other businesses. When Josef Reukli, the Swiss *maître d’hôtel* was asked to describe the Jammet clientele, he replied ‘*La crème de la crème*’. A profile on Jammet’s in *The Irish Hotelier* (December 1949) notes that Josef had previously worked in the Café de Paris, The Ritz-Carlton and The Savoy in London, the Esplanadon of Berlin, the Quirinal of Rome, and the National of Lucerne, where he had seen ‘no miracles done there that have not been done better in Jammet’s’. Shore (2007:325) suggests that the ‘cult of the “*Maître D*” was linked in many ways to the cult of the celebrity chef and international fame’, noting that they controlled not only who got to dine in top restaurants, but also where they would sit. In 1944 a new Grill Room was opened upstairs, designed by Noel Moffet in a then futurist style (Mac Con Iomaire 2009a forthcoming).

![Figure 15.7 (a): Bill Grimes & Maxie McElhenny in the Oyster Bar c. 1950 (left)](image1)

![Figure 15.7 (b): Jammet’s Restaurant façade in 1964 (right)](image2)

*Source: (Ryan 1987)*
Louis and Yvonne Jammet had four children, Michel, Raymonde, Patrick and Róisín. They first lived in Queens Park, Monkstown, but moved to the sixteenth century ‘Kill Abbey’, in 1946 where vegetables for the restaurant were grown in the garden. The Jammets were central to Dublin’s social scene, involving themselves in theatre, aviation, and particularly the French Benevolent Society for which Yvonne acted as secretary and treasurer for many years. A photograph (Fig. 15.8) shows a meeting of the French Benevolent Society in Jammet’s in 1930. The group includes George Demaizieres, previously mentioned as head waiter in Jammet’s (Fig.14.5), and his wife Lucy. There is a strong likelihood that Monsieur Juhel is the French confectioner Camille Juhel who won a gold medal at the 1909 Food and Cookery Exhibition mentioned in Chapter Fourteen.

![Figure 15.8: The French Benevolent Society in Jammet’s Restaurant](image)

**Source:** *Irish Independent* (28/4/1930)

Louis worked in an advisory role with the City of Dublin Vocational Education Committee (CDVEC) in setting up courses for chefs and waiters in the Parnell Square Technical School, and also worked with the Irish Tourist Association, and the catering branch of the Irish Transport & General Workers Union (IT&GWU) to develop apprenticeship and catering education. In September 1941 he, along with his fellow
leading Dublin restaurateurs, became one of the directors of the Goodwill Restaurant, Pearse Street, Dublin (Fig. 15.44). The Goodwill Restaurant is discussed later in this chapter. There are many references to Jammet’s international reputation for its cuisine (Lacoste 1947; Graves 1949), and a 1928 article in Vogue describes Jammet’s as ‘one of the Europe’s best restaurants…crowded with gourmets and wits’, where the ‘sole and grouse were divine’. The article continues to say ‘this little Dublin restaurant is so prosperous it now controls my favourite hotel in Paris, the Bristol in Faubourg St. Honoré’ (Vogue 3/10/1928).

Ryan (1987) recalls that a customer summed up the ‘fabulous’ fare in Jammet’s during the years of the Second World War as ‘the finest French cooking between the fall of France and the Liberation of Paris’. The war years, with food shortages and rationing in Britain created a tremendous demand of appetites, which grew as the war progressed. American service men, according to Ryan, ‘cigar-chomping and in full uniform, were streaming across our neutral border to sample the fabulous food in the prodigious quantities available here. Jammet’s, Ryan writes, ‘could not and did not fail’. Fitzgerald (2005:~14-18) remembers American soldiers coming to Dublin as late as 1949. Sweeney (2005:~32) recalls Jammet’s ‘packed with military people during the war anyway. That was Jammet’s heyday for business!’

Oral evidence for Jammet’s during this period was provided by Frank Farren who began working as a third year commis chef there in 1945 and qualified as a chef in 1948 (Farren 2003:~63-165). He mentions that Jammet’s was considered a tough kitchen to work in, and that the head chef was Marc Faure from France and the second chef was Armand Hoffman from Alsace Lorraine. There were about fourteen staff in the kitchen during the mid 1940s, and the main restaurant could seat around fifty people at a time. Also working there as larder chef at this time was P.J. Dunne, who later went on to teach in the Dublin College of Catering, Cathal Brugha Street. Both Faure and Hoffman spent about twenty years each working in Jammet’s (Kavanagh 2003:~144). Earlier chefs include Carl Opperman (Fig. 15.0d) who worked in Jammet’s prior to becoming head chef in Jury’s Dame Street and later in the Gresham Hotel when it reopened in 1927.
The Red Bank Restaurant

The Red Bank Restaurant went through a number of changes during Phase Two. An advertisement in *The Irish Times* (29/11/1923) proclaims that it is entirely under new management (Fig. 15.9a). Another advertisement a year later (IT 18/11/1924:1) boasts of a new French chef at The Red Bank (Fig. 15.9b), with yet another advertisement two days later announcing ‘Superior Cooking by Expert French Chef’. Reports from the company’s meeting (IT 5/3/1925:11) showed that despite a depressed market, ‘the high class catering and service carried out under the supervision of the manager and new French chef recently engaged’ had resulted in a good years trading.

From the advertisement (Fig. 15.10) in the 1926 *Official Guide to Dublin City*, it is clear that The Red Bank Restaurant was still a limited company, specialising in French confectionary and pure ices, and offering special value lunches between 1pm and 4 pm. The restaurant had a luncheon bar, a general dining room, ladies and gents dining room, a smoking room, and private parties also catered for. Opperman (2004:34-36) points out that The Red Bank Restaurant had a Swiss manager called Hess (Fig. 15.11), and a Swiss chef called Charles Baumann around the early 1930s. The other Swiss head chefs in Dublin at that time were Charles (Carl) Opperman in the Gresham, Ernst Gygax in the Savoy Restaurant, and Otto Wuest in the Shelbourne Hotel. Other members of the ‘Swiss
Colony’ in Dublin at the time included Fritz Waldemeyer, Charles Muller and Albert Valkin, all chefs in the Shelbourne Hotel, and the Shelbourne head waiter Ernst Chamartin, previously mentioned in Chapter Fourteen (IT 27/5/1935:2).

Figure 15.10a: Ad for The Red Bank 1926 15.10b: The Red Bank 1934
Sources: (a) (Anon 1926:112) (b) Irish Hotel and Club Manager (May 1934)

Martin (1934) suggests that Mr. Hess belonged to the new school of maîtres d’hôtel, ‘Keen, alert, of cosmopolitan outlook, and fluent linguist, he is ideally adapted to welcoming the visitors from different countries, who are becoming so noticeably numerous in the metropolis’. Ernst J. Hess was probably manager from 1924, but evidence from newspapers identify him as manager in Easter 1927, as he was charged with having a licensed premises open on Good Friday and was given the probation act (IT 30/5/1927). A report on the Savoy Restaurant (IT 8/5/1961:4) suggests that Hugh Margey was manager of the Red Bank from 1927 till 1930 before joining the catering division of
Irish Cinemas Ltd. It is possible that he may have been a manager, whilst Hess was the manager.

![Image of Ernst J. Hess, Manager of The Red Bank Restaurant]

**Figure 15.11: Picture of Ernst J. Hess, Manager of The Red Bank Restaurant**

*Source: Irish Hotel and Club Manager (April 1934)*

The Red Bank were among a number of restaurants – Jammet’s, Flynn’s, Hyne’s, Clery’s and the Metropole – that applied under Section 12 of the Intoxicating Liquor Act, 1927, for a restaurant certificate that entitled them to remain open between the hours of 2.30 pm and 3.30 pm, since two thirds of their receipts came from food (IT 30/9/1927:2). A special report on the Red Bank Restaurant published in the *Irish Hotel and Club Manager* (May 1934) noted a grill room adjoining the luncheon bar on the ground floor, and that dining rooms occupied the first and second floor where for the gourmet, ‘a most recherché dinner can be furnished, with a vintage wine, which is a delight to the most fastidious palate’. An extremely varied *à la carte* menu was available for those who did not wish to dine *table d’hôte*. Pictures of the staff (Fig. 15.12a) and the grill room (Fig. 15.12b) were included in the report. *The Irish Times* reported the opening of a new lounge at the rear of the building on the 14th February 1936, and in December 1939 they were granted permission to extend their lounge bar to the whole of the ground floor ‘in
order to obtain adequate lighting and cloakroom facilities’ (19/12/1939:5). There seems to have been a change in direction for the Red Bank Restaurant gastronomically around this time. A possible marker for this decline in status from *haute cuisine* to *cuisine bourgeoise*, or plainer fare, might be the increased employment of women.

![Figures 15.12a: Staff and Directors](image1.png) ![15.12b: The Grill Room 1934](image2.png)

<Source: *Irish Hotel and Club Manager* (May 1934)

The advertisement for a girl grill cook (Fig. 15.13) might be viewed as a sign that standards were falling, given the prestige that was previously attached to male and particularly French chefs (Fig. 15.9b). It suggests the Red Bank had become more a chophouse than a location of *haute cuisine*. Seventy percent of the Red Bank staffs were female on closing in 1948, compared to approximately ten percent in Jammet’s at the same period (IT 5/2/1948:1).

![Figure 15.13: Advertisement for Girl Grill Cook for Red Bank Restaurant](image3.png)

<Source: *The Irish Times* (11/12/1937:2)
It is unclear whether Hess remained at the Red Bank during the Emergency, although Ennis (2005) mentions Hess as being the manager prior too himself. Mullins (2007:47) repeats the claim made by O’Donoghue (1998:9) that the Red Bank was owned by a German couple Mr and Mrs Schubert at the time of the ‘Emergency’, thus explaining its popularity with German ex-patriots. This is erroneous; Mr Schubert was actually the manager of the Solus factory in Bray. I have found no evidence of the Red Bank leaving the Montgomery family ownership from the beginning of the twentieth century until its sale in the late 1960s. A report in *The Irish Times*, however, of The Red Bank Restaurant annual staff dance held in The Royal Hibernian in 1943, mentions T.L. O’Driscoll as manager but lists no foreign names among those present (IT 5/2/1943:3).

The Rough Magic theatre company staged the satirical musical ‘Improbable Frequency’ at the 2004 Dublin Theatre Festival. Much of the play was set in the Red Bank Restaurant which was suggested as a notorious haunt for Nazi sympathisers. Below is one of the musical numbers:

There’s a place where the barman will smile,
If you drink yellow beer and you whisper *Sieg Heil*,
Not that we’re Nazis, we just like the style
Down at the Red Bank Restaurant
Although we’re not Nazi’s, we’re not bloody patsies,
For Churchill and Roosevelt to tease and to taunt,
So we’ll stick to our guns and we’ll drink to the Huns,
At the Red Bank Restaurant (Murphy 2004:73).

Whether the pro-Nazi reputation of the Red Bank Restaurant was unique to the war years and whether Adolf Maher and his companions were just one of many groupings that happened to meet there is also unclear. A trawl through *The Irish Times* archives during the 1930s reveals regular dinners and conferences held in the Red Bank Restaurant for diverse groups including the ‘Old Contemptibles’, The Royal Artillery Association, Irish Gardeners’ Association and Benevolent Society, the 5th Royal Irish Lancers Old Comrades Association, National Union of Journalists, Royal Inniskilling Fusiliers, Connaught Rangers Old Comrades Associations, Messers Battersby and Company, Dáil Courts Association, numerous sports clubs, Wolfe Tone Cumman Fianna Fáil, Royal Society of St. George, The Irish Forum, and members of the Dutch Colony in the Irish
Free State. There is sufficient evidence to confirm that the Red Bank Restaurant was one of a number of locations where members of the Nazi party met, but this researcher’s investigation of newspaper archives seriously questions O’Donoghue’s (1998) suggestions that newspaper advertisements for a new lounge in The Red Bank Restaurant were coded messages for Nazi meetings, which partly form the basis for the restaurant’s unwarranted reputation compared to the Gresham Hotel which also hosted Nazi party functions.

The standard of food at The Red Bank declined over the war years, when it became a late night drinking establishment. Ennis (2005), who came from managing the restaurant in Shannon Airport to become manager of the Red Bank for seven years describe it thus: ‘the old Red Bank was a glorified pub. On a Sunday night, a melee came in to murder pints of stout, dirty plates on the table just in case the police came in, as they were meant to be eating’.

The Montgomery family were major shareholders of The Red Bank Restaurant, and oral evidence confirms this remained so until they sold the restaurant in the late 1960s. William Montgomery studied law in Trinity College from 1930-1934, and then worked as a solicitor, but at the end of World War Two when there was no work for solicitors in Dublin, Montgomery went to the Gresham Hotel and did a one year apprenticeship under Toddy O’Sullivan in Hotel and Catering Management. He spent the next five years running the Red Bank Restaurant before returning to Thomas Montgomery Solicitors where he worked until 1993 (Montgomery 2005). During this time, the restaurant closed in February 1948 and fifty members of staff – 35 girls and 15 men – were given a weeks notice with the choice of re-employment when the restaurant re-opened following re-building and re-decoration (IT 5/2/1948:1). The Red Bank received a new lease of life as a location for haute cuisine following its re-opening. Niall Montgomery and his wife took over the running of the restaurant from William, and their progress is discussed in Chapter Sixteen.
Dublin’s Gastronomic Hotels

The Gresham
The Gresham was re-built and re-opened in 1927 following its destruction in 1922. Little is known about the Gresham during this early period. An advertisement for the Gresham Hotel in 1932 (Fig. 15.14) boasts of ‘central heating, hot and cold water and telephone in every bedroom, private suites, spacious rooms for private dinner and wedding parties’. It also noted that the Gresham’s Ballroom could accommodate 600 for dancing and a Banqueting Hall to seat 800, moderate terms, every modern convenience and that there was an ‘orchestra during tea hour every afternoon in the Winter Garden from 4 p.m. to 7 p.m.’. Another advertisement reproduced in Sands (1994:130) noted that some bedrooms had private bathrooms ‘in accordance with the latest American ideals’. Both Miss Kate Mullen and Carl Opperman remained as manageress and head chef respectively from 1927 until 1940, Mullen coming from Clery’s restaurant and Opperman from Jury’s Hotel (IT 22/3/1927:5).

Figure 15.14: Advertisement for the Newly Rebuilt Gresham Hotel
Source: (Saorstát-Éireann 1932)

Staunton (2004) highlights the practice of wedding breakfasts, noting that his father’s relatives Arthur and May Healy were married in 1938, and had thirty four people to the wedding breakfast in the Gresham Hotel. The fare included Grape fruit, Fillets of Sole…,
Roast Spring Chicken and Limerick Ham, Chips – Stuffed Tomatoes, Sherry Trifles – Fruit Jelly, *Charlotte russe*, Desert, Tea or Coffee (Fig. 15.15). The menu was signed on the back by all present.

**Figure 15.15: Wedding Breakfast Menu, Gresham Hotel 1938**

*Source: (Staunton 2004)*

A notice of the Gresham Hotel Annual Meeting in the *Irish Hotel Review* (December 1939:74) recalled the death of former chairman J.C. Dowdall and ‘regretted results were not as satisfactory as previous years’. For a brief period in early 1940, Bernard Tennant became manager of The Gresham before moving on to the Four Courts Hotel, where coincidentally his successor, Toddy O’ Sullivan was manager for a short time, as ‘he waited to achieve his main objective “manager of The Gresham”’(Sands 1994:21).

Timothy ‘Toddy’ O’ Sullivan, who had worked in various hotel positions in England and had been manger of the Rock Hotel in Gibraltar until the outbreak of the war, was appointed as the new manager of The Gresham on the 1st July 1940 (Boylan 2009 forthcoming). O’Sullivan employed Karl Uhlemann as head chef, who brought his *sous*
chef from the Regal Rooms, Michael McManus, with him. Two photographs published in Sands (1994:94, 98) identify Kevin O’Rourke as the restaurant manager and names eight members of the restaurant staff (Figs. 15. 16 a & b). Evidence from the Shelbourne Hotel archives show that two of the Gresham waiters – G. Keville and V. Starsteiner – had previously worked in the Shelbourne.

Fig. 15.16a: Kevin O’ Rourke  
Fig. 15.16b: Gresham Restaurant Staff 1940  
Source: (a) (Sands 1994:98) (b) (Sands 1994:94)

O’ Sullivan soon became an expert on the ‘black market’ as he travelled the country purchasing bottles of spirits, butter, and chests of tea from publicans and shopkeepers (Corr 1987:110). Kilbride (2003:~17) recalled that despite the Emergency, there was no shortage of food in the Gresham thanks to Toddy’s black market activities, and remembered carrying sides of bacon and casks of (often rancid) butter in from O’ Sullivan’s car. When the Daily Express in Britain published one of the Gresham's extensive à la carte menus on their front page (14/11/1943), to illustrate how neutral Ireland was not suffering from the effects of war, it unintentionally increased the numbers of off-duty servicemen who dined at the Gresham (Sands 1994:40-41). Boylan (2009 forthcoming) remarks that its wartime fame was such that Eleanor Roosevelt turned up unexpectedly with an entourage of ten airmen. A photo of the Gresham Hotel kitchen brigade (Fig. 15.17) shows fourteen chefs (including Uhlemann), two kitchen maids and two kitchen porters, including a young Jimmy Kilbride (back row, first from left). The
brigade increased in size over the following decade as shall be outlined in Chapter Sixteen. During the war years O'Sullivan also headed the catering department of the Irish Red Cross and was also a director of the Goodwill Restaurant which opened in 1941 (Fig. 15.44).

A menu (Fig. 15.18) for the bi-centenary of the Rotunda (1745-1945), which was actually celebrated in 1947, gives a picture of the banqueting food in the Gresham at the end of this period. The meal was for nearly three hundred people. It is interesting to note that both Gresham menus are written in English with some menu French, which may have been deliberate by O'Sullivan specifically targeted towards American customers. O'Sullivan embarked on the building of several extensions soon after the war. His period in charge of The Gresham, seen as a ‘golden age’, has been well documented by Sands (1994) and is discussed in Chapter Sixteen.
For most of this period, following George Olden’s death in 1930, the Shelbourne was run by Colonel E.C. Jury until he was succeeded by his son Captain Peter Jury in 1947 (Corr 1987:18; O' Sullivan and O' Neill 1999:58). Oral evidence relating to the Shelbourne during Phase Two comes from Opperman (2004:14) who recalls the whole partie system in place and hardly any English spoken in the kitchen, ‘there was a gardemanger, there was a poissonier, there was a pâtissier and there was the saucier who was the next, the head chef and then there was the veg chef and the rotisier’. Evidence of staffing and menus (Figs. 15.19a, b, c and 15.20) from the Shelbourne Hotel for this period was found in the Shelbourne Hotel archives. The menus display food firmly rooted in the French culinary canon of Escoffier.

Three consecutive dinner menus from Horse Show Week 1925, (Figs. 15.19a, b & c) show both the variety of dishes served over that period of a few days, and also the pattern that these menus followed. There are either seven or eight courses on each menu ranging from hors d’oeuvres, soup, fish, entrée, relève, roast, vegetable, sweet, followed by

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**The Shelbourne Hotel**

For most of this period, following George Olden’s death in 1930, the Shelbourne was run by Colonel E.C. Jury until he was succeeded by his son Captain Peter Jury in 1947 (Corr 1987:18; O' Sullivan and O' Neill 1999:58). Oral evidence relating to the Shelbourne during Phase Two comes from Opperman (2004:14) who recalls the whole partie system in place and hardly any English spoken in the kitchen, ‘there was a gardemanger, there was a poissonier, there was a pâtissier and there was the saucier who was the next, the head chef and then there was the veg chef and the rotisier’. Evidence of staffing and menus (Figs. 15.19a, b, c and 15.20) from the Shelbourne Hotel for this period was found in the Shelbourne Hotel archives. The menus display food firmly rooted in the French culinary canon of Escoffier.

Three consecutive dinner menus from Horse Show Week 1925, (Figs. 15.19a, b & c) show both the variety of dishes served over that period of a few days, and also the pattern that these menus followed. There are either seven or eight courses on each menu ranging from hors d’oeuvres, soup, fish, entrée, relève, roast, vegetable, sweet, followed by
savouries or dessert. The soup course offers a choice of either *consommé* or cream soup, and the food on the menu is printed in French. The menu is very much of its time and is similar to the contemporary menus in both England and France published in Volume I (Figs. 9.1 and 9.8). The food seems to have been safe rather than exciting, based on Burke’s remark that the Shelbourne ‘has never yet failed to provide a properly-served, properly-appointed table where nothing shocks, offends or surprises’. The same author, however, describing Jammets wrote ‘a meal here is truly a civilised pleasure, no more need to be said’ (Burke 1941:18).

![Shelbourne Menu's, Horse Show Week 6-8th August 1925](source: Shelbourne Hotel Archives)

The festival dinner menu for the Royal Society of St. George in 1930 (Fig. 15.20) is not only printed in English rather than French, it is very much English in nature with Roast Beef, Horseradish Sauce and Yorkshire Pudding as the main course. Hare soup was popular during this period (Kavanagh 2003:~12).
Menus in French continued to be the norm in the Shelbourne, however, for many years as seen in the 1947 menu (Fig. 15.21) which has a footnote in English reminding guests that ‘it is illegal to serve bread or butter at Luncheon, Dinner or Supper’. A similar notice appears on the menus of the Unicorn Restaurant during the same period (Figs. 15.37-8).
Data from Shelbourne Wage Books

Senior management, including the head chef, were not listed in the Shelbourne wage books. Opperman was noted as commencing work as apprentice cook 30/4/1932 at 10 shillings a week. The wage books also indicate that he ceased employment at the Shelbourne on 18/1/1936. The following were listed in the wage book in January 1924:

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Position</th>
<th>Name</th>
<th>Wages (£ Shillings Pence)</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>Head Waiters:</td>
<td>F. Brandt and Ernest Chamartin (left 6/6/1947)</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Coffee Room:</td>
<td>J. O’ Loughlan, D. Keenan, Leo Donnelly, J. Murphy, J. Douglas, J. Donnelly, F. Vogelsang, V. Saarsteiner</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Larder Cook:</td>
<td>Con Reid (Reine Gourmand Oct.1924, J. Chresta 1926)</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Carver:</td>
<td>G. Desachy</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Pâtissier:</td>
<td>Henry Trotobas (F. Waldmeyer was a pâtissier who left 1932)</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Breakfast Cook:</td>
<td>George Groves (P. Smith was breakfast cook who left 27/8/1932)</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Roast Cook:</td>
<td>M. O’ Reilly left 1932 (Ernst Gygax for July 1926, Davonst 1927)</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Kitchen Apprentices:</td>
<td>P. Coyle, Thomas Dempsey, William Payne (July 1925)</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

There seems to have been a change of personnel in August 1932. Opperman (2004:~26-45) served his apprenticeship from 1932 to 1936 and recalls that all the chefs were Swiss except for the roast chef, who was called Reilly and a female vegetable chef. The head chef was Otto Wuest, and his sous chef was Charles Muller. On the week ending July 20th 1934, however, the following personnel and wages were listed:

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Position</th>
<th>Name</th>
<th>Wages (£ Shillings Pence)</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>Head Waiters:</td>
<td>Ernest Chamartin, M. Moore</td>
<td>1 18 6</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Carver:</td>
<td>G. Desachy</td>
<td>4 18 11</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Chef:</td>
<td>Harnell</td>
<td>4 18 11</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Sauce Cook:</td>
<td>S. O’ Neill</td>
<td>3 8 11</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Cook:</td>
<td>H. Gerber</td>
<td>3 8 11</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Breakfast Cook:</td>
<td>M. Hamill</td>
<td>1 4 2</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Kitchen Maid:</td>
<td>Kitty O’ Brien</td>
<td>17 2</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Kitchen Apprentice:</td>
<td>Johnny Opperman,</td>
<td>1 9 4</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Kitchen Apprentice:</td>
<td>P. J. Dunne</td>
<td>1 8 11</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Pastry Chef (1936):</td>
<td>William Marshall</td>
<td>3 5 0</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

A number of factors become apparent from the information in the Shelbourne wage books. Ernest Chamartin, who the 1911 census lists as Swiss, was head waiter until 1947. George Desachy also listed in the 1911 census was employed as carver for at least ten years earning £4 18 shillings and 11 pence, the highest wage in the kitchen – head and sous chefs not included. Apart from Brandt, Vogelsang, Saarsteiner and Kevelle, the waiters’ surnames suggest them to be Irish. A strong foreign influence is still noticeable
from the kitchen surnames. The Swiss were unaffected by the outbreak of the war, but Herr Vogelsang was interned at the Curragh for the duration of the war. When the war was over he ‘resumed his duties as though he had been absent no more than a few weeks’ (O’ Sullivan and O’ Neill 1999:61). Both Opperman and Dunne apprenticed in the Shelbourne and their careers are charted in later chapters. William (Bill) Marshall appears as *pâtissier* in 1936, and is an example of an Irish trained chef who worked abroad and returned to senior positions in Dublin. The difference in wages between the apprentice chef and the kitchen maid, Kitty O’Brien, is worth noting.

**The Royal Hibernian Hotel**

Little is known about The Royal Hibernian Hotel during Phase Two. Boksberger (2008) remembers his mother telling him his grandfather, Alfred (Fig. 14. 30b), had worked in the Hibernian for a while. The most significantly reported event, according to *The Irish Hotelier* (October 1954) for the Hibernian during this period seems to be the opening of the Buttery, a first class cocktail bar, in 1935, modelled on and named after its prototype in the Berkley, London. This was run by George Buller and Jack Lee who had been in the service of the Hibernian since 1924. Corr (1987:112) points out that the Hibernian held the catering contract for the Masonic Lodge on Molesworth Street from 1910 to 1935, and that by 1939, Paul Besson had acquired controlling interest of the Royal Hibernian. Besson sold the Salthill Hotel in 1945 and purchased the Russell Hotel on St. Stephen’s Green two years later. The Russell joined Restaurant Jammet as an internationally renowned location of *haute cuisine* under the Bessons. Paul’s son Ken (Fig. 15.0a) was born in July 1915 and lived in the hotel with his family. Ken’s influence on the development of *haute cuisine* in Dublin is discussed in Chapter Sixteen.

A list of general managers of the Royal Hibernian from 1935-1982 was printed in ‘The Last Farewell’ menu (11/2/1982), identifying Mr. Souffle (1935-1939) and Mr. H. Besson (1939-1950) as managers during Phase Two. Chefs who apprenticed in the Hibernian during this time include Frank Farren, Willie Ryan (Shannon), and Matt Byrne. Farren (2003:~24-30) only spent the winter season of 1943 in the Hibernian and found the attitude of management to staff ‘vile’, compared to his experience the previous
summer in Rossapenna with chef Kordina, a German who had reputedly worked with Escoffier in the Savoy Hotel, London. Ryan received his initial chef’s training at the Vocational Training School, Parnell Square, before serving his apprenticeship in the Royal Hibernian; where he went on to hold the positions of chef de partie, banqueting chef, sous chef before being promoted to chef de cuisine. He later worked in the Metropole Restaurant, Dublin, before moving to Rinneanna with Brendan O’Regan, where they ran the catering in Shannon Airport and later opened the Shannon School of Hotel Management. Ryan, photographed with Marlyn Monroe and Arthur Miller (Fig. 15.22), is reputed to have invented Irish Coffee in Shannon (Mac Con Iomaire 2004:192), and might be seen as the first Irish celebrity chef.

Figure 15.22: Chef Willie Ryan with Marlyn Monroe and Arthur Miller in Shannon
Source: The Irish Hotelier (November 1956:17)

Matt Byrne went to the Café Royal in London on leaving the Royal Hibernian Hotel and then returned to Dublin as sous chef in the Russell Hotel in 1948 (Panel-of-Chefs 1983:35). His career will be discussed in Chapter Sixteen. Another interviewee who worked for a while in the Royal Hibernian Hotel around this period was George Ennis. Following training in the Falls Hotel Ennistymon with Brendan O’Regan, Ennis attended
a one year chef’s course in Parnell Square Technical School in the late 1930s, before
spending three years in the Spa Hotel in Lucan. Following a summer in Rossapenna, County Donegal, also with chef Kordina – who Ennis considered to be Swiss Italian – he
began as trainee manager in the Royal Hibernian in the early 1940s. He recalls that Willie
Ryan, was head chef, that there was an English sous chef, and that Joe O’ Neill was the
grill chef. ‘Paul Besson was owner / manager and Douglas Vance was a manager, who
later went to the Metropole Hotel in Cork. There was just one dining room, and snacks in
the Buttery’ (Ennis 2005). Ennis worked at every section as trainee managers did in those
days, and then moved to Jury’s Dame Street, as assistant manager. A report in Irish
Travel (Dec 1944:57) notes Ennis leaving Shannon Airport as manager to return to
Dublin becoming manager of The Red Bank Restaurant.

The Russell Hotel
The Russell Hotel, which later became the leading gastronomic hotel in Dublin, was
originally opened as a Temperance Hotel. Thomas W. Russell (1841-1920) was a MP for
Tyrone and was firmly committed to the Temperance movement. He established the hotel
at 102 St Stephens Green, buying a single Georgian house with the objective of sheltering
his guests from the temptations of alcohol, which abounded in the area in the 1880s. At
the beginning of the century numbers 103 and 104 also formed part of the hotel. Corr
(1987:32-33) describes him as ‘a fastidious man who insisted on high standards and he
was rewarded with an influx of business, enabling him to expand and take in the strategic
corner at the junction of Stephens’ Green and Harcourt Street’. Situated close to Harcourt
Street Railway station, The Russell soon set standards that would be emulated by the
many other hotels on the street. An advertisement (Fig. 15. 23) shows that The Russell
was fully licensed by 1927 and also noted for its cuisine. It is not until Besson family
purchased the Russell in 1947 that this hotel began to become synonymous with haute
cuisine, which is discussed in Chapter Sixteen.
Jury’s Hotel and Restaurant
Jury’s Hotel Ltd. ran Jury’s in Dame Street, and in 1927 they acquired The Moira Hotel on Andrew Street, although they waited until 1946 before they drastically re-constructed and re-decorated it. A report in *The Irish Times* (22/3/1927:5) on submissions to the Technical Education Commission on establishing training courses for chefs confirms that Charles Opperman was head chef in Jury’s prior to taking up the same position in the newly opened Gresham Hotel in 1927. Much of the information on Jury’s Hotel and Restaurant, Dame Street, during this period comes from advertisements in newspapers and periodicals such as that shown in Figure 15.24. The advertisement suggests Jury’s is ‘first for comfort, cuisine and service’. It also inform us that there was an American bar, grill room and oyster bar in the basement; a restaurant and tea lounge on the ground floor; and a coffee room and banqueting room on the first floor. J.W. Manning is listed as the managing director and an orchestra is shown to be in regular attendance. Manning has been previously mentioned in Chapter Fourteen in conjunction with the organising of the Irish Food and Cookery Exhibition in 1912.
Oral evidence for Jury’s at this period comes from Ennis (2005) who was deputy assistant manager in Jury’s Dame Street in the early 1940s. He recalls that Martin Mortell was manager, Tom Tighe was assistant manager, Bill Everard from England, was head chef, and Charlie Le Freve was the carver. Jury’s during Ennis’s time produced good wholesome food rather than *haute cuisine*, dishes like steak and kidney pie, stuffed sheep hearts, and steak. Ennis (2005) recalls that in those days Dame Street would be empty from 6 pm. A picture in *The Irish Hotelier* (1957) provides evidence that Everard was still head chef over a decade later (Fig. 16.8).

**The Bailey Restaurant**

In 1935 there was a new proprietor mentioned with the Bailey Restaurant, one William Hogan. An advertisement notes that they are renowned for ‘Excellent Cuisine, Quick Service, and Liberal Portions’. The liberal portions claim suggests that it may have been more of a chophouse than a fine dining restaurant. Oysters remained to be a speciality of
the Bailey at this time (IT 6/3/1931:1). It is suggested in *The Irish Times* that Hogan was a son of the Miss Dowse (IT 10/9/1947:6). In 1936, a four-course lunch in the Bailey was two shillings and an eight-course dinner cost four shillings (Fig. 15.25). The Bailey became renowned for its cuisine for parts of Phase Three, which will be discussed in Chapter Sixteen.

![Figure 15.25: Ad for The Dolphin Hotel & Restaurant, and The Bailey Restaurant](image)

Source: *The Irish Times* 5th November 1936 p.1

**The Dolphin Hotel**

Sayers writing in the *Daily Express* (9/10/1936) suggests that the Dolphin is the only other eating-place of interest in Dublin apart from Jammet’s. Jack Nugent who owned the Dolphin during Phase Two was a director of the Goodwill Restaurant (Fig. 15.44) and the CDVEC archives show that Karl Uhlemann was chef there in the late 1920s. The Dolphin is mentioned as catering for dances in The Mansion House in advertisements in *The Irish Times*. A report from the Dolphin Hotel Company in March 1932 pointed to difficult trading conditions in 1930 and 1931 with increased competition and reduced prices for both food and liquor. The Dolphin was unable to pay a dividend in 1931 but was looking forward to a good 1932 thanks to the forecasted business the Eucharistic Congress was due to provide.
Burke (1941:15-16) mentions Henry IV Steak – with its Béarnaise sauce, Monkey-Gland Steak, and Sole Bonne Femme as three particular dishes that the Dolphin’s chef Léon David was famous for, and noted the Dolphin had an excellent cellar. Oral evidence concerning the Dolphin Hotel from this period comes from Kavanagh (2003) who notes that Willie Opperman, who later became general manager of Jury’s Dame Street, was also a commis chef with him in the Dolphin kitchen. Kavanagh (2003:~12-16) recalls:

‘It was very well noted for its steak and good wholesome cooking. We catered a terrible lot for the racing crowd and it was a very popular place for dining. Good wholesome, very good class, good cooking there, not of a fashionable side but good wholesome stuff and it was principally noted for its steaks. The steaks were cooked in the grill-room on an open fire by a chef that went down there and it was noted very much for its steaks. We used to do all our own butchery at that time, cut the steaks and organise everything. I’ll give you an idea, some days we’d get in for steaks alone, eighteen steak pieces in one lot and then so many sirloins, fillets and that. It would be nothing for us to cut forty or fifty fillets sometimes a day you know. But however, anyway in the kitchen line of that hotel we always had a very famous soup called ‘Hare Soup’, it was very popular and we made the other natural fresh soups like Scotch Broth, Mutton Broth, Mushroom and Oxtail Soup. The range at that time was a very open range, two big fires on each side with four ovens and that’s where we did all our cooking. It wasn’t gas. It was coal. So we had to shovel all the coal ourselves and keep our fires going. But on the other side of this particular kitchen there was a gas, gas fires and these gas fires used to keep the fryers hot and these gas fires used to keep the fryers hot and they were open fryers, there was no thermostat. You controlled it yourself accordingly as you feel the heat. We always had a policy that we’d always have a few heavy sacks nearby just in case one of the fryers used to go up on fire. All our fats were really rendered down from beef fat. We didn’t use any oil, it was all beef fat right through. We rendered everything down. Everything. We made all our own stocks. We never bought a packet of stuff. There was no such thing as packets at that time. We cooked all fresh vegetables. We had ladies looking after the potatoes, preparing potatoes for the business. We bought in nothing in packets, everything was fresh coming in’.

**New Restaurants**

During Phase Two a number of new restaurants opened in Dublin. Not all of these were purveyors of *haute cuisine*. In Dublin, as in other European cities described by Shore (2007:322), by the late nineteenth and early twentieth century, middle and lower class versions of the restaurant had followed the original *grande cuisine* restaurants opened by chefs trained in Paris. Some of the new Dublin restaurants followed the trend of large scale middle-class restaurants such as the Lyons chain in England or those of the
Kempinski family in Germany. Some restaurants had escaped the original definition of a restaurant offered in Chapter Six, with the introduction of self service. Another factor which emerged during Phase Two is the opening the ethnic restaurant in Dublin (Burke 1941).

The Plaza Restaurant
The Plaza Restaurant opened under the management of Zenon Geldof, previously mentioned in Chapter Fourteen, on the 8th November 1928. The Plaza Ballroom had opened in 1927 and had been such an immediate success that the directors realised that a restaurant in association with it was a necessity (Evening-Mail 1928). An advertisement placed in the Evening Herald titled ‘A Regal Restaurant for Dublin’ proclaimed:

‘It has come at last! The Restaurant Dublin has been waiting for. A rendezvous worthy of our Capital and expressive of its social life. On Thursday next the doors of the new Plaza Restaurant will be flung wide in welcome to all who appreciate good food served in and atmosphere of comfort, luxury, refinement, and good taste. Furnishings and fittings are on a sumptuous scale never before seen in Ireland. Shaded lights, soft carpets and sweet music create an air of distinction in which every meal is a banquet. Cleanliness, method, and efficiency seem inevitable in such surroundings and the aim of the proprietors is to hive a new meaning to the word Service as applied to catering. 600 to 1,000 can sit down at tables and every patron can be assured that each morsel has been prepared by one of the eight French Chefs who work under the direction of the head chef, lately Chef de Cuisine on the famous Palais George V., Paris. There is a menu at which you stare in amazement. Such variety suggests an organisation so complex and clever that the average man is lost in admiration and the most fickle appetite becomes so lively at a reading. Come on Thursday next, or soon after, and give yourself a treat’ (Evening-Herald 1928).

Eight French chefs were employed, and in accordance with the wishes of the Ministry of Industry and Commerce, the Plaza took six Irish boys in for training under Geldof’s management ‘thus providing opportunities for brilliant careers for ambitious Irish youths’ according to the advertisement. Sixty experienced waiters and waitresses ‘devote their energies to ensure the comfort and obeying the wishes of patrons’. The restaurant was planned to facilitate rapid service. It was reported in The Irish Times (8/11/1928:8) that two of the Irish boys working in the kitchen would be sent to Paris for training. A photograph of Geldof and the eight Irish boys in training in the Plaza kitchens is shown in
Figure 15.26. It is unclear whether the boys ever went to France, but transfer of knowledge about classical French cookery clearly took place. Some of these boys may have attended cookery classes in the Technical School in Parnell Square which had begun by this time.

Figure 15.26: Zenon Geldof with the Irish Boys in Training, Plaza Restaurant 1928
Source: Herbert (Sonny) Geldof Private Collection

The Plaza Restaurant was so popular on its first day of trading, serving 1,000 meals before 2.30 pm that it had to close until the following afternoon to allow the staff to be sufficiently prepared for the unprecedented demand. The Plaza had problems securing a full seven day drinks licence. The granting of the licence was opposed by the police authorities, the Church, local residents and by the Licensed Grocers’ and Vintners’ Association (IT 22/11/1928:15). Reports in *The Irish Times* show that many large dances were run in the Plaza using occasional licenses and, from February 1929, advertisements clearly state that they have a wine licence.

Dancing was equally, if not more, important to the Plaza as the restaurant. Advertisements of the time bill the Plaza as ‘the largest and most luxurious restaurant in
Ireland’ (Fig. 15.27), and others specifically mentioned the ‘daily dansants’. There were afternoon tea dances from 4-6 pm and supper dances from 9-12 Midnight (IT 30/9/1929:6). In October 1929 the Plaza was advertising a roller skating rink with three daily sessions. It is unclear whether the restaurant had closed whilst the roller skating was taking place, but another advertisement (IT 18/1/1930) heralds the re-opening of the Plaza restaurant. A restaurant of this scale must have suffered from the fall-out of the Wall Street crash.

A new manager, Mr. John Klue, was appointed in June 1929. Mr. Klue had spent over twenty five years working for J. Lyons and Co. Ltd. and had opened both the Strand Palace, and the Regent Palace Hotels in London. He had also spent two years as managing steward of the American Republican Club in Pittsburgh, Philadelphia, U.S.A. (IT 6/6/1928:4). Klue may have tried to lessen the French influence on the menu, he clearly reduced the prices. Under Geldof’s management Luncheon was 3/6, Lunch 2/6, and Dinner was 6/6. In an advertisement of the Plaza, one month after Klue took over management, luncheon is offered at 2/3 and a six course dinner is offered at 4/6 (Fig. 15.27b). The menu, although of its time, is more English in tone than those offered previously. Geldof’s menu (Figs. 15.28 & 15.29) had been remarkable.
The specials on the menu cover were all written in French and included the typical *haute cuisine* staples of lobster, caviar, sweetbreads, oysters and *foie gras*. The *à la carte* was mostly in English, offering a vast choice of dishes under the following headings: *hors d’oeuvre*, fish & *coquillage*, salads, eggs & omelettes, light *entrées* and cold *viands*, grill, fruits, potatoes, sandwiches, savouries, bread cakes etc., French pastries, ices, sweets, cheese, and finally sauce. The *table d’hôte* menu was written in a mixture of English and ‘Franglais’ and offered plain English fare of Steak and Kidney Pie, Roast Saddle of Mutton, Sprouts and Trifle alongside Cod *Meunière* and *Consommé aux perles*. The *carte du jour* was written mostly in French and the dishes are firmly rooted in the French culinary canon as found in Escoffier’s *Guide Culinaire*.

The licensing issue continued to affect the Plaza management, for they appeared in court (February 1930) for running a club dance with no license. The Sweepstake Dinner was held for 500 people in the Plaza on 17th November 1930 presided by Lord Powerscourt, the Chairman of the *Hospitals Trust*. The Plaza and the *Hospitals’ Trust* developed a
close link, with an advertisement in October 1931 informing the public that Sweep counterfoils could be handed in at the Plaza Restaurant premises (IT 6/10/1931:5). It appears that the Plaza restaurant had closed by 1932. The Dolphin Hotel Company had secured permission from the Irish Hospitals Trust to use the Plaza restaurant for large scale catering during the Eucharistic Congress (IT 22/3/1932:12). The Plaza was gutted by a fire in 1936 and the site was re-developed as the Adelphi Cinema (O’ Dwyer 1981:80).

![The Plaza Menu - Front and Back Cover - 20th December 1928](image)

Source: Herbert (Sonny) Geldof Private Collection

The Metropole Restaurant
The Metropole Ballroom, Cinema and Restaurant was built in Aberdeen Granite to a design of Aubery V. O’ Rourke (1885-1928) and opened in 1922. The Metropole was built on the site of the Metropole Hotel which had been destroyed in the 1916 Easter Rising. It had been a hotel since the middle 19th century when it was known as ‘Spacaccini’s’ and then ‘the Prince of Wales’. The Jury family owned it until 1892 when
it was sold to the Mitchell family who named it the Metropole and embellished it with ironwork balconies and verandas (Bennett 1991). The Metropole Restaurant offered a variety of food options on different floors from the grill room where dinner could be had, to the tea rooms where lighter refreshments and meals could be taken. It was noted for its’ dinner dances and the tea rooms provided a special musical programme each day, where ‘high quality of food and quick service’ came at ‘moderate prices’ (Fig. 15.30).

![Figure 15.30: Advertisement for the Metropole Restaurant

Source: Dublin Evening Mail 6th December 1927](image)

The Metropole is mentioned alongside the Shelbourne, Gresham and Clery’s as where Dubliners danced during the Emergency, arriving in formal dress on bicycles due to wartime petrol rationing (O'Sullivan and O'Neill 1999:62). Little is known of the chefs and waiters who worked in the Metropole during Phase Two. One of the most famous chefs associated with the Metropole, Michael Marley, started there in 1947 and is discussed in the following chapters.
Clery’s Restaurant
Miss K. Mullins was manageress of Clery’s Restaurant before taking over as manageress of the newly opened Gresham Hotel in 1927. An advertisement for Clerys Restaurant in *The Irish Times* in 1928 claims it to be ‘the largest and most popular restaurant in Ireland’, serving *table d’hôte* luncheons and dinners, as well as afternoon teas and functions that could be arranged through the manageress (Fig. 15.31).

Figure 15.31: Advertisement for Clerys Restaurant
Source: *The Irish Times* 6th January 1928

Oral evidence from Jimmy Flahive, who would have worked in Clery’s restaurant in the early 1930s identifies Paul Hitz from Switzerland as head chef and Paddy W. Fields as the manager (Flahive 2005:~1-2). He recalls there being a grill room and lounge downstairs, a large ballroom, and silver service throughout. Flahive suggests that the general manager received a salary and commission, but not on the restaurant, and that this was the reason it closed. He notes that when Dennis Guiney bought Clery’s in 1941, that
the restaurant was opened on a concession basis. The *Irish Hotel and Club Manager* (April 1934:25) published a special report on an ‘entirely renovated and decorated along modern lines’ Clery’s Restaurant that could seat six hundred people. The alterations are reported to have ‘followed the trend of current developments in the restaurant business in the Capital Cities’, and a marked resemblance with Frascatti’s was noted. The kitchens were converted to an ‘up-to-date department with Gas cooking and all modern appliances’, of which Frigidaire was a ‘prominent feature’. The article concludes that Clery’s new restaurant ‘combines all the best features of the modern Continental and American Restaurants with that particular air of intimacy and bon camaraderie which is peculiar to Dublin alone’. The dining room (Fig. 15.32) covered that entire front and side of the Clerys block of buildings and one was served by both waiters and waitresses – all neatly uniformed.

![Figure 15.32: Clerys Restaurant Dining Room 1934](source_image_url)

**Figure 15.32: Clerys Restaurant Dining Room 1934**

**Source: Irish Hotel and Club Manager (April 1934)**

Bill Ryan started working in Clerys around 1943 under an Italian head chef named Reffo, who had previously been head chef in the Central Hotel. He recalls:

‘I started, I stayed there four and a half years and it was a common kind of a restaurant. No high class about it at all, but you’d learn about navarin of lamb or you could learn about roast beef and steak and kidney pie that kind of stuff. Fried fish because he was Italian and was still into fried (fish) a lot. We did thousands
and thousands and I loved the excitement of it. There was two / three restaurants going because of the war in Clery’s. There was one in the basement, one on the first floor and one up beside the ballroom. The famous ballroom they had. Anyway three going from one kitchen and each floor there was a hot plate, food was sent down to them. I remember the ultimate number of lunches they did, there were queues up around O’Connell Street to get in. I remember the very highest number we ever did was 1700 lunches. One thousand seven hundred lunches and I thought, I still think back that he must have been the greatest chef I ever met because his control, his buying, food was so hard to get that period during the war, but he could do all this and control. There were a few rough diamonds working in the place. All women cooked the vegetables. I loved it. I loved the excitement of it. It was like playing a football match; you would always get excited playing a football match. I loved it because of the pressure, pressure. I loved it. I loved trying, although I was a commis, I loved being better than the chefs, faster than them, quicker than them. Now during those days, most chefs were really square pegs in round holes. Because of the employment situation, you did not go to be a chef because you wanted to be a chef, you could be in the wrong place so there were multitudes of chefs and they were really in the wrong business’ (Ryan 2004:~29).

Both Ryan and Flahive later worked together in both the Gresham and Dublin Airport, which will be discussed in Chapter Sixteen. The theme of chefs joining the trade because of lack of other options was widespread among interviewees.

**Café Belge**
The *Café Belge* was opened at 34 Dame Street by Zenon Geldof, a Belgian citizen who had previously been head chef at both the Central Hotel Dublin (1910-13) and Jury’s Hotel College Green (1913-1917), and manager of the Saint Anne’s Hill Hydro in Blarney (1917-19), and as both the chef and manager of the Crosshaven Hotel in West Cork (1919-21). Geldof and his wife also ran the *Patisserie Belge* at 1 Leinster Street below the famous Finns private Hotel and Restaurant. The *Café Belge* produced excellent food but only opened for the lunchtime market, although it remained open late into the night and early mornings during the Catholic Emancipation Centenary, which ran from 16th to the 23rd June 1929 (Fig. 15.33). Dame Street was not busy at night time during this period (Ennis 2005). Burke (1941:16) notes the *Café Belge* as a popular eatery, and points out that it had two subterranean chophouse neighbours on Dame Street, the Bodega and Hyne’s.
Geldof also set up the ‘Belgica-Hibernia Trading Company’ importing floor coverings and café furniture from Belgium. Although *Thom’s Directory* lists the Café Belge for the first time in the 1930 edition, both the Café Belge and the trading company are listed as members of the Irish Tourist Association in their 1928 annual report (ITA-Report 1928).

Geldof was also manager of the Plaza Restaurant from the 8th November 1928 until Klue took over in June 1929. Geldof’s son Robert followed his father’s profession and worked as a chef in London’s Carlton Club, *Pruniers*, and later with the Cunard Line, crewing on the Queen Mary’s maiden and many subsequent voyages, before returning to Ireland (Geldof 2004). Maison Geldof, incorporating both the Café Belge and the Patisserie Belge, specialised in wedding cakes, continental confectionary and cuisine (Fig. 15.34).

Zenon was tragically killed in 22nd June 1939, aged 57, in a car crash in Waterford, along with a French wine exporter from Bordeaux, Monsieur Pierre Peyrelonge. His eldest son, Herbert, took over the running of the Café Belge and the importation business. Geldof’s daughter Clio also worked in catering, running the restaurant in Switzers, Grafton Street. The Patisserie Belge closed during the war due to shortages of raw ingredients and the Café Belge was sold after the war, and continued to trade under its new owners (Mac Con Iomaire 2005; Mac Con Iomaire 2009c forthcoming).
The Palace Billiard Hall and Restaurant
The Palace Restaurant and Billiard Hall opened on the 22nd October 1927 at 10 Cathedral Street and North Earl Street in the basement under Tylers (Fig. 15.35). The restaurant had a famous silver grill in the room and customers could pick their choice of steaks and watch them being cooked in the room. It was owned by Joseph Stein, whose wife was related to the actor Richard Toub, which helped attract stars of stage and screen to the restaurant. Lily Ryan (b.1911) began working in the Palace aged sixteen and remained there until it closed in the 1980s having been purchased by a new owner in the 1970s (Lacey 2006).
The Regal Rooms
The Regal Rooms was situated in Hawkins Street and commenced business when the Theatre Royal re-opened on the 23rd September 1935. The first and original Theatre Royal had opened in Hawkins Street in 18th January 1821 (Bennett 1991). In 1880 the building was destroyed by fire, re-built and remodelled on a few occasions until the building was eventually demolished in 1934 and the new Theatre Royal and adjoining Regal Rooms were opened officially by Seán Lemass (Fig. 15.36). The programme describing the interior stated ‘A rich lavish Moorish architectural scheme has been adopted for the decoration of the auditorium which is based on authentic details from the Alhambra at Granada in Spain’.

![Figure 15.36: Illustration of Theatre Royal and Regal Rooms](image)

*Source: The Irish Times 23rd September 1935*

The head chef in the Regal Rooms was Karl Uhlemann from Alsace Lorraine. His second in command was Michael McManus and both of these chefs would later move to the
Gresham Hotel where both men finished out their careers. Uhlemann previously was *chef de cuisine* in The Dolphin Hotel, and McManus had worked for the Great Northern Railway (GNR), the Central Hotel, and the Metropole (Panel-of-Chefs 1983:25). Johnny Opperman worked under Uhlemann in the Regal Rooms and described him as a fabulous mentor, bringing him to art galleries and museums on his split shift, thus giving him a broad education as well as formal technical training. This friendship was difficult because when Uhlemann took over as head chef at the Gresham it was at the expense of Carl Opperman, Johnny’s father, who had held the position until then. Opperman (2004:~45-57) suggests that The Regal Rooms was the first restaurant to offer a ‘pre-theatre’ dinner. They employed catering systems that would allow them to serve large numbers of customers in a fast and efficient manner. They were open from 10 am until midnight, providing luncheons, theatre dinners and after theatre suppers (Fig. 15.37). The theatre was owned by the Rank Organisation and finally closed on the night of the 30th June 1962. An office block, Hawkins House, now stands on the site.

![Figure 15:37: Advertisement for the Theatre Royal and Regal Rooms Restaurant](image)

**Figure 15:37: Advertisement for the Theatre Royal and Regal Rooms Restaurant**

*Source: The Irish Times, September 1935*
The Unicorn Restaurant
The Unicorn Restaurant in Merrion Row opened around 1940, run by a Jewish Austrian couple Erwin and Lisl Strunz who had escaped from Vienna in 1938 with the assistance of an Irishman Hubert Butler, details of which are found in Siggins (1988). Following periods in Annaghmakerrrig, Ardmore, Co. Waterford, and Glencree, Co. Wicklow the Strunz family came to Dublin. Oral evidence from their son Peter confirms that William Griffith from Clontarf provided finance for the restaurant which was available at a cheap rent because Irish people thought the premises was haunted since W.B. Yeats had held séances there. Griffith grew vegetables and supplied the restaurant and also went to the market in the morning. Lisl was the cook and her husband Erwin (Fig. 15.38a) ran the front of house. Burke (1941:19) however names David Martin as the Irish half of the management team and describes the Unicorn as ‘a truly Dublin expression of Europe’s simple graces’. It soon became the gathering place of the artistic set with Lady Longford and Hilton Edwards from the Gate Theatre as regular clients. Siggins (1988) lists Margaret Burke Sheridan and Kate O’ Brien among the cognoscenti who frequented the Unicorn and notes that a fellow Viennese, Fritz Lederer also worked there. Lederer later opened The Subway Restaurant in Kildare Street in 1945 (Fig. 15.38b).

![Fig. 15.38a: Photo of Erwin Strunz](image1.jpg)
![Fig. 15.38b: Add for Subway Restaurant](image2.jpg)

Source: *The Irish Times* (a) (17/12/1988:22) (b) (26/11/1945:3)
Strunz (2007) recalls that the artist Shelagh Richards produced a mural on the wall of the restaurant, and that his father played the guitar and used to sing for the customers. Erwin quoted in Siggins (1988) reminisced ‘during Christmas 1940, when all the lights had gone out over Europe, I played my guitar in the restaurant and sang Christmas carols and folk songs in eight languages’. It was forbidden to serve butter or bread during the war years as can be seen from the Unicorn menus (Figs. 15.39 & 15.40). Analyses of the menus show a predominant French influence but with Austrian specialities such as Wiener Schnitzel, Esterhazy Rostbraten, and the Kalbsgulyas (a veal goulash) noticeable among the entrées and the plats de jour. The à la carte menu offers classic haute cuisine staples such as lobster, fillet of beef, oysters and duck.

Figure 15.39: Menu from Unicorn Restaurant (2/12/1948)
Source: Peter Strunz Private Collection
Burke (1941:19) proposes that the *hors d’oeuvres* at the Unicorn were among the best in Dublin, the furnishings ‘most tasteful’, and the servants ‘the prettiest and politest’. He also notes that small purses ‘for an outlay of little more that that spent meandering round tea-shops and picture houses, obtain a very agreeable meal with a drink’.

![Signed Menu from Unicorn Restaurant (17/11/1947)](image)

**Figure 15.40: Signed Menu from Unicorn Restaurant (17/11/1947)**

*Source: Peter Strunz Private Collection*

The Strunz family had been part of the Kagran group in Vienna, who intended to form an agricultural community overseas. This communal philosophy may have influenced why the Unicorn remained the only non-tipping restaurant in Dublin. It was reported in *The Irish Times* (29/10/1943:3) that following a conference organised under the auspices of the Department of Industry and Commerce, that waitresses would continue to receive
10% on the bill, kitchen staff would receive a supplementary bonus of 3/- Men and 2/- Women, with the chef receiving a bonus of 7/- a week. On the 7th November 1948 it was reported that the Unicorn was under new management, and the following day a notice appeared that Erwin Strunz was seeking a new appointment (Fig. 15.41). The Unicorn in subsequent years developed a strong Italian rather than French influence under the Sidoli family, who ran the Unicorn from 1959 to 1994. An obituary for Renato Sidoli (12/5/2007) sparked a number of correspondences in the letters pages of *The Irish Times*. One letter tells of a visit by ‘Edouard Hempel and his acolytes from the German Legation’ to the Unicorn during the early years of the war. Strunz, a staunch pacifist was incandescent with rage and sprinkled the food going to the German table liberally with salt. Hempel took one mouthful and nearly choked, and the whole table walked out and never returned (Henderson 2007).

![Figure 15.41: Personal Ad by Erwin Strunz seeking a New Appointment](image)

*Source: The Irish Times (8/12/1948:8)*

### The Savoy Restaurant

The Savoy Restaurant (Fig. 15.42a) opened in December 1929 on Dublin’s O’Connell Street with Monsieur M. Rossi, formerly chef to Lord Pirrie, as *chef de cuisine*, and Miss MacLachlan, formerly of the Plaza’s in Dublin, Glasgow and Belfast as manageress. *The Irish Times* (23/12/1929:5) reported that two hundred people dined and danced at the opening and that ‘general satisfaction was expressed for the arrangements made for the satisfaction of the guests’. Rossi must not have stayed too long because Ernst Gygax, became head chef and remained in that position until his death in 1953. Oral evidence from his son Fred confirms that Ernst Gygax (1897-1953) was Swiss and apprenticed as a
chef in England, where he had relations in the trade, working in hotels in the seaside resorts, and on ocean liners prior to coming to Ireland in the 1920s. His first job in Ireland was as head chef in the Royal Hotel, Glendalough. In 1926 he spent some time as temporary roast cook in the Shelbourne Hotel. He later moved to the Grand Hotel in Greystones, which later became the LaTouche Hotel, where he met his wife. In 1929 he was appointed head chef in the Savoy Restaurant. The Rank Organisation, who also owned the Metropole and the Theatre Royal, owned the Savoy. Gygax was a good friend of Charles (Carl) Oppermann, another Swiss national, and head chef in the Gresham Hotel at the time (Gygax 2005). The Capitol Cinema in Princess Street also had a restaurant (Fig. 15.42b).

![Figure 15.42a: The Savoy Restaurant](image1) ![Fig 15.42b: The Capitol Restaurant](image2)

**Source:** (Purcell 2007)

**Department Store Restaurants**

The growth of restaurant or cafes attached to department stores at the turn of the twentieth century has been discussed in Chapter Nine. Dublin mirrored London in this respect with stores such as Arnotts, Pims, McBirney’s, Switzers and Woolworths all having restaurants of some description. In 1932 a new Restaurant and Soda Fountain was attached to Pim’s department store on South Great Georges Street. The *Irish Hotel and Club Manager* (June 1934:26) likened the new Pim’s Palm Restaurant to Child’s
Restaurant in New York. A speciality of the Palm Restaurant, and a comparatively new dish in Dublin at the time was Waffles served with Maple Syrup. Another speciality which seemed to be very popular at that time was the Soda Fountain where ‘every known type of cooling refreshing drink or ice can be obtained’. A Soda Fountain was also advertised attached to Switzers Restaurant in 1926 (Fig. 15.43). A photograph of the staff of the Palm Restaurant included two male chefs and nineteen females – cooks and waitresses. A similar photograph taken in Woolworths at the retirement of chef Williams also shows a predominantly female staff (Fig. 15.44). This is in marked contrast to the photograph of kitchen staff in the Gresham Hotel (15.17) which was predominantly male.

Michael McManus who later became head chef of the Gresham Hotel began his career as a *commis chef* in Pim’s Restaurant when he was fourteen years old (Panel-of-Chefs 1983:24).

Switzer’s was more of a café than a restaurant in the true sense of the word, they specialised in hot buttered toast, hot scones, pastries and confectionary all made fresh on the premises. They also had an American Soda Fountain, which was fashionable, where ice cream sundaes, iced drinks, and cocktails were prepared to order (Fig. 15.41). Geldof
(2003:~113-117) recalls that his sister Clio was manageress in Switzers during the Emergency. Farren (2003:~323) suggests that Woolworths in Henry Street during the 1930s was Ireland’s first self-service restaurant.

**Other Restaurants**
The Moira Restaurant (Fig.15.45) was attached to the Moira Hotel whose proprietor was Peter Nugent listed in the 1911 census as a 35 year old Dublin born married with four daughters. The Moira was acquired by Jury’s in 1927 and totally re-furbished in 1948. There were many other restaurants that opened and later closed during this period. Geldof (2003:~238-248) discusses a restaurant called The Ritz that opened briefly in Georges Street, but did not prosper. Zenon Geldof purchased a lot of silverware that was monogrammed with the Ritz logo for the *Café Belge* in the liquidation sale.

![Figure 15.45: Advertisement for Moira Restaurant, Trinity Street, 1926](image)

*Source: (Anon 1926:138)*

**The Goodwill Restaurant**
A completely different type of restaurant was the Goodwill Restaurant that opened in Pearse Street in September 1941, run along similar lines as the ‘British Restaurants’ or canteens in war-time Britain, mentioned in Chapter Nine. This non-profit making company was set up too provide two thousand two-course meals a day at nine pence each, from the old Savoy billiard hall in Pearse Street. All staffs were paid trade union rates and it was hoped that distribution centres would be established across the city. *The*
Irish Times (20/9/1941:9) lists the directors of the Goodwill Restaurant Ltd. as W.H. Powell of the Shelbourne, Jack Nugent of the Dolphin, Kenneth Besson of the Hibernian, James Doyle of the G.S.R., Toddy O’ Sullivan of the Gresham, Louis Jammet of Jammet’s, Leo T. Neary of Chatham Street, George Lovell of J. E. Mills & Sons, P.F. Cannon of Ballymacarney, Frank Purcell of the Hotels Branch IT&GWU and Mrs. Edwina Booth of Meath Street dining rooms. The Dublin Evening Mail (24/9/1941) carried a photograph of some of the directors outside the Goodwill Restaurant which includes R.J. Kidney (Jury’s), Mrs Felix Hackett, and J. Verlin (Fig. 15.46). It is worth noting that one of the directors George Lovell was mentioned in Chapter Fourteen as an award winner in the 1910 and 1911 Food and Cookery Exhibitions. Bowe (2008:~10) recalls a stew kitchen in Dublin in the 1940s:

‘My mother was a great cook, and you had to be a good cook in those days. I’m not sure if you are familiar with the history of the early 40s, but things were really bad. There were queues in St. Agnes’s, North William Street, across the road, people queuing for the stew kitchen. They had these gallon cans and if there were four in the family you got four ladles of stew’.

The Goodwill Restaurant remained open until November 1948.

Figure 15.46: Directors of the Goodwill Restaurant, Pearse Street, Dublin 1941
Source: Dublin Evening Mail (24/9/1941)
Education and Training
Cookery had been taught in primary schools and as a subject in technical schools in Ireland since the end of the nineteenth century. Courses in domestic cookery, discussed in Chapter Fourteen, continued to be run in colleges such as Rathmines during this period (Fig. 15.47). Formal training courses for chefs, waiters and waitresses did not however begin in Ireland until the late 1920s. Minutes of the Technical Education Committee (1\textsuperscript{st} Jan 1925 – 31\textsuperscript{st} Dec 1928) examined at CDVEC Archives in Ballsbridge shows that the decision was taken in 1927 to inaugurate courses of training for chefs, waiters and waitresses, following several conferences with representatives of the Hotel, Restaurant and Catering Association of Ireland and the Irish Tourist Association some of which were reported in *The Irish Times*. It was agreed that 16 chefs, and 20 waiters and 20 waitresses should be selected following an entrance examination and an interview (p.131).

![Figure 15.47: Advertisement for The School of Domestic Economy](image)

**Figure 15.47: Advertisement for The School of Domestic Economy**

**Rathmines Municipal Technical Institute**

**Source**: (Corporation-of-Dublin 1929)

Authority was given for Miss Kathleen O’ Sullivan, Head of Domestic Economy Section, to visit London on a fact finding tour to see how London County Council ran such
courses in the School at Westminster, discussed in Chapter Six. She also visited a school for waitresses at Hammersmith and private courses given by Messrs. Lyons & Co. and Selfridge, Ltd. A proposed visit to the continent, organised especially by the Irish Tourist Association, was not adopted as the CDVEC felt ‘it did not serve any purpose immediately useful to the Schools’. Miss O’ Sullivan’s report outlined that the London City Council’s Training at Westminster lasted three years for chefs, one year for waiters and six months for waitresses. The chefs spent the three years in the college under the guidance of a head chef and assistants, five days a week, with practical classes and demonstrations in the mornings followed by theory of cookery, kitchen accounts, French, English and physical education in the afternoons. It was also noted that during the third year they were occasionally sent to hotels or restaurants during busy periods to obtain practical experience. Students had to provide themselves with uniforms and knives.

The waiters’ course was only one year and run in parallel with the chefs’ course with practical classes in the morning and theory in the evening. Waitresses only received six months training under the London City Council scheme which included practical table service, calculations, elocution, physical exercise and cookery lessons. Messrs Lyons also ran a course for waitresses conducted from one to two weeks which consisted on the girls memorising official price lists, method of setting and serving tables, manners, taking of orders, checking orders from the kitchen and rapid calculations (p.139).

A special meeting was held on the 7th November 1927 with representatives of the catering interests in Dublin to finalise the arrangements for running the new course for waiters and waitresses. Messrs Manning, Kidney, Powell and Hess represented the Hotel Employers’ Association, whilst Messrs Ridgeway and Reynolds represented the Hotel and Restaurant Workers’ Branch of the Irish Transport & General Workers Union (ITGWU). Ferdinand Kuhn was picked out of nine candidates to teach the waiters and waitress students the requisite practical instruction. Unsuccessful candidates included Alfred Reid, Joseph Yoakley, William O’Keefe, Peter Spillane, Laurence Murphy, Charles J. Colclough, Robert Town, and Andrew White, all of which must have held prominent positions in Dublin hotels and restaurants. Eighty-six girls and forty-six boys applied for the course
and following examinations, short listing and interviewing, twenty girls and fifteen boys were selected. In addition to the practical instruction students would receive from Ferdinand Kuhn, they would receive instruction from existing members of teaching staff in technical French, accounts and English (p.173). One of the students, James Beggan became maître d’hôtel in Restaurant Jammet in the 1960s having been sent for training in the Hotel Bristol, Paris.

Dates in the minute book of the CDVEC Technical Education Committee are confusing but entries suggest that the first course for the training of chefs was run in 1927. A meeting was held at 18 Parnell Square on the 27th May 1927 where Mr. L.E. O’Carroll (Principal Executive Officer CDVEC), Messrs Manning, Kidney (both Jury’s), Powell (Shelbourne Hotel), Moran (Moran’s Hotel) representing the Hotel Employers’ Association, and Mr. Karl Uhlemann (Chef, Dolphin Hotel) representing the Hotel Workers’ Union confirmed that sixteen boys had been selected out of forty-six candidates, one of whom, Francis D. Plummer, is mentioned later in oral evidence as working in The Gresham, Metropole and The Wicklow Hotel (Ryan 2004:94; Bowe 2008). The original arrangement was that selected candidates would spend the first year of apprenticeship entirely at the Technical School and be paid five shillings a week. The following year they would be allocated for work at different hotels and be paid ten shillings a week by the employers, whilst still attending college for a portion of the time. The full apprenticeship would take five years – one year in college and four years with the employers. It is noted that the course had received sanction from the Department of Education and commenced on the 13th June 1927 (p.154).

Later that year some changes were made. It is not clear whether these changes were due to the lack of available professional kitchens in which students could gain experience. A report on the ‘Training for the Catering Trades’ in the minute book notes that ‘outside the City of Dublin, there are about fifteen hotels in the Free State that employ chefs permanently and six or seven that employ them for the tourist season’. The report notes that some three hundred hotels only employ female cooks. The Secretary of the Irish
Tourist Association gave an undertaking that if ten chefs and twelve women cooks were trained annually that he would find employment for them at the end of the course.

It was decided to include the course for chefs in the Apprentice School, giving them a full two years training before assignment to employers. Sixteen annual scholarships to the value of £13 each were to be offered for competition. Of the fifty-eight boys and fifteen girls who presented themselves for the test, thirty-six boys and five girls obtained qualifying marks. These successful candidates were interviewed by a selection committee of the Hotelkeepers’ Association which included Mr. Manning (Jury’s); Mr. Hess (Red Bank Restaurant); Mr. Jammet and Mr. Demaiziers (Jammet’s); Miss Mullens (Gresham Hotel); and Mr. Ridgeway (IT&GWU). The committee considered it advisable to re-advertise for women cooks as ‘the number of applicants being so few and their physical appearance so poor, they would not be justified in awarding Scholarships’ (pp.246-7). They then recommended increasing the number of scholarships for chefs to fourteen.

Classes were held in Parnell Square where a new electric kitchen had been installed in 1926 following requests for additional cookery kitchens due to the increased numbers of students of Domestic Science in 1925 (p.54). For example, William Marshall began his apprenticeship in the Vocational Catering School, Parnell Square in 1929 under Karl Uhlemann, and finished his apprenticeship in the Shelbourne under Otto Wuest. He then spent a two years in the Gresham as pâtissier under Charles Opperman (1932-1934), another two years as pâtissier and chef tournant in the Highcliff Hotel in Margate, England, before returning to the Shelbourne in 1936 where he spent the following twelve years as pâtissier and relief saucier (Panel-of-Chefs 1983:29-30). Marshall is an example of the success of the training course as he went on to be head chef of the Central Hotel for many years.

In the Technical Education Committee Minutes (24th January 1929 – 10th October 1930), some further details appear. Following advertisements for a six months’ course of training for Women Hotel Cooks, twelve girls were awarded scholarships out of thirty nine candidates by a selection committee made up of Miss Mullins (Gresham Hotel), Mrs
Crookes (Ashton Hotel, Dun Laoghaire), Miss Rogan (North Star Hotel), and Miss Kathleen O’ Sullivan (Head of Domestic Science Department). The Women Hotel Cooks’ course was proposed to commence on the 18th November 1929. The following year twelve successful candidates for the 1930 Chefs’ Day Apprentice School Scholarships were listed and a thirteenth candidate was later added (pp.90-93). There is a gap in the CDVEC archives for 1934 and details of the catering courses appear less frequently in the Minutes, probably since they became a normal annual event rather than something of specific note. Courses for chefs and waiters transferred to St Mary’s College of Domestic Economy when it opened in Cathal Brugha Street in 1941, from which time oral evidence of the training is available (Farren 2003; Kavanagh 2003; Ryan 2004).

Summary
The period 1922-1946 was one of growth and development for Dublin restaurants. Drouard (2007:286) noted that haute cuisine had practically disappeared in France following the First World War and that the trends in France during Phase Two moved towards the cuisine bourgeoise of chefs such as Dumaine, Point and Pic based in the countryside and influenced by the cuisine de marché of Lyon. Foreign reporters suggest that Jammet’s was the only restaurant in Ireland with an international reputation for haute cuisine at this time. It is also noted that 1947 was the year that the true challenge to Jammet’s monopoly started to appear – in the form of the newly opened Russell Hotel (Graves 1949). The Red Bank Restaurant employed a French chef and boasted recherché dinners from the mid 1920s but standards dropped in the mid 1930s. The Plaza appears to have been an attempt of haute cuisine on a grand scale when it opened, but soon reverted to the middle-class market. The Ritz was another short and unsuccessful attempt at haute cuisine. The growth of large mid-range restaurants such as Clery’s, the Metropole and the Savoy, and steakhouses like The Palace and The Dolphin mirrored similar patterns in other European and American cities (Shore 2007). Dublin restaurants benefited significantly from the gastronomic tourism that occurred during The Emergency, necessitating managers to engage with the black market to ensure supplies.
Analyses of menus from Dublin restaurant and hotels show them to be predominantly French, apart from the American influence of Soda Fountains in some department stores. Regular information on Cuisine Francaise appeared in the Dublin Evening Mail from 1927 preparing the ground for the growth of haute cuisine that occurred in Dublin restaurants during Phase Three. Dublin’s leading restaurants were unionised and the Number Four Branch of the IT&GWU was central to most developments, from the organisation of training courses to the setting up of the Goodwill Restaurant in 1941. The use of the word ‘restaurant’ encompassing a range of establishments including soup kitchens and self service operations shows a loosening of the original definition of the term outlined in Chapter Six.

Technological changes such as increased usage of electricity, gas, and refrigeration became apparent during Phase Two, with electrical kitchens installed in the Technical School in Parnell Square where the first training courses for chefs and waiters were run. Training, whether in restaurants or in the new catering technical colleges, remained firmly rooted in the French classical culinary canon. A number of prize-winners from the Irish Food and Cookery Exhibitions (1909-1912) were evident holding senior positions or as chef / proprietors during Phase Two. Other new influential individuals were identified, particularly the Swiss contingent of head chefs and restaurant managers. A growing number of Irish chefs, waiters and managers were beginning to take positions of responsibility within the Dublin restaurant circle by the end of Phase Two, many of which had gained some experience in foreign countries, and most of which had trained under a French chef or foreign born chef trained in French haute cuisine. Some of the above had also begun their training in the Parnell Square Technical School under Karl Uhlemann’s instruction. Much of the oral evidence comes from individuals born during Phase Two who become particularly influential in Dublin’s restaurant life during Phase Three.

**Introduction**

The third quarter of the twentieth century was undoubtedly the golden age of *haute cuisine* in Dublin. Both The Russell Hotel Restaurant and Restaurant Jammet were considered among the ‘most outstanding restaurants in Europe’ during Phase Three (Fig. 16.1). When the *Egon Ronay Guide* covered Ireland for the first time in 1963, they awarded ten stars among seven Dublin restaurants, with a further five individual stars awarded outside of Dublin. These Dublin restaurants became nurseries for culinary talent, training the next generation of chefs, waiters and restaurateurs. By 1973, however, only four Dublin restaurants shared five *Egon Ronay* stars, with five individual stars awarded outside of Dublin (Fig. 16.9). This chapter presents a genealogy of the individuals responsible for the growth of *haute cuisine* in Dublin, the restaurants in which it was produced, and discusses the circumstances that led to its rise and eventual decline. Using data from the oral histories of chefs, waiters, restaurateurs, and discerning diners, presented in Volume III, this chapter presents a clearer understanding of the development of restaurants in Dublin than was possible in previous chapters.

Both Ireland and England were slow to adopt the new culinary aesthetic, centred on Point and his protégés, that later became known as ‘*nouvelle cuisine*’. Limited evidence of knowledge transfer of this new culinary aesthetic is available. Some Irish chefs worked directly with Bocuse and the Troisgros brothers in Lyon and Roanne respectively, while knowledge transfer to chefs, waiters and the general public took place during the various international gastronomic festivals organised by the Royal Hibernian Hotel during Phase Three. The majority of the award winning Dublin restaurants, however, produced the labour intensive form of *haute cuisine* that had been codified by Escoffier, which was silver served by large teams of waiters in elegant dining rooms. By the end of Phase Three, the customer / staff ratio of these restaurants proved economically unviable and trends in food and dining were gradually changing (Howard 2008). Formal knowledge transfer of the French culinary canon took place during Phase Three. Courses for chefs...
and waiters in Cathal Brugha Street were continuously improved, and an agreement between Besson and the IT&GWU allowed foreign born chefs and waiters work in Ireland in return for Irish apprentices being indentured in the Russell and Royal Hibernian Hotels under the guidance of Pierre Rolland and Roger Noblet. The leading chefs at the beginning of Phase Three were mostly foreign born, but by the end of Phase Three, Irish chefs such as Vincent Dowling (Jammet’s), Jackie Needham and Matt Dowling (Russell), Pierce Hingston (Intercontinental and Burlington), Mervyn Stewart (Clarence), David Edwards (Jury’s) and Michael Marley (Ranks) were in the ascendancy.

**Historical Background**

Ireland enjoyed a boom in food exports and gastro-tourism during the Emergency which continued during the first few post-war years. Politically, however, the late 1940s and 1950s were characterised by severe economic difficulties, mass emigration, and political instability. The Irish economy and society opened up to external influences with the election of Seán Lemass as Taoiseach in 1959 (Doherty 1997:120). Following Whitaker’s Programme for Economic Expansion, the policy of self sufficiency was abandoned in favour of a policy of free trade, increased exports, and attracting foreign investment into Ireland. This policy was successful throughout the 1960s in what became known as ‘the best of decades’ (Tobin 1996), but the OPEC oil crisis of 1973 once again plunged the country into severe economic difficulties. A referendum in 1973 overwhelmingly endorsed Ireland’s entry to the EEC. The Northern Crisis began with the Civil Rights march conflict in October 1968, but violence spiralled in 1972 to levels unparalleled since the violence of 1922-1923 (Doherty 1997:128). Bombs in Dublin and threats of violence affected the tourism industry, with British business declining dramatically (O’ Sullivan and O’ Neill 1999:155).

**The Rise of Haute Cuisine in Dublin Restaurants**

The population of Dublin continued to rise in the 1950s despite national trends during what became known as ‘the lost decade’ or that of ‘the vanishing Irish’ (O’ Brien 1954; Keogh, O' Shea et al. 2004). Emigration didn’t affect the social strata that frequented the
haute cuisine restaurants. The post-war gastro-tourism boom continued until the early 1950s when food supplies in Britain returned to normal levels. André L. Simon’s Food and Wine Society, discussed in Chapter Nine, had an Irish branch and descriptions of their gastronomic evenings were carried in newspapers and trade magazines. The society occasionally held dinners outside of Dublin in country houses and estates, such as Slane Castle, which had started opening their dining rooms to the public during Phase Three. Simon (Fig. 16.0) also wrote regular articles on wine for The Irish Hotelier during the 1950s. A menu from the society’s gastronomic evening in Jammet’s in 1949 (Fig. 16.0b) is quite Edwardian, particularly the Clear Turtle Soup – Tortue Claire. Listed alongside the menu in The Irish Hotelier (July 1949:25) were the forty two guests, which included Toddy O’ Sullivan from the Gresham and M. Nugent from the Dolphin. Hughes, McCabe and Morgan (Fig. 16.0a) who were among the main organisers of the society, were all from the leading wine retailing and importing firms in Dublin.

Source: (a) Good Cooking (May 1958) (b) Irish Hotelier (July 1949:12)

With growing interest in good food and wine, it is no surprise that the number of restaurants serving haute cuisine increased. Jammet’s was joined in the upper league of restaurants by The Red Bank, The Russell, The Royal Hibernian, and also, for some of
this period, by other hotel restaurants such as The Gresham, The Shelbourne, Jury’s Dame Street and later The Intercontinental Hotel. A very high standard of food and service was also available in establishments such as The Metropole, Dublin Airport Restaurant, and The Moira, particularly during the mid 1950s. In 1955 and 1956, both The Russell and Jammet’s were presented with awards from the American magazine *Holiday* for being ‘the most outstanding restaurants in Europe’ (Fig. 16.1). It was noted in *The Irish Times* (7/2/1956:11) that eight London restaurants, and one restaurant each in Inverness and in Edinburgh were the only other winners in the British Isles of this prestigious award. Comparative analysis of the *Holiday* magazine awards with the populations of Dublin, London and Scotland in the 1950s suggests that Dublin was the gastronomic capital of the British Isles on a per capita basis at this time (Jefferies 2005). It is interesting to note Pierre Rolland appearing proudly alongside Ken Besson and the restaurant manager Monsieur Maurice, whereas the photo in the same paper the previous year showed Louis Jammet and his restaurant manager Roger Martiny accepting their award, but Jammet’s head chef was not in the photo. This may suggest that Rolland was part of the new politic, discussed by Bocuse in Chapter Nine, chefs that came into direct contact with their customers.

![Figure 16.1: Outstanding Restaurant in Europe Award for Russell Management](image)

*Source: The Irish Times* (7/2/1956:11)
Much like The Ritz and The Plaza in Phase Two, some restaurants serving *haute cuisine*, such as Restaurant Frascati in Suffolk Street, had short life-spans. Oral evidence of Frascati’s comes from Farren (2003:137-143) and Kinsella (2008:10, 32-34) who mention that Kevin O’Meara worked there. O’Meara later worked in the Royal Hibernian and was one of the founders of CERT when it opened in 1963. Kinsella’s reference from 1947 shows that the directors of Restaurant Frascati Ltd. were W. White, C. Tobin and H. Jacob (Fig. 16.2a).

The international airports at Collinstown and in Rinneanna opened during Phase Two, but developed reputations for the quality of their cuisine during Phase Three, under the guidance of Johnny Opperman and Brendan O’Regan respectively. The Dublin Airport Restaurant became a beacon on the north side of Dublin for gourmet dining. The French influence is evident in the 1955 dinner menu (Fig. 16.2b). Jimmy Flahive (Fig. 16.5), who was head chef in the Dublin Airport Restaurant, became Ireland’s first television chef. The opening of Ardmore Studios in 1958 brought Hollywood stars to Ireland and provided extra business for the top class hotels and restaurants.

![Fig. 16.2a: Reference from Frascati’s](image1)

*Fig. 16.2a: Reference from Frascati’s*

*15th February 1947*

*Source: (a) (Kinsella 2008)*

![Fig. 16.2b: Menu from Dublin Airport](image2)

*Fig. 16.2b: Menu from Dublin Airport*

*26th March 1955*

*(b) Martin Walsh*
A series of reports entitled *Eating around Dublin 1-4* were published by an anonymous ‘food and wine correspondent’ in *The Irish Times* weekly on the 19th and 26th September and the 3rd and 10th October 1964. The general conclusion of the pieces was that both Jammet’s and the Russell were outstanding by world standards; Dublin Airport Restaurant was outstanding in cuisine and service ‘but it’s hard not to rush because of airport atmosphere’; the Hibernian, Shelbourne and Intercontinental all compare with London; the best night places were Granada, *La Caverna* (Dame Street), The Martello Room (Intercontinental Hotel), The Blue Lantern (Chatham Street); and the best Chinese restaurant was listed as The Universal on Wicklow Street. The report suggested that in Dublin ‘we jump from the large Ice-cream parlour to the expensive hotels’. Also mentioned in these reports were The Red Bank, Bernardo’s, Haddington House, The Paradiso, and the cinema Grill Rooms of the Metropole, Savoy, Carlton and The Hideout (Adelphi). One thing of particular note in these reports is the omission of The Gresham suggesting that standards had fallen by 1964, which is reinforced by *Egon Ronay* (Fig. 16.9). Jury’s Copper Grill earned its’ reputation from 1965-1970 under Swiss chef Willy Widmer, which explains its omission. Towards the end of Phase Three, new restaurants such as Snaffles and the Soup Bowl were noted for their cooking. Another breed of restaurant, run by chef / proprietors, such as the King Sitric also began to emerge. The Oppermans opened an American style country club in Kilternan, where the highest standards of food, accommodation and sporting facilities were available. They attracted international stars of the sporting life and the entertainment world, such as Cassius Clay (Fig. 16.3a) and Paul Newman, but the business failed in the difficult economic climate of the early 1970s.

Dublin’s leading hotels and restaurants were affected by a number of factors during the early 1970s. A six month bank strike left many with bad debts, the Dublin bombings of 1971 and 1974 was disastrous for the tourist trade, and the OPEC oil crisis in 1973 saw a tenfold increase in oil prices. Another factor that, according to O’Sullivan and O’Neill (1999:161), ‘caused a far greater setback to the hotel’s business than the fuel crisis or the political troubles’ was the revival of ‘wealth tax’ by Fine Gael in the 1973 election manifesto. They suggest the idea of an annual tax on assets created widespread
consternation among the propertied classes resulting in a mass exodus of landed gentry from Ireland to the Isle of Man, Southern Europe or South Africa. The Shelbourne Hotel witnessed an instant twenty per cent drop in business. The Russell Hotel closed in 1974. Some of the Irish mansions and demesnes which crammed the pages of *Country Life* following this exodus were transformed into country house hotels serving *haute cuisine* during Phase Four.

Figure: 16.3a: Johnny Opperman with Cassius Clay in Kilternan

Source: (Opperman 2004)

**Unions – Co-operation and Strikes**

Fitzgerald (2005:~30) argues that lack of immigration in Ireland led to catering workers and other service industry workers such as the banks receiving significantly higher wages than their counterparts in England. He observes:

‘It always struck me as the perverse thing in economics, we were such a poor country that we were emigrating but nobody immigrated here, and because there was no immigration they could unionise the staff in hotels and restaurants, which they couldn’t do in England’.
One of the factors influencing the growth of *haute cuisine* in Dublin during Phase Three was co-operation between the IT&GWU (Hotel and Restaurant Branch) and restaurant owners allowing foreign chefs and waiters work in Dublin in return for their training of indigenous staff. The agreement followed a fact finding tour that union delegates and leading hospitality industry figures took to investigate how other countries train their chefs and waiters. The delegation, who spent ten days visiting Switzerland, Paris and London, are listed in *The Irish Times* (14/10/1947:3). A copy of an indenture agreement for Louis Corrigan, an apprentice chef in The Russell Hotel, from 1955 is shown in Figure 16.3. The indenture period was five years and was signed by the apprentice, his guardian, and by the hotel management. Oral evidence on how the indenture system worked is provided by McGee (2004:~8, 32, 43), Dowling (2004:~5, 18-26) and Stewart (2008:~28, 37).

![Figure 16.3b: Indenture Agreement between Louis Corrigan and Russell Hotel Ltd.](image)

*Source: Louis Corrigan*

Relationships between employers and unions were not always amicable. The most prolonged catering strike occurred in 1951, when the number Four Branch (Catering) of the IT&GWU and employers became embroiled over the issue of service charge for
waiting staff (Piso 2003). Most of the fine dining establishments settled within the first week of the dispute and enterprising individuals such as O’Sullivan in the Gresham attracted both customers and staff from the striking hotels (Sands 2003:~12). Figure 16.4 shows staff picketing outside The Royal Marine Hotel in Dun Laoghaire during the 1951 strike. Opperman (2004:~133) remembers having his wedding breakfast in the Royal Marine Hotel during the 1951 strike and getting a rough time from the strikers. Some hotels such as the Clarence and the Central were severely affected by the strike (Farren 2003:~295).

![Figure 16.4: Staff Picketing outside Royal Marine Hotel during 1951 Strike](source: Maureen Mooney)

It was during this strike that Michael Mullen (Fig. 16.5) became secretary of the Catering Branch of the IT&GWU. Mullen was influential in setting up the Panel of Chefs of Ireland in 1958, and in the formation in 1963 of CERT – the Council for Education Recruitment and Training within the Hotel and Catering Industry (Corr 1987:75). The photograph (Fig. 16.5) was taken at a Culinary Arts Exhibition, in the Mansion House in 1955. During Phase Three, the union was involved in organizing catering exhibitions and competitions similar to those discussed in Chapter Fourteen. A ten day strike at the Shelbourne Hotel in 1959 occurred when management tried to prolong the contract of a Frenchman, Louis Verat (Fig. 16.50a), brought in to train a new restaurant manager, Jack McMenamin (O' Sullivan and O' Neill 1999:180). By the late 1950s and early 1960s, the union was pressing for Irish staff in top positions. Many Irish chefs, waiters, and
managers having gained valuable experience in England, mainland Europe or working at sea with Cunard or the White Star Lines returned to senior positions around this time. Treyvaud (2008:31), a Swiss chef married to an Irish lady he’d met working in Scotland, recalls great difficulty getting a union card in 1964, pointing out that he could not take up the positions he was offered in Jury’s Hotel or The Gresham Hotel without one. Widmer (2007:~44) points out that he was being pressurised to leave Jury’s Hotel but won the respect of both his chefs and Mullen from the union when he coached his chefs to win forty percent of the medals at the catering exhibition held in the Mansion House in 1965. Oral evidence, however, suggest that standards dropped, particularly in hotels, when the foreign head chefs left (Ryan 2004:~133; Bowe 2008:~100).

Figure 16.5: Photo of James Flahive (Dublin Airport), Michael Mullen (No. 4 Branch), J. Conroy (President IT&GWU), Michael McManus (Gresham), Michael Marley (Metropole) at Culinary Art Exhibition, Mansion House, Dublin (11/5/1955)

Source: The Irish Hotelier (May 1955:9)

Gastronomic Writing and Guides

The Egon Ronay Guides provide descriptive data of Dublin’s leading restaurants and allow for direct comparisons to be made with standards in Great Britain. Direct comparisons with continental Europe only appeared during the final year of Phase Three with the first publication of the Michelin Guide to Great Britain and Ireland in 1974. An article in The Irish Hotelier (July 1954) on ‘Irish Cooking’ mentioned a growing number of cookbooks were to be found in Irish shops, pointing out that ‘up until recently, the
only cookbook available was the long accepted culinary dictionary of Mrs Beeton’. The writings of Elizabeth David and Theodora Fitzgibbon were influential in changing both Irish and English attitudes to food, cookery and dining (Conway Piskorski 1998:117; Mac Con Iomaire 2006b). *Coláiste Mhuire* published a textbook on advanced cookery called *All in the Cooking* in 1947 which Bowe (2008:~24) recalls was ‘very simple but a quite a good book’. Food writing was becoming more available in newspapers during this period and a monthly food and wine magazine *Good Cooking* was published in 1958. Restaurant reviews, as such, only appeared as regular features of daily or Sunday newspapers in the 1980s. Prior to this, restaurants were often mentioned in the gossip columns or social diaries. Some of the leading social diarists writing during Phase Three were Brian Ó Nualláin a.k.a. Myles na gCopaleen, and Seamus O’Kelly a.k.a. ‘Quidnunc’ in *The Irish Times*, Terry O’ Sullivan in the *Evening Press*, Hugh Leonard and Trevor Danker in the *Sunday Independent*. Occasional articles on food also appeared during this time in Bord Fáilte’s monthly magazine *Ireland of the Welcomes*.

Much of the developments that occurred in Dublin mirrored what was occurring in England, previously discussed in Chapter Nine. The same gastronomic writers, from Elizabeth David to Robert Carrier, were read; Gastronomic Festivals were organised in Dublin hotels (Fig. 16.6) with visiting French chefs showcasing provincial French cooking, as had been the case in The Imperial Hotel, Torquay; and the same seminal textbooks for chefs, from Escoffier’s *Le Guide Culinaire*, Saulnier’s *Repetoire de la Cuisine* to *Larousse Gastronomique* and Cracknell and Kaufman’s *Practical Professional Cookery*, influenced a new generation of chefs on both sides of the Irish Sea. A photo of Robert Carrier with John (Jackie) Needham, head chef in the Russell Hotel, at the launch of the Robert Carrier Cookbook in March 1966 was published in *The Irish Times* (Fig. 16.7a). Shaun Hill, who trained under Carrier, mentored some leading Irish chefs during Phase Four (Wright 2006; Martin 2008; Zaidan 2008).

**Education and Training**

Knowledge transfer was taking place in a number of ways. Young apprentices were trained by a Swiss chef, Johnny Anlner and a French chef, Beaucaire Murphy in St.
Mary’s College of Home Economics, Cathal Brugha Street, which had been opened in 1941 but became The Dublin College of Catering in 1951, following a campaign by Mullen who had discovered in 1951 that most of the hotel workers were untrained and poorly educated (Corr 1987:74). *The Irish Hotelier* (January 1954) reported special refresher courses for Dublin chefs and waiters in Cathal Brugha Street, with 50 chefs reported in attendance and 60 waiters. Annlner and Murphy were succeeded by Irish chefs P.J. Dunne and Michael Ganly (c.1958), and in the early 1960s by Kilbride (2003:25), who found the job a bit stifling at first, working with domestic science teachers who had little or no experience of professional cookery. Kevin O’Rourke (Fig. 15.16a) was teaching restaurant service in Cathal Brugha Street at this time. Oral evidence from students of the college during Phase Three is available in Whelan (2003), Edwards (2007), Bowe (2008), and Hogan (2008).

Boys were indentured and apprenticed in Dublin’s hotels and restaurants learning from both foreign chefs or Irish chefs previously trained in the French culinary canon. French was the language of professional kitchens serving *haute cuisine* in Dublin. McGee (2004:~19), a Dublin chef who spent eleven years working in The Russell, recalls:

‘I was introduced to a French fellow who had come to The Royal Hibernian the previous week and he said to me “you must be a long time over here” and I said “why would you say that?” and he said “because you have the local accent”. He actually thought I was French’.

Figs. 16.6a, b & c: Menus from Royal Hibernian Hotel Gastronomic Season 1973
Source: Ann Byrne – Ken Besson’s Secretary’s Niece
Many Irish chefs spent some time in London, working in restaurants such as the Café Royal, Pruniers, l’Ecu de France, and in hotels such as The Ritz, Savoy, Mayfair, Hyde Park, Park Lane, Cumberland, and the Dorchester – mostly under Swiss head chefs working within the Escoffier orthodoxy. Promising young apprentices were sent abroad too gain experience as early as 1948, when Bill Ryan and Liam (Bill) Kavanagh (Fig. 16.7b) went to London’s Savoy Grill, arranged by Hector Fabron. Both chefs later worked for Cunard and travelled the world on various cruise ships. Ryan (2004:~122) may have been the first chef to introduce coleslaw to Ireland, while Kavanagh (2003:~187) introduced turkey, ham and stuffing parcels, having learned this practice in New York. Some chefs such as Ernie Evans (Glenbeigh Hotel, Kerry) and Declan & Michael Ryan (Arbutus Lodge, Cork) worked with Fernand Point’s disciples, Paul Bocuse in Lyon and the Troisgros brothers in Roanne. This experience partly explains how haute cuisine spread from Dublin during the latter part of Phase Three to the country house hotels of Cork, Kerry, Galway and Mayo (Fig. 16.9).

![Fig. 16.7a: Robert Carrier and John (Jackie) Needham in Russell Hotel Kitchen](source)

![Fig. 16.7b: Bill Ryan & Liam Kavanagh Savoy Grill, London, (1948)](source)


Figure 16.8 lists 176 Irish staff identified as working in Dublin restaurants during Phase Three. This list is indicative rather than definitive. The symbol indicates where it is known that individuals worked abroad, while the symbol shows individuals who went
on to teach culinary arts both at home or abroad. The symbol shows staff that went on to work in Dublin Airport during Phase Three.

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Restaurant</th>
<th>The Russell Hotel</th>
<th>The Red Bank</th>
<th>The Intercontinental</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>Vincent Dowling</td>
<td>Nicky O’Neill</td>
<td>George Ennis</td>
<td>Johnny Martin</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>P.J. Dunne</td>
<td>John (Jackie) Needham</td>
<td>Eamonn Kavanagh</td>
<td>Eric Bryant</td>
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<td>Dessie Cahill</td>
<td>Arthur McGee</td>
<td>Tommy Smith</td>
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<td>Commis Mansfield</td>
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<td>Kevin Duffy</td>
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<td>Willy Woods</td>
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<td>Ken Wade</td>
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</table>

Figure 16.8a: Irish Staff identified in Research as working in Dublin (1947-1974)

* worked abroad      □ became culinary teachers □ worked in Dublin Airport
Figure 16.8b lists 48 foreign born staff, predominantly French and Swiss, working in Dublin restaurants during Phase Three, two thirds of which only remained in Ireland for a short while. This list is indicative rather than definitive of the numbers of foreign born catering workers employed in Dublin. By the late 1950s most Dublin restaurants employed a majority of Irish staff. Most of the seven foreign born chefs who arrived in 1963 for the opening of the Intercontinental Hotel left within eighteen months when the indigenous Irish staff had been sufficiently trained.

<table>
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<th>Name</th>
<th>Position</th>
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<th>Place of Birth</th>
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<td>The Russell &amp; Royal Hibernian Hotels</td>
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<td>Phillip G.Bennett</td>
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<td>Karl Uhlemann</td>
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<td>Bill Everard</td>
<td>Chef</td>
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<td>Clifford Steer</td>
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<td>Willy Widmer</td>
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<td>Christian Schild</td>
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<td>Chef</td>
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</tbody>
</table>

Figure 16.8b: Foreign born Restaurant Staff working in Dublin during Phase Three
The various Catering Exhibitions that took place in Dublin during Phase Three also brought chefs and the general public together, facilitating opportunities for networking and exchange of culinary techniques. This period also witnessed the growth of training for catering workers outside of Dublin. Coláiste Charman, in Gorey was the first provincial centre for training female hotel staffs, whilst male chefs and waiters were trained in Rockwell College, in Tipperary; Maynooth in County Kildare; Athenry, in County Galway; and Killybegs, in County Donegal, and later then in the Regional Technical Colleges (RTCs). Some leading chefs and restaurant managers were also trained in the Shannon College of Hotel Management which was set up by Brendan O’Regan in 1951. Many of those who trained in the provincial colleges later worked in the restaurants and hotels of Dublin.

The Council for Education, Recruitment and Training for the Hotel Industry (CERT) was set up in 1963 as a national body responsible for co-ordinating the education, recruitment and training of staff for the hotel, catering and tourism industries (Coolahan 2002:285). Corr (1987:73-78) charts the background and history of CERT and points out it was originally run under the auspices of Bord Fáilte and was aimed exclusively at the hotel industry. In 1974 CERT began providing education, recruitment and training for the entire catering sector, which will be discussed in Chapter Seventeen.

**The Rise of Ethnic Cuisine**

Taste in food among the Irish became less conservative during Phase Three. It has been argued that Irish pilgrims to Rome during the holy year of 1950 influenced the spread of pasta as an everyday food among certain sections of the Irish public (Conway Piskorski 1998). Pasta was previously championed in print in Ireland during the first decade of the twentieth century (Berkley 1909). The spaghetti and cannelloni served by chef Maurice O’Looney at the Shelbourne Hotel kitchen suppers were ‘the last word in early sixties cosmopolitan chic’ (O’ Sullivan and O’ Neill 1999:137). Despite a growing interest in pasta, potatoes remained the dominant carbohydrate for Irish diners throughout the twentieth century. Taste in food became more adventurous following the growth of international package holidays and increased airline travel. Farmar (1991:182) quotes
from an article in *The Irish Times* describing crowded tables in the foreign restaurants in Dublin as a sign that the Irish were discovering the delights of new dishes from curry, *chow mein* to *paella*.

A number of Italian restaurants such as Ostinelli’s, Bernardo’s, Alfredo’s, and Nico’s opened during Phase Three, not to mention the large amount of ice-cream parlours and fish and chip shops run by the Cinelli, Borza, Forte, Fusciardi, Fusco, Morelli, Tosselli, and Cervi families. Some information about Italian food families in Dublin has been published (Power 1988; Reynolds 1993; Reinders 1999; Byrne 2004). The history of Italian families working with food in Ireland is currently being researched at PhD level. A number of middle to lower class restaurants and cafés, such as The Irish Steakhouse (basement O’Connell Street) and The Shannon Shore (upstairs 2 Lower Abbey Street), were also opened in Dublin during the 1950s by Greek Cypriot immigrants who anglicised their names (Sharpson 2008).

Oriental and Indian restaurants also appeared gradually. Dublin’s first Chinese restaurant was the Luna in O’Connell Street, Dublin, set up in the early 1950s by four friends from Hong Kong who were working in England and saw a business opportunity on a visit to Ireland (Lee 2008). The Christmas 1958 edition of *Good Food and Better Cooking* reports on a Chinese meal enjoyed by the Wine and Food Society in the Cathay Restaurant in 19 Kildare Street. The Golden Orient on Leeson Street, opened in 1956 by Mahmood (Mike) Butt, provided Indian food, albeit with Kenyan influence (Mac Con Iomaire 2005b; Mac Con Iomaire 2006a).

**Dining Out – A Privileged Activity**

Dining out in the Dublin restaurants that produced *haute cuisine* was socially stratified. Writing about ordinary Irish middle class lives in 1963, Farmar (1991:182) notes that some people still believed that Jammet’s restaurant was ‘a place for the Protestant country club set and American tourists. An Irishman wouldn’t know what to do in a place like that’. Stewart (2008:~454-8) recalls
‘when I was going on my honeymoon to London Mrs Handy, the famous Mrs Handy, she gave me two pounds and said “that’s specifically for yourself and your wife to have lunch in Simpson’s on the Strand”, and of course, here we walk up, two Paddys in their twenties and there’s no way we get in. We couldn’t get in.’

Stewart also recalls celebrating their first wedding anniversary in Jury’s Copper Grill with a meal and a bottle of Champagne, but that the waiter kept an eye on them in case they ran out without paying. It has been suggested by Taylor (2003:285) that many people had no experience of eating out in any restaurant until after World War Two, and that millions of ordinary Britons learnt the rules of public dining in one of the Frank Berni’s restaurants, The Berni Inns, between 1950 and 1970. Farmar (1991:180-182) suggests that one absolute rule among Irish middle-classes in the 1950s and early 1960s was never to talk about food; ‘to enjoy eating as such was unbecoming to a serious person’. He quotes an American commentator who suggested that cooking in Ireland was ‘a necessary chore rather than an artistic ceremony’ and that in restaurants ‘nine out of ten ordered steak every time with seven out of ten men ordering chips with it’. Allen (2003:~58) recalls there being pandemonium when she told friends that she had paid twenty five shillings for a dinner in Jammet’s in the 1940s, it was seen as a terrible waste of money. Up until the 1960s, according to Hingston (2008:~264), the average Dublin citizen would not contemplate entering a hotel without dressing up in their best suit, and would more than likely have been challenged by the concierge as to what they wanted. A more welcoming attitude to customers was adapted by the Intercontinental Hotel and by P.V. Doyle in his hotels – The Green Isle, Montrose, Tara Towers, Skylon and Burlington which all opened towards the end of Phase Three (Corr 1987:52-56).

The clientele of Jammet’s, The Russell, and The Hibernian included the rich Anglo-Irish families, diplomats, members of the professions and merchant families, the literati and visiting stars of stage and screen. In many respects most of these might be described as ‘old money’. Ryan (2005:146) suggests that the newer restaurants such as the Soup Bowl and Snaffles were frequented by ‘new money’ who were less discerning. He compared dinner in both the Soup Bowl and the Russell Hotel:

‘The Soup Bowl was the bee’s knees and we ate in the dark off melamine plates, we drank wine which was good quality but it was too young, and the following
night we went to the Russell where we ate in splendour with superb silver and a bottle of wine that I spent years trying to repeat. It was *Les Bonnes Mares* and it was one of the greatest Burgundy’s I’ve ever drunk and the meal in the Soup Bowl cost me more and it was crap. And it was the *nouveau riche* Dubliners who knew nothing as against the old style, where you actually had to know something to realise how good it was’.

Ryan (2005:126) suggests that, by the late 1960s, the Anglo-Irish aristocracy who had frequented the likes of the Russell and Jammet’s were dying out and ‘it was tourists that were giving me the main impetus for excellence because they appreciated what I was doing. I mean there was a good solid local backing as well, but not as knowledgeable. The knowledge was coming in during the summer’. The *Egon Ronay 1965 Guide*, however, discussed emerging trends: the rise in Italian restaurants; the decline at the top end of the market and a rise in the bottom end; and particularly the rise in younger clientele visiting restaurants.

‘A new type of restaurant clientele is being born - this is the most significant development on our catering scene. Young people eat out very much more often than years ago. They are more critical and outspoken, have less of a complex about walking into restaurants, and a large proportion have palates un-poisoned by public school feeding’ (p.16).

**Tourism and Irish Food**

Determined efforts had begun at promoting Ireland as a tourist destination in the 1890s and the early years of the twentieth century, with Frederick Crossley as the leading tourism pioneer (Furlong 2003:162). Much of the progress made was cancelled by the War of Independence and the Civil War. The 1950s witnessed efforts to boost tourism such as *An Tóstal*, a festival to promote Irish culture and heritage (Furlong 2004). Part of this movement was the promotion of traditional Irish food. In 1958 *Bord Fáilte Éireann* – The Irish Tourist Board, working with Mullen (*IT&GWU*), suggested the inauguration of an Irish Food Festival Week. To bring this idea to fruition, a panel of Dublin’s leading chefs were formed – and named *Seanad Cócaire na hEireann*: Panel of Chefs of Ireland (Panel-of-Chefs 1983). The Panel of Chefs was the first attempt of a professional body for chefs in Ireland. Despite their endeavors, professional cookery never became a recognised trade in the Republic of Ireland. The main role the Panel played was the
organising of culinary competitions, and representing Ireland in international *salons culinaires* (Corr 2008). The Panel of Chefs is profiled in Chapter Seventeen.

The official programme of the 1958 Catering Exhibition in *Busáras* shows attempts to create new Irish dishes such as Lobster *t-Iolar, Uí Fáilghe* Oatmeal Cream Soup, *Cailín Deas* Pancakes, or Fillet of Beef *Cluain Tarbh*, using prime Irish ingredients but working within the French culinary canon (Panel-of-Chefs 1983:15-17). O’ Neill (1962:25) supplies an example of thirteen specialities available on the menu of top Irish hotels and restaurants including Sole *Aitchen* (named after St. Patrick’s chef), Lobster *t-Iolar*, Gateau Leprechaun, and Apple *Niamh Chinn Oir* (named after the mythological Niamh of the Golden Tresses). The quality of Irish seafood is also eulogised by O’Neill, but seems to have been enjoyed more by our visiting neighbours than the native Irish who continued to match the land-locked Austrians in their annual per capita consumption of seafood despite being an island nation (Mac Con Iomaire 2006:229). During the mid-1950s The Metropole had a special ‘*Tóstal Room*’ (Fig. 16.47) which served traditional Irish food in an Irish setting. Traditional Irish dishes were later served in the Russell Hotel’s Robert Emmet Grill, which opened in 1968. Smith (2007:~110) points out that President Kennedy’s visit in 1963 resulted in large numbers of American tourists visiting annually from St. Patrick’s Day to September. The number of French tourists visiting Ireland increased dramatically following Charles de Gaulle’s visit in June 1969. British tourists, however, then the most significant source of tourist revenue, declined dramatically following the onset of violence in Northern Ireland.

Mc Sorley (1955:19) suggests that apart from ‘the international *Haute Cuisine* which is found in all the larger Irish hotels where most of the chefs are French’, the common food of Ireland such as ham, bacon, fresh eggs and wholemeal bread and fresh butter are well worth attention. The gourmet specialities of the country, she proposes, are Irish smoked salmon, the Dublin Bay prawns, lobsters and scallops, all forms of seasonal game (grouse, pheasant, woodcock, plover and snipe), and Irish oysters which although small are remarkably succulent. The success of many of the country house hotels which began to open during Phase Three stemmed from using these very ingredients. The best
example of this new phenomenon is Myrtle Allen of Ballymaloe House, who could be described as the *mère Irlandaise*, for she has been as influential to Irish country cooking as the *mère Lyonnaise* were to shaping the new culinary movement in France. Ballymaloe was unique among the leading country house hotels in not following the French culinary aesthetic. Ryan (2005:~134) acknowledges how his experience working in The Russell and in Troisgros shaped his culinary philosophy, and notes that Ballylicky House employed all French chefs. Ryan (2005:~170-172) admits being also influenced by Michael Marley’s ‘Irish’ dishes such as ‘Pork Renmore’ and ‘Chicken Hibernia’ which had their origins in the *Tóstal* Room of the Metropole. It is worth noting that by 1965 some of the Dublin restaurants listed in the *Egon Ronay Guide* began to be listed as Franco-Irish cuisine rather than French cuisine, with the Shelbourne listed as International / Irish cuisine.

**Technological Advances**

Many of the kitchens producing *haute cuisine* were modernised during the first ten years of this period. Descriptions of these modernised kitchens including a detailed inventory of machinery including make and supplier are given in *The Irish Hotelier* over a period of time, including The Royal Hibernian (October 1954), The Dolphin Hotel (November 1954), The Royal Marine Hotel (June 1955), and Mitchell’s (July 1955). Advertisements also appear in *The Irish Hotelier* for companies providing catering equipment, glass, cutlery and delftware, including Frigidaire, Electricity Supply Board, Kelvinator, A.H. Masser Ltd., Peerless & Ericsson Ltd., Benham & Sons, George Norton & Sons, and Newbridge Cutlery. Frozen food also became more available during this time. An advertisement for ‘Golden Spring’ fresh frozen vegetables appears in the February 1958 edition of *Good Cooking*, listing ten Dublin stockists and noting that they also distribute Mermaid, Young’s, and Smedley’s Frozen Fish. From a domestic perspective, supermarket chains such as H. Williams, Quinsworth, and Superquinn gradually changed the tradition of daily shopping in local grocery shops, influenced by the growing availability of refrigerators, freezers and televisions (Farmar 1991:173-177).
Statistics – Census and Thom’s

Information relating to the development and staffing of restaurants and public dining in Dublin available in the 1951, 1961, 1966 and 1971 census reports are presented in Figure 16.8c. The population of Dublin rose steadily from 636,022 in 1951 to 852,219 in 1971, despite the fall in the overall population of Ireland over the first ten years of this period, which was followed by gradual growth during the 1960s. The population of Dublin grew 23% from 1951 to 1971, whereas the population of the country as a whole only grew by 6%. The numbers employed in domestic service continued to decline, falling by nearly 74% from 60,213 in 1951 to only 15,721 in 1971. By 1951 and in subsequent census reports until 1971, separate sections were provided for the proprietors or managers of hotels and the proprietors or managers of restaurants. There was a gradual increase in both sections with numbers of hotel proprietors / managers rising from 332 in 1951 to 527 in 1966, and numbers of restaurant proprietors / managers growing from 457 to 556 during the same period. In 1971, however, the number listed combined proprietors or managers of both hotels and restaurants. This new combined number must have also included catering managers in industrial units and hospitals for it increased disproportionately to the corresponding figures for cooks / chefs or waiting personnel during the same period.

Females outnumbered males as proprietors or managers of both hotels and restaurants until the 1966 census and by 1971, albeit with numbers that may include industrial catering managers, the ratio of male to female was over two to one. A breakdown of workers within this sector by country of birth was given in the 1961 census and showed that 8.84% of hotel keepers, 3.48% of waiting staff, and 2.25% of cooks and maids were born outside of Ireland. Cooks or chefs were listed in the 1961 census for the first time since 1911. The number of cooks or chefs rose steadily throughout this period and indeed for the rest of the century. In 1961 there were 1,382 cooks or chefs listed for Dublin. This number rose to 1,976 in 1966, fell slightly to 1,864 in 1971, but the number listed in the suburbs increased even in 1971. This occupation was slightly dominated by females until the 1971 census when the gender scale began to slightly favour the males, perhaps influenced by the marriage bar which operated around this time (O’ Sullivan and O’ Neill
Females outnumbered males in the waiting profession by a ratio of over two to one for all of this period, but the number of waiting staff in Dublin remained relatively constant at around 3,000 during this twenty year period.

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<th>1961</th>
<th>1966</th>
<th>1971</th>
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<td>2,818,341</td>
<td>2,884,002</td>
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<td>Female</td>
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<td>Total Female</td>
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<td>Total Male</td>
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<td>Total Female</td>
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<td>Total Female</td>
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<td>1179</td>
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<td>Total Male</td>
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<td>Total Female</td>
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<tr>
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<td>1,728</td>
<td>2,841</td>
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<tr>
<td>Waiter / Waitress &amp; Still Room Hands Male</td>
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<tr>
<td>Total Male</td>
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<tr>
<td>Female</td>
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<td>Total Female</td>
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<tr>
<td>Total Male</td>
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<td>1,157</td>
<td>4,127</td>
<td>5,284</td>
<td>4,172</td>
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</tbody>
</table>

**Figure 16.8c: Information from 1951, 1961, 1966 and 1971 Census**

**Source:** Central Statistic Office 1951, 1961, 1966 and 1971 Census Reports
The Egon Ronay Guide

*Thom’s Directory* stopped listing restaurants specifically in 1958. Listings in five yearly blocks from 1947 to 1958 are shown in Chapter Fifteen (Fig. 15.4). Whereas *Thom’s* listed restaurants in general, *Egon Ronay* only listed restaurants of interest gastronomically to the traveller. Ronay’s guides to Ireland first appeared in 1963 and provide both an indication of the quality of food and service on offer and descriptions of the décor and meals experienced by his inspectors. Ronay’s background has been previously discussed in Chapter Nine. As with all guidebooks, they are subjective and dependent on the aesthetic values of the inspectors. This becomes particularly apparent in Phase Four when *The Egon Ronay Guides* and *The Michelin Guides* are published concurrently, certain establishments feature in one and not the other. Restaurants awarded stars or mentioned by *Egon Ronay* are shown in Figure 16.9. Ryan (2005:~45) recalls:

‘I met the chief inspector for *Egon Ronay* afterwards; he was a withered old Hungarian who had an absolute weakness for *Mille Feuille*. If you did a good *Mille Feuille*, you were there’.

In *The Egon Ronay Guide 1963*, The Russell Hotel, Dublin, was one of eight restaurants in the British Isles to be awarded three stars. Restaurant Jammet was one of twenty nine restaurants in the British Isles to be awarded two stars. Ten of the 175 one stars awarded in 1963 in the British Isles were in Ireland, of which half were in Dublin: The Gresham Hotel, Red Bank Restaurant, Royal Hibernian Hotel, Shelbourne Hotel, and Haddington House. Ten years later in 1973, only one of the eighteen two stars (The Russell), and eight of the 123 one stars awarded in the British Isles were in Ireland, of which only three were in Dublin: The Royal Hibernian’s Lafayette Restaurant, and two new style restaurants – Snaffles and The Soup Bowl. There was roughly thirty percent less stars awarded in 1973 than in 1963. Analyses of the establishments awarded stars indicate a shift from the ‘old guard’ Escoffier orthodoxy, towards a newer culinary aesthetic represented by *Le Gavroche* in London and the Box Tree Cottage in Ilkley (discussed in Chapter Nine), and both Snaffles and The Soup Bowl in Dublin, and the rise of country house hotels such as Ballymaloe, Renvyle, Newport and Ballylickey. The closure of Jammet’s (1967), the Red Bank (1969), and the Russell (1974) marked the end of Dublin’s golden era of *haute cuisine*. 
### Dublin Restaurants awarded stars (*) or mentioned (M) in Egon Ronay’s Guide

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</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>The Russell Hotel Restaurant</td>
<td>3*</td>
<td>3*</td>
<td>3*</td>
<td>3*</td>
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<td>2*</td>
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<td>2*</td>
<td>2*</td>
<td>2*</td>
<td>2*</td>
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<tr>
<td>The Royal Hibernian Lafayette Rest.</td>
<td>1*</td>
<td>1*</td>
<td>1*</td>
<td>1*</td>
<td>1*</td>
<td>1*</td>
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<tr>
<td>Royal Hibernian Hotel Buttery and Bianconi</td>
<td>M</td>
<td>M</td>
<td>M</td>
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<td>M</td>
<td>M</td>
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<td>M</td>
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<tr>
<td>The Shelbourne Hotel Restaurant</td>
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<td>M</td>
<td>M</td>
<td>M</td>
<td>M</td>
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<tr>
<td>Intercontinental Martello Roof-top Restaurant</td>
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</tr>
<tr>
<td>Jammel’s Restaurant, Nassau Street</td>
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<td>2*</td>
<td>1*</td>
<td>1*</td>
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<td>1*</td>
<td>1*</td>
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<td>The Red Bank Restaurant, D’Olier Street</td>
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<td>Snaffles Restaurant, Leeson Street</td>
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<tr>
<td>The Soup Bowl, Molesworth Lane</td>
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### Stars Awarded Outside Dublin

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**Figure 16.9: Egon Ronay’s Stars and Mention for Dublin and Ireland 1963-1973**

**Sources:** Egon Ronay Guides to Great Britain and Ireland 1963-1973
Comparative analysis of the *Egon Ronay* awards with the populations of Dublin and London in the 1963 and later in 1973 suggests that Dublin was slightly ahead of London particularly in the three and two star in 1963 on a per capita basis, but by 1973, London was significantly ahead of Dublin.

Case Studies – Old Establishments
The following case studies discuss how some of the restaurants profiled in Chapter Fifteen such as Jammet's, The Red Bank, The Russell, The Royal Hibernian, The Bailey, The Unicorn, The Gresham, Jury’s, The Moira, and The Shelbourne progressed during Phase Three. Also profiled are The Intercontinental Hotel, The Metropole, The Savoy and The Dublin Airport Restaurant. Some of the key individuals employed in these establishments are identified, particularly as examples of how the knowledge of the techniques of French classical cookery and restaurant service were transferred to Irish staff. The clientele in some establishments are mentioned as a marker of the prestigious standing of a particular restaurant at a specific place and time in history. Some of the newer establishments which opened towards the end of Phase Three such as Snaffles, The Soup Bowl and The Mirabeau are profiled in Chapter Seventeen.

Restaurant Jammet
Restaurant Jammet’s place as the finest restaurant in Ireland was challenged during Phase Three by the re-opening of The Russell Hotel. The earliest surviving menu available from Restaurant Jammet is from 1949 (Fig. 16.10). Analysis of this menu shows the structure and dishes follow the Escoffier orthodoxy of *haute cuisine*, similar to menus shown in Chapters Twelve and Fourteen from the Edwardian era. The style of the food remained constant as evident in the 1961 menu (Fig. 16.12). When Egon Ronay came to Dublin in 1963 he wrote of Jammet’s:

‘As if by magic the turn of the century has been fully preserved beyond the swing door...Space, grace, the charm of small red leather armchairs, *fin-de-siècle* murals and marble oyster counters exude a bygone age. Ritz and Escoffier would feel at home here’.
Ronay awarded Jammet's restaurant two stars – indicating excellence of cooking. A close up of the fin-de-siècle murals can be seen in Figure 16.11, which shows Micheal Mac Liamóir, Lady Longford and Pádraig Colum sitting at the Yeats table in Jammet’s. After the war, when films began to be made in Ardmore Studios, film stars such as Wells, Cagney and Power converged on Jammet’s (Ryan 1987). It was the place to be seen during the 1950s and early 1960s, Sands (2003:~166-184) lists the varied clientele that frequented Jammet’s during Phase Three, which included the Aly Khan, Rita Hayward and Danny Kaye.

Figure 16.10: Menu from Jammet’s (1/3/1949)

Source: Private Collection
Armand Hoffman, who had been *sous chef* for over fifteen years, left Jammet’s to become head chef in the Central Hotel in 1948 (Kavanagh 2003:~63). Hoffman seemingly ended his working life as a cookery lecturer in England. According to *The Irish Hotelier* (December 1949), he was replaced by an excellent Lyonnaise chef, Theophile Gautier. It is unclear how long Gautier stayed. Oral evidence from Sands (2003:189) who started work in Jammet’s in 1951 mentions Gautier, and suggests he may have moved to Canada. He also mentioned that Roger Noblet worked in Jammet’s before going to the Russell Hotel. Stewart (2008:~34) points out that Noblet, a Breton, had worked for a German general in Paris during the war and had been advised to leave France. Marc Faure was the head chef in Jammet’s for most of Phase Three. It seems that the Jammet family sent Vincent Dowling, from Dublin, to the *Hotel Bristol* in Paris for training, prior to his returning and succeeding Faure as head chef. Faure was head chef on the 10th December 1957 when the Wine and Food Society held its forty-fourth meeting in the Blue Room in Jammet’s. The notice of this event was listed in *Good Cooking* (January 1958) and it noted that Faure was from Lyon and had worked in Frascatti’s in Le Harve prior to coming to Dublin.

![Figure 16.11: Micheal MacLiamóir, Lady Longford, and Padraig Colum at the Yeats table in Jammet’s with Victor Hurding (Waiter)](image_url)

*Figure 16.11: Micheal MacLiamóir, Lady Longford, and Padraig Colum at the Yeats table in Jammet’s with Victor Hurding (Waiter)*

*Source: Queen Magazine c.1964*
Dowling was not the only employee sent to the *Hotel Bristol* for training. Sands (1992) points out that Jimmy Beggan, mentioned in Chapter Fifteen, and manager of Jammet’s when it closed in 1967, had trained in the *Hotel Bristol* and was an ‘unrepentant Francophile, he judged all areas of the restaurant and wine business against those of France’. Sands (1992) lists twenty staff members working in Jammet’s, the most notable of which, working alongside Faure and Beggan, were P.J. Dunne who became a lecturer in the Dublin College of Catering, and Seamus O’Byrne who later opened Dobbins restaurant. Also mentioned was Eamonn Preston who was an award winning oyster opener, who took a position in the Wicklow Hotel when Restaurant Jammet closed in 1967.

Roger Martiny was listed as manager of Jammet’s in 1955 and was awarded a diploma from Holiday magazine as one of the outstanding restaurants in Europe (IT 3/2/1955:8). Oral evidence about Jammet’s during the early 1960s comes from Gerry Connell who
began his apprenticeship as a *commis chef* in Jammet’s in January 1961. Connell (2008:~42-238) recalls that Vincent Dowling was head chef and that Dessie Cahill was *sous chef* when he started and lists another ten chefs in the kitchen brigade. The *Maître D’hôtel* was Willie O’ Regan, with Jimmy Beggan as his assistant in 1961 and Connell lists nine other front of house staff, five of which were previously listed in Sands (1992), suggesting they enjoyed long tenure in the restaurant. Connell (2008:~32) mentions that his brother Jimmy had trained in Jammet’s in the 1950s, and had spent a short while back in Jammet’s during the early 1960s, having returned from a period working in the Cumberland Hotel in London. Connell supplies a comprehensive description of the kitchen operation, noting it was still a coal range they cooked on, and pointing out that a Miss Riordan from Cork was the manageress who looked after wages.

Analysis of menus from Restaurant Jammet from this period shows continuity rather than change. The menus offer wide choices of dishes under the following headings: *hors d’œuvres* (appetisers), *Les Potages* (soups), *Les Œufs* (egg dishes), *Les Poissons* (Fish), *Les Entrées*, *Buffet Froid* (Cold Meats), *Grillades et Rotis* (Grills and Roasts), *Les Legumes* (Vegetables), *Les Entremets* (Dessert), and *Les Savouries* (Savouries). The restaurant also offered daily specials and a range of the finest wines to complement the food. The 1961 menu (Fig. 16.12) shows a wide variety of seasonal game including pheasant, plover, widgeon and wild duck which could be ordered roasted, *a l’Orange*, or *a la Presse*, which was the famous method used in the *Tour d’Argent* in Paris mentioned in Chapter Nine. When asked how many courses customers would order Connell (2008:~150) suggests:

‘Some would go right through the whole menu with the exception I would image of leaving one course out, possibly the egg course……. It would vary for different groups but people who went into Jammet’s had no problem (financially). They were there for the night and they were quite willing to spend maybe three hours over a meal and more. They weren’t in any hurry’.

It is interesting to note the French layout of the 1962 menu (Fig. 16.13b), serving the cheese before the sweet course, and the use of black truffles (*Périgoudine*) and asparagus, both markers of *haute cuisine*. 

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Louis Jammet (Fig. 16.13a) died in October 1964, and the running of the restaurant fell to his son Patrick, the only member of the family who had worked in the business. By 1964 conditions in Dublin had changed considerably, parking became a prime consideration in the catering trade. Many of the restaurant’s customers had begun moving away from the city centre into the suburbs. In 1967, Patrick closed the restaurant and sold the business. He planned to re-launch a ‘Jammet Hotel and Restaurant’ on Shelbourne Road, Ballsbridge, but failed to secure planning permission, sparking a public debate in *The Irish Times* letters column. Following its sale, Restaurant Jammet was run for a while as a fish restaurant and steak house by Clayton Love. It then re-opened as a branch of the popular English steak restaurant chain The Berni Inn.

![Figure 16.13a Louis Jammet c. 1948](image1) ![Figure 16.13b Jammet’s Menu 1962](image2)

*Source: (Ryan 1987)*

**The Red Bank Restaurant**
The Red Bank Restaurant changed in Phase Three from the chop house / late night drinking den it had been during the war years to become one of the top restaurants in Dublin for *haute cuisine*. An article in *The Irish Hotelier* (January 1950) described The ‘New’ Red Bank Restaurant as ‘a place of eating that is too a place of taste and discrimination’. The advertisement in *The Irish Times* heralding its re-opening in July 1948 (Fig. 16.14) notes that the restaurant ‘caters for those who esteem the civility of
efficient service, distinguished cooking, and the finest French wines in modestly luxurious surroundings’, and pointed out it was their ninety sixth consecutive summer in business and that the ‘R’ in each winter month stood for Red Bank Oysters.

George Ennis was manager, Jean Rety, from Macon, France, was head chef, and Gerry Ferns was sous chef. Ennis (2005) notes that he spent seven years managing the Red Bank, which would bring his time there up to 1952. When Ennis left, Rety became manager and Ferns became head chef. Eamon ‘Eddie’ Kavanagh replaced Rety as manager and had just left to work in the airport when Smith (2007) started work in the Red Bank in 1960, aged thirteen and a half. Kavanagh (2007) trained in Jammet’s and recalls offering to purchase the Red Bank from the Montgomery family when he was manager, noting that his offer was declined, yet they sold it for a similar sum of money nearly a decade later.

Figure 16.14: Ad for the Re-opening of The Red Bank Restaurant

Source: The Irish Times (2/7/1948:2)
Smith (2007:~18-44) provides oral evidence up until the restaurant’s closure in 1969 and lists nearly all the staff who worked there. The most notable of these were Nolan, Kavanagh and O’Connor who went to work in Snaffles when the Red Bank closed in 1969. Smith (2007:~18-44) notes there were six chefs in the kitchen, plus May, a cook, and three or four commis chefs, but could only name Ferns (Fig. 16.15b), the head chef, and Brian Kavanagh, the sous chef. The Irish Times (29/4/1952:6) notes that Ferns had apprenticed in The Adelphi Hotel, Liverpool, and had also worked in Gleneagles Hotel, Scotland, and in the Mayfair Hotel, London. His daughter informs that Ferns was born in Liverpool and came to Ireland for a week and never went home. He met his wife while working in the Savoy Restaurant, Dublin, and also worked in the Royal Hibernian Hotel and Restaurant Jammet prior to the Red Bank (Byrne 2008). Oysters still played a part in the Red Bank Menu (Fig. 16.15a), as they had since the days of Burton Bindon. The menu also illustrates that the Red Bank was principally a seafood restaurant, although meat was also served. It is of interest to compare this menu with that of the Lord Edward during Phase Four (Fig. 17.8) to see how similar they remained. Smith (2007:~46-48) provides a description of the restaurant:

‘When you walked in you had the front bar when you walked in off D’Olier Street and then the dining room was immediately after that. The dining room would have seated about maybe eighty. Eighty people because there was all lovely booths and everything in it. Lovely booths and... The Oyster Bar in the back that held about maybe twenty people. That was a very exclusive place and the lounge held about fifty, you know, that kind of... you had the front bar and the oyster bar and the restaurant. There was no such thing as bar food like that. Lunch, dinner and the front bar was open all day. Busier for lunch. Business people, Independent Newspapers were great clients, the Irish Times were great clients. This was all over the house. The high executives in the restaurant. We had the ‘hacks’ coming in and out to the front bar. It was a great place for the ordinary guy to come into the front bar. You could have your oysters, you could have a mixed grill, you could have had anything. A light lunch as I say was eight and six I think it was at the time. That’s what it was, seven and nine and the service charge made it eight and six. That’s when they finished up in ’69’.

The Irish Times (3/3/1961:7) reports that a fire had damaged part of the restaurant in April 1961 and that the Red Bank closed in July of that year for refurbishments. Smith (2007:~88) recalls:
'There was a fire in 1961, Easter ’61 and it changed the whole complex of the whole place. The kitchen went downstairs, they halved the restaurant and they amalgamated the front bar into the restaurant. The restaurant was ruined then because all you had was bar running through the restaurant and you had the kitchen behind and a little hatch that you opened. Gerry Ferns was mortified having to go in there and all, his kitchen was in there and the cocktail bar was lost. That became the function room and everything else stayed downstairs then. The lounge was okay, the Oyster Bar was alright but the front bar went too, we only had half the restaurant; we lost all the private booths so we lost lots and lots of customers, lots of special customers at that time'.

When *The Egon Ronay Guide* first reported on The Red Bank in 1963 they awarded it one star, despite the location, yellow Formica tables and brown walls, because ‘nothing was too much trouble, there was laughter and happiness in the air. It is a more a fish restaurant than anything else and we did not find its high reputation exaggerated’. The Red Bank retained their one star rating until 1968 but the Guide always noted that it was...
an unpretentious restaurant with ‘some very good cooking if somewhat unorthodox’. In 1969, the restaurant went into voluntary liquidation (Fig. 16.16a), and Ferns and some of the waiting staff went to the Lord Edward (Fig. 16.16b), whilst some others went to the newly opened Snaffles in Leeson Street. Both Snaffles and The Lord Edward restaurants are discussed in Chapter Seventeen.

Fig. 16.16a: Notice of Liquidation  Fig. 16.16b: Opening of Lord Edward
Sources: (a) The Irish Times (9/8/1969:16)  (b) The Irish Times (15/9/1969:16)

The Russell Hotel
The Besson family purchased the Russell Hotel (Fig. 16.17) together with number 101 Harcourt Street in 1947. The board of directors of The Russell included Claude Auzello, managing director of the Ritz Hotel, Paris, and Hector Fabron (Ir. Hot. Feb 1954). Fabron’s French born father was a chef at the Piccadilly Hotel in London. Prior to coming to Dublin, Fabron (Fig. 16.20a) had worked in The Carlton, The Savoy and Pruniers, and had apprenticed under Auguste Escoffier. The hotel manager was M. Neyrolles who came from the Paris Ritz and ‘the twin perfectionists, chef de cuisine Pierre Rolland and restaurant manager Maurice’ were responsible for the catering (Ir. Hot. Feb 1954:13). An arrangement made between Ken Besson, Hector Fabron and the IT&GWU saw Irish apprentices being indentured in the kitchens of both the Russell and the Hibernian in return for allowing French and continental chefs and waiters to work in Dublin (Fig. 16.3b).
In the 1950s and 1960s both the Hibernian and the Russell had a world-class reputation (Corr 1987). An article on The Russell in *The Irish Hotelier* (Feb 1954) described the cooking ‘is frankly of the Cordon Blue category, as befits a chef de cuisine who is numbered among the ten most distinguished culinary experts in France’. Pierre Rolland (Fig. 16.1) had won first prizes both for a cold fish dish and for an egg dish at the International Gastronomic Festival in Torquay in 1951 (*Ir. Hot.* Feb. 1951:19). Rolland won top awards in each category he entered in the 1958 Catering Exhibition in Dublin’s *Busáras*, where he met the city’s other leading chefs. Many of these chefs came to the Russell on their free days to learn from Rolland the art of pulling sugar and other culinary techniques. *The Irish Hotelier* (Feb 1954) article suggests that ‘only a gourmet educated in the finer aspects of gastronomy can fully appreciate the quality of the cuisine’.

![Figure 16.17: The Russell Hotel, Corner of Stephen’s Green and Harcourt Street](image)

*Source: Private Collection*

This view is copper fastened by Adams (1960) who calls the Russell Restaurant the best hotel restaurant in Dublin. She continues:
‘It obviously attracts the smartest and most chic natives and visitors. The menu is entirely international and the chef French. There is an unusually good wine list for these parts. I ate the most wonderful grilled lamb’s kidneys with Irish Bacon and advise you to do the same if you find yourself in Dublin. There is nothing like Irish bacon anywhere else on earth. Service rather elegant. Expensive’. 

Rolland was an excellent leader, teacher and mentor according to the words of many of his young apprentices who went on to have successful careers. McGee (2004) and Dowling (2004) were both indentured in the Russell under Rolland and recall his professionalism, authority and ability to inspire his chefs and apprentices. In the late 1950s the Russell’s manager, Neyrolles, was offered a position in the Bahamas. He asked Rolland to go to the Bahamas and to supervise all the kitchens. On the 4th October 1959 a farewell dinner was held in honour of Rolland in the Moira Hotel Dublin. In attendance were the city’s leading chefs, managers and the trade union leader Mullen. For the next seventeen years Rolland would winter in the Bahamas and summer in Europe. The menu (Fig. 16.18) is signed by Rolland, Ó Maoláin, Hayes, Allen, Lord, Oppermann, McGee, Sweeney, and five others, some of which had befriended Rolland at the 1958 Busáras Exhibition.

**Figure 16.18: Farewell Dinner Menu for Pierre Rolland in Moira (4/10/1959)**

*Source: Arthur McGee*

Rolland, pictured below with his kitchen brigade c. 1958 (Fig. 16.19), returned to the Russell later, based on oral evidence from Clancy (2008) who worked there in
1970/1971. It is interesting to note from 1958 kitchen brigade that apart from the Rollands (Pierre and Henri) and Noblet, only one other chef is foreign. The rest of the brigade, including chefs de parties, had been trained by Rolland and they in turn trained the next generation of Irish chefs in the techniques of haute cuisine.

![Figure 16.19: Pierre Rolland with the Russell Hotel Kitchen Brigade c.1958](image)

**Front Row (left to right):** Nicky O’Neill, Jackie Needham, Un-named French chef, Monsieur Petrel (general manager), Pierre Rolland (head chef), Monsiuer Maurice (restaurant manager), Roger Noblet (sous chef), Henri Rolland, Arthur McGee. **Middle Row (left to right):** Un-named trainee manager, Brian Loughrey, Charlie O’Neill, Brendan Egan, Johnny Kilbride, Louis Corrigan, un-named trainee manager. **Back Row (left to right):** Michael (kitchen porter), un-named commis, commis Mansfield, Eamon (Ned) Ingram, Mary (vegetable maid). **Note:** Arthur McGee notes that both Willie Woods and Jimmy Doyle are missing from the photo but were part of the brigade at that time.

**Source:** (McGee 2004)

Not used to having time off, Rolland turned his house at La Croix Valmer in the South of France into a restaurant. He was enticed back to Dublin in 1962 by Ken Besson who had opened the Old Conna Hill Hotel in Shankhill. The hotel did not stay open long and Rolland reactivated his relationship with the Russell in Dublin. A marker of the Russell’s
pre-eminence among Dublin restaurants is the fact that they catered for all state banquets including that for John F. Kennedy on his Irish visit (June 1963). Rolland was also proud to have cooked for Charles de Gaulle during his Irish visit (Mac Con Iomaire 2009d forthcoming). When the Egon Ronay Guide to Hotels and Restaurants covered Ireland for the first time in 1963, the Russell was awarded three stars, and described as ‘one of the best restaurants in the world’. In his 1965 guide, Egon Ronay wrote:

‘words fail us in describing the brilliance of the cuisine at this elegant and luxurious restaurant which must rank amongst the best in the world, Excellent bisque d’homard à l’ancienne, perfect Champagne sauce, truly memorable coq au vin, very good sweets – to mention just a few of the outstanding dishes we tried. Superb and stylish service…… Highlight – highly artistic individualistic chef’ (p.464).

When Rolland left in 1966, the ratings fell to two stars. In 1966 he left the Bahamas and took up the position of head chef at the Hotel du Cap in Eden Roc, one of the most expensive hotels on the French Riviera. During this time he was awarded two Michelin stars.

The Egon Ronay 1968 Guide awarded The Russell two stars but noted ‘the brilliant, highly artistic chef produces consistently outstanding dishes but we found that standards seemed to suffer in his absence’. The Irish Times (16/2/1959:5) reports Rolland’s daughter Georgette married Dermot Ryan, and later (30/12/1966:11) that Pierre Rolland and Sean Lemass had become directors of Ryan’s Tourist Holdings, under Dermot’s chairmanship. Pierre’s son Henri (1937-2000), who trained under his father, ran the Restaurant Rolland in Killiney from 1970 to 1985, discussed in Chapter Seventeen (Mac Con Iomaire 2009d forthcoming).


‘He was an excellent chef, Rolland, he really was, he was clean, he was efficient, he was fast and what ever he did it was good, he had great control over the kitchen. He was clever. He would order twenty chickens and he would check every chicken
individually and he might pick out three or four and send them back……. Rolland was a God, in Dublin he was the God in the cheffing business you know’.

McGee (2004:~18) recalls that Roger Noblet was the sous chef when he started in 1951 and that all the chef de parties were French, but only stayed around a year or eighteen months as they learnt English on their way to America. Many of the Irish chefs who trained there eventually took senior positions, including Jackie Needham (Fig. 16.7a) who became head chef. Another chef there at the time, Willie Woods worked with McGee later in the Gresham Hotel, and couldn’t believe the difference in standard between both kitchens (McGee 2004:~78). McGee later worked as executive chef for the Great Southern Hotels before becoming executive chef of the Killiney Court Hotel in Dublin for most of Phase Four.

![Fig. 16.20a: Hector Fabron](image1)

![Fig. 16.20b: Ad for Staff for Robert Emmet Grill](image2)

Source: (a) (Corr 1987) (b) The Irish Times (22/4/1968:16)

Ryan (2005:~25) who spent the winter season of 1965 in the Russell recalls his colleagues in the Russell kitchen:

‘They were the greater shower of gurriers that God ever made. They fought like devils and they cooked like angels and they were, I mean I think Rolland had beaten them into shape. I don’t think you’d get away with the sort of tactics he must have used on these guys today, but they could cook like magic. They only knew the one way: Rolland’s way. That was the important thing’.

Clancy had worked in the Four Courts Hotel from around 1968 until 1970 when he moved to the Russell Hotel. He recalls that Rolland spent the winters abroad and the summers in Dublin and that he was considered as a god in the kitchen. Clancy (2008:~48)
notes that Jackie Needham was head chef when Rolland was absent, and that the other senior chefs were Dowling, Ingram, O’Rafferty, Tyrell, Butler, Kearney, Byron, and Woods, who he recalls was ‘a fantastic sauce chef’. Clancy notes that there were a number of commis chefs and trainee managers working in the kitchen also. When Rolland returned, his son Henri also returned and became the larder chef.

Figure 16.21a: Front and Back Cover of Russell Hotel Menu 1966

Source: (McGee 2004)

When asked if it was all silver service, Clancy (2008:55) answered:

‘Everything, we never plated a hors d’oeuvres in the kitchen, never; it was all done in the restaurant. Classic, classic cooking and service and it was great, like sauces went out in sauce boats, no dish was dressed with a sauce, with the exception of Sole Bonne Femme or the glazed dishes. It was put on a salver and glazed, with sliced potatoes around it, not mash potato, everything was classic. Brilliant, even in the pastry it was the same, the likes of the iced bombs, if it was crepes suzettes or soufflé grand marinière, everything was done to order. There was none of this having a panada done in the fridge and you took it out and put your egg with it, no. Everything was done fresh, you see. You could be there until 11.30 or 12 at night doing desserts, no problem, that’s the way it was’.
Matt Dowling was indentured in the Russell and stayed there until it closed in 1974. When asked when he was aware of guidebooks and star ratings from the likes of Egon Ronay, he answered:

‘I recall one time I was in charge of the kitchen one night, and this order came in and I don’t know why I looked at it, but I recall it was ‘eggs Benedictine’, you know, and a few other items on it that wouldn’t be the normal, run of the mill that someone would come in and have it for starter and then have a Ris de Veau as an entrée, and then have a main course. But I said, but I recall saying to the chefs and the people in the kitchen ‘look, this looks V.I.P and I have my doubts with all that. That looks to me like Egon Ronay’………..So I recall the next day and we were called to the manager’s office, ……And he says “this order that came in yesterday”, he says eh, “how did you know it was Egon Ronay?” I says, you know, “I didn’t, it just seemed the style of order, it wasn’t a normal order that would come through”. So a fellow, Bill Ogley, I think was the waiter and he was in the office with me and he turned to Bill Ogley and says “there’s a young chef who could even identify a customer’s different needs and you’re the head waiter talking to this person and didn’t even recognise that”, he says “you surprise me.” So he was admonishing the waiter in front of me, which I felt bad about as well’.

Figure 16.21b: Inside of Russell Menu 13 December 1966
Source: (McGee 2004)
Menus from the Russell Room Restaurant (Figs. 16.21a&b) and The Robert Emmet Grill (Fig. 16.22) show contrasting styles aimed at different markets. The first waitresses to serve in The Russell, according to Clancy (2008:~73), came with the opening or the Robert Emmet Grill in 1968. An advertisement in *The Irish Times* (Fig. 16.20b) verifies the female staffing of the Grill Bar and other advertisements inform that the Robert Emmet Grill was open from 11am till Midnight. The menu of the Robert Emmet Grill was written in English compared to the French menu of the Russell Room Restaurant. Service was also much quicker in the Grill Bar and the food was less formal. *The Irish Times* (4/8/1970:16) reported that the Grill Bar was very reasonably priced and that specials included ‘traditional dishes such as boxty, Irish stew, colcannon, tripe and onions, cockles and mussels, and bacon and cabbage’. The main restaurant menu, however (Fig. 16.21b), was laid out in the classical French style. It lists the Irish origin of certain gourmet ingredients – Galway oysters, Limerick ham, smoked Irish salmon, and Irish mist soufflé along with typical *haute cuisine* dishes such as *Le Canard Sauvage a la Presse*. It is also interesting to note that the cheese is offered after the desserts compared to the Jammet menu (Fig. 16.13b).

Figure 16.22: Menu from Robert Emmet Grill, Russell Hotel, Dublin
Source: (Clancy 2008)
On the 15th June 1974 The Russell Hotel closed. That same year, The Russell was the only Dublin restaurant to be awarded a Michelin star in the guidebook’s first Irish publication. Rolland’s son Henri opened a restaurant in Killiney called Rolland; Woods went to The Celtic Mews; Dowling went to Sachs Hotel before taking a teaching position with CERT; Clancy went to Opperman’s Country Club and moved with Treyvaud to Jury’s Ballsbridge; Ryan (2005) who had spent the winter of 1965 in the Russell was the only other restaurant in Ireland to be awarded a Michelin star in 1974 in his family’s hotel in Cork, Arbutus Lodge.

The Royal Hibernian Hotel

Paul Besson died in 1950 and his son Kenneth took control of Royal Hibernian Hotel. He was unhappy with the standard at the hotel. He convinced union delegates of the need to improve standards in Ireland by inviting them to join him on a fact finding tour to Europe. The result was an agreement to allow foreign chefs and waiters work in Dublin, but was conditional on Irish apprentices being indentured and trained in the relevant disciplines (Mac Con Iomaire 2009b forthcoming). The Royal Hibernian had a number of different head chefs in the early part of Phase Three including Adrian, Garnier, and Deschamps prior to Noblet (Fig. 16.24a) who had previously been sous chef in the Russell. In February 1951 The Irish Hotelier reported that Lucien Adrian won first prize for a ham dish and silver medal for cold game at the International Gastronomic Festival in Torquay. The Irish Hotelier (October 1954) listed Hector Fabron as manager of the Royal Hibernian, with ‘chef Garnier in charge of the kitchens and the popular Michael as Restaurant Manager’. Jane Walsh, enumerated in the 1911 census (Fig. 14.2), now a septuagenarian, was also listed as ‘presiding over the pastry kitchen’. Both oral evidence and material culture (Fig.16.23a) from Thoma (2008) confirm that her father, Alfred Thoma (Figs. 16.23b and 16.23c), a Swiss pastry chef, worked in the Royal Hibernian Hotel from 1948 until 1954. Thoma returned to the Hibernian for nine months in 1955 as entremetier – vegetable chef.

Edwards (first from right in Fig. 16.24b) began his chefs training in Cathal Brugha Street in 1955, taking first prize in his final year. In 1957 he began his apprenticeship in the
Royal Hibernian Hotel under Deschamps and recalls two other Frenchmen, Belmont and Belan were *sous chef* and sauce chef respectively, and a German chef Heinz Marquardt. By 1958, *Good Cooking* lists Marquardt as *chef de cuisine* in Michael’s Restaurant in Wicklow Street. In 1959 Edwards was appointed pastry chef. Edwards (2007:~3) points out that the manager at the time was Mr. Gladwell who later became the head of the Blackpool Hotel School. Hector Fabron succeeded him as manager. Edwards remembers that a Mrs Casey was the baker in the Royal Hibernian and used to make the breads for the Russell and the Bailey as well. Mary Murphy was the larder chef. Murphy is one of the few women who held a *chef de partie* position in *haute cuisine* kitchens during this time. Noblet worked in the Russell at the time, but he is present in some of the photographs that Edwards has from his Hibernian days, which illustrates cooperation between the kitchens of the Besson hotels (Fig. 16.24b). Noblet replaced Deschamps as head chef and remained nearly until the hotel closed, when he was succeeded by Nicky Cluskey.

![Figures 16.23 (a) Thoma Workbook (b) Thoma Sculpting Butter (c) Thoma Portrait](image)

*Source: Anita Thoma, Daughter of Alfred Thoma*

The Besson hotels ran training courses for young apprentices with prizes for the best students (Fig. 16.26a&b). They were also encouraged to enter catering competitions. Entries to the 1958 competition are shown in Fig. 16.24b. The cold buffet work shown in photographs from the Hibernian (Fig. 16.25), and Jury’s (Fig. 16.39) portray a similar culinary aesthetic.
Further oral evidence comes from Stewart (2008:~30-80) who was indentured in the Hibernian in 1958, aged fourteen, and remained until 1962. He points out that Noblet was the only foreign born chef in the Royal Hibernian during this time, naming Kevin Barry as his sous chef, Hobbs as entremetier, Murphy as larder chef and also recalls Cluskey. Conditions in the Hibernian kitchens he suggests were reminiscent of Orwell’s description of the Hotel Lottie in Down and out in Paris and London. Despite starting out shovelling coal for the ranges and enduring some cruel initiations, Stewart (2008:~48) concludes:

‘it was really an amazing experience and you would have never traded it for anything else because you learnt the old fashioned way when, you know, butchery was butchery in a kitchen and sauces were mounted and glazed. A lot of duchesse potato and all that sort of original old style French cuisine was there’.

Hogan (2008) began his apprenticeship as a commis waiter in the Royal Hibernian Hotel in 1970 and recalls that apart from Cluskey replacing Barry as sous chef and Carroll becoming pastry chef, the brigade remained much as described by Stewart. Hogan (2008:~20-74) recalls that John McGann and Johnny Bacon were the two restaurant mangers in the Lafayette and also names Eddie Murray and John Rigby as waiters there. The Lafayette Restaurant was separated into three rooms: The Dawson Room, Maxim’s, and The Waterford Room – all individually decorated. The restaurant had two managers,
eight station head waiters, twelve waiters, a sommelier, and twelve commis waiters. The restaurant could seat eighty six people between the three rooms. This is an example of the staff / customer ratio that Howard (2008) suggests proved unviable during Phase Four and led to the decline of old style haute cuisine and silver service.

Figure 16.25: Hibernian Chefs with Cold Buffet Work New Years Eve 1959
(left to right) un-named French chef, Pierre St.Ettier, Roger Noblet, un-named chef, Dave Edwards
Source: (Edwards 2007)

Hogan (2008:~28) attended St. Mary’s College, Cathal Brugha Street, two days a week for training while he was serving his apprenticeship, where his teachers included Kevin O’Rourke and John Byrne. The curriculum included kitchen and larder work, Gueridon work, home economics, accountancy and menu French. Rigby organised for the commis waiters in the Royal Hibernian to be allowed spend time in the hotel kitchen to learn how it was run. Hogan (2008:31-46) discusses the gastronomic events that took place in The Royal Hibernian Hotel (Figs. 16.6a,b&c), suggesting that the general manager, Manesero, was the contact who brought the visiting French chefs to Dublin, cooking for up to three hundred people per event.
Sean Kelly opened *La Rôtisserie* in 1970 (Fig. 16.27a&b) and Hogan (2008:~60) notes that he also looked after the Bianconi Grill which offered food at a more reasonable price with less formality than offered in the Lafayette Restaurant, which was consistently awarded a one star rating from *Egon Ronay* from 1963-1974 (Fig. 16.9). The advertisement (Fig. 16.26b) describes *La Rôtisserie* as ‘Dublin’s newest restaurant where you can enjoy traditional spit-roasting in a gracious relaxed atmosphere’. The final years of the Royal Hibernian Hotel are discussed in Chapter Seventeen.
The Bailey
William Hogan, owner of the Bailey, died in 1945 and his daughters ran the restaurant for over two years before selling it to Ken Besson of the Royal Hibernian Hotel for £30,300 on the 22nd October 1947. Besson formed a limited company for the Bailey, and planned to completely reconstruct the premises to be opened as a restaurant and brasserie (IT 24/10/1947:5). A photo of the new Bailey is shown in Figure 16.28. Myles na gCopaleen remarks welcomingly in his Crushkeen Lawn column on seeing a newspaper notice concerning the re-opening of the Bailey on March 1st 1949 which said:

‘Old habitués of The Bailey will find that, whilst certain alterations have taken place, the old atmosphere of a Dublin Chophouse has been retained. Old Irish maps and documents of historical interest, together with paintings and prints of the 18th century add charm and colour to the room’.

Figure 16.28: Souvenir Handbook – History of Bailey with Tourist Guide to Dublin
Source: Caroline Wilkinson (Besson Family Collection)

The Bailey menu (Fig. 16.29) was colourful with a caricature of ladies linked with various cuts of butchers’ meat. The Besson family ran the Bailey for nearly ten years. The restaurant had separate dining rooms: the candle room, the main dining room, and the long bar – all illustrated in Figs. 16.31 b, c and d. In 1952 The Irish Times names Robert James Parletti, who had mixed Italian and Irish ancestry, as head chef of the Bailey Restaurant (Fig. 16.31a), noting that he had worked in many parts of the world. Matt Byrne, who trained in the Royal Hibernian Hotel during Phase Two was chef de cuisine in the Bailey from 1954 to 1958 (Panel-of-Chefs 1983:35). Byrne continued to be
associated with a number of leading Dublin restaurants until the end of Phase Four, and spent some years as the president of the Panel of Chefs of Ireland, which will be discussed in Chapter Seventeen.

The Bailey menu (Fig. 16.30) is French in structure and influence but written mostly in English. It is worth noting the appearance of Spaghetti au Gratin, Chicken Maryland, Hamburger Steak and Hungarian Goulash which must have been gaining in popularity among the Irish public at this time. Also worth noting is that the cheese follows both the sweets and the savouries in a fashion popular in England and Ireland but not elsewhere in Europe.

![Figure 16.29: Front Cover of Bailey Menu](source: Private Collection)

In 1952, Ken Besson extended the previously mentioned Hibernian Training Scheme to staff in the Bailey restaurant. The scheme aimed to train local Irish staff to the standard of their continental counterparts. Special prizes and scholarships to visit French vineyards were awarded to the best students. In 1954, James King of the Bailey restaurant was one
of the award winners and won a three day trip to London which included visits to the Savoy Hotel, and the Westminster Technical School (IT 5/11/1954:4). In 1957 Walter Flood of the Bailey restaurant won a diploma in the training scheme and a trip to France for a week (IT 23/2/1957:9).

![Figure 16.30: Inside of Bailey Menu](source.png)

**Figure 16.30: Inside of Bailey Menu**

*Source: Private Collection*

The Bailey was purchased by John Ryan, managing director of the Monument Creameries Ltd, in September 1958 (IT 18/9/1958:4). Ryan re-opened the bar in December 1958 but the various restaurants in the building did not re-open until March 1959. The old Candle Room reverted to its original purpose, a shell fish room, and Ryan
planned on serving Irish dishes, such as bacon and cabbage or Irish stew, in an Irish restaurant with the menu printed in English (IT 20/12/1958:8). In 1971 the Bailey was bought by Galen Weston and run as a Seafood Bar under the management of Guy Bentinck (restaurant) and Davy Salmon (bar). The new décor was more austere and the prices were far from inexpensive (IT 1/7/1971:15). Eugene Mc Sweeney became head chef when John Tuthill became restaurant manager in 1973. McSweeney (2008) notes that there was a fish bar downstairs where oysters and other cold fish salads and dishes were prepared and served in the bar. The main restaurant was on the first floor and could sit thirty six people. There was lots of fresh fish and flambé work, carving pheasant and \textit{chateaubriands}, and cooking prawns at the table. Noel Cronin was \textit{sous chef}. McSweeney (2008) worked in the Bailey from 1973-1976 and recalls that the main competition was the Russell and Royal Hibernian Hotels.

\begin{center}
\begin{tabular}{ccc}
16.31(a) The Bailey Chef & 16.31(b) The Bailey Candle Room \\
16.31(c) The Bailey Long Bar & 16.31(d) The Bailey Dining Room \\
\end{tabular}
\end{center}

Figures 16.31a, b, c, and d: The Bailey Restaurant under Ken Besson

Source: Souvenir Handbook (Besson Family Collection)
The Unicorn Restaurant

The Unicorn Restaurant which had been run by the Austrian couple, Lisl and Erwin Strunz, was sold in 1948. Little is known about the following ten years, The Irish Times (5/5/1949:5) reports the re-opening of the Unicorn in May 1949 under the management of T. Bard, an Italian who had worked in catering in London and in a number of British seaside resorts. It was noted that ‘the Unicorn will be a high-grade restaurant but not charge top-grade prices’. A notice in The Irish Times (2/4/1953:5) informs that the restaurant was re-decorated but ‘same moderate charges retained’.

In 1958 the Unicorn was purchased by Renato Sidoli and his family (Fig.16.32) who ran it successfully until 1994 when they sold to Georgio Cassari and Jeff Stokes. This is an example of the growing popularity of Italian restaurants mentioned in the Egon Ronay Guide 1965. Material evidence (Fig. 16.32) from Mooney (2008), whose father Günter Heinzfinger (Fig.16.34a) worked in the Unicorn around 1960, shows there was a strong female presence in the Unicorn kitchen, which is an Italian rather than a French tradition, but apart from the Saltimbocca, Scaloppini al Marsalla, and a number of pasta dishes, the menu (Fig. 16.33) appears to be equally French in influence as Italian. Under the Sidoli family, The Unicorn changed from a high-class restaurant serving haute cuisine, focusing instead on serving good wholesome food at moderate prices.

Figure 16.32: Sidoli Family and Staff of the Unicorn, Christmas 1960

Source: Maureen Mooney
McManus (2008) worked in The Unicorn in 1963 and recalls that the head chef, John Walsh, had trained in Jammet’s. He described the food as ‘Italian with French style’. The Unicorn’s position among Dublin restaurants is articulated in The Irish Times (29/7/1967:9) in a review of Raymond Postgate’s Good Food Guide to Ireland. The reviewer writes:

‘When it comes to Dublin, it shows a nice Catholicity or democracy, finding space to appraise the Charcoal Grill, The Trocadero and the Unicorn as well as the plusher pricier places’.

Source: (Mooney 2008)
It is interesting to note that Mooney (2008) recalls that her father worked in the Unicorn, The Trocadero and the Charcoal Grill prior to taking a position in The Braemor Rooms where he was when he died in 1974. *The Irish Times* (30/1/1970:6) published a picture of James Walsh, the head chef in the Unicorn, preparing zabaglione (Fig. 16.34b).

**The Gresham Hotel**

_The Irish Hotelier_ (July 1949:8-11) carried a special report on the Gresham Hotel noting that although it was re-built in 1926, ‘the go-ahead directorate of Dublin’s seven-story Gresham Hotel has followed a policy of continuous improvement’. The manager for over eight years is listed as Timothy O’Sullivan who had previously managed The Rock Hotel, Gibraltar, and the assistant manager was Philip G. Bennett, formerly of the Piccadilly, Hyde Park, and the Savoy Hotels, London. The article noted that the hotel had been re-furbished, with a grill room (seating one hundred and fifty) in the basement. It also noted that the Gresham ran a special four to five year course in hotel management where trainees spent three months in each department of the kitchen before spending six months as kitchen clerk. O’Sullivan was appointed as a director of the Gresham Hotel Ltd on 31 August 1945, and embarked on a programme of modernisation and expansion. Anticipating a post-war tourist boom, he consciously targeted American tourists. The Gresham Hotel menu (Fig. 16.35a) differs from those of The Russell and The Royal Hibernian Hotels being written principally in English which would appeal to American guests.

Karl Uhlemann became head chef of the Gresham Hotel in 1940. Born in Alsace-Lorraine, Uhlemann spent fifty six years working in kitchens on the Continent, in Britain and in Ireland. Whelan (2003:36) notes that he had been captured during the First World War and imprisoned in Oldcastle, County Meath. He married a girl from Oldcastle and never returned to Germany. We know from Chapter Fifteen that he had worked in the Dolphin Hotel and the Regal Rooms, and had taught professional cookery in the Technical School in Parnell Square before joining the Gresham. He was governor of the order of merit of the International Academy of *Chefs de Cuisine* in London. In the
preface of Uhlemann’s *Chef’s Companion*, published in 1953, Conil pays homage to Uhlemann:

‘He who works with his hands is a labourer; he who works with his hand and his head is a craftsman; he who works with his hands and his head and his heart is an artist. Karl Uhlemann is and artist in the true sense: he has devoted all his life to impart knowledge to youngsters, he has produced Irish chefs of outstanding abilities, who now will soon take over in the same tradition as he has done’ (Uhlemann 1953).

Uhlemann must have been in his late 50s when he joined the Gresham and many of his apprentices recall him directing operations from a high stool near the hotplate in the kitchen (Kavanagh 2003:~104; Kilbride 2003; Whelan 2003:~48). Kinsella (2008:~55) who started in The Gresham kitchens in 1947 having worked in Frascati’s (Fig. 16.2a), and served a four year apprenticeship there under Uhlemann and McManus (Figs.
16.38a&b), vividly recalls the kitchen brigade at this time, numbering twenty individuals, four of whom later went to work in Dublin Airport: Flahive, Kilbride, Cunningham and Johnston. He identifies Frankie Plummer, mentioned as a chef student during Phase Two, as working in the larder, and also points out that women were working in the pastry and vegetable sections of the Gresham Hotel kitchen. Kinsella’s handwritten reference from Uhlemann in 1950 is shown in Figure 16.35b. The Gresham Hotel kitchen brigade, apart from Uhlemann, were Irish. There are nineteen chefs in the photograph (Fig. 16.36b). There are thirty five waiters in the photograph (Fig. 16.36a) taken around 1950. There are twenty four in the photograph of the Gresham kitchen brigade (Fig. 16.36c) in 1955 including one lady. This photograph includes Uhlemann and McManus (front row centre), and both Bill Ryan (2nd from left, 2nd Row) and Liam Kavanagh (1st from left, front row). Sands (2003:~144) points out that there were around one hundred service staff in The Gresham around 1962, twelve of whom were head waiters.

When Uhlemann retired, McManus (Figs. 16.37a&b) became head chef. McGee (2004:~78) suggests that McManus never wanted the position but was under pressure from the union to take it rather than letting another foreign head chef fill it. McManus’s early career was discussed in Chapter Fifteen, and his career during Phase Three is discussed in the oral testimonies (Farren 2003:~391; Kavanagh 2003:~200-205, 289; Kilbride 2003; Ryan 2004:~90-93). In 1956 he became Chevalier of the Epicurian circle, presided over by Conil (Fig. 16.38). Detailed description of the Gresham Hotel’s cuisine

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**Fig. 16.36a: The Gresham Waiters c.1950**  
**Fig. 16.36b: Gresham Chefs**  
**Source:** (Sands 1994)
and staffing is provided by Whelan (2003:~272-286) who notes that Barney Nealon was McManus’s sous chef.

Figure 16.36c: The Gresham Hotel Kitchen Brigade 1955
Source: (Kavanagh 2003)

The Gresham was consistently listed by Egon Ronay as one of the most luxurious hotels in Dublin but was only awarded a one star rating for its food once, in the 1963 guide. Sands (2003:~76) notes that by the late 1960s he knew the Gresham was loosing its position as a leading gastronomic hotel and started looking for alternative employment. He recalls that O’Sullivan was due to retire, and although a number of good managers had worked in the Gresham, including Eoin Dillon, they were never given the power to manage as long as O’Sullivan was there.
It is interesting to note that the menu (Fig. 16.35a) for the Gresham in 1956, although French in structure, is written mostly in English or in what was considered at the time ‘Franglais’ – a mixture of French and English. A feature common to menus during this time was the popularity of Rump, Point and Porterhouse Steaks. The invitation to ‘inspect our all stainless steel, air conditioned kitchens where you can observe the preparation of meals under ideal conditions’ may also have been directed at American guests who were noted to be more concerned about health and hygiene than European diners (Burnett 1994:261).

Figure 16.38: Michael McManus, Chevalier of The International Epicurean Circle
Source: McManus Family Collection
Jury’s Hotel and Restaurant, Dame Street and The Moira Hotel

The restaurant in Jury’s was run for the first part of Phase Three by Bill Everard and his sous chef Clifford Steer, both English, and German chef Günter Heinzfinger (Fig. 16.39). It seems that standards dropped in Jury’s in the late 1950s. Ryan (2004:~138-166) discusses his time in Jury’s and the Moira Hotel (c. 1958-1963). Ryan notes that Jury’s kitchen was extremely run down and poorly managed when Willie Opperman took over as general manager of Jury’s and brought Ryan in with the intention of grooming him for the head chef position.

‘It was horrible, it was the dirtiest and the filthiest kitchen I had been in my whole life, I don’t know how anyone got away with it! I was used to much better where you put on white gloves and be spotless and everything’s bloody soap, and I went into this muck hall… there was stalactites, stalagmites of big black fat all around on the floor. The chef’s cloakroom instead of having the door, there was this potato sack hanging up on the door and there was no lockers!, you had put them on nails up on the wall and I’m after coming off a luxury liner (laugh), I couldn’t believe it’ (Ryan 2004:~138-140).

![Figure 16.39: Jury’s Chefs Steer, Everard (Head Chef) and Heinzfinger c.1955](Source: (Mooney 2008))

The high number of women working in Jury’s kitchen at this time (Fig. 16.40b) is a marker of cuisine bourgeoise rather than haute cuisine. Ryan only stayed a week in Jury’s before moving to its sister hotel The Moira on Andrew Street as sous chef to Vincent Hayes, and recalls that Dessie Allen was the pastry chef. Both Hayes and Allen are listed in Fig. 16.18. It has been mentioned in Chapter Fifteen that the Moira Hotel, Andrew
Street was purchased by Jury’s in 1927 and that it was totally re-developed and re-decorated in 1946. The first manager was Johnny Opperman and he was succeeded by his brother Willie when Johnny went to Collinstown to take over the catering at the new airport. The Moira restaurant, although small in size, built a fine reputation for its food. A number of leading chefs worked in The Moira including Blythe who became head chef of The Burlington Hotel, and McGovern who became the catering manager of Trinity College. Oral evidence concerning The Moira is provided by Ryan (2004:~144-164), Hingston (2008:~94-112, 146) and Treyvaud (2008:~37-41). Ryan enjoyed working in the Moira Hotel and stayed there for five years only leaving the Jury’s company because Opperman kept transferring him to Jury’s Hotel, where Gerry Lane was head chef for a while.

Figs. 16.40a: Heinzfinger at Carvery 16.40b: Jury’s Kitchen Staff (1950s)

Source: (Mooney 2008)

Jury’s Hotel enjoyed a rebirth of haute cuisine in the mid 1960s when Opperman, enticed Willy Widmer to come to Dublin from the Hilton Hotel, Berlin. Widmer was born in Switzerland and apprenticed there, first as a confectioner and then as a chef. During the 1950s Widmer trained in many of the great hotels in Europe where the Ritz-Escoffier brand of international cuisine was dominant, including the Beau Rivage Palace, Lausanne; Suvretta House Hotel, St.Moritz; Carlton Hotel, St.Moritz, Grand Hotel, Lucerne; Grand Hotel Belvedere, Davos; Ritz Hotel, Paris; Kensington Palace, London; and the Hilton Hotel, Berlin (Widmer 2007:~4-6). In 1959, he became the youngest
student to achieve an honours grade from the Swiss Catering Institute when he sat the Executive Chef Master’s Diploma in Berne.

Jury’s had advertised the executive chef position in an International Trade Journal and Widmer viewed it as an opportunity to improve his English before moving to America. On viewing the hotel, Widmer was unsure about accepting the position until he met Goldinger, the Swiss executive chef of the Intercontinental Hotel in Ballsbridge, who assured Widmer that life was great in Dublin for a man of his qualifications (Widmer 2007:40). Widmer set about improving the food offering in Jury’s. He faced some opposition at first from some unionised chefs but, when he trained a cadre of his chefs and commis chefs – including Cullen and McGovern – for the catering competition held in the Mansion House in 1965, and secured forty percent of all prizes for Jury’s alone, he won the respect of both Michael Mullen of the IT&GWU and the Jury’s kitchen brigade. Working closely with Joe Gray, head waiter of the Jury’s Copper Grill Restaurant, Widmer designed a menu (Figs. 16.41 & 42) that transformed the Copper Grill into one of the busiest restaurants in Dublin.

![Figure 16.41: Menu Cover and Dessert Menu from Jury’s Copper Grill c.1968](source: Widmer 2007)
This menu blended the best of food with the theatrics of the table arts, with Joe Gray’s team flambéing many of the dishes and preparing the steak tartare in the restaurant in front of the customers. The menu was mainly classical French with dishes such as Caviar Malossol, Potted Foie Gras, Real Turtle Soup Lady Curzon, and Fillet Steak Rossini mixed with some American classics like Grapefruit Florida and Chicken Maryland. Irish seafood also featured on the menu, including Irish Oak Smoked Salmon, Dublin Bay Prawn Cocktail, Irish Sea Lobster, and Fresh Shannon Salmon with Hollandaise Sauce, but one of the house specialities was the Gaelic Steak Jury’s Style – a sirloin steak cooked at the table flamed with Irish whiskey and enriched with cream and tomato sauce. Before long, the restaurant was booked out weeks in advance. The growing international style of food which was a growing trend at this time is evident in the Copper Grill menus but the cuisine remains firmly anchored in the French culinary canon.

Figure 16.42: Menu from Jury’s Copper Grill c.1968
Source: (Widmer 2007)
Howard (2008) worked in Jurys under Widmer for three years (1964-1967) and lists Kavanagh, Cullen, McGovern, May, Kelly, Haynes and Collins among the chefs in Jury’s in the mid 1960s, and names Widmer as the most influential chef he ever worked with. Cullen (2001) described him as ‘a wonderful Swiss culinary taskmaster’. Widmer left Jury’s in 1970 and purchased the Stameen House Hotel near Drogheda which he upgraded and renamed the Boyne Valley Hotel which he ran successfully until 1992. He was replaced by another Swiss chef, Christian Schild, but analysis of menus from Jury’s under Schild shows continuation rather than change. Of particular interest, however, is the international flavour of dishes such as *Nasi Goreng*, Chicken Curry Khorma, and Chicken Kiev on The Copper Grill menus.

Schild was replaced by an Irish chef, Joe Collins. *The Irish Times* (16/11/1970:14) notes that Collins was 32 years old and had been sent to train in the Grand Dolder Hotel in Zurich. When Jury’s Hotels purchased the Intercontinental Hotels in Ballsbridge, Cork and Waterford, Collins moved to Ballsbridge, known as The New Jury’s, taking over the position formerly held by Hingston (2008). Jury’s opened the New Copper Grill in Ballsbridge but it never enjoyed the success of the original Copper Grill in Dame Street. The operation was much larger than that of Dame Street and after a while Collins was succeeded by another Swiss chef, Michel Treyvaud whose period in Jury’s is discussed in Chapter Seventeen. The New Copper Grill Menu breaks with the tradition of including the name of the chef and the head waiter (Fig. 16.43). One possible reason for this is that Gray, the *Maître d’Hôtel* never moved to Ballsbridge but went on to open his own restaurant, The Celtic Mews, on Baggot Street which is discussed in Chapter Seventeen. Corr (1987:134) points out that 1973 was a ‘disaster’ year for the ‘New’ Jury’s, since key management from the former Intercontinental had fled, and staff morale and productivity was low. Matters improved in 1974, however, with the opening of the fast-service Coffee Dock which supplied food to visitors for 23 hours a day, and became an innovation in Dublin restaurants. The influence of America was replacing that of France in matters of public dining.
The Shelbourne Hotel

Captain Peter Jury succeeded his father in running The Shelbourne Hotel in 1947. It is unclear when Otto Wuest left The Shelbourne Hotel, but Maurice O’Looney, became the head chef in 1950. It is hard to gauge what prompted Peter Jury to appoint an Irish head chef. Correspondence between a Monsieur de la Rochefoucauld to Jury in 1950 on the subject of head chefs salary suggests the original salary proposed by Jury (£200 per annum) was too low to attract a good foreign born candidate (O’ Sullivan and O’ Neill 1999:105). An inventory and some pictures of the new kitchen installed as part of a re-vamp of the hotel are printed in The Irish Hotelier (March 1951:15-19). Wage books from The Shelbourne Hotel archives list that nine waiters and eleven chefs were employed in September 1947. Kavanagh (2003:~22-36), listed in the wage books as a Kitchen Improver in July 1947, recalls the labour intensity of the Shelbourne kitchen:

‘(we) made all our own consommés, our own stocks and everything. We rendered all our own fat, everybody, every place rendered there own fat from beef fat to maybe some lamb. Mostly beef because beef is first class fat. After spending some time on the sauce then I moved into the pastry with Willie Marshall which I enjoyed. The pastry house in the Shelbourne at that particular time was really a room in itself. It was a closed area in itself. We made our own ice-cream. We did
all afternoon teacakes, sponges and everything. We did buy in some cakes from Bewleys - Afternoon Tea - to help us out because afternoon teas were so popular at that time in the Shelbourne Hotel where these grand ladies and gents used to come in for afternoon teas’.

When Maurice O’Looney became head chef in 1950, there were no foreign names listed among the eighteen chefs in the wage books. Two other chefs, however, are mentioned by O’Sullivan and O’Neill (1999:83, 174) during the rest of Phase Three; Eugene Lucien Martin coming from the Savoy Grill, London, was banqueting chef in 1956, and Alan Gleeson who commenced employment in 1948 and became pastry chef in 1953. They also note that Claude Spillane, the banqueting head waiter had, along with some other Shelbourne staff, spent some time training in London’s Dorchester Hotel. In January 1954 The Irish Hotelier reports that O’Looney, Desmond Kavanagh of the Wicklow Hotel, and students from St. Mary’s College had submitted entries to the Salon Culinaire in Hotelympia in London.

A distinctive Irish influence is evident in the French style 1955 gala dinner menu from the Shellbourne under O’Looney (Fig. 16.44b). Galway oysters, sole from Dun Laoghaire, beef from Kildare, woodcock from the Emerald Plains, followed by Poire praline Belle Colleen show a trend developed for the Irish Food Festival Week, previously discussed, and is contemporaneous with the Metropole’s ‘Tóstal Room’ (Fig. 16.48). This is evidence of an Irish chef working in the spirit of Escoffier but showcasing Irish gourmet ingredients, a trend that became extremely popular later as shall be discussed in Chapter Seventeen.

In 1957 a French restaurant manager, Louis Verat (Fig. 16.44a), was employed on a two year contract to train in a new Irish restaurant manager, Jack McMenamin. At the end of the term, both Verat and Jury were inclined to prolong the arrangement but the staff backed McMenamin, asserting that Irish staff should not be passed over in favour of foreigners, resulting in a ten day strike (O’ Sullivan and O’ Neill 1999:180). The Shelbourne Hotel was acquired by the Trust Houses Group in 1960, with Jury remaining as managing director of the hotel. In 1962 Eoin Dillon, who had trained in the Gresham,
became manager of the Shelbourne Hotel and one of his first innovations was the opening of the Saddle Room which became ‘the most successful facility ever in the history of the hotel’. The Saddle Room was twice as expensive as the Grill Room which had opened in 1959, and was described by the actor John Hurt as ‘tremendously elegant without being posh’ (O' Sullivan and O' Neill 1999:125-7).

Fig. 16.44a: Louis Verat
Restaurant Manager, Shelbourne Hotel

Fig. 16.44b: Gala Diner Gastronomique

Restaurant Manager, Shelbourne Hotel

Source: The Irish Hotelier 1955

Dillon employed Kilbride to raise the standard of food in the Shelbourne. Kilbride (2003:~24) recalls the union was extremely militant in the Shelbourne at this time and productivity and gross profit percentages were very low. He succeeded to temporarily improve standards by financial incentives for the seven chef de parties, and the organisation of training schemes for the apprentices. Kilbride took up a teaching position in the Dublin College of Catering shortly afterwards. The subsequent drop in the standard of food is reflected in the Egon Ronay Guide who had awarded The Shelbourne Hotel one star in 1963 and 1964 but withdrew the star in 1965. The Shelbourne never regained a sufficient standard of cuisine during Phase Three or Four to regain their Egon Ronay star (Fig. 16.9).
The Shelbourne Hotel witnessed a reduction in their regular customers with the outbreak of the Troubles in Northern Ireland in 1968, but it is argued that the proposed introduction of a ‘wealth tax’ by Fine Gael in their election manifesto in the early 1970s dramatically affected the Shelbourne Hotel’s core clientele (O’ Sullivan and O’ Neill 1999). This proposed legislation, seen as a tax on assets, resulted in an exodus of many Anglo-Irish landed gentry to the Isle of Man, Southern Europe and South Africa, and the widespread sale of their country homes. Their departure, before the wealth tax was even introduced as law in 1974, reduced the pool of knowledgeable customers who had frequented restaurants serving the old style haute cuisine of Escoffier (Ferriter 2004:692).

**The Intercontinental Hotel**
The opening of the Intercontinental Hotel in Ballsbridge (Fig. 16.45) in 1963 brought a group of senior foreign born chefs to Dublin and also provided the opportunity for Irish chefs such as Bowe (2008), Hingston (2008) and Kavanagh (2003) who were working in London and in New York to return home to senior positions. The kitchen brigade from the Intercontinental Hotel when it opened in 1963 is shown in Figure 16.46. It is worth noting that the seniority of the seven foreign born chefs is reflected in their front row placing in the photograph. Most of the foreign born chefs only stayed for a year or two until the Irish chefs had been sufficiently trained, and the kitchen was running smoothly. Freddie Goldinger, who was executive chef, stayed longer but then went to open the Intercontinental Hotel in Jakarta, Indonesia. He was replaced by a French chef who didn’t stay long, and then an Italian chef named Viel, who was transferred to the Intercontinental in Limerick. Hingston succeeded Viel as head chef c.1966, with Brendan P. O’Neill as his sous chef and Bowe as saucier (2008:~170-190).

The Intercontinental was the first modern international hotel chain to open in Ireland, and introduced new practices in catering technology and also in human resource management to Dublin. Connell (2008:~345) suggests that the Intercontinental was a great place to work, they were given uniforms, laundry facilities, staff canteen, showers in the changing rooms, and most importantly, since it was newly opened there was no hierarchy in who
had been there longest. He notes that most of those who started with him in 1963 stayed for quite a few years.

Figure 16.45: Photo of The Intercontinental Hotel, Dublin

Source: (Corr 1987)

The opening of the Intercontinental also gave young Irish chefs an opportunity to gain continental experience through placement in Intercontinental hotels in Switzerland and Germany. Connell (2008:~371) recalls spending a year in both Frankfurt and Geneva (1966-1968). Bowe (2008:~94) suggests that standards began to fall in the Intercontinental after a few years:

‘for whatever reason the whole thing changed…. when the foreign chef de parties left, the management thinking would be “ok, the honeymoon is over, let’s start making money here”. There were a lot of cutbacks’.

Analysis of the Egon Ronay Guide confirms Bowe’s comments. The Intercontinental Hotel’s Embassy Restaurant was awarded a star by Egon Ronay in 1964, 1965 and 1966 but the star was withdrawn in 1967 following Goldinger’s departure. The Martello Rooftop Restaurant, however, was mentioned in the Egon Ronay Guide from 1965 until 1971 (Fig. 16.9).
The legacy of the Intercontinental Hotel on *haute cuisine* in Dublin restaurants is most evident in its role of transferring knowledge. A large number of restaurant workers trained under both the foreign born and Irish senior staff, gaining experience of the latest international culinary techniques. Analysis of Figure 16.8a reveals that this knowledge was transmitted widely, since so many of the staff became teachers on the culinary courses that grew in number and popularity during Phase Four. After ten years in the Irish
market, the Intercontinental Group sold their three Irish hotels to the Jury’s Group. The restaurants of Jury’s Hotel, Ballsbridge, are discussed in Chapter Seventeen.

**Other Establishments**

**Metropole Restaurant**

The principal person associated with the Metropole Restaurant during Phase Three was Michael Marley. Marley, born in Belfast, began his apprenticeship Grand Central Hotel, Belfast in 1932, and continued his training at the Ritz, London. He returned to the Grand Central Hotel as chef garde manger and in 1943 was appointed chef de cuisine. He joined Odeon Ireland Ltd. in 1947 and was appointed chef de cuisine in the Metropole Restaurant, Dublin. The advertisement for the Metropole in *The Irish Hotelier* (Fig. 16.47) shows the diversity on offer in the Metropole complex. Of particular interest is the Tóstal Room, where Irish dishes were served in an Irish setting. The Silver Grill rather than the Restaurant was the venue for haute cuisine and required bookings in advance.

![Figure 16.47: Advertisement for the Metropole, O’Connell Street, Dublin](image)

*Source: The Irish Hotelier (January 1956)*

Gygax (2005:~17) started work in the Metropole in 1948 under a Swiss pastry chef called Senn, and recalls ‘there was a great atmosphere in the Metropole, Mr. Marley ran it very fairly, but like military, you had to be on time, you didn’t necessarily have to go on time (laugh) but you had to be on time’. Pointing to a photograph (Fig. 16.48) of the
Metropole football team who won the Hotel’s Cup, beating Restaurant Jammet, in 1949, Gygax identifies Margey as the catering comptroller of Irish Cinemas Ltd. who owned the Metropole, Boyle as the manager of the Metropole and also notes two members of the same family:

‘That’s Franky Mahony, that’s (his father) Tommy Mahony who worked in the Grill in the Metropole. The Grill was in the basement and he’d go down at 6pm until 12am as a grill chef. He’d bring down all his *mis en place* steaks, point steak, rump steak, fillet steaks and bring it down with him, and salmon steaks, all that stuff, mixed grills, that’s what he’d do’.

Gygax also identifies Mullen in the photograph and a waiter in the Metropole, Tommy White, who later worked with Mullen as a union official.

Figure 16.48: Metropole Team and Supporters after winning Hotels Cup 1949

Source: (Gygax 2005)

culture shock of starting work in the Metropole straight out of Cathal Brugha Street College in 1959:

‘The Metropole was a big catering establishment at the time. Downstairs they had the grill room which was top class for what it was, with fellows doing chateaubriands carved at the table, do you know what I mean? Then there was the first floor which had the self service which would do around 200-300 meals, and the second floor which had a Buttery / coffee shop / snackery. The standard was very high. They actually had a charcoal grill with a bellows, so you had to give it a blow to get the steaks cooked, and send the vegetables down and they’d be heated down there in a pan with butter, obviously there were no microwaves back then, and the likes of chateaubriand would be carved at the table and flamed beautifully, it was a very good standard. And also, we had a ballroom, the biggest ballroom in Dublin at the time, it could hold a thousand people. Michael Marley was the head chef, and Matt Byrne was the second chef. We all know Michael Marley, he was the most cantankerous man, but by god, did he run a good kitchen! Matt Byrne was an outstanding chef. Davy Edwards was in the pastry’.

There were about 25-30 people working in the Metropole kitchens in 1959. Matt Byrne, sous chef in the Metropole from 1958-1962 became chef de cuisine from 1962-1968, when Marley was promoted to executive chef for Odeon Ireland Ltd. Dave Edwards was saucier in 1960 and was sous chef from 1962-1963. Byrne, Edwards and Stewart had all trained in the Royal Hibernian Hotel. Marley had been Ireland’s first ever gold medallist at the 1937 Salon Culinaire International de Londres, and was involved in the formation of the Panel of Chefs of Ireland in 1958. In 1970 he joined CERT as manager of School Based Training, retiring in 1981 (Panel-of-Chefs 1983:27). The Metropole closed in 1972 and the building was sold to British Home Stores (BHS).

The Savoy Restaurant
The Savoy, also run by Irish Cinemas Ltd. opened in 1929, but was completely remodelled in 1961 with three types of catering establishments under one roof. There was a Grillette, a Coffee Shop and a Self-Service Restaurant. Hugh Margey, mentioned earlier, was influenced by American trends in the re-design of the Savoy, where he focused on providing quick service at affordable prices, with an open plan kitchen, the first of its kind in Dublin (Fig. 16.49b). Ernst Gygax had been head chef until his death in 1953. Gygax (2005:~39) remembers that Paddy Burtonshaw (Fig. 16.49a) had come from the
Gresham to be *sous chef* in the Metropole when Willie Ryan went to Shannon, and that he became head chef of the Savoy following the death of his father.

![Fig. 16.49a: Paddy Burtonshaw](image1)
![Fig. 16.49b: Section of Savoy Snack Bar](image2)

*Source: The Irish Times (8/5/1961:4)*

Gygax worked as confectioner in the Savoy for five years c.1958-1963. He recalls:

‘We were supplying the Metropole as well as our own place with confectionary. Now when Mr. Margey gave me the job, he said ‘I have an idea, I want to introduce a thing called a king size cake, a large cake that’s bigger than the normal cake so that a person can have one large cake with a cup of tea or coffee – a large individual éclair, a large *mille feuille* slice and they’re to cost one shilling’, so I got to work on that. You know the confectionery they sell everywhere now; well that was the start of it. There was never king size cakes anywhere prior to that, everybody seemed to take it up, it snowballed after that, in Bewleys and everywhere. Kevin Duffy was working with me and he had to carry them over the Metropole in boxes or trays on his head’.

Although the Savoy had begun as an up-market restaurant in 1929 serving *haute cuisine*, following the war and for the remainder of Phase Three, it remained a mass catering establishment providing quick service at reasonable prices (Gygax 2005:~56). The Savoy is another example of how American foodservice trends were influencing restaurants that had previously served French *haute cuisine*. 
The Dublin Airport Restaurant

Dublin Airport became renowned for its fine dining under the stewardship of Opperman (Figs. 16.50a&b). Opperman (2004:~112-131) notes that there were very little catering facilities at the airport when he began, just a few women making sandwiches. Under Opperman, Dublin Airport Restaurant became one of the most exciting places to dine in Dublin and Aer Lingus also became one of the Ireland’s largest outdoor caterers. In 1950, ‘when air travel still exuded glamour, it was the dernier cri of sophistication to drive out to Collinstown and feast in ambience of AvGas and shining propellers’ (O’ Sullivan and O' Neill 1999:102). The Egon Ronay Guide consistently recommended Dublin Airport Restaurant from 1963 until 1969 (Fig. 16.9), and in their 1964 Guide notes:

‘No wonder people come from Dublin to eat at this interesting, modern and very well-run restaurant. The ambitious menu is a challenge to the chef and our cold soufflé Grand Marnier was certainly delicious. Good materials are used, but the more elaborate sauces could be improved. A knowledgeable compiled (wine) list priced with restraint’. (p.312)

Figs. 16.50a: Young Johnny Opperman  Fig. 16.50b: Johnny leaves Aer Lingus  
Source: (Opperman 2004)

The most significant aspect of Dublin Airport Restaurant is that so many of its staff became influential as either restaurateurs, entrepreneurs, or as teachers in the catering colleges, thus ensuring knowledge transfer to future culinarians. Kilbride (2003) started in the airport in 1949 when it was still ‘in its infancy’. He began his training in Cathal
Brugha Street, apprenticed under Uhlemann in the Gresham, but it was at the airport that he excelled and built his reputation as an outstanding chef. Kilbride (2003:23) recalls the feeling of pride going to work and walking around the airport like a pilot surrounded by beautiful airhostesses – ‘it was magical’. Kilbride stayed ten years in the airport. In the early 1960s, he became a full time teacher in Cathal Brugha Street, where he trained and inspired the next generation of Irish chefs. Gygax (2005:7) recalls working in Dublin Airport as pastry chef, noting that ‘Mr. Flanagan was head chef but was replaced with Jimmy Flahive who had Jimmy Kilbride as sous chef. They catered for a lot of dress dances and corporate parties’. Other chefs working in the airport included Jackie Hitchcock, Jackie Grant, Dessie Cunningham and Jimmy Doyle, some of whom are shown in Figure 16.51.

![Figure 16.51: Photo of Staff at Dublin Airport 1954 (left to right)
Top: D. Cunningham, F. Gygax, Chef Flanagan. Bottom: M. Devitt’s Son, M. Bracken, J. Doyle
Source: (Gygax 2005)
](image.png)

Analysis of Figure 16.8a shows that the Dublin Airport Restaurant attracted staff from across the leading restaurant in Dublin at that time, including Johnston, Kavanagh,
Gygax, Ryan, Doyle, Connell, and Bowe. The Airport under these individuals became a nursery for future talent, some of whom are listed in Figure 17.1. One individual who was nurtured as a commis chef in Dublin airport was Colin O’Daly, and he went on to win a Michelin star for his cuisine in The Park Hotel, Kenmare, during Phase Four. O’Daly (2008:~44) points out that the gold medal he won for a ‘Beef Wellington’ in the 1971 Dublin Catering Exhibition in Liberty Hall (Fig. 16.52a), mentored by Bill Ryan, boosted his confidence. O’Daly’s career is charted in Chapter Seventeen, and Figure 16.52b shows how proud the staffs of Dublin Airport Restaurants were of their protégé. Opperman spent twenty one years at the airport before opening Opperman’s Country Club in Kilternan, previously discussed, before later opening Johnny’s Restaurant in Malahide, which is profiled in Chapter Seventeen.

Figs. 16.52a: Colin O’Daly’s Gold Medal while working in Dublin Airport 1971 16.52b: Congratulatory Letter to Colin on winning Michelin Star (1983)

Source: (O’Daly 2002)
Summary
Phase Three can be viewed as the ‘golden age’ of haute cuisine in Dublin, since more award winning world-class restaurants traded in Dublin during this period than at any other time in history. Newspaper reports of gastronomic dinners held by the Irish branch of André L. Simon’s Food and Wine Society provide evidence of the growing interest in haute cuisine during Phase Three. Jammet’s, which had been the sole world-class restaurant in Dublin during Phase One and Two, was joined by The Russell Hotel Restaurant, purchased by the Besson family in 1947. Ken Besson appears to have been a catalyst for improving standards of cuisine in Dublin during Phase Three, stemming from an agreement he secured with the IT&GWU to allow foreign chefs and waiters work in the Russell and Royal Hibernian Hotels in return for indenturing Irish staff. By the late 1950s there were very few foreign chefs working in Dublin, having been replaced by the Irish chefs and waiters they had trained. By the late 1950s, the union strongly opposed the employment of foreign staff. Oral evidence suggests that some Irish chefs and waiters were pressurised to take senior positions they didn’t really want, in order to exclude suitable foreign born candidates (Sands 2003; McGee 2004). Both Dowling in Restaurant Jammet, and Collins in Jury’s, Dame Street, were sent abroad for training before returning to become chef de cuisine in their respective restaurants.

At the beginning of Phase Three, The Red Bank Restaurant re-opened as a fine-dining restaurant with a French head chef producing haute cuisine. Other fine dining restaurants, however, such as Restaurant Frascati (Fig. 16.2a) were unsuccessful and closed. French classical cuisine was also dominant in the Shelbourne, Gresham, and Moira Hotels, although the Egon Ronay Guide noted a drop in the standard of food in some Dublin hotels by the mid 1960s. The move from French to Irish head chefs, combined with the new Irish culinary aesthetic inspired by An Tóstal, may have influenced the change in listings of certain Dublin restaurants in the 1965 Egon Ronay Guide from French cuisine to Franco-Irish cuisine. The arrival of Widmer helped improve the standard of food in Jury’s Hotel, Dame Street, during the 1960s and the opening of The Intercontinental Hotel in Ballsbridge in 1963 brought several foreign born chefs to Dublin. Both hotels became nurseries for future culinary talent, but oral evidence (Bowe 2008:~94) suggests
that standards dropped when the foreign chefs left, which is also reflected in the *Egon Ronay Guides* (Fig. 16.9). A new phenomenon appeared towards the end of Phase Three, with the opening by enthusiastic amateurs of restaurants such as Snaffles and The Soup Bowl. This trend occurred earlier in England and has been discussed in Chapter Nine. Both Snaffles and The Soup Bowl are profiled in Chapter Seventeen.

A number of factors led to the demise of the traditional Escoffier style *haute cuisine* in Dublin restaurants towards the end of Phase Three. Political and economic factors such as the Dublin bombings, the OPEC oil crisis, banking strikes, all played some part in the demise. Another factor that, according to O’Sullivan and O’Neill (1999:161), ‘caused a far greater setback to the hotel’s business than the fuel crisis or the political troubles’ was the revival of ‘wealth tax’ by Fine Gael in the 1973 election manifesto resulting in a mass exodus of landed gentry from Ireland. They suggest that The Shelbourne Hotel witnessed an instant twenty per cent drop in business in 1973 and The Russell Hotel was also affected, closing in 1974.

The growing trend towards suburban living and the rising importance of car parking were two reasons given for the closure of Restaurant Jammet in 1967 (Hood 2006). The dramatic rise in suburban living is evident from the 1966 and 1971 census reports (Fig. 16.8). A growing number of suburban restaurants such as the *Mirabeau*, Goat Grill, Shangri la, Guinea Pig, Sutton House and The King Sitric reflects this trend. The success of family owned restaurants like Jammet’s and The Red Bank also depended on the next generation of the family showing an interest in the business. None of the Montgomery family pursued the business and The Red Bank Restaurant closed in 1969 (Smith 2007). Howard (2008) suggests that many of the restaurants serving the Escoffier style *haute cuisine* were overstaffed, and by the early 1970s were no longer financially viable. He also argues that the buildings that housed these restaurants and hotels had become more valuable redeveloped for other use.

The growth of foreign travel and television resulted in an increasing popularity of both ethnic restaurants and also in restaurants serving an international style of food in Dublin.
Evidence of American trends for fast, reasonably priced food, became evident in places such as the Savoy and in Jury’s Coffee Dock. Many of the buildings that had housed restaurants in which *haute cuisine* was served during the Phases One to Three became fast food outlets during Phase Four. By 1974 in both London and France, the style of *haute cuisine* was beginning to move towards what would later be described as ‘*nouvelle cuisine*’. Plate service began to replace silver service, reducing waiters from practitioners of the table arts to become plate carriers. The development of restaurants during Phase Four is discussed in Chapter Seventeen. A genealogy of the influence of the Dublin restaurants which acted as nurseries for culinary talent during Phase Three on emerging restaurants during Phase Four is discernable by comparing Figs. 16.8a&b with Fig. 17.1.
Chapter 17 – Phase Four: Dublin 1974-2002 Decline, Stagnation and Resurgence

Introduction
After decades of under-development and stagnation, Ireland finished the twentieth century richer than could have been imagined (Ferriter 2004:662). Restaurants serving haute cuisine declined by the early 1970s, standards of food stagnated up until the mid-eighties, but from the late 1980s to the end of the twentieth century, there was a resurgence of a new style of haute cuisine in Dublin restaurants, influenced by the nouvelle cuisine and ‘fusion’ cuisine that was popular contemporarily in London restaurants, as discussed in Volume I (Fig. A). By 1999, tourism was a £2 billion industry, but The Irish Times described the ‘new’ Ireland as ‘overpriced, under-serviced, and distinctly unfriendly’ (23/1/1999). Howard (2008) points out that for years there was no middle market in Dublin restaurants. ‘You either ate fast food or café food or else went to an upmarket restaurant’. He identifies John O’Sullivan as the man who most successfully exploited the middle market with his various restaurants, Flanagan’s, Gallagher’s, Rafter’s, Blake’s, and Roly’s Bistro.

By 1974, haute cuisine in its traditional form was disappearing from Dublin. The successful days of Jammet’s and the Russell Hotel were over. The Royal Hibernian Hotel closed in 1982. The Escoffier form of haute cuisine survived only in a handful of restaurants such as The Lord Edward and The Lobster Pot which employed some of the ex-Hibernian, Russell and Red Bank staff. New establishments such as Snaffles and The Soup Bowl opened in the late 1960s run by enthusiastic amateurs, similar to those run by Perry-Smith and Parkes in England, discussed in Chapter Nine. Their customers included the ‘nouveau riche’ who had prospered during the 1960s boom, and individuals who had previously dined in Jammet’s and the Red Bank, particularly those from the public relations and advertising, and the theatrical and artistic communities (White-Lennon 2008; Williams 2008). These new restaurants were championed by the Egon Ronay Guide and particularly The Good Food Guide. Basement restaurants in Leeson Street became popular in the 1970s. Four of the nine Dublin restaurants recommended by
Condon (1973a), Snaffles, The Tandoori Rooms, Elizabeth’s and Pheasantry were all located in Lesson Street basements. The other five restaurants listed by Condon were The Lord Edward, The National Gallery, The Old Dublin, La Caverna, and The Soup Bowl.

By the early 1980s, however, *haute cuisine* re-appeared in a different guise, that some labelled ‘*nouvelle cuisine*’ in restaurant such as Guilbaud’s, The Park, Whites on the Green, and to some extent in *Le Coq Hardi*. By 1992, with the opening of Roly’s Bistro, O’Daly (2002:1) and his team brought high standards of food and service to a wider audience, or in his own words, they presented ‘*haute cuisine* at ready-to-wear prices’. Another trend that became apparent in the 1990s was the growth of ‘fusion’ restaurants, such as Polo One, Morels and Mango Toast, blending Californian and Mediterranean, or Oriental with European cuisines, mirroring similar trends in England. It is worth noting that ‘fusion’ restaurants did not become popular in Paris until a decade later. The latter part of the 1990s witnessed Dublin reclaim the position of culinary capital of Ireland with a growing number of restaurants such as Guilbaud’s, Thornton’s, The Commons and Peacock Alley awarded Michelin stars, and a growing number of other restaurants awarded Red ‘M’s’, some of which were awarded stars in the first decade of the twenty-first century. A contributory factor to this growth in restaurants producing *haute cuisine* at this time was the economic phenomenon known as the ‘Celtic Tiger’, which transformed dining out from an occasional treat to a regular pastime among the newly prosperous Irish. The most influential individuals concerning *haute cuisine* in Dublin were Kilbride, Kinsella, and Howard in the 1970s, Guilbaud, O’Daly, and Clifford in the 1980s, and Thornton, Fitzgerald, O’Reilly, Cooke, Clarke and Gallagher in the 1990s.

Few Dublin restaurants remained in business for the whole of Phase Four. The advertisement for American Express (Fig. 17.0a) in 1976 lists a number of leading Dublin restaurants in which their card was accepted: Johnny’s, Snaffles, *Restaurant na Mara*, The Castle Inn, The Soup Bowl, The Berni Inn, The Weigh Inn, and The Goat Grill. The most noticeable omission from this list was The Mirabeau. A similar advertisement for American Express (Fig. 17.0b) published in the late 1980s reveals how the dining landscape had changed in ten years. The advertisement lists Locks, The King Sitric,
Whites on the Green, The Lobster Pot, The Grey Door, Restaurant na Mara, Celtic Mews, Restaurant Patrick Guilbaud, The Park, Ernie’s, The Lord Edward, and Arbutus Lodge. The most noticeable omission from the latter list was Le Coq Hardi, whose owner had disagreements with American Express over their high commission rates and payment schedules (Howard 2008).

Figure 17.0a: Advertisement for American Express listing top Dublin Restaurants

Source: The Irish Times (22/10/1976:9)

Nearly all of the restaurants listed in Figs. 17.0a & 17.0b employed chefs or waiters who had trained in one or more of the leading Dublin restaurants profiled in Chapter Sixteen. A genealogy summarising the careers of chefs, waiters and managers trained in the ‘nurseries’ of restaurants profiled in Chapter Sixteen is presented in Figure 17.1. It also identifies the individuals / establishments they helped influence during Phase Four. The only establishment listed in both advertisements was Restaurant na Mara, a fine dining seafood restaurant operated by the national transport company (CIE). The presence of both Ryan and Evans in Fig. 17.0b is worth noting, since both had trained in France, and were running country house hotels as discussed in Chapter Sixteen. Evans, however, moved to Dublin from Glenbeigh, County Kerry, during Phase Four and his Dublin restaurant Ernie’s was awarded a red ‘M’ from the Michelin Guide from 1994 to 2002 (Fig.17.4). One of Ryan’s protégées, Michael Clifford, who had worked in both London and Paris, was the chef de cuisine of Whites on the Green when it first opened in December 1985. His cooking and presentation was influenced by nouvelle cuisine.
The popularity of *nouvelle cuisine* in France in the 1970s and in England in the 1980s was discussed in Chapter Nine. Gault (1996:127) suggests that *nouvelle cuisine* was hijacked by various groupings that did not give the developing movement a good reputation. He suggests, however, that most chefs still worked within the essentials of his ‘ten commandments’. The key elements of seasonality and fresh local ingredients based on the *cuisine de marché* principal is evident in most oral evidence concerning Dublin restaurants during Phase Four. Gillespie (1994:21) suggests that the lack of a codified repertoire for *nouvelle cuisine* as had been the case for the *haute cuisine* of Escoffier led to its dilution. A new *haute cuisine* appeared which incorporated influences of ethnic cuisines, the *cuisine minceur* of Guérard, and molecular gastronomy discussed in Chapter Nine, influenced by post-modernism and legitimated by guidebooks such as *The Michelin Guide* and influential food writers (Appignanesi and Garratt 1999:51). By the end of Phase Three, plate service had replaced silver service in most establishments, with only a minority of restaurants still practising Gueridon service during Phase Four.
Figure 17.1: Genealogy from Phase Three Restaurants that were Nurseries for the Chefs, Waiters, Restaurateurs, and Culinary Educators during Phase Four
By the end of Phase Four, a new style of cuisine ‘modern Irish’ was being articulated. McKenna writing in *The Irish Times* (29/6/1996:44) argues that Ireland had the most dynamic cuisine in any European country, where ‘in the last decade Irish cooks have created a cuisine which owes little to the cooking of the past. Unshackled by the heavy hand of history – which is the case for the French, for example – a vibrant almost unlikely style of cooking has emerged’. Of the seventy entries for restaurants in the 1999 Spring/Summer Dining in Dublin menu guide, twelve establishments describe their cuisine as either ‘contemporary Irish’ or ‘modern Irish’. Only one establishment was described as French, eight were listed as Mediterranean, nine as either European or Continental, nine as Italian, and ten establishments were listed as Asian. Tastes in food had changed radically by the new millennium, as discussed in Chapter Nine. Research by Cullen (2004) displayed a preference by Dublin consumers in the first years of the twenty-first century for Italian and Chinese styled restaurants. He also identified quality of food, type of food, cleanliness of the restaurant, location and the reputation of the restaurant as the key decision variables used by consumers to select restaurants. Cullen’s findings match similar research in England undertaken by Warde and Martens (2000:76) discussed in Chapter Nine. Staffing in Dublin restaurants also became more international. Walsh (2008) contrasts a Christmas staff party for the Old Dublin restaurant in 1982 where the majority of the staff were from Donegal, with a staff Christmas party held in 2002 where there were over ten different nationalities working in the restaurant. An article in *The Irish Times* (29/12/1998) discussed how the boom in restaurants was resulting in a shortage of waiting staff, with Fitzpatrick noting that his staff in Fitzers Restaurants came from France, Spain, America, England, Australia, and Italy.

**Historic Background**

The final three decades of the twentieth century were dominated by the ‘Troubles’ in Northern Ireland, Ireland’s entry into the European Community, emigration and depression during the 1980s. This was followed by the rise of the ‘Celtic Tiger’ and the new phenomenon of immigration of the late 1990s. Ireland was plunged into severe economic difficulties following the oil price rise of 1973. The introduction of a wealth tax in 1974 rebounded on the government, and although it was abolished in 1977, the damage
had been done. Many of the Anglo-Irish families had fled the country, as discussed in Chapter Sixteen (Ferriter 2004:692). A combination of huge government spending, a series of international depressions, and reduced financial assistance from the European Community threatened to undermine the progress made in the 1960s (Doherty 1997:126). There were nine different administrations in the thirty years that followed Fianna Fáil’s victory in the 1969 general election, with the 1980s particularly a period of political instability (Ferriter 2004:687).

A number of factors during the late 1980s influenced the prosperity enjoyed from the mid 1990s onwards. Trade union leaders became champions of social stability and consensus, the Irish Financial Services Centre was established in 1987, growing numbers of multinational investors – particularly in the computer / electronic, and in the pharmaceutical fields – began to locate in Ireland, seeing Ireland as an English speaking foothold into the European market with a young highly educated population, the result of the free secondary education policy introduced in 1968 (Ferriter 2004:671). In 1988, Ireland was described by the *Economist* as the ‘poorest of the rich nations’, but within eight years the same publication replaced the headline with ‘Ireland: Europe’s shining light’ (Ferriter 2004:4). The final years of the millennium witnessed a rapid growth in restaurants producing *haute cuisine* in Dublin, fuelled both by the increased wealth of its citizens and by the growing number of visitors to Ireland’s capital city.

**Gastronomic Writing**
Fitzgibbon began writing a regular column on food and cookery in 1969 in *The Irish Times* which she continued to do for over twenty years. She was also cookery editor for *Image Magazine* (Mac Con Iomaire 2006b). O’Sullivan (2003:21) writes that Fitzgibbon’s views on food and restaurants ‘became the set opinions of many middle-class matrons of Dublin’. Writing regularly for other newspapers were Georgina Campbell (*Irish Independent*), Carla Blake (*Irish Press*), Phyl O’Kelly (*Cork Examiner*), Myrtle Allen (*Farmer’s Journal*), Ruth Kelly (*RTE Guide*) and Honor Moore (*Woman’s Weekly*). Restaurant reviewers included Willy Clingam, T. P. Whelehan, Sandy O’Byrne, Marilyn Bright, Hugh Leonard and Myles McWeeney but the genre of restaurant
reviewing was transformed by the appearance of Helen Lucy Burke writing for the *Sunday Tribune* in 1985. Her acerbic style in exposing mediocrity attracted public attention and the wrath of restaurateurs. Opperman (2004:257-9) suggests that Burke forced standards to improve, ‘she was causing such mayhem that people began to take notice’. Some establishment had her photograph posted in the service area and refused to serve her if she called. O’Daly (2008:253, 293) points out that following a favourable review from Burke, his dining room was fully booked five weeks in advance, but notes that she was ‘seriously feared’ at the time by restaurateurs. The Irish Guild of Food Writers was established in 1986. The last fifteen years of the twentieth century witnessed a sharp growth in column inches in newspapers and periodicals dedicated to food, with writers such as Brenda Costigan, Liz Ryan, Tom Doorley, John McKenna and Paulio Tulio joining the established food writers. An exploratory study of Irish published cookbooks carried out by Maguire (2007) noted a steep increase in the number of titles published from the 1980s onwards. A more comprehensive study of Irish cookbooks is currently being undertaken in the Dublin Institute of Technology.

**The Restaurant Association of Ireland (RAI)**

Butt was the founding president in 1970 of the Irish Restaurant-Owners Association (IRA), which soon changed its name to the Restaurant Association of Ireland (RAI). Carroll, Kavanagh, Robinson, Cohen, Gay and Bewley were the other founding members. The main motivation behind this organisation was to lobby for reduced taxation and the special restaurant licence to enable restaurants to serve spirits and beer and not simply wine (Mac Con Iomaire 2006a). High taxation on food and the abolition of tax relief on corporate entertaining became a major issue for restaurateurs in Dublin particularly during the 1980s. In the Finance Act, 1980, an amendment of Section 24 (business, entertainment expenses) of the Finance Act 1973 reduced the relief by 50%. In Section 20 of the Finance Act 1982, tax relief on business entertainment was abolished (Revenue 2003).

In 1986, a delegation from the RAI convinced Dukes, the Minister of Finance, to reduce the VAT on meals and catering from 25% to 10% (Madden 1995:35; Walsh 2008). This
reduction helped to revitalise restaurants, and for gourmet restaurants using linen
tablecloths and napkins, the reduction of VAT on laundry and cleaning in the same
legislation also helped reduce costs (Revenue 2003:66). High rates of income tax
remained an issue, Walsh (2008) points out that there was no incentive in the 1980s for
staff to work overtime when their wages were being taxed at around 50%. Taxation was
consistently reformed during the 1990s resulting in higher levels of disposable income
which benefited Dublin restaurants. By 1999, The Irish Times noted that the RAI had 450
members, and quoted from its chief executive, O’Neill, that ‘the Irish dining public is
more discerning than ever before, the ambience in Irish restaurants today has to be as
high a standard as diners can find in any other capital city. We have a dining culture now,
which we never did before’ (20/10/99:43). This was a landmark statement.

The Influential Chefs
During the 1970s, a new generation of Irish chefs de cuisine appeared having been trained
in Jury’s (Dame Street), the Russell, Jammet’s, The Red Bank, Dublin Airport, the
Intercontinental and the Metropole (Fig. 17.1). Some of them became chef / proprietors,
while others took positions in the leading hotels, with Aer Lingus, and with the growing
number of companies specialising in industrial catering and banqueting. Some of these
chefs were influenced in the late 1970s and early 1980s by Kilbride, while attending his
advanced ‘master chefs’ courses in the Dublin College of Catering. Many of this
generation, such as Howard, Cullen, McSweeney, Clifford and McManus had also gained
some international experience working in London’s finest restaurants or in Switzerland.
Some Irish chefs, such as Corrigan, left Ireland in the 1980s and became successful
restaurateurs in London.

Similar patterns of migration of foreign chefs, waiters and restaurateurs to Ireland took
place during Phase Four as had occurred during Phase One outlined in Chapter Fourteen,
having more to do with chance than planning. Both Caillabet (2008) and Guilbaud (2008)
came to Ireland from France via a period as restaurateurs in Manchester, England. Other
French chefs who contributed to improving culinary standards in Dublin during the last
two decades of the twentieth century included Lebrun, Amand, Flamme and Masi. Some
Irish chefs such as Cooke (2008) worked in America and returned in the late 1980s with the latest Californian food ideas, influenced by Alice Waters and Jeremiah Towers. In the last decade of the twentieth century, Irish chefs such as Thornton (2008), Martin (2008), Kirwan, Cartwright, Flynn, Carberry (2008), Dunne, and Gallagher returned to Dublin having worked in the kitchens of Michelin starred chefs such as Roux, Ladenis, Kaufman, Hill, Burton-Race, Blanc, and Edelman in England, and with Bocuse, Troisgros, Blanc and Ducasse in France, all of which have been previously discussed in Chapter Nine. They, in turn, trained the current generation of Irish chefs in the latest techniques of *haute cuisine* which remained firmly rooted in the French culinary canon.

**Training**

There was a discussion in the *Egon Ronay Dunlop Guide 1974* (pp.13-16) about the decline in standards in service and the difficulty in getting staff to join the catering industry. A call was also made for long term graduated career structures for school leavers, an apprenticeship system with full wages, and for professionalisation, with one Parisian chef / proprietor summing up the problem, ‘it takes twenty years to become a good chef, you can become a surgeon in ten’ (Egon-Ronay 1973:16). The only evidence of a formal apprenticeship system, with systemised training, and reward structure has been the system operated by Besson in the Royal Hibernian and Russell Hotels described in Chapter Sixteen. CERT was initially set up to train workers for the hotel industry. This remit broadened during Phase Four to include restaurants and other catering and tourism related establishments. In 1977, new management at CERT gave the organisation a fresh impetus. Courses were streamlined, new services were offered with the help of EEC funds, and in 1982 the National Craft Curriculum Certification Board (NCCCB) was established. This enabled catering education in Ireland to set its own standards, establish its own criteria and award its own certificates, roles which had been carried out prior to this primarily by the City & Guilds of London (Corr 1987:78). Many employers historically, however, saw college students and apprenticeship courses as a form of low cost labour. This attitude was particularly prevalent during periods of high unemployment, such as the 1980s (Mac Con Iomaire 2008:44).
One of the major developments in culinary education that took place during Phase Four was the introduction of the City & Guilds advanced master chef courses (706/3) in both kitchen / larder, and in pastry, which began in 1977. The 706/3 programme was taught in the Dublin College of Catering by Kilbride, and his students became the future teachers, entrepreneurs and leaders in culinary matters in Ireland in the last decades of the twentieth century. Kilbride engendered a love of learning in them and he instilled confidence in Irish chefs that they were world-class. Kilbride (2003:~28) recalls being extremely impressed with the quality, commitment, interest and dedication of the Irish chefs who attended the course, noting that the first year they went to Hotelympia they won numerous awards. Cullen (2001) credits Kilbride with giving him a new pride as a chef and recognised that the advanced cookery programme made a significant contribution in raising the consciousness and self-awareness of Irish chefs. Thornton (2008) points out that Kilbride opened his mind to the history of food and instilled him with confidence in his own ability. He recalls that Kilbride was the only person he was ever nervous cooking for, when he came for a meal at the Wine Epergne, noting ‘it was like cooking for the master’. Further oral evidence from Kilbride’s 706/3 students is found in Bowe (2008), Dowling (2004), Connell (2008), Clancy (2008), and McSweeney (2008).

The Dublin College of Catering remained the flagship of catering education in Ireland for the remainder of Phase Four. The Cathal Brugha Street College offered full-time courses in hotel cookery, apprentice chefs / cooks, and apprentice waiters. In 1986 a full time certificate in culinary arts was developed focusing on catering for health, and in 1999, a primary degree in culinary arts was sanctioned by the Department of Education after some controversy (Duff, Hegarty et al. 2000:28). During this researcher’s time as a student on the full time apprentice chefs course in 1990-92, students sat three sets of exams: the City & Guilds 706/1 & 706/2, the NCCCB Certificate in Professional Cookery Parts 1 & 2, and Dublin College of Catering exams in each individual subject. When Kilbride took early retirement in 1989 to set up his own business ‘Kilbride Cuisine’, Bowe took over teaching the City & Guilds 706/3 course. Bowe (2008:~183-4) suggests that following the Maastricht Agreement, CERT replaced established courses
that were linked with City & Guilds with shorter modular courses, noting ‘I think that was the instigator of lowering the standards. Maggie Thatcher brought in the NVQ, which means you don’t bother coming to school at all, just send in your book and we tick the boxes’. Bowe (2008:69) describes Kilbride as ‘a master of his art, you couldn’t say more than that, a fabulous, fabulous cook’. Kilbride had been involved in the reformation of The Panel of Chefs of Ireland c.1977, and in coaching its members to many international awards.

The Panel of Chefs of Ireland

The Panel of Chefs of Ireland was formed in 1958 by Mullen of the IT&GWU to run a catering exhibition in Busáras in conjunction with Bord Fáilte Éireann. The presidents of the Panel in the early years were McManus (1958), Marley (1959), Marshall (1960), Flahive (1961), Ryan (1962), Ganly (1963), and Byrne (1964-1967). During the mid 1960s and early 1970s, Ireland experienced a tourism boom and many of the chefs were unable to continue with Panel activities (Panel-of-Chefs 1983:90). For the following ten years the Panel existed in name only but was revived under an initiative by Mullen and a group of young Irish chefs, Edwards, Cullen, and McGovern, who became the first presidents of the Panel during the new era. Edwards career has been discussed in Chapter Sixteen, but both Cullen and McGovern trained in Jury’s Dame Street under Widmer, and Cullen is profiled in Mac Con Iomaire (2005c; 2009e forthcoming). With Cullen as president and Kilbride as vice-president, the Panel of Chefs of Ireland became an all-Ireland body with branches in Leinster, Ulster, Connaught and Munster. The objectives of the Panel according to its constitution was

‘to promote the development of all aspects of professional cookery among its members and among all practising cooks and apprentice cooks in Ireland through cookery demonstrations, lectures, debates and discussions on cookery and any of its related subjects’ (Panel-of-Chefs 1983:55).

The mainstay of the Panel’s activities, however, was competing in international competitions and later the organising of culinary competitions in Ireland. It may be argued that the educational part of the Panel’s remit was carried out by members of the Panel who worked for CERT or in the various catering colleges. Up until the end of the
tenth century, most lecturers in professional cookery in Ireland were members of the Panel of Chefs. Culinary competitions were held bi-annually principally in conjunction with the National Catering Exhibition in the Royal Dublin Society (RDS). Farren (2003:~291) outlines how under his presidency of the Panel (1984-86), they took control of these competitions from the Catering Equipment Association (CEA). The Panel of Chefs of Ireland never became a professional body representing all chefs, and professional cookery never became a recognised trade in Ireland, unlike carpenters and electricians which completed a similar apprenticeship but were formally certified and represented by their respective trade unions. Movement towards organising chefs in Dublin Airport within their own trade union occurred during the 1980s. Jimmy Rock, who was shop steward there at the time, recalls:

‘I approached Number Four Branch first to see if they could change our status to tradesmen rather than catering workers but they said that they couldn’t because they were not a trades union, Number Four represented hotel and catering operatives. That was at the time, and for us to have been recognised as a recognised trade, we would have had to leave the Number Four Branch and joined another union that did represent trades. I looked into it and we would have been accepted into a union and recognised as trades but we decided on mass, now I’m talking airport chefs, not all chefs, we decided not to go that route…… The reason I discovered that the chefs in Dublin did not want to leave the Number Four Branch and join a trades union was that they felt there was safety in numbers, they would be in the same Branch as the waiters and the porters and to be in with the majority and that was that’ (Clancy 2008:~180).

A detailed discussion on The Panel of Chefs of Ireland with one of it’s former presidents is presented in Clancy (2008:~119-166) who suggests that the Panel’s link with the IT&GWU created tension in the organisation in the mid 1980s during the Shelbourne Hotel strike, when the head chef, a member of the Panel, passed the picket. When the IT&GWU became SIPTU, the new amalgamated union’s logo never appeared on the Panel’s stationery. For a while they continued to include ‘founded in 1958 under the auspices of the IT&GWU’, along with the Panel of Chefs logo, but this disappeared in later years. During part of Phase Four, the Panel of Chefs of Ireland produced a newsletter, Stockpot, which carried news of achievements and also listed winners of various salons culinaires, and their places of employment. One particular trend of note in issue No. 4 (June 1981) was that while only 8% of winners in the senior competitions
were women, 66% of the junior competition winners were female, mostly students from the Dublin College of Catering or the Regional Technical Colleges.

**Gender in Kitchens**
For most of the twentieth century, professional kitchens producing *haute cuisine* had been male dominated environments. Murphy of the Royal Hibernian Hotel was one of the few females working as a *chef de partie* in gourmet restaurants. This gender imbalance began to change during Phase Four. Formal courses for women hotel cooks were run since Phase Two, and for a long time the term ‘cook’ was applied to females and ‘chef’ to males (Whelan 2003:~241). Evidence from the wage books of the Shelbourne Hotel during Phase Two showed the discrepancy in pay between cooks and chefs. Female cooks were traditionally placed working in hospitals, institutional catering, and in lower grade hotels or guesthouses. During Phase Four, particularly with the opening of the Regional Technical Colleges, both male and female students trained side by side and both began to be placed in some of the best hotels and restaurants. Farren (2003:~349-51) suggests that by the 1980s both male and female apprentices were treated equally and paid equally. By the end of the twentieth century there were as many females as males enrolled on culinary arts courses in the Dublin Institute of Technology. Despite this, female chefs such as Smith, Walsh and Thoma in Dublin, and Allen, Bourke, Walsh, Fenton and Tighe outside of Dublin remained a minority among the *chefs de cuisine* of Ireland. Oral evidence confirms a dramatic rise in the number of female chefs working at *chef de partie* or *sous chef* level in Dublin during Phase Four. Kitchens were not the only place where an increase in female participation occurred, Corbett (2008) notes the in The Shelbourne Hotel in the 1970s there were on average two women and eighty men dining in the restaurant at lunchtime, whereas by 2008 over two thirds of his lunchtime customers in Chapter One restaurant were female.

**Technology**
Technological developments during this period mirrored those in England, France and America discussed in Chapter Nine. The most significant technological developments
were, food processors, *sous vide*, Altosham holding ovens, but most significantly, the computerisation of the restaurant business. The Intercontinental Hotel had introduced the latest American systems for catering technology, which were copied in many of Doyle’s hotels. Each hotel had similar menus, ensuring easier bulk purchasing and stock control systems. Hingston (2008:~235) describes how he learnt about cost control in the Intercontinental Hotel and adapted the system to the Burlington Hotel and later in his training work with CERT. A short introduction to food costing and control was published in issue No. 4 of *Stockpot* (June 1981) suggesting that many catering establishments had a ‘rather haphazard approach to food control and costing’.

The gradual introduction of computer technology during the late 1980s helped to manage stocks and profit margins. Of all Dublin restaurateurs, the first to really adapt this technology was O’Sullivan particularly in his largest restaurant, Blakes. This technology later proved part of the success of Roly’s Bistro. New technology that Howard (2008) noticed during this time included *sous vide*, a system of vacuum packing food and cooking it in the vac-pack, but he suggests it was not properly utilised. O’Sullivan set up a *sous-vide* company but closed it after two years (O'Reilly 2008). During the 1990s, Walsh (2008) ran a *sous-vide* business in the back of his Old Dublin restaurant, and later opened a larger *sous-vide* company called Swift Foods. Two French restaurant specialising in *sous-vide* opened in Dublin during Phase Four but were unsuccessful. The Irish public at this time were sceptical of the ‘boil in the bag’ image of *sous-vide* and its potential was slow to be realised. One of the financial successes of Blakes restaurant in Stillorgan was its carvery. O’Sullivan used inexpensive tougher cuts of beef and cooked them slowly overnight in Altosham ovens, producing tender meat with little weight loss. It was reported in *The Irish Times* (5/7/1990:24) that O’ Sullivan sold Blakes for £3 million to Shovelin and Gallagher who had the lease on Whites of the Green, and that they expected to be catering for about 4,000 customers a day in this 350 seat acquisition. It is interesting to note that a combination of this slow-cooking process, and *sous-vide* technology, formed the basis of much of the molecular gastronomy movement, discussed in Chapter Nine, which influenced the new *haute cuisine* in the last years of the twentieth century in France, England and Spain.
Statistics – Census Reports

Information relating to the development of restaurants and public dining in Dublin available in the 1981, 1986, 1991, 1996, 2002 and 2006 census reports are presented in Figure 17.2 and 17.3. The population of Dublin exceeded one million in 1981. It continued to rise from 1,003,164 in 1981 to 1,187,176 in 2006. The relatively modest rise in the population of Dublin between 1986 and 1991, compared with the general trend for the overall period highlights the levels of emigration during those five years, which was at its worst since the 1950s (Ferriter 2004:672).

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Census Year</th>
<th>1981</th>
<th>1986</th>
<th>1991</th>
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</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>Population of Irish State</td>
<td>3,443,405</td>
<td>3,540,643</td>
<td>3,525,719</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Population of Dublin City and County</td>
<td>1,003,164</td>
<td>1,021,449</td>
<td>1,025,304</td>
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<td>Working in Domestic Service in Eire</td>
<td>18,577</td>
<td>17,624</td>
<td>15,923</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Proprietors or Managers of Hotels &amp; Restaurants</td>
<td>Male</td>
<td>Female</td>
<td>Total</td>
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<tr>
<td>Dublin</td>
<td>547</td>
<td>401</td>
<td>948</td>
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<tr>
<td>Suburbs</td>
<td>539</td>
<td>288</td>
<td>827</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Total Dublin</td>
<td>1,086</td>
<td>689</td>
<td>1,775</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Total in Eire</td>
<td>3,315</td>
<td>2,429</td>
<td>5,744</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Chefs and Cooks</td>
<td>Male</td>
<td>Female</td>
<td>Total</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Dublin</td>
<td>822</td>
<td>660</td>
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<td>Suburbs</td>
<td>580</td>
<td>344</td>
<td>924</td>
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<td>Total</td>
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<td>1,004</td>
<td>2,406</td>
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<tr>
<td>Total in Eire</td>
<td>3,158</td>
<td>3,112</td>
<td>6,270</td>
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<tr>
<td>Waiters and Waitresses</td>
<td>Male</td>
<td>Female</td>
<td>Total</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Dublin</td>
<td>686</td>
<td>2,364</td>
<td>3,050</td>
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<tr>
<td>Suburbs</td>
<td>377</td>
<td>878</td>
<td>1,255</td>
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<tr>
<td>Total</td>
<td>1,063</td>
<td>3,242</td>
<td>4,305</td>
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<tr>
<td>Total in Eire</td>
<td>1,855</td>
<td>7,366</td>
<td>9,221</td>
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Figure 17.2: Information from 1981, 1986 and 1991 Census

There was a rise in the number of people working in domestic service in 1981 compared to 1971, altering the pattern set during the early century. The numbers in domestic service declined again in 1986 and 1991 and were not listed in subsequent census reports. There was a steady increase in the numbers of proprietors or managers of hotels and restaurants, nearly doubling from 1,775 in 1981 to 3,351 in 1991. This 89% rise is higher than the corresponding 61% rise in chefs and cooks, and a 32% rise in waiters and waitresses in the same ten year period. This dramatic rise corresponds with a period of significant growth in third level courses in hotel, restaurant and catering management. The number of chefs and cooks working in Dublin rose from 2,406 in 1981 to 3,878 in 1991. The ratio of males was 25% higher on average than females within the chef / cook occupation during this ten year period. There was a less dramatic increase in the numbers working as waiters / waitresses in Dublin, rising from 4,305 in 1981 to 5,679 in 1991. The ratio of females to males was on average more than three to one in this occupation group.

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<tr>
<th>Census Year</th>
<th>1996</th>
<th>2002</th>
<th>2006</th>
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<tbody>
<tr>
<td>Population of Irish State</td>
<td>3,626,087</td>
<td>3,917,203</td>
<td>4,239,848</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Population of Dublin City and County</td>
<td>1,058,264</td>
<td>1,122,821</td>
<td>1,187,176</td>
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<tr>
<td>Occupation</td>
<td>Male</td>
<td>Female</td>
<td>Total</td>
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<tr>
<td>Hotel and accommodation Managers</td>
<td>2,447</td>
<td>3,335</td>
<td>5,782</td>
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<tr>
<td>Restaurant and catering managers</td>
<td>3,385</td>
<td>4,587</td>
<td>7,972</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Publicans, innkeepers and club managers</td>
<td>6,376</td>
<td>2,638</td>
<td>9,014</td>
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<tr>
<td>Chefs and cooks</td>
<td>6,363</td>
<td>7,209</td>
<td>13,572</td>
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<tr>
<td>Waiters and waitresses</td>
<td>1,437</td>
<td>8,783</td>
<td>10,220</td>
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<tr>
<td>Hotel porters and kitchen porters</td>
<td>Not Listed until 2002</td>
<td>2,886</td>
<td>2,800</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

Figure 17.3: Information from 1996, 2002 and 2006 Census

Source: Central Statistic Office 1996, 2002 and 2006 Census Reports

The statistics under ‘occupations’ shown in Figure 17.3 represent the population of Ireland and not the Greater Dublin region. Hotel and accommodation managers increased in number by 36% between 1996 and 2006. Restaurant and catering managers increased by 38% during the same period whilst the number of publicans, innkeepers and club managers decreased by 5.5%. The number of chefs and cooks, however, increased by 62% during this time, with waiters and waitresses increasing by 50%. The ratio of males
to females within the chef / cook occupation was nearly 10% higher on average during this ten year period. The ratio of females to males in the waiting profession, however, rose to an average of more than four to one. Hall porters and kitchen porters received a listing of their own in 2002 which illustrates how widespread the occupation had become.

**The Michelin Guide**

The criteria for Michelin’s awarding stars and red ‘M’s has been explained in Chapter Thirteen. *The Michelin Guide to Great Britain and Ireland* was first published in 1974 and the sole star awarded in Dublin was to The Russell Hotel which closed that same year. Dublin restaurants awarded stars or red ‘M’s are listed in Figure 17.4. The guide made no awards in the Dublin region from 1974 until 1978, and then awarded Restaurant Rolland, in Killiney, a red ‘M’, representing very good food at a reasonable price. Rolland was run by Henri Rolland, who had trained with his father in the Russell Hotel.

![Figure 17.4: Michelin Stars and Red M’s Awarded to Dublin Restaurants 1974-2002](image_url)

**Source:** Michelin Guides 1974-2002 Derek Brown

**Note:** * represent a Michelin star and M represents a red ‘M’ award
There were no awards made for Dublin from 1981 to 1989 when Restaurant Patrick Guilbaud was awarded a star, and in 1990 when O’Daly was awarded a red ‘M’ in The Park, Blackrock. Further red ‘M’s were awarded to O’Reilly in Clarets in Blackrock and to Evans in Ernie’s in Donnybrook in 1994. The last five years of the twentieth century witnessed a resurgence of haute cuisine in Dublin restaurants. The Commons restaurant on St. Stephen’s Green was awarded a star in 1994, and managed to retain it until 1998 despite three different head chefs. The star was withdrawn by Michelin on the fourth change of chef but The Commons regained the star in 2002 under Byrne. Restaurant Patrick Guilbaud was awarded two Michelin stars in 1996, and Thornton was awarded one star in Thornton’s Restaurant, Portobello that same year. In 2001, Thornton became the first Irishman ever to be awarded two Michelin stars. Another Irish chef awarded a Michelin star in Dublin in 1998 was Gallagher in Peacock Alley, who also owned Lloyd’s Brasserie. Gallagher’s first job on returning from France and New York was as chef de cuisine in O’Reilly’s Morels Restaurant in Glasthule, which later became Duzy’s (Fig. 17.4). Gallagher was replaced by Dunne who bought the restaurant with his French Maître D’hôtel Couzy, and also opened Blueberry’s in Blackrock, while O’Reilly and his brother Paul opened Morels at Stephen’s Hall, all of which were awarded red ‘M’s during this period. Both l’Ecrivain, run by Derry and Sally-Anne Clarke, and Chapter One, run by Lewis and Corbett, were awarded red ‘M’s in 1996, and both would be awarded a Michelin star in the first decade of the new millennium. Roly’s Bistro opened by O’Sullivan, Saul and O’Daly were also awarded a red ‘M’ in 1996. The final two restaurants awarded red ‘M’s by Michelin in 1999 were the Mermaid Café in Dame Street, run by Gorman and Harrell, and Jacobs Ladder in Nassau Street run by Roche.

The phenomenon of haute cuisine moving from Dublin to the country house hotels during the first part of Phase Four is illustrated in Figure 17.5. The Michelin Guide awarded stars to Arbutus Lodge, Ballymaloe House, Ballylucky House, and Shiro in Cork; The Park Hotel and The Sheen Falls in Kerry; Cashel Palace and Chez Hans in Tipperary; Armstrong’s Barn in Wicklow; Dunderry Lodge in Meath; The K Club in Kildare; Dromoland Castle in Clare; and Errisead House in Galway. By the year 2000, however, there were only two Michelin stars outside of Dublin in the Republic of Ireland; with a
further two stars in Northern Ireland. Dublin, once again, had become the centre of *haute cuisine* in Ireland.

| Name of Restaurant       | 1 | 1 | 1 | 1 | 1 | 1 | 1 | 1 | 1 | 1 | 1 | 1 | 1 | 1 | 1 | 1 | 1 | 1 | 1 | 1 | 1 | 1 | 1 | 1 | 1 |
| Armstrong's Barn         | 9 | 9 | 9 | 9 | 9 | 9 | 9 | 9 | 9 | 9 | 9 | 9 | 9 | 9 | 9 | 9 | 9 | 9 | 9 | 9 | 9 | 9 | 9 | 9 | 9 |
| Ballylickey Hs.          | 7 | 7 | 7 | 7 | 7 | 7 | 8 | 8 | 8 | 8 | 8 | 8 | 8 | 8 | 8 | 8 | 8 | 9 | 9 | 0 | 1 | 2 | 3 | 4 | 5 |
| Cashel Palace            | 6 | 7 | 8 | 9 | 0 | 1 | 2 | 3 | 4 | 5 | 6 | 7 | 8 | 9 | 0 | 1 | 2 | 3 | 4 | 5 | 6 | 7 | 8 | 9 | 0 |
| Chez Hans                | M | M | M | M | M |   |   |   |   |   |   |   |   |   |   |   |   |   |   |   |   |   |   |   |   |
| Arbutus Lodge            | M | M | M | M | M | M | M | M | M | M | M | M | M | M | M | M | M | M | M | M | M | M | M | M | M |
| Sheen Falls              | M | M | M | M | M | M | M | M | M | M | M | M | M | M | M | M | M | M | M | M | M | M | M | M | M |
| Dunderry Lodge           | M | M | M | M | M | M | M | M | M | M | M | M | M | M | M | M | M | M | M | M | M | M | M | M | M |
| Ballymaloe Hs.           | M | M | M | M | M | M | M | M | M | M | M | M | M | M | M | M | M | M | M | M | M | M | M | M | M |
| K. Club                  | M | M | M | M | M | M | M | M | M | M | M | M | M | M | M | M | M | M | M | M | M | M | M | M | M |
| Shiro                    | M | M | M | M | M | M | M | M | M | M | M | M | M | M | M | M | M | M | M | M | M | M | M | M | M |
| Errisask Hs.             | M | M | M | M | M | M | M | M | M | M | M | M | M | M | M | M | M | M | M | M | M | M | M | M | M |
| Dromoland                | M | M | M | M | M | M | M | M | M | M | M | M | M | M | M | M | M | M | M | M | M | M | M | M | M |
| Park Kenmare             | M | M | M | M | M | M | M | M | M | M | M | M | M | M | M | M | M | M | M | M | M | M | M | M | M |
| Mustard Seed             | M | M | M | M | M | M | M | M | M | M | M | M | M | M | M | M | M | M | M | M | M | M | M | M | M |
| MacCloskey's Bunratty    | M | M | M | M | M | M | M | M | M | M | M | M | M | M | M | M | M | M | M | M | M | M | M | M | M |
| Cromleach Ld.            | M | M | M | M | M | M | M | M | M | M | M | M | M | M | M | M | M | M | M | M | M | M | M | M | M |
| Lovetts                  | M | M | M | M | M | M | M | M | M | M | M | M | M | M | M | M | M | M | M | M | M | M | M | M | M |
| Cliffsords               | M | M | M | M | M | M | M | M | M | M | M | M | M | M | M | M | M | M | M | M | M | M | M | M | M |
| Doyle's Dingle           | M | M | M | M | M | M | M | M | M | M | M | M | M | M | M | M | M | M | M | M | M | M | M | M | M |
| Towers Glenbeigh         | M | M | M | M | M | M | M | M | M | M | M | M | M | M | M | M | M | M | M | M | M | M | M | M | M |
| Marlfield Hs.            | M | M | M | M | M | M | M | M | M | M | M | M | M | M | M | M | M | M | M | M | M | M | M | M | M |
| Lime Tree                | M | M | M | M | M | M | M | M | M | M | M | M | M | M | M | M | M | M | M | M | M | M | M | M | M |
| Vintage                  | M | M | M | M | M | M | M | M | M | M | M | M | M | M | M | M | M | M | M | M | M | M | M | M | M |
| Skippers                 | M | M | M | M | M | M | M | M | M | M | M | M | M | M | M | M | M | M | M | M | M | M | M | M | M |
| Longueville Hs.          | M | M | M | M | M | M | M | M | M | M | M | M | M | M | M | M | M | M | M | M | M | M | M | M | M |
| Druncong Hs.             | M | M | M | M | M | M | M | M | M | M | M | M | M | M | M | M | M | M | M | M | M | M | M | M | M |
| Customs Hs.              | M | M | M | M | M | M | M | M | M | M | M | M | M | M | M | M | M | M | M | M | M | M | M | M | M |
| Loaves &Fishes           | M | M | M | M | M | M | M | M | M | M | M | M | M | M | M | M | M | M | M | M | M | M | M | M | M |
| Jacobs on the Mall       | M | M | M | M | M | M | M | M | M | M | M | M | M | M | M | M | M | M | M | M | M | M | M | M | M |
| The Chart Hs.            | M | M | M | M | M | M | M | M | M | M | M | M | M | M | M | M | M | M | M | M | M | M | M | M | M |
| The Tannery              | M | M | M | M | M | M | M | M | M | M | M | M | M | M | M | M | M | M | M | M | M | M | M | M | M |
| **N. Ireland**           | M | M | M | M | M | M | M | M | M | M | M | M | M | M | M | M | M | M | M | M | M | M | M | M | M |
| Roscoff                  | M | M | M | M | M | M | M | M | M | M | M | M | M | M | M | M | M | M | M | M | M | M | M | M | M |
| Shanks                   | M | M | M | M | M | M | M | M | M | M | M | M | M | M | M | M | M | M | M | M | M | M | M | M | M |
| Michael Deane            | M | M | M | M | M | M | M | M | M | M | M | M | M | M | M | M | M | M | M | M | M | M | M | M | M |
| Ramore P/rush            | M | M | M | M | M | M | M | M | M | M | M | M | M | M | M | M | M | M | M | M | M | M | M | M | M |
| DeanesBrasserie          | M | M | M | M | M | M | M | M | M | M | M | M | M | M | M | M | M | M | M | M | M | M | M | M | M |

**Figure 17.5: Michelin Stars and Red M’s for rest of Ireland including N. Ireland**

**Source:** Michelin Guides 1974-2000 Derek Brown

**Note:** * represent a Michelin star and M represents a red ‘M’ award

**The Egon Ronay Guide**

A clearer picture of the development of restaurants in Dublin during the first part of Phase Four is available from the *Egon Ronay Guide* than from the *Michelin Guide*. Ronay, however, sold his guide to the Automobile Association in 1985, who
subsequently sold it on after three years (Frewin 2002:6). There are no awards for 1986 and the data stops in 1989 in Figures 17.6 and 17.7.

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<td>The King Sitric, Howth</td>
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**Figure 17.6: Dublin Restaurants in Egon Ronay Guide’s (1973-1989)**

**Sources:** Egon Ronay Guides to Great Britain and Ireland 1973-1989

**Note:** * represent one Egon Ronay star, ** two Egon Ronay stars, & M represents a mention in the Egon Ronay Guide
Stars were awarded to the Russell, Snaffles and Rolland during the 1970s and then to Restaurant Patrick Guilbaud and Colin O’Daly’s The Park during the 1980s. It is worth noting, however, that in 1989, when Michelin first awarded Guilbaud’s a star, *Egon Ronay* had reduced their rating from a star to a mention. Restaurants such as Snaffles, Rolland, The King Sitric, *Mirabeau*, Tandoori Rooms, Johnny’s, *Restaurant na Mara*, Lord Edward, Celtic Mews, and *Le Coq Hardi* were consistently mentioned and recommended by Egon Ronay during the 1974-1989 period. Stars awarded by Egon Ronay in Dublin and outside of Dublin during this period are shown in Figure 17.7.

There is evidence in the *Egon Ronay Lucas Guide 1978* of the trend, mentioned first in his 1965 guide, of standards falling at the top end and rising at the bottom end of the market. Although there were no one, two or three star restaurant in Dublin and only four one star restaurants in Ireland in the 1978 guide, there were more Dublin restaurants listed – twenty one in total – than in any previous *Egon Ronay Guide*. Many of these were previously listed as ‘starred’ restaurants and it is difficult to extrapolate whether standards had fallen in these establishments or whether the minimum standard for inclusion had changed as noted in the *1974 Guide*.

It is noteworthy that the Gresham is not listed in the *1978 Guide* for its restaurant, although it was mentioned under the hotels entry that following ‘a rationalisation scheme the previous year…. that there is now a new, comfortably modernised basement restaurant of vast size’ (p.786). The Shelbourne Restaurant was also omitted, perhaps a sign of the decline in hotel dining. It is also worth noting that nine of the twenty one Dublin entries were for ‘chef / proprietors’. Also mentioned in the *1978 Guide* was that the kitchens of Ashford Castle, which was awarded five consecutive stars from 1975-1980, were run by ‘three former chefs of the Dublin’s Russell Hotel’ (p.777). O’Daly (2008:~147), who won a Michelin star in The Park, Kenmare, in 1983, notes that he spent three seasons in Ashford under Wade in the late 1970s, linking him indirectly with the influence of Pierre Rolland (Fig. 17.1).
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**Figure 17.7: Stars Awarded by Egon Ronay for Republic of Ireland 1975-1989**

**Sources:** *Egon Ronay’s Guides to Great Britain and Ireland* 1975-1989

**Note:** 1* represents one Egon Ronay star, 2* represents two Egon Ronay stars, 3* represents three Egon Ronay stars

**Case Studies**

The following case studies cover the most significant restaurants in terms of *haute cuisine* in Dublin during Phase Four, according to both the *Egon Ronay Guides* and *The Michelin Guides* (Figs. 17.4 and 17.6). Analysis of these Dublin restaurants shows a number of trends which were taking place concurrently in England, as discussed in Chapter Nine.
These include the trend for hotels that had a tradition of fine dining, closing or rationalising to the detriment of their cuisine. By the end of the century, the trend of Michelin ‘starred’ restaurants being located in five-star hotels occurred in Dublin as it had in London and Paris. Restaurant Patrick Guilbaud moved to The Merrion Hotel in 1997 and Peacock Alley moved to the Fitzwilliam Hotel in 1998. The trend during the first part of Phase Four of non-traditional restaurants run by enthusiastic amateurs was also evident in Dublin with the opening of Snaffles and The Soup Bowl. The trend for the resurgence of new haute cuisine or nouvelle cuisine in restaurants adopting plate service and with less staff was evident, as was the growth of ethnic restaurants, seafood restaurants, and restaurants serving ‘fusion’ cuisine.

Changes occurred far swifter in Dublin restaurants during Phase Four than during any of the previous stages. The case studies will discuss the fate of the old established gastronomic hotels such as The Russell, The Royal Hibernian, The Shelbourne, The Gresham, and Jury’s Hotel, and later the rise of new hotels such as The Berkley Court, The Westbury, The Hotel Conrad and The Merion Hotel which developed a reputation for their cuisine. The two restaurants opened by enthusiastic amateurs, Snaffles and The Soup Bowl, are then profiled. Case studies then follow of the restaurants that kept some semblance of the old style haute cuisine of Escoffier alive, such as The Lord Edward, The Mirabeau, The Celtic Mews, The Lobster Pot, Le Coq Hardi, Johnny’s, Bon Appetit, and The Guinea Pig, run by staff that had previously trained in the old gastronomic hotels during Phase Three. Restaurants influenced by nouvelle cuisine, Restaurant Patrick Guilbaud, Whites on the Green, and The Park, which appeared in the 1980s are then discussed. Other significant restaurants which opened in the late 1980s and early 1990s are profiled, Claret’s, The Wine Epergne / Thornton’s, The Commons, Peacock Alley, L’Ecrivain and Chapter One. Finally some other restaurants which may not have served haute cuisine but were significant in the development of restaurants in Dublin during Phase Three will be discussed.

Dublin’s leading restaurants continued to act as nurseries for emerging culinary talent during Phase Four, and movement of staff between different establishments is noted in
the case studies. In some cases, the clientele are listed as a marker of the prestige of the restaurant at that particular time.

**Gastronomic Hotels**

Dublin hotels went through a turbulent time, gastronomically, during Phase Four. The Russell closed in 1974, The Royal Hibernian inherited the role of ‘best gastronomic hotel’ until its closure in 1982, replacing the Russell’s prestigious role as caterers to the Department of Foreign Affairs in Iveagh House (Hogan 2008:~34). Fitzgerald (2005:~47) confirms that Iveagh House dinners during the 1970 could cost up to £22 per person, compared to the £3 he was charged for a similar dinner in the Royal Irish Yacht Club. The *Egon Ronay Guide* suggested a fall in standards in the Gresham and Shelbourne Hotels in the mid to late 1970s, yet a slight resurgence of the Shelbourne in 1982 and 1983 confirms oral evidence from Thornton (2008) that standards were high during his tenure in charge of the Shelbourne Restaurant, with O’Neill as head chef. The hotel was affected by the political and economic environment of the 1970s and 1980s. An incendiary bomb exploded in The Shelbourne Hotel in 1976, and the hotel was closed by strike action from September to early December 1983, after which the Saddle Room and Grill never re-opened. In October 1986, the Shelbourne Hotel suffered another strike that resulted in it closing for six months (O’ Sullivan and O’ Neill 1999:171, 183-8). Ownership of The Shelbourne transferred from Trust Houses, to Trust House Forte which became Forte plc in 1991 and purchased the Meridien group of hotels in 1994. Forte plc was acquired by Granada in 1996.

The Gresham Hotel also experienced change of ownership during Phase Four, becoming part of the Ryan Hotel Group. Improvements in the quality of food served in the Gresham post 1977 were not noted by either the *Egon Ronay* or *Michelin* guides. Cullen (2001), who spent the years 1977-1981 as executive chef in The Gresham Hotel, notes that the Gresham’s ‘Savarin’ Restaurant was rated in Wedgewoods’ top 50 restaurants of the world during his tenure. Oral evidence from the time suggests that Cullen found it difficult to implement changes and increase productivity in the highly unionised environment of the Gresham Hotel (Martin 2008).
Jury’s Hotel began Phase Four precariously having taken over from the Intercontinental Hotel, as discussed in Chapter Sixteen. The introduction of Treyaud as head chef and Edwards as executive chef and later food and beverage manager, resulted in improved standard of cuisine. The murder of Lord Mountbatten in 1979 by the IRA, however, according to Edwards (2007:~76) ‘caused a big problem, because it destroyed the tourist industry for two years, it collapsed’. Edwards points out that a redundancy scheme introduced at this time, following the introduction of a similar scheme in the Burlington Hotel ‘destroyed the morale of the staff that were there; it broke the good will that was built up from the previous years’. Morale and standards in Jury’s increased in later years with the opening of the Kish restaurant which specialised in seafood. Edward’s description of events explains the pattern evident in Figure 17.6, where Egon Ronay had mentioned the Embassy Room in Jury’s from 1975 to 1979 and later mentions the Kish restaurant from 1982 to 1985. The Burlington’s Sussex Room had also been mentioned by Egon Ronay up until 1979. Standards of food began to drop in many hotels in the last decade of the twentieth century with the increased usage of convenience foods, but it is worth noting that many of the current lecturers in culinary arts in the Dublin Institute of Technology trained either in the Intercontinental or Jury’s Hotel, some of which are shown in Fig. 17.8. Treyaud (2008:~142) suggests that ‘those guys who are teaching here today learned a lot from me that they would not have the chance to learn today in a big hotel’. There are only two females, Dowdall and Griffen, and one foreign born chef, Treyaud, in Fig. 17.8. The gender balance of Jury’s kitchens changed in the mid 1980s.

Figure 17.8: Jury’s Kitchen Brigade with Treyaud, Malone, and Edwards c. 1980

Source: (Edwards 2007)
Other Dublin hotels that had been renowned for the quality of their food during Phase Three such as The Dolphin Hotel and The Wicklow Hotel were transformed during Phase Four into themed restaurants: a Tex-Mex restaurant and bar, and Casper and Gambini’s, respectively. The Clarence Hotel, however, was revamped during the last decade of the twentieth century by its new owners, the Irish rock group U2, and became renowned for its cuisine under head chef Martin. Martin (2008) had trained in Cathal Brugha Street, and spent two years in Gildeigh Park with Hill, and eight years in London working for Kaufman, Ladenis, and Roux in *Le Gavroche* prior to returning home in 1992 and building a reputation for his cooking in *La Stampa* on Dawson Street. An appearance on *The Late Late Show* during his time in *La Stampa* made him a household name and ensured the restaurant’s success. This television appearance gave many of the Irish public their first insight into the intensity of running an *haute cuisine* kitchen. The following year, Martin joined The Clarence Hotel as *chef de cuisine* and spent seven years cooking in The Tea Rooms restaurant.

A number of new five-star hotels opened during Phase Four, such as The Berkley Court, The Westbury Hotel and The Hotel Conrad, which gained reputations for the high standard of their cuisine. The Berkley Court opened by Doyle in 1977, managed by Governey, who had previously managed the Royal Hibernian Hotel and had trained under Fabron. The first executive chef was McSweeney (1977-1981) whose time as chef in The Bailey was discussed in Chapter Sixteen. He employed Paddy Brady as his head chef and his *sous chef* was Peter Brady. Paddy Brady later became executive chef of the Westbury Hotel in Dublin and Peter Brady went on to become head chef in Jury’s Ballsbridge. McSweeney (2008) recalls a very high standard of food and service in the Berkley Court. There was a Grill Room which later became The Palm Grove. The Berkley Room was the fine dining restaurant that attracted a wealthy clientele, including politicians, businessmen, kings and queens (Hogan 2008). A detailed account of the Berkley Court is given by Hogan (2008:~75-123), who worked there from 1979 until it closed in 2007. The Berkley Room was renowned for its beef trolley, and was one of the last Dublin restaurants to continue the art of Gueridon work, carving game and *chateaubriands* at the table. Cartland, McNamara and Marks were the head waiters when Hogan began in 1979.
McSweeney (2008) left the Berkley Court to open a restaurant, Bentleys on Baggot Street, with Malcolmson. He later purchased Lacken House in Kilkenny which he operated successfully for many years. He was replaced in the Berkley kitchens by Cullen, and subsequent head chefs included Butler who had trained in the Russell, and Michael O’Neill who came from the Westbury Hotel (Hogan 2008:~85). The Westbury Hotel was also owned by Doyle and opened in 1985 (Corr 1987:55). Governey later opened the Hotel Conrad in Earlsfort Terrace, where the Belgian executive chef Krapps and his French chef, Chabert, who ran The Conrad’s Alexandra Restaurant, built a fine reputation for fine dining.

**Enthusiastic Amateurs**

**Snaffles**

Snaffles restaurant was opened in 1968 (Fig. 17.9) by four partners, in a basement on Leeson Street that had previously been run as Charlie’s Diner. They were Fitzgerald, whose family were tea and wine merchants; Knight who was an interior designer; and Rosie and Nicholas Tinne (Smith 2007:~346; Tinne 2008). Neither of the partners were formally trained chefs, Rossie had completed a *Cordon Blue* cookery course in Paris, and Nicholas had experience cooking fresh fish and game from an early age in Connemara. Tinne (2008) confirms that Fitzgerald sold his share after a short while. He kept supplying the restaurant with wine (with some vintages dating back to 1928) from his family business, which gave Snaffles wine list an air of sophistication. Knight also sold his share of the business to Tinne. The opening of Snaffles coincided with the closure of the Red Bank Restaurant and three of the key front of house employees from the Red Bank, Nolan, O’Connor and Kavanagh moved to Snaffles, bringing some of the loyal customers with them (Fig. 17.10). Tinne (2008) recalls also running a night club which sold food on Leeson Street in the early 1970s called Birds, in the location which originally housed The Penguin Club. Birds closed and re-opened as a French restaurant called *La Belle Époque* which lasted less than a year. The chef in *La Belle Époque* was Williams, and he was subsequently employed in Snaffles.
Williams had trained in Dublin Airport under Flahive and Kilbride, and had worked in The Goat Grill and for Carroll Catering before the opening of Elephants restaurant on Baggot Street (Williams 2008). A picture of Williams, with commis chef, Dwyer, and the three ex-Red Bank waiters is shown in Fig. 17.10. The photograph illustrates how small the kitchen was and both the domestic cooker and the Italian style coffee maker are noteworthy.

The Irish Times notes that Rossie Tinne published a book Irish Country House Cooking in 1974 (17/9/1974:10). Tinne (2008) described the food served in Snaffles as Irish country house cuisine as opposed to Irish farmhouse cooking, signifying the food of the gentry as opposed the food of the bourgeoisie. Snaffles specialized in small game such as partridge, plover, snipe and woodcock (Howard 2008). Fitzgibbon noted in The Irish Times (1/9/1969:9) that ‘the only restaurant where one is likely to find game of excellent quality regularly, is the recently opened Snaffles restaurant in Dublin’. Dwyer (2008) points out that Nicholas, Rossie, and Suzy Mandrake were cooking in the Snaffles kitchen when he started in 1972, but that Williams arrived later.

Dwyer recalls that Snaffles attracted a disparate clientele ranging from socialites, politicians, and visiting sports stars and celebrities. Tinne (2008) suggests that there were very few good restaurant in Dublin in the 1970s and that stars such as Mick Jagger ate in Snaffles when visiting Dublin.
The *Egon Ronay Dunlop Guide 1974* describes Snaffles as follows:

‘Set in a basement in a street of elegant Georgian houses, the restaurant is fairly small, seating about 40. The room is simply furnished: polished tables, oil paintings and good Victorian furniture in candlelight. The service, by middle aged waiters, is friendly, competent and informal, in the best style of a family retainer. The owners Mr and Mrs Tinne, are excellent cooks with a markedly individual flair and offer a short, but adequate menu that changes each week to take advantage of seasonal ingredients. Their dishes are Anglo-French in inspiration’ (p.757).

Figure 17.10: Chefs and Waiters in Snaffles 1974  
(left to right) Jack Williams, Martin Dwyer, Hughie Kavanagh, John Nolan, Danny O’Connor  
Source: (Williams 2008)

A Snaffles menu from February 1979 (Fig. 17.11) displays a combination of tradition and innovation. The oysters, steak, salmon, and game are traditional, but dishes such as ratatouille, smoked mackerel *pâté*, fried calamari, and Snaffles mousse were innovative for Dublin at that time and may have been influenced by the writings of Elizabeth David. Tinne (2008) points out that Snaffles was not a late night restaurant, and that many establishments on Leeson Street had restaurant licences but were really ‘late-night drinking dens’. Business had been brisk for most of the time, but a number of factors in the early 1980s according to Tinne (2008) affected their trade. Many of Snaffles regular
customers began to frequent Restaurant Patrick Guilbaud when it opened in 1981; there was a move away from living in the city with a lot of his customers moving their custom to suburban restaurants. Finally, the 25% VAT on food and the abolition of tax relief on business entertainment affected custom, particularly from the advertising agencies which had comprised much of Snaffles lucrative lunch business. Williams (2008) notes that business halved after the tax laws changed and that he was made redundant. He went to work in the motor yacht club in Dun Laoghaire, but returned to Snaffles when business improved. He notes that the menu in Snaffles didn’t change much; game in season was a speciality, fish during summer, oysters in season, lobsters, crawfish, fresh scallops, and crabs. Snaffles closed in January 1985.

Figure 17.11: Snaffles Menu, February 1979
Source: (Williams 2008)
Little data was available on Powrie’s Soup Bowl restaurant in Schoolhouse Lane. Oral evidence confirms it was open in 1968, but it was first listed in the *Egon Ronay Guide* in 1970 and was awarded a star in 1973 and 1974 but from 1975 until 1979 the Soup Bowl was just mentioned in the guide. It was described as a ‘colourful’ late night restaurant by O’Sullivan and O’Neill (1999:126) who note that duck was the signature dish, and suggest that ‘almost every celebrity who visited the city sampled it’. *The Egon Ronay Dunlop Guide 1974* described the Soup Bowl thus:

‘On the first floor of a carefully decorated Georgian house, this restaurant serves dinners that are consistently better that its simple name suggests. It is true that delicious home-made soups are a feature of the cooking at the Soup Bowl, but the remaining choices are adventurous and unusual. The chef-patron, Peter Powrie, ensures really high standards. Usually there are five or more starters, and about seven inventive main dishes, international in inspiration, but original in execution. There is no written menu. Waitresses tell you what’s on offer, describing the dishes in a friendly and informal way’ (p.757).

Keavney (2008) confirms that Powrie was English and that he had no formal training as a chef. White Lennon, who worked for Powrie in the early days, recalls that the waitresses were mostly actors, apart from Mary Cassidy, who had worked in Butt’s ‘Golden Orient’ and could ‘train any girl to be a competent waitress within two days’ (White-Lennon 2008). Cassidy’s neighbour Evelyn Keegan later became manager of the Soup Bowl and worked there for most of its history along side her sister in law, Emily. Powrie was the only cook in the kitchen, which was very small and on the ground floor behind a curtain and contained a large domestic type gas cooker, and a Belfast sink where a lady would clean the dishes. White-Lennon (2008) suggests that the food was very simple, but noted that Powrie bought the best ingredients: Fish from Sawyer’s and meat from Byrne’s, both on Chatham Street. The waitresses prepared the salads, vegetables, and the desserts, which included exotic trifles, rum babas, cheese boards which included *Pont l’Évêque*, Danish blue, camembert, and stilton. The waitresses sometimes cooked the food. White-Lennon (2008) also recalls that Powrie bought in a rough type of chicken liver paté and added garlic and brandy to it to make it the *Paté Maison*, which they served with homemade brown bread. She points out that there was a good wine cellar in the basement, and a waiting room on the ground floor where customers would have a drink
before taking their tables upstairs. Keegan (2008) confirms that game featured on The Soup Bowl menu in season and that it was always an expensive restaurant with no written menus, the waitress would recite the menu to each table.

Keegan (2008) points out that she worked as a waitress in the Soup Bowl from 1969 to 1979, noting that Powrie went to Spain c.1977 where he later died. The restaurant continued to be run by his wife for a while, but when it closed, Keegan took the lease of the Baggot Bistro and ran it with the same food and customers as had been in the Soup Bowl. She recalls that the Soup Bowl was a late night restaurant. Norma Smurfit, a regular customer, bought the original Soup Bowl building in the late 1980s and reopened it with Keegan as manageress. Keegan later went to work in the K Club in County Kildare, owned by Michael Smurfit.

**Old Style Escoffier Haute Cuisine**
The following restaurants evolved over the years but certain markers are evidence of the remaining influence of the French classical cuisine of Escoffier on their menus and style of service. Classical dishes on the menu such as Sole *Meuniere*, Lobster Newberg, Steak Tartare, Steak *au Poivre*, and *Crêpes Suzettes* are evidence of continuity rather than change. A second marker of old haute cuisine is the manner in which these dishes are served, with a continuing use of Gueridon work, carving meat in the room, and flambéing dishes, skills which were disappearing in other restaurants at the time. These skills, also known as the ‘table arts’, were diminished when the superiority of the kitchen *vis-à-vis* the dining room (and its staff) was affirmed with the introduction of plate service, as discussed in Chapter Nine (Drouard 2003:223).

**The Lord Edward**
The Lord Edward Restaurant opened shortly after the closure of The Red Bank Restaurant with Ferns as chef, and one of the Red Bank waiters in charge of the dining room. It was owned by Tom Cunniam and his wife Blanche. After a few years, Ingram succeeded Ferns as chef and remained in that position until c.2005. Ingram had trained under Rolland in the Russell Hotel and had also worked in the Four Courts Hotel (Clancy 2008:~25). Comparison between The Lord Edward menu (Fig. 17.13) and that of The
Red Bank (Fig. 16.15a) reveals continuity rather than change. The Lord Edward remained from the outset predominantly a seafood restaurant offering dishes cooked in the classical French manner. Smith (2007), who had worked in The Red Bank and later joined the staff of The Lord Edward, points out that only the prices on the menu had changed. A comparison with the fish section of the Mirabeau menu (Fig. 17.21) reveal the same classic French fish dishes: Caprice, Bonne Femme, Colbert, Veronique, Mornay, Newburg, Meuniere, many of which are served on contemporary Dublin menus such as The Celtic Mews (Fig. 17.14), Snaffles (Fig. 17.11), and The Guinea Pig (Fig. 17.22). In 1981, the only two Dublin restaurants recommended in the TWA Guide to European Cities were The Lord Edward and The Celtic Mews. The Lord Edward was frequented by members of the legal profession from the nearby Four Courts, particularly at lunchtime, and also at night by entertainment celebrities, along with a regular tourist trade. The Lord Edward, The Celtic Mews, and The Lobster Pot – opened in 1980 by Crean (Fig. 17.0b) – were among the few Dublin restaurants at the end of Phase Four, which still served classic French food in the old haute cuisine style of Escoffier. The food and service in these establishments changed little since their opening, unlike other restaurants that followed trends and changed accordingly. Advertisement for both The Lobster Pot and Celtic Mews (Fig 17.12) in Dankers World in 1990 note that seafood and game in season was their speciality and also notes that food was flambéed at the tables.

Figure 17.12: Advertisements for The Lobster Pot and Celtic Mews Restaurants
Source: Dankers World (1990)
Elephant’s, The Celtic Mews, L’Ecrivain

During Phase Four, a number of restaurants occupied a building in a courtyard in Baggot Street, which was originally a stable. The building was first leased in the late 1960s by Kaminski, from Poland, who ran a nightclub called Baggot Mews, but then transformed it into a small Russian restaurant called Scheherezade and later Troika. Kaminski (2008) notes that both his business partner Spiropolus, and the chef were Greek. The restaurant didn’t prosper and he sold the Baggot Street lease to Bentinck from London, previously mentioned in Chapter Sixteen as manager of The Bailey. Bentinck opened a restaurant called Elephants in partnership with Hickey and within a short while of opening they received some favourable reviews. James Beard wrote an article about Elephants and Snaffles for a Philadelphia newspaper, which was syndicated, resulting in significant American business (Williams 2008). Elephants was listed in the Egon Ronay Guide in 1973 and 1974 (Fig. 17.6). Williams (2008) was the chef in Elephants and recalls it was a small twenty seat restaurant. Bentinck was the restaurant manager, but when Hickey
opened a nightclub called Dandelion Green on Stephen’s Green, Bentinck lost interest in Elephants. Williams later went to work in *La Belle Époque* and later in Snaffles.

The next restaurant in this location was The Celtic Mews, run by Gray who had been head waiter in Jury’s Copper Grill in Dame Street. Two chefs, Dunne and Marquart, were employed for short while before Woods became head chef, a position he held for about fifteen years. Woods had trained and worked in the Russell Hotel. Zaidan (2008) trained under Woods and recalls he was an excellent sauce chef. Both oral evidence and the Celtic Mews menu (Fig. 17.14) show that food was firmly rooted in the French culinary tradition but influenced by Irish ingredients and certain traditional dishes.

![Figure 17.14: Menu from Celtic Mews](image)

**Source:** (Zaidan 2008)

Conlon (2008), who was head waiter in the Celtic Mews from 1975-1989, trained under Gray in Jury’s Copper Grill and had subsequently worked in Jury’s Hotel, Ballsbridge. He recalls that they did a great deal of Gueridon service in the Celtic Mews, carving beef, chicken and game in the room. He also notes that the Irish Stew on the menu was a
speciality of the house, and that it was served in a skillet, which was very popular among tourists or businessmen entertaining foreign clients. He points out that Woods’s assistant chef for many years was Claire Williams and that some of the Russell brigade, such as Dowling and Pender, did part-time work in the Celtic Mews. The restaurant was popular with local businesspeople particularly from the banks, the ESB, and the publishing world, as well as with tourists.

Following the closing of The Celtic Mews, in 1995 the building became the new home for Derry and Sally-Anne Clarke’s restaurant l’Ecrivain, which was originally housed in the basement of 112 lower Baggot Street. Derry had trained under a French chef, Poupel, in Man Friday in Kinsale, with Howard in Le Coq Hardi, and with McGuirk in Bon Appetit before opening his own restaurant in 1989. When the coffee shop next door to Celtic Mews came up for sale in 1998, the Clarkes bought it and the following year they knocked down both buildings and rebuilt the purpose built restaurant in which they won their first Michelin star in 2004 (Clarke, Clarke et al. 2004:22). Clarke’s food in L’Ecrivain is sometimes described as ‘modern Irish’ but its foundations are the classical French cuisine in which he was trained (Clarke, Clarke et al. 2004:10). It might be labelled Irish haute cuisine. L’Ecrivain’s original Baggot Street basement site was taken over by Gallagher for his first Peacock Alley restaurant, and following his move to South William Street, the space was filled by Beattie’s restaurant Mange Tout.

**Le Coq Hardi**
John Howard and his wife Catherine (Fig.17.15) opened Le Coq Hardi in March 1977 in the basement of the Lansdowne Hotel on 29 Pembroke Road, moving after a number of years to 35 Pembroke Road, on the corner with Wellington Road, to a refurbished building that had previously housed the Embassy Hotel (O'Sullivan 2003:17-22). Within weeks of its opening in 1977, a review in Business and Finance hailed Le Coq Hardi as ‘one of the top three restaurants in the capital’. Howard was born in County Clare, and following initial kitchen experience in Shannon Airport under Ryan, he received his most formative training from Widmer in Jury’s Hotel, Dame Street. He then worked in London
in *L'Ecu de France*, the *Café Royal*, and the Kensington Palace, followed by a year in the Lausanne Palace, Switzerland (Howard 2008).

![Figure 17.15: Catherine and John Howard in *Le Coq Hardi*](image)

*Source: (Howard 2008)*

On his return to Ireland, Howard worked in Sutton House Hotel, and later in White’s Hotel in Wexford where he began to develop a reputation for his cuisine, particularly among the visitors to the annual Opera Festival (O’ Sullivan 2003). Howard also won a number of gold medals at Hotelympia in London during this period with the Irish culinary team. By the time he and Catherine opened their own restaurant, he enjoyed a public profile as an international award winning chef (Stewart 2008:~407).

In the early years Howard relied on part-time chefs such as Bowe and Martin who where working in the Dublin College of Catering to help run the kitchen. *Le Coq Hardi* had, on average, twelve staff members between kitchen and front of house, there was never more than four in the kitchen along with *commis chefs* who changed with time. The longest serving chef was Jimmy O’Sullivan (Fig.17.16) who had worked on the Queen Mary, and probably the most famous *commis chef* to have trained under Howard was Clarke who went on to win a Michelin star in his restaurant *l’Ecrivain*. Other noteworthy chefs who trained under Howard include Lynch, Doyle, Massey, Beattie, and Clifford.
His front of house staff was overseen from the beginning by Catherine Howard and included Duggan, who had worked in *l’Ecu de France*, as head waiter, and Martin who had also worked in London’s top restaurants, as his assistant, which illustrates that waiters were also seeking foreign training in prestigious restaurants (Howard 2008). When *Le Coq Hardi* moved premises, Duggan remained in the old premises as head waiter for McGuirk who opened *Bon Appetit* in the Lansdowne Hotel. Front of house staff (Fig. 17.17) in the new premises are listed in O’Sullivan (2003) who notes that Bertha and Allas had previously worked at Restaurant Patrick Guilbaud.
*Le Coq Hardi* offered the classical French cuisine in which he was trained, but Howard (2008) points out that his cooking evolved, lightening his sauces, moving away from roux bases, and always serving food that was in season. His aim was to use the best Irish raw materials such as black and white pudding, shank of lamb, silverside, liver, rabbit and cabbage to create a restaurant of honest food, some of which are found in the menu in Fig. 17.18. In many ways he was following the *Lyonaise cuisine bourgeoise* tradition of Point and Bocuse, discussed in Chapter Nine, but using Irish ingredients. Game, in season, was also an important part of *Le Coq Hardi*’s menus. Vegetables for each table would be cooked to order, never reheated (Clarke, Clarke et al. 2004:9). One dish in particular ‘Coq Hardi Smokies’ was widely copied and a version of it is found on the Guinea Pig menu (Fig. 17.23) and was also a favourite dish in Eden restaurant (Walsh 2007:72). From the beginning, Howard concentrated on plate service, but also had some Gueridon service, carving roast game, *chateaubriands, boeuf en croute* at the table.

![Figure 17.18: Le Coq Hardi Menu c. 1999](https://example.com/lecoqhardi_menu_c_1999.png)

*Source: (Howard 2008)*
One reason, Howard (2008) suggests, for *Le Coq Hardi* never wining a Michelin star was that his pastry offering was always weak, since he could never financially justify employing a full time pastry chef. He feels that ‘the first duty of a restaurateur was to make money’, pointing out that many of the Michelin star restaurants actually lose money and are dependent on rich financial backers. A selection of recipes from *Le Coq Hardi* are available in O’Sullivan (2003:37-75). For nearly a quarter of a century, Howard’s *Le Coq Hardi* remained one of the leading restaurants in Dublin serving *haute cuisine*. His main competitor during the early years was the *Mirabeau* in Sandycove, run by Kinsella.

**The Mirabeau**

The *Mirabeau* was originally owned by West-Waffington who started out in the catering trade in Ireland with the Wagon Wheel restaurant in Molesworth Street. It is unclear how long he had the restaurant, but it had been listed in the *Egon Ronay Guide* from 1970 (Fig. 16.9). Seán Kinsella (Fig. 17.19) and his wife Audrey ran the *Mirabeau* from 1972 to 1984.

*Figure 17.19: Seán Kinsella outside Mirabeau Restaurant with Rolls Royce 1977*  
*Source: (Kinsella 2008)*

Kinsella’s early career has been discussed in Chapter Sixteen, having trained under Uhlemann in The Gresham Hotel, in Jammet’s with Faure, and in Frascati’s. He went to
sea with the P&O Lines and became the first Irish executive chef on P&O Lines, a position usually held by French or Swiss chefs. He was at sea from 1953 to 1972 where he traversed the world principally on the SS Oransay, prior to purchasing the Mirabeau. Kinsella (2008:72-74) describing the restaurant’s unique selling proposition suggests:

‘It was word of mouth, that here was something different happening, there was no “you are in at seven and out at nine”, fifty seats is all you did, we never double booked tables, you were in at eight and you could be there until eight the next morning if you wanted to be.
We made people feel that they were coming into somebody’s home, either Audrey would meet them or I’d meet them. And when they were going, either Audrey would say goodnight or I’d say good night, and this had never happened before. If you were there at two or three in the morning, the chairs were not being put up on the tables around you and “would you mind paying your bill at reception”, and this had never happened before, plus the fact that we were buying the best produce and if it wasn’t as we wanted it, we didn’t serve it. And then all the big food people around the world got to hear about it, and all the awards we all got, we never dreamed or wanted to be known as “you can’t afford to go in there”. It is twenty four years since we closed and people still talk about the restaurant’.

The Mirabeau’s menu cover (Fig. 17.20) notes that the restaurant was one of six restaurants in the world awarded a gold knife and fork from Leon, and that they were also recipients of the ‘world famous Restaurants International Award’.

Figure 17.20: The Mirabeau Menu Cover
Source: (Kinsella 2008)
The provenance of these awards is uncertain, with a possibility that ‘Leon’ might refer to ‘Lyon’. Despite being consistently mentioned in the *Egon Ronay Guides* (Fig. 17.6), The Mirabeau was never awarded a star, or any award from the *Michelin Guide*. Their policy of serving ‘food for the Gourmet in a homely atmosphere’ is also stated on the menu. The Mirabeau became infamous for not printing prices on the menus. Kinsella suggests that this was out of respect for the businessmen who entertained their clients and did not want them to be aware of the cost. Prices appeared on the host’s menu. O’Sullivan (2003:17) notes that a restaurant listing for the Mirabeau around 1977 warned that ‘you can get by on £10 per head at the Mirabeau, but if you have to worry about the prices, don’t go there’. The Mirabeau menu shown in Figure 17.21 displays no prices, but is designed to show a ‘K’ for Kinsella. Compared to contemporary menus, it is of its time, combining classical French dishes such as *Escargots Bourguignon*, *Sole Meuniere*, and *Entrecote Marchand de Vin* with various curries, Chicken Maryland and Banana Split. Cheese is listed after desserts in the English fashion, followed by ‘Port and Cigars’, both markers of connoisseurship.

![Figure 17.21: The Mirabeau Menu](source: Kinsella 2008)
The restaurant soon attracted Ireland’s wealthiest citizens and also an international clientele. The *Mirabeau’s* guest book, and Kinsella’s (2008:~116) reminiscences are full of entertainment celebrities such as Lancaster, Olivier, Roussos, evidence of which is found in Volume III. Kinsella (2008:~124) points out that the *Mirabeau* also attracted local business men, politicians and celebrities.

The food in the *Mirabeau* was firmly influenced by Kinsella’s classical French training, but also by the principles of purchasing the best quality ingredients and letting the food speak for itself, features of the ‘ten commandments’ noted by Gault (1996:127). Portions in the *Mirabeau* however were generous, unlike the *nouvelle cuisine* trends, with Howard (2008) noting that it would not be uncommon to receive a pound of Dublin Bay Prawns for a starter, followed by a two pound sole on the bone. This style of food and service, he suggests, might be considered ‘vulgar’ in modern times, but it was enjoyed by a loyal clientele in its day. Kinsella would make a show of presenting the food in its raw state to the customer prior to transforming it in the kitchen, adding a touch of theatre to the dining experience. Allen (2003:~207) recalls ‘I ate in the *Mirabeau*. It was great. It was very stylish and quite good food. It was good fun. He did things slightly differently you know, which was great’.

The *Mirabeau* kitchen was run similar to that of The Soup Bowl, rather than the *partie* system operated in most French restaurants, with Kinsella doing most of the cooking with the help of a few kitchen assistants. His front of house was run by Audrey with a few French waiters and some casual waiters. Kinsella never drank alcohol, but his public profile with the Rolls Royce made him a target for discontented spirits, and attention from the revenue commissioners which eventually led the restaurants closure, all of which is detailed in Kinsella (2008:~131). The *Mirabeau* was purchased by one of the McInerney family, well known builders, and Michel Flamme from France became chef. Flamme later became *chef de cuisine* in the K Club in Kildare.

For nearly two decades, Kinsella was Ireland’s most flamboyant and well-known chefs. He courted publicity, and the combination of the Rolls Royce and his Louis Copeland
suits set him up as a role model for younger chefs who wished to open their own restaurants. One such chef who admits being influenced by Kinsella was Stewart who opened the Guinea Pig Restaurant in January 1978 (Stewart 2008:~329).

The Guinea Pig
The Guinea Pig restaurant in Dalkey was opened in 1957 by Hyland, who had been the caterer in Busáras, and her husband, who ran the restaurant until 1974 when they sold it to their head waiter, Murphy. The restaurant had a reputation for fine food, but standards had fallen by the time it was purchased by Mervyn and Florence Stewart in 1977 (Stewart 2008:~312). Stewart’s apprenticeship in the Royal Hibernian Hotel and subsequent experience in the Metropole have been discussed in Chapter Sixteen. He subsequently worked in the Gresham, Wynn’s, and Clarence Hotels in Dublin and the International Hotel in Bray. Stewart (2008:~330) recalls:

‘I admired Sean Kinsella because he was the only chef or the first chef to put chefs on the map and I’d done a course in marketing with one of the local councils and I realised that advertising is not the answer to getting business. Marketing, networking was going to be the answer so I tried to create an image for myself and the image I created was a big green Jaguar outside the door, a big cigar, silk bow tie and a big moustache and the apron. And it worked…..before I bought the (Guinea Pig), I got to know all the journalists of the day. John Feeney, Terry O’Sullivan, Trevor Danker, all those people, Myles McWeeney and I invited them all out one by one for dinner and they gave me fantastic write ups. Hugh Leonard, I invited him out for dinner, he became a regular. Theodora Fitzgibbon became a regular, then Maeve Binchy’.

When they first opened, Bowe (2008:~177) and a few other casual chefs helped run the kitchen. Stewart (2008) admits that he had no experience front of house but learnt quickly and accepted advice from other restaurateurs, such as Gray who became a regular customer. Stewart reacted to his customers’ requests in providing gourmet produce that are markers of haute cuisine. He recalls:

‘I’ll tell you what’s fascinating, we were open two nights and somebody wanted a glass of vintage port and we didn’t have vintage port, we had it the next day. Couple of nights later there was a guy in looking for lobsters, we had lobsters in the next day. Someone looking for Cuban cigars we had Cuban cigars the next day, so we were actually chasing the customer standard rather than setting the standard for the customer. We didn’t realise that there was that kind of customer out there,
demanding that kind of food and that kind of drink, so within two or three weeks the restaurant had transformed itself from what I thought was just an ordinary restaurant into a very high quality clientele, demanding *Château Palmer* and *Lynch Bages* and *Mouton Rothschild*. They were drinking vintage port by the bottle, they were drinking 1952 Brandy or Armagnac by the glass and we were just staggered. I mean that was the standard that was out there looking to get in here and then we realised that these were customers that used to come before, way back, and had great memories of the restaurant and were delighted to come back to the Guinea Pig with better food, better ambience, but we weren’t offering them what they were expecting’ (Stewart 2008:~348).

A menu from the Guinea Pig c. 1979 (Fig. 17.22) displays a strong classical French influence with dishes such as *Escargots Chablisienne*, *Tortue Claire au Xéres* and *Entrecôte Bearnaise*, not to mention the fish dishes previously compared to those in The Lord Edward. The Dublin Bay Prawn Curry, Fresh Coliemore Lobster, Corn on the Cob and Ratatouille however show the trend to combine local food with a hint of the exotic, previously seen on Snaffles menu (Fig. 17.11).

![Figure 17.22: Menu from Guinea Pig Restaurant c.1979](image)

Source: (Stewart 2008)

The restaurant expanded in 1980 with the purchase of the neighbouring house, and capacity rose from twenty six to sixty six covers (Stewart 2008:~379). The restaurant enjoyed prosperity until the mid 1980s. Following changes in tax relief on business
entertainment, Stewart (2008:~343) recalls his average spend in the restaurant dropped from £50 per head to £23.50 nearly overnight. Stewart also points out that there was a serious recession in 1991 and that many restaurants began to record losses and shut down around this time. Stewart adapted to the changing socio-economic climate and began to produce *cuisine bourgeoise* rather than *haute cuisine*. The Guinea Pig menu from c.2002 (Fig. 17.23) reflects this change in direction, and illustrates the emphasis placed on local Irish ingredients such as Wicklow lamb and Dalkey crab. Analysis of the menu, however, shows that the cooking is still firmly influenced by the French culinary canon in which Stewart was trained in the Royal Hibernian.

![The Guinea Pig menu from c.2002](image)

**Figure 17.23: Menu from The Guinea Pig Restaurant c.2002**

*Source: (Stewart 2008)*

**The King Sitric**
The King Sitric was opened in Howth in 1971 by the McManus family. McManus (2008) had trained as a chef in the Unicorn and Metropole in Dublin, the Talk of the Town, Quaglino’s, and the Houses of Commons in London, the *Banhoff Buffet* in Aarau, Switzerland, and in *La Frigate* in Guernsey, where he refined his skills in fine dining under a French head chef. The King Sitric employed two waiters who had worked in the Royal Hibernian Hotel, and family members also assisted in the running of the restaurant.
McManus (2008) suggests that there were very few restaurants around in the 1970s. The King Sitric’s first menu included one fish dish and six meat dishes such as beef stroganoff, *osso bucco*, fillet steak with a choice of three sauces. In 1973, however they reversed this trend, and concentrated on local seafood using plaice, sole, monkfish, and ‘the ubiquitous prawn cocktail’ (McManus 2008). Customers were drawn from the local north Dublin vicinity but also included tourists and visitors to Howth. Staff in The King Sitric remained loyal, the current head waiter Daly joined in 1973, O’ Leary, the sommelier joined inn 1972, and the current head chef, McCann, started as kitchen porter and did an apprenticeship with McManus in early 1980s. The menu remained fish based since 1973 with only subtle changes over the years, but remained classical. Fish was sourced locally and local farmers grew vegetables and herbs for the restaurant. The King Sitric was producing ‘modern Irish cooking’ before this term had been coined. The philosophy was good food that was local, fresh, and seasonal, similar to the ‘*cuisine de marché*’ tradition of Lyon which influenced the *nouvelle cuisine* movement contemporaneously in France and England. The dining room evolved gradually, with linen appearing on the tables, proper glassware, and the development of a good wine cellar, all markers of *haute cuisine*. Some notable chefs who worked in The King Sitric include Thornton, O’Daly, and Whelan who later became executive chef in the Berkley Court (McManus 2008).

McManus recalls those ‘cruel years’ in the early 1980s when VAT was 25%, noting that for three years the King Sitric suffered financial losses. He points out that the abolition of tax relief on corporate dining expenses ruined the lunch trade, and suggests that this resulted in businesses like the banks opening their own private dining rooms, employing their own chefs and waiters and entertaining in-house where the expenses were not an issue and the meal was not a benefit in kind to the directors. This is a significant development within this study because for the remainder of Phase Four some of the most talented chefs working in Dublin took positions in these private dining rooms where the tradition of *haute cuisine* prospered, unhindered by commercial limitations, as in the days of Soyer in the Reform Club discussed in Chapter Eight. The King Sitric remains the oldest chef / patron restaurant in Dublin.
Johnny’s / Bon Appetit
Opperman opened Johnny’s restaurant in Malahide in 1974 and ran this successful restaurant until 1989. His earlier career was discussed in previous chapters. He purchased an old terraced house and converted the basement into a restaurant (Fig. 17.24a). Opperman (2004:~247) recalls there being very few good restaurants on the north side of Dublin when he opened apart from The King Sitric. His menu remained rooted in the classical French cuisine of his training in the Shelbourne Hotel under Wuest, which he had later developed in Dublin Airport.

Shortly after Opperman sold the building, it was purchased by McGuirk, who transferred his restaurant Bon Appetit there from the Lansdowne Hotel, and traded successfully until its sale in 2006. An advertisement for Bon Appetit (Fig. 17.24b) in Dankers World in 1990 notes that the restaurant specialised in a wide range of seafood, meat and poultry dishes. Bon Appetit was purchased in 2006 by Oliver Dunne, one of the next generation of Irish chefs who had trained with Gordon Ramsay, and was awarded a Michelin star in 2008.
**Nouvelle Cuisine**

The origin of *nouvelle cuisine* with Point and the spread of ‘La Nouvelle Cuisine Française’ following Gault’s manifesto in *Gault-Millau* in October 1973 has been discussed in Chapter Nine. Many of the restaurants discussed in the case studies have revealed many characteristics covered in Gault’s ‘ten commandments’ of *nouvelle cuisine*, most particularly the use of fresh seasonal local produce. The lack of a codified repertoire makes it difficult to pinpoint who was serving *nouvelle cuisine* in Dublin during Phase Four, particularly since trends were changing quite rapidly, in the 1980s with influences coming from various ethnic and fusion cuisines. The restaurants that best represent the *nouvelle cuisine* movement in Dublin were Restaurant Patrick Guilbaud, The Park, and White’s on the Green. Oral evidence reveals that both Guilbaud (2008), Lebrun and Clifford had experienced *nouvelle cuisine* in Paris, and O’Daly (2008) had attended a training course in *nouvelle cuisine* with Carrier in Hintlesham Hall in England (Fig. 17.25).

![Figure 17.25: Certificate from Carrier’s Seminar in French Nouvelle Cuisine](image)

**Source:** (O'Daly 2008)
Restaurant Patrick Guilbaud
In 1981 Patrick Guilbaud opened a purpose built restaurant, on a site just off Baggot Street. Guilbaud was born in Paris and had catering on his mother’s side of the family. He apprenticed as a chef in one of the leading restaurants of Paris, Ledoyen; in the British Embassy in Paris; Munich, Germany; and back to Paris to a seafood restaurant called La Maree. Wanting to improve his English he took a position in the Midland Hotel in Manchester. After a year or so, he became manager of a French restaurant in Manchester called La Marmite. Guilbaud (2008:~48) notes that when he opened his own restaurant, Le Rabelais, in Alderley Edge, Cheshire, one of his customers in Le Rabelais was an Irishman, Barton Kilcoyne, who invited him and his wife to Ireland for a holiday. They were impressed by Dublin, sold the restaurant and built their Dublin restaurant with Kilcoyne as a minor shareholder.

Guilbaud had been chef in Le Rabelais, but he decided to manage the front of house in his Dublin restaurant. When his French head chef, who had been his sous chef in Le Rabelais, left to go to America, he identified Guillaume Lebrun, a commis in the kitchen who had trained in Lenôtre in Paris, as his most promising chef and promoted him. Lebrun became head chef and also a shareholder in the business. A description of Restaurant Patrick Guilbaud in The Irish Times (2/6/1982:7) reads ‘the restaurant is bright and elegant with French staff serving French food’. The restaurant did not enjoy immediate commercial success; it took a while for the Irish customers to become accustomed to the small portions and la nouvelle cuisine d’Irlande that Guilbaud was serving (Fig. 17.26).

![Advertisement for Restaurant Patrick Guilbaud](https://example.com/advert)

**Figure 17.26: Advertisement for Restaurant Patrick Guilbaud**

*Source: The Irish Times (23/6/1983:20)*
The restaurant’s main competitors were *Le Coq Hardi* and The *Mirabeau*. The restaurant soon received critical acclaim, being awarded an *Egon Ronay* star in 1983 and also recommendation from *The Good Food Guide* in 1983 and a *Bord Fáilte* award in 1984 (IT 28/1/1983:1; 24/1/1984:7). McManus (2008) dined in Restaurant Patrick Guilbaud within weeks of its opening and notes being shocked ‘that the barrier had been raised so high’. For the last two decades of the twentieth century, Restaurant Patrick Guilbaud set the standard of *haute cuisine* that other restaurants emulated. The works of Irish artists appeared in the restaurant and often adorned their menu covers (Figs. 17.27a, 17.28a). Their kitchen and dining room also acted as nurseries for young talent, both Irish and foreign born, with some restaurants even advertising that their chef was ‘ex-Patrick Guilbaud’s’ as a marker of the high standard of food they served (Fig. 17.27b).

Restaurant Patrick Guilbaud ran into financial difficulties in the mid 1980s, but an investment by two wealthy clients cleared the restaurant’s debts. Guilbaud (2008:~66) suggests that having businessmen of the caliber of Quinn and Naughton believe in his
business enough to become investors boosted his confidence. Their trust was rewarded when the restaurant won their first Michelin star in 1989:

‘it was a huge moment for us because it did bring us back. We had a very tough time in the 1980s and the restaurant was very steady doing business, but very tough, the margins very small and the taxation very high, and interest rates were high, so for us when the Michelin star arrived it was very important, not for me, but for my staff and partners because ‘yes, we are doing something right’. I think we were the only one in Ireland at the time, defiantly the only one in Dublin. It was something that was very important for the restaurant; it was like a consecration or something, if you like. The staff had been working very hard to try and achieve things, my partners were very delighted to be partners with us with a Michelin star, which said we’d arrived and that was good. And also for the customer, for the Irish customer to realise that maybe they were supporting a restaurant that was worth supporting’ (Guilbaud 2008:~95).

Figure 17.28a: Menu from Restaurant Patrick Guilbaud c.1991
Source: Pat Zaidan

By 1986, Stefan Robin had become restaurant manager, and he later became a partner in the business. The restaurant was awarded two Michelin stars in 1996 and moved premises with the opening in 1997 of The Merrion Hotel, in which Quinn and Naughton were the
main shareholders. Menus from Guilbauds, one from 1991 and the other from 1998, are presented in Figs. 17.28a & b and 17.29. They are written in both French and English and include a tasting menu.

When asked whether he would describe the restaurant’s food as French or modern Irish, Guilbaud (2008:~128) remarked:

‘It is Guillaume’s and my food, people say we are French, of course we are French, I am born in France so is Guillaume and Stefan, but Guillaume is here twenty eight years and he is only forty four, he is living longer here than he did in France, in his family he has two sons and a daughter and is married to an Irish lady, he is bound to have Irish ideas and so his food is modern Irish, I don’t like the term modern Irish because it means nothing. His food is his food, it is Guillaume’s food. It is the way Guilbaud’s is designed; it is the restaurant’s food. It is a mixture of French and Irish, because the product is local product, we try and work with local product. When we can’t find it, we find it in France or wherever we can find it, but what we are trying to do is what we think is alright for the food’.
One of the key reasons Guilbaud (2008:~128) suggests for his restaurant’s continuous success is that they try to be as good as they can and renew themselves constantly:

‘We have new blood coming in every eighteen months in the restaurant. We change our staff; we let them go after eighteen months, except the top guys. This brings new blood into the restaurant all the time, it is very tough on the top guys, Guillaume and Stefan because they have to keep training the new guys, but it is so good for them because it keeps them fresh. He will speak to the new guys and get new ideas and that is why I think we are always fresh with new ideas’.

This continuous training of new staff at such high standards has ensured a steady flow of staff for other restaurants in Dublin. Some of this transfer of staff has been previously mentioned, but staff trained in Restaurant Patrick Guilbaud, such as Masi in The Commons, Couzy in The Park, and Bertha in Bruno’s, have been involved in most successful Dublin restaurants during the last twenty years. Guilbaud (2008:~80-83) noted difficulties in sourcing quality raw materials in the Dublin market when they first opened, but by the early 1990s, his sous chef Amand had opened a business, Larousse Foods, which supplied gourmet ingredients into Ireland’s leading restaurants.
The Park, Blackrock

O’Daly (2008) opened The Park, Blackrock, in 1985. His apprenticeship in Dublin Airport was discussed in Chapter Sixteen. When he left the Airport, he spent three years working in Ashford Castle, in County Mayo, with Russell Hotel trained chefs Wade, Briggs, Garvin and Butler during a period when Ashford was awarded consistent stars from Egon Ronay (Fig. 17.7). Back in Dublin he worked in a variety of establishments including the Clarence Hotel, the Crofton Airport Hotel, and University College Dublin (O’Daly 2008:~188). He then spent a number of years working in country house hotels, first as head chef in Renvyle House, in Connemara and then in Newport House in Mayo. He spent a few years in Dublin working in The Tandoori Rooms.

A head chef position became available in The Park Hotel in Kenmare, County Kerry, and O’Daly recalls:

‘I went for the interview for the job and there was a sort of, they were aiming for the upper echelons and they had this French chef that didn’t work out but I had the job for six months to see if it worked out until he got another famous French chef. So I said ‘look I can do it, and we’ll get a Michelin star in eight months’ and I was sort of laughed at. So eight months to the day we got a Michelin star’ (2008:~216).

The Michelin star was awarded in 1983 and it was won by a young energetic team which included Dunne, Moore, Mulchrone and Phelan. He employed local people, bought local food, picked wild food. O’Daly (2008:~235) described the type of cuisine they produced in Kenmare thus:

‘I think it’s a little bit what they’re trying to do now. Natural, raw ingredients, buy local, shopping local, having the old herb garden and also using material that are at your hand. We looked forward to the game season because it gave an energy. The cold winter comfort food feeling. Then spring time you kind of hit the wild salmon, the spring lamb and the fresh strawberries where you bought at the best price when there’s a glut but also quality was the best. So it rolled on an axis and so we’d change our menus four times a year and you’d change your specials every week so it rolled on that kind of axis’.

O’Daly moved back to Dublin and opened The Park, Blackrock with some of the staff who had worked with him in Kenmare. Most of his Kenmare staff spent some time working in the Blackrock restaurant. O’Reilly (2008) recalls meeting O’Daly at a trade show in 1985, who told him about the new restaurant he was opening in Blackrock. He
opened The Park with O’Daly, a pastry chef, and Earl who arrived shortly afterwards. There was only one menu in The Park, with five courses, including a sorbet course which was innovative at that time (Fig. 17.30). He also recognises the limitations of the restaurant; they plated up the vegetables before service and reheated them in a microwave, which was common practice at the time. O’Reilly spent two and half years in The Park.

![Menu from Colin O’Daly’s The Park, Blackrock](image)

**Figure 17.30: Menu from Colin O’Daly’s The Park, Blackrock**

Source: (O'Reilly 2008)

O’Daly (2008:~253) notes that business was slow in the beginning but that a favourable review by Burke in *The Sunday Tribune* transformed business. They were serving sixty meals a night and were booked out five weeks in advance. Dunne replaced O’Reilly as head chef. After Kenmare, Dunne had worked with Burton Race in England and had also been head chef in *Les Frères Jacques* in Dame Street. O’Daly was awarded a star from the *Egon Ronay Guide* in 1989, and O’Byrne (1988) pointed out that this was evidence of an Irish chef who had never worked outside of Ireland being awarded culinary honours. *Michelin* awarded The Park a red ‘M’ in 1990 which was retained until the restaurant closed in 1992. When The Park moved to the new building, the old premises became The Octopuses Garden, with McLaughlin as head chef. There were now three restaurants serving *haute cuisine* in Blackrock, the other being Clarets.
O’Daly purchased an adjacent building, but the opening of the new premises coincided with the recession of the early 1990s, when interest rates rose following the Gulf War (O’Daly 2008:295). Business people who had entertained in The Park began to entertain in less exclusive restaurants. Carberry (2008) points out that when he started as a *commis chef* in The Park in 1991, Dunne was head chef, Earl was *sous chef* but was succeeded by Ging. Carberry took a position in the executive dining room of the ESB shortly before The Park finally closed in 1992, but within a year, O’Daly took the position as *chef de cuisine* in Roly’s Bistro which was an instant success, both from a financial and a gastronomic perspective. The first chef to start work in Roly’s each morning at 6 am was Byrne (fifth from left in Fig. 17.31), who had trained in the Royal Hibernian and *Café Royal* during Phase Two, worked in The Russell, Bailey and Metropole during Phase Three, and was O’ Sullivan’s executive chef for most of Phase Four in his various restaurants. His presence illustrates a continuous chain of influence from the classic Escoffier *haute cuisine* era to the post-*nouvelle cuisine* era of the 1990s. Roly’s became another nursery for culinary talent under O’Daly and Cartwright (second from left Fig. 17.31) who had worked with Edelman in The Savoy Hotel and Kaufman in *La Tante Claire* in London before becoming head chef in Roly’s in 1996 (O’Daly 2002).

![Figure 17.31: Roly’s Bistro Kitchen Brigade c.2001](image)

*Source: (O’Daly 2002)*
Whites on the Green
Whites on the Green was opened by Peter and Alicia White on 7th December 1985. The chef was Clifford who had trained in Arbutus Lodge in Cork, won a Michelin star with the Ryan family in Cashel Palace in 1982 and 1983. Clifford had spent twelve years working outside of Ireland in Britain, France, Holland and West Germany (O’Byrne 1988). Some of his previous employers are noted in the opening advertisement for Whites on the Green in *The Irish Times* (Fig. 17.32). They include *Le Gavroche* and The Waterside Inn in England, run by the Roux brothers, and Michel Rostang’s two Michelin star Paris restaurant (Fig. 9.1) profiled in Chapter Nine. His food was influenced by the *nouvelle cuisine* movement, in vogue at the time. It was noted on the menu (Fig. 17.33) that everything was ‘prepared freshly to order’, and also of note is Whites Irish Stew. O’Reilly (2008) recalls he moved from The Park to Whites on the Green where there were about eight or nine chefs in the kitchen, Clifford, O’Reilly, Kelly and a number of *commis chefs*. He recalls the *nouvelle cuisine* influence and that the restaurant itself was very busy and fashionable. Bowe (2008:~112, 136) notes that Clifford trained in Rockwell College. Bowe (2008:~196) also recalls that his first experience of *nouvelle cuisine* was Clifford’s food in Whites on the Green:

‘We had chicken breast that was fanned out on a plate with stuffed cherry tomato and a *mange tout*, and I thought everything was lovely but everything was cold (laugh), because by the time somebody is finished fiddling around with it for twenty minutes, you know. Now I would certainly be impressed with Michael, he was a lovely cook and that, but I had my doubts about the *nouvelle cuisine*. Compare that to a *Coq au Vin*, they wouldn’t even equate’.

![Figure 17.32: Advertisement for the opening of Whites on the Green](image)

*Source: The Irish Times* (6/12/1985:30)
In 1988, however, Clifford left to open his own restaurant in Cork. After his departure, O’Reilly went to work with O’Sullivan making sous-vide products for two years, but returned to Whites on the Green for a year and a half as head chef under the new owners, Shovelin and Gallagher. He recalls that he simplified the menu but that it was a difficult time for fine dining restaurants. O’Reilly (2008) suggests that the restaurants of note at that time in Dublin were Restaurant Patrick Guilbaud, and that the chef’s restaurant was Shay Beano’s where Ó Catháin cooked French provincial food. Ó Catháin was an enthusiastic amateur in the style of Powrie and Tinne, and Shay Beano was listed by the Egon Ronay Guide in 1989 (Fig. 17.6). O’Reilly (2008) recalls that when Whites on the Green closed, Ó Catháin ran a restaurant there called The Green Room. A restaurant called Baton Rouge was also housed in the same location for a while, but in 1998 the building was purchased by Shanahan and completely renovated before it opened as Shanahan’s on the Green, an American style steakhouse.

![Menu from Whites on the Green c.1988](image)

**Figure 17.33: Menu from Whites on the Green c.1988**

Source: (O’Reilly 2008)
Rebirth of *Haute Cuisine* in Dublin

Dublin experienced a resurgence of a new form of *haute cuisine* during the 1990s that evolved from the *nouvelle cuisine* movement of the 1980s, but incorporated influences from California, the Mediterranean and the Orient. Influenced by the return of Irish chefs who had worked in some of the leading Michelin ‘starred’ restaurants in London and Paris, and others that had worked in North America’s leading kitchens, these restaurants soon prospered due to the economic phenomenon known as the ‘Celtic Tiger’. The case studies briefly discuss some of the previous incarnations of restaurants awarded stars or red M’s by Michelin (Fig. 17.4). Some of the influential Irish chefs discussed worked under chefs listed in Figs. 9.10 and 9.11, discussed in Chapter Nine.

The Grey Door, Old Dublin and Chapter One

The Grey Door restaurant was opened in 1978 by Wise and Daly, who had trained in the Shannon School of Hotel Management. They purchased a building in Pembroke Street and employed a chef, Eamon Walsh, who convinced them the restaurant should have a Russian / Scandinavian theme. Walsh (2008) had trained in hotels in Cambridge, England, in the early 1970s before moving to Helsinki in 1973. He worked in the Intercontinental Hotel for a while before becoming head chef in the famous Russian restaurant *Bellevue* which had originally opened in 1917. He returned to Ireland, with two chefs from the *Bellevue* in 1978 and ran The Grey Door restaurant for three years. The food at The Grey Door became more French in influence following his departure particularly under Groves who was head chef from 1985 to 1990. Groves had done his City & Guilds 706/3 with Kilbride. One of the chefs in The Grey Door in the 1990s was Durkin who later became head chef in Eden (Walsh 2007).

In 1981, Walsh purchased the Old Dublin restaurant on Francis Street in partnership with Cooke, who had been a *commis chef* in the Grey Door, and both Daly and Wise. After two years Walsh bought out his partners, and ran the restaurant successfully until 2003. Cooke went to New York, and is discussed later. The Old Dublin continued with the Russian / Scandinavian theme playing on the Viking links with the Francis Street area. His head waiter from 1984 was Corbett, who had trained in Rockwell and the
Shelbourne, and in 1990, Lewis started working there (Corbett 2008). McFadden was the head chef at this time and had worked in Michelin starred restaurants in Belgium. He began to change the style of food in the Old Dublin and Lewis was looking to open his own restaurant. Lewis (2008) had worked in New York and also in London, in Odins restaurant (1987-1989), under Germain, who had trained under the Roux Brothers (Fig. 9.10). Lewis (2008) confirms that he went to learn ‘front of house’ skills in Dolphin Brasserie in London, prior to spending a year in the Beau Rivage Hotel in Geneva, Switzerland. He came to Dublin in 1990 and began working by chance in the Old Dublin where his connection with Walsh and Corbett began. In 1992, Lewis opened Chapter One restaurant in partnership with Corbett and Walsh. He built up a loyal talented staff and in 1996 was awarded a red ‘M’ from the Michelin Guide (Fig. 17.4). Chapter One restaurant was awarded a Michelin star in 2006.

**Clarets and Morels**

Clarets restaurant was opened by Alan O’Reilly in Rathgar in 1987 in the Orwell Lodge Hotel. O’Reilly trained in Cathal Brugha Street from (1977-1981) under Bowe, worked in the Royal Marine Hotel under O’Sullivan, in Parkes / South County Hotel with Hayd, and in Bentley’s restaurant under McSweeney, and later with Thornton. Carberry (2008) recalls working in Clarets in the Orwell Lodge with O’Reilly and his brother Paul, noting that when the hotel was sold, they worked for a while in O’Casey’s on Baggot Street before moving Clarets to a premises O’Reilly had purchased in Blackrock. The food in Clarets was influenced by French classical cuisine, with a strong focus on game in season. Clarets also ran gastronomic festival fortnights where different cuisines were showcased. Clarets was awarded a red ‘M’ from the Michelin Guide in 1994 and 1995. In October 1994 O’Reilly opened a second restaurant, Morels, above the Eagle House public house in Glasthule, where the Wishbone restaurant had been.

There was a trend in England and France during the mid 1980s where chefs who ran gourmet restaurants, also ran bistros, such as the Petit Blanc in Oxford. The concept behind Morels was to provide tasty bistro food and good wine and reasonable prices. The food was described as Cal-Med meaning a fusion of Californian techniques with
Mediterranean flavours (Fig.17.34a). *The Irish Times* (5/11/1994:38) noted that there was an open plan kitchen, thirty wines for £10 a bottle, and a menu that included ‘confit of duck leg with soya, ravioli of goats cheese with a tomato salad and basil oil, tempura sole with sesame and lobster aioli, baby chicken with cous cous with spicy red pepper sauce’.

In February 1995, O’Reilly employed Conrad Gallagher, as his *chef de cuisine*. Gallagher had just returned from working with Ducasse in Monte Carlo, and had spent a while in New York at The Plaza Hotel and in the Waldorf Astoria. An advertisement (Fig. 17.34b) in *The Irish Times* heralds his arrival and marks his philosophy of searching for the highest quality ingredients.

**Figs. 17.34a: Ad for Morels (Cal-Ital) 17.34b: Conrad Gallagher at Morels**

**Source:** (a) *The Irish Times* (15/10/1994:28)  (b) *Irish Times* (24/2/1995:28)

Gallagher, in an article in *The Irish Times* (8/4/1995:42) noted ‘I use light, Mediterranean style ingredients like peppers, basil, olive oil, parmesan cheese, and garlic. I don’t like using cream, butter or heavy sauces. I also use Californian ingredients like rocket salad’.

Morels began serving 160 meals a night. By July 1995, Gallagher had opened his own restaurant, Peacock Alley, in Baggot Street. He was succeeded as *chef de cuisine* by Dunne. O’Reilly eventually sold both Clarets and Morels and opened Morels in Stephen’s Hall Hotel, Leeson Street which held a Michelin red ‘M’ from 1999 to 2001.
The Wine Epergne and Thornton’s
Kevin Thornton was born in Cashel, County Tipperary. He trained in the Regional Technical College Galway under Keavney and Kivlehan. Thornton (2008) went to London in the late 1970s and worked in Waltons restaurant which had a Michelin star. He then went to Europe, working in vineyards and learning French, before spending two years working in five-star hotels in Switzerland. On returning to Ireland in the early 1980s, he recalls there being very little work, so he went to Toronto, Canada, where he spent a year in the Four Seasons Hotel and two years working in a Patisserie. Returning to Dublin he worked in Bentleys on Baggot Street where he met O’Reilly, and in the Shelbourne Hotel before going to work in Lyon for a year with Paul Bocuse.

Thornton’s first chef de cuisine position came in the Adare Manor, in County Limerick, where he felt he could achieve a Michelin star. Thornton however suggests that the management were not as committed to achieving the Michelin star as he was. During this time, Thornton completed his City & Guilds 706/3 under Kilbride. A call from O’Reilly led to Thornton taking the lease of the Wine Epergne restaurant in Rathmines in 1990, which he ran for two years with his wife Muriel (Findlater 2001). His style of cooking was immediately noticed by O’Byrne in The Irish Times (4/8/90:29) who wrote ‘this is one of the most exciting new restaurants I have seen, the chef is obviously out to make his reputation which should mean good things for the coming months’. The restaurant was small and the Irish economy in the early 1990s was suffering the effects of the Gulf War. When the restaurant was sold to a Chinese businessman, Thornton taught in the Dublin College of Catering for two years. During this time he represented Ireland in the Bocuse D’Or competition in Lyon.

In September 1995, Thornton (2008) notes he opened Thornton’s Restaurant in Portobello and won their first Michelin star the following year in 1996. His menu (Fig. 17.35) included dishes such as Spider Crab Consommé, and Saddle of Rabbit, and an eight course surprise menu was also available. Thornton’s won its second Michelin star in 2001, making Thornton the first Irish winner of two Michelin stars.
The Commons Restaurant

The Commons restaurant was opened in the basement of Newman House in St. Stephen’s Green, Dublin in 1991 by Michael Fitzgerald. Fitzgerald (2008) recalls that Ryan was running the front of house, and that they had a kitchen brigade of twelve chefs despite sometimes only serving twelve customers for lunch. The first head chef, Kirwan, had returned home from Jeddah when the first Gulf War began. The restaurant won a Michelin star in 1994. Fitzgerald (2008) recalls that Derek Bulmer, from the *Michelin Guide* said it was unusual to retain star when the chef leaves, but the Commons managed to do it on three occasions. Bolster succeeded Kirwan as chef, when Kirwan went to open his own restaurant in Athlone, but Bolster left after retaining the star and went to Cashel Palace Hotel. During the 1990s, according to Fitzgerald (2008), chefs ‘climbed the ladder too early and missed a few rungs’. This, he suggests, was bad for the chefs, the restaurants in which they worked and also for the people who trained under them. Malone became the next head chef and he also retained the Michelin star. He found the intensity of the position too much and he died tragically a year and a half after leaving The Commons. Malone was succeeded by Masi from France who had worked in Restaurant Patrick Guilbaud. He was only twenty one years old when he succeeded Malone but
Fitzgerald feels Masi was unfortunate not to have retained the star, suggesting that his food was as good as the previous chefs but that the Michelin inspectors were probably becoming impatient with all the chefs leaving and may have felt he was too young. After about four years, Masi left in 1999 to open his own restaurant Pearl Brasserie in the location where Gallagher had run Lloyd’s Bistro.

The Commons next chef, Byrne from England, had been working in Peacock Alley with Gallagher. Within a year of his arrival, The Commons regained their Michelin star. Byrne’s brigade included McGrath as *sous chef* and McAllister and Maguire as *chefs de partie*, all of whom became *chefs de cuisine* in Dublin restaurants in the first decade of the twentieth century. The Commons closed in 2003.

**Peacock Alley**

Peacock Alley was opened in July 1995 by Conrad Gallagher (Fig. 17.36b). Gallagher’s real name was Patrick but he took the name Conrad from the famous Conrad Hilton, for professional reasons. Gallagher became the first Irish chef since Kinsella to gain celebrity status.

Gallagher had stayed four months in Morels, and nine months in his 30 seat restaurant in Baggot Street, before moving Peacock Alley to premises that had formerly been Café
Caruso. His two week purchase, transformation and opening of this 80 seat restaurant on South William Street is outlined in McKenna (1996), who compared Gallagher with Pierre Gagniere, noting:

‘Each dish represents a torrent of ideas and a welter of work. Each course is an exhilarating excursion through flavours, an intense reworking of our expectations about what cooking is about. Most chefs gravitate towards a fundamental simplicity in food, but in comparison, Conrad Gallagher is simply on another planet’.

Gallagher’s food (Fig. 17.37) displays a fusion of flavours and influences from the Mediterranean and from California, with ingredients such as rocket salad, Caesar dressing, and patty pan squash served alongside Southern French dishes such as Daube of Beef. Gallagher called his style ‘new Irish cooking’ and published a book of recipes from Peacock Alley in 1997 (Gallagher 1997).

Figure 17.37: Menu for Conrad Gallagher’s Peacock Alley
Source: Pat Zaidan
In January 1998, Gallagher was awarded a Michelin star for Peacock Alley. He had already opened a second restaurant called Lloyd’s Bistro by this stage in Merrion Street, and McKenna, writing in *The Irish Times* (22/1/1998:5) compared his pace to the rise of Marco Pierre White in England in the mid 1990s. In September 1998 Peacock Alley relocated to the Fitzwilliam Hotel to a new 120 seat restaurant and Gallagher also operated an 80 seat Brasserie style restaurant called Christopher’s in the Fitzwilliam Hotel. In July 1999, he was awarded the ‘best Irish chef’ award in the inaugural RAI Bushmills Food Awards. He opened a restaurant called Ocean with Robbie Wooten in Charlotte Quay, but a report in *The Irish Times* in (27/5/2000:11) notes that both Ocean and Lloyds had shut down and that Christopher’s which had been re launched re-named Mango Toast was no longer under his control. Only the Michelin starred Peacock Alley remained. On 11 December 2000, Gallagher’s arrest over alleged theft of paintings from the Fitzwilliam Hotel was reported in the newspapers. This was the beginning of a much publicised and prolonged legal wrangle, which ensured Gallagher’s notoriety for reasons other than his culinary skills. Gallagher’s kitchens and dining rooms during his meteoric rise in Dublin became nurseries for talented ambitious culinarians, many of whom have achieved much success in the first decade of the new millennium. When Peacock Alley closed, Thornton’s restaurant moved from Portobello to the Fitzwilliam Hotel premises.

**Other Establishments**

A detailed profile of all Dublin restaurants is outside the parameters of this project and would be exhaustive. CERT’s *Employment Survey of the Tourism Industry in Ireland 1998* revealed that there were 1,890 restaurants, and 33,587 restaurant employees in Ireland, a significant number of which were in Dublin. The establishments discussed below are included because they contributed to the growth of *haute cuisine* in Dublin either through maintaining classical French cuisine and service, or through knowledge transfer of the techniques used in the new *haute cuisine* to Dublin in the form of *nouvelle cuisine*, fusion cuisine or molecular gastronomy.

Caillabet (2008) discusses his career from his initial training in Paris, opening a restaurant in Manchester where Patrick Guilbaud was a manager, to the opening of the
Café de Paris brasseries in both Cork and Dublin in the late 1970s and early 1980s (Fig. 17.38a). One of his chefs in the Dublin Café de Paris, Reddigan, later opened Stokers restaurant in Harcourt Street. Caillabet opened Les Frères Jacques (Fig. 17.38b) in Dame Street in 1986 which remains one of the longest running French restaurants in Dublin. Although not listed in Figs. 17.4 or 17.6, Les Frères Jacques provided customers classical French cuisine and employed a number of chefs and waiters who went on to own their own restaurants, including Dunne (Morels – Duzy’s), Tydgat (La Mère Zou), Missichi (La Mistral), and Boutin (Maison des Gourmets). The decline in popularity in French restaurants in favour of Italian and Oriental restaurants by the end of Phase Four is discussed in Cullen (2004), and evidence of this shift can be seen in the restaurants listing in The Irish Times in 1987, which includes four French, three Chinese, and one Irish restaurant along with a steakhouse (Fig. 17.38c).

The trend discussed in Chapter Nine of opening large scale fashionable restaurants, such as Quaglino’s opened in London by Conron, was repeated in Dublin but with less success. An initial attempt by Richard and Claire Douglas, who owned Locks restaurant, to open Café Klara in Dawson Street in 1989 (Fig.17.39a) was short lived, but under the management of Frizby and Murray the restaurant became La Stampa, named after the Italian newspaper. La Stampa’s initial success came from Martin’s appearance on The

Figs.17.38a: Café de Paris   (b): Les Frères Jacques   (c) Restaurants, Irish Times  
Source: (a&b) (Caillabet 2008)   (c) The Irish Times (7/7/1987:16)
Late Late Show, previously discussed, but the restaurant continued to be successful under Flynn, who succeeded Martin as chef, and had been Kaufman’s head chef in Le Tante Claire in London. Benjamin replaced Flynn in 1997, when Flynn left to open The Tannery in Waterford which was awarded a Michelin red ‘M’ in 1999 (Fig. 17.5). The opening of Roly’s Bistro in 1992 proved an instant success and quickly became the city’s busiest restaurant (O’Daly 2002). Another attempt to open a Dublin Quaglino’s was Brubecks restaurant which opened July 1995 in Ballsbridge. Coyne, who had worked in Quaglino’s, was manager and Duffy was chef, but Brubecks was unsuccessful and was replaced by an Oriental restaurant. Polo One restaurant opened in 1990 (Fig. 17.39b) owned by Caffery and with Cooke, previously mentioned with The Grey Door, as chef and Pickering as manageress. Cooke (2008) suggests the timing of Polo One was good, noting that he replaced the traditional restaurant fare of melon au porto, and paté maison, with Caesar Salads and a lighter style of food he had experienced working in New York and California. In 1992 he opened Cooke’s Café and later Cooke’s Bakery, introducing flavoured breads, such as tomato and fennel, to the Irish market. Cooke’s started a trend in Ireland that was copied by Morels and Fitzers Cafes, and also proved to be a nursery for chefs such as Eleanor Walsh who went on to open Eden, Café Bar Deli, Mackerel, and Bellinter House (Walsh 2007).

Figs. 17.39a: Ad for Café Klara
Figs. 17.39b: Ad for Polo One
Source: (a) The Irish Times (19/1/1989:20) (b) Dankers World (1990)
Summary
The beginning of Phase Four witnessed the closure of The Russell Hotel, which along with the closure of the Royal Hibernian Hotel in 1982 marked the decline of the traditional French haute cuisine of Escoffier in Dublin. A number of restaurants opened, either at the end of Phase Three or the beginning of Phase Four, such as the Lord Edward, Le Coq Hardi, and The Lobster Pot, where the old haute cuisine was still evident without the elaborate silver service of the past. Restaurants such as Snaffles and The Soup Bowl, run by enthusiastic amateurs, replaced The Russell and Jammet’s as the location where the wealthy Irish and international stars of stage and screen dined. The Mirabeau, although run by a classically trained chef, was similar to Snaffles and The Soup Bowl in its style, remaining open late and exuding an air of exclusivity and notoriety with its un-priced menus and flamboyant owner. For most of the 1970s there were only a few gourmet restaurants operating in Dublin. A number of sources have suggested that for many years in Dublin there were no mid-priced restaurants, customers either frequented cafés and fast food outlets, or ate in up-market restaurants (Howard 2008; McManus 2008; Walsh 2008). Both the Egon Ronay Guide and The Michelin Guide indicated that haute cuisine was more prevalent in country house hotels around Ireland than in Dublin during the 1970s and 1980s. Some of the country house hotels, however, employed chefs who had been trained in Dublin restaurants during Phase Three.

Some Dublin trained chefs and waiters opened their own restaurants during the 1970s including Howard, Stewart, McManus, Gray, Opperman and Rolland. This trend of restaurants run by chef / proprietors mirrored similar movements both in England and France, and the Egon Ronay Guide had noted in 1978 that standards of cooking were falling at the top end but rising in the bottom end of the restaurant market, particularly among chef / proprietors. Another factor that helped to revitalize the restaurant industry in Dublin was the inauguration of the City & Guilds 706/3 master chef course in 1977, by Kilbride in the Dublin College of Catering. Students of this course became the leading chefs, restaurateurs and entrepreneurs, and also the leading culinary educators not only in Dublin but Internationally towards the latter half of Phase Four (Cullen 2001; Kilbride 2003; Thornton 2008).
The early 1980s proved to be a difficult time for restaurateurs due to a combination of general economic conditions and fiscal changes made by the government. The reduction and later abolition of tax relief on business entertainment in the early 1980s particularly affected restaurants lunchtime trade. The 25% rate of VAT on meals, combined with high levels of personal income tax, and high levels of interest on loans made running a restaurant in Ireland a precarious venture. Many young Irish chefs and waiters emigrated during this period, some of which returned during the late 1980s and early 1990s with experience of *nouvelle cuisine* and fusion cuisine gained in the leading restaurants of London, Paris, New York and California (O'Byrne 1988; Cooke 2008; Lewis 2008; Martin 2008). Reform of the VAT rate to 10% in the 1986 budget helped to re-energise the restaurant business environment. Financial backing from Naughton and Quinn helped Restaurant Patrick Guilbaud clear their tax debts and also gave Guilbaud (2008) the confidence to pursue his goal of running a world class restaurant in Dublin, for which he was rewarded with a Michelin star in 1989, the first Dublin Michelin star since the closure of The Russell Hotel in 1974.

The 1990s was an exciting time for Dublin restaurants, particularly the later half of the decade. *The Irish Times* (29/6/1996:44) reported that Ireland had the most dynamic cuisine in any European country, where in the last decade ‘a vibrant almost unlikely style of cooking has emerged’. Factors influencing this new dynamism included the rising wealth of Irish citizens due to the phenomenon known as the ‘Celtic Tiger’ which made dining in restaurants a regular pastime rather than an occasional treat, and also the changing tastes of the Irish public who were more widely travelled than any previous Irish generation. By 1999, the chief executive or the RAI declared ‘we have a dining culture now, which we never did before’ (IT 20/10/99:43). This sudden growth in the number of restaurants produced what CERT called ‘an acute skills shortage’, and restaurateurs relied on an increasing number of immigrant workers to staff their kitchens and dining rooms. In 1999, Dublin restaurants were awarded four Michelin stars and eight Michelin red ‘M’s. By 2000 there were only two Michelin stars outside of Dublin in the Republic of Ireland; with a further two stars in Northern Ireland.
had become the centre of *haute cuisine* in Ireland. In 2001 Thornton became the first Irish chef to be awarded two Michelin stars.
Chapter 18: Analysis and Conclusions

Introduction
In this, the final chapter of the investigation, it is proposed to consider the findings in aggregate. In other words, the focus of the chapter moves from an individual case study level to a wider perspective, with the object of considering the overall implications of the investigation. In this way, the aims and operational goals of the inquiry, set out in the Introduction, can be fully considered. Both analysis and conclusions are addressed in one chapter as they are so closely intertwined.

As Messer, Haber et al. (2000) have noted, culinary history has only recently become an academic discipline in its own right. Until the 1980s, much of the published work on culinary history was based on Diderot and d’Alambert’s (1754) Encyclopédie or the writings of Le Grand D’Aussy (1782), analysis of which has been found to be simplistic in comparison with more recent scholarship (Spang 2000; Young 2006:443). Volume I, of this research project is effectively a review of current thinking on the origins of haute cuisine and the history of European food in general from ancient times to the end of the twentieth century. In Volume II, this researcher presents the most comprehensive study to date on the development of public dining in Ireland, and in particular presents a detailed account of the development of haute cuisine in Dublin restaurants from 1900-2000, on which little has been previously published. The transcribed oral history interviews are presented in Volume III along with some material culture provided by the interviewees. It is proposed that this thesis and transcriptions will provide future scholars with a wealth of material, and greatly ease their research process.

French cookery is considered by most Western societies to be the most refined method of food preparation. This reputation is based mainly on haute cuisine (sometimes known as grande cuisine), a style of cooking offered by high-class restaurants and generally regarded as the national cuisine of France. Haute cuisines, according to Trubek (2000:4), ‘have some relationship with an elite population, the cooks who are employed to make
their food, and the ingredients and methods of preparation used’. French *haute cuisine* became the model and the basis for an internationally renowned cuisine that is more highly valued, both culturally and socially, than other regional or national cuisines (Barlösius 2000:1210). ‘French restaurants’ are the most expensive restaurants in practically every country, reflecting the perceived superiority of French cuisine. The international dominance of *haute cuisine* can be most clearly seen by the fact that the menu, the language of cooking, kitchen organisation, and the training of cooks are all largely based on French models (Trubek 2000:x). Following three hundred years of supremacy, French *haute cuisine* is only recently losing its dominant position internationally to Oriental and other European cuisines. This is due to both the shifting of political, economic and cultural positions of power in a global society, and the fact that the European aristocracy no longer hold a culture-forming position (Barlösius 2000:1216).

**Food as Symbol of Social Relationship**

It would appear that in the early human class systems, food became a social differentiator – a signifier of class, a measure of rank (Fernández-Armesto 2004:117). Dietler (2001:65-78) has defined feasting as the communal consumption of food, which involves the conversion of perishable economic resources into social capital. In other words, feasting is always concerned with what he calls ‘commensal’ politics: the negotiation of aspects of identity relative to others, such as status, gender and age. Feasts ‘both unite and divide at the same time’, their festive atmosphere serves both to bind people together and to differentiate hosts from guests; the served from the servers. This is achieved by promoting solidarity and cementing new bonds, which simultaneously create a network of indebtedness that may be drawn upon in times of need. Feasts set up a good social ambiance, which may predispose people to the host’s moral authority in other settings. Strong (2003:8) notes that from early times, those anxious to curry regal favour would deliberately send delicacies to tempt the royal palate and the appetites of the powerful guests. Here ‘one phenomenon is evident: the use of rare ingredients and the development of *haute cuisine* as the children of hierarchy, clearly related to the manipulation of one group by another for socio-political aims’. Anthropologists have long recognized that
exchanges are the lifeblood of social relationships, and in many cultures food offering is particularly important in symbolizing the quality of social relationship (Taylor 1976:143). The social connotations of food, according to Albala (2002:184), are perhaps the most powerful determinant of dietary preferences; the more stratified a society becomes, the more complex and rigid the alimentary symbols of class. According to Mennell (1996:17)

‘Tastes in food, like tastes in music, literature or the visual arts, are socially shaped, and the major forces that have shaped them are religions, classes and nations. In European history, religion has been a relatively weak influence on food, class overwhelmingly the strongest. People have always used foods in their attempts to climb the social ladder themselves, and to push other people down the ladder’.

A genealogy of how haute cuisine developed from ancient times to the twentieth century is presented in Figure 18.0. Although the development is linear, there was much oscillation as the diet of the elite coarsened and was refined over time. It was not until the seventeenth century that a distinctive French haute cuisine or grande cuisine developed, first codified by La Varenne. This cuisine was continuously refined, elaborated, and reworked over the next three centuries from the nouvelle cuisine of Menon and La Chapelle in the 1740s, through the age of Carême in the early nineteenth century, to the age or Escoffier – whose heyday was La Belle Époque. Further developments occurred during the twentieth century, most notably the influence of Point, whose students became the leaders of the nouvelle cuisine movement of the 1970s and 1980s. The lack of codification of the 1970s nouvelle cuisine phenomenon led to its demise and haute cuisine during the last decades of the twentieth century was influenced by a wide array of influences, including fusion cuisine and molecular gastronomy. Despite this, analysis of the leading restaurants during this period shows that the chefs were mostly working within the parameters set out by Gault in his 1973 manifesto, outlined in Chapter Nine (Gault 1996:123-7).

**Haute Cuisine from the Ancient World to the Renaissance**

The desire to be seen as belonging to ‘civilisation’ defined the food culture of the Classical world. Both Greek and Roman civilizations were eminently urban, with bread, oil and wine considered symbols of a civilised society (Montanari 1999a:69). During the
Hellenistic period, Greek food was strongly influenced by the cuisines of Macedonia and Persia. Although the Romans conquered the Greeks militarily, Greek culture influenced Roman life, including their cuisine. Romans regarded a costly and ostentatious table as proof of status, which included local ingredients like wild asparagus and milk-fed kid, alongside exotic foreign foodstuffs such as oysters from Britain and spices from Indonesia (Tannahill 1975:88).

![Genealogy of Haute Cuisine from Ancient Times to 20th Century](image)

Figure 18.0: Genealogy of Haute Cuisine from Ancient Times to 20th Century
Roman intellectuals took agriculture and horticulture seriously, accumulating considerable knowledge on the subjects, becoming masters of irrigation, fertilisation, grafting, pruning and crop rotation (Faas 2003:209). Roman medicine was based on Greek traditions, particularly the teachings of Hippocrates and Galen, whose ‘humoral physiology’ influenced the diet of the European elite up until the nineteenth century (Albala 2000:1207). There was a decline in elaborate cookery, or ‘haute cuisine’, following the fall of the Western Roman Empire in the fifth century, and the Middle Ages need to be divided into early and late Middle Ages when discussing the history of medieval cuisine.

Albala (2000:1203) argues that three rival systems – Christianity, humoral physiology, and the courtly aesthetic – have influenced the culture of food in Southern Europe since late antiquity, shaping eating patterns at all levels of society (Fig. 18.1). From the fourth and fifth century, the Christian Church defined fasting as abstention from meat and animal products and the limitation of meals to one a day. Periods of fasting including Lent, Advent, Wednesdays, Fridays and the evenings preceding holidays meant that the food allowed for consumption for a large portion of the year was restricted. In wealthy households, Lent did not necessarily involve sacrifice of luxury, since meatless dishes which incorporated almond milk to replace cream were ingeniously invented (Albala 2000:1204).

Both humoral physiology and the courtly aesthetic were less influential during the early medieval period when elaborate forms of cookery decayed with the abandonment of towns and the disappearance of Roman villa life (Wilson 1973:235). This changed during the late Middle Ages with the rise of feudalism and the growth of towns. In the medieval period, haute cuisine was characterised by attention to the appearance of food, particularly in the case of the courtly feast. The foods eaten changed over time. The oldest and most obvious symbols of nobility were large game animals which were roasted whole, and presented to a large hall of retainers, where they were carved and apportioned according to rank (Visser 1991). This type of meal matched the feudal warrior society which valued prowess on the hunt as much as in battle. Albala (2000:1207) suggests that
replacement of this rustic sort of meal at noble tables with ‘meals of magnificence and sophistication’ including peacocks, swans and porpoises, and dishes strewn with exotic spices and sugar, may have originated in the Burgundian Court and spread around Europe. A new literary genre appeared describing how to throw a banquet.

![Diagram: Three Influences on Medieval Haute Cuisine]

**Fig. 18.1: Three Influences on Medieval Haute Cuisine**

Taillevent (c.1312-1395), the first culinary master, whose name is still recorded, practised in many of France’s medieval royal households. Evidence of the French medieval cookery is found in versions of *Le Viandier* that date from his lifetime (Wheaton 1983:20). The status of cook had risen from ancient times, with a master cook often holding the rank of squire. The office of cook was also one of trust due to the threat of poisoning. Some food related guilds developed alongside the growth of towns. A parallel system for cooks working in the houses of the nobility also appeared. The place of princely courts as the style-setting centres in matter of food, as in much else, according to Mennell (1996:61), was well established by the late medieval period and would expand during the early modern period. Rules of carving and on the use of cutlery were
elaborated by the time of the Renaissance. The European aristocracy shared a common culture in eating and drinking that was not restricted by state borders (Barlösius 2000:1211).

**The Early Modern Period (c. 1400-1800)**

European *haute cuisine* changed gradually during the early modern period which began with the Renaissance. The social meaning of food intensifies when the class structure is in danger of disruption by social mobility (Albala 2002:185). In early-modern Europe, table manners became a cult, and selfish overindulgence was seen as repellent (Fernández-Armesto 2004:105). ‘Courtesy’ books and gnomic literature containing such information became prevalent. Eating and drinking during the early modern period occupied a far more central position in social life than, than they do today, where they frequently provide a framework and introduction for conversation and conviviality (Elias 1983:60). During the Renaissance, which marked the end of the Middle Ages, Italian cooks such as Martino and Scappi were reputed to have produced the most sophisticated food in Europe, but modern scholarship suggest that their influence on French *haute cuisine* has been exaggerated (Wheaton 1983; Mennell 1996; Young 2006). Scappi’s influence on cooking has been compared by Willan (1992:37) to Michelangelo’s influence on the fine arts. She also points out, however, that no other Italian cook of any importance appeared since the Renaissance until the arrival of Leonardi in the eighteenth century.

Many factors influenced changes in European cuisine during the early modern period, as can be seen from Figure 18.2. Firstly, the rise of humanism and the invention of the printing press facilitated the broader study of Greek and Roman texts, both culinary, medicinal and on agriculture, and also the dissemination of new ideas. A second factor was the discovery of the New World, which led to the introduction of new foods to Europe. Some new foods, such as the turkey, were adapted almost immediately and replaced previously used large birds such as swans and peacocks. Other foods such as the potato and tomato took longer to be widely adapted into the diet. The introduction of new beverages such as chocolate, coffee and tea led to new social institutions – particularly
coffeehouses – that were forerunners to the clubs and restaurants – that appeared in European cities, including Dublin, in the eighteenth and nineteenth centuries. A third factor which led to change in European diets was the Reformation, leading to food and cuisines diversifying along national lines. National cuisines began to develop during the seventeenth century. It was at this time, when French *haute cuisine* became culturally stylized and used to mark social differences, that it also became a model for the courtly and aristocratic cuisines of Europe, including the Viceregal Court at Dublin Castle (Barlösius 2000:1211).

Figure 18.2: Influences on Cuisine during Early Modern Period
The Rise of French *Haute Cuisine* (1650-1800)

Many of the changes that occurred in the French culinary canon over the centuries were based on differentiating the socially privileged from the bourgeoisie. Following the Black Death when the consumption of butchers’ meat increased among the general classes, the nobility responded by replacing it with the less easily obtained game (Mennell 1996:61). Spices were one of the markers of medieval *haute cuisine*, but when the discovery of the New World and nautical routes to the Orient made spices more available and affordable to the bourgeoisie, the nobility and gentry spurned them and adopted a new culinary aesthetic. This new culinary movement, began with La Varenne, who is considered the founder of French classical cookery, whose book *Le Cuisine François* (1651) broke decisively with medieval cookery (Wheaton 1983; Willan 1992; Mennell 1996). La Varenne’s contemporaries included de Bonnefons, de Lune, Ribou, and Massialot. The importance of their work, according to Wheaton (1983:232), is not in their individual recipes but how they are conceived using a ‘repertory of infinitely adjustable basic mixtures, both liquid and solid, that can be combined with the many primary ingredients that come into the French kitchen’. Mintz (1989:186) defines the ‘hauteness’ of a particular class or privileged group by the ingredients used – sometimes ensured by sumptuary distinctions – and by how it is cooked ‘the number of person hours and quantities of accumulated skills invested in each mouthful’. French chefs or male chefs trained in the art of French cookery were employed in aristocratic houses throughout Europe. Ireland was no exception, and evidence of both the existence of these French chefs and their status has been outlined in Volume II of this thesis.

Since cooking turned eating into a socially constructive act, food has become surrounded with rites of politesse. Part of the purpose of table-manners, argues Fernández-Armesto (2004:133) is to keep outsiders excluded, therefore etiquette is always in evolution: ‘the code has to change whenever interlopers crack it’. The research shows that this became particularly evident in the late seventeenth century when the provincial aristocracy moved to Versailles, and their role in the provinces were filled by the bourgeoisie who began to copy their mannerisms in both clothing and dining (Poulain 2005:159). Nowhere were the
rules of culinary conduct more highly and authoritatively codified than in nineteenth-century France (Parkhurst Ferguson 2004:96).

**French Haute Cuisine – From Aristocratic Kitchens to Restaurants (c.1765-1900)**

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 and on ocean liners (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). The development of the restaurant was discussed in Chapter Six, where the recent scholarship of Spang (1993; 2000) highlighted the erroneous ‘myth of Boulanger’ which has been repeated in most earlier culinary historical works along with other culinary myths that had their origins in Diderot and d’Alembert (1754). Spang (2000) suggests that the control guilds had on the food business in Paris may not have been as strong as previously believed.

This researcher has explored the various locations of public dining – inns, taverns, *table d’hôte*, coffeehouses – available before the appearance of the social phenomenon called ‘the restaurant’ in the latter part of the eighteenth century in order to identify what differentiated one establishment from the other. The emergence of ‘restaurants’ in the latter part of the eighteenth century was a distinctive Parisian phenomenon. A number of factors differentiated a restaurant from the earlier tavern or a *table d’hôte*. Firstly the restaurant provided private tables for customers. Secondly the restaurant offered a choice of individually priced dishes in the form of a *carte* or bill of fare; and thirdly it offered food at times that suited the customer, not at one fixed time as in the case of the *table d’hôte* (Brillat-Savarin 1994:267). Similar establishments did not become popular in other European cities until later. Research by Kümin (2003:79) on early modern inns in Germany and Switzerland suggests that comparative analysis between the new restaurants and early inns ‘yields a rather more complex picture of continuity and change’. The research highlights that technological improvements facilitated the phenomenon of mass-scale eating out. Prior to the ‘modern lighting’ in Europe, activities outside the home took place mainly during daylight as walking in the evening was
dangerous. Restaurants became more popular with the development of public street lighting (den Hartog 2003:264-5).

**Public Dining in London**
Restaurants of the Parisian model did not become a regular phenomenon in London until the latter half of the nineteenth century. When wealthy citizens in London dined outside their homes from the late eighteenth to the latter part of the nineteenth century, they did so mostly in private gentlemen’s clubs, as opposed to the restaurants in which their Parisian counterparts dined. The origins of gentlemen’s clubs were the coffee houses that appeared in London, Paris, Dublin and other European cities in the seventeenth century. Club members originally met in coffeehouses, then taverns and later proprietary clubs became fashionable. Mennell (1996:155) suggests that clubs generally provided ‘good average rather than excellent food’ and that London clubs ‘siphoned off’ the strata of rich bachelors and visitors that played such a big part in building up the restaurants in Paris.

According to Burnett (1994:82), the restaurant had hardly arrived in England by 1850, and there was a serious gap (outside of the clubs) between the expensive hotels or inns and the less expensive chop house. Newnham-Davis (1914:86) describing England in the 1860s suggests that, ‘restaurants were few and far between, and were mostly places where men dined without their feminine belongings’. Shore (2007:314) suggests that not until the opening of the Café Royal in London in 1865 were the aristocracy willing to leave their clubs for a restaurant. One factor, not mentioned in the general literature, which may have accelerated the development of restaurants in the United Kingdom of Great Britain and Ireland was the introduction of the Refreshment Rooms and Wine Licences Act (1860) which tried to ‘re-unite the business of eating and drinking’ (McDonald 1992:203). This legislation is particularly significant since Soyer, as mentioned in Chapter Eight, was refused a drinks licence renewal for his high-class restaurant – The Gastronomic Symposium of all Nations – in Gore House just outside the Great Exhibition in Hyde Park in 1851, and subsequently closed it at a loss. Teuteberg (2003:292) suggests 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
activity. Analysis of documentary sources and material culture reveal that the appearance of ladies dining rooms in restaurants, and particularly the elaborate dining rooms pioneered by the Ritz-Escoffier partnership in their hotels towards the end of the nineteenth century helped to entice aristocratic ladies to dine in public, thus popularising the phenomenon of eating out in restaurants. Ladies dining rooms advertised in Dublin restaurants are shown in Figs 14.12a, 14.13, 14.29 and 14.31a.

Trubek has demonstrated that by 1890 there were up to five thousand French chefs living and working in Britain (2000:52). This shows the predominance of the French culinary canon in Britain at this time, and the status associated with the employment of a French chef, evidence of which has been identified from *The Chef* and *The Chef and Connoisseur* journals. Both England and France were quite similar gastronomically in the years 1900 and 2000, but both countries, however, followed different paths during the twentieth century. The two World Wars interrupted *haute cuisine* in both countries, but England was slower to return to normality gastronomically than her French neighbour. Generally, technological and social changes transformed peoples’ diets during the twentieth century. The female orientated *cuisine de marché* of Lyon became influential in France between the wars and Point is widely considered to be the most influential figure post-Escoffier. His protégés (Bocuse, Troisgros etc.) became the leaders of the *nouvelle cuisine* movement in Europe in the 1970s. Nearly all successful gastrosophers of the latter half of the twentieth century can trace either a direct or indirect lineage to Point (Fig. 9.2).

Catalysts for change in dining patterns in England included the publication of the *Good Food Guide* (1950), the influential writings of Elizabeth David, and the launch of the *Egon Ronay Guide* in 1957. English gastronomy experienced a rebirth from the late 1960s onwards, due particularly to the work of the Roux brothers, who filled a Point-like role, along with a number of other key individuals. Nearly all successful gastrosophers during the last three decades of the twentieth century are linked to the Roux brothers either directly or indirectly (Figs. 9.10 and 9.11). The most successful of these was Marco
Pierre White, who became the first Briton to be awarded Michelin’s highest accolade – three stars – in 1995.

Public Dining in Ireland 1500-1900
Culinary events in Ireland followed similar patterns to both England and France with some minor differences. The medieval Irish were deeply committed to the practice of hospitality, which transcended social boundaries and endured for centuries (O’ Sullivan 2004:12). By the late medieval period, a number of dietary systems were in place in Ireland, depending on social rank, region and access to the market. Henry VIII’s reformation may be seen as the beginning of the end for Gaelic Ireland, and the Elizabethan administration was the principal agency of the Anglicisation of Ireland (Lennon and Gillespie 1997:56). By the reign of Elizabeth I, Dublin was renowned for its taverns and ale-houses (Maxwell 1979:26).

The 1600-1800 period was a time of dramatic change both in Irish life and diet. The introduction of the potato and other New World foods led to the narrowing of the diet of the poor and a broadening of the diet of the rich over the course of the eighteenth century. 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 (Barnard 1999). Employing a male cook became fashionable among the Anglo-Irish elite during the first half of the eighteenth century, but employing a French cook carried extra cachet (Sexton 1998a:12; McCarthy 2003:126; Barnard 2004:300; Cahill 2005:68). Public dining in taverns, coffee houses and clubs developed in parallel with the elaborate dinners given in private houses during this period. Dublin clubs originated in coffee houses and taverns but evolved gradually into separate entities.

It is suggested that Dublin anticipated London in club fashions. Members of the Kildare Street Club (1772) and the Sackville Street Club (1794) owned the premises of their clubhouse, and thus dispensed with the proprietor (McDowell 1993:4, 16). Despite a number of published histories of Dublin clubs (Brooke 1930; Béaslaí 1958; Smith and
Share 1990; McDowell 1993), little data is available on the chefs and service staff that worked in them. One possible reason for this lack of data was the difficulty of finding efficient cooks or house stewards who were willing to put up with the hypercritical comments of the club members (McDowell 1993:65, 121). A second reason is that up until recently, manual workers, including hospitality workers, have been excluded from mainstream historical studies (Starr 1984). It is not unreasonable to suggest that the number of clubs operating in Dublin during the eighteenth and nineteenth centuries would have attracted the strata of rich bachelors and visitors such as made up much of the clientele of Parisian restaurants, as was the case in London (Mennell 1996:155).

Competition for Dublin clubs, however, appeared in the form of luxury hotels (Gresham, Shelbourne, Royal Hibernian) during the first decades of the nineteenth century, and increased dramatically in number, as the steam age facilitated quicker modes of travel. The introduction of The Refreshment Houses and Wine Licences (Ireland) Act 1860, which was aimed at re-uniting ‘the business of eating and drinking’, created a more favourable environment for the opening of restaurants. The potential of this legislation in acting as a catalyst for the development of restaurants in the post 1860 period, however, has not been assessed in any of the literature to date. Just as coffeehouses evolved into clubs in the eighteenth century, many Dublin taverns evolved into either restaurants or gin palaces during the latter half of the nineteenth century (IT 31/5/1869:2). The word restaurant became familiar in Irish newspaper advertisements from the 1860s but was not used officially by Thom’s Directory until 1909.

**Dublin’s First Restaurant**

This research has identified the earliest Dublin dining establishment to use the title ‘restaurant’ to be contemporaneous with the Refreshment Houses and Wine Licences Act (1860) and the opening of similar establishments, such as the Café Royal in London. An advertisement in *The Irish Times* shows that Dublin’s first French restaurant, called the Café de Paris, opened in late 1860 (Fig. 12.12). Evidence of other French restaurants in Dublin and restaurants advertising a French male cook during the latter half of the nineteenth century were also obtained from *The Irish Times* digital archive, and were
discussed in Chapter Twelve. This is an aspect of Dublin restaurant development not previously identified. As well as the new evidence of French chefs been employed in Dublin restaurants, patterns also emerged of ex-club employees or ex-army officers’ mess men opening restaurants in the city (Fig. 12.14). New evidence on food service came to light in the form of a menu served at the Friendly Brothers House (Fig. 12.5) which confirms that service à la russe, where the meal was served in courses rather than services had been introduced to Dublin by 1875. Other new phenomenon, such as the introduction of ladies coffee rooms and dining rooms in restaurants, occurred simultaneously in Dublin and London. Menus from the Metropole Hotel (Fig 12.23) and the Shelbourne Hotel (Fig. 12.22), combined with other data from The Chef journal provide further evidence that the international French inspired haute cuisine was available in Dublin at the end of the nineteenth century produced by a cadre of professional chefs trained in the French culinary canon. Two particular Dublin restaurants, The Burlington and The Red Bank, were identified as having been remodelled to the highest international standards by the late nineteenth century, with the latter described in The Irish Times as the ‘Delmonico’s of Dublin’, a very favourable comparison with New York’s finest restaurant of that time (26/8/1897:7).

Transfer of Chefs from Aristocratic Houses to Restaurants
A number of French chefs working in Ireland in the latter half of the nineteenth century were identified, mostly working in private households (Anon 1896b; Anon 1896c). This pattern also included the employment of leading French chefs or chefs trained in the French culinary canon in the Viceregal Court in Dublin Castle. Further details of the dining habits in the Viceregal Court were provided by Robins (2001). Trends in Dublin dining, similar to other European cities, were set by the court (in Dublin Castle) and were copied by the aristocracy and gentry (Robins 2001). The most noteworthy chef who held the position of chef in the Vice Regal Lodge was Alfred Suzanne, chef to the Earl of Clarendon (1847-1852). Suzanne was one of the leading French chefs who collaborated with Escoffier in publishing Le Guide Culinaire in 1903, which became the ‘bible’ of haute cuisine for the majority of the twentieth century. Most leading chefs working in Dublin during the first half of the twentieth century can trace a direct or indirect lineage
to Escoffier, examples of which are charted in Figure 18.3. Direct links with Escoffier are indicated in straight lines and indirect links are shown with broken lines. For example, Escoffier is indirectly linked with the Jammet brothers and Paul Besson, both as contemporaries, and also through Joseph Reukli in Restaurant Jammet, and Hector Fabron in the Russell and Royal Hibernian Hotels who worked under Escoffier in London.

Michel Jammet in Dublin could be compared to Beauvilliers in Paris a century earlier, in making the transition from being an employee of a royal or aristocratic household to running his own restaurant in the public sphere (Trubek 2000:39). The Jammet brothers had trained in Paris, Michel first came to Dublin in 1887 as chef to Henry Roe, the distiller. Following four years working in London for Lord Cadogan, Michel returned to Dublin in 1895, becoming head chef at the Vice Regal Lodge, when Lord Cadogan became Lord Lieutenant of Ireland. The Jammet brothers purchased the Burlington Restaurant in 1900 and opened it as the Jammet Restaurant and Hotel in 1901 which moved to Nassau Street in 1926 and remained open until 1967: making it the longest running French restaurant in Dublin during the twentieth century. Information of the Jammet family’s genealogy and influence on haute cuisine, based on data emerging from this research project, has been published (Mac Con Iomaire 2005a; Mac Con Iomaire 2006).

**Haute Cuisine in Dublin 1900-2000**

The principal Dublin restaurants and hotels associated with haute cuisine, cuisine bourgeoise and nouvelle cuisine during the twentieth century are listed in Figure 18.4. While some restaurants such as Jammet’s consistently produced haute cuisine, food served in others, such as The Red Bank Restaurant, oscillated between haute cuisine and cuisine bourgeoise as the century progressed. One of the markers used to identify cuisine bourgeoise was the amount of female staff employed in the restaurant.
Phases One and Two (1900-1947)

The Jammet brothers, and later Louis Jammet, are among the few individuals who emerged from the research as being pivotally influential to the development of haute cuisine in Dublin restaurants during the twentieth century, in the way that Escoffier, Point, Bocuse, Troisgros and the Roux brothers have been in France and England. Michel and François Jammet were contemporaries of Escoffier and Ritz. By opening Restaurant Jammet in Dublin they introduced both Irish customers and their Irish employees to Escoffier style haute cuisine, which remained relatively unchanged under the next generation of the Jammet family until the closure of the restaurant in 1967. In 1963, Egon Ronay described Restaurant Jammet:

‘As if by magic the turn of the century has been fully preserved beyond the swing door...Space, grace, the charm of small red leather armchairs, fin-de-siècle murals and marble oyster counters exude a bygone age. Ritz and Escoffier would feel at home here’.

Another contemporary of Ritz and Escoffier, Paul Besson, came to Dublin in 1905 from the Hotel Cecil, London. Besson was central to most developments in hospitality and catering in Dublin during Phase One (1900-1922) and Two (1923-1946). Besson was involved in the Irish Food and Cookery Exhibitions (1909-1912) which were similar to contemporaneous exhibitions organised in London, Paris, Brussels, Vienna and New York, as discussed in Chapter Six. These exhibitions were attended by the growing number of bourgeois Dubliners who were becoming more sophisticated in their food habits. This rising sophistication was catered for by grocery shops such as Findlaters whose monthly magazine The Lady of the House was both a promotional tool and an educational vehicle for aspiring housewives. The number of public dining rooms / restaurants listed in Thom’s Directory rose dramatically from 32 in 1900 (including a vegetarian restaurant), to 52 in 1935, and numbered 75 in the final year of listing in 1958.

Political events did however influence trends within Dublin restaurants over the years. There were a number of German and Austrian chefs, managers and waiters working in Dublin up until the First World War, but were replaced by mainly Swiss and French individuals. A strong Swiss culinary community was identified in Dublin restaurants, particularly during the inter-war years, with some of their families continuing to be
influential in catering circles in Dublin throughout the twentieth century. Neutral Dublin enjoyed a thriving restaurant business during the ‘Emergency’ with the influx of gastro-tourists from England and Northern Ireland. This period also witnessed a growing international community of artists in Dublin, many of whom were members of the *avant-garde* group ‘The White Stag’. The dining experiences of these gastro-tourists have been well documented in Volume III, including Kilbride’s (2003:20) description of six sailors ordering two porterhouse steaks and six fried eggs each in the Gresham Hotel. The Unicorn Restaurant was opened during this period by a Jewish Austrian couple, Erwin and Lisl Strunz, and their experience with Edward Hempel and his party from the German legation is outlined in Henderson (2007). The Unicorn and Restaurant Jammet were considered the leading restaurants in Dublin in Burke’s (1941) review of eating establishments. The Unicorn Restaurant, however, was sold in 1948.

**Phases Three and Four (1948-2002)**

Paul Besson’s son Ken fulfilled a Point like role in Dublin restaurants during Phase Three (1947-1974). He was responsible for the introduction of some key individuals such as Rolland, Fabron, Auzello and Neyrolles to Ireland. Fabron had apprenticed under Escoffier in London (Fig. 18.3) and oral evidence suggests that this was also true of other chefs (e.g. Kordina, Uhlemann) working in Ireland during this period (Farren 2003:36; Ennis 2005). *The Irish Hotelier* (Feb 1954) suggested Rolland was ‘among the ten most distinguished culinary experts in France’. A number of Irish chefs also trained in the Savoy Grill, London under Escoffier’s colleague Albon, as part of an exchange programme organised by Fabron (Kavanagh 2003; Ryan 2004). Besson-controlled kitchens, particularly The Russell under Rolland (Fig. 17.1), became nurseries for culinary talent in the same way that Point’s kitchen in *La Pyramide* provided training for a new generation of French chefs described in Chapter Nine (Fig. 9.2). Knowledge transfer also occurred as chefs moved between the various kitchens in Dublin. There was a rise in French chefs, managers and waiters working in Dublin post World War II, facilitated by an agreement between Besson and the IT&GWU, which led to the first-class training of a generation of Irish catering staff who became the culinary leaders in Ireland during the following decades, some of which are identified in Figs. 18.3 and 18.5.
Figure 18.3: Dynamic of Culinary Exchange from Escoffier, both Direct (straight lines) and Indirect (broken lines)
New evidence came to light that both The Russell Restaurant and Restaurant Jammet received awards from the American magazine *Holiday* in the 1950s for being ‘one of the outstanding restaurants in Europe’. Eight London restaurants and one each in Inverness and in Edinburgh were the only other award winners in the British Isles. Comparative analysis of the *Holiday* magazine awards with the populations of Dublin, London and
Scotland in the 1950s suggests that, on a per capita basis, Dublin was the gastronomic capital of the British Isles. Further evidence of Dublin restaurants’ status as culinary leaders became available when the *Egon Ronay Guide* first covered Ireland in 1963. By 1965, Ronay suggested that the Russell Restaurant ‘must rank amongst the best in the world’.

Dublin’s golden age of *haute cuisine* ended with the closure of Restaurant Jammet (1967), The Red Bank Restaurant (1969) and The Russell Hotel (1974). New restaurants such as Snaffles and The Soup Bowl, opened by enthusiastic amateurs, became the new venues for Dublin gourmands. Some of the kitchen and dining room staff from the newly closed restaurants found positions in these new establishments and in restaurants such as the Lord Edward, The Old Dublin, and in country house hotels such as Ashford Castle which had become the centre of *haute cuisine* in Ireland in the 1970s and early 1980s. This new phenomenon of *haute cuisine* in country house hotels was partly due to individuals such as Ryan and Evans, who had trained directly under Bocuse and the Troisgros brothers – ‘disciples’ of Point (Fig. 18.5). Point indirectly influenced other chefs / restaurateurs such as Howard, Clifford, Guilbaud, Caillabet, Thornton, Martin, Flynn, Gallagher and Cartwright had worked in the leading French restaurants in Paris, Lyon, London and elsewhere in Europe prior to opening their Dublin restaurants. Other chefs gained valuable experience in restaurants in New York, California and Toronto. The international influence on the development of Dublin restaurants in the final decades of the twentieth century is displayed in Figure 18.5. As with the influence of Escoffier (Fig. 18.3), the influence of Point’s *nouvelle cuisine* on the development of Dublin restaurants was both direct and indirect, indicated by straight and broken arrows respectively. The most influential individual in Dublin *haute cuisine* restaurants during the last two decades of the twentieth century was Guilbaud, whose role in Ireland along with his chef Lebrun may be compared with that of Bocuse in France or the Roux brothers in England. Figure 18.5 illustrates the diverse connections between the leading Irish chefs and restaurateurs and their French and English counterparts. Many of these individuals were central to the renaissance of *haute cuisine* restaurant in Dublin in the mid 1990s.
Figure 18.5: Direct (straight line) & Indirect (broken line) Links between Point and Dublin Chefs / Restaurateurs
Dublin and London Restaurants: Similarities and Differences

This project was framed within the theory that French haute cuisine influenced the development of restaurants in Dublin as it did in London. The overall aim of the research was therefore to investigate whether the development of haute cuisine in Dublin restaurants followed the London example by being strongly influenced by French culinary practices as well as French or French trained individuals. The research has found many points of similarity and some differences between the development of restaurants in both London and Dublin.

- Culinary expertise transferred from French chefs and foreign born chefs trained in the French culinary canon who have been identified as working in both cities, first for private households and later in taverns, clubs, hotels and restaurants.
- Dublin clubs, however, pre-dated London in owning their own premises.
- The Refreshment Room and Wine Licences Act (1860) appears to have influenced the growth of restaurants in both cities, but to what extent remains unresearched.
- Patterns of migration of culinary workers between London and Dublin were identified from the 1911 census and from the oral histories.
- Internationally renowned chefs were identified as judges at the various Salons Culinaires as part of the Irish Food and Cookery Exhibitions (1909-1912) and also at later culinary competitions organised by The Panel of Chefs of Ireland. These same judges performed similar functions contemporaneously at cookery exhibitions in London.
- Both Irish chefs and foreign born chefs working in Ireland were identified as members of chefs associations based in London (Fig.16.38).
- Professional cookery schools opened in Dublin influenced by the Westminster College in London. Cookery as a subject in technical schools in Dublin, and private schools of cookery aimed principally at bourgeois ladies and their domestic servants were identified in Dublin from the late nineteenth century. Apprenticeship in professional kitchens and dining rooms, however, remained the only option available for Dublin chefs and waiters, until the establishment of
specific training courses by the CDVEC in the Parnell Square Technical School around 1926.

- Similarities and differences between Dublin and London restaurants were noted by various commentators during Phases One and Two (Sayers 1936; Lacoste 1947; Graves 1949).
- Dublin restaurants only experienced some minor shortages in foodstuff during the years of the Second World War compared to London, and enjoyed a boom during these years with the influx of gastro-tourists.
- Primary source material is presented in the transcribed interviews of informants who worked in both London and Dublin particularly during the latter phases of this study (Kavanagh 2003; Ryan 2004; Bowe 2008; Hingston 2008; Lewis 2008; McManus 2008).
- By Phases Three and Four, direct comparisons between restaurants in Dublin and London were available through both The Egon Ronay Guide and The Michelin Guide.
- Both Dublin and London experienced the following trends:
  - Restaurants opened by enthusiastic amateurs (Perry-Smith / Tinne)
  - The influence of French chefs (Roux / Guilbaud) whose kitchens were nurseries for culinary talent
  - The movement of haute cuisine restaurants run by chef / proprietors to five star hotels in the 1990s (Pierre-White / Guilbaud)
  - The gradual rise in the popularity of ethnic cuisine resulting in a preference among consumers for ethnic style restaurants by the year 2000 (Warde and Martens 2000; Cullen 2004).

By the end of the century, Kevin Thornton in Dublin might be compared to Marco Pierre White in London as been the most highly acclaimed Irish born chef / restaurateur producing haute cuisine. Thornton was awarded two Michelin stars in 2001 signifying ‘excellent cooking and worth a detour’ (Fig. 17.4). Guilbaud (2008), however, has indicated that he would like to become Ireland’s first ever three Michelin starred restaurant, indicating ‘exceptional cuisine, worth a special journey’.
**Education and Training**
The provision of training / education for chefs and waiters has been tracked from the CDVEC courses in Parnell Square Technical School in 1926, to the commencement of an honours degree in culinary arts in the Dublin Institute of Technology in the 1999 / 2000 academic year. Key individuals such as Uhlemann, Mullen, Dunne, Marley, O’Meara, Kilbride, Sands, Bowe and Hegarty were identified as been particularly influential in the training of Dublin hospitality workers. The use of Escoffier’s *Guide Culinaire* and Saulnier’s *Repetoire de la Cuisine* as textbooks was evident right up to the very end of the twentieth century, reinforcing the supremacy of French *haute cuisine* and training in the classical French culinary canon among generations of culinary students. By the end of the twentieth century, however, culinary students in Dublin were also taking classes on ethnic cuisine and cooking for health. It is interesting to note that the commencement of an honours degree programme in culinary arts in DIT in 1999 made ‘the profession attractive to the better class of young men anxious for an opening to a lucrative occupation’, as had been discussed by Wuest in Chapter Fifteen (Anon 1927). However, by 1999, sixty percent of the students were young women. Graduates of this course, both male and female, have secured employment in Ireland’s leading restaurants, and also in some of the most critically acclaimed restaurants in the world, including The Fat Duck in England and Tetsuya’s in Australia (Mac Con Iomaire 2008).

**Conclusions / Assessment of Research Goals**
A number of operational goals were identified in the Introduction to this research project. The first goal was:

- To investigate the history of public dining from the Ancient world to the present day and identify when and how French *haute cuisine* became the dominant model in the development of public dining in Europe.

This topic was explored in detail. Sources from the leading authorities on the various stages from the Ancient world through medieval times to the early modern period and up to the end of the twentieth century were examined, compared and their findings were summarised. The research shows that the cuisine of Rome is the direct ancestor of most
of the cuisines of Western Europe, and pinpoints a direct lineage of French haute cuisine from the writings of La Varenne in 1651 through, Careme, Escoffier, Point to Bocuse, Ducasse and Gagniere. The emergence of French haute cuisine is most fully discussed in Wheaton (1983); the origin of the restaurant in Spang (2000); the rise of the modern culinary profession by Trubek (2000); and a comparative history of eating and taste in England and France in Mennell (1996). Comparative analysis with the most recent publications on culinary history, confirms that Chapters One to Nine provide the most comprehensive review of scholarship on the history of food from Ancient times to the present currently available.

The second operational goal was:

- To investigate the history of Irish food and public dining from pre-Norman times to the present day, with particular reference to 1900-2000.

The study of Irish culinary history is very much in its infancy, with published data on the history of Dublin restaurants 1900-2000 particularly sparse. A thorough review of the relevant literature highlighted the leading scholars specialising in specific periods within the field of Irish culinary history (Lucas 1960; Simms 1978; Cullen 1992; Sexton 1998; Kelly 2000; Clarkson and Crawford 2001; Mac Con Iomaire 2003; O’ Sullivan 2004; Mac Con Iomaire 2006; Mac Con Iomaire and Cully 2007). These sources were augmented by sources from diverse disciplines ranging from social history (Barnard 1999; Daly, Hearn et al. 2003; Barnard 2004; Barnard 2005; Daly 2006), geography (Brady and Simms 2001; Brady 2002), economic history (Daly 1984; Ó Gráda 2000; Kennedy 2003), urban development (Horner 1992; Dargan 1996; Griffin 1997; Griffin 2003) to art history (Barnard 2003; Laffan 2003; Rooney 2006). The research shows that hospitality has been central to Irish culture from ancient times. The variety, quality, and quantity of food produced and consumed changed over time influenced by similar factors as occurred in England and elsewhere in Europe. The changing locations of public dining in Dublin were identified and discussed from the early taverns, inns, and table d’hôtes, to the coffeehouses which developed into clubs. Finally, the gradual appearance of Dublin
restaurants in the latter half of the nineteenth century was identified, charted and analysed.

Chapters Ten to Seventeen offer the most current comprehensive study on the history of Irish food and public dining available. This study confirms that Ireland has a rich national cuisine based on butter, dairy produce, pork and bacon, lamb and mutton, beef and offal, oats and barley, soda breads and baked goods, fish, game, potatoes, eggs, and vegetables; not to mention regional specialities such as of boxty, blaa, coddle, drisheen, kala, and potato farls (Cowan and Sexton 1997; Mac Con Iomaire 2003; Sexton 2005; Mac Con Iomaire 2006; Mac Con Iomaire and Cully 2007). It identifies the existence of a number of competing dietary systems depending on social rank, region, and access to the market, which were influenced by European fashions. It also confirms that from the eighteenth century, French haute cuisine influenced the Viceregal Court in Dublin Castle, as it had Courts in the rest of Europe. This sophisticated cuisine gradually moved from the aristocratic kitchens into the private sphere in clubs, hotels and restaurants in Dublin following a similar pattern as had occurred in London.

The sequence of the work thus, led to the third operational goal:

- To investigate the chronology and genealogy of restaurants producing haute cuisine or cuisine bourgeoise in Dublin between 1900 and 2000.

The treatment of this goal forms the key element of this research project. In order to tackle such a goal, it was first necessary to identify the individual restaurants that operated during this period and track down individuals who either had relatives who worked in these restaurants, or had worked or dined in these establishments themselves. The methodology employed for these tasks was outlined in Chapter Thirteen and the results of the research are presented both in Chapters Fourteen to Seventeen and in the transcribed interviews in Volume III. Much of the data uncovered while achieving this third goal was primary material that was being accessed for the first time. This includes both the transcribed interviews and the material culture (photographs, menus, letters, advertisements etc.) provided by informants. In collecting this data, the researcher has created his own archive. These sources were compared with traditional archival sources
including directories / guidebooks, census data, and data from *The Irish Times* Digital Archive. Through this research project, part of the ‘living past’ has been gathered and preserved through the oral historical approach before it perishes with the informants (Evans 1957:xiii). The thesis opens up a range of subject areas which form the basis for further research – the history of food; diet; medical studies; education and training; trade unions and the restaurant industry. Other themes that emerged from these primary sources included gender, mobility, alcoholism, anti-social hours, camaraderie, which also warrant further detailed enquiry in the future.

The main findings of this third operational goal have been previously outlined in the conceptual framework in Chapter Thirteen (Fig. 13.3) and have been summarised and discussed in the analysis part of this current chapter. They include:

- The influence of the Jammet family to the development of *haute cuisine* in Dublin restaurants.
- The existence of a vegetarian restaurant in Dublin in the early twentieth century.
- The existence and influence of the Hotel and Restaurant Proprietors Association of Ireland and Irish Tourist Association which predate their equivalent bodies in England.
- Evidence from 1911 census of the amount of French and French trained chefs and waiters working in Dublin.
- Evidence of knowledge transfer from Foreign born chefs to Irish chefs from the results of the Irish Food and Cookery Exhibitions (1909-1912).
- The shift from German and Austrian catering staff to Swiss and French following the onset of the First World War.
- The development of formalised catering training, ranging from courses run by the CDVEC in Parnell Square Technical School in the 1920s to a Bachelors of Arts Degree in Culinary Arts in the DIT in the late 1990s.
- The existence of restaurants such as the Plaza in Dublin in the 1920s and 1930s that could cater for 1,000 diners at once.
The existence of an Irish branch of André L. Simon’s Food and Wine Society which held regular diners in leading restaurants and country houses.

The existence of an Indian restaurant in Dublin in 1941.

The opening of Chinese restaurants in Dublin in the 1950s.

The role of the IT&GWU in the development of haute cuisine in Dublin restaurants.

The influence of An Tóstal on a form of ‘Hibernian’ haute cuisine and the formation of The Panel of Chefs of Ireland.

The influence of America on dining habits in Dublin from the introduction of grill rooms and cocktail bars in the first half of the century to the spread of fast food establishments, catering systems and later fusion food in the latter half of the century.

The influence of the Besson family on the development of haute cuisine in Dublin restaurants, particularly with the Russell Hotel which was considered to offer world class cuisine.

The movement towards Irish head chefs in hotels and restaurants in the late 1950s and early 1960s, with evidence of foreign born chefs excluded from positions due to lack of union card.

The factors which led to the demise of the ‘old Escoffier style’ haute cuisine and the emergence of nouvelle cuisine and the rising phenomenon of restaurant run by enthusiastic amateurs and chef / proprietors in the late 1960s to 1980s.

The influence of American catering systems and improved staff welfare following the opening of the Intercontinental Hotel in the early 1960s.

The shift of haute cuisine from Dublin to the country house hotels in the 1970s and 1980s.

The changing social status of chefs, first articulated by Wuest in 1927, but influenced by Pierre Rolland in the Russell, Jimmy Flahive – the first Irish television chef, and later by Sean Kinsella – the first real celebrity chef, a position inherited by Conrad Gallagher in the last years of the twentieth century.
The influence of the Rosslare / France car ferry and the French president’s visit on increasing the number of French tourists creating a demand for higher standards of food in the country house hotels.

The influence of Patrick Guilbaud on *haute cuisine* in Dublin restaurants in the last two decades of the twentieth century.

The renaissance of a new *haute cuisine* in Dublin restaurant in the mid 1990s influenced by *nouvelle cuisine*, ethnic cuisine, fusion cuisine and molecular gastronomy.

The international nature of staffing of Dublin restaurants in the last years of the century as the phenomenon known as the ‘Celtic Tiger’ turned dining out into a regular pastime rather than an occasional treat among the newly affluent Irish citizens.

Some data from this chronological and genealogical investigation into Dublin restaurants has been published (Mac Con Iomaire 2004b; 2005; 2005b; 2005c; 2006; 2006a; 2006b; 2008; 2008a; 2008b), or is awaiting publication in the near future (Mac Con Iomaire 2009a forthcoming; 2009b forthcoming; 2009c forthcoming; 2009d forthcoming; 2009e forthcoming).

**Future Research**

The following themes emerged from the research which were outside of the scope of the project but would benefit from further study. Further work, both documentary and using oral history techniques should be carried out in London and in other European cities to develop a comprehensive study of how restaurants producing *haute cuisine* developed during the twentieth century. This would help to test and further develop the findings of this work, exploring the extent to which the influence of French *haute cuisine* on the development of restaurants in Dublin compared with other European cities.

The role of gender, both in relation to who dined and who worked in Dublin restaurants producing *haute cuisine*, also deserves further study. This research provides primary source material that reveals patterns concerning gender roles within
the industry. These patterns range from the emergence of separate ladies coffee rooms in the latter half of the nineteenth century and the acceptance of mixed dining around the last decade of the nineteenth century, to the male domination of haute cuisine kitchens such as The Russell (Fig. 16.19) compared to the female domination of general restaurants such as Woolworths (Fig. 15.42).

The unionisation and attempts at the professionalisation of Irish hospitality workers is another theme that would benefit from further study, particularly the dichotomous nature of the union, being influential in forming the Panel of Chefs of Ireland on the one hand, but the chefs’ attachment to the Number Four Branch, according to Rock, resulting in professional cookery never becoming a ‘recognised trade’ in Ireland (Clancy 2008:–180).
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Sayers, E. (1936). Life in Dublin Is Seldom Hectic, But - there are wit, character, variety, good conversation, and good food - if you know where to find them. *Daily Express (9/10/1936).* London


### Appendix A: Public Dining Rooms / Restaurants listed in Thom’s Directory

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Name</th>
<th>Address</th>
<th>Year</th>
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<tr>
<td>Adelphi Café(also Cinema 1945), 98-101 Middle Abbey Street</td>
<td>1945</td>
<td>1990</td>
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<tr>
<td>Alpha Tea Rooms, 37 Wicklow Street (56 Clarendon St. 1950)</td>
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<tr>
<td>Altona, 15 Bachelors Walk</td>
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<tr>
<td>American Restaurant, 14-5 Lr. O’Connell St. (B. Forte -1955)</td>
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<tr>
<td>Anderson, Thomas,(Gilchrist, James –1926)18 Anglesea Street</td>
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<tr>
<td>Arnott’s Restaurant, Henry Street</td>
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<tr>
<td>Astoria Tea Rooms, 16 Dawson Street</td>
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<tr>
<td>Bailey, 2 and 3 Duke Street (W. Hogan) (listed as The Bailey Restaurant in 1950, not as W. Hogan)</td>
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<td>Barrett, Mrs, 15 Lincoln Place</td>
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<td>Begley, Miss, 56 Grafton Street</td>
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<td>Berni’s, 54 Lr. O’ Connell Street</td>
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<td>Bijou Luncheon and Tea Rooms, 3 Anne Street South</td>
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<td>Blue Pete Sherry &amp; Snack Bar, 11 Grafton Street</td>
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<td>Bodega, Commercial Buildings (Ouzel Gallery in 1955)</td>
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<td>Bolero Café &amp; Dorothy Begley Ltd., 43 Grafton Street</td>
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<td>Bon Bouche, 51 Dawson Street (first ad. with phone number)</td>
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<td>Boyd &amp; Ritchie, 17 Talbot Street</td>
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<td>Broadway Soda Parlour (Ltd.), 8 Lower O’ Connell Street (Betti &amp; Staffieri in 1926) (Broadway Café in 1955)</td>
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<td>Brown Bread Specialists, Anne Street South</td>
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<td>Brown Thomas &amp; Co. Ltd. Grafton Street</td>
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<td>Burton, The, 18 Duke Street (C. Gavin)</td>
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<td>Cabin Café, Wicklow Street &amp; (101 Talbot Street in 1930)</td>
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<td>Cabin Hotel and Restaurant, 51 Upper O’ Connell Street</td>
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<td>Café Belge, 34 Dame Street (Zenon Geldof)</td>
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<td>Café Cairo, 59 Grafton Street</td>
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<td>Café Royal, 117 Stephen’s Green (10 Burgh Quay in 1945)</td>
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<td>Capitol Theatre &amp; Cinema, 4-8 Prince’s Street</td>
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<td>Carlton Restaurant, 52/54 Upper O’ Connell Street</td>
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<td>Central Restaurant, 17 D’Olier Street</td>
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<td>Cherry Tree Restaurant, 12 Leinster Steet</td>
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<td>Chicken Inn Restaurant, 11 Upper O’ Connell Street</td>
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<td>City Restaurant, The, 35 Talbot Street</td>
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<td>Clery &amp; Co. Ltd. 18 -28 Lower O’Connell Street</td>
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<td>Coconut Grove, 51 Lower O’ Connell Street</td>
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<td>Cora Restaurant, 37 Parkgate Street</td>
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<td>Corn Exchange, 1 Burgh Quay</td>
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<td>Country Shop (The), (County Workers Ltd in 1940) 23 St. Stephen’s Green</td>
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<td>Courtney, J. 111 Marlborough Street</td>
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<td>Criterion Restaurant, 9 William Street</td>
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<td>Dorpat Café, 23a Duke Street</td>
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<td>Dublin Bread Company, 33 Dame Street and 4 Stephen’s Green (6 &amp; 7 Lr. Sackville Street 1910 issue) D.B.C. only the 34 St. Stephens Green premises mentioned in 1935 issue</td>
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<td>Douglas Hotel and Restaurant, 11 Eden Quay (re-opened in 18 Ormond Quay in 1935 issue)</td>
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<td>Dunne, Wm(1915 also Miss Alice O’Carroll) 7 Cathedral Street</td>
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<td>Edwardes Cafés Ltd., 29 Westmoreland Street</td>
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<td>Empire Restaurant, 29 Nassau Street</td>
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<td>Erskine, Mrs. 18 Abbey Street lower</td>
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<td>F &amp; M Ltd. 20 Duke Street</td>
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<td>Findlater, Alex &amp; Co., 28 Upper O’Connell Street</td>
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<td>Forte’s Rainbow Café and Snack Bar, 53-4 Lr. O’Connell St.</td>
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<td>Franklin’s (becomes Larchet’s Hotel &amp; Rest) 11 College Green</td>
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<td>Fleming, E. 113 Marlborough Street</td>
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<td>Fox, Wm. 24 Ellis Quay</td>
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<td>Fry’s Café, 44 Grafton Street</td>
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<td>Fullers, Ltd. 84 Grafton Street (Ireland) &amp; Dun Laoghaire 1955</td>
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<td>Gay Adventure, 20 Anne Street North</td>
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<td>Geisha Café and Luncheon Rooms, 54 King Street South</td>
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<td>Georges Hotel and Restaurant, The, 27 Georges Street Gt. St.</td>
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<td>Globe Hotel and Restaurant, 95-97 Talbot Street</td>
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<td>Gorman, B. 55 Georges Street upper, Kingstown</td>
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<td>Grand Restaurant, (Grand Central – 1926) 8 Sackville Street lr.</td>
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<td>Great Southern and Western, 1 Kingsbridge Terrace</td>
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<td>Green Rooster, 52 Lower O’Connell Street</td>
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<td>Green Tree Restaurant Ltd., 3 Molesworth Street</td>
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<td>Green Tureen, 95 Harcourt Street</td>
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<td>Harrison and Co. 17 Henry Street and 29 Westmoreland Street</td>
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<td>Hynes Restaurant, 55 Dame Street (Bethell &amp; Watson, Props.)</td>
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<td>Kidd’s Ltd, 45 &amp; 46 Nassau Street and 17 Henry Street</td>
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<td>Mitchell &amp; Co.10(&amp;11 in 1921 issue)&amp; 9(1935) Grafton Street</td>
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<td>Noonan’s,21 Upr. Ormond Quay(&amp; 55 Lr.O’Connell St. 1940)</td>
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<td>Ovoca Hotel and Restaurant, 24 Abbey Street Lower</td>
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<td>Palm Grove(The),74Grafton Street (42 Lr. O’Connell St.1955)</td>
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<td>Palm Restaurant (Pim Bros. Ltd.) South Great Georges Street</td>
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<td>Parnell Restaurant, 158 Britain Street Great (Parnell St. 1926)</td>
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<td>Pillar Ice Cream Parlour and Restaurant, 62 Upr O’ Connell St. (Pillar Café, Restaurant and Net Ball Casino -1958)</td>
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<td>Pinnacle Café, 2 Lower Abbey Street</td>
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<td>Plaza Restaurant, Middle Abbey Street</td>
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<td>Portabello Café, 30 Richmond Street South</td>
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<td>Quaneys Restaurant, 15 Castle Market</td>
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<td>Red Bank (Oyster) Restaurant (ltd), 19 and 20 D’Olier Street (3 &amp; 4 Hawkins’s St entrance listed in 1950, Cocktail Bar ‘58)</td>
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<td>Rialto Café, 32 South Richmond Street</td>
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<td>Ritz Café, Grafton Street</td>
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<td>Robert Roberts &amp; Co. 19 Suffolk Street &amp; (in 1930 also in 44 Grafton Street and 56 Dame Street)</td>
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<td>Royal Hibernian, 49 Dawson Street</td>
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<td>Ryan, Miss Annie, 3 Talbot Place</td>
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<td>Sackville Café (Nelson Café Co.) 33 Lr. Sackville Street &amp; 29 North Earl Street (1910 – 1 upper- prop. Wm. Hy. Huish)</td>
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<td>Savoy, The, 73 Grafton Street</td>
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<td>Savoy Restaurant, Upper O’Connell Street</td>
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<td>Shackleton, George, and Sons, Ltd. 7 Castle Market - expands to no.6 and 7, renamed Central Café Restaurant in 1921 issue (named Victory Café in 1940 issue)</td>
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<td>Shamrock Dining Rooms, 81 Great Britain Street</td>
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<td>Shamrock Tea Rooms, 67 Talbot Street</td>
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<td>Sherries, 3 Lower Abbey Street</td>
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<td>Silver Moon Café, 6 Westland Row</td>
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<td>St. Stephen’s Green Tea Rooms, 110 Stephen’s Green</td>
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<td>Snack Bar, 58 Dame Street</td>
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<td>Snack Sandwich Café, 22 Wicklow Street</td>
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<td>Southern, 18 Upper Ormond Quay</td>
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<td>Subway Restaurant, 19 Kildare Street</td>
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<td>Swiss Chalet Café, 2 Merrion Row (Swiss Chalet Hotel and Restaurant and also entry for Shelbourne Hall in 1955)</td>
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<td>Switzer &amp; Co. Ltd., Grafton Street</td>
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<td>Talbot Café, 90 Talbot Street</td>
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<td>Tea Time Express, 51b Dawson Street</td>
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<td>The Princess, (McCaughey Restaurant in 1921) 26 Grafton St.</td>
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<td>Trocadero Restaurant and Grill, 64 Grafton Street</td>
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<td>Unicorn Restaurant, 11 Merrion Row</td>
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<td>Wagon Wheel Restaurant, 8 Merrion Row &amp; 11 Duke Street</td>
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<td>Waverley Hotel and Restaurant, 4 Sackville Street Lower Becomes Irish Fish Restaurant Co. Ltd. nos. 3-4 in 1926 issue</td>
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<td>Wicklow and Wexford, 101 Marlborough Street (E. Ward)</td>
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<td>Wilson, R. &amp; J., 73 Georges Street South Great</td>
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<td>Woolworth, F.W. &amp; Co. Ltd., 18-9 Henry St. &amp; 65 Grafton St.</td>
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<td>X.L. Café, 86 Grafton Street</td>
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Appendix B: Sample Edited Interviews from Volume III

Edited Interview with Bill (Liam) Kavanagh in Artane (11/4/2003)

Máirtín Mac Con Iomaire (MM) Bill Kavanagh (BK)

1. MM: Basically what I’m looking for first is that we start off with yourself and with your age, the year you were born and how you got into becoming a chef and why - just your own story.

2. BK: Well you just want it from start, as I entered Cathal Brugha Street or before that.

3. MM: Where were you born?

4. BK: I was born originally on North Wall. I consider myself like from the south-side, up by South Circular Road, Kilmainham. My mother died when I was a young child, three year old and for some years then I was basically reared by my father, and then my father married a second time. At an early age he always thought I was pretty handy at being able to help out with making a breakfast for him or start to cook a meal or something like that. He thought at that time that I’d make a good chef. So years passed anyway and I went to the Christian Brothers, educated by them and then I did an examination for the College of Catering otherwise then known as the Domestic College of Science in Cathal Brugha Street. So at the time it was referred to what they call a corporation scholarship at that time. It was a written examination and I got that and I was called and twelve of us were selected. So we started in Cathal Brugha Street in the year 1942. A year after Cathal Brugha Street was opened and I spent one full year in Cathal Brugha Street and the industry at that particular time during the war was very short of catering staff. My first job after I completed the year in Cathal Brugha Street, I did a few exams there, you know in my class and I did very well.

5. MM: Who did you have in Cathal Brugha Street when you went there in the beginning or do you remember?

6. BK: A woman by the name of Ms. Keady and her father I heard he was the principal of Ballsbridge Technical. Ms. Keady was her name. She was a lovely woman.

7. MM: Her background would have been in domestic science?

8. BK: That’s right. It would have been the school really and she got a teaching job. They were nearly dressed as nurses then. They had this deep blue dress, lovely, lovely. Like a nurse. Spotlessly clean and that you know. And Ms. O’Sullivan was the principal. She was very strict. You know young chefs weren’t allowed to use the front stairs in case we were looking up the girls dresses (laugh). Just a point you know (laugh). We weren’t allowed to be on the front stairs in case we were looking up the skirts (laugh).

9. MM: So the girls went up the front and you went up around the side stairs.

10. BK: You when you think of it, it’s funny. There were no tights then. I started up my career outside the College of Catering in the Grand Hotel in Greystones. I worked long days there from 7 a.m. to close to 9 o'clock at night with about two hours break. I worked seventy-seven hours a week for a period of say a number of weeks and I then thought it was too long, too hard and I got a job then in the Central Hotel, at that time a very good commercial hotel.
in Dublin at that time. So I spent about fifteen months there and from that then I went to the Dolphin Hotel. That hotel is in Essex Street.

11. MM: That’s right.

12. BK: It was very well noted for its steak and good wholesome cooking. We catered a terrible lot for the racing crowd and it was a very popular place for dining. Good wholesome, very good class, good cooking there, not of a fashionable side but good wholesome stuff and it was principally noted for its steaks. The steaks were cooked in the grill-room on an open fire by a chef that went down there and it was noted very much for its steaks. We used to do all our own butchery at that time, cut the steaks and organise everything. I’ll give you an idea, some days we’d get in for steaks alone, eighteen steak pieces on one lot and then so many sirloins, fillets and that. It would be nothing for us to cut forty or fifty fillets sometimes a day you know. But however, anyway in the kitchen line of that hotel we always had a very famous soup, was know now was very popular called ‘Hare Soup’, it was very popular and we made the other natural fresh soups like Scotch Broth, Mutton Broth, Mushroom and Oxtail Soup. The range at that time was a very open range, two big fires on each side with four ovens and that’s where we did all our cooking, roast beef.

13. MM: Was it gas?

14. BK: No it wasn’t gas. It was coal. So we had to shovel all the coal ourselves and keep our fires going. But on the other side of this particular kitchen there was a gas, gas fires and these gas fires used to keep the fryers hot and they were open fryers, there was no thermostat. You controlled it yourself accordingly as you feel the heat. We always had a policy that we’d always have a few heavy sacks nearby just in case one of the fryers used to go up on fire. All our fats were really rendered down from beef fat. We didn’t use any oil, it was all beef fat right through.

15. MM: And did you render that down yourself?

16. BK: We rendered everything down. Everything. We made all our own stocks. We never bought a packet of stuff. There was no such thing as packets at that time. We cooked all fresh vegetables. We had ladies looking after the potatoes, preparing potatoes for the business. We bought in nothing in packets, everything was fresh coming in. After I moved from the Dolphin I started…..

17. MM: How many would be working in the Dolphin? Just while we’re on the Dolphin, how many would be in the brigade there?

18. BK: In the brigade at that particular time there was about I’d say about six chefs, about four commis. And then we had two ladies, one doing desserts and the other lady doing the vegetables. That was the brigade usually. A friend of mine who managed was a commis with me at that particular time, was Willie Opperman. And he and I were commis in the Dolphin together. Always working together and he became the General Manager of Jury’s at one time. I don’t know whether he’s still alive or not. Somebody told me Willie’s dead that I worked with. Willie was nice to work with you know. I worked with Willie Widmer you know. Willie Widmer did you ever hear of him? (note. Bill Kavanagh must have worked with Willie Widmer in Jury’s College Green in the late 1960s between periods in the Intercontinental and the Royal Marine Hotel)

19. MM: No, I’ve heard his name all right.

20. BK: Oh, I must say he’s the greatest. A very good chef, very good chef, good cook, very good cook. He makes the best pates I’ve ever seen in my life.

22. **BK:** And he still has his pate business. I want to say that. He’s has a place there off the North Strand. Down that road there. I have his…. he makes the best pates I’ve ever come across. Top quality. He still does it.

I left the Dolphin Hotel and I went then over to the Shelbourne Hotel. I stayed close to two years in the Shelbourne Hotel working with Maurice O’Looney as a sauce cook, on an open range, a fired range, made all our own consommés, our own stocks and everything. I also worked in the pastry house with Willie Marshall who I considered a great pastry man.

23. **MM:** Were the pastry ovens fired by coals as well?

24. **BK:** It was fired by gas. The pastry house in the Shelbourne at that particular time was really a room in itself. It was a closed area in itself. We made our own ice-cream. We did all afternoon teacakes, sponges and everything. We did buy in some cakes from Bewleys - Afternoon Tea - to help us out because afternoon teas were so popular at that time in the Shelbourne Hotel where these grand ladies and gents used to come in for afternoon teas.

25. **MM:** And with the ice-cream was it hand cranked?

26. **BK:** No not hand cranked. It was machine.

27. **MM:** Oh it was machine.

28. **BK:** Just a little thought. At that particular time it was during the world war years. No, it was just after the war years but we found it very hard at one time to get this particular ice-cream powder that we used to buy in which was known as ‘Quix’. It was an ice-cream powder. We used to mix it then with milk and leave it to stand until it started to thicken up itself and then we’d turn on the ice-cream machine and make our own ice-cream. From that Quix we used to make many different types of ice-cream, you know Casattas and so forth like that. We used to make bombes and that you know from that particular ice-cream, just different flavours to it you know.

29. **MM:** Would you have made any of the ice-creams based on a crème anglaise or would it all have been based on the Quix mix?

30. **BK:** The Quix mix. The only thing we did was that when we couldn’t get the Quix and we had a recipe ourselves. This man used to put a recipe together and we made our own ice-cream not even using eggs. What we did is we used to get custard powder. We made a very thick custard and into that custard we put vanilla essence with sugar and we allowed it to go dead cold overnight. We’d take the top layer off it because a slight skin would form and we would turn on the ice-cream machine and that would give us ice-cream. That was a quick and easy method because it was the only thing available to us at that time. I spent some time also on the sauce corner in the Shelbourne with Maurice O’Looney. He was a nice man to work with and that but of course it was all open range work. We made all our own consommés, soups, everything was fresh.

31. **MM:** Were the kitchens very hot back then?

32. **BK:** Ranges were very, very hot. The only kitchen that really proved good to ventilation was the Shelbourne Hotel kitchen at that time. But still naturally all our fryers and that were all open fryers. We kind of used oval shaped fryers. We rendered all our own fat, everybody, every place rendered there own fat from beef fat to maybe some lamb. Mostly beef because beef is first class fat. After spending some time on the sauce then I moved into the pastry with Willie Marshall which I enjoyed.

33. **MM:** While we’re at those years I’m thinking about the war and shortages and stuff, rationing and that. How was your experience during the war years?
Edited Interview with Myrtle Allen, Ballymaloe House, Cork (7/5/2003)

Máirtín Mac Con Iomaire (MM) Myrtle Allen (MA)

1. MM: You were born in, was it 1928.

2. MA: No ’24 I’m sorry to say. Next year, a big year (laugh).

3. MM: So you’ll be 80 next year. Oh my God. You’re looking well for it.

4. MA: Well, the years are there.

5. MM: Where were you born?

6. MA: I was born in Cork, Cork city, Tivoli. The other side of the harbour, I came across in the Ferry (laugh). Married a Cork man this side of the harbour.

7. MM: What’s your maiden name?

8. MA: My maiden name was Hill, my family lived and worked in Cork for generations, you know. Architects. My father was an Architect yes. My mother’s father was in the cattle trade in Cork.

9. MM: And what brought you…..Marriage brought you across the river? (Laugh).

10. MA: Marriage brought me across the river, yeah (laugh).

11. MM: The ways of true love?

12. MA: (Laugh) that’s right. And by bicycle I can tell you in those days, the war was on (laugh).

13. MM: That was….. What year was that?

14. MA: I got married in ’43 and I’ve been here in this locality ever since.

15. MM: Okay, but you weren’t in this house?

16. MA: No, we didn’t move in until 1948.

17. MM: How did you come to purchase this place?

18. MA: Well I’ll tell you my husband was in horticulture, and of course in a way, looking back on it, there were sort of boom years during the war, you see. There was no way you could spend money, there was nothing to buy and he was sending out all he could possibly produce. It was going across to England. Well, the boat to Wales or the train to Rosslare and then across and you know, everyday he was turning out tomatoes, mushrooms, cucumbers, apples and sending them all off.

19. MM: How many acres did he have?

20. MA: He had, in those days, he had, he was a partner in a small farm. When I say small, by present day standards, it was a hundred acres. I mean it was a sort of nice little farm at the time but farms are inclined to get a bit bigger at the moment. He was very lucky because there was the family living on the farm. In fact there was the remains of a family and there was just the son and daughter left and neither of them married as was, it happened often in those days, and they had no
way out and the old man knew my husband very well as a boy in school and he asked them to come and help him work on the farm and that was in 1932. It was at the height of economic war and farming was very bad and he came into, sort of the young person, and this gentleman sent him off to England straight away to learn apple growing because the only thing that seemed to be any hope was in horticulture. And of course Dev (De Valera) was strongly backing that at the time. And you know Dev had the policy that we should be self-sufficient and have plenty of industry. You couldn’t sell cattle, you know, couldn’t sell milk. Everything was rock bottom price. The farmers were in a desperate state. So he went and he learnt apple growing and he went on an excursion to the Lee Valley and he saw the tomato growing going on. So he came back and he grew the apples and he picked the apples, there were already obviously orchards there, mature orchards actually when he arrived, some and he planted more.

21. MM: Where did he go for the apples, was it Somerset or somewhere like that?
22. MA: No, it was on the East Coast of England.
23. MM: East Anglia or somewhere like that.
24. MA: Somewhere there now, I can’t think of the name of the place. I’ll probably be able to give it to you later on. Yeah, yeah.
25. MM: And for the tomatoes?
26. MA: The tomatoes the Lee Valley. That was the great place for tomatoes.
27. MM: Where is the Lee Valley?
29. MM: We’ll find it out (laugh).
30. MA: Funny now that I’ve forgotten where he went to do his training.
31. MM: Oh it’s not important. It will come back to you.
32. MA: Yeah, okay, yeah. They’re still there. They’re a big family of fruit growers.
33. MM: So there were apples here?
34. MA: Yes apples were the first thing they started growing. So then he decided that he’d like to branch out into general horticulture and this place was on the market. There was an auction of course, we knew them, and funny enough I was introduced to him for the first time, in the dining room here (laugh). I knew the girl living in the house and I was over at a party and em so he went to the auction to sort of wish them well, you know, that they’d do well in the auction. There was no bid. So they were stuck with the place and they’d already bought another place and they were very badly stuck financially and he discussed it with the old man, his partner and they decided they would offer what they thought would be a fair price for it, and it was accepted, so that was it.

35. That was ’47. We moved in ’48. So that was, so we had a mixed farm in those days and I mean the kids were small. I mean that was ’48, ’58, ’64 was a good bit later, you see. Sixteen years later.
36. MM: So ’64 you opened up as a guesthouse?
37. MA: Yeah, because we often thought, but not a guesthouse, no.
38. MM: Oh yeah, as a restaurant?

39. MA: We were very much aware that there was, we were very interested in food generally speaking and quality food and my husband was a great gourmet, he loved food and he was very discerning about it and I didn’t actually even know how to cook when I was married. I had sort of a vague idea all right and I done my year in the School of Commerce of Cork when I left school, something like two hours a week or two hours twice a week and I just had a, I didn’t know much. So I had to teach myself how to cook (laugh). See you had to cook in those days there was no food. See there was no petrol, nobody could get anywhere. We did get a delivery for the butcher and I don’t know whether he had a horse and trap or whether he had petrol, I can’t remember now. We would occasionally, somebody would bring a cart over from Ballycotton with fish in it, and everything else virtually we grew ourselves. We would get up to Cork. We had a certain allowance of petrol for the trucks going up to deliver the food to the train or the boat. You see we had an allowance for that. But I mean it was really, you had to just cook, I mean with all the ingredients and I had books because I was very interested. I’d bought books and there you are, you had the food, you had the cooker, you had to do something (laugh). So it was and then I eventually got a job writing the cookery column in the Irish Farmers Journal.

40. MM: How did that come about?

41. MA: Well my husband was a very, for the time, a very innovative and forward thinking farmer and we had somebody down from the Farmers Journal and he stayed the night and we gave him a meal and he said to me ‘I’m looking for somebody for the Journal, to write for the Journal. And actually I’m looking for somebody to write about art’ and I said ‘well I couldn’t do that, but I could write about food, I could write about cooking.’ ‘Oh he said that’s just what we want, we’d like a farmers wife to do the cooking column’ So that thought me a lot because every two weeks I had to have a column ready and I had to, it’s like going to a university, you’ve got to read it up in two or three different sources and I got myself extra cookery books to just read and I had enough cop on to get the best people that were writing and then you’d have to go into the kitchen and do it and you’d have to adjust the recipe to the ingredients and then write it up and then publish it. So it was a great training.

42. MM: Yeah, absolutely, yeah. And who were the writers at that time that sort of influenced you?

43. MA: Originally there was a person that nobody ever really revered at all, a guy called Philip Harben. But he wrote a book called ‘The Way to Cook’ and it was terribly simple and that saved my life first. That and the Aga Cookery Book, we’d an Aga. They were very reliable recipes and then after that, well I just read everything and a lot of things would be just astray but if you weren’t used to cooking they were not explicit enough or reliable enough. A lot of recipes they would expect you to go on your own instincts but if you didn’t have any instincts (laugh) at that stage (laugh). One or two from the School of Commerce I certainly used and I had been staying with a friend in England for (inaudible) and I used one or two of her recipes and I had books and I just took them out of the books. Em, well there was books that nobody has really heard now. There was a little tiny publication that came out in England and I had been in England for four or five months before I was married and it was called, and of course they were very short of food, it was called the ‘Country Housewives Handbook’. That was fantastic because I was in the country and this was for people in the country and they had all how the jams were to be made, the cakes that you could make and all, anything you would want. Actually it had garden tips in it as well, how to grow things, how to use surplus of fruit or bottle it or whatever. So that was great and I had another farming one, again from the Farmers, the English Farmer’s Weekly had one out called Farmhouse Fair. I had that. I had a paperback by a person called Bee Neilson. She was a New Zealander I think and she was completely exact in everything she did, so that was very good, because if you took her measurements and measured accurately the thing worked.
44. But it was amazing how many, I mean Elizabeth David, wonderful to read but you’d have to know a lot because an accurate measurement was not her strong point. She might fire you with enthusiasm but she didn’t give, really, really, accurate measurements if you were sort of really, not sure what to do. There was quite a lot of their books there. Well I have my mother’s book and my grandmother’s book (laugh).

45. MM: Had you grown up with good food at home? Was your mother a good cook?

46. MA: I don’t know. My aunt said to me once, I don’t know how you can, she said, Elsie never cooked anything (laugh). That was my mother, but I think she was just being catty. We had good basic food, very good basic food. We had a little garden and we grew everything for ourselves out of the garden. So everything was fresh. Fresh vegetables.

47. MM: But you were city folk?

48. MA: Very basic. We were outside the city, we were on the edge of the harbour. Very basic! My mother would go in, she’d get, what she reckoned was the best meat in the market and the best fish she’d buy, as far as she could, and then all the fruit and vegetables came from the garden and then you know when the bakers, we bought from the bakers, Thompson’s Van would come around in those days and that was it really.

49. MM: But it was an education, the Farmer’s Journal writing was an education in itself?

50. MA: It was actually.

51. MM: Very good. And how long did you continue with that?

52. MA: A couple of years I think, about two years. The was early ‘60’s.

53. MM: So the first fifteen years of married life it was devoted to family really and farming or even more probably yeah.

54. MA: Well I had six children in a house this size. Actually the house was divided in two. We didn’t have all of it. It was too big. It has two staircases so divided very easily but still I mean it was still a lot to keep you know. To look after the children properly, in those days the man would do the work and was meant to bring in the money (laugh) and the woman was meant to mind the house and mind the children and there wasn’t, I think it was better really cause there wasn’t this awful dashing out trying to hold down a job as well, you know. Putting your child into a crèche or something and having to….. You know what happens when the child gets sick, just go back to the child, do you stay in work and leave it? I think really it was better if you just did the children. That was it. Look after them, we looked after the house, I mean, there was men to feed, you know, a house to keep clean and…..

55. MM: Oh it was a full-time job (laugh).

56. MA: It was more than a full-time job. I used usually have somebody helping me.

57. MM: So talking about food, when would you have gone out for your first meal? When would you have experienced your first meal in a restaurant?

58. MA: Oh didn’t go as a family. As a family we didn’t go out very much at all, when I was a child. I hardly remember going out. Thompson’s in Cork. You got, not dinner, you didn’t go out to dinner, you’d go out and have lunch maybe or tea and I remember if things began to, my husband you see, he was very interested and keen on food and he had a family sort of upbringing that was orientated toward restaurant food. His father was quite a gourmet.
Edited Interview with Patrick Guilbaud in Restaurant Patrick Guilbaud (20/2/2008)

Máirtín Mac Con Iomaire (MM) Patrick Guilbaud (PG)

1. MM: So Patrick, When and where were you born?

2. PG: I was born in Suresnes on the outskirts of Paris but my family comes from Brittany, Brest my mother, Cognac, my father. I consider myself more a mixture of Breton and Cognac, but I only lived in Paris for ten years of so. I was born in 1952 (22 March) but my family moved then to Normandy, to Brest and then to Cognac, we moved around.

3. MM: How many was in the family?

4. PG: Chantalle, Issobel, Brigite, four sisters and I, five in all and I was the second eldest

5. MM: What did your parents do?

6. PG: My father was an engineer in a company called Ferodo working with bricks or construction. My mother’s family were in the restaurant business in Brest. She had always been involved, indirectly speaking, in the business.

7. MM: Did you do your schooling in Paris?

8. PG: I did my schooling in a place called Le Vallois in 1967 to 1969 when I was around fifteen, it was an aviation school. The story is that my mother and father divorced and since I was the only boy I had to stay with my dad and my sisters went to my mum. So when I finished school at fourteen I wanted to go to catering school but my father said absolutely not, you’ll go and follow my footsteps and go to engineering school. That was not very successful (laugh).

9. MM: But you did want to go to catering school?

10. PG: Oh yes, of course, I wanted to stay in the trade, you know.

11. MM: Had you experience of it during the summers in your mother’s

12. PG: We worked part time in families business, we used to help with the potatoes, clean the glasses, whatever had to be done, each summer. I never managed to go to catering school in the end because I was too old, so I decided to go to an apprenticeship in a restaurant in Paris called Ledoyen (2 or 3 star Michelin) in the kitchen around 1969-70. Then I went to the British Embassy in Paris, and I worked with Christopher Soames.

13. MM: How long did you stay in Ledoyen?

14. PG: I think I stayed the best part of eighteen months, the name of the proprietor was Lejeune, the chef I can’t recall his name although I met him about two years ago in Paris. In that job the ‘piano’(the solid top range) was operated by coal, but things changed very quickly after that.

15. MM: How did you get the job in the British Embassy?

16. PG: When I was doing my military service, they realised I was a chef and the Elysee Paris all the chefs go there to serve, and the guy said I can find you a place in the British Embassy if you like, and I said ‘fine, I’ll do that, no problem at all’.

17. MM: Was this part of your military service?
18. **PG:** No it wasn’t. I only did a week of military service because I was sick and the military said that I was exempt so I did a week or three months, some very short period anyway, and then I started in the British Embassy as a helper. There is no grade in the Embassy, you do everything, the front of house, the kitchen, the washing up, everything.

19. **MM:** Were you on your own?

20. **PG:** No there was a big staff there, about ten, to do breakfast, dinner, parties when they had parties, do the floor – actually it is a very good thing to learn how to do, to dress, it is a completely different thing to do than the restaurant business. You receive the president of the French Republic, the Minister of England, it is like Buckingham Palace with a lot of protocol – how to serve them, it is very interesting. You are a ‘valet de pied’ and you do everything from the cooking to the floor. You did not do the bed, that is the only thing we didn’t do.

21. **MM:** ‘Valet de pied’, that would be a footman? How long did you stay there?

22. **PG:** Yes a footman, I stayed there about a year or so and from there I went to Munich, Germany, in the Hotel Morzet. I wanted to learn German, which I didn’t do (laugh), I went there to do open a new restaurant. I stayed in Germany for about a year, around six months in Munich and then six months in Berlin, where I did all kinds of stuff, I was wild (laugh) I can’t remember half of it – I came back with no money (laugh).

23. **MM:** We all need those experiences (laugh), so what was your next step?

24. **PG:** Going back to Paris, I went to work in a restaurant called La Maree with Mr. Trompier, it was a very famous fish restaurant in Paris and I worked there for another year or eighteen months. I worked in the kitchen there and then I moved to the Midland Hotel in Manchester. I think that is what I did, did I work anywhere else?

25. **MM:** Well that would have you coming to Manchester in 1974 or so. What was the link with Manchester?

26. **PG:** Yes that is right, the British Embassy was the link with Manchester, they had asked me if I wanted to go to England to learn English that they would make arrangements. I can’t remember the name of the fellow who was head of the ‘valets de pied’.

27. **MM:** Was the Midland Hotel part of the railways?

28. **PG:** Yes, absolutely right, it was. ‘You know your things’. I stayed in the Midland Hotel where I worked in the kitchen of the French Room which was the quality restaurant there, and there was so many people in the kitchens and the problem they had, which I discover with most hotels is really you cannot mix a good restaurant with a hotel, you just can’t do it. Impossible to do, you have to do breakfast, parties and things, different *mis en place*, you can’t monitor the quality. You can monitor some of it but not all of it. There was so many people, I only met the chef once there.

29. **MM:** Were you a *chef de partie* there?

30. **PG:** Yes, a *chef de partie*.

31. **MM:** It must be hard to be motivated in a place like that?

32. **PG:** Yes, so I moved from there after about eighteen months and moved to a restaurant called La Marmite in Manchester which I became the manager. It was a small French restaurant in Manchester.
I was talking to Jean-Jacques (Caillabet), was that his restaurant at the time?

Yes I worked for him there, I was his manager.

This was your first front of house position in a restaurant, did you prefer being outside over the kitchen?

It was very difficult for me to start with, because obviously I did not say to Jean-Jacques that I was a chef to start with, because I just wanted to try the front of house to see how it was, but it was a different world. It is difficult to move to the front when you work at the back of the kitchen. It is actually easier in the kitchen sometimes than the front of the house, I tell you, because some of the customers don’t have a clue, but it was a great experience for me. I learn an awful lot how to deal with difficult situations and then when you go back into the kitchen you realize sometime you have to (hold your tongue). I could understand the frustration of the chef, but it was a very interesting situation for me.

You were there for about a year and a half or so?

Yes, that was ’74, maybe around two years, I think I did well for him.

I think he moved into a bigger restaurant after that, with a casino attached?

Yes, you are correct, it was called L’Elysee, which I didn’t want to move into so after that I opened my own restaurant called Le Rabelais in Alderley Edge and I stayed there from 1977 to 1980. Alderley Edge was in Cheshire near Nantwich and Winslow, it is where all the big stars from Manchester United lived – the Martin Edwards and those people. ICI was there. I went back into the kitchen, back cooking, and my wife Sally took over the front of the house, and we did well, we kept it for three or so years.

And where is Sally from? Where did you meet her?

She’s Welsh, I met her when I was in the Midland Hotel, she worked for a company called Mary Quant (clothing and make up company). When we opened Le Rabelais, it was a very small operation; it was me in the kitchen, Sally in the front of house and with two waiters and a barman. I was on my own with a commis in the kitchen to start with and then we grow as business got better.

How many seats?

Funny enough I was thinking about that a couple of weeks ago, if I recall we had about fourteen tables of four, so fifty two seats, and at the weekend we used to do about one hundred and twenty so we turned the tables over a few times.

So it was more like a Brasserie than trying to do haute cuisine?

Yes, absolutely, I never tried to do anything to (fancy). It was a starting restaurant for us.

Your next step after that was to come to Ireland, how did that happen? Why did you pick Ireland? What was the influence?

It is very interesting, we had a customer called Barton Kilcoyne, who used to come to my restaurant in Alderley Edge, and Barton for some reason had a building business in Cheshire and when he came to the restaurant, he used to sign the bill. Because my restaurant was a small and we never had customers signing the bill, I asked my wife why the hell is this person signing the bill for? He would send a cheque at the end of the month and pay, you know. Anyway, one month, then two months went by and no money came in and one day I went to see him and said ‘excuse
me Mr. Kilcoyne, but if you want to come to my restaurant you will have to pay the bill’, and Barton said ‘I’m terribly sorry, I thought my secretary did that for me, so next time I go to Dublin I will send the cheque straight away’, which he did. So we became friends after that, and he said ‘why don’t you come to Dublin and see what is going on’, and we went to Ireland on vacation in 1979 or 1980 and I said to Sally ‘I think this would be a very nice place to live’. Anyhow, it is very funny because the 1970s and early 1980s in England, it was booming because Margaret Thatcher, and I didn’t realise that Ireland would not be following things, and I was very confident. Barton sold me the site on Baggot Street and we built on it. Also, Barton had introduced me to a fantastic man called Arthur Gibney who was an architect and I spoke to Arthur and said that if I come to Ireland I want you to design a restaurant for me and I do not want a restaurant which is going to be stuffy, I want space, I want you to create me a space where people are going to be comfortable. At the time I never thought it was going to be a Michelin star restaurant. My aim was to open a restaurant which I would like to go and eat in. That was my aim, I always felt that goal in a restaurant was to buy the best ingredients you can and then cook them as simple as possible, to make them interesting for the customer to eat. And everything evolved around that, we built up a reputation around the things. No people to start with said that we were nouvelle cuisine, but we were never nouvelle cuisine. They thought we were nouvelle cuisine because the portions were smaller because if you went to a restaurant in Ireland in the 1980s of 1970s there was an immense amount of food on the plates. (laugh)

49. MM: I call it the PHD of food, the Pile High and Deep (laugh), you wouldn’t know whether to eat it or climb it (laugh)!!!

50. PG: Pile High and Deep (laugh) exactly, so when I say, I was never trained like that, so I only did what I used to do.

51. MM: But this was effectively the first purpose built restaurant in Dublin and probably in a lot of other places too?

52. PG: I would say it was the first purpose built restaurant in any European capital city because you could not do it in Paris or London, there is no room, Brussels, Madrid, Rome, they are all city so you can’t find a place like that, I’m sure somebody did it, but you know, that was my dream. To open a restaurant, to design it with the help of Arthur, and build it in a capital city, that was a great carrot for me.

53. MM: And you were still very young, you were twenty nine or so?

54. PG: Yes, I was twenty nine, I was young. I sold my restaurant in England very well, I made good money on that, so I was quite well off if you like, in some ways for someone who was twenty nine years old. But that went very quickly, all my money, I kept some aside but most of it went into the business.

55. MM: Was Guillaume (Lebrun) with you from the very start in Dublin?

56. PG: He was a commis at the time, I had a chef working for me who was my number two in England, when Le Rabelais grew into a bigger restaurant the staff also grew, so the number two came with me, his name was Mark… I’m going senile with the names, he was French and only lasted for eighteen months and then he went to America. My idea was that I would go back into the kitchen, but I was speaking with my wife about it and she said ‘Patrick, for you to go back’, because Sally was not working in the restaurant at the time, she had my little daughter, we had my son already and she was minding them, and she said ‘for you to go back to kitchen is to go backwards, you need to project yourself forward’. She was clever in that, so I needed to find a chef and I had a look around in my kitchen and I saw Guillaume, which to me was the man who had the most potential to become a great chef. He was very good at sauces.
List of Publications relating to the Research

Peer Reviewed Journal Articles

Published Conference Proceedings
Book Sections

Articles in Trade Journals