LADY FANSHAWE'S SPANISH IMAGINARY

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Abstract

This article examines Lady Ann Fanshawe's cultural experiences and interactions during her residence in Spain, where she lived with her husband. It focuses on her adaptation to local customs and her insertion of Spanish recipes in her recipe book, Wellcome MS 7113, a collection that highlights her role in preserving both family heritage and cross-cultural knowledge. Her *Memoirs*, written a decade after her husband's death, further enrich this analysis by offering insights into her extensive travels, cultural observations, and encounters with Spanish traditions, cuisine, and the high classes in seventeenth-century Spain. Together, these writings document not only the hardships of exile, diplomatic challenges, and personal losses, but also the creatively transformative impact of her Spanish experience on her manuscript production.

Keywords: Wellcome MS 7113, Lady Fanshawe, Recipe Collections, Memoirs, Seventeenth-century Women Writing.

EL IMAGINARIO ESPAÑOL DE LADY FANSHAWE

Resumen

Este artículo examina las experiencias culturales y las interacciones de Lady Ann Fanshawe durante su estancia en España, donde vivió con su marido. Se centra en su adaptación a las costumbres locales y en la inclusión de recetas españolas en su recetario, Wellcome MS 7113, una colección que destaca su papel en la preservación tanto del patrimonio familiar como del conocimiento intercultural. Sus *Memorias*, escritas una década después de la muerte de su marido, enriquecen aún más este análisis al ofrecer una visión de sus extensos viajes, observaciones culturales y encuentros con las tradiciones españolas, la gastronomía y las clases altas en la España del siglo xvii. En conjunto, estos escritos documentan no solo las dificultades del exilio, los retos diplomáticos y las pérdidas personales, sino también el impacto creativo y transformador de su experiencia española en su producción manuscrita.

Palabras clave: Wellcome MS 7113, Lady Fanshawe, recetarios, memorias, escritura femenina en el siglo diecisiete.

DOI: https://doi.org/10.25145/j.recaesin.2026.92.12
Revista Canaria de Estudios Ingleses, 92; abril 2026, pp. 251-267; ISSN: e-2530-8335

1. INTRODUCTION

The House of the Seven Chimneys in Madrid, now home to the Ministry of Culture, has hosted illustrious guests throughout its history. Built in the 1570s by order of Philip II, the house is named after the seven chimneys that line its façade. In the seventeenth century, the house served as the residence of Lady Ann Fanshawe and her family when her husband was appointed ambassador to Philip IV.

Lady Fanshawe, born in London to Sir John Harrison and Margaret Fanshawe, grew up in a privileged but turbulent household affected by her family's royalist loyalties during the English Civil War. Following her mother's death in 1640, Ann managed her father's household and faced financial hardships after his estate was seized due to his support for King Charles I.

Oliván-Santaliestra summarises her early years until her first visit to Spain in the following way:

> Anne Fanshawe's first years had passed happily until the outbreak of the English revolution in 1640 which brought disgrace to her family. Anne managed to escape her precarious situation by marrying her cousin, Richard Fanshawe, secretary of war to Prince Charles and a member of his council. Thereafter began her peregrinations through England, Scotland, the Isles of Scilly and France, following the court of Prince Charles, to which her husband belonged. During the convulsive years of civil war, Anne witnessed more than one battle and experienced dangerous flights from cities in rebellion (Oliván-Santaliestra 2015, 70).

Ann Fanshawe travelled to Madrid for the first time in 1650, a few months after King Charles I's execution. For Richard, this was his second visit to Spain, having previously served as secretary of the English embassy there in 1638. On her return from Spain to London in 1651, she started the compilation of her manuscript household book, Wellcome MS 7113. The recipe book reflects her role in managing domestic affairs and documenting European culinary influences, especially Iberian recipes gathered during this early time she spent in Portugal and Spain with her husband both in the 1650s and 1660s.

Ann's hardships ended with the conclusion of the civil wars and the coronation of Charles II in April 1661. The king rewarded Richard Fanshawe by appointing him ambassador extraordinary to Portugal, where he negotiated Charles II's marriage to Catherine of Braganza. Following their marriage in May 1662, Fanshawe was sent back to Portugal as ambassador ordinary, allowing him to bring his family. The union strengthened Anglo-Portuguese relations, leading to English support for Portugal in its war against Spain.

In 1663, the Fanshawes returned to England, but Charles II soon dispatched them to Spain, where Richard was tasked with negotiating a trade treaty and mediating peace between Spain and Portugal. Delays in Catherine's dowry payments had frustrated the king, making a truce between the two nations a strategic priority. Having been appointed ambassador to Spain in January 1664, the Fanshawes arrived in Madrid in June that year, where they were met at Valdemoro by the Duke of

Medina de las Torres's secretary before their formal reception. Richard Fanshawe was officially received by Philip IV on 18 June 1664. The Fanshawes were assigned an official residence (*la Casa de las Siete Chimeneas – the House of the Seven Chimneys*) in Madrid. This house is referenced several times in Lady Fanshawe's writings, which "highlights the political importance of this knowledge sharing, for the address denotes their diplomatic residence in Spain" (Basnett 2019, 14). The couple lived there until 1666, when Richard was replaced as ambassador by Lord Sandwich, who arrived in the Spanish court on the 28th of May. Scarcely a month later, Richard fell ill and died in the *House of the Seven Chimneys*.

After her husband's death in 1666, Ann faced financial struggles and sought to recover debts owed by the royal Treasury. Her *Memoirs*, composed in 1676, ten years after her husband's death, recount their travels across England, France, Ireland, Spain, and Portugal during the civil war and interregnum, underscoring her resilience and resourcefulness. They were written for her surviving son, Richard, providing a personal and historical account of seventeenth-century aristocratic life. Although she distinguishes between memories related to her own family and those connected to her husband's, she integrates her identity with his, consistently adhering to the model of an "idealized partnership" characterised by shared emotions and goals (Seelig 2009, 95).

Both manuscripts, her *Memoirs* and Wellcome MS 7113, have been seen as "companion books" (Potter 2006, 19 and Valent 2018, 161). Previous researchers on Lady Fanshawe tend to focus only on one of these volumes. Yet both works will be used in the present article as the main sources to examine the cultural emotions and interactions of Lady Ann Fanshawe during her stay in Spain. Thus, this study explores her views on the country, her adaptation to Spanish habits and her recording of Spanish practices. Her *Memoirs* particularly enrich the analysis, offering insights into her extensive travels, cultural observations, and encounters with Spanish traditions, cuisine, and the seventeenth-century Spanish nobility. The experiences undergone in Spain are considered by scholars, such as Bassnett (2013) and Holloway and Wray (2016, 1387), valuable witnesses of the creatively transformative effect on her individual writing life.

2. ANN FANSHAWE'S TRAVELS TO SPAIN

The migrations into Spain significantly impacted Fanshawe's literary output, offering unique insights into cross-cultural experiences and identity formation. Thus, Spain served as a creatively transformative space for her. Ann's *Memoirs* reflect her engagement with Spanish culture through vivid descriptions of Spanish landscapes, architecture, and social traditions, as well as her incorporation of Spanish culinary practices into her household. Her writings also reveal a complex identity negotiation, as she navigates her English Protestant background while forming empathetic connections with Spanish Catholics and embracing elements of Spanish life.

She came to Spain first in 1650 from Ireland, as she recalls in her *Memoirs*: "in the beginning of March we all landed, praised be God, in Malaga, very well, and

full of content to see ourselves delivered from the sword and the plague, and living in hope that we should one day return happily to our native country" (Fanshawe 1830, 99). The arrival prompted mixed feelings, since she experiences relief for her arrival but also a nostalgic desire to come back home happily. From Malaga, the Fanshawes proceeded onwards to Madrid, pausing along the way at Velez Malaga and then Granada. Holloway and Wray note that "strikingly, Fanshawe does not record the trials of the six-week journey, and this is particularly notable given the fact that she is heavily pregnant at the time" (2016, 64-65). Yet, she is fascinated by the view of

> the highest mountains I ever saw in my life, but under this lieth the finest valley that can be possibly described, adorned with high trees and rich grass, and beautified with a large deep clear river. Over the town and this standeth the goodly vast palace of the King's, called the Alhambra, whose buildings are, after the fashion of the Moors adorned with vast quantities of jasper-stone; many courts, many fountains and by reason it is situated on the side of a hill, and not built uniform, many gardens with ponds in them, and many baths made of jasper, and many principal rooms roofed with the mosaic work, which exceeds the finest enamel, I ever saw (Fanshawe, 1830, 100).

To Moore, "here her writing took on the tone of a travel book, the most popular reading of the time, rhapsodizing over the landscape, architecture, sculpture and textiles" (2017, 160). Ann Fanshawe and other modern women travellers of her day "give a very good account of the vicissitudes of their journeys and the difficulties of gaining access to Spain, whether by sea or by land" (Barco-Cebrián 2018, 462),[1] and "they describe the anthropological and cultural values of the places they visit through their accounts" (Barco-Cebrián 2018, 462).[2] Thus, "through her story we can discover, among other things, what the boats of the time were like, who were the most important people in the cities through which she travelled" (Barco-Cebrián 2018, 453).[3] The reader also learns about Spanish traditions like singing, dancing and bullfighting, which are also present in her *Memoirs*. She integrates these habits into her life to a greater or lesser degree. Similarly, the reader finds out about the social networks the Fanshawes established during their stay in Spain.

After the couple's visit to the Alhambra, they continued their journey to the capital of Spain and, as Ann narrates, "on the 13th of April 1650, we came to the Court of Madrid, where we were the next day visited by the two English ambassadors, and afterwards by all the English merchants" (Fanshawe 1830, 102).

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[1] Author's translation of the original: "Describen muy bien las vicisitudes de sus viajes, las dificultades del acceso a España, ya sea por mar o por tierra" (Barco-Cebrián 2018, 462).

[2] Author's translation of the original: "Describen los valores antropológicos y culturales de los lugares que visitan a través de sus relatos" (Barco-Cebrián 2018, 462).

[3] Author's translation of the original: "A través de su relato podemos descubrir cómo eran, entre otras cuestiones, las embarcaciones de la época, quiénes eran los personajes más importantes de las ciudades por las que discurría su viaje" (Barco-Cebrián 2018,453).

After the Fanshawe's initial visit together in 1650-1651, they will come back to Spain a few years later so that Richard could hold the post of ambassador. Thus, when he was appointed by the King and having embarked at Portsmouth on the 31st of January 1664, Ann writes that "on the 23rd of February, our style, we cast anchor in Cadiz road, in Spain" (Fanshawe 1830, 165). This statement is followed by an extensive account of how they were received and lavished by Spanish nobles and kings:

> So soon as it was known that we were there, the English Consul with the English merchants all came on board to welcome us to Spain; and presently after came the Lieutenant-Governor for the time being, Don Diego de Ibara, to give us joy of our arrival, and to ask leave of my husband to visit him, which Don Diego did within two hours after the Lieutenant's return (Fanshawe 1830, 166).

She was delighted by the welcome events organised in their honour and has clearly loved Spain ever since. She is particularly impressed by the variety and the quality of the food, for she writes:

> I find it a received opinion that Spaine affords not food either good or plentifull. True it is that strangers that neither have the skill to choose nor money to buy will find themselves at a loss, but there is not in the Christian world better wines than their midland wines are especially, besides sherry and canary. Their water tastes like milk; their corne white to a miracle; and their wheat makes the sweetest and best bread in the world. Bacon beyond belief good; the Segovia veal, much larger, whiter and fatter than ours; mutton most excellent; capons much better than ours. They have a small bird that lives and fattens on grapes and corn, so fat that it exceeds the quantity of flesh. They have the best partridges I ever eat, and the best sausages; and salmon, pikes, and sea-breams, which they send up in pickle, called *escabeche* to Madrid, and dolphins, which are excellent meat, besides carps, and many other sorts of fish. The cream, called *nata*, is much sweeter and thicker than any I ever saw in England; their eggs much exceed ours; and so all sorts of salads, and roots, and fruits. What I most admired are, melons, peaches, burgamot pears, grapes, oranges, lemons, citrons, figs, and pomegranates; (Fanshawe 1830, 208-209).

This tribute to Spanish products extends across several pages, interwoven with reflections on Spanish religion, clothing, theatre, bullfighting, and other traditions, concluding with remarks on the dining habits of the king and queen. Here, Ann emerges as an astute observer of culinary and social dining practices. Beyond her sustained interest in food as a material good, she explores the ethical and symbolic dimensions of eating and engages in culinary ethnography. Her keen awareness of the nuances of commensality serves as a key framework in many of Fanshawe's narratives.

3. ANN FANSHAWE'S RECIPE BOOK

Wellcome Library MS 7113 is a folio manuscript, in morocco leather binding and central gild-stamped decoration. This conspicuous collection contains more than five-hundred recipes. According to the Wellcome catalogue,

> The earliest entries are in the hand of one Joseph Averie, presumably a clerk acting as Ann Fanshawe's amanuensis, although most are signed by the latter. Many are ascribed to 'my mother' [Margaret Fanshawe], other members of the extended Fanshawe family, Sir Kenelm Digby, and others. Some of the recipes appear to be in Ann Fanshawe's own hand, a few are Spanish, dated Madrid, 1664-65 (https://wellcomecollection.org/works/tw7bkjtq).

Although most recipes are undated, the earliest is marked 1650 and it is believed that in 1678, two years before her death, Ann passed the volume to her daughter Katherine, as inscribed on the first page of the volume and noticed by several scholars who have worked on this manuscript (Goldstein 2013, 155; Pennell 2009, 22; Valent 2018, 169). Katherine Fanshawe would continue compiling remedies until approximately 1707 (Pennel 2009, 32; Goldstein, 2013 155; and Wellcome catalogue, https://wellcomecollection.org/works/tw7bkjtq). Even if Ann did not personally write the whole volume, it was clearly produced at her request. In fact, she is the compiler, as can be evidenced by the material included, which is directly related to her life as mother, spouse and her travels with her family.

Recipes usually reflect the society they were written in (De la Cruz-Cabanillas 2020 & 2022), but in the case of Ann Fanshawe's recipe book, they are also revelatory of her "political networks and female epistemologies, including […] gift-giving, and obligation" (Bassnett 2019, 4). Thus, Fanshawe's recipes do not only talk about the various European societies she contacts, but they also relate to her role as a seventeenth-century woman responsible for her family's healthcare. Subsequently, the reader finds medical remedies to relieve her and her family's ailments and recipes to produce household utilities, and dishes she integrates from different European cuisine traditions.

3.1. Medical recipes

The contents not only present popular remedies of the day, such as Lucatella's Balsam, Gascoigne Powder, *Aqua Mirabilis* or *Aqua Vitae*, but they also reveal her concerns about diseases that were rampant in her lifetime: namely, the plague, worms, kidney stones, bloody flux and other remedies for ulcers, burns or sore breast.[4] Some of the recipes included are of particular significance to her, because she endured the effects of the disorders in her and in her family. Thus, the reader finds several recipes for smallpox. Moore notes that in 1659 "all three of the children travelling with her fell ill with smallpox, the disease that had taken Nan from them five years earlier" (2017, 290), episodes that are also informed in her *Memoirs*. Other relevant remedies

[4] To carry out the research, Wellcome MS7113 has been transcribed by the author using the digitalisation available on the Wellcome Library website (https://wellcomecollection.org/works/tw7bkjtq). In this semi-diplomatic transcription, standard conventions are adopted: contractions are silently expanded, and the spelling practices and the punctuation of the original are maintained.

are for miscarriage and childbirth, as well as for scurvy, a disease her husband suffered from until his death.

3.1.1. *Miscarriage and childbirth*

Miscarriage has always been a concern for pregnant women, and, consequently, women's recipe books often included remedies for it.[5] Lady Ann Fanshawe's book is no exception. In her *Memoirs* Ann gives account of her pregnancies. She gave birth to fourteen children: "six sons and eight daughters, born and christened, and I miscarried of six more, three at several times, and once of three sons when I was about half gone the time" (Fanshawe 1830, 46). Accordingly, her collection includes a remedy for miscarriage, which she considers has worked for her, as it is stated after the recipe, entitled *The red powder good for miscarrying*:

> Take of Dragons blood one dramm, powder of red corall one dram, amber greece thi weight of 3 barly cornes: bezoar stone the weight of 2 barly cornes. Make all these into powder and in a little burnt Claret wine give as much of this powder as will lie upon a pennie at morning and night first and last 3 or 4 times will serve. Make some broth with plantaine rootes and shepheards purse and knotted grasse burnett and bryer leaves, and drink this at pleasure. Put into the broth Just as you drinke it the treds of 9 eggs; I have found good Experementalley of this medicin (Wellcome MS 7113, 73).[6]

The efficacy phrase at the end of the remedy assures the reader that it is efficient, since Lady Fanshawe has proved it herself. Likewise, she must have tried a recipe to recover from childbirth entitled *An excellent Water Gruel for Cleansing a Childbirth Woman*, given the fact that she delivered fourteen children, although only five survived to adulthood:

> Take a quart of spring water, half a pint of Rhenish wine, 3 spoonfull of whole groots, 2 handful of candied oringo root, 2 handfull of maydin hayre, boyle this close stopt in a pipkin: You must take this at 3 times, Viz: in the morning early fasting, at 4 of the clock in the afternoon, and when you are in your bed at night (Wellcome MS 7113, 316).

3.1.2. *Scurvy*

Scurvy had been known for centuries. It was a disease whose prevalence was probably higher in the sixteenth and seventeenth centuries, especially in sailors

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[5] For instance, Glasgow University Library MS 61 by Mary Harrison includes a recipe *to prevent Miscarriage*. For more information on this manuscript, see De la Cruz-Cabanillas (2016).

[6] Wellcome MS 7113 has been paginated twice at the upper part of each page. I am following here the pagination in ink.

due to the long voyages undertaken during the expansion of the different European empires, but it is also present in other groups within society. Subsequently, remedies for scurvy can often be found in manuscripts of the period.[7]

The effects of the scurvy on Richard Fanshawe's health are often mentioned in Ann's *Memoirs*, so she records that in December 1651, Richard

> fell very sick, and the fever settled in his throat and face so violently, that, for many days and nights, he slept no more but as he leaned on my shoulder as I walked: at last, after all the Doctor and Surgeon could do, it broke, and with that he had ease, and so recovered, God be praised! In 1652, he was advised to go to Bath for his scorbutic that still hung on him, but he deferred his journey until August, because I was delivered on the 30th of July of a daughter (Fanshawe 1830, 118).

Consequently, there are several recipes for this disease: for instance, *Pills for the scorbute* (Wellcome MS 7113, 17), *A gargale for the scorbute* (Wellcome MS 7113, 17), *An Excellent cordiall against the scorbute in all Fiuers (spiritially malignant)* (Wellcome MS 7113, 17-18). With the purpose to alleviate her husband's symptoms, she recorded *An excellent water to be used constantly all winter for the scorbute*:

> Scurvy-grass bruised three pounds, horse Radish roots cut sliced and [illegible] one pound, 12 oringes cut into thin slices, put these into a glass still, powere in as much sac and white wine as will cover 3 fingers deepe, stop the glass close, let this stand 24 howers in digestion, the next day distill a water from hence.
> Take a wine-glass full at pleasure, sweetened with syrup of elderflower, or oringes, or wood-sorrell, or cloves, gilly-flowers (Wellcome MS 7113, 16-17).

3.2. Spanish recipes

Other remedies were directly gathered in her social circle, while she was staying in Spain. Rather than being of a medical nature, they are cooking recipes or for perfumes and related products. Bassnett analyses these recipes along with others provided by Mary and Ann Granville, as well as Sarah Hughes, and claim that they often contain "foreign terminology or references, or paradoxically inscribe their provenance through translation, actively positioning themselves as transcultural and transnational communications" (2019, 1).

In Ann Fanshawe's Spanish recipes, the foreignisation is evident in the titles and some of the objects, ingredients and dishes which are mentioned below. There are more than twenty recipes of Spanish origin,[8] although several of them are written

[7] For instance, in Glasgow University Library Ferguson MS 61 mentioned above, and in other early modern testimonies (De la Cruz-Cabanillas 2020).

[8] Valent (2018: 163) includes a recipe *To dress Salmon; Carps; French trouts; Pikes; or Perch* (Wellcome MS 7113, p. 339), although there is no mention to a Spanish origin. Therefore, I have disregarded this and other recipes where there is no ascription to a Spanish contemporary or a Spanish

by her daughter Katherine. Considering the contents, they can be classified into perfumes and other household utilities, and cooking recipes.

3.2.1. *Perfumes and other household utilities*

Ann Fanshawe's praise of Spanish perfumes in her *Memoirs* is enthusiastic: "their perfumes of amber excel all the world in their kind, both for household stuff and fumes; and there is no such water made as in Seville" (Fanshawe 1830, 209). Subsequently, she must have been very pleased when on the 13th March 1664, she received a visit from Don Antonio de Pimentel, who sent her "a very rich present of perfumes, skins, gloves, and purses embroidered, with other nacks of the same kind" (Fanshawe 1830, 172).

Manuscript Wellcome 7113 bears witness of Ann's exceptional consideration for Spanish perfumes and other toiletries. Among the recipes, four of them are personalised through their attribution to Francisco Morena/o, who was well-acquainted with the Fanshawes. Here is a list of the items included in the volume:

1. "To make the famous oyle called y^{e} Queens oyle. Madrid 8th December 1664" (Wellcome MS 7113, 74).
2. "Francisco Morenos way of perfuming skinns. Madrid 8th December 1664" (Wellcome MS 7113, 192-193 & 63). On the page numbered 63,[9] a whole section on perfumes starts, so some of the recipes are repeated somewhere else in the volume.
3. "The 18th day of June in Madrid in 1656 According to these proportion Perfumes may be made Viz" (Wellcome MS 7113, 193 and 64).[10]
4. "To make Paste Beades Viz." (Wellcome MS 7113, 193 & 64).
5. "To perfume Damaske Roses" (Wellcome MS 7113, 194 & 64).
6. "To make the best Pastiles to burn in the world, taught me by a seruant of Francisco Morenas, who was his nephew & came vs made them in my home before me this present 17th of Nouember 1664 in our house at y^{e} siete Chimeneas att Madrid" (Wellcome MS 7113, 195-196 & 65).
7. "To make spanish Hypocrist, which exceells all other. Madrid 8th December 1664." (Wellcome MS 7113, 197).
8. "To dresse Hunsia" (Wellcome MS 7113, 200 & 68).

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place, such *A Course Powder for great linnin* (Wellcome MS 7113, p. 198) and A *fine Powder for linnen* (Wellcome MS 7113, 199 & 68).

[9] This section on perfumes is made up of a quire paginated from 63 to 68 and it is included after page 208 and then the pagination resumes at page 209.

[10] The date is problematic, as the "18th day of June in Madrid 1656" the Fanshawes were in England, with Ann heavily pregnant delivering baby Mary that year and losing another girl, Elizabeth, who was born in 1650 died in Kent in 1656.

9. "To perfume 12 pairs of ordinary seised gloves either for men or women with the saime Compound of Amber yat Francisco Morena in his life did & his seruant now doth. Madrid y^{e} 3rd of October 1665." (Wellcome MS 7113, 201 & 67).
10. "To make a Compound for a Pomo by Francisco Morena. Madrid October 4th 1665;" (Wellcome MS 7113, 202 & 66).

3.2.2. *Cooking recipes*

Cooking recipes are also abundant in Wellcome MS 7113. They are scattered among the manuscript pages and do not seem to follow a specific order. First, the reader finds how *To make Spanish Creame*,

> Take 2 gallons of new Milke and a quart of sweet Creame & make it scalding hott, and putt it into 3 milke panns, & hauing stood 6 houres then skimme of the top of 2 panns, & ½ y^{e} third, & putt it into a dish and beat it with Sugar, untill y^{e} [illegible] be broke. If You like the taste putt it into y^{e} Dish you into to seve it up in, & take the topp of the reserued pann thicke Leumme & lay it upon it (Wellcome MS 7113, 278).

The next recipe to which a Spanish origin has been ascribed is *To make lemmon Nautho the best way* (Wellcome MS 7113, 299). Valent (2018,168) interprets *Nautho* as an English attempt to reproduce the final part of the word *lemonado*, as this is a type of lemonade. The recipe calls for Rhenish wine, water, and bitter water –which Valent (2018, 168) believes is citrus fruit water, as the writer often uses the terms interchangeably– along with the juice of two lemons, thin slices of the rind, enough leaf sugar to sweeten the mixture, and two spoonfuls of orange flower water. These ingredients must be stirred together, with "a little Sprig of Rosemary" (Wellcome MS 7113, 299) added, and left to stand for an hour. No further instructions are provided. It is also possible that the recipe as a whole was considered flawed, though this is difficult to determine, as the crossing-out mark is not as pronounced as others found in the volume.

3.2.2.1. "To adobado Porke"

This recipe presents an unusual title, which is made up of the English preposition *to* followed by a past participle rather than an infinitive in Spanish (*adobar*).

> Take Pork, new killid what joint you please, fur? of y^{e} skin, & put it into any Earthen pan, shred a handfull of sage very small & put it into a stone Morter, put thereto two cloves of garlick rub them very well with y^{e} sage with y^{e} Pestle put thereto a pint of sharp claret wine, then poure all this vpon y^{e} pork put in likewise vnder a [??] y^{e} pork a pint of vinegar & a pint of water-mingled togethere & straw some bay

> salt finely beat ouer it all when y^e^ Meat hath layn in it 2 days & a night it must be rosted, & you may eat it hott or cold as you please with mustard or else with oyle & vinegar which is y^e^ most proper sauce (Wellcome MS 7113, 320).

3.2.2.2. Drinks

The next recipes are instructions to prepare different drinks: *To make lemonado* meant "only for the summer time" (Wellcome MS 7113, 331) shares with the following recipe the same process: the reader is instructed to use "the best fountain water" to be later enriched by some ambergris, is a compound of the juice of "3 large lemmons" while the second one *to make sinamon water* adds cinnamon as well as sugar (Wellcome MS 7113, 331). Several pages later, the reader will find out how to make almond milk.

In the directions to make *Garapiña de* L*eche de Amendas*, the recommended ingredients are "fountaine water", whole cinnamon and some blanched almonds beaten and later amalgamated with "orange-flower water" as well as the "best white sugar". The drink is not ready for consumption until passed through a canvas strainer and left to settle for four hours. Some ambergris could have also been added to the drink which, in any case, if kept in a "great glasse bottle and sett in a Coole sellar" would have lasted "good 2 days, & 2 nights but noe longer", as can be read:

> Boyle 5 qtr [quarters ?] of y^e^ best fountaine water with a quart of an ounce of whole Sinamon in it, a quarter of an houre then poure it into an Earthen pan in which there is 3 pounds of Almonds beat small after baumy them been blanched & beat with Orange flowre water stirr them well together & lett them stand 2 houres & put into it a pound of fine best white sugar well beat, & straine it through a thick Canvas strainer, & putt in a dragm eof Ambar Greece if you like it, put it into a great glasse bottle & sett it in a Coole sellar you may drinke it after 4 houres standing there, it will keep good 2 days, & 2 nights but noe longer (Wellcome MS 7113, 332).

3.2.2.3. "To dresse Chocolate"

While the spread of chocolate took some time in Europe, in Spain its consumption was well established when the Fanshawes contacted Spanish traditions. Through her *Memoirs* we learn that in 1664 they had been given chocolate as a present:

> On the 1st of April, the English merchants of Seville, with their Consul, presented us with a quantity of chocolate and as much sugar, with twelve fine sarcenet napkins laced thereunto belonging, with a very large silver pot to make it in, and twelve very fine cups to drink it out of, filigree, with covers of the same, with two very large salvers to set them upon, of silver (Fanshawe 1830, 181).

This is one of the first recipes on chocolate found in an English recipe book, dated "Madrid 10 August 1665". It is interesting for its contents but also because it is

accompanied by a sketch of a chocolate pot, with the comment "the same chocelary pottes are made in the [illegible] Indis".

> Take a pound of Chocolatte & halfe a pound of y^e^ best white sugar, cut y^e^ chocolate in peeces, neer an Inch bigg, mingle it with y^e^ sugar, haue ready on y^e^ fire your Chocolatte pott, & a large Quart of y^e^ best fountaine water, which. As soon as you perceiue to be just ready to boyle, take itt off & put it in y^e^ Chocolatte & sugar stirring it very well with. A Chocolatte stick made for yt purpose a quarter of an houre, setting y^e^ pott all y^e^ while vpon hot Embers or hot Ashes, you must serve it up in little cups of China yt hold neer a qe [quarter ?] of a pint stirring it very well at y^e^ putting of it into every Cup yt it may lye frothe at the top taking care always that it be serued up as hot as is possible to be done you must serue up as many Cupps as there are people [grethered?] the more/ The best Chocolatte that ys of y^e^ Indies is made in Siuill in Spaine (Wellcome MS 7113, 332-333).

Soon after, the first Earl of Sandwich, who succeeded Richard Fanshawe as ambassador to Spain in 1666, will record another recipe for chocolate in his journal in 1668 (Loveman 2013, 27).

3.2.2.4. "To make an olla podrida"

In Wellcome MS 7113 (333-334) an extensive text on how to make *olla podrida* is found. Regarding its origin, Sevilla (2019, 254) claims that this dish has a medieval origin. The *Dictionary of the Spanish language* (*Diccionario de la lengua española*, 2025, s.v. *olla*) defines this dish as "a stew that, in addition to meat, bacon and vegetables, contains an abundance of ham, poultry, sausages and other succulent ingredients".[11] The name of the dish is odd, since *podrida* means "rotten", but this adjective may refer to *poderida* ("potent"), according to Covarrubias-Orozco s.v. *olla* (1611, 568 s.v. *olla*). The present form may have originated by syncopation of the <e> in *poderida*.

In turn, Notaker (2017, 79), referring to this dish, states that printed cookbooks appear to have served as a significant source of inspiration for women to experiment with recipes, leading them to modify dishes and, in doing so, create new versions. An illustration of this type of modification is found in *Arte de cocina* (1611) by the Spanish royal cook Martínez Montiño, who, instead of providing the traditional recipe for *olla podrida*, introduced his readers to a novel version: *olla podrida en pastel.*

[11] Author's translation of the original: "olla que, además de la carne, tocino y legumbres, tiene en abundancia jamón, aves, embutidos y otras cosas suculentas", *Diccionario de la lengua española*, 2025, s.v. *olla*.

3.2.2.5. "To dry porke like spanish bacon"

This recipe seems plausible and the final product, which is suggested to be kept in a dry room, resembles the way in which Spanish ham *(jamón)* was produced to be consumed by wealthy Spaniards in the early modern period:

> Cut a leg of porke round in the shape of a Spanish gammon of bacon lay it upon a board high in the middle that the brine may run of, rub it well with halfe bay salt and halfe salt peeter, & let it lye ten days then hang it up in a Chimne where wood is burnt and the heat is not to great, when it is through dry for your use keepe it in a dry roome for your use (Wellcome MS 7113, 338).

3.2.2.6. "To make Icy Cream"

On page 339 the reader finds one of the first recipes in Katherine's hand and must have been written soon after she inherited the manuscript, possibly as early as 1678. She was born on the 30th of July 1652, which means she was about to turn twelve when the Fanshawe's started living in Madrid for the second time. Surely, Katherine needed her mother's help to remember this recipe that may have been acquired during their time in Spain:

> Take three pints of the best cream, boyle it with a blade of Mace, or else perfume it with orang flower water or Amber-Greece, sweeten the Cream, with sugar let it stand till it is quite cold, then put it into Boxes, ether of Silver or tinn then take, Ice chopped into small peeces and putt it into a tub and set the Boxes in the Ice covering them all over, and let them stand in the Ice two hours, and the Cream Will come to be Ice in the Boxes, then turn them out into a salvar with some of the same Seasoned Cream, so sarve it up at the Table (Wellcome MS 7113, 339).

3.2.2.7. "To make Jelly & manjor blanco together"

Wellcome MS 7113's contribution to Spanish cuisine ends with several recipes in different hands, such as one to make *manjar blanco* (Wellcome MS 7113, 341-342). *Manjar blanco* nowadays is a sweet dessert popular throughout Europe, but in Ann Fanshawe's manuscript the recipe is a bit different. It begins with a broth made from veal and hen,[12] initially simmered in water, and later reduced with white

[12] Drumond-Braga (2024, 197) notes that *manjar branco* was prepared by the eighteenth-century Portuguese cook Francisco Borges Henriques with milk, sugar and chicken breast. Thus, meat must have been an old ingredient which is not present in present-day recipes, since it must have evolved from being a sweet main course to being a proper dessert. Likewise, Sevilla provides evidence of this dish being prepared in Italy, France and, in Spain, since the Middle Ages and includes *manjar blanco* among the dishes cooked with poultry (2019, 109).

wine. Sugar, cinnamon water, salt, a peeled and deseeded lemon, and egg whites beaten with their shells are then added to create the jelly mentioned in the title. The final steps of the recipe emphasise its proper serving: the mixture should be strained into the intended serving dish and is best consumed within six hours once cooled. If the jelly has not set properly, an additional lemon can be squeezed and strained over it to enhance its texture, highlighting the lemon's role as an astringent.

In her *Memoirs*, Ann specifically recalls *manger blanc* as one of the culinary delights she encountered during her travels. "I have eaten many sorts of biscuits, cakes, cheese, and excellent sweetmeats I have not here mentioned, especially manger-blanc" (Fanshawe 1830, 209).

3.2.2.8. Other recipes

The final recipes from Spain are *To make Spanish eggs* (Wellcome MS 7113, 401) and *To make the Spanish biskets* (Wellcome MS 7113, 407). The recipes were written by Katherine and, notably, attributed to a certain Lady Turnor, who appears in Wellcome MS 7113 under the name Isabella Turnor. *The Oxford Dictionary of National Biography* records that Sir Edward Turnor married Lady Isabella, daughter of William Keith, seventh Earl Marischal, in May 1667. They had seven children and lived at Great Hallingbury, Essex, purchased in 1660 by Turnour's father. Lady Isabella was buried there in 1690. Little else is known about Isabella Turnor, except that she belonged to the Scottish nobility and that her husband accompanied Sir Richard Fanshawe on various diplomatic missions to Spain and Portugal. Since she passed away in 1690, these recipes attributed to her by Katherine must have been written sometime between 1678 –when she inherited the recipe book from her mother– and Isabella's death in 1690.

On the one hand, *To make Spanish eggs*, the reader is instructed to mix six well-whisked egg yolks with sugar and boiled until they reach a consistency close to crystallised sugar, a process that requires continuous stirring for an extended, though unspecified, period. The result resembles a sweet omelette, not intended for direct consumption but as a base for other dishes. When warm, it serves as a layer for additional preparations, and once cooled, it is used to top jellies and cold salads, typically served after hot dishes and before the *posset*.

On the other hand, *To make Spanish bikets* requires for four well-beaten egg whites to be combined with an equal number of well-beaten yolks, instructing to "beat it very well for a good while with a spoon" (Wellcome MS 7113, 407). Next, half a pound of fine sugar is added, and the mixture must be "beaten and beaten and beat [them] together for almost an hour" (Wellcome MS 7113, 407). After this vigorous process, half a pound of fine flour is incorporated, requiring an additional fifteen minutes of beating to ensure thorough amalgamation.

Once the mixture is ready, it is shaped into small, elongated biscuits, lightly dusted with sugar, and prepared for baking. Notably, from a material culture perspective, the instructions specify that the biscuits should be placed "in a baking fann if you have one; if not, in a gentle oven" (Wellcome MS 7113, 407).

4. CONCLUSIONS

This study has delved into Lady Fanshawe's writings as a lens on seventeenth-century Anglo-Spanish cultural exchange and the personal and diplomatic obstacles she faced. It has presented her unique perspective on the people, traditions, geography, architecture, and cuisine of Spain, as viewed by a seventeenth-century British noblewoman. Thus, Lady Fanshawe's writings document the hardships of exile, diplomatic challenges, and personal losses, including the deaths of several of her children, but they are also evidence of her fascination for the Spanish geography, culture, cuisine and people of the time. Taken her *Memoirs* and recipe book as sources, we gain insight into how Spain influenced her personal and intellectual life, as well as the broader significance of cross-cultural interactions in the seventeenth century.

One of the key conclusions drawn from the text is the transformative impact of Spain on Ann Fanshawe's identity and writing. Her *Memoirs* not only document her travels but also reflect her evolving perspective on Spanish society. Despite being an English Protestant, she developed an appreciation for Spanish customs, food, and traditions, integrating them into her own experiences. This suggests that travel and exposure to unfamiliar cultures can shape one's worldview, fostering a sense of adaptability and curiosity.

Another significant aspect is the role of Lady Fanshawe as a recorder of knowledge. Her recipe book, Wellcome MS 7113, serves as more than a collection of culinary instructions; it reflects her engagement with medical, domestic, and cultural practices of the time. The inclusion of Spanish recipes highlights how she actively documented and transmitted foreign knowledge, reinforcing the idea that recipe books were not merely household manuals but also intellectual repositories that connected women to larger social and political networks.

Additionally, the text underscores the challenges and resilience of Ann Fanshawe. Throughout her life, she faced financial struggles, personal losses, and the hardships of constant travel. However, her ability to navigate these difficulties, maintain her family's legacy, and preserve cultural knowledge demonstrates her strength and resourcefulness. Her writings provide a valuable female perspective on historical events, enriching our understanding of aristocratic life in the seventeenth century.

Overall, this article illustrates the importance of Ann Fanshawe's contributions to literature, history, and culinary traditions. Her experiences in Spain were not only personally transformative but also historically significant, offering a unique lens through which we can explore cultural exchanges, gender roles, and intellectual life in the early modern period. Thus, the analysis contributes to a deeper understanding of women's literary contributions within the historical context of British Spanish relations. Thus, the study is meant to be a vindication of Lady Ann Fanshawe life and writings.

Reviews sent to the authors: 15/11/2025
Revised paper accepted for publication: 31/01/2026

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