

Hidden Foodscapes and Power in G.V. Sampson's Catalogues of the County of Londonderry, 1802–14

Mary F. Wack

ABSTRACT: Sampson's vision 'of a moral, industrious, and substantial yeomanry, who will be improving cultivators, solvent tenants, loyal subjects, moral agents, and instructed Christians' brings together the major strands of discourse and power in his works: theological, political, scientific, improving. His scientific catalogues were intended both as the harmonious expression of the plenitude of creation in his corner of the island and also as a foundation for resource management by the local proprietors. Along with his other scientific contributions in mineralogy and soils, they were intended to contribute to a green revolution *avant la lettre* that would support a restored Christian polity. His intent was to 'reduce the provincial to the scientific' as the foundation for improved agricultural practice. Even as this vision places the provincial as subaltern, the Linnaean catalogues' power of naming, and Sampson's irrepressible observations, restore some traces of lost foodscapes of rural Ireland, including the social distribution of foods and preferences in preparation and consumption. His copious naming of species and varieties creates the possibility for a few more living things to enter the 'ark of taste'.

The Reverend George Vaughan Sampson composed two statistical surveys of the county of Londonderry in the early nineteenth century that deserve the attention of the culinary historian for their hidden foodscapes imbued with, and affected by, the powers of nature, society, and the divine.¹ Both of Sampson's volumes belong to the seventeenth- and eighteenth-century tradition of improvement literature in Ireland, with its focus on empiricism and experiment. Through the scientific approach advocated in this genre, elites were encouraged to transform a savage Irish landscape to order, productivity and beauty, or to restore a fallen edenic landscape.² To this tradition the multilingual Sampson brought a well-tuned ear for the provincial, whether in expression, mode of agriculture, or habits and customs of the people.³ His task, as he saw it by the time of his second edition in 1814, was to make the provincial scientific:

In proportion as agriculture, which has always been accounted among the most liberal arts, shall have advanced (as it is now rapidly advancing) towards the precision of an experimental science, in the same proportion will it become desirable that the classification of soils should be reduced, from a provincial, to a scientific arrangement and nomenclature (p. 105).

Sampson's documentation of the provincial, even as it was being led back to scientific order and meaning, still preserves for us traces of foods and culinary practices outside the elite circles of improvers: a hidden foodscape that reveals aspects of non-elite foodways.

Sampson's Two Editions

In 1800 the Dublin Society for the Improvement of Husbandry, Manufactures, and other Useful Arts, now the RDS, was authorized to undertake an agricultural survey in any or all counties with the goal of economic improvement.⁴ G.V. Sampson, rector of Aghanloo parish outside Limavady and member of the Royal Irish Academy since 1790, already had been for some time engaged in botanical and geological research, responded to the call.⁵ Framed around the Dublin Society's suggestions for enquiry, his *Statistical Survey of the County of Londonderry with Observations on the Means for Improvement* is a genial assemblage of agricultural data from county gentlemen including varieties of crops and fruits grown, complete with quotations from Vergil's *Georgics*; experimental notes on spring waters; meteorological observations; imports and exports from the port of Derry; rates of provisions; Linnaean catalogues; observations on the customs of the people, and more. Amusing touches such as his attempts to tame birds or his tame rooster who ate from the breakfast table and was ridden to his demise by Sampson's little boys convey something of the personality sketched by those who knew him.⁶ His audience was both the Dublin Society and the gentlemen of the county, who 'have the skill, power, and disposition' to carry improvements into effect'. His work was recognized by membership in the Geological Society of London.⁷

In anticipation of charges that his work was too little theoretical, Sampson noted rather defensively that he preferred concrete particulars of agriculture in local settings rather than any abstract or theoretical generalizations.⁸ In the long run, the very heterogeneity of Sampson's work has provided observational data for investigators in multiple fields, including fisheries, geology, and the history of agriculture.⁹ However, although historians of diet have used Sampson's work, the more specifically culinary data that can be derived from his texts has received little consideration.¹⁰ By culinary data I mean details or commentary on food choice, preparation, or taste, which may also involve implicit or explicit class (i.e., power) distinctions.

Sampson's first edition came to the attention of the Worshipful Company of Fishmongers, one of the London Companies. In 1809 they sent a delegation to inquire into the condition of their estates, and met with Sampson and other gentlemen of the area.¹¹ The land in the county of Londonderry was unique among those in Ulster for having been redistributed at the Plantation among twelve of the London Companies, a number of adventurers, native freeholders, and the sea of Derry. The London Companies were largely absentee landlords until the nineteenth century, and the agricultural and economic development of the county suffered as a result.¹² As the original long-term leases fell due in the course of the nineteenth century, the London Companies gradually reasserted themselves in the management of their estates. For this task, proper mapping and inventorying was essential.

In 1810 Sampson visited London and solicited support from the London Companies for a new edition of the county survey, whose selling point was an updated county map that could be used by the companies as a point of departure for their estate management.¹³ Thus the 1814 edition of the county survey was titled *A Memoir Explanatory of the Chart and Survey of the County of Londonderry* and was accompanied by a large-format county map. Subscribers included the Grand Jury and leading gentlemen of the county and a number of London Companies. Changes from the first edition included an expanded introductory section on the history of the London Companies' role in the county; a restructuring of materials to reduce the amount of specific local detail in favor of more systematic observations; and the addition of a concluding section of questions from the London Companies with Sampson's answers regarding improvement. Finally, the later edition adds a theological framework that grounds the powers of nature, the powers of the Companies, and the powers of the state in the divine authority that subtends creation.¹⁴

Frames of Discourse and Power

Sampson's most direct and numerous comments on power occur in the sections regarding the history of the county and the London Companies. In consequence of the Crown having conquered Ulster by military power, the London companies were tasked with paying for part of it, and delegated the due powers to manage the land in what became the county of Londonderry.¹⁵ In a well-governed state, Sampson argues, those proprietors who cannot discharge their duties personally must appoint substitutes. Ireland, however, lacks the 'just and reasonable subordination' that bonds society together. 'Considering this defect in a political point of view', he continues, the absence of great proprietors leads to a power vacuum dangerous to civil order. As he develops this argument in subsequent sections, he urges that the London Companies

find better intermediaries on the ground who will exercise benevolent, improving power on their estates.¹⁶

Sampson sets an extended treatment of geology and soils, which are the substrates and preconditions for improved agriculture, within this political frame, to which he adds a theological one. In both editions he develops a vision of a dynamic earth, reshaped over 'epocha' by vulcanism and neptunism, upheavals and floods, which have created the county's various soils. The latent power of the earth can be brought to its fullest abundance through further improvements such as soil amendment, crop rotation and the like. In a long passage that interweaves Biblical and scientific language, he unfolds the powers of creation according to the 'sacred geologic historian' in Genesis; the account grounds the mandate to improve the land.

The divine power energizes natural forces: it exerts a quickening 'by omnipotent volition' that 'shoots forth the *prime electric light*'; 'the chemic influence sublimed an *'atherial meteoric fixture*'; suspended exhalations performed 'the behest of God', dividing the waters. With the emergence of life forms comes utility and anthropocentrism, foundations for the discourse of improvement:

The bountiful assignment of sterile forms to instantaneous utility — was [...] made manifest, when 'the earth brought forth grass; the herb yielding seed; and the fruit-tree yielding fruit, after his kind' [...] and, *last and first*, appears that Being, to whom was given both use and rule — alone inducted to govern earth and to contemplate heaven. — 'And God said, let us make man in our image — after our likeness!'¹⁷

With man on the scene, the natural world becomes subject to his powers to use and to rule, to govern and to contemplate.

Within this cosmic view Sampson describes a local environment that possesses the power to shape and be shaped for better or worse in all spheres — soils, crops and animals, economics, society. While noting improvements, he simultaneously catalogues environmental degradations and impact on wildlife and food systems resulting from invasive species or habitat destruction. The loss of woodland, especially oak, set in train other declines: woodland fauna — red deer, otter, marten, and wolves — had all disappeared.¹⁸ Honey and bees were not nearly as abundant as twenty years earlier. The wild goose was less common since the marshes were drained. Sheep were fewer due to the increase of tillage and grain, while rye was declining in mountain areas in favour of potatoes.¹⁹ Herring seemed to have deserted the coast. Meanwhile, non-native magpies, introduced within the last century, spread to become 'a common nuisance' and frogs, 'imported in a luckless hour', had 'multiplied exceedingly to our discomfort'.²⁰

Man exerts his powers on the world around him in this realm of mutability, working at the boundary between geological processes and living nature to restore the natural world to utility and productivity. This is the world of the 'provincial', as Sampson terms it, the everyday world of the

farmer, cottier, and fisherman. Sampson is at pains to point out provincial terminology and ways of thought throughout the texts. Thus in the provincial manner of speaking and thinking, the land is a body ('vegetable loam is mother earth') that may be healthy ('in good heart') or sick ('deaf', 'hungry').²¹ Healthy soil has the power to produce food in abundance, allowing crops to be 'birthy' (*Survey*, p. 184); deaf or hungry soil yields grudgingly if at all: the district from Garvagh to Dunboe was streaked with 'deaf soil or rust of basalt, ridges or tummocks of rude basalt, bereft even to the sloe and the bramble' (p. 51). Worst of all, and the special object of Sampson's improving zeal, was bog, which of itself produced nothing edible: 'where the subsoil is hard basalt, there we find bleak knolls, rising out of bog, and deformed with spral and heath, and all the inesculent products of the morass' (p. 39). Man's relation to the soil, 'to whom was given both use and rule' is sometimes cast as domination ('They are ignorant of their own wealth, which lies in those neglected wastes of bog, which is really an inert dunghill, lavishly furnished to him, who has the skill to subdue it'), but more often as healing the sick body of the land or feeding its hunger, which may require 'digested' composts.²² Both provincial and scientific improving discourses portray a reciprocal relationship of nourishment: feed the soil and it will feed you.

Catalogues

To describe an ordered creation, even if one in need of restoration, the Linnaean catalogue was an apt tool.²³ It provided an orderly manifestation of the plenitude of created beings and allowed Sampson to carry out his project of bringing scientific arrangement and nomenclature to the provincial. Sampson had collected local plant specimens for his *hortus siccus* or herbarium prior to becoming involved in the Dublin Society's survey (*Survey*, Appendix, p. 42); the survey provided the occasion for his developing it into 'Catalogue of Some of the Most Remarkable Grasses and Plants Observed by the Author in the County of L.Derry.' He so favoured Linnaean catalogues that in the 1814 *Memoir* he expanded his catalogues of plants, fish and fowl and moved the plant catalogue from the appendix to the main text. The catalogues are arranged by order, genus, and species, with both Latin and common names, and Sampson's observations.

Taxonomies function like the formal ordering of a classical garden, placing living beings in an ordered array. In Sampson's observations, however, provincial detail and his personal taste push themselves through the lattice of hierarchical naming. While Sampson occasionally quotes Boate's part legendary, part empirical natural history, a work key to the literature of improvement in the eighteenth century, his own approach is both more scientific and more generous toward locally-derived knowledge and practice.²⁴ His catalogues thus embody the ideological power of the Protestant ascendancy (scientific, improving, Anglican), yet create openings for the local foodways of disempowered inhabitants.²⁵

Catalogue of Plants

In this vein, Sampson's catalogue of plants embeds numerous remarks on the culinary uses of wild foods. Greens used in or as salads include chickweed, *Alsine media*, 'the young shoots equal to spinach in spring', and *Atriplex hastata*, lamb's quarters. *Borago officinalis*, borage, he notes, 'when young, a good salad, tastes like cucumber; used for cool cups' (*Memoir*, pp. 154–56). The local people — 'country people' or 'farmers' in Sampson's usage — may have used it as a salad, but cool cups (an alcoholic summer drink) would mostly have been the province of the gentry. The young stems of comfrey, *Symphytum officinale*, he considered 'a dainty, when boiled' (p. 167). However, his gently ironic note on ramps suggest that the delicacy intrinsic to dainties was lost on the locals:

Allium ursinum, Ramson called *ramps* by the farmers [...] has a powerful taste of onions; pollutes milk, if eaten by cows; [...] the country people eat it, both as a medicine and a *dainty*' (p. 155, emphasis Sampson's).

The irony that Sampson directs toward rural gastronomy in this passage has taken an interesting historical twist, as ramps are currently a rare and expensive 'dainty' in trendy restaurants in the United States.²⁶ Another piece of pleasant eating, in Sampson's view, was '*Bunium bulbocastanum*, earthnut; called, provincially, pig-nut, very common in woods, pastures, &c.; the root is very grateful; in some countries, it is said to be offered as a des[s]ert' (p. 156).

Foraging the landscape gave some measure of economic power to the collectors and the middlemen who arranged for export of items like *Sinapis nigra*, black mustard, which grew along the ditches in the fertile region of Myroe; it was both used in the country and exported to England (*Survey*, p. 201). The comments on burdock not only document how wild foods were used and served, but also remind us that trade with the Americas through the port of Derry brought in non-native foodstuffs like sarsaparilla: '*Arctium lappa*, burdock, before flowering, the stems eat like asparagus, if boiled; if raw, they may be eaten with oil and vinegar; the roots are equal to sarsaparilla' (*ibid.*, Appendix, p. 14). The more complete catalogue of 1814 contains foods that could be gleaned from the landscape: strawberries, elderberries, raspberries, bramble 'called blackberries', 'makes a good wine, every schoolboy knows their sweetness', crab tree (*Pyrus malus*) and whortleberries or bilberries [*vaccinium* spp., blueberries]. Mushrooms, wild turnip, well-known house-leek, and horseradish were also found, as well as *Daucus carota*, wild carrot: 'the country people esteem it a good diuretic' (*Memoir*, pp. 155–59, 166–70).

Very interesting from the point of view of moral and economic concerns over the introduction of tea to Ireland's laboring classes is the comment that *Veronica officinalis*, male speedwell, was 'a substitute for tea'. That implies that by the early nineteenth century tea was sufficiently known and esteemed in rural areas that country people sought out inexpensive substitutes in the landscape.²⁷

The uses of plants in food applications are also noted. Examples include: *Galium verum*, yellow-lady's bedstraw, 'called cheese-rennet, because it curdles milk'; *Tanacetum vulgare*, yellow tansy, 'flesh-meat, when rubbed with the juice of it, will not be touched by flies'; mugwort, *Artemisia vulgaris*, restores sour beer; centaury, *Chironia centaureum*, 'is a substitute for hops' (*Memoir*, pp. 160, 167, 155, 157).

Catalogues of Birds and Fish

Sampson's statement that he will catalogue 'the fowls of the air, and the fishes of the sea, according to the most obvious series and arrangement' neatly epitomizes his intertwining of the scientific and theological approaches to inventorying creation (*Memoir*, p. 171). There are fewer culinary observations in the section on birds than in those on plants or fish; possibly the very abundance of birds such as the mallard in the wetlands around Lough Foyle rendered comment superfluous. Indeed, the first comment on edibility attaches to the rook, *Corvus frugilegus*, 'not eaten, as in England'. *Anas anser*, goose, along with bacon, is the 'principal flesh-meat of the country people, at times of festival'. The barnacle goose, long controverted in Irish natural history, sports a long quotation from Boate on why its flesh is sweet (pp. 171–73).²⁸ Widgeon, *Anas penelops*, is 'very plentiful and of excellent flavour' and sold for 1 to 2 shillings the pair; teal, *Anas crecca*, sold for the same. The least sandpiper, *Tringa fraxineus*, is considered a dainty, while the flesh of the grey plover, *Tringa*, 'is esteemed'. The fieldfare's (*Turdus pilaris*) flesh is delicate and the bunting, *Emberizia miliaria*, is 'called the Irish ortellan [sic] from the delicious flavour of its flesh' (pp. 174–75).

Seafood is often overlooked in histories of Irish food because it was poor peoples' food (*bia bocht*).²⁹ Sampson not only catalogues a wide range of fish caught and sold commercially, but also tags many of them with culinary notes and decided opinions in both the *Survey* and *Memoir*. Skate, *Rasa batis*, we learn, was 'generally eaten cold with vinegar; the fins only used' and called in Irish *calliogh*, while the flesh of sturgeon, *Accipenser sturio*, 'eats like veal'. The dogfish, *Squalus acanthias*, Irish *gubboch*, was 'not eaten' though the smooth hound-fish, *S. mustelus*, was 'sometimes eaten'. The plentiful haddock was sold in the markets from 6d to 1s 1d. Cod, *Gadus morbus*, was eaten across the social scale, being 'salted by the gentry and country people about Christmas, as part of their winter store'. Ling, *Gadus molva*, was also in common use, though 'not used till salted' (*Survey*, pp. 334–37). The poor, however, 'who want [lack] butter, prefer herrings [to ling] as more abundant in palatable oil' (*Memoir*, p. 179). No place was better supplied with turbot than Londonderry (p. 180). Sea bream, *Sparus pagrus*, 'not bad on the table' in 1802 (p. 339) was in 1814 'not so distinguished for the table'; called in Irish *merron roe* or *ruagh* (p. 180). White trout is 'a fine fish' while red trout 'a good fish for the table'. Halibut he thought 'much inferior in flavour to the turbot'

while flounder is 'particularly delicious near the Bann'. Eels were sold fresh in local markets, and were salted for winter use in place of herrings (*Memoir*, pp. 180–81*, 243). Lampreys were 'reckoned a delicacy, when fresh, and potted for sale in other countries' (*Survey*, p. 335).

The catalogues of birds and fish reveal a much broader foodscape than that glimpsed in the works of a contemporary observer such as John Gamble, who paid more attention to recording food he encountered in his travels than most.³⁰ To the extent that Sampson's culinary notes reflect personal tastes, they reveal an enthusiastic omnivore who did not scorn fish as a low-class food, even if he brought markers of class to his expressions of enjoyment for fowl ('delicate', 'dainty'). To the extent that his notes represent what other gentlemen of the county ate, they were blessed with variety and quality of provisions on their doorsteps. Finally, to the extent that they reveal Irish names or preferences of country people, farmers, or the poor, the catalogues document customary foodways among ordinary people that comprise a range of local foods and preparations.

Lists of Fruit

Sampson's cataloguing impulse extends to horticultural plants as well as to native flora. The apple lists, which appear only in the 1802 *Survey*, provide a valuable snapshot of varieties then in cultivation in the county's north. These would have been planted earlier than 1800 in order to have been bearing at the time of writing. In a numbered list, Sampson provides the common name and sometimes details about appearance and culinary properties of apples found in the orchards near his own farm in Aghanloo parish:

- Belly-fatten; a large baking winter apple, much lobed or striated on its surface.³¹
- Longford permian; well known.³²
- Golden russet; ditto.³³
- Lady's beauty; so called from its colours.
- Lady's finger; from its shape.³⁴
- Lemon pippin; well-known everywhere; scarce in L.Derry.³⁵
- Wine-apple; from its dark-red colour; not good.³⁶
- Bergamo; summer, autumn, winter, and royal (*Survey*, pp. 437–38).

To these Sampson lists additional varieties found in orchards in the vicinity of Limavady:

- White russet; well known.³⁷
- Brown ditto; ditto.
- Tancred; a baking apple, called from its shape [probably therefore 'Tankard']³⁸.
- Tom chestnut; a small eating apple.
- Gennetin; early.³⁹
- Eve; ditto.
- Fox's whelp; large red and white.
- Codling; well known.
- Kentish codling; a variety.
- Non-pareil.⁴⁰

- Clack-melon.
- American nonesuch.⁴¹
- Madam Gorge (p. 439).

Pear types in the same area of the county included Jargonelle, Autumn Bergamo, Winter Bergamo, Red Catharine, Cressane, Bonne Chrétienne, Cuisse de dame, Green Chizzle, and Stony Pear, 'all well known'. In addition to pears, Sampson notes that typical orchard fruit includes 'plumbs, damascenes, &c.' (ibid.).

Thus, in a remote corner of the island, the fruit larders of the rural gentry show nearly two dozen apple varieties cultivated from stock originating in England, France and America before 1800, as well as at least nine pear types. Sampson believed that orchards were the province of English settlements, or of long tenures in the case of ordinary farmers (*Survey*, p. 438). In either case, the ability to indulge in a developed taste for fruit varieties went hand in hand with a taste for improvement and rested on the socioeconomic power to plant for the long term that fruit production requires. The catalogue is thus perhaps a statement to the cultivated gentlemen of the Dublin Society that the provinces were not so bad, pomologically speaking; it was an assertion of status, and thus of power.⁴² Sampson's catalogue may have an additional power as well: in an era of climate change and species disappearance, any surviving trees of these sorts may provide desirable characteristics for contemporary needs.⁴³

Potatoes

No consideration of food and power in an agricultural survey would be complete without the potato. In 1814 Sampson correctly projected the growth of the Irish population to eight million in roughly the next twenty years (*Memoir*, p. 186). Already in 1802 he had noted where pressure was pushing out rye cultivation in favour of potatoes (*Survey*, p. 301). His concern for increasing the 'vegetative power' of the land through shelling, liming, ashes, composting and so on was aimed at increasing productivity to keep up with the population's needs. For the cottier, 'potatoes are the staff of life, and the loom and the wheel pay for the misfortunes of the plough' (*Memoir*, p. 306). Thus he carefully documents the varieties used in different places within the county, as well as the varieties going in and out of use between 1802 and 1814. Regarding potatoes commonly grown in 1802, he summarizes:

The varieties of potato are so many, and the names too arbitrary, for enumerating. We reckon the earliest to be the pink-eyed kidney, known as Rookeys [elsewhere rookins]; the next either the white dwarf fairy or white flat. The main crops are white peters, red peters, Scotch greys, blacks, English reds, etc.; the varieties allied to the old apple potatoe [sic] are certainly the best keepers, but not plentiful (provincially *birthy*) in the ground (p. 184).

Sampson's listed potato varieties include the well-regarded types of the eighteenth century.⁴⁴ The apple potato, introduced in the mid-eighteenth century and already called 'old' by Sampson in 1802, is now extremely rare. Ladies' fingers, mentioned in both 1802 and 1814 and said to be an early variety, are perhaps one of the types above under another name (*Memoir*, p. 298). English reds, which in 1802 were just coming in (p. 129), were by 1814 'highly approved' (p. 248). Scotch leckies, unmentioned in 1802, were 'coming into vogue' in 1814 (p. 248). The Lumper potato, so famous in connection with the Famine, is nowhere mentioned by that name. Most of Sampson's types did not survive the famine, or at least are no longer identifiable by his names.

Conclusion

This review of Sampson's hidden foodscape has touched upon only a few of the many approaches to culinary history possible using his works.⁴⁵ Certainly it expands our view of diet in the county as documented by Crawford using sources from the 1830s.⁴⁶ Perhaps the most dramatic claim for the power of the clergyman's work has been made by J.S. Curl, who argues that the reforms urged by Sampson, and put into place by the Fishmongers and others on their Londonderry estates, helped avert the worst consequences of the Famine in that county.⁴⁷

Sampson's vision 'of a moral, industrious, and substantial yeomanry, who will be improving cultivators, solvent tenants, loyal subjects, moral agents, and instructed Christians' (*Memoir*, p. 359) brings together the major strands of discourse and power in his works: theological, political, scientific, improving. His scientific catalogues were intended both as the harmonious expression of the plenitude of creation in his corner of the island and also as a foundation for resource management by the local proprietors. Along with his other scientific contributions in mineralogy and soils, they were intended to contribute to a green revolution *avant la lettre* that would support a restored Christian polity. Even as this vision places the provincial as subaltern (*Memoir*, p. 333), the catalogues' power of naming, and Sampson's irrepressible observations, restore some traces of lost foodscapes of rural Ireland, including the social distribution of foods and preferences in preparation and consumption.

His copious naming of species and varieties creates the possibility for a few more living things to enter the 'ark of taste'.⁴⁸ For some of these animal and plant varieties, the ark of taste has already sailed and they are irretrievably gone. Others may still be hiding in the landscape, awaiting re-identification and evaluation for their potential contributions to the resiliency of our food systems in the face of rapid climate change.⁴⁹ We owe this remarkable polymath our gratitude for his textual ark that has saved so much for us to contemplate and use.

About the author

Mary F. Wack is currently Professor of English and Vice Provost for Undergraduate Education at Washington State University. Her research centres on north Derry in a transatlantic context. She is working on a book-length study of a Derry emigrant cook's boarding-house recipe collection, as well as on a longer study of G.V. Sampson.

Notes

1. George Vaughan Sampson, *Statistical Survey of the County of Londonderry, with Observations on the Means of Improvement* (Dublin: Graisberry and Campbell, 1802), in *HathiTrust Digital Library* <<https://babel.hathitrust.org>> [last accessed 3 February 2018]; same, *A Memoir, Explanatory of the Chart and Survey of the County of Londonderry, Ireland* (London: G. and W. Nicol, 1814) in *HathiTrust Digital Library* [last accessed 3 February 2018]. In general, the earlier edition is cited unless the reference is to material unique to the later, or is more conveniently found there. For biographical information, see n. 3 below and Linde Lunney, 'Sampson, George Vaughan', *Dictionary of Irish Biography Online* <dib.cambridge.org> [accessed 25 January 2018].
2. Toby Barnard, 'The Cult and Cultures of Improvement', in *Improving Ireland: Projects, Prophets and Profiteers, 1641–1786* (Dublin: Four Courts Press, 2008), pp. 13–40; Patricia Coughlan, 'Natural History and Historical Nature: The Project for a Natural History of Ireland', in *Samuel Hartlib and Universal Reformation: Studies in Intellectual Communication*, ed. Mark Greengrass, Michael Leslie, and Timothy Raylor (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 1994), pp. 298–318; and Toby C. Barnard, 'Gardening, Diet, and "Improvement" in Later Seventeenth-Century Ireland', *The Journal of Garden History*, 10.1 (1990), 71–85.
3. For Sampson's knowledge of languages, see his son's biographical sketch in George V. Sampson, *A Literal Translation of St. Paul's Epistle to the Hebrews, from the Original Greek, with copious explanatory notes*, ed. Arthur Sampson (London: C. & J. Rivington, 1828), in *HathiTrust DL*, pp. i–xvi [accessed 25 January 2018].
4. On the intellectual context of the Dublin Society, see James Livesey, 'The Dublin Society in Eighteenth-Century Irish Political Thought', *The Historical Journal*, 47.3 (2004), 615–40; on Sampson's contributions, especially in mapping, see G.L. Herries Davies, *Sheets of Many Colours: Mapping of Ireland's Rocks, 1750–1890* (Dublin: Royal Dublin Society, 1983), pp. 7–8 and 13–15; Patrick N. Wyse Jackson, 'Fluctuations in Fortune: Three Hundred Years of Irish Geology', in *Nature in Ireland: A Scientific and Cultural History*, ed. John Wilson Foster (Montreal: McGill-Queen's University Press, 1997), pp. 91–114 (pp. 94–95); and, more generally, Lunney, 'Sampson'.
5. *Survey*, p. v.; Sophie Evans, Assistant Librarian, Royal Irish Academy, email 21 August 2017 on Sampson's RIA membership; quoted by permission.
6. *Survey*, pp. 223, 225, 226; A. Sampson, ed., *Literal Translation*, pp. vii–ix on his father's character and personality.
7. *Survey*, p. 503. Sampson was elected an Honorary Member 1 April 1808; Honorary Members were those who lived outside London. Caroline Lam, Archivist, Geological Society, personal communication via email 22 August 2017; cited by permission.
8. Sampson, *Survey*, p. 127 and *Memoir*, p. 297, defends the concrete particular in the face of 'splendid theories'. His 'immediate duty' is to 'collect and arrange' what 'is the state of things'.
9. See, for example, James H. Johnson, 'Agriculture in Co. Derry at the Beginning of the Nineteenth Century', *Studia Hibernica*, 4 (1964), 95–103; E.M. Patterson, W.A. Mitchell and D.J. Swaine, 'The Tertiary Volcanic Succession in the Western Part of the Antrim Plateau', *Proceedings of the Royal Irish Academy. Section B: Biological, Geological, and Chemical Science*, 57 (1954–56), 155–78; Arthur E.J. Went, 'The Status of the Shads, *Alosa finta* and *A. Alosa* cuvier, in Irish Waters', *The Irish Naturalists' Journal*, 11:1 (1953), 8–11.
10. Both E.M. Crawford, 'Food and Famine: Diet in County Londonderry 1820–1860', in *Derry and Londonderry: History and Society*, ed. Gerard O'Brien (Dublin: Geography Publications, 1999), pp. 519–35 and Joel Mokyr and Cormac Ó Gráda, 'Poor and Getting Poorer? Living Standards in Ireland before the Famine', *The Economic History Review*, New Series, 41.2 (1988), 209–35 focus on dietary rather than culinary aspects of Sampson's texts.
11. James Stevens Curl, *The Londonderry Plantation 1609–1914: The History, Architecture, and Planning of the Estates of the City of London and Its Livery Companies in Ulster* (Chichester: Phillimore, 1986), p. 242.
12. James Stevens Curl, *The Honourable the Irish Society and the Plantation of Ulster, 1608–2000* (Chichester: Phillimore, 2000); on the plantation of Ulster in general see T.W. Moody, *The Londonderry Plantation 1609–41: The City of London and the Plantation in Ulster* (Belfast: William Mullan and Son, 1939) and Philip S. Robinson, *The Plantation of Ulster: British Settlement in an Irish Landscape 1600–1670* (Belfast: Ulster Historical Foundation, 1994).
13. G.V. Sampson, 'Prospectus of a Survey of the County of Londonderry', 1 January 1810, Belfast, Public Record Office of Northern Ireland (PRONI), D/4108/1/19H/1, fol. 142; same, letter to Fishmongers Company, 15 November 1810, PRONI D/4108/1/19H/1, fol. 153, thanking them for donation and patronage for the intended new publication; same, letter requesting tracings of estate boundaries from 'any Authentic Map' in a Company's possession, 3 December 1810, PRONI D/4108/1/19H/3.

14. Sampson is squarely within the Anglican intellectual tradition that embraced natural theology; see John Wilson Foster, 'Encountering Traditions', *Nature in Ireland*, pp. 23–70 (pp. 45–56).
15. *Memoir*, pp. 1–7, 14, 22, 54.
16. *Memoir*, pp. 333–59.
17. *Memoir*, pp. 143–45, emphasizes Sampson's. See Livesey, Dublin Society, for the notion of utility as a characteristic approach to improvement by the founders of the Dublin Society.
18. *Memoir*, pp. 183–84; Eoin Neeson, 'Woodland in History and Culture', *Nature in Ireland*, pp. 133–56.
19. *Survey*, pp. 235, 226, 216, 135.
20. *Memoir*, pp. 181* [sic], 172, 183–84.
21. 'Mother earth' (*Survey*, pp. 138, 268) is said to be 'in good heart' (pp. 131, 159, 161) when well-balanced and enriched. 'Deaf soil' (pp. 39, 51, 65, 133) contains an oxide of basalt; 'hungry soil' (pp. 41, 176) is light; there is also hungry gravel (pp. 33, 277, 296). Stiff soil can be made fertile if 'medicine' is applied in the form of bog, gravel and sand (pp. 37–38) and 'burnt' soil can be rescued by the medicine of a potato crop (p. 140).
22. 'Composts of bog should be long exposed and digested. In their recent state, they produce sorrel, in their digested state, they nourish clover' (p. 277). Provincialisms for animal husbandry, ploughing, and turf production abound throughout Sampson's texts.
23. John Wilson Foster, 'Encountering Traditions', pp. 45–56.
24. Gerard Boate and Sir Thomas Molyneux, *A Natural History of Ireland: In Three Parts* (Dublin: George and Alexander Ewing, 1755); Coughlan, 'Natural history'; Donal Synnott, 'Botany in Ireland', *Nature in Ireland*, pp. 157–83.
25. *Memoir*, p. 193, referring to Presbyterians and Catholics: 'neither of them are empowered to put into effect that, which each might consider its own appointed duty.'
26. For example, 'Smoked Potatoes with Ramp Mayonnaise', in Nicolaus Balla and Cortney Burns, *Bar Tartine: Techniques and Recipes* (San Francisco: Chronicle Books, 2014), pp. 226–28.
27. *Memoir*, p. 168; Helen O'Connell, "'A Raking Pot of Tea': Consumption and Excess in Early Nineteenth-Century Ireland', *Literature & History*, third series, 21.2 (2012), 32–47.
28. Foster, 'Encountering Traditions', pp. 41–42.
29. Máirtín Mac Con Iomaire, 'The History of Seafood in Irish Cuisine and Culture', *History Studies*, 5 (2004), 61–76; Christopher Moriarty, 'Fish and Fisheries', *Nature in Ireland*, pp. 283–98.
30. John Gamble, *Society and Manners in Early Nineteenth-Century Ireland*, ed. Breandán Mac Suibhne (Dublin: Field Day, 2011), pp. 170, 171, 191 and many other places.
31. Michael Hennerty, *Heritage Apples of Ireland* (Dublin: Department of Agriculture, Food and the Marine, 2014), p. 37, Ballyfatten.
32. Hennerty, 88.
33. Hennerty, 87.
34. Hennerty, 74.
35. Hennerty, 63, possibly Greasy Pippin.
36. Hennerty, 41, Winesap?
37. Hennerty, 96.
38. Sampson's brother-in-law John Dubourdieu, *Statistical Survey of the County of Antrim: With Observations on the Means of Improvement* (Dublin: Dublin Society, 1812), in *HathiTrust DL*, [accessed 22 January 2018], p. 276 noted that White russet, Golden russet, and Golden pippin were old and decaying; strawberry, peach, and plum apples were esteemed for beauty and flavour. Other varieties included Honey-ball; Kerry and Ribston pippins; Red tankard (cf. Sampson's Tancred); Ross nonpareil; Croston; and the 'up and comer' Saul, which appeared near Downpatrick. Many of these are noted in Hennerty, *Heritage Apples*.
39. Jennetin and Codlin(g) are very old English varieties: George William Johnson, *A History of English Gardening, Chronological, Biographical, Literary, and Critical* (London: Baldwin & Craddock, 1829), Google e-book, pp. 441–42 [accessed 1 February 2018].
40. Hennerty, *Heritage Apples*, p. 86.
41. Tom Burford, *Apples of North America* (Portland, OR: Timber Press, 2013), p. 87 notes that Hubbard Nonesuch is also known as American Nonpareil. It may thus be related to Sampson's American nonesuch ('nonesuch' an anglicized name for nonpareils).
42. Toby Barnard, *A Guide to Sources for the History of Material Culture in Ireland, 1500–2000*, Maynooth Research Guides for Irish Local History (Dublin: Four Courts Press, 2005), p. 37.
43. Kirk Johnson, 'Hunting Down the Lost Apples of the Pacific Northwest', *The New York Times*, 29 May 2017, section U.S. <<https://www.nytimes.com/2017/05/29/us/apple-varieties-pacific-northwest.html>> [accessed 16 January 2018].
44. See W.D. Davidson, 'History of Potato Varieties', *Journal of the Department of Agriculture, Irish Free State*, 33 (1934), 57–81 for Black, Red, Apple, Red Kidney and Pink Eyes; same, *Potato Growing for Seed Purposes* (Dublin: The Stationery Office, 1937), p. 141 identifies Scotch Greys as Black Champion; p. 214 notes that Pink Eyes resembles Lumper in some respects; and p. 217 discusses the red potato. James Choiseul, Gerry Doherty, and Gabriel Roe, 'Potato Varieties of Historical Interest in Ireland' (Dublin: Department of Agriculture, Fisheries, and Food, Republic of Ireland, 2008), p. 10 identify Scotch Greys as Black Champion; p. 12 discuss Blacks; and pp. 72–77 list the historical potatoes in the government's collection.
45. A longer study in progress will look beyond the catalogues to less systematic comments about animals used as food, import and export statistics, and developing food industries.

46. Crawford, 'Food and Famine', pp. 523–24.
47. James Stevens Curl, 'Reluctant Colonisers: The City of London and the Plantation of Coleraine', *History Ireland*, 17.6 (2009) <<https://www.historyireland.com>> [accessed 28 January 2018].
48. 'Ark of Taste - What We Do', *Slow Food Foundation* <<https://www.fondazione Slow Food.com/en/what-we-do/the-ark-of-taste/>> [accessed 25 January 2018].
49. 'Agricultural Biodiversity Key for Resilience Building', *Food Tank*, 2018 <<https://foodtank.com/news/2018/01/biodiversity-resilience-natural-disasters/>> [accessed 20 January 2018]; Maywa Montegenro, 'Banking on Wild Relatives to Feed the World', *Gastronomica*, 2017 <<https://gastronomica.org/2017/03/14/banking-on-wild-relatives-to-feed-the-world/>> [accessed 28 January 2018].
-