



**NINETEENTH CENTURY SHORT TITLE CATALOGUE**  
(NSTC)  
**NEWSLETTER**

No.6 July 1989

ISSN 0265-4008

Editor: Gwen Averley  
Editorial Office:  
20, Great North Road,  
Newcastle upon Tyne  
NE2 4PS.  
(091) 2615790

The Nineteenth Century Short Title Catalogue (NSTC) Project was established on the 20th May 1983. It aims to provide increasingly complete listings of British publications printed between 1801 and 1918 in order of authors, subjects, places of imprints, titles and date of publication. British publications are taken to include all works published in Britain, its colonies and the United States of America; all works in English wherever published; and all translations from English.

### **PHASE I. SERIES I. (1801-1815) (6 vol., 1984-86)**

This phase of the first series embraces the catalogued holdings of the Bodleian Library, the British Library, the Library of Trinity College, Dublin, the National Library of Scotland, Edinburgh, and the University Libraries of Cambridge and Newcastle (+CDELNO).

### **PHASE I. SERIES II. (1816-1870) (55 vol., 1986-)**

This phase of the second series embraces the catalogued holdings of the Bodleian Library, the British Library, the Library of Trinity College, Dublin, the National Library of Scotland, Edinburgh, Harvard University Library, the Library of Congress, and the University Libraries of Cambridge and Newcastle (+CDEHLNOW).

## **CONTENTS**

NSTC Progress to Date (July 1989)

Don Reid: In Memoriam

The Nineteenth Century Microfiche Programme: Progress Report

New Indexes: Sub-headings — EDINBURGH and FREEMASONS

Cookery Books and Provincial Printing in Northern England. By Dr. Lynette Hunter

The History of Little Fanny and other Bad Children: Nineteenth Century Paper Doll Books. By Vanessa Histon Roberts

The Study of British History in Nanjing University. By Professor Wang Juefei

'The Age of Modernization': Nineteenth Century British History Studies in China Today. By Liu Wei

Publishing a New Edition of the Bible in Early Nineteenth Century Britain. By Dr. Jeremy Black

Notes and Queries

## COOKERY BOOKS AND PROVINCIAL PRINTING IN NORTHERN ENGLAND

Being committed to a social context for the history of books I carry out my research and teaching of publishing history in a specific field: books produced for domestic use, particularly for an audience of women. The area of interest, stimulated by the recent publication of *A Bibliography of Cookery books published in Britain 1875-1914*, Elizabeth Driver (Prospect Books, 1989) is that of the development of the provincial printing of cookery books in the North of England during the nineteenth century. What the following brief article offers is an outline account of some of the developments, which asks the question: who made the books and who were they printed for? This underlines a double dilemma since not only is very little known about provincial printing in the nineteenth century, but even less is known about the day to day domestic lives of the people who used the books.

Given the cost and the difficulty of broad distribution, provincial printing at the start of the nineteenth century addressed itself primarily to a local audience. But for a cookery book successfully to address a local audience at a time when food traditions were still largely orally transmitted, was quite rare. However, a new audience for a relatively new medium was being prepared. Throughout the second half of the eighteenth century a new development had been taking place in printing and publishing and this was the growth of the magazines. The start of the 19th century saw the beginning of the age of the editor in domestic books which would continue into the 20th century, epitomised by Robert Philp and his *Enquire Within* which was drawn from the pages of the *Family Friend* magazine. At first these domestic books were from London magazines and had London editors, but by the early 1800s there were a few provincial magazines and, more important, there were a growing number of writers who were modelling their work on edited books: in other words individuals who were not in fact editors began to publish their work as a collection of articles. In Liverpool one finds *The female instructor* (1811) or Elizabeth Alcock's *The Frugal Housekeeper's Companion* (1812). Manchester follows Alcock in 1813 with *The young women's companion: or frugal housewife*, claiming superiority because it contains no arithmetic, and Watkin Poole's *The female's best friend* (1826). Newcastle produces *The young woman's guide to virtue, economy ...* (1817), and Sheffield gives us Priscilla Hazlehurst's *The Family Friend* (1802).

Most of these writers claim to be editors; they are not providing original work but a compendium of the best that there already is. This may partly have been to do with trying to get around copyright laws since in the great tradition of cookery writing many of these writers copied wholesale from other books, but in large the genre has to do with the length and the purpose of the books. Many of these are large books, 400 pages upwards. They are costly and clearly directed at the emerging middle class young woman aspiring to be a lady. On the one hand, she does not need to know how to cook or housekeep although she does need to know how to direct servants to do so. On the other hand, this is based on her marrying. Unmarried she will probably have to find work as a governess, so most of the books also contain a smattering of history, geography and arithmetic suitable for a young woman. In other words the books resemble a series of magazine articles partly because of a new reading pattern but also because of their diverse function which can adapt easily to that pattern. These weighty volumes seem to have appeared in the provinces from around 1800 to the 1830s, exactly that period when the change in social roles demanded them and up to the time of the introduction of the railways which made distribution from London cheaper and more efficient.

A curious lacuna in provincial cookery printing occurs roughly between 1830 and 1870. It was filled partly with the products of those London editors and by the work of the great chefs: Careme, Francatelli (Queen Victoria's cook), Soyer (chef to the Reform Club, among other things), Ude and Dubois. There were also the exceptional straightforward cookery books such as Mary Rundell's *New system of domestic cookery* (1800) which was published continuously throughout the century, or Eliza Acton's *Modern Cookery* (1845). But all of these were printed and published almost exclusively in London. During this period the whole printing business was reorienting itself around London mainly because the distribution of books was so much easier with the coming of the trains.

The provinces exhibit a considerable amount of plagiarism and pirating, effective presumably because of the relative isolation from London. Examples range from the subtlety of Mary Radcliffe's *A modern system of domestic cookery* (1822) trading on the similarity in name and title with Rundell (Illus. 1), to the overt, but one among many, of S.W. Stavelly's *The New Whole Art of Confectionery ...* (1812-15). This work has boldly on the title-page of the second edition (1815), 'No person will be permitted to reprint this work, on CHARGE OF FELONY'. By 1821, S.W. Stavelly is 'late' and the seventh edition, printed at Chesterfield, carries the same warning and the same preface claiming that the author has been 'frequently solicited for many years, by several of the nobility' to write the work. Oddly enough another seventh edition is published in 1828 in Liverpool with the same warning and the same preface; and by 1834 a 'new' edition arrives from Leeds, no longer by Stavelly but by J.E. Thomas, lacking the warning about felony but — what cheek — with the same personal preface.

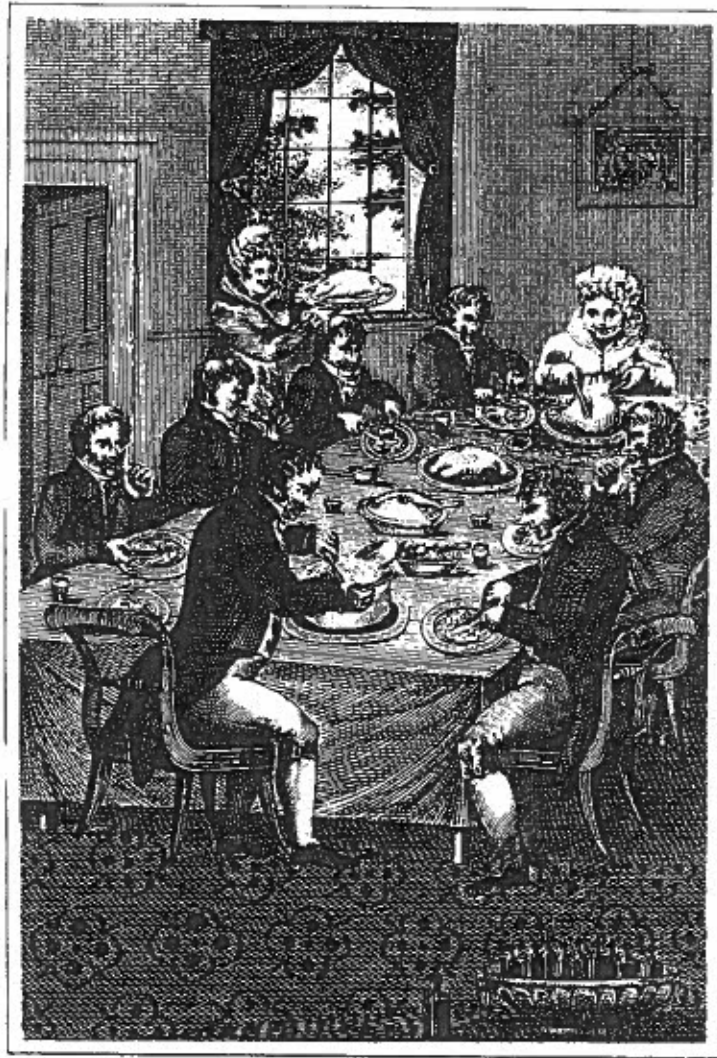
But for the most part in the provinces one finds only a number of servants' books, innkeeper's guides, shopkeeper's promotions. It is not a flourishing trade, the books are resoundingly local, often in small format, chapbook style, intended only for a small immediate audience.

Impetus only returned to the provincial printing of cookery books in the second part of the nineteenth century, particularly after the Education Acts of 1867 and 1870. By this time the provincial centres, such as Manchester, Liverpool and Leeds were in their heyday of industrial wealth and the printers were financially able to move into the new technology. Possibly more important was the establishment of the school system which not only ensured a broad degree of literacy and made necessary the writing of textbooks to be used in school cookery classes, but also emancipated women into writing-related work. Even then the concentration of large influential publishers in London such as Longmans or Simpkin Marshall, seems to have meant that potentially successful books were usually submitted first to them, as is indeed the case now. The Liverpool training school of cookery's Fanny Calder published her teachers' manual with Longmans (1891). F.T. Paul, teaching domestic science in Liverpool at Edge Hill, also published with Longmans (1893). The famous Leeds doctor Henry Allbutt published his controversial book on contraception *The wife's handbook* (1886) with W.J. Ramsay. Catharine Dodd from Owens College, Manchester, published with Joseph Hughes (1897). The Leeds School Board publication *Our dwellings healthy* by Catherine Buckton was published in 1885 with Longmans; and 25 years later in 1910, Wilena Hitching from Meanwood Road Girl's School (Leeds) published *Home Management* for the Derbyshire County council with the London firm W.R. Chambers.

It is helpful to have a feel for the books published in London to understand the development of provincial publishing in the cookery book area. The successful educational books just noted were nearly always published in London, since they attempted to become curriculum standards for schools nationwide. Just so the great writers of the period, with names now probably forgotten — Dorothy Peel, Agnes Marshall, Mrs. De Salis, Janet Marshall, Eliza Kirk, Florence Jack, Arthur Kenney-Herbert, Phyllis Browne, Rose Brown, Rose Cole, Nancy Lake and of course Charles Herman Senn — all published in London. These writers each wrote books with an average print run of 50,000 — 100,000; each author sold near to or more than a million copies of their books, and some such as Senn sold many millions. Writers of this kind rarely published in the provinces, and the exceptions such as L. Sykes's *The Olio cookery book* or H. Tuxford's *Cookery for the Middle Classes* indicate the rule.

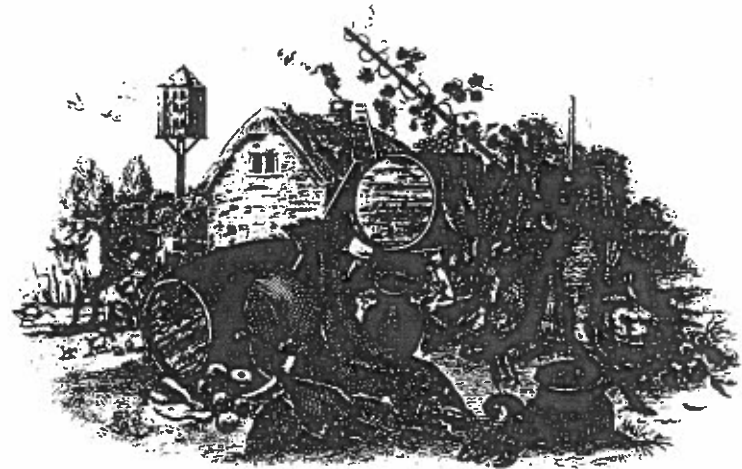
Tuxford began publishing with John Heywood of Manchester in 1902. Her book became so popular that as Heywood published it over the succeeding 40 years he went into collaboration with a series of London publishers to ensure its success and wide distribution. Sykes also started with John Heywood in 1911, and the early editions of *The Olio cookery book* were printed in Preston. In an almost casebook study, her work was adapted by G.A. Riley for teaching in Morecambe schools from the fifth edition whereupon we find Heywood's collaboration spreading first to London and then on to Dublin and Belfast. From the tenth edition it was taken up as a standard text for the Board of Education examination in Cookery, a national examination, which encouraged Heywood to include publishers in Glasgow as well. The book was reprinted frequently

# Frontispiece.



*A Domestic Scene.*

## A Modern System OF Domestic Cookery OR THE HOUSEKEEPERS GUIDE.



MANCHESTER.

Printed & Pub<sup>d</sup> by J. Gleave 191 Drurygate 1822.

and from 1928 it was brought out solely by the London publisher Ernest Benn, who continued to publish it up to 1954.

What is quite clear is that from the 1870s onwards the provincial presses once more began to find substantial reasons for printing locally, and again we are looking at the question of who made the books and who used them. From 1870 to 1920 printing of cookery books in the regions became quite widespread. More people had access to print and there was a fairly large market generated in part by the London trade and its associated distributary channels and bookselling outlets. But few of the regional printing houses actually competed with London. The areas developed by publishers and printers in the north of England fall roughly into the following categories: specialist publications such as vegetarian cookery, educational text books, work by local authors, fund-raising books, company promotional material, commercial advertising and books related to the cookery trades.

The primary example of specialist publishing must be John Heywood in Manchester who published most of the works of the Vegetarian Society as well as being a major publisher of mainstream books. His edition of Helen Taylor's *Soups, savouries, sweets* (1897) provides a neat point of comparison with the first, non-vegetarian and London, edition of 1889 (Illus. 2). These two editions of *Soups, savouries, sweets* show the relative slowness with which provincial presses adopted printing fashions. Richard Bentley's edition shows all the influence of John Lane's Bodley Head design policies and of the Arts and Crafts movement focus on design, which were soon to flower into Morris's Kelmscott Press: the wide margins, the use of rules, of broad leading, of page by page design with head and foot quotations, of simplicity and lightness. In 1897 John Heywood is trying to do a similar job, but it does not work as well. He uses heavy, almost mock black letter type, highly inappropriate for a cookery book of this kind and an intricate floral capital that is fussy rather than effective; the attempt to mimic overall page design fails dismally because he doesn't have the courage to box in the text, as a result the horizontal rules float aimlessly creating patchy spaces of white. At the same time the attempt does indicate his awareness of the new movement, if also his newness to it.

Heywood's vegetarian publications, and the location of the Vegetarian Society in Manchester encouraged many other publishers such as Albert Broadbent into the field. In nearby Liverpool, the great nineteenth century seaport, one of the speciality publishing areas was sea cookery. Alexander Quinlan published *Cookery for Seamen* (1894) with E.E. Mann of the Liverpool training school of cookery, specifically for seamen. The introductory pages of the book advertise the class they ran jointly and state firmly that no more than eight students will be accepted. With the radical change brought to sea cookery over the following 10 to 15 years with the new refrigeration units, new guides for cooking on ships were needed. One of the more successful works in this field was Robert Bond's *Sea Cookery* (1907), originally published in Glasgow but later, and appropriately, in Liverpool.

Promotional books were essential if people were to learn how to use new products. Some were soon forgotten products such as Cottolene, a kind of margarine, or Bananine, a banana-based flour, which failed to catch the popular imagination. But Borwick's baking powder (Illus. 3) and Goodall Backhouse products became best sellers as did the books like 'Good things made, said and done' (1879) from Goodall Backhouse (Illus. 4) which ran into editions being printed up to 1949 or Lever Brothers 'Sunlight' year books. Promotional books were normally published in the towns where the company was based — Leeds, Port Sunlight — just as commercial books presenting the pros and cons of new sugar refineries or flour manufacturers came from the places like Liverpool where the factories operated.

More important for regional tastes were the trade related books by local food suppliers and shopkeepers. Both groups often wrote for their immediate regional audience. Hannah Young of Warrington used her cookery writing to advertise the products in her local grocery shop, although these goods could also be ordered by post; and Lillie Richmond based her work on the use of the 'Richmond' gas stove. May Whyte, a confectioner, published from Birkenhead where she worked. In Scarborough the baker Robert Wells began by publishing books specifically for the trade, primarily with London publishers;

## INTRODUCTION.

*'With her own hands she dress'd the savoury meat,  
With her own fingers wrote the choice receipt.'*

CRABBE.

## Introduction.

THERE are many young housewives, well-educated as well as practical, who like to prepare with their own hands the dainty trifles which give variety to the ordinary bill of fare. They delight in placing before those whose comfort is committed to their trust some pleasant surprise as a proof of their culinary skill. A new dish successfully achieved is to them a source of honourable pride, and a receipt found in some century-old

*'She has no desire to be praised but for her cookery; nor wishes any ill to the rest of mankind, but that whenever they aspire to feast, their custards may be wheyish, and their pie-crusts tough.'*—'RAMBLER.'

v

(Bentley's edition, 1889)

## INTRODUCTION.

3

*"Teaching how fair  
This earth were, if all living things be linked  
In friendliness, and common use of foods  
Bloodless and pure."*—EDWIN ARNOLD.

## INTRODUCTION.



**COOKERY-BOOK** which aims at scientific exactness in its receipts will possibly supply a need in these days when practical work in every department of life is appreciated, and when cookery is taught not only in Board Schools, but also in Training Colleges for Domestic Economy.

To young housewives, the minute directions I have given in it will not be superfluous, and even experienced cooks will probably regard with favour a book which contains many original and appetising dishes.

The Soup and Savoury dishes I have given are made without "fish, flesh, or fowl," and have greater nourishing and equally sustaining qualities to meat-foods of the same cost. (See appendix.)

To those who have given up meat, whether on account of a dislike to it, or for other reasons, these receipts may not be without value.

*"The business of the kitchen's great,  
For it is fit that man should eat."*

SIR JOHN SUCKLING.

(Heywood's edition, 1897)

Illustration 2

# BORWICK'S BAKING POWDER

THE BEST IN THE WORLD.



In 6d., 1s., 2s. 6d. and 5s. Tins.

Economical and Reliable.

# BORWICK'S COOKERY BOOK

TENTH EDITION

ILLUSTRATED WITH COLOURED PLATES

PUBLISHED BY  
GEORGE BORWICK & SONS, LIMITED  
CHISWELL STREET AND BUNHILL ROW,  
LONDON, E.C.

ESTABLISHED 1848



## ENO'S VEGETABLE MOTO.

(A SIMPLE VEGETABLE EXTRACT)



Occasionally a desirable adjunct to ENO'S FRUIT SALT, as a Laxative, Stomachic, Blood, Brain, Nerve, Bile or Liver Tonic. It will be found invaluable for creating and sustaining a natural action of the Stomach and Biliary Secretions.

In a word—"ENO'S VEGETABLE MOTO" is Mild, Effective, and Agreeable, and lasting without force or strain in Indigestion, Bilioaness, Sick Headache, Gout, Rheumatism, Female Affections, Head Affections, Nervousness, Sleeplessness from Liver Derangement, Flatulence, at the commencement of Coughs and

Colds, Blood Poisons and their kindred evils, are prevented and cured by the use of the VEGETABLE MOTO AND ENO'S FRUIT SALT.

**A Gouty Rheumatic Condition of the Blood, producing Liver Disturbance, Liver Indigestion, Biliary Derangement, and Persisting Indigestion.**

Mr. ENO, Dear Sir,—“I suffered severely for three months, consulted three eminent Medical men, and had three changes of air without any good result; my Liver and Digestive Organs felt as if they had ceased to act; my Stomach was distended with flatulence (wind), that every part of the body was afflicted. My head at night seemed to hear a hundred bells ringing. I was compelled to be propped up in bed; I got very little sleep, for the severe pain under my shoulders and on my left side produced a restlessness not easily described; in a word, prior to using your ‘Vegetable Moto’ my Nervous System was out of order, rendering life a burden to myself and all near me; I felt there was a very short span between my life and the end of the chapter. Five weeks ago I tried your ‘Vegetable Moto,’ after three days I was able to take sufficient food to support nature, sleep gradually returned, and my health assumed its usual condition; I continued the ‘Moto’ five weeks. I can only express my gratitude by saying, make what use you like of this.”—Yours, &c., TRUTH. London, 1886.

ASYLUM ROAD, OLD KENT ROAD, S.E., FEB. 7, 1887.  
To J. C. ENO.—Sir,—For several years, I was troubled with a severe Dyspeptic, Bronchial disturbance, causing shortness of breath, particularly in the morning. I took many cough remedies, but they, in fact, only aggravated the irritation in the stomach. At length, I tried your ‘Vegetable Moto,’ and after a few doses, found all the bad symptoms leaving me as if by magic; the ‘Moto,’ by its tonic action had evidently found the source of the disorder, and I can assert it is the finest remedy I ever had, its effect being so lasting, yet so mild.—I am, Sir, yours faithfully, VERITAS.

Sold by all Chemists, Price 1s. 1½d., Post Free, 1s. 3d.

PREPARED ONLY AT

ENO'S FRUIT SALT WORKS, HATCHAM, LONDON, S.E.

## GOOD THINGS

MADE, SAID & DONE,

FOR EVERY

HOME & HOUSEHOLD.

THIRTIETH EDITION.



LEEDS:

GOODALL, BACKHOUSE & Co.,  
WHITE-HORSE STREET.

1893.

# TOFFY and SWEETS

HOW TO MAKE THEM;

OR, THE ART OF SUGAR-BOILING MADE EASY.

Being a Compendium of Useful Hints, Instructions,  
and Recipes.

SPECIALLY ADAPTED FOR THE TRADE OR THE AMATEUR.

By ROBERT WELLS,

*Author of "The Modern Practical Bread Baker;" "The Bread and Biscuit Baker;" "The Pastry Cook and Confectioner's Guide;" "The Modern Flour Confectioner;" and "Ornamental Confectionery."*

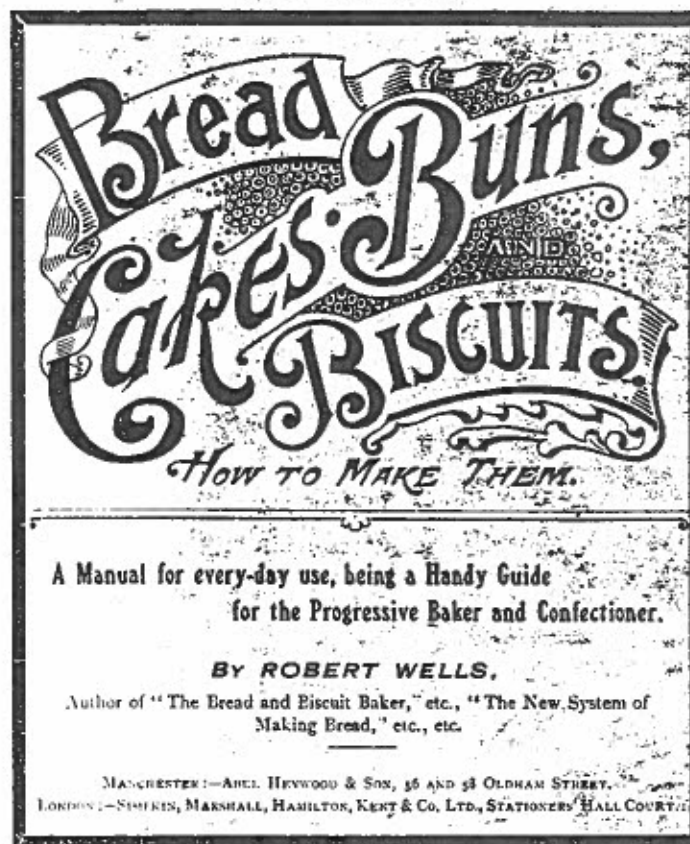
MANCHESTER:

ABEL HEYWOOD & SON, 56 & 58, OLDHAM STREET.

LONDON:

SIMPKIN, MARSHALL, HAMILTON, KENT & CO., LTD.,  
STATIONERS' HALL COURT.

ONE SHILLING.



**Bread, Buns, Cakes, AND BISCUITS.**  
*How to Make Them.*

A Manual for every-day use, being a Handy Guide  
for the Progressive Baker and Confectioner.

By ROBERT WELLS,  
Author of "The Bread and Biscuit Baker," etc., "The New System of  
Making Bread," etc., etc.

MANCHESTER:—ABEL HEYWOOD & SON, 56 AND 58 OLDHAM STREET.  
LONDON:—SIMPKIN, MARSHALL, HAMILTON, KENT & CO. LTD., STATIONERS' HALL COURT.

but as he moved toward writing for 'the amateur' as well, he shifted his publishing outlet to Scarborough itself. The format of his specifically trade related books is formal, as is the old-fashioned typography. But the later more general works are in a smaller, pocket-sized, format with attractive typographic covers (Illus. 5). *Toffy and Sweets* (1893), *Bread Cakes Buns and Biscuits* (1905), and *Pleasant Drinks* (1909) illustrate the changes in design taking place at the turn of the century.

The most important area of provincial publishing was educational. There were a multitude of books put out by and for the Local School Boards which range from pamphlets to standard works running into many editions. One of the earliest is a pamphlet on Jewish cookery by Yates and Hess (1877) for the Liverpool Jewish Schools, although it included a fair number of regional foods such as Lancashire cakes. Among many others, examples are Mary McNaughton's *Lessons in Practical Cookery* (1891) for elementary schools in Liverpool, the Carlisle City Education Board's *Cookery* (1907), and the *Lancashire cookbook* (1896) which was used throughout Lancashire and went through at least 24 editions.

While educational books made up the mass of provincial cookery publishing, more important for an idea of regional taste are the fund-raising booklets. These booklets began to be published in the second part of the nineteenth century by women who were trying to become involved with social welfare and charity causes. Not being from a class which could simply donate money they raised money and formed expressions of their small communities as they did so. The booklets 'in aid of ...' became more and more numerous as the decades passed, and indeed are popular today. Hospitals, churches, societies and schools all benefited. There is Blanche Leigh's *Souvenir cookery book* (1905) in aid of the Leeds Maternity Hospital, *The Goole cookery book* (1907), *The Grimsby cookery book* (1905), *The St Andrew's Cookery Book* (1908) from Derby, and dozens of other examples. Again, it was often the local newspaper office which did the printing of these booklets. They were cheap, fairly short and the contributors would probably have expected not only to produce it for free but also to purchase several copies themselves. What is missing, and oddly so in view of the preoccupation of the late nineteenth century with regional folklore customs, are books devoted to popular traditions and taste although there are a few facsimile productions such as the *Arcana Fairfaxiana* (1890) of much earlier manuscripts from great houses.

Curiously, the lack of competition with London publications which meant that all these categories of books published in the provinces were primarily for distribution there, is an indication of their firmly local basis. However, while this at first may have helped to record and disseminate a few local traditions, in the long run it could never spread them broadly enough to counteract the institutional neutralising of local flavour. By 1920 the colonising of provincial taste was well underway. The books from the local education boards are trojan horses. As the competition for the London publisher and broad acceptance into the National examination schemes shows, while some of these works may have included regional foods and traditions, there was enormous pressure to conform to national foodstuffs and examinable ways of preparation. And as a corollary, as the books achieved national status the cookery that was taught in schools became less regionally distinct. However, given that printed cookbooks are still not a dependable source of information about popular taste, the works from local shopkeepers and particularly from the fund-raising groups, do provide some insight into what people ate and what they were interested in passing on to other people.

Lynette Hunter, School of English, University of Leeds, Leeds LS2 9JT.

#### ACKNOWLEDGEMENTS

The illustrations are produced with the permission of Mr. Morrish, Special Collections, Brotherton Library, University of Leeds.