DICTIONARIUM

SAXONICO-LATINO-ANGLICUM.

A

meritos,in laudatifimo de qua-

tuor linguis tractatu, pag. 235.

Particulam hanc Alexander

(it be, pop, ge, & co) ver-

temporis participiis, ac verba-

libus, fape prapofitum: cujus

in lequentibus exemplorum fa-

tis. Hic interim monendum,

przepolitiones hujulmodi Gepe

commutari.Que hic igitur de-

fiderantur, illic (in vocibus

fcil. à caterarum una aut alte-

râ iucipientibus) monny quam

A. Semper, ulque. Atwaies, e-

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perpetuum, in feculden: for 6

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ser' nomen Dei in eternum.

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inveniantur.

tins affirmo pro vero; &c.

X B

Augmentum initiale, helper bere behorab. Nos ve-A solution nonnunquant otioro (ut quidem par eft) ut quifque maxime opis indigrat ita ei femper potisimam opitulemur. Hoc lingua Danica vetere, e. V. **** tatifimum hodie fzpe przeifum. E. G. Worm: Literature Runice c. abznan, to beare: abcoban, 27. p. 160. to bib : abpecan, to breake, & alia fexcenta. Atqui hoc ip-Mac. quercus, robur. an Dake. lingua Danica vetere eik. Worfum ex usu & genio linguz Grzez ad Angles derivatum. mius. Kiliano, epche, &c. V. quod, inter alia plura haud Xab. Congeries, strues, pyra, vulgaria, me docuit Studiorum ligni congeries , rogus. a Pile,

meorum fautor ille unicus, D. a drivod pile. Bed. Hift.li. 3. c Mericus Cafanbonus, magni quidem patris non minor fili- Kalgepen. Igniarium. a Fire

us, ac de me, & ornnibus iffius fieel: alfo, Linder. linguz fludiosis vir optime Kam. Cauter. a Seating iron.

Gilliur, in Logonom. Angl. c. Abacen. Coctus, pillus. Waket, 9. vocat epitaticam : ut in aoz baken. mete. i. terreo ; aber, vebemen-

Abapan. Pati, tolerare to bear, fuffer,indure, it. ut abenan. Abal. Solertia, ingenium, scientis. Cunning, wit, wildome borum præteritis, præteriti

anotoledge, fubtiltp. it. habilitas, aptnesse, ability, ablenesse. — her p bu hirrer oferer etc. cpx & p hin a bal Jepare, J hin moo-jepa mapa pupoe, J hin lichoma leohupe micle. Diaboli Adamum tentantis verba funt, Paraph, Saxon. pag. 25, i.e. Pracepit [Deus] ut frullum bunc tu comedas: dixit [mihi] Scientiam & peritiam tuam, mentifque tue inteliellum [nice] aullum iri. & corpus tuum mul-

to luculentius fiturum. Khannañ. Mandare, praciperes jubere, to command. P. S. p. 194. aban on pa beopriar. bnego Caloca, ut or orne. Pracipe tu , Caldaorum Imperater, Nabuchodonofor | viv ris illu nobilibus, [tribus puehelpan aa bam pabort be ris fc.] ut de fornace exeam. ir.

edicere, denuntiare, proclamare, publicare. to publift, to pzoclaime. ut abannan. edicto convocare, congregare, evocare, to call forth, fummon, congregate, oz call to gether. Tentonich cadem fignificatione, & ab eodem fonte, bannen: barbare, bannire. Hinc etians noftratium bannes. pro nupriarum pacto publicato. Huc insuper (quod ad o-riginem attinet) reservedum Gallorum . bannir , Italorum bandire, nostratium bannish. i. profcribere, in exilium agere; & inde derivata: fed & noftratiom banning: i. dirz , finifira imprecatio, execratio. Videat hic qui velit Cl. Equitis Spel-manni, & doctiff. Voffi Gloff. in voce bannum.it.Menugii Les Origines de la Langue Fran-coife, in base.

Abapiani Denudare, prodere, o-Rendere, manifeltare. to make bare, to betogay, to detect, to difclofe, to difcober, to beciare of make manifeff. Teuton. codem fensu baeren. Ki-Abbab, Abbas, an Abbat.

Abban-bune. Abindonie opoi dum in agro Bercerienfi. Abbingdon, al. Abbington, in Barkfbire ab Abbaris sie dictum, qid. Abbatiz mons, vel collis: olim autem (Cl. Cambdeno teste) Sheoverham : de quo loco, ex vetufto libro Abbendottenfi , hac (inter alia) idem commemorat Cambde nus: Hic fedes tegia, buc cami de regni precipuis & arduis tradaretur : negative concurfus fiebat populi. Hac autem loco illi ad concilia annuation celebranda ab Anglo-Saxonibus delignato, venerabili Bedie Clofethooti, aliis Cleofetha;

William Somner, Dictionarium Saxonico-Latino-Anglicum (1659), sig. A1r, printed by William Hall in Oxford by subscription. Ruled compartments, type ornaments; text in Anglo-Saxon, Latin and English; roman, italic, black letter and Anglo-Saxon type, the latter founded by Nicholas Nicholls for the University in 1656 and first used in this book.

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> with the assistance of MAUREEN BELL



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Books for daily life: household, husbandry, behaviour

LYNETTE HUNTER

Many books published throughout the period are concerned with daily life. Books on household work and husbandry were often small format and appear to have been cheaply produced; more carefully printed were those relating to personal behaviour. The former include not only topics such as cookery, sewing, gardening and diets, the same material found in magazines and popular books today, but also chemistry and technology, earth sciences, botany, pharmacy, horticulture and general medicine for familial and daily use. Work inside the home involved the production of everything contained in the equivalent of a bathroom cabinet, kitchen cupboards and the contents of your desk. In addition, at particular times of year at least half of a long working day would be spent on the preservation and conservation of food. Work outside the house, while rather more varied, usually involved keeping chickens and at least a pig. It could also include maintaining horses, hives and a kitchen garden. Household work, usually part of an extended community, was the meaning of the word 'economics' at least until 1665.1 Most things that today we might go out and buy had to be made by oneself or someone one knew. The content of books referring to this kind of daily life remains fairly constant but their publishing history is marked by a gap of nearly all new work in English between 1617 and 1650, after which an explosion of new vernacular works took place. In contrast, books relating to personal behaviour and family relationships have a continuous publishing history yet go through significant changes in status. Both kinds of book are filled with material we would recognize from the mass culture of today's periodical press.

Central to both areas are issues to do with the ownership of knowledge, and how that knowledge is controlled and mediated by the press, often working in conjunction with other interests. The account of household and husbandry books of the period is tied to an increasing fragmentation of daily work and,

as noted below, the guilds' control both over various elements of domestic life and over what could or could not be published. What differentiates books on behaviour from those on daily work is largely the inappropriateness of guild control over personal lives, although civic and then nation-state authority, particularly in advice centred on attaining virtue and nobility by merit rather than by birth, came to be exercised through the printed book. Holding the two areas of publishing together is a common shift, attested to in many addresses to the reader, explicitly centred on controlling books written in the interest of the 'common good' or 'common wealth', a shift which is also tied to the rise of books written by and/or published for women.2

Popular books - deemed to be so usually by the vast numbers sold, gauged by their extended life and many editions - tended to be relatively cheap, small-format books for the non-specialist. Although the science in these books would be considered specialist today, it was then simply part of necessary learning. For example, the distillation of materials to isolate the active ingredients for a particular pharmaceutical would have been a central part of the work undertaken by many women on behalf of their families and larger communities. Because of changing social and commercial conditions, the status of this work for the urban dweller of the late sixteenth century differed from that of their late seventeenth-century counterpart, as it differed between city and country dwellers throughout this period. And of course the status of the work was inflected by class. For example, by 1600 sugar chemistry (then included in alchemy) and pharmacy had become accoutrements of the 'great lady' and were practised as leisure activities signifying aristocratic skill.3 This knowledge circulated extensively in manuscript because it was the preserve of women who frequently named each other as a source, so print was not an acceptable medium because, by convention, women should remain anonymous and out of the public eye.4 Indeed there is evidence that even when anonymous, the mere fact of publication was scandalous, because some people would have known the author. Despite a brief period during the 1650s when such knowledge moved into print, and in the aftermath of the Commonwealth period, books conveying these skills were largely the province of the aristocratic men of science, of professionals (working as physicians, cooks or apothecaries), and of teachers offering vocational training in cookery and confectionery for the increasing numbers of women needing to support themselves.

1 Hunter 1999.

² See M. Bell, ch. 20 above. 3 Hunter 1997b.

⁴ See the general discussion of this issue in Hunter and Hutton 1997.

⁵ Dorothy Moore, undated letter to Samuel Hartlib [June, 1645?], HP.

Books also establish communities. If the ordinary people flooding into London and other large towns during the period needed books in order to help them pick up a trade or skill in order to survive in an urban setting, the urban gentry, almost all of whom were 'new' in the later sixteenth century, needed books in order to find out what things were necessary for appropriate behaviour and display of position:6 hence the advice on sugarwork, that sure indication of wealth, on the ordering of feasts, on the 'dressing' (breaking-in) of horses and on the construction of knot-gardens. It is a short step from this kind of use to the parallel books on fashion and style written precisely for the new civic man or woman. Guides to behaviour have a peculiar status. They offer a version of living which is desirable because people with status already live that way. Their readers aspire to that life, or want to identify those who are not really part of it, or simply want to learn what people will pay for and how to provide it. One thing certain about these books is that there were enough readers to make them worth printing and selling.

1557-1640

The incorporation of the Stationers' Company did something to regulate the publication of short popular works of this kind in small formats. In the 1540s and 1550s Robert Wyer had freely plagiarized the successful titles of other men, changing their titles and altering their texts:7 thus 'Banckes Herball', first printed in 1525 with the protection of the royal privilege and frequently reprinted by Robert Banckes and his various successors, usually as a short octavo, until 1567,8 was printed under a different title at least three times by Wyer, most outrageously as Macers herbal. Practysyd by doctor Lynacro (c. 1552).9 Wyer never became a Stationer, and the title was finally registered by John King in 1560-1. However, in the case of titles valuable because popular, the new regulations did not prevent confusions over ownership in this competitive trade. Thomas Hill's A most brief and pleasant treatise... of gardens was first published, apparently for the author, by John Day in 1558.10 The third edition, revised and enlarged, was entered by Thomas Marsh in the year 1567-8, who in March 1573 exchanged his rights with Henry Bynneman for the licence to print Cato in Latin,11 and the latter printed an edition of Hill's book in 1574. Bynneman clearly believed he still had rights in the book when he yielded them up, along with others, for the benefit of the poor of the company on 8 January 1584:12 however, Marsh's son Edward believed he still owned the rights to Hill's book in 1591, since he assigned it to T. Onwin on 23 June, along with other titles which had belonged to his father. 13

Edward Allde printed a large number of household and husbandry books, sometimes in partnership with the bookseller Edward White who also shared an interest in publishing plays. Allde printed for many other booksellers with whom he had a wide variety of relationships. 14 He printed, for example, nearly all the books sold by Nathaniel Fosbrooke; mathematical texts and books on sailing and navigation for John Tapp and Hugh Astley; just one work for Thomas Archer - Swetnam's The araignment of ... women (1615), his notorious attack on women (it may be significant that Allde had a large output directed at women readers); chapbooks and ballads for Henry Gosson; and A.W.'s A booke of cookry, one of the first books on cooking, as distinguished from those on diet called for by Galenic medicine. Edward White also produced this kind of title, and after his death his wife reprinted An hospital for the diseased, acquired by White from Allde; in 1620 White's son signed his titles over to Pavier and Wright. 15 From the middle of the 1590s until 1613, when White died, Allde and White increasingly published together. Whereas in 1606 White alone re-published Markham's first work on horses Chuse, ride, traine..., in 1607 they together published Markham's Cavelarice or the English horseman.16

Gervase Markham (1568?-1637) is a publishing phenomenon in his own right. Initially a translator and writer of plays, from 1600 to 1620 he came to dominate the market for husbandry books. 17 Markham was one of the first writers in this field whose name became a commercial property. (John Fitzherbert's Husbandry, first published 1523, is commonly referred to as 'Fitzherbert's' but was so named only after Fitzherbert's death.) Markham himself was a prolific author sensitive to and self-conscious of his status, as the dedications to his Cavelarice (1607) and his English husbandman (1613-14) indicate. But it was the booksellers and printers who reprinted, abridged and vied for the rights to his books who turned his name into a guarantee of authority. Many stationers were involved in the publication of Markham's works, including White and Allde (Cavelarite, 1607), Okes (Markhams maister-peece, 1610), Roger Jackson (Cheap and good husbandry, 1614; Countrey contentments, 1615; Markhams farwell,

⁶ F. Whigham, Ambition and privilege: the social tropes of Elizabethan courtesy theory (London, 1984).

⁷ Lathrop 1914, Johnson 1944.

⁸ STC 13175.1 - .19C corrects Henrey 1975, nos. 172-92, noting three erroneous datings and two variant printings. This does not affect the argument of Johnson 1944.

⁹ STC 13175.13C: two earlier Wyer editions are 13175. 6 (1540?) and 13175. 8C (1543?).

¹⁰ STC 13489.5. On Hill and the book trade see Johnson 1943.

¹¹ Arber, 1, p. 359. 12 Arber, 11, p. 780. 13 Arber, 11, pp. 586-7. 14 McKerrow 1929. 15 Arber, IV, p. 44. 16 STC 17334, 17346.

¹⁷ For a full account of Markham's publications, see Poynter 1062.

1621; Markhams method, 1616, the last of which Jackson acquired by transfer from Langley). After Jackson's death in 1625 Michael Sparke moved in on the Markham name, publishing many editions of Markham's faithful farrier (1629) which, far from being a new Markham work, was in fact an abridged version of Markhams maister-peece and thus the property of Okes. Sparke entered it, however, in the Stationers' Register as his own, and he and his family benefited from no fewer than seven editions of the work by 1640.

The recycling of old material, sometimes abridged or with additions, is a feature of many of the works bearing Markham's name, though whether author or enterprising stationer was the source of such reworkings is not easy to distinguish. In 1616 Markham reworked existing material in Maison rustique, or, the countrey farme..., revising and enlarging Richard Surflet's translation of Charles Estienne's edition of Jean Liébault. 18 Countrey contentments, perhaps the best known of his works apart from the books on horsemanship, is in effect the text of his Discourse of horsmanshippe (first published 1593) with new matter on hunting and other sports. Markhams method, which ran to at least eleven editions by 1684, may have been an attempt by the bookseller Langley to cash in on the Markham name: the text is largely an abridgement of Cheap and good husbandry, owned by Jackson, and Langley's assignment of the copy to Jackson the same year suggests that he was forced formally to acknowledge Jackson's prior claim to the text. The extent to which an author like Markham could control the reprinting and repackaging of his texts was clearly limited: while Markham was trying to use the book trade to enhance his reputation as an author, the stationers were using him and his texts for their own profit. He complained, for example, that his Cavalerice had been spoilt by 'the over hastie greedinesse of a self-hurting Stationer', 19 and it is likely that the publication of The way to get wealth (1623) originated with the publisher, Jackson, rather than the author: it is made up of remaining copies of Markhams farwell, the third edition of Cheape and good husbandry, and the second edition of The English huswife.20

As well as demonstrating the re-use of earlier texts – via translation, revision, abridgment, addition and repackaging – typical of many publications in the period, Markham's work also signals another emerging pattern in publications of this kind: that of hinting that works were by women. Markham's English huswife (dedicated to the Dowager Countess of Exeter, Lady Mildred Burghley) and John Partridge's The widows treasure (1585) both claim, in their addresses to

18 Poynter 1962, pp. 148ff. 19 Poynter 1962, p. 100.
20 Poynter 1962, no. 34. STC silently disagrees with Poynter by treating The English huswife both as a

separate publication and as part of this collection (STC 17342, 17343; 17353).

the reader, to convey the knowledge of specific women. Markham's bookseller, Roger Jackson, notes on the verso of the English huswif titlepage (Q1°), that the writer is 'now out of his element' but that the book is based on 'an approved Manuscript which he happily light on, belonging sometime to an honorable Personage of this kingdome, who was singular amongst those of her ranke for many of the qualities here set forth'. Other works claim authority through association: Thomas Tusser's 'The book of huswifrie', published as the second part in the enlarged edition of his A hundreth good pointes of husbandrie²¹ is dedicated to his employer Lady Elizabeth Paget, and Henry Butte's Dyet's dry dinner (1599) is dedicated to Lady Anne Bacon, whom Butte does not know, though he claims to be related to her. The pattern indicates that the female aristocrat, even when not claimed as the source of the text, was invoked by authors as an authority with whom the text might be appropriately associated.

Markham's career indicates one other central feature of the printing and selling of household and husbandry books: the striking gap in the production of new books on these apparently popular topics from 1617 to the early 1650s. 'Markham' books were being published with increasing regularity between 1610 and 1616, but on 14 July 1617 Markham had to promise 'never to write any more book or bookes to be printed of the Deseases or cures of any Cattle'22 - which formed a considerable part of his works on husbandry. This may be connected to a warning added to his 1616 revision of Estienne's book, as The country farm, exhorting housewives to be careful not to meddle above their place in 'matters of Physicke'.23 After 1617 there appears to be only one new book in English published on household preparations, 'authored' by Lord Ruthven in 1639,24 but possibly by his wife.25 Reprints, however, continued to appear: of the husbandry books of Leonard Mascall and Reginald Scot, for example, which were gathered together in a composite volume entitled Countryman's recreation (1640);26 of William Lawson's A new orchard and garden (1617, 1623, 1626, 1630, 1638);27 and of Gerard's 1597 Herbal (1633, 1636).28 What new books did appear - such as John Parkinson's Paradisi in sole paradisus terrestris (1629),29 his Theatrum botanicum (1640),30 the rash of surgical texts that emerged in the 1630s - were not directed to a popular audience. Some previously popular works went out of print: Didymus Mountaine's The gardeners labyrinth, with at least four editions between 1577 and 1608, had no further

²¹ STC 24372.5 (1562). 22 Arber, III, p. 679, 14 July. 23 Hunter 1991, p. 47.

²⁴ See the introduction to Davidson and Bell 1984. 25 Hunter 1997b, p. 89 and n.6.
26 STC 5874, reprinting Mascall (17573.5), A booke of the art and manner, how to plante...(1569, 1619, 1627, 1630) and Reginald Scot's A perfite platforme of a hoppe garden; book 3 is a re-issue of STC 11562, The expert gardener (1640), which itself reprints STC 18838 (The orchard, and the garden).

²⁷ STC 15329ff. 28 STC 11751, 11752. 29 STC 19300. 30 STC 19302.

editions until after 1650.³¹ The formation of the Society of Apothecaries in 1617, largely supported by the College of Physicians, may have been the cause of the immediate clampdown on works which contained much medicinal and pharmaceutical advice.

Incorporation of one society, however, cannot fully explain this gap, which must be part of a wider context of social change in patronage and commerce, including the ownership of knowledge. It is striking that this apparent restriction on household books which contained so much vital instruction and powerful material, occurs precisely at the time of the most virulent attacks on women in the city, which were concomitant with a growing recognition of the civic freedoms that women had a right to enjoy. Many of the books on household and husbandry matters had been published with the stated intention of providing knowledge for the common good or common wealth of the nation. For example, the physician and surgeon Peter Levens notes in his epistle to the reader in A right profitable booke for all disseases. Called the pathway to health that 'some . . . esteeme of nothing but that wich is most rare, or in hard or unknowne languages' and justifies his own text for its public utility: '... what reason is it that we should keepe secrete among a few, the thing that was made to be common to al?"32 Similarly, John Partridge dedicates The treasurie of commodious conceits, & hidden secrets . . . the huswives closet, of healthfull provision to Master Richard Wistow, 'one of the Assistants of the Company of the Barbours & Surgions', commending Wistow's interest in 'publique profit and utylitie' in making 'receipts' (prescriptions or formulae) public.33 In the same way, many of the books on behaviour from this earlier period were committed to extending the common wealth and common good by providing practical advice on self-presentation and negotiation. Others bring behaviour and household practice very close together, as in Thomas Brasbridge's Poore man's jewell (1578), which advises the rich who eat too much to abstain in order to give food to poorer families, to those who cannot work, or to those who have large families. Such action, he says, will be 'more healthfull for them selves, better for a Common weale, and more acceptable to GOD'.34 In Andrew Borde's Regyment and dietary of helthe (1542) and Breviary of healthe (1547), frequently reprinted, 35 food and exercise are closely related to behaviour, as they are in Bartholomew Dowe's A dairie booke for good huswives (1588) which, in a dialogue between a 'South Hampshire' woman and a 'Suffolk' man, recommends dairy work to 'withdraw them [housewives] from dumps and sullen fantasies (being a common disease amongst women)^{3,36} But from the 1590s through to 1617 the connection between food and behaviour weakens: the topics begin to receive separate treatment, and references to the common good become less and less apparent.

Alongside the publication of books concerned with aspects of daily life, the entire period also generated many books of 'secrets'37 or trade-related skills and receipts which, though similar in content, are organized not for familial use in terms of the kitchen garden, stable, brewery and dairy, but by materials. Alessio of Piedmont's Secrets was pre-eminent in this genre, reaching seventeen editions within four years of its first publication (including translations into French, Latin, English and Dutch).38 Translated into English by W. Ward in 1558, the work has receipts for polish, varnish, ink, soap, metals, herbal remedies and even sugarwork for banquets, but the book is laid out in categories of stones, gems, plants and so on. Books of secrets often overlapped with books of 'novelties', using trade-related receipts for entertainment and leisure, especially at court. Together they were the butt of considerable criticism and were allied with quacks, empirics, cobblers, tanners and the like, or, in other words, anyone making a living from a basic use of chemical and physical technology. Unlike works for family use, these books not only unveiled the skills and receipts of individuals who made their money from them, but also revealed guild secrets. Take medicine, for example: from the 1540s to the 1580s there are many English-language, small-format books on diet, pharmacy, exercise, surgery and so on, but from the 1590s there is a gradual retraction of such information from both the simple guides and the more technical treatises in favour of general household and husbandry books, accompanied by a growth in Latin texts.39

The fate of practical and household books seems to be tied to the issue of the ownership of knowledge. The works of Hugh Plat (1552–1608) convey the difficult position felt by writers of such texts in the 1590–1617 period. Several of his shorter works, such as Discoverie of certaine English wants (1595)⁴⁰ and his Sundrie new and artificiall remedies against famine (1596),⁴¹ offer good advice on ways to deal with crises as well as advertising his own inventions. The magnificent Jewell house of art and nature (1594) is dedicated to the Earl of Essex at the height of his political influence. Plat invokes the protection of

^{31 1651:} Wing H2016. 32 STC 15532.5f (1582, 1587, 1596, 1608, 1632). 1632 cd., sigs. A2 r-v.

³³ STC 19425.5 (1573), sigs. Aiii^r. Eleven editions survive, 1573-1637. 34 STC 3548.5, sig. C2^v. Four more editions survive: 1578, 1579, 1580, 1592.

³⁵ Six editions and one collection of extracts of Regyment survive (1542-1576, STC 3378.5ff.); Breviary survives in six editions (1547-1598, STC 3373.5ff.).

³⁶ Sig. A2*. A dairie booke... appears as the second part of STC 23703 (Kyd's translation of Tasso's The housholders philosophie) and has a separate title page but no separate STC entry.

³⁷ Eamon 1994.

³⁸ Eamon 1994, p. 251; table 3 (p. 252) gives twelve English editions by 1599 and two more in the seventeenth century. Altogether 104 European editions are recorded.

³⁹ Sanderson 1999. 40 STC 19988. 41 STC 19996.

Essex against the charge of quackery, for his receipts are secrets not novelties; he is one of the few at this date still reiterating, as in many of his works, that 'the trew end of all our privat labors and studies, ought to bee the beginning of the publike and common good of our country'.⁴² Yet the final parts of the book, on 'Chimicall conclusions', moulding, casting and new inventions, frequently refer to the relevant guilds. For example, Plat invented a mechanical bolter (a 'boulting hutch'), and had to show it to the Bakers of the City of London. They objected to it, but Plat sought and won approval from 'divers Cittizens of good worshippe and account'.⁴³ Furthermore, Plat reports in his advertising section an offer made 'of late' to the Petermen (saltpetre makers) to show them how to save half of the heat they expend on making the chemical if they will give him one third of what they save by using his advice.⁴⁴

Plat's Floraes paradise (1608) was written for the profit of those 'who by their manual workes, may gaine a greater imployment, than heeretofore in their usuall callings' as well as for those who 'delight to see a raritie spring out of their own labours'. 45 In common with Thomas Lupton's A thousand notable things (1579), written in plain English the 'better to profit a great sorte, then to feede the fancies of a few', Plat writes in the 'plainest and most familiar phrase'. 46 Yet Plat, advised to keep some of his receipts secret from the 'common and vulgar eye', 47 used alchemical symbols for his most substantial receipt in the book. A book without a patron and written from Plat's retirement, Floraes paradise had to tread a very careful line with the guilds. Most of the concluding inventions and secrets are given with reference to the relevant authorities. For instance, he claims that he cannot openly give his secrets on making English wine, for he would have to be 'either free of the Vintners Company, or rather licensed by Mr Ingrams priviledge, 48 but can describe the results, with praise from worthy people. But by far the most effective protection is Plat's strategy of attributing his receipts to his manuscript and printed sources, thus undermining any charge that they might be secret. This technique is most unusual for printed books of the period, although manuscripts, because they circulated around a community of specific individuals, frequently used attributions. Virtually all the printed household and husbandry books of this earlier period, including Plat's own Jewell house, do not attribute sources, and have frequently been accused of plagiarism by later readers. In Plat's case, at least, the accusation is unfair: as Eamon demonstrates, Plat was himself a dedicated experimenter, recording his experiments and inventions in manuscript notebooks, several of

which survive. A firm believer that the possibilities of experimental knowledge were far from exhausted, he tested and improved the receipts of Alessio and other printed books of secrets as well as gathering them from artisans, and housewives.49 Just as today it is virtually impossible to patent a recipe, much of this collected material would have been considered 'common knowledge'. Plat's careful attribution of his receipts suggests that they were beginning to be thought of as publicly owned commodities, information held in common. Alongside his esoteric alchemical rendition of his own 'secrets', the gesture seems contradictory, but it outlines Plat's intense difficulty with areas of 'common' knowledge supposedly under guild control, and the larger paradox, felt by many later writers (see below) such as Robert Boyle, about intellectual own $ership.\ Plat's \ aim\ in\ \textit{The jewell house}\ of\ re-writing\ secrets\ into\ clear\ and\ accessible$ prose, anticipates Kenelm Digby's re-writing of Albertus Magnus's A treatise of adhering to God (1654) because the terse lists of ingredients for 'secrets' in the original lacked the 'form' of writing appropriate to its content for Digby's public audience; and the clear structure and plain English of the Floraes anticipates John Evelyn's Acetaria (1699) among a number of other works published in the latter half of the century.

Floraes paradise, in common with a number of books on husbandry from this period, did not appear again until the 1650s (when, in 1653, unsold sheets were re-issued with a new titlepage). Fo In contrast, Plat's Delightes for ladies, to adorne their persons, tables, closets, and distillatories (1600?) was in continual production throughout the period, with twenty-two editions by 1656. Delightes lacks a dedicatee, but includes a lively epistle to the reader addressing ladies who wage war only with sugar cannonballs. There is no concern to attribute receipts here, nor any attempt to suggest that trade secrets are involved. Clearly the areas of preserves, distillation, cookery and housewifery and 'Sweet Powders' were not yet subject to guild control. Although poorly printed, this duodecimo has decorative borders on every page, giving it an aesthetic appeal, and a good index to receipts, alphabetically arranged by ingredients with page numbers for each section. Although ostensibly addressed specifically to an aristocratic and gentrified audience it was presumably cheap enough to make it a practical and affordable book for women much lower down the social scale.

What is radical about this text is the way in which it structures the knowledge appropriate for its audience into three parts: preserving, medicine and housewifery. Often found bound with Plat's Delightes, the anonymous A closet

⁴² STC 19991, sig. A2^r. 43 Sig. 14^r. 44 Sig. K2^r. 45 STC 19990, sig. A3^r. 46 Sigs. A3^r, A4^r. 47 Sig. A5^r. 48 Sig. P3^r, recte P2^r.

⁴⁹ Eamon 1994, pp. 311-14. 50 Wing P2384.
51 STC 19977.7ff. (sixteen editions [1600?]-1640); Wing P2379Aff. (six editions 1644-56).

for ladies and gentlewomen, or, the art of preserving, conserving, and candying. Also divers soveraigne medicines and salves (1608)52 offers banqueting stuff or sugar cookery, and medicines. In at least two copies bound in the early seventeenth century⁵³ the two books have been assembled to bring together preserves with sugarwork, distillation with medicine, and cookery with housewifery. These three distinctive fields became the pattern for the one new book in this area published during the years 1617-50, Ruthven's Ladies cabinet, and for the two primary works (discussed below) that break the silence on new books for women, Elizabeth Grey's Choice manuall (1653) and W.M.'s The Queens closet opened (1655).

Plat's Delightes for ladies is one of a small number of books directed specifically $to \, women \, in \, the \, opening \, decades \, of \, the \, seventeenth \, century. \, Husbandry \, books \,$ by definition were outside women's realm although there was a gradual acceptance that women might be interested in kitchen gardens and bee-keeping, and of course they were inextricably involved in dairy work. But most household or behaviour books, while for and about women's lives, assumed that women would get their knowledge by way of the men in their lives - or at least that they were the correct channel. We know that many manuscripts written by women in the form of diaries, novellas, verse, household receipts, as well as science and medicine, circulated among aristocratic and gentry families,54 but apart from a few literary works they were not usually for publication outside those confines. Books on behaviour, similarly, contained information about women: whether as mothers, sisters, wives or daughters. Knowledge about and for them tended to be communicated as part of the moral and economic, as opposed to the political and ethical, realms of life, in the guides to civil and then civic personal behaviour.

Books on behaviour throw into sharp relief the inherent contradictions of texts that instruct one on how to achieve a particular status. Were these books addressed to those who already knew how to behave in order to identify interlopers and keep them out? Were they addressed to those who were aspiring to status and needed to find out what to do? Or were they conscious of and playing on both, sometimes ironizing, parodying or satirizing, and sometimes self-consciously admitting that not all people could succeed in their aspirations? From Thomas Hoby's translation of Castiglione's The courtier in 1561, a wellprinted quarto which left little doubt that its writer intended its description

52 STC 5434: ten editions 1608-36.

54 See Schleiner 1994.

of behaviour for the aristocracy, early works of this kind were nearly all translations, usually from the Italian, rather than the dietaries and regiments for daily behaviour composed by English writers, and aimed at the gentry and the 'middle' people, as Bacon described the emerging bourgeoisie.

These early books aimed at status addressed an aristocracy that was being weaned from militarism by a concept of civil duty, and stressed the importance of national unity and national wars. The 1570s saw a number of translations, among them of Patrizi's book on the value of the common wealth, A moral methode of civile policie⁵⁵ (but not his book on the necessity for nobility); Thomas Newton's The touchstone of complexions⁵⁶ from Lemnius on the passions; T. Browne's version of Johan Sturm's influential work on style, rhetoric and character, A ritch storehouse or treasurie... called Nobilitas literata; 57 and R. Peterson's version of John della Casa's Galateo on the actions of a courtier. 58 None of these was translated by an aristocrat like Hoby, or the earlier Thomas Elyot. They were, however, closely related to the vernacular rhetorics of the period such as Thomas Wilson's The arte of rhetorique (1553) and The three orations of Demosthenes (1570), Richard Reynoldes's Foundation of rhetorike (1563),59 or Thomas Norton's Orations, of Arsanes agaynst Philip of Macedone . . . (1560?), 60 all of which 'English Phillipics' argued for the importance of national loyalty. 61 By the 1580s a profound distrust of style as an indication of character was setting in. New translations (for example Thomas Bowes's version of Pierre Primaudaye's L'Academie Française (1586)62 and George Pettie's version of Guazzo's The civile conversation (1581)63) dealt with issues of courtly fashion, with the latter also discussing the honest behaviour of those gentry who were not part of the court. And Peacham and Puttenham each produced their vernacular rhetorical works, The garden of eloquence (1577) and The arte of English poesie (1589), on eloquence, argument and wisdom discussing behaviour in terms of deception. honesty and decorum.64

From 1600 the market was flooded by books such as Thomas Wright on The passions of the minde (1601) and Thomas Overburie's book of 'characters' (1614).65 There was Lodowick Bryskett's translation of Giraldi Cinthio's work

⁵³ The 1608 edition is bound with Plat's Delightes (1609) and held in the Brotherton Library Special Collections, Blanche Leigh Collection (K1); the 1611 editions of both are also found in the Preston Collection (K1). Both texts were sold by the bookseller A. Johnson.

^{55 1576,} STC 19475. 56 1576, STC 15456.

^{57 1570,} STC 23408. 58 1570, 1576, STC 4738.

⁵⁹ STC 25799; 6578; 209252.5. Reynoldes's Foundacion seems to have been issued with Kingston's 1563 edition of Wilson's The arte of rhetorique; STC notes that several copies are bound up together.

⁶⁰ STC 785. 61 McClintock 1997. 62 The French academie..., STC 15233ff.

⁶³ STC 12422. A translation of book 4 was added in 1586, trans. B. Young (STC 12423) and an adapted selection from book 3 was published as The court of good counsell. Wherein is set downe how a man should choose a good wife and a woman a good husband (1607, STC 5876).

⁶⁴ STC 19497; 20519.

⁶⁵ Wright, STC 26039; Overburie, A wife, now a widowe (STC 18903.5ff.): five editions in 1614, after which titles vary (in all, seventeen editions are recorded to 1638).

on a private life, A discourse of civill life (1606), heralding a new interest in the civic world and the 'urban, with the family' as the training ground for court life which crops up also in James Cleland's The institution of a young noble man (1607) and Daniel Tuvil's Essaies politicke, and morall (1608), both writers claiming association with tutors to the King's sons, and both arguing that nobility comes not through birth but through learning and action. 66 A new element of these civic books was 'negotiation' as elaborated in Tuvil's The dove and the serpent (1614), 67 a topic introduced by Bacon in his essay of that name in 1595, and lying at the heart of honest self-display rather than dissimulating fashion.

These are books of popular vernacular rhetoric, debating the differences between dialectics, logic and rhetoric that were at the centre of the academic debates on these topics in the universities of the period. The publication of academic books on rhetoric is another story completely. They were produced mainly in Latin from the presses of Oxford and Cambridge and the Continent, and destined to be scholarly textbooks rather than accessible guides to language, conversation, negotiation, style and ultimately fashion. Yet Opinion deified (1613)⁶⁸ by Barnaby Rich is a clear successor to Peter Ramus's marginalization of rhetoric. These more popular books are openly concerned with social and political issues, and are based on a belief that personal behaviour learned in the family trains one for civic duty and eventually, although they only gesture towards it, for service to the nation. They continually stress the direct connection between the heart and the tongue, so that what a person says is what he or she is. The focus is on decent, decorous self-display that carves out a specific place for the citizen as opposed to the courtier or the gentleman: a citizen must be 'a professor of civilitie' with appropriate habit, manner of life, conversation and phrase of speech, and the wife of a citizen 'goes at her pleasure' and 'is decked, adorned, neatly apparrelled, sits for the gaze' as a 1616 translation of della Casa attributed to Thomas Gainsford puts it in The rich cabinet. 69 Common wealth had ceased primarily to mean distributed wealth, and had come to mean individual access to wealth; the proper citizen is 'covetous'.

In fact these books from the early seventeenth century represent a series of guides to self-containment. If wealth and status were accessible, they could not be accessible to all. As this realization sank in, the majority of these books moved away from issues of exercise, diet, environment and display, towards private discipline; books on behaviour and religion carry this genre right through to the

66 STC 3958; 5393; 24396. 67 STC 24394. 68 STC 20994. 69 STC 11522. The complete translation of della Casa was Petersen's Galateo, above.

end of the century. 'Conversation' became a word delineating both the world of the family (coming later in the century to connote rhetoric associated with women), and one's relation with God, as in The christian principle and peaceable conversation of the people...called Quakers...(1685).70 However, the tradition that linked personal behaviour with familial training, setting it squarely within the economics of household and husbandry issues (as seen in Thomas Tusser's Ahundreth good pointes of husbandrie of 1557 and later in Bryskett), comes together in the monumental work by Richard Brathwaite, The English gentleman (1630). But this work was not for popular consumption. Its contents indicate that it was aimed at the established gentry and aristocracy, and it turns husbandry issues into a city versus country débate, in which the country is more honest and less dissimulating. It assumes that people know how to display status, and is concerned to advise on excessive or inappropriate behaviour of the private gentleman. Brathwaite's sequel, The English gentlewoman (1631), was the first English behaviour book directly addressed to women. In 1641 both works were printed together, as The English gentleman and the English gentlewoman, a volume which, appropriate to its own sense of display, was published in impressive folio format.71 This construction of separate books for audiences of different sexes, subsequently printed as one, is a significant development in the role of the book, presaged in the publication of Hugh Plat's Delightes for ladies and Markham's Countrey contentments.

1640-1695

Although reprints of earlier household and husbandry books continued to appear between 1617 and 1640, very few were published during the 1640s. After 1650, however, one finds not only many reprints and re-issues of works from the pre-1617 period, but also numerous translations and new works by identifiable new writers. Recent work has indicated that a new pattern of publication in vernacular medical literature was possibly triggered by Nicholas Culpeper's translation of the *Pharmacopoeia* of the College of Physicians as *The London pharmacopoeia* (1649). Certainly this one book instantly became a popular work on herbal medicine. Subsequent editions far outnumber those of similar works which followed it onto the market. Some booksellers appear to have developed consistent lines in books that, in the earlier period, would have been covered by husbandry but were now generated by the more specialized

70 Wing c3947. 71 STC 3563; 3565; Wing B4262. 72 Sanderson 1999.

areas of horticulture, or apiculture, or viticulture or botany. James Allestree and John Martyn co-published many of these titles, which is not surprising, given that they were successively publishers to the Royal Society.⁷³

A central issue was the ownership of knowledge. Accounts of the interaction between the aristocratic scientists and the commercial mechanics, such as that by Johns, suggest that the scientists knew they were taking over commercial secrets in their effort to further science.⁷⁴ For some, like Robert Boyle, this was a democratization of knowledge,75 but for others it was clearly a form of industrial espionage. John Evelyn was involved in the Royal Society's project to compile a history of trade technologies, ⁷⁶ yet he never finished his contribution because he came to realize that he was potentially depriving people of their income. Joseph Moxon's Mechanick exercises,⁷⁷ however, details very clearly the skills involved in several trades, including the art or science of printing.

Many of the books covering a range of practical material printed in this period did not claim the scientific basis sought by members of the Royal Society. One of the booksellers interested in these more popular books was Nathaniel Brooke who sold work written by William Coles (1656 and 1657) and Robert Turner (1664). Brooke was also the seller of The Queens closet opened (1655), a composite work put together in the way 'Markham' titles had previously been packaged. The Queens closet opened, by one W. M. of the household of Queen Henrietta Maria in France, claims that the Queen herself practised the receipts. 78 This duodecimo work is in fact a group of three books which Brooke marketed both as separate works and as a composite volume: The Queen's cabinet opened: or, The pearle of practice (pharmacy, medicine and surgery), A Queens delight (preserving, conserving, distillation) and The compleat cook (cookery). The first two parts have individual title pages but a single register and pagination sequence, while the third part (The compleat cook) has its own title page, pagination and register. Brooke registered The Queens closet in 1654 and from the following year The compleat cook appeared both as a separate work 79 and as part of The Queens closet; the other component, A Queens delight, survives only as a separate work from 1668 onwards, 80 extensively rewritten in light of La Varenne's Le parfait confiturier which had appeared the previous year. Subsequent extant

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editions until 1698 indicate that the Cabinet went through a further sixteen editions as against only four of the Delight and ten of The compleat cook. This pattern of publishing works both individually and together, as a composite work, as already noted in the cases of Plat, Markham and Brathwaite, suggests a publishing strategy of some sophistication designed to satisfy different audiences with different needs or different levels of disposable income. Other books that follow this pattern include Elizabeth Grey, Countess of Kent's A choice manuall of rare and select secrets (1653) usually bound with her A true gentlewoman's delight (1653), both 'published' (i.e. edited) by William Jarvis and printed by Gertrude Dawson. The 1656 edition prints the two as parts of the same book. By 1687 A choice manuall was in its nineteenth edition.

This pattern can be observed in at least one other example, the work of Hannah Wolley. The ladies directory, the first of her printed books, is concerned with behaviour, or what the eighteenth century called 'conduct', and is the first printed guide written in English by a woman on behaviour for women. It was printed 'for the authress' by Thomas Milbourn in 1661, and the following year was published by Peter Dring. 81 Wolley's The cooks guide (1664), also printed for Dring, is a fairly straightforward cookery book that promises to guide ladies and gentlewomen in the most recent fashions for making and serving food. 82 A slightly later publication is her Gentlewoman's companion, which Wolley began writing around 1665 although the earliest extant edition, with preface dated 1672, is 1673; this is far more varied, covering behaviour for women but also dealing with serving, cookery, medicine and conserves. In the introduction she says she has used her Ladies directory and Cooks guide, and also The Queens closet, Robert May's The accomplisht cook (1660, addressed to men going into cookery as a profession), and The ladies companion.83

In 1670 a far more sophisticated book, Wolley's The Queen-like closet, came out. Part one contains receipts for sugar-cookery, preservation and beauty aids, but also many of the same recipes published in the Cook's guide; part two adds receipts for a wider range of cookery, sauces and pickles. In 1674 a Supplement containing mainly medicines was printed which became, in effect, the third section of what from then on was published as a three-part work.84 Like the late-sixteenth-century books on lifestyle written for the civic man,

⁷³ Rostenberg 1965, 11, pp. 237-80; Johns 1998, pp. 492-3, 496-7.

⁷⁴ Johns 1991 and 1998, pp. 313-14, 470, 556-8.

⁷⁵ Boyle 1655. See also Hunter 1997a, p. 190. 76 See the account in Hunter 1981, ch. 4.

⁷⁷ Published in two parts, 1677 (Wing M3013) and 1683 (Wing M3014).

⁷⁹ Brooke registered The Queens closet on 2 October 1654 (ownership passing to Obadiah Blagrave, 9 February 1683). The compleat cook: Wing M88ff.

⁸⁰ Wing Q156Bff.

⁸¹ Wing w3280 (only copy now lost); the Dring edition, Wing w3281, may be a re-issue since no more editions are known.

⁸² Wing w3276.

⁸³ Wolley may have been referring to the receipt book The ladies companion (1654), but these receipts are not particularly interesting in the light of her own work. It is more likely that she is referring to The ladies companion or the English midwife, advertised in some editions of the Gentlewoman's companion as an octavo book, costing 2s., printed for and sold by Edward Thomas.

⁸⁴ Wing w3282ff.

The Queen-like closet brings together behaviour, diet, exercise, medicine and housework. Wolley writes, as the title page to the second part claims, 'not confounding the Braine with multitudes of Words to little or no purpose, or vain Expressions of things which are altogether unknown to the Learned as well as the Ignorant; this is really imparted for the good of all the female sex'. Significantly, and like those earlier books aimed at men, Wolley deals with vocational and professional behaviour – but now, for women.

Wolley's books have never had a completely satisfactory bibiliographical treatment and problems of attribution are peculiarly difficult.85 The frontispiece of the anonymous The accomplish'd lady's delight (1675), assigned to Wolley by Wing on slight evidence, may have been an attempt to copy Wolley's portrait at the start of The Queen-like closet.86 (Increasingly these books offered a visual image of the author, whether Wolley, Queen Henrietta Maria, Nicholas Culpeper, or Alethea Talbot, Countess of Surrey and Arundel). 87 The name of the author rather than the novelty of the contents seemed to matter most: The compleat servant-maid (1677),88 printed for Thomas Passinger in 1677, was taken wholly from Wolley's Gentlewoman's companion. Another work attributed directly to her on the title page is The ladies delight (1672),89 which includes the Exact cook (the same as the Cook's guide) and the Ladies physical closet (containing receipts from The Queen-like closet of 1670). Poorly printed by Milbourn (printer of the first edition of her The ladies directory), The ladies delight is a small book quite unlike Wolley's works of the 1660s. None of these books shares the flamboyant literary style of her works prior to 1671.

The date of Wolley's death is said to be 1674, but if she died earlier, then that may be some explanation for the rash of publications in the early 1670s that use either her name, her titles or her portrait, but seem not to have originated with her. Part of the explanation is surely her popularity, leading publishers to capitalize both on her name and on her receipts; her work was certainly influential and can be traced through a number of later books. These include not only vocational guides like *The true way of preserving & candying* (1681), Mary Tillinghast's Rare and excellent receipts (1678)90 for students in her confectionery school, but also fashion and lifestyle guides such as George Hartmann's The true preserver and restorer of health (1682) which provided occupation for

the leisured lady, and those which were written for the upwardly mobile, such as John Shirley's *The accomplished ladies rich closet* (1687),⁹¹ addressed like Wolley's *The Queen-like closet* to the 'Ingenious' gentlewoman.

If the period after 1650 sees the work of earlier women writers finally being acknowledged, and contemporary women writing for a growing number of readers, it also sees the recognition of women as a rather more independent audience offering a substantial market for exploitation. Although most books in the field were still published for both men and women, many retained a mixture of guides for daily work and daily behaviour, while developing a distinct if limited pattern of 'his and her' books. John Chamberlayne is one of the first to write about work appropriate for men inside the house, as opposed to husbandry alone. He distinguishes cookery and food for men in his translation of Durante's A treasure of health (1686), having already translated Dufour's book on issues appropriate to women, The manner of making of coffee, tea and chocolate (1685).92 By 1691 Thomas Tryon, a doctor who frequently published dietary guides as preventative medicine as well as a few simple receipts for treating illnesses and diseases among those who could not afford professional help, was also publishing gender-specific advice: Wisdom's dictates (1691) to men, and The good housewife made a doctor (1685?) to women.93 Tryon had earlier written Healths grand preservative or the womans best doctor (1682), which lashes out against the abuses of drink and tobacco by women and children.94 He also wrote a book for the family, The waye to health, long life and happiness (1683) which aims to advise all men and women on 'meats, drinks, air, exercise', 'English herbs' and many other topics.

⁸⁵ See, for example, Schumacher-Voelker 1981.

⁸⁶ A suggestion made first by J. Ferguson, reported by Schumacher-Voelker 1981, p. 67.

⁸⁷ The latter's portrait appears in Natura exenterata (1654, Wing N241). See Hunter 1997b for a discussion of attribution.

⁸⁸ Wing w3273A. 89 Wing w3279. 90 Wing T3126A; T1182.

⁹¹ Wing H1004ff. \$3498ff.

⁹² Wing D2682B; Wing D2454. He also wrote The natural history of coffee, chocolate, thee (1682), Wing C1859.

⁹³ Wing T3205, T3180. 94 Wing T3182.

A DWINDCOPUL TEMPTITIONS

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Wolley's books have never had a completely satisfactory bibiliographical treatment and problems of attribution are peculiarly difficult.85 The frontispiece of the anonymous The accomplish'd lady's delight (1675), assigned to Wolley by Wing on slight evidence, may have been an attempt to copy Wolley's portrait at the start of The Queen-like closet.86 (Increasingly these books offered a visual image of the author, whether Wolley, Queen Henrietta Maria, Nicholas Culpeper, or Alethea Talbot, Countess of Surrey and Arundel). 87 The name of the author rather than the novelty of the contents seemed to matter most: The compleat servant-maid (1677),88 printed for Thomas Passinger in 1677, was taken wholly from Wolley's Gentlewoman's companion. Another work attributed directly to her on the title page is The ladies delight (1672),89 which includes the Exact cook (the same as the Cook's guide) and the Ladies physical closet (containing receipts from The Queen-like closet of 1670). Poorly printed by Milbourn (printer of the first edition of her The ladies directory), The ladies delight is a small book quite unlike Wolley's works of the 1660s. None of these books shares the flamboyant literary style of her works prior to 1671.

The date of Wolley's death is said to be 1674, but if she died earlier, then that may be some explanation for the rash of publications in the early 1670s that use either her name, her titles or her portrait, but seem not to have originated with her. Part of the explanation is surely her popularity, leading publishers to capitalize both on her name and on her receipts; her work was certainly influential and can be traced through a number of later books. These include not only vocational guides like *The true way of preserving & candying* (1681), Mary Tillinghast's Rare and excellent receipts (1678)90 for students in her confectionery school, but also fashion and lifestyle guides such as George Hartmann's The true preserver and restorer of health (1682) which provided occupation for

the leisured lady, and those which were written for the upwardly mobile, such as John Shirley's *The accomplished ladies rich closet* (1687),⁹¹ addressed like Wolley's *The Queen-like closet* to the 'Ingenious' gentlewoman.

If the period after 1650 sees the work of earlier women writers finally being acknowledged, and contemporary women writing for a growing number of readers, it also sees the recognition of women as a rather more independent audience offering a substantial market for exploitation. Although most books in the field were still published for both men and women, many retained a mixture of guides for daily work and daily behaviour, while developing a distinct if limited pattern of 'his and her' books. John Chamberlayne is one of the first to write about work appropriate for men inside the house, as opposed to husbandry alone. He distinguishes cookery and food for men in his translation of Durante's A treasure of health (1686), having already translated Dufour's book on issues appropriate to women, The manner of making of coffee, tea and chocolate (1685).92 By 1691 Thomas Tryon, a doctor who frequently published dietary guides as preventative medicine as well as a few simple receipts for treating illnesses and diseases among those who could not afford professional help, was also publishing gender-specific advice: Wisdom's dictates (1691) to men, and The good housewife made a doctor (1685?) to women.93 Tryon had earlier written Healths grand preservative or the womans best doctor (1682), which lashes out against the abuses of drink and tobacco by women and children.94 He also wrote a book for the family, The waye to health, long life and happiness (1683) which aims to advise all men and women on 'meats, drinks, air, exercise', 'English herbs' and many other topics.

⁸⁵ See, for example, Schumacher-Voelker 1981.

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⁸⁸ Wing w3273A. 89 Wing w3279. 90 Wing T3126A; T1182.

⁹¹ Wing H1004ff. \$3498ff.

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TEADACULAR IRABILIONS

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on daily behaviour became detached from awareness of diet and exercise, and was split between social and religious manners. Like their increasingly diverse audience, the books' contents became increasingly specialized and the changes in printing and marketing the works responded to that diversification, and to the pockets of customers, with the wide range of strategies that made possible the periodical press of the eighteenth century.

25

The creation of the periodical press 1620-1695

CAROLYN NELSON and MATTHEW SECCOMBE

The British periodical press developed slowly and faltered under early official controls, but flourished when political conflict created opportunities for journalists and publishers. Political journalism rose and fell depending upon events, governmental policies, and publishers' courage; nonpolitical informative or 'practical' periodicals, on the other hand, gradually became a large and stable component of the press. From negligible beginnings, by 1695 hundreds of periodicals, with tens of thousands of issues and covering a wide range of subjects, had been published in Britain (see figure 25.1).

No periodicals – defined loosely as numbered and/or dated series of pamphlets or sheets with uniform title and format – were published before 1620. (A possible exception was the weekly London bill of mortality,¹compiled by the parish clerks and printed as early as 1603–4, but it may have been published only in times of plague.) Several factors deterred the early appearance of periodicals. Most simply, someone had to conceive of them, and the idea was not obvious. For early publishers, prayer books, sermons, treatises and ballads were known texts for a known market; periodical publications, in contrast, require planning without knowing the text in advance. The concept, therefore, involved a leap of faith, as well as the financial risks of establishing networks of sources and distribution and an ongoing printing operation – an expensive undertaking for an untested market. The major barrier, however, seems to have been the hazardous implications of the subject for which the periodical was ideally suited – the news.

News was a sensitive issue for the British state, as throughout Europe. Some kinds of news were permitted into print, featuring battles, crimes, freaks and wondrous or prophetic events. After the pamphlet Hereafter ensue the trewe encountre or... batayle lately done between England and Scotland on the battle of Flodden Field in 1513, enough news appeared in the following century to

1 STC 16738.5ff.