

From Social Capital to Product: The Commodification of Women's Knowledge into English Printed Books 1615-1700

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Statement of Originality

*This is to certify that to the best of my knowledge, the content of this thesis is my own work.
This thesis has not been submitted for any degree or other purposes.*

*I certify that the intellectual content of this thesis is the product of my own work and that all
the assistance received in preparing this thesis and sources have been acknowledged.*

Kathryn Hempstead | 30 June 2023

Abstract

While the early modern printed book is not an under-researched historical phenomenon, the recipe book, or books in the instructional literature genre, have often been left out of wide-ranging studies due to their complexity. This thesis aims to address this gap in research by tackling the themes of complex collaborative authorship, textual ownership, agency of actors, and the role of women in the process of production and reception of seventeenth-century English instructional literature. A small corpus of different texts has been selected to span the wide-reaching genre of instructional material, including housewifery, midwifery, and medical books for the domestic market. The lifespan of the printed book provides the structure, with the concept of pre-print authorship addressed in Chapter 1, the role of the Stationers and the Stationers Company in Chapter 2, and the reception and use of the book in Chapter 3. A key notion of this thesis is to go beyond the literary conceptions of these books and address their materiality as objects of use through marginalia analysis. A substantial portion of this research relied upon quantitative analysis of the catalogues of booksellers, as well as marginalia trends in surviving examples, coupled with close reading and qualitative study of texts. This thesis begins to situate scholarship of recipe and instructional literature as a genre on par with other areas of early modern book scholarship such as reference books and religious texts to draw more complete conclusions about knowledge pathways and early modern conceptions of communication and information.

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Table of Contents

Statement of Originality	ii
Abstract	iii
Acknowledgements	iv
Contents	vi
List of Figures	vii
Introduction	1
Chapter 1 – “What hath a man to doe with housewifery?”: Deconstructing the Mechanics of Authorship	15
Attributed Author as Compiler	22
Between Experience and Consociation	29
Upon One’s own Reputation	36
Chapter 2 – Dissemination: Agency Amongst the Stationers	44
Textual Ownership and the Stationer as Guardian	46
Typography and the Agency of Printers	50
Catalogue of Booksellers’ Data	54
The Stationers’ Company Archive and Female Agency	61
Female Stationers’ Labour in the Production of Instructional Literature	64
Chapter 3 – “Her Book”: Reception, Readers, and Use	75
Conclusion	109
Appendix 1 – Hannah Sawbridge’s Wider Catalogue	116
Appendix 2 – Distribution of Genre within Bookshops	128
Appendix 3 – Categories of Marginalia	130
Appendix 4 – A Table of Handwritten Names	132
Bibliography	137

List of Figures

1. A. Culpeper, "Master Culpepers Wifes Accompt." in Nicholas Culpeper, *Culpeper's Last Legacy*, (London: Nathaniel Brooke, 1655) Unnumbered page.
8.
2. Alice Culpeper, "Mrs, Culpepers Testimony", in Nicholas Culpeper, *A Directory for Midwives*, (London: Peter Cole, 1656), A3r.
10.
3. Peter Cole, "Reader", in Nicholas Culpeper, *A Directory for Midwives, or, a Guide for Women in Their Conception, Bearing, and Suckling Their Children*, (London: Printed by Peter Cole, 1656), A3r.
30.
4. LEFT Anne Griffin Printed Table of Contents. In Gervase Markham, *The English Housewife*, (London: Harrison and Griffin, 1637); RIGHT Bernard Alsop Printed Table of Contents. In Gervase Markham, *The English Housewife*, (London: Harrison and Alsop, 1649), Unnumbered pages.
52.
5. Nicholas Culpeper, *The English Physitian*, (1684) Glasgow University Library Bm5-i.5: 48-49.
81.
6. Pressed plant found in Nicholas Culpeper, *The English Physitian*, (1669) Wellcome Collection EPB/B/19325: 188-189.
85.

7. Author Unknown, "Pruning the Vine in November and Pruning about the middle of May", in Gervase Markham, *A Way to Get Wealth*, (London: printed by B.A. for John Harison) University of Glasgow Special Collections Library Ah-a.2, unnumbered page.
92.
8. Marginal annotation in Gervase Markham, *Cheape and Good Husbandry*, (London: Bernard Alsop for John Harrison, 1648): 91, in Gervase Markham, *A Way to Get Wealth*, (London: Printed by B.A. for John Harison, 1648) University of Glasgow Special Collections Library, Ah-a.2: 91.
93.
9. Annotations surrounding "Agrimony", Nicholas Culpeper, *The English Physitian*, (London: 1652) Wellcome Collection, EPB/C/19318/1: 2.
96.
10. H.H., Annotations surrounding "Water-Betony" and "Wood-Betony", Nicholas Culpeper, *The English Physitian*, (London: 1652), Wellcome Collection, EPB/C/19318/1. 14.
96.
11. H.H., Annotations surrounding "Endive", Nicholas Culpeper, *The English Physitian*, (London: 1652), Wellcome Collection, EPB/C/19318/1: 47.
97.
12. Handwritten index, in Nicholas Culpeper, *The English Physitian*, (London: Peter Cole, 1652), Wellcome Collection, EPB/C/19318/1: front flyleaf.
98.
13. Jonathan Bailly, various notes, in Nicholas Culpeper, *The English Physitian*, (London: A and J Churchill, 1698), Wellcome Collection. EPB/B/19331: First flyleaf verso.

100.

14. "Ms Soley", in Hannah Woolley, *The Accomplish'd Ladies Delight*, (London: Benjamin Harris, 1683), British Library, C.107.BB.53: title page verso.

102.

15. Various authors, handwritten inscriptions and notes in front flyleaf, in Nicholas Culpeper, *The English Physitian* (London: Peter Cole, 1662), Wellcome Collection, EPB/B/19324: A2v.

104.

16. Unknown author, handwritten recipe, in Nicholas Culpeper, *The English Physitian*, (London: Peter Cole, 1662), Wellcome Collection, EPB/B/19324: unnumbered page.

105.

Introduction

Seventeenth-century instructional literature is a microcosm representing the complexities of knowledge production, attribution, questions of individual agency, embodied knowing, and the value of women's and domestic knowledge within society. This genre saw commodification of women's knowledge in both senses of the word: both its value as a source of knowledge and exploitation through lack of attribution. This thesis uncovers the nuances of capital exchange in the construction of instructional books between 1615 and 1700, a time of boom for the printed genre. It establishes the value of women's knowledge within the instructional genre, and it explains how this value was exploited by men in the construction of these texts, but was ultimately reclaimed by female stationers who sought to capitalise on printing and selling the books. It will also demonstrate that ownership and readership of instructional books reveals this knowledge distributed to a wide audience, which then appropriated the print for their own benefit by adding marginalia to turn these books into unique receptacles of knowledge.

This thesis will construct a holistic story of the production, dissemination, and use of early modern English instructional literature to better understand the concepts of authorship and ownership. It will specifically focus on the value and agency attributed to women as both sources of knowledge and producers of text and will reveal that the substantial value of women's knowledge was central to the production of these texts. In the field of scholarship known as the history of the book, many studies have focused on one stage of the story, whether authorship, production, or reception. This thesis brings all of these stages together into a single analysis. Moreover, the genre under examination – namely instructional literature or “how-to” books – has escaped sustained attention due to the complexity of

inquiry involved. The genre has enjoyed some scholarly attention, including from Rudolph Bell, Robert Applebaum, Sandra Sherman and Jennifer Mylander in isolated circumstances, and more recently in the work of Elaine Leong on recipe literature in the domestic setting.¹ And yet there has not been a comprehensive study of this genre of printed books exploring the unique context, construction, and dissemination of knowledge into print, and its reception among readers, due to the complex intersection of textual and conceptual challenges. The root of this issue is the division between academic disciplinary specialisations, separating literary and historical studies, further fragmented by the sub-specialisation of the history of medicine, allowing domestic instructional books to slip between the cracks and remain discounted or irrelevant in all fields.

The seventeenth-century world of book production, dissemination, reception and use was as complex as the society in which it was produced. Both the society and its books relied on trust, reputation, collaboration, and creativity. The book trade in early modern London has been a point of interest for intellectual and social history, as seen in Adrian Johns' *The Nature of the Book* (1998) which foregrounds the complexity of the London book trade specifically, and in Anthony Grafton's studies of European culture and textual transmission. More focused studies like Helen Smith's *Grossly Material Things* (2012) or Valerie Wayne's edited collection *Women's Labour and the History of the Book in Early Modern England* (2020) have allowed scholars to unpack the role of women in the process of book

¹ Rudolph Bell, *How to do it: Guides to good living for Renaissance Italians*, (Chicago: Chicago University Press, 1999); Robert Applebaum, "Rhetoric and Epistemology in Early Printed Recipe Collections," *Journal for Early Modern Cultural Studies* 3.2 (2003): 1-35; Sandra Sherman, "Printed Communities: Domestic Management Texts in the Eighteenth Century," *Journal for Early Modern Cultural Studies* 3.2 (2003): 36-67. Jennifer Mylander, "Early Modern 'how-to' Books: Impractical Manuals and the Construction of Englishness in the Atlantic World," *Journal for Early Modern Cultural Studies* 9, no. 1 (2009): 123-46; Elaine Leong, *Recipes and Everyday Knowledge: Medicine, Science, and the Household in Early Modern England*, (Chicago: The University of Chicago Press, 2018).

production.² The entangled realms of manuscript and print production have been under increasing examination, especially by literary scholars such as Adam Smyth in his project on printed miscellanies, and by Leah L. Chang, Rosalind Smith, Patricia Pender, and Marie-Louise Coolahan whose scholarship investigates the construction of early modern women's voices in print.³ In the last 30 years, the discipline of marginalia studies and enquiry into the use of books has taken off, thanks to studies by Ann Blair on reference books, and by Katherine Acheson and Adam Smyth again taking on the complex scribbles readers left in the margins and flyleaves of early modern print.⁴ The history of reading is often intertwined with marginalia as exemplified in the seminal studies of Anthony Grafton and Lisa Jardine.⁵ For its part, this thesis will explore the intricacies of knowledge production, dissemination, and

² Adrian Johns, *The Nature of the Book*, (Chicago: Chicago University Press, 1998); Anthony Grafton, "Introduction: Notes from Underground on Cultural Transmission". In *The Transmission of Culture in Early Modern Europe*, eds. Anthony Grafton, Ann Blair, (Philadelphia: The University of Pennsylvania Press, 1998) 1-7; Helen Smith, *'Grossly Material Things': Women and Book production in Early Modern England*, (Oxford: Oxford University Press, 2012). Valerie Wayne ed., *Women's Labour and the History of the Book in Early Modern England*, (London: The Arden Shakespeare, Bloomsbury, 2020).

³ Adam Smyth, *"Profit and Delight": Printed Miscellanies in England, 1640-1692*. (Detroit: Wayne State University Press, 2004); Leah L. Chang, *Into Print: The Production of Female Authorship in Early Modern France*, (Newark: University of Delaware Press, 2009). Rosalind Smith, "Fictions of Production: Misattribution, Prosopopoeia, and the Early Modern Women Writer," *The Journal of Medieval and Early Modern Studies* Vol. 50 no. 1 (2020): 33-52; Patricia Pender, *Gender, Authorship and Early Modern Women's Collaboration*, (London: Palgrave Macmillan, 2017); Rosalind Smith and Patricia Pender (eds.), *Material Cultures of Early Modern Women's Writing*, (London: Palgrave Macmillan, 2014); Marie-Louise Coolahan, "'One of the Finest Poems of that Nature I ever Read': Quantitative Methodologies and the Reception of Early Modern Women's Writing", In *Material Cultures of Early Modern Women's Writing*, (eds.) Patricia Pender, Rosalind Smith, 174-194, (London: Palgrave Macmillan, 2014).

⁴ Ann M. Blair, *Too Much to Know: Managing Scholarly Information Before the Modern Age*, (New Haven and London: Yale University Press, 2010); Katherine Acheson (ed.), *Early Modern English Marginalia*, (New York: Routledge, 2019); Adam Smyth, "Book Marks: Object Traces in Early Modern Books", in *Early Modern English Marginalia*, Katherine Acheson ed.: 51-69, (New York: Routledge, 2019).

⁵ Anthony Grafton, Lisa Jardine, "'Studied for Action': How Gabriel Harvey Read his Livy". *Past and Present* (1990) Vol.129 (1): 30-70; Anthony Grafton, *The Culture of Correction in Renaissance Europe*, (London: The British Library, 2011); Anthony Grafton, "The Margin as Canvas: A Forgotten Function of the Early Printed Page". In *Impagination – Layout and Materiality of Writing and Publication*. Ed. Ku-Ming Chan, Anthony Grafton, Glenn W. Most: 185-208. (Germany: Walter de Gruyter GmbH, 2021).

book-making through case studies. A case in point is Alice Culpeper (born c.1625, death date unknown), whose life story will help me introduce some of the key questions of this study.⁶

Alice Culpeper was the wife of Nicholas Culpeper (1616-1654), the infamous unlicensed physician and author of a number of medical and astrological books popular from the seventeenth century well into the early twentieth century.⁷ Culpeper was a man who rarely let regulation or legislation get in his way. During his lifetime he operated as an unlicensed apothecary after failing to complete his apprenticeship and he translated a number of medical texts owned by the College of Physicians from Latin into English. The printer and bookseller Peter Cole sold Culpeper's work for prices accessible to the general population. Culpeper began practicing medicine in Spitalfields outside the walls of London in order to avoid persecution under the Quack's Charter (1542) or further ire from the Royal College of Physicians.⁸ Alice was his wife from 1640, precisely the period when he was practicing medicine and writing medical texts to be sold by Cole. One of Culpeper's attributed publications was unique in the landscape of mid-seventeenth-century publication: a printed vernacular midwifery guide without a direct Latin source titled *A Directory for Midwives* (11 editions published between 1651 and 1700).⁹ During the seventeenth century, male physicians moved to professionalise midwifery as a men's realm of medicine, but it was still

⁶ Patrick Curry, "Culpeper, Nicholas (1616-1654), physician and astrologer", *The Oxford Dictionary of National Biography*, (Oxford: Oxford University Press: 2004).

⁷ Michael J.G. Farthing, "Nicholas Culpeper (1616-1654): London's First General Practitioner?", *Journal of medical biography*, 2015, Vol.23 (3), p.152-158.

⁸ Curry, "Culpeper"; M.R. McCarl, "Publishing the Works of Nicholas Culpeper, Astrological Herbalist and Translator of Latin Medical Works in Seventeenth-Century London", *Canadian Bulletin of Medical History* 13, no. 2 (1996): 225-76.

⁹ In the footnotes of this thesis I have used the shortened titles of all of the seventeenth century books for ease of space, the full titles will appear in the bibliography. Nicholas Culpeper, *A Directory for Midwives*, (London: Peter Cole, 1651).

almost entirely female-dominated. Midwives trained in an unofficial apprenticeship program under other women; they transferred their knowledge orally and through practical application.¹⁰ England's licensing of its midwives also did not begin until the latter half of the seventeenth century, and the licensing process was often haphazard and was overseen by parish authorities rather than a secular body.¹¹ Alice was registered as a practising midwife in 1664, a decade after Nicholas' death, and it is likely she was practising well before this date.¹² Alice's involvement in supplying her husband with information is nowhere directly credited by her husband, though she had many experiences of childbirth herself, having birthed seven children to Culpeper.¹³ Some scholars have suggested that Alice struggled with symptoms that today would be considered signs of pre-eclampsia, citing this as a potential motivator for Culpeper to research and publish the work.¹⁴ However this thesis contends that Alice had a larger hand in the construction of this text than just as a patient, despite no such credit in print as an author or contributor to *A Directory for Midwives*.

This question of a woman's potential involvement in knowledge-sharing serves to introduce the often collaborative but unseen processes that lead to textual constructions, including the obscured roles of women, and the problem with accepting attribution of a text at face value. These themes will be addressed in Chapter 1. A case like Alice Culpeper's also raises

¹⁰ Thomas R. Forbes, "The Regulation of English Midwives in the Sixteenth and Seventeenth Centuries", *Medical History* 8, no. 3 (1964): 352-362.

¹¹ Forbes, "Regulation of English Midwives", 352.

¹² D. Evenden, *The Midwives of Seventeenth-Century London*, (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 2000);

¹³ Patrick Curry, "Culpeper, Nicholas (1616–1654), Physician and Astrologer." *ODNB*, Oxford University Press, 2004. Only one of the children survived to adulthood.

¹⁴ Olav Thulesius, *Nicholas Culpeper: English Physician and Astrologer*, (London: Palgrave Macmillan, 1992).

the question of women's agency in the creation of books. Nicholas' works do not credit Alice, her first name never appears in the body of the text, and she is not even directly referenced as a patient. Her ailments were only of use to her husband as an object of study. Culpeper only hints that Alice could have been involved either as a knower or as a patient in his continuous references to disembodied "experience".¹⁵ This reference relies upon his or other's embodied practice in treating the illness in question. Much work has been done to recover the lost voices of women in early modern books since the last quarter of the twentieth century, and yet the voices of women involved in the construction of instructional literature have largely remained silent and unstudied. Rosalind Smith has suggested that a desire for stable attribution rooted in feminist literary studies has heretofore hindered the study of women's voice.¹⁶ Because early feminist history relied upon stable sources of female authored attribution, scholarship on women's knowledge neglected the possibility of false attribution and unstable knowledge bases.¹⁷ Instructional literature allows space for exploration of these unstable texts, and insight into how the early modern reader would have constructed female involvement in authorship in a complementary way to Smith's literary subject.¹⁸

One of the thorniest problems here is the concept of authorship, whose historical contours we must first outline in order to understand the interplay between knowledge, reputation, and attribution. There is a clear difference between attributed authorship – that is, the name on a title page – and the identities of everyone involved in the process of creating a printed

¹⁵ Culpeper, *A Directory for Midwives*, (Cole, 1652), 95, 122, 135.

¹⁶ Smith, "Fictions of Production", 35.

¹⁷ Smith, "Fictions of Production", 37.

¹⁸ Smith, "Fictions of Production", 43.

book. I will use the term “authorship” to encapsulate all who participate in producing the knowledge held within the final printed book, including those who have previously not received attribution. In Chapter 2, I will introduce the term “guardianship” to encompass those who compiled texts, those involved in the physical making of the book, and those who reprinted and disseminated the knowledge contained within. Alix Cooper has established that wives were assistants to their husbands both in professional and domestic settings, which often overlapped, while Elaine Leong has proven female householders’ active role in collecting knowledge to be used in the home, foregrounding women as the first source of domestic medical knowledge.¹⁹ As Culpeper notably operated his medical practice out of their home in Spitalfields, Alice would undoubtedly had a hand in, contributing to the practiced knowledge encapsulated in her husband’s books. Alice, then, can be understood as an occluded author of *A Directory for Midwives*.

The complex terms “ownership” and “agency” require working definitions in the context of this study. Ownership will apply to the physical books and their legal responsibility held by both stationers and consumers but cannot be extended to large concepts of knowledge in the individual case. For example, while individuals had access to collective knowledge passed through oral or written traditions, they could not claim ownership of it. This form of ownership will be discussed as “attribution”. Agency is also to be understood in the individual case, drawn out by actions that can be attributed back to individual actors, even if they are unnamed. This thesis hopes to establish the nuance of all players in knowledge

¹⁹ Alix Cooper, “Homes and Households” in *The Cambridge History of Science*. Vol. 3, eds. Katharine Park, and Lorraine Daston, (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 2006), 224-237; Elaine Leong, *Recipes and Everyday Knowledge*, 48-49.

production, exploring all possible constructions of authorship without the fear of authorial instability, which is a near guarantee in the study of seventeenth-century books. By exploring, crediting, and understanding the agents involved in these texts, we can establish a stronger and more robust understanding of women's involvement, supporting the goals of feminist inquiry.

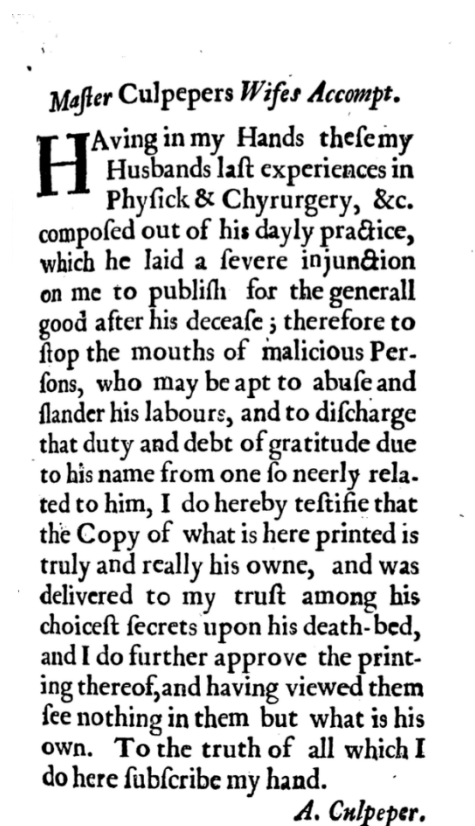


Figure 1 - A. Culpeper, "Master Culpepers Wifes Accompt." in Nicholas Culpeper, *Culpeper's Last Legacy*, (London: Nathaniel Brooke, 1655) Unnumbered page.

Alice's story continues after the death of her husband on 10 January 1654. She gained the powerful social status of a widow and control over Nicholas' remaining unpublished material.²⁰ During his life, Culpeper worked with two publishers: Peter Cole for his medical texts and Nathaniel Brooke for his astrological work. After his death they competed for his remaining unpublished work. In August 1655 an anonymous pamphlet, *Culpeper Revived from the Grave*, accused Alice of a host of crimes: witchcraft, selling a fraudulent cure-all

aurum potable from the home she shared with her husband, and besmirching the Culpeper name and

legacy. For good measure, it labelled her as the "[whore] of Babylon".²¹ Some scholars

²⁰ F.N.L. Poynter, "Nicholas Culpeper and His Books", *Journal of the history of medicine and allied sciences* XVII, no. 1 (1962): 152-167.

²¹ In all direct quotations the original spelling has been maintained. The 1655 censorship originally has the word redacted and replaced with an underscore. Anonymous, *Culpeper revived from the grave*. (London: unknown publisher, 1655).

suggest that Brooke, bitter that Alice had given Cole the rights to print the remainder of her husband's work, was behind the publication of this pamphlet.²² Even though Cole was the proprietor of Nicholas Culpeper's works, Brooke printed and sold a registered book titled *Culpeper's Last Legacy* in 1655, which included an undated epistle in the frontal paratext seen in Figure 1.²³ This page endorsed the authenticity of the book and gave a brief and undetailed description of the circumstances that led to its printing. The foreword – less than one printed page in length and signed "A. Culpeper" – situates "Master Culpeper's Wife" as a conduit of knowledge between Culpeper and the reader, as well as attempting to articulate her as truth-knower and wife who must protect her husband's legacy.²⁴

How and when would Alice have validated Brooke's book, giving sanction to a publisher other than the one named in Nicholas' testament? Moreover, it is a strange letter of authenticity, figuring Alice in an entirely passive feminine role of simply passing off the remaining secrets of her husband's practice to another man. Nonetheless, the reader would have acknowledged this as a familiar practice by publishers, likely accepting the claim. The letter implies that any protests to the publication would be motivated by disapproval of Nicholas Culpeper rather than the actions of this publisher. Even records like these that explicitly minimise women's role in knowledge production can be valuable evidence of their implicit power to authorise knowledge through their personal connections and experience. This theme will be explored in detail in Chapter 1.

²² Graeme Tobyn, *Culpeper's Medicine: A Practice of Western Holistic Medicine New Edition*, (London: Singing Dragon, 2013).

²³ Nicholas Culpeper [attrib.], *Culpeper's Last Legacy*, (London: N. Brooke at the Angell in Cornhill, 1655).

²⁴ *Culpeper's Last Legacy*, A2r.

Unfortunately for Brooke, Peter Cole would not take this apparent act of piracy without rebuttal. By 18 October 1655, Cole struck back in the foreword to the next imprint of *A Directory for Midwives* published in early 1656. He also included a letter attributed to Alice,

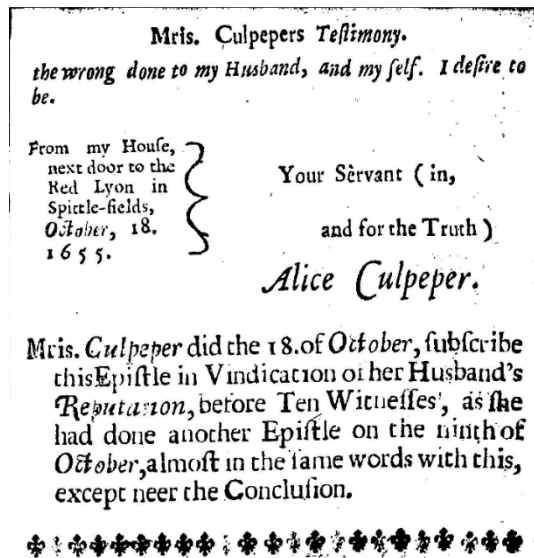


Figure 2 – Alice Culpeper, "Mrs. Culpepers Testimony", in Nicholas Culpeper, *A Directory for Midwives*, (London: Peter Cole, 1656), A3r.

accusing Brooke of publishing the slanderous pamphlet and impersonating her in the foreword of the *Last Legacy*.²⁵ In this response Alice assumes the role of the devoted and righteous wife, who directly states that Nicholas left the last of his works for her to disseminate through the hands of a publisher. Cole's Alice cites the signatures of ten witnesses to her reply, giving the exact date and location of the letter, as well as in

text saying "I will face to face, justify the truth thereof" to further validate her testimony.²⁶

Her valediction takes a final stab at Brooke: signed "From my House, next door to the Red Lyon in Spittle-fields ... your servant (in, and for the Truth) Alice Culpeper".²⁷ This reply, was published in every edition of *The English Physitian* until Cole's death in 1666, demonstrates the rivalry between the stationers and also the power of the widow in validating textual legitimacy.²⁸ Scholars still disagree whether both – or neither – foreword epistles credited to Alice were genuine. Most academic sources agree that Cole's Alice is probably legitimate.²⁹ However, it is unlikely that the modern reader will ever have a true understanding of how

²⁵ Alice Culpeper, "Mrs. Culpepers Testimony", in Nicholas Culpeper, *A Directory for Midwives, or, a Guide for Women in Their Conception, Bearing, and Suckling Their Children*, (London, Printed by Peter Cole, 1656), A2v-A3r.

²⁶ Alice Culpeper, "Mrs Culpepers Testimony", A3v-A3r.

²⁷ Alice Culpeper, "Mrs Culpepers Testimony", A3r.

²⁸ Repeated in *The English Physitian* published in 1656, 1661, 1662, and 1665 after the table of contents.

²⁹ Curry, "Culpeper".

Alice was genuinely involved in this jostling between publishers. To explore how this situation would have appeared to the early modern reader, we must follow Rosalind Smith's post-structuralist concept of prosopopoeia, where a woman's textual voice would have been understood as at least invoking the real figure, and multiple possible truths existing simultaneously. It is likely that early modern readers accepted both paratexts as Alice, likely only coming into contact with one, based upon the trust they had with the bookseller in question.³⁰ Few Culpeper scholars have shown interest in Alice as a figure with any kind of agency, though her role as an arbiter and validator of the work of her deceased husband would have positioned her with great power.³¹

This episode in 1655 demonstrates many of the key themes that Chapters 1 and 2 will investigate. Those chapters will situate the stationers as central figures in influencing the reader's conceptions of authorship through paratextual material. Chapter 1 establishes the value of the female persona and the power that came from the manipulation of the narratives surrounding knowledge sources, positioning reputation as superior to truthful claims. Chapter 2 will focus on the role of stationers, using textual comparison and quantitative data analysis to evaluate widows who produced and profited from instructional literature. Chapter 3 will examine how these books were used, received, and imagined by their owners, utilising an analysis of marginalia as its central methodology. The goal of this thesis is to use the genre of recipe literature to connect interdisciplinary studies of the book to establish the dynamism of early modern authorship, to evaluate the complexity of different capitals at play in book production, and to foreground women and women's

³⁰ Johns, *The Nature of the book*, 633.

³¹ Biographies include Thulesius, *Nicholas Culpeper*; Benjamin Woolley, *Heal Thyself: Nicholas Culpeper and the Seventeenth-Century Struggle to Bring Medicine to the People*, (New York: Harper Collins, 2004); Curry, "Culpeper"; Tobyn, *Culpeper's Medicine*.

knowledge in that process. This work views the “communications revolution” as a helpful term in establishing the field of the study of print, but the idea fails to capture the presence and value of contemporary alternative knowledge of oral and manuscript sharing pathways that had been present for hundreds of years. The printing press can no longer be viewed as a stabilising agent, since printed genres such as miscellany remind us that print itself was in constant metamorphosis and manuscript commonplace books played a formative role in informing printed instructional literature in the seventeenth century.³²

The books studied in this thesis emerge from three sub-genres of instructional literature. They include midwifery manuals, home physick guides, and housewifery or domestic instructional books. The midwifery manuals are Nicholas Culpeper’s (1616-154) *A Directory for Midwives* (1st ed. 1651, 10 eds. to 1700), Jakob Rüff’s (1500-1558) *The Expert Midwife* (1637), and Jane Sharp’s (dates unknown) *The Midwives Book* (1671).³³ The home physick book is Nicholas Culpeper’s *The English Physitian* (published 20 times between 1652-1700). The housewifery books (including home remedies) are Gervase Markham’s (c.1568-1637) *The English Housewife* (published 12 times between 1615-1684) contained in his series *A Way to get Wealth* (first published 1625), Hannah Woolley’s (1622-c.1675) *The Accomplish’d Ladies Delight* (printed 9 times between 1675-1696), and the anonymous author W.M.’s (dates unknown) *The Queen’s Closet Opened* (1655).³⁴ Their wide-ranging publication dates

³² Eisenstein, *The Printing Revolution in Early Modern Europe*, 2nd ed. (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 2005) 46; Smyth, *Profit and Delight*, 9; Leong, *Recipes and Everyday Knowledge*, 147-148.

³³ For full list of editions of *A Directory For Midwives* see bibliography; Jakob Rüff, *The Expert Midwife*, (London: E.G. to be sold by Thomas Alchorn, 1637); Jane Sharp, *The Midwives Book*, (London: Simon Miller, 1671).

³⁴ Nicholas Culpeper, *The English Physitian*, (London: (London: Peter Cole, 1652); Gervase Markham, *The English Housewife*, (London: Printed by John Beale for Roger Jackson, 1615); Hannah Woolley, *The*

allow us to draw conclusions about the period from 1615-1700. This corpus contains a variety of works published between once and twenty times, and it represents many types of authorship, encapsulating all techniques drawn upon in the creation of the instructional genre. Some geographic and temporal limitations prevented a wider study from being undertaken, though the Early English Books Online database provided useful information when libraries could not be physically visited.³⁵ The corpus of the above books held in the British Library, the Wellcome Collection, and the University of Glasgow Library provided the base for the marginalia study in Chapter 3 which necessitated physical access to draw conclusions on the large proportion of marked instructional books.

The Archive of the Worshipful company of Stationers and Newspaper Makers (the current name for the Stationers' Company in the seventeenth century), preserved court books, pension records, apprentice records, and registers, aids in establishing women's agency in the context of the formalised processes of the book trade. This thesis combines a quantitative and qualitative approach to the subject matter of authorship and instructional literature. It draws on close reading techniques of the original books and archival materials to establish the importance of instructional literature as a framework through which to understand authorship, agency, and the significance of women's knowledge. The quantitative aspect situates instructional literature as a popular genre amongst early modern readers and Chapter 2 draws out how this popularity was exploited by stationers. A selection of this data will appear in Appendices 1 and 2 and is primarily discussed in the

Accomplish'd Ladies Delight, (London: Printed for B. Harris, 1675)., W.M., *The Queen's Closet Opened*, (London: Printed for Nathaniel Brook, 1655).

³⁵ Proquest, *Early English Books Online*, <https://www.proquest.com/eebo>.

second chapter. In those appendices I first collated the booksellers of all the editions of the books printed in London between 1615 and 1700, then used EEBO records to create a catalogue of each bookseller, recording titles, printers, years of publication, and locations if they were provided. An example of one bookseller's catalogue is seen in Appendix 1.³⁶ The overall goal of this database was to establish the patterns of publication across stationers' bookstores selling these instructional manuals. The patterns of the overall spread of genres published across the selected booksellers can be seen in Appendix 2, with the other conclusions about patterns of business demonstrated in Chapter 2. While this study of seventeen booksellers and their stock is a small sample size of the overall London print industry in this period, its conclusions pertain directly to the primary textual base and so prove significant in this context.

The conclusions of this thesis demonstrate a story of women's involvement in the history of instructional literature that is neither one of total triumph nor complete failure. We will see that women and their voices were harnessed in a variety of ways, reflecting their high value as authorities on the information contained in this genre. This genre empowered widows of various levels of success in the book trade to sustain their businesses and families.

Instructional books also allowed a space for female readers to express ownership of books and knowledge. Chapter 1 will begin by establishing the multivalent applications of women's voices in the authorship of these texts.

³⁶ This full database will not appear in the appendices, but a sample of one stationer's catalogues is in Appendix 1 with the distribution of genres synthesised through the database demonstrated in Appendix 2.

Chapter 1 – “What hath a man to doe with housewifery?”:

Deconstructing the Mechanics of Authorship

Early modern textual production was a palimpsest of social interactions between communities of knowers. The author's name that appeared on title pages of books rarely captured the complex processes behind the composition of published works.³⁷ The difficulties in understanding the concept of authorship as it was in the seventeenth century have been tackled by a range of scholars, most notably Harold Love, Anthony Grafton and Adrian Johns.³⁸ What has come from these studies is a framework of broad terms in which the methodologies of early modern authorship can be understood, expanding the concept of authorship to include the high levels of collation, collaboration, and attribution instability present during the course of book construction. The genre of instructional literature is best understood through the lenses offered by Love and Johns, who capture the collaborative, unstable, and trust-based varieties of authorship, all of which coexisted in the seventeenth century. Johns uses the term “writer” to capture the large and unattributed knowledge networks surrounding these texts, and “author” to describe the figure who gained attribution on the printed page.³⁹ I will largely use the term “author” to encapsulate anyone involved in the construction of the text, and “compiler” or “attributed author” when referring to the figure who received the attribution in print. Grafton's ongoing interest in the history of ideas and cultures of transmission serve to ground the oftentimes murky waters of attribution in evidenced cultural practice and provides a strong foundation on which to base these concepts of authorship.⁴⁰

³⁷ Adrian Johns, *The Nature of the Book*, (Chicago: The University of Chicago Press, 1998) xxi.

³⁸ Johns, *The Nature of the Book*, xxi-3; Harold Love, *Attributing Authorship: An Introduction* (Cambridge, Cambridge University Press, 2002); Grafton, “Notes from Underground”, 3-4.

³⁹ Johns, *The Nature of the Book*, xxi.

⁴⁰ Grafton, “Notes from Underground”, 3-4.

The identity of the early modern woman writer and theories about female authorship in this period also become key in understanding the nuances of an authorship study into instructional literature. This chapter asserts that the true identity of the author does not impact on whether the text should be read as female-authored, instead, the way the text is presented to be authored is of paramount concern. This methodology has previously been utilised by Leah L. Chang in her exploration of the French Renaissance poet Louise Labé.⁴¹ Early modern authorship in general was a textual construct, and the gender of the author as it appeared on the page would have been accepted by the contemporary reader.⁴² This framework dovetails with Rosalind Smith's work on the use of prosopopoeia as generative to the female textual voice.⁴³ As we will explore the fictions surrounding production also play a key role, and elicit the female voice for various purposes. Therefore, this chapter will trace the appearance of knowledge pathways and their journey into print in the way a contemporary audience would have understood them. Some of the texts in this corpus of instructional literature including Jane Sharp's *The Midwives Book* (1671) and Gervase Markham's *The English Housewife* (1st ed. 1615) have had such factual attribution studies applied to them, and these will be taken in conversation with the constructed forms of authorship. This study will show that the expectations of the reader and the norms of society at large necessitated compilers of instructional texts to create fictions around authorship in order to be seen as legitimate sources of information in a culture where printed material was by no means a stable or trustworthy source.

Scholarship investigating related genres such as commonplacing and printed miscellanies also serve to untangle the web of authorship in the genre of printed instructional books. Adam Smyth has

⁴¹ Chang, *Into Print*, 22.

⁴² Chang, *Into Print*, 22.

⁴³ Rosalind Smith, "Fictions of Production", 34.

identified printed miscellanies, a cousin of some of the domestic books included in this project, as being a rich site in which to understand both the contemporary understandings of and reactions to authorship in the mid seventeenth-century through the contents of the book as well as marginalia.⁴⁴ Smyth pinpoints key characteristics of authorship that also directly apply to the instructional genre. These include the high importance of the perceived social construction of the text, that this high status was more important than their credibility in the specific knowledge of the subject, and that these texts were always changing and adapting to react to aspects of contemporary popular culture, especially evident in changes to poetic miscellanies, though also evident in some of the recipe books.⁴⁵ Elaine Leong has explored recipe literature and women's knowledge in the household, mostly focusing on knowledge networks as they appear in manuscript commonplace books, foregrounding the household as a nexus for instructional knowledge that often transcends the gender barrier.⁴⁶ The study of printed recipe books is significant in the conversation about early modern textual construction, knowledge sharing, and authorship because many previous studies of early modern writing have written off this genre as being too difficult due to its complex and occluded nature.⁴⁷ The overall objective of this chapter is to unpack the stage of textual creation before the book reached the reader and explore how this was represented to the early modern reader.

Given the complexities of authorship with regard to individual books in this period, this chapter is structured to resemble a scale between authors who relied completely on the information and reputation of others to inform their work, and authors who relied mostly upon their own experience or knowledge to compile the texts. The first section will address the two works that eschew responsibility of the attributed author as the source of information contained within the book, in

⁴⁴ Smyth, *Profit and Delight*, 9, 44.

⁴⁵ Smyth, *Profit and Delight*, 71, 75.

⁴⁶ Leong, *Recipes and Everyday Knowledge*, 70.

⁴⁷ Marie-Louise Coolahan, "Patterns, Outliers and Teasers: Questions and Challenges for the Reception of Early Modern Women's Writing", paper presented to the Centre for Early Modern Studies (ANU) Seminar Series 2022, online, 26 April, 2022.

whole or in part nominating other persons as the sources of knowledge captured in print. The works discussed in this section are *The Queen's Closet* (1655) by the anonymised W.M. and *The English Housewife* (1615) attributed to Gervase Markham. The second section is concerned with texts that have a level of collaboration between the individual knower who was attributed author, and a wider corpus of knowledge accessed in some way belonging to a wider group. In this case both Nicholas Culpeper's *A Directory for Midwives* (1651) and Jane Sharp's *The Midwives Book* (1671) demonstrate collaboration between practicing midwives and the corpus of medical writing already in circulation. This section will also digress to discuss the relevance of *The Expert Midwife* by Jakob Rüff (1637) translated into English to round out the possible methodologies of constructing authorship of printed midwifery books. The third section will address the two cases where the author holds a reputation as an established knowledge-holder in a specific area; Nicholas Culpeper's *The English Physitian* (1652) tapping into his identity as a healer, and Hannah Woolley's *The Accomplish'd Ladies Delight* (1675) building on her previous housewifery book success and her reputation as a knowledgeable householding widow.

As this is a study of domestic instructional books, special attention will be paid to the attributed female authors, as well as women who were likely involved in the knowledge sharing that contributed to the construction of the text. These specific texts have been selected as they represent some of the popular literature in the period, most notably the work of Markham and Culpeper, who had a combined number of 42 republications of just the books addressed in this thesis up to the year 1700. The works of both men were similarly arbitrated in print by the booksellers who sold the earliest editions of their books. The work of the female credited authors Sharp and Woolley serve to address how gender impacted authorial methodologies shared with their male equivalents. It has been noted by Adrian Johns and Patricia Crawford that women began to appear more frequently in print in the mid-seventeenth-century, meaning that their methodologies, especially in the context of instructional literature, must complement or respond to the pre-existing conventions largely set into

precedent by men.⁴⁸ The anonymised figure W.M., attributed author of *The Queen's Closet* allows us to unpack the meaning behind anonymisation within this genre and to shift the attention away from the credited author and towards the social setting in which the book was produced. Woolley serves as a foil for Markham, while Sharp must navigate both the vernacular and foreign precedents set by physicians in both medical and midwifery books. Finally, and in turn Ruff proves a useful metaphor to compare the methodologies of translation from another language and the translation of existing knowledge into a new printed book.

Due to the breadth and scale of types of authorship that will be discussed, it is worth pausing to appreciate the similarities that fall within each of the sub-genres before the chapter moves on to address the types of authorship which largely operate without the sub-genres in mind. Woolley, Markham, and W.M.'s housewifery texts, with the housewife in mind as the primary reader, are organised by different categories of knowledge and prefaced with an address to the reader.

Markham's work contains a table of contents before the text itself, while Woolley's is appended with one.⁴⁹ The text is simply organised as a list of recipes accompanied by their titles, occasionally bearing reference to their origin.⁵⁰ These housewifery books bear the most resemblance to household commonplace books, and would have relied upon a network of knowledge from both oral and manuscript sources, as well as from other printed books.⁵¹ Meanwhile, *The English Physitian* occupies a space between housewifery books and contemporary medical treatises or herbals. Remedies ordered alphabetically by plant, similar to a herbal, but oftentimes salient information explicitly depends upon the existing knowledge of the housewife. Culpeper's book bridges the gap

⁴⁸ Johns, *The Nature of the Book*, 180; Patricia Crawford, "Women's Published Writings, 1600-1700," in *Women in English Society, 1500-1800*, ed. Mary Prior (London: Methuen, 1996).

⁴⁹ Markham, *The English Housewife*, (London: Jackson, 1623): A3r-Bv; Woolley, *Accomplish'd Ladies Delight*, (London: Harris, 1677): 357-379.

⁵⁰ One example of this is Dr Stephen's Water which appears in both Woolley, *Accomplish'd Ladies Delight*, (Harris, 1675) 160; and Markham, *The English Housewife*, (Jackson, 1623), 53.

⁵¹ Michael R. Best (ed), "Introduction", *The English Housewife*, (Kingston and Montreal: McGill-Queen's University Press, 1986). Discussion of Best's academic work will subsequently be referenced as "Best, *The English Housewife*".

between the inaccessible Latin of the College of Physicians and the everyday knowledge expected of housewives and produces a text to be sold in the vernacular at a price accessible to the reading public.⁵² An example of Culpeper directly engaging with the knowledge of the housewife is “Description hereof is altogether needless, it being so generally used by al the good Huswives”.⁵³ This demonstrates that *The English Physitian* was written with the domestic in mind. The authorial practices of both Culpeper and Sharp in their vernacular midwifery guides are similar in incorporating material from previously published sources, a practice similar to Markham as explored by the work of Michael R. Best who uncovered Markham’s abundance of printed source material, disproving the claims made in the text.⁵⁴ The difference between these works in the context of midwifery writing is the reliance on pre-existing physick books, many published in languages other than English.⁵⁵ Sharp confesses that she gathered knowledge from foreign midwifery books, and the publication of Rüff’s work by an anonymous translator is important as European ideas of midwifery were proliferating the English genre without direct translation. While there are differences between the genres, it is of course worth noting that these texts were all constructed using similar methodologies of collective knowledge, practical experience – or the appearance of – and existing textual frameworks in which to present knowledge in print.

It must be understood that the genre of domestic instructional manuals is the descendant of manuscript and oral cultures of recipe transmission as well as previously published Latin medical works. There are many examples of family recipe collections available in original manuscript form in institutional libraries and private collections. These books, as well as collections of miscellanies and commonplace books, form the precursor to what would eventuate in print and appear in the

⁵² Woolley, *Heal Thyself*, 41; McCarl, “Publishing the works of Nicholas Culpeper”, 238.

⁵³ Culpeper, *The English Physitian*, (Cole, 1653), 44.

⁵⁴ Best, “Introduction”, xviii-xxii.

⁵⁵ Elaine Hobby, “‘Secrets of the Female Sex’: Jane Sharp, The Reproductive Female Body, and Early Modern Midwifery Manuals”. *Women’s Writing: the Elizabethan to Victorian Period* 8, no. 2 (2001): 201-212.

seventeenth-century London book trade.⁵⁶ Though they may be the precursor to the printed material that was to come, the printing press by no means stamped out the practice of community and family recipe sharing. Printed works of medicine and other instructional manuals were often integrated into manuscript culture as well as existing side by side.⁵⁷ These practices were not limited by gender; many of the surviving commonplace books from the sixteenth and seventeenth centuries attribute recipes to both men and women.⁵⁸ Class inflected the engagement with these texts: surviving copies of these manuscript notebooks, commonplace books, or even heavily annotated printed books often have associations with the higher class, and many such books accrued in the collection of Sir John Harington and other members of the gentry.⁵⁹ Access to paper, reading and writing skills, and knowledge from a wide community, was ubiquitous across early modern culture, and only now are these sources being revealed as much more socially wide reaching than previously thought.⁶⁰ Undoubtedly an oral tradition predated these manuscript sources, evidenced through the tradition of passing the later manuscripts down family lines from parent to child, just as spoken recipes would have.⁶¹ Many recipes can be traced to written correspondence between collector and holder of the recipe, though compilation from within the local community, family unit, or household would likely occurred orally.⁶² This communal nature of building a recipe or instructive text seems to be overlooked in studies of printed collections. All the books studied in this thesis appear at face value attributed to a single author, a shorthand that erases dual or multiple authorship in these printed recipe books. This study sheds light on the unheard contributors to this genre and promotes a fuller

⁵⁶ Leong, *Recipes and Everyday Knowledge*, 12-13.

⁵⁷ Elaine Leong, "Collecting Knowledge for the Family: Recipes, Gender and Practical Knowledge in the Early Modern English Household". *Centaurus* 55. No.2 (2013): 81-103.

⁵⁸ Leong, *Recipes and Everyday knowledge*, 80-90.

⁵⁹ Leong 40-43; Jason Scott-Warren, "Harington, Sir John (bap. 1560, d. 1612), courtier and author", in *Oxford Dictionary of National Biography*. 23 Sep. 2004. <https://www-oxforddnb-com.ezproxy.library.sydney.edu.au/view/10.1093/ref:odnb/9780198614128.001.0001/odnb-9780198614128-e-12326>.

⁶⁰ Carla Bittel, Elaine Leong, and Christine Von Oertzen, "Introduction: Paper, Gender, and the History of Knowledge", in *Working with Paper Paper: Gendered Practices in the History of Knowledge*, eds. Carla Bittel, Elaine Leong, and Christine Von Oertzen, (Pittsburgh: University of Pittsburgh Press, 2019).

⁶¹ Leong, *Recipes and Everyday Knowledge*, 127.

⁶² Leong, *Recipes and Everyday Knowledge*, 34-35.

understanding of early modern knowledge-gathering and its presentation in printed instructional books. This genre study is significant because other genres' collaborative authorship practices have been explored, but instructional and recipe literature still does not have a widespread individual treatment.

Attributed Author as Compiler

This section will underscore one end of the attribution and authorship spectrum, investigating the reasons that the attributed author of a text may have chosen to anonymise or efface themselves to legitimise the information presented in the text. Beginning with a discussion of W.M., the author who is most anonymised and then followed by Markham, who was presented as a compiler and arbiter of a manuscript that he had turned to print "for the general good of this nation", this section unpacks the techniques both authors used to create a trust with their reader.⁶³ Both W.M. and Markham rely on perceived links with nobility to legitimise their texts, an important factor as the upper classes were seen to possess greater and more respected connections to people who would have been experienced householders. *The English Housewife* and *The Queen's Closet* both continue to rely on the voice of the attributed author to vouch for the veracity of the source material, and therefore the author's agency should not be discounted.⁶⁴

Scholarship has established that networks of trust and social reputation are key in the context of the book trade, the same link between reputation and trust in authorship shows us that even an anonymous compiler could tap into the relationship between reader and attributed source.⁶⁵ W.M., an anonymised composer, relies upon the link to the former Queen Henrietta Maria (1609-1669) to legitimise the knowledge contained within the text that claims to be

⁶³ Gervase Markham, *A Way to Get Wealth*, (London: W. Wilson for George Sawbridge and E. Brewster, 1653).

⁶⁴ W.M., *The Queen's Closet*, (Nathaniel Brooke for Thomas Guy, 1674), A3r-A4v.

⁶⁵ Johns, *The Nature of the Book*, xxi.

from the manuscript commonplace book held by the former Queen.⁶⁶ The printed book, *The Queens Closet Opened: Incomparable secrets in physick, chirurgery, preserving, candying, and cookery* (1st ed 1655), claims in its foreword to be pressed into public circulation by this particular author in order to prevent someone of a lesser reputation publishing a fraudulent copy.⁶⁷ While it may seem that the compiler's identity is minimised in order to capitalise on the reputation of someone of a higher social station, there are a number of other possible explanations. There is the high probability that choosing to be identified only through initials would have signalled to the readers that those "in the know" at court would be able to positively identify them and attest to the accuracy of the information. One probable reason for the anonymisation if W.M. were who they claimed to be was the real possibility of threat to an individual openly aligning themselves with the court of the former king during the Protectorate (1653-1659). Whatever the circumstances, the compiler identifies over fifty named contributors to the book, all of whom would have carried significant social standing to the middling and gentry audience, further compounding its trustworthiness.⁶⁸ Examples of these range from The King and Queen, to a variety of named doctors from both Britain and the Continent such as Dr Stephen, Dr More and Dr Basse/Bassa, all the way down to unclear yet reputable sources such as "The Old Lady of Oxford".⁶⁹ For context, the 1623 edition of *The English Housewife* only includes two attributed recipes in a collection of over six hundred. Assigning individual contributors' names to specific recipes echoes the technique found in familial manuscript recipe collections, and is unsurprising in the context of this publication as it claims to be a verbatim recreation of one such example held by the Queen.⁷⁰

⁶⁶ W.M., *The Queens Closet Opened*, (London: Nathaniel Brook, 1655).

⁶⁷ W.M., *The Queen's Closet*, (Nathaniel Brooke for Thomas Guy, 1674), A3r-A4v.

⁶⁸ W.M. *The Queen's Closet*, 1-183.

⁶⁹ The Old Lady of Oxford is changed to the Countess of Oxford by the 1668 publication by the same printer, pg 158, presumably as readers 13 years after the initial edition would be less familiar with the moniker.

⁷⁰ Elaine Leong, *Recipes and Everyday knowledge*, 147-148.

This text would have been a valuable commodity, especially if the claims of authorship and origin were proven to be true, but even if not proven, the seventeenth-century audience would have been able to identify the invocation of these names as a signal that high quality knowledge was contained inside.⁷¹ This text is a perfect example of Rosalind Smith's work on prosopopoeia, or the voice of the unseen woman, coming through in instructional literature outside the world of fictional gesture.⁷² *The Queen's Closet* contains two layers of this prosopopoeia, the first is the anonymised compiler who constructs their identity as high up in the court of Henrietta Maria, and the second is the Queen herself, both layers imbued with implicit connection to a high status recipe sharing network. The attribution of individuals' names within this text gives insight into the differences between authorship and ownership present in this genre. While W.M. has compiled this text for print, they make no claim over the recipes, in fact taking full advantage of nominating high-status individuals as the owners of the recipes which were shared with the Queen. This distinction between author and owner of domestic knowledge in this case goes further to legitimise the construction of *The Queen's Closet*. Women's authoritative knowledge being exploited as an authorising function demonstrates that their ownership of knowledge, even as compilers, claimed a place in the construction of authorship.

While the Compiler of *The Queen's Closet* was anonymised, Gervase Markham maintained his status as attributed author in order to add the trust already established with the reader from his previous publications to the value of the knowledge contained within *The English Housewife*. Gervase Markham was one of the most prolific authors of printed husbandry manuals in the late sixteenth to early seventeenth centuries in England.⁷³ Twentieth-century scholars debated the extent to which

⁷¹ For more on the discernment of seventeenth century readers as consumers see Johns, *The Nature of the Book*, 3.

⁷² Smith, "Fictions of Production", 34.

⁷³ Matthew Steggle, "Markham, Gervase (1658?-1637). Author", In *Oxford Dictionary of National Biography*. 23 Sep. 2004. <https://www-oxforddnb->

Markham wrote from his own experiences and how much of his printed work was adapted from pre-existing sources.⁷⁴ Most importantly Michael R. Best proved in 1986 that Markham obtained all the material contained within *The English Housewife* through pre-existing literary sources in circulation at the time, both printed and manuscript, across a range of languages; Markham occasionally altered the texts to “English” them.⁷⁵ Best has done an enviable job in tracing the threads of the textual sources Markham has appropriated into *The English Housewife*, acknowledging that there are many layers of compilation at play even in his sources.⁷⁶ He identifies Markham’s use of both manuscript and print sources to inform the author’s work: *A Jewell House of Art and Nature* (1594), in manuscript form, the earlier printed herbal, titled *Here begynneth a new matter, which sheweth and treateth of ye vertues and propriytes of herbes, which is called an Herball* (1525).⁷⁷ Best has already undertaken the difficult work of a full attribution study though does not account for contemporary understandings of authorship, allowing this section will investigate the way the text was presented to the reader and how they would have understood Markham’s role. Best acknowledges that not all of the text is simply copied from other sources: Markham’s voice is present, for example, when he critiques his source material in the case of the vintner’s extracts in the 1623 edition.⁷⁸ Markham also asserts his own voice in the more prescriptive section on the way that women should behave, dress, and worship at the beginning of the book.⁷⁹ The co-existence of Markham’s voice as a mediator with the collective voices of his source texts demonstrates the complexity of attribution in the period and the utility of exploring it through a book such as this one.

com.ezproxy.library.sydney.edu.au/view/10.1093/ref:odnb/9780198614128.001.0001/odnb-9780198614128-e-18065.

⁷⁴F.N.L. Poynter, *A Bibliography of Gervase Markham 1568?-1637* (Oxford: The Oxford Bibliographic Society, 1962).

⁷⁵ Best, “Introduction”, xx.

⁷⁶ Best, “Introduction”, xviii-xix.

⁷⁷ Best, “Introduction”, xviii-xix.

⁷⁸ Best, “Introduction”, xviii-xix.

⁷⁹ Markham, *The English Housewife* (Jackson, 1623), B-B3.

Many elements of Markham's life experience point to his familiarity with not only the culture of collecting and sharing manuscript recipe books but also the opportunity to acquire and study foreign texts that would have informed him in areas of housekeeping. His education at Cambridge would have given him the language tools to access texts in French and Latin which he is known to have referenced within *The English Housewife*.⁸⁰ His time in the household of Sir John Harrington (1561-1612), English courtier, author, and inventor would almost certainly have exposed Markham to the culture of commonplacing and recording knowledge important to running a household, as Harrington was the owner of seven manuscript miscellanies that survive to this day.⁸¹ Becoming a husbandman himself in his period of "follow[ing] the plow" would have given Markham exposure to the practicalities of what knowledge was necessary for a housewife to have in order to maintain a well-run English household.⁸² It is also likely that he would have relied on the knowledge of his wife in some of the matters he addresses. By the publication of the first edition in 1615, he would have had at least two decades of lived experience in different settings, including the London book industry, in order to inform the creation of the text.⁸³

In an example of textual interjection, Roger Jackson (d.1625), the publisher of the 1615 and 1623 editions of *The English Housewife*, addresses the reader regarding the authority of Markham's knowledge as to the art of housewifery, introducing the elements of authorial effacement and gesture towards a greater source of knowledge.

Thou mayst say (gentle Reader) what hath this man to doe with Hus-wifery, he is now
out of his element; and to be so generall for all ill qualities, is to express more in one
Booke than can be found expresst in two women. I shall desire thee therefore to

⁸⁰ Steggle, "Gervase Markham".

⁸¹ Peter Beale, "Sir John Harrington", *Catalogue of English Literary Manuscripts 1450-1700*. Accessed 06/01/2023. <https://celm-ms.org.uk/introductions/HarringtonSirJohn.html>.

⁸² Poynter, *Bibliography*, 18.

⁸³ Steggle, "Gervase Markham".

understand, that this is not collection of his whose name is prefixed to this worke, but an approved Manuscript which he happily light on, belonging sometime to an honourable Personage of this knigdome, who was singular amongst those of her ranke for many of the qualities here set forth. This onely he hath done, digested the things of this booke in a good method, placing every thing of the same kinde together, and so made it common for thy delight and profit.⁸⁴

A close reading of this foreword reveals how Jackson, a bookseller, shaped the narrative of the construction of the text in order to fit the expectations of the reader. He begins with the gendered expectation that since Markham is a *gentleman*, he is therefore uninformed about the intricacies of housewifery, though, in a position to access women of high social status placed to collect recipes from those of similar circumstance. Jackson's brief introductory note voices the scepticism he anticipates the reader to bring to a housewifery text written by a man, despite Leong's findings that recipe collection was not only the role of the housewife, grounding this knowledge as both accessible and female.⁸⁵ Although Jackson never explicitly genders the figure to whom he refers, it is revealed only by the use of the female pronoun. Jackson felt he had to establish the source of the original text as a well-connected woman with enviable networks and qualities in order to legitimise the following book. The creation of the "honourable" woman who collected a manuscript version of the text encouraged the consumer to read and trust the book in the same way they would have with *The Queen's Closet*. Jackson himself acknowledges the manuscript culture of recipe collection and credits that with the genesis of the book. He separates the printed text as superior to simply consulting one's neighbour or one's own recipe collection, or even the one allegedly consulted

⁸⁴ Roger Jackson in Markham, *The English Housewife*, 1615. Q2v.

⁸⁵ Leong, *Recipes and Everyday Knowledge*, 57-68.

in the construction of the text, by adding that Markham's contribution was to re-order the text, increasing its qualities as accessible and user friendly to the housewife.

Jackson's brief foreword demonstrates that the construction of instructional literature relied on the social and cultural structures of trust and social capital also at play in the book trade.

Adrian Johns has established that the consumer, familiar with the moral character of the bookseller, would place the same level of trust in the books they sold. While the anonymous figure of the "honourable Personage" without any other accreditation aligns with Adam Smyth's conclusions that manuscript miscellanies relied on the perceived social eminence of the attributed author.⁸⁶ Markham's methodology as an author can be more accurately described as a compiler of existing texts and his own experience, veiled and bolstered by the assurance that the information came from an anonymous, though highly connected and knowledgeable, figure who epitomises the qualities of the English housewife. The partnership between Markham's methodology of collecting, translating, "Englishing", and ordering the recipes and Jackson's construction of the phantom aristocratic source creates a near perfect mythology backed up by already popular, if effaced information. Markham's role as attributed author, understood to his contemporary reader as arbiter, demonstrates the layered understandings of early-modern authorship. Markham does not claim ownership of, nor is he attributed as owning the information in *The English Housewife* in the same way as he would have his other texts. His reputation as a respected and trustworthy writer, compounded with the good reputation of his bookseller Roger Jackson, both contributed to the success of this book. However, Jackson's foreword proves that Markham's own reputation was not enough to legitimise the information, and the value of women's knowledge, especially high status women's knowledge, was superior to any man's.

⁸⁶ Smyth, *Profit and Delight*, 75.

Between Experience and Consociation

Jane Sharp's *The Midwives Book* and Nicholas Culpeper's *A directory for Midwives* demonstrate the different construction techniques and trust networks that had to be navigated by men and women in order for their works to be seen as legitimate midwifery manuals. While both attributed authors are bolstered by their own practical experience, Sharp of midwifery and Culpeper as a physician, both rely on female knowledge, and both are informed by the mode of medical treatise, there are subtle differences between the text in the way they address their source information. Culpeper embodies the practical experience of a male physician but lacks the knowledge of midwives, while Sharp has the practical skills and knowledge of a midwife but seeks legitimation in the book industry by signalling her consultation of works by respected physicians. These midwifery texts fit in the middle of the scale between individual knowledge of the attributed author and the discounting of the attributed author as both demonstrate a balance between the knowledge of the author and their access to a more collective type of information.

Arbitration of the paratextual material by the stationer to strengthen the reader's trust in the knowledge contained within the texts is a technique that was used outside of just texts that have an element of explicit authorial effacement. Nicholas Culpeper, remembered by modern biographers as a rebel in the world of medical writing, was one author who fits well into a conversation about early modern authorship methodologies due to the vast number of publications over his lifetime, the accessibility of his texts to the general reading audience due to their cheap prices,⁸⁷ and his position outside the guild structure of the College of Physicians and the Royal Society.⁸⁸ Peter Cole (d.1666) was the primary publisher of Nicholas Culpeper's

⁸⁷ McCarl, "Publishing the Works of Nicholas Culpeper", 245.

⁸⁸ Curry, "Nicholas Culpeper".

medical books during his lifetime.⁸⁹ Elizabeth Lane Furdell and M.R. McCarl suggest that Culpeper was commissioned by Cole to write medical books that challenged the establishment, allowing the printer to profit from best-selling medical books the reading public could access.⁹⁰ This relationship suggests that Cole had a significant influence over at least the formatting and paratextual material included in the editions of Culpeper's medical books up to 1666, making him an integral mechanism within the construction of Culpeper's authorship. Like Jackson publishing Markham in the 1610s-20s, Cole only once expressed his own voice in print, a move designed to legitimate the book. This is in the first edition of *A Directory for Midwives* (first ed. 1651) published after Culpeper's death; it addresses contemporary criticism of the text.

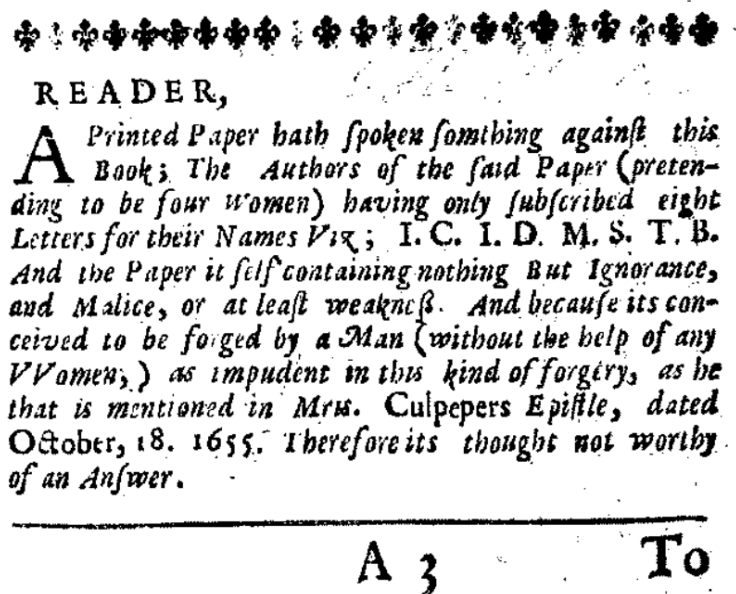


Figure 3 - Peter Cole, "Reader", in Nicholas Culpeper, *A Directory for Midwives, or, a Guide for Women in Their Conception, Bearing, and Suckling Their Children*, (London: Printed by Peter Cole, 1656), A3r.

⁸⁹ He published all but one edition of *The English Physitian* and *A Directory for Midwives* until his death by suicide in 1666. The single edition of both texts that he did not publish was reported to be a counterfeit copy. Culpeper's other work including his Almanacks were published by Nathaniel Brooke who will be addressed later in the thesis.

⁹⁰ Elizabeth Lane Furdell, "'Reported to Be Distracted': The Suicide of Puritan Entrepreneur Peter Cole." *The Historian* (Kingston) 66, no. 4 (2004): 772-92; McCarl, "Publishing the Works of Nicholas Culpeper" 226, 229.

Cole's assertion that the other authors who criticise Culpeper are in fact men and therefore are not informed of the practice of midwifery hints that Culpeper was aided by practicing midwives in constructing his text, as explored in the Introduction. This is all to suggest that while Cole is using the same method as Jackson to lend credence to the text, Cole's claim can be supported by contemporary evidence and a genuine collaborative process. This extract is also significant as it demonstrates that the authority of a female authored midwifery text could be stripped by implication that the true authors were men. This demonstrates that there was true power in the use or appearance of female knowledge in this genre. A final abnormality in the construction of the text is the author's outward appeal to the midwife reader from the first edition in 1651 to approach him to correct any errors they may find in the text from their experience.⁹¹ Along with the probable involvement of his wife Alice, who later registered as a midwife, shows Culpeper's construction of this text as collaborative from many different angles. He already had a reputation as a working physician as well as a medical writer which provided the groundwork for the reader to trust the information held within his midwifery book. Cole's reputation as the bookseller who provided access to Culpeper's medical works would also have added to the trustworthiness of the book. This reinforces the idea that this text was one that came about from collective authorship, as he was encouraging of practicing midwives to critique his work so it could be more useful in later editions. This invocation of collaborative authorship would have given serious authority to the text without Culpeper losing his status as sole author.

While Culpeper's work most likely included contributions by uncredited practicing midwives, including Alice, the publication of *The Midwives Book* (1671) by Jane Sharp two decades later was the first book to attribute a practicing female midwife as an author.⁹² In the 1671 edition,

⁹¹ Nicholas Culpeper, "The Epistle Dedicatorie", *A Directory For Midwives* (Cole, 1651), ¶8.

⁹² Hobby, "Secrets of the Female Sex", 201.

Sharp is credited with 30 years' experience as a midwife and in the 1724 edition, 40, adding to her authority as a practitioner and therefore author.⁹³ However, no record of Jane Sharp appears in the registers of midwives of London in the seventeenth century which were still in their infancy.⁹⁴ Women were often only brought into ecclesiastical court for practicing without a licence if there was an allegation of spiritual or personal misconduct in the eyes of the Church which granted the licences.⁹⁵ Therefore it is not unreasonable to believe that Jane Sharp did practice as midwife as the two publications of *The Midwives Book* set her a plausible death date of sometime in the 1680s.⁹⁶ Whether she was a genuine figure or not, this section will proceed as if she was, as more can be gained from understanding the mechanics behind her authorship and her methodological choices than from trying to prove her genuine existence. Sharp would have been understood by the early modern reader as a real figure, corporeal or not, as according to Rosalind Smith, even fictions of women's voice, agency and production play a significant role in constructing the early modern women writer.⁹⁷ This post-structural reading allows us to overcome the uncertainties of attribution to explore the agentive landscape of the early modern woman writer. So far, this methodology has mostly been utilised in the field of literary scholarship. Sharp is significant not just because she was the first attributed woman to publish a midwifery text in English, but how she constructed herself as an author and knower amongst a male dominated textual landscape.

The author of *The Midwives Book* balanced her own reputation as a source of midwifery knowledge with previously established printed practices of presenting this information.

⁹³ Jane Sharp, *The Midwives Book*, title page.

⁹⁴ Jane Beale, "Jane Sharp: A Midwife of Renaissance England." *Midwifery today*, no. 107 (2013): 30-31; Forbes, "The Regulation of English Midwives", 242.

⁹⁵ Forbes, "The Regulation of English Midwives", 238-239.

⁹⁶ More historical investigation needs to be done into the sources scattered around London's archives and parishes to create a clearer picture of Jane Sharp and the traces she may have left. So far scholarship has focused on her writing and failed to properly examine sources that could directly pertain to her biography.

⁹⁷ Smith, "Fictions of Production", 34.

Literary critic Elaine Hobby has identified moments in the text that support the assertion that the text is in fact correctly attributed. Sharp's voice takes an optimistic and seemingly practical stance on the severity and outcome of some health issues, including uterine prolapse, compared to male authors writing on the same subjects.⁹⁸ A close reading of Sharp's address to "The Midwives of England" can also support the author's efforts to establish herself as part of the community of midwives working across England. She begins by addressing the reader as "Sisters", and laments the fate of women who are treated by unskilled midwives, setting forth a goal to improve the education of midwives in general through her work, bolstering their reputation as a group.⁹⁹ The conclusion to this passage situates herself as a practicing midwife of great experience, directly stating that "young men and maids will have much just cause to blush sometimes, and be ashamed of their own follies".¹⁰⁰ The inclusion of young men in this phrase demonstrates a departure from other midwifery texts that dissuaded young men from reading them lest they be scandalised.¹⁰¹ Such rhetoric demonstrates Sharp's wish that men training as physicians also have a right to this knowledge to inform their own practice.¹⁰² This address of gender solidifies Sharp's authority and expertise of the subject as a female midwife, and it is at her discretion that men access the knowledge she has chosen to reveal in text.

However, the value of women's midwifery knowledge must be balanced with existing male-authored medical texts to be legitimate eyes of the reader, situating both male and female authored midwifery books at this point in the authorship scale. Sharp reports to have consulted "at great cost" translations of Dutch, French and Italian books on her subject and Hobby's analysis of the book proves that Sharp had consulted and engaged with multiple other

⁹⁸ Hobby, "Secrets of the Female Sex", 205-206.

⁹⁹ Sharp, "To the Midwives of England", *The Midwives Book*, r (no page reference in text).

¹⁰⁰ Sharp, *The Midwives Book*, 5.

¹⁰¹ Rüff, *The Expert Midwife*, A5v-r.

¹⁰² Rüff, *The Expert Midwife*, A5v-r.

midwifery books including Culpeper's.¹⁰³ This methodology wherein she takes remedies from other works and provides her own judgement on their reliability can be considered in conversation with Culpeper, where each author sought to collaborate in some way with a body of knowledge that would serve to legitimate their text in contemporary society. Sharp brings a laser focused commentary to the texts with which she engages while Culpeper only gestures to possible sources of his cures. Hobby points to Sharp retelling an old wives' tale that has been endorsed by Culpeper and other male authors before her in a tongue-in-cheek way.¹⁰⁴ This demonstrates that the readers of midwifery books held different expectations of men and women writing on the subject, and only through collaboration would the resulting information appear trustworthy.

Sharp's engagement with her source material reveals her embodied experience, distinguishing her from contemporary male texts on the subject, though the construction and appearance of *The Midwives Book* strongly aligns with others in the genre. Sharp mirrors Culpeper in the organisation of her subjects and references the Bible in her frontmatter in the same manner as Culpeper and Rüff. Most notably the text is not written like Markham or Woolley's compilation of receipts in the housewifery genre, instead it follows the modal rules of a treatise which simply embed the cures within prose paragraphs. A key feature that occurs throughout Sharp, Rüff, and Culpeper's midwifery texts is that despite the text being written in prose form like a treatise, the recipes to cure or treat ailments are highlighted by a change of font or italicisation to allow for the reader to skim the text in the same way they may in the housewifery genre, relying not on marginal headings, but changes in type.¹⁰⁵ Jane Sharp formally establishes

¹⁰³ Sharp, *The Midwives Book*, "To the Midwives of England", v (no page reference in text); Hobby, "Secrets of the Female Sex", 202.

¹⁰⁴ Hobby, "Secrets of the Female Sex", 206-207.

¹⁰⁵ Culpeper's *A Directory for Midwives* (Cole, 1656) italicizes names of other sources he consults and other more academic information including headings while leaving the treatment and description information in plain type. Best seen in pages 54-55.

herself in the corpus of midwifery books not just as a new female gimmick to the consumer, but as a force of knowledge which should be taken seriously from a place of embodied and theoretical participation. However, she must do this by conforming to the conventions of the medical and midwifery genre, established by men.

The final text this section will briefly touch on is the 1637 English translation of Jakob Rüff's *The Expert Midwife*.¹⁰⁶ This example will be used as an isolated case to illustrate how translation was approached in seventeenth-century England, and therefore can be used to draw parallels between the translation methodology of both Culpeper and Markham writing in similar sub-genres. Originally published in Latin on the continent, *De conceptu et generatione hominis* (1554) was reproduced by an uncredited translator into English in London in 1637 by Edward Griffin for Simon Burton and was to be sold by Thomas Alchorn as *The Expert Midwife*.¹⁰⁷ A key notion that Massimiliano Morini identified in translation methodology in this period is the adoption of Leonardo Bruni's translation theory, necessitating a fluency in both original and target language as well as a grasp on all the qualities of the original rather than just vocabulary.¹⁰⁸ The nature of early modern translation is at a crossroads, with somewhat more medieval methods including radical departure from the original source material, and the more humanist based approach, outlined by Bruni, which tends to be much more loyal to its source material.¹⁰⁹ Also importantly, translation in this period in England often is reflective of the domestic translator's sense of nationhood, and the verb "to English" is not just to translate, but also to domesticate while still claiming loyalty to the original.¹¹⁰

¹⁰⁶ This discussion will be somewhat briefer than the text deserves as my Latin is not up to the standard required for a close reading of the texts in conversation with one another.

¹⁰⁷ Rüff, *The Expert Midwife*, A1r.

¹⁰⁸ Massimiliano Morini, *Tudor Translation in Theory and Practice*, (London: Routledge, 2017).

¹⁰⁹ Morini, *Tudor Translation*, x.

¹¹⁰ Morini, *Tudor Translation*, 3-5.

The text of *The Expert Midwife* shows little obvious signs of Englishing, though it does include a domestic example of a monstrous birth, alleging to be from Oxfordshire in 1552.¹¹¹ This example is mixed in with others ranging from Italy to Africa, and whether included in the original or not, it adds some English flavour to the most sensationalist and least domestically applicable.¹¹² Evidence to suggest loyalty to the original source material is the inclusion of the same woodcuts used in the Latin version. Rüff's treatise on midwifery leaves little room for creative flair on the part of the translator, especially when they have to abide by the constraints of anatomical woodcuts which require explanation.¹¹³ Best's work on Markham's use of a French instructional and agricultural books in *The English Housewife* reveals more of this "Englishing", as many of the methods that are translated across are done so with commentary.¹¹⁴ In a way, translation into English in this period provides an easy framework of understanding how all of the texts addressed in this chapter referred to and conceived their source material, whether in the vernacular or outside of it. Each attributed author translates existing knowledge in other works or people into their own construction, personalising it in different ways varying from text to text. In Rüff's case, the translator alters the entire text by changing the language, in Sharp's case she adds the perspective of a practicing midwife and woman onto the knowledge established by physicians. As the midwifery genre stands between the worlds of embodied female medicine and professionalised male medicine, the act of collaboration demonstrated by both Sharp and Culpeper is necessary to capture the trust of the reader, and make sure the remedies provided have background in both fields.

Upon One's Own Reputation

¹¹¹ Rüff, *The Expert Midwife*, 152-153.

¹¹² Rüff, *The Expert Midwife*, 150-160.

¹¹³ Rüff, *The Expert Midwife*, 112-135.

¹¹⁴ Best, "Introduction", Xx-xxi.

This final section will outline the two books: *The English Physitian* by Nicholas Culpeper and Hannah Woolley's *The Accomplish'd Ladies Delight* rested primarily on the reputation of the attributed author, the form of authorship and textual construction that is closest to what modern readers would be familiar with. As established above, Culpeper was a well known practicing physician within his community, and he and Peter Cole had established a partnership printing medical books for the general public beginning in 1649.¹¹⁵ This text, a continuation of his appropriation of knowledge from The College of Physicians, would have been anticipated by readers of his earlier work established under the same principles. Woolley too would have been building from an established reputation already existing in print: her earlier work on housewifery, specifically cookery, would have established her a trustworthy reputation through the reader's own embodiment of the recipes. In addition, Julia Reinhardt Lupton has suggested that Woolley worked as a domestic servant in a great house for a time and published her books during periods of widowhood.¹¹⁶ Therefore, it is not just the recipes that the reader comes to trust but the author herself.

Despite the housewifery books containing knowledge on household physick, they have very rarely been studied in direct conversation with medical books published in the same era and never in a genre study of instructional literature spanning multiple sub-genres of manual.¹¹⁷ By bringing household books together with other medical publications that were intended for domestic use, it further challenges and expands the definition of early modern medicine and medical knowledge. By including an easily accessible medical or herbal text into the discussion of instructional literature, within which it no doubt fits, allows a view into the way these medical texts were constructed in relation to the rest of the genre, as well as an insight into the text's perspective on the knowledge already held by housewives.

¹¹⁵ Nicholas Culpeper, *A Physicall Directory*, (London: Peter Cole, 1649).

¹¹⁶ Julia Reinhardt Lupton, "Thinking with Things: Hannah Woolley to Hannah Arendt". *Postmedieval a journal of medieval culture studies* 3, no.1 (2012): 63-79.

¹¹⁷ Elaine Leong has been the first scholar to truly bring together the household and medicine and explore the depths of medical knowledge held within the domestic sphere.

This section will address *The English Physitian*, published at least 20 times up to the year 1701.

It is a text that follows in a long line of patriotic publications that declare English herbs and other medical resources to be sufficient to cure all the ills that may befall England's population.¹¹⁸ Set up like a traditional herbal, it addresses the illnesses of the population not by disease, but by cure. Plants are listed alphabetically, prefaced by a table of herbs and followed by a table of diseases.¹¹⁹ The traditional setup of the information clearly lends itself to a more scholarly approach to reading, rather than the practical setup of housewifery texts like the above where diseases and chirurgical remedies are delineated by clear headings and do not rely on the reader to pre-identify the main ingredient to treat the malady before opening the book.¹²⁰ The plants are addressed first by description, then place, time, virtues and use. The format of the printed text also allows a list of ailments that can be treated by the herb down the side margin, correlating to the paragraph where its virtues and use are set out.¹²¹ The marginal addition makes the text much more accessible to a non-learned audience as well as enabling the reader to quickly flip through the book to scan for different herbal solutions to a single potential issue. The significance of the formatting in the final use of the text demonstrates the collaborative process between author and bookseller and the specific dynamics of the anticipated audience. Although it was Culpeper who would have been viewed as the primary source of the information, the stationers still had almost complete control over the presentation and usefulness of the book. This layout would have situated Culpeper in a long line of other similarly single-attributed herbals available in print in this period.

¹¹⁸ Other examples of this include Timothy Bright, *A Treatise wherein is declared the sufficiencie of English Medicines, for cure of all diseases, cured with medicine*. (London: Printed by Henrie Middleton for Thomas Man, 1580), and the same themes can be traced through the wider works of Markham. For a more detailed scholarly discussion please see Rowan Lawrence "Early Modern English Nationalism? : The Uses and Connotations of the Term Nation in Elizabethan and Jacobean English-Language Printed Discourse." University of Sydney, 2012.

¹¹⁹ Nicholas Culpeper, *The English Physitian* (Cole, 1656), C3-C8, Bb-Cc5.

¹²⁰ While Markham's side marginal headings differ to Woolley's in text numbered headings, they both are formatted for easy scanning by malady.

¹²¹ Culpeper, *The English Physitian* (Cole, 1652), 1-2.

Culpeper self-identified *The English Physitian* as a treatise, which situates it within the corpus of previous medical publishing rather than with domestic books which often demonstrate more explicit signs of collaborative authorship.¹²² The paratextual material included in the 1652 Cole edition of the text, its first edition, disputes the idea that this knowledge comes directly from Culpeper and situates itself firmly in the tradition of early modern medical books by referencing all the other authors whose work was made use of in the text.¹²³ This would seem to point to a more collaborative construction, however, there is a small tongue-in-cheek reference under the E heading to “Dr. Experience”, in reference to Culpeper’s own knowledge of the practice of physick despite being unlicensed, a means of including his own opinions without fear of prosecution.¹²⁴ A significant difference between the construction of authorship seen in the material discussed above and Culpeper’s medical text is the extent to which *The English Physitian* highlights the compiler as knower. Through gestures to other physicians, Culpeper reveals his network, legitimising his own voice in the process.¹²⁵ However, without Culpeper’s own status as a healer the compilation would not be as successful. It is also worth noting that it is only in the paratextual material that these names are mentioned, nowhere in the text does Culpeper credit a specific piece of knowledge to any contemporary physician. An aspect that unites all of the books in the instructional genre no matter the type of authorship construction is the credit of the knowledge of the reader. Particularly in Culpeper’s “description” of the physical characteristics of a herb, he acknowledges that it will already be

¹²² Culpeper, *The English Physitian* (Cole 1652), Cv-Cr.

¹²³ Culpeper, *The English Physitian* (Cole 1652), Cv.

¹²⁴ The Herbalist’s Act of 1542, often referred to as the Quack’s Charter, allowed people such as midwives, apothecaries and wise women, i.e. people who were not trained physicians, to provide medical advice as long as they were not charging money for such. By citing Dr Experience rather than himself, this could have been a way for Culpeper to avoid liability under the law that was only repealed in 1958. The Herbalists Act 1542. Statutes made at Westminster, Anno 34 & 35 Hen VIII, ch. 8.

¹²⁵ Culpeper, *The English Physitian* (Cole 1652), Cv. This list of authors included in the treatise comes before even the alphabetical table of contents, immediately after the address to the reader where many of the names included in the table are discussed.

familiar to the reader: of the bramble he states “this is so wel known that it needeth no description”; and of Broom and Broomrape “To spend time in writing a Description here hereof is altogether needless, it being so generally used by all the good Huswives almost through this Land to sweep their Houses with, and therefor very wel known to all sorts of people”. Culpeper and the information he collected are at the heart of the creation of *The English Physitian* and notably accepted the female audience as both knowers and receivers of the information presented in a traditionally male dominated genre.

Hannah Woolley does not need to attribute her writing to a mysterious woman as Markham did, as she as a widow already held the status necessary to impart domestic knowledge at the time of publishing the *Accomplish’d Ladies Delight* (1675, reprinted 1677, 83, 84, 85, 86, 16).¹²⁶ This section will primarily focus on her publications of the *Accomplish’d Ladies Delight*, although I have consulted her other writings to build a framework for understanding her practice and scope as an author. At the time of the first edition of the *Accomplish’d Ladies Delight*, she was already well known amongst London readers for her instructional cookbooks, published in the 1660s after the death of her first husband.¹²⁷ Julia Reinhard Lupton suggest that Woolley held a domestic service position in the household of Lady Anne Worth, the recipient of the dedication in her earlier work, *The Cook’s Guide* (1664), which increased the authority that she had to speak on the care of households.¹²⁸ Seventeenth-century printed domestic recipe books are often linked to the mistresses of great households so it is no surprise that Woolley was aligned with one. A key difference between Woolley and Markham’s *The English Housewife*, other than what modern readers may see as correct attribution, are

¹²⁶ Henry Notaker, *The History of Cookbooks: From Kitchen to Page Over Seven Centuries*. (Oakland: The University of California Press, 2017).

¹²⁷ Lupton, “Thinking with Things”, 64.

¹²⁸ Lupton, “Thinking with Things”, 64.

the changes made from edition to edition, demonstrating Woolley's continuous search for more knowledge to include in her books. Markham's housewifery text remains reasonably similar, with printed manicules or marginalia signposting the new additions to the text.¹²⁹ Woolley's text however is nearly unrecognisable from one edition to the next. The order of the recipes changes, the contents of the recipes change, recipes are added in or taken out, and in one addition a bookseller has bound a copy of *The Lady's Diversion in her Garden* (n.d.), a book about plants, in the back of one copy.¹³⁰ This suggests that Woolley or the owners of her copy were continuing to update the recipes to reflect changes in fashion and taste, or to encourage repeated sales of the subsequent editions to return customers. This matters as it demonstrates the continued value of Woolley's domestic knowledge as a hot commodity in the book trade, solidifying the high value of women's domestic knowledge.

Unlike W.M. and Markham's books which are concerned with both cooking and physick, Woolley's *Queen-Like Closet*, and indeed all her books up to 1670 were primarily concerned with cookery. It is only in her *Supplement* (1674) and *Accomplish'd Ladies Delight* that she begins to incorporate the office of healer into her domestic books.¹³¹ "I have been Physician and chyrgian in my own house" states the address to the reader in the *Supplement*, after the long list of additions to already published and well trusted recipes.¹³² While Woolley's earlier work was produced and sold with the advertised connection to the household of an aristocratic or gentlewoman, her later work after her second husband's death in 1669 is able to capitalise on her own experience and trust between herself and the reader, if still bolstered in

¹²⁹ Marham, *The English Housewife* (Harison and Griffin, 1637), A5v-r.

¹³⁰ Hannah Woolley, *The Accomplish'd Ladies Delight*, (London: Benjamin Harris, 1675). Copy held in the Bodleian Library available through EEBO. Page 161 is the title page for Thomas Harris, *The Lady's Diversion in her Garden*, no publication information on the title page but presumably the same as rest of the book. This choice was obviously taken by the stationer as the page numbers continue uninterrupted.

¹³¹ Hannah Woolley. *A supplement to the queen-like closet*, (London: Printed by T. R. for Richard Lownds, 1674).

¹³² Wooley, *Supplement*, A3v.

sales by the similarity of title to another book claiming official connections to royalty. The broadening of subject matter into household physick could have come from the desire to be as similar to the *Queen's Closet* as possible, as it includes household medical recipes, or that Woolley herself felt that she had enough experience and resources to publish her own. More close study into the origin of the recipes found in Woolley's work would be necessary to come to a firmer conclusion.¹³³ Woolley's 1675 edition of *The Accomplish'd Ladies Delight* overwhelmingly relies upon the reader's trust in her skill and knowledge in domestic receipts, with a total of eight attributed recipes in a book compiling four hundred and forty seven.¹³⁴ Woolley occupies an interesting space in the context of attribution studies, as her contemporary readers believed her own experience and knowledge, compiled over a lifetime, to belonged distinctly to her. This is in opposition to Markham and his imagined "Great Personage" in some ways, as the reader automatically trusts in the implied knowledge of such a woman without also having a concrete personality to critique. It is clear that an important part of marketing domestic knowledge relies on the social standing and reputation of the attributed knowledge collector, and each publication discussed above has been able to access this framework through a variety of different presentations of knowledge. Woolley marks the end of the scale of authorship where it appears that all the information contained in her books can be attributed to her own experience and personal networks. She demonstrates that women's authority over knowledge could exist in the realm of the real as well as the rhetorical and was always of high value in this genre.

Conclusion

¹³³ The scope of which is outside the limitations of this project.

¹³⁴ Not all these recipes contain full attribution and there is one example of an individual credited with two recipes. Examples such as "Madam G" and "The D of C" are examples where Woolley has felt the need to include an attribution but obscure the true identity of the contributor, if one exists at all. Woolley, *The Accomplish'd Ladies Delight* (Harris, 1675), 55, 56 (as printed), 70 (as printed), 71.

In this chapter what proliferates the instructional genre is the value of women's voices, experiences and knowledge. The rhetorical reference to women was valuable, especially of higher class women, as it carried with it female knowledge imbued with social credit. Women's knowledge as midwives was highly valued in the authorial sphere due to the practice of oral transmission of knowledge and exclusion of men from the profession. Sharp's book and Cole's foreword demonstrate that the knowledge of female midwives was a prized commodity in the seventeenth century, and the implication this knowledge came from a man was detrimental to the success of the book. However, this special facet of women's knowledge needed to be presented within the confines of medical textual convention to be seen as legitimate medical advice by the market. Nicholas Culpeper's reputation as a medical writer even valued the knowledge of the housewife and included her in the anticipated readership of his work. The embodied knowledge of Hannah Woolley presented in her housewifery books shows the value of embodied knowledge to the female reader.

Attributed authors, male and female, as well as stationers contributed to the creation and manipulation of the female persona, real or imagined, in order to capitalise from the value it imbued on instructional books. The following chapter will further explore the agency of stationers — printers and booksellers — over the books they produced to continue to explore how women's knowledge was used and credited.

Chapter 2 – Dissemination: Agency Amongst the Stationers

As Chapter 1 illustrated, the role of individual stationers was paramount in the production of instructional texts. This chapter will demonstrate the importance of instructional literature to many different players in the book trade, situate the genre and its publishers within the wider sphere of the book trade, and uncover how decisions made by stationers to alter the paratextual material impacted the book's usefulness. By the turn of the seventeenth century, the Stationers' Company was a well-established guild that monopolized the production of all of print in London. It decided what was printed, by whom, and for how long.¹³⁵ The Stationers' Company Court was a powerful entity that controlled the production and dissemination of print.¹³⁶ The Company was also at the heart of a community, their records demonstrating it was not just the men registered as members of the company who they supported, but also their wives and families. It was this community that supported the construction and dissemination of instructional literature. The Registers and Court Books of the Stationers' Company provide evidence of an increasingly bureaucratized entity that presided over the operation of the book trade from the late sixteenth century well into the modern period. This chapter will outline the crucial role stationers played in the mediation of books between author and reader, demonstrating the variety of women's labour involved in doing so. It will then establish instructional literature as a key part of the operation of widow stationers' businesses through a catalogue of the proportion of different genres held by booksellers linked to this corpus. Women's role as agent and authority over instructional texts will also be foregrounded, as will what

¹³⁵ John Feather, "From Rights in Copies to Copyright: The Recognition of Authors' Rights in English Law and Practice in the Sixteenth and Seventeenth Centuries". *Cardozo arts & entertainment law journal* 10, no. 2 (1992): 455-473.

¹³⁶ Feather, "From Rights in Copies to Copyright", 455.

the study of instructional literature can add to the scholarship surrounding women's labour and the history of the book.

The second part of this chapter will follow three women involved in the production of the instructional literature corpus outlined in the Introduction to demonstrate their agency in altering the paratextual material and deciding which books to stock and reprint. Anne Griffin, involved in the printing of *The English Housewife* (1637), has been noted in scholarship as a pioneering woman in the Stationers' Company will be investigated for her contributions to the usefulness of the instructional literature she printed, and how she operated as one of the early successful female stationers. Sarah Harris, bookseller and holder of the copy of *The Accomplish'd Ladies Delight* (1686), is useful to explore how women with little remaining record fit into the industry through familial and professional ties and creates an opportunity to reflect on the roles of women who were not wives or widows within the book trade. Hannah Sawbridge, the stationer who sold the 1683 copy of *The English Housewife* and the widow George Sawbridge, gives insight into the expectations and norms of business practice of widow stationers and provides an opportunity to scrutinise the definition of agency afforded to these women.¹³⁷ Alan B. Farmer's two categories of widow stationer: entrepreneurial and conservative, has been useful as a starting point to understand the ways in which these female stationers were able to act, but this chapter expands this framework to include women of unknown marital status, and nuance the term "conservative".¹³⁸ Overall, instructional literature proves to be a new way into understanding how women operated within the book trade. It was a key genre in the stock of the stationers involved in this corpus and was a reliable source of income due to its continued popularity. New evidence from the Stationers' Archive demonstrates the way the Company valued women and families, supporting Alix Cooper's assertion that women were

¹³⁷ Helen Smith, "'Print[ing] Your Royal Father Off': Early Modern Female Stationers and the Gendering of the British Book Trades." *Text* (New York, N.Y. 1984) 15 (2003): 163-186.

¹³⁸ Alan B. Farmer, "Widow Publishers in London 1540-1640" in *Women's Labour and the History of the Book in Early Modern England*, ed. Valerie Wayne, (London: The Arden Shakespeare, Bloomsbury Publishing Plc, 2020): 47-73.

a key support in the endeavours of their husbands and Adrian Johns' findings that the line between bookshop and domestic space in this era was liminal at best, allowing for a continuous mix of business and family.¹³⁹

Textual Ownership and the Stationer as Guardian

The Registers of the Stationers' Company demonstrate that in the seventeenth century, the ownership of text was firmly held by the stationer, not the author, thus centralising the role of the stationer further in book production than already demonstrated in chapter 1.¹⁴⁰ When Roger Jackson first registered Markham's *The English Housewife* with the Company, the book was described as "his [Jackson's] copie".¹⁴¹ This 1614 registration is indicative of what would be enshrined in legislation aimed at regulating the printing industry to make stationers answerable as owners of the material they printed, mostly as a deterrent from printing seditious books.¹⁴² In the second Star Chamber Decree of 1637 items II, IX, and XVIII pertain to the concept of print ownership.¹⁴³ Item II stipulated that printer and bookseller must be acknowledged on the title page of the book, Item IX that the publisher must obtain permission from the Company to print a work, that forgery of names is illegal, and item XVIII that every work must be relicensed for every reprint.¹⁴⁴ Item II supports the consensus that the publisher is legally responsible for the material, as it is that person's name that must be attached to the print and therefore assumes responsibility before censors.¹⁴⁵ Item IX demonstrates

¹³⁹ Cooper, "Homes and Households", 225; Johns, *The Nature of the Book*, 117-125.

¹⁴⁰ George Edward Briscoe Eyre, *A Transcript of the Registers of the Worshipful Company of Stationers, from 1640-1709 A.D.* Vols I-IV, (New York: Peter Smith, 1950).

¹⁴¹ Roger Jackson's registration of Markham's *Countrie Contentments* which includes *The English Housewife* on 5th September 1614 identifies Markham at the end of the title as "G. Markham" whereas Jackson's name is clearly delineated. Edward Arber, *A Transcript of the Registers of the Company of Stationers of London, 1554-1640 A.D.* Vol. IV (London: Privately Printed, 1875). 254.

¹⁴² Arber, *Registers 1554-1640* (Vol IV), 529-536.

¹⁴³ Arber, *Registers 1554-1640* (Vol IV), 529-536.

¹⁴⁴ Arber, *Registers 1554-1640* (Vol IV), 536.

¹⁴⁵ Anne Griffin is accused by Archbishop Laud for printing a seditious book which puts the ownership of her printing house in jeopardy. Henry R. Plomer, *A Dictionary of Printers and Booksellers who were at work in*

that it is overall the legal responsibility of the Company to control what is being printed, and Item XVII reinforces this and continues to pin the responsibility for the text on the stationer.¹⁴⁶ The diversity of authors or compilers in this period precluded any power or organised structure forming around them, leaving ownership to be granted to those who held the technology to disseminate the information and form a centralised cooperative, in this case the Stationers' Company.¹⁴⁷ Authors received a one-off payment for their works throughout most of the century, and it was only in 1710 when copyright was enshrined in law did the creators of the text receive intellectual property rights.¹⁴⁸ It is clear that in the eyes of the law and in practice, stationers held textual ownership in this period. Their role in contributing to the way the text was received, exemplified by Cole and Jackson in Chapter 1 forms part of this conclusion in practice, while the wording of the registration of copies to the company and the legal decrees support the stationer as a central player in the construction and ownership of all books in the seventeenth century.

Peter Cole, the bookseller of Nicholas Culpeper's medical texts, sustained an active role in composition despite his voice rarely appearing in print though continuous publication and republication, organisation of paratextual material, and most notably including epistles to the reader written by Alice and Culpeper to legitimise the information contained within the books. By commissioning Culpeper to compile medical books built from the bones of others before him, Cole inhabited the complex authorial responsibility theorized by a number of scholars.¹⁴⁹ When

England, Scotland and Ireland from 1641 to 1667, (London: Printed for the Bibliographic Society by Blades, East & Blades, 1907), 86.

¹⁴⁶ The rigorously kept Registers, Court Books and other records from the Company reflect this responsibility.

¹⁴⁷ Later in this chapter there will be a discussion about the variety of genres on offer in bookshops in London throughout this century, demonstrating the many diverse kinds of people who were the mainspring of printed text.

¹⁴⁸ Leo Kirschbaum, "Author's Copyright in England before 1640", *The Papers of the Bibliographical Society of America* 40, no.1 (1946): 43-80.

¹⁴⁹ Furdell, "Reported to be Distracted", 782; Smith, *Grossly Material Things*, 80-81; Grafton, "Notes from Underground", 4.

considering the stationer's role in early modern authorship, Michel Foucault's acknowledgment of the fluidity of textual attribution in that books are "objects of appropriation", the complexity of the author function, and his concept of authorship's loyalty to the legal and institutional systems surrounding the discourse of textual construction, are important starting points.¹⁵⁰ His definition primarily focuses on the modern concept of author but can also be applied to those involved in the early modern process of textual construction by broadening our framework of authorship. Building on this framework, Johns has situated the London Stationers as central to the idea of literary propriety.¹⁵¹ Legally, Cole was responsible for the work of Culpeper as part of the institution which controlled the print, as well as being the individual who would eventually profit for the works. Harold Love's acknowledgement of the role of collaboration in the construction of texts and recognition that authors influenced texts through a variety of stages is vital to an investigation of women's agency in early modern print culture as it moves beyond traditional notions of attribution.¹⁵² Because, the stationer held legal and financial responsibility, Love calls them a "declarative author", the person whose name is most firmly rooted to the text, though Love also makes space to understand the stationer as a person who was able to alter the text at the latter stages of production, as has been seen already in a number of examples.¹⁵³ Love's framework is useful in the early stages of considering the roles of the Stationers, but his authorship framework is rooted in the literary corpus and focuses most on the stage of conception of the text addressed in chapter 1 as arbiters of the text and with direct addresses to readers. Johns and Smith are right to go beyond Love's use of "author" as the key term, insisting on terms that emphasise the broader dimensions of the publisher's role, but they choose their alternative terms poorly; instead we should consider other avenues that encapsulate the stationers' role as co-producers and re-producers of text.

¹⁵⁰ Michel Foucault, "What is an Author?", *Screen* (London) 20, no. 1 (1979): 113-138.

¹⁵¹ Johns, *The Nature of the Book*, 624.

¹⁵² Love, *Attributing Authorship*, 1-3.

¹⁵³ Love, *Attributing Authorship*, 44-47.

Helen Smith's 2003 study of women in book production in early modern England summarises the role of stationer as the metaphorical "midwife", literally bringing the texts as objects into the world, an apt description of stationers' role in textual production production.¹⁵⁴ As previously stated in Chapter 1, Adrian Johns defines "author" as someone responsible for the work, "authorship" as a matter of perceived attribution by others, and "writer" as anyone who is involved in the process of composing a work.¹⁵⁵ The stationer could fit into all three of these categories when considering their legal responsibility, that this responsibility was given to them by the Company, and their active role in the physical composition of the text in terms of paratextual material and the making of the object. Johns has chosen to use the word "undertaker" where I have chosen to use Stationer or publisher, as Johns' term inadvertently gives morbid connotations, ironically opposing Smith's metaphor for bringing new life.¹⁵⁶ In seeking to find an appropriate framework to describe the role of publishers in the context of instructional books, I decided – in order to encapsulate the many aspects of textual construction that were decided in the print house and bookshop – to try a different noun. The word I have chosen to encapsulate this is guardian, as it has connotations of caretakership that seem appropriate in invoking the life of the text. A text needed such guardianship in manuscript form when delivered to the stationer and registered with the Company, or after the death of the author. During those times, the text continued to be revitalised and republished. Guardian as a term also gives the sense of responsibility the stationer had to present the text to the reader, as the stationer curated the book's access by the reader. These forms of textual arbitration can be seen through the foreword of Roger Jackson in *The English Housewife*, where he did not directly intervene in Markham's text nor even his epistle to the reader but provided a framework for the reader to understand the work and the nature of the craftsmanship that went into it.¹⁵⁷ The term

¹⁵⁴ Smith, "Print[ing] your royal father off", 180.

¹⁵⁵ Johns, *The Nature of the Book*, xxi.

¹⁵⁶ Johns, *The Nature of the Book*, xix.

¹⁵⁷ Jackson, *The English Housewife* (Jackson, 1615), Q2v.

“guardianship” also expands to allow the stationer agency to alter the text itself. Although the text of *The English Housewife*, for example, remained largely unchanged after the death of Markham in 1637, others such as *The Accomplish’d Ladies Delight* were altered significantly, recipes reordered in each edition. Overall, guardianship more appropriately describes the power and responsibility of the stationer in the process of book production and dissemination, and it will be seen that they play a crucial role in the authorship process.

Typography and the Agency of Printers

The publication of *The English Housewife* after 1637 clearly demonstrates the range of powers stationers held in their role as guardians. The stationers changed fonts, formatting, line spacing, and images denoting additional information, revised the table of contents for both readability and accuracy, and inserted new paratext such as a catalogue of their own offerings to entice the reader.¹⁵⁸ To enrich our study of the paratextual alterations in the fifth to ninth editions of *The English Housewife*, we must first establish the context surrounding the ownership of the copy and the people involved in its production. In the year of Markham’s death the owner of the copy was John Harrison, bookseller, who had been assigned the copy on 29th June 1630.¹⁵⁹ There has been some scholarly as well as contemporary confusion surrounding the identity of Harrison, as he shared his name with three men of his day, all relatives.¹⁶⁰ It is likely that the same John Harrison oversaw both the bookshops The Golden Unicorn in the early 1630s and The Holy Lamb in the late 1640s as the copy of Markham’s *Way to Get Wealth* is not recorded as being transferred by Harrison’s widow Martha until 1653.¹⁶¹ All of the stationers listed hereafter must be considered within the role of

¹⁵⁸ Michael Saenger, *The Commodification of Textual Engagements in the English Renaissance*, (Aldershot: Ashgate Publishing, 2006).

¹⁵⁹ Arber, *Registers 1554-1640* (Vol IV), 203.

¹⁶⁰ R.B. McKerrow, *A Dictionary of Printers and Booksellers in England, Scotland and Ireland, and Foreign Printers of English Books 1557-1640*, (London: London Bibliographic Society, 1910).

¹⁶¹ Eyre and Rivington, *Registers 1640-1708*, Vol I, 425.

textual guardian, with the number of them over a sixty-three year period demonstrating the number of layers of voices and agency responsible for the construction of a text. Harrison published the 4th edition (1631) printed by Nicholas Okes, the 5th edition (1637) printed by Anne Griffin, and the 5th edition (1649) printed by Bernard Alsop. The copy was then transferred to the ownership of George Sawbridge, who published a third 5th edition in 1653, a 6th edition in 1656 and a 7th edition in 1660 with partner Edward Brewster, all printed by William Wilson. Sawbridge then published the 8th edition twice, the first in 1664 printed by Wilson and the second in 1668 printed by John Streater. After George Sawbridge's death, his widow Hannah published the 9th edition, printed anonymously in 1683, the last edition to be published before the turn of the eighteenth century.¹⁶² Establishing this thread of booksellers in charge of the copy is important in order to identify who was asserting agency over the text during which time changes were made. The specific conclusions about John Harrison being a single individual bookseller allow for a discussion of agency of printers over paratextual material, even though they were not the stationers who held the rights to the text.

A comparison between Harrison's fifth editions printed by Anne Griffin and Bernard Alsop reveal that Stationers who were not the holders of the copy in the Registers had the power to and often did alter the paratextual material and frontmatter of texts. This is significant as it expands the network of individuals who had authority and agency to make changes to the text, expanding the definition of guardianship to include those who partnered with the stationers who had legal responsibility over the copy. It allows this study to focus on Anne Griffin to draw conclusions regarding the power female printers had over the paratextual material of an instructional text. It is unclear whether the decision to alter the table of contents came from Harrison in this specific instance or whether it was the discretion of the printers, despite evidence Griffin made these decisions in some cases.¹⁶³ What is

¹⁶² Please see bibliography for full references.

¹⁶³ The Stationers Company, *Court Book C*, 29 Oct 1602 – 1 Mar 1655, 140. The page references I provide for any of The Stationers Company materials refer to the original document where every double page is numbered rather than every single. The Adam Matthew collection numbers every single page.

clear is that Griffin's edition has a significantly more populated table of contents. The print type appears to be the same between the two editions and the table for Chapter 1 is very similar, with some small line differences, as well as Griffin's use of "ibid" rather than relisting page numbers.¹⁶⁴ Another element that Alsop omits is the image of the pointing finger to denote recent additions to the text in the table. Griffin's chapter 2 table is also more extensive than Alsop's, and appears much

The Table.		The Table.	
<p> <i>☞ Additions to Cookery.</i> p.74 <i>Puddings of all kinds.</i> p.74 75.76.77 <i>Boyl'd meats of all kinds.</i> pag. 78.79.80.81.82.83 84.85 <i>The Oleopothrigo.</i> pag.82 ☞ <i>Additions to boyl'd meats.</i> pag. 50.86.87 <i>Roast-meats of all kinds.</i> pag. 88.90.91.92.93.94.65 96 <i>Observations in Roast-meats.</i> pag.88 <i>Spitting of meats.</i> pag.88 <i>Temperature of fire.</i> pag.88 <i>Completion of meats.</i> pag.89 <i>Basting of meats.</i> pag.89 <i>To know when meats are e-</i> <i>nough.</i> pag.89 <i>Ordering of meats to be roa-</i> <i>sted.</i> pag.95 <i>Sauces of all kinds.</i> p.96.97 68.99 ☞ <i>Additions to Sauces.</i> pag. 99.100 <i>Of Carbonados.</i> pag. 100.101 ☞ <i>Additions to Carbonados.</i> pag. 102 <i>Dressing of fowl.</i> pag. 102.103 </p>	<p> 104 <i>Of the pastery and bak-</i> <i>meats.</i> pag. 104.106.107 208.109 <i>Mixture of pastes.</i> pag.105 ☞ <i>Of puffed paste.</i> pag.105 ☞ <i>Additions to the pastery.</i> p. 109.110.111.112.113 114.115.121 <i>To recover Venison tainted.</i> pag.113 <i>To preserve Quinces to bake.</i> pag.115 ☞ <i>Of Tarts.</i> pag.116.117.118 119.120.121 ☞ <i>Of White-pot.</i> pag.122 ☞ <i>Of Banqueting Stuffe of all</i> <i>kinds.</i> p.122.123.124.125 126.127.128.129.130.131 ☞ <i>Of divers waters.</i> p.127.128 <i>To make any Conserve.</i> p.131 <i>To make waffers.</i> p.131 ☞ <i>Additions to Banqueting-</i> <i>stuffe.</i> pag.132.123 134.135 <i>To make Ipocras.</i> pag.133 <i>To candy anything.</i> pag.136 <i>Ordering of banquetts.</i> pag.136 <i>Ordering of great Feasts.</i> pag. 137 </p>	<p> pag. 78, 79, 80, 81, 82, 83, 84, 85 <i>The Oleopothrigo</i> p. 31 <i>Additions to boyl'd meats,</i> p. 86 <i>Roast-meats of all kinds,</i> p. 88, 90, &c. <i>Observations in Roast-meats,</i> p. 88 <i>Spitting of meats</i> p. 88 <i>Temperature of fire</i> p. 88 <i>Complexion of meate</i> p. 89 <i>Basting of meats</i> p. 89 <i>To know when meates are</i> <i>enough</i> p. 89 <i>Ordering of meates to be roa-</i> <i>sted</i> p. 95 <i>Sauces of all kinds</i> p. 96 97, 98, 99 <i>Additions to sauces</i> p. 99 100 <i>Of Carbonados</i> p. 100, 101 <i>Additions to Carbonados</i> p. 102 <i>Dressing of fowl</i> p. 102 103 <i>Of the pastery and bak't meats</i> </p>	<p> p. 104, 105, &c. <i>Mixture of pastes</i> p. 105 ☞ <i>Of puffed paste</i> p. 105 <i>Additions to the pastery</i> pag. 109, 110, 111, 112, 113 &c. <i>To recover Venison tainted,</i> p. 113 <i>To preserve Quinces to bake</i> p. 115 ☞ <i>Of Tarts,</i> p. 116, 117, 118, 119 ☞ <i>Of White-pots</i> p. 122 ☞ <i>Of Banqueting-stuffe of all</i> <i>kinds</i> p. 122, 123 &c. <i>Of divers waters</i> p. 127 128 <i>To make any Conserve</i> p. 131 <i>Additions to Banqueting-</i> <i>stuff</i> p. 123, 124, 125 <i>To make Ipocras</i> p. 133 <i>To candy anything</i> p. 136 <i>Ordering of banquetts</i> p. 136 <i>Ordering of great feasts</i> p. 137. </p>
CHAP.		<p> Chap. 3. OF Distillations and The vertues of severall wa- their vertues from pag. 147 140 to 147 Of perfuming p. 149, 150 151. </p>	

Figure 4 - LEFT Anne Griffin Printed Table of Contents. In Gervase Markham, *The English Housewife*, (London: Harrison and Griffin, 1637); RIGHT Bernard Alsop Printed Table of Contents. In Gervase Markham, *The English Housewife*, (London: Harrison and Alsop, 1649), Unnumbered pages.

tidier.¹⁶⁵ In terms of marginal notation, there are some stylistic differences between the two in terms of the use of capital letters.¹⁶⁶ Overall there is a sense that the 1637 edition printed by Griffin makes

¹⁶⁴ Markham, *The English Housewife* (Griffin, 1637), A4r-A5r; *The English Housewife* (Alsop, 1649), A4r-A5r.

¹⁶⁵ Markham, *The English Housewife* (Griffin, 1637), A5r-A6v. Alsop reportedly had a reputation for poor quality print so this may have had an impact on the crispness of the lettering throughout his volume. Plomer, *A Dictionary of Printers and Booksellers 1641 to 1667*, 4.

¹⁶⁶ Markham, *The English Housewife* (Alsop, 1649) B3v; Markham, *The English Housewife* (Griffin, 1637) B3v.

more of an effort to reflect the extent of additions and the contents of the text in the table, with more complete references such as all the additions to pastry, roast meats of all kinds and banqueting stuff, steering away from the use of “&c”.¹⁶⁷ This direct comparison demonstrates that a male and female printer handle the importance of the contents page differently. It is likely Griffin had experience using similar instructional texts, where the layout and accuracy of the contents was paramount for referential use. This notion will be further explored in Chapter 3, but in the case of Griffin’s attention to the accuracy and extent of the table demonstrates a superior understanding of how this book would be used compared to Alsop. Her experience as a housewife and a user of this genre of books has informed her paratextual alteration choices as a printer.

Although Griffin did not publish any of the midwifery texts in this thesis, she is an illustrative example of the possibilities of women’s agency. In 1635 she is credited with printing a pamphlet on monstrous births, situating herself as interested in giving voice to women’s testimony and in profiting from printing women’s experiences despite doing so in a very different genre.¹⁶⁸ In 1636 she was brought before the Stationers’ Court again in an incident that found her accountable for the typographical choices in the publication of a book of Psalms.¹⁶⁹ This record is very important when related to the analysis of the typographical decisions in her edition of *The English Housewife* just one year later, and how they differ from the other fifth editions, as it can be proven that in other cases in her printing house she made decisions about marginal text and more general paratextual material. Citing individual page numbers with care and accuracy this record proves that the agency of these decisions, at least in Griffin’s case, lay with the printer rather than the holder of the copy. This establishes her as both a figure who can now be studied in the context of gender history and women’s agency in the construction of instructional books, particularly in the context of print.¹⁷⁰

¹⁶⁷ Markham, *The English Housewife* (Alsop, 1649), A6v.

¹⁶⁸ Smith, *Grossly Material Things*, 50-51.

¹⁶⁹ The Stationers Company, *Court Book C*, 140.

¹⁷⁰ While Griffin must be considered an individual actor in this case, further study is required to identify whether any other female stationers played a similar role in the wider corpus of instructional literature throughout the London publishing industry in the Seventeenth Century.

When comparing the earliest edition published by Sawbridge and Brewster printed by Wilson in 1653 to the previous printing by Alsop under the direction of Harrison in 1649, more stark differences are clear. To begin, the long title is changed, where previously it was “the generall good of this KINGDOME” it is changed to “the generall good of this NATION”, reflecting the context of the Interregnum and the loss of the monarchy in the Civil War in the intervening period between publications.¹⁷¹ This title is a permanent change that does not revert back after the Restoration, and continues to the final publication in the seventeenth century in 1683. It demonstrates that Sawbridge reacted to contemporary politics and was able to alter the title of the popular book to better fit current political constructs, even if the contents of the text put forward by Markham remain unchanged. These examples of the change of the book posthumous to the author solidify the stationer as an important figure in the process of early modern authorship due to their continued active involvement as arbiters of the text to best revitalise it for their readers. The examples of making the text more useful by changing the tables and changing terminology in the title to fit better with contemporary political attitudes demonstrate two different acts of agency over the text, explicitly controlled by the stationers to safeguard the text’s usefulness and popularity into the future, while maintaining the integrity of the text written by Markham.

Catalogue of Booksellers’ Data

Stationers clearly played an active role in the life of a text, reinvigorating it for contemporary audiences even after the original author could no longer contribute to its construction. To understand the culture inside and surrounding book and printshops in the period from 1615 to 1700, I have reconstructed the catalogues of all the booksellers credited with involvement in the publication of all the main books in my thesis corpus according to the records of Early English Books

¹⁷¹ *The English Housewife* (Alsop, 1649), title; *The English Housewife* (1653, Brewster and Sawbridge), title.

Online and catalogues contained as advertising material by some of the booksellers.¹⁷² This includes a total of seventeen booksellers including one partnership between the brothers John and Awnsham Churchill who jointly published the last edition of Culpeper's *The English Physitian* before the turn of the Eighteenth Century.¹⁷³ The total catalogue accounts for 1278 books, not including reprints, that would have populated the shelves alongside the primary texts in this period. A sample of one of these catalogues can be found in Appendix 2, which I suggest should be read alongside the following data-heavy section. From this data, I mapped the social and professional networks and partnerships between Stationers to gain a knowledge of the kinds of networks present in the publication of instructional material. I then analysed these networks for gender of author and fellow stationer, genre of books published, and the frequency with which individual authors occurred within this network. This study has primarily considered books in print in London between 1615 and 1700 and as such as left out the period of time Benjamin Harris, publisher of Woolley, spent printing newspapers in Boston and the editions of Culpeper printed in Edinburgh, as well as material published by those stationers still active after 1700.

As other scholars have already reported, the majority of books in circulation in London in the seventeenth century were religious, and my data concerning the seventeen booksellers reflects this.¹⁷⁴ The data in Appendix 2 reveals that religious stock was a staple amongst the booksellers central to the creation of instructional literature, with none of them identified as a specialist. Of the booksellers who stocked Markham, an average of 39% of their stock throughout their careers to

¹⁷² The booksellers analysed were chronologically based on first date of publication were John Harrison, Roger Jackson, Thomas Alchorn, Peter Cole, George Sawbridge, Simon Miller, Edward Brewster, Peter Dring, Nathaniel Crouch, Benjamin Harris, Hannah Sawbridge, Awnsham and John Churchill, Thomas Malthus, John Taylor, Sarah Harris, and Henry Nelme. All were involved in the printing and selling of *The English Housewife*, *The Accomplish'd Ladies Delight*, *A Directory for Midwives*, *The Midwives Book*, *The Expert Midwife*, and *The English Physitian*.

¹⁷³ Nicholas Culpeper, *The English Physitian*, (London: A. and J. Churchill, 1695); Nicholas Culpeper, *The English Physitian*, (London: A. and J. Churchill, 1698).

¹⁷⁴ Smith, *Grossly Material Things*, 12.

1700 were books with a religious theme, while those who stocked Woolley averaged to 34%.¹⁷⁵ Booksellers who stocked Culpeper held an average of one third religious stock.¹⁷⁶ It must be noted here that Hannah Sawbridge somewhat skews the overall average lower in the cases of publishing both Culpeper and Markham as her percentage of religious books published was the lowest of all the booksellers at just 22%.¹⁷⁷ As both Rüff and Sharp only incurred one print run in the years between 1615 to 1700, they both can be firmly situated within a catalogue. Simon Miller, the publisher of *The Midwives Book* had 35% of the studied catalogue represented in religious books, while Thomas Alcorn, publisher of Rüff's *The Expert Midwife* had 63% of his stock in religious books.¹⁷⁸

While the religious data creates a general impression of the trends in bookselling of the period, looking at the data available for both instructional and medical books sheds light on the true level of diversity of genre available alongside instructional books. This goes to show that there was not one kind of stationer who stocked instructional material. This was a genre that was accessible to every stationer, no matter their experience or previous success. Of the five booksellers who stocked Markham, over their total careers they carried an average of 29% instructional literature in their stock, the lowest percentage represented by Edward Brewster at 13% and the highest John Harrison between both the Holy Lamb and the Golden Unicorn a total of 48% of his stock were instructional. Compared to the five authors who stocked work by Hannah Woolley to 1700 the average was lower at 22%. The highest was Henry Nelme with a total of 41% instructional and the lowest shared by Nathaniel Crouch and Benjamin Harris, both at 4%.¹⁷⁹ The midwifery manuals by Sharp and Rüff were

¹⁷⁵ Appendix 2, Roger Jackson, John Harrison, Edward Brewster, George Sawbridge, Hannah Sawbridge, Benjamin Harris, Sarah Harris, Peter Dring, Henry Nelme, Nathaniel Crouch.

¹⁷⁶ Appendix 2, Peter Cole, George Sawbridge, Hannah Sawbridge, John Taylor, Awnsham and John Churchill.

¹⁷⁷ See Appendix 1 and 2.

¹⁷⁸ Appendix 2.

¹⁷⁹ Henry Nelme allegedly worked between 1688-1698 but the data available on EEBO only represented eighteen titles printed between 1696 and 1698. Further work in the Registers of the Stationers and the STC is necessary to further legitimize these conclusions and go beyond the data set of digitized material.

considered as medical books due to their treatise-like construction. Miller, publisher of Sharp, published a total of 5 medical books accounting for 7% of his overall stock over the course of his career compared with 4 instructional books accounting for 5%. The instructional versus medical numbers are also of interest in Culpeper's stationers, with an average of 9% medical books compared to 16% instructional books taking up shelves.¹⁸⁰ What is clear from the data is the range of stationers that had a hand in the publication of instructional books. While figures like Peter Cole and George Sawbridge had long and expansive careers, others like Thomas Alchorn and Peter Dring saw more modest numbers of publication and less success, only having two dozen or so total books published. This shows that not only was instructional literature accessible to all stationers, but that the genre was not gatekept by those high in the company. However, Markham and Culpeper's publications have links with the stationers who had the longest careers and largest amount of stock, pointing to some link between the success of these texts and the success of their booksellers.

Most revealingly, the data collected for female booksellers, Hannah Sawbridge and Sarah Harris, shows a trend towards republishing instructional books as they went into solo business. Hannah Sawbridge's data compared with her husband's reveals that she stocked 8% less religious material over the course of her brief career, 4% fewer medical texts, and 20% more instructional books. While most of Hannah's stock represents a continuation of what was sold by her husband, she replaced him in an existing network of stationers jointly publishing a range of predominantly legal reporting though also instructional books for those entering that profession.¹⁸¹ Her stock is dominated by instructional texts, both those that her husband left to her and ones she newly published herself, demonstrating that instructional books were a safe and reliably profitable stock for a widow to carry after the death of her husband. This is also reflected in the brief publishing career of Sarah Harris, a

¹⁸⁰ See Appendix 2 for a full demonstration of diversity of stock.

¹⁸¹ The network includes William Rawlins, Samuel Rawcroft, Charles Harper, and Richard and Edward Atkins.

figure who was likely related to Benjamin Harris as all her published material was previously held by him. One of these books, *The Accomplish'd Ladies Delight*, and a book on teaching children to spell were instructional while the others were respectively a religious treatise and a book concerning English liberties occurring five years after the publication of Woolley. From this small sample, publishing and selling instructional literature was a popular and safe choice in the catalogue of female booksellers.¹⁸² This is likely that given the popularity of both Markham and Woolley by the time both Sawbridge and Harris were operating independently, republication of their work was seen as guaranteed and stable income. Both women's imprints in the front of their instructional publications list "for Sarah Harris" or "for Hannah Sawbridge" where the printer's name would be expected, giving the impression that these women had the confidence to invest in the printing of the books themselves and to be the sole guardian acknowledged in print.

Sarah Harris' Catalogue:

Title	Author	Printer	Year	Genre
The Accomplish'd ladies delight	Hannah Woolley	for Sarah Harris	1686	Instructional
War with the devil	Benjamin Keach	For Sarah Harris	1691	Religious
English liberties, or, The free-born subject's inheritance	Henry Care	for Sarah Harris	1691	Legal/Political
The Protestant Tutor	?	?	1690	Instructional

The authors who populated the shelves alongside the main corpus of texts studied here were many and varied. Another variety of analysis I undertook was to find out which authors were most frequently seen alongside those central to this study. The following analysis is again dense, but the

¹⁸² This conclusion can't be made about widow booksellers as although we know Sarah was married as she was identified as "Mrs" in the stationers registers, we don't know her exact circumstances at the time of publication.

key points to consider are the authors and associated genres most seen alongside each book. Markham of course represents the author reprinted throughout the largest timeframe and thirty-eight other credited authors appear in catalogues alongside him from 1615-1684 according to the data provided by EEBO and catalogues available in Markham's texts. The author who appeared most frequently with Markham was William Leybourne (1626—1716), an author of a range of instructional and educational books, sitting alongside Markham across three bookshops and over 24 print runs. William Lawson(1553/4-1635) also features as a frequent companion to Markham, as his book *A New Orchard Garden* was printed in the collated volume *A Way to Get Wealth* which contained *The English Housewife* amongst other works by Markham.¹⁸³ The author most frequently published alongside Hannah Woolley's *Accomplish'd Ladies Delight* was religious author Benjamin Keach, reflective of the popularity of religious texts. Crouch, Benjamin Harris, and Sarah Harris all published Woolley alongside Keach, author of seven books and fifteen print runs during the course of this period. The data concerning the authors published alongside Culpeper paint a more interesting and varied picture, perhaps because his work falls into a slightly different genre. Four authors were published alongside him across a variety three different stationers: John Brinsley, Gervase Markham, Thomas Hooker, and John Owen. While to an extent publication trends aligned with the flow of who owned the copies of the work, the following example encompasses a variety representing five of the six booksellers related to Culpeper's work. All the writers represented as close contemporaries and shelf-mates of Culpeper other than Markham were writers on religious subjects, confirming that for the majority of the booksellers, they were not specialist instructional or medical publishers, but those who sold a wide range of authors and genres to service the interests of the reading population. This data shows an overall trend for the seventeenth century: instructional books, medical books, and religious writings all had the same goal, namely: to contribute to the betterment of the reader,

¹⁸³ The full title of most of the works containing *The English Housewife* is Gervase Markham, *A Way to get Wealth*, all of the editions of the 5 volume book consulted can be found in the bibliography.

each ministering to a different part of life. Having attended to the soul, readers could improve their own household industry, as home economics was seen as a key upholder of the patriarchal household, a keystone of societal structure.¹⁸⁴

One final insight this data provides is the extent to which women were involved in the overall networks of the seventeen booksellers studied. This sample shows limited engagement with women in the business of textual construction (including authors, printers, and booksellers), with the few stationers that do only working with three or fewer. Thirteen of the seventeen booksellers worked with women in some capacity, with those working in the latter half of the century accounting for the majority. This reveals an already identified trend of an increasing number of women engaging with the book trade in the latter half of the century both as authors and as stationers.¹⁸⁵ The data pertaining to the number of female authors published by each bookseller is skewed as two of the primary texts in consideration for the gathering of the information were penned by women, but the data pertaining to professional connections and networks containing women have no such issue. Five of the booksellers sold a book attributed to a printing house run by a woman; John Harrison, George Sawbridge, Peter Cole, Edward Brewster, and Awnsham and John Churchill. This demonstrates that women were most likely to work as printers in this period compared to booksellers or authors. Harrison and Brewster can be identified as having a substantial connection with printing networks that involved women. Harrison worked with a total of fifteen printers according to data from EEBO with women representing 13% of the overall number of print collaborators. Brewster worked with between 28 and 29 printers over his career, with the number discrepancy being from an initialled imprint that matches the initials of Anne Maxwell, though many A.M.'s could have been at work at

¹⁸⁴ Johns, *The Nature of the Book*, 114.

¹⁸⁵ Johns, *The Nature of the Book*, 180; Smith, *Grossly Material Things*, 108-111.

the same time.¹⁸⁶ Brewster's larger volume of collaboration beginning in the decade after Harrison's death demonstrates that female printers were no longer an anomaly in the books trade and could be approached to create print of the same standard as their male counterparts. George Sawbridge's impressive eleven collaborations with Elizabeth Flesher after the death of her husband and her inclusion within a pre-existing network of stationers beginning in 1672 through 1675 supports the volume of print that was produced out of these female-run print shops. These business connections demonstrate an increased agency and network of female stationers, and a respect shown to them by their male counterparts, solidifying their place as important actors in the book trade despite their low proportion.

The Stationers' Company Archives and Female Agency

The records of the Stationers' Company provide insight into the way women fit into the formalised structure of the book trade, providing snapshots of moments when women had to interact with the company for support through the pension in the case of the Poor Books.¹⁸⁷ Both men and women with connections to the company who were unable to provide income for themselves were taken care of by the company, receiving a regular pension. From the beginning of these records in 1608, women always made up a significant percentage of beneficiaries. In the September 1612 quarter, 28 of the 47 people supported were women, 22 of whom were identified as widows.¹⁸⁸ From 1617 to the early 1640s, the beginning of the English Civil War, the proportion of women regularly supported by the pension remained stable at around or just below half.¹⁸⁹ As the Civil War continued into the late 1640s the proportion of women supported by the regular pension stipend increased. In the

¹⁸⁶ For the purpose of the following conclusion, "A.M." is not counted as a female printer in order to err on the conservative side and not overstate and misrepresent interesting conclusions.

¹⁸⁷ The Stationers Company, *Liber Computi Pro Pauperibus: The Book of Accounts of Moneyes Received 1608-1677*.

¹⁸⁸ The Stationers Company, *Liber Computi Pro Pauperibus*, 28.

¹⁸⁹ The Stationers Company, *Liber Computi Pro Pauperibus*, 109-153.

quarter of September 1647 women outnumber men in the regular pension by 33 to 19, in September of 1650 the number of widows was nearly equal to the number of men supported with 22 to 25 men, with only 4 women who were not identified as widows in the pension that quarter.¹⁹⁰ After the period of unrest, the number of women supported to 1670 equalise to pre-war numbers and the pension book reports yearly rather than quarterly from 1655.¹⁹¹ Women were always more likely to fall on financial hardship, especially after the loss of a husband, therefore their larger representation amongst the poor of the company shows that although it was expected and certainly possible for a woman to become a part of the Company by trade, it was not always possible. The pension records reflect Johns' assertion that women did half the work in many stationers' shops, demonstrating that the family network was recognised but business ownership was not attainable by most Stationers' widows, perhaps due to their additional roles as housewives and the labour that was necessary to maintain a household.¹⁹²

When a male member of the Stationers' Company died, his wife did not immediately qualify for a pension. On 19th March 1675 Mrs. Crouch petitioned the court for an allowance as she was too poor to "follow the trade of printing and keeping of a printing house".¹⁹³ The wording of this petition is significant as it demonstrates a precedent and expectation that widows would follow their late husbands into the book trade, and only when it was established that widows did not have the means to do so they would be granted the stipend, or put on the waiting list to receive it. As most of the widows who took over their husband's trade do not appear as apprentices or formalised members of the company, the only way that an estimate can be made about the percentage of women acting as heads of stationers' businesses would be to tally the number of women recorded in court books who

¹⁹⁰ It is unclear if the women who are not referred to as "widow" before their surname are in fact widows or other dependants of men in the company so it cannot be discounted that there may be more widows receiving the pension than explicitly stated in the records. The Stationers Company, *Liber Computi Pro Pauperibus*, 189, 204r-205v.

¹⁹¹ The Stationers Company, *Liber Computi Pro Pauperibus*, 218-277.

¹⁹² Johns, *The Nature of the Book*, 114.

¹⁹³ The Stationers Company, *Court book E, 1 Mar 1675 - 25 Jun 1683*.

relinquished their part in the yeomanry or the English Stock. The transfer of property between late husband and living wife was not recorded in the records of the company, but the relinquishment of stock upon death of a woman often was.¹⁹⁴

Throughout the seventeenth century, women were increasingly accepted into the Company, and the Court Books record show women acting as advocates for their own interests in relation to ownership of copy. This reflects a similar trend noted by Johns that in the same period there was an “abrupt” change where women began to appear as credited authors of printed texts.¹⁹⁵ This is perhaps as a result of the loss of male life during the English Civil Wars that allowed women to step into roles from which they were previously excluded. A particularly exciting example of widows as custodians of the rights to their late husbands’ copies can be seen on 29 March 1638 where Mrs. Bolers petitioned the courts to hold her late husband’s copies in trust for their sons who were too young to hold them themselves.¹⁹⁶ This action, according to the record, was against the custom of the Company, but due to the poor circumstances and “great charge of children” in the family, they agree to hold the rights in trust and a payment of 20 pounds.¹⁹⁷ This action by a court of the Company’s established male masters highlights the complex relationship between the Company itself, its holdings, its members and their families. This example serves to demonstrate that the members of this particular court, as representatives of the Company, were prepared to break precedent in order to support the families of late members, especially in cases where the family had young sons who would follow their fathers into the trade. A final example provided in the Court Books of the Company provides a snapshot of the agency of female stationers within the company and involves a dispute over copies of a book of Markham’s works. In July 1653 Mrs Harrison and Mr John Marriott approached the court to settle

¹⁹⁴ Examples of this can be seen in *Court Book E*, 164-170 which record a Mrs. White relinquishing her livery to Richard Chiswell on 2nd April 1683 and Mrs Ann Godbid surrendering her yeomanry to the Company on 7th May 1683. An earlier example is in 1634 two widows are recorded in the Court Book as having their shares in the English Stock “disposed” after their deaths. The Stationers Company, *Court Book C*, 29 Oct 1602 - 1 Mar 1655.

¹⁹⁵ Johns, *The Nature of the Book*, 180.

¹⁹⁶ The Stationers Company, *Court Book C*, 155.

¹⁹⁷ The Stationers Company, *Court Book C*, 155.

the ownership of *The Complete Angler*. The disputants settled their case when Mrs Harrison returned eighteen books she had printed for Marriott with a credit to herself as printer on the imprint.¹⁹⁸ It is unclear who the “winner” of this interaction was, though both consent to the solution, as the matter had been before several other people before reaching the Court, but it is clear that both parties represent themselves as playing a significant role in the production of this text and wish to be acknowledged as such. While the above discussion addresses the potential ways in which women were included in the print industry and the Company of Stationers, it does not reveal much in the way of women’s engagement with printed instructional books. It does however give insight into the structures and expectations of the Company at large, within which women worked as both credited and uncredited sources of labour. This includes exercising their agency over texts as well as via social connections and gendered norms regarding guardianship of both children and texts.

Female Stationers’ Labour in the Production of Instructional Literature

Anne Griffin provides a unique opportunity to demonstrate extent of women’s agency in the printing industry, and explicitly touches on the context of instructional literature. She was the printer chosen by John Harrison to print the first recorded fifth edition of Gervase Markham’s *The English Housewife* and is classified as an entrepreneurial figure according to the framework put forward by Farmer.¹⁹⁹ Griffin has garnered the attention of many scholars interested in the interplay between gender and print culture, notably Helen Smith.²⁰⁰ She was a widow printer operating independently after the death of her husband Edward Griffin I in 1621, when she would have been twenty six years old.²⁰¹ By the latter half of the 1620s she appears as a regular figure in the Court Books of the Stationer’s

¹⁹⁸ The Stationers Company, *Court Book C*, 283.

¹⁹⁹ Farmer, “Widow Publishers in London”, 47.

²⁰⁰ Smith, “Printing your royal father off”, 171; Smith *Grossly Material Things*, 99.

²⁰¹ Plomer, *A Dictionary of Printers and Booksellers 1641-1667*, 86.

Company, securing two loans of fifty pounds in January 1626 and September 1627 respectively.²⁰²

The entry in the book for the 1627 loan is significant, as it acknowledges there is no precedent for lending money in this way to a woman, where she uses her part in the English Stock as surety for the loan.²⁰³ Being approved for two loans of a substantial sum just years after her husband left her hundreds of pounds in debt demonstrates the force of character and success of Griffin in her early years as the head of her own print shop.²⁰⁴

While Anne Griffin pursued a career as a printer for at least two decades after the death of her husband and was unquestionably operating as an equal to the male stationers contemporary to her in the middle decades of the seventeenth century, there is another woman who challenges the definition of widow stationers, raises important questions about the role of non-widows operating within the book trade, and who is yet to be discussed by any scholarship. Sarah Harris, bookseller of the 1686 edition of Hannah Woolley's *The Accomplish'd Ladies Delight* is a historical enigma in the well-kept records of the Stationers' Company as there is no marital relationship between herself and the previous holder of the copy, nor any record of how or why she obtained them. She is in the primary records but leaves no record in the London Book Trades database, nor in the *Dictionaries of Printers and Booksellers*.²⁰⁵ Her name appears on the imprint of three books available on Early English Books Online in a search between 1680 and 1700, the 1691 imprint of *English Liberties, or,*

²⁰² The Stationers Company, *Court Book C*, 94, 97.

²⁰³ The Stationers Company, *Court Book C*, 97.

²⁰⁴ Farmer, "Widow Publishers in London", 47-48.

²⁰⁵ The lack of evidence for Sarah in any of the *Dictionaries* is somewhat startling due to their usually rigorous coverage, there is an entry for an "S. Harris" publishing one book in 1703 but due to at least three Harris' with first names beginning with S operating at the time it is unclear to whom this entry refers. Plomer, *A Dictionary of Printers and Booksellers 1641-1667*; ²⁰⁵ H.R. Plomer, H.G Aldis, E.R. McClintock Dix, G.J. Gray, R.B. McKerrow, *A Dictionary of the Printers and Booksellers who were at work in England, Scotland and Ireland from 1668 to 1725*, ed. Arundell Asdaile, (Oxford: Printed for the Bibliographical Society by Oxford University Press, 1922); "The London Book Trades: - assembled by the Centre for the Study of the Book at the Bodleian Library on behalf of The Bibliographical Society and The Oxford Bibliographical Society." http://lbt.bodleian.ox.ac.uk/mediawiki/index.php/Main_Page.

The free-borne subjects inheritance situates her bookshop in Maiden Lane over against the Haberdasher's Hall in London, suggesting she was independently operating a business.²⁰⁶ *English Liberties* is entered into the Registers on 13 February 1690/1, the same day as both John Harris and John Dunton also entered copies.²⁰⁷ Both contemporary reports and archival evidence link Sarah and Benjamin Harris through this text which is extended when comparing their respective catalogues: all four books Sarah registered were previously held by Benjamin.²⁰⁸ Figuring out the familial ties between Sarah Harris, John Harris, and Benjamin Harris are key in understanding how business connections between men and women operated outside the marital structure but still likely within the wider family. Sarah Harris was most likely a relation of Benjamin Harris, though is not recorded as either the first or second wife of Benjamin, Ruth and Anne respectively, nor was she the wife of John Harris, who was married to an Elizabeth.²⁰⁹ It is however likely that she was closely connected to both men, as her registration of copy is often on the same day as John.²¹⁰ Sarah entered the copy for *The Accomplish'd Ladies Delight* into the stationers' registers in July 1686, her first entry, where she is recorded as "Mrs Sarah Harris", while her subsequent entries do not identify her under a title. This follows evidence that she was working in at least December 1685, with Court Book F identifying her as "widow".²¹¹ The existence of her in the primary records but the lack of mention in the secondary, and thoroughly compiled secondary reference material is supremely puzzling, but provides an exciting opportunity for scholars interested in women in the book industry. Sarah's absence from scholarship is a symptom of the overall story of loss and neglect of women's voices in this period.²¹²

²⁰⁶ Henry Care, *English Liberties, or, The free-borne subjects inheritance*, (London: Sarah Harris, in Maiden Lane over against the Haberdasher's Hall, 1691).

²⁰⁷ Eyre and Rivington, *Registers 1640-1708* Vol III, 380-381. Adam Matthew *Liber G* 331-332.

²⁰⁸ John Dunton, *The Life and Errors of John Dunton, late Citizen of London* (London: Printed for S. Malthus, 1705). 293-294; Eyre and Rivington, *Registers 1640-1708* Vol III, 309, 370, 381.

²⁰⁹ Mark Knights, "Harris, Benjamin 1647-1720, publisher and bookseller." *Oxford Dictionary of National Biography*. Retrieved 31 Jan. 2023, from <https://www-oxforddnb-com.ezproxy.library.sydney.edu.au/view/10.1093/ref:odnb/9780198614128.001.0001/odnb-9780198614128-e-48276>.

²¹⁰ Eyre and Rivington, *Registers 1640-1708* Vol III, 380-381.

²¹¹ Alison Shell and Allison Emblow, *Index to the Court Books of the Stationers' Company 1679-1717*, (Oxford: Oxford University Press for The Bibliographic Society, 2007) 198; The Stationers' Company, *Court Book F*, 47r.

²¹² Smith, "Fictions of Production", 33.

Her existence in a liminal space outside of a clear relationship with Benjamin or John Harris, or even an identified husband, is emblematic of how much further scholarship has to go in revealing the nuances of family and business connections around female stationer. Her existence in the seventeenth century was recognised and accepted by her contemporaries: after all, women made up a significant part of the stationers' work force. Yet Sarah Harris is overlooked by historians who search for women who kick up a fuss and push patriarchal boundaries like Griffin.

The similarities in stock between Benjamin Harris and Sarah Harris pose an interesting question for historians as Sarah, although identified as a widow in the court books, has no marital tie to Benjamin – could this be the first recorded case of a daughter in law, sister-in-law, or indeed other female relative left in charge of her male relative's press? Benjamin Harris was the son of a barber surgeon, so his female siblings would not have had the experience of growing up in a stationer's shop the same way many women who married within the trade would have.²¹³ Most women who became heads of printing or bookselling enterprises grew up in the context of their father's stationer's business and therefore did not have to complete the formal training expected of the training system within the guild.²¹⁴ This makes it unlikely that Sarah was Harris' sister, compounding that it is almost certain Harris was her married name. Benjamin has at least two sons – Benjamin and Vavasour who were freed by patrimony in 1698 and would have too young to marry in the mid-1680s.²¹⁵ This leaves two possible identities for Sarah to possibly fill. The first is perhaps she was a sister-in-law of Benjamin Harris. This would explain the link between their copies, and possibly also identify her as someone who could have grown up amongst the book-trade if she was married to the sibling of the well-connected Benjamin Harris, who for a time served as Master of the Company.²¹⁶ The flaw in this

²¹³ Knights, "Harris, Benjamin".

²¹⁴ Johns, *The Nature of the Book*, 76-79.

²¹⁵ Ibid, 197.

²¹⁶ Knights, "Harris, Benjamin".

theory is the lack of record of a brother of Harris, though it is possible he was either not involved in the book trade, or died before he would gain his freedom. The most likely answer is that Sarah is Benjamin Harris' mother, a woman who likely grew up a stationer's daughter, explaining why Benjamin did not follow his father's trade and instead become a bookseller. This is supported by her first copy entry into the Registers in 1686 with the title "Mrs", subsequently being identified just by her first and last name, after being identified as a widow in the Court Book in 1685. Many respected scholars have stressed the importance of kinship ties in the world of the Stationers, situating her in a place where the inheritance of his copy would make sense.²¹⁷ This is compounded by a 1685/6 entry in the Court Books that Benjamin was impoverished when Sarah began to register her first copy, likely stepping in to help support his family.²¹⁸ During the late 1680s and early 1690s when Benjamin was publishing in Boston, Sarah continued to register and produce books formally owned by him, likely continuing to support herself and possibly members of Benjamin's young family.²¹⁹ It was also not without precedent for a widowed mother to continue operations after her son entered the trade, with Anne Griffin being a prime example of this, though Sarah would be unique in appearing to enter the trade after her son.²²⁰ Whatever the circumstance, Sarah offers us a unique opportunity to explore the possible relationships and roles women were able to fill in the context of the bookshop and print house. Considering women as contributors to the production of instructional literature, able to step in to assist their relatives in a time of crisis, foregrounds them as critical actors, rather than mere background figures.

In many ways Sarah's position resembles the unnamed women involved in the process of producing the knowledge necessary to construct instructional literature. The limited information left to us

²¹⁷ These scholars include Adrian Johns, Alan B. Farmer, and Helen Smith.

²¹⁸ Shell, Emblow, *Index to the Court Books*, 197.

²¹⁹ More biographical study is required to prove any of these theories, particularly within census and parish records of London which fell outside the boundaries of this project.

²²⁰ Plomer, *A Dictionary of Printers and Booksellers 1641-1667*, 86.

about women's role in textual production behind the attributed author is much the same as how institutions and archives play a role in hiding the women involved in this production. The nature of the documentation produced by the seventeenth-century patriarchal society does not record the contribution of women to this labour as it was a societal expectation that women and children would assist in the production driven by their husbands and fathers.²²¹ This is true across sites of both abstract knowledge production in the case of Alice Culpeper and of literal knowledge production in the case of all women involved in the construction of the physical book. As the social and actual credit of this labour fell to the head of the household, the names of the other contributors are lost unless they themselves step into the spotlight. Alice Culpeper, Hannah Woolley, Anne Griffin, Sarah Harris, and all other credited women in the creation of instructional literature demonstrate that women are only seen when there is no longer a male head of the household for the credit to be given to. Society, and therefore the structures of documentation, attribution, and record, credit men with the knowledge and labour necessary to produce these books, hiding and anonymising any contribution of women. If the theory about Sarah Harris being Benjamin Harris' mother is correct, she not only takes over as the textual guardian of the works she registers with the company, but also as the matriarch and protector of the family in a time of crisis.

Hannah Sawbridge, despite fitting the definition of conservative widow stationer put forth by Farmer, still operated with a high level of agency over her own catalogue. An analysis of her activity in textual ownership and agency pays interpretive dividends, as Farmer's framework neglects to address these themes, and he thereby diminishes the importance of widow stationers who chose sustain their husbands' business patterns.²²² The conservative practice of widows, although largely unexciting compared to the life of Griffin, is important as it establishes an expectation or status-quo that widow

²²¹ Cooper, "Homes and Households", 224-225, 229-231.

²²² Farmer, "Widow Publishers in London", 54.

stationers should follow. There has already been a discussion of the corpus of books stocked by Hannah, seen in Appendix 1, largely favouring instructional literature and mirroring the catalogue held by her husband in his final years; continuing partnerships her husband was involved in and pursuing new ventures through pre-established connections.²²³ Hannah's printing of *The English Housewife* in 1682 was exactly the same as the last copy her husband published in 1668, while *The English Physitian* she published, sold by John Taylor, in 1684 only differs in the title page and some of the size of text surrounding the table when compared with George's 1676 edition.²²⁴ The differences in the title pages are entirely cosmetic, with Hannah's imprint highlighting the words "Medicines" and "English Herbs", compared with George's accentuated "English Physitian Enlarged".²²⁵ Despite following the example of her husband and emulating his legacy through her work, Hannah was not constrained in the expansion of the business and was able to operate as her own entity within the Company and even take on apprentices.²²⁶

Hannah's family background and personal context informed her practice as a business owning widow in the book trade. Born Hannah Brewster, she was the daughter of Edward Brewster, Stationer, and the sister of Edward Brewster the Younger who entered into a partnership with George Sawbridge after gaining his freedom in 1653.²²⁷ She would have had embodied knowledge from her experience as the daughter and wife of successful stationers, enabling her to continue the trade after the death

²²³ A good example of this are the series of books published by William Rawlins, Samuel Roycroft and Hannah Sawbridge under the assigns of Richard Atkins and Edward Atkins sold by a variety of different booksellers. There are ten such examples of books published by this partnership between 1684 and 1684 available through EEBO.

²²⁴ Markham, *The English Housewife* (1668, George Sawbridge); Markham, *The English Housewife* (1682, Hannah Sawbridge); Culpeper, *The English Physitian* (1684, Hannah Sawbridge); Culpeper, *The English Physitian* (1676, George Sawbridge).

²²⁵ Culpeper, *The English Physitian* (1684, Hannah Sawbridge) title; Culpeper, *The English Physitian* (1676, George Sawbridge) title.

²²⁶ The Stationers Company, *Apprentice Register, 1 Aug 1666 – 6 Mar 1728*. Volume 2, 83. Hannah takes John Eves.

²²⁷ Plomer, *Dictionary 1641-1667*, 161.

of her husband until her own death in 1686.²²⁸ Notably there is a period from 1667 that Sawbridge was selling books from his house in Clerkenwell Green, further uniting the work of the stationer with his home and undoubtedly employing his wife in the process.²²⁹ During her time in the business, she is identified not by the term widow, which by the 1680s was becoming decreasingly common in the records of the company. Using her first and surname would have automatically identified her as the widow of Sawbridge, potentially explaining her choice to remain conservative in her publication choices to emulate the legacy of her deceased husband.²³⁰ Hannah exemplifies the woman in the peripheries of the archive. She did not leave a unique trace, followed largely the same patterns as her husband, and yet was the rule rather than the exception if we seek to understand the way women were expected to, and did, engage in book production in this period. Hannah was immediately welcomed to continue her husband's work, as all widows would, and if she had not been financially able to sustain the business, the company would have supported her through a pension. Wives and children seldom appear in the records of the Company outside the Court or Pension records, but their small inclusion in these archives demonstrates that the guild was not just for men, it was also for their families and acted as a community. This community centred around book production shares unsurprising similarities with the communities involved in knowledge formation that then subsequently appeared in the form of instructional books. The community emulated the importance of family and shared knowledge in the context of the trade. However, the archives and structures reinforce the power and authority of the man in the context of book

²²⁸ Plomer, *A Dictionary of the Printers and Booksellers 1668 to 1725*, 263.

²²⁹ Likely a result of the Great Fire of London. William Forster, *Forster's arithmetic Explaining the grounds and principles of that art, both in whole numbers and fractions: By such plain, easie and familiar rules and precepts, that any person, of a reasonable capacity, may (in a short time) attain to a competent proficiency therein, without the help of any tutor*, (London: for George Sawbridge to be sold at his house on Clarken-well Green, 1667); Thomas Bartholin et al. "Books newly imprinted or imprinting to be sold by Geo. Sawbridge at this house on Clerkenwell-Green", *Bartholinus anatomy made from the precepts of his father, and from the observations of all modern anatomists, together with his own*, (London: John Streater dwelling at Clerkenwell close, 1668).

²³⁰ Cooper, "Homes and Households", 236.

production, firmly situating the women as either objects of charity or temporary placeholders between the death of their husbands and the entry of their sons into the trade.

These three women – entrepreneurial Griffin, enigmatic Harris, and conservative Sawbridge — all represent ways in which women contributed to the production of instructional texts and kept them on the shelves for the customers visiting their shops. Each of them likely inherited the copies their male relative held; and in Griffin and Sawbridge even registered more, evidence that for a woman operating within the book trade of seventeenth-century London, instructional books were guaranteed safe sellers that could be relied upon even in troubled times. Although in the wider context of stationers discussed in this chapter women are a small minority, their inclusion amongst publishers of these books is significant, as it shows they were able to contribute to the knowledge network originating in the printed material and offer it to female readers. The choices they had the agency to make over the print, preserving or changing aspects of the paratextual material mattered as it demonstrated either their care towards the usability of the final product in Griffin's case, or the wish to emulate the legacy of her husband in Sawbridge's case.

The records of the Stationers' Company are key in beginning to unravel the question of textual guardianship in this period, including in relation to the production of instructional literature. They reveal the extent to which women were involved as community and support members of the organisation, as well as women who had the opportunity and agency to act as part of the multifaceted story of textual ownership. The women who have been explicitly mentioned in the above case studies rely on instructional literature as much as the continuation of the proliferations of these books rely on them, they provide a safe and secure income to women who may have been in unstable and uncertain periods of their lives. Women's assertive voices in the court books, their presence as benefactors of the pension and other stipends, and their increasing number in the

registers suggests that this period was a turning point for women in the book trade. The increased mobility, agency, and opportunities for women illustrated by Helen Smith, Alan Farmer, and the examples of Griffin, Harris and Sawbridge show women engaged in the meaningful guardianship of copies, including of instructional literature. These women represent three different and equally significant stages in book production: the unseen labour of the household and community behind the work of the male stationer; the direct and attributed work of running a business, taking over the named guardianship of the text; the guardianship of copy; and alteration of the textual material for better use by the reader. The small snapshot of three women involved in the publication of this small corpus goes to a larger trend of increasing involvement of women engaging in the book trades in the seventeenth century, with an increase later in the period as seen by the increased ratio of instructional books published by Sawbridge and Harris. The involvement of these women and women in the book trade more generally creates a passage for women's domestic knowledge from its initial source to the reader, but also represents the many ways in which men and women collaborated in order to produce such knowledge, in this case the physical objects in which the knowledge was accessed within. In this particular period the guardianship practices between male and female stationers were very similar, with the decisions made by the individual more impactful than anything that can be characterised by gender. What is clear about the guardianship of these texts is the demonstrable evidence of ownership and agency the stationers – male or female – had both over the individual texts and their own wider catalogues.

Instructional literature created an economy wherein the value of women's knowledge was eventually returned to other women in the form of capital. While there are no records of numerical profits female stationers saw from this genre, the high proportion of these books sold by Hannah Sawbridge and Sarah Harris in comparison to their male counterparts demonstrates these books as sources of reliable income. Conservative widow stationers like Sarah Harris and Hannah Sawbridge demonstrate that these women enacted agency through the production of instructional texts. The study of these books additionally allows scholars an opportunity to study new female actors within the book trade

who have yet to merit any mention and, like Sarah Harris, may lead to discoveries that impact long held assumptions about women's role in the book trade.

Chapter 3 – “Her Book”: Reception, Readers, and Use

While the previous chapters of this thesis have discussed book ownership in terms legal and perceived attribution, this final chapter will address ownership of texts in their material form, by their readers. This final stage is significant in demonstrating how these texts re-joined the knowledge systems discussed in Chapter 1 and rounds out the notion that printed texts were just a small part of wider networks of knowledge. My analysis of readership, reception, and by extension, use of these books is shaped by the surviving corpus of material. In the case of instructional manuals, as Jennifer Mylander and William Sherman have pointed out, these works were often used to death due to the practical nature of their subject matter.²³¹ This is significant in forming the corpus addressed in this chapter, as it implies that many of the most used books that would be the best evidence for this chapter have degraded beyond usefulness to their original owners or scholars. By grounding the methodology in the precise discussion of individual copies and by consulting a large number of copies of the same text held across different institutions, I have followed the example of similar studies by William Sherman and Heidi Brayman Hackel to identify the multifaceted ways one text reached a multitude of readers.²³² I have also limited my consultation to copies printed between 1615 and 1700. My sample size of 68 copies across seven titles is intended to be a starting point in observing a genre that has heretofore been left out of marginalia studies. All studies of readership must contend with the challenge of what has been called loud readership, namely readers who left physical markings on the book, compared to quiet readership, as the majority of evidence comes from those who left marks. Instructional literature encounters this problem less than other genres, as the seventeenth-century reading culture was regarded as some of the most responsive in terms of notation on books. My study yielded over half of the surviving texts as containing markings while

²³¹ Mylander, “Early Modern ‘How-To’ Books”, 128-129; William Sherman, *Used Books: Marking Readers in Renaissance England*, (Philadelphia: University of Pennsylvania Press, 2008), 5.

²³² Sherman, *Used Books*, 10; Heidi Brayman Hackel, *Reading Material in Early Modern England: Print, Gender, and Literacy*. (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 2005).

Adam Smyth's study of printed miscellanies, a cousin of the instructional genre, shows that one third of surviving books contain manuscript additions.²³³ This chapter addresses the challenge of making claims about all readers through evidence left by markings by separating marked books from the rest of the corpus. My conclusions about the marked group will illustrate distinctions from the general readership practices of seventeenth-century instructional literature, namely through evidence of active use of the books, reference to other materials, and evidence of individual ownership. By filtering for evidence of loud readership, I show that users who read with a writing implement in their hand sought to improve the experience of future readers of the book, assert ownership of the physical text, or become a post-print interlocutor with the original author. This demonstrates that there was still a lively network of oral and manuscript instructional knowledge disseminated throughout the community of people who were accessing and marking these books. It shows that these books fit into the wider culture of information sharing and were valued as legitimate sources of knowledge in the seventeenth century. This, by any means, does not mean that every reader agreed with all the information put forward or blindly trusted those involved in the process of authorship. It instead demonstrates that these texts continued to be objects of appropriation right through to the end use stage.

This chapter will first situate where instructional literature falls into general readership practices of the seventeenth century, and will draw from the surviving marginalia to show that the majority of the genre was subject to non-linear reading, a practice that has only been thoroughly explored in the humanist reference books studied by Ann Blair.²³⁴ Then I will analyse the types of marginalia identified throughout the seventeenth-century editions of books, and discuss how the reading practices differed between medical, midwifery, and housewifery books. The coexistence of

²³³ Smyth, *Profit and Delight*, 40, 44-47.

²³⁴ Blair, *Too Much to Know*, 8.

manuscript and printed recipes in two heavily marked examples of *The English Physitian* (1648 Glasgow University Library and 1669 Wellcome Collection) and one heavily marked example of *A Way to Get Wealth* (1648 Glasgow University Library) demonstrate the ways in which contemporary readers used these texts and thought about them in conversation with other books of the same genre, or other information that they had gathered and needed to record alongside printed text due to similar subject matter.²³⁵ The marginalia practices evidenced in the instructional literature will also demonstrate the differences in the way men and women engaged with instructional literature through marginal notes. Men's names are often linked to additional handwritten information such as personalised indices and direct commentary on the text in the margins while women's are linked to inked recipes in the flyleaves and stand as proclamations of ownership. While the practice of inscribing one's name in the front and throughout books, as well as adding full recipes of one's own in the flyleaves were popular ways of engaging in instructional literature that transcended the gender divide, these practices when linked to women show that these books existed within the networks of knowledge which formed them.

This chapter will discuss how books such as *The English Housewife* and *The Accomplish'd Ladies Delight* specifically targeted to the female reader, were marked, and what that can reveal about women's engagement with such material. The final section will address the way markers expressed ownership, establishing that these books were accessed by people outside their intended audience. This section will especially focus on the practice of name inscription, and how certain books travelled as gifts between several readers, some of whom attempted to erase the traces of previous owner's markings.²³⁶ The chapter will conclude by assessing the significance of these textual interactions,

²³⁵ While referencing these texts, as not to confuse the two editions of *The English Physitian* I will be footnoting them with the year of publication, library of residence, and call number.

²³⁶ Nicholas Culpeper, *A Directory for Midwives*, (London: Peter Cole, 1662). Held in the Cushing Collection in the John Hay Whitney Medical Library, Yale; Hannah Woolley, *The Accomplish'd Ladies Delight*, (London: Benjamin Harris, 1683). Held at the British Library; Katherine Acheson, "The Occupation of the Margins: Writing, Space and Early Modern Women," in *Early modern English Marginalia*, Katherine Acheson ed. (New York: Routledge, 2019), 73-87.

make conclusions about the ways these texts were used, and how they fit into the practices of marginal notation as well as manuscript commonplacing. This study of manuscript notes questions the notion that books were inherently gendered. Both men and women inscribed marginal notes in these books. Finally, this marginalia reveals the complex practice of seventeenth-century recipe and knowledge sharing, containing information sourced from other printed texts, recipes attributed to the owner of the book and members of their community, and notes from lived experience. The print, the markings and the wider culture of knowledge sharing point to a culture where reliable information was a highly valued commodity.

I must first establish the boundaries of the conclusions we can make about reading and marginal practices in general. The project's parameters only encompass the books I physically consulted across the British Library, The Wellcome Collection, and the University of Glasgow Special Collections Library. In each institution I consulted every copy physically available, amounting to a total of 68 volumes.²³⁷ I rigorously searched these copies for evidence of readership, and sorted the markings that appear in the text into eight categories: names, reference markings, personal indexes, supplemental information, corrections, unrelated, foreign bodies, and unintentional ink stains. Of these 68, at least 37 volumes contained a significant enough level of evidence to be included in the categories outside of "unintentional ink stains", while a few of the remainders still made their way into that category with only evidence of ink splotches in the pages.²³⁸ At all three libraries I consulted all the volumes available of my chosen corpus of Culpeper, Markham, W.M., Sharp, and Ruff published between 1615 and 1700. I also examined two volumes of the 1724 edition of Sharp's *Midwives Book* in order to see if the second edition published in the eighteenth century would enrich

²³⁷ This notably does not include volumes that are held in the Thomason Tracts in the British Library as they require special permission to consult, which I was unable to attain within the timeframe I had at the library.

²³⁸ For a full table of the marginalia types and their frequency please see Appendix 3.

the corpus of marginalia in the smaller section of midwifery books not attributed to Culpeper. It did not.²³⁹ Each genre is not equally represented in the number of volumes. For housewifery (Markham, Woolley and W.M.) there were a total of 27 books consulted. For midwifery (Culpeper, Sharp and Rüff) there were a total of 17, and for just copies of Culpeper's *The English Physitian* alone, there were 25. During the library research, the compiled volume of *A Way to Get Wealth* was the most common venue to encounter *The English Housewife*. Therefore, this study considers Markham's book for the gentlewoman housewife in the context of his wider corpus, with which it was bound.

The evidence in the books consulted in this study demonstrates readers followed a range of approaches. As has already been established in chapters 1 and 2, the Stationers had a significant impact on the way readers accessed the text. An important aspect of this is the inclusion of tables, sometimes multiple, to allow the reader to access the information they were seeking in the instructional book without reading from beginning to end in a linear fashion. In her studies of early modern reading practices, Ann Blair has investigated non-linear forms of reading, namely a style of reading that sought specific information (such as reference books), and this pattern recurred in instructional literature.²⁴⁰ In both cases, the reader likely relied upon habits deployed with manuscript commonplace books, some of which were organised into alphabetical order.²⁴¹ My study of how-to books considered the markings that were intentionally left on the page by the reader including (in descending order of frequency): reference markings including crosses, dashes, and other symbols in the margin to draw the eye of the reader; verbal annotations providing supplementary information to the text; corrections to the text; then finally personal indexes.²⁴² Blair

²³⁹ More libraries were not sought out due to time and travel constraints.

²⁴⁰ Blair, *Too Much to Know*, 8.

²⁴¹ For example see *Medical, cookery and other recipes, mostly collected and written by Sir Peter Temple* MS Stowe 1077 at the British Library, pictured in Elaine Leong, *Recipes and Everyday Knowledge: Medicine, Science and the Household in Early Modern England* (Chicago: The University of Chicago Press, 2018), 111.

²⁴² See Appendices 3 and 4.

argues that the frequency and placement of annotations reveal readership practices: if the index is heavily annotated or if markings highlight certain passages it is more likely that the reader consulted the book rather than read it through. Sequential reading, by contrast, registers through sustained marking, beginning at the front of the book, possibly tapering off midway through.²⁴³ With the high frequency of reference markings compared to the lower number of personalised indices and commentary, it's clear that the majority of the users of instructional literature either only consulted the book for specific information, or read the text with the intention of using it for consultative purposes later on. Blair's reference book study identifies underlining as the most frequent annotation, a key difference between the wider reference and instructional genre. It is likely this difference arises from both the intended use of the information by the reader, and the more reference-friendly layout of instructional literature with printed headings in the margins. While Blair's study focuses on complex academic literature, often owned by institutions, with how-to books we see something different. Such practical volumes were often owned by individuals, and they carry infrequent underlining of text. Instead, readers noted areas of personal interest in the side margin with simple markings.²⁴⁴

The data drawn from the marginal practices in the thirty-seven annotated books certainly point to non-linear reading practices dominating the genre of instructional literature, an unsurprising conclusion given the subject matter and the paratextual material allowing for this approach. There were a total of eighteen books that included markings that pointed to referential use, with reasonably equal distribution amongst the sub-genres. Nine domestic manuals, four midwifery books, and five of Culpeper's *The English Physitian*. One 1684 copy of *The English Physitian* held at Glasgow University Library provides unique insight into the use of the book, the mind of its

²⁴³ Blair, *Too Much to Know*, 230, 248.

²⁴⁴ See any edition of Markham's *The English Housewife*.

annotator, and how the annotator viewed the printed index.²⁴⁵ Moving through the text sequentially, we meet an inscribed name, year, price for the book, and a large range of reference markings. Walter Stewart bought this copy of the 1684 edition in May 1694 for 2 pounds, 2 shillings, and proceeded to peruse the volume for cures for melancholy.²⁴⁶ Despite an index that already provided page references to herbs that treated such a condition, Stewart meticulously indexed all the herbs that he believed would treat the condition, inked neatly in a column listed by main ingredient on the flyleaf before the title page. The printed index records twenty-two-page references to melancholy, while Stewart only lists thirteen.²⁴⁷ There are also page number discrepancies between the index compiled by Stewart and the one printed by Sawbridge. For example, the printed index lists pages 39 and 193 while Stewart records 38 and 192, the difference in methodological approach between the printer and the annotator here becomes clear: the annotator indexes the page number for the beginning of the entry on the plant, while the printer is more specific and references the page where the section on treatment appears. The immediate position of the index at the front of the book reveals Walter Stewart's main goal was to hasten the process of finding treatments for melancholy. This inscription also reveals readers were accessing the information in order to solve problems, or "reading for action".²⁴⁸ Walter Stewart's marking process demonstrates active and engaged readership by someone within the envisioned audience, using the text as intended.

²⁴⁵ Culpeper, *The English Physitian* (1684), Glasgow University Library Bm5-i.5.

²⁴⁶ Culpeper, *The English Physitian* (1684), Glasgow University Library Bm5-i.5., C1r-C2v.

²⁴⁷ Culpeper, *The English Physitian* (1684), Glasgow University Library Bm5-i.5., front flyleaf, Bb4v.

²⁴⁸ Grafton, Jardin, "Studied for Action", 33, 40.

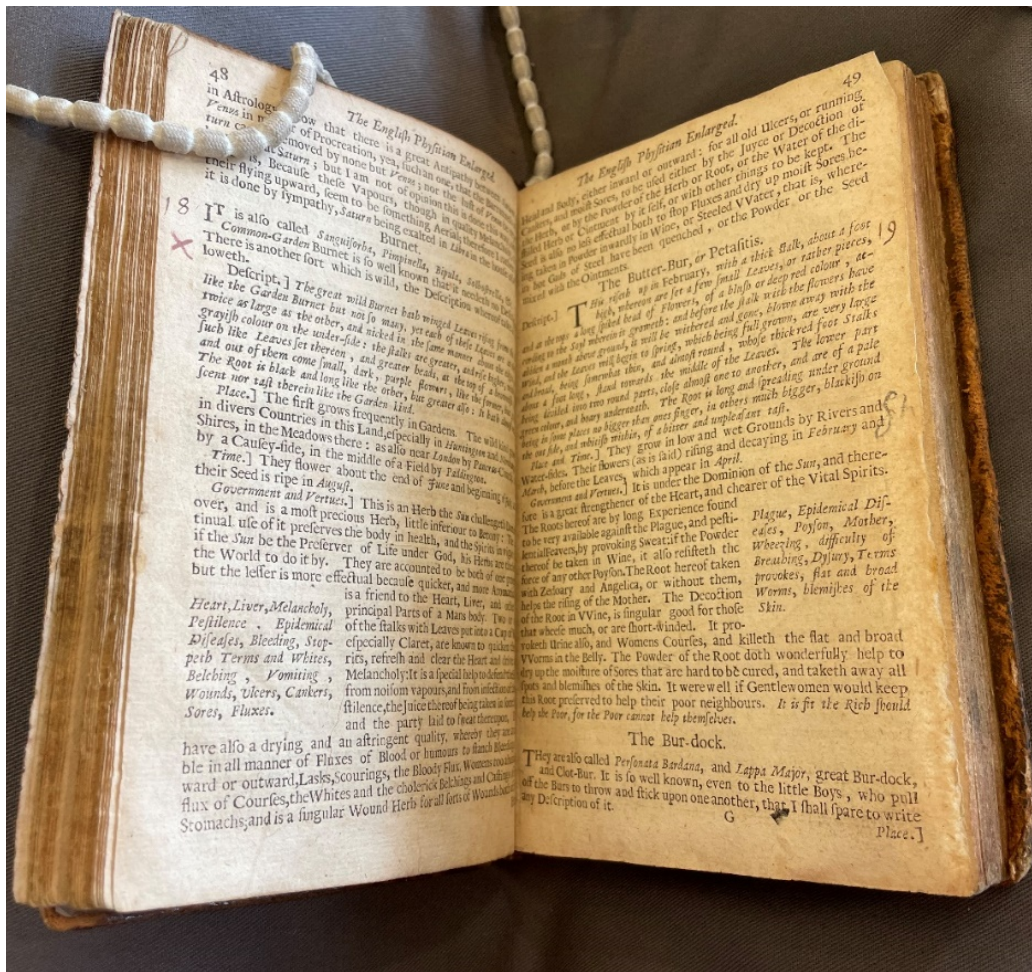


Figure 5 - Nicholas Culpeper, *The English Physitian*, (1684) Glasgow University Library Bm5-i.5: 48-49.

This volume also contains a variety of other consultative reading annotations next to herb entries. Within this volume of *The English Physitian*, there are at least two if not three distinct annotation patterns at play: one in ink that annotates sequential numbers next to titles for herbs, one in pencil marking “Sh” next to text describing herbs, and another in red marking horizontal and vertical lines as well as crosses. Each of these annotations appear to have different meanings. The inked numbers indicate plants that one may be able to find in a garden or nearby the home, given away by the first note being “gard: 1”, the pencil “Sh” marks plants that may be found in local wooded areas such as hedges, ditches, watery areas, and fields.²⁴⁹ The red markings aren’t as easy to decode, but their focus seems to be on use rather than location of the plant, with the cross often occurring adjacent to

²⁴⁹ Culpeper, *The English Physitian* (1684), Glasgow University Library Bm5-i.5., 5, 9.

printed text regarding ailments. Figure 5 demonstrates the range of annotations present in one double page. Both Adam Smyth and Katherine Acheson have identified a temporality in all marginalia that makes it difficult to identify the duration of a pattern of annotation, especially when it is possible that the item has held multiple lifetimes of reading.²⁵⁰ This text appears to have undergone annotation by at least two other readers beyond Walter Stewart, each choosing to mark the text in different ways that reflect their interests and intended uses for the information. Further study of this copy would possibly yield the identity, social class, and biographical information on one if not more of the owners of this text who left their marks. We can say with a level of certainty that the ink annotator was someone who lived in the North of England or Scotland, as they annotate “Winter-green”, which cannot be found South of Yorkshire.²⁵¹ Clues as to who the other annotators were are difficult to uncover, as is the temporal placement for any of them, as both ink and pencil annotations were common during the seventeenth century and beyond.²⁵² What can be said about the ink annotator is that they read the book through from beginning to end at least once in order to leave the numerical notes, and the same may be said about the two other annotators but with less certainty, as at least the “Sh” marker was annotating information that was not available in the index. These markings have twofold significance. The first attests to the longevity of printed instructional books over multiple owners in the same way manuscript commonplace books were often kept within a family, tying the printed object to the textual traditions that were sustained long after the introduction of the printing press. The second is the similarity of these reference markings to manuscript additions to printed books in other genres, such as the reference books studies by Ann Blair, even though this copy’s reference markings target specific sets of information. This proves that the markings in instructional literature fit into the puzzle of inked annotation studies within different genres, and that understandings of the motivations of textual markers in other genres can be

²⁵⁰ Acheson, *Early modern English Marginalia*, 66, 72.

²⁵¹ Culpeper, *The English Physitian* (1684), Glasgow University Library Bm5-i.5., 117.

²⁵² Acheson, *Early Modern English Marginalia*, 86 134, 140, 161.

imported to inform our understanding of how readers and annotators approached instructional books.

These books can be understood as a kind of domestic reference text, the work of the annotator allows future readers easier consultative access to specific information through the addition of reference markings and personal indices. The high level of annotation seen in these volumes suggests that rather than the information being transferred by the reader into a manuscript commonplace book, the printed volume itself was the place in which the reader would come for their selected portions of information. The annotations enrich the text, amplify the utility of this volume in comparison to other unmarked volumes, and lend the book an expanded status and value to the owner and future owners with similar interests. Acheson allows for room in the definition of “commonplacing” in the sixteenth and seventeenth centuries to include these and indeed most types of marginalia.²⁵³ One type of marginalia that is worth delving into in the context of print marginalia’s relationship to commonplacing practice is the “unrelated” notes that appear in eighteen volumes I consulted. These markings range from writing practice to notation of household accounts, to astronomical facts like “mercury is the hottest of all the planets”.²⁵⁴ Acheson proposes that the margins of printed books act as a pedagogical commonplacing space, as the range of notes unrelated to the text demonstrates these books as accessible objects to a range of people, situating the book not just as a usable text but also as paper available in an accessible space.²⁵⁵ This argument extends our conceptions of the relationship between text and reader, as it illuminates how contemporaries would have interacted with the books as material objects. Such an understanding situates these

²⁵³ Acheson, *Early Modern English Marginalia*, 76-77.

²⁵⁴ Culpeper, *The English Physitian*, (1655, Wellcome Collection), final page; Markham, *A Way to Get Wealth*, (1654, Wellcome Collection), first page; Culpeper, *The English Physitian*, (1695, Wellcome Collection) final page.

²⁵⁵ Acheson, *Early Modern English Marginalia*, 76-80.

books as useful and practical sociomaterial objects rather than as sanitized sources of knowledge, and it extends their use beyond just the knowledge they hold, to include the commodity of paper from which they were made.²⁵⁶ There is reasonably equal distribution of markings unrelated to the subject of the book amongst the three genres of instructional books, with slightly less midwifery compared to medical and domestic, which tracks with the overall number of markings. Another type of marking that extends our understanding of the use of instructional printed literature are unintentional ink stains, which appear in twenty-five books and are thus the second most populous category. I cross-referenced the stains with other volumes printed in the same edition to ensure they were not type errors but were most likely produced by readers.²⁵⁷ The presence of ink spots and stains – most of them in Culpeper’s *The English Physitian* - illustrates that readers were reading with a pen, and therefore the intention of copying information down into commonplace books.²⁵⁸ Even the smallest of traces links these texts back into the cultures from which they emerged.

Other readers left material tokens or foreign objects within the text. Adam Smyth has traced transferred markings on books and the social history that surrounds the traces of flowers and spectacles.²⁵⁹ He interprets stains and rust marks as the ghosts of objects previously found in books, whereas I stumbled upon physical corpses, as it were: real objects entombed in the pages of these books. While the poor spider encased in page 187 of the 1683 edition of *The English Physitian* held at Glasgow university Library does not inform us meaningfully of readership practices (though potentially of pest control), the presence of a fabric offcut in Markham’s 1675 edition of *A Way to Get Wealth* aligns with Smyth’s conclusion that often these forgotten objects mark where reading has

²⁵⁶ Bittel, et. al., *Working with Paper*, 1-6.

²⁵⁷ Unfortunately this study did not have room for ink analysis that would definitively rule out these markings as caused by the process of printing by identifying the ink composition, but hopefully future study of these books will allow for such investigation.

²⁵⁸ See Appendix 3.

²⁵⁹ Smyth, “Book Marks”, 52, 54, 58.

ended.²⁶⁰ The pressed leaves and flowers found in two volumes of the Wellcome Collection's holdings of Nicholas Culpeper's works are potential evidence of active and recurring readership and act as their own kind of material marginalia.²⁶¹ Acheson and Smyth agree that one of the difficulties of marginalia studies is measuring the temporal relationship between the publication of the work and the instance of the marginal engagement.²⁶² Another hurdle that faces the study of loose objects contained within a book that have not left the types of traces Smyth relies on is the placement of these objects in relation to the text. Did they, like Smyth's roses, once hold a place relevant to the written word?²⁶³ Were these pressed leaves and flowers once situated next to the textual descriptions of themselves? Were they left on purpose to illustrate a tangible example of the written word? Or was the book simply an object of convenience available for the pressing of unrelated flowers and leaves? Whatever the intention, it is clear that this book was put to use in a way that responded to its subject matter.

²⁶⁰ Smyth, "Book Marks", 59.

²⁶¹ Culpeper, *The English Physitian*, (1674), Wellcome Collection EPB/B/19326/2, 126-127, 242-243; Culpeper, *The English Physitian*, (1669), Wellcome Collection EPB/B/19325, 86-87, 188-189, 226-227, 252-253.

²⁶² Acheson, *Early Modern English Marginalia*, 66,75.

²⁶³ Smyth, "Object Traces", 53.



Figure 6 - Pressed plant found in Nicholas Culpeper, *The English Physitian*, (1669) Wellcome Collection EPB/B/19325: 188-189.

The plant with the flower depicted in Figure 6 positioned in the double page 188-189 matches in colour, size and leaf shape with pimpernel, a herb described by Culpeper on page 188 of this volume.²⁶⁴ This is the most definitive match between any plant present in description in print with immediate proximity the pressed object. The three other examples of pressed herbs in this volume could not be reliably linked with their page-fellows, though this does not mean that this was always the case. Due to the passage of time and the book through many hands it is probable that there is a relationship between the pressed plants and entries in the book. Smyth identifies the issue of time and relocation in his chapter, citing that found objects are often moved to separate boxes by cataloguers.²⁶⁵ Although such drastic action has not been taken with this volume, it is more than likely that within the lifespan of the book a careless reader has replaced the pressing in a different place to the original reader. The presence of these objects within the pages of the text reveals a unique relationship between reader and text, demonstrating that this text has been used to its

²⁶⁴ I am not a trained botanist, overly familiar with native British flora, or able to scientifically test these samples within this study. The following conclusions are based on preliminary research and much enthusiasm.

²⁶⁵ Smyth, "Object Traces", 52.

purpose; read for action and revisited to provide evidence. The supplemental information given by including actual pressed plants into the pages of a book printed cheaply, without images, for the everyday reader demonstrates resourcefulness of this owner, enriching their and subsequent readers relationship with this volume, and its legacy with subsequent readers.

One of the most reliable and enriching modes of analysis allowed by the study of marginalia is the discovery of inscribed names on individual copies of books. Both men and women who owned these books expressed their ownership was through writing their names into them, some multiple times. Appendix 4 has a full list and description of each nominal occurrence across the corpus and is best read alongside the following analysis. A total of 38 volumes contained one or more names inscribed somewhere within book which represents 54% of the overall number of books consulted, a table of which can be found in Appendix 4. Of these, twelve were from the housewifery genre, seventeen were *The English Physitian*, and eight were midwifery books. This kind of marking was the most common form of marginalia present in the corpus. The inscription of names is the only area of marginalia where there can be any kind of concrete conclusion about the gender of the marker, thus making it significant in the context of discussions of female ownership of recipes, books, and knowledge. I identified a total of fifty-five names: twenty-seven male and sixteen female. The rest were represented with an initial or were illegible.²⁶⁶ Interestingly, fifteen of the name inscriptions also included a full date, nine of them dated to the seventeenth century and six to the eighteenth.²⁶⁷ These dates suggest the marginalia roughly contemporaneous to the era of publication, supporting the notion that the knowledge held within the recipe literature was still very much connected to manuscript recipe sharing traditions.²⁶⁸ This is seen though the active assertions of ownership

²⁶⁶ See Appendix 4 for a full listing of each name in correspondence to the volume it was found in.

²⁶⁷ Appendix 4.

²⁶⁸ Elizabeth Eisenstein identified “the heroic age of the master printer” as being her period of study in *The Printing Press as an Agent of Change*, this shift in print culture at the end of the eighteenth century when the era of the print shop ends and is supplanted with the editorial office also serves to encapsulate the end of the coexistence between print and manuscript culture demonstrated in the dated marginalia. Eisenstein, *The Printing Press as an Agent of Change*, xv.

associated with the inscriptions of names and dates, making the content inside relevant as a commodity, therefore useful and shareable in the relevant date range. The greatest number of names appear in *The English Physitian*, a smaller number in housewifery texts, and the fewest in midwifery books. Men do dominate the overall number of names across the three genres; housewifery is the most equitable with nine men and seven women, followed by both medical and midwifery, while men's names outweigh women's two to one in midwifery and around three to one in medical.²⁶⁹ These numbers are not surprising, as the housewifery guides were often explicitly directed at the female reader, and with many of the editions of *The English Housewife* were bound within *A Way to Get Wealth*, a compilation primarily directed at men, explaining the reasonably equal numbers of male and female owner inscribers.²⁷⁰ While all three midwifery texts were also addressed to the female reader the substantial number of male authors on this subject confirm that men also took an interest in it. Sharp's methodology in constructing her own book by consulting material written by male physicians in the later seventeenth century reveal that while the practice of midwifery was still overwhelmingly female, it was medical men who engaged the most with this literature.²⁷¹ D. Evanden demonstrates that the training of midwives in the seventeenth century was entirely practical, and they did not need to consult the publications studied here in order to practice or obtain a license.²⁷² It is likely that although the author's intended audience were midwives, the likely readers of these books were medical men interested in midwifery. One volume of Culpeper's *Directory for Midwives* currently held in the Wellcome Collection supports this theory, as it contains the stamp of the Medical Society of London.²⁷³ The same audience of medical men, or male householders keen to collect knowledge from a legitimate physician would also account for the large proportion of men's names.

²⁶⁹ See Appendix 3.

²⁷⁰ Of the seventeen copies of *The English Housewife* I looked at, only three were individually bound.

²⁷¹ Sharp, *The Midwives Book* (1671), A4v.

²⁷² Evanden, *The Midwives of Seventeenth Century London*, 50.

²⁷³ The Medical Society of London, "Home", <https://medsoclondon.org/> accessed 4 April 2023.

Although men do outnumber women in the volume of identifiable names, women's names demonstrate a significant statement of their ownership. Acheson also found that men's names outnumber women's in a study of a different genre, but stresses that a woman writing her proper name creates a space of ownership in a world where her prospects for tangible ownership opportunities were severely limited.²⁷⁴ That there is undisputable evidence of female ownership across housewifery, medicine and midwifery books is significant in this context, as it situates women as holders of both the physical volume and the knowledge contained within. The five female names identified in Culpeper's *The English Physitian* demonstrate that women who were reading printed books, a substantial number when accounting for recent studies in early modern women's literacy, were able to access and possess medical knowledge to use within the home.²⁷⁵

The English Physitian was by far the volume with the most readers who chose to leave critical notes in the text; five of the six books that had some evidence of correction by readers were this text. These corrections show the way in which the book was used by at least five readers who made marks in this study, as reference material rather than a text to be read in a linear fashion.²⁷⁶ The stationers' formatting of the paratextual material aligns with the evidence of readership practice. *The English Physitian* is structured in a way where the individual herb entries are organized alphabetically by name, with paratextual material allowing the reader to access which herb they want with alphabetical entries, and also a separate table organised by disease. Handwritten corrections of page numbers both within the indices and on the pages themselves demonstrate that active readers were using the table as intended in order to reference the necessary information they required. The page

²⁷⁴ Acheson, "Writing, Space and Early modern Women", 73-74.

²⁷⁵ Eleanor Hubbard, "Reading, Writing and Initialling: Female Literacy in Early Modern London", *Journal of British Studies* 54 (July 2015): 553-577.

²⁷⁶ Appendix 3, "Corrections".

corrections could have occurred during an initial stage of linear reading, or as the reader discovered errors during their non-linear perusal.

Readers writing supplementary information in the margins of the text is most evident in the copies of Culpeper's works. There were thirteen books that contained evidence of reader as interlocutor with the print; eight of which were Culpeper's medical book, four of which were Markham and one of which was Culpeper's midwifery book.²⁷⁷ There are two kinds of marginalia that have been captured in this category: supplemental information in conversation with the printed text situated in the margins of the book, and the blank pages in the front and the back being used entirely as spaces in which the readers wrote their own recipes. The 1683 copy of *The English Physitian* held at the British Library contains a recipe "to make a pastier for the back" inked onto the page facing the title page with no marginalia surrounding the text itself, representing only three books where the flyleaves are marked but the margins around the text are not.²⁷⁸ By contrast, there are three copies of the same text held in the Wellcome Collection that only have marginal annotation and two copies that use both the margins and the blank pages to record both commentary on the text and to collate their own recipes.²⁷⁹ Those readers who only left notes in the margins of the text were most likely linear readers, while those who added flyleaves and full records of other information engaged with these texts in a very similar manner to manuscript commonplace books. All of this goes to demonstrate the multitude of ways in which readers enhanced these texts with handwritten information. The factors that lead to how they would include their own knowledge depended largely on their own reading habits, the length of the recipes or commentary, and whether they had any direct link to the subject matter contained within the pages. These ideas will be further explicitly interrogated in case studies of individual copies later in the chapter.

²⁷⁷ Appendix 3, "Supplemental Information".

²⁷⁸ Nicholas Culpeper, *The English Physitian*, (London: Printed for Hannah Sawbridge to be sold by Thomas Malthus, 1683). The British Library, Call Number 7510.d.1.

²⁷⁹ The call numbers for copies of *The English Physitian* held in the Wellcome that are referenced here are EPB/B/19321, EPB/B/19331, EPB/B/19324, EPB/C/19318/1, EPB/C/19318/2, EPB/B/19330/2, EPB/B/19322/2.

It was not just Culpeper's work that attracted supplemental commentary or information from readers armed with pens. The other book that both showed signs of corrections of page numbers and significant supplemental information in marginalia was the 1648 edition of *A Way to Get Wealth* held in Glasgow University Special Collections Library.²⁸⁰ This is one of four books in the housewifery genre of my corpus that held marginal notes, but the only one with both corrections and notes, giving a better idea of how the book itself was read. Only two copies of Markham's works contained marginalia within *The English Housewife* rather than in the entire bound collection of *A Way to Get Wealth*; one is the University of Glasgow copy and the other is held at the Wellcome Collection.²⁸¹ It is not surprising that half of the volumes of Markham's *A Way to get Wealth* only contain marginalia outside of *The English Housewife*, as the book overall was geared towards the male reader. Rosalind Smith has suggested that one of the only ways to identify marginalia written by a woman is if she also leaves us her name in the same hand, but it is clear that in a book that four of five volumes are geared towards men, the lack of annotation in the one book intended for the female reader suggests that these loud readers were most likely men.²⁸²

As the variety of engagement with the text that left material evidence of readership demonstrates, there is a wide and nuanced range of ways in which readers interacted with, viewed, and used these objects. Acheson uses the term "author" to refer to those who left markings in books, a term which makes sense when referring to the marginalia in isolation, but must also be figured in the context of the book itself as a whole.²⁸³ People who marked books with supplemental information, commentary, and corrections in some sense become authors, enriching the printed information,

²⁸⁰ Gervase Markham, *A Way to Get Wealth*, (London: Alsop for Harison, 1648). Glasgow University Library Ah-a.2. 74-75.

²⁸¹ Gervase Markham, *A Way to Get Wealth*, (Jackson, 1623), Wellcome Collection EPB/B/4074/1.

²⁸² Rosalind Smith, "Paratextual Marginalia, Early Modern Women, and Collaboration", in *Gender, Authorship and Early Modern Women's Collaboration*, ed. Patricia Pender, 175-200, (London: Palgrave Macmillan, 2017), 175-176.

²⁸³ Acheson, "Writing, Space and Early Modern Women", 73.

though cannot be figured in the wider conception due to the narrowness of their impact. As each individual volume has unique signs of reception they must be investigated as separate iterations of pseudo-authorship, divorced from even texts of the same edition and print run. This study figures these textual annotators as those who enriched the individual value and information capital of a copy, linked to authorship by the subsequent readers of the text, but too peripheral to significantly figure into the understanding of authorship put forth.

The following section will introduce several individual volumes with significant concentrations of marginalia in order to demonstrate that readers of instructional literature often critically engaged with the information presented to them in print. They use a variety of knowledge tools to critically engage with the printed material, including their own external sources of knowledge, and references to other printed material. This demonstrates that readers of this genre were not without knowledge of their subjects, and were already aware of alternative sources of information, often using these printed books to supplement familiar methods or solutions. It has been long demonstrated that early modern readers were a critical audience, and those who were formally educated were taught to read with a pen in hand should commentary be necessary.²⁸⁴ As William Sherman has shown, Renaissance readers were the biggest markers of books, and often did so in a systematic fashion, with evidence of wide reading – inclusion of passages from other books – in marginal notes occurs most commonly in sermons, legal writing, herbals, and husbandry manuals.²⁸⁵ Half of the genres noted by Sherman are definitively in the category of instructional literature, with legal writing occasionally making an appearance in the wider definition of the genre outside this study, meaning that a detailed study of marginalia in instructional literature can give insight into the wider practices of knowledge gathering

²⁸⁴ Sherman, *Used Books*, 18.

²⁸⁵ Sherman, *Used Books*, xiii, 3, 16-18.

and sharing, as well as wider trends in early modern marginalia amongst other genres such as literature and philosophy.

To explore the question of post-print pseudo-authorship, it is first worth reiterating that printed and manuscript knowledge sharing were still coexisting well into the seventeenth century.²⁸⁶ Leong

identifies the manuscript recipe sharing tradition as something deeply personal to the family, whereas the printed recipe collections are more easily applicable to a wider audience as they

generally hold a variety and breadth of information,

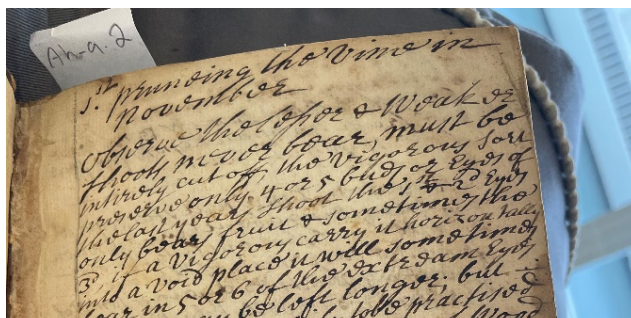
though both were integral parts of the knowledge

sharing networks during this period.²⁸⁷ The

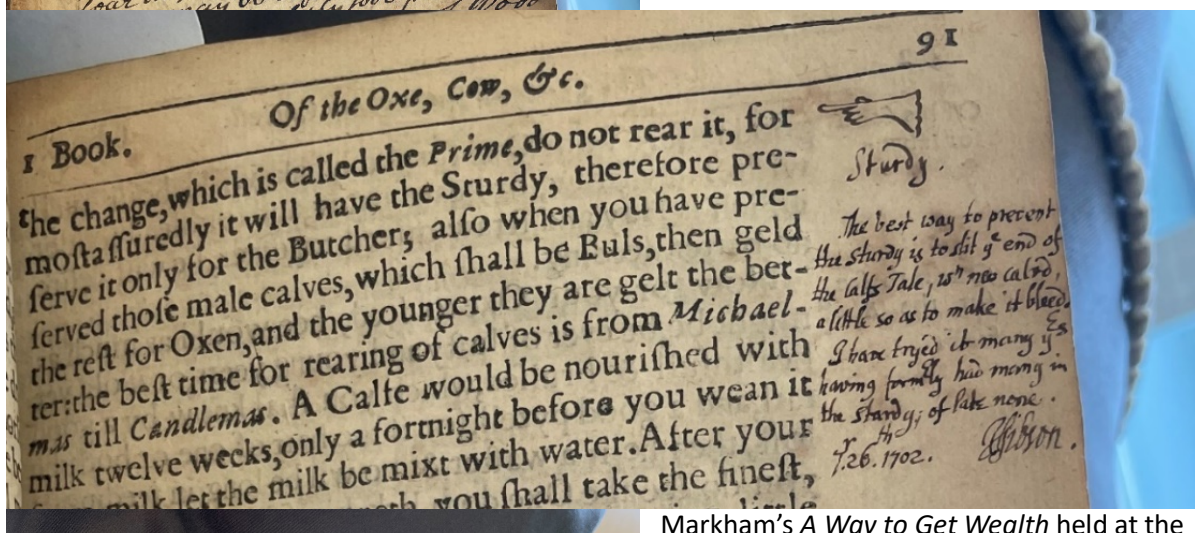
coexistence of both handwritten and printed recipes in one book demonstrates that the

commodified printed volumes were assimilated into the pre-existing tradition of personalized recipe

Figure 7 - Author Unknown, "Pruning the Vine in November and Pruning about the middle of May", in Gervase Markham, *A Way to Get Wealth*, (London: printed by B.A. for John Harison) University of Glasgow Special Collections Library Ah-a.2, unnumbered page.



collections. One volume that exemplifies the reader as an author in the sense that they left a personal imprint in the text that links it to a network of shared knowledge outside the book is a copy of the 1648 edition of



Markham's *A Way to Get Wealth* held at the

²⁸⁶ Leong, *Recipes and Everyday Knowledge*, 148.

²⁸⁷ Leong, *Recipes and Everyday Knowledge*, 148.

Glasgow University Special Collections library. The first blank pages in the collation of five books have been filled with handwritten notes pertaining to the care of vines as can be seen in Figure 7. The writer provides no source for this information, though their choice to inscribe it in the beginning of Markham's collation thematically makes sense, especially as two of the books in the collection pertain to husbandry and the upkeep of gardens.²⁸⁸

Within the margins of the first book in the volume, *Cheape and Good Husbandry*, there are two marginal annotations that demonstrate engaged interaction with the book as part of a network of knowledge showing that the reader was consulting multiple sources on the annotated sections, both from experience and another printed book. Next to a section reporting the ailments of horses, there is an inked note that contradicts Markham's assertion that one particular ailment is incurable. The annotator references "De Gray" or "De Guy", "pa. 582", which further situates this particular volume being an active participant in a web of knowledge that includes both knowers and other texts.²⁸⁹

Figure 8 - Marginal annotation in Gervase Markham, Cheape and Good Husbandry, (London: Bernard Alsop for John Harrison, 1648), in Gervase Markham, A Way to Get Wealth, (London: Printed by B.A. for John Harison, 1648). University of Glasgow Special Collections Library Ah-a.2: 91.

Another annotation within this volume that gives insight into the use of the text is a marginal note on page 91, seen in Figure 8, where a hand drawn manicule points to a printed section on the raising of calves, with an inked note underneath that describes how to "prevent the sturdy" – a parasitic disease of the central nervous system in cows.²⁹⁰ The author of the note then continues: "I have tried it many years having formerly many in the sturdy; of late none." The author then dates the annotation to 1702, and signs it "Hibson" or "Gibson" seen in the figure below. The act of recording knowledge from a personal experience in relation to the text on the page solidifies this volume's

²⁸⁸ Gervase Markham, *Cheape and Good Husbandry*, (London: Printed by Bernard Alsop for John Harison, 1648); William Lawson, *New Orchard Garden*, (London: printed by William Wilson for John Harrison, 1648).

²⁸⁹ Gervase Markham, *A Way to Get Wealth* (London: printed by B.A. for John Harison, 1648). Held at the University of Glasgow Special Collections Library Ah-a.2, 85.

²⁹⁰ Markham, *A Way to Get Wealth*, University of Glasgow Special Collections Library Ah-a.2, 91.

place in a working knowledge network, whether as a note to themselves or information for the next reader.

The second book containing marks from an enthusiastic post-print pen is a copy of the 1652 edition of Culpeper's *The English Physitian* held in the Wellcome Collection with the name "G. Featherston" inscribed on the title page.²⁹¹ The traceable provenance of this book reaches only to its rebinding in the early 20th Century, and contains a letter from 1901 on letterhead from Queen's College Oxford, suggesting a history of private ownership and only relatively recent donation.²⁹² This volume is subject to extensive annotation, some by Featherston, an owner of unknown dates, some by another annotator using a different ink.²⁹³ Nearly every herb is accompanied by annotation, not to mention handwritten additions to the printed text. The marginalia tends to link the plant's vernacular name to the related Latin and Greek, it references other books in which the herb or its cures are discussed, it adds extra information on uses or location that Culpeper has not discussed, and it includes personal recipes for medicinal cures featuring plant, some signed with the initials HH.

For example, the entry for Agrimony has marginalia referencing Galen, as well as practical instructions for the use of the herb: namely that it should be rolled and dried (see Figure 9).²⁹⁴ Page 14 (Figure 10) is also littered with marginal notes with Wood Betony on its virtues to include "it purges blood", or, "being drunk it helpeth the stopping of the breast, spleen, stomach gall of tumor, it health wounds in the head. HH".²⁹⁵ Endive also has two signed notations of recipes by H.H., one for its use on the "paps" and the other "helps ye stopping of ye liver" (Figure 11).²⁹⁶ These annotations

²⁹¹ Culpeper, *The English Physitian*, (Cole, 1652), Wellcome Collection EPB/C/19318/1, title page.

²⁹² Culpeper, *The English Physitian*, (Cole, 1652), Wellcome Collection EPB/C/19318/1, loose paper placed in front cover.

²⁹³ Culpeper, *The English Physitian*, (Cole, 1652), Wellcome Collection EPB/C/19318/1, page 2 demonstrates 2 different inks and hands.

²⁹⁴ Culpeper, *The English Physitian*, (Cole, 1652), Wellcome Collection EPB/C/19318/1, 2.

²⁹⁵ Culpeper, *The English Physitian*, (Cole, 1652), Wellcome Collection EPB/C/19318/1, 14.

²⁹⁶ Culpeper, *The English Physitian*, (Cole, 1652), Wellcome Collection EPB/C/19318/1, 47.

allow the entries for the plants to become a wider repository of information for the reader, adding humoral information that does not appear in the text, other possible uses, and their recipes. This annotator uses the easily referential template of the alphabetical organisation of *The English Physitian* as a bank for other knowledge they have collected on the herbs. This supplements the already valuable printed information with unique and helpful commentary, engendering this specific copy a higher social value to the reader than a plain printed edition.

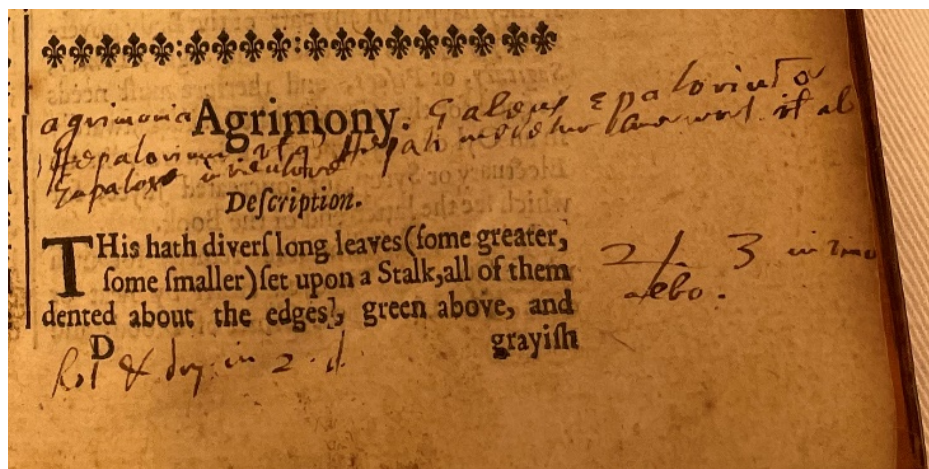


Figure 9 - Annotations surrounding "Agrimony", Nicholas Culpeper, *The English Physitian*, (London: 1652) Wellcome Collection, EPB/C/19318/1: 2.

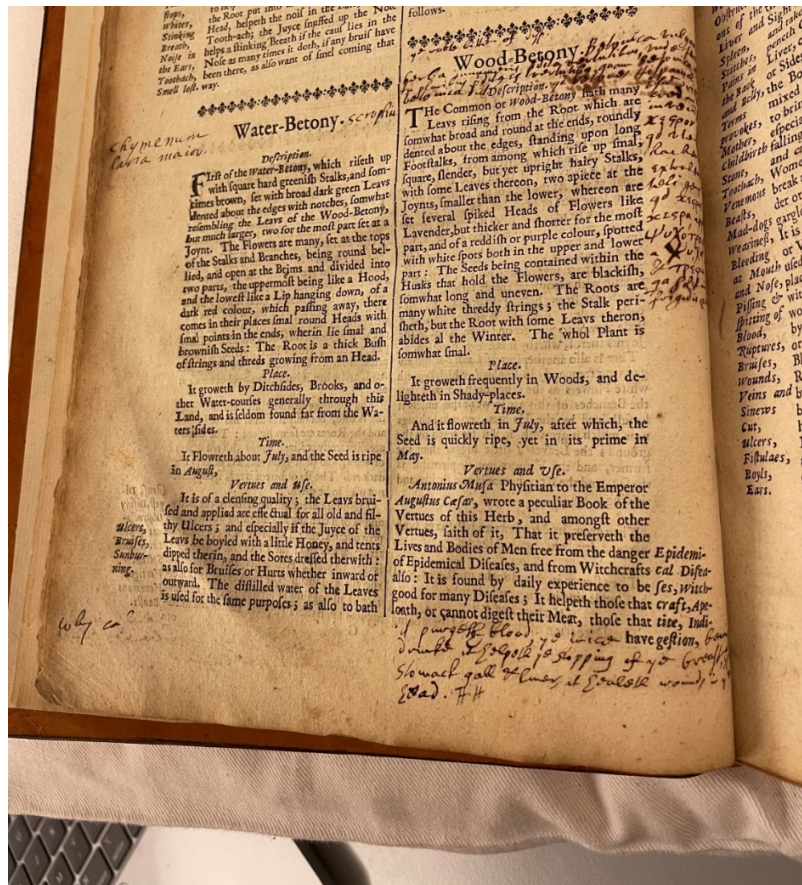


Figure 10 - H.H., Annotations surrounding "Water-Betony" and "Wood-Betony", Nicholas Culpeper, *The English Physitian*, (London: 1652), Wellcome Collection, EPB/C/19318/1. 14.

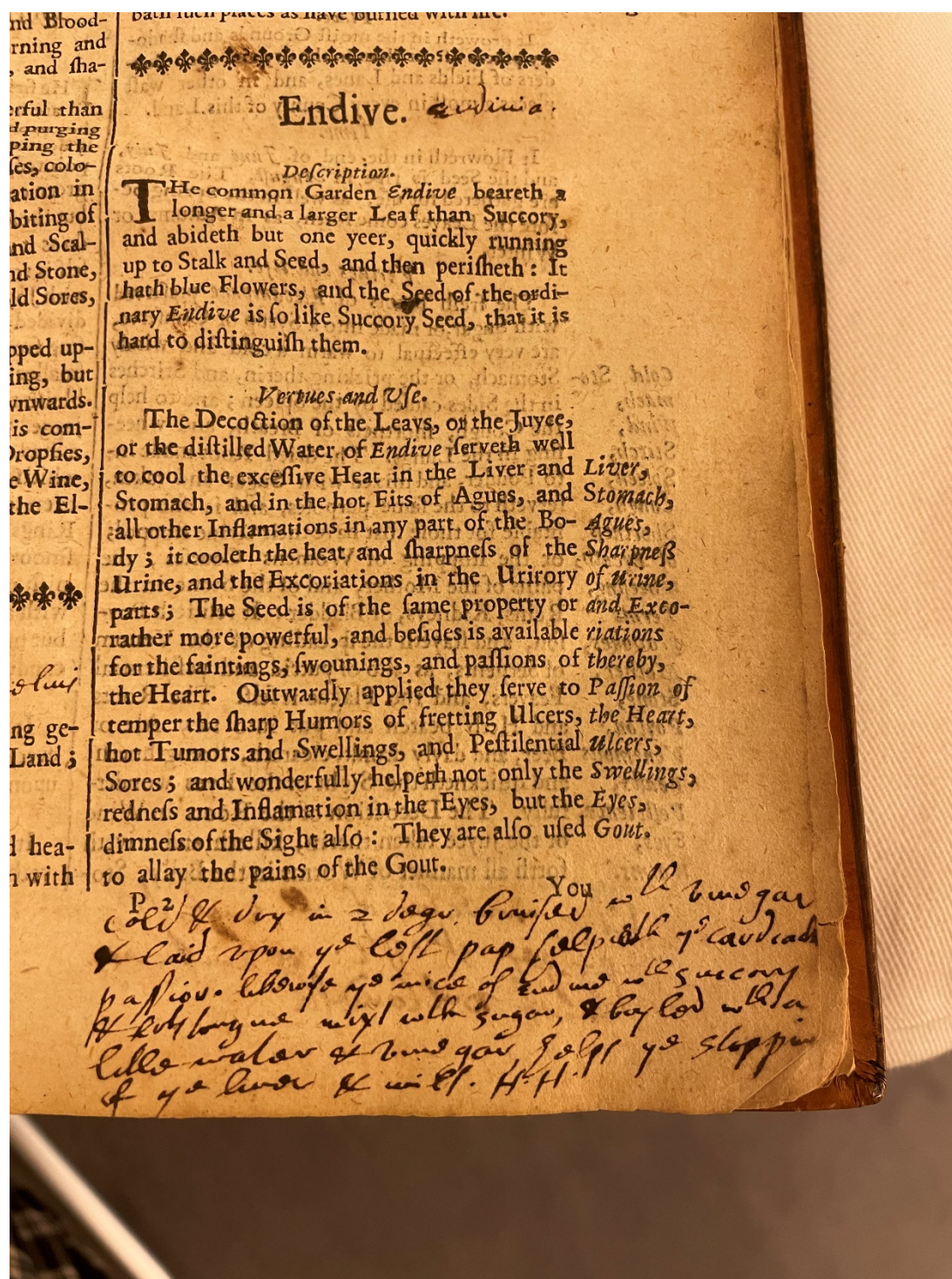


Figure 11 - H.H., Annotations surrounding "Endive", Nicholas Culpeper, *The English Physitian*, (London: 1652), Wellcome Collection, EPB/C/19318/1: 47.

Another element of marginalia present in this book and unique in the corpus is the layout of the manuscript additions in the first few unprinted pages before the title page. The first page contains a

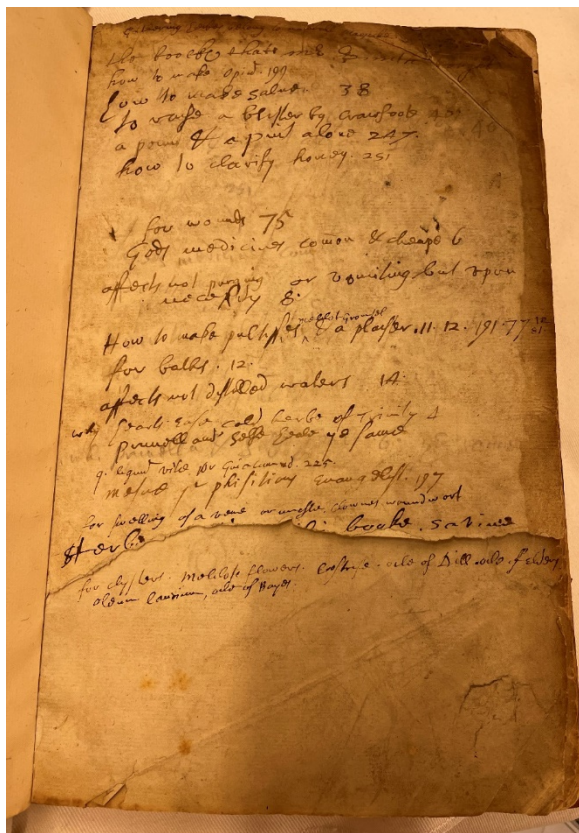


Figure 12 - Handwritten index, in Nicholas Culpeper, *The English Physitian*, (London: Peter Cole, 1652), Wellcome Collection, EPB/C/19318/1: front flyleaf.

personal index, with the bottom third of the page missing, cutting off what may have been a full page of handwritten text. This page appears to have been edited and added to in the lifespan of the book, with the ink and pen width changing, as well as arrows marking insertions of text (Figure 12).²⁹⁷ The next double page is then populated with a continuation of this index, organized first by ailment then followed by the relevant herbal cure.²⁹⁸ What is unique about the continuation of the index is the spaces left between each entry for future additions to be made, an example of which can be seen at the bottom of Figure 12, appearing behind the torn away page. The incomplete

nature of the index potentially shows a lack of interest in continuing the part of the original owner, perhaps finding that the printed index was sufficient, or perhaps it was left in a state of mid-completion, as many manuscript reading projects are. The back blank pages of the book also provide a surprise to the reader, with a three-page list of all the herbs in the book organized alphabetically, written in English, with no associated page numbers. Perhaps this list was an exercise for the annotator; no reference information is included to help them navigate to the relevant entry, but the act of writing no doubt solidified a memory of each entry in the book. This annotator seems to leave their paratextual marginalia somewhat unfinished, perhaps intending to go back to the project at a

²⁹⁷ Culpeper, *The English Physitian*, (Cole, 1652), Wellcome Collection EPB/C/19318/1, first page.

²⁹⁸ Culpeper, *The English Physitian*, (Cole, 1652), Wellcome Collection EPB/C/19318/1, first double pages.

later time but never getting the opportunity. What we can know about this reader is that they read cover to cover, more than once, in order to first mark over 90% of the entries next to the printed text, and again to construct their alphabetical list and personal index in the front of the book.

This pattern of evidence suggests at least one attempt at linear reading followed by the reference work Blair has identified can be found in other copies of *The English Physitian*, with one from 1698 standing out as a final case study in this chapter.²⁹⁹ This volume contains inked additions, presumably by Jonathan Baily, who was the owner of the book in 1703, that give remedial recipes on the blank pages of the back and front of the book.³⁰⁰ This entry is unlike the annotations in the 1653 edition, also at Wellcome, as they are not referencing remedies that already appear in the text, and are instead supplemental. There are at least 16 recipes handwritten into the volume, all of which give an indication of the symptoms the annotator was concerned with. These include 4 remedies for the stone, with others including for pain in the back, colic, rheumatism, a cold, a cough, consumption, and a recipe for a laxative.³⁰¹ It is not known where Baily got this information from, but the recipes do not appear printed within the volume.

²⁹⁹ Culpeper, *The English Physitian*, (Churchills, 1698), Wellcome Collection EPB/B/19331.

³⁰⁰ Culpeper, *The English Physitian*, (Churchills, 1698), Wellcome Collection EPB/B/19331, First flyleaf verso.

³⁰¹ Culpeper, *The English Physitian*, (Churchills, 1698), Wellcome Collection EPB/B/19331, last 3 pages including back plate.

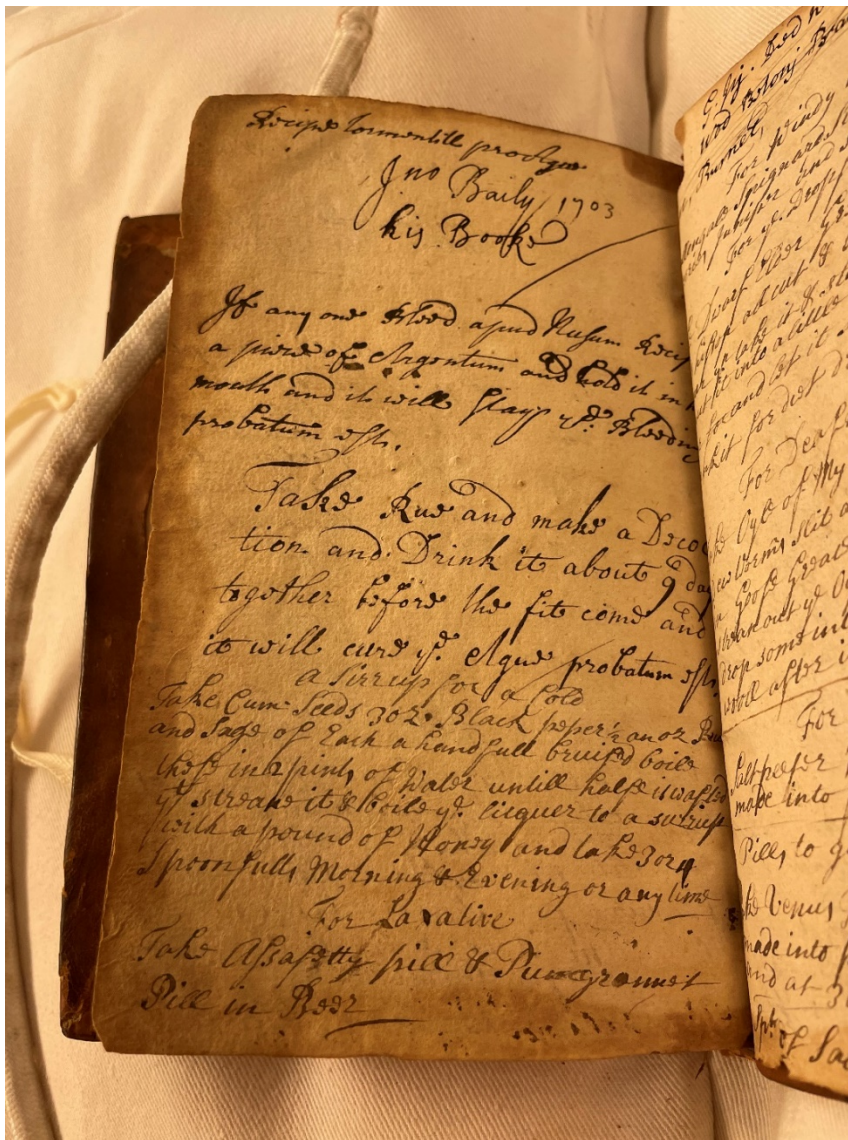


Figure 13 - Jonathan Baily, various notes, in Nicholas Culpeper, *The English Physitian*, (London: A and J Churchill, 1698), Wellcome Collection. EPB/B/19331: First flyleaf verso.

The study of marginalia as a serious part of historical analysis often relies upon filling in the gaps provided by the authors of the annotations with well-informed assumptions. The clues left to modern day observers in the heavily marked editions of *The English Physitian* suggest that the annotator saw these texts as interactive objects with their own unique potential and materiality. They were not just reference tools, but books that could register the experiences and reflect the lives and ailments of their markers. While the gender and exact identities of all of the people who left their marks on these copies of *The English Physitian* remain largely obscure, their notional habits fit

the pattern of scholarly marginalia in reference books, which was predominantly a male activity.³⁰²

Leong notes that the activities of the householder, constructing and using handwritten recipes, are not inherently gendered male or female, but instead a collaborative process of knowledge gathering and sharing.³⁰³ Patterns of manuscript additions in *The English Physitian* suggest that although the names recorded in the books were most often male, it does not preclude the recorded supplemental recipes from coming from networks of women's knowledge. Nor does it have any bearing on whether these books were used by women who left no marks of ownership of their own.

Twelve books in the corpus had more than one name marked in them, demonstrating that these books were passed between family members and friends. Only one of these conclusively demonstrated a pattern of ownership where all of the names recorded in the book were women, and it was the Wellcome's copy of Sharp's *The Midwives Book* (1671) owned by Mary and Abigail Rowe.³⁰⁴ As midwifery books made up the genre with fewest markings, multiple generations of female owners within the same family demonstrates that in this case at least, that this book reflects the patterns of oral knowledge transmission known to have been prevalent in the period.³⁰⁵ The only other non-nominal marginalia present in this volume that survive to the present are some two ink markings that appear as dashes next to the printed text on pages 215 and 231.³⁰⁶ The marking on page 215 sits next to a remedy for convulsive fits, suggesting that one of the owners, or perhaps her patient if they were practicing midwives, suffered from this malady. Abigail's and Mary's name inscriptions appear at the beginning and end of the text respectively, allowing them to coexist as past owners of the book. This signals a positive relationship between the two women, both possibly practicing

³⁰² Elaine Leong, "Papering the Household: Paper, Recipes, and Everyday Technologies in Early Modern England", in *Working with Paper: Gendered Practices in the History of Knowledge*, eds. Carla Bittel, Elaine Leong, and Christine Von Oertzen, (Pittsburgh: University of Pittsburgh Press, 2019). 32-45. 38.

³⁰³ Leong, "Papering the Household", 36.

³⁰⁴ Sharp, *The Midwives Book* (1671), Wellcome Collection EPB/A/47965.

³⁰⁵ Evanden, *The Midwives of Seventeenth Century London*, 13.

³⁰⁶ Sharp, *The Midwives Book* (1671), Wellcome Collection EPB/A/47965, 215, 231.

midwives. Pausing to reflect on what the marginalia practices within the midwifery genre represent, it is perhaps as a result of the collaborative textual and experiential authorship outlined in Chapter 1 meant that the female midwives, who the text was marketed to, maintained their practical training and did not have a need for such books, and that the men who were interested in midwifery did not have the requisite knowledge to comment on the text in a meaningful way, or perhaps sources their information from practicing midwives or the medical texts with a traditionally male audience. Despite the commodification of this knowledge, it seems that this genre made little impact on the reader, and with the lower numbers of books of this genre in print in the seventeenth century, it appears that it was not just the annotating readers who did not take an interest.



Figure 14 - "Ms Soley", in Hannah Woolley, *The Accomplish'd Ladies Delight*, (London: Benjamin Harris, 1683), British Library, C.107.BB.53: title page verso.

Another example that points to two female owners is the 1683 edition of the *Accomplish'd Ladies Delight* held at the British Library, where “K. Soley” has inscribed her name on the title page, as well as seemingly overwriting her name over a previous owner, see Figure 14.³⁰⁷ It’s unclear whether exactly what is written underneath Soley’s inscription, but it is a clear assertion of ownership, especially compounded with her name being written again on the following page. This points to a different relationship between two owners of the text, perhaps the overwriter acquired the book second hand, or had a falling out with the previous owner. What is clear is that Soley had a strong enough relationship with this text to feel the need to assert herself as the singular possessor, claiming both the text and the information within as hers. This evidence goes to show that female readers highly valued the information held within female-attributed housewifery books and saw it as important to identify themselves as holders of this knowledge.

Five of the 12 books with multiple name inscriptions include three which only have definitive ownership evidence of men, and two where the name did not reveal gender, instead using an initial.³⁰⁸ This leaves a final five books where there is strong evidence of ownership by both men and women of the same volume. Three of these books: the 1662 edition of *The English Physitian*, the 1684 edition of *The Queen’s Closet*, and the 1668 edition of *A Way to Get Wealth* each have three

³⁰⁷ Hannah Woolley, *The Accomplish'd Ladies Delight*, (London: Benjamin Harris, 1683), British Library, C.107.BB.53: title page verso; Appendix 4.

³⁰⁸ Such as “J Tayler”, see Appendix 4.

owners who write their names in the pages.³⁰⁹ Interestingly it is the two housewifery books who have only one female owner, with Culpeper's medical book the volume owned by two women: Suzan

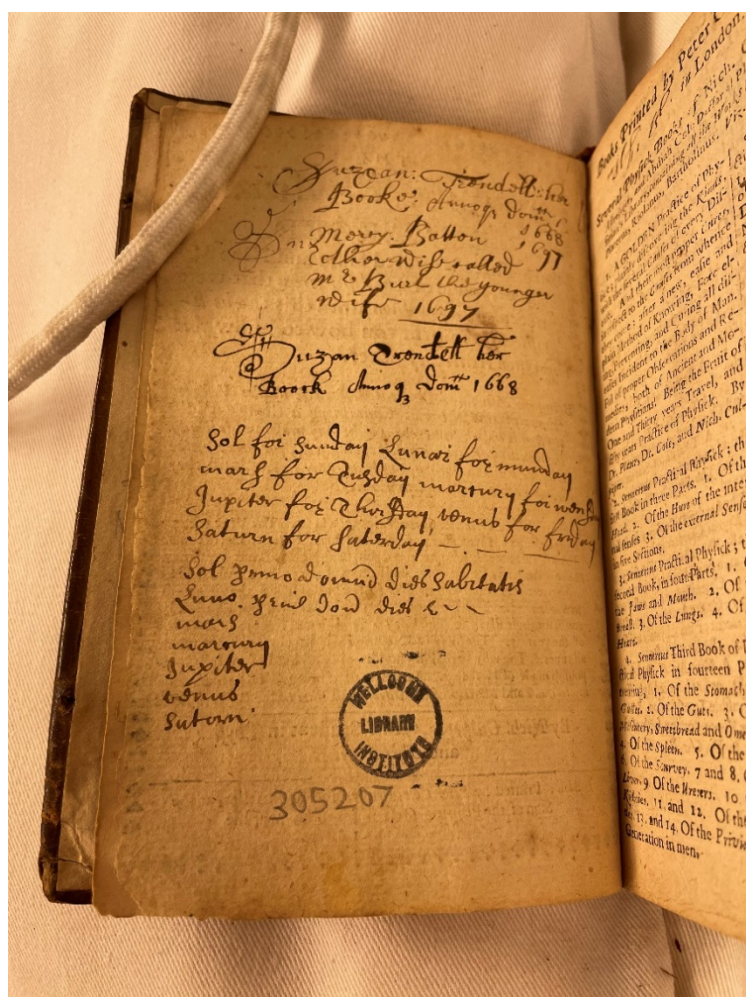


Figure 15 - Various authors, handwritten inscriptions and notes in front flyleaf, in Nicholas Culpeper, *The English Physitian*, (London: Peter Cole, 1662), Wellcome Collection, EPB/B/19324: A2v.

Trondell (1668) and Merry Batton (1697). The inscription below Batton appears to read “Mr Burl the younger | wife 1697”, with the line break making it unclear if it is the man or wife inscribing the name.³¹⁰ This is the only book in the corpus where there is a fair and attributable chance that a woman made markings other than ownership markings within a printed text. As can be seen in Figure 15, the name inscriptions are accompanied by inked Latin practice, and notes about which planets correspond to which days of the week. However, it is the back of

the book which yields the most information and clues to reader inter with the book. There are ten headings which include “for the liver”, “imperial water”, “for looseness”, “for consumption”, and interestingly “a medicine for madness for Christian or Heathen”.³¹¹ The eight last pages contain

³⁰⁹ Culpeper, *The English Physitian*, (Cole, 1662) Wellcome Collection EPB/B/19324; W.M., *The Queen's Closet* (1655), Glasgow University Library Ag.-f.47; Markham, *A Way to Get Wealth* (Streater, Sawbridge, 1668), Wellcome Collection EPB/B/35473/2.

³¹⁰ Culpeper, *The English Physitian*, (Cole, 1662), Wellcome Collection EPB/B/19324, A2v.

³¹¹ This is a non-exhaustive list, but accounts for the majority of the legible titles.

handwritten notes in three seventeenth-century hands, possibly accounting for the three names inscribed in the front.³¹² Suzan Trondell's name appears again, this time directly associated with a recipe which can be seen in Figure 16. This example definitively includes women in the practice of recording recipes in the space around printed books in this period. It demonstrates that even in a medical book that has predominantly had surviving copies marked by men's marginal practices, there is still space for women to engage in the same practice, and in the same space.

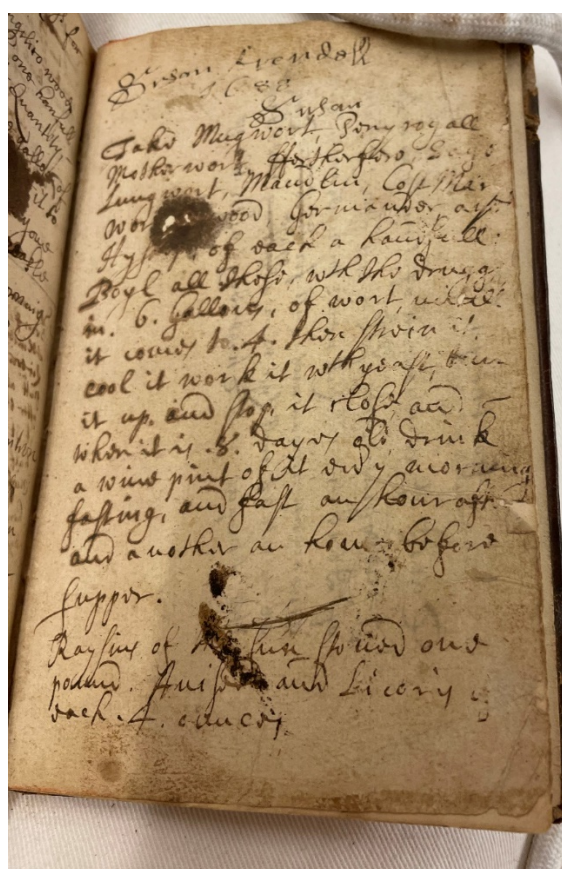


Figure 16 - Unknown author, handwritten recipe, in Nicholas Culpeper, *The English Physitian*, (London: Peter Cole, 1662), Wellcome Collection, EPB/B/19324: unnumbered page.

The markings across the entire corpus of instructional books included in this study firmly establish a consistent dialogue between printed author and reader. Active readers armed with pens used these

³¹² Culpeper, *The English Physitian*, (Cole, 1662), Wellcome Collection EPB/B/19324, final 8 pages, unnumbered.

books as reference material, seen through the markings of correction. They saw the blank pages books as opportunities to contribute to the knowledge held within, always tailoring their indices, supplemental notes, and recipes to reflect their own experience and knowledge. Each of the markers who actively added and catalogued their own recipes alongside the ones printed in the text must be viewed as adding value to the individual copy of the printed text. They actively chose to include their experiences and knowledge to the book, and therefore must be considered a knower. Ownership patterns demonstrate that there was no gender barrier in existence between housewifery, midwifery, and domestic medical texts, with both men and women actively recording their names and placing ownership markings in each of the genres.

Conclusion

Women's knowledge and authority held substantial social value in the production, promotion, and legitimization of household instructional texts. Books in that genre written for women or consumed by householders complicate established ideas of authorship, ownership, and the role of women in book production. The selected corpus attributed to Nicholas Culpeper, Gervase Markham, Jane Sharp, Hannah Woolley, Jakob Rüff, and W.M. demonstrates layers of authorial agency in the writing, compilation, and dissemination of how-to texts in seventeenth-century England. To date, such forms of authorial agency have only been acknowledged in the field of attribution studies, focused mostly on literary production such as poetry.³¹³ This thesis has shown that collaborative authorship processes and the production and dissemination of domestic information were inherently tied to social practices and expectations, including the belief that women's knowledge held high social value because of their embodied experience. It has also firmly situated the unseen women – housewives, midwives, and stationers' wives and widows – as part of the structure and maintenance of authorship. The study has also highlighted stationers as agents of textual vitality, through their role as guardians. The genre's indices and reference tables in turn proved to be useful tools for the reader, as evidenced through surviving marginal annotation. The seventeenth century saw more women become attributed authors and acknowledged participants in the book trade, allowing opportunities for this knowledge to be disseminated to the reader.³¹⁴ Readers' material traces in extant copies of such books capture habits of reception and use – intended as well as actual – tied to cultures of commonplacing, linking the reception with the construction of the text. Marginal markings allow the historian to assess women's access to, and ownership over, all three genres of text discussed in this study. Annotators' marks expressed such engaged textual ownership that it effectively comingles with the authorship framework, because the markers added new knowledge

³¹³ Love, *Attributing Authorship*, 37.

³¹⁴ Johns, *The Nature of the Book*, 180.

and intellectual value to the printed book. Once notated, these books served future readers through directional reference marks, textual commentary and glosses, full pages of supplementary information, and new recipes inked on the flyleaves. This evidence suggests new directions for studying printed instructional books in the seventeenth century such as tying the methodology of textual creation together with the reintegration of this information into useful networks. Tying ideas of production, dissemination, and reception together as a single process rather than isolated stages.

The first chapter established the range of techniques utilised in constructing the early modern instructional book. It demonstrated a spectrum between the full effacement of the to rely on a referenced figure with superior social capital on one end, and full embodied knowledge of the attributed author on the other. The analysis in that chapter foregrounds the female persona as a central knowing figure, as in Roger Jackson's reference to an unknown woman in the foreword of Gervase Markham's *The English Housewife* (1615). This intervention proves that to the early modern reader, domestic advice from a woman with substantial connections was superior to recipes compiled from other textual sources or written by a man with no housewifery experience. This reference to a well-connected woman is also prevalent in *The Queen's Closet* (1655), where the anonymised compiler claims the book contained recipes collected by the queen, given by her courtiers. Both texts draw on a knowledge network (real or fabricated) to inform the construction of the text, representing the end of the authorship spectrum where the identity of the attributed author was effaced in favour of a superior knower. These two examples demonstrate that the female persona itself was a textual commodity that ultimately reinforced the value of women's domestic knowledge and legitimised printed instructional books.

The other end of the spectrum of constructed authorship relied upon the experience of the attributed author to create their instructional books. Nicholas Culpeper's *The English Physitian* (1652) largely relied upon his own practical knowledge as a physician and apothecary and invoking

the well-respected medical writers of the day. However, his book still centred upon women's domestic medical and herbal expertise. He did this by omitting information he expected housewives to already know, treating his reader as an established knower. This decision reveals Culpeper's appraisal of his imagined female reader, recognising her pre-existing knowledge. Hannah Woolley, author of *The Accomplish'd Ladies Delight*, is the key example in considering the ideas of commodification and capital surrounding women's knowledge as she sought to capitalise from her own experience in domestic service to sell recipe books, commodifying her knowledge as a new product. Framing her identity as a widow situated herself as a highly valued knower in the instructional text landscape. Culpeper and Woolley accessed privileged and specialised networks of knowledge to construct their texts, with their own social eminence and reputation as attributed knowers bolstering their texts' success.

The corpus' midwifery books all valued of the attributed author as an authority while also highlighting different networks that legitimised the printed book. This was the only genre of the three where the construction of authorship followed similar patterns. Nicholas Culpeper's *A Directory for Midwives* (1651) relied upon his pre-established reputation as a medical authority, but the book required collaboration with unattributed midwives, including his wife, for complete legitimacy.³¹⁵ Culpeper's respect for female midwifery knowledge is most notable in the quote "for I am but a man and therefore subject to failings", entreating any midwives to correct possible errors in the text.³¹⁶ Despite this appeal to readers, the midwifery books bore the smallest amount of marginalia. It is likely that the male readers of this text did not have the practical knowledge to engage in corrections, and women did not have much use for the book due to their practical training. Conversely, Jane Sharp's *The Midwives Book* relied upon knowledge from contemporary medical writing to legitimise Sharp, a practicing midwife, as an author within a genre with pre-existing

³¹⁵ Evenden, *The Midwives of Seventeenth-Century London*, 117; Culpeper, *A Directory for Midwives* (Cole, 1652), A6v.

³¹⁶ Culpeper, *A Directory for Midwives* (Cole, 1652), A6v.

expectations of form and content based on male writing. The practising author-midwife held significant knowledge capital in the seventeenth century due to the female-dominated and practically oriented nature of the profession. Sharp's knowledge base and authorial persona would have been a significant commodity, further legitimised by textual canon familiar to men.

The study of instructional literature allows us to unpack the value and manipulation of the female persona as capital. Without the appearance or genuine contribution of women, the value of these books would have been significantly diminished. This genre provides an exciting insight into seventeenth-century understandings of knowledge, expertise, and textual legitimacy. Instructional books rely upon established knowledge networks to legitimise new or recompiled information. By embracing post-structuralist understandings of authorship and the female voice, this study has explored attributed authorship as a dynamic construct with unbreakable ties to female knowledge.³¹⁷

Stationers belonged to the authorship process because of the ways they mediated the text, though they fit uneasily within existing frameworks. The stationer-as-guardian encapsulates the legal responsibility they possessed over the copy, the ownership of the rights to produce the book, and their ability to mediate between the text and the reader through paratextual additions. Stationers relied upon instructional books to generate income, as this was a popular genre, prevalent within the catalogues of all booksellers examined in this study. Guardianship saw a two-way relationship develop between text and stationer: the stationers protected and revitalised the books while the books provided stable income. This genre's popularity reveals how printer Anne Griffin and booksellers Sarah Harris and Hannah Sawbridge deployed their agency in the seventeenth-century print industry. Guardianship of instructional books afforded women a rare opportunity of ownership and a chance to capitalise from these texts built on the female-informed knowledge network.

By including stationers and attending to their mediation of texts, this thesis demonstrates the difference between authorship and ownership of text in this period. Anne Griffin's probable

³¹⁷ Smith, "Fictions of Production", 34-35.

intervention in the table of contents within *The English Housewife* (1637) to increase its reliability as a reference tool for the reader reveals the extent printers had control over the text. Hannah Sawbridge, whose catalogue carried 20% more instructional literature than her husband, demonstrates that even widows who maintained the business connections of their husbands could choose to focus on specific reliable genres for which they saw benefit.³¹⁸ Sawbridge's business decisions show that even widows that followed their husbands' business practices could operate with agency over their catalogue. This study's focus on unheard and hidden women's voices is exemplified in Chapter 2 through Sarah Harris, a figure who would not have come to scholars' attention without interest in the how-to genre. Sarah's brief foray into the book trade demonstrates the network of women's labour in book production, even when uncredited. All three female stationers represent a continuation of women's involvement from knowledge-making in the construction of instructional literature and serve as a reminder of the value women's labour played in the dissemination of these texts. Guardianship produced texts for readers to interact with, linking production and dissemination to production and knowing.

Readers marked and annotated seventeenth-century instructional literature within the culture of commonplacing which firmly contextualises these texts as re-entering social networks of knowledge. Readers added new knowledge through marginalia and viewed these books as receptacles in which to hold knowledge gathered elsewhere. Annotators responded to the printed text through creating new sites of reference including inked indices and personalised markings to highlight salient information for their own use. These methods saw readers connect with the knowledge networks established in the book's creation and also incorporate the information into their own networks, evidenced by references to other texts and recipes. The markings in these books denote them as valuable to their readers in terms of both information acquisition and record. These books' markings

³¹⁸ Appendix 2.

reveal snapshots of manuscript and oral knowledge exchange that would otherwise be lost, and they illustrate practices of usage through their references to other printed books they were consulting simultaneously.

While men inscribed their names more often than women in annotated copies, the presence of women's names as owners in each sub-genre demonstrate that women's knowledge captured in the authorship process was also received by women, not entirely appropriated for the use of men. That women's names were linked to recorded recipes in the flyleaves is also significant: the knowledge in these printed books were directly injected back into the oral and manuscript cultures in which they were formed. While it is most likely that the heavily annotated margins of *A Way to get Wealth* and *The English Physitian* were marked by men due to the similarities in marking practice identified by Ann Blair in her study of reference books, as well as humanist habits typical of young men's education, the marginalia that consisted of full recipes noted in the flyleaves of some of the texts are likely attributable to women.³¹⁹ Instructional literature typifies the ways readers used printed materials to extend, share, and improve upon domestic knowledge. While readers could mark and supplement the pages of the book with their own information, they cannot entirely be fathomed into the wider concept of authorship, instead only as authors in relation to enriching individual copies.³²⁰ They can be considered as part of the continuation of the knowledge network established by the text that is captured in additions to individual copies.

Domestic books, instructional literature or how-to manuals reveal much about the diversity and complexity of authorship practices, the occluded, the constructed, and the attributed. This genre captures how knowledge was communicated and valued during a moment of coexistence between equally valued forms of oral, written, and printed information. This study gives insight into larger

³¹⁹ Smith, "Fictions of Production", 36.

³²⁰ Acheson, "Writing, Space, and Early Modern Women", 73.

questions such as the value of women's knowledge, the intricacies of authorial attribution, and the boundary of the term "authorship". It allows us insight into the contribution of women who are largely absent from the historical record such as Alice Culpeper and Sarah Harris. What this thesis has demonstrated is the high value given to women's knowledge by those who compiled texts, those who sold texts, and those who read this genre. It allows insight into the agency of widows operating as authors in the case of Hannah Woolley, printers in the case of Anne Griffin, and booksellers in the case of Hannah Sawbridge. These women each showed they had an active hand in the production of instructional literature as a commodity, and each were monetarily rewarded. Jane Sharp's entry into attributed authorship shows the increasing acknowledgement of women's professional knowledge in the seventeenth century, while Hannah Woolley's success as a housewifery book author attests that women could be seen as having valuable expertise inside the home. The value of women's knowledge and popularity of this genre can moreover be seen in through its success into the modern period. These books embody the knowledge of women, the agency of stationers, and the networks of people and texts that came together to create them.

Appendix 1 –Hannah Sawbridge’s Wider Catalogue

Data gathered from the Early English Books Online Database.

Title	Author	Printer	Year	Genre
Two books viz. A little handful of cordial comforts: and A caveat against seducers: whereunto are annexed The blind mans meditations, and, A dialogue between a blind man and death	Richard Standfast, master of arts and rector of Christ-Church in Bristol	T. Moore, J Ashbourne	1684	Religious
The posing of the parts, or, A most plain and easie way of examining the accidence and grammar, by questions and answers, arrising directly out of the words of the rules whereby all scholars may attain most speedily to the perfect learning, full understanding, and right use thereof for their happy proceeding in the Latine tongue. Gathered purposely for the benefit of schools, and for the use and delight of masters and scholars.	John Brinsley	for H. Herringman, T. Basset, N. Raven, J. Wright, R. Chiswell, J. Robinson, H. Sawbridge	1682	Instructional
The hitsory [sic] of the Bible breifly collected by way of question and answer / written by Eusebius Pagit, and by him corrected	Eusebius Pagit	for H. Sawbridge, at the Bible on Ludgat-Hill, and Edward Brewster, at the Crane in S. Pauls Church-yard	1682	Religious
The foundation of Christian religion gathered into six principles. And it is to be learned of ignorant people, that they may be fit to hear sermons with profit, and to receive the Lords Supper with comfort.	?	for H. Sawbridge	1682	Religious
The right, pleasant, and variable trachical [sic] history of Fortunatus whereby a young man may learn how to behave himself in all worldly affairs and casual chances / first penned in the Dutch tongue, there-hence abstracted, and now first of all published in English	T.C.	for Hanna Sawbridge	1682	Instructional
The countrey justice containing the practice of the justices of the peace out of their sessions gathered for the better help	Michael Dalton	H. Sawbridge, S. Roycroft and W. Rawlins, assigns of Richard	1682	Instructional

of such justices of peace as have not been much conversant in the study of the laws of this realm		Atkyns and Edward Atkyns and are to be sold by H. Twyford, F. Tyton, J. Bellinger, R. Chiswell, R. Pawlet, S. Heyrick, C. Wilkonson, T. Dring, C. Harper, J. Leigh, J. Amery, J. Place, J. Poole, R. Tonson, J. Tonson, J. Harrison		
A concordance to the Holy Scriptures with the various readings both of text and margin : in a more exact method than hath hitherto been extant	S.N.	John Hayes	1682	Religious
Les reports des tres honorable Edw. Seigneur Littleton, Baron de Mounslow, custos de le grand seale D'Angliteur et de Ses Majesty pluis Honourable Privy Council, en le courts del common banck & exchequer, en le 2, 3, 4, 5, 6, 7 ans del reign de Roy Charles le I.	Edward Lord Littleton	by W. Rawlins, S. Roycroft, and H. Sawbridge, assigns of Richard and Edward Atkins Esquires. For Tho. Dring and Charles Harper	1682	Legal
The daily exercise of a devout Christian, or A practical preparative to devotion. Containing a collection and composition of several very brief forms of prayers, for divers occasions.	?	for Hannah Sawbridge	1682	Religious
Cheape and good husbandry for the well-ordering of all beasts and fowls and for the general cure of their diseases containing the natures, breeding, choice, use, feeding, and curing of the diseases of all manner of cattel ... shewing further the whole art of riding ... also, approved rules for the cramming and fattening all sorts of poultry and fowls ... together with the use and profit of bees, the manner of fish-ponds, and the taking of all sorts of fish : gathered together for the general good and profit of the common-wealth	Gervase Markham	T.B.	1682	Instructional
Pharmacopœia Londinensis, or, The London dispensatory further adorned by the studies and collections of the fellows now living, of the said college	Nicholas Culpeper	for Hanna Sawbridge	1683	Medical
A new orchard & garden: or, The best way for planting, grafting, and to make any ground good for a rich orchard:	William Lawson	for Hannah Sawbridge	1683	Instructional

particularly in the north, and generally for the whole common-wealth, as in nature, reason, situation, and all probability, may and doth appear. With the country house-wifes garden for herbs of common use. ... As also the husbandry of bees, ... All being the experience of forty and eight years labour, and now the sixth time corrected, and much enlarged, / by William Lawson. Whereunto is newly added the art of propagating plants, with the true ordering of all manner of fruits, in their gathering, carrying home, and preservation.				
The English physitian enlarged with three hundred, sixty and nine medicines made of English herbs that were not in any impression until this : being an astrologo-phisical discourse of the vulgar herbs of this nation, containing a compleat method of physick, whereby a man may preserve his body in health, or cure himself, being sick, for three pence charge, with such things only as grow in England, they being most fit for English bodies	Nicholas Culpeper	for Hannah Sawbridge, and are to be sold by Tho. Malthus	1683	Medical
An assistance to justices of the peace, for the easier performance of their duty	Jos. Keble	by W. Rawlins, S. Roycroft, and H. Sawbridge, assigns of Richard and Edward Atkins, Esq., for Ch. Harper	1683	Instructional
Les reports des divers special cases argue & adjudge en le cort del bank le Roy et auxy en le Co. Ba. l'Exchequer en les premier dix ans apres le restauration del son tres-excellent majesty Le Roy Charles le II colligees par Tho. Siderfin ...; imprimee par l'original fourth son maine propre en Francois, et ore publie en mesme le language ovesq; deux tables parfaicts fait es par luy mesme des tous les matiers notables, et nosmes del cafes contenus en Yceaux.	Tho. Siderfin	by W. Rawlins, S. Roycroft, and H. Sawbridge, assigns of Richard and Edward Atkins, Esq., for Samuel Keble	1683	Legal
A way to get wealth containing six principal vocations, or callings, in which every good husband or house-wive may lawfully employ themselves ... / the first five books gathered	Gervase Markham, William Lawson	T.B.	1683	Instructional

by G.M., the last by master W.L. for the benefit of Great Brittain.				
The English house-wife containing the inward and outward vertues which ought to be in a compleat woman	Gervase Markham	for Hannah Sawbridge	1683	Instructional
Reports of Sr George Croke kt., late one of the justices of the Court of Kings-Bench, and formerly one of the justices of the Court of Common-bench of such select cases as were adjudged in the said courts / collected and written in French by himself ; revised and published in English, by Sir Harbottle Grimston, baronet	Harbottle Grimston	by W. Rawlins, S. Roycroft, and H. Sawbridge, assigns of Richard and Edward Atkins, Esquires, and are to be sold by H. Twyford, Fr. Tyton, H. Herringman, T. Basset, J. Wright, S. Heyrick, M. Pit, C. Tilkinson, T. Dring, C. Harper, T. Sawbridge, J. Place, G. Collins	1683	Legal
The history of the church from our Lords incarnation, to the twelfth year of the Emperour Maricius Tiberius, or the Year of Christ 594 / as it was written in Greek, by Eusebius Pamphilius ..., Socrates Scholasticus, and Evagrius Scholasticus ... ; made English from that edition of these historians, which Valesius published at Paris in the years 1659, 1668, and 1673 ; also, The life of Constantine in four books, written by Eusebius Pamphilus, with Constantine's Oration to the convention of the saints, and Eusebius's Speech in praise of Constantine, spoken at his tricennalia ; Valesius's annotations on these authors, are done into English, and set at their proper places in the margin, as likewise a translation of his account of their lives and writings ; with two index's, the one, of the principal matters that occur in the text, the other, of those contained in the notes.	Eusebius Pamphilius, Socrates Scholasticus, and Evagrius Scholasticus / Valesius	John Hayes	1683	History
The compleat clerk containing the best forms of all sorts of presidents, for conveyances & assurances; and other instruments now in use and practice. With the forms of bills, pleadings and answers in Chancery; as they were penned	?	by W. Rawlins, S. Roycroft, and H. Sawbridge, assigns of Richard Atkins and Edward Atkins, Esquires. For H. Twyford in	1683	Legal

and perfected by eminent lawyers, and great conveyancers, both ancient and modern. Whereunto are added divers presidents, which were wanting: and also some Saxon presidents; with the exposition of certain words, used in ancient charters: and the proper names of men and women: with additions of titles of honour, trades and occupations, cities, counties, bishopricks; names of offices, months and days; numbers of money and weights, in Latin and English: with a computation of years, from King William the Conquerour, to this present. With alphabetical tables of the whole contents of the said book.		Middle-Temple, Obad. Blagrove at the Bear in St. Paul's Church-yard, and John Place at Furnivals-Inn-Gate		
A book of special entries of declarations, pleadings, issues, verdicts, judgments and judicial process in such actions as are now in use and have not hitherto been published in any printed book of precedents together with such notes and observations as do either illustrate or explain the same : as also such parts of pleadings and judicial process which do naturally fall under the division of each distinct title as necessary and incident thereunto / collected by the particular direction of Sir Thomas Robinson	Sir Thomas Robinson	by W. Rawlins, S. Roycroft and H. Sawbridge assigns of Richard and Edward Atkins ... for T. Basset ... R. Chriswell ... and B. Tooke	1684	Legal
Scriptures opened and sundry cases of conscience resolved in plain and practical answers to several questions upon the Proverbs of Solomon, Ecclesiastes, Jeremiah, Lamentations, Ezekiel, and Daniel. / By that faithful servant of Jesus Christ William Thomas master of arts, late rector of the church at Upley, in the county of Somerset.	William Thomas	Printed for Sampson Evans, bookseller in Worcester, and sold by H. Sawbridge at the Bible on Ludgate-Hill	1684	Religious
Arithmetick: vulgar, decimal, instrumental, algebraical. In four parts. Containing [brace] I. Vulgar arithmetick, in whole numbers and fractions, in a plain and easie method. II. Decimal arithmetick, the ground and reason thereof, and its use illustrated by divers examples. III. Instrumental arithmetick, performing, by decimal scales, all kind of reductions (with more expedition than by decimal tables)	William Leybourne	T.B.	1684	Instructional

Also new scales, whereby the square and cube roots may be extracted by inspection only: both of them new artifices; nothing of the like kind having been before published in any language- With the description of Nepair's Bones (according to their best contrivance) and the use of them ... IV. Algebraical arithmetick, containing an abridgment of the precepts of that art, and its use, illustrated by questions of divers kinds. Whereunto is added, the construction and use of several tables of interest and annuities, vweights and measures, both of our own and other countries				
A chronicle of the kings of England from the time of the Romans government unto the death of King James : containing all passages of state and church with all other observations proper for a chronicle / faithfully collected out of authors ancient and modern and digested into a method by Sir Richard Baker ... ; whereunto is added The reign of King Charles the First and The first thirteen years of His Sacred Majesty King Charles the Second that now reigneth in which are many material affairs of state never before published and likewise the most remarkable occurences relating to His Majesties most happy and wonderful restauration by the prudent conduct, under God, of George late Duke of Albemarle, Captain General of all His Majesties armies, as they were extracted out of His Excellencies own papers and the journals and memorials of those imploy'd in the most important and secret transactions of that time.	Richard Baker	for H. Sawbridge, B. Tooke and T. Sawbridge	1684	History
An English expositour, or Compleat dictionary teaching the interpretation of the hardest words, and most usefull terms of art, used in our language. First set forth by J.B. Dr of physick. And now the seventh time revised, corrected, and very much augmented with several additions, viz. a new and copious supply of words. An index directing to the hard words, by prefixing the common words before them in an	J.B.	John Hayes	1684	Dictionary

alphabetical order. A brief nomenclator, containing the names of the most renowned persons among the ancients, whether gods and goddesses (so reputed) heroes, or inventours of profitable arts, sciences and faculties. With divers memorable things out of ancient history, poetry, philosophy, and geography. By a lover of the arts.				
The exact pleader a book of entries of choice, select and special pleadings in the Court of Kings-Bench in the reign of His present Majesty King Charles II : with the method of proceeding in all manner of actions in the same court	Andrew Vidian	by W. Rawlins, S. Roycroft and H. Sawbridge ... for Christopher Wilkinson, Tho. Dring and Charles Harper	1684	Legal
Les commentaries ou reports de Edmund Plowden, un apprentice de le common ley, de divers cases esteant matters en ley, & de les arguments sur yceux, en les temps des raigns le Roy Edward le size, le Roign Mary, le Roy & Roign Phil. & Mary, & le Roign Elizabeth. Ovesque un table perfect des choses notables contenus en ycel, compose per William Fletewood recorder de Londres. Auxy vous aves en cest impression plusors bone notes en le margent per tout le lieu, en queux les cases sont referre al abridgment de Brooke, en les lieux del termes, & as auters lieux del common ley. En cest edition sont adde les quæres del Monsieur Plowden, corrige	Edmun Polwden, William Fletewood	by William Rawlins, Samuel Roycroft, and H. Sawbridge, assigns of Richard and Edward Atkins, Esquires; and are to be sold by Thomas Dring and Charles Harper	1684	Legal
The line of proportion or numbers, commonly called Gunter's line made easie by the which may be measured all manner of superficies and solids as boards, glass, pavement, timber, stone, &c. : also, how to perform the same by a line of equal parts, drawn from the centre of a two-foot rule : whereunto is added, The use of the line of proportion improved : whereby all manner of superficies and solids may both exactly and speedily be measured, without the help of pen or compasses, by inspection, looking only upon the ruler	William Leybourne	for Hannah Sawbridge	1684	Instructional
Praxis Francisci Clarke, tam jus dicentibus quam aliis omnibus qui in foro ecclesiastico versantur apprime utilis per	Thomas Bladen	T.B.	1684	Religious

Thomam Bladen ... ; Primo in lucem edita, diligenterque recognita, & a quamplurimis mendis repurgata cum indice satis amplo.				
The first part of the institutes of the laws of England, or, A commentary upon Littleton not the name of the author only, but of the law itself / hæc ego grandævus posui tibi, candide lector, authore Edwardo Coke ... ; to this edition is added two learned tracts of the same author, the first reading upon the 27th of Edward the First, entituled, The statute of levying fines, and the second, Of bail and mainprize.	Edward Coke	by William Rawlins, Samuel Roycroft, and H Sawbridge, assigns of Richard Atkins and Edward Atkins, Esquires, and are to be sold by Christopher Wilkinson, Richard Tonson, and Jacob Tonson	1684	Legal
Markham's farewell to husbandry, or, The enriching of all sorts of barren and sterile grounds in our nation, to be as fruitful in all manner of grain, pulse, and grass, as the best grounds whatsoever	Gervase Markham	for Hannah Sawbridge	1684	Instructional
A directory for midwives: or, A guide for women in their conception. Bearing; and suckling their children. The first part contains, 1. The anatomy of the vessels of generation. 2. The formation of the child in the womb. 3. What hinders conception, and its remedies. 4. What furthers conception. 5. A guide for women in conception. 6. Of miscarriage in women. 7. A guide for women in their labor. 8. A guide for women in their lying-in. 9. Of nursing children. To cure all diseases in women, read the second part of this book. By Nicholas Culpeper gent. Student in physick and astrology.	Nicholas Culpeper	for H. Sawbridge	1684	Medical
Le second part de les reports du Thomas Siderfin ... esteant plusieurs cases come ils estoyent argue & adjudgees en le Court del Upper Banck, en les ans 1657, 1658, & 1659. Ovesque deux tables parfaicts des matiers notables & nosmes des cases comprizes en y ceaux imprimee par l'original South son main proper.	Thomas Siderfin	by W. Rawlins, S. Roycroft, and H. Sawbridge ... for Samuel Keble ... and Daniel Brown	1684	Legal
Nömothētes, the interpreter containing the genuine signification of such obscure words and terms used either in	Dr Cowel, Thomas Manley	by the assigns of Richard Atkins and Sir Edward Atkins Knight,	1684	Instructional

the common or statute lawes of this realm, first compiled by the learned Dr. Cowel, and now enlarged by Tho. Manley		for H. Twyford, Tho. Basset, J. Paul, and H. Sawbridge		
Graphautarkeia, or, The Scriptures sufficiency practically demonstrated wherein whatsoever is contain'd in Scripture, respecting doctrine, worship or manners, is reduced to its proper head, weighty cases resolved, truths confirmed difficult texts illustrated, and explained by others more plain.	?	for Samson Evans to be sold by H. Sawbridge	1684	Religious
The figures or types of the Old Testament by which Christ and the heavenly things of the Gospel were preached and shadowed to the people of God of old : explained and improved in sundry sermons	Samuel Mather	Sold at London by H. Sawbridge ... and A. Churchill	1685	Religious
Norwood's system of navigation teaching the whole art, in a way more familiar, easie, and practical, than hath been hitherto done. Shewing, the projection of the plain scale: the sphere in plaine: astronomical problems useful in navigation: traverse tables: right lin'd triangles, geometrically, by tables of sines, tangents, logarithms, and by Gunter's ruler; applied to Plain and Mercator's sailing. Illustrated by schemes on copper-plates. How to make observations at sea or shore. Sure and easie ways of reckoning by latitude, longitude, and meridional distance; with tables for both ways of sailing. The longitude and latitude of principal places. Tables for the suns place and declination; of the longitudes, latitudes, declinations, right ascensions, and seasons of some noted stars. Spherical triangles; and their use in great circle sailing. The use of the globes, Azimuth compass for variation. And also of sea-gunners. The description and use of a new instrument, called Encyclogium, or the sliding circles;	Matthew Norwood	for H. Sawbridge, T. Guy, T. Parkhurst, J. Robinson, and G. Conyers	1685	Instructional
Lexicon manuale Græco-Latinum, & Latino-Græcum primo concinnatum, tertia editum à Cornelio Schrevelio: hac sexta editione vocabulorum octo quasi millibus locupletatum, plurimisque præterea in locis auctum, & adornatum, prout ex præfatione constat. Studio atque opera Josephi Hill. Ad	Joseph Hill	John Hayes	1685	Dictionary

calcem adjecta sunt sententiæ Græco-Latinæ, quibus omnia Gr. L. primitiva comprehenduntur: item tractatus duo; alter de resolutione verborum, de articulis alter; uterque perutilis, & adhuc desideratus.				
Rob. Baronii, theologi ac philosophi celeberrimi, metaphysica generalis accedunt nunc primum quae supererant ex parte speciali : omnia ad usum theologiae accommodata : opus postumum, ex museo Antonii Clementii Zirizaei.	?	John Hayes	1685	Religious
The description and use of a portable instrument, vluagarly [sic] known by the name of Gunters quadrant by which is perform'd most propositions in astronomy, as the altitude, azimuth, right ascension, and declination of the sun, &c. : also his rising, and setting and amplitude, together with the hour of the day or night, and other condusions exemplified at large : to which is added the use of Nepiars bones in multiplication, division, and extraction of roots, also the the nocturnal, the ring dial, and Gunters-line, in many necessary and delightful conclusions, fitted to the understanding of the meanest capacity : collected and digested into this portable volumn, for the use of young practitioners / by a true lover of the mathematicks.	?	T.B.	1685	Instructional
A moral essay, preferring solitude to publick employment, and all it's appanages, such as fame, command, riches, pleasures, conversation, &c	Sir George Mackenzie	W.W.	1685	Commentary
Chronica Juridicialia, or, A general calendar of the years of our Lord God, and those of the several kings of England from the first year of William the Conqueror successively down to this first year of the reign of our most dread sovereign, K. James II together with a chronological table of the names of all the lord chancellors and lord keepers of the great seal of England, justices of the Kings-bench and Common-pleas, barons of the Exchequer and serjeants at law : to which is added a catalogue of all those arch-bishops and bishops ...	?	for H. Sawbridge and T. Simmons	1685	History

with a table of all their names ... and the years both of our Lord and the king joyned with them.				
Logic, or, The art of thinking in which, besides the common, are contain'd many excellent new rules, very profitable for directing of reason and acquiring of judgment in things as well relating to the instruction of for the excellency of the matter printed many times in French and Latin, and now for publick good translated into English by several hands.	?	T.B.	1685	Instructional
The art of numbring by speaking rods, vulgarly termed Nepeirs bones by which the most difficult parts of arithmetick, as multiplication, division, and extracting roots both square and cube, are performed with incredible celerity and exactness (without any charge to the memory) by addition and subtraction only.	William Leybourne	T.B.	1685	Instructional
The art of heraldry in two parts : the first concisely comprehending all necessary rules in the said art, with many useful examples of bearing, to facilitate the way of blazening any coat of armor : the second part giving a full account of the priviledges [sic], dignities &c. of the nobility and gentry of England : together with the achievements of each degree &c. according to the excellent method of Guillim's Heraldry, the whole illustrated with fifty two proper sculptures, for the better explanation thereof.	?	for Hannah Sawbridge	1685	Instructional
The description and use of an instrument, called the double scale of proportion By which instrument, all questions in arithmetick, geometry, trigonometry, astronomy, geography, navigation, fortification, gunnery, gaging vessels, dialling, may be most accurately and speedily performed, without the assistance of either pen or compasses.	Seth Partridge	for Hannah Sawbridge	1685	Instructional
A complete guide for justices of peace according to the best approved authors, in two parts : the first containing the common and statute laws of England, relating to the office of justice of peace : the second consisting of the most	J. Bond	T.B.	1685	Legal

authentick and useful precedents which do properly concern the same				
The rare jewel of Christian contentment	Jeremiah Borroughs	W.W.	1685	Religious
A learned discourse on various subjects, viz., of the rise and power of parliaments of laws, of courts of judicature, of liberty, property, and religion, of taxes, trade, and of the interest of England in reference to France.	?	to be sold by Hannah Sawbridge	1685	Legal

Appendix 2 – Distribution of Genre within Bookshops

	John Taylor	Thomas Malthus	Benjamin Harris	A&J Churchill	Henry Helme	Hannah Sawbridge	Sarah Harris	Nathaniel Crouch	Peter Dring	Edward Brewster	Simon Miller	George Sawbridge	Peter Cole	Thomas Alchorn	Roger Jackson	John Harrison (HL)	John Harrison
Medical	8	3	1	7		3		6	1	1	5	19	40			1	1
Scientific	6	1	1	11	1			1		3	1	6	2	1			
Political	3	1	3	8					1	1	5	4	35			8	
Instructional	21	3	4	14	7	18	2	3	6	16	4	33	5	3	9	14	13
Commentary	4	2		13		1					2		3				
Dictionary	2			2		2				1		10					
Literature	1			2	1			1	2	6	3		1	1	1		1
Religious	23	17	46	66	6	11	1	29	7	73	26	58	99	12	12	1	12
Religious/ Instructional	1	1	2	1				2		2		1			1		
History	3	12	6	15	1	3		23	2	5	12	21		1	1		
Current Events	2	7	15					2	1		2		5				
Religious/Medical													1				
Philosophy				2						1	2	2	1				
Religious/Current Events				1				1					1				
Political/Current Events			3	11						4			8				
Poetry	2		9	1					3	1	3	5			5	1	2
Travel/History																	
History/Religious		1	1					2		1	1	1		1			
Other											1		2				1

Religious/Political		1			9	1	1	3						2			1
Legal/Political					1	1	3				1			2			
Astrology					1	1	3						1		5	2	
Travel					1			1		3				3		1	2
Legal						24		1				11		8	3	2	
History/Legal						5								1	1		
Advertisement										3					1	1	
Religious/Scientific															2		
Total Books	30	26	29	19	215	192	74	119	23	76	4	49	17	170	103	54	79

Appendix 3 – Categories of Marginalia

Quick Reference Markings		Supplemental Information		Corrections	
785 d.36	A Way to Get Wealth	234.e.13	A Way to Get Wealth	Ah-a.2	A Way to Get Wealth
EVE A 104	A Way to Get Wealth	7510.d.1	The English Physitian	EPB/C/19318/1	The English Physitian
C194.a.449	The Queen's Closet Opened	Ah-a.2	A Way to Get Wealth	EPB/C/19318/2	The English Physitian
Bm5-i.5	The English Physitian	Hunterian Add. 30	A Directory for Midwives	EPB/B/19328/1	The English Physitian
Ah-a.2	A Way to Get Wealth	EPB/B/19321	The English Physitian	EPB/B/19330/2	The English Physitian
EPB/C/19318/2	The English Physitian	EPB/B/19331	The English Physitian	EPB/B/19328/2	The English Physitian
EPB/B/19322	The English Physitian	EPB/B/19324	The English Physitian		
EPB/B/19328/1	The English Physitian	EPB/C/19318/1	The English Physitian		
EPB/B/19325	The English Physitian	EPB/C/19318/2	The English Physitian		
EPB/A/19312	A Directory for Midwives	EPB/B/19330/2	The English Physitian		
EPB/A/19311	A Directory for Midwives	EPB/B/19328/2	The English Physitian		
EPB/A/19313	A Directory for Midwives	EPB/B/4074/1	A Way to Get Wealth		
EPB/A/47965	The Midwives Book	EPB/B/35473/1	A Way to Get Wealth		
EPB/B/6919	A Way to Get Wealth				
EPB/B/4074/1	A Way to Get Wealth				
EPB/B/4075	The English Housewife				
EPB/B/35472/1	A Way to Get Wealth				
EPB/B/35473/2	A Way to Get Wealth				

Unrelated		Foreign Bodies		Unintentional Ink Stains	
EVE A 104	A Way to Get Wealth	1607/3127	The English Physitian	1177.b.19	The Midwives Book
1607/189	The English Physitian	Ea.8-f.28	The English Physitian	1607/189	The English Physitian
Ea.8-f.28	The English Physitian	EPB/B/19326/2	The English Physitian	1607/203	The English Physitian
Ah-a.2	A Way to Get Wealth	EPB/B/19325	The English Physitian	1607/3127	The English Physitian
EPB/B/19324	The English Physitian	EPB/B/35474	The English Housewife	Ea.8-f.28	The English Physitian
EPB/A/19319	The English Physitian			Bm5-i.5	The English Physitian
EPB/B/19330/2	The English Physitian			Hunterian Add.29	A Directory for Midwives
EPB/B/19326/1	The English Physitian			Ag-f.47	The Queen's Closet
EPB/B/19328/2	The English Physitian			Ah-f. 52	The Queen's Closet
EPB/B/19325	The English Physitian			EPB/B/19323	The English Physitian
EPB/A/19312	A Directory for Midwives			EPB/A/57235	The English Physitian
EPB/A/19313	A Directory for Midwives			EPB/A/19319	A Way to Get Wealth
EPB/A/47965	The Midwives Book			EPB/C/19318/1	The English Physitian
EPB/B/4074/1	A Way to Get Wealth			EPB/C/19318/2	The English Physitian
EPB/B/35472/1	A Way to Get Wealth			EPB/B/19327	The English Physitian
EPB/B/35473/1	A Way to Get Wealth			EPB/B/19328/1	The English Physitian
EPB/B/35474	A Way to Get Wealth			EPB/B/19326/2	The English Physitian
EPB/A/53428	The Queen's Closet Opened			EPB/B/19330/1.1	The English Physitian
				EPB/B/19328/3	The English Physitian
				EPB/B/19329	The English Physitian
				EPB/B/5616	The Expert Midwife
				EPB/B/6919	A Way to Get Wealth
				EPB/B/4076	The English Housewife
				EPB/B/35473/1	A Way to Get Wealth
				EPB/B/35474	A Way to Get Wealth

Appendix 4 – A Table of Handwritten Names

Library	Call Number	Title	Date of Publication	Name	Date	Location in Book	Notes	Gender
British Library	967.1.5	A Way to Get Wealth	1649	Edward [Black?]	1677	internal front cover		Male
British Library	c.112	The Expert Midwife	1637	Elizabeth Hyd[e?]	?	title page	17th C hand	Female
British Library	C194.a.449	A Directory for Midwives	1652	Elizabeth Bayley	?	back page	17th or 18th C hand	Female
British Library	1607/189	The English Physitian	1671	Sary Norris	1791	between contents and text		Female
British Library	1607/203	The English Physitian	1681	J. Lodwick Junior	23 November 1759	above beginning of text		?
British Library	7510.d.1	The English Physitian	1683	Isaaci White Magd.	1723	title page		Male
British Library	C.107.BB.53	Accomplish'd Ladies Delight	1683	Ms Soley	?	underneath woodcut	scribbled out	Female
				K. Soley	?	title page		Female
Glasgow University Library	Ea.8-f.28	The English Physitian	1683	Rob. Simson (gift from)	1687	blank page next to title	"a gift of my best man"	Male
				Joannes Simson	?	back page	upside down	Male

Glasgow University Library	Bm5-i.5	The English Physitian	1684	Walter Stewart	1694	blank page next to title		Male
Glasgow University Library	Hunterian Add.29	A Directory for Midwives	1652	H_____ P_____ ftt ?	?	back plate	scratched out	?
Glasgow University Library	Hunterian Add. 30	A Directory for Midwives	1684	Simon (probably not owner)	June 1688	back page	upside down "sent my brother simon the sum of ..."	Male
Glasgow University Library	Ag-f.47	The Queen's Closet	1655	G. Faithorne		underneath woodcut	19th C hand	?
				Mary Ashbie		blank page before text of 2nd book		Female
Glasgow University Library	Ah-f. 52	The Queen's Closet	1671	William Warriner		title page	written 3 times	Male
Glasgow University Library	Ag-f.71	The Queen's Closet	1684	George Massys		title page		Male
				J[an]e Mansell		above epistle to the reader	her book with her scribbled out and replaced with his book	Female

				Wm Doyle		above epistle to the reader		Male
Glasgow University Library	Ferguson Ah-g. 17	Accomplish'd Ladies Delight	1684	Mary Harding		front page		Female
Wellcome Collection	EPB/B/19321	The English Physitian	1655	T R Alexander glas	1657	back page		Male
Wellcome Collection	EPB/B/19323	The English Physitian	1661	J Tayler	96	front cover		?
				Ame—ment Simpson		back plate		?
Wellcome Collection	EPB/B/19331	The English Physitian	1698	Jno Baily	1703	back page	his booke	Male
Wellcome Collection	EPB/B/19324	The English Physitian	1662	Suzan Trondell	1668	page behid title page	her book - written twice	Female
				Merry Batton	1697	same		Female
				Mr Burl the Younger	1697	same		Male
Wellcome Collection	EPB/A/57235	The English Physitian	1653	Martha Wells		around vertical title page after catalogue	19th C	Female
				George Fowle			19th C	Male
Wellcome Collection	EPB/A/19319	The English Physitian	1652	J. Harrison		above imprint	"ex libri J harrison"	Male
Wellcome Collection	EPB/C/19318/1	The English Physitian	1652	G. Featherston		title page		?
				H.H.		underneath marginal notation		Male
Wellcome Collection	EPB/B/19322	The English Physitian	1656	A Leuarett		cover page		?

				Mrs Susana Sedgwick		back page	upside down	Female
Wellcome Collection	EPB/B/19328/1	The English Physitian	1681	William Levois		front cover	17th C hand	Male
Wellcome Collection	EPB/B/19330/2	The English Physitian	1695	John Asomy		front board		Male
				John Warner		above table of herbs		Male
Wellcome Collection	EPB/B/19326/2	The English Physitian	1674	Hugh Themock		internal front cover		Male
Wellcome Collection	EPB/B/19330/1.1	The English Physitian	1695	Louis Browner		title page		Male
Wellcome Collection	EPB/B/19325	The English Physitian	1669	Henry Drake	1670	second blank page		Male
Wellcome Collection	EPB/A/19312	A Directory for Midwives	1675	Daniel Sennert		front board	pencil, allegedly author of book	Male
Wellcome Collection	EPB/A/57232	A Directory for Midwives	1681	Edwd Vire	26 8 83	front board		Male
				Chris Nina		front board		Male
Wellcome Collection	EPB/A/19313	A Directory for Midwives	1684	J. Olliree		title page		?
Wellcome Collection	EPB/A/47965	The Midwives Book	1671	Mary Rowe		first eary modern page in modern binding	17th C hand	Female
				Abigail Rowe		back page		Female
Wellcome Collection	EPB/B/6919	Countrey Contentments	1615	Phillip Rathborn		page 35, 86 of husbandman, 128 of housewife	later hand	Male

Wellcome Collection	EPB/B/35472/1	Way to get Wealth	1654	Mark Arkland		a new orchard garden		Male
Wellcome Collection	EPB/B/35473/2	Way to get Wealth	1668	J. Smith		2nd page		?
				Jane		front page		Female
				John		page 45		Male
Wellcome Collection	EPB/B/35474	Way to get Wealth	1675	Edward Whuhut	Aug-94	front board		Male
				WM Ruland		front board		Male
Wellcome Collection	EPB/A/61184	Accomplish'd Ladies Delight	1675	Anna Edgson	1736	front and back plate		Female
Wellcome Collection	EPB/A/53428	Queen's Closet	1684	Elizabeth Hill	1828? Unclear if linked	written 4 times throughout		Female

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Culpeper, Nicholas. *The English physitian enlarged with three hundred, sixty, and nine medicines, made of English herbs that were not in any impre[ss]ion until this: the epistle will inform you how to know this impre[ss]ion from any other. Being an astrologo-physical discourse of the vulgar herbs of this nation: containing a compleat method of physick, whereby a man may preserve his body in health; or cure himself, being sick, for three pence charge, with such things only as grow in England, they being most fit for English bodies. Herein is also shewed these seven things, viz. 1 The way of making plaisters, oyntments, oyls, pultisses, syrups, decoctions, juleps, or waters, of al sorts of physical herbs ... 7 The way of mixing medicines according to cause and mixture of the disease, and part of the body afflicted. By Nich. Culpeper, Gent. student in physick and astrologie: living in Spittle-Fields.* London: Peter Cole, 1655.

Culpeper, Nicholas. *The English physitian enlarged with three hundred, sixty, and nine medicines, made of English herbs that were not in any impression until this: ... Being an astrologo-physical discourse of the vulgar herbs of this nation: containing a compleat method of physick, wherby a man may preserve his body in health; or cure himself, being sick, for three pence charge, with such things only as grow in England, they being most fit for English bodies. Herein is also shewed these seven things: viz 1 The way of making plaisters, oyntmeuts [sic], oyls, pultisses, syrups, decoctions, juleps, or waters, of al sorts of physical herbs ... 7 The way of mixing medicines according to cause and mixture of the disease, and part of the body afflicted. By Nich Culpeper, Gent. student in physick and astrology.* London: Peter Cole, 1656.

Culpeper, Nicholas. *The English physitian enlarged and now made a very necessary part of the physitians library that will cure all diseases : the epistle will inform you how to know the true impression from the counterfeit : being an astrologo-physical discourse of the vulgar herbs of this nation : containing a compleat method of physick whereby a man may preserve his body in health, or cure himself, being sick, for three pence charge, with such things only as grow in England, they being most fit for English bodies.* London: Peter Cole, 1661

Culpeper, Nicholas. *The English physitian enlarged With three hundred sixty and nine medicines, made of English herbs that were not in any impression until this: the epistle will inform you how to know this impression from any other. Being an astrologo-physical discourse of the vulgar herbs of this nation: containing a compleat method of physick, whereby a man may preserve his body in health; or cure himself, being sick, for three pence charge with such things only as grow in England, they being most fit for English bodies. Herein is also shewed th[e]se seven things, viz. 1. The way of making plaisters, oyntments, oyls, pultisses, syrups, decoctions, juleps, or waters, of all sorts of physical herbs, ... 7. The way of mixing medicines according to cause and mixture of the disease, and part of the body afflicted.* By Nich. Culpeper, Gent. student in physick and astrology. London: Peter Cole, 1662.

Culpeper, Nicholas. *The English physitian enlarged. With three hundred sixty and nine medicines, made of English herbs that were not in an impression until now: The epistle will inform you how to know this impression from any other. : Being an astrologo-physical discourse of the vulgar herbs of this nation: Containing a compleat method of physick, whereby a man may preserve his body in health; or cure himself being sick, for three pence charge, with such things only as grow in England, they being most fit for English bodies. : Herein is also shewed these seven things: Viz. 1. The way of making plaisters, oyntments, oyls, pultisses, syrups, decoctions, juleps, or waters, of all sorts of physical herbs, that you may have them ready for your use at all times of the year. 2. What planet governeth every herb or tree (used in physick) that groweth in England. 3. The time of gathering all herbs, both vulgarly and astrologically. 4. The way of drying and keeping the herbs all the year. 5. The way of keeping their juyces ready for use at all times. 6. The way of making and keeping all*

kind of useful compounds made of herbs. 7. The way of mixing medicines according to cause and mixture of the disease, and part of the body afflicted. / By Nich.

Culpeper. London: Peter Cole, 1665.

Culpeper, Nicholas. *The English physitian enlarged with three hundred, sixty, and nine medicines, made of English herbs that were not in any impression until this. Being as astrologo-physical discourse of the vulgar herbs of this nation; containing a compleat method of physick, whereby a man may preserve his body in health; or cure himself, being sick, for three pence charge, with such things only as grow in England, they geing most fit for English bodies. Herein is also shewed these seven things: viz. 1 The way of making plaisters, ointments, oils, ... 2 What planet governeth every herb or tree ... 3 The time of gathering all herbs, ... 4 The way of drying and keeping the herbs all the year. 5 The way of keeping their juyces ready for use at all times. 6 The way of making and keeping all kind of usefull compounds made of herbs. 7 The way of mixing medicines according to cause and mixture of the disease, and part of the body afflicted. By Nich. Culpeper, Gent. Student in Physick and Astrology. London: Printed by John Streater, 1666.*

Culpeper, Nicholas. *The English physitian enlarged with three hundred, sixty, and nine medicines, made of English herbs that were not in any impression until this : being as astrologo-physical discours of the vulgar herbs of this nation, containing a compleat method of physick whereby a man may preserve his body in health, or cure himself being sick for three pence charge, with such things only as grow in England / by Nich. Culpeper. London: Printed by John Streater, 1669.*

Culpeper, Nicholas. *The English physitian enlarged: With three hundred, sixty, and nine medicines, made of English herbs that were not in any impression until this. Being an astrologo-physical discourse of the vulgar herbs of this nation; containing a compleat method of physick, whereby a man may preserve his body in health; or cure himself, being sick, for three pence charge, with such things only as grow in England, they being most fit for English bodies. : Herein is also shewed these seven things, viz. 1. The way of making, plaisters, ointments, oils, pultisses, syrups, decoctions, juleps, or waters, of all sorts of physical herbs, that you may have them ready for your use at all times of the year. 2. What planet governeth every herb or tree (used in physick)*

that groweth in England. 3. The time of gathering all herbs, both vulgarly and astrologically. 4. The way of drying and keeping the herbs all the year. 5. The way of keeping their juyces ready for use at all times. 6. The way of making and keeping all kind of useful compounds made of herbs. 7. The way of mixing medicines according to cause and mixture of the disease, and part of the body afflicted. / By Nich. Culpepper. London: Printed by John Streater, 1671.

Culpeper, Nicholas. *The English physitian enlarged; with three hundred, sixty and nine medicines, made of English herbs that were not in any impression until this. : Being an astrologo-physical discourse of the vulgar herbs of this nation; containing a compleat method of physick, whereby a man may preserve his body in health, or cure himself, being sick, for three pence charge, with such things only as grow in England, they being most fit for English bodies. : Herein is also shewed these seven things, viz. 1. The way of making plaisters, oyntments, oyls, pultisses, syrups, decoctions, juleps or waters, of all sorts of physical herbs, that you may have them ready for your use at all times of the year. 2. What planet governeth every herb or tree (used in physick) that groweth in England. 3. The time of gathering all herbs, both vulgarly and astrologically. 4. The way of drying and keeping the herbs all the year. 5. The way of keeping their juyces ready for use at all times. 6. The way of making and keeping all kind of useful compounds made of herbs. 7. The way of mixing medicines according to cause and mixture of disease, and part of the body afflicted. / By Nich. Culpepper. London: George Sawbridge, 1674.*

Culpeper, Nicholas. *The English physitian enlarged with three hundred, sixty and nine medicines, made of English herbs that were not in any impression until this: being an astrologo-physical discourse of the vulgar herbs of this nation; containing a compleat method of physick, whereby a man may preserve his body in health, or cure himself, being sick, for three pence charge, with such things only as grow in England, they being most fit for English bodies. Herein is also shewed these seven things; viz. 1. The way of making plaisters, oyntments, oyls, pultisses, syrups, decoctions, juleps or waters, of all sorts of physical herbs, ... 7. The way of mixing medicines according to cause and mixture of the disease, and part of the body afflicted. By Nich. Culpeper, gent. Student in physick and astrology. London: George Sawbridge, 1676.*

Culpeper, Nicholas. *The English physitian enlarged with three hundred sixty and nine medicines made of English herbs that were not in any impression until this : being an astrologo-physical discourse of the vulgar herbs of this nation containing a compleat method of physick whereby a man may preserve his body in health or cure himself being sick, for three pence charge, with such things only as grow in England, they being most fit for English bodies / by Nich. Culpepper.* London: George Sawbridge, 1681.

Culpeper, Nicholas. *The English physitian enlarged with three hundred, sixty and nine medicines made of English herbs that were not in any impression until this : being an astrologo-physical discourse of the vulgar herbs of this nation, containing a compleat method of physick, whereby a man may preserve his body in health, or cure himself, being sick, for three pence charge, with such things only as grow in England, they being most fit for English bodies.* London: Printed for Hannah Sawbridge to be sold by Thomas Malthus, 1683.

Culpeper, Nicholas. *The English physitian enlarged with three hundred, sixty and nine medicines, made of English herbs that were not in any impression until this: being an astrologo-physical discourse of the vulgar herbs of this nation; containing a compleat method of physick, whereby a man may preserve his body in health, or cure himself, being sick, for three pence charge, with such things only as grow in England, they being most fit for English bodies. Herein is also shewed these seven things, viz. 1. The way of making plaisters, oynments, oyls, pultisses, syrrops, decoctions, juleps or waters, of all sorts of physical herbs, ... 7. The way of mixing medicines according to the cause and mixture of the disease, and part of the body afflicted. By Nich. Culpeper, Gent. student in physick and astrology.* London: Printed for Hannah Sawbridge to be sold by John Taylor, 1684.

Culpeper, Nicholas. *The English physitian enlarged with three hundred, sixty and nine medicines made of English herbs, that were not in any impression untill this. Being an astrologo-physical discourse of the vulgar herbs of this nation; containing a compleat method of physick, whereby a man may preserve his body in health, or cure himself, being sick, for three pence charge, with such things only as grow in England, they being most fit for English bodies. Herein is also shewed these seven things, viz. 1. The*

way of making plaisters, oyntments, oyls, pultisses, syrups, decoctions, juleps or waters, of all sorts of physical herbs, ... 7. The way of mixing medicines according to the cause and mixture of the disease, and part of the body afflicted. By Nich. Culpeper, Gent. student in physick and astrology. London: for Hannah Sawbridge, 1684.

Culpeper, Nicholas. *The English physitian enlarged with three hundred sixty and nine medicines made of English herbs that were not in any impression until this : being an astrologo-physical discourse of the vulgar herbs of this nation, containing a complete method of physick ... by Nich. Culpepper. London: for A. and J. Churchill, 1695.*

Culpeper, Nicholas. *The English physitian enlarged with three hundred sixty and nine medicines, made of English herbs, that were not in any impression until this. Being an astrologo-physical discourse of the vulgar herbs of this nation; containing a compleat method of physick, whereby a man may preserve his body in health, or cure himself, being sick, for three pence charge, with such things only as grow in England, they being most fir for English bodies. Herein is also shewed these seven things, viz 1. The way of making plaisters, oyntments, oyls, 2. What planet governeth every herb or tree 3. The time of gathering all herbs. 4. The way of drying and keeping the herbs all year. 5. The way of keeping their juyces ready for use at all times. 6. The way of making and keeping all kind of useful compounds made of herbs. 7. The way of mixing medicines according to the cause and mixture of the disease, and part of the body afflicted. By Nich. Culpeper, Gent. Student in Physick and Astrology. London: A. and J. Churchill, 1698.*

Culpeper, Richard. *These are to give notice to all His Majesties subjects, that Nicholas Culpeper late deceased, being a student in astrology, a person generally approved of to be an eminent physician in his time, and by his indulgent care performed many excellent cures, and for the singular affection he owed to his said Majesties subjects, in order to the preservation of their healths and lives under God, hath prepared, composed ,and madean excellent lozenge, and an universal pill; which lozenges and pills were of that precious worth and vertue, that he concealed the publishing thereof until a little before his death. London: S.N., 1668.*

Culpeper, Nicholas [attributed]. *Culpeper's last legacy left and bequeathed to his dearest wife, for the publicke good, being the choicest and most profitable of those secrets which while he lived were lockt up in his breast, and resolved never to be publisht till after his death. Containing sundry admirable experiences in severall sciences, more especially, in chyrurgery and physick, viz. compounding of medicines, making of waters, syrrops, oyles, electuaries, conserves, salts, pils, purges, and trochischs. With two particular treatises; the one of feavers; the other of pestilence; as also other rare and choice aphorisms, fitted to the understanding of the meanest capacities. Never publisht before in any of his other works. By Nicholas Culpeper, late student in astrology and physick.* London: N. Brooke, 1655.

Culpeper, Nicholas [attributed]. *Culpeper, Culpeper's school of physick. Or The experimental practice of the whole art. Wherein are contained all inward diseases from the head to the foot, with their proper and effectuall cures, such diet set down as ought to be observed in sickness or in health. With other safe wayes for preserving of life, in excellent aphorismes, and approved medicines, so plainly and easily treated of, that the free-born student rightly understanding this method, may judge of the practice of physick, so far as it concerns himself, or the cure of others, &c. A work never before publisht, very necessary for all that desire to be rightly informed in physick, chyrurgery, chymistry, &c. / By Nich. Culpeper, late student in physick and astrology. The narrative of the authors life is prefixed, with his nativity calculated, together with the testimony of his late wife, Mrs. Alice Culpeper, and others. The general contents of this work are in the next page. With two perfect tables very useful to the reader.* London: Printed for N. Brooke, 1659.

Dunton, John. *The Life and Errors of John Dunton, Late Citizen of London.* London: S. Malthus, 1705.

Eyre, George Edward Briscoe., Rivington, Charles Edward (eds.). *A Transcript of the Registers of the Worshipful Company of Stationers, from 1640-1709 A.D.* 3 Vols. New York: Reprinted Peter Smith, 1950.

Forster, William. *Forster's arithmetic Explaining the grounds and princip;es of that art, both in whole numbers and fractions: By such plain, easie and familiar rules and precepts,*

that any person, of a reasonable capacity, may (in a short time) attain to a competent proficiency therein, without the help of any tutor. London: for George Sawbridge to be sold at his house on Clarken-well Green, 1667.

The Herbalists Act 1542. Statutes made at Westminster, Anno 34 & 35 Hen VIII, ch. 8.

M., W. *The Queens closet opened. : Comprehending several hundreds of experienced receipts, and incomparable secrets in physick, chyrurgery, preserving, candying, cookery, &c. Which were presented to the Queen, by the most eminent doctors in physick, chyrurgions, oculists and divers persons of honour, whose names are all fixed to their receipts, many whereof were had in esteem, when she pleased to descend to private recreations. Containing I. The Queens physical cabbinet, or excellent receipts in physick, chyrurgery, &c. II. The Queens delight,; or the art of preserving, conserving, candying; as also, a right knowledge of making perfumes and distilling the most excellent waters. III. The compleat cook; or, directions for dressing all sorts of flesh, fowl and fish, ordering of sauces, and making of pastry, according to the English, French, Spanish and Italian mode.* London: printed for Benjamin Crayle, 1684.

M., W. *The Queens closet opened incomparable secrets in physick, chyrurgery, preserving and candying, &c., which were presented unto the Queen by the most experienced persons of the times, many whereof were had in esteem, when she pleased to descend to private recreations.* London: Nathaniel Brooke for Thomas Guy, 1674.

M., W. *The Queens closet opened. : Incomparable secrets in physick, chirurgery, preserving, candying, and cookery; as they were presented to the Queen by the most experienced persons of our times, many whereof were honoured with her owne practice, when she pleased to descend to these more private recreations. Never before published. / Transcribed from the true copies of her Majesties own receipt-books, by W.M. one of her late servants...* London: Printed for Nathaniel Brook, 1655.

M., W. *The Queens closet opened. : Incomparable secrets in physick, chirurgery, preserving and candying, &c. Which were presented unto the Queen: By the most experienced persons of the times, many whereof were had in esteem, when she pleased to descend to private recreations. Corrected and reviewed, with many new and large*

additions: together with three exact tables. London: Printed for N. Brooke, and are to be sold by Charles Harper, 1671.

M., W. *The Queens closet opened. : Incomparable secrets in physick, chirurgery, preserving and candying, &c. Which were presented unto the Queen: By the most experienced persons of the times, many whereof were had in esteem, when she pleased to descend to private recreations. Corrected and reviewed, with many new and large additions: together with three exact tables.* London: Printed by E. Tyler, and R. Holt, for Nath. Brooke, 1671.

Markham, Gervase. *Countrie contentments, or The English huswife Containing the inward and outward vertues which ought to be in a compleate woman. As her skill in physicke, surgerie, extraction of oyles, banqueting-stuffe, ordering of great feasts, preseruing of all sorts of wines, conceited secrets, distillations, perfumes, ordering of wooll, hempe, flax, making cloth, dying, the knowledge of dayries, office of malting, oats, their excellent vses in a family, brewing, baking, and all other things belonging to an houshold. A worke generally approued, and now much augmented, purged and made most profitable and necessarie for all men, and dedicated to the honour of the noble house of Exceter, and the generall good of this kingdome.* London: Printed by John Beale for R. Iackson, 1623.

Markham, Gervase. *The English house-wife Containing the inward and outward vertues which ought to be in a compleate woman. As her skill in physicke, surgery, cookery, extraction of oyles, banqueting-stuffe, ordering of great feasts, preseruing of all sorts of wines, conceited secrets, distillations, perfumes, ordering of wooll, hempe, flax, making cloth, and dying, the knowledge of dayries, office of malting, of oates, their excellent vses in a family, of brewing, baking, and all other things belonging to an houshold. A worke generally approued, and now the fourth time much augmented, purged and made most profitable and necessary for all men, and the generall good of this kingdome.* By G.M. London: Printed by Nicholas Okes for John Harison at the sign of the golden unicaron pater noster row, 1631.

Markham, Gervase. *The English House-wife containing the inward and outward vertues which ought to be in a compleat woman: As her skill in Physic, Chirurgery, Cookery,*

Extraction of Oyles, Banqueting Stuff, ordering of great feasts, preserving of all sorts of wines, conceited secrets, distillations, perfumes, ordering of wool, hemp, flax: making cloth and dying; the knowledge of dayries: office of malting; of oats, their excellent uses in families: of brewing, baking and all other things belonging to an household. A work generally approved, and now the eighth time much augmented, purged, and made most profitable and necessary for all men, and the general good of this nation. By G.M. London: Printed by J. Streater for George Sawbridge, Clerkenwell Green, 1668.

Markham, Gervase. *The English house-wife containing the inward and outward vertues which ought to be in a compleat woman.* London: Printed for Hannah Sawbridge, 1683.

Markham, Gervase. *The English house-wife containing the inward and outward vertues which ought to be in a compleate woman. As her skill in physick, surgery, cookery, extraction of oyles, banquetting stuffe, ordering of great feasts, preserving of all sorts of wines, conceited secrets, distilations, perfumes, ordering of wooll, hemepe, flax, making cloth, and dying: the knowledge of dayries, office of malting, of oates, their excellent uses in a family, of brewing, baking, and all other things belonging to an household. A worke generally approved, and now the fifth time much augmented, purged and made most profitable and necessary for all men, and the generall good of this Kingdome.* London: Printed by Anne Griffin for John Harrison, 1637.

Markham, Gervase. *The English house-wife containing the inward and outward vertues which ought to be in a compleat woman, as her skill in physick, surgery, cookery, extraction of oyles, banquetting stuffe, ordering of great feasts, preserving of all sorts of wines, conceited secrets, distillations, perfumes, ordering of wooll, hemp, flax, making cloth, and dying, the knowledge of dayries, office of malting of oates, their excellent uses in a family, of brewing, baking, and all other things belonging to an household.* London: Printed by B. Alsop for John Harison, 1649.

Markham, Gervase. *The English hous-wife containing the inward and outward vertues which ought to be in a compleat woman ... a work generally approved, and now the fifth time much augmented, purged, and made most profitable and necessary for all men*

and the general good of this nation / by G.M. London: Printed by W. Wilson for George Sawbridge and E. Brewster, 1653.

Markham, Gervase. *The English hous-wife containing the inward and outward vertues which ought to be in a compleat woman ... a work generally approved, and now the sixth time much augmented, purged, and made most profitable and necessary for all men, and the general good of this nation / by G.M. London: Printed by W. Wilson for George Sawbridge and E. Brewster, 1656.*

Markham, Gervase. *The English hous-wife containing the inward and outward vertues which ought to be in a compleat woman ... a work generally approved, and now the seventh time much augmented, purged, and made most profitable and necessary for all men, and the general good of this nation / by G.M. London: Printed by W. Wilson for George Sawbridge and E. Brewster, 1660.*

Markham, Gervase. *The English hous-wife, containing the inward and outward vertues which ought to be in a compleat woman: as her skill in physick, surgery, cookery, extraction of oyls, banquetting stuff, ordering of great feasts, preserving of all sorts of wines, conceited secrets, distillations, perfumes, ordering of wool, hemp, flax: making cloth and dying; the knowldege of dayries: office of malting; of oats, their excellent uses in a family: of brewing, baking and all other things belonging to an household. A work generally approved, and now the eighth time much augmented, purged, and made most profitable and necessary for all men, and the general good of this nation. By G.M. London: Printed for George Sawbridge by W. Wilson, 1664.*

Markham, Gervase. *The English Hus-wife containing, The inward and outward vertues which ought to be in a comlpeat woman. As, her skill in Physicke, Cookery, Banqueting-stuffe, Distillation, Perfumes, Wooll, Hemp, Flax, Dayries, Brewing, Baking, and all other things belonging to a houseould. A Worke very profitable and necessarie, gathered for the generall good of this kingdome. London: Printed by John Beale for Roger Jackson, 1615.*

Markham, Gervase. *A way to get wealth, by approved rules of practise in good husbandry and huswiferie. Containing the foure principall offices which support and maintaine a familie. London: R. Jackson, 1625.*

Markham Gervase., Lawson, William. *A way to get wealth: containing six principall vocations, or callings, in which every good husband or house-wife, may lawfully imploy themselves. As, I. The natures, ordering, curing, breeding, choice, use and feeding, of all sorts of cattell, and fowle, fit for the service of man: As also the riding & dieting horses, either for warre or pleasur. II. The knowledge, use, and laudable practise of all the recreations meet for a gentleman. III. The office of a housewife, in phisick, surgery, extraction of oiles, banquets, cookery, ordering of feasts, preserving of wine, conceited secrets, distillations, perfumes, ordering of wooll, hemp, flax, dying, use of dayries, malting, brewing, baking, and the profit of oates. IV. The enrichment of the weald in Kent. V. The husbanding, & enriching of all sorts of barren grounds, making them equal with the most fruitfull: with the preservation of swine, and a computation of men, and cattels labours, &c. VI. The making of orchards, planting and grafting, the office of gardening, & the ornaments, with the best husbanding of bees. / The first five bookes gathered by G.M. The last by Master W.L. for the benefit of Great Brittain.* London: Printed by B.A. for Iohn Harison, 1648.

Markham, Gervase. *A way to get wealth. Containing six principall vocations, or callings, in which every good husband or house-wife, may lawfully imploy themselves ... The first five bookes gathered by Gervase Markham. The last by Master William Lawson.* London: Printed for E. Brewster and George Sawbridge, 1653.

Markham, Gervase. *A way to get wealth. Containing six principall vocations, or callings, in which every good husband or house-wife, may lawfully imploy themselves ... The first five bookes gathered by G[ervase] M[arkham]. The last by Master W[illiam] L[awson].* London: Printed by John Streater for George Sawbridge, 1668.

Markham, Gervase. *A way to get wealth. Containing six principal vocations, or callings in which every good husband or house-wife may lawfully imploy themselves ... / The first five books gathered by G[ervase] M[arkham]. The last by Master W[illiam] L[awson].* London: Printed by E. Horton for George Sawbridge, 1676.

Rüff, Jakob. *The expert midwife, or An excellent and most necessary treatise of the generation and birth of man Wherein is contained many very notable and necessary particulars requisite to be knowne and practised: with diuers apt and usefull figures*

appropriated to this worke. Also the causes, signes, and various cures, of the most principall maladies and infirmities incident to women. Six bookes compiled in Latine by the industry of Iames Rueff, a learned and expert chirurgion: and now translated into English for the generall good and benefit of this nation. London: E.G. for Thomas Alchorn, 1637.

Sharp, Jane. *The midwives book, or, The whole art of midwifry discovered. Directing childbearing women how to behave themselves in their conception, breeding, bearing, and nursing of children in six books, By Mrs. Jane Sharp practitioner in the art of midwifry above thirty years.* London: Printed for Simon Miller, 1671.

Sharp, Jane. *The compleat midwife's companion: or, the art of midwifry improv'd. Directing child-bearing women how to order themselves in their conception, breeding, bearing, and nursing of children ... With physical preparations for each disease incident to the female sex.* London: John Marsall, 1724.

The Stationers Company. *Apprentice Register, 1 Aug 1666 – 6 Mar 1728.* Volume 2. TSC/1/C/05/01/02

The Stationers Company. *Court Book C, 29 Oct 1602 - 1 Mar 1655.* TSC/1/B/01/01

The Stationers Company. *Court book D, 5 Mar 1655 - 24 Oct 1679.* TSC/1/B/01/02.

The Stationers Company. *Court book E, 1 Mar 1675 - 25 Jun 1683.* TSC/1/B/01/03.

The Stationers Company. *Court book F, 30 Jun 1683 - 28 Oct 1697.* TSC/1/B/01/04.

The Stationers Company. *Court book G, 8 Nov 1697 - 6 May 1717.* TSC/1/B/01/05.

The Stationers Company, *Liber Computi Pro Pauperibus: The Book of Accounts of Moneyes Received 1608-1677.* TSC/1/G/01/04/07.

The Stationers Company. *Pension List March 1677 - December 1762.* TSC/1/G/01/05/01/01.

Woolley, Hannah. *The Accomplish'd Ladies Delight, in preserving, physick, beautifying, and cookery Containing I. The art of preserving and candying fruits and flowers; and the making of all sorts of conserves, syrups, and jellies. II. The physical cabinet: or, excellent receipts in physick and chirurgery; together with some beautifying waters, to adorn and add loveliness to the face and body: and also some new and excellent*

receipts relating to the female sex: and for the general good of families, is added the true receipt for making that famous cordial drink Daffy's elixir salutis. III. The compleat cook's guide: or, directions for dressing all sorts of flesh, fowl and fish, both in the English and French mode; with all sorts of sauces and sallets: and the making pyes, pasties, tarts, and custards, with the forms and shapes of many of them.
London: Printed for B. Harris, 1675.

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or, Directions for dressing all sorts of flesh, fowl, and fish, both in the English and French mode, with all sauces and sallets; and the making pyes, pasties, tarts, and custards, with the forms and shapes of many of them. London: Printed for Benjamin Harris, 1683.

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