Making Gardens of Their Own: Advice for Women, 1550-1750 Essential Works for the Study of Early Modern Women

Jennifer Munroe

Routledge

The Early Modern Englishwoman:
A Facsimile Library of Essential Works

Series III

Essential Works for the Study of
Early Modern Women: Part 3

Volume 1

Making Gardens of Their Own:
Advice for Women, 1550–1750

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Making Gardens of Their Own: Advice for Women, 1500–1750

Selected and Introduced by
Jennifer Munroe

General Editors
Betty S. Travitsky and Anne Lake Prescott

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PREFACE BY THE GENERAL EDITORS

Until very recently, scholars of the early modern period have assumed that there were no Judith Shakespeares in early modern England. Much of the energy of the current generation of scholars has been devoted to constructing a history of early modern England that takes into account what women actually wrote, what women actually read, and what women actually did. In so doing, contemporary scholars have revised the traditional representation of early modern women as constructed both in their own time and in ours. The study of early modern women has thus become one of the most important – indeed perhaps the most important – means for the rewriting of early modern history.

The Early Modern Englishwoman: A Facsimile Library of Essential Works is one of the developments of this energetic reappraisal of the period. As the names on our advisory board and our list of editors testify, it has been the beneficiary of scholarship in the field, and we hope it will also be an essential part of that scholarship's continuing momentum.

The Early Modern Englishwoman is designed to make available a comprehensive and focused collection of writings in English from 1500 to 1750, both by women and for and about them. The three series of *Printed Writings* (1500–1640, 1641–1700, and 1701–1750) provide a comprehensive if not entirely complete collection of the separately published writings by women. In reprinting these writings we intend to remedy one of the major obstacles to the advancement of feminist criticism of the early modern period, namely the limited availability of the very texts upon which the field is based. The volumes in the facsimile library reproduce carefully chosen copies of these texts, incorporating significant variants (usually in the appendices). Each text is preceded by a short introduction providing an overview of the life and work of a writer along with a survey of important scholarship. These works, we strongly believe, deserve a large readership – of historians, literary critics, feminist critics, and non-specialist readers.

The Early Modern Englishwoman also includes separate facsimile series of *Essential Works for the Study of Early Modern Women* and of *Manuscript Writings*. These facsimile series are complemented by *The Early Modern Englishwoman 1500–1750: Contemporary Editions*. Also under our general editorship, this series includes both old-spelling and modernized editions of works by and about women and gender in early modern England.

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INTRODUCTORY NOTE

[*In contrast to the practice in other volumes in this facsimile library, this volume reproduces mainly excerpts, since texts on gardening for women tended to be included in longer works on housewifery rather than printed alone.*]

In England, between 1550–1750, a developing market economy allowed more people access to money and land, which in turn meant that families of the expanding 'middling sort' had the means to plant flower gardens for show in addition to the more traditional kitchen gardens for household use. During this period a general shift in gardening practice took place, from which emerged three distinct types of gardens: traditional subsistence (or kitchen) gardens, aesthetic gardens, and *gendered* aesthetic gardens. Households could, and often did, have multiple types of gardens, so the three were not mutually exclusive. There was, however, a trend to shape them as separate spaces. The gardening and husbandry manuals published during the period, typified by the texts selected for this volume, reveal that how and what one planted was related to one's role in society. These texts attest to the changing nature of gardening – from a largely subsistence endeavour to an artful practice that became defined in gendered terms. Meant for the 'housewife' as well as for refined 'ladies', the gardening advice for women, all written by men, shows how women used the plants they grew to vie for social position.

To emphasize the differing foci of the manuals, I have divided the texts reproduced in this volume into two parts: counsel on gardening for the 'country' housewife (contained within more general books on housewifery), and gardening books for 'ladies'. The books on housewifery reveal an evolution in thinking about gardening from considering it one among many chores performed by non-elite women to seeing it as an opportunity for aesthetic flair. The later books on gardening for ladies show how such women (and to a more limited degree other women who might pattern their own gardens after those of the elite) came to see the garden not only as a place for recreation, but also as a space with which they might identify in creative ways by selecting exotic plants, flowers and trees that would mark them as being on the cutting edge.

The changing shape of gardening 1500–1750

Printed books show the different ways people gardened over this period and present the changing ties between the English social landscape and the English countryside. Although early in the period only the very wealthy could afford to plant for pleasure and enjoyment, thus affirming their status; later on, more and more other people would use their new found wealth to flaunt or achieve higher status, even if on a smaller scale.

Early in the period, most households in England had only kitchen gardens planted for cooking and medicine: lettuce, carrots, parsnips, beans, herbs, and so forth. Though kitchen gardens remained in use across the country, aesthetic gardens gained in popularity

among the upwardly mobile middling sort who, from the mid-sixteenth century onward, could afford them. Aesthetic gardens in these households were generally smaller versions of those planted alongside the greater country houses. In the expansive gardens for the wealthy (and, later, for others as well), trimmed hedges typically created boundaries between cultivated and uncultivated areas, and within these gardens were branches shaped into arbours for banqueting, topiaries in various geometrical designs, and hand-selected plants artfully arranged so as to make knots, parterres and labyrinths. Elaborate displays such as these epitomized the early modern English view articulated by William Lawson in *A NEW ORCHARD and Garden* (printed below): 'Art restoreth the Collectrix of Nature's faults' (sig. A) by transforming a disorderly landscape into an ordered imitation of paradise.

Large-scale formal gardens planted on private country estates were showpieces frequently incorporating flowers and plants that symbolized Elizabeth's virginity and familial ties, and they could also serve as places in which to entertain the queen and her court. William Cecil's (Lord Burghley's) garden, for example, 'was not laid out with the customary herbs but with symbolic flowers: the twelve Virtues in roses, the three Graces in pansies, and the nine Muses in nine different types of flower…[as well as] an arbour entirely out of eglantine' (Strong, 46). And Robert Dudley, Earl of Leicester, another of Elizabeth's favourites, had the gardens at his Kenilworth estate prepared with statuary and floral emblems to receive Elizabeth in 1575; the entertainments for Elizabeth's visit enacted in three dimensions and vivid colour, on the actual grounds at Kenilworth, the floral tribute already familiar to visitors. George Gasgoigne, a participant in the 1575 entertainments, and one eager to secure his place in Elizabeth's circle, included a poem in his *A Hundreth Sundrie Flowers* in 1573 that emphasized the connection between Elizabeth's court and the world of Flora that the 1575 Kenilworth entertainment would depict. Early modern formal gardens such as these functioned as silent witnesses to the authority of the Tudor monarchy, as well as to the wealth and status of the kingdom and of the estate owners who planted them.

But the typical history of the aesthetic garden, with its emphasis on its uses by the upper classes, tells only part of the story. The status bestowed by land ownership and gardening extended well beyond the social elite, since it was entirely possible that the well-born had little cash on hand, while members of the non-elite may well have had more actual wealth than their social superiors. When Gervase Markham, one of the most prolific writers on husbandry and gardening, writes, 'I say, to behold a delicate, rich, and fruitfull Garden, it shewes great worthinesse in the owner, and infinite art and industry in the workeman, and makes mee both admire and love the begetters of such excellencies' (*The English Husbandman*, 1635 edn, 23), he is addressing the middling sort, not the elite. It was to those who used their skills to acquire (rather than inherit) wealth to 'make' themselves that the manual writers directed their instruction.

Garden plants, in other words, increasingly came to function as fluid and malleable indicators of distinction for non-elite men and women.[1] Including exotic and rare plants and flowers in one's garden was a way to increase one's status, although what constituted 'exotic and rare' was in flux. For instance, members of the aristocracy and gentry early in the seventeenth century hailed hard-to-come-by gillyflowers and carnations as 'most prized', but once these flowers became abundant enough for others to afford them, tastes shifted to the *new* hard-to-come-by tulips and auriculas. Some garden labourers could

even accelerate the plants' transition from rare to common by pocketing imported bulbs and seeds from the elite gardens where they worked so as to plant them in their own gardens at home.[2] In this way, the middling and lower classes could potentially (even if on a small scale) destabilize the status boundaries the upper class tried so hard to define through wealth and influence.

Professionalizing the Plough

The developing split between professional and amateur gardening also helped generate status markers associated with the garden (Cahn, 23–4). Thomas Hill's *A most briefe and pleasaunte treatise* (1558?+), for example, the first manual in this period exclusively about gardening (as opposed to household management more broadly), reflects the intensifying, specialized focus on the garden and those who planted it.[3] While Hill does not include separate sections addressed specifically to women, and thus does not qualify for inclusion in this volume, his work is important for understanding the eventual development of gardening for women. By the time his *The gardeners labyrinth* was printed posthumously in 1577, Hill aligns the gardens of the 'common sorte' with those of the housewife, and those of the 'skilfull' implicitly with men and perhaps women of the elite; in so doing, he exemplifies how the more a garden tended toward the artful, the more was at stake in terms of both class and gender (2–3).

Hill's and others' texts also show that what it meant to be a 'gardener' was changing (Harvey, 29–38). In the early sixteenth century, for instance, a 'gardener' was a man or woman who planted vegetables and herbs for the table, while a 'gardener' later in the century was one paid for that specialized labour and associated with artful gardening (Harvey, 6). This is not to say that subsistence gardening vanished from England's landscapes. Rather, the demands of a market economy reconfigured agricultural production; more families depended on the markets for food and household items that they could not afford to grow themselves, and more estates produced food for commercial use (Cahn, 16–25). Upwardly-mobile gentlemen who could afford to buy land might turn it to commercial uses and generate profits, and even well-trained men could earn a living comparable to that of a well-educated clergyman by becoming professional gardeners. But at the same time the professionalization of gardening led men who earlier had run their own small-scale farms on land they leased to migrate to cities in search of work (Harvey, 30–32).[4]

With potentially substantial profits at stake, market gardeners in London formed the Gardener's Company (formerly, the Guild of Gardeners), and in 1605 the Company was recognized by the Crown. Its recognition formalized operations conducted by the Gardener's Company as 'the trade crafte or misterie of gardening, planting, grafting, setting, sowing, cutting, arboring, rocking, mounting, covering, fencing and removing of all plantes, herbes, seedes, fruites, trees, stocks, setts and of contriving the conveyances of the same belonging' (Steele, 2–3).[5] In 1616, the Company sought exclusive rights to the organized practice of gardening and 'prohibited any person inhabiting the City or within six miles thereof (other than such of our subjects as shall garden for their own household use and private spending) from using or exercising the Art or Mystery of Gardening either in places privileged or unprivileged without the licence of the Company'.

Furthermore, it 'forbade any person not a member of the company from selling garden produce except at such accumstomed [*sic*] times and places' as designated by the Company (Steele, 4).

Gendering the Garden

This developing sense of professional gardening as different – or at least as differently valued – from private gardening, produced a gendered division. Professional large-scale and profit-oriented gardening was fast becoming the domain of men; amateur flower-gardening the domain of women. This partitioning of the garden space corresponded with other more large-scale trends, such as the reconfiguration of the marketplace. The development of a market economy for agriculture resulted in both gains and losses for women.[6] On the one hand, 'the decline of the subsistence household inevitably meant the decline of the self-sufficient housewife', a decline which affected women from the lower classes to the aristocracy (Cahn, 33). On the other, as many women were pushed out of the marketplace and into the home, they established positions for themselves in the more decorative types of household gardening (Mendelson and Crawford, 303–36).[7] As was true in other domains traditionally associated with women, such as textile production, the shift in women's positions within the household economy required that they find new ways of identifying themselves in relation to the family and other women (Cahn, 53–6).[8]

Despite attempts throughout the period to define women's gardening in often dismissive terms, aristocratic women gardeners found themselves increasingly identified as trendsetters. Most of the dirty work in aristocratic gardens was done by hired labourers, but many women employers, even aristocratic ladies, did some work in their gardens. The women who read these gardening books may well have combined their common knowledge on the topic with an interest in keeping up with the latest trends. For example, Lady Margaret Hoby records in her diary how she read some of the popular herbals and books on gardening, yet she also notes how she regularly pulled hemp in the field with her maids. Women such as Lucy Harington (Countess of Bedford) and Elizabeth Talbot, Countess of Shrewsbury ('Bess of Hardwick') received high praise in poetry and prose for their gardens.[9] Notorious for her self-aggrandizing architectural plans for Hardwick Hall, which feature her initials emblazoned in iron on the parapets for all to see, Shrewsbury designed gardens that were striking testaments to her status as an English noblewoman. And Charles Evelyn (in *THE Lady's Recreation* [1717? in Lawrence {or Laurence} 1718], reprinted below) lauded Mary Somerset, Duchess of Beaufort, for her gardens at Badminton, which displayed what was then perhaps the most extensive collection of exotic plants and flowers in England. In fact, Somerset was more than a collector; she was an amateur botanist, travelling sometime between 1699 and 1701 to Surinam to collect plants and insects with Maria Sibylla Merian, who was highly regarded for her own work in botany and entomology.[10] Somerset compiled her gardening observations with the intention of having them bound; the result was a twelve-volume set. (Manuscript writings on gardening by women, a proof of the time and energy these women devoted to gardening, and its significance to them, are discussed below.)

Although Englishwomen such as these won admiration for their gardening, professional and profit-oriented gardening continued to be understood as decidedly masculine. The

Royal Society and the 'New Science', with their emphasis on experimental method and observational techniques, also encouraged a more empirical and male-centred approach to gardening. Even before the king, shortly after the Restoration, established the Royal Society, Samuel Hartlib and his companions were developing experimental agriculture, making advances in fertilizer technology and in ways to grow cereal crops. In 1662, Charles II commended the Royal Society for its 'study of gardening as a noble pursuit' (Bushnell, 30). Perhaps the best known of all its members with ties to horticulture was John Evelyn, whose books established gardening as an expanding field of study that extended beyond vegetables and flowers. His *Sylva, or a Discourse on Forest Trees* (1664), demonstrates that the science (and art) of gardening reached well into the English countryside and made gentleman gardeners a common fixture of the rural landscape.

From Practice to the Page

As gardening developed into a profession, men of the middling sort sought to capitalize on their experience as gardeners by writing about gardening. Gardening manuals, which propose specific roles for men and women, tend to have three things in common: first, the men who wrote them cite their own experience as conferring upon them the authority to instruct others; second, manuals foreground the garden's utility as well as its visual appeal; and third, manuals propose to help their male and female readers make gardens of their own so as to assert authority in that domain and to emulate one type of aesthetic achievement characteristic of those in the upper class. Gardening and husbandry manuals published between the sixteenth and the early eighteenth centuries helped transform gardening from a primarily everyday, utilitarian activity to an aesthetic, leisure activity accessible to and administered by non-elite men and women.

Whilst a number of manuals printed in England were translations of texts by classical writers such as Xenophon and Virgil, or of Renaissance writers such as Tasso, the early modern period produced an avalanche of original texts on gardening. From the sixteenth century, printed books on gardening and husbandry appeared for the first time in the vernacular, all claiming that they contained the most up-to-date planting practices for English soil and climatic conditions. Sir John Fitzherbert's *Boke of husbandry* (1523?; sometimes ascribed to his brother Anthony) was the first such manual, though it was not until the publication of Thomas Tusser's 1562 edition of *A hundreth good pointes of husbandrie* that the housewife received a section of her own in such books. By the end of the sixteenth century, when English practical gardening had developed methods unique to English conditions, more and more manual writers staked a claim to this developing discourse. A model for representing English methods for the good of the English commonwealth is perhaps best exemplified by Gervase Markham (cousin to the translator, satirist and courtier, Sir John Harington), who claims in *The English Husbandman* (1613) that he, unlike those who translated French gardening texts for English readers, refused to act 'as if it [French planting skill] were the onely one jewell and commoditie of *our* kingdome'. Instead, he insists, he will 'onely write so much as is fitting for *our* knowledge, touching the maintenance, increase, and preservation thereof, in *our* Orchards, Gardens, and other places of recreation' (67, my emphasis). The historian Blanche Henrey cites at least nineteen new titles on botany and horticulture during the

sixteenth century, one hundred or so new titles in the seventeenth century (of which over eighty came after 1650), and over six hundred during the eighteenth century.[11] The marked increase in publication suggests the growing interest over the period in formalizing gardening discourse at the same time that lines were being drawn between professional and amateur gardeners as well as between gardening for subsistence and aesthetic or profit-oriented gardening.

Men who wrote gardening manuals came (almost without exception) from the middling sort. Citing personal experience as their source of information, they sought authorial status and a liveable income from their writing. The books with the most potential for such income were not gardening manuals as such; rather, they were the more general 'husbandry' manuals, which is to say that they covered topics related to household management. Such texts, especially the earlier ones, approach women's gardening within the broader context of housewifery; only later did books start to appear that were devoted specifically to women's gardening as an endeavour warranting special attention. It is for this reason that many of the texts included in this volume are excerpts from longer manuals on housewifery and/or husbandry.

Advice books written for women from the early seventeenth century onward specifically identified the way women might use their gardens for improved social status. In 1615, Gervase Markham's *The English Husvvife* appeared as part of his longer book, *COVNTREY Contentments.*[12] The first separate manual on housewifery published for women, it interpolates short sections on growing, using and preparing plants and flowers for cooking and medicine that feature, for example, 'sallets for show onely' and other delights for both the eye and the palate. While most of Markham's book focuses broadly on the housewife's duties, such as cooking, preparing salves, brewing and making clothes, these sections, reprinted here, tell the housewife how to choose her soil, arrange her garden plots, and plant. The appearance of William Lawson's *THE COVNTRIE HOVSEWIFES Garden* (1617 edn; printed as the second part of *A NEW ORCHARD and Garden*, 1618), also reprinted here,[13] indicates an interest in codifying a discourse about gardening for women that would help make it a separate domain and practice. Whereas many printed books at this time focus broadly on household management and discrete duties for men and women, Lawson's focuses on different types of *gardening* specific to men and to women. He associates men with the profit-oriented garden and orchard, while he instructs his country housewife how to plant smaller gardens for show.

Thomas Tusser (1524–1580)

Most of what we know of Thomas Tusser comes from the autobiographical information he includes in 'Of the author's departing from court to the countrie' and 'The Author's Life' published in his husbandry manual. Tusser claims that he was born 'of linnage good, of gentle blood' and was sent against his will by his father at a young age to Wallingford College to become a chorister. He went on to study with Nicholas Udall at Eton, then to London for a short stay, and finally to Cambridge, leaving when he fell ill. Some time later, Tusser went to court for ten years, where he was connected socially to Sir William Paget (to whom he dedicated the editions of his manuals). He then went to Suffolk, where he married and became a self-trained farmer. After years of unsuccessful attempts at

farming, Tusser, ironically, turned to husbandry writing and became one of the most popular writers on the topic in the sixteenth century; his books were reprinted well into the eighteenth century.

'The points of Huswifrie, vnited to the comfort of Husbandrie', 'A Sonnet to the Lady Paget', 'Principall pointes of Religion', 'The Author's beliefe' and 'The Author's life' in *Fiue hundreth points of good husbandry* (1574)

Fiue hundreth points of good husbandry, vnited to as many of good huswiferie (*STC* 24378) appeared in 1574 as an expanded edition of Tusser's first book on husbandry, *A hundreth good pointes of husbandrie* (1557). The enormously popular revised edition was printed no fewer than twenty-three times before 1750, more than almost any other single book on the topic.[14] *Fiue hundreth points* is divided into dedicatory material and epistles; various short sections for the husband, including 'The Ladder of Thrift', 'The Commoditie of Husbandry' and 'The Description of Husband and Husbandry'; a long, almanac-like account of each month's duties for the husband; and various materials, including several sonnets. Most of the book is written in doggerel verse, which may serve to help those who cannot read the book still have access to its contents; rather than reading for themselves, the straightforward rhyme allows them to memorize the information, which could be delivered by someone who has read the book or by someone who has also memorized its relevant parts. Tusser's *A hundreth good pointes of husbandrie* (1562 edition and following) includes for the first time in England a separate section for the housewife, set up as a second part of the book, with a separate table found at the end of the entire volume. His *Fiue hundredth points* (1573) elaborates on the duties for both the husband and housewife, adding new sections and building on those in the previous editions. In these sections, Tusser includes many of the same kinds of varied material (dedicatory poems, sonnets, miscellaneous poetic admonitions, etc.) that he composed for the husband, and lists the many activities that might occupy the housewife day and night. The housewife in Tusser's text wakes at 4 a.m., goes to sleep around 10 p.m., and in between, manages to cook, make candles, bake, sew, pray (as time affords), and of course, work alongside her husband at the plough. Tusser does not specify much of what the housewife should do in the garden itself, assuming a common knowledge about such practices. The absence of specific instructions for planting practices in the housewife's section implies either that such instruction would be unnecessary because the housewife already has ample knowledge of it or that the housewife could, should the situation require it, consult the almanac that Tusser provides in the section on husbandry. Tusser's section for the housewife focuses on her moral obligation to keep the household running, and it mentions her general tasks much more than it provides detailed instructions for performing specific ones.

'The points of Huswifrie, vnited to the comfort of Husbandrie', 'A Sonnet to the Lady Paget', 'Principall pointes of Religion', 'The Author's beliefe' and 'The Author's life' are reproduced here, by permission, from the copy of *Fiue hundreth points of good husbandry* (1574) at The British Library (shelfmark C.118.bb.8/2) because it is a totally legible copy of the text.

John Partridge (fl. 1566–1573)

Of John Partridge, we know very little. Unlike Thomas Tusser (or later, William Lawson and others), Partridge does not cite personal experience as the basis for his authority. Instead, he states in 'John Partridge to his Booke' that he has compiled varied source materials (classical and otherwise) for the housewife who will read his book. The book, first printed in 1573, then reprinted in 1600 and twice (by E. Brewster and R. Bird, then John Wright) in 1627, was fairly popular. Two dedicatory poems, first included in the second edition (reprinted here), suggest more about Partridge's motives for writing than they reveal who he was. Both poems insist that he has published not for profit but for the benefit of his readers, thus making him seem less an entrepreneur than a philanthropist.

THE TREASVRIE OF Hidden Secrets (1573; 1627 edn reprinted)

As a manual on general housewifery, Partridge's *TREASVRIE* focuses less on the specific details of growing plants and flowers and more on how the housewife will *use* her plants and flowers in the course of her regular household duties. Therefore, while Partridge offers only minimal instructions for actual planting, his cooking and medicinal recipes suggest that the housewife did the harvesting and growing herself, and the book is reprinted here in full as a short example of the genre. In his recipe for a 'sweete powder for Napery and all Lynnen Clothes', for example, he assumes that the housewife will use the marjoram that she has harvested directly from her garden and that she should harvest in such a way as to ensure its perpetual growth: 'Take of sweete Mariorum [marjoram]… when it hath in him Seedes ripe, cut the braunch so the Roote maye springe agayne, when this Mariorum is dried, then rubbe out the sedes and keepe them to soake until Easter, and the Huskes or leues that grow about the Seedes take for your purpose'. Partridge includes a short section titled, 'To know what time in the yeare Herbes and Flowres, should be gathered to their full strength', which resembles in some ways the almanac included in Tusser's manual for housewives. Aware of the needs of the rural housewife whose home remedies and recipes keep her family healthy, Partridge encourages his female reader to collect herbs and plants found in the wild, rather than those cultivated under more controlled circumstances, since, he argues, these are better for cooking and medicine. Like Tusser's housewife, the woman Partridge envisions as his reader engages in a wide range of household tasks; she has neither the time nor the disposable income for aesthetic planting.

The 1627 edition of the text reproduced here, by permission, is from the Folger Shakespeare Library copy (*STC* 19431), chosen for its legibility and because no earlier copy is available to reprint.

William Lawson (*c.* 1553–1635)

William Lawson was likely the vicar of Ormesby. If this identification is correct, our author was married twice and lived his entire life in the north of England. He seems to have been better educated than a typical country vicar, as is suggested by his references

to classical authors and to the collection of books on philosophy and religion in his personal library. Like many men who wrote manuals during this period, Lawson claims to have experience with farming, gardening and orchard growing, probably acquired while he was living in Ormesby. Lawson was a practical, religious man who appears to have written his books more as a service to his readers than as a way of making money. In his own ambitious and well-received work on trees, *Sylva* (1664), John Evelyn describes Lawson as 'honest Lawson', a designation that seems quite befitting (Thick, 7).

THE COVNTRIE HOVSEWIFES Garden (1617)

Published in 1618 as the second part of *A NEW ORCHARD and Garden* (for male readers), *THE COVNTRIE HOVSEWIFES Garden* (*STC* 15329) is noteworthy as the first discrete gardening book for women in England. Lawson's companion texts (published only three years after Gervase Markham's more broadly-focused *The English Husvvife* [1615], which appeared first in Markham's *COVNTRY Contentments* in 1615 and was later reprinted in his *A Way to Get Wealth*) were printed many times under the same titles. Lawson's *THE COVNTRIE HOVSEWIFES Garden* appeared at least thirteen times, beginning in 1623 as the final part of Gervase Markham's *A Way to Get Wealth* (the third part of which was Markham's *The English Husvvife*). *THE COVNTRIE HOVSEWIFES Garden* illustrates how English flower gardening was quickly evolving into a gendered practice. Whereas the garden and orchard Lawson envisions for men are designed (though not exclusively) for profit and commercial use, the housewife's garden is smaller than her male counterpart's and, while it might include some of the more practical plants along with neatly arranged flowers, its purpose is primarily to show her sense of style. Lawson writes that the housewife's garden is in 'no way comparable to the fruites of a rich Orchard' (9) and 'may be done with small labour, the compasse of a Garden being nothing so great' (1). Lawson also includes sections on distilling, dairying, weaving and spinning (though all much shorter than that on the garden), thus stressing that although the housewife he addresses might well have had the money for flowers to adorn her house, she was still responsible for other, less purely aesthetic, household endeavours. The book concludes with a section on beekeeping, a practice often associated with women, in which Lawson encourages the housewife to keep bees because they offer more 'commodity' than the garden. As such, beekeeping, not the garden itself, becomes a way for women to turn a profit.

Unlike his book for men, Lawson's *COVNTRIE HOVSEWIFES Garden* is aimed at a relatively less educated female readership, for it is written entirely in the vernacular (no Latin verses) and appeals to women who need advice on the basics. Hence it constitutes a transition between the earlier housewifery books with advice on gardening and the later books addressed to ladies.Women should grow only 'common hearbes' (19), Lawson writes, because they are 'not skilfull Artists … Let her first grow cunning in this, and then she may inlarge her Garden, as her skill and ability increaseth' (17). And whereas her husband's garden and orchard might well add to the household wealth, the housewife's garden 'challenge[s] to it selfe a profite, and exquisite forme to the eyes' (10–11); beauty, not money, is her profit. With aesthetic appeal as its strength, the housewife's garden reflects her creative ability. Lawson praises the housewife for her creativity, refraining from becoming too didactic and leaving her instead to her own 'delight and direction'.

Further emphasizing the housewife's creativity as a gardener, the book offers eight knot patterns she might use when designing her garden, keeping up with the latest trends even as she adds her own signature flair.

The text reproduced here, by permission, is from the British Library copy (shelfmark 966.b.28), and was chosen because it is a fully legible copy of the excerpt.[15]

Gervase Markham (1568?–1637)

Gervase Markham came from a well-connected rural gentry family. Probably educated at Cambridge, he moved to London some time in 1593. There Markham wrote texts ranging from books on veterinary medicine and horsemanship to poetry and drama. During the 1590s, he associated himself for religious as well as economic and political reasons with militant Protestant groups, including supporters of the Earl of Essex. In the early 1600s (and after Essex's failed coup), Markham married and moved to the country, where he lived as a tenant farmer on the estate of relatives. It was at this time that he took up writing plays, but he was most prolific as a writer of practical books about livestock (horses, sheep, pigs, cattle, etc), to which he would make minor changes and publish under different titles so as to maximize the money he received for each. At one point, he had five different books on the market simultaneously, all dealing with these topics. To prevent Markham and his printers from continuing this practice, in 1617 he was forced to sign a formal agreement stipulating that he would cease writing books on husbandry altogether. An inveterate entrepreneur and independent-minded man, Markham appears to have only partially complied; he later wrote a book of epistles related to horses and a book about the art of hunting wild birds. At some point Markham moved to London, where he died in 1637, an impoverished man despite his prolific writing career.

The English Husvvife (1615)

Gervase Markham's *The English Husvvife* was published as part of *COVNTREY Contentments* first in 1615, then again in 1623 and 1631. The text seems to have been printed alone only once, in 1631; otherwise, it appears as one of the sections of Markham's other books, for example, his *A Way to Get Wealth* in 1625, 1631, 1633 and 1638. In *The English Husvvife*, Markham discusses topics relevant to the country housewife of at least some wealth, one who had the means to dress fashionably yet who still did a good share of the work around the house. Sections dedicated to physic, cookery, dairying, brewing and clothing production offer practical advice for women based on 'common experience', not on formal training, which he reserves for men. In the section on physic reprinted here, for example, Markham envisions the housewife as subservient both to her husband as head of the household and to the 'learned [male] professionals' whose herbal remedies lie 'farre beyond the capacity of the most skilful woman' (4). Therefore, although Markham admonishes women to have a basic working knowledge of growing and using herbs to cure their family's ailments, he clearly distinguishes between their herbal knowledge and that of professional (male) medical practitioners. At the same time, Markham's dedicatory epistle to the Countess of Exeter plainly emphasizes a female community of skilled (though not professional) users of this knowledge. He tells the

Countess that he cannot take full credit for the material found in his book, that much of it came from a 'Manuscript which many yeeres agon belonged to an Honourable Contesse'. This calls to mind a common practice found in many household books in manuscript, one in which women record medicinal and cookery recipes (as well as other information related to housewifery) and pass their books to other women. The original book, he claims, included 'the opinions of the greatest Physitions which then lived', yet he also writes that his version will 'adde nothing to your [her] owne rare and vnparalleled knowledge'.

Since it addresses many of the broad duties of housewifery, Markham's book is not strictly a gardening manual, but throughout the work he does at times mention soil preparation, planting and harvesting. That he devotes less time to the specifics of gardening as such might be explained by his insistence that the housewife's duties lie primarily indoors. In fact, although Markham allows for the housewife's tending to plants and herbs for her family's use, he expects that the more taxing outdoor jobs will be completed by her husband. For Tusser, on the other hand, the housewife may well work the plough and do some of the heavier labour along with her husband. Despite Markham's claims that housewives' personal experience provides them with a working knowledge of gardening-related topics relevant to housewifery, his instructions still include some of the basic techniques in these areas, such as planting seeds, choosing the optimum soil and garden locations, and growing and harvesting cereal crops. Unlike Tusser, who discusses some of these same topics, Markham designates these activities for women as an 'art', signalling a shift in the conception of the housewife's chores, even if the chores themselves are similar. The housewife, for example, uses her plants and herbs to create lavish banquets to delight the senses of her guests and reflect well on herself and her husband rather than simply cooking to nourish.

The text reproduced here is excerpted from the British Library copy (*STC* 17343, shelfmark 7074.c.31), by permission, chosen because it is the first edition I have located that includes the dedicatory epistle to the Countess of Exeter and is completely legible.

Thomas Harris (dates unknown) and Hannah Woolley (Wolley) (1622–1675)

All that is known about Thomas Harris, who is listed as the author on the title page of 'THE Lady's DIVERSION IN HER Garden', is that he there identifies himself as a 'gard'ner'. It is worth considering the inclusion of Harris's short section in Hannah Woolley's *THE Accomplisht Ladys Delight* in terms of what we know of Woolley.[16] Hannah Woolley was well-known for her books on cookery and medicine in the mid to late seventeenth century. She was well educated, and before she began writing had worked for some time as a governess in the household of a lady (possibly Lady Anne Wroth, to whom she dedicated her second book). After completing this service, she opened her own school in London and published her first book, *The Ladies' Directory in choice experiments and curiosities of Preserving and Candying* (1664). Though also employed as a teacher, Woolley seems to have made a reasonable living through her writing, which was not then commonplace for women (or for men). Though she had married well, when her husband died only three years into their marriage he left her with little in the way of assets; she appears, however, to have continued to live comfortably in London after his

death, which suggests that she received enough income from the publication of her books to supplement her other forms of income (teaching and a small inheritance). Perhaps drawing on her own relatively successful and independent way of life, Woolley's books emphasize different activities in which women can establish themselves as strong members of the household.

While it is unclear whether Woolley sanctioned the addition of Harris's text to her own, its presence in the book seems unsurprising given that by the seventeenth century flower gardening had been framed as women's domain in England. That Harris's book appeared as part of the larger volume by Woolley suggests, first, that Harris expected to benefit from the popularity of Woolley and her books and, second, that gardening was considered yet another activity, like the others found in Woolley's books, through which women might carve out a place for themselves.

'THE Lady's DIVERSION *IN HER Garden'*

Harris's section, 'THE *Lady's DIVERSION* IN HER Garden', seems never to have been printed alone. Nor does it appear in the Stationers Register, which suggests that it was not intended for individual publication. Harris's 'THE *Lady's DIVERSION*' appears in only three of the many editions of Woolley's book: 1675, 1706 and 1720. The three editions in which we find 'THE *Lady's DIVERSION*' were all printed by Benjamin Harris (or, in the case of the 1720 edition, by Sarah Harris), and it is possible (though by no means certain) that Thomas Harris was some relation or acquaintance of the printer and that Benjamin Harris included the text as a favour, perhaps to boost the gardener's reputation. The section appears, moreover, in the only edition of Woolley's text which has dedicatory material seemingly not written by her.

'THE *Lady's DIVERSION*' tells how to find suitable ground for a garden, how to choose seeds and plants, when to plant different kinds of plants and flowers, and how to care for them. It also includes several paragraphs on making hotbeds. In addition to the monthly guide to plant care listed at the end of the section, Harris provides 'Directions for Adorning Balconies, Turrets, and Windows, with Flowers and Greens all the Year round' (166). This portion of 'THE *Lady's DIVERSION*', along with the others, suggests that the book was intended for women of at least middling status, since Harris's directions envision women who might take part in the planting and care but whose task is to oversee the development of a garden that would adorn their households. He offers instructions about plants for household consumption (cucumber, lettuce, cauliflower), yet many of the plants he names tended to be associated with the tables of the elite, not of the subsistence households for which Thomas Tusser wrote. Harris also gives instructions for planting flowers in the same paragraphs that explain how to plant some of the trendiest flowers (including exotics), suggesting that the women he addresses have the means, the interest and the income to plant both types of plants.

The excerpt reproduced here, by permission, is from the Bodleian Library copy (Wing 3268; shelfmark Antiq. f.E. 30 [3]), chosen because it is the only fully legible copy available to reprint.

Charles Evelyn (dates unknown) and John Laurence (Lawrence) (1668–1732)

We know nothing of Charles Evelyn, whose 'The Lady's Recreation' appears as the third of four sections in the 1718 edition of a larger volume, *GARDENING Improv'd* (ESTC T40428), by John Laurence (as he's named in the ESTC and ODNB), or Lawrence (as he is styled on his title page), a clergyman who took his BA and MA from Clare College, Cambridge and who went on to become an authority on gardening, writing several books on the topic.

The three sections that Lawrence wrote, all dealing variously with gardening and husbandry, had been printed in earlier editions without Evelyn's section. Although Evelyn's 'The Lady's Recreation' appeared as part of Lawrence's volume, it is unclear whether Lawrence knew about or approved the addition. Evelyn writes in his preface to 'The Lady's Recreation' that Lawrence 'approv'd' his text and was 'highly pleas'd with the design'. Lawrence's own dedicatory material, however, shows clearly that he envisioned a book with only the three sections that he wrote. Lawrence writes in his preface to the fourth section ('The Fruit-Garden Kalendar') that he had never even seen Evelyn's book: 'This leads me to say upon this occasion, for my own sake, and for the sake of the Publick, that the Book called the Lady's Recreation could not be published by my Approbation, because it was never seen by me, till it was in print'. He also implies that the bookseller included the section under the name 'Evelyn' so as to capitalize on the enormous success of the gardening writer, John Evelyn, when he calls 'Charles Evelyn' a 'borrowed name', hence perhaps implying it is a pseudonym.

'THE *Lady's Recreation*'

While the ESTC lists three editions of Evelyn's 'THE *Lady's Recreation*' under a separate entry from John Lawrence's (or Laurence's) *GARDENING Improv'd*, it is unclear whether the book was ever printed alone or whether it appears only in the four editions of Lawrence's (or Laurence's) book. In all editions, Evelyn dedicates his text to Mary Somerset, Duchess of Beaufort, who was renowned for her Badminton gardens. In that dedication, he reiterates the now familiar theme that flower gardening is for women: 'As the curious Part of Gardening in general, has been always an Amusement chosen by the greatest of Men, for the unbending of their Thoughts, and to retire from the World; so the Management of the Flower-Garden in particular, is oftentimes the Diversion of the Ladies, where the Gardens are not very extensive, and the inspection thereof doth not take up too much of their Time' (1–2). Like Lawson and others who came before or who would follow, Evelyn makes it clear that a lady's flower garden is something quite different from a man's. Hers is necessarily smaller, draws on relatively less experience, and is something to which she might give only part of her time. She is not imagined doing hard labour in the garden, and she is associated largely with its presentation.

Evelyn's contribution indicates the popularity and widespread availability of the exotic plants, flowers, trees and shrubs whose presence in a woman's garden would attest to her refined taste and ample purse. He gives information on locating (or developing) good soil, but most of his text comprises specific information about flower, tree and shrub species. Together with tulips and gillyflowers (by now fairly common flower species) Evelyn includes the marvel-of-Peru and amaranthus, both of which require specific and

delicate growing conditions. For such exotics, he adds instructions for growing in hotbeds and greenhouses. Other exotics in the section include flowering trees and shrubs, such as the Indian fig. Given the plants that he lists throughout, it would seem that the reader Evelyn imagines might be the country housewife of Lawson's manual; it is more likely, however, that she would come from the elite (like the Duchess of Beaufort, whom he cites) and would have the leisure, time and money to grow gardens that would impress her neighbours.

Charles Evelyn may also have been responsible for including 'Kalendarium Hortense', by John Evelyn, in '*Lady's Recreation*', along with his own text (as opposed to the 'Fruit-Garden Kalendar', which is the final part of the book and attributed to Lawrence). It is unclear why Evelyn would have included this almanac, which he did not author and which is not written expressly for women. Perhaps he was trying to associate himself with the noted writer, John Evelyn, lending credibility to Lawrence's claims that 'Charles Evelyn' was a pseudonym. However, the 'Kalendarium Hortense' that Charles Evelyn includes does not appear to be a reprint of John Evelyn's successful book. If Charles Evelyn did include it with the intention of capitalizing on John Evelyn's success, he would have been taking for granted that his readers were not actually familiar with John Evelyn's 'Kalendarium Hortense', since what is found in Charles Evelyn's book is clearly not the same text. On the other hand, the printer may have been responsible for the inclusion.

'THE *Lady's Recreation*' is reproduced, by permission, from the British Library copy (shelfmark 451.b.31.[1.]).[17]

APPENDIX

Pierre (Peter) Erondelle (or Erondel; fl. 1586–1609)

We know that Pierre (or Peter) Erondelle (or Erondel) was a French Huguenot from Normandy who fled to London in the late sixteenth century and became a French tutor. He published several other works: *A Declaration and Catholick Exhortation to All Christian Princes to Succour the Church of God and Realme of France* (1586), a translation from the French of *The French Schoole-maister* (1606) and *Nova Francia; or the description of… New France* (1609).

'The 12. Dialogue' from *THE FRENCH Garden: For English Ladyes and Gentlewomen to walke in*

Erondelle's *THE FRENCH Garden* (first printed in 1605, then again in 1621) is a collection of dialogues in French with English translations designed as a guide for women wanting to learn French. Erondelle starts with grammar and proceeds with dialogues on topics relevant to women: various household members, their roles (such as that of hostess), and areas inside and outside the house where women spent their time. Erondelle's is therefore not what we might traditionally call a 'gardening' manual, but 'The 12. Dialogue', the final one in the book, is included in this volume to illustrate one of the ways that printed works assume women's presence in the garden and relate the women

themselves to its aesthetic qualities even if they are not receiving actual instruction in planting.

The text reproduced here, by permission, is from the British Library copy (shelfmark C.184.f.23), chosen because it is a fully legible version of one of only two printed editions of the book and is one of the few extant copies of this text.

Manuscript Writings by Women on Gardening

What printed gardening manuals by men fail to represent is both the extent of women's gardening activity and the empowerment they gained from it. Manuscript writing by women reflects a gardening discourse generated by and circulated among the women themselves: household account books, medicinal and cookery recipes, and other correspondence show that women readily regarded themselves as gardening experts and wrote about gardening with authority. In 'Rules for her household' (1601), Lady Jane Berkeley gives 'licence' to her male servants to attend her while she is in her garden in a way that might not be surprising for an elite woman.[18] However, Berkeley's command in the garden resembles that of men in the context of large-scale estate management, not the relative lack of authority women seemed to have in published gardening books written for them by men. Berkeley's manuscript testifies to how this authority might seamlessly cross over from the garden outside into the house itself. She instructs her servants, for example, on how to use what grows in her garden, telling them to trim the chimneys with 'green bowes', the windows 'with herbes and sweet flowers and the chambers stowed w[i]t[h] greene rushes' (f.44b). In the same manuscript containing Berkeley's 'Rules' we also find her husband's, yet his are much less commanding, much less extensive; in fact, her husband's 'Rules' suggest that he left household decision-making and management largely to his wife's discretion, a permission or concession curiously absent from so many of the printed gardening books (f.44).[19]

Women weeded other women's gardens, as the household accounts of Anne Archer suggest (1608–1617), and women traded garden flowers, vegetables and fruits.[20] Lady Temple's accounts (1631) show her negotiating for strawberries, currants, cherries, carrots and parsnips,[21] suggesting that women managed garden provisions, whether they imported them or grew them themselves. Manuscript accounts also show how women readily provided instruction for the practice of gardening itself. While much of this knowledge would likely have been passed from woman to woman in a less formal manner, a collection from 1608 penned by Mary Gee shows a woman giving her own directions for planting what she claims will 'make very greate radishes':

> Dig your ground 2 or 3 feete deepe so that the mould[es] may bee very soft[and] hollow then take a walking sticke as big as your finger put yt a foote downe into those soft mould[es] then put a radish seede into that deepe hole, cover yt not above one intch let the rest of the hole bee hollow that hollowness will make the radish grow monstrous greate.[22]

Like that of the men who published gardening books, Gee's experience legitimated her advice on planting methods. These manuscripts, as well as others like them, are evidence of the intersections between the roles in gardening advocated by published manuals and women's practical experience in their gardens.

Whereas printed manuals often circumscribe women's gardening roles, manuscript accounts attest to the 'female expertise in the cultivation, collection, and preparation of edible and medicinal products' so often assumed but rarely detailed by feminist historians (Mendelson and Crawford, 225).[23] Lady Grace Mildmay (who lived from 1552–1620), for example, had a garden renowned throughout London. Her exotic collection of plants included rare herbs, such as cardus benedictus, dulcamara and scordium, as well as some of the more common herbs, such as marjoram, sage, rosemary and fennel, which Gervase Markham and William Lawson specifically cite as belonging in a 'housewife's' garden (Pollock, 127). Despite what many printed manuals imply about women's gardening, Mildmay's gardening skills were hardly inferior to those of her male counterparts. The exotic plants Mildmay grew were not found elsewhere in London, and apothecaries would regularly seek them out for use in the salves they provided for their patients. Mildmay herself was well known for her expertise in herbal medicine. As part of her regular medical practice she 'compiled a list of herbs and flowers and the parts of the body they treated' in much the same way that John Gerard had done in his *Herball* or that Gervase Markham had done in *The English Husvvife* (Pollock, 103).

Manuscript recipe collections from the late sixteenth through the mid seventeenth centuries further confirm that a working knowledge of the garden did not circulate only, or even primarily, among men and professionals, and that the primary criterion for an authoritative cure was the experience of both men and women.[24] Collections that include entries by both men and women further attest to the credibility women had in this realm, not only with each other, but also in mixed groups. In a collection of medical recipes in both a man's and a woman's hand, we find recipes attributed to both men and women that use such plants as rue, wormwood, sage, chamomile and rosemary, and provide a remedy for the 'ache' by Mr. Drew and one for kidney stones by Lady Herbert of Cowcam which uses radish roots, parsley and saxifrage (1620s).[25] And Elizabeth Powell's 'preseruing booke' explains how to use rosemary to purge 'watyr of all odyr for the cankyr and for all syknes' (1573–85).[26] These collections distinguish neither between amateur and professional status nor between the credibility of men and women writers. Instead, men and women appear as equal contributors to these vast volumes in which the infirm sought counsel from those of either gender who might help them.

By the middle of the seventeenth century, women had clearly established themselves as experts in different types of gardening, even if published books represented their practice as less significant in many ways than that of their male counterparts. Though women did not publish gardening manuals of their own before the nineteenth century, aesthetic gardening was rapidly evolving into a 'womanly' activity well before that time. While what would later become a 'feminine' practice was still coming into its own, women readily used the flowers, fruits and vegetables they grew to negotiate their social position. If middle-class men sought status as writers on gardening, then what they wrote helped middle-class men *and* women increase their social standing through such an art, whether that meant designing the gardens of the elite or arranging the plants in their own gardens. Published manuals may have subordinated the common knowledge circulated and authorized by women and other amateur practitioners to that of a superior male authority, but a history of women's gardening based on both published and unpublished material reveals women's gardens as sites of creative authority and relative independence.

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Notes

1 See Bourdieu, *Distinction*.
2 See Goody (182–205) on the iconic significance of flowers and gardens in the period, including 'Tulipomania' and the importation of other exotic plants. See also Dash, and Thomas 226–41.
3 Though originally published under this title, Hill's text was modified somewhat and published at least thirteen times between 1563 and 1608, either under that title or as *The profitable arte of gardening*, *The new art of gardening* or *The gardeners labyrinth* (the most commonly issued title).
4 See also Williams, *The Country and the City*.
5 See also Duthie.
6 While this phenomenon was indeed affected by women's status – that is, women of lower classes were required to carry out agricultural duties more often than were aristocratic women later in this period – it was more dependent on gender difference than on class difference. Women from all classes would have been expected to supervise and participate in household labour, even if, as Alison Sim writes, a woman's wealth became more of a factor over this period concerning what those duties might entail: 'Even wealthy women were very much practical, working housewives. They may have had servants, but these were people whom they worked alongside, rather than just gave orders to as the grand ladies of later centuries did' (xxviii). The manuals published in this period exemplify Sim's conclusions. They address the 'housewife' indiscriminately, including as their readers both aristocratic women and elite women readers.
7 Mendelson and Crawford discuss at length women's household, professional and skilled work, for only some of which they were paid wages.
8 Cahn discusses how textiles, like gardening, became the domain of the professional in some ways, but argues that professionalization did not change the fact that women still pursued these activities within the private sphere.
9 Lucy Harington, Countess of Bedford, was well known for her gardens at Twickenham and Moor Park. Calling the gardens at Twickenham a 'true paradise', John Donne asks Harington if he might 'some senseless piece of this place be' ('Twickenham Garden', 9, 16). And William Temple calls the gardens Harington had planted at Moor Park 'the most beautiful and perfect, and altogether the sweetest place which [he] had ever seen in England or in foreign countries' (quoted in Lewalski, 98). See also Durant.
10 Merian was the first, male or female, to produce drawings of multiple species of plants on the same page. By placing multiple plant species on the same page, Merian's work helped establish plant 'families'. Her sketches also presented for the first time plant and insect species

together, suggesting a more holistic approach to understanding the relationship between the two.

11 Henrey's comprehensive bibliography of published texts on gardening is an excellent resource; it does not, however, refer to or list any unpublished materials, which means that it does not indicate women's knowledge about gardening. See also John Harvey, who traces the chronology of the nursery business in England during this period; the business expanded along with professional gardening and published husbandry and gardening manuals.

12 *The English Husvvife* also appeared as part of *Markham's Masterpiece, Cavelarice*, and *The English Husbandman* (1630, 1637 edns). Notably, it also appeared in *A Way to Get Wealth*, which also reprinted William Lawson's *The Country Housewife* as its final part (1623 edn). It was never published alone.

13 See also note 12.

14 In 1574, 1576, 1577, 1580, 1585, 1586, 1597, 1599, 1604, 1610, 1614, 1620, 1630, 1638, 1663, 1672, 1710 and 1744. William Lawson comes close to this number with his *A NEW ORCHARD and Garden* and *THE COVNTRIE HOVSEWIFES Garden* (1617), and Markham exceeds Tusser's success with his many titles on husbandry and gardening.

15 Printed in 1618, then again in 1623, 1626, 1638, 1648, 1653, 1656, 1660, 1676 and 1683. The companion books were also published as part of Gervase Markham's *A Way to Get Wealth* in 1623, 1625, 1631,1633, 1638, 1648, 1653, 1664, 1676 and 1695.

16 Originally attributed to a 'T.P.', whose signature appears at the end of the dedicatory material, the book is now attributed to Woolley. For unknown reasons, *THE Accomplisht Ladys Delight* is the only one of the many books attributed to Woolley for which she did not write the dedicatory material. In all other editions of Woolley's books, her name appears after the dedications; in *THE Accomplisht Ladys Delight*, however, the dedicatory material is followed by the initials, 'T.P.' The mysterious 'T.P.' has yet to be identified, but he may be Thomas Passinger, for whom *The compleat serving-maid* was printed (1677).

17 Lawrence's/Laurence's text was printed twice in 1717, then again in 1718 and 1719.

18 BL MS Add 33599, f.46–46b.

19 On the last page of the same manuscript, Lord Berkeley includes his own orders for the household, almost incidental by comparison and far less specific than the extensive directions his wife writes.

20 BL MS Add 27622. Archer lists payments to the gardener on ff. 14, 16b and 17; she notes payment to Goody Gladyn for weeding on ff. 17, 18, 34. We can deduce that Archer was wealthy enough to buy meat regularly, as she notes such purchases in her household accounts, but there is no indication that she is part of the very wealthy upper class.

21 BL MS Add 52475A f. 34.

22 BL MS Eg 2608, f.16.

23 See in particular: Gervase Markham, *The English Husvvife*; Thomas Tusser, *Fiue hundreth points of good husbandry*; and William Lawson, *THE COVNTRIE HOVSEWIFES Garden*.

24 See BL MS Add 20057, f.12; and BL MS Add 34722, f.45–6 respectively. BL MS Add 34722 was probably collected over a period of time during the first half of the seventeenth century. Handwriting in the front indicates that the book was given to Cisilia Haynes by Lady Anne Lovelace in 1659, and G. Mildemay signed the first page in 1663, which may suggest that she received the book from Cisilia Haynes.

25 BL MS Add 36308.

26 BL MS 20057, f.12.

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JENNIFER MUNROE

Thomas Tusser, extracts from ‘The points of Huswifrie, vnited to the comfort of Husbandrie’ from *Fiue hundreth points of good husbandry* (1574; *STC* 24378) are reprinted, by permission, from the copy at The British Library (shelfmark C.118.bb.8/2). The text block of the original measures 175mm × 98mm (sig. 01 excl. marginal notes).

Readings where the copy is blotted or otherwise difficult to read:

10r.11:	som crumbs
15r.7:	good husswife and bad,
15v.18:	with vnknowne
16r.23:	Ill huswife ill name hath,
16r.25–26:	*Thus endeth the booke of* | *Huswifery*

Fiue hundreth points of good husbandry vnited to as many of good huswifery, first deuised, & nowe lately augmented with diuerse approued lessons concerning hoppis & gardening, and other needeful matters, together with an abstract before euery moneth, containing the wholl effect of the sayd moneth with a table & a preface in the beginning both necessary to be reade, for the better vnderstanding of the booke.

Set forth by Thomas Tusser gentleman, seruant to the honorable Lord Paget of Beudesert.

Imprinted at London in Fletestrete within Temple barre, at the signe of the Hand & starre, by Richard Tottell.
anno. 1574.

¶ Cum priuilegio.

The points of Huswifrie, vnited to the comfort of Husbandrie, *newly corrected and amplified with* diuers good lessons for housholders to recreat the Reader, as by the Table at the end hereof more plainely may appeare.

Set forth by Thomas Tusser Gentleman. 1573.

To the right honorable and my especiall good Lady and Mistresse, the Lady Paget.

Though daunger be mickle,
and fauour so fickle,
Yet dutie doth tickle,
my fanſie to wright:
Concerning how prettie,
how fine and how nettie,
Good huſwife ſhould yettie,
from morning to night.

2 Not minded by writing,
to kindle a ſpighting,
But ſhew by endighting,
as afterward told:
How huſbandry eaſeth,
ſo huſwiferie pleaſeth,
and many purſe greaſeth,
with ſiluer and gold.

3 For huſbandry weepeth,
where huſwiferie ſleepeth,
and hardly hee creepeth,
vp ladder to thrift:
That wanteth to hold him,
thrifts ladder to hold him,
before it be fold him,
he falles without ſhift.

4 Least many should feare me,
and others forsweare me,
of troth I do beare me,
vpright as ye see:
full minded to loue all,
and not to reproue all,
but onely to moue all,
good huswifes to bee.

5 For if I should mindsome,
or desirant behindsome,
and missing to findsome,
displease so I mought:
or if I should blend them,
and so to offend them,
what stir I should send them,
I stand in a dout.

6 Though harmles I make it,
and some do well take it,
if others forsake it,
what pleasure were that:
naught else but to paineme,
and nothing to gaineme,
but make them disdaine me,
I wot nor for what.

7 Least some make a triall,
as clock by the diall,
some stand to denial,
same murmure and grudge:
geue iudgement I pray you,
for iustly so may you,
so fansy, so say you,
I make you my iudge.

8 In tyme, ye shall try me,
by troth, ye shall spy me,
so finde, so set by me,
according to skill:
how euer tree groweth,
the fruit, the tree showeth,
your Ladyship knoweth,
my hart and good will.

9 Though fortune doth mesure,
and I do lack treasure,
yet if I may pleasure,
your honour with this:
then will me to mend ie,
or mend ere ye send it,
or any where lend it,
if ought be amisse.

Your Ladiships seruant
Thomas Tusser.

The Preface to the booke of *Huſwiferye.*

TAke weapon away, of what force is man?
take huſwife from huſband, and what is he than?

2 As louers deſireth, together to dwell,
ſo huſbandry loueth good huſwifery well.

3 Though huſbandry ſeemeth, to bring in the gaynes,
yet huſwifery labours, ſeeme equall in paines.

4 Some reſpit to huſbands, the wether may ſend,
but huſwifes affaires, haue neuer an end.

As true as thy fayth,
Thus Huſwiferie ſayth.

The praiſe of Huſwiferie.

I Serue for a day, for a weeke, for a yeare,
for life time, for euer, while man dwelleth here.
For richer, for poorer, from North to the South
For honeſt, for hardhed, or daintie of mouth.
For wed, & vnwedded, in ſicknes and health,
For all that well liueth, in good common wealth.
For Citie, for countrey, for Court and for cart,
to quiet the head, and to comfort the hart.

A deſ-

A description of huswife and Huswiferie.

OF huswife, doth huswiferie challenge that name,
of Huswiferie, huswife doth likewise the same.
Where husband and husbandry ioyneth with thease,
there welthines gotten, is holden with ease.

The name of a huswife, what is it to say?
the wife of the house, to the husband a stay.
If huswife doth that, as belongeth to hir:
if husband be wittie, there needeth no stir.

The huswife is shee, that to labour doth fall,
the labour of hir, I doo huswiferie call.
If thrift by that labour, be saued or got:
then is it good huswiferie, els is it not.

The woman, the name of a huswife doth win,
by keeping hir house, and of doings therein.
And shee that with husband, will quietly dwell:
must thinke on this lesson, and follow it well.

FINIS.

Enſtructions to Huſwifery.

Serue God is ihe furſt,
True loue is not wurſt.

A Dayly good leſſon, of huſwife in deede,
is God to remember, the better to ſpeede.

2 An other good leſſon, of huſwiferie thought,
is huſwife with huſband, to liue as ſhee ought,

¶ VVife comely no griefe,
Man out, huſwife chiefe.

3 Though trickſy to ſee to, be gallant to wiue,
yet comely and wiſe, is the huſwife to thriue.

4 When huſband is abſent. let huſwife be chiefe,
and looke to their labour that eateth her biefe.

¶ Both out, not alow,
Keepe houſe huſwife thou.

5 Wher huſband and huſwife, be both out of place,
there ſeruants do lopter, and reaſon their caſe.

6 The huſwife ſo named (of keaping the houſe,)
muſt tend on hir profit, as cat on the mouſe.

¶ Seeke home for reſt,
For home is beſt.

7 As huſwiues keepe home, and be ſtirrers about,
ſo ſpeedeth their winnings, the yere throughout.

8 Though home be but homly, yet huſwif is taught,
that home hath no fellow, to ſuch as haue aught.

Wſe

¶Vſe all with ſkill,
aſke what ye will.

9 Good vſage with knowledge, and quiet with all,
Make huſwife to ſhine, as ſunn on the wall.

10 What husband refuſeth, all comely to haue,
that hath a good huſwife, all willing to ſaue.

¶Be readie at need,
all thine to feed.

11 The caſe of good huſwiues thus dayly doth ſtand,
what euer ſhall chaunce, to be ready at hand.

12 This care hath a huſwife all day in hir head,
that all thing in ſeaſon be huſwifely fed.

By practiſe go muſe,
How howſhold to vſe.

13 Dame practiſe is ſhee, that to huſwife muſt tell,
which way for to gouerne, her family well.

14 Vſe labourers gently, keepe this as a lawe,
make childe to be ciuell, keepe ſeruant in awe.

¶VVho careleſſe do liue,
occaſion do giue.

15 Haue euery where, a reſpect to thy wayes,
that none of thy life any ſlaunder may rayſe.

16 What many do know, though a time it be hid,
at length will abrode, when a miſchief ſhall bid.

No neighbour reproue,
do ſo to haue loue.

17 The loue of thy neighbour, shal stand thee in stede,
the poorer, the gladder, to helpe at a nede.

18 Vse friendly thy neghbour, els trust him in this,
as he hath thy friendship, so trust vnto his.

¶ Stricke nothing vnknowne,
take heede to thine owne.

19 Reuenge not thy wrath vpon any mans beast,
least thine by like malice, be bid to like feast.

20 What husband prouideth, with money his drudge
the huswife must looke to, which way it doth trudge.

A disgression.

NOw out of the matter, this lesson I ad,
concerning cock crowing, what profit is had,
experience teacheth, as true as a clock:
how winter night passeth, by marking the cock.

Cock croweth at midnight, times few aboue six,
with pause to his neighbour, to aunswere betwixt,
at three a clock thicker, and then as ye know:
like all in to Mattens, nere day they do crow.

At midnight, at three, and an hower ere day,
they vtter their language, as well as they may:
which who so regardeth, what counsell they giue:
will better loue crowing as long as they liue.

For being frayd,
Take heede good mayd:
Marke crowing of cock,
For feare of a knock.

¶ The first cocke crowing.

Howe, dame it is midnight, what rumbling is that! At midnight.

The next cocke showeth.

Take heede to false harlots, and more ye wot what,
If noyse ye do here,
looke al thinges be cleare.
Least drabs do noy thee,
and theeues destroy thee.

¶ The first Cocke croweth.

Maids three a clock, kned, lay your bucks, or go brew At three a clock.

The next cock showeth.

And cobble and botch ye, that cannot buy new.
Both mayden and man,
mend now what ye can.
Leaue gibber gabber,
mend slibber slabber.

¶ The first cock croweth. At the break of the day.

Past fiue a clock, holla: mayd sleeping beware,

The next cock showeth.

Least quickely your mistresse vncouer your bare.
Mayd vp I beseech you,
least mistresse do breech you.
To worke and away,
as fast as ye may.

Now liſtē good huſwiues, what doings ar here
Set out for a day as it ſhould for a yere.

¶ No ſoner ſome vp
but noſe is in cup.

GEt vp in the morning, as ſoone as thou wilt,
with ouer long ſlugging, good ſeruant is ſpilt.

2 Some ſlouens from ſleeping, no ſooner be vp,
but hand is in aumbrie, and noſe in the cup.

That early is donne,
count huſwifely wonne.

Morning workes.

3 Some works in the morning, may trimly be doune,
that al the day after, can hardly be wonne.

4 Good huſband without, it is nedeful there bee:
good huſwife within, is as needeful as hee.

Caſt duſt into yard,
and ſpin and go card.

5 Sluts corners auoyded, ſhall further thy helth,
much time about trifles, ſhal hinder thy welth.

6 Set ſome to peele hemp, or els reſhis to twine,
to ſpin and to card, or to ſeething of brine.

Grind malt for drinke,
ſee meat do not ſtinke.

7 Set ſome about cattle, ſome paſture to bewe,
ſome, malt to bee grinding, againſt ye do brewe.

8 Some, corneth, ſome brineth, ſōe wil not be taught,
where meat is atainted, there cookery is naught.

To

To breakefaſt that come,
giue cry one ſome.

9 Call ſeruants to breakefaſt, by day ſtar appere, Breakefaſt.
a ſnatch and to worke fellowes, tarry not here.

10 Let huſwife be caruer, ſee pottage be heate,
a meſſe to each one, with a morcell of meate.

No more tittle tattle.
go ſerue your cattle.

11 What tack in a pudding, ſaies greedy gut wringer,
giue ſuch ye wot what, ere a pudding he finger.

12 Let ſeruant once ſerued, thy cattle go ſerue,
leaſt often ill ſeruing, make cattle to ſterue.

Learne you that will thee,
How deinty ſome bee.

13 No breakefaſt of cuſtome, prouide for to ſaue,
but onely for ſuch as deſerueth to haue.

14 No ſhewing to ſeruant, what vittailes in ſtore,
ſhew ſeruant his labour, and ſhew him no more.

Of hauocke beware,
cat nothing wil ſpare,

15 Where al thing is common, what needeth a hutch,
where wanteth a ſauer, there hauocke is much.

16 where windowe is open, cat maketh a fray,
yet wilde Cat with two legs, is wurſe by my fay.

Looke wel vnto thine,
Slut ſlothful muſt whine.

17 An eye in a corner who vſeth to haue,
reuealeth a drab, and preuenteth a knaue.

18 Make mayd to be cleny, or make her cry creake,
and teach hir to ſtir, when her miſtreſſe doth ſpeake.

Let holly wand threate,
let fiſgig be beate.

19 A wand in thy hand, though ye fight not at all,
make youth to their buſineſſ, better to fall.

20 For feare of foole had I will, cauſe thee to wayle,
let fiſgig be tought, to ſhut doore after tayle.

To eaſy the wicket,
will ſtil appeaſe clicket.

21 With her that will clicket, make daunger to cope,
leaſt quickely her wicket ſeeme eaſy to ope.

22 As rod little mendeth, where maners be ſpilt,
ſo naught wilbe naught, ſay & do what thou wilt.

Fight ſeldome ye ſhal,
but vſe not to brall.

23 Much brauling with ſeruant, what man can abide
pay home when thou fightest, but loue not to chide.

24 As order is heauenly, where quiet is had,
ſo error is hell, or a miſchieſe as bad.

What

VVhat better a law,
then ſubiectes in awe.

25 Such awe as a warning, wil cauſe to beware,
Doth make the whole houſhold, the better to fare.

26 The leſſe of thy counſell, thy ſeruants do know;
their duity the better, ſuch ſeruants ſhall ſhow.

Good muſicke regard,
good ſeruant reward.

27 Such ſeruants are oftneſt, paineful and good,
that ſing in their labour, as birds in the wood.

28 Good ſeruants hope iuſtly, ſome frindſhip to feele,
and looke to haue fauour, what time they do weele.

By once or twiſe,
tis time to be wiſe.

29 Take runagat Robin, to pitty his neede,
and looke to be filched, as true as thy Creede.

30 Take warning by once, that a wurſe do not hap,
foreſight is the ſtopper of many a gap.

Some chaunge for a ſhift,
oft change ſmall thrift.

31 Make few of thy counſel, to chaunge for the beſt,
leaſt one that is trudging, infecteth the reſt.

32 The ſtone that is rouling, can gether no moſſe.
for maſter and ſeruant, of chaunging is loſſe.

Both liberall ſticketh,
ſome prouender pricketh.

33 One Dog for a hog, and one cat for a mouſe,
one ready to giue, is ynough in a houſe.

34 One gift il accepted, kepe next in thy purſe,
whom prouender pricketh, are often the wurſe.

Brew ſomewhat for thine,
els kepe no ſwine.

ewing. 35 Where brewing is nedefull, be brewer thy ſelfe,
what filleth the roofe, will helpe furniſh the ſhelfe.

36 In buying of drinke by the firkin or pot,
ſcore quickely ariſeth, hog profiteth not.

Well brewed, worth coſt,
Ill vſed, halfe loſt.

37 One bushell wel brewed, out lafteth ſome twaine,
two troubles for nothing, is coſt to no gaine.

38 Too new is no profite, to ſtale is as bad,
drinke dead or els ſower, makes labor e ſad.

Remember good Gil,
Take paine with thy ſwil.

hing of es. 39 Seeth graines in more water, while graines be yet (hot
and ſtir them in copper, as poredge in pot.

40 Such heating with ſtraw, to haue offal good ſtore
both pleaſeth and eaſeth, what would ye haue more.

New

New bread is a dreuill,
Much cruſt is as euill.

Baking.

41 New bread is a waſter, but mouldy is wurſe.
What dog catcheth that way, that loſeth the purſe.

42 Much dowebake I praiſe not, much cruſt is as ill,
The meane is the huſwife, ſay nay if ye will.

Good cookery craueth,
Good turne broch ſaueth.

43 Good cooke to dreſſe dinner, to bake and to brew, Cookery.
Deſerues a reward, being honeſt and true.

44 Good diligent turne broche, and truſty with all,
Is ſometime as needful, as ſome in the hall.

Good dayrye, doth pleaſure
Ill dairy ſpends treaſure,

45 Good huſwife in dayry, that needes not be tolde, Dayry.
Deſerueth her fee to be payd her in golde.

46 Ill ſeruant neglecting, what huſwifery ſayes,
Deſerueth her fee, to be payd her with bayes.

Though droy be worth much,
marke ſluts and ſuch.

47 Good droy to ſerue hog, to helpe waſh & to milke,
More needful is truely, then ſome in their ſylke.

48 Though homely be mylker, let clenly be cooke,
For ſlut and a ſlouen, be knowne by their looke.

In dayrieno Cat,
Lay bane for Rat

49 Though cat (a good mouſer) doth dwel in a houſe
yet euer in dayry, haue trap for a mouſe.

50 Take hede how thou laieſt, the bane for the rats,
for poiſoning ſeruant, thy ſelfe and thy brats.

No ſcouring for pride,
ſpare kettle whole ſide.

Scouring. 51 Though ſcouring be nedefull, yet ſcouring to much
is pride without profit, and rubbeth thine huch.

52 Keepe kettles from knocks, & ſet tubs out of Sun,
for mending is coſtly, and crackt is ſoone dun.

Take heede when ye waſh.
els runne in the laſh.

aſhing. 53 Maydes waſh well & wring wel, but beat ye wot
if any lacke beating, I feare it be you. (how

54 In waſhing by hand, haue an eye to thy boll,
for Launders and Millers, be quick of their toll.

Dry ſunne, dry wind,
ſafe bind ſafe find.

55 Go waſh wel ſaith ſommer, with ſunne I ſhal dry,
Go wring wel ſaith winter, with wind ſo ſhal I.

56 To truſt without hede, is to venter a ioint,
giue tale and take count, is a huſwifely point.

Where

Where mamy be packing.
are many things lacking.

57 When hens fall a cackling take heede to their neſt
when drabbes fall a whiſpring, take heede to the reſt.

58 Through negligēt huſwiues ar many thigs lackig
and Gyllet ſuſpected, will quickly be packing.

Ill malting is theft,
wood dried hath a weſt.

59 Houſe may be ſo handſome, and ſkilfulneſſe ſuch, Malting
to make thy owne malt, it ſhal profit thee much.

60 Some drieth with ſtraw, & ſom drieth with wood
wood asketh more charge, and yet nothing ſo good.

Take heede to the kell,
Sing out as a bell.

61 Be ſuer no chaunces, to fier can drawe,
the wood or the furzen, the brake or the ſtrawe.

62 Let Gyllet be ſinging, it doth very well,
to keepe her from ſleeping and burning the kell.

Beſt dride, beſt ſpeedes,
ill kept, bowd breedes.

63 Malt being well ſpeered, the more it will caſt,
malt being well dryed, the longer will laſt.

64 Long kept in ill ſoller (vndouted thou ſhalt,)
through bowds without nūber, loſe quickly thy malt.

For hunger or thriſt,
dreſſe cattell well firſt.

Dinner time. 65 By Noone ſee your dinner be ready and neat,
let meat tary ſeruant, not ſeruant his meat.

66 Plough cattell a bayting, call ſeruant to dinner,
the thicker, ſo much be the charges the thinner.

To gither is beſt,
For hoſtis and geſt.

67 Dew ſeaſon is beſt, altogither to gay,
Diſpatch hath no fellow, make ſhort and away.

68 Beware of Gill laggoſe, diſordring thy houſe,
moe dainties who catcheth, then craftie fed mouſe:

Let ſuch haue ynough,
that follow the plough.

69 Giue ſeruant no dainties, but giue him ynough,
too many chappes walking, do begger the plough.

70 Poore ſeggons halfe ſterued worke faintly & dull,
and lubbers do loyter their bellies to full.

Giue neuer too much,
to lazie and ſuch.

71 Feede lazie, that threſheth a flap and a tap,
like ſlouthfull, that all day be ſtopping a gap.

72 Some litherly lubber, more eateth then two,
yet leaueth vndone, that a ſtraunger will do.

VVhere

VVhere no thing will laſt,
ſpare ſuch as thou haſt.

73 Some cutteth thy linnen, ſome ſpilleth their broth,
bare table to ſome, doth as well as a cloth.

74 Treene diſhes be homely, and yet not to lack,
where ſtone is no laſter, take tankard and iack.

Knap boy on thet humbes,
And ſaue him his crumbes.

75 That pewter is neuer for manerly feaſt,
that dayly doth ſerue an vnmannerly beaſt.

76 Som gnaweth & leueth, ſom crusts & ſom crumbs
eat ſuch their own leuigs or gnaw their own thumbs.

Serue God euer furſt,
take nothing at wurſt,

77 At Dinner, at Supper, at morning, at night,
giue thankes vnto God for his gifts in thy ſight.

78 Good huſband and huſwife will ſomtime alone,
make ſhift with a morſell, and picke of a bone.

Enough thou art told,
to much will not hold.

79 Three diſhes well dreſſed, and welcome withall,
both pleaſeth thy friend, and becommeth thine hall.

80 Enough is a plenty, to muche is a pride,
the plough with ill holding, goes quickly aſyde.