

ABSTRACT

Title of Dissertation: "MANY HANDS HANDS": EARLY MODERN
ENGLISHWOMEN'S RECIPE BOOKS AND THE
WRITING OF FOOD, POLITICS, AND THE SELF

Catherine Field, Doctor of Philosophy, 2006

Dissertation directed by: Professor Jane Donawerth
Department of English Language and Literature

"Many Hands Hands" is a study of early modern Englishwomen's recipe (or "receipt") books. It traces how women explored and expressed matters of food, politics, and self in culinary, medicinal, and cosmetic recipes. The receipt book genre was closely associated with the work of the early modern house, where women were accepted as authorities in matters of household management; thus, the receipt book was particularly accessible to women as they searched for modes of self-expression. Through recipe practice, the housewife managed her own body, as well as the bodies of those under her care (such as her husband, children, servants, and neighbors); at the same time, she occasionally exerted pressure on the body politic of the state. In this period, domestic activities within the home were often politicized, and I argue that the housewife's role and recipe practice were considered central to definitions of English nationhood.

In addition to surveying women's manuscript recipe collections, I also analyze printed representations of their recipe practice from the beginning and middle of the seventeenth century. In Shakespeare's *All's Well that Ends Well* (c.1604), the female practitioner is represented as powerful and capable, yet Helen's specialized knowledge about the (royal) male body makes her a troubling and disturbing figure to the other characters in the play, including Bertram of Rossillion, the man she hopes to marry. The play ultimately valorizes Helen's practice, however, and it reinforces an empirical world view, where with the proper "how to" (or recipe), bodies are knowable and healable, in spite of their transgressive (if predictable) desires. By the middle of the seventeenth century, "how to" books of recipes (in print and in manuscript) come to be increasingly influenced by utopian writings. Printed cookbooks attributed to women reveal utopian longings in the form of royalist nostalgia, a desire to reclaim the past as a place of good household management and national economy. Recipes became a mode through which women and men could reflect on the "how to" workings of the body in order to improve the health of the individual and, ultimately, the body politic of the state.

“MANY HANDS HANDS”: EARLY MODERN ENGLISHWOMEN’S RECIPE
BOOKS AND THE WRITING OF FOOD, POLITICS, AND THE SELF

By

Catherine Field

Dissertation submitted to the Faculty of the Graduate School of the
University of Maryland, College Park in partial fulfillment
of the requirements for the degree of
Doctor of Philosophy
2006

Advisory Committee:

Professor Jane Donawerth, Chair
Professor Kent Cartwright
Professor Theresa Coletti
Professor Jo Paoletti
Professor William Sherman

© Copyright by

Catherine Field

2006

To my parents who made everything possible

Acknowledgements

There are many people whose influence profoundly contributed to the final shape of this dissertation. To Jane Donawerth and Theresa Coletti for sustaining me intellectually and personally throughout the duration of this project. I am deeply grateful for Jane's patient reading and re-reading of countless drafts of chapters, articles, and mini-essays. She always found meaning and potential in those drafts, even when I could not. Theresa's careful, thoughtful responses to my ideas and suggestions for my writing helped me better craft the dissertation. To Bill Sherman whose enthusiasm for and expertise with early modern manuscripts inspired me to begin my own explorations of manuscript culture. To Laura Lunger Knoppers, who in her Folger Institute seminar, "Divulging Domestic Privacies," taught me how to think about the categories of public and private in seventeenth-century English writings. To Kent Cartwright for cheerfully joining my dissertation committee in the last year and for asking all the right questions about my research. To my friends—Erika Farr, Natalie Prestwich, and Alan Farmer—in thanks for the Folger follies. To Laetitia Yeandle for teaching me how to be a better paleographer and for helping me whenever I puzzled over the handwriting in receipt books at the Folger Shakespeare Library. To David Scott Kastan and Linda Levy Peck for their illuminating dissertation seminar, "Researching the Archive" at the Folger Institute. To the participants in the seminar, especially Sarah Wall-Randell, Melissa Hull, Joe Navitsky, Jennifer Ailles, who enlivened my project with their perceptive comments and suggestions. To my *amici cari* in Italy, especially Alessandra and Vito—who taught me how to cook and eat Italian style and, thus, how to live. To my friend and

writing guru, Helen Berkeley, who pulled me out of the writing doldrums numerous times. To my dissertation coach, Tracy Steen. To Gillian Knoll and Denise Woolf who helped me in the last, crucial stages of editing. To my friend, Jeanne Reitz, who helped me with the final formatting and submission of the dissertation. To my former professors and mentors at Dominican College, especially Phillip Novak, Sister Samuel Conlan, Sister Aquinas Nimitz, and John Savant. Even though it has been many years since I was an undergraduate, their influence guides me still. To my sisters—Margaret, Angela, Mary, and Sue—for their love, patience, good humor, and help throughout this long process. To my parents, who made everything possible and who unflaggingly supported me throughout this project and whose valuing of a liberal arts education has deeply informed my own. Thank you.

Table of Contents

Acknowledgements [iii-iv]

Table of Contents [v]

List of Images [vi]

Introduction: Forgotten Fragments: Reading Early Modern Englishwomen's Receipt Books [1-45]

Chapter One: "To Make Inke Verie Good": Women's Self-Writing in the Early Modern Receipt Book [46-100]

Chapter Two: "Sweet Practicer, thy Physic I will try": Helen and Her "Good Receipt" in *All's Well That Ends Well* [101-147]

Chapter Three: "A Water for the Mind and to Comfort the Stomach": Recipes and the Utopian Politics of Housewifery [148-197]

Conclusion: [198-200]

Afterword: Some Final Thoughts on Fragments [201]

Bibliography of Primary and Secondary Sources [202-220]

List of Images

- Image 1.1 Mary Granville's Receipt for "A water to cure pimples in the Face" . . . 4
- Image 1.2 Dorothy Phillips's "A remedy against the woormes most exalent". . . 7
- Image 1.3 Excerpt of a Funeral Sermon from Dorothy Phillips's Receipt Book . . . 8
- Image 1.4 A Hymn "Sung After Sermon" from Elizabeth Fowler's Receipt Book. . . 9
- Image 2.1 Inscription from Mary Baumfylde's Receipt Book (1626-1707). . . 68
- Image 2.2 Inscription from Lettice Pudsey's Receipt Book, (c. 1675) . . . 69
- Image 2.3 Inscription from Elizabeth Fowler's Receipt Book (1684) . . . 70
- Image 2.4 Receipt for "A most Excellent Plaister" for "wounds" (1683). . . 72
- Image 2.5 Receipt for the "Voydinge of Grauel & Stone" . . . 73
- Image 2.6 Inscription in Granville Family Receipt Book . . 79
- Image 2.7 An "Admirable good Water against Melancholy" . . . 80
- Image 2.8 Mary Granville's Receipt "To Make Inke Verie Good" . . . 81
- Image 2. Granville Family Receipt "To Make Inke Ye Spanish Waye" . . . 82
- Image 2.10 Lettice Pudsey's Note for her Receipt "To Pickle Cucumbers" . . . 83
- Image 2.11 Mary Granville's "Excellent Medicine" for a Sore Breast . . . 86
- Image 2.12 Mary Baumfylde's Receipt "To deliuer a woaman of a dead child" . . . 88
- Image 2.13 Elizabeth Fowler's Receipt "To Preserue whole & red Quinces" . . . 92
- Image 2.14a Mary Granville's receipt "The manner of distilling a water of honey". 96
- Image 2.14b The second half of Mary Granville's receipt for a "water of honey" . . 97
- Image 3.1 Mary Baumfylde's Receipt "To Cure a ffistula" . . . 114
- Image 4.1 Granville Receipt for "Good Chocolate" . . . 192

All images appear by permission of the Folger Shakespeare Library,
Washington, D.C.

INTRODUCTION

Forgotten Fragments: Reading Early Modern Englishwomen's Receipt Books

On the inside cover of a small recipe book by Mary Baumfylde is an inscription reading, “Many hands hands.” Her book was indeed made, written, and signed by many hands: a collection of recipes gathered by Baumfylde and two subsequent owners from 1626-1707.¹ Baumfylde's book is representative of the collaborative process—the “many hands”—that went into the compiling of a recipe or “receipt” book, and the word “many” hints at the layers of meaning (literary, culinary, and medicinal) found in receipt books compiled by women in England in the sixteenth and seventeenth centuries. This study follows the “many hands” that wrote, exchanged, and practiced recipes to discover how women explored and expressed matters of the body, self, and politics in their receipt books.

In early modern England, women and men collected recipes for making foods (“to pickle mushrooms”), medicines (“A medsene ffor the plague”), household

¹ Mary Baumfylde, *Mary Baumfylde her booke*, 1626, Folger Shakespeare Library MS V.a. 456.

supplies (“to make past[e] for [washing] hands”), and cosmetics (“A water to cure pimples”).² [SEE IMAGE 1.1] Medicinal, culinary, and household recipes were collected on loose scraps of paper, exchanged in letters, written on the walls of the home, recorded in diaries, or copied into notebooks or “receipt books” by the owner or by a hired scribe.³ Early modern Galenic theory maintained that the body was a permeable container of four fluids or “humors”—blood, phlegm, yellow bile, and black bile—which were in flux with each other and with the outside environment. The balance of one’s humors determined one’s overall “complexion”: melancholic, phlegmatic, sanguine, or choleric. Foods, herbs, and medicines were believed to possess humoral attributes that could affect the body in positive or negative ways. The recipe was considered an essential tool for regulating and balancing the body’s complexion with the use of prescribed food and medicine.⁴

This study explores the archive of receipt books compiled by women in sixteenth- and seventeenth-century England. Several hundred receipt books from the

² The title for my introduction is taken from the title of a joint conference panel that I convened with Montserrat Cabre and Alisha Rankin for the Renaissance Society of America in March of 2003. The recipe for pickling mushrooms comes from Dorothy Philips, Receipt Book 1616, Folger Shakespeare Library MS V.a. 347, f.23v. The cure for the plague comes from Dorothy Hudson, Receipt Book, 1629, Bodleian Library MS Rawlinson C. 81, f.68. “To make past” is in Jane Dawson, Recipe Book, late seventeenth century, Folger Shakespeare Library MS V.a. 14, f.51r, and “A water to cure pimples” is in Mary Granville and Anne Granville D’Ewes, Receipt Book, c.1640, Folger Shakespeare Library MS V.a. 430, f.17r.

³ Juliet Fleming argues that the “white washed domestic wall” was one of the “primary scenes of writing in early modern England” in *Graffiti and the Writing Arts of Early Modern England* (Philadelphia: University Pennsylvania Press, 2001), 50. Her research suggests that recipes—like other kinds of aphoristic writings—would probably have been recorded on walls as well as on paper.

⁴ For more on Galenic humoral theory and early modern medicine, in general, see Andrew Wear, *Knowledge & Practice in English Medicine, 1550-1680* (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 2000), 37-40.

early modern period still exist today, and the historian Jennifer Stine has identified about a hundred of them that were owned by (or attributed to) women; usually, they have a signature on the frontispiece or somewhere near the front of the volume. Stine observes that many unsigned anonymous receipt books were also probably compiled or written by women.⁵ Many others must have been lost with time, and some remain within private, family collections and so are out of reach of scholars, such as the receipt book (1604) originally belonging to Elinor Fettiplace.⁶ However, the substantial number of receipt books owned by women that *do* remain in the archives indicates that the recording and exchange of recipes in manuscript was a popular practice among aristocratic and upper middle-class women. Recipes were also circulated between different classes of women by word-of-mouth, even if they were never written down. Aside from the existence of the receipt books themselves, other primary sources, such as household guides and conduct manuals, indicate that women were encouraged to compile and use recipes as part of their daily domestic practice in the home.

⁵ Jennifer Stine, "Opening Closets: The Discovery of Household Medicine in Early Modern England" (Ph.D diss., Stanford University, 1996), 110. Stine dated ninety-six names in receipt books with accuracy. Twenty-six of the books were "written on or before 1650," and seventy-one were written after 1650. She speculates: "this increase over the course of the century is probably due both to the higher rates of literacy among women and the growing popularity of these collections" (110). For another study of the receipt book, see Sara Pennell, "The Material Culture of Food in Early Modern England, Circa 1650-1750" (D.Phil diss., Oxford University, 1997), especially her section on "Recipe as Text," 23-28. Elaine Leong has generated a hand-list of over 250 early modern manuscript collections of recipes (belonging to both men and women) in her dissertation, "Medical Remedy Collections in Seventeenth-Century England: Knowledge, Text, and Gender" (D.Phil diss., Oxford University, 2006).

⁶ *Elinor Fettiplace's Receipt Book: Elizabethan Country House Cooking*, ed. Hilary Spurling (London: Salamander Press, 1986). Hilary Spurling inherited the book from one of her husband's great aunts, and she subsequently published an edition of it.

In the writing of recipes, early modern women found a mode through which to express the female self, while also caring for the private body and exerting subtle pressure on the body politic of the state. Through collaborative and individual testing of receipts, women constructed themselves as authorities on matters of the body, which they managed through the related practices of cooking and healing. Seventeenth-century representations of women's authoritative recipe practice—on stage and in print--show how the female empiric—as healer and as housewife—could alternately challenge or uphold monarchical rule. The receipt book practitioner, then, not only came to be responsible for the bodies of her family within the house but also came to be charged with nurturing the fragile body politic of the state.

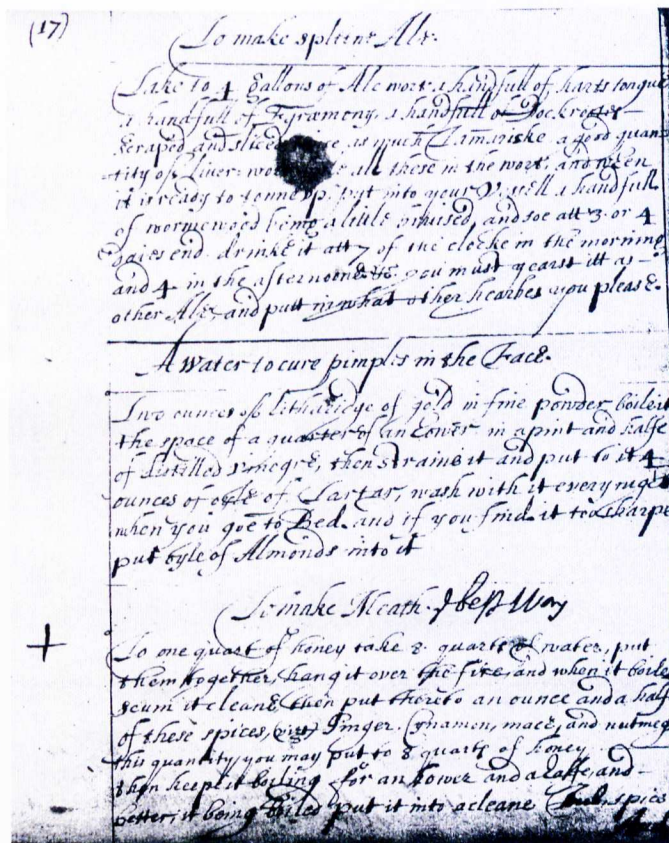


Image 1.1 Mary Granville's Receipt for "A water to cure pimple in the Face"

I. "Many Hands Hands": Women's Private Writings and the Receipt Book

In early modern England, the virtuous woman was expected to be chaste, silent, and obedient within the enclosed space of the house. Women's self-expression through writing and speaking was often considered suspect and aligned with social and sexual transgression.⁷ Yet the circulation of recipes (along with other writings, such as poetry, closet drama, and political tracts) gave women an acceptable forum for speaking and writing about matters concerning the self, and the dynamics of coterie circulation (where a piece of writing circulated only among a small, select group of readers) allowed women a considerable amount of control over their textual productions and reproductions.

As Arthur Marotti, Harold Love, and Margaret Ezell have convincingly demonstrated, such manuscript circulation (for both men and women) flourished alongside an emerging print culture throughout seventeenth-century England.⁸ Ezell points out that, even as going into print became cheaper, easier, and more socially

⁷ Catherine Belsey, *The Subject of Tragedy* (London: Methuen, 1985); Mary E. Burke, Jane Donawerth, Linda L. Dove, and Karen Nelson, introduction to *Women, Writing, and the Reproduction of Culture in Tudor and Stuart Britain* (Syracuse: Syracuse University Press, 2000), xvii-xxx, and Peter Stallybrass, "Patriarchal Territories: The Body Enclosed" in *Rewriting the Renaissance: The Discourse of Sexual Difference in Early Modern Europe*, eds. Margaret W. Ferguson, Maureen Quilligan, and Nancy J. Vickers (Chicago: University of Chicago Press, 1986), 123-142. Stallybrass writes that in the early modern period, "[s]ilence, the closed mouth, [wa]s made a sign of chastity." He argues, "And silence and chastity are, in turn, homologous to woman's enclosure within the house" (126-7). On this topic, see also Suzanne Hull, *Chaste, Silent, and Obedient: English Books for Women, 1475-1640* (San Marino: Huntington Library, 1982).

⁸ Arthur F. Marotti, *Manuscript, Print, and the English Renaissance Lyric* (Ithaca: Cornell University Press, 1995); Harold Love, *The Culture and Commerce of Texts: Scribal Publication in Seventeenth-Century England* (Amherst: University of Massachusetts Press, 1993); and Margaret Ezell, *Social Authorship and the Advent of Print* (Baltimore: Johns Hopkins Press, 1999).

acceptable, women preferred circulating their writings in manuscript until well into the eighteenth century (and, of course, women in England and America continue to exchange recipes by hand and by word-of-mouth, even to this day).⁹ The recording and use of recipes was seen as an appropriate activity for early modern women, a type of domestic work associated with the private spaces of the house--the bedroom, the birthing room, the kitchen, and the distilling closet. Through recipe writing and practice, women came to wield a considerable amount of authority in matters related to the body and the house, and the receipt book seems especially accessible to women as a genre since women were rigorously trained in the areas of cooking and medicine in anticipation of becoming housewives.

Along with recipes, women's receipt books often included other fragments of writing, such as poems, letters, marginalia, illustrations, aphorisms, family records, prayers, and sermons. For example, Dorothy Phillips includes an excerpt from a funeral sermon along with medicinal recipes (such as a "a remedy against the woormes") in her collection. Elizabeth Fowler includes sermons and a hymn, "O enter at the narrow gate," at the end of her receipt book. Katharine Packer drew an illustration of a heart to correspond with her receipt for curing "the bigness of the heart."¹⁰ [SEE IMAGES 1.2, 1.3, 1.4] The often eclectic contents of the receipt book reveal how closely related it was to other types of handwritten notebooks in the

⁹ See Ezell, *Social Authorship*, and her book, *The Patriarch's Wife: Literary Evidence and the History of the Family* (Chapel Hill: University of North Carolina Press, 1987), especially chapter 3, "Women Writers: Patterns of Manuscript Circulation and Publication," 62-100.

¹⁰ Dorothy Philips, *Recipe and Sermon Book*, 1616, Folger Shakespeare Library MS V.a. 347, f.8v and f.70r; Elizabeth Fowler, *Cookery Book*, 1684, Folger Shakespeare Library MS V.a. 468, f.125v; Katharine Packer, *Receipt Book*, 1639, Folger Shakespeare Library MS V.a. 387, f.64r.

Renaissance, like commonplace books and poetic miscellanies. All of these collections reflected the larger interests of a society driven by a humanist mandate to collect, organize, and generate copious amounts of specialized knowledge.¹¹ The gathering of recipes (along with other bits of writing that the owner deemed useful) was part of a larger rhetorical process of collecting that was going on in the early modern period, a process that Neil Rhodes and Jonathan Sawday have called “coping with copia.”¹²

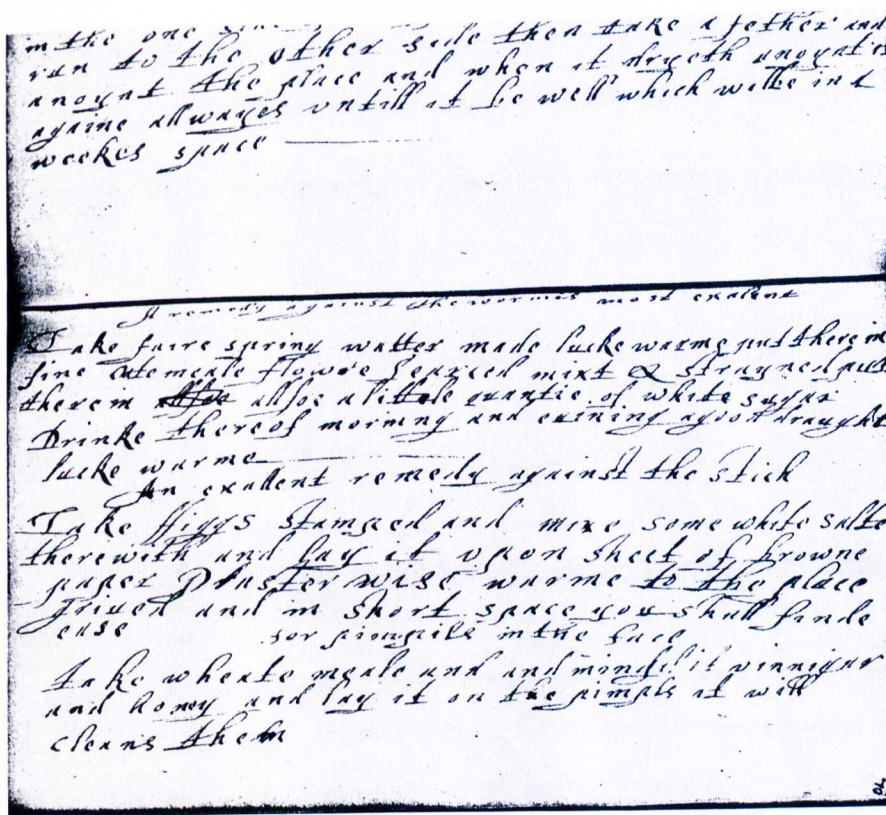


Image 1.2 Dorothy Phillips's “A remedy against the woormes most exalent”

¹¹ Peter Beal, “Notions in Garrison: The Seventeenth-Century Commonplace Book,” in *New Ways of Looking at Old Texts: Papers of the Renaissance English Text Society*, ed. W. Speed Hill, vol. 107 (Binghamton, New York: Medieval and Renaissance Texts and Studies, 1993), 131.

¹² Neil Rhodes and Jonathan Sawday, introduction to *The Renaissance Computer: Knowledge Technology in the First Age of Print*, eds. Neil Rhodes and Jonathan Sawday (London: Routledge, 2000), 12.

A Sermon at Do^r Aires funeral
by Do^r Goodman. 1616

i Smolme .6. l. 6. 7. VII.

Text.

But godliness is a great gain if a
man can be content wth that he hath
for we brougt nothing into this world
and it is certain that we can carry
nothing out.

The ways of the righteous are not like the ways
of the wicked nor those thoughts of the like
unto the thoughts of the wicked. therefore
the apostle fitly puts an opposition between
the desires of the upright and the wicked as
appears by the first words of my text and the
second verses. 1. Thm. 5. 5. for and disposition
of many ~~people~~ corrupt minds and depths of
heart will think gain is a godliness from
which I expect they fall but one the other
just in the words of the text godliness is a
gain.

The name of the Lord is better as begetting the
~~name of the Lord~~ the kingdom, government, glory,
peace, godliness, and religion must be secured
by these profits. But if we forget god,
godliness is a great gain. Wherein is proposed
first a general duty of Christians: godliness
to us before gain because the text will come
to nothing more.

Image 1.3 Excerpt of a Funeral Sermon from Dorothy Phillips's Receipt Book

- 4ly, What are these when we have our Saviour Christ
Intercession to prevail for us, that we may be Conquer-
at last!
- 5ly, Since we have his Pity and compassion, why sh^d
we fear Afflictions and Troubles?
- 6ly, We have his Strength to enable us to bear them. a
- 7ly, and lastly, If we go through them, we shall at la
have a Crown of Glory set upon our heads; which of
his infinite mercy grant for his son Christ Jesus sa
Amen.

Sung after Sermon.

O enter at the narrow Gate,
For wide is that of Sin;
And broad the way leads astray,
And many go therein.

Because the gate to Life is strait,
And all the way thereto,
Is as I say a narrow way;
And they that find it few.

Strive then to hit the narrow Gate,
The right way to attain;
For not a few I say to you,
Shall seek and seek in vain.

Image 1.4 A Hymn "Sung After Sermon" from Elizabeth Fowler's Receipt Book

Women's receipt books can tell us much about early moderns' emerging sense of the self as individual, private, and interior to (and even separate from) the body. Receipt books show how women were recording and expressing the self through their many prescriptions for managing bodies and the house; in this sense, these books are an important type of autobiographical writing, as I shall discuss in further detail in the first chapter.

Receipt books can help literary and cultural critics not only add to their understanding of early modern women's autobiography but also fill in the gaps in our history of the private life in Renaissance England. They present various, complex ways in which privacy was constructed by women, and they also demonstrate how the private sphere was permeable to influences from the public sphere of (male) politics. The receipt book further allows us to appreciate how the public and private spheres overlapped and mutually constituted each other. Women deftly negotiated between these spheres with their recipe exchange, practice, and writing, and the recipe provides a snapshot of the fleeting figure of the early modern housewife as she recorded (and reflected on) her practice. Reading women's receipt books can also illuminate our critical analyses of male representations of the female practitioner—from Shakespeare's vision of Helen as an unsettling empiric in *All's Well that Ends Well* (1604) to an anonymous editor's rendering of Queen Henrietta Maria as a royal housewife making pastries in the nation's kitchen in *The Queen's Closet Opened* (1655).¹³

¹³ *The New Folger Library Shakespeare All's Well That Ends Well*, eds. Barbara A. Mowat and Paul Werstine (New York: Washington Square Press, 2001); Henrietta Maria Stuart, *The Queen's Closet Opened* (London: 1655).

My primary aim in this dissertation is a feminist one: to move recipes from the sidelines of history and situate them within our current framework for women's literary production and reception in early modern England. I am working with the assumption that the recipe was a legitimate form of self-expression, akin to other conventional artistic practices open to critics, such as poetry, narrative, and art. I analyze receipt books as literary and historical artifacts and thus demonstrate how they are expressive of the women writing them and of their time. The receipt book can be recognized as literary in its private, manuscript nature, which inherently allies it with other forms of coterie writings from the period, such as poetry, letters, autobiographies, and maternal legacies. The receipt book is also implicitly rhetorical in nature in that each recipe is, in a sense, an argument, trying to persuade the reader to test the efficacy of the prepared item and use it to restore the body's humoral balance.

My theoretical model includes a new historical approach—predicated on the anthropological principle of gathering evidence for the accumulation of what Clifford Geertz labels “thick description,” an intensive layering of detail and local anecdote to help recover from the misty silences of the past “the touch of the real.”¹⁴ Lena Cowen Orlin has argued that “thick description” is an especially appropriate critical approach for Renaissance scholars interested in archival research; the method is “an

¹⁴ Clifford Geertz, *The Interpretation of Cultures* (New York: Basic Books, 1973), 3-33; Stephen Greenblatt, “The Touch of the Real,” in *Practicing New Historicism*, eds. Catherine Gallagher and Stephen Greenblatt (Chicago: University of Chicago Press, 2000), 31.

apt tool for examining the private,” and it “aims for a rich texturing of the social fabric. . . .”¹⁵

My methodology significantly departs from that of other literary historians of domesticity—like Orlin and Wendy Wall—in two crucial ways. First, whereas other recent studies have primarily derived their definitions of domesticity from representations of housewives in published texts, such as cookbooks, midwifery manuals, household guides, and advice books, I focus mainly on manuscript sources.¹⁶ Printed sources on domestic practices—often written and edited exclusively by men before 1660—can easily obscure or overpower a woman’s construction of her agency, as well as alter the effect of her cultural and literary work. Printed sources to be sure, are crucial to our readings of men’s and women’s literary history, but we must also attend to women’s private writings in manuscript, writings that were “published” in a very different sense. Recipes were usually circulated among a select coterie “public.” The dynamic of their circulation mirrors that of other popular manuscript writings, such as lyric poetry, sermons, and political tracts. Second, my study differs from Wendy Wall’s important work on the housewife at work in the nation’s kitchen in that I depart from her psychoanalytic model of female subjectivity as grounded in a cultural fantasy about the housewife’s uncanny ability to heal the body and home. Rather, I locate female subjectivity rising out of the material

¹⁵ Lena Cowen Orlin, *Private Matters and Public Culture in Post-Reformation England* (Ithaca: Cornell University Press, 1994), 20.

¹⁶ See, for example, Natasha Korda, *Shakespeare’s Domestic Economies: Gender and Property in Early Modern England* (Philadelphia: University of Pennsylvania Press, 2002); Elaine Hobby, “Skills Books—Housewifery, Medicine, Midwifery,” in *Virtue of Necessity: English Women’s Writing 1646-1688* (London: Virago Press, 1988), 165-189; and Wendy Wall, *Staging Domesticity: Household Work and English Identity in Early Modern Drama* (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 2002).

and bodied practice of kitchen science. The housewife interrogates the natural world through the testing and recording of recipes to manage a fluctuating, humoral body and the bodies of those under her care. And, in her writing about this practice, she expresses a self that is both communal—reflecting the contributions of her coterie and her interactions with them—and authoritative—reflecting the results of her individual work with the recipe.

In general, this view of female subjectivity as shaped by bodily experience is supported by Renaissance scholars' recent work on embodiment, and, in particular, by medieval scholars interested in the link between female subjectivity and food practices.¹⁷ Caroline Walker Bynum claims that in the medieval period, religious and lay women used a variety of pious food practices—like fasting—to exert subtle yet significant influence on the patriarchal realms of church or marriage.¹⁸ Claire Sponsler argues that John Lydgate's "Dietary," a popular conduct poem from the fifteenth century, marks the beginning of the privatization of eating, as well as an important departure from an earlier medieval ideal of public (and performative) feasting. According to Sponsler, the poem

¹⁷ Many Renaissance critics are interested in theorizing the early modern bodied subject. A few important representatives would include David Hillman and Carla Mazzio, eds., *The Bodies in Parts: Fantasies of Corporeality in Early Modern Europe* (New York: Routledge, 1997); Gail Kern Paster, *The Body Embarrassed: Drama and Disciplines of Shame in Early Modern England* (Ithaca: Cornell University Press, 1993); and Mary Thomas Crane, *Shakespeare's Brain: Reading with Cognitive Theory* (Princeton and Oxford: Princeton University Press, 2001). These theorists' writings share the assumption that the human subject generates language and meaning out of the physical experience of being in a body. For a medievalist view of female bodied subjectivity, see Caroline Walker Bynum, *Holy Feast and Holy Fast: The Religious Significance of Food to Medieval Women* (Berkeley: University of California Press, 1987).

¹⁸ See Bynum, *Holy Feast and Holy Fast*.

lets us see how ideas about consumption that emphasized public largesse . . . were being re-shaped to stress privacy, inwardness, and the care of the self, all of which addressed the new cultural needs of a new group of consumers somewhat lower on the socioeconomic ladder.¹⁹

Following the lead of Sponsler, who argues that “food and eating” are central to the “construction of the individual,” my work on housewifery and recipes assumes this view of a subject constructing her self through food *and* through her writing about food in the recipe.²⁰ Like Sponsler, I am also interested in marking an early modern shift towards privacy, yet I advance her argument one step further and claim that this shift (from public to private) also happens through recipes and the receipt book, which prescribes and reflects women’s care of the self.

II. “Divulging Domestic Privacies”: Politics and Private Life in the House

This interest in distinguishing between the strands of public and private activity connects my study to histories of the private life in Renaissance England and to theories about the formation of the public and private spheres.²¹ Dena Goodman defines “the history of private life” as “the history of the transformation of a medieval society in which public and private spheres are confounded into a modern

¹⁹ Claire Sponsler, “Eating Lessons: Lydgate’s Dietary and Consumer Conduct” in *Medieval Conduct*, eds. Kathleen Ashley, Robert L.A. Clark (Minneapolis: University of Minnesota Press, 2001), 3.

²⁰ Sponsler, “Eating Lessons,” 3.

²¹ My title for this section is taken from the title of Laura Lunger Knoppers’s seminar on this topic held at the Folger Shakespeare Library in the Fall of 2002. My thanks to Dr. Knoppers for holding the seminar and for introducing me to public/private sphere theory,

one in which they are fully distinguished. . . .”²² Historians of the private life have located the rise of the private self and the birth of the public sphere of (usually male) politics in the early modern period. Wendy Wall has drawn on this important idea and narrowed her definition of *privacy* to connote *domesticity*—a term which applies to the daily activities of the housewife and her family. Like Wall and also Orlin, my methodology is grounded in public and private sphere theory, and I analyze the concepts of privacy and domesticity as they are reflected in and shaped by the housewife in her receipt book.²³

In his seminal study on the emerging public and private spheres, Jurgen Habermas theorizes the private as deeply interdependent and mutually involved in creating, shaping, and forming the public.²⁴ Habermas’s definition of the public and private offers an important, initial way into the problem of separating out strands of public and private activity in the receipt book. The early modern receipt book negotiated the border between the emerging public and private spheres, as those spaces were being constructed in the period. Recipes were being invented, recorded, and practiced in the newly private spaces of the home (the kitchen, distilling closet, and bedroom), and, in turn, those spaces were fostering the emergence of the private self—a self that women expressed and explored in the pages of the receipt book.

²² Dena Goodman, “Public Sphere and Private Life: Toward a Synthesis of Current Historiographical Approaches to the Old Regime,” *History and Theory: Studies in Philosophy of History* 31 (1992): 8-9.

²³ See Wall, *Staging Domesticity*, and Orlin, *Private Matters*.

²⁴ Jurgen Habermas, *The Structural Transformation of the Public Sphere: An Inquiry into a Category of Bourgeois Society*, trans. Thomas Burger (Cambridge: MIT Press, 1996). For a feminist critique of Habermas, see Joan Landes, “The Public and Private Sphere: A Feminist Reconsideration,” in *Feminism, the Public, the Private*, ed. Joan B. Landes (Oxford: Oxford University Press, 1998), 135-163.

Literary critics and historians identify many factors as contributing to early moderns' changing ideas about privacy. Orlin, drawing on Habermas, argues that the emergence of the private sphere happens with the Reformation and its new emphasis on the house. With England's shift from Catholicism to Protestantism came a "glorification of the individual household," a change that was fundamental to everyday existence, and the Protestant house subsequently fostered the emergence of the private self (and the recognizably modern subject). The home was a pseudo-private space. Many of the rooms—including the kitchen and the dining hall—were open to the public, and family members often conducted a considerable amount of business with the outside world there, yet certain spaces in the house—like the closet—encouraged solitary activity.²⁵ The house was a physical space that fostered privacy, and it was also, as we shall see below, an ideological construct used to shore up (or challenge) monarchical rule.

Historians of privacy—such as Roger Chartier and Philippe Aries—have observed how the architecture of the early modern house changed during the fifteenth and sixteenth centuries, and these changes brought about a new sense of privacy. The addition of spaces that allowed an individual to be alone—such as the closet, garden, and the parlor—encouraged private activities, such as reading, writing, praying, and eating.²⁶ Drawing from W.G. Hoskins's influential architectural history, Orlin

²⁵ Mark Girouard, *Life in the English Country House: A Social and Architectural History* (New Haven and London: Yale University Press, 1978); Sara Pennell, "'Pots and Pans History': The Material Culture of the Kitchen in Early Modern England," *Journal of Design History* 11.3 (1998): 201-216.

²⁶ "Forms of Privatization," in *The History of the Private Life*, ed. Philippe Aries and Georges Duby, Cambridge, MA: Belknap Press of Harvard University Press, 1987.

describes the result of the “architectural revolution of the early modern period.” There was “a higher standard of living, increased physical comfort, more individual privacy, the segregation of laboring and domestic life, and more household spaces, each with specialized functions.” These changes in the spaces of the house (called the “Great Rebuilding”) and their effects on early moderns’ everyday existence resonated throughout all levels of society, and thus “dramatic changes in domestic architecture reshaped private life.”²⁷

This “Great Rebuilding” of the English house fostered an emerging sense of the self as private, domestic, and interior. In other words, the privatization of the individual happened within the early modern home. Like Orlin, Chartier, and Aries, I define privacy as a concept that applies to the interior of the early modern house *and* to the interior self of the individual. As we shall see, receipt books both reinforce and complicate this sense of the inter-relatedness between the house, privacy, and the self.

The closet was an especially important domestic site for the evolution of privacy, and it was in this space that women were writing, recording, and even testing their recipes. Women and men also used their closets to read, pray, or write in solitude, and they stored ingredients, cooking utensils, distilling equipment, books, and writing materials there. Alan Stewart has shown how the space of the early modern closet . . . “is often associated with a new modern subject.” The closet became a “politically crucial transactive space,” where the private and political could

Roger Chartier claims that England is “the birthplace of privacy,” in part because of the popularity of diary writing in the early modern period, 5.

²⁷ Lena Cowen Orlin, *Elizabethan Households: An Anthology*. Exhibition Catalog (Washington, DC: Folger Shakespeare Library, 1995), 3, 5.

intersect.²⁸ He cites, as an example, the case of Lady Margaret Hoby, who daily withdrew to her closet to pray and also to write in her diary (where, incidentally, she also sometimes recorded medicinal recipes). Stewart observes about Hoby's activity: "the closet is thus constructed as a place of utter privacy, of total withdrawal from the public sphere of the household—but it simultaneously functions as a very *public* gesture of withdrawal, a very public sign of privacy."²⁹ The closet could foster an individual's sense of privacy, while at the same time, a person's withdrawal to her closet could signal a public or even performative gesture of privacy.

In addition to the space of the closet, the banqueting hall also contributed to early moderns' evolving sense of privacy and self. Elizabethan and Jacobean gardens often included a banqueting hall, where people would retire after a meal to consume the void, a dessert course consisting of sweetmeats (candied fruits), sugary confections (like marchpane), and wine. In *Cultural Aesthetics: Renaissance Literature and the Practice of Social Ornament*, Patricia Fumerton argues that the banqueting hall's separateness from the main house allowed for privacy. She states:

We see in the evolution of the ornamental banqueting house, in sum, a special place for subjectivity arising—a reverse *topos* or *uncommonplace* increasingly displaced from the central places of living . . . what we observe is that the very ingredients, condiments, and serving utensils of the void were products of the same processes of segmentation and detachment shaping banqueting architecture . . . what contemporaries called "banqueting stuffs" imitated the personalized conceits of the banqueting houses, modeling in a medium

²⁸ Alan Stewart, "The Early Modern Closet Discovered," *Representations* 50 (Spring 1995): 77.

²⁹ Stewart, "Early Modern Closet," 81 (emphasis his). As a contemporary example of how early moderns associated privacy and writing with the space of the closet—see, Thomas Goad who describes how Elizabeth Jocelin wrote, "priuatly in her closet between God and her, shee wrote these pious Meditations," in *The Mother's Legacie to Her Unborn Child* (London: John Haviland, 1624), 8.

of petit fours the hollow place of a self set apart from the communal whole.³⁰

The separate space of the banqueting hall is homologous to early moderns' emerging sense of a self—as interior to (and slightly separate from) the body. The consumption of the petit four with a hollowed out space at its center also modeled interiority for the early modern subject. Fumerton argues that the seemingly public space of the banqueting hall—intended for lavish consumption of sweetmeats and for the performance of court masques—still registered as a private space. It contributed to early moderns' individuality with its architecture and with the foods associated with its interior. Food and the space in which it was consumed thus could shape the self, as well as mirror it.

III. “Go not beyond the door”: The Housewife and Bodies Private and Politic

To summarize so far, we have seen that architectural spaces of the house—like the closet and banqueting hall--contributed to early moderns' emerging sense of the self as separate, interior, and private. Now, I would like to shift the focus of this discussion from the private spaces of the house and self to the *gendering* of the house as feminine. The household was repeatedly associated with women, and, in particular, the figure of the housewife. As Henry Smith in *A Preparative to Marriage* (1591) advised:

We call the wife *housewife*, that is, house wife, not a street wife like Tamar nor a field wife like Dinah, but a house wife, to show that a good wife keeps her house. And therefore Paul biddeth Titus to exhort women that they be chaste, and keeping at home. Presently after

³⁰ Patricia Fumerton, *Cultural Aesthetics: Renaissance Literature and the Practice of Social Ornament* (Chicago: University of Chicago Press, 1991), 122.

chaste, he saith, *keeping at home*, as though *home* were chastity's keeper . . . Solomon bade Shimei, "Go not beyond the river." So a wife should teach her feet, go not beyond the door. She must count the walls of her house like the banks of the river which Shimei might not pass, if he would please the king.³¹

Within the strictures of Renaissance patriarchy, the housewife was restricted from public life.³² Instead, as in Smith's sermon, she was exhorted to remain within the domestic space of the home and exercise her agency through household work and management--cooking, preserving, sewing, educating the children and servants, and balancing household accounts.

The house and the housewife were often placed at the center of English definitions of nationhood, as both Orlin and Wall have discussed. Orlin notes the following:

The constitution of the state . . . was held to model itself on that of the household; the state was monarchic even as the household was patriarchal. The two were bound in nexus of shared conventions, obligations, and expectations, and because of their symbiotic structures, whatever affected one was believed to affect the other.³³

The early modern house then was both a profoundly private space and an inherently political symbol at the same time. Or, as Orlin has explained elsewhere, the house was "a social and economic unit of early modern English culture . . . and an ideological construct receptive to the superimposition of political models and

³¹ Henry Smith, *A Preparative to Mariage* (London, 1591), F6r-F7r, cited in Orlin, *Elizabethan Households*, 108.

³² Phyllis Rackin observes that "the most frequently mentioned trade for women . . . was housewifery" in *Shakespeare and Women* (Oxford: Oxford University Press, 2005), 35.

³³ Orlin, *Elizabethan Households*, 146.

regulations.”³⁴ The house and the roles of its main occupants—the husband and the housewife—were used to shore up or challenge ideas about proper state rule. Wall, like Orlin, sees representations of the domestic sphere—and in particular of the housewife—as central to the state’s construction of itself as legitimate. She argues that early moderns’ sense of Englishness was predicated on the housewife’s role in both securing and maintaining the space of the home: “a ‘middle-class’ national identity was generated out of reflections on the material realities of household work.”³⁵ The work of the housewife was seen as crucial to establishing national order, and domesticity was linked to nationhood. Early moderns’ ideological connections between the housewife, the private house, and politics demonstrate how the housewife was understood as being in charge of *more* than just her house and her family’s well-being. She was also responsible for maintaining order in the public sphere of politics.

Many contemporary texts wrestle with these related categories of domesticity, privacy, and national politics. Such texts provide an important, necessary context for my reading of the housewife’s receipt book as emanating from the private space of the home but also capable of applying pressure to the body politic. For example, at the beginning of the seventeenth century, James I justifies his claim to absolute power in *Basilikon Doron*, where he states, “I am the husband and the whole isle is my lawfull wife; I am the head and it is my body.”³⁶ He uses the relationship between a husband and wife—where the husband is a mini-king and the housewife is England—

³⁴ Orlin, *Private Matters*, 2,9.

³⁵ Wall, *Staging Domesticity*, 6.

³⁶ James I, *Basilikon Doron* (Edinburgh: Robert Waldegrae, 1603).

to justify his rule of Britain. James also invokes the metaphor of the body politic: he is the head and the state is his body. As the historian Ann Hughes observes, James “naturaliz[ed] . . . fatherly authority through comparison with the body.”³⁷ He uses the domestic constructs of body and family to shore up his claim about the legitimacy of monarchical rule.

Jonathan Goldberg points out that for James and later for his son, Charles I, “family life” was consistently interpreted as the “kingdom writ small.” Goldberg further suggests that analogies between the private family and the politics of the state fundamentally informed early modern habits of thinking.

. . . [T]he family serves to reproduce society. The body is inscribed in a social system. The family/state analogy was embedded in the Renaissance habit of mind to think analogically and to explain events by understanding their origins . . . There is a family structure in thought, and to seek out the causes of things is to find their genealogical principles.³⁸

Social relationships—including those between a king and his country—were repeatedly reified with metaphors of the family that dictated the hierarchical relationship between a husband and the housewife. Private--and, in this case, I mean, domestic--relationships were thus woven with the threads of the political.

As the seventeenth century progressed, the politics of the father-state marriage were increasingly challenged. Moderate and radical Protestants (including John Milton) took offense with the royal family, and they were suspicious of how close Charles I was to his Catholic wife, Henrietta Maria. Her Catholicism made them

³⁷ Ann Hughes, “Women, Men and Politics in the English Civil War,” An Inaugural Lecture Given 8 October 1997 at the University of Keele, 1-19, 6.

³⁸ Jonathan Goldberg, “Fatherly Authority: The Politics of Stuart Family Images,” in *Rewriting the Renaissance*, 8.

particularly uneasy, and to many of them it seemed as if Charles was literally in bed with the Catholics.³⁹

In *Eikonoklastes*, Milton faults Charles's leadership of the country and blames his failures on his wife:

Examples are not farr to seek, how great mischeif and dishonour hath befall'n to Nations under the Government of effeminate and Uxorious Magistrates. Who being themselves govern'd and overswaid at home under a Feminine usurpation, cannot but be farr short of spirit and authority without dores, to govern a whole nation.⁴⁰

The king of England is unfit to govern because of "feminine usurpation" at home. Charles is "uxorious," too dependent on Henrietta Maria in matters of the house and state, and thus he is "short," lacking both the spirit and authority to govern, and the housewife-queen inappropriately rules the king.⁴¹ Men who are ruled by their wives lack proper authority to govern at home and "without dores." Milton collapses the private space of the home into the "without dores" of the world and blurs the boundary between the inside of the house and the outside of the state. Analogical thinking could now be deployed against the king and in support of republican ideas of self-rule.

³⁹ Francis E. Dolan writes that in the 1640s, the Catholic threat to Protestants was "increasingly seen to emerge from inside England; indeed, from inside the king's bed curtains" in *Whores of Babylon: Catholicism, Gender, and Seventeenth-Century Print Culture* (Ithaca and London: Cornell University Press, 1999), 123.

⁴⁰ John Milton, *Eikonoklastes*, in vol. 3 of *The Complete Prose Works of John Milton*, ed. Don M. Wolfe (New Haven: Yale University Press: 1958), 421.

⁴¹ Milton's critique here is reminiscent of other misogynist rants against the unruly housewife who masters her husband, such as Iago's description of Desdemona's power over Othello: "Our general's wife is now the general—I may say so in respect, for that he hath devoted and given up himself to the contemplation, mark, and denotement of her parts and graces" (2.3.308-12). William Shakespeare, *Othello*, in *The Complete Works of Shakespeare*, ed. David Bevington (New York: Harper Collins, 1992). This anxiety continues into contemporary politics, as criticism of Nancy Regan and Hilary Clinton, in the last thirty years, demonstrates.

Republicans—like Milton--were deeply skeptical towards the categories of the private and domestic, and after beheading the king and overturning the monarchy, they worried about how to properly deploy the metaphor of the body politic to support the Protectorate government. They were especially concerned with questions of how to circulate representations of the Lord Protector, Oliver Cromwell, and his wife, the Lady Protectoress Elizabeth. The critic, Katharine Gillespie, argues that this anxiety about the relationship between the family and the state contributed to the difficulty Puritans had in maintaining their government once they came into power:

Much of the difficulty in the new order had to do with the fact that republican critiques of monarchy centered upon what a government should not consist of, an official sphere of monarchical publicity which raised the king and his family to a life of worship and devotion.⁴²

For republicans and their royalist rivals, the formation of a legitimate public sphere of government hinged on the definition of the husband and housewife's relationship. Milton (who was himself an unhappy husband) writing in his *Divorce Tracts* justified the right of a husband to divorce a wife, just as the country had recently divorced its king.⁴³ It was a position that scandalized even the most radical Puritans, yet it demonstrates again how the metaphor of body politic could be used to either reinforce or subvert domestic rule at home.

The nature of the relationship between the private and public continued to be contested even after the Restoration of Charles II in 1660. Critiques of monarchy

⁴² Katharine Gillespie, "Elizabeth Cromwell's Kitchen Court: Republicanism and Consort," *Genders* 33 (2001), 3.

⁴³ John Milton, "The Doctrine and Discipline of Divorce," in *John Milton: Complete Poems and Major Prose*, ed. Merritt Y. Hughes, (New York: Macmillan, 1985), 696-715.

were based on the king's private life (as well as his individual body) and in particular, his sexual dalliances with his mistresses. The transgressions by Charles II of social mores and his disregard for the boundary between private and public—which was on full display when he installed one of his mistresses in the Queen's retinue at Court—further complicated early moderns' sense of the overlap between the realms of public and private.⁴⁴

In seventeenth-century England, debates about the public sphere often became reflections on *what* exactly constituted the private sphere. The public sphere depended on constituting the private sphere and coming to an agreement about the nature of the relationship between husband and the housewife. Retha Warnicke reminds us that the word “family” was “used synonymously with the word “household.” She also observes the word “private” could refer to “relationships, business or trade, spatial dimensions, and secret matters.”⁴⁵ As England went from a monarchy to a republic and back to monarchy, writers vociferously debated the definitions of public and private, along with related definitions of family, household, and government.⁴⁶

⁴⁴ James Grantham Turner observes that anxieties about the instability of the public world often translated into domestic strife. He cites the diarist, Samuel Pepys, as an example of someone who combined these two concerns in his writing. In Post-Restoration England, Turner argues, “However narrow the domestic space (office, bedroom, library shelf) it is always filled with the rest of the world”; see “Pepys and the Private Parts of Monarchy,” in *Culture and Society in the Stuart Restoration: Literature, Drama, and History*, ed. Gerald MacLean (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 1996), 105.

⁴⁵ Retha Warnicke, “Private and Public: The Boundaries of Women's Lives in Early Stuart England” in *Privileging Gender in Early Modern England*, ed. Jean R. Brink (Kirkville: Sixteenth-Century Journal Publishers, 1993), 125.

⁴⁶ Seventeenth-century debates about the nature of just government and its relationship to the domestic sphere were an extension of humanist writings on this

For early modern Englishmen and women, there was a need to reshape, redefine, and re-imagine these categories as the country underwent radical, political, religious, and social change. Political rhetoric often drew on constructions of the housewife and relationship to her husband within the space of the house—itsself a space associated with the feminine. Or, as Patricia Crawford states, “To talk of the public and the private in early modern England was part of the attempt to redefine the gender order consequent upon the Reformation changes in belief.”⁴⁷

Political instability often translated into domestic uncertainty; this uncertainty provided an opening for women to challenge their assigned roles in both the private and public spheres. During both the sixteenth and seventeenth centuries, women’s roles were increasingly flexible owing to religious, economic, and political changes. Women used this new instability as well as their authority within the domestic space of the house to write, speak, and publish, and one important mode of female self-expression was the receipt book.

Women’s role in society, their proper education, and their movement between the private and public spheres were debated as part of a larger controversy, the *querelle de femmes*—or the woman question--which was explored by humanist male and female writers in England and across Europe, from Marie de Gournay to Anna Maria van Schurman to England’s own Bathsua Makin who published “An Essay to

subject a century earlier. See, for example, Sir Thomas Elyot’s *The booke named the governor* (London: Thomas Bertheleti, 1531).

⁴⁷ Patricia Crawford, “Public Duty, Conscience, and Women in Early Modern England,” in *Public Duty and Private Conscience in Seventeenth-Century England*, eds. John Morrill, Paul Slack, and Daniel Woolf (Oxford: Clarendon Press, 1993), 59.

Revive the Antient Education of Gentlewomen” defending women’s right to an education in 1673.⁴⁸

The Protestant Reformation added a further dimension to this debate as it redefined gender roles. It validated the role of the housewife and gave her an ability to move into the public sphere through speaking, writing, or publishing on religious matters. With the Protestant emphasis on individual conscience, remarkable women, such as Anne Lok, Anna Trapnel, and Margaret Fell, used this new sense of personal authority to preach, publish, and negotiate the public realm.⁴⁹ Yet at the same time that women were given more freedom in religious matters, they were increasingly expected to be at home (recall Smith’s sermon on marriage mentioned above)—and the Reformation reified the idea of the virtuous woman as the chaste housewife enclosed within the space of the home. The Reformation liberated women to speak and write, while also consigning them more rigidly to the domestic sphere.

According to common law in early modern England, the woman was defined as a “femme covert” or covered by the male (her father or husband). She had no power to own property, conduct business, attend university, or hold any government

⁴⁸ Anna Maria van Schurman, *Whether a Christian Woman Should be Educated* (1650), ed. and trans. Joyce L. Irwin (Chicago and London: University of Chicago Press, 1998); Marie de Gournay, “The Equality of Men and Women” (1622) in *Women Writers of the Seventeenth Century*, eds. Katharina M. Wilson and Frank J. Warnke (Athens and London: University of Georgia Press, 1989), 14-28; Bathsua Makin, *An Essay to Revive the Antient Education of Gentlewomen* (1673) in *Women Writers of the Seventeenth Century*, 285-294. On the woman question, see Margaret L. King and Albert Rabil, Jr., “The Other Voice in Early Modern Europe,” introduction to *Whether a Christian Woman Should be Educated*, vii-xxv.

⁴⁹ Margaret Fell, *Women’s Speaking Justified, Proved and Allowed of By Scriptures* (London: 1667); Anna Trapnel, *Report and Plea* (1654) in *Her own Life: Autobiographical Writings by Seventeenth-Century Englishwomen*, eds. Elspeth Graham, Hilary Hinds, Elaine Hobby, and Helen Wilcox (London and New York: Routledge, 1989), 71-86.

office.⁵⁰ There were notable exceptions to this rule; some women, like Anne Clifford, managed to attain and control property.⁵¹ Yet in Clifford's case, this happened only after years of litigation and after all the men heirs died; essentially, she won her case since she outlived all the male relatives who had staked a claim to her estate.

Even though women were excluded from university, some—usually those with liberal fathers and learned mothers--became exceptionally well educated. They were taught by family tutors usually hired to instruct their brothers. Examples here include Thomas More's daughters, the Cook sisters, and, of course, Anne Clifford—who commissioned a portrait (the "Great Picture" finished in 1646) showing her standing in her closet with her books scattered around her.⁵² Those women who were educated tended to be impressively learned in languages, like Latin, Greek, Hebrew, French, and Italian, and also in the areas of philosophy and religion. Women's education also extended to household matters—cooking, healing, sewing, and managing servants. The recording and practice of recipes would have been considered a standard part of a woman's education to become a proper wife. While they were legally and socially constrained to submit to the patriarchal and legal

⁵⁰ Rackin, *Shakespeare and Women*, 38.

⁵¹ "Anne Clifford," in *Her Own Life*, 35-53. Also, Rackin, *Shakespeare and Women*, has found that the women in Shakespeare's family "controlled considerable property both in land and money . . . [and] [t]hey also bequeathed property, served as executors of wills, and engaged in litigation designed to defend and further their financial interests" (33).

⁵² Mary Ellen Lamb, "The Agency of the Split Subject: Lady Anne Clifford and the Uses of Reading," *English Literary Renaissance* 22 (1992): 347-68; Betty Travitsky, ed., *The Paradise of Women: Writings by Englishwomen of the Renaissance* (New York: Columbia University Press, 1989).

authority of their fathers, brothers, and husbands, women were given quite a bit of latitude when it came to running and managing the house.⁵³

As an aside, it is worth noting that although women were not generally allowed to own or inherit property, recipe books (along with cooking and medicinal utensils) were successfully passed down between generations of women, and they are mentioned in women's wills from the period. Receipt books were a type of maternal legacy, and they were considered an appropriate, even valuable form of writing for women to share with their female relatives--usually daughters, granddaughters, or other female relatives.

Women were exhorted to remain in the domestic space of the home where receipt practice mainly occurred. Warnicke argues, "Wives, especially, were instructed to wear the home as a snail or tortoise wears his shell, for private activities were their major concern. . ."⁵⁴ And as Elizabeth Sauer, Helen Wilcox, and Gillespie have pointed out, women who ventured into the public realm through writing, publication, or preaching often justified this move by situating themselves within the realm of the private. Women drew on the space of the home (and the inherent authority granted to them within that space) to venture out into the public sphere of male politics.⁵⁵

⁵³ Linda Pollock, "'Teach Her to Live Under Obedience': The Making of Women in the Upper Ranks of Early Modern England," *Continuity and Change* 4.2 (1989): 231-258.

⁵⁴ Warnicke, "Private and Public," 133.

⁵⁵ Katharine Gillespie, "Anna Trapnel's Window on the Word: The Domestic Sphere of Public Dissent in Seventeenth-Century Nonconformity," *Bunyan Studies* (1997): 49-72; Elizabeth Sauer, "Maternity, Prophecy, and the Cultivation of the Private Sphere in Seventeenth-Century England," *Explorations in Renaissance Culture* 14 (1998): 119-148; Helen Wilcox, "Private Writing and Public Function:

For example, the Fifth Monarchist Anna Trapnel used the space of the bedroom to justify her prophesying against Oliver Cromwell and the Protectorate. She constructed her speaking against the government as private prayer, when she told a judge, "I pray in my chamber." She used this statement to successfully defend her prophecy (and political critique), which she had delivered to dozens of people who had come into a friend's house to listen to her.⁵⁶ As Gillespie notes, Trapnel used the "normative woman's enclosure" of the home and turned it "into a forum for public speech."⁵⁷ The Puritan poet, Lucy Hutchinson, also used the space of the home to justify her writing, an activity that could seem at odds with the injunction for the virtuous woman to be silent. She states that she worked on her translation of Lucretius's philosophical treatise *De Rerum Natura* in the private space of her children's nursery:

I turned it into English in a roome where my children practizd the severall quallities they were taught with their Tutors, and I numbred the sillables of my translation by the threds of the canvas I wrought in, and sett them down with a pen and inke that stood by me . . .⁵⁸

She aligns her work as classical scholar with domesticity and with the traditional work of the housewife—sewing. She fashions her scholarly activity as emanating from and being contained within the house.

Autobiographical Texts by Renaissance Englishwomen," in *Gloriana's Face: Women, Public and Private in the English Renaissance*, eds. S.P. Cerasano and Marion Wynne-Davies (Detroit: Wayne State University Press, 1992), 47-62.

⁵⁶ Anna Trapnel, "Report and Plea," in *From Her Own Life*, 83.

⁵⁷ Gillespie, "Anna Trapnel's Window," 51.

⁵⁸ Lucy Hutchinson, "Letter to Lord Anglesey," in *Lucy Hutchinson's Translation of Lucretius De Rerum Natura*, ed. Hugh de Quehen (Ann Arbor: University of Michigan Press, 1996), 23-4.

In addition to drawing on the space of the house to justify speaking or writing, women also invoked authority attached to their roles as housewives and mothers. Eleanor Davies, who, as Beth Nolan claims, “wrote and published more in her lifetime than any English woman had to date” used the authority that adhered to her role as a mother to justify her many political and religious critiques against Charles I and Archbishop Laud.⁵⁹ Dorothy Leigh and Elizabeth Jocelin—like Davies—also constructed themselves as writers by invoking their roles as mothers in their maternal legacies to their children.⁶⁰

Women like Trapnel, Hutchinson, Davies, Leigh, and Jocelin justified writing, speaking, or publishing (often in the public sphere) by invoking their authority as mothers and housewives within the home. In receipt books, as we shall see, women writers also drew on their authority as housewives and mothers as they constructed themselves as “expert” within the home. They used their domestic and maternal authority to formulate, write, and speculate about recipes and to express the female self.

In her survey of early modern women’s autobiographies, Helen Wilcox observes that many of them seem to “share” the “discourse of privacy,” and her analysis could be extended to women’s receipt books. They, too, speak in the discourse of privacy, and they are concerned with intimate, domestic matters. What

⁵⁹ Quoted in Megan Matchinskie, *Writing, Gender and State in Early Modern England* (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 1998).

⁶⁰ Dorothy Leigh, *The Mother’s Blessing: or, The Godly Counsel of a Gentlewoman not long since deceased, left behind for her children* (London, 1616) in *Daughters, Wives, and Widows*, ed. Joan Larsen Klein (Urbana: University of Illinois, 1992), 287-302; Elizabeth Jocelin, *The Mother’s Legacie to Her Unborne Childe* (London: John Haviland, 1624).

Wilcox ultimately argues about women's autobiography could also be said about the receipt collection: "... out of these most hidden texts—often produced in secret and serving a primarily private function for their authors—comes an impression of considerable public activity by the women who wrote them."⁶¹ Receipt books—like autobiographies--seem especially intimate in nature. Their main concern is with private activity that would have gone on in the space of the house (or in nearby homes in the community), and the house, as we have seen, was particularly associated with the authority of the housewife. Yet, receipts also offer a glimpse of women's "considerable political activity." Occasionally, receipts could even be construed as political in and of themselves. In Queen Henrietta Maria's cookbook, for example, a recipe for secret ink harkens back to her secret letters to her husband, Charles I, during the Civil War in the 1640s. Given its close association with the house and with the female body of the housewife, early modern women's recipes often carried a deep political charge.

IV. "A Humble Offering": The Dynamics of Recipe Exchange

Like other types of manuscript circulation between men and women, recipes were exchanged among a select coterie of readers and writers for complex reasons—usually for financial, social, or intellectual gain. They could also be given as gifts, becoming part of what Jane Donawerth has identified as an early modern system of "gift exchange," used to shore up social and communal bonds in sixteenth- and

⁶¹ Wilcox, "Private Writing," 47, 51.

seventeenth-century England.⁶² Recipes and foodstuffs (such as potted venison), along with medicines, poems, books, jewelry, furniture, and clothing were all given as gifts. George Talbot, Earl of Shrewsbury, who suffered from gout sent “a small rugge . . . to wrapp about your legs” and “a box of oyntement wch doth me some ease” to William Cecil, Lord Burghley who also suffered from the illness. Talbot also offered to send the recipe for the ointment at a later date, “yf it doe you the good which I could wishe . . . I will not fayle to send you therof as you shall neede, or the recipe, at your pleasure.”⁶³ Mr. Harris sent Lady Grace Mildmay, in his letter dated from the 20th of July, 1598, a recipe for “oil of cinnamon,” and he promises to send her an “excellent receipt for the whites” in his next letter.⁶⁴

Recipes were not only given as gifts, but gifts were sometimes presented as recipes. For example, when Anne Vaughan Lok sent her English translation of John Calvin to Catherine Willoughby Bertie, duchess of Suffolk, she described her book as a recipe: “This receipte God the heavenly Physitian hath taught, his most excellent Apothecarie Master John Calvine hath compounded, and I, your grace’s most

⁶² Jane Donawerth, “Women’s Poetry and the Tudor-Stuart System of Gift Exchange,” in *Women, Writing, and the Reproduction of Culture in Tudor and Stuart Britain*, eds. Mary E. Burke, Jane Donawerth, Linda L. Dove, and Karen Nelson (Syracuse: Syracuse University Press, 2000), 3-18.

⁶³ Lambeth Palace, Talbot Papers, MS 3198, fol. 544., cited in Stine, “Opening Closets,” 109. Stine also points out how medicines could be gifts. For example, Antoinette de Saveuses sent Lady Lisle “a canakin of glasse, filled with a confiture called the electuary of life,” and a midwife, Annys Cockerell sent Lady Lisle a cordial in the hopes that Lisle would help her husband attain a room in Calais. Stine argues, “Medical advice and medicinal recipes were a type of currency in the early modern period, widely traded for both friendship and financial gain” (109).

⁶⁴ Lady Grace Mildmay, *With Faith and Physic: The Life of a Tudor Gentlewoman* (New York: St. Martin’s Press, 1995), 141.

bounden and humble, have put into an Englishe box and do present unto you.”⁶⁵

Lok’s use of the recipe as a metaphor for her gift further reinforces an impression of early moderns’ use of recipe exchange for both social and material gain.

Recipes were also given in exchange for aristocratic patronage. Giacomo Castelvetro presented a scribal copy of *Brieve racconto di tutte le radici, di tutti i frutti, che crudi o cotti in Italia si mangiano* (an inventory of Italian fruits, vegetables, and recipes) to Lucy Russell, Countess of Bedford in 1614, and in an introductory letter, he petitions her to be his replacement patron since her brother (his former patron) had recently died.⁶⁶ He first explains his desperate circumstances as a Protestant who had to flee to England to escape the Italian Inquisition. He then discusses his former relationship as a tutor to her brother and asks for her help:

God, in His wisdom, held me worth of being of service in teaching Italian to your Ladyship’s late brother, Sir John Harington. I venture today to beseech His Divine Majesty to admit me to the company of your Ladyship’s most faithful servants . . . I hope she will not disdain to accept this humble offering, compiled at the request of my Lord her brother; her well-known enthusiasm for all matters concerning the health and well-being of mankind may dispose her to consider it of some small interest.⁶⁷

Castelvetro hopes that his inventory of Italian fruits, vegetables and related recipes will interest Russell because of her “well-known enthusiasm” for “matters” related to health and medicine.

⁶⁵ Anne Lok, sig. A2r-v, cited in Donawerth, “Women’s Poetry,” 11. Donawerth further notes that Lok’s book is “designed to wish good health of body and soul to the duchess for the New Year,” and that Lok is “present[ing]” her book “as both a prayer and medicine,” gifts “regularly exchanged by women” (11).

⁶⁶ Giacomo Castelvetro, *Brieve racconto di tutte le radici, di tutti i frutti, che crudi o cotti in Italia si mangiano* (1614). *The fruit, herbs and vegetables of Italy*, trans. Gillian Riley (Harmondsworth, 1989).

⁶⁷ Riley, *Fruit, Herbs, and Vegetables*, 47.

While we are missing other evidence of Lucy Russell's interest in recipes, we do have a number of receipt books belonging to sixteenth- and seventeenth-century aristocratic women that indicate an interest in recipe exchange and the care of the body.⁶⁸ The Tudor gentlewoman, Lady Grace Mildmay (1552-1620), collected a staggering number of medicinal receipts among her personal writings. Linda Pollock assesses that Mildmay's "surviving papers consist of 85 folios of autobiographical recollections, over 900 folios of spiritual meditations, and 250 folios on diseases, medicines, and treatments." Her medicinal recipes are over 2000 handwritten pages alone.⁶⁹ Mary Sidney probably exchanged medicinal receipts with Adrian Gilbert, who was a physician and chemist in her household.⁷⁰ Other aristocratic and elite women, such as Katherine Jones, Lady Ranelagh and Lady Brilliana Harley, kept receipt books and were also well-known supporters of scientists.⁷¹ Receipt books were thus reflective of women's scientific practice and intellectual exchange, as well as their participation in systems of aristocratic gift exchange.

V. "*Verum Factum*": Scientific Knowledge, "How to," and the Receipt Book

The receipt book reflected an important type of scientific practice by both men and women in early modern England. Receipt books were being informed by new

⁶⁸ Lucy Russell probably had of most of her private papers destroyed—like the poems that she exchanged with John Donne. "Lucy Russell, Countess of Bedford," in *Early Modern Women Poets: An Anthology*, eds. Jane Stevenson and Peter Davidson (Oxford: Oxford University Press, 2001), 129-131.

⁶⁹ Pollock, *With Faith and Physic*, 1.

⁷⁰ Margaret P. Hannay, "'How I These Studies Prize': The Countess of Pembroke and Elizabethan Science," in *Women, Science, and Medicine 1500-1700*, eds. Lynette Hunter and Sarah Hutton (Phoenix Mill: Sutton Publishing, 1997), 112.

⁷¹ Lynette Hunter, "Women and Domestic Medicine: Lady Experimenters, 1570-1620" in *Women, Science, and Medicine*, 89-107.

Baconian methods of observation and testing to explore and understand the workings of the body and the natural world. Technical knowledge was no longer static and limited to Latin treatises. Instead, the printing of books of secrets and recipes in the vernacular ushered in a new era in learning. “To know something” was now to know “how to make it. . .” states William Eamon in his summary of early moderns’ interest in books of secrets.⁷² Receipt books—along with books of secrets--contained a type of “how to” knowledge (often medicinal and alchemical remedies) that used to be off-limits to the layperson (since in the medieval period trade secrets and recipes were circulated in Latin), and such knowledge was becoming increasingly accessible in the forms of printed and manuscript recipe collections.

Receipt practice was influenced not only by books of secrets but also by contemporary philosophical and scientific debates about the working of the natural world and humans’ place within it. A number of women practitioners became deeply involved in debating new areas of scientific inquiry and natural philosophy. Controversies about the nature of existence and the world were affected by the shifting political landscape in early modern England. Science was not apolitical, and a practitioner would embrace a philosophy that reflected his or her political leanings. Whether a person believed that nature was open to inquiry or whether it was closed

⁷² William Eamon, *Science and the Secrets of Nature* (Princeton: Princeton University Press, 1994), 10. Eamon further observes: “It seemed to many readers of the books of secrets that there was much more to be learned from a recipe than merely “how to”—even though in the long run that may have been what they actually learned By the eighteenth century, such “secrets” were techniques and nothing more. In the sixteenth century, however, the term was still densely packed with its ancient and medieval connotations: the association with esoteric wisdom, the domain of occult or forbidden knowledge, the artisan’s cunning, the moral injunctions to protect secrets from the vulgus and the political power that attended knowledge of secrets. The Scientific Revolution exposed and neutralized Nature’s secrets” (5).

(governed by strict hierarchy) depended in part on his or her political stance and belief in open or closed forms of government (republic vs. monarchy).

In the 1650s, Lucy Hutchinson became interested in atomism, a scientific philosophy that reflected her radical beliefs in an egalitarian society (with no king at its head). Atomism maintained that there was no hierarchical ordering to the universe; instead, nature was made of a random assortment of equal atoms. Hutchinson translated Lucretius's *De Rerum Natura*, which propounded a theory of atomism and his belief in a universe lacking a divine imperative to order, one in which only an infinity of atoms collided randomly together out of a "vacuitie" or vacuum.⁷³ Lucretius's philosophy about the ability of atoms to interact equally with each other reflected Hutchinson's political belief in the importance of leveling hierarchy in government and in the newly formed British republic. Incidentally, Lucretius's philosophy about the chaotic state of nature also implied that universe was not subject to the hand of God, a belief so heretical that Hutchinson later repudiated her interest in Lucretius.⁷⁴

⁷³ *Lucy Hutchinson's Translation of Lucretius*, cited above.

⁷⁴ She writes in a letter to Lord Anglesey about her translation, "[A]s my judgement grew riper, and my mind was fixt in more profitable contemplations, I thought this booke not worthy either of review or correction, the whole work being one fault" in *Lucy Hutchinson's Translation of Lucretius*, 24. Reid Barbour in "Lucy Hutchinson, Atomism, and the Atheist Dog," in *Women, Science, and Medicine*, argues that Lucretius's philosophy also appealed to Hutchinson's sense of dismay over the squabbling between republican factions during the Civil War: "The atomism of Lucretius was no doubt attractive to Lucy Hutchinson as a way of neutralizing and even articulating the horrors of a war driven by faction and ambition But atomism also lent itself to Hutchinson's polemical opposition to royalist war-mongering and superstition. That is, if atomism offered her a pastoral exit from the havoc of war, it also offered her a theoretical entrance"(131).

Hutchinson could be said to have had a foil in the Royalist writer, Margaret Cavendish. Cavendish and Hutchinson lived in the same part of Northern England. Cavendish was married to the Duke of Newcastle and was also an aristocrat, who lived in exile on the Continent during the Interregnum. In contrast, Hutchinson's husband was one of the men who signed the death warrant against Charles I. Cavendish, like Hutchinson, was an exceptionally learned woman, even though her beliefs lay at the opposite end of the political spectrum. Like Hutchinson, she explored popular scientific theories and methods that were in vogue at the time, and although she was interested initially in atomism, she eventually embraced a theory of monism. She spent much of the 1650s and 1660s publishing treatises, poems, and fictional letters challenging the existence of a Lucretian vacuum. Instead, she advocated a unified theory of monism to explain the workings of a uniform, ordered world, a belief that may have reflected her own ideal of royalist order and hierarchy.⁷⁵

Another learned woman from the seventeenth century who also engaged with matters of scientific inquiry was Princess Elizabeth of Bohemia, who exchanged letters with the philosopher Rene Descartes during the 1640s. Her theories about the nature of the world and the workings of the human body were not so obviously political—as those theories advocated by Hutchinson and Cavendish. Her theories instead seemed to depend on using the maternal body as a kind of evidence. She challenged Descartes theories about the split between the mind and the body, asking, if women could not escape the condition of their bodies, how could men?—"For even if we suppose the two [soul and body] to be inseparable (which anyway is difficult to

⁷⁵ See, for example, Margaret Cavendish, *Further Observations Upon Experimental Philosophy* (London: A. Maxwell, 1666).

prove in the womb of the mother and in fainting spells), like the attributes of God we can, in considering them separately acquire a more perfect idea of them.”⁷⁶ She challenges Descartes’s theory of dualism, and in a parenthetical aside, she invokes the authority of the maternal body to repudiate his idea about the split between soul and body. Instead, she argues that a mother carries a baby’s body as well as the baby’s soul inside her womb and that they are all connected.

Receipt book practitioners—like Princess Elizabeth—also invoke the authority of the female body in their writings. They include recipes foregrounding the experience of a female body—recipes for pregnancy, lactation, menstruation, and sore breasts—and they repeatedly point to their own experience or use of the remedies on their own bodies. And, like Hutchinson and Cavendish, their scientific writings sometimes reflect their philosophical and political leanings, as we shall see.

VI. Design of the Study

My study is divided into three chapters that explore how recipe writing became a mode through which women could express an authoritative self, while managing those bodies under their care—within the space of the house and sometimes “without dores” in the world of (male) politics. My first chapter defines the genre of the early modern woman’s receipt book as a significant (and largely overlooked) type of self-writing, produced at a time when female self-expression and individuality was discouraged. Views of the self were predominantly negative: the self was something that needed to be tightly governed, and an individual’s desires

⁷⁶ Andrea Nye, *The Princess and the Philosopher: Letters of Elisabeth of the Palatine to Rene Descartes* (Rowman & Littlefield: Lanham, 1999), 10.

were believed to be in perpetual conflict with the higher needs of the soul. Especially for women, writing about the self was a vexed process since they were considered socially, intellectually, and legally inferior to men, and the ideal virtuous woman was self-effacing. In receipt books, however, women expressed the female self as positive, capable, and fluid, and the genre of the receipt book was correspondingly flexible—drawing on multiple texts, technologies, and contributions (by members of the writer's coterie), as well as extending through many generations.

I examine the origins of the receipt book in both medieval and humanist traditions, and I argue that, in the Renaissance, the receipt book came to be particularly associated with domestic literature and the space of the house, where women wielded a considerable amount of authority. Women recorded the “how to” work of the kitchen, distilling closet, and the sick room in their recipes, and the picture of the female self that emerges then is an authoritative one closely involved in the quotidian activities of everyday life.

Markers of the individual and her sense of domestic authority surface in receipts focused on the care of the gendered body, especially in those receipts for menstruation, lactation, and pregnancy. These medicinal receipts, in particular, made visible the female body and her bodied self. Authority was also constructed in marginalia, such as “*probatum est*,” which recorded whether the receipt was “proven” and if the practitioner had personally found the recipe effective. With their inclusion of religious writings in the receipt book (like prayers, sermons, and hymns), women also constructed themselves as “expert” on matters related to the care of the soul, as well as the body.

My second chapter examines the representation of the female receipt practitioner as healer and empiric in Shakespeare's *All's Well that Ends Well*.⁷⁷ By examining the discourses of wellness, specialized knowledge, and desire that surround Helen's practice, we see how the female practitioner is instrumental to restoring physical order to the king's body, as well as social order to the world of the play. *All's Well that Ends Well* engages with one of the main intellectual debates of Shakespeare's day--whether the new empirical methods of natural philosophy could adequately explain the wonders of the world in scientific terms instead of divine ones.

Seventeenth-century medical treatises offer insight into the king's condition, which is only hinted at in the play. He most likely suffered from an embarrassing and painful type of fistula, a fistula *in ano* (a pipe-like ulcer located on the anus). Manuscript and printed medicinal recipes for curing the fistula indicate that Helen's successful cure would have involved a probing of the infected area (to either wash or lance the wound), and her intimate access to the king's body helps explain Bertram's obstinate refusal to marry Helen. Through her receipt practice, Helen comes suspiciously close to playing the role of royal mistress, and Bertram sees her as compromised by her knowledge of the king's body. In her role as receipt practitioner, Helen becomes sexually suspect, and *All's Well that Ends Well* links the female empiric's specialized knowledge of the body with sexual experience.

As the other characters struggle to interpret the meaning of Helen's surprising cure of the king, the play represents a tension between "how to" science (or "philosophy") and miracles. *All's Well that Ends Well* can thus be interpreted within the

⁷⁷ William Shakespeare, *All's Well that Ends Well*, eds. Barbara A. Mowat and Paul Werstine.

context of early moderns' emerging scientific world view, one being shaped by the nascent fields of receipt book science and anatomy. To know an individual depends, in part, on knowing his or her bodily interior (or insides), and the medicinal recipe for curing a fistula provides the female practitioner with valuable knowledge about the interior of the royal male body (and, by extension, the king's private self).

Since fistulas were understood to be notoriously difficult to cure, Helen's successful healing of the king would have seemed an impressive feat, one that the audience would have seen as showcasing her considerable technical skill as a practitioner. The ordinariness of the recipe as a common household object though would, nevertheless, have de-mystified Helen's cure on some level. Either way, Helen's use of the receipt to cure the king allows her to restore a fragile order to the king's body and to the body politic of the state. The recipe then becomes a vehicle which Shakespeare uses to explore competing discourses about the nature of bodies, selves, and things. Ultimately, the main characters in the play become desiring subjects—signified by the physical markers of prostitution and venereal disease and connected by the exchange of specialized knowledge in the “how to” receipt.

My third and final chapter tracks how Shakespeare's concern in *All's Well*--about the receipt practitioner's access to the private self and her control over the body politic--translates into anxiety about the housewife's ability to affect politics at home and abroad later in the seventeenth century. I trace the representation of the housewife in two printed cookbooks, *The Court and Kitchen of Elizabeth, Commonly Called Joan* (1664) and *The Queen's Closet Opened* (1655), and I re-visit the

manuscript receipt book to get a sense of the housewife's practice and politics as recorded "in her own words."⁷⁸

The printed cookbooks portray nostalgia for a lost royalist past, a place of good household and national economy. Manuscript receipt books also express utopian concerns, especially in recipes for panaceas requiring New World ingredients. In both printed and manuscript receipt collections, we again see--as in *All's Well that Ends Well*--how political uncertainty was understood as domestic instability, and we see how the housewife negotiated between the public sphere of (male) politics and the private (often gendered female) space of the home. The housewife was responsible for *more* than maintaining the body and spirit of her husband: she was also responsible for the fragile health of the English nation.

I argue that the genre of the receipt book and the genre of the utopia were connected by their emphasis on the experiment. Utopias involved political, rhetorical, and scientific experimentation; science was, in particular, valued as an important means of accessing utopia—as in Francis Bacon's *New Atlantis* and Margaret Cavendish's *A Blazing World*.⁷⁹ Through the testing of the natural world (a testing which was advocated in the text of the recipe), human beings could achieve an ideal place, a new ordering of the social world.

⁷⁸ *The Court and Kitchen of Elizabeth, Comonly called Joan Cromwel* (London: Thomas Milbourne, 1664; Henrietta Maria Stuart, *The Queen's Closet Opened* (London: 1655).

⁷⁹ Francis Bacon, *The New Atlantis* (1621) in *Francis Bacon: A Selection of His Works*, ed. Sidney Warhaft (New York: Macmillan, 1982); Margaret Cavendish, *A Blazing World* (1666) in *The Blazing World and Other Writings*, ed. Kate Lilley (London: Penguin, 1994).

The Queen's Closet Opened and *The Court and Kitchen of Elizabeth* both construct an alternative world, a royalist utopia more decorous, expensive, and exotic than an England governed by disruptive Puritan politics and bad cooking. In *The Court and Kitchen of Elizabeth*, Thomas Milbourne combines a royalist satire of the Cromwells with a collection of culinary recipes attributed to the Lady Protectoress, Elizabeth Cromwell. In his satire, he argues that the private actions of the housewife contribute to utopia or dystopia at home and in government. As a poor substitute for the queen, the Lady Protectoress subverts the traditional relationships between a king and his country, and she turns the royalist world into an upside down dystopia.

The recipes imply that Elizabeth Cromwell is gauche in her tastes for ordinary foods and, at the same time, grossly extravagant in her desire for expensive food stuffs, as in her preference for marrow puddings for breakfast. As a corrective to the extremes of the Cromwell's dystopia, Milbourne locates his utopia in the space of the temperate body and the decorous royalist household. He also invokes the tradition of Southern utopias and imagines the Cromwells usurping the monarchy in a mythical, southern land, whose people (unlike the British who let Elizabeth Cromwell retire to the countryside) would later exact a cannibalistic revenge. In this fantasy, the Puritan eaters-up of a nation become the eaten.

The Queen's Closet Opened published in the 1650s during the fraught years of the Interregnum also constructs the royal household as a utopic space. The editor, an anonymous W.M., claims to be a former secretary to the queen and constructs Henrietta Maria as an ideal housewife. He introduces the recipe collection as providing access to the queen's private household practice and, by extension, her

interior self. W.M. suggests that the English body can be properly known and managed through the queen's recipe practice with an aristocratic, learned coterie. The queen's recipes also reinforce an ideal of privacy, royalty, and catholicity.

Manuscript recipe compilations—like their printed counterparts—also were a place to respond to the politics of the times, and they too engaged with utopian discourse, but not in a coherent, unified way; rather, their politics were expressed in fragments, ingredients, and notes within the recipe. The receipt book reflected the utopian desires of the practitioner and her patients, especially through her receipts for panaceas requiring New World ingredients. The Americas were repeatedly figured and understood as utopia, a pre-lapsarian space where one could achieve perfect bodily health. New World ingredients—like chocolate, tobacco, and sugar—carried the exotic promise of perfect health, and they retained their utopian weight in recipes for panaceas in women's receipt books.

Both *The Queen's Closet Opened* and *The Court and Kitchen of Elizabeth* construct their visions of nationhood around the royalist household as an imagined good place of proper recipe practice by a housewife-queen. These books--along with manuscript receipt books drawing on the New World as utopia—demonstrate how cooking was part of a nation's emerging utopic vision of itself, a vision predicated on the premise that proper cooking and housewifery were essential to good governance and the maintenance of a fragile body politic. Manuscript receipt books and printed cookbooks illustrate the power behind women's recipe practices of cooking and medicine, a power that could be perceived as political and subversive, as well as domestic and commonplace.

CHAPTER ONE

“To Make Inke Verie Good”: Women’s Self-Writing in the Early Modern Recipe Book

In this chapter, I trace the contours of the receipt book genre and discuss how early modern women used receipts to express the female self in a society that discouraged individual self-expression. I look at the origins of the receipt book in medieval books of secrets and humanist commonplace books and argue that receipt books eventually became associated with the genre of domestic literature and with the space of the house, where women were considered authorities in culinary and medical matters. Culinary and medicinal receipts were routinely mixed together in receipt books, and such elasticity of subject matter further contributed to women’s domestic authority.

Receipt books were profoundly collaborative in nature—women shared, exchanged, and wrote recipes within their textual coteries and within their neighboring communities. Women also handed down their receipt books across generations from daughter to granddaughter to great-granddaughter. Thus, the receipt book reveals a self that defies definitions of singleness; instead, the female self is expressed as multi-generational and multi-textual. Yet, even within this communal and collaborative context, I argue that there are some important markers of the “individual” writer and her self to be found—specifically, in marginalia on the “proving” of receipts, in receipts foregrounding the female body, and, lastly, in writings for the care of the soul. In the pages of the receipt book, we see early modern women in the process of becoming “individual” within their communities (of family and coterie) and through the shared exchange and practice of the recipe.

Recent historians and critics have argued that during the Renaissance, the concept of “self” was a distinctively negative one, informed by a spiritual and classical tradition that articulated the necessity for governing the desires of the physical, bodied “self,” endlessly in conflict with the immortal part of the person, the “soul.”¹ Jonathan Sawday identifies the centrality of taming the self in Christian thought (whether Protestant or Catholic) in the early modern period:

“Self-hood” in the mid-seventeenth century did not . . . suggest . . . the quality of having or possessing a “self.” Rather it expressed the inability to govern the self. “Self-hood” was the mark of Satan; it was

¹ Roger Smith, “Self-Reflection and the Self,” in *Rewriting the Self: Histories from the Renaissance to the Present*, ed. Roy Porter (London and New York: Routledge, 1997), 52.

a token of the spiritually unregenerate individual, in thrall to the flesh rather than the spirit.²

Early modern bodied subjectivity, as Gail Paster argues: “would be characterized by a high degree of emotional liability . . . [and] the call for emotional regulation by self and by external social disciplines . . . assume[d] . . . emphasis” since both the humoral body and the spirit residing within it were seen as particularly vulnerable to the malign influences of the outside world.³ Reflective thinking and writing about the self thus often involved wrestling with the unruly, passionate self—bringing it in line with God’s will and the higher needs of the soul. Such wide spread beliefs about the flawed spiritual and physical make-up of the early modern person informed many autobiographical (or proto-autobiographical writings), where self-expression was necessarily distilled through a filter of cultural injunctions that argued against excessive self-identification or self-celebration.⁴ For women especially, considered socially, legally, physically, and spiritually inferior to the men who were their fathers and husbands, writing about the female self was an extraordinarily vexed process. As Shelia Ottway argues:

The ideal Christian woman was expected not only to be submissive but also self-effacing . . . ‘Self’ was that part of the human psyche that had

² Jonathan Sawday, “Self and Selfhood in the Seventeenth Century,” in *Rewriting the Self*, 30.

³ Gail Paster, *Humoring the Body: Emotions and the Shakespearean Stage* (Chicago and London: University of Chicago Press, 2004), 19.

⁴ On the use of the term “autobiography” (first coined in 1807) to describe self-writings in the early modern period, see Henk Dragstra, Shelia Ottway, and Helen Wilcox, introduction to *Betraying Ourselves: Forms of Self-Representation in Early Modern English Texts*, eds. Henk Dragstra, Shelia Ottway, and Helen Wilcox (New York: St. Martins Press, 2000), 1-13. Dragstra, Ottway, and Wilcox argue that many personal texts from the early modern period show the “beginnings of autobiography.” Such writing can be considered “embryonic autobiography reflecting a nascent, incipient, or even ur-modernity of spirit” (9).

to be controlled and repressed before one could be a recipient of divine grace . . . Consequently early modern women had to adopt certain strategies in order to be able to write about themselves at all.⁵

As Ottway and others have found, women did develop many positive strategies for writing and speaking about the female self—through diaries, maternal legacies, prayers, prophecies, and poetry. They often drew on their authority as virtuous mothers and daughters to justify their writing, and they invoked the “domestic context” of the home to enable their literary production.⁶

However, a significant type of self-writing that has been overlooked in recent scholarship on women’s autobiography and histories of the “self” is the manuscript receipt book. These private collections of medicinal, culinary, and household recipes can provide us with an alternate window into the expression of the early modern self. In this chapter, I consider the receipt book as a strategy of female self-writing, asking first, what are the major characteristics of the genre, and then, what are the implications for early modern women’s sense of self? I begin by tracking how the genre evolved out of the medieval books of secrets and the humanist commonplace book traditions but later came to be associated with the popular, domestic literature of

⁵ Shelia Ottway, “Autobiography,” in *A Companion to Early Modern Women’s Writing*, ed. Anita Pacheco (Oxford: Blackwell Publishing, 2002), 231.

⁶ For a general discussion of women’s authorial strategies, see Kristen Poole, “‘The fittest closet for all goodness’: Authorial Strategies of Jacobean Mothers Manuals,” *SEL* 35 (1995): 69-88, and Elizabeth Sauer, “Maternity, Prophecy, and the Cultivation of the Private Sphere in Seventeenth-Century England,” in *Explorations in Renaissance Culture* 24 (1998): 118-148. For studies on women’s use of the private space of the home to authorize public writing or speaking, also see Helen Wilcox, “Literature and the Household,” in *The Cambridge History of Early Modern English Literature*, eds. David Loewenstein and Janel Mueller (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 2002), 737-763.

the house.⁷ The genre of the receipt book was a flexible one, drawing on multiple texts, technologies, and writers, and it allowed for the construction of a female self that was correspondingly fluid and in flux between individual practice and coterie. Through the receipt book's close relationship to the house, its emphasis on collaboration as well as empirical practice, its foregrounding of the female body, and, lastly, its prescriptions for the care of the soul, it became a textual space that enabled women's positive expression of the self.

Circulating recipes was a popular and prevalent practice among men and women in early modern England, and, as we have already seen, women especially were drawn to the receipt book.⁸ Many invented, gathered, and exchanged recipes within their homes, neighborhoods, and manuscript coteries. Women included recipes not just in receipt books but also in other domestic texts as well, such as legacies, conduct books, commonplace books, and diaries. Lady Margaret Hoby, who was briefly the sister-in-law to Mary Sidney, records the ins-and-outs of her daily medical practice (which most often consisted of treating wounds) in her diary (1599-1606).⁹ Later in the seventeenth century, Alice Thornton discusses medical matters and recipes in her autobiographical *Book of Remembrances* (1669), such as when she notes a remedy that she administered to her mother, who had been suffering with a cough for fourteen days, "Whereupon the use of bags with friend oats, butter and

⁷ Wilcox, "Literature and the Household," 737.

⁸ Katherine Jones, *Lady Ranelagh's choise receipts*, seventeenth century, British Library MS Sloane 1367; "Grandmother Harley" (Brilliana Harley) and Thomas Davies, *Medical Recipes*, 1680, British Library Egerton 2214; and Henrietta Maria Stuart, *The Queen's Closet Opened* (London: 1655).

⁹ *The Private Life of an Elizabethan Lady: The Diary of Lady Margaret Hoby, 1599-1605*, ed. Joanna Moody (Stroud, Gloucestershire: Sutton, 1998).

camomile chopped, laid to her sides . . . and the cough abated as to the extremity thereof.”¹⁰

Recipes were also collected and exchanged by word-of-mouth between different classes of women, including lower-class women who would have been illiterate but who would have had many recipes committed to memory.¹¹ One example of a receipt that circulated by word-of-mouth is a medicinal remedy against excessive menstruation found in an anonymous seventeenth-century commonplace book and in Sarah Wigges’s receipt book (c. 1616). The receipt is attributed to a wandering beggar woman:

If a woman that is too much weakened with her courses doth cast the same, or let the same run into a hole made in the ground, with a three-squared stake, the same stake immediately after being put or drove into the same hole, and so remain there in unremoved, her said flux will cease, being thought before incurable. An honest woman revealed this who had proved it to be true; and she learned it of a poor woman that required alms at her door.¹²

Many of the women—like the “poor woman” and the “honest woman” noted in the receipt above—who collected and exchanged recipes are virtually unknown to literary historians, and little biographical information tends to be available in the books

¹⁰ Alice Thornton, *A Booke of Remembrances of all the remarkable deliverances of myself, husband and children with their births, and other remarks as concerning myself and family, beginning from the year 1626* (1668) in *Her Own Life: Autobiographical Writings by Seventeenth-Century Englishwomen*, eds. Elspeth Graham, Hilary Hinds, Elaine Hobby, and Helen Wilcox (London: Routledge, 1989): 155.

¹¹ Elizabeth Tebeaux discusses the “oral residue” found in recipes in printed cookbooks from the sixteenth century in “Women and Technical Writing, 1475-1700: Technology, Literacy, and Development of a Genre” in *Women, Science and Medicine 1500-1700*, eds. Lynette Hunter and Sarah Hutton (Phoenix Mill, UK: Sutton Publishing, 1997): 33.

¹² Royal College of Physicians, London MS 504, f.28, cited in Kate Aughterson, *Renaissance Woman: A Sourcebook: Constructions of Femininity* (London and New York: Routledge, 1995)

themselves, aside from signatures of the owner and inscriptions of contributors to a collection. Yet such elusive, fragmented writings can still reveal much about the ways in which women wrote and thought about the self through their receipt book writing and practice.

I. Origins of a Genre: From Secrets to Commonplaces to Writings in the House

In order to trace the contours of the receipt book genre, it is necessary to give a brief historical overview of the origins of recipe writing in early modern England. Receipt books seem to have descended from medieval books of secrets (collections of treasured medical, alchemical, or trade recipes) written in Latin and circulated among an elite readership (although the very practice of keeping of recipes and compiling cookbooks dates back even farther to antiquity).¹³ The first receipt book to be compiled in English was written by the chief of feasts for Richard II, who compiled a set of royal recipes in *Forme of Cury* (or Manner of Cookery) in 1390.¹⁴ Vernacular cookbooks went into print in 1500 with the anonymous *This is the Boke of Cookery*,

¹³ William Eamon, *Science and the Secrets of Nature* (Princeton: Princeton University Press, 1994), 161. For a survey of recipes used in ancient Greece and Rome, see Michelle Berriedale-Johnson, *The British Museum Cookbook* (London: British Museum Press, 1987), especially, 20-35 and 48-62. This book also has a short section on Anglo-Saxon cooking based on findings at the Sutton Hoo burial mounds and an archeological dig in West Stow, Suffolk.

¹⁴ *Curye on Inglysch: English Culinary Manuscripts of the Fourteenth Century (including the Forme of Cury)*, eds. Constance B. Hieatt and Sharon Butler (London: Published for the Early English Texts Society by Oxford University Press, 1985). For a modern cookbook derived from *Forme of Cury*, see Lorna S. Hass, *To the King's Taste: Richard II's Book of Feasts Adapted for Modern Cooking* (New York: Metropolitan Museum of Art, 1975). The royal cooks prepared huge quantities of food for the king and his guests. For the feast of September 23, 1387, the cooks required among many other things: 120 "herdes of shepe fressh," 140 "pigges," 400 rabbits, 60 dozen hens, 12 "bushels of apples," 12 "gallons of creme," and 11, 000 "egges" (Hass 19-20).

and as a genre, printed cookbooks (often written by men and aimed at a female audience) and household manuals (sometimes containing medical and culinary recipes) became increasingly popular in England in the sixteenth, seventeenth, and eighteenth centuries.¹⁵

Alongside a flourishing print culture in which male-authored recipe books and household “how-to” manuals were popular bestsellers, women circulated their recipes exclusively in manuscript until the middle of the seventeenth century, when popular authors like Hannah Woolley made a considerable living publishing recipes and cookbooks.¹⁶ Even as going into print became an easier, more socially acceptable, and increasingly lucrative option, many women continued to circulate their recipes

¹⁵ *The is the Boke of Cokery: Here beginneth a noble boke of festes royalle and Cokery a boke for a pryncis householde or any other estates; and the makynge therof as ye shall fynde more playnly within this boke, Emprynted without temple barre by Richard Pynson in the yere of our lorde MD.* For a bibliography of early modern English cookbooks, see Arnold Whitaker Oxford, *English Cookery Books to the Year 1850* (London: Holland Press, 1913, 1977).

¹⁶ Most printed cookbooks and household guides were written by men and aimed at a female audience. On this topic see, Robert Appelbaum, “Rhetoric and Epistemology in Early Printed Recipe Collections,” *JEMCS* 3.2. (2003): 1-35; Kim Hall, “Culinary Spaces, Colonial Spaces: The Gendering of Sugar in the Seventeenth Century,” in *Feminist Readings of Early Modern Culture: Emerging Subjects*, eds. Valerie Traub, M. Lindsay Kaplan, Dymphna Callaghan (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 1996), 168-190; Wendy Wall, “Familiarity and Pleasure in the English Household Guide, 1500-1700,” in *Staging Domesticity: Household Work and English Identity in Early Modern Drama* (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 2002), 18-58. On the popularity of women’s printed cookbooks after 1660, see Elaine Hobby, *Virtue of Necessity: English Women’s Writings 1646-1688* (London: Virago Press, 1988), 165-189. On the popularity of early modern printed “how to” technical manuals on cookery and husbandry, see Tebeaux, “Women and Technical Writing,” and Lynette Hunter, “Books for Daily Life: Household, Husbandry, and Behaviour,” in *The Cambridge History of the Book in Britain*, vol. 4, eds. John Barnard and D. F. McKenzie (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 2002), 514-532.

(as well as other private writings) in manuscript until well into the eighteenth century (and, of course, women and men continue to exchange recipes to this day).¹⁷

During the early modern period, the dynamic between print and manuscript was a fluid one, with manuscript receipts finding their way into print and then circulating back into manuscript (and as we have seen, receipts were occasionally imported from oral sources as well). The genre of the receipt book was thus an unstable one with “how to” knowledge moving back and forth between print and manuscript and also between the owners of receipt books and their community of contributors. This generic instability has implications for the self, which is constructed by such texts, as we shall see further below.

The gathering and recording of receipts were profoundly influenced by the humanist reading and writing practices of the Renaissance, a “notebook society,” which emphasized the importance of collecting, organizing, and generating specialized knowledge in commonplace books structured thematically by topic.¹⁸ The gathering of receipts paralleled the collecting of the usual literary commonplaces—such as sententiae, moral proverbs, spiritual devotions, or aphoristic poetry. Literary historian Stephen Zwicker describes these popular habits of reading and writing and their didactic purpose:

¹⁷ Margaret Ezell, *Social Authorship and the Advent of Print* (Baltimore: Johns Hopkins University Press, 1999).

¹⁸ Peter Beal, “Notions in Garrison: The Seventeenth-Century Commonplace Book,” in *New Ways of Looking at Old Texts: Papers of the Renaissance English Text Society*, ed. W. Speed Hill, Medieval and Renaissance Texts and Studies, vol. 107 (Binghamton, New York: Medieval and Renaissance Texts and Studies, 1993), 131. Beale states, “The period [seventeenth-century] has justly been described as embodying a ‘notebook culture,’ for the practice of keeping notebooks and commonplace books in general was one of the most widespread activities of the educated classes in England.”

Habits of imitation and admiration, of application and attentiveness, were formed by parsing, translating, memorizing, and replicating both the Scriptures and the classics. These habits focused the mind on the exemplary force of the text, on what was translatable and transportable on the “commonplace” . . . Early modern readers turned to their books for patterns of virtue, for classical wisdom and Christian morality, for models of conduct and expression. Exemplary reading was among the most important of Renaissance intellectual techniques, and it was premised on that most ubiquitous of readerly habits, the marking and exporting of commonplaces.¹⁹

Readerly habits of “marking” and copying informed women’s readings of printed and manuscript recipe collections, and as they read, they would copy their chosen receipts into their receipt books. Receipts from popular printed collections appear alongside of recipes of an individual’s own invention, as well as recipes gathered from members of their coterie. The collecting of commonplace writings from a variety of sources popular with Renaissance readers--the Bible, sermons, poetry compilations, spiritual devotions, classical philosophy, natural history, and rhetoric—informed the practice of gathering receipts, which were themselves even occasionally included in commonplace books, a move which suggests, perhaps, that on one level, the recipe was thought of as just another type of commonplace fragment in the period.

The reverse is also true; some receipt books also contain commonplaces, yet in their sharp focus on culinary, medicinal, and household recipes, receipt books eventually emerge as a genre quite distinct from the commonplace book and other manuscript collections. Also, unlike commonplace books, which were associated

¹⁹ Steven N. Zwicker, “The Reader Revealed,” in *The Reader Revealed*, Exhibition Catalog, ed. Sabrina Alcorn Baron with Elizabeth Walsh and Susan Scola (Seattle: University of Washington Press, 2001), Folger Shakespeare Library, Washington, DC, 14-15.

with elite humanist reading practices, receipt books came to be associated primarily with the domestic space and work of the house, where, as we've seen, women wielded a considerable amount of authority in culinary, medical, religious, and educational matters.²⁰

The textual fragment of the recipe--either invented by the author, culled from sources available to her, such as books on medicine, cookery, and housewifery, or originating with friends, family members, or medical practitioners—recorded the work of the kitchen, distilling closet, and sickroom. The receipt book's close association with domestic practice, then, further separates it from the commonplace book since commonplaces were usually literary, classical, and biblical.²¹

While women worked as primary care-givers and household managers, the relationship that developed between the house and the recipe was a dynamic one; within the space of the house women had authority (as housewives, mothers, nurses, governesses, and daughters) to assert a considerable amount of power over bodies and the house, and they wrote about their practices within the pages of the receipt book. The picture of the female self that emerges, then, is one closely involved in the

²⁰ On the relationship of humanist reading practices to the receipt book, see Elaine Leong, "Medical Remedy Collections in Seventeenth-Century England: Knowledge, Text, and Gender," D. Phil diss., Oxford University, 2006.

²¹ Sir Edward Dering includes recipes in his commonplace book, 1656-1662, HM 41536, Huntington Library, San Marino, California. On the general contents of commonplace books, see William Sherman, *Renaissance Commonplace Books from the Huntington Library: A Listing and Guide to the Microfilm Collections* (Marlborough: Adam Matthew Publications, 1994); Earle Havens, *Commonplace Books: A History of Manuscripts and Printed Books from Antiquity to the Twentieth Century*, in conjunction with an exhibition at the Beinecke Rare Book and Manuscript Library, Yale University, 23 July through 29 September 2001 (New Haven and Hanover: University Press of New England, 2001); and Ann Moss, *Printed Commonplace-Books and the Structuring of Renaissance Thought* (Oxford: Clarendon Press, 1996).

quotidian activities of the house, an “art of dailyness,” demonstrating these women’s expertise in such domestic and technical matters.²² From Lettice Pudsey’s medicinal remedy “for the tooth ache” (f.66r) to Sarah Long’s culinary receipt “To make cleare cakes of gooseberries” (f.8r) to Jane Dawson’s practical receipt for washing hands, “To make past for hands,” (f.51r) women managed their bodies and those under their care through cooking and medical practice both within (and occasionally without) the space of the early modern house.²³ In this sense then, women constructed themselves as authorities on domestic matters.

The receipt book thus can be seen as a sub-genre of what Helen Wilcox has identified as, “domestic literature”; those texts primarily “associated” with the space of the home and primarily written by women, including “lyrics, letters, biography, memoirs, devotions, conduct books, meditations, commemorative sermons, prose polemics, diaries and poems of praise.”²⁴ The prolific seventeenth-century writer, Margaret Cavendish, described women’s domestic writing as specifically including recipes: “Some Devotions, or Romances, or Receits of Medicines, for Cookery or Confectioners, or Complemental Letters, or a Copy or two of verses.”²⁵ Through

²²Ann Vollmann Bible, has used this phrase to describe the work of the artist, Gabriele Münter, in “The Art of Dailyness: Gabriele Münter’s Self-Representational Practices, 1918-1989,” Ph.D diss., MIT, 2006.

²³ Lettice Pudsey, *Her Booke of Recipts*, c. 1675, Folger Shakespeare Library MS V.a. 450; Sarah Long, *Recipe Book*, c. 1610, Folger Shakespeare Library MS V.a. 425; Jane Dawson, *Recipe Book*, late seventeenth century, Folger Shakespeare Library MS V.a. 14.

²⁴ Wilcox, “Literature and the Household,” 751-2.

²⁵ Cited in Wilcox, “Literature and the Household,” 751-2. Cavendish herself experimented with all these types of domestic writings. She even mixed the form of the recipe with the traditional blazon in her collection of *Poems and Phancies* to “describe the deliciously erotic possibilities of the female body,” as Theodora Jankowski observes in “Good Enough to Eat: The Domestic Economy of Woman-

recipe writing and practice, women found expression for an authoritative, expert self defined in relation to the space of the house.

The house was crucial not just in abstract terms of genre (as a topic or theme) of recipe collections, but also in terms of material practice, since women used recipes primarily within the home. Middle-class and elite women were typically educated by their mothers, female relatives, and governesses in the household arts, which included the study of cooking, confectionary, preserving, distilling, and medicine, and the collecting of receipts would have been included in this curriculum. Bathsua Makin, who was governess in the 1640s to Princess Elizabeth, daughter of Charles I, and who was during the Interregnum a tutor to the countess of Huntingdon and her daughter, printed a treatise on education, *An Essay to Revive the Antient Education of Gentlewomen* in 1673, which emphasized the importance of women's being educated in chemical, medical, and household sciences along with a comprehensive study of classical learning and the arts: "The great Thing I design is, the Knowledge of things; as Religion, the Names and Natures of Herbs, Shrubs, Trees, Mineral-Juyces, Metals and Precious Stones; as also the Principles of Arts and Sciences. . . ."²⁶ In a postscript to her essay, Makin appends an advertisement for her women's school and mentions, "Those that please, may learn Linning, Preserving, Pastry, and Cookery,"

Woman Eroticism in Margaret Cavendish and Andrew Marvell," in *Privacy, Domesticity, and Women in Early Modern England*, ed. Corinne S. Abate (Burlington, VT.: Ashgate Press, 2003), 90.

²⁶ Bathsua Makin, *An Essay to Revive the Antient Education of Gentlewomen*, 1673, in *Women Writers of the Seventeenth Century*, eds. Katharina M. Wilson and Frank J. Warnke (Athens and London: University of Georgia Press, 1989), 299.

four household arts that would certainly have included the recording, collecting, and practicing of recipes.²⁷

Lady Grace Mildmay (1552-1620) recalls in her autobiography that her favorite governess encouraged her to read William Turner's popular *Herbal* (a guide to medicinal herbs and plants) along with surgical texts when she was at loose ends as a child, and, as an adult, she maintained an extensive medical lay-practice among family, friends, neighbors, and the poor in her neighborhood of rural Northamptonshire, while she compiled many hundreds of medicinal recipes within her prolific collection of personal papers.²⁸ Literate women's everyday practices—like Mildmay's—show that the compiling of receipt books would have been seen as a natural extension of women's usual education and work as a housewife—specifically in the related areas of medicine, midwifery, and cookery.²⁹

²⁷ *An Essay*, 303.

²⁸ Pollock, *With Faith and Physic*, 26. Printed in 1551, William Turner's *New Herball* was a popular guide to herbs.

²⁹ On literacy, Sara Mendelsohn notes about Stuart women's diaries: "One undisputed attribute of the seventeenth-century female population is its overwhelming illiteracy with respect to writing skills. Although there was a considerable rise in female literacy in London towards the end of the seventeenth century, all the literacy tests indicate that, for most of the century, few women throughout England were able even to sign their name. This finding does not necessarily imply that the majority of women were unable to read. In fact it was a widespread practice to teach girls to read but not to write, and the actual extent of female illiteracy with respect to reading ability remains a matter of controversy among historians. In any case, it seems clear that most women were disqualified from the start from composing memoranda of their experiences." Sara Heller Mendelsohn, "Stuart Women's Diaries and Occasional Memoirs," in *Women in English Society 1500-1800*, ed. Mary Prior (London: Methuen, 1985), 182-3. Mendelsohn's research suggests that some women may have been able to read receipts, even if they could not write them out themselves. Instead, if they had wanted to record their receipts in a receipt book or on a loose scrap of paper, they probably employed a scribe or a literate family member to copy the receipts for them. One example of a receipt book that may be a scribal copy is Mrs. Carlyon's *A Booke with such medicines as haue been approued*

Stine observes that the early modern house functioned as “both the primary location for medical care and as the center for female authority in medical matters.”³⁰ The historian of science and medicine Margaret Pelling agrees that the house was central in terms of a woman’s medical practice: “The first port of call in times of illness was . . . the family or household . . . [and] it appears . . . that the bulk of health care . . . was left to the responsibility of women.”³¹ Such responsibility sometimes extended beyond the four walls of the house into the neighboring community where an elite woman, such as Mildmay, would practice charitable medicine and where other women (sometimes of the middle and lower classes), worked cures, cooked medicinal broths, and offered medicinal recipes for a fee. Stine remarks that women’s medical “authority, while closely related to . . . [their] domestic role, was not limited to the interior spaces of a house but extended into the local community and across a woman’s social circle.”³²

Indeed, women performed extensive medical services in early modern England. There was a shortage of trained physicians and trained practitioners (whether male or female). For instance, in Mildmay’s own town of Norwich, as Linda Pollock notes, “there was an estimated one practitioner for every 200-250 inhabitants in the late sixteenth century,” and “[w]ell populated rural areas would

by the speciall practice, ca. 1660, Folger MS V.a. 398. Carlyon’s book is written out a smooth, flowing hand (with almost no mistakes or cross-outs) suggesting that the receipts were being dictated to the writer or that the writer was copying them from another source (possibly even another familial receipt book or a printed source). Also, the scribe (or Carlyon herself) used red ink for the titles of the receipts and black ink for the main text.

³⁰ Stine, “Opening Closets,” 108.

³¹ Margaret Pelling, “Thoroughly Resented? Older Women and the Medical Role in Early Modern London,” in *Women, Science, and Medicine*, 70.

³² Stine, “Opening Closets,” 108.

have a ratio of about 1 to 400.” Pollock concludes that “most of the medical services of this period would be furnished by unauthorized practitioners . . .”³³ Along with lay practitioners, surgeons, apothecaries, charlatans, and midwives then, women did extensive work as care-givers in their communities, and the compiling and testing of recipes for food and medicines was an important component of their practice.³⁴

In this section, I have discussed how the receipt book evolved as a genre--from its origins in medieval books of secret to its shaping by humanist writing practices to its eventual association with the domestic literature of the house. I have also analyzed the receipt book in terms of women’s domestic practice--specifically medical practice--within the household and within the community, and as in my introduction, I have argued that socially and culturally, women were endowed with a considerable amount of authority over domestic matters within the space of the house. Such authority and expertise is reflected in women’s receipt books, as well as in their marginalia and annotations, a point, which I shall return to in more detail below. However, first, it is important to examine briefly the hybrid nature of the receipt book, specifically its inclusion of culinary and medicinal recipes together.

³³ Pollock, “With Faith and Physic,” 93.

³⁴ Margaret Pelling, *Medical Conflicts in Early Modern London: Patronage, Physicians, and Irregular Practitioners, 1550-1640* (Oxford: Clarendon Press, 2003), especially “Gender Compromises: The Female Practitioner and her Connections,” 189-224. See also, Pollock, “Medical Matters,” in *With Faith and Physic*, 92-109.

II. "Apple Pie" and "A Water For Scurvy": Women's Mixing of Cooking and Medicine in the Receipt Book

Early modern culinary and medicinal recipes were often mixed together in women's receipt books, with no firm distinction made between the preparation of remedies and foods because all substances—foodstuffs, herbs, medicinal compounds—were thought to be endowed with humoral properties that could have a beneficial or negative affect on the body. Cooking and medicine as subjects were implicitly connected under the conceptual umbrella of the body's health. Food historian Mary Anne Caton summarizes contemporary beliefs about the body's health as dependent on the use of foods and medicine to achieve humoral balance:

The way to health was a balanced body; that balance was modified by the composition of one's diet, for each food had a humor, or character, that defined its proper medicinal and culinary uses. Thus, recipes for medical treatments appear alongside those for table-top dishes in many . . . [renaissance] collections of recipes.³⁵

Foods, drinks, plants, herbs, medicines, purges, and other ingestible substances were all believed to have humoral properties that affected the body's overall complexion and whether something was a food or a medicine was often hard to determine. As Margaret Pelling explains, the definition of "physic, or internal medicine, included the vast grey area of overlap between medicines and food, in which women had an established role." Purgative drinks and ales were substances emblematic of this thinking: "Whether or not the offering of a purgative substance constituted the

³⁵ Mary Anne Caton, "'For Profit and Pleasure': Changes in Food and Farming" in *Foales and Fricassees: Food in Shakespeare's England*, Exhibition Catalog, ed. Mary Anne Caton (Seattle: University of Washington Press, 1999), Folger Shakespeare Library, Washington, DC, 9.

practice of physic could be very much in the eye of the beholder.”³⁶ The conserve (a fruit preserved in sugar) was another item that could be understood as both medicine and foodstuff, and sugar was typically put in cordials, medicinal drinks that were believed to help strengthen the heart.

Distinctions between the culinary and medicinal recipe only solidified late in the seventeenth century, influenced by the increasing specialization of the field of medicine, as well as by the gradual influx of Paracelsian medicine, which supplanted older Galenic theories about the nature of illness and its treatments. With the introduction of this new type of medicine (with its emphasis on chemical cures and treating a disease “retrospectively”) and the wane in popularity of Galenic theories (with its emphasis on “preventatively” balancing the body’s four humors), printed collections (as well as manuscript recipe collections) began showing, as Lynette Hunter argues, a “distinct split between food as cookery and food as medicine, and between herbal preparations as medicine and chemical preparations as medicine.”³⁷ This early modern overlap between medicine as cooking and cooking as medicine worked in women’s favor because, through their socially sanctioned roles as cooks and healers in the house, they were authorized to practice, write, and exchange

³⁶ Pelling, “Thoroughly Resented?,” 72.

³⁷ Lynette Hunter, “Women and Domestic Medicine: Lady Experimenters, 1570-1620,” in *Women, Science and Medicine*, 89-107, 96. On Galenic and Paracelsian theories of medicine in early modern England, see also Andrew Wear, *Knowledge and Practice in English Medicine, 1550-1680* (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 2000), especially Chapter 2, “Remedies,” 46-103.

technical “how to” knowledge in both the areas of food and medicine, an exchange that often occurred through the text of the recipe book.³⁸

The receipt book writer’s identity and her sense of self were grounded in this domestic authority. Women repeatedly constructed themselves as both cooks and healers, as experts intimately involved in the care of the body through diet, cooking, and medicine. For example, in her receipt book (1576), Dorothy Lewkenore writes a recipe “to boyle a capon another way” next to a receipt for medicinal broth using a rooster, “to boyle a cocke for restorative”(f.2) followed by a receipt “to see the legg of mutton” (f.2-f.3).³⁹ Lewkenore easily switches between cooking and medicine, demonstrating the confidence with which she assumed authority in both areas. Yet eighty years later, Mrs. Carlyon (who was possibly connected to the Arundel family),⁴⁰ dedicates her receipt book exclusively to medicinal remedies, organizing her receipts according to the part of the body being treated; for example, there are sections of receipts for the “eyes,” “heade,” “face,” “teeth,” and “throote.”⁴¹ This organization reflects Carlyon’s selective thinking on the topic, and her anatomical organization of medical knowledge. The absence of culinary receipts indicates that,

³⁸When women strayed outside of the house to practice medicine *and* charged a fee, then they sometimes ran into problems with the authorities and the College of Royal Physicians; Pelling, “Gender Conflicts.”

³⁹ Dorothy Lewkenore, *Book of Medicinal and Culinary Receipts*, 1576, Bodleian Library MS Ashmole 1477.

⁴⁰ Stine, “Opening Closets,” speculates that this manuscript, which is identical to a presentation copy belonging to the Countess of Arundel, demonstrates a connection between the Arundels and the Carlyon family, whom she describes as “a gentry family from Cornwell, a region where the Howard family actively supported other Catholic families” (146).

⁴¹ Mrs. Carlyon, *A Booke with such medicines as haue been approued by the speciall practice*, c. 1660, Folger Shakespeare Library MS V.a. 398.

for Carlyon the boundary or distinction between the medicine and cooking was a firm one.

In other receipt collections, we see an emerging sense of the separation between the topics of cooking and medicine. Katherine Packer uses one leather-bound notebook for medicinal and culinary recipes, but she divides it into two discrete sections. She titles one section, “a boocke of very good medicines for seuerall diseases wounds and sores both new and olde,” and next to one remedy for the “bignes [bigness] of the heart” (f.228r), she sketches a drawing in ink of a swollen heart. In the other section of the book, “Preserving and Coockery” (f.176r), she also includes a drawing—this time next to her recipe for a “quaking pudding,” she sketches a large pudding in a pot.⁴² Packer’s organization demonstrates her thinking in parallel about medicinal and culinary recipes, each requiring illustration and explanation but located in separate parts of the volume.

However, while Carlyon, Packer, and other women were separating their recipes topically, some continued to see cooking and medicine as intertwined—the paradigmatic shift in thinking about the two was gradual and not instantaneous or absolute. In general, compilers did not follow a regular set of organizing principles, and sometimes a receipt book might lack any recognizable system of organization at all. For example, in 1681 Jane Dawson mixes both the culinary and the medicinal in

⁴²Katherine Packer, *Medicinal and Cookery Recipe Book*, 1639, Folger Shakespeare Library MS v.a.387. Incidentally, the pressed maple leaf preserved in the center of the notebook hints at the book’s possible role in even physically preserving the various herbs and plants Packer used in her recipes.

her table of contents.⁴³ Under the heading “A,” she includes “A good cake,” “Apricok Pye,” “Apple Cream,” and “A water for the scurvey.” She includes two medicinal receipts, one for “plague water” and another to make a “small tent” (for draining a wound), on the same page as a receipt for “a whit[e] pudding of rice” (f.63), and on the facing page, she includes other culinary receipts, such as “to stew a dish of pigeons” and another receipt to make “almond butter” (f.62v).

The continued elasticity of receipt books in terms of theme (medicinal and culinary) allowed women to become “expert” on anything having to do with the body or bodies under their care. The genre remained flexible for much of the early modern period because anything with specific “how to” instructions could be a recipe, enabling the author to construct her self as fluid and authoritative as she drew from multiple pools of knowledge all directed toward maintenance of the body. During the seventeenth century, medicinal and culinary recipes eventually came to be distinguished from each other, and when *The Queen’s Closet Opened*, a collection of recipes attributed to the exiled Queen Henrietta Maria, was published in 1655, the editor divided her recipes into three sections: medicines, foods, and confections. However, this process was not an automatic or totalizing one, and even after the Restoration, women such as Dawson continued to think about the two in tandem.⁴⁴

⁴³ Jane Dawson, *Recipe Book*, late seventeenth century, Folger Shakespeare Library MS V.b. 14.

⁴⁴ Lynette Hunter, “Sisters of the Royal Society: The Circle of Katherine Jones, Lady Ranelagh” in *Women, Science, and Medicine 1500-1700*, argues that the division between cooking and medicine occurred as early as 1617, but the manuscript evidence--as in Dawson’s receipt book--suggests that the boundary remains a blurry one for much of the century.

III. "Written with my own hand": The Individual and Her Community in the Receipt Book

Along with the inherent hybridity of the subject matter, the collaborative nature of the receipt book also contributed to the flexibility of the genre and the writer's sense of self. Like commonplace books, recipe collections blur the line between authorship and ownership since owning the book and compiling it (with the help of friends, family, and other texts in manuscript and print) made the owner the "author" of the text as she generated her writing out of the texts and practices of others and as she derived authority from her established place in the house. Owners could individually compose receipts in their books, or as the book circulated among its coterie, they could invite a friend, family member, or other contributor to add to the collection, or they could ask a scribe to copy out a donated receipt (or even an entire collection). Recipes could be copied into bound notebooks (or even pinned in), or onto loose sheets of paper and bound together as a volume at a later date.⁴⁵

Women often asserted author/ownership of their collections on the title page or frontispiece of the notebook with signatures and epigraphs. Mary Baumfylde signs, titles, and dates her receipt collection, "Mary Baumfylde her booke June Anno 1626," and on another page, she writes the phrase, "many hands hands," and copies it several times down the middle of the page. This phrase with its repetition of the word "hands" signifies and enacts its meaning of multiplicity, and following Baumfylde's signature and repeated epigraph, the book's subsequent owners also sign their names: "Master Abraham: Sommers," "Katherine Toster July 1707," and "Katherine

⁴⁵For example, the receipt for a "wound drink" in Jane Dawson's receipt book, late seventeenth century, Folger Shakespeare Library MS V.b.14, is pinned in sideways (f.81r).

Thatcher 1712” (possibly Katherine Toster’s married name).⁴⁶ [SEE IMAGE 2.1]

Individual self-identity is at once written and represented on the page while at the same time it is absorbed within the other “hands hands” of later owners/authors.

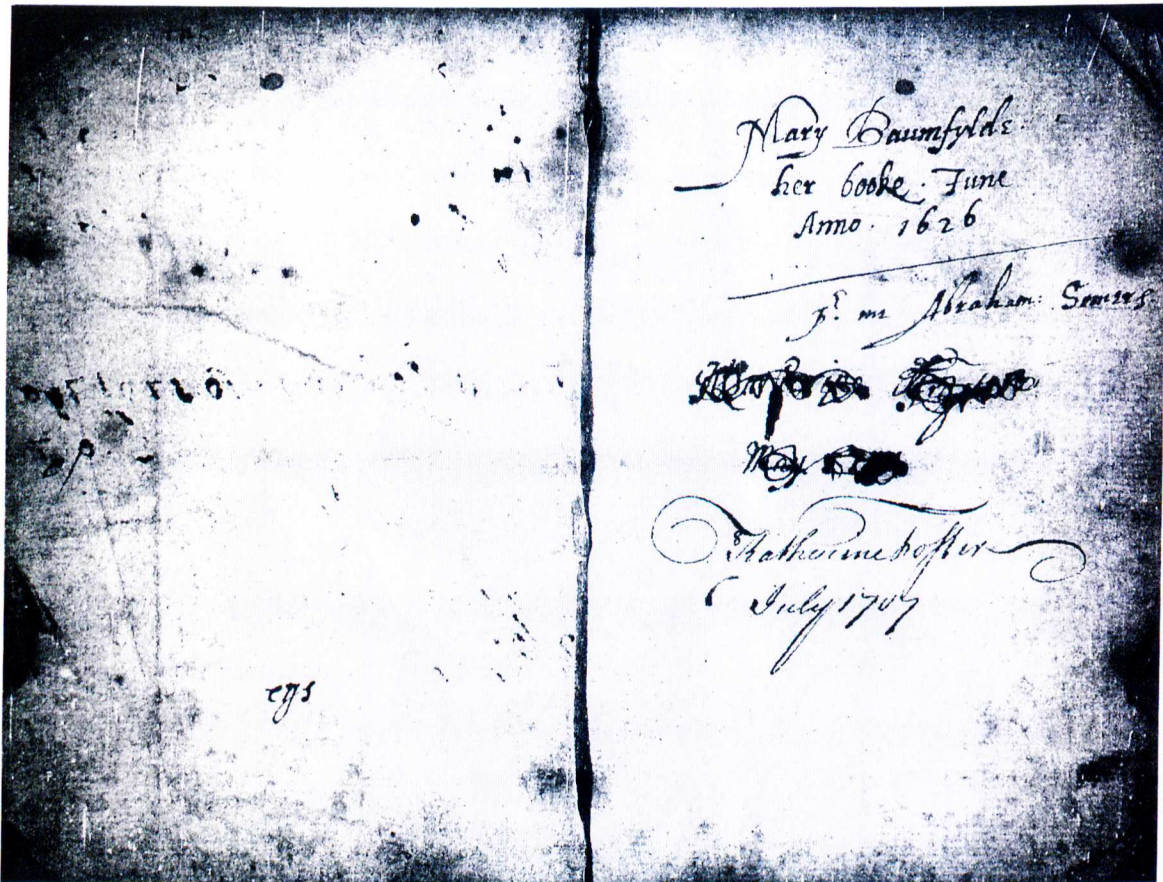


Image 2.1 Inscription from Mary Baumfylde’s Receipt Book (1626-1707)

Lettice Pudsey, like Baumfylde, asserts herself as owner and author of her collection with her signature and epigraph, “Lettice Pudsey, her Booke of receipts, these following are written with my own hand” (f.7v), drawing attention to her ownership of the book and her own part in the material act of writing it. [SEE IMAGE 2.2] Attributions of ownership and of handwriting are important to Pudsey

⁴⁶Mary Baumfylde, *Medical and Cookery Recipes*, 1626, Folger Shakespeare Library MS V.a. 456.

since under a receipt “to make bisketts,” copied in a different hand, she makes a note of the identity of the donor and writer of the receipt, “W[illiam] Oldfeld=His writing” (f.43v). This note along with Pudsey’s other marginalia indicating attribution and origin nods towards the collaborative nature of her collection (and, indeed, the collections of many of the women discussed here) and receipt practice.⁴⁷

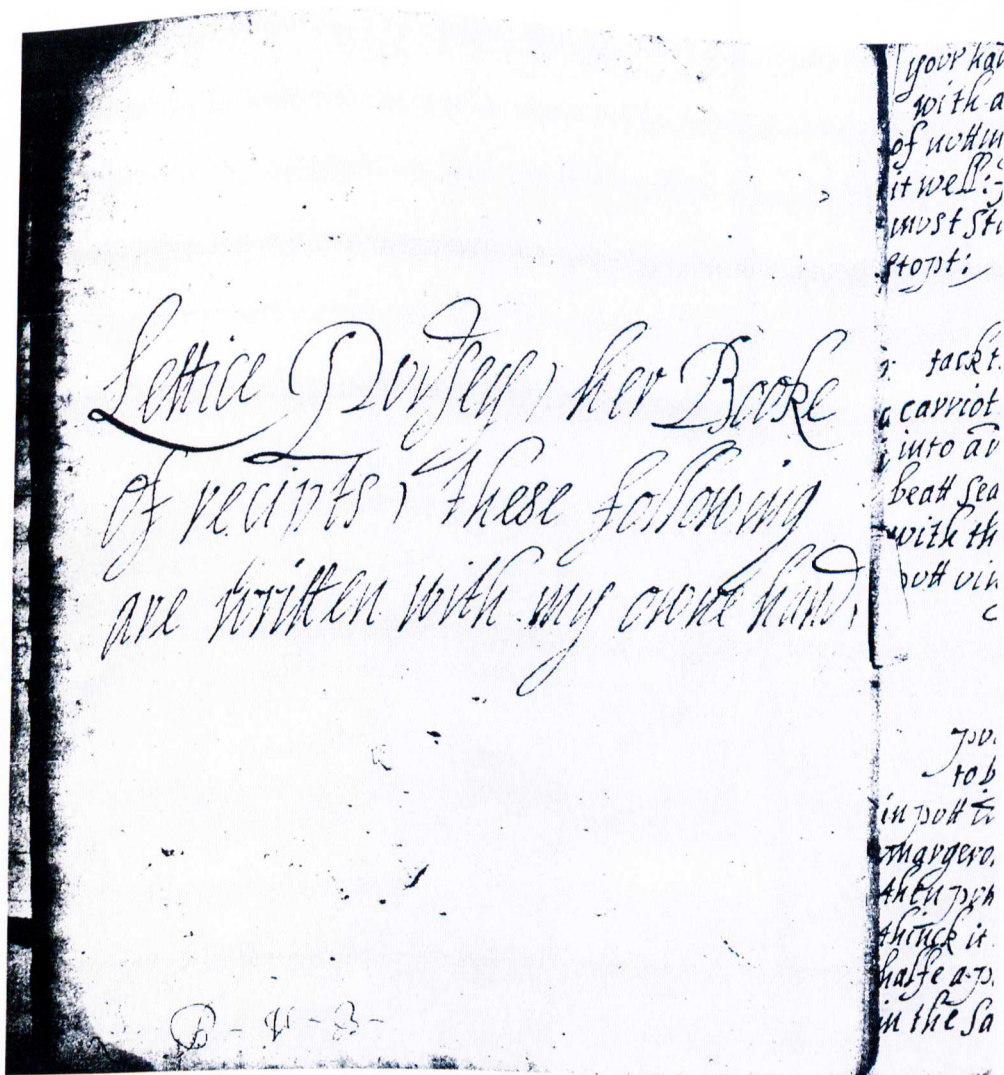


Image 2.2 Inscription from Lettice Pudsey’s Receipt Book, (c. 1675)

⁴⁷ Lettice Pudsey, *Cookery and Medical Recipe Book*, c. 1675, Folger Shakespeare Library MS V.a. 450.

Elizabeth Fowler announces ownership of her book on her title page, writing, “Elizabeth Fowler her book 1684” and illuminating the initial letters of her first and last name. [SEE IMAGE 2.3] The dramatic size of her signature (it takes up most of the page) and the care with which she illustrated the letters shows a sense of individuality, and it shows her apparent pride in her handwriting and in her book of recipes. Dorothy Phillips signs her name multiple times on the inside cover of her receipt and sermon book, “Mistris D. Philippes,” and she dates it “June 1617.” She also includes an epigraph taken from Genesis 23.4, “For I am a stranger and a foyrenrr for to be forsaken” which, like her signature, is copied out multiple times onto the page; she may have particularly identified with this epigraph if she was a foreigner living in England (she may have been Scottish since she includes many recipes for regional dishes, such as haggis, in her collection).⁴⁸

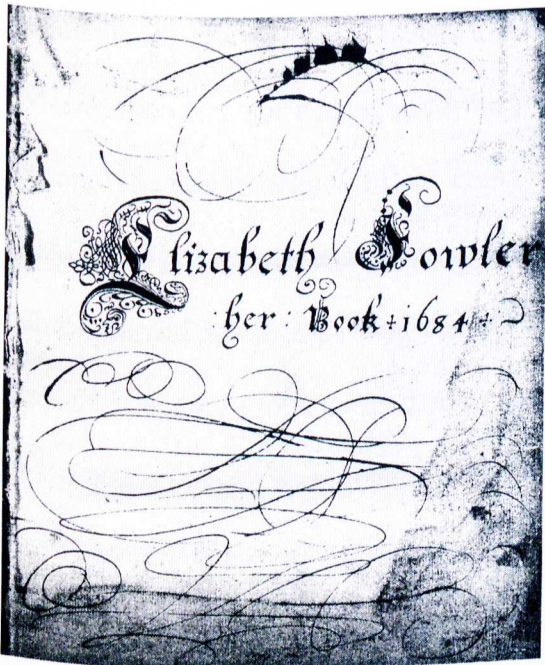


Image 2.3 Inscription from Elizabeth Fowler's Receipt Book (1684)

⁴⁸ Dorothy Phillips, Receipt book, c.1616-1695, Folger Shakespeare Library MS V. a. 347.

A receipt book's primary "authorship" resided with owner, the main person inventing, compiling, testing, and writing the recipes even as the receipt book circulated among its select coterie of readers (who were sometimes contributors), thus becoming a communal and social project. Though authorship *was* equivalent to ownership in the case of the receipt book, we can easily get lost in a Geertzian quest for origins if we attempt to determine which receipts were "original" inventions or writings by the author/owner. However, we can discern a partial picture of origins when an author/owner records "who" contributed the receipt and comments on the circumstances, as in the case of Pudsey (noted above) and in the case of Mrs. Wescombe, who often annotated her receipts. Under a "plaister for woundes," she writes, "the receat I had from my sister Melborne in Essex by 12th of June 1683" (f.120r). [SEE IMAGE 2.4] Under the "voydinge of grauel and stone" (for a kidney or gall stone), she writes: "Captain Felpes lerned and procured" this receipt from the "Moirs when hee was a slaue in Barbery then much tormented w[i]th s[ai]d payne till hee applyde this remedy w[hi]ch" under God did cure hime" (f.122r).⁴⁹ [SEE IMAGE 2.5] Yet this anecdote refuses to speak conclusively on origins since Captain Felpes learned this receipt from someone else, a nameless Moor in Africa, who himself or herself probably learned or heard of the receipt from another. So, an interpretation of any receipt book—like Clifford Geertz's ethnographic analysis of a

⁴⁹ Mary Granville and Anne Granville D'Ewes, *Recipe Book, 1640-1750*, Folger Shakespeare Library MS V.a. 430.

cultural system--is essentially incomplete since the origins of a recipe (like the origins of a particular social tradition) remain distant and obscure.⁵⁰

white, Cens two ounces, Liturage one ounce Myrrhe
halfe an ounce, Lapis Calamianus halfe an ounce,
Camphir a quarter of an ounce, white Lead halfe
an ounce, Bolus halfe an ounce, Frankincence
halfe an ounce, Turpentine a quarter of an ounce,
Rosin a quarter of an ounce, Bees wax foure ounces
Oyle of Roses foure ounces, all the things that are
hard must be prepared in fire Brander, take the
Rasin, Oyle, & wax in an Earthen Biskin & Boile
them over a soft fire, then put in all the other
things keeping it stirring, and let it Boile a quart
of an houre, then make it up with ~~the~~ water, in
holes when you use it must be spread thick upon
leather, & not in the point of a house, before
you spread it, one plaster will last a fortnight
wiping it every day,
if it be an old wounde wash it every day when
you dress it with this water, a pint of Vnning
two or three Spriggs of Vine, three ounces of Honey
a little allome, let all these Boile together soft, &
halfe be consumed, it must be hot when you use
it.
A most Excellent Plaister for all kind of
wounds, or old Sores, I receat y had from my Sister
Melborn in Essex y^e 12 of June 1623

Image 2.4 Granville Receipt for "A most Excellent Plaister" for "wounds" (1683)

⁵⁰ Clifford Geertz, *The Interpretation of Cultures* (New York: Basic Books, 1973) see especially, "Thick Description: Toward an Interpretative Theory of Culture," 3-32. Geertz observes about the study of ethnography: "Nor have I ever gotten anywhere near to the bottom of anything I have written about . . . Cultural analysis is intrinsically incomplete. And, worse than that, the more deeply it goes the less complete it is. It is a strange science whose most telling assertions are its most tremulously based, in which to get somewhere with the matter at hand is to intensify the suspicion, both your own and that of others, that you are not quite getting it right" (29).

Cap^m felpes of bristol his recent Giver Mr
 John Emilli in Cadix; month of Jan^r 1687 =
 for the voydinge of Grauel & stone Experienced
 Upon him selfe Viz^t
 Take Water Cresses beat & strayne them as good
 & drink the quantity of halfe a pynte mixt wth some
 French Wyne or Venish
 These water Cresses are called in Spanish Verros
 of which Nation often times Eate as a good
 Pallet as others Eat lettices
 I felpes learned & procured from J^r Savours when
 hee was a Slave in Barbary then much tormented
 by J^r D. Payne till hee applyed this Remedy w^{ch}
 Under God did Cure him;

~

Image 2.5 Granville Receipt for the "Voydinge of Grauel & Stone"

Even with this fundamental uncertainty shrouding the origins of individual
 recipes, we can still identify many primary owners/authors of receipt collections by

name since so many women signed and annotated their books (making them their “own”) and passed them as heirlooms from one generation of women to the next. A particular book might contain recipes spanning the course of a hundred years or more, as younger generations of women contributed to and edited their mothers’ collections. Mary Granville’s receipt book belonged to at least three generations of women: her mother, Mary herself, and her daughter, Anne D’Ewes. The receipts date from the early 1640s to the middle of the eighteenth century, and the variety of hands (and dates) indicate that each generation seems to have contributed and participated in familial receipt writing and practice.⁵¹ Dorothy Phillips’s receipt book also belonged to many generations of women and men in her family. Dorothy started the collection in 1617, but other family members recorded recipes and also family records in the receipt book until 1696. Lady Grace Mildmay left her extensive recipe collection to her daughter, Lady Mary Fane, Countess of Westmorland. After Mildmay’s death, Fane organized and annotated her mother’s collection and described her mother’s receipt collection as an important part of her overall inheritance:

Certain brief collections and observations digested into four books. The first concerning the structure of man’s body, the second of the virtue of simples and drugs, the third of the preparation of medicines, the fourth the conjectural signs of divers diseases, with many experienced practices of physic for the same The treasure of this my worthy mother’s mind coming to my hands as well as all her worldly inheritances and goods, I was as desirous and careful to commend the first to her posterity’s view and imitation as I shall be careful to transfer unto them in time the later; that one by the other may be in them the more resplendent, which made me undertake this delightful pains, to deliver to them in one volume what was scatteringly and confusedly left to me⁵²

⁵¹ Mary Granville and Anne Granville D’Ewes, *Recipe Book*, 1640-1750, Folger Shakespeare Library MS V.a. 430.

⁵² Pollock, *With Grace and Physic*, 110.

In this passage, Mildmay's daughter states that she values her mother's papers (the "treasure" of the "mind") as highly as the material "goods" of the rest of her fortune. Indeed, receipt books were routinely considered an important part of a woman's inheritance. Even though laws of coverture usually prevented women from inheriting or even owning property and valuable goods, women were nevertheless able to leave their receipt books (as well as occasionally their cooking and distilling utensils) to their daughters and granddaughters.⁵³ Dame Johanna St. John's will (1704) specified that her "great Receipt book"⁵⁴ be left to her oldest daughter, Anne Cholmondeley, and that her "Book of receipts of cookery and Preserves" be given to Joanna Soame, her granddaughter, while at the same time, ordering that her other papers in her cabinet be burned.⁵⁵ That women handed down their receipt books to their daughters and granddaughters illustrates how receipt books were often multi-generational texts, with each generation of women writing in the book and making it their "own." Thus, a woman's individual identity was often absorbed into the larger identity of her family and coterie.

However, even within this communal context, important questions of authorship in a study of receipt books as self-writing remain. How can we access the extant of "self" that is revealed in these texts? How can we determine the author's

⁵³ On cooking utensils as part of women's property and inheritance, see Sara Pennell, "'Pots and Pans History': The Material Culture of the Kitchen in Early Modern England," *Journal of Design History* 11.3 (1998): 201-216.

⁵⁴ Johanna St. John, *Johanna St. John Her Book*, 1680, MS 2990, Wellcome Historical Medical Library, London. I am grateful to Melissa Hull for this reference.

⁵⁵ Frank T. Smallwood, "The Will of Dame Johanna St. John," *Notes and Queries* 214 (1969): 346, cited in Harold Love, *The Culture and Commerce of Texts: Scribal Publication in Seventeenth-Century England* (Amherst: University of Massachusetts Press: 1993), 58.

sense of “self” when, as William Sherman reminds us, individual authorship was a concept more closely related to how well one used “authority” (drawn from classical texts or the Bible) in one’s writing and not based on a (modern) sense of originality?⁵⁶ What we find in the receipt book is a sense of the self as both authoritative and communal: the compiler sees her project of self-writing grounded in the work of the home and concerned with maintaining the body through the sharing of receipts for food and medicine. The self that ultimately emerges in the receipt book is fluid—shifting between individual authority and the collaborative authority of coterie—while the genre of the receipt book is correspondingly flexible, drawing on multiple texts, writers, and extending through many generations. The receipt book genre reflects a female self that defies easy boundaries or definition of single-ness—instead the self is constructed as profoundly communal, multi-textual, and multi-generational.

IV. Recipes for Healing the Body and Spirit: *Probatum Est*

Certain textual features of the receipt book reflect the identity of the individual in three significant ways. First, individual testing of the receipts expressed in the marginalia, “proved” and “*probatum est*” or (“it is proved”), highlighted personal experience; second, receipts centered on the female body made visible a gendered self; third, emphasis on moral health (through excerpted prayers, sermons, and meditations) reflected the owner’s private, spiritual practice. I will spend the remainder of this chapter discussing these markers of the self, and I will show how they insist on (and assume) an individuated female self at work in the house.

⁵⁶ William Sherman, *John Dee: The Politics of Reading and Writing in the English Renaissance* (Amherst: University of Massachusetts Press, 1995), 122-123.

The “proving” of a receipt was a crucial part of receipt practice. It allowed the individual to certify the receipts in her collection using her body or the bodies of those under her care like family, servants, and neighbors as a testing ground for efficacy. Such testing was informed by an emerging empiricist model of knowledge and scientific method (advocated by Francis Bacon and his followers), which underscored the importance of personal observation and experiment to attain accurate information about natural phenomena. In the “proving” and experimenting with recipes, women were acting as scientists within the kitchen, (which functioned as a type of early laboratory), distilling closet, and sickroom.⁵⁷ Hunter has pointed out connections between well-known women practitioners and men of science. Lady Ranelagh gathered recipes in two receipt books, and she had a laboratory built onto the back of her house in London while her brother Robert Boyle (a scientist and future founding member of the Royal Society) was living with her. Queen Henrietta Maria patronized many men of science, and as noted earlier, a book of recipes attributed to her was printed in 1655; the title page of *The Queen’s Closet Opened* recognizes the social value accorded to the proving and testing of recipes through practice when it claims that book’s recipes “were honoured with [the Queen’s] own practice, when she pleased to descend to these more private recreations.”⁵⁸

Indeed, in their collections, women repeatedly emphasize their individual practice and experience of receipts. At the beginning of her receipt book, under her signature, Packer advises, “Reade gather and make careful practice,” and her

⁵⁷ Hunter, “Sisters of the Royal Society,” 183.

⁵⁸ Hunter, “Sisters of the Royal Society”; Katherine Jones, *Lady Ranelagh’s choise receipts*, seventeenth century, British Library MS Sloane 1367; Henrietta Maria Stuart, *The Queen’s Closet Opened* (London: 1655).

marginalia indicate that she did test many of the receipts herself. She records the word “prooued” in the margins next to many of the recipes, and she writes, “*probatum est*” under “A fine receipt for the falling sickness” (f.228).⁵⁹ Carlyon titles her collection similarly to Packer’s, emphasizing the practice and proving of the receipts: “A Booke of Such medicines as haue been approved by the speciall practice” and follows this with her signature.⁶⁰ Her use of the word “approued,” along with other annotations, marginalia, cross-outs, and notes indicates her extensive self-testing of medicinal remedies.

In contrast, Mary Granville, the daughter of Sir Martin Wescombe, sheepishly refers to her lack of use of the book in a note to her daughter, Ann. Mary penned an inscription to Ann when she gave her the book: “Mrs. Ann Granville Book which I hope shee will make a better use of then her mother.” This is followed by a later inscription in italic hand. After Anne married, she probably signed it: “Now Anne Dewes” and then she indicated the place “Bradley” (probably in Worcestshire) and followed it with the date, “8 Sep[temb]er 1746.”⁶¹ [SEE IMAGE 2.6] The many annotations, hash marks, and notes (“the best way” and “*probatum est*”) in an italic hand next to the older receipts written in Mary’s mixed hand indicate that Anne did indeed take her mother’s advice to use the receipt book well. Next to a title for Mary’s receipt “To make meath,” a later reader—probably Ann—writes next to it, “the best way” [SEE IMAGE 1.1]. Mary also annotated her own receipts. At the

⁵⁹ Katharine Packer, *Medicinal and cookery Recipe Book*, 1639, Folger Shakespeare Library MS V.a. 387.

⁶⁰ Mrs. Carlyon, *A Booke with such medicines as haue been approued by the speciall practice*, c. 1660, Folger Shakespeare Library MS V.a. 398.

⁶¹ Mary Granville and Anne Granville D’Ewes, *Recipe Book*, 1640-1750, Folger Shakespeare Library MS V.a. 430.

end of her receipt, "To Make an Admirable Good Water Against Melancholy," she writes, "Itt is very good for them that are heauy hearted, and have a heauiness in their Spirits; take two or three spoonesfull att a time and it will comfort you very much." Mary follows this with, "*Probatum est*" (f.12r). [SEE IMAGE 2.7] The Granville women also made drawings of pointing fingers in the margins to flag recipes that were especially useful to them. For example, there are fingers in the margins next to two different receipts for ink, "To make Inke Verie Good" (f.42v) and "To Make Inke ye Spanish Way" (f.96r). [SEE IMAGES 2.8 AND 2.9]

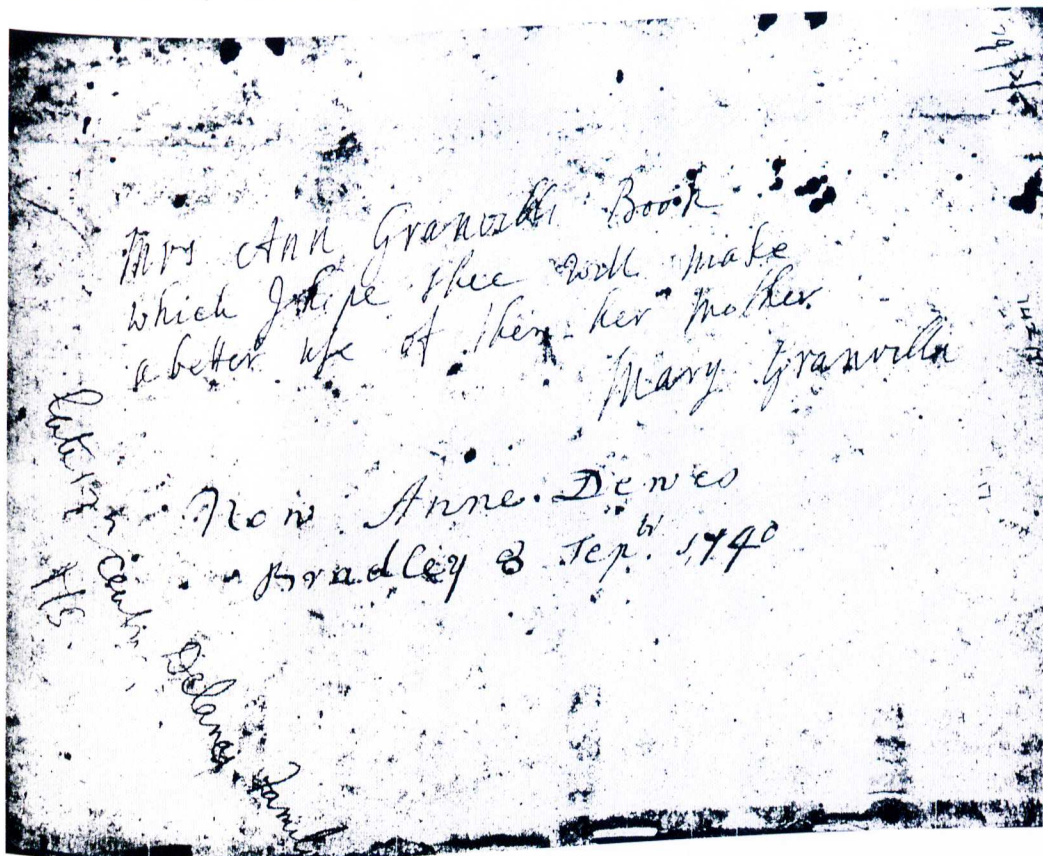


Image 2.6 Inscription in Granville Family Receipt Book

(12)

To make an Admirable good Water against Melancholly=
Take a pottle of sacke and put it into a Jarre glasse.
such an one as you may stop close, put into it 3 handfull
of Rosemary flowers, 4 handfulls of wall-flowers either
double or single. alsoe of Burrage, and Buglas, and many
good flowers bleed a handfull, of cowslip a handfull
of pinkes 6 handfull, the redder the better, of damaske
Roses 3 handfull, of Balme 6 handfull. succ of these
flowers, as haue white bottomes they must be cut off, then
you must ad halfe an ounce of Cinamon and two ounces
of nutmeg and one ounce of Annis seedes, you must
bruiſe your spices, and your seedes, then ad three perry
weiges of saffron, putt these things to your flowers
and Balme, and let them stand two dayes stirring
them once or twice a day, then put it into a still, and
past vp your still close, lett it run into a glasse that
hath two grained o b muske tyed iust, you must not
lett it distill too fast for if you doe it wilbe the
smaller, and you will haue less. in all this water
you must take 6 ounces o b white suger candy beaten
it is very good for them that are easy hearted, and
haue heavines in their Spirits, take two or three
spoonesfull att a time and it will comfort you very
much. Probatum est.

Image 2.7 Mary Granville's Receipt for an "Admirable good Water against Melancholy"

To make Inke = Verie Good

Take a quart of snow or raine water, and a quart of
 Beere vinegre, a pound of galls bruised, halfe a
 pound of caperis, and 4 ounces of gum bruised; first
 mixe your water and vinegre together, and putt itt
 into an earthen Jug then put in the galls, stirring
 itt 2. or 3 times a day letting it stand 8. or 9 daies,
 and then put in your caperas and Summe. as you
 see it straine itt. &c.

To make Almond Puddings

Take a pound of the best Almonds, put them in
 water over night, and in the morning they will blanch
 when you have blanchd them beat them with a
 little rose water; take alsoe 12 eggs, and boile them
 hard, and chop them very small; mingle them with
 your Almonds, and 6 penny loaues, grated and
 sifted, seven eggs beaten, with three pound of suet,
 a little Cinnamon, mace, and nutmegs, and as
 much suger as will sweeten itt very sweet, wet it with
 as much creame, as will make itt not too thicke
 and soe fill them in your gutts, and boile them,
 butt Note that a little boiling will serue. j = n =

Image 2.8: Mary Granville's Receipt "To Make Inke Verie Good"

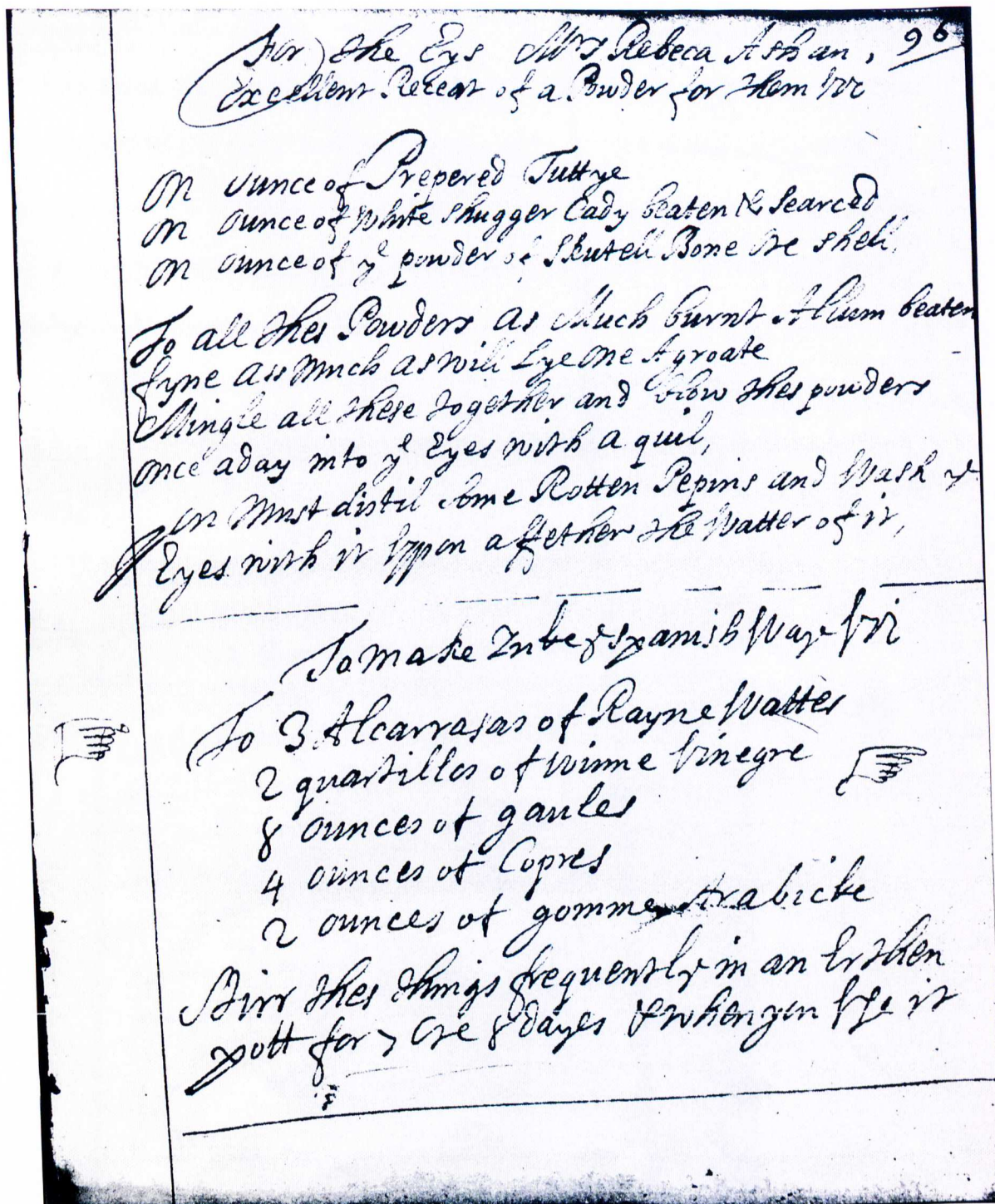


Image 2.9 Granville Family Receipt "To Make Inke Ye Spanish Way"

Like Ann Granville, Lady Brilliana Harley records her self-testing of receipts.

Under a cosmetic receipt for a lip balm, "An Exelent pumatum for ye lipps that be

sore or ruff,” (calling for the use of bees wax, unsalted butter, and raisins), she states, “I haue found this very exelent” (f.6).⁶² Women also indicated when a receipt did not work, canceling it out by drawing a line through it. Lettice Pudsey, under a failed receipt “to pickle cucumbers” includes a comment, “This receipt is good for nothing,” (f.56) and subsequently, put a line through the entire recipe, crossing it out of her collection.⁶³ [SEE IMAGE 2.10]

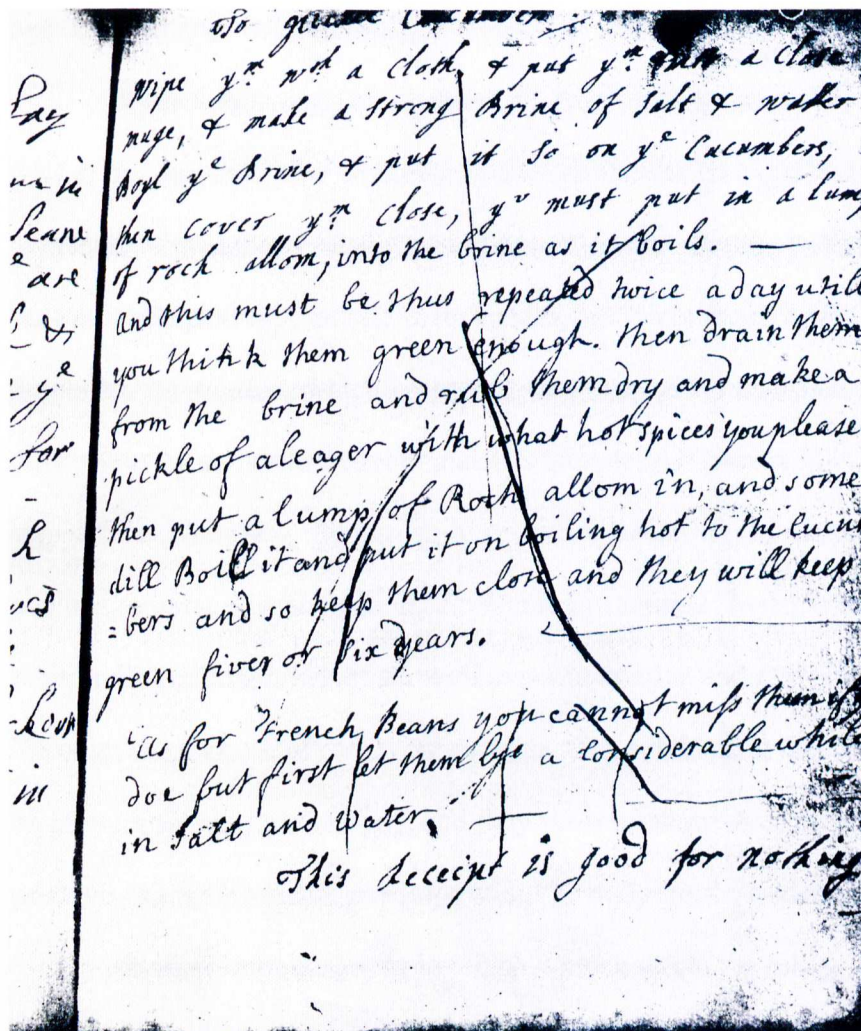


Image 2.10 Lettice Pudsey's Note for her Receipt "To Pickle Cucumbers"

⁶² "Grandmother Harley" and Thomas Davies, Medical Recipes, 1680, British Library MS Egerton 2214.

⁶³ Folger Shakespeare Library MS V. a. 450.

Dawson comments extensively on the efficacy of receipts in her collection. Her marginalia includes the phrase “probatum,” and she makes hash marks next to many individual receipts and often includes a sentence or two of commentary as well. In the title of, “A Syrup for a Consumption,” she includes anecdotal evidence for its efficacy: ”yt Cured one yt was soe from her childhood & had a cough & great shortness of breah & by the often useing this was recovered & lived \to/ 60 yeares of age & had many children” (f.23).

These annotations by Dawson, Pudsey, Harley, Granville, Carlyon, and Packer demonstrate how women emphasized individual experience through their recording of whether a receipt was “proved” or not. Recipe writing and practice was thus a specialized type of self-certification, one encouraged by the “new ideas” of the Scientific Revolution, which harbored, according to William Eamon, “a mechanical philosophy” that “validated the ‘maker’s knowledge’ (*verum factum*) model of scientific explanation, the maxim of reasoning according to which to know something means knowing how to make it.”⁶⁴ Women generated “maker’s” knowledge about their bodies and their selves through experimentation and practice with recipes. Through the process of certifying receipts, they established themselves as authorities on matters relating to the body, and they showed themselves capable of effecting positive change by healing or improving the body for the better.

Another important way in which women wrote the self as authoritative, capable, and positive was in those receipts aimed towards the care of the female body. As Paster has observed in her study of the importance of bodily shame in the shaping

⁶⁴ Eamon, *Science and the Secrets of Nature*, 10.

of the early modern subject, the relationship of the early modern self to body was a fundamental one. She writes, “often what goes on within the body ‘goes without saying’ because it goes on daily, habitually, involuntarily, and universally; in this respect, bodiliness is the most rudimentary form of *self* presence.”⁶⁵ Such self-presence is expressed in many medicinal receipts for the body, and we find women writing the self especially in receipts for the care of their own bodies. These receipts were particularly concerned with what might be termed “womanly” complaints--the pains of childbirth, breast fever (infection of the mammary ducts that occurs while lactating), conception, and managing menstruation—the conditions that would have dominated much of a woman’s mature life. Such receipts, as we shall see, constituted a positive sense of the female body, offering a possible corrective to Paster’s study of the early modern subject as primarily governed by bodily shame.

In her table of contents, Carlyon includes eight receipts under the heading, “breste,” including a remedy, “to cure an olde Soore in the Breste and to Helpe the Rupture or Brokennesse” (f.49r), and another, “To dry up a womans milke in childebedd” (f.50r), a receipt that would have been especially useful to elite and middle-class women who did not nurse their children, but sent them to professional wetnurses. Mary Granville also includes many receipts for “sore breasts,” including one entitled, “An Excellent Medicine for a sore breast with the Ague, it will both breake it and heale, without any other thing”; it calls for a pint of “ale” or “new

⁶⁵ Gail Paster, *The Body Embarrassed: Drama and the Disciplines of Shame in Early Modern England* (Ithaca: Cornell University Press, 1993), 5.

beer," flax seed, flax seed oil (or bacon's grease), and then boiling everything together into a poultice to put on the infected area.⁶⁶ [SEE IMAGE 2.11]

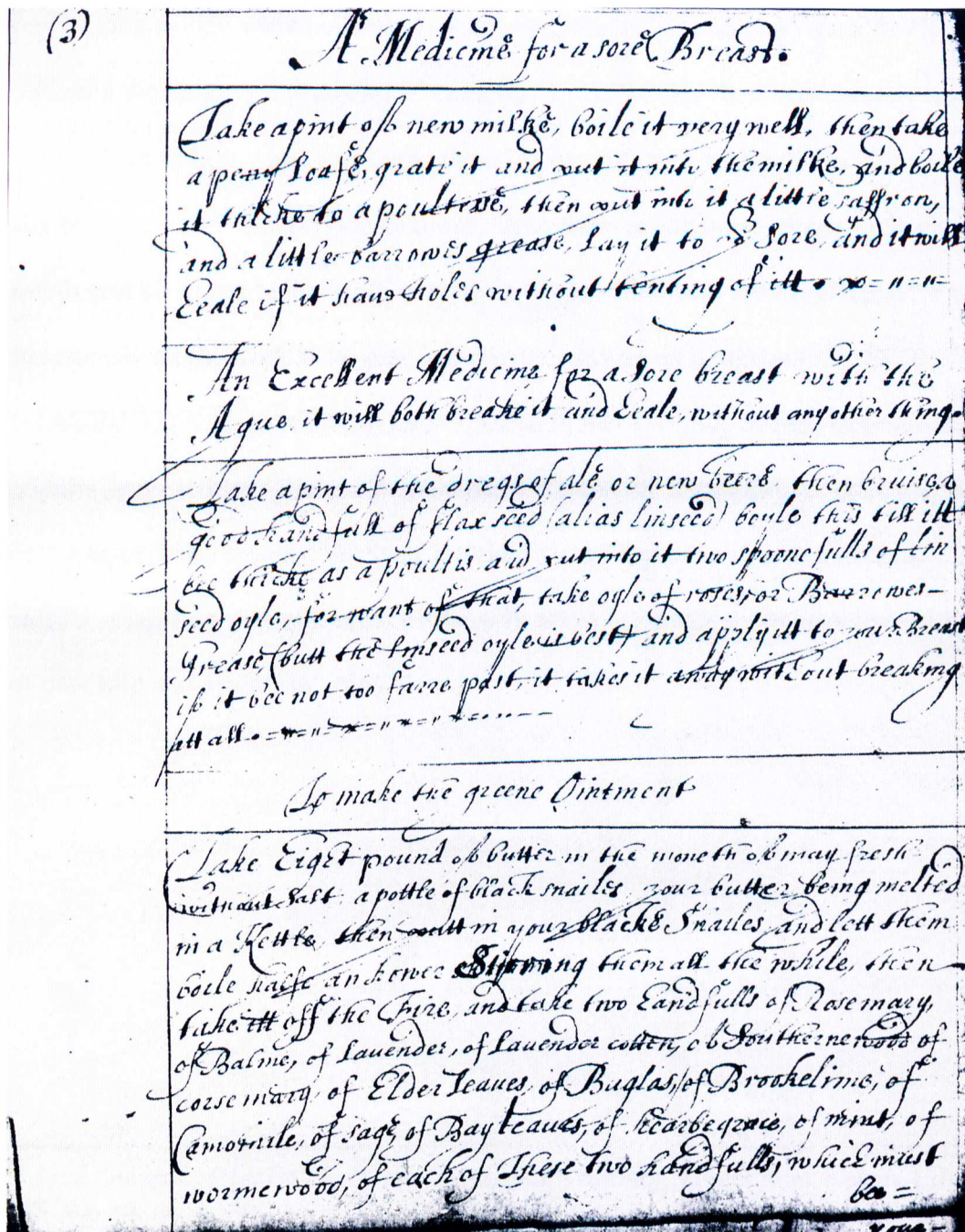


Image 2.11 Mary Granville's "Excellent Medicine" for a Sore Breast

⁶⁶ Folger Shakespeare Library MS V.a. 430.

Dawson includes a receipt for conception, "to make one fruitfull . . . a dyet drink for a weak bodye," in her notebook, a receipt requiring the use of juniper and bay berries, which were believed to strengthen the body.⁶⁷ Baumfylde's receipt, "To deliuer a woaman of a dead child," calls for "Leeke blades" and instructs the reader to "skale them in hott water and binde them" to the pregnant woman's "nauell and she shalbe deliuered." Baumfylde cautions, "take them soone away, or they will cause her to cast all in her belly" (f.8), a warning which could be a coded reference to how the remedy might work in reverse and abort an unwanted pregnancy.⁶⁸ [SEE IMAGE 2.12] Katherine Jones, Lady Ranelagh, has a remedy to ease labor pains; under a section titled, "the medicinale parts of a wolff for tootheake, colick, speedy deliuerance," she writes, "his flesh, a little given to a woman to eate that is in childbearing, how difficult soever it be, will make her suddenly to be delivered both of the child and afterbirth" (f.6).⁶⁹

⁶⁷ Jane Dawson, Receipt Book, late seventeenth century, Folger Shakespeare Library MS V.b.14.

⁶⁸ Mary Baumfylde, *Mary Baumfylde her booke*, June 1626-July 1707, Folger Shakespeare Library MS V.a. 456. This receipt is numbered "8" and appears at the beginning of the collection and seems to be in Baumfylde's hand and probably dates from the first half of the seventeenth-century.

⁶⁹ Katherine Jones, *Lady Rannelagh's choise receipts*, seventeenth century, British Library MS Sloane 1367.

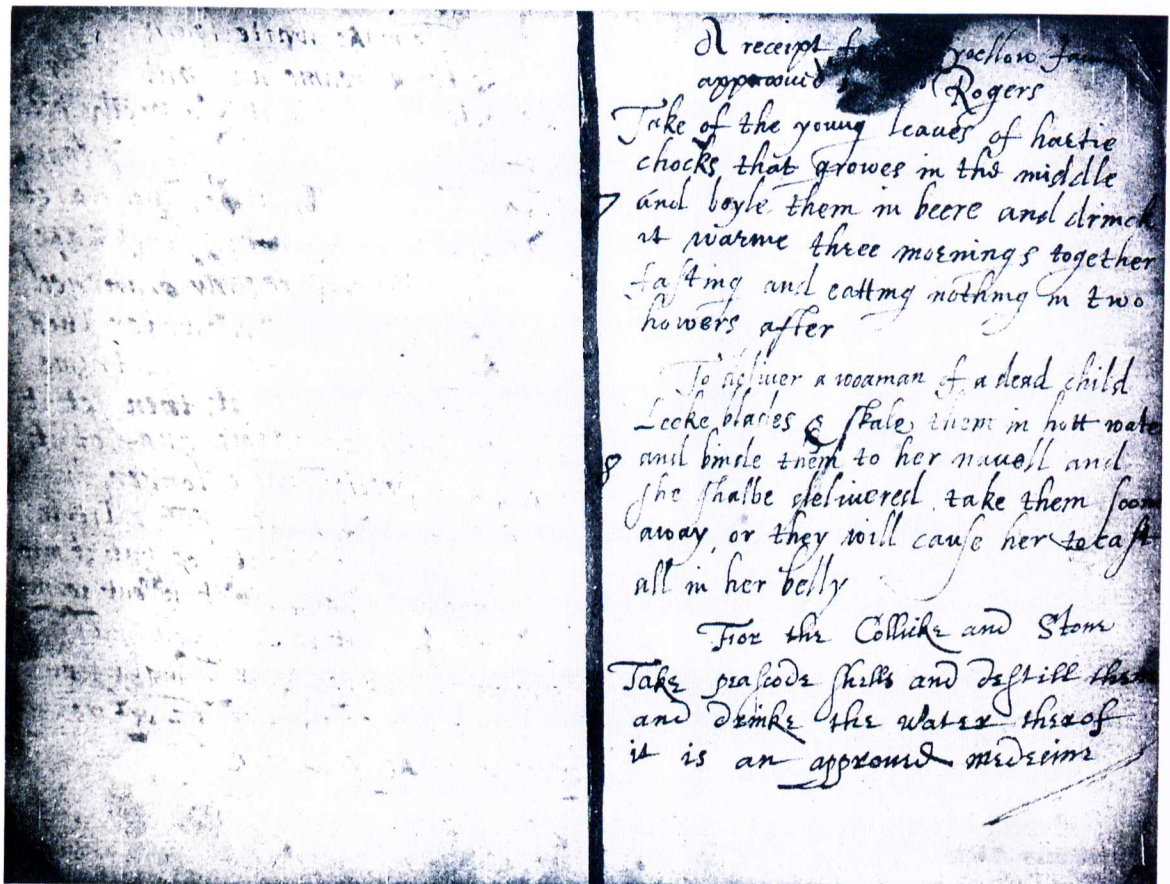


Image 2.12 Mary Baumfylde's Receipt "To deliuer a woaman of a dead child"

Such receipts posit the female body as positive and capable, particularly the body of the practicer (the "I" doing the proving, testing, and writing) and the bodies of those under her care. Such a benign view of the body and female self as constructed by the text (and practices) of the receipt book offers a contrast to Paster, as well as Sawday, and other social historians and literary critics, who have uncovered the many negative understandings of the self (physical, spiritual, and cultural) that existed in the early modern period. Such beliefs about the vulnerability of the self—beliefs which were theologically and medically codified--were certainly influencing the writers of receipt books and shaping their related culinary and

medicinal practices. Yet the genre of the “how to” recipe enabled women to counter such constructs of the body and self and instead imagine both as a healable whole and not just as leaky vessel and fragmented subject in need of stringent regulation. This holistic philosophy is expressed by Lady Grace Mildmay, who discusses her distaste for violent methods of humoral regulation such as “extreme purges:”

Whereby humours are stirred and made to fly up to the head, heart and spirits to the great molestation of all the said principal parts, by purging away the thin and leaving the thick behind . . . So that the physic which bringeth the body and parts thereof into an union in itself, by little and little, worketh the most safe and effectual operation of the preservation thereof, without any danger and with the greatest hope to cure any disease in the end, except God determine the same to be incurable.⁷⁰

Mildmay prefers a moderate course of physic for the body, and for her (and for many of the women who kept receipt books) the ultimate goal of medical practice was to bring the warring humors of the body together “into an union in itself.” Mildmay’s move towards wholeness is representative of many of the other medicinal remedies for female bodies that appear in receipt books and positively construct or even “prove” that the leaky, vulnerable, humoral body can exist as balanced, well, and intact.

In addition to expressing their bodies as positive, capable, and authoritative, women also explored matters of spiritual well-being in the receipt book—in particular through their inclusion of excerpted spiritual and moral writings. Women’s inclusion of such texts recalls the receipt book’s commonplace book origins (discussed earlier). It also reflects an older, medieval tradition that encouraged gathering short quotations, called “flowers” or *florilegia*, from religious and philosophical texts for

⁷⁰ Pollock, *With Faith and Physic*, 110.

spiritual guidance and self-improvement. Ann Moss notes that the keeping of *florilegia* began in the twelfth century, and it remained a popular, influential reading practice throughout the Renaissance and well into the seventeenth century.⁷¹

In 1573, Isabella Whitney, one of the first Englishwomen poets to go into print, published a *florilegia*, a bouquet of philosophical flowers, which she titled, *A Sweet Nosegay*.⁷² (In gathering and arranging her quotations, Whitney drew from Hugh Plat's popular collection of "flowers," which had been published the year before as, *The Floures of Philosophy*.⁷³) In an introductory note, Whitney outlines the benefit of her collection, drawing on the metaphor of flowers as gathered into a nosegay or posy (a medicinal bouquet widely believed to be effective at warding off the plague) for her health, as well as for the health of her reader:

And now I have a Nosegay got, that would be passing rare:
Yf that to sort the same aright, weare lotted to my share.
But in a bundle as they bee, (good Reader them accept:)
It is the gever: not the guift, thou oughtest to respect.
And for thy health, not for thy eye, did I this Posye frame:
Because my selfe dyd safety finde, by smelling to the same.
But as we are not all a lyke, nor of complexion one:
So that which helpeth some we see, to others good doth none.
I doo not say it, it dyd mee help, I no infection felt:
But sure I think they kept me free, because to them I smelt.
And for because I lyke them well, and good have found thereby:

⁷¹ Moss, *Printed Common-place Books*, 25. One popular twelfth century florelegium, *Manipulus florum*, organized its sententiae in strict alphabetical order—the same order used in biblical concordances—and contained quotations from scripture and other early Christian texts. It went through twelve editions in the fifteenth century (Moss, 39-40). Some receipt books, as we saw in the case of Jane Dawson, were also sometimes organized alphabetically.

⁷² Isabella Whitney, *A Sweet Nosegay*, 1573, in *Isabella Whitney, Mary Sidney, and Aemilia Lanyer Renaissance Women Poets*, ed. Danielle Clark (London: Penguin, 2000).

⁷³ Hugh Plat, *The Floures of Philosophie*, 1572, reprinted in *A Sweet Nosegay and The Floures of Philosophie*, introduction and photoreproductions by Richard J. Panofsky (Delmar: Scholars' Facsimiles and Reprints, 1982).

I for good wyll, doo geve them thee, fyrst tast and after trye
But yf thy mind infected by, then these wyll not prevayle:
Sir *Medicus* with stronger Earbes, thy maliadye must quale.⁷⁴

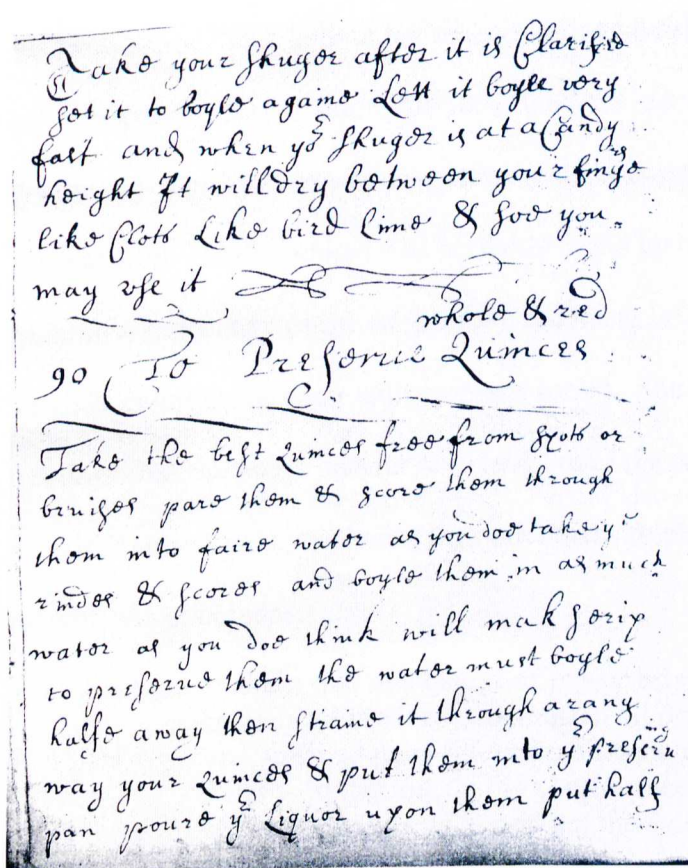
She imagines her *florilegia* as a medicinal nosegay, and she invites the reader to “accept” it as a gift. Like women writers of receipt books, she references her own experience of the medicine’s efficacy as proof of its inherent value—the nosegay has “kept [her] free” from moral infection. The nosegay’s value lies not in curing the physical body but in keeping the spiritual “self” in “safety” and “health.” For Whitney, moral writings benefit the self just like good medicinal remedies can benefit the body. Later in *A Sweet Nosegay*, Whitney explicitly refers to her writing as, “A Soueraigne receypt,” and she includes instructions for healthful reading: “The Luce of all these Flowers take, / and make thee a conserue: / An use if first and last: / and it wyll safely thee preserue.”⁷⁵ Sustaining a metaphor of reading as medicine to heal the spirit, she imagines the reader making a conserve of her “flowers” to preserve the health of the soul.

The trope of moral reading for the benefit of the “self” informed many manuscript notebooks of the period, including women’s receipt books. Some receipt books include their own flowers of philosophy, and, as in Whitney’s *A Sweet Nosegay*, their writings were meant to benefit the health of the self. For example, in her receipt book, Elizabeth Fowler gathers sermons, prayers, devotional poems, and even includes a sermon on the importance of keeping of “nosegays,” preached by Mr.

⁷⁴ Isabella Whitney, *A Sweet Nosegay*, 1573, reprinted in *A Sweet Nosegay and The Floures of Philosophie*, introduction and photoreproductions by Richard J. Panofsky (Delmar: Scholars’ Facsimiles and Reprints, 1982).

⁷⁵ Isabella Whitney, *A Sweet Nosegay*, 1573, in *Isabella Whitney, Mary Sidney, and Aemilia Lanyer Renaissance Women Poets*. Ed. Danielle Clark. London: Penguin, 2000, C5.

Flower in Canterbury in 1692: "Indeed many persons that hear sermons, they use them as people does nose-gays, they smell to them for a while, and then they throw them away" (f.124v). Flower then exhorts his listeners to do the opposite. Elizabeth may have possibly been a relative—since she may have used multiple spellings for the name "Fowler" or just reversed the letters. She follows Fowler's advice by preserving his sermon (like a nosegay) for her spiritual well-being, and in addition, she records culinary recipes for actual preserves (also thought to be beneficial to one's physical health) such as, "to preserue whole & red quinces" in her notebook collection (f.40v).⁷⁶ [SEE IMAGE 2.13]



Take your shugor after it is Clarified
 set it to boyle againe Lett it boyle very
 fast and when y^e shugor is at a Gandy
 height It will dry betw^{en} your fingers
 like flos Like bird lime & soe you
 may use it

whole & red

90 To Preserue Quinces

Take the best Quinces free from spots or
 bruises pare them & score them through
 them into faire water as you doo take y^e
 rinds & scores and boyle them in as much
 water as you doo think will make sopp
 to preserue them the water must boyle
 halfe away then straine it through a cary
 way your quinces & put them into y^e preserue
 pan pour y^e Liquor upon them put halfe

Image 2.13 Elizabeth Fowler's Receipt "To Preserue whole & red Quinces"

⁷⁶ Elizabeth Fowler, *Elizabeth Fowler her Book*, 1684, Folger Shakespeare Library MS V.a.468.

Like Fowler, Lady Grace Mildmay includes spiritual writings for the self in her collection, along with her receipts for the body. As mentioned earlier, Mildmay was a prolific writer, and she wrote hundreds of medicinal receipts (which often included notes on her medical practice), as well as many religious meditations.

In an introductory note to her collection, Mildmay urges the readers (her children and grandchildren) to study the Bible “with all diligence and humility . . . in order to have “heart, soul, spirits, and whole inner man . . . seasoned with it and receive the true stamp and lively impression thereof.”⁷⁷ Mildmay—like Whitney and Fowler--thus establishes the importance of healthful reading for the well-being of the body and soul. Throughout her recipes and meditations, she offers extensive “how to” instructions for the curing of both. Under a receipt for the “falling sickness” (epilepsy), which she prescribed for a “maid of twenty-five years of age who had that disease from childhood and was perfectly cured by the same,” Mildmay prescribes making a restorative purge (or enema), requiring licorice, coriander seeds, and English galingale (a plant with aromatic roots). She then recalls how she administered the purge and for how long--over the course of the year and not during the girl’s menstrual cycle--until the patient was finally cured. At the end of her receipt, she concludes:

I take it that this course of physic aforesaid hath this operation: to mollify all hardness, to moisten all dryness and to set the head, heart and spiritual parts free from all convulsion. For the balm oil and the parts working together in continuance of time, maketh nature strong to retain the good and to cast out the evil, which else would overcome nature.⁷⁸

⁷⁷ Pollock, *With Grace and Physic*, 23.

⁷⁸ Pollock, *With Grace and Physic*, 113.

Here Mildmay expresses a unified view of the health of body (“head” and “heart”) and spirit (“spiritual parts”), and she speculates that her medicinal receipt for the “falling sickness” has successfully operated on both entities. Mildmay deals again with the health of the spirit and of the body when she writes her many religious meditations. In her “soliloquy” on “the heart most frail,” she states:

I have accused my flesh and admonished my earthly body and members, let me turn unto my heart and take an inward and sound view thereof. Consider if my heart be not the original of all the desires and evil carriage of my mortal body. At the time of prayer and hearing the preaching of the word of God, my feeble knees bowed themselves unto God and my heart’s desire was to bend itself likewise unto him, but it had no power to perform the same . . . Oh my senseless and unapt heart towards God, more worthy to be condemned than the other members of my mortal body.⁷⁹

As a devout Protestant, meditation was central to Mildmay’s religious practice, and the tone and depth of her religious fervor comes out in this passage.⁸⁰ She berates her heart for being “original,” the place where bodily passions originate and prevent her from becoming spiritually acquiescent. The physical and spiritual locus of the heart has the “desire” “to bend” to God but is too weak (or “feeble,” just like her knees) to do so. Like her recipes for cordials (medicinal drinks meant to strengthen the heart), Mildmay’s meditations and prayers are meant to strengthen the physical and spiritual “heart” at the core of her being. Mildmay’s writings show, as Jennifer

⁷⁹ Pollock, *With Faith and Physic*, 74.

⁸⁰ Pollock, *With Faith and Physic*, 51. Protestant Elizabeth Jocelin emphasized the importance of meditation to spiritual understanding in her maternal legacy. She advises her child: “Remember that thou keep holy the sabbath day. For it is with the soul as with the body, though meat be never so wholesome, and the appetite never so great, if any ill disposition in the stomach hinder digestion, it turn not to nourishment, but rather proves more dangerous. So the Word if after hearing it be not digested by meditation, it is not nourishing to the soul,” in *The Mother’s Legacie to Her Unborn Childe* (London: John Haviland, 1624), 54.

Hellwarth argues, the “connection” between “devotional” and “medical” practices. Mildmay “saw her work” as a medical practitioner “as a natural extension of God’s work beyond that of just doing charitable and good works and leading an industrious life.”⁸¹

Like Mildmay and Fowler, Mary Granville also joins spiritual concerns with medicinal ones. In her receipt, “The manner of distiling a water of honey,” she uses anecdotal testimony and spiritual language to describe the medicine’s miraculous powers of healing:

This water was administered to a person sick of the palsie for the space of 46 daies, and hee was by the mighty helpe of god, and this miraculous water, thoroughly healed of his disease, alsoe this helpeth the falling sicknes, and preserueth the body from putrifying soe that by all these wee may learne that this is as it were a diuine water from heauen, and sent from God to serve vnto all ages.⁸²

Granville’s commentary, like Mildmay’s, shows her analogous thinking between the health of the body and health of the spirit, and the distilled “water of honey” works on both physical and moral levels to cure the whole person. [SEE IMAGES 2.14a and 2.14b]

⁸¹ Jennifer Hellwarth, ““Be unto me as a precious ointment”: Lady Grace Mildmay, Sixteenth-Century Female Practitioner,” *Dynamis* 19 (1999): 96, 110-111.

⁸² Folger Shakespeare Library MS V.a. 430, f.38v-9.

To make Syrrup of Vinegre =

Dissolve a quarter of a pound sugar in 6 spoones full of
Rose water, and a quarter of a pint of wine vinegre, and
Boile itt to a sirrup.

The manner of distilling a water of honey. = v =

Take two pound of the purest white honey being both
cleare, and pleasant in taste, which put into a body of glasse
being soe big as 4 of the 5 parts may remaine empty the
same ~~put~~ strongly above settling the head after on itt
and receiuer aptly to the nose of the still when you
have thus done then make a gentle fire vnder itt
at the first but after increase the fire to heat more
and more, untill certaine white smoke appeare in the
head of the glasse body which mainly coole. —
and turke it into water by wetting of linnen clothes in
cold water, and lay on the head and nose towards the
Receuer, for that turneth into water as red as blood, and
being all come put it into another glasse stoping the mouth
close, which let stand soe long untill the water become very
cleare, and in coulor like to Rubie, now it being on this wise
as afore said distill the same againe in Balneo maria,
and soe often repeat this untill you haue distilled itt
six, or seven times ouer that the coulor be changed
and in the end be like to the coulor of gold, which then
is most pleasant of sauer, and soe sweet that nothing
may be compared like to it in fragrantnes of smell, itt
doth dissolve gold, and prepareth it to drinke, itt is also
very comfortable to all such that are apt to haue groun-

Image 2.14a Mary Granville's receipt "The manner of distilling a water of honey"

(39) swounding fits, and are used to faintings in the stomacke,
 in giuing to any one two or 3. drams to drinke, likewise if
 you wash any wound or stripe with this water it doleth in
 small time heale the same; this pretious water doth mar-
 uelously helpe the cough, the Rheume the disease of the
 spleene, and many other diseases scarce to be belieued;
 This water was administred, to a person sicke of the paltrie
 for the space of 46. daies, and hee was by the mightie helpe
 of god, and this miraculous water, thoroughly healed of his
 disease, alsoe this helpeth the falling sicknes, and preser-
 ueth the body from putrifying, soe that by all these wee
 may learne that this is as it were a diuine water from
 heauen, and sent from God to serue vnto all ages. ---

To preserve Walnuts.

Take some walnuts about the latter end of June or the
 beginning of July when the shells are like a Jelly or
 before they bee tuffe then pare the upper thin skinne off
 like an apple, and make a hole with a bodkin through
 euery one of them, put them in water and shift them twice
 a day for 4. daies, then boile them till a rush or straw will
 goe through them, then may them, and take as much
 sugar as they way, and put as much water as will make
 it a sirrup, and when the sugar is melted put in your
 walnuts, and for halfe a peeke of walnuts you may allow
 halfe an ounce of cloves, an ounce of cinamon, and halfe an
 ounce of ginger, or els butt a quarter of each, boile alto-
 gether till the walnuts be very tender, then take
 out the walnuts and put them in a sirrup, then strain

Image 2.14b The second half of Mary Granville's receipt for a "water of honey"

(f.39)

Such devotional writings referring to the health of the body and soul are somewhat to be expected, considering the strict parameters of the Protestant society in early modern England. It was also a society where literate women, increasingly familiar with the bible in Latin or in English, routinely referred to religious texts, meditations, or sermons in their commonplace books, notebooks, and miscellanies, and sometimes, as we have seen, they drew on the trope of caring for the soul and body with physic. In a letter dated August 24, 1687 to her sister, Lady Elizabeth Trundell, Anne Dormer writes about the drinking of her sister's gift of wine in both bodied and biblical terms:

I promise that I will take it for your sake, and when my heart is low I'll go for two or three spoonfuls of thy wine, for Solomon says give wine to the afflicted, and now I have had four years' trial of my self that I am sure there is no danger I should ever love wine, to sit and sip by my self, I allow myself all I can drink of any sort, which never exceeds six spoonfuls, and unless my spirits be very low indeed I cannot prevail with myself to take any for many days, and twice in a day when I need it most is all I drink of any wine, which is great content to my mind for did I love it I would never touch a drop.⁸³

The wine functions as both physical and spiritual remedy; it helps Dormer's physical melancholy, her "low" spirits, and Dormer draws on biblical authority, the Book of Solomon, to justify her indulgence in moral terms. Her use of the word "self," repeated three times in this passage, shows her concern with regulating a (suspect) appetite for wine; while at the same time, it expresses another concern for improving her overall physical and spiritual depression.

⁸³ British Library Addisn MS 72516, ff.163-4v. Cited in Patricia Crawford and Laura Gowing, *Women's Worlds in Seventeenth-Century England* (London and New York: Routledge, 2000), 36-37.

In a sense, such thinking about medical practice as tied into spiritual practice was reminiscent of the medieval attitude toward “diseases of the soul.” Carol Rawcliffe writes that in medieval England, “patients would seek a combination of spiritual and physical cures . . . invoking God and the practitioner at more or less the same time.”⁸⁴ Cures were understood in both spiritual and moral terms in the Renaissance, as well, and women often constructed their practice of medicine in spiritual terms, especially in their charitable care of the poor. In the case of Lady Grace Mildmay and some of the other women practitioners discussed above, their devotional meditations informed and guided their medical practice, and their household remedies were grounded in current medical theories along with Christian theories about the healing of the spirit. Thus women constructed themselves as authorities not only on matters of the body but sometimes on matters of the spiritual self.⁸⁵

In this chapter, I have pointed to the flexibility of the receipt book genre and how women used recipes to write the self, making visible their concerns for the health of the spirit as well as the well-being of the body. The flexibility of the receipt book

⁸⁴ Carole Rawcliffe, *Medicine and Society in Later Medieval England* (London: Sutton Publishing, 1995), 25.

⁸⁵ In some sense, then, early modern women’s receipt books, with their emphasis on the “how to” of both physical and moral health, anticipate modern books like the bestseller, *Chicken Soup for the Soul*, which presents poems, stories, and proverbs in the guise of medicinal broth to be consumed for the well-being and improvement of the soul. The early modern woman’s receipt book functioned in a similar fashion--as a kind of renaissance version of the “self-help” guide--enabling the writer (as well as contributor, owner, patron, and reader) to heal both the spiritual and the bodied self through the practice of receipts and devotions.

genre fostered a correspondingly fluid self, constructed as positive, authoritative, and capable of healing (and being healed) through the writing, practice, and proving of medicinal and culinary receipts. The genre came to be closely associated with the work of the early modern house, where women were accepted as authorities in matters of household management, including the related areas of cooking and medicine. Thus the receipt book as a genre was particularly accessible to early modern women in their search for modes for self-expression within a profoundly religious society that discouraged individual self-identification or self-celebration. The physical "form" of the receipt collection as a bound notebook may have further enabled introspection; Roger Smith writes, "the book itself, like the letter, significantly enhanced a person's capacity to become self-absorbed and self-aware, that is to become individual."⁸⁶ In the pages of the receipt book, we see early modern women in the process of becoming "individual" within their communities and through the shared exchange and practice of the recipe.

⁸⁶Smith, "Self-Reflection and the Self," 55.

CHAPTER TWO

“Sweet Practicer, thy Physic I will try”: Helen and Her “Good Receipt” in *All’s Well That Ends Well*

For all knowledge and wonder (which is the seed of knowledge) is an impression of pleasure in itself.

Francis Bacon

In my first chapter, I examined how women expressed the self as positive and authoritative in their receipt writing, exchange, and practice. In this chapter, I shift my focus from women’s recipe practice to the representation of that practice on the Jacobean stage. *All’s Well that Ends Well* raises important questions about the role of the female practitioner in achieving bodily and social wellness. I argue that the king’s disease is a fistula *in ano*, which early moderns considered a marker of sexual vice, and when Helen cures the king with her medicinal receipt (and touches the

infected area), the shadow of sexual suspicion falls on her as well. The king's fistula becomes a magnet for anxieties about the female empiric's specialized knowledge about the male body and her privileged access to its interior. Such knowledge compromises Helen's chastity, and the figure of the female practitioner then, is shadowed by the figure of the "taffety punk" or prostitute. By aligning specialized knowledge about the male body with sensual healing, the play validates an emerging empirical worldview, where the bodies of kings and wayward men are subject to the hands of the female practitioner.

With wonder and knowledge comes pleasure, as my opening epigraph by Bacon suggests. Shakespeare's *All's Well that Ends Well* (c.1604) explores early moderns' fascination with the relationship between knowing and desire, and in the process, the play raises questions about how to best achieve bodily and spiritual wellness. The sly epilogue of *All's Well that Ends Well* invites us to believe "all is well ended," yet the text repeatedly resists its own final nod toward well-being. At the beginning of the story, Helen cures the ailing king of France using a valued medical receipt from her father's collection (her father was the famous physician, Gerard de Narbon and recently deceased). In exchange, she is allowed to choose her husband, and she picks Bertram, the king's ward and the Count of Rossillion, who is scolded into accepting her publicly but then abandons her to fight in the wars between Florence and Sienna. Bertram states that he will never "bed" her until she can get the ancestral ring off his finger "which never shall come off" and show him "a child

begotten of his body" (3.2.60). Helena manages to fulfill these seemingly impossible conditions later when she switches places with Diana (a young Florentine), whom Bertram has been ardently pursuing. The infamous "bed trick" takes place off stage, and by the end of the play, all seems "well," when a contrite Bertram accepts the visibly pregnant Helena as his true and lawful wife. Yet the final act--Bertram's declaration of love after his shifty denial of his affair with Diana just moments earlier--can come across as too sudden and strained to be believable or emotionally effective.

The troubling ending seems at odds with the usual happy resolutions of comedy, and critics have responded to this jarring of generic convention by categorizing *All's Well that Ends Well* as a "problem play" (along with *Measure for Measure* and *Cymbeline*).¹ Susan Snyder remarks about the ending, "At the end of the play, all is well in only the first, more external sense: the plot has come right . . . what is still pending . . . is the complex of desire and frustration that Shakespeare could not resolve for his heroine."² Where Snyder sees the character of Helen as

¹ The late nineteenth-century critic F.S. Boas applied the term "problem play" for those dramas by Shakespeare that seem to break with the conventions of tragedy and comedy. F.S. Boas, *Shakespeare and His Predecessors*, 1896, (New York: Gordian Press, 1968). Susan Snyder in her impressive introduction to the play surveys the history of the criticism concerned with the "dark mood" of problem plays. She remarks that critics have found the category "too useful to abandon in approaching the untraditional, disturbing nature" of *Measure for Measure*, *Cymbeline*, and *All's Well that Ends Well*. Susan Snyder, introduction to *The Oxford Shakespeare's All's Well that Ends Well* (Clarendon Press: Oxford, 1993), 16.

² Susan Snyder, "'The King's not Here': Displacement and Deferral in *All's Well that Ends Well*," *Shakespeare Quarterly* 43.1 (Spring 1992): 32; David Scott Kastan, "All's Well that Ends Well and the Limits of Comedy," *ELH* 52.3 (Autumn 1985): 575-589. He argues that Helen has "a tenacity too nearly predatory to be completely attractive or satisfying" (579). David Bevington in his introduction to the play finds both Helen and Bertram troubling in their selfishness: "The hero, Bertram, is

frustrated in a crucial way at the end of the play (she has achieved her desire, but at what price?), David Scott Kastan's criticism locates the audience's frustration in the nature of Shakespearean comedy itself, "We are forced to recognize that comic triumph is not innocent . . . that is, we are forced to contest the claim that 'all's well that ends well.'"³ Like Kastan, Lisa Jardine questions whether "all's well" and comments that the state of being well applies only to a select masculine few; thus, marriage is not an equitable or just ending in *Rossillion*: "All is well that ends well for the male world of the play in which Helen's initial transgression is redeemed into chaste service."⁴ These critics—along with many others—have taken issue with the play's abrupt move toward moral, social, and sexual wellness through the marriage of

undeniably a cad, and Helen is perhaps wrong to force Bertram to marry her against his will," introduction to *All's Well that Ends Well* in *The Complete Works of Shakespeare*, ed. David Bevington, 4th ed. (New York: Harper Collins, 1992), 362.

³ Kastan, "All's Well that Ends Well and the Limits," 579. In using the name "Helen" instead of "Helena," I am following the lead of Susan Snyder, introduction to *All's Well that Ends Well* who has found the heroine is called "Helena" only four times at the beginning of the play; whereas, she is called "Helen" many times throughout the rest of *All's Well that Ends Well*, 57.

⁴ Lisa Jardine, "Cultural Confusion and Shakespeare's Learned Heroines: 'These are old paradoxes,'" *Shakespeare Quarterly* 38.1 (Spring 1987): 12.

Bertram and Helen.⁵ As Sujata Iyengar wryly observes, “No where is the adverb ‘well’ made to work harder than in [this] play”⁶

In this chapter, I argue that the troubling ending of *All’s Well that Ends Well* can be understood by examining how bodily “wellness” is achieved through the use of both knowledge and desire. The King of France suffers from a fistula *in ano* (anal fistula), and his restoration to wellness precipitates Bertram’s flight, compelling Helen to pursue him and exercise her wifely rights through the infamous bed-trick.⁷ Helen’s power is derived from her ability to make the king well and thus, along with issues of physical wellness, the complicated status of the female practitioner and her access to the interior of the male body lie at the center of this drama. Helen as “Doctor She” (2.1.92) becomes entwined with the shadowy figure of the prostitute through the “tender . . . appliance” of a medicinal “receipt” (2.1.130).⁸ Application of an ointment to a fistula *in ano* would have required a probing of the infected area,

⁵ Some of the negative criticism surrounding the play’s ambiguous ending may stem from a human tendency to prefer a happy ending to a sad one. Writing for *The Times of London*, Ben Macintyre recently quoted the title of the play as he mused on the desirability of happy endings in literature, “All’s well that ends well. And if all doesn’t end well, it should be forced to.” He cites a conclusion of a survey for World Book Day, which discovered that “most readers would far rather read a novel that ends happily ever

after . . . [and] only one in fifty readers, it seems, likes to be left tearful at the last page” reprinted in “Crisp Images with a Blurry Back Story,” *New York Times*, 19 March 2006, Washington Edition.

⁶ Sujata Iyengar, “‘Handling Soft the Hurts’: Sexual Healing and Manual Contact in *Orlando Furioso*, *The Faerie Queen*, and *All’s Well that Ends Well*” in *Sensible Flesh: On Touch in Early Modern Culture*, ed. Elizabeth Harvey (Philadelphia: University of Pennsylvania Press, 2003), 60.

⁷ Snyder mentions that “difficult, unsatisfying endings” are typical of plays, which “belong” to the “‘problem’ category,” introduction to *All’s Well*, 17.

⁸ All quotations are taken from *The New Folger Library Shakespeare All’s Well That Ends Well*, eds. Barbara A. Mowat and Paul Werstine (New York: Washington Square Press, 2001).

which might be interpreted in erotic terms. Consequently, the king's fistula becomes a magnet for anxieties about a woman's specialized knowledge, knowledge that is suspiciously transgressive not only in its power to mend a frail monarch's body but in its ability to provide sexual pleasure, as well. By aligning sensual healing with the "how to" knowledge of the female practitioner then, the play stages an unblinking (even cynical) validation of a newly emerging scientific empiricism at odds with early moderns' established superstitious view of the natural world.

I. On the Nature of Fistulas, "Pin" Buttocks, and "French Crowns"

The chronic nature of the king's disease is established within the first few lines of the play. The Countess asks the courtier, Lafew, "What hope is there of his Majesty's amendment?" who replies, "He hath abandoned his physicians, madam, under whose practices he hath persecuted time with hope, and finds no other advantage in the process but only the losing of hope by time" (1.1.12-17). Bruce Boehrer remarks, the disease is "introduced in context of the sufferer's resignation" as longstanding and hopeless.⁹ The king has found no relief from his illness, which is named, a few lines later, when Bertram questions Lafew about the disease, "the King languishes of," and Lafew answers, "A fistula." When Bertram comments, "I heard not of it before," Lafew's response is a wistful one--"I would it were not notorious"

⁹ Bruce Boehrer, "The Privy and Its Double: Scatology and Satire in Shakespeare's Theatre," in *A Companion to Shakespeare's Works: The Poems, Problem Comedies, Late Plays*, eds. Richard Dutton and Jean E. Howard, vol. 4 (Oxford: Blackwell, 2003), 83-84.

(1.1.34-6). Contrary to Lafew's politic desire for discretion, the king's fistula has become a sensational subject of court gossip.¹⁰

A few scenes later, the king complains that his physicians, "have worn" him "out with several applications," so much so, that he believes he is past all help, and "nature and sickness debate it at their leisure" (1.2.81-3). He has resigned himself to die and hopes that death will come quickly:

Since I nor wax nor honey can bring home,
I quickly were dissolved from my hive
To give some laborers room . . . (1.2.72-3)

Comparing himself to a bee that can no longer be useful to his hive, the king suggests that his illness is so physically debilitating that it keeps him from governing his country well, and he wonders if it would be better to pass away quickly and give some younger "laborers" room. In the first few scenes of the play, the fistula is represented by the king and by his courtiers as both medically difficult and politically troubling. The fistula is malignant, persistent, and damaging to the king's body and the body politic of the state.

The opening of the play thus raises a few important questions about the king's lingering disease. What exactly is a chronic fistula, and why is it so difficult to cure? What would Shakespeare's audience have understood about this type of physical problem and its origins? Why is Lafew worried about the king's fistula becoming "notorious"? I shall answer these questions in the section that follows, and, in so

¹⁰ Lafew's response could also imply the reverse meaning—Bertram did not know about the king's disease since Lafew has successfully kept it from becoming "notorious" so far.

doing, foreground the central role played by the woman practitioner in a drama obsessed with issues of bodily “wellness.”

In the early modern lexicon, the word “fistula” referred to a pipe-like, oozing ulcer with an opening on one or both ends, and, in general, it specified a very particular type of sore, a fistula *in ano* (located on the anus or “fundament”). In his *Breviary of Health* (1547), Andrew Boorde defined a fistula in this way: “It is a “a depe ulceracion, long, and strayt and most comonly it wyl be in a mannes fundament.”¹¹ Anal fistulas were understood to be exceptionally difficult to cure; some surgeons thought they were practically impossible and often refused to treat them.¹² The anonymous author of “An Account of the Causes of Some Particular Rebellious Tempers,” wrote: “As for the Presages or Prognosticks of fistulas, it is allow’d by all that they are not easy of cure; for the parts being depending, and as it were the sink of the body, so great plenty of humors and impurities, and much superflous moisture flows naturally down, and always hinders the cure.”¹³ The seventeenth-century surgeon, John Archer, called fistulas *in ano*, “the worst of Fistula’s, and always held to be most difficultly cured by Chirurgery, according to an

¹¹ Andrew Boorde, *The Breuiary of Helthe* (London, 1547) in *The English Experience: Its Record in Early Printed Books Published in Facsimile*, no. 362 (Amsterdam and New York: Da Capo Press, 1910, 1968), Fol. lxxvii (verso).
¹² D’Arcy Power, introduction to *Treatises of Fistula in Ano and of Fistulae in Other Parts of the Body and of Apostemes Making Fistulae*. . . by John Arderne, Early English Text Society (London: Oxford University Press, 1971), xvi. This edition of Arderne’s treatise is based on a fifteenth-century manuscript in the British Museum, MS Sloane 2002.

¹³ *An Account of the Causes of Some Particular Rebellious Distempers . . . Together with the Vertues and Uses of a Select Number of Chymical Medicines Studiously prepar’d for their Cure, and adapted to the Constitutions and Temperments of all Ages, and both Sexes. By an Eminent Practitioner in Physick, Surgery and Chymistry* (London: 1670), ff57-8.

old Proverb, *Fistula in Ano Semper Insano*.”¹⁴ The person who suffered from an anal fistula then—like the King of France in *All’s Well*--was condemned to perpetual and debilitating bad health.

The play’s opening scenes would have led Shakespeare’s audience to assume that the king suffered from the most painful and embarrassing type of fistula, a fistula *in ano*, and Lavatch’s lewd jesting about “buttocks” and “french crowns” after Helen and the king disappear together would have further supported such an assumption.¹⁵ Sujata Iyengar agrees, “Bawdy jokes about the wound suggest a potentially embarrassing area”¹⁶ The king’s disease is thus a subtext of the fool’s jests in Act II.

The fool jests with the Countess that he has an “answer that will serve all men” as they discuss a possible visit to the French court. When she replies, “Marry, that’s a bountiful answer that fits all questions,” he answers, “It is like a barber’s

¹⁴ John Archer, *Secrets Disclosed of Consumptions, Shewing How to Distinguish between Scurvy and Venereal Disease also How to Prevent and Cure the Fistula by Chymical Drops without Cutting. . . and how to know and cure the different piles, hæmorrhoids, issuings and other diseases of the private parts . . .* (London, 1684), ff34 in chapter 10.

¹⁵ Bard Cosman claims that this joke in particular would clarify the location of the king’s fistula, “*All’s Well that Ends Well*: Shakespeare’s Treatment of the Anal Fistula,” *Diseases of the Colon and Rectum* 41.1 (July 1998): 914-924, 916. Other critics who have interpreted the king’s disease as a fistula *in ano*: David Hoeniger, *Medicine and Shakespeare in the English Renaissance* (Newark: University of Delaware Press, 1992), 287-306; Boehrer (cited above); Frank Whigham, “Reading Social Conflict in the Alimentary Tract: More on the Body in Renaissance Drama,” *ELH* 55.2 (Summer 1988): 333-350. Hoeniger argues that in early modern England, “there had come down from the Middle Ages a remarkably clear conception of what a real fistula was, and it was familiar not only to Elizabethan surgeons but also to many others who treated what was then a very common illness” (294). My emphasis on the king’s disease as a fistula *in ano* diverges from these critics’ readings of *All’s Well that Ends Well* in that I focus on how the representation of the disease affects the interpretation of Helen’s role as a successful female empiric.

¹⁶ Iyengar, “Handling Soft the Hurts,” 53.

chair that fits all buttocks: the pin-buttock, the quatch-buttock, the brawn-buttock or any buttock" (2.2.13-20). The fool, punning on the Countess's use of "fit," claims that his "answer" will "fit" all questions, just as a barber's chair will "fit" different size buttocks—thin ("pin"), medium ("quatch"), or fat ("brawn"). Lavatch's joke may also imply that the king needs a barber surgeon as if his buttocks are in need of cutting or healing, as Bard Cosman has observed.¹⁷ The Countess responds to the fool by repeating her question, "Will your answer serve fit to all questions?" In his reply, the fool continues his wordplay on "fit" and again alludes to the king's disease:

As fit as ten groats is for the hand of an attorney, as your French crown for your taffety punk, as Tib's rush for Tom's forefinger, as a pancake for Shrove Tuesday, a morris for May Day, as the nail to his hole, the cuckold to his horn, as a scolding quean to wrangling knave, as the nun's lip to the friar's mouth, nay as the pudding to his skin. (2.2.21-7)

In this passage, the fool jests about the fitness of certain comic and salacious couplings, from the nun and the friar, to the "French crown" with the "taffety punk." The fool puns on the multiple meanings of "French crown." First, the phrase refers to a well-known side-effect of syphilis, the bald head. What Jonathan Gil Harris has found about the representation of syphilis in *Comedy of Errors* is applicable here in *All's Well that Ends Well*, "[venereal] disease [is] a form of wealth that paradoxically entails a . . . depreciation of bodily resources," one's hair.¹⁸ Characters in possession

¹⁷ Cosman, "All's Well that Ends Well: Shakespeare's Treatment," observes about this exchange in the play: "Aside from describing the social leveling that occurs at the barber's (echoing a Renaissance proverb), this passage may refer to a barber-surgeon accommodating the different rear-end physiognomies of various types of people" (916).

¹⁸ Jonathan Gil Harris, "'Some love that drew him oft from home': Syphilis and International Commerce in *The Comedy of Errors*," in *Disease, Diagnosis and Cure on the Early Modern Stage*, eds. Stephanie Moss and Kaara L. Peterson (Aldershot: Ashgate, 2004), 83.

of the "french crown," are marked by physical loss since they are missing their hair (and this suggests that probably these characters would be wearing skull caps to show the bald head on stage). Second, the phrase refers to the money or crowns that would be given in exchange for sex. Third, the phrase "french crown" alludes to the King of France himself, who has associated (or "fit") with a "taffety punk" (prostitute dressed in too much taffeta) and contracted syphilis. The fool's joke carries overtones of homoerotic desire as he suggests that anal sex has caused the king's "notorious" fistula. In *All's Well that Ends Well*, the act of prostitution is represented as both commercial and physical exchange: the punk gives his or her customer erotic pleasure and the "french disease."

It is worth noting, as a brief aside, that Shakespeare deviates from his source material when he suggests that the king suffers from a fistula *in ano*. In Boccaccio's *Decameron* and in William Painter's English translation, *The Palace of Pleasure*, the king's fistula is on his chest. In both versions, when Giletta of Narbon comes to court to cure the king, he opens his shirt and publicly shows it to her.¹⁹

In contrast in *All's Well that Ends Well*, the disease is hidden from view and the cure takes place off-stage. Shakespeare changes the location of the fistula from the king's chest to his anus, a "darken[ing]" of his "received subject matter," which

¹⁹ Giovanni Boccaccio, "Giletta di Narbona," in *Decameron Novelle Scelte*, ed. and trans. Stanley Appelbaum (Mineola, NY: Dover, 2000); and William Painter, *The Palace of Pleasure* (London: Thomas Marshe, 1575). On Helen's origins in Boccaccio's *Decameron*, William Painter's *The Palace of Pleasure*, and the folk tale tradition of the virgin-healer, see Geoffrey Bullough, *Narrative and Dramatic Sources of Shakespeare*, vol. 2 (London and New York: Routledge and Columbia University Press, 1968), 375-387.

indicates, a generic shift from romantic comedy to social satire, as Boehrer argues.²⁰ Yet this change also allows Shakespeare to make the king's disease and his cure more sexually and culturally suspect than it is in the original, and the fistula's location also provides an extra bit of comedy since scatological jokes about "buttocks" and their private functions were popular with Shakespeare and many of his contemporaries. The king's disease becomes more "notorious" in *All's Well that Ends Well* than in Shakespeare's source material not only because of its embarrassing location but also because of its origins—since it is implied that the king contracted the fistula from a prostitute. The fistula is, as Iyengar remarks, a sign of "too much 'lechery.'"²¹

Venereal disease was commonly understood to be a cause of a fistula *in ano* (along with long hours spent on horseback—many soldiers in the Crusades suffered from anal fistulas).²² One anonymous medical writer listed the possible causes for fistulas as "ill cur'd Clap" (a slang term for gonorrhea), along with "hemorrhoids," and "piles broken or ill cured."²³ In his medical treatise, Archer attributed fistulas *in ano* to venereal disease and observed that those fistulas were indeed the hardest to cure:

This Disease is bred from divers Causes . . . but [it is] most dangerous when a Venereal Disease lies lurking in the Blood and Reins [kidneys], which I have known too often the cause of Ulcers and Fistulas in Ano, and therefore whoever attempts the Cure, without taking away the original Cause, is like another Ixion, condemned ever to turn the Wheel up the Hill, which always runs back again.²⁴

²⁰ Boehrer, "The Privy and Its Double," 84.

²¹ Iyengar, "'Handling Soft the Hurts,'" 53.

²² Power, introduction, xv.

²³ *An Account of the causes of some particular rebellious distempers . . .*, ff57.

"Clap" was also a slang term used for any venereal disease that caused genital sores.

²⁴ Archer, *Secrets Disclosed*, 35-6.

Drawing an analogy between the ineffectual labor of Sisyphus (he misidentifies him as Ixion) and the labor of the surgeon who fails to recognize and “remove” the venereal disease causing the fistula, Archer argues that such a surgeon will be perpetually doomed to fail in his attempted cure. So, in *All's Well that Ends Well*, Helen will not only need to cure the fistula, but she must also cure the “original cause” or venereal disease behind it.

II. The King's Cure: The “Sweet Practicer” and Her “Good Receipt”

The difficulty of curing the king's “notorious” fistula *in ano*, with its suspected origins in a lingering venereal disease, would have made Helen's successful use of the receipt all that more impressive for Shakespeare's audience. Yet the means of effecting the cure--the medicinal receipt inherited from her father's collection—would have seemed familiar. Both literate and illiterate members of the audience would have known what a “receipt” or a recipe was: a set of “how to” prescriptions for preparing a food, cosmetic, or medicine.

Indeed, receipts for curing fistulas appear in many early modern manuscript collections. The seventeenth-century housewife, Mary Baumfylde, included a receipt “To cure a ffistula” (f.28r) in her collection (c. 1626). It required that the practitioner “washe the place fistulated” or else inject “itt with a sering” filled with a mixture of “boylinge springe water,” “copper,” and rock salt.²⁵ [SEE IMAGE 3.1] Medicinal injections like Baumfylde's were a preferred method for curing fistulas since they

²⁵ Mary Baumfylde, *Medical and Cookery Recipes*, 1626, Folger Shakespeare Library MS V. a. 456.

eliminated the need for painful cutting and surgery. Another seventeenth-century woman practitioner, Mrs. Carlyon, suggested mixing rosin with twigs, particularly “sprigs first growing after an Oke hath been felled” and burning the entire mixture into a charcoal powder. She advises adding bacon grease to the powder (making an ointment) and then “slipp[ing]” a “tent” (or a stiff roll of bandages) through the ointment and “apply[ing] it to the Soore as speedelye as you maye . . .”²⁶ Tenting the wound was another common remedy for curing the fistula and, like the use of a syringe, it would have involved penetrating the “place fistulated.”

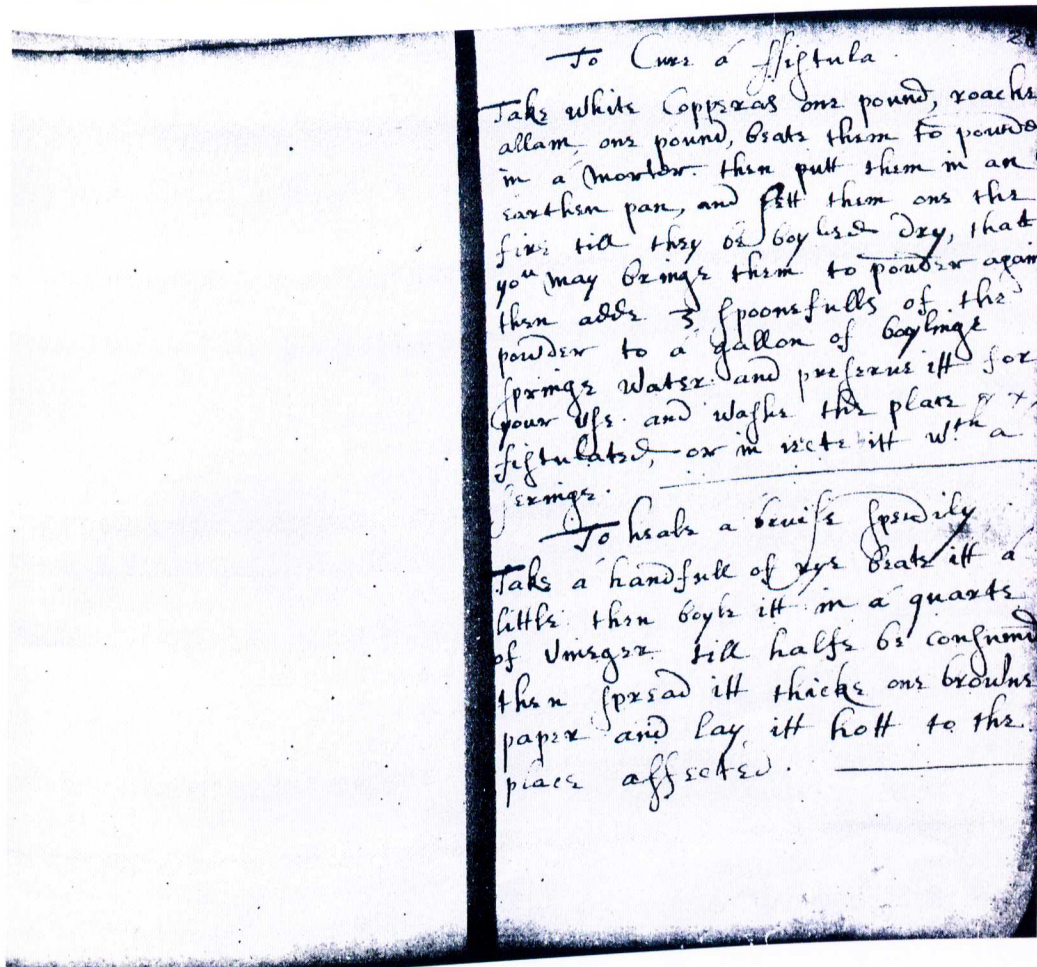


Image 3.1 Mary Baumfylde's Receipt "To Cure a ffistula"

²⁶ Mrs. Carlyon, *A Booke with such medicines as haue been approued by the speciall practice*, c. 1660, Folger Shakespeare Library MS V. a. 398.

The curing of fistulas often fell into the province of lay women's practice since, as discussed previously, women were trained in domestic medicine (considered a necessary part of female education in the household arts), and they typically practiced within the home and sometimes in their neighboring communities.²⁷ Surgeons were also consulted for the curing and the cutting of fistulas; however, physicians (a step above surgeons on the social scale) did not usually take on cases of fistulas *in ano* since the required touching of the wound would have been associated with manual labor and thus with lower class work.²⁸ When physicians were consulted, as in the king's case in *All's Well that Ends Well*, they would have only looked at the wound when they made their diagnosis and recommendation for a cure, but they would not have touched it.

Remedies for the fistula, appearing as they do in the receipt books of housewives as well as in printed medical manuals, suggest that touching the patient--whether through cutting, injection, or tenting--to cure the wound, may have been well-known to the general public. If not, the lewd jokes about the king's disease would have also effectively hinted at the sexually compromising nature of the cure. When Helen disappears and heals the king offstage, the play's audience would have assumed that her cure involved penetrating the king's anus to affect the cure of his

²⁷ Margaret Pelling, *Medical Conflicts in Early Modern London: Patronage, Physicians, and Irregular Practitioners, 1550-1640* (Oxford: Clarendon Press, 2003), especially "Gender Compromises: The Female Practitioner and her Connections," 189-224, and Linda Pollock, "Medical Matters," in *With Faith and Physic: The Life of a Tudor Gentlewoman Lady Grace Mildmay 1552-1620* (New York: St. Martin's Press, 1995), 92-109.

²⁸ Lisa Wynn Smith, "Women's Health Care in England and France (1650-1770)." D.Phil diss., University of Essex, 2001, 77; and Lawrence Brockliss and Colin Jones, *The Medical World in Early Modern France* (Oxford: Oxford University Press, 1997), 789-792 (cited in Smith).

fistula. The king's cure is later represented as erotically rejuvenating—suggesting that the cure has its pleasurable after-effects, and Helen's role as a female empiric is, consequently, shadowed by the figure of the “taffety punk,” the sexually knowledgeable prostitute. The practitioner like her patient becomes sexually suspect in the world of the play.

Lafew calls attention to the arousing nature of Helen's cure of the fistula when he discusses the king's newfound vigor and potency. When describing the king, he says, “your dolphin is not lustier” (2.3.26): the dolphin was an animal associated with sexual potency in the Renaissance, and it was also a pun on the word “dauphin,” suggesting that the king is as lusty as his son would be. Lafew further comments on the king's energetic dancing with Helen. The king is “able to lead” her in “a coranto” (2.3.44), a popular, dance, but also, as Frank Whigham notes, “a standard slang reference to vigorous sexual action.”²⁹ Snyder discusses Shakespeare's doubling of sexual imagery in these lines: “The coranto, a leaping dance, repeats the dolphin-idea of a sudden upward thrust.”³⁰ Lafew implies that Helen's cure has restored the king sexually as well as physically. Parolles responds to Lafew's sexually loaded description with a mock oath, which he utters in surprise as he sees Helen dancing with the king, “Mort du vinaigre!” Since vinegar was commonly used to treat syphilis and other venereal diseases, Parolles's oath further hints at the suspected origins of the king's disease, as well as the erotic nature of Helen's cure.³¹

²⁹ Whigham, “Reading Social Conflict,” 338.

³⁰ Snyder, ““The King's not Here,”” 25.

³¹ Snyder, *The Oxford Shakespeare All's Well*, n. 45, p. 124.

That the king is in need of Helen's healing reveals the world of the play as troubled and uncomfortable. Since the king "cannot heal himself, nor can he heal others; the very nature of sovereign power is called into question," as Iyengar claims, and, overall, the fistula marks his "impotence on a number of levels, political, social, and sexual." It reduces the body politic and the individual body of the king into one, and the play implies that the indolence of the French court stems in part from the king's illness. The disaffected nobles long to fight in Italy in search of, what the Duke of Florence calls, "physic," for a "surfeit of ease" (3.2.21-22). "Surfeit" was a medical term referring to indigestion or any kind of excessive consumption, brought about by indulging in too much food or drink. The courtiers suffer from too much free time and not enough challenging activity. Early in the play, one courtier imagines that the wars in Italy will "serve / a nursery to our gentry, who are sick / for breathing and exploit" (1.2.19-21). The corrupt nature of the king's body has affected those around him making his courtiers seem "sick" and in need of entertainment or "physic" to alleviate their ennui. In *All's Well that Ends Well*, we are seeing the "sick king/sick country" motif that Shakespeare develops in his other dramas, most notably, *Hamlet* and the history plays.³² When Helen heals the king through her use of the receipt and her "tender" bodily appliance, she thus restores the fragile physical and political order in the world of the play.

Even though the location of the fistula is hidden from view, the king's body achieves a level of transparency in the play after Helen's successful cure. The king's

³² Barbara Howard Traister, "'Note Her a Little Farther': Doctors and Healers in the Drama of Shakespeare" in *Disease, Diagnosis, and Cure on the Early Modern Stage*, 43.

private body--once corrupted by a fistula and marked by a visible lack of "corporal soundness" (1.2.30)--is now mended and on public display as he dances around the court with Helen. His restored body becomes, in the words of theorist, Elizabeth Grosz, a "signifying medium, a vehicle of expression . . . of rendering public and communicable what is essential private . . ." ³³ His corrupted fundament, that most private of bodily places, is now cured, and his open athleticism and energy reflect his inner and newfound sexual wholeness. The sexual politics of the private body have been made public through Helen's use of the receipt.

Through her cure, the female empiric gets to know the king's insides, and, consequently, through her technical knowledge of bodies—in particular, the male bodies of the play—her power extends from the French Court in Paris, to the Countess's house in Rossillion, to the Widow's home in Florence, Italy. Her authority derives from the scientific nature of her work as a "she doctor" and from her access to the inside of the body, a domain that was becoming available to scientists and lay practitioners through the new field of anatomy. In the Renaissance, exploring bodies through the sciences of anatomy and medicine allowed the practitioner to simultaneously explore the nature of knowledge itself. Newly emerging scientific and medical exploration was seen as revealing knowledge not only concerning the individual's body and its hidden interior but also concerning the proper place of the body (and its attendant soul) within the natural order of things, a point which *All's Well that Ends Well* with its representation of a female empiric seems to be debating at great length.

³³ Elizabeth Grosz, *Volatile Bodies: Toward a Corporeal Feminism* (Bloomington and Indianapolis: Indiana University Press, 1994), 9.

“The idea that important truths lie hidden within the body would have seemed entirely reasonable in the period,” as David Hillman argues about the popularity of early modern anatomical treatises, and he observes, it was widely believed that, “‘personhood’ depended on internal composition.”³⁴ The science behind the “how to” receipt provided the woman practitioner with access to an increasingly exposed or opened human interior, especially in the case of the cure for an anal fistula.

Through her use of a medicinal recipe to cure the king’s fistula, Helen gains knowledge about an intimate and foundational part of his body (the fundament) and such knowledge exacts a heavy price in the world of the play since she becomes, like her patient, sexually suspect herself.³⁵ Helen tells the king that if her cure fails, she willingly risks being misunderstood by the public as a prostitute. She willingly gambles her reputation for chastity in exchange for the chance to effect his cure. The king asks her: “Upon thy certainty and confidence / What dar’st thou venture?” (2.1.188-189). In reply, Helen claims if the cure should fail, she will risk:

Tax of impudence,
A strumpet’s boldness, a divulged shame;
Traduced by odious ballads, my maiden’s name seared otherwise;
nay, worse of worst, extended with vilest torture let my life be ended.
(2.1.190-3)

Helen offers her life in exchange for the king’s acquiescence, and she tells him that if she fails, she also risks her chastity. Her cure will be interpreted as sexually

³⁴ David Hillman, “Visceral Knowledge,” in *The Bodies in Parts: Fantasies of Corporeality in Early Modern Europe*, eds. David Hillman and Carla Mazzio (New York: Routledge, 1997), 82.

³⁵ On the early modern etymology of “fundament,” see Jeffrey Masten, “Is the Fundament a Grave?” in *The Bodies in Parts*, 137. The word “fundament” had etymological associations with “foundation,” and early moderns considered that the fundament was, literally and physically, the foundation or cornerstone on which the body’s health depended.

transgressive, making the empiric's "boldness" indistinguishable from that of an exposed "strumpet." The play's troubled representation of the female practitioner as sexually threatening is perhaps reflective of a deeper cultural unease toward the uncanny figure of the housewife (who regulated children's and men's bodies in her everyday practice), which as Wendy Wall convincingly suggests, surfaces in many dramas of this period.³⁶ Yet it is also, I would argue, a sign that the play is suspicious of--while at the same time, partly endorsing--the role of the female empiric in a world becoming increasingly less magical and less religious and where the bodies of kings and upstarts were subject to the cold eye (and hand) of "how to" science.

Helen is not the only character to see the "impudent" use of the receipt as akin to prostitution; Lafew and the king also discuss the cure in terms of sexual healing. Healing for a price becomes equivalent to selling one's body in the marketplace, an eerie echoing of the fool's earlier sentiments about the fitness of a "french crown" for a "taffety punk." When Lafew first describes Helen—who is probably in disguise in this scene, as Snyder and others have convincingly argued—to the king, he conflates the dispenser of medicine with a purveyor of sex. He tells the king: "Doctor She" is impressive as a knowledgeable medical practitioner, "one that in her sex, her years, profession, / wisdom, and constancy hath amazed me . . ." (2.1.92,96-7). Yet Lafew also describes Helen as a prostitute and compares himself to a pander--"I am Cressid's uncle that dare leave two together," (2.1.113)--referring to the story of Troilus and Cressida, where Cressida's uncle, Pandarus, "served as go-between for

³⁶ Wendy Wall, "Familiarity and Pleasure in the English Household Guide, 1500-1700" in *Staging Domesticity: Household Work and English Identity in Early Modern Drama* (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 2002), 18-58.

the lovers.”³⁷ In addition, he mentions that she looks like a “traitor,” possibly referring to her disguise and making a joke about the danger of leaving her alone with the king: “A traitor you do look like, but such traitors / His Majesty seldom fears” (2.1. 112-13).³⁸ Lafew’s dialogue spells out how “Doctor She” can be too easily mistaken for both a prostitute and for a “traitor.” Her identity is hard to define: she is represented as both threat and remedy to the ailing king.

The specter of the prostitute haunts not only the female empiric but also the King. He first refuses the cure, claiming:

. . . I say we must not
So stain our judgment or corrupt our hope
To prostitute our past-cure malady
To empirics, or to dissever so
Our great self and our credit to esteem
A senseless help when help past sense we deem. (2.1.136-42)

He compares himself to a prostitute if he sells his “malady” for personal gain. His better “judgment” forbids him to accept such “senseless help” which, furthermore, brings with it possible bodily and spiritual contamination. His anxiety about sexual transgression is oddly appropriate, even “fitting,” as we again hear echoes of the fool’s earlier jokes about the “french crown” with a “taffety punk.” This is a king, the play invites us to see, who is no stranger to prostitutes, despite his protests to the contrary.

Helen assures the king of the cure’s efficacy as she persuades him to let her try to heal him: “What is infirm from your sound parts shall fly, / Health shall live free, and sickness freely die” (2.1.186-7). Won over at last, he agrees to be cured:

³⁷ Mowat and Werstine, eds. *All’s Well that Ends Well*, n.113, p. 54.

³⁸ Bevington, ed., *All’s Well that Ends Well*, n. 99, p. 374.

“Sweet practicer, thy physic I will try, / That ministers thine own death if I die”

(2.1.205-6).³⁹ The word, “practiser,” had two opposing definitions at the time of *All’s Well*. It referred to any person “who practise[d] any art or science,” (*OED*) or it referred to “one who exercise[d] a profession or occupation often opposed to one trained in the science or art.” It is unclear how the king is using the phrase here; he is either referring to Helen as a trained practicer of medicine, or he is calling attention to her status as an unlicensed empiric. By modifying “practicer” with the word, “sweet,” though, he certainly seems to mean the term to refer to her in a positive way. Helen then makes her demand of the king—one that critics have made much of—because it seems so out of keeping with the ideal womanly virtues of modesty and chastity:

Then shalt thou give me with thy kingly hand
What husband in thy power I will command.
Exempted be from me the arrogance
To choose from forth the royal blood of France,
My low and humble name to propagate
With any branch of image of thy state;
But such a one thy vassal, whom I know
Is free for me to ask, thee to bestow. (2.1.214-5)

Helen requests a husband of her own choosing (excepting those men who are in line for throne), and her striking this bargain with the king has struck many critics as casting Helen in a negative light.⁴⁰ Yet by entering into a verbal contract with each other, Helen and the king are following the standard practice that existed between

³⁹ “Practiser.” *Oxford English Dictionary Online*.

⁴⁰ For instance, theater critic Charles Isherwood described Helen as having “an almost pathological attraction to Bertram” in “Maybe He’s Just Not Into You, Helena,” *New York Times* 14 Feb. 2006: B1, B4, Washington Edition.

empirics and their patients at the time.⁴¹ The king agrees to her terms of the bargain: his health is set in the balance against Helen's freedom to choose her husband. He states:

Here is my hand. The premises observed,
Thy will by my performance shall be served.
So make the choice of thy own time, for I,
Thy resolved patient, on thee still rely. (2.1.222-5)

The king gives Helen his hand as a sign of his good faith and acceptance of the bargain. He and Helen then exit together, and Helen performs her cure off-stage.

III. Wonder and Helen's Science

After Helen's successful cure of the king, Lafew, Bertram, and Parolles discuss their surprise in terms of miracles, natural philosophy (or science), and wonder. In the conversation, instead of describing "Doctor She" in lascivious terms (as he did earlier when introducing her to the king), Lafew now discusses Helen in miraculous ones. By doing this, he is essentially trying to control the political "spin" on the king's cure by framing it as divinely ordained.

Lafew's change in rhetorical stance toward Helen's cure is determined by his keen, politic sense of audience. When he describes Helen to the king, he uses salacious terms of royal "raising" and erection as he tries to convince the king of Helen's sexual desirability. However, later, as he speaks to Bertram and Parolles, he wants them (and by extension—the other members of court) to believe that the king benefited from a miracle cure and *not* from a woman's medicinal cure (with its

⁴¹ Pelling, *Medical Conflicts*, 189-224.

prescribed touching of the king's privates). Lafew now introduces the king's cure in divine terms:

They say miracles are past, and we have our philosophical persons to make modern and familiar things supernatural and causeless. Hence is it that we make trifles of terrors, ensconcing ourselves into seeming knowledge when we should submit ourselves to an unknown fear" (2.3. 1-6).

He alludes to Protestant dogma that miracles ended soon after the founding of the Christian church, and he disparages "philosophical persons" or early scientists who were dedicated to explaining "supernatural" and seemingly "causeless" things through rational means.⁴² In Shakespeare's time, both the Protestant church and natural philosophers were contributing to a de-mystification of the natural world, and Lafew is suggesting here that "we" should reject this new, skeptical world view and instead--"submit ourselves to an unknown fear"—or embrace the "unknown" as mystical and beyond analysis. Lafew voices his disapproval toward new science as well as toward the Protestant Reformation stance of skepticism toward miracles, and he refuses to locate Helen's cure within this philosophical category of the "modern and familiar." Incidentally, he is also reinforcing an ideology of submission to authority—one convenient to men in power like himself. Rather than scientific effect, Lafew states that Helen's cure is a "miracle"—like miracles of times past. At the beginning of this passage, he says nothing about her possible role as practitioner/prostitute in effecting the king's cure.

Pretending he knows what is going on, dispensing nonsense, and trailing off at various points, Parolles fulfils a comic role (reminiscent of Dogberry in *Much Ado*

⁴² Mowat and Wernstine, eds., *All's Well that Ends Well*, n.1, p. 66.

About Nothing) as Lafew's main conversational partner in this scene. Bertram has only one line, yet, as Snyder states, his presence is necessary as conversational partner since Lafew would not make an effort to talk to Parolles.⁴³ The conversation between the three men focuses on Helen's cure of the king:

Parolles: Why, 'tis the rarest argument of wonder that hath shot out in our later times.

Bertram: And so 'tis.

Lafew: To be relinquished of the artists—

Parolles: So I say, both of Galen and Paracelsus.

Lafew: Of all the learned and authentic fellows—

Parolles: Right, so I say.

Lafew: That give him out incurable—

Parolles: Why, there 'tis. So say I too.

Lafew: Not to be helped.

Parolles: Right, as 'twere a man assured of a ---

Lafew: Uncertain life and sure death.

Parolles: Just. You say well. So would I have said.

Lafew: I may truly say it is a novelty to the world.

Parolles: It is indeed. If you will have it in showing you shall read it in what-do-you-call there.

Lafew [reads]: *A showing of a heavenly effect in an earthly actor.*

Parolles: That's it. I would have said the same.

Lafew: Why your dolphin is not lustier. 'Fore me, I speak in respect—

Parolles: Nay, 'tis strange, 'tis very strange; that is the brief and tedious of it; and he's of a most facinorous spirit that will not acknowledge it to be the—

Lafew: Very hand of heaven. (2.3.7-32)

At first, Parolles repeatedly sides with Lafew's suggestion that the king's cure is miraculous. Yet at the very end of the exchange, Lafew seems to forget his effort interpreting the king's cure as miraculous and instead lewdly refers to the king as

⁴³ Snyder in her note to this scene argues that Bertram's "presence" is necessary "theatrically" because he is the "intended recipient of Lafew's serious comments (unlikely to be aimed at the hanger-on Parolles), who is forestalled in his attempted responses by the intrusions of his pushy companion," *The Oxford Shakespeare All's Well*, n. 2.3.0.1, p.122.

"lust[y]" as a dolphin. He instantly tries to take it back (presumably so that it does not seem as if he is making an inappropriate sexual suggestion as to the nature of the cure) by quickly adding that he speaks only in "respect." He could also be using the word "respect" here to mean "in regards to . . ." and in this sense, Lafew would be using the word to suggest that he is speaking "in regards to" (as "in respect to") the king's illness. However, Lafew's exclamation at the beginning of the sentence, "'Fore me," suggests that he is anxiously trying to qualify or soften the bawdiness of his description of the king being as lusty as a dolphin.

Parolles cuts Lafew off before he can finish his thought, and when Parolles begins to offer a counter explanation (one that goes along with Lafew's euphemistic suggestion about the king's lustiness), Lafew then interrupts him to state that the cure shows the "very hand of heaven." For Lafew, it is better that the world believe that king was touched by the "hand of heaven" rather than by the hand of the She-doctor, Helen. Parolles, however, counters with a different explanation:

. . . Great power, great transcendence, which should indeed give us a further use to be made than alone the recov'ry of the King as to be—
(2.3.35-38).

Parolles's lines here are ambiguous. Either he is referring to the king with the phrase "great power, great transcendence," *or*, more likely, he is referring to Helen and describing her as the "great power," one who has transcended the king's illness. If he is referring to Helen, he seems to suggest that all three of them could also "use" a woman's sexual healing, and that the "great power" of the practitioner to rejuvenate should give "further use" than just the "recov'ry" of the King. Lafew seems anxious to cut off this inappropriate train of thought (one which he himself started with his

comment about the king being "lust[y]"). He interrupts and finishes Parolles's suggestive sentence about the female practitioner's "great power" with the innocuous phrase, "Generally thankful" (2.3.39).

In this scene, Lafew is attempting to control the court's interpretation of the king's cure. He tries to frame the cure as miraculous and not scientific (and thus not physically and sexually transgressive), even though he himself slyly introduced Helen to the king in explicitly sexual terms earlier in the play. So, at this point, he *knows* that Helen has restored the health and his king's sexual potency (on display when the king later dances a coranto), yet he is reluctant for the court to see her as having such intimate access to and power over the king's body. In other words, he does not want the female practitioner to be seen as filling the role of the king's mistress.

In Lafew's politic comments about the role of the miraculous in effecting the king's cure, we are introduced to an opposition between blind faith and skeptical science that becomes a structural theme of *All's Well that Ends Well*. Lafew prefers to interpret (at least publicly) Helen's cure as an "old" kind of wonder or miracle. She is not one of the newfangled "philosophical persons" who explain away the mysteries of nature. Yet, the rest of the play seems to undo Lafew's interpretation since Helen is repeatedly represented as a knowledgeable empiric or woman of science.

When Parolles calls Helen's cure "an argument of wonder," he positions her within the old, faith-based view of nature as miraculous (Helen is an inexplicable wonder). At the same time, he also locates her within the new, experimental view of nature held by early modern philosophers (or scientists). Yet an examination of the

history of wonder shows how Lafew's binary is a false one. Historians of science Katharine Park and Lorraine Daston have argued that early moderns' interest in the phenomenon of "wonder" was not directly opposed to the newly emerging scientific methods of experimentation and observation. On the contrary, inexplicable "wonders lay at the heart of much philosophical writing" in the fifteenth and sixteenth centuries.

⁴⁴ They write that Francis Bacon wanted to "dampen" the emotion of wonder through scientific progress or study, but that Bacon "nonetheless used the Wunderkammern both as inspiration for new establishments . . . for the investigation of nature and the perfection of the arts."⁴⁵ The cabinet of wonders informed Bacon's utopia, *New Atlantis*, and it also served as the basis for his extensive study of nature and all its oddities.⁴⁶ As both an emotion and as an object-of-inquiry, wonder profoundly influenced Bacon and other natural philosophers in their rational exploration of nature. So, in *All's Well that Ends Well*, Helen can be a wonder *and* an empiric, and the two were not strictly opposed to each other at the time.

The exchange between Lafew, Parolles, and Bertram about Helen as both a wonder and a miracle worker shows how the play, in the words of Snyder, is "poised uneasily between the high endeavors of honor, the world of miracle and chivalric romance, and the 'modern and familiar' world of Shakespeare's own time when miracles were past."⁴⁷ The scene sets up the tension between early moderns'

⁴⁴ Lorraine Daston and Katharine Park, *Wonders and the Order of Nature: 1150-1750* (New York: Zone Books, 1998), 133. Also see, Mary Baine Campbell, *Wonder and Science: Imagining Worlds in Early Modern Europe* (Ithaca and London: Cornell University Press, 1999).

⁴⁵ Daston and Park, *Wonders and the Order of Nature*, 291.

⁴⁶ Francis Bacon, *New Atlantis*, 1621.

⁴⁷ Snyder, introduction to *All's Well that Ends Well*, 15.

competing views of the natural world—as either knowable and open to inquiry, or as unknowable and supernaturally mysterious. As a lay practitioner, Helen is able to maneuver between these two positions of knowledge, but in the end, she is on the side of science and its endorsement of an empirical worldview.

IV. Empirics and Prostitutes: Bodies and Knowledge for Sale

The king's initial resistance to Helen's proffered cure is puzzling because women empirics and practitioners were the norm in early modern England. As we've seen in chapter one, women were considered the standard caregivers in their homes and in their surrounding communities, and there were far too few university trained physicians to go around.⁴⁸ Women empirics were even occasionally accepted at the English court. For example, Margaret Kennix practiced at court on Queen Elizabeth with her "simples," remedies made of a single herb.⁴⁹ (On a side note, the French court was also known for having women practitioners in residence, most notably, Louise Bourgeois, the royal midwife to Catherine de Medici.)⁵⁰ Indeed, Margaret Pelling has extensively studied the records of the College of Royal Physicians of London and has found that "the female, not the male, comes closer to being the 'general practitioner' of her day"⁵¹ There were many, many more unlicensed and irregular practitioners (male and female) who practiced with relative impunity in early modern England than the College could possibly hope to regulate. Pelling also

⁴⁸ Pollock, *With Faith and Physic*, 92-109.

⁴⁹ William Kerwin, "Where Have You Gone, Margaret Kennix?" in *Women Healers and Physicians: Climbing a Long Hill*, ed. Lillian R. Furst (Lexington: University of Kentucky Press, 1997).

⁵⁰ Bockliss and Jones, *The Medical World*.

⁵¹ Pelling, *Medical Conflicts*, 206.

notes that women practitioners were known for successfully treating venereal disease in London.⁵²

The College of Physicians was essentially in its embryonic stages. They were just beginning to establish their system of licensing and, although they tried to crack down on unlicensed practitioners, especially those who charged a fee and thus were in financial competition with them, they were not all that successful. Yet even within this relatively benign context for women's medical practice, Pelling reminds us that "access to male bodies" was always culturally and socially "complicated," regardless of the gender of the practitioner.⁵³ In *All's Well that Ends Well*, Helen's cure of the king is indeed complicated, fraught with underlying tension about her intimate and privileged knowledge of the royal, male body.

Such knowledge was sometimes considered off-limits to chaste, virtuous women. Richard Braithwait in, *The Good Wife, or, A Rare One Amongst Women* (1618) sorts "She-doctors" into the same category as prostitutes, since they are both learned women who make "bad wives."⁵⁴ He associates women's gaining of specialized, medical knowledge with inappropriate carnal knowledge. His misogynistic view of the female practitioner, though, seems to run counter to historical fact—as we've already seen, women were fairly accepted as practitioners in London and in early modern England.

Braithwait's negative view of female practitioners is adopted to a certain extent by Bertram when he refuses to marry Helen. He sees her as compromised by

⁵² Pelling, *Medical Conflicts*, 206, 203.

⁵³ Pelling, *Medical Conflicts*, 220.

⁵⁴ Richard Braithwait, *The Good Wife: Or, a Rare One amongst Women* (London: 1618), B2v-B3, cited in Iyengar, 39.

her medical practice. When the king reminds Bertram of Helen's achievement and skill as a healer--"Thou know'st that she has raised me from my sickly bed" (2.3.122)--Bertram portrays marriage with Helen as an intolerable type of social and sexual stooping. His reply puns on the king's metaphor of raising (implying royal tumescence):

But follows it, my lord, to bring me down
Must answer for your raising? I know her well;
She had her breeding at my father's charge.
A poor physician's daughter my wife?
Disdain rather corrupt me for ever! (2.3.123-7)

Bertram refuses to be brought "down" to bed with Helen. Bertram finds her social rank—as the daughter of a professional physician—inferior to his own aristocratic status, and in her role as medical practitioner, Helen comes uncomfortably close to the role of royal mistress in her healing of the king.⁵⁵ In Bertram's mistrust of Helen, we see here, as in some of Shakespeare's other plays, how female expertise is often read as a type of "sexual unruliness" aligned with "ungovernability," as Jardine has pointed out.⁵⁶ In *All's Well that Ends Well*, Helen is repeatedly represented as sexually suspect, and she operates outside the realm of patriarchal authority. She cures the ultimate patriarch (the king), and her technical expertise is figured as both appropriately specialized and inappropriately sexual at the same time.

Bertram seemingly rejects Helen because of her middle class origins—calling her "a poor physician's daughter." Yet Bertram's rejection of her on these grounds is not entirely to be believed since according to the other characters in the play, Helen's

⁵⁵ In early modern England, kings and lords would marry their mistresses to great or rich men as a reward, especially if the women were pregnant.

⁵⁶ Jardine, "Cultural Confusion," 16.

father was apparently a very successful physician of considerable renown. Both the Countess and the king discuss Helen's father in terms of high praise. The Countess, in particular, describes Helen's father's "skill" as exceptional:

... [his] skill was almost as great as his honesty; had it stretched so far, would have made nature immortal, and death should have play for lack of work. Would for the King's sake he were living! I think it would be the death of the king's disease. (1.1. 20–24)

The Countess speculates here that that Gerard of Narbon would have been able to cure the king of his fistula if he had been still alive, and she also points out that Gerard was known for his honesty. The king later echoes the Countess when he wishes that he could consult with Helen's father about his disease when he asks Bertram about Gerard, "How long is't, count, Since the physician at your father's died? / He was much famed." The king continues, "If he were living, I would try him yet—" (1.2.78-79, 81). The king's and the Countess's praise of Gerard of Narbon suggests then, that Bertram's stated disdain for Helen as the daughter of a "poor physician" is meant to say more about Bertram's own arrogance in regards to rank than it is about the actual social status of Gerard (which seems to have been rather high in the estimation of both the king and the Countess, even if he was not of noble blood). Bertram's rejection of Helen stems from his arrogance, immaturity (a marker of which is his chosen companion of the braggart, Parolles), and suspicion—he is uncomfortable with the idea of her intimate access to the king's body through the use of her recipe.

The erotic nature of Helen's cure and her intimate knowledge of the male body are further emphasized when she is identified with the remedy itself. Lafew describes Helen to the king in these erotically charged terms:

... I have seen a medicine
That's able to breathe life into a stone,
Quicken a rock, and make you dance canary
With sprightly fire and motion, whose simple touch
Is powerful to araise King Pippen, nay
To give great Charlemagne a pen in's hand
And write to her a love line . . . (2.1.84-90)

In these lines, as he tries to convince the King to see Helen, Lafew invokes multiple images of royal erection and "raising." He refers to two historical kings—King Pippen and Charlemagne—and jokes that Helen's "medicine" and "touch" will raise them from the dead, implying that she will be able to cure the King of France and restore his sexual potency. She will even "give" Charlemagne a--"pen in's hand"-- a phrase which puns on the penis-as-pen and also implies hand stimulation.⁵⁷

In Lafew's sexually charged description, Helen becomes the remedy itself. Lafew introduces her as a "medicine" or "médecin," a word imported from French, which connotes both medicine and physician. Shakespeare was playing on both the French and English meanings of the word in this scene, as a number of editors have observed, and the word might have been pronounced in French on stage since this scene is taking place at the French court between the king and his courtier.⁵⁸ As the

⁵⁷ Mowat and Werstine, *All's Well that Ends Well*, mention that many editors have read sexual innuendo in these lines, n. 89, p. 52. Snyder remarks about this passage, "Certainly sex rather than medical skill is the salient point in Lafew's introduction" of Helen ("The King's not Here," 25).

⁵⁸ Snyder interprets the king's "impairment" as sexual, based on these lines ("The King's not Here," 24-5). She also notes that the word "médecine" was defined as a

king's "medicine," Helen is both royal physician and courtesan; she is valued for her sexual desirability as much as her specialized skill with the receipt.

The theme of sex as curative surfaces later in the play when Bertram, like the king, is represented as sick and in need of sexual healing. As he woos Diana, Bertram describes his love melancholy:

... Stand no more off,
But give thyself unto my sick desires,
Who then recovers. Say thou art mine, and ever
My love as it begins shall so persevere. (4.2.42-5)

He echoes the sentiments of the Fool, who early in the play, claims he must get married because his "poor body . . . requires it," and he is "driven on by the flesh . . ." (1.3.29-30). Like the fool and the king, Bertram is another man who "requires" a woman's touch to be whole or healed. The theme of erotic desire as malaise was a popular one in Renaissance poetry, especially in Petrarchan love sonnets, and it is also central to one of Shakespeare's sources for this play, Erasmus's dialogue, "Proci et puellae," between a girl and her lover.⁵⁹ Shakespeare may have read it in Latin or in the English translation by Nicholas Leigh, *A Modest Mean to Marriage*.⁶⁰ As Snyder points out, the character Maria can "raise Pamphilus from the dead, by means medicinal . . . or sexual . . . and [Erasmus's] dialogue anticipates Shakespeare's treatment of the King of France, which gathers in both notions."⁶¹ Shakespeare further elaborates on this theme when he stages Helen as switching places with Diana

"she Phisition" in Randle Cotgrave's, *A Dictionarie of the French and English Tongues* (London: Adam Islip, 1611), fol. Fffiii, 25.

⁵⁹ Snyder, introduction to *All's Well that Ends Well*, 7.

⁶⁰ Nicholas Leigh, *A Modest Means to Marriage* (1568), cited in Snyder, 7.

⁶¹ Snyder, introduction to *All's Well that Ends Well*, 6-7.

in the infamous bed trick; Helen is able to cure Bertram as easily as she cures the king, and in both cases, her cure is represented as sexual.

V. Knowing the Body: The Bed Trick and "How to" Science

Bertram is figured not only as physically ill in his love melancholy, but also, as a number of critics including Jane Donawerth and Susan Snyder have convincingly argued, morally sick, since he is so easily taken in by the bombastic words of Parolles whose very name means "words." As a consequence, he is unable to recognize Helen's tangible value.⁶² Bertram's journey depends upon learning the difference between empty words (such as those used by Parolles to disguise his cowardice) and the value of the Real or the Thing itself. Helen seeks to bridge this gap between signifier and signified by realizing Bertram's own parting words: "When thou canst get the ring upon my finger which shall never come off, and show me a child begotten of thy body that I am father to, then call me husband. But in such a 'then' I write a 'never'" (3.2.58-62). She lends embodiment to his words through the bed trick and thus cures Bertram both of his moral sickness and his misplaced sexual desire. As W. W. Lawrence has discussed, Helen's ability to fool Bertram also owes much to European and Scandinavian folktales about "clever wenches." In such stories, the clever wench "manages to fulfill impossible tasks set by her husband . . . and [she] always get[s] pregnant in disguise."⁶³ In *All's Well that Ends Well*,

⁶² Jane Donawerth, "All's Well that Ends Well: Words and Things," in *Shakespeare and the Sixteenth-Century Study of Language* (Urbana and Chicago: University of Illinois Press, 1984), 219. and Snyder, "The King's not Here," 21.

⁶³ W. W. Lawrence, *Shakespeare's Problem Comedies* (New York: Fungar, 1960), 51.

Shakespeare melds the character of the “clever wench” with the “sweet practicer” in the figure of Helen.

Shakespeare departs from his source material when he imagines Helen’s use of the bed-trick. In Painter’s translation of Boccaccio, Giletta sleeps with Beltramo many nights in a row, and he gives her jewels every morning (still apparently blind to her identity as his wife). She conceives two sons and interrupts Beltramo’s banquet for All Saint’s Day at the end of the tale. Shakespeare, in contrast, has Helen and Bertram sleep together only once, and Janet Adelman argues that such a “compression” of many meetings into one encounter, “demonstrat[es] the extent to which sexuality is a matter of deception on the one side and hit-and-run contamination on the other.”⁶⁴ Yet such “compression” also demonstrates that the bed-trick as a single act becomes equivalent in its single-ness to the one-time act of curing the king, and thus Helen’s power and her cure are doubled. The bed-trick-as-cure mirrors the healing of the king, especially since, as Whigham observes, both take place “off stage” and “in the dark.”⁶⁵

These actions allow Helen access to Bertram and the king’s bodily interiors, and her knowledge of the private, male self contributes to Helen’s almost omnipotent power in the world of *All’s Well that Ends Well*. This is a play predicated on a fascination with proper types of “knowing,” and as Lori Haslem, who has tracked the use of riddles as a mode of knowing in *All’s Well that Ends Well* argues, “To gain

⁶⁴ Janet Adelman, “Marriage and the Maternal Body: On Marriage as the End of Comedy in *All’s Well that Ends Well* and *Measure for Measure*” in *Shakespeare’s Personality*, eds. Norman N. Holland, Sidney Homan, and Bernard J. Paris (Berkeley: University of California Press, 1989), 153.

⁶⁵ Whigham, “Reading Social Conflict,” 342.

respectable scientific knowledge of . . . bodies is in essence to gain power.”⁶⁶ With her double cure, Helen gains power and authority through knowledge that is both respectable and scientific, as well as disreputable and sexual.

Although her knowledge of the body makes her sexually suspect to her would-be husband, Bertram, overall, her practice is valorized as a legitimate (even desirable) way of knowing and healing both the self and Other in the play. Shakespeare’s characters (most notably Hamlet) express a desire to know the interior of the body in an attempt to gain access to the other’s private self. As David Hillman remarks: “Several of Shakespeare’s characters seem to imagine that penetrating the other’s body would somehow solve the riddle of knowing the other . . .”⁶⁷ This locating of subjectivity in the entrails (or bodily insides) was likely influenced by early moderns’ fascination with anatomical discovery. The previously hidden, internal landscape of the body was revealed and made public through printed anatomical treatises and through autopsies performed in so-called “anatomy theaters.”⁶⁸ Such advances—the beginnings of the European Scientific Revolution--contributed to a paradigmatic shift in thinking about bodies, selves, and systems of knowledge during this time. Hillman details how scientific knowledge about the body challenged Christian beliefs about the body and its interior self:

the interior of the body . . . which (for Christianity) had always been the ontological site of belief, became, in the sixteenth century, *also* the epistemological site of rapidly growing medical and anatomical knowledge and the two modes of understanding, incompatible in terms

⁶⁶ Lori Haslem, “Riddles, Female Space, and Closure in *All’s Well that Ends Well*,” *English Language Notes* 38.4 (June 2001): 19-31, 22.

⁶⁷ Hillman, “Visceral Knowledge,” 82.

⁶⁸ Jonathan Sawday, *The Body Emblazoned: Dissection and the Human Body in Renaissance Culture* (London: Routledge, 1995).

of the kind of access to the body's interior they deem possible, jostled against each other.⁶⁹

Natural philosophy was becoming science—as exemplified in Francis Bacon's strict rules for observation, experimentation, and experience (as opposed to learned references to Aristotle) as the means to discovery. Thus, science began challenging traditional, Christian belief about the centrality of the soul to human existence. Discoveries in anatomy and medicine provided the curious public with an unprecedented view of the body's insides, and, consequently, a new sense of the body and the self it housed arose in the early modern period. Anatomists not only exposed the most intimate knowledge of the body through dissection but they also—along with empirics, doctors, and astronomers—seemed able to address large, looming questions about the natures of bodies and selves.

The concurrent rise of “how to” knowledge in the form of popular printed books of “secrets,” which contained alchemical, medical, and trade recipes, also shaped a changing sense of human interiority. The science of the recipe along with the new science of anatomy was fashioning a sense of the individual person as embodied subject. As Jonathan Sawday writes, the “birth” of the science of anatomy, in particular:

was to transform entirely people's understanding not only of themselves and their sense of identity or “selfhood,” but of the relationship of their minds to their bodies, and even their feeling of location in human society and the natural world.⁷⁰

All's Well that Ends Well with a “how to” recipe for accessing the body's interior at its thematic center, is a drama perched between two competing systems of

⁶⁹ Hillman, “Visceral Knowledge,” (italics his) 86.

⁷⁰ Sawday, *Body Emblazoned*, viii-ix.

knowledge. On the one hand, there is an emerging, recognizably scientific “how to” episteme trumpeting the body as tangible, knowable, and open to inquiry, and on the other, there is a medieval, religious view of the body’s interior as cloaked in opaque, divine mystery. The two systems stand in uneasy opposition to each other in the period, and *All’s Well that Ends Well* engages with both as Shakespeare explores the role of female empiric in a shifting and increasingly scientific world.

Printed books of secrets and technical “how to” books in the vernacular offered an especially tantalizing promise of new, working knowledge about the body since they moved previously off-limits “secrets” or recipes from an elite, Latin readership into the hands of the lay practitioner. This easy access to “how to” knowledge established a new, porous boundary between the religious and secular life that had not existed in the medieval period; instead, as William Eamon emphasizes about the relationship between “how to” recipes and the Scientific Revolution:

The concern with the material needs of everyday life, the emphasis upon hands-on experience, the confirmation of the greater efficacy of technology over the sacred . . . all these forces contributed to a growing awareness that humanity’s lot could be bettered not by magic . . . or the grace of God, but by knowing “how to.”⁷¹

The recipe in *All’s Well that Ends Well* becomes a vehicle which Shakespeare uses to explore competing discourses about the nature of bodies and things, and whether we, like Helen, “must be” our “own providence.”⁷²

G.K. Hunter has located *All’s Well that Ends Well* within contemporary debates about the role of science in explaining the workings of the natural world: “the

⁷¹ William Eamon, *Science and the Secrets of Nature: Books of Secrets in Medieval and Early Modern Culture* (Princeton: Princeton University Press, 1994), 9, 133.

⁷² Snyder, introduction to *All’s Well the Ends Well*, 17.

moral frailty of the young is specifically associated with the new scientific naturalism which was in Shakespeare's own day replacing the older obedience to supernatural sanctions" He claims Helen represents the "old" world of magic and the supernatural in opposition to the "new world" of science and "mobility and opportunism."⁷³ While Hunter correctly interprets the play as invested in questioning the proper role of knowledge and scientific inquiry, he is mistaken in seeing Helen as aligned with the older, magical and superstitiously driven view of the world. In fact, Helen, as successful "empiric" and "sweet practicer," is emblematic of the new episteme of hands-on, experimental knowledge that was just coming into existence at the time.

Helen announces the primacy of "how to" knowledge early in the play:

Our remedies oft in ourselves do lie
Which we ascribe to heaven. The fated sky
Gives us free scope, only doth backward pull
Our slow designs when we ourselves are dull.
What power is it which mounts my love so high,
That makes me see, and cannot feed mine eye?
The mightiest space in fortune nature brings
To join like likes and kiss like native things.
Impossible be strange attempts to those
That weigh their pains in sense and do suppose
What hath been cannot be. Who ever strove
To show her merit that did miss her love?
The king's disease—my project may deceive me,
But my intents are fixed and will not leave me (1.1.222-235).

Helen begins her speech by emphasizing how "remedies"—in both the medicinal and the philosophical sense of the word—lie within the individual self. She celebrates her own self-reliance here, and, with the pun on "remedies," she points to her skill as a

⁷³ G.K. Hunter, introduction to *The Arden Edition of All's Well that Ends Well* (London: Methuen, 1959), xxxvi and xxxvii.

healer. She further proposes that the "fated sky" or the stars do not have total control over one's destiny; instead, they allow "free scope" and only interfere or "backward pull" when we are too "dull" and incapable of acting for ourselves. She repudiates the idea that her desire for someone above her station is misplaced or "impossible," asking instead, "who ever strove to show her merit that did miss her love?" and then answering with her own "fixed" intentions to heal the king's disease. While nodding toward the higher powers of the stars, Helen constructs herself as both owner of the receipt and also of the answer to the problem of her secret love for Bertram. In this soliloquy, she challenges the popular, superstitious belief that the stars determine human destiny and instead celebrates the "how to" knowledge of the receipt, which enables the healer to prove (or "show") her merit and, ultimately, enables her to get what she wants in the world of the play—Bertram's hand in marriage.

When describing her father's receipt collection, Helen further emphasizes the power of "how to" science. She tells the Countess:

I will tell truth, by grace itself I swear.
You know my father left me some prescriptions
Of rare and proved effects, such as his reading
And manifest experience had collected
For general sovereignty; and that he willed me
In heedfull'st reservation to bestow them
As notes whose faculties inclusive were
More than they were in note. (1.3.233-40).

The prescriptions are "more than" mere notes. Helen's father "collected" and gathered them from his "reading" of manuscript and printed recipe collections, and he "proved" or tested their beneficial "effects" for the "general" good of humanity. They are valuable records of her father's extensive medical practice and "experience," and he left them to Helen to "bestow them" or use them as "more" than

just “notes;” instead, she uses them as valuable medical and diagnostic tools, and she recognizes them as a valuable part of her father’s legacy to her. She has the skill and understanding to put them into practice.

Helen singles out the remedy for the fistula as a product of her father’s empirical method:

... Amongst the rest
There is a remedy, approved, set down,
To cure the desperate languishings whereof
The King is rendered lost.
... There’s something in’t
More than my father’s skill, which was the great’st
Of his profession, that his good receipt
Shall for my legacy be sanctified
By the luckiest stars in heaven; and would your Honor
But give me leave to try success, I’d venture
The well-lost life of mine on his Grace’s cure
By such a day, an hour. (1.3.240-3, 257-9)

As in her soliloquy on “remedies” lying within the “self,” Helen again weighs the power of lucky “stars” against the how to power of the “good receipt.” The remedy for curing the king’s “languishings” is “approved” and “set down.” It has been proved effective through her father’s medical practice, yet she argues that there is more to the remedy than just her “father’s skill.” As her father’s daughter, she is a trained lay practitioner. She understands how to use the receipt, and she tells the Countess that she is so sure of success that she is willing to bet her life on the power of the remedy to help the king.

The power of “approved” science, and, in particular, the power of the empiric to triumph over mysterious superstition and prevarication is demonstrated in the ending of the play when the king discusses the nature of evidence or scientific proof after Bertram gives Lafew a ring for his daughter. When Lafew comments on how

similar the ring looks to Helen's, Bertram disagrees, claiming a Florentine woman threw the ring "wrapped in a paper" from her window at him. The king then sees the ring and takes it for proof that Bertram is lying. As he indicts Bertram, the king outlines the play's sub-text of scientific knowing and proof in precise terms:

. . . Plutus himself,
That knows the tinct and multiplying med'cine,
Hath not in nature's mystery more science
Than I have in this ring. 'Twas mine, 'twas Helen's,
Whoever gave it you. Then if you know
That you are well acquainted with yourself,
Confess 'twas hers and by what rough enforcement
You got it from her. She called the saints to surety
That she would never put it from her finger
Unless she gave it yourself in bed,
Where you have never come, or sent it us
Upon her great disaster. (5.3.118-29)

The certainty of scientific knowledge thus frames the play, although it is worth noting Shakespeare's ambivalence in making a deity stand in for science. Plutus, god of wealth and an alchemist, is the representative of "science" and possesses the practical ability to know and understand nature, as well as divine omniscience. It is a view of empirical science ("tinct and multiplying medicine") grounded in the supernatural and the divine—a "science" of an early seventeenth-century hue. One can know the "mystery" of nature through scientific experimentation—experimentation which depends on knowing "how to"—just as the king knows the ring was once his and Helen's.

The king, valuing Helen's word over Bertram's, demands that he confess his "rough enforcement" of Helen, recalling her certain promise, "the saints to surety," that she would never remove the ring. Bertram denies the king's accusation, saying, "She [Helen] never saw it" (5.3.130). Yet the king orders Bertram taken away, again

emphasizing the importance of the ring as scientific proof and as a means of sure knowing:

... Take him away.
My forepast proofs, howe'er the matter fall,
Shall tax my fears of little vanity,
Having vainly feared too little. Away with him.
We'll sift this matter further" (5.3.138-142).

He compares his prior knowledge of Bertram to "proof," and he admits that his earlier fears about Bertram's character were justified, especially since he is now faced with the definitive fact that Bertram is wearing Helen's ring. Bertram cries out a last defense raising his own question of what constitutes proof:

... If you shall prove
This ring was ever hers, you shall as easy
Prove that I husbanded her bed in Florence,
Where yet she never was. (5.3.143-6)

Bertram does not believe that the king can "prove" his claim. His statement reflects his own imperfect knowledge about Helen and her double healing of her husband and the king.

Through relying on his own experience and observation (an emphasis that is championed in the recipe's injunction "to prove" or test it), the king rightly sees and interprets the ring as proof of Helen's presence. As Janet Adelman has discussed, the ring signifies Helen's "power over . . . power, her capacity to command the king's help."⁷⁴ As empiric and as owner of the royal ring, Helen is the primary mover in this play, and her view of the natural and social world--as an entity that can be manipulated through the use of "how to" science and the practice of healing--is ultimately validated in this final scene.

⁷⁴ Adelman, "Marriage and the Maternal Body," 82.

VI. Bodies and Recipes in the Marketplace

Helen's and the king's belief in the primacy of experience and observation over luck, superstition, and prevarication points to the value that the play places on scientific knowledge. Yet there is some cynicism to this valorization of science since, as we've already seen, the play repeatedly equates scientific expertise with sexual experience. In *All's Well that Ends Well*, virginity and medical knowledge are both "vendible" or exchangeable for a price. Parolles explains the play's economy of virginity to Helen:

Tis a commodity will lose the gloss with lying; the longer kept, the less worth. Off with 't while 'tis vendible; answer the time of request . . . Your date is better in your pie and your porridge than in your cheek . . . Will you anything with it? (1.1.159-61).

He urges her to lose or "sell" her virginity while it is still valuable, ironic advice considering that no one ever asks for her virginity. Instead, she offers up her chaste reputation in exchange for the king's acquiescence to her cure, and when she tries to marry Bertram, he rejects her, refuses her request for a parting kiss, and escapes to Italy. Last, in Florence, she offers the widow gold in exchange for switching places with Diana in her bed.

Virginity and its close counterpart, chastity, are for sale for a price in this play. Helen offers her receipt and her skill as a practitioner to the king in exchange for a husband. Bertram hopes to buy Diana's virginity in exchange for his family ring. Diana shows up at the end with Bertram's family ring to claim his hand in marriage. In her introduction to the play, Snyder comments that there are "unexpected invocations of an exchange system not based on moral absolutes—inner

worth or the pledged word commanding loyalty—but on money.”⁷⁵ In this play, as in early modern society, empirical science and healing—like sex and prostitution—are always performed in exchange for something else.⁷⁶

Through scientific and commercial exchange, sexual identity becomes malleable and fluid as the mark of prostitution passes from Helen to the king to Bertram and to Diana. The king and Helen both imagine themselves as prostitutes when discussing the female empiric’s cure. Diana is accused of being a “common gamester” (5.3.214) in the final act of the play. Bertram returns from the wars, and the fool comments that Bertram has a “patch of velvet on’s face” (4.5.96). He continues, “Whether there be a scar under ‘t or no, the velvet knows, but ‘tis a goodly patch of velvet” (4.5.96-98). The fool suggests that instead of covering a battle scar, the velvet on Bertram’s face might be covering a syphilitic ulcer, and Bertram—like the king—now suffers from a venereal disease associated with prostitution.

Helen, Bertram, Diana, and the king all become part of a circuit of desiring, bodied subjects connected through the exchange of the receipt’s “how to science.” The desiring body is a möbius strip, as Grosz theorizes, with an “inflect[ing] of mind into body and body into mind . . .,” and an “uncontrollable drift of the inside into the outside”⁷⁷ Such drifting happens over and over in this play, where the characters’ internal desires, which are so slippery, suspect, and forbidden, are written

⁷⁵ Snyder, introduction, to *All’s Well that Ends Well*, 6.

⁷⁶ Eamon, *Science and the Secrets of Nature*, argues that “secrets,” “experiments,” and recipes became “commodities” in sixteenth-century Europe, as European printers discovered that there was money to be made in printing books on “how to” (11).

⁷⁷ Grosz, *Volatile Bodies*, xii.

on the body through the markers of prostitution and venereal disease: fistulas, bald heads, patched scars, and at the end of the play, the pregnant body.

This play's belief in the transparency of the body and in the power of the female practitioner to both "read" and heal it reinforces an empirical world view, where self-knowledge and knowledge of the Other is measurable, containable, and fully understood. With the proper recipe or "how to," bodies are healable in spite of their transgressive (if predictable) desires, and thus, scientific proof is valued more than shifty excuses and astrological superstition.

CHAPTER THREE

“A water for the mind and to comfort the stomach”: Recipes and the Utopian Politics of Housewifery

In chapter one, I examined how early modern women expressed the self as authoritative and capable through recipe writing and practice. In chapter two, I tracked how authoritative recipe practice was represented on the stage in Shakespeare’s *All’s Well that Ends Well*, and I showed how instrumental the female practitioner was to achieving physical and social wellness. In this, my third and final chapter, I shift the focus of my discussion from the practitioner-as-healer to the practitioner-as-housewife (someone who uses culinary receipts as well as medicinal ones). I first discuss the representation of the housewife in printed cookbooks from the middle of the seventeenth century, and I then examine her manuscript writings in the receipt book—a recording of domestic practice in “her own words.” I argue that manuscript and printed recipe collections were influenced by the popularity of “how to” books on the house and by utopian writings (expressing political “how to”) about

the state. We shall see how the housewife's recipes (in print and in manuscript) could foster, express, or reflect utopian desires for an ideal, good place of governance (or a "feigned commonwealth") and perfect health. Recipes (and writing about recipes) gave women and men a mode through which they could reflect on the "how to" workings of the body, in order to improve the health of the individual and, ultimately, the body politic of the state.

I. Experiments in Politics and Science: Utopias, "How to," and Recipes

Elizabeth Tebeaux has argued that technical "how to" books were a distinct and popular genre in early modern England. Books on "how to" manage land, keep bees, run a household, and practice medicine "illustrate the technologies of the Renaissance and instructions for performing work important to the daily lives of English people." Many of these books were "extremely popular," and medicinal and culinary recipes were an important subset of this "how to" genre—appearing in dozens of cookbooks and household guides.¹ As mentioned in chapter one, the first of these recipe collections and household guides were written by men and aimed at a newly emerging, literate female readership. Authors, such as Hugh Plat and Gervase Markham, claimed to have gathered proven medicinal and culinary recipes from

¹ Elizabeth Tebeaux, "Women and Technical Writing, 1475-1700: Technology, Literacy, and Development of a Genre," in *Women, Science and Medicine 1500-1700*, eds. Lynette Hunter and Sarah Hutton (Phoenix Mill, UK: Sutton Publishing Limited, 1997), 28.

successful (and anonymous) housewives whom they knew.² So, in early printed household books and recipe collections then, male authors were adopting the voice of the housewife in order to speak to the housewife-as-reader. Women writers were themselves avidly writing and compiling recipes for the body and the kitchen, but they were not publishing them in the public sphere. Instead, they kept their receipt books private (along with their commonplace books, diaries, poems, closet dramas, romances, and letters) and shared them only with a select coterie of intimate friends and family. Two writing practices were thus happening parallel to each other: men were printing recipe books while women were writing and circulating them in manuscript.

In the 1650s, this dynamic began to change with the printing of the first three recipe books attributed to specific women: Elizabeth Grey's *A Choice Manual of Rare and Select Secrets* (1653), Queen Henrietta Maria's *The Queen's Closet Opened* (1655), and Alethea Talbot's *Natura Exenterata* (1655).³ A few years later, after the Restoration in 1660, women started to publish their recipes themselves, along with copious advice on how to be a good and efficient housewife. In post-Restoration England, the environment was more hospitable to women writers wanting to go into

² For example, Gervase Markham, *The English House-wife* (London, 1623) and Hugh Plat, *Delights for Ladies to Adorne their Persons, Tables, Closets, and Distillatories: With Beauties, Banquets, Perfumes, & Waters* (London, 1603).

³ Elizabeth Grey, *The Choice Manual of Rare and Select Secrets in Physick and chyrurgery* (London: G.D., 1653); Henrietta Maria Stuart, *The Queen's Closet Opened* (London: 1655); Alethea Talbot, *Natura Exenterata* (London: H. Twiford, 1655).

See Lynette Hunter, "Women and Domestic Medicine: Lady Experimenters, 1570-1620" for a discussion of these three books in terms of women's medicinal practice in *Women, Science, and Medicine 1500-1700*, eds. Lynette Hunter and Sarah Hutton (Phoenix Mill: Sutton Publishing, 1997), 89-107.

print than it had been at any time earlier in the century (even though it was still far from socially or culturally easy to do so), and, consequently, there was an explosion of printed domestic manuals and cookbooks by women authors, such as the prolific and popular Hannah Woolley.⁴

The popularity of technical “how to” books on the house and the body affected other genres of early modern writing and thinking, especially books on politics, government, and the state. As we saw in the introduction, arguments about “how to” run the house were regularly used to shore up arguments about “how to” run the state and church. Throughout the sixteenth and seventeenth centuries, metaphors about the state and its relationship to the house deeply informed early modern thinking on the subject of just governance.

The seventeenth-century, especially, could be said to be an age of “how to,” a time when the forces of the Protestant Reformation, the printing press, and the stirrings of the Scientific Revolution combined to bring about the beheading of an anointed king in 1649, an act which, I would argue, could be viewed as the ultimate act of “how to” since republicans decided that they knew better how to run the country than the king. What I am arguing for here, for the purposes of this chapter, is that cultural and literary historians imagine seventeenth-century political writings as inflected through the lens of “how to,” a category which early moderns would have implicitly understood, especially with an increasing (often Protestant) emphasis on the primacy of personal experience over esoteric authority as a means towards

⁴ Hannah Woolley. *The Queen-like Closet, or rich cabinet stored with all manner of rare receipts* . . . third edition, 1675. Elaine Hobby credits Woolley with being “the first woman” to break into the male-dominated household “book market” in *Virtue of Necessity: English Women's Writings 1646-1688* (London: Virago Press, 1988), 166.

gathering secular knowledge *and* achieving religious revelation. And the popularity of technical “how to” manuals and recipes, with their emphasis on hands-on knowledge and experience, would have profoundly added to this dynamic of religious, humanist, and political empiricism.

Within this “how to” context, one can see another kind of “how to” book being written and re-written, that of the utopia. Amy Boesky has noted that with the “rapid” political and religious changes in England during the sixteenth and seventeenth centuries, utopias became “particularly appealing” to the reading public.⁵ After More’s *Utopia* (originally printed in Latin at the beginning of the sixteenth-century) was translated and printed in English in the 1550s, English writers responded with their own prescriptions for utopia, and throughout the seventeenth century, they wrote about many forms of the good place for just, Christian government. Such responses were influenced not only by More, of course, but also by the winds of religious and political change that were ushering in the Protestant Reformation and in tandem a new skepticism toward church and monarchical authority. It was a time marked by a proliferation of texts that attempted to “feign” a commonwealth, to borrow Sir Philip Sidney’s description of More’s *Utopia*.⁶ As Manuel and Manuel argue in their impressive survey on the history of western utopias, the middle-part of the seventeenth-century in England, in particular, was a golden age of utopias:

[There were] a multitude of English utopian projects, platforms, designs, visions, and a few traditional story utopias—a rich harvest in these two decades [1640s and 50s] that is not matched anywhere

⁵ Amy Boesky, *Founding Fictions: Utopias in Early Modern England* (Athens and London: University of Georgia Press, 1996), 10.

⁶ Quoted in David Norbrook, *Poetry and Politics in the English Renaissance* (London and Boston: Routledge, 1984), 1.

in Europe until the first half of the nineteenth century in France.⁷

From Francis Bacon's *New Atlantis* (a mythical island run by men of science and learning) to Margaret Cavendish's fantastic *Blazing World* (a land located somewhere around the North Pole, where men of science serve the empress and kingdom), seventeenth-century authors' visions of alternative good places were deeply political.⁸ However, whatever the politics--whether the writer was royalist or republican, male or female--the seventeenth-century Christian utopia explored three related categories: the nature of good governance, humans' relationship to God (and whether the King should be mediator), and the role of natural philosophy (or science) in achieving the desired "good place."⁹

Science itself was seen as a means of accessing utopia—through the testing and ordering of the natural world, human beings could attain new physical, and then, by extension, social and communal order. As Manuel and Manuel note: "The reasoning of the new science—which virtually all utopians accepted—was in harmony with the legalist spirit . . . [B]y the mid-century, scientific reasoning

⁷ Frank E. Manuel and Fritzie P. Manuel, *Utopian Thought in the Western World* (Cambridge, Massachusetts: Belknap Press, 1979), 335.

⁸ Francis Bacon, *New Atlantis* (1621); Margaret Cavendish, *The Blazing World* (1666), reprinted in *The Blazing World and Other Writings*, ed. Kate Lilley (London: Penguin, 1994). Other British utopias include James Harrington, *The Commonwealth of Oceana* (1656) and Henry Neville's *Isle of the Pines* (1668). Boesky also identifies Aphra Behn's *Oroonoko* (London: 1688) as a late utopia, in part because Behn re-visits the territory of Guiana (of which Surinam is a colony) where Sir Walter Raleigh located his utopia, *The Discoverie of the Large, Rich and Bewtiful Empyre of Guiana* (1596). On the many utopias imagined by the pamphleteers of the Civil War, see Boesky, "Houses of Industry: Utopias in the Commonwealth, 1641-1660," in *Founding Fictions*, 84-115; and Manuel and Manuel, "Topsy-Turvy in the English Civil War," 332-366.

⁹ For a discussion of women's utopias in particular, see *Utopian and Science Fiction by Women: Worlds of Difference*, eds. Jane L. Donawerth and Carol A. Kolmerten (Syracuse: Syracuse University Press, 1994).

influenced even popular theorists of society.”¹⁰ Science and, specifically, experiments were located at the heart of utopia.

Through the genre of utopia then, scientific experiments became intimately linked to political and rhetorical experimentation. As David Norbrook observes, “A central feature of Renaissance humanism was that political and rhetorical experimentation were closely associated.”¹¹ Experiments in rhetorical form on the written page influenced physical actions in the public sphere, and, as Boesky points out, the word “experiment” itself belonged as much to the “province of politics . . . then to the province of science.”¹² Utopias and recipes were scientific experiments in “how to”; both believed in the testability of nature and the ordering of the world through rigorous experimentation.

Both early and late seventeenth-century utopias included this emphasis on science. Francis Bacon’s *New Atlantis* (1621) is particularly emblematic of this type of thinking. He describes a world where male scientists (with female assistants) are in charge of observations and testing of the natural world. Places of experimentation—distilleries, laboratories, bake houses, and kitchens—are also an important part of the landscape of Bensalme, implying that the process of cooking and the use of recipes are crucial activities in utopia. Later in the seventeenth-century, Margaret Cavendish reverses Bacon’s male hierarchy in *The Blazing World* (1666), but she still keeps science at the center. Her utopia imagines a female empress on the throne (with Margaret Cavendish herself as the empress’s platonic lover), and the male scientists

¹⁰ Manuel and Manuel, *Utopian Thought*, 339.

¹¹ Norbrook, *Poetry and Politics*, 21.

¹² Boesky, *Founding Fictions*, 83.

(with hybrid animal-human bodies) as her assistants. Between Bacon and Cavendish, the turbulent times helped produce many utopias—especially during the pamphlet wars in the 1640s. As Manuel and Manuel argue, utopian thinking was at the forefront of various parliamentary factions during the English Civil War. Levellers, Diggers, and Fifth Monarchists imagined that England could be an ideal, good place through their reading of the Bible, which was “the ultimate source for the primal utopia of God.”¹³

By the middle of the seventeenth century, utopias were influencing how-to books on cooking and medicine. Published cookbooks attributed to women authors show some evidence of royalist nostalgia; they constructed the past as a utopia or ideal place of good household and national economy. Women’s manuscript receipt books also reflected a desire for utopian perfection—of the individual body and of the body politic—a small perfect world of health mediated by the figure of the British housewife. The housewife became responsible for *more* than just the body and spirit of her husband; through her private receipt practice and household management, she became responsible for the overall health of the nation.

II. The British Housewife: Englishness and Domestic Politics at Home

The Puritan minister, William Whatley’s wedding sermon, *A Bridebush* (1617), lays out some of the Christian and social duties of housewife through the discourses of privacy and the body politic.¹⁴ He assigns the housewife to the private

¹³ Manuel and Manuel, *Utopian Thought*, 339.

¹⁴ William Whatley, *A Bridebush or A Wedding Sermon* (London: William Iaggard, 1617).

space of the house; although he constructs her role as private, he emphasizes that it is a crucial one, discussing the importance of the housewife keeping her husband's secrets to herself. Whatley discourages her from "publish[ing]" her husband's secrets and not making them "publick to the whole town" the things that he "left in [her] bosome. . ."¹⁵ Whatley also draws on the metaphor of the body politic to explain the proper subservience of a wife to her husband:

So that they must also bee good rulers at home, and ioyne in guiding the houshold; the man as Gods immediat officer, and the King in his family: the woman as the Deputie subordinate, and associate to him, but not altogether equall; and both in their order must gouern.¹⁶

This hierarchy was to be challenged repeatedly in the seventeenth century in political pamphlets, sermons, and utopias. Instability in the early modern home was repeatedly equated with political uncertainty in the public sphere—especially by royalists, since loyalty to the king depended on upholding the metaphor of the body politic. The body politic seemed rooted in the Englishman's household. James I and Charles I both used the metaphor of the body politic and the politics of the household to shore up the legitimacy of their rule, a legitimacy that was increasingly challenged by parliamentarians and later overturned when Charles was beheaded in 1649.¹⁷ Indeed, in the 1630s, Charles circulated images of his wife, Henrietta Maria, and their many children to proclaim Stuart majesty. He used domesticity as a political tool

¹⁵ Whatley, *A Bridebush*, 13.

¹⁶ Whatley, *A Bridebush*, 16.

¹⁷ Jonathan Goldberg, "Fatherly Authority: The Politics of Stuart Family Images" in *Rewriting the Renaissance: The Discourses of Sexual Difference in Early Modern Europe*, eds. Margaret Ferguson, Maureen Quilligan, and Nancy J. Vickers (1986), 3-31. See also, Ann Baynes Coiro, "'A Ball of Strife': Caroline Poetry and Royal Marriage" in *The Royal Image*, ed. Tom Corns (Cambridge and New York: Cambridge University Press, 1996), 26-46.

and, after he was beheaded and the republicans took over the country, they initially resisted circulating portraits of Oliver Cromwell and his wife because they worried about the Cromwells being likened to the royal family of the Stuarts through domestic display.¹⁸

About the differences of opinion on the role of the house in good government, Katharine Gillespie argues, "where monarchy sought to establish the state as a household, republicanism often strove to convert the household into a polis of sorts."¹⁹ The politics of the state were linked to the politics of the house, a place where the housewife wielded a considerable amount of authority, including the practicing and administering of recipes. Thus, the housewife was responsible for *more* than just maintaining the body and spirit of her husband; she was also (either appropriately or inappropriately) responsible for the fragile health of the English nation. Through her private recipe writing and practice, she either upheld or undermined the state.

Wall has argued that the figure of the early modern housewife was an "uncanny" one, both familiar and disturbing in her power over the human bodies under her care--those of her husband, children, servants, and neighbors. The housewife's practice was understood in two opposing ways: Wall states that the housewife's practice was either "a type of safe, sanctioned healing *or* [it was] . . . a

¹⁸ Laura Lunger Knoppers, *Constructing Cromwell: Ceremony, Portrait, and Print 1645-1661* (Cambridge, UK: Cambridge University Press, 2000), especially the chapters on, "Portraiture, Print, and the Republican Heroic," 31-68, and "'Riding in Triumph': Ceremony and Print in the Early Protectorate," 107-131.

¹⁹ Katharine Gillespie, "Elizabeth Cromwell's Kitchen Court: Republicanism and the Consort," *Genders* 33 (2001): 9.

disturbing, dangerous ability to wreak havoc on the body in the name of health.” For example:

While some home remedies were comprised of tasty narcotic syrups, other recipes involved pouring lemon juice into open sores, lancing boils, serving up urine-based concoctions, or sticking oil-infused feathers deep into a patient’s nostrils.²⁰

Often in her attempts to heal the bodies of those under her care, the housewife’s remedies inflicted as much pain or distress as the original complaint. And Wall is right to pick up on the uncanny aspect of the housewife’s practice; nevertheless, I would ask, was the housewife as disturbing a figure as Wall claims? I suggest, instead, that the housewife and her activities were safely contained within the private sphere of the home (and its immediate surroundings). In her how-to recipe writing (and practice) she sometimes reflected utopian politics and desires, as will be discussed in the following three sections.

The figure of the housewife—whether disturbing or consoling—looms over two printed cookbooks of the mid-seventeenth century, *The Queen’s Closet Opened* (containing recipes attributed to Queen Henrietta Maria), and *The Court and Kitchen of Elizabeth Cromwell*, a royalist satire of the Cromwells packaged with a collection of recipes attributed to Elizabeth Cromwell.²¹ In the first book, published in 1655, the housewife-as-queen is constructed as responsible for properly managing the nation in the past, and, in the second, Elizabeth Cromwell is represented as a

²⁰ Wall, *Staging Domesticity*, (emphasis hers) 3.

²¹ See Henrietta Maria Stuart *The Queen’s Closet Opened* (London: 1655) and Elizabeth Cromwell, *The Court and Kitchen of Elizabeth, Commonly called Joan Cromwel* (London: Thomas Milbourne, 1664).

perversed queen responsible for turning her house, as well as the government and country, into an upside-down dystopia.

Utopias were often “predicated on national devastation,” as Boesky argues.²² In Elizabeth Cromwell’s and Henrietta Maria’s cookbooks, the nation has been devastated by the Protectorate, and the editors of both books imagine an alternate world, a royalist one that is more decorous, expensive, and exotic than a world governed by puritan politics and bad cooking.

III. The Housewife as “Joan”: Dystopia in Elizabeth Cromwell’s Kitchen

After the Restoration, royalist writers lambasted the former Protector, Oliver, and his wife Elizabeth over their mis-governing of England during the Interregnum. In 1664, Thomas Milbourne published, *The Court and Kitchin of Elizabeth, Commonly called Joan Cromwel*, a satire of the Cromwells along with a volume of recipes attributed to Elizabeth. The anonymous author of the satire (most likely, Milbourne himself) places Elizabeth’s bad housewifery at the center of his critique of Oliver’s repressive policies during Protectorate rule. Milbourne includes a caricature of Elizabeth as a frontispiece. She is dressed in a plain black dress with a white shawl draped over her shoulders. Her hair is covered with a hood, and she has a monkey hovering above her right shoulder. The figure of the monkey may refer to an old English proverb which jokes that a monkey can pass for a human being when it is near the ground, but the higher it climbs, the more obvious it becomes that it is only a

²² Boesky, *Founding Fictions*, 20.

monkey masquerading as a human.²³ The caricature likely refers to Elizabeth's staggering rise to power from her middle-class roots.

The text's rhetorical purpose is two-fold: one is to persuade the reader of Oliver's and Elizabeth's mis-management of household affairs as well as their mis-management of the country during the Interregnum, and the second is to persuade the reader to read and test Elizabeth's recipes. Milbourne is probably capitalizing off the success of other cookbooks by women, which were taking off as a genre at the time since as we've seen, Post-Restoration writers, like Hannah Woolley, were publishing cookbooks and household guides that were cheap and popular with the public.²⁴

What we can't know is *why* Milbourne published the satire with a volume of recipes. Did he just happen to have an extra recipe book lying around the print shop? Did he then decide it would make the satire of Elizabeth's "court and kitchen" more appealing to the public if he included recipes attributed to her? This is an important question, and one which—without an original manuscript of the recipes—we cannot hope to answer. Yet the fact that Milbourne *did* publish *The Court and Kitchen of Elizabeth* with a collection of culinary recipes shows how connected women's kitchens and men's politics were in the national imagination. Writing for the *Oxford Dictionary of National Biography*, Peter Gaunt points out that *The Court and Kitchen of Elizabeth* text is "hopelessly biased" and does not allow us a "real" glimpse into Elizabeth's actual activities in the home or in Oliver's court. Milbourne's satire obscures Elizabeth, to be sure; nevertheless, it allows us a partial glimpse of the very

²³ Robert Chambers, *Book of Days*, 1869, on-line edition: <www.bookofdaydays.com>.
²⁴ See Hobby, *Virtue of Necessity*, 165-189.

real anxiety attendant on the figure of the housewife and her role in achieving or disrupting British utopia.²⁵

Criticism of Elizabeth's cooking—like royalist praise of Henrietta Maria's recipes in *The Queen's Closet*, which will be discussed below—shows how the discourses of cooking, politics, and gender were entwined in the national lexicon. Even the title of the satire, *The Court and Kitchen of Elizabeth*, calls attention to the mixing of politics and cooking, and Milbourne's "text posits Elizabeth as the nutritional source of the Protectorate's demise" as Gillespie argues.²⁶ Elizabeth's bad cooking is held responsible for the political transgressions of her husband.²⁷ Milbourne satirizes the role of the mock housewife in influencing her husband and his repressive policies (both at home and abroad). He argues that Elizabeth's inferior cooking—whether making a private meal for Oliver or whether organizing a public feast for the Dutch embassy—reflected corruption within both the home and the state. For Milbourne, writing about Elizabeth's cooking is an appropriate and just way to criticize her husband's tyrannical policies:

It is well for her [Elizabeth] if his [Oliver's] Butchery (then, which the

²⁵ Peter Gaunt, "Elizabeth Cromwell," in *Oxford Dictionary of National Biography*, eds. H.C.G. Matthew and Brian Harrison, vol. 14 (Oxford: Oxford University Press, 2004), 313. Gaunt claims that "the accusations of corruption and influence in *The Court and Kitchen of Elizabeth* stand out because they were exceptional." He continues, "Most contemporary commentators said remarkably little about Elizabeth Cromwell and did not claim that she played a significant role in the protectoral regime or in shaping Cromwell's military and political career" (312).

²⁶ Gillespie, "Elizabeth Cromwell's Kitchen," 13.

²⁷ It was a standard political technique to weaken an opponent by attacking his wife, and thus, imply that by association the ruler is unfit to govern. Jane Donawerth observes that this technique goes back at least as far as Pericles (whose partner, Aspasia, was criticized for not being properly respectful towards the gods), "Aspasia" in *Rhetorical Theory by Women Before 1900* (Lanham: Rowman and Littlefield, 2002), 1-2.

Sun never saw a more slagitious execrable fact, and so comprehensive, that it reached Caligulas with) can be slighted into her Cookery; and that there were no other Monument of it then in Paste . . . That the records of his Crimes were only damn'd to an Oven.²⁸

Drawing on the image of the notorious, greedy Roman emperor, Caligula, Milbourne invokes England's past as dystopia—its people and its king wrongly butchered by Oliver and his wife. He bitterly remarks that it would have been better for the country if Oliver had confined his crimes to his wife's kitchen. Both edible pasties (meat wrapped in dough) and inedible parliamentary politics should have been cooked to a cinder in the royalist oven.

Milbourne elaborates on how the representation of public figures often depended on their private—and by private, I mean, in particular, their domestic—actions. He compares Elizabeth to another political upstart in England's past:

Lambert Simnel very contentedly turned a broach in the Kings Kitchin after Gaudies of his Kingly Imposture, in the beginning of the Reign of HenryVII. [A]nd therefore for variety sake let this once mighty Lady, do Drudgery to the Publique.²⁹

Lambert Simnel (c.1475-1525) was a boy who was persuaded by revolutionaries to pretend to be Edward, Earl of Warwick in an attempt to overthrow King HenryVII.³⁰ The overthrow failed, and afterward, in an act of benevolence, the king pardoned Simnel, who was then put to work in the royal kitchen turning a meat spit. Milbourne compares Simnel's penance in the royal kitchen to Elizabeth Cromwell's atonement

²⁸ *The Court and Kitchin*, A7r-v.

²⁹ *The Court and Kitchin*, A8.

³⁰ *The Court and Kitchen of Elizabeth, Commonly Called Joan Cromwell*, ed., Mary Liquorice (Peterborough: Cambridgeshire Libraries Publications Committee, 1983), n.7, p. 91.

in his own fictional kitchen. Milbourne is again forging a link between the governing of the nation with the work in the kitchen and suggesting that the private actions of the housewife contribute to utopia, or in the case of Elizabeth, dystopia in the house and in the state.

Gillespie argues that the debate about Elizabeth's role as housewife-queen in the fashioning of Protectorate politics reflected an on-going debate about the proper role of women within politics. The English—whether royalist or parliamentarian—were increasingly worried about the influence of women upon the politics of public male figures:

The criticisms of Elizabeth that emerge from both the “left”—the republican critiques of the post-regicidal grandees and their wives—as well as the “right”—the popular royalist critiques of the republic—reveal the degree to which debates over the scope and function of private and public spheres within particular political orders are often waged through the cultural politics of gender³¹

The anxiety about Elizabeth's role in the Protectorate was reflective of a larger national unease with women's increasingly power in the public sphere. *The Court and Kitchen of Elizabeth* grapples with the former visibility of the Lady Protectoress, and Milbourne thus frames his satire in sexually charged terms of cooking and domesticity, as if to further heighten her transgression from the private space of the home.

As Gillespie points out, royalists saw the revolution as a “reversal” of the proper “gender roles” laid out by writers (such as Whatley mentioned above) earlier in the century.³² For them, Elizabeth was a profoundly disturbing figure. She was an

³¹ Gillespie, “Elizabeth Cromwell's Kitchen,” 2.
³² Gillespie, “Elizabeth Cromwell's Kitchen,” 9.

upstart housewife-queen, and she was troubling--not so much for her uncanny abilities to heal or harm the body as a reading of Wall might suggest--but rather for her monstrous inversion of the proper hierarchy between a king and his country and, by extension, between a husband and his wife. Similarly, the Protector Oliver Cromwell was an inappropriate stand-in for the rightful king (whom Cromwell had helped execute in 1649). As Cromwell's power increased during the 1650s, even his republican supporters became dismayed at what they saw as Cromwell's king-like aspirations for power and conspicuous display (which were occasionally reminiscent of Charles Stuart's domestic displays, as Knoppers has shown).³³

Both republicans and royalists alike found Elizabeth Cromwell's position as Lady Protectoress unsettling. Gillespie summarizes:

Either [Elizabeth] overfed a commonwealth meant to be slimly republican, or she starved what was supposed to have been a jolly fat monarchy fit for a king. In both cases, she was a rotten cook whose unappetizing fare was said to have sickened the body politic.³⁴

To many Republicans, the Cromwells were increasingly excessive in their appetites for food and for power, and Royalists tended to believe that the Cromwells were too Puritan and too extreme in their religious temperance. *The Court and Kitchen of Elizabeth* criticizes the Cromwells for being both too severe and too extravagant at the same time.³⁵

³³ For example, Robert Walker, who painted Cromwell's portrait in 1649, claimed that he deliberately followed the style of Van Dyck, who had done many portraits of Charles I and his family. Walker said that if he could do "better" than Van Dyck, he "would not do Vandikes" (qtd. in Knoppers, *Constructing Cromwell*, 34).

³⁴ Gillespie, "Elizabeth Cromwell's Kitchen," 3.

³⁵ Knoppers observes that "Cromwell first became a public figure not in parliamentary texts, but in royalist satires that created the very populist figure they

The satire critiques Elizabeth's inappropriate political aspirations in terms of class, economy, and money. Elizabeth Bouchier was the daughter of a wealthy fur trader from Essex, Sir James Bouchier (c.1574-1635) and Frances Crane of Newton Tony, Wiltshire.³⁶ To her royalist critics, Elizabeth's origins were distastefully middle-class, as were the origins of her husband. Oliver Cromwell was routinely ridiculed for having been a beer brewer before rising to fame and power in the New Model Army and later becoming Lord Protector of England, Scotland, and Ireland during the Interregnum. Mocking Elizabeth's pretensions to greatness, Milbourne associates her with the lower-class figure of the servant by adopting a pejorative nickname for her, Joan:

Elizabeth Bowcher, the daughter of Sir James Bowcher, commonly called Protectresse Joan and vulgarly known of later years by no other Christian name, even in the greatest Heighth of her Husband's power, and that chiefly out of Derision and contemptuous indignation, that such a person durst presume to take upon her self such a Sovereign Estate, when she was an hundred times fitter for a Barn then a Palace .
...³⁷

Milbourne satirizes Elizabeth's middle class origins by invoking the much lower class work of a servant, who is more "fit" for a barn than to manage Whitehall Palace, defining her role as a perversion of the queen's. As Gillespie observes, "... popular royalist attacks upon 'Protectorate Joan' were consistently infused with a class critique ... of the Cromwells" ³⁸ The republicans' leveling of hierarchy was

feared" (194). Satires—like Milbourne's—were responsible for reifying Cromwell's central role in the revolution, even as they tried to belittle him in print.

³⁶ Gaunt, "Elizabeth Cromwell," 310.

³⁷ *The Court and Kitchen*, 3.

³⁸ Gillespie, "Elizabeth Cromwell's Kitchen," 13.

profoundly disturbing to royalists, and Milbourne's tract betrays anxiety about the chaotic effects of democratic reform.

About Elizabeth's ill management of the kitchen and weak efforts at housekeeping, Milbourne writes:

And for the Kitchin and Pantry, a great Reformation was intended, but the multitude of Comers and Goers upon her first settling there, and number of Mouths which came gaping for preferment, being to be stopt with Victuals, put her besides her proposed regulation, yet was there not a joynt of Meat for which the Cook was not to give an account . . . so severe and strict she was in this thrifty way of House keeping . . .³⁹

Protectorate England is a topsy-turvy world where a miserly female servant has been put in charge of the royal household. Milbourne further claims that Elizabeth's main housewifely activity was that of a milkmaid, spending her time churning butter and keeping cows in St. James's park.

Elizabeth also supposedly accepted bribes, which were "more welcome by far than those Saintlike benevolences and civil Offices of Love," which she was, in Milbourne's view, obligated to encourage as a devout Puritan.⁴⁰ Milbourne compares her house to a kind of stock market where political power was blatantly for sale:

And indeed her House was in this respect a political or State Exchange by which the Affairs of the Kingdom were governed, and the prizes of all things set, whether Offices, preferments, Indempnity; as all other manner of Collusion and Decepts were practiced, and money stirring no where else . . .⁴¹

In Elizabeth's house, not only household goods, but also political positions are for sale. There is no "decorum" or "order" in the Cromwell home, only disorder and

³⁹ *The Court and Kitchin*, 35.

⁴⁰ *The Court and Kitchin*, 6.

⁴¹ *The Court and Kitchin*, 7.

“masterless money,” as the rest of the country suffers from an economic depression. Even meal times are reversed—the constant, religious fasting is read as “upstart piety” and lunch, instead of being eaten in the middle of the day, is “inverted . . . to night.”⁴²

In addition to constructing Elizabeth as an inept housekeeper and a bad cook, Milbourne represents her as an awkward shopper and consumer; she does not spend money or value household goods like a true aristocrat. Instead, she is either too miserly or too extravagant, contributing to a further corruption of royalist rule. For example, when Elizabeth comes to London (after her husband’s success in the wars), the town leaders bring Elizabeth gifts of “Silver Implements for her accommodation of household stuff” along with gifts of food—“Westphalia Hams, Neats Tongues, Puncheons, and Tierces of Frenche Wine, Runlets and Bottles of Sack; all manner of Preserves and Comfits.” Yet instead of properly using the gifts or gifting them to others in her circle, Elizabeth “retailed by private hands,” all the household objects “at as a good a rate as the Market would afford.”⁴³ She thus fails to engage with aristocratic norms of gifting and displaying wealth.⁴⁴ Royalists critics of Protectorate rule repeatedly criticized the democratic (and often seemingly lackadaisical) way the government spent and used money to gain power, and Milbourne’s text signals a

⁴² *The Court and Kitchen*, 8, 10.

⁴³ *The Court and Kitchen*, 7.

⁴⁴ Gillespie, 14. On gift exchange, see Jane Donawerth, “Women’s Poetry and the Tudor-Stuart System of Gift Exchange,” in *Women, Writing, and the Reproduction of Culture in Tudor and Stuart Britain*, eds. Mary E. Burke, Jane Donawerth, Linda L. Dove, and Karen Nelson (Syracuse: Syracuse University Press, 2000), 3-18.

fundamental unease that, as Gillespie points out, the “throne” had suddenly become “for sale.”⁴⁵

As Gillespie further notes, *The Court and Kitchen of Elizabeth* “satirizes the Protectorate for the paradoxical sort of ‘beggarly court’ kept by its ‘rustical lady.’”⁴⁶ Milbourne represents her not only as a bad shopper and an inept cook but also as an agoraphobic resident within the spacious lodgings of the palace. He writes that she put up “many small partitions up and down” since she was not “yet accustomed to that roomy and August Dwelling, and perhaps afraid of the vastnesse and silentnesse therof, which presented to her thoughts the Desolation her Husband had caused. . . .”⁴⁷

The recipes that follow Milbourne’s scathing appraisal of Elizabeth reinforce his critique of her as an inappropriate housewife for the British nation. The recipes in *The Court and Kitchen* are doing several kinds of cultural work. First, they are catering to a public hungry for printed recipe books and so, in this sense, the recipes are “legitimate” texts intended to instruct the reader on the proper ways to prepare various dishes. Second, the recipes can be interpreted as revealing the too ordinary tastes and desires of the usurping, middle-class Cromwells pretending to be king and queen of England. Third, the inclusion of recipes requiring exotic and luxurious items represent Elizabeth and Oliver as absurdly hypocritical in their extravagant tastes and conspicuous consumption, since instead of consuming mild foods in

⁴⁵ Gillespie, 12. The anonymous playlet *New-Market Fayre* (London: 1649) also registers anxiety about the Cromwells and money. It includes a scene with Elizabeth Cromwell and Lady Fairfax bickering over the royal queen’s “vestments” (6).

⁴⁶ Gillespie, 13.

⁴⁷ *The Court and Kitchen*, 26.

moderation like good Puritans, they were greedy and excessive in their tastes. The Cromwells then represent dystopic figures, disrupting the natural, temperate order of things in England.

Milbourne introduces the recipe section by claiming that the dishes are representative of Elizabeth's "usual" or regular diet, thus pointing to her commonplace tastes:

Here follows the most usual meat and diet observed at her table, most of them ordinary and vulgar, except some few rarities, but such as arrided her Palate and Expence, of which it will be no unpleasing Labour to the Reader, to peruse the Cookery, and manner of Dressing, as also her Preserves, & c.⁴⁸

The recipes that follow seem ordinary; the collection includes directions for meat dishes and animal body parts, mutton, pig, "lamb stones" (or kidneys), sausages, udders, and tongue. Milbourne includes a note that Elizabeth's favorite dish was "scotch collops," thinly sliced pieces of veal mixed with eggs, sausages, spices, and oysters, which were cheap and easily available at the time.⁴⁹ It was a popular dish (recipes for it appear in a number of manuscript receipt books), and the annotation, "this was almost her constant dish," signals Elizabeth's middle-class taste for regular fare.

Yet ordinary foods are not benign in their simplicity. In his satire of the Cromwells, Milbourne argues that seemingly simple foods can drive people to commit egregious acts against the state, and he observes how Elizabeth served simple foods to Oliver's cohorts, while noting that she was not discriminating about her

⁴⁸ *The Court and Kitchen*, 46.

⁴⁹ *The Court and Kitchen*, 49.

husbands' guests. She kept her house too open—allowing in people of malign influence and power:

... an[d] having taken a House neer Charing-Crosse, kept it in a manner open for all Comers, which were none but the Sectary party and the Officers, who resorted thither as to their head-quarters, with all their wild projections, and were entertained with Small Beer and Bread and Butter, which to the animation of approaching villany, was as bad as Aqua Fortis and Horse flesh⁵⁰

The Cromwell's house was distressingly (and democratically) open to people of any rank and, consequently, susceptible to malign influences.⁵¹ Also, the Puritans' simple fare nourished an unhealthy, upside-down government rule. Milbourne compares the Cromwells' small beer (a weak alcoholic drink made with leftover hops) to aqua fortis, which was a corrosive acid, and their bread he compares to repulsive horseflesh. Milbourne considers the Cromwell's plain eating suspect—too simple to be physically wholesome. Instead, plain food and drink in the mouths of Puritans was clearly damaging to their bodies and to their country. On a related note, Milbourne later comments on the irony of Cromwell's religious abstinence from liquor. The virtue of sobriety becomes a vice: Cromwell and his men may have abstained from strong drink, but they did not abstain from seizing power from the

⁵⁰ *The Court and Kitchen*, 21-2.

⁵¹ Milbourne's criticism echoes a charge made against the Earl of Essex in 1599: "The Earl of Essex is now returned to London, and it is much noted how his doors are set open to all comers" in G. B. Harrison, *A Last Elizabethan Journal, Being a Record of those Things Most Talked of During the Years, 1599-1603* (London: Constable, 1933), 56-57, qtd in Lena Cowen Orlin, *Private Matters and Public Culture in Post-Reformation England* (Ithaca: Cornell University Press, 1994), 7. Orlin argues that the charge against Essex shows how in Elizabethan England, there was a "fear of a house that [wa]s too open, penetrable by and hospitable to any number of disorderly and masterless men, analogized implicitly with the female body in its stubborn resistance of male control" (8). I would add that same anxiety about the house being too open (and the house's association with the uncontrollable female body) informs Milbourne's satire about Elizabeth Cromwell half a century later.

king and parliament. Milbourne writes, "That no men of more abstemiousness ever effected so vile and slagitious an enterprise upon so just a Government."⁵²

The satirist, though, does not limit himself to a critique of Elizabeth as too ordinary and middle-class to be running Oliver's household and, by extension, running the country. He also criticizes her and her husband for being ridiculously extravagant and even hypocritical in their excessive desires and exotic tastes. Elizabeth is a "habitual customary Hypocrite." For example, when the Dutch embassy comes to town, they are entertained with a simple meal and a psalm, but when the Cromwell's favorite daughter gets married, they throw an elaborate feast.⁵³

A few recipes, in particular, seem to reinforce Milbourne's claim about Elizabeth's hypocritical extravagance. A recipe for a pudding titled, "A Rare White Pot," requires expensive spices and ingredients: cinnamon, nutmeg, sugar, bone marrow, and cream.⁵⁴ Under a recipe for "marrow puddings," Milbourne adds that the puddings were what Elizabeth "usually had to her breakfast." The recipe requires a pound of "jordan almonds," blanched and mixed with rosewater, sugar, nutmeg, cream, and the addition of the "marrow of two Marrow-bones" and two grains of ambergris.⁵⁵ In the mid-seventeenth century, marrow was, according to the *Oxford Companion to Food*, a "prized delicacy." It was "cooked and served in its bone from which it would be removed by a special silver scoop."⁵⁶ Another recipe that further

⁵² *The Court and Kitchen*, 21-2.

⁵³ Douglas Clinton, "Preface," to *The Court and Kitchen of Elizabeth Commonly Called Joan Cromwell*, ed. Liquorice, 7.

⁵⁴ *The Court and Kitchen* (1666), 53.

⁵⁵ *The Court and Kitchen* (1666), 46.

⁵⁶ "Bone Marrow," in *The Oxford Companion to Food*, ed. Alan Davidson (Oxford: Oxford University Press, 1999), 88.

outlines Elizabeth's hypocritical extravagance is "How to make a rare Dutch Pudding," which requires sage, sugar, nutmegs, mace, cloves, and pepper. The inclusion of "rare" and expensive ingredients reinforces Milbourne's earlier criticism that Elizabeth had excessive tastes at odds with her supposed religious virtue and housewifely duties to her husband and the state. The Cromwells did not just exist on plain bread and small beer; instead, they were sometimes extraordinarily lavish in their eating habits.

Milbourne wants to have it both ways in his critique: on the one hand, the Cromwells are too frugal, or on the other, they are too extravagant--nothing in between. They use "scriptural dehortations" to justify both "gluttony" and "luxurious intemperance," along with "other zealous Sentences of Moderation in Diet."⁵⁷ The Cromwells do not know the middle path of moderation and temperance. Instead, they are too extreme—either stoic Puritans or greedy, insatiable hypocrites. In either case, they are the ultimate mis-rulers of the country. Thus, Protectorate England is established as a dystopic land, where the contradictory and chaotic desires of the perverted housewife have disrupted an idyllic royalist nation.

In contrast, Milbourne invokes an alternate ideal place to counter the Cromwells' dystopia. Drawing on Plato and the stoic, Epictetus, he writes:

. . . in Feasting and banquetting we must [accept] two Guests the body and the mind, because that which is bestowed on the body will suddenly passe away, and that which comes into the mind will be there laid up for ever . . . there is no such lasting pleasure as in a sober diet, which, when Excesses bring Surfeits, renews the Feast the next day, and gives a continual relish to the appetite."⁵⁸

⁵⁷ *The Court and Kitchen*, 10.

⁵⁸ *The Court and Kitchen*, 12-13.

Eating temperately will keep the body from suffering from surfeits (or indigestion) caused by excessive consumption of food and wine. Milbourne imagines the ideal ruler and person as moderate in appetite, with the body poised somewhere between consumption, pleasure, and desire for more. Milbourne's text locates utopia in the spaces of the temperate body and royalist household (both ideals that he depicts as lost during the gross excesses of the Protectorate.)

Milbourne invokes utopia in another important way in *The Court and Kitchen of Elizabeth*, when he imagines a mythical place where the people take revenge against the Cromwells, and, in particular, against Elizabeth. When his treatise was published in 1664, Elizabeth had successfully petitioned the king (whose father, Charles I, had been beheaded at the hands of Elizabeth's husband, Oliver) to let her live in retirement in the country.⁵⁹ In spite of her husband's crimes against the state, Elizabeth spent the last of her life in peace and quiet with her son-in-law, John Claypole, at Northborough in Northamptonshire. Gleeefully imagining Elizabeth's response to his text, Milbourne delights in labeling her unreasonable and in calling attention to her comfortable living situation:

if she thinks she comes not very well off so, she is as unreasonable in her reduction and allowed Recess (to be envied for its plenty and amplitude, far exceeding her former privacy, so that she is even yet a Darling of Fortune) as in her usurped Estate and Greatness⁶⁰

⁵⁹ Gaunt, "Elizabeth Cromwell," 313. When Elizabeth petitioned Charles II to let her live quietly in the country (instead of trying her for treason), she stated that she had "never intermeddled in any of those public transactions which have been prejudicial to your Majesty's royal father or yourself" (313). This was a remarkable petition, considering that her husband had been responsible for executing his father, Charles I, but it was totally in keeping with English common law, which punished the husband for a wife's transgressions.

⁶⁰ *The Court and Kitchen* (1666), A7.

Milbourne proclaims that Elizabeth robbed the English people of their liberty and their economic resources; there were even unsubstantiated rumors that she had sold the royal jewels.⁶¹ He mockingly refers to her imagined displeasure on reading his critique of her bad housewifery:

Little satisfaction serves the English Nation . . . and She ought therefore to be highly thankful, that the Scene of his Tyranny was laid here, for had it lit upon the southern parts of the World, their nimble and vindictive rage, upon the Turn, would have limb'd and minced her family to Atomes, and have been their own Cooks and Carvers.⁶²

The lands in the Southern hemisphere were often pictured or imagined as utopic places—where strange humans (including cannibals and hermaphrodites) lived, as in Gabriel de Foigny's, *The Great Southern Land Known*.⁶³ Milbourne speculates what would have happened to the Cromwells had their transgressions against the state been committed there. In a Southern utopian clime, after the Cromwell's fall or "turn" from power, the eaters up of the English kingdom would have been eaten by the natives--the cooks would have become the cooked. Under the Cromwells, England became dystopia, a bad place where the usual order of things was disrupted, and a former brewer wore the crown of the beheaded king. Milbourne delights in the Cromwells and the country's reversal of fortune, and (anticipating Jonathan Swift's *A Modest Proposal*, which mockingly proposes that the English eat the Irish) he

⁶¹ Gaunt, "Elizabeth Cromwell," 313.

⁶² *The Court and Kitchin*, A8.

⁶³ Gabriel de Foigny, *The Southern Land Found (La Terre Australe Connue*, 1676), trans. and ed. David Fausett (Syracuse, NY: Syracuse University Press, 1993). Even though de Foigny's text is later than Milbourne's, there was a tradition of locating utopia in the southern part of the world well before this.

imagines an alternative utopic state that wrecks its revenge in terms of cooking and cannibalism.⁶⁴

IV. Housewife as Queen: Henrietta Maria and Royalist Cooking in Utopia

In 1655, nine years before *The Court and Kitchen of Elizabeth Commonly Called Joan Cromwel* was published, an anonymous printer put out a book of medicinal, culinary, and confectionary recipes attributed to Queen Henrietta Maria. It was the middle of the Interregnum and Cromwellian rule. Charles I had been beheaded in front of the Whitehall Banqueting House a few years earlier in 1649; the royal family was in exile, with Charles's wife, Henrietta Maria, living in France. Printing a book with blatantly royalist leanings could have landed the printers in a considerable amount of trouble with Parliament. Nevertheless, their risk paid off; *The Queen's Closet Opened: Incomparable Secrets in Physic, Churgery, Preserving, Candyng, and Cookery* became one of the most popular cookbooks of its time, going into nine printed editions by the 1680s and being reprinted until 1713.⁶⁵ Post-Restoration editions were printed by Evan Tyler and Richard Holt, and Tyler was

⁶⁴ Jonathan Swift, "A Modest Proposal" (1729) in *Eighteenth-Century English Literature*, eds. Geoffrey Tillotson, Paul Fussell, Marshall Waingrow (Fort Worth: Harcourt, 1969), 447-450. Swift—like Milbourne—uses images of cooking and cannibalism in his satire of government: "I have been assured by a very knowing American of my acquaintance in London, that a young healthy Child well Nursed is at a year Old a most delicious, nourishing, and wholesome Food; whether Stewed, Roasted, Baked, or Boyled, and I made no doubt that it will equally serve in a Fricasie, or Ragout" (448).

⁶⁵ This statistic is taken from an anonymous introduction to a modern edition of two volumes (those dedicated to cooking and confectionary) of the *The Queen's Closet Opened*, published as, *The Compleat Cook and A Queen's Delight* (London: Prospect Books, 1984).

appointed Royal Printer in Edinburgh from 1660-1672.⁶⁶ Given their royalist ties and their presence in London in the 1650s, it is possible that Tyler and Holt were the original printers of the volume.

The Queen's Closet Opened was one of the first printed recipe collection attributed to a woman (along with recipe collections attributed to the Countess of Kent and Althea Talbot).⁶⁷ The anonymous printer of *The Queen's Closet Opened* could be said to have helped started the trend in publishing women's cookbooks, a trend which takes off a few years later after the Restoration of King Charles II and sets the stage for Milbourne's satire, as we have already seen.

The anonymous editor of *The Queen's Closet*, who signs his name with the initials W.M., identifies himself as a former secretary to the Queen, who was in charge of "transcrib[ing]" the recipes "into her book" by himself.⁶⁸ He claims that he valued the private nature of the "Original papers being most of them preserved in my own hands, which I kept as so many Reliques, and should have parted with my dearest blood, then to have suffered them to be publick."⁶⁹ He constructs the Queen's papers as private and intimate, and he acknowledges the transgression inherent in publishing them and making them accessible to the public. He frames the queen's receipt book as a sacred space, one made perhaps more so by the association of Henrietta Maria (who was Catholic) with the Virgin Mary. In the 1630s, she built

⁶⁶ See entries for "Evan Tyler" and "Richard Holt" in Henry Palmer, ed., *Dictionary of Booksellers and Printers 1668-1725* (Oxford: Oxford University Press, 1922), 295 and 160.

⁶⁷ See Lynette Hunter, "Women and Domestic Medicine," in *Women, Science, and Medicine 1500-1700*, 89-107.

⁶⁸ In his dedication, W.M. refers to his role as "publisher" of the papers (A3).

⁶⁹ *The Queen's Closet Opened* (1655), A3v.

and dedicated a chapel to the Virgin Mary, and she was often explicitly associated with Mary by her Catholic supporters.⁷⁰

W.M. explains his printing of the queen's papers by stating that he loaned a transcript of her receipt book to a friend, who by "ill fortune either lent or lost it," and now, a contraband copy of the receipt book had been printed and was "abroad."⁷¹ Consequently, in an effort to preserve the integrity of her private papers, he felt compelled to "dispatch [his] original copy to the Press to prevent those false ones" from gaining any authority.⁷² He writes:

for otherwise I should not have thought it lesse then Sacriledge, had not the lock been first pickt, to have opened the Closet of my distressed Sovereigne without her Royall assent; but since that unfortunate miscarriage, I thought this publication to stand upon no ordinary tearms of honour, as it might continue my Sovereign Ladies remembrance in the brests and loves of those persons of honour and quality, that presented most of these rare receipts to her.⁷³

Here W.M. is offering an apologia (perhaps an empty one) for putting the Queen's private papers into print. It is also a shrewd rhetorical move, one that heightens the audience's sense of having intimate access to the deposed Queen and the space of her writing closet.

⁷⁰ Frances E. Dolan, *Whores of Babylon: Catholicism, Gender, and Seventeenth-Century Print Culture* (Ithaca and London: Cornell University Press, 1999), especially, "The Command of Mary: Marian Devotion, Henrietta Maria's Intercessions, and Catholic Motherhood," 95-156.

⁷¹ *The Queen's Closet Opened* (1655), A4.

⁷² *The Queen's Closet* (1655), A4. This was a common claim to justify putting private, coterie writings (like poems, letters, and recipes) into print, which, in the middle of the seventeenth-century still retained a sense of social taboo that it had earlier in the period; many aristocrats still considered going into print vulgar and common. See Arthur F. Marotti, "The Social Contexts of Manuscript Compilation" in *Manuscript, Print, and the English Renaissance Lyric* (Ithaca: Cornell University Press, 1995), 30-47.

⁷³ *The Queen's Closet Opened* (1655), A4r-v.

Incidentally, this was not the first time a publisher had used the private papers of the Queen to make a profit. In 1645, Henrietta and Charles's letters fell into the hands of parliamentary rebels who then published them—hoping to discredit the King and Queen by showing their maneuverings against Parliament and (by extension) the country. The publication of the letters and “the violation” of the King and Queen's wish to keep them private paradoxically became “the means by which the private comes to have value” in seventeenth-century England, as Cecile Jagodzinski persuasively argues.⁷⁴ With the printing of personal papers (as well as with the advent of silent reading), privacy was gradually becoming associated with intimate activity (such as letter and recipe writing and reading) *and* also with the individual's interior self.

The editor of *The Queen's Closet Opened*, W.M., capitalizes on this newly emerging sense of privacy to sell the Queen's recipes to an eager reading public. In the process, he constructs the queen as an ideal housewife and the space of the royal household as utopic. He calls attention to the intimate nature of the recipes with his use of the metaphor of picking the “lock” to the queen's “closet,” a domestic space, as we've seen, especially aligned with private activity—in particular, writing, reading, and prayer. Invoking the space of the closet, where Henrietta Maria would have done her recipe writing, further heightens the reader's sense of access to intimate space (and perhaps, even the intimate self) of the Queen.⁷⁵ W.M. situates

⁷⁴ Cecile M. Jagodzinski, *Privacy and Print: Reading and Writing in Seventeenth-Century England* (Charlottesville and London: University Press of Virginia, 1999), 76.

⁷⁵ On the space of the closet, see Alan Stewart, “The Early Modern Closet Discovered,” *Representations* 50 (Spring 1995): 76-100. Stewart notes that a

Henrietta Maria's recipes within the private, domestic, and feminine realm of the household—even as he reveals them to the public.⁷⁶

W.M. continues his defense of publication by hinting at his age and his own reduced circumstances, stating that he wants to “prevent all disservices that might be done” to the Queen by pirated publication of her recipes. He imagines that some royalist supporters (particularly those with their names “affixed” to the recipes in the volume) might be angry with him for making “these copies public.”⁷⁷ Thus he calls attention to the private nature of the papers, while at the same time actively bringing them into the public sphere. W.M.'s apologia drops out of subsequent editions, suggesting that he is less concerned with offending the Queen and her subjects (as readers of the receipt book) than with making a profit off her private papers.

W.M. concludes his introduction to the queen's recipes by indirectly addressing Henrietta Maria:

husband and wife might each have had a separate closet and that the closet probably was attached to their bedrooms. He cites the example of Sir William More and his wife. She goes to her closet “to be read to” by another person, and More goes to his closet to read silently to himself, but both husband and wife use the closet for private reading and writing. Stewart gives the household inventory of More's wife's closet, which contained the following: “a table, a cupboard, several chests, caskets, hampers, a desk, working baskets, boxes, glasses, pots, bottles, jugs, conserve jars, sweetmeat barrels, an hourglass, a grater, knives, pastry-moulds, . . .” and prayer books (82). What is especially interesting about this inventory is that More's wife's closet contains pots, sweetmeat barrels, and pastry-moulds, implying that she likely used her closet for distilling and confectionary. Thus, W.M. may be invoking these culinary activities when he uses the metaphor of the “closet” in his title and in his introduction to *The Queen's Closet Opened*.

⁷⁶ Given the way the space of the closet is suggestively linked to the person of the queen, W.M. is also capitalizing on her femininity to make a profit. Diana Purkiss remarks that occasionally early modern printers used the “production of femininity as a saleable commodity in the literary market” (in “Material Girls: The Seventeenth-Century Woman Debate” in *Women, Texts, Histories*, eds. Clare Brant and Diana Purkiss [London and New York: Routledge, 1992], 69).

⁷⁷ *The Queen's Closet Opened* (1655), A4v-A5.

. . . [S]hould my Royal Mistresse be displeased . . . from the Bar of whose resentments I can make no appeal, but as I hope she may smile at the happy recovery of those papers, which perhaps these troubles and her travels might utterly have deprived of, had not my diligent care preserved them for her Majesties review, as also for a more general good.⁷⁸

Publication is now preservation (“happy recovery”), and the queen’s recipes can counter the ill effects or the “troubles” of the Civil War and her subsequent “travels” or exile. Incidentally, the word “travels” is also probably a pun on the word “travails” here as well—alluding to the queen’s many hardships during and after the Civil War. In *The Queen’s Closet Opened*, utopia is established as a longing for lost royalist rule, which can be accessed for the “general good” through the Queen’s household recipes.

W.M. then tells the reader to “thank the times not mee, for otherwise these pretious leaves had never been in common.”⁷⁹ Ironically, he winds up being grateful to the “times” of Civil War and Interregnum, which have brought about both the exile of the Queen and the publishing of her private papers. Like the end of the note to the reader in Elizabeth Cromwell’s cookbook nine years later, the end of W.M.’s preface comments on the importance of making private papers public, suggesting that the discourses of privacy, publication, and domestic utopia are indeed linked in the national imagination.

W.M. frames the queen as an ideal housewife in her private practice and use of recipes. He also references the queen’s coterie of practitioners with whom she

⁷⁸ *The Queen’s Closet Opened* (1655), A6.

⁷⁹ *The Queen’s Closet Opened* (1655), A6r-v.

would have been testing and exchanging recipes. On the title page, he describes her recipes in the following terms:

As they were presented unto the Queen, By the Most Experienced
Persons of our times, many whereof were honoured with her own
Practise, when she pleased to descend to these more private
Recreations.

Such language renders the queen as a proper housewife actively engaged in the domestic activities of cooking, medicine, and confectionary. W.M. includes a separate titled section dedicated to all three activities. *The Pearl of Practice* focuses on medicinal recipes. *A Queen's Delight* is dedicated to confections and preserving, and *The Complete Cook* includes culinary recipes. As was discussed in chapter one, such distinctions between cooking and medicine were nascent and not firmly observed for much of the early modern period. The queen is an appropriate and knowledgeable housewife in W.M.'s vision of her recipe book and her practice, which includes scientific, culinary, and household recipes. The domestic space of the household—its kitchen, distilling closet, and bedroom, where receipt practice occurred--becomes a utopic, orderly space where the queen and her "most Experienced" coterie engage in "private Recreations" and experiments.

The Queen's Closet Opened also imagines to an ideal community of practitioners who share and exchange knowledge as a form of cultural capital. What I am interested in focusing on here is the representation of that circle as aristocratic, generous, experienced, and capable. They have "proved" or tested the recipes, and now, W.M. in his publication of them is contributing to the "general good" or public weal. It is a communal utopia—a royalist circle that is later broken by Elizabeth Cromwell and her husband, Oliver, during the Interregnum.

In a later edition of *The Queen's Closet Opened*, W.M. in an unusual move, organizes the table of contents by contributor—to further emphasize the importance of the individuals involved: “The Prescribers and Approvers of most of these rare receipts there following names are in several Pages of this Book inferred and annexed to their own experienced Receipts.”⁸⁰ Henrietta Maria’s collection contains recipes that were contributed by the foremost men and women practitioners of the day including Lady Grace Mildmay, Lady Margaret Hoby, and men like, Theodore Mayherne and Sir Kenelm Digby. Thus, the recipes’ value seems to lie in the elite status of the owners (and, of course, the “celebrity appeal” of the queen herself) and in the important claim that the original owner/author tried the recipe itself before passing it along to the Queen.⁸¹

In the first edition of *The Queen's Closet*, there were many receipts attributed to well-known aristocrats or people associated with the Stuart court, including the Earl of Arundel, Lord Conway, Digby, Lady Gifford, Lady Mallet, and the Countess of Rutland. These attributions add to a sense of the receipt book embodying an ideal community of practitioners, and, in this case, the ideal is defined as royalist (or aristocratic), French, and often Catholic. Many recipes come from the royal family, such as “To Make a Cake the way of the Royal Princess, the Lady Elizabeth, daughter

⁸⁰ *The Queen's Closet Opened* (London: 1658). Such a move was unusual because as discussed earlier in chapter two, tables of contents in printed and manuscript recipe collections tended to be organized alphabetically or by part of the body being healed or by item being made (e.g. pies, possets, preserves).

⁸¹ Knoppers speculates that the concept of “celebrity appeal” helps to explain the overall popularity of *The Queen's Closet Opened*. Personal conversation.

to King Charles the first," which requires flour, rose water, yeast, cream, butter, currants, nutmeg, egg yolks, and a "little salt."⁸²

The recipes look back farther than just the idyllic time of the Stuarts since there are prescriptions for making perfumes attributed--Queen Elizabeth and King Edward VI, and one recipe for "cordial water" attributed to Sir Walter Raleigh.⁸³ There are also many recipes with French and Catholic markers, including, "To boyl Ducks after the French Fashion" and another recipe for "the Jacobins pottage." These would have been pointing to the Queen's French-Catholic origins, and they would have resonated with an audience sympathetic to the Jacobins, a factional Catholic group from Paris. Another recipe that invokes Catholic discourse is "A Carp Pye," which includes an endnote stating, "this is meat for a pope." Most likely, this phrase is punning on the word, "meat," since the word means both apt (as in, the dish is appropriate for the pope), and flesh (the meat of the carp).⁸⁴

Historically, we know that Henrietta Maria practiced and exchanged recipes, and she—along with other aristocratic women—supported men of science, such as Mayherne (who was also the queen's physician), John Evelyn, Robert Boyle, and their experiments—sometimes, even actively participating in the scientific process.⁸⁵

⁸² *The Queen's Closet Opened*, 62.

⁸³ Incidentally, *The Queen's Closet Opened* includes the first printed recipe for a wedding cake in English, "The Countess of Rutland's Receipt for making the rare Banbury Cake, which was so much praised at her Daughter's the Right Honorable Lady Chatworth's Wedding." This is mentioned in Ivan Day, "Bridecup and Cake: The Ceremonial Food and Drink of the Bridal Procession" in *Food and the Rites of Passage*, ed. Laura Mason, Leeds Symposium on Food History, "Food and Society" Series (Totnes: Prospect Books: 2002), 33-61.

⁸⁴ *The Queen's Closet Opened*, 69.

⁸⁵ For more about Henrietta Maria's circle, see Hunter, "Women and Domestic Medicine," 89-107.

Digby was also a known member of Henrietta Maria's circle of early scientists. In addition to conducting experiments, he was one of her most-trusted advisors and the ambassador to the pope. His receipt book was put into print post-humously by his steward and titled, *The Closet of Sir Kenelm Digby Knight Opened*.⁸⁶ Like *The Queen's Closet Opened* it was extremely popular--in part because of Digby's notoriety as a Catholic and advisor to the deposed queen but also because it was widely believed that Digby poisoned his wife, the beautiful courtesan, Venetia Stanley. Digby's book, along with other books of recipes published in the second half of the seventeenth century, illustrates the rich context for Henrietta Maria's and Elizabeth Cromwell's and other public figures' private, household papers. Such a context tells us that the salacious opening of the private cabinet of a public figure was a lucrative business for printers and booksellers in early modern London.

This context is only part of the story, though. The other part is that in her (real and represented) interest in recipes as a type of scientific and domestic practice, Henrietta Maria was not alone in terms of her gender or her elite status. Other exceptional and aristocratic women were also exploring the areas of natural philosophy and actively supporting men who were conducting experiments in kitchens and laboratories.⁸⁷ The study of natural philosophy was particularly attractive to many educated women since they were socially and often quite literally barred from other scholastic disciplines. As Reid Barbour, writing on Lucy Hutchinson's interest in Lucretius's *De Rerum Natura* (a scientific treatise on the

⁸⁶ Kenelm Digby, *The Closet of the Eminently Learned Sir Kenelm Digby Kt. Opened* (London: H.C., 1677).

⁸⁷ Lynette Hunter, "Sisters of the Royal Society: The Circle of Katherine Jones, Lady Ranelagh," in *Women, Science, and Medicine 1500-1700*, 183.

nature of things), astutely notes: "... science was sometimes viewed as an appropriate hobby for women to have ... [p]ut simply, the practice of science could be considered more like kitchen work than the study of Ovid and Horace."⁸⁸

And, of course, the idea of science itself—as a mode of understanding the natural world through observation, experience, and experiment--was just coming into being in the seventeenth century.⁸⁹ The scientific study of the natural world through hands-on experiments, often recorded in *recipes*, contributed to the shaping of what many literary historians and cultural critics recognize as a modern sense of the individual--as an (em)bodied subject possessing an interior "self."⁹⁰ Sawday reminds us that scientific discoveries about the nature of the body and of the world contributed as much to the rise of the modern subject as the forces of the Protestant Reformation, the success of the printing press, and the discovery of the Americas.

Especially during the fraught times of Civil War and Interregnum (when *The Queen's Closet Opened* appeared on the publishing scene), new discoveries in anatomy transformed the site of the body, in the words of Sawday, into a "terrain to be discovered."⁹¹ The body was a New World, and recipes for remedies and for foods were ways to explore and better understand its workings. Sawday observes the similarity of the relationship between the anatomist-as-scientist and the explorer:

⁸⁸ Reid Barbour, "Lucy Hutchinson, Atomism, and The Atheist Dog," in *Women, Science, and Medicine: 1500-1700*, 126.

⁸⁹ Jonathan Sawday, *The Body Emblazoned: Dissection and the Human Body in Renaissance Culture* (London: Routledge, 1995), 1, italics his.

⁹⁰ Sawday argues that the rise of the modern subject with an interior self is particularly influenced by discoveries in anatomy. See, "The Renaissance Body: From Colonization to Invention," in *The Body Emblazoned* (London: Routledge, 1991), 16-38.

⁹¹ Sawday, *Body Emblazoned*, 24.

“The microcosmic explorer of the body laboured on a project the dimensions of which were held to be every bit as dark as the interior of the continent of the newly ‘found’ americas” He argues that the “task of the scientist,” and I would add, by extension, the receipt book practicer—herself an early scientist, “was to voyage within the body in order to force it to reveal its secrets.”⁹² So, I would argue that there is a way to see receipt book practice (whether as represented in Henrietta’s and Elizabeth’s printed cookbooks or in manuscript receipt books) as part of a utopic, scientific view of the body and its place in the natural world. And the newly emerging view of the body affected the political ordering of government and, by extension, utopic writings about the government.

So, to return to *The Queen’s Closet Opened*, how do the recipes for the care of the body reinforce W.M.’s construction of the royalist household as utopia? His introduction implies a longing for a lost royalist (even Catholic) past, one colored by utopian leanings. The recipes themselves reinforce an ideal or an aesthetic of privacy, royalty, and catholicity, and the queen’s house is a place where the workings of the body could be discovered, known, and effectively managed.

The Pearl of Practice, a section of *The Queen’s Closet Opened*, which contains medicinal, cosmetic, and household recipes, holds a receipt entitled, “To comfort the Heart and Spirits, and to suppress Melancholy” requiring apples, sugar, and diambra (probably an aromatic cordial made of ambergris and musk).⁹³ Under this receipt, in the manner of handwritten marginalia, there is a notation in italic

⁹² Sawday, *Body Emblazoned*, 25.

⁹³ “Diamber” in *The Oxford English Dictionary*, vol. 4, 603.

script, "approved."⁹⁴ The note indicates the queen's own "proving" or testing of the recipe, implying that Queen Henrietta Maria—who did suffer ill health and melancholy in the late 1640s--tried this remedy and found that it worked. By extension, the recipe with its announcement that it is "approved" is claiming that it can heal anyone with melancholy and make his or her body become a healthy, happy—possibly even a utopic—place.

Other recipes that claim to be universally applicable and even "proved" are panaceas or cure-alls for the body. Like other women compilers, Henrietta Maria includes receipts for panaceas in her collection, including "To make water of Life," which requires rosemary, sage, roses, carnations, and other herbs and flowers. The receipt claims that the water is "good against many infirmities, as the Dropsie, Palsey, Ague, Sweating, Spleen, Worms, Yellow and Black Jaundies; it strengthens the Spirits, Brain, Heart, Liver, and Stomach." Panaceas imagine the body as healable and capable of becoming an ideal place of health, a point that I will return to in the following section. In addition to panaceas, Henrietta Maria also includes receipts for cosmetics, such as one for beautifying the face, "To make the Face fair": "Take fresh Bean blossomes and distil them in a Limbeck, and with the water wash your face."⁹⁵

Henrietta Maria—again like other women compilers-- has receipts for ink in her collection, but her receipts—as might be expected of the queen—give instructions on how to make ink the color of gold and silver.⁹⁶ She also includes one entitled, "To write Letters of Secrets that they cannot be red without the directions following":

⁹⁴ *The Queen's Closet Opened* (1655), 5.

⁹⁵ *The Queen's Closet Opened* (1655), 16-17, 115.

⁹⁶ *The Queen's Closet Opened* (1655), 114-115.

Take fine Allum, beat it small, and put a reasonable quantity of it into water, then write with the said water. The work cannot be read, but by steeping your Paper into fair running water. You may likewise write with Vinegar, or the juyce of Limon or Oynon; if you would read the same, you must hold it before the fire.⁹⁷

The receipt points back to the private maneuverings of the queen in the 1640s, when she and Charles exchanged letters during the Civil War, a time when the private writings of the queen-as-housewife were affecting the fate of the country. The recipe for writing “letters of secrets” thus hints at the queen’s former clandestine (and intimate) activity.

In their reifying of private activity—beautifying the face, curing melancholy, making secret ink—Henrietta Maria constructs the space of the household as intimate and removed (though not completely isolated) from public life. The queen’s household is decorous and orderly, and utopia is located in former domestic tranquility of her household, as well as in the queen’s attempts to put down rebellion within the body politic.

V. The Housewife in Her Own Words: Panaceas and the Search for Utopia

In the previous two sections on *The Queen’s Closet Opened* and *The Court and Kitchin of Elizabeth Commonly Called Joan Cromwel*, I examined male representations of the female practitioner and her recipes. In *The Court and Kitchin of Elizabeth*, England was represented as a dystopia under Oliver Cromwell’s government, and Cromwell’s wife was represented as a perversion of the ideal housewife. In *The Queen’s Closet Opened*, utopia was located in the private space of

⁹⁷ *The Queen’s Closet Opened* (1655), 270-1.

the royalist household managed by a housewife-queen--who properly practices and exchanges recipes for the good of her husband, family, and surrounding community. As we have seen, these two printed cookbooks from the middle of the century reflect uncertain political realities—the tenuous nature of the times was also reflected in manuscript writings, and such writings were also implicated (and being informed) by the discourses of utopia. In this section, I shift my focus to women's manuscript receipt books to retrieve a sense of the housewife in her own words, and, in particular, a sense of where she locates utopia through her cooking and medicinal practice.

In her opening inscription and in her recipes, Katherine Brown constructs her receipt book by drawing on the discourses of the public and private spheres.⁹⁸ She writes her name and states her ownership of the book on the inside cover, "Katharyn Brown, her Booke given to her." She pens a second inscription, "written in 1651 year of Oliver Cromwell," situating her book within the time of the Protectorate. Brown may have been a Puritan, and she probably had parliamentary sympathies. She includes many receipts for the healing of wounds, indicating that she had a particular interest in that type of medical practice and also suggesting that some of her family members may have fought in the Civil War.⁹⁹

Haphazard political commentary appears throughout the margins of the book. There are a couple of margin notes written before 1651. Next to a receipt for a cordial water, she writes sideways, "A plot against King Charles" (f.42v). She writes the phrase, "Kill him," next to a receipt for apricot marmalade and again next to a

⁹⁸ Katharine Brown, *Katharyn Brown, her Booke Given to Her*, c. 1649, Folger MS V.a. 397. Folger Shakespeare Library, Washington, DC.

⁹⁹ My thanks to Laetitia Yeandle, the former manuscripts curator at the Folger Shakespeare Library, for this suggestion.

receipt for a panacea, "A Water for the Mind and to Comfort the Stomach." In a sense, the aggressive marginalia seems to be undoing the apparent passivity of the cure-all receipt (f.2). She also writes the phrase, "the king to be beheaded tomorrow," next to a receipt for a "cold brandy plaister" or medicinal dressing for a wound. The phrase "to be beheaded" is repeated multiple times in the margins of the book.

Such fragmented political commentary denies us a complete picture of Brown or her political views, but, I would argue, her marginalia yet allows us to see how the housewife could construct her receipt book as more than just a text for the recording of household receipts and news. Sometimes that private textual space could become a place to offer commentary on (or respond to) the troubling and turbulent politics of the time. Thus, the receipt book could be a place where the dystopic workings of commonwealth were contained within the receipt or in the spaces next to it.

Katharine Brown's receipt book also refers to a New World remedy requiring an ingredient, the "roote Mochoican," which may refer to a plant from Peru to help cure the "crampe" (f.4).¹⁰⁰ She locates the ingredient as being from the Americas: "This roote comes from Mixico in the West Indies." New World remedies were increasingly available and popular, and a number of them appear in women's receipt books in the seventeenth century. These remedies are of particular interest because they seem especially to engage with utopian discourse whether implicitly or explicitly—as will be discussed further below.

¹⁰⁰ The *Oxford English Dictionary* defines "mochica" as a word deriving from an "extinct aboriginal language" from Peru, and the *OED* identifies the word as entering the English language in 1557.

The Granville family receipt book includes a recipe for another New World import-- the preparation of "good chocolate."¹⁰¹ The receipt requires a thousand "cacaos" (or cacao beans) toasted and husked. It also calls for three ounces of cinnamon, six vanilla beans, and three pounds of sugar. At the end, Mrs. Wescombe (Mary Granville's mother) includes a note about handling the spices and about the original owner of the receipt:

Your spyces must been sifted as fyne as possible to preuent any settling in your chocolate dish at the time when it is taken. Colonel John Belalyse had this reecat with him. Cadiz October 1665 (f.95)

Belalyse, a leader during the Third Dutch War and a colleague of her husband, was a member of Mrs. Wescombe's receipt coterie. Her coterie also included close family members (many of the receipts are by her sister in Essex, England as in the one shown in IMAGE 2.4), as well as other political allies of her husband. Mrs. Wescombe's receipt reflects the new taste of the British consumer for the luxury item, chocolate, which was just becoming available in England and on the Continent—in part, because of Oliver Cromwell's recent capture (in 1655) of the island of Jamaica.¹⁰² The receipt and its New World origins—and its exotic ingredients—has

¹⁰¹ Mary Granville and Anne Granville D'Ewes, *Recipe Book, 1640-1750*, Folger Shakespeare Library MS V.a. 430.

¹⁰² In England, the drinking of hot chocolate had recently become affordable and popular. Food historians identify chocolate as entering Britain in 1656, and a chocolate house in Queen's Head Alley in Bishopsgate, London, advertised, "an excellent West India drink called chocolate where you may have it ready at any time, and also unmade at reasonable rates." Chocolate—like coffee and tea—in mid-seventeenth-century England was often brewed in huge quantities and then "drawn off" when ordered, like beer or ale. Sara Paston-Williams, "Sweet Herbs and Bitter Brews," in *The Art of Dining: A History of Cooking and Eating* (London: The National Trust, 1993), 158.

been successfully incorporated into the pages of a Britishwoman's receipt book.

[SEE IMAGE 4.1]

95
Mr Leonard Willers Receipt for Good Chocolate
And the mixture is of 20 kind of things
A Million of 1000 Cacaos tossed & be laden
the husks off being Computed fower pounds Neat
Requires 3 Ounces of Sy namon
6 Bynillas
3 pound of Shugger
If you please to put Much to it a dram will be for
Forty or Sixty pound to put it in y^e Chocolate you must
beat it in a mortar with some white Shugger and when
your Chocolate is redy to be laden of the stone you must
mix it
You must have a great Care in the Fasting of your
Cacao perpetually stirring of it while it is one the
fire for not to burne which if it happen will give it a
bad tast
You must tost it in anew Caffuel & hath not been
tost betor for not to give it a sad tast
y^e 2 Szyces must be sifted as fyne as possible to
prevent any settling in y^e Chocolate dish at the time
When it is laden,
Coll^d In Belatry
had of Receipt
Cave 4 $\frac{7}{8}$ lbs

Image 4.1 Granville Receipt for "Good Chocolate" (1665)

In the housewife's receipts, ingredients like cocoa beans, vanilla, sugar, and cinnamon carried a deep political charge, especially those ingredients originating from European colonies in the New World. After the Restoration, when upper and middle-class women and men) became avid consumers of exotic foodstuffs, we see a desire for the foreign, the alien, and the exotic expressed in the cooking and writing of the British housewife.

The housewife and her transformative cooking effectively masked the exotic origins of New World ingredients (like chocolate and sugar) and allowed them to be naturalized into English cuisine (and the national imagination). As Kim Hall argues, "the shaping of [the] English woman's role in the household was necessary, not only for maintaining domestic order, but for the absorption of the foreign, as necessitated by colonialism." Hall claims that one important facet of the early modern housewife was her ability to mediate between the New World of the Americas and the Old World of England through the act of cooking.¹⁰³ The housewife defanged the specter of the alien (which haunted those ingredients coming in from the New World) and safely "absorbed" it into her cooking:

It might be that the woman's "familiar acquaintance" is the very thing necessary to remove the threat of strangeness: as substances pass through the English home and are transformed from raw material to "food," they lose their foreign taint. The cookbook may offer just this sort of transformative power: the mere incorporation of such substances made them less strange and unacceptable.¹⁰⁴

¹⁰³ Kim Hall, "Culinary Spaces, Colonial Spaces: The Gendering of Sugar in the Seventeenth Century," in *Feminist Readings of Early Modern Culture: Emerging Subjects*, eds. Valerie Traub, M. Lindsay Kaplan, Dymphna Callaghan (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 1996), 170.

¹⁰⁴ Hall, "Culinary Spaces," 182.

In the process of cooking (and I would add, writing about cooking) with foreign ingredients, the housewife becomes a powerful figure, able to mediate between the competing worlds of the domestic and the alien. Culinary recipes, like Mrs. Wescombe's for "good chocolate," and medicinal remedies, like Katharine Brown's for using the root "mochoican," do not completely neutralize the foreign ingredients required (or the allure of their foreignness). Instead, the housewife uses the foreignness of the Americas for her own domestic ends—cooking, healing, and bringing the New World promises of good health into the British home.

The New Worlds of the Americas were often figured in terms of utopia and copious abundance.¹⁰⁵ Christopher Columbus's letters back to Spain and, later, the Englishman, Sir Walter Raleigh's, letters back to England both constructed their experience of the New World in terms of utopia—in part, with the rhetorical purpose of persuading their governments to give them money to continue funding their exploration, and, in part, because they may have wanted to believe that they really had *found* utopia. New World ingredients, as they became increasingly available in England and on the Continent—retained some of their utopian weight, bearing the promise of good health from an exotic "good place" far away.

Such ingredients—especially, those of chocolate, sugar, and tobacco—often appear in recipes for panaceas or cure-alls that claim to alleviate any type of sickness. One such recipe is included in Margaret Baker's book, dated from 1650: a receipt to make an ointment of tobacco (f.37r).¹⁰⁶ Her receipt calls for combining two pounds

¹⁰⁵ Mary Baine Campbell, *Wonder & Science: Imagining Worlds in Early Modern Europe* (Ithaca and London: Cornell University Press, 1999).

¹⁰⁶ Margaret Baker, *Recipe Book*, c. 1650, British Library MS Sloane, 2485.

of tobacco leaves, with one pound of "fresh hogs greases dilligently washed," and letting the mixture infuse overnight in wine. Then the practicer strains it and adds four ounces of resin with a bit of "birth wort in powder" plus two ounces of "new wax." She explains that mixture will be "sufficient to make it into an oyntment."

After the receipt, Baker attaches a long explanation of the supposed beneficial properties attributed to the ointment, constructing the recipe as the means through which the patient can access an ideal place of perfect health. The medicine, Baker promises, can cure a wide catalog of various ailments and wounds, including cancerous "tumors," bleeding gunshot wounds, sores from stinging nettles, bee stings, bites from "venemious beasts," and wounds from "poisoned arrows." It helps heal burns or "scalding though mad[e] with oyle burning" without making "any scar." It can cure "nasty, rotten stinking putrified ulcers," as well as more benign sores like pimples. Even sunburns will "vanish away" with the proper application of the ointment.

Tobacco ointment will cure everything from the common to the exotic. For a headache, Baker advises, "anoynt your temples with this and you shall have ease" (f.37v). It will relieve those who suffer from asthma: "the stomacke being annoynted with it no infermity dares harbor thereon not asthmiaes nor consumption of the lungues" (f.37v). It can also cure colic, worms, and hemorrhoids and "is the best oyntment that is for gouts of all sorts" (f.37v). Baker concludes:

finally there may be as vniuersall a medicine made for all disease of tobacoo as of any thinge in ye world ye phylosophers stone excepted . . . thou shalt neuer want praise for [inventing] this medicine by those that use it so long as the sun and moon endures.

By comparing the ointment to the mythical philosopher's stone (an elixir believed to confer everlasting life on its owner), Baker situates the ointment of tobacco within the twin discourses of the New World and utopia—the New World was believed to contain the philosopher's stone as well as the so-called “fountain of youth,” and the ointment supposedly functions along similar lines. It is a universal cure, a panacea used to heal the “thousand natural shocks” that, in the famous words of Hamlet, “our flesh is heir to.”

Baker's receipt for a panacea—relying on the main ingredient of tobacco--dangles the seductive promise of perfect health in front of the reader, writer, and practitioner. Here I am defining a “panacea” as “utopian” because it assumes that the body—by drawing on ingredients from exotic places figured as utopia--will become an imagined “good place” of perfect health. In a receipt for the making and use of tobacco ointment, we see the English housewife's desire for a perfect body free from disease, wounds, and age, as well as free of imbalances of the four governing humors. Foucault has argued that the diseased body represents a fundamental type of disorderliness.¹⁰⁷ I would add that the early modern Englishwoman's receipt book attempts to impose (an always tenuous) order on the waywardness of the early modern body and on the world, while, at the same time, it reflects utopian desires onto the practitioner and her patients.

¹⁰⁷ Michael Foucault, *The Order of Things* (New York: Pantheon Books, 1971), xxiv.

Manuscript receipt books, along with recipes attributed to Henrietta Maria and Elizabeth Cromwell illustrate the power behind women's recipe practice (in cooking and medicine), a power that could be perceived as political, subversive, and thus threatening to the ruling order. Both *The Queen's Closet Opened* and *The Court and Kitchen of Elizabeth Commonly Called Joan Cromwel* furthered a royalist agenda but within very different contexts. Henrietta Maria's cookbook published during the middle of the fraught years of the Interregnum, stirred up public sympathy for the deposed, exiled queen and her martyred husband. In its idealization of Henrietta Maria's practice and its locating utopia in the royalist household, *The Queen's Closet* essentially challenged the Protectorate government. On the other hand, *The Court and Kitchen of Elizabeth*, published after the Restoration of the monarchy, reified and reinforced the reigning government—which was now once again solidly royalist. Milbourne's text then was supporting the newly instated status quo, and he launched a bitter critique against the past by constructing Elizabeth Cromwell as a bad cook and housewife, whose mis-management of her house turned England into dystopia.

Both books show how women's writing, collecting, and practicing of recipes was conceived of as something larger than just a recording of standard household work. Instead, recipes were "read" by Royalists as politically nutritious (as in the case of Henrietta Maria's cookbook) or as politically malignant (as in the satire of Elizabeth Cromwell's cooking). The books—along with their manuscript counterparts—offer a way into seeing cooking as part of a nation's emerging utopic vision, one predicated on the premise that proper cooking and housewifery were essential to good governance and the maintenance of a fragile body politic.

Conclusion

In this study, I have pointed to the many ways that women's recipes were written, exchanged, and practiced, and I have argued for the importance of attending to receipt books and the domestic practices that they reflect. In a patriarchal society that discouraged individual self-expression, women, nevertheless, found an important creative outlet in the writing of receipt books, which can be recognized as a significant form of early autobiographical writing. Through the testing ("proving") and recording of receipts, the writer-practitioner constructed the self as "expert" on matters of the house and the body—specifically, in the areas of cooking, medicine, and confectionary. Women used the receipt book to express individual identity (most easily seen in their elegant inscriptions at the front of their volumes), while at the same time their identity was absorbed by the contributions of their coterie and by later writer-owners. The self that was expressed then, was fluid and open, while the genre of the receipt book was correspondingly flexible, permeable to the influences of print and coterie.

We saw how women who used recipes—whether as medical practitioners or as housewives--were understood and constructed at various points in the seventeenth century. At the beginning of the 1600s, in *All's Well that Ends Well*, the figure of the female practitioner is represented as powerful yet profoundly disturbing in her ability to heal the body of the king of an anal fistula, a marker of sexual vice. Through her healing of the king, Helen gains intimate access to the interior of his body, and, consequently, the shadow of sexual suspicion falls on the practitioner herself: she knows the (royal) male body too well for the comfort of her husband to be, Bertram.

However, in spite of this negative view of the practitioner and her specialized knowledge of the body, the play still validates her empirical practice. Since Helen is successful in her pursuit of Bertram, she proves that “remedies” do indeed “lie” “within” the “self,” as she confidently announces at the beginning of the play. With the use of a recipe, Helen demonstrates how the practitioner can be self-reliant and achieve her destiny, independent of the fickle movements of the stars and fate.

By the middle of the century, male-edited cookbooks portray the recipe practitioner in a very different light, as either a royal housewife, who properly maintains the bodies in her household, along with the body politic of the state, or else, as an uppity servant, who has wrongly taken control of both. *The Queen's Closet Opened* and *The Court and Kitchen of Elizabeth Commonly Called Joan Cromwel* invoke nostalgia for a lost royalist past, a utopic place of good household and national economy managed by the housewife as queen. The housewife is responsible for more than just the health of her husband-king; she ultimately becomes responsible for the health of the body politic of the state.

Women's manuscript receipt books also provide us with a glimpse of early modern utopian longings. Women practitioners reflected upon the utopian or dystopian political realities of their day in marginalia (“the king to be beheaded tomorrow”), inscriptions, and ingredients. In particular, exotic ingredients--such as chocolate, sugar, and tobacco--from the New World of the Americas carried a special weight with the housewife, and in her recipes for New World panaceas, she brought the utopian promise of perfect health into the British home. Recipes (and writing about recipes) became a mode through which women and men could reflect on the

“how to” workings of the body in order improve the health of the individual and, ultimately, the body politic of the state.

Afterword: Some Final Thoughts on Fragments

Scholars who study early modern women's manuscript writings often have only bits and partial pieces of evidence to work with, and, in a project like this, the difficulty lies in constructing a unified, coherent narrative out of evidence that is fragmentary and elusive. There is no over-arching historical narrative of the domestic recipe collection in England. Instead, as we have seen, we have a tissue of micro-histories of books of secrets, household guides, cookbooks, as well as private, manuscript writings that provide us with an initial layer of the receipt book's literary context. Yet, nevertheless, as I have argued, it is important to attend to the women who gathered and wrote receipt books—even if they remain anonymous to us in all other ways, except for a name signed on the inside cover. Their many recipes, family records, sermons, and other commonplace writings still remain. These textual fragments give us a glimpse of the individual behind the book, and they also allow us access to her community and to a sense of the fabric and texture of her daily life, in a period of time that continues to hold us with the richness of its literature and history. These forgotten fragments and the women who wrote them deserve to be remembered. Fragments can eventually become (and turn into) whole histories of past time, and the history of the early modern Englishwoman as writer, housewife, and receipt book practitioner is one that is well worth the knowing.

BIBLIOGRAPHY

PRIMARY SOURCES

BOOKS

An Account of the causes of some particular rebellious distempers viz. the scurvey, cancers in women's breasts, &c. vapours, and melancholy, &c. weaknesses in women, &c. gout, fistula in ano, dropsy, agues, &c. :together with the vertues and uses of a select number of chymical medicines studiously prepar'd for their cure and adapted to the constitutions and temperaments of all ages and both sexes by an eminent practitioner in physick, surgery and chymistry London, 1670.

Archer, John. *Secrets Disclosed of Consumptions, Shewing How to Distinguish between Scurvy and Venereal Disease also How to Prevent and Cure the Fistula by Chymical Drops without Curing* London, 1684.

Arderne, John. *Treatises of Fistula in Ano and of Fistulae in Other Parts of the Body and of Apostemes Making Fistulae. . .* 15th century. Early English Text Society. London: Oxford University Press, 1910, 1968.

Bacon, Francis. *New Atlantis*. 1621. In *Francis Bacon: A Selection of His Works*, edited Sidney Warhaft. New York: Macmillan: 1982.

Behn, Aphra *Oroonoko, or The Royal Slave*, (1688) edited by Catherine Gallagher with Simon Stern. Boston: Bedford, 2000.

Boccaccio, Giovanni. "Giletta di Narbona," in *Decameron Novelle Scelte*, edited and translated by Stanley Appelbaum. Mineola, NY: Dover, 2000.

Boorde, Andrew. *The Breuiary of Helthe*. London, 1547. In *The English Experience: Its Record in Early Printed Books Published in Facsimile*. No. 362. Amsterdam and New York: Da Capo Press, 1971.

Braithwait, Richard. *The Good Wife: Or, a Rare One amongst Women*. London, 1618.

Castelvetro, Giacomo. *Brieve racconto di tutte le radici, di tutti i frutti, che crudi o cotti in Italia si mangiano*. 1614. *Fruit, Herbs and Vegetables of Italy*, translated by Gillian Riley. Harmondsworth: 1989.

Cavendish, Margaret *The Blazing World*. 1666. In *The Blazing World and Other Writings*, edited by Kate Lilley. London: Penguin, 1994.

- . *Further Observations Upon Experimental Philosophy*. London: A. Maxwell, 1666.
- Clifford, Anne. *The Diary of Anne, Countess of Dorset, Pembroke, and Montgomery, daughter and heiress of George Clifford, Earl of Cumberland*. 1616-1617. In *Her Own Life: Autobiographical Writings by Seventeenth-Century Englishwomen*, edited by Elspeth Graham, Hilary Hinds, Elaine Hobby, and Helen Wilcox, 38-53. London and New York: Routledge, 1989.
- The Compleat Cook and A Queen's Delight* (modern edition of *The Queen's Closet Opened*). London: Prospect Books, 1984.
- The Court and Kitchin of Elizabeth, Commonly called Joan Cromwel*. London: Thomas Milbourne, 1664.
- The Court and Kitchen of Elizabeth, Commonly Called Joan Cromwell* (modern edition). Edited by Mary Liguorice. Peterborough: Cambridgeshire Libraries Publications Committee, 1983.
- Curye on Inglysch: English Culinary Manuscripts of the Fourteenth Century (including the Forme of Cury)*. Edited by Constance B. Hieatt and Sharon Butler. London: Published for the Early English Texts Society by Oxford University Press, 1985.
- De Foigny, Gabriel. *The Southern Land Found (La Terre Australe Connue*, 1676). Translated and edited by David Fausett. Syracuse: Syracuse UP, 1993.
- De Gourney, Marie. "The Equality of Men and Women." 1622. In *Women Writers of the Seventeenth Century*, edited by Katharina M. Wilson and Frank J. Warnke, 14-28. Athens, Georgia and London: University of Georgia Press, 1989.
- Digby, Kenelm. *The Closet of the Eminently Learned Sir Kenelm Digby Kt. Opened*. London: H.C., 1677.
- Elyot, Sir Thomas. *The boke named the governor*. London: Thomas Bertheleti, 1531.
- Fell, Margaret. *Women's Speaking Justified Proved and Allowed of By Scriptures*. London, 1667.
- Fettiplace, Elinor. *Elinor Fettiplace's Receipt Book: Elizabethan Country House Cooking*. Edited by Hilary Spurling. London: Salamander Press, 1986.
- Grey, Elizabeth. *The Choice Manual of Rare and Select Secrets in Physick and Chirurgery*. London: G.D., 1653.
- Harrington, James. *The Commonwealth of Oceana*. 1656. Edited by J.G. Pocock.

- Cambridge and New York: Cambridge University Press, 1992.
- Hoby, Lady Margaret. *The Private Life of an Elizabethan Lady: The Diary of Lady Margaret Hoby, 1599-1605*. Edited by Joanna Moody. Stroud, Gloucestershire: Sutton, 1998.
- Hutchinson, Lucy. *Lucy Hutchinson's Translation of Lucretius De Rerum Natura*, ed. Hugh de Quehen. Ann Arbor: University of Michigan Press, 1996.
- Jocelin, Elizabeth. *The Mother's Legacie to Her Unborne Childe*. London: John Haviland, 1624.
- Leigh, Dorothy. *The Mother's Blessing: or, The Godly Counsel of a Gentlewoman not long since deceased, left behind for her children*. 1616. In *Daughters, Wives, and Widows*. Edited by Joan Larsen Klein, 287-302. Urbana, Illinois: University of Illinois, 1992.
- Leigh, Nicholas. *A Modest Mean to Marriage*. 1568.
- Makin, Bathsua. *An Essay to Revive the Antient Education of Gentlewomen*. 1673. In *Women Writers of the Seventeenth Century*. Edited by Katharina M. Wilson and Frank J. Warnke, 285-294. Athens and London: University of Georgia Press, 1989.
- Markham, Gervase. *The English House-wife containing the inward and outward virtues which ought to be in a complete woman, as her skill in physick, cookery, banqueting stuff*. . . 1623. Edited by Michael R. Best. Kingston, Ontario: McGill-Queen's University Press, 1986.
- Mildmay, Lady Grace. *With Faith and Physick: The Life of a Tudor Gentlewoman Lady Grace Mildmay 1552-1620*. Edited by Linda Pollock. New York: St. Martin's Press, 1995.
- Milton, John. *Eikonoklastes*. In *The Complete Prose Works of John Milton*. edited by Don M. Wolfe, 419-543. Vol. 3. New Haven: Yale University Press: 1958).
- . "The Doctrine and Discipline of Divorce" in *John Milton Complete Poems and Major Prose*. Edited by Merritt Y. Hughes, 696-715. New York: Macmillan, 1985.
- Neville, Henry. *Isle of the Pines*. London: S. G., 1668.
- New-Market Fayre*. London: 1649.
- William Painter, *The Palace of Pleasure*. London: Thomas Marshe, 1575.

- Plat, Hugh. *Delights for Ladies to Adorne their Persons, Tables, Closets, and Distillatories: With Beauties, Banquets, Perfumes, & Waters*. London, 1603.
- . *The Floures of Philosophie*. 1572. Reprinted in *A Sweet Nosegay and The Floures of Philosophie*. Introduction and Photoreproductions, Richard J. Panofsky. Delmar, New York: Scholars' Facsimiles & Reprints, 1982.
- Raleigh, Sir Walter. *The Discoverie of the Large, Rich and Bewtiful Empyre of Guiana*. 1596. Transcribed and annotated by Neil L. Whitehead. Norman: University of Oklahoma Press, 1997.
- Smith, Henry. *A Preparative to Marriage*. London, 1591.
- Shakespeare, William. *The New Folger Library Shakespeare All's Well That Ends Well*. Edited by Barbara A. Mowat and Paul Werstine. New York: Washington Square Press, 2001.
- . *Othello*. In *The Complete Works of Shakespeare*. Edited by David Bevington. New York: Harper Collins, 1992.
- Stuart, Henrietta Maria. *The Queen's Closet Opened*. London: 1655.
- Stuart, James I. *Basilikon Doron*. Edinburgh: Robert Waldegrae, 1603.
- Swift, Jonathan. "A Modest Proposal." 1729. In *Eighteenth-Century British Literature*. Edited by Geoffrey Tillotson, Paul Fussell, and Marshall Waingrow, 447-450. Fort Worth: Harcourt, 1969.
- Talbot, Alethea. *Natura Exenterata*. London: H. Twiford, 1655.
- This is the Boke of Cokery: Here beginneth a noble boke of festes royalle and Cokery a boke for a pryncis householde or any other estates; and the makynge therof as ye shall fynde more playnly within this boke*, Emprynted without temple barre by Richard Pynson in the yere of our lorde MD.
- Thornton, Alice. *A Booke of Remembrances of all the remarkable deliverances of myself, husband and children with their births, and other remarks as concerning myself and family, beginning from the year 1626*. 1668. In *Her Own Life: Autobiographical Writings by Seventeenth-Century Englishwomen*, edited by Elspeth Graham, Hilary Hinds, Elaine Hobby, and Helen Wilcox, 147-64. London and New York: Routledge, 1989.
- Trapnel, Anna. *Report and Plea*. 1654. In *Her Own Life: Autobiographical Writings by Seventeenth-Century Englishwomen*, edited by Elspeth Graham, Hilary

Hinds, Elaine Hobby, and Helen Wilcox, 71-86. London and New York: Routledge, 1989.

Turner, William, *New Herball*. 1551. Edited by George T.L. Chapman and Marilyn Tweddle: Cambridge and New York: Cambridge University Press, 1995.

Van Schurman, Anna Maria. *Whether a Christian Woman Should be Educated*. 1650. Edited and translated by Joyce L. Irwin. Chicago and London: University of Chicago Press, 1998.

Whatley, William. *A Bridebush or A Wedding Sermon*. London: William Iaggard, 1617.

Whitney, Isabella. Reprinted in *A Sweet Nosegay (1573) and The Copy of a Letter (1567) by Isabella Whitney*. Introduction and Photoreproductions by Richard J. Panofsky. Delmar, New York: Scholars' Facsimiles & Reprints, 1982.

Woolley, Hannah. *The Queen-Like Closet, or Rich Cabinet stored with all manner of rare receipts . . .* Third Edition. London: 1675.

MANUSCRIPTS

- Baker, Margaret. Recipe Book. ca. 1650. BL MS Sloane 2485. British Library, London.
- Baumfylde, Mary. *Mary Baumfylde her booke*. 1626. Folger MS V.a. 456. Folger Shakespeare Library, Washington, DC.
- Brown, Katharine. *Katharyn Brown, her Booke Given to Her*. ca. 1649. Folger MS V.a. 397. Folger Shakespeare Library, Washington, DC.
- Mrs. Carlyon, *A Booke with such medicines as haue been approued by the speciall practice*. ca. 1660. Folger MS V.a. 398. Folger Shakespeare Library, Washington, D.C.
- Dawson, Jane. Recipe Book. Late Seventeenth Century. Folger MS V.a. 14. Folger Shakespeare Library, Washington, DC.
- Dering, Sir Edward. Commonplace Book. 1656-1662. HM 41536. Huntington Library, San Marino, California.
- Dormer, Anne. Letter to Lady Elizabeth Trundell. 24 August 1687. Addison MS 72516. British Library, London.
- Fowler, Elizabeth. *Her Book*. 1684. Folger MS V.a. 468. Folger Shakespeare Library, Washington, DC. CH
- “Grandmother Harley” (Lady Brilliana Harley) and Thomas Davies. Medical Recipes. 1680. Egerton 2214. British Library, London.
- Granville, Mary and Anne Granville D’Ewes. Recipe Book. ca. 1640-1750. Folger MS V.a. 430. Folger Shakespeare Library, Washington, DC.
- Hudson, Dorothy. Receipt Book. 1629. Bodleian MS Rawlinson C. 81. Bodleian Library, Oxford University, Oxford.
- Jones, Katherine. *Lady Rannelagh’s choise receipts, also some of Captain Willis; who valued them aboue gold*. Seventeenth Century. MS Sloane 1367. British Library, London.
- Lewkenore, Dorothy. Book of Medicinal and Culinary Receipts. 1576. MS Ashmole 1477. Bodleian Library, Oxford University, Oxford.
- Long, Sarah. Recipe Book. ca. 1610. Folger MS V.a. 425. Folger Shakespeare

Library, Washington, DC.

Packer, Katherine. Medicinal and Cookery Recipe Book. 1639. Folger MS V.a.387.
Folger Shakespeare Library, Washington, DC.

Phillips, Dorothy. Recipe and Sermon Book. 1616-1695. Folger MS V.a. 347.
Folger Shakespeare Library, Washington, DC.

Pudsey, Lettice. *Her Booke of Recipts*. ca. 1675. Folger MS V.a. 450. Folger
Shakespeare Library, Washington, DC.

St. John, Johanna. *Johanna St. John Her Book*. 1680. MS 2990. Wellcome Historical
Medical Library, London.

SECONDARY SOURCES

- Adelman, Janet. "Marriage and the Maternal Body: On Marriage as the End of Comedy in *All's Well that Ends Well* and *Measure for Measure*." In *Shakespeare's Personality*, edited by Norman N. Holland, Sidney Homan, and Bernard J. Paris, 151-174. Berkeley: University of California Press, 1989.
- Appelbaum, Robert. "Rhetoric and Epistemology in Early Printed Recipe Collections." *JEMCS* 3.2 (2003): 1-35.
- Aries, Philippe. "Forms of Privatization." In *The History of the Private Life*, edited and translated by Phillipe Aries and Georges Duby, Cambridge, MA: Belknap Press of Harvard University Press, 1987.
- Aughterson, Kate. *Renaissance Woman: A Sourcebook: Constructions of Femininity in England*. London and New York: Routledge, 1995.
- Barbour, Reid. "Lucy Hutchinson, Atomism, and the Atheist Dog." In *Women, Science, and Medicine: 1500-1700*, edited by Lynette Hunter and Sarah Hutton, 122-137. Phoenix Mill, UK: Sutton Publishing Limited, 1997.
- Beal, Peter. "Notions in Garrison: The Seventeenth-Century Commonplace Book." In *New Ways of Looking at Old Texts: Papers of the Renaissance English Text Society*, edited by W. Speed Hill. Vol. 137. Binghamton, New York: Medieval and Renaissance Texts and Studies, 1993.
- Belsey, Catherine. *The Subject of Tragedy*. London: Methuen, 1985.
- Berridale-Johnson, Michelle. *The British Museum Cookbook*. London: British Museum Press, 1987.
- Bevington, David. Introduction to *All's Well that Ends Well*. In *The Complete Works of Shakespeare*, 4th edition, 362-365. New York: Harper Collins, 1992.
- Bible, Ann Vollmann. "The Art of Dailyness: Gabriele Münter's Self-Representational Practices, 1918-1989." Ph.D diss., MIT, 2006.
- Boas, F.S. *Shakespeare and His Predecessors*. 1896. New York: Gordian Press, 1968.
- Boehrer, Bruce. "The Privy and Its Double: Scatology and Satire in Shakespeare's Theatre." In *A Companion to Shakespeare's Works: The Poems, Problem Comedies, Late Plays*. Volume 4. Edited by Richard Dutton and Jean E. Howard, 69-88. Oxford: Blackwell, 2003.

- Boesky, Amy. *Founding Fictions: Utopias in Early Modern England*. Athens, Georgia and London: University of Georgia Press, 1996.
- Brockliss, Lawrence and Colin Jones. *The Medical World in Early Modern France*. Oxford: Oxford University Press, 1997.
- Bullough, Geoffrey. *Narrative and Dramatic Sources of Shakespeare*. Vol. 2. London: Routledge; New York: Columbia University Press, 1968.
- Burke, Mary E., Jane Donawerth, Linda L. Dove, and Karen Nelson, eds. *Women, Writing and the Reproduction of Culture in Tudor and Stuart Britain*. Syracuse: Syracuse University Press, 2000.
- Bynum, Caroline Walker. *Holy Feast and Holy Fast: The Religious Significance of Food to Medieval Women*. Berkeley: University of California Press, 1987.
- Campbell, Mary Baine. *Wonder & Science: Imagining Worlds in Early Modern Europe*. Ithaca and London: Cornell University Press, 1999.
- Caton, Mary Anne. "'For Profit and Pleasure': Changes in Food and Farming." In *Fooles and Fricassees: Food in Shakespeare's England*, edited by Mary Anne Caton, 9-13. Seattle: University of Washington Press, 1999. Published in conjunction with the "Fooles and Fricassees: Food in Shakespeare's England" at the Folger Shakespeare Library, Washington, DC.
- Chambers, Robert. *Book of Days*. 1869. On-line edition: <www.bookofday.com>.
- Chartier, Roger. Introduction to *The History of the Private Life*, edited by Phillipe Ariès and Georges Duby. Cambridge, MA: Belknap Press of Harvard University Press, 1987.
- Clark, Danielle, ed. *Isabella Whitney, Mary Sidney, and Amelia Lanyer. Renaissance Women Poets*. London: Penguin, 2000.
- Clinton, Douglas Clinton. Preface to *The Court and Kitchen of Elizabeth Commonly Called Joan Cromwell*. Edited by Mary Liquorice. Peterborough: Cambridgeshire Libraries Publications Committee, 1983.
- Coiro, Ann Baynes. "'A Ball of Strife': Caroline Poetry and Royal Marriage" in *The Royal Image: Representations of Charles I*, edited by Thomas Corns, 26-46. Cambridge and New York: Cambridge University Press, 1999.
- Cosman, Bard. "All's Well that Ends Well: Shakespeare's Treatment of the Anal Fistula." *Diseases of the Colon and Rectum* 41.1 (July 1998): 914-24.

- Crane, Mary Thomas. *Shakespeare's Brain: Reading with Cognitive Theory*. Princeton and Oxford: Princeton University Press, 2001.
- Crawford, Patricia. "Public Duty, Conscience, and Women in Early Modern England." In *Public Duty and Private Conscience in Seventeenth-Century England*, edited by John Morrill, Paul Slack, and Daniel Woolf, 57-76. Oxford: Clarendon Press, 1993.
- and Laura Gowing, eds. *Women's Worlds in Seventeenth-Century England*. London and New York: Routledge, 2000.
- "Crisp Images with a Blurry Back Story." *New York Times*. 19 March 2006. Washington Edition. Week in Review: 3.
- Davidson, Alan, ed. *The Oxford Companion to Food*. Oxford: Oxford University Press, 1999.
- Daston, Lorraine and Katharine Park. *Wonders and the Order of Nature: 1150-1750*. New York: Zone Books, 1998.
- Day, Ivan. "Bridecup and Cake: The Ceremonial Food and Drink of the Bridal Procession." In *Food and the Rites of Passage*, edited by Laura Mason, 33-61. Leeds Symposium on Food History, "Food and Society" Series. Totnes: Prospect Books: 2002.
- Dictionary of Booksellers and Printers 1668-1725*. Edited by Henry Palmer. Oxford: Oxford University Press, 1922.
- Dolan, Frances E. *Whores of Babylon: Catholicism, Gender, and Seventeenth-Century Print Culture*. Ithaca and London: Cornell University Press, 1999.
- Donawerth, Jane. "All's Well that Ends Well: Words and Things." In *Shakespeare and the Sixteenth-Century Study of Language*, 219-243. Urbana and Chicago: University of Illinois Press, 1984.
- , ed. *Rhetorical Theory by Women Before 1900*. Lanham: Rowman and Littlefield, 2002.
- . "Women's Poetry and the Tudor-Stuart System of Gift Exchange." In *Women, Writing, and the Reproduction of Culture in Tudor and Stuart Britain*. Edited by Mary E. Burke, Jane Donawerth, Linda L. Dove, and Karen Nelson, 3-18. Syracuse: Syracuse University Press, 2000.
- and Carol A. Kolmerten, eds. *Utopian and Science Fiction by Women: Worlds of Difference*. Syracuse: Syracuse University Press, 1994.

- Dragstra, Henk, Shelia Ottway, and Helen Wilcox. Introduction to *Betraying Ourselves: Forms of Self-Representation in Early Modern English Texts*. New York: St. Martins Press, 2000.
- Eamon, William. *Science and the Secrets of Nature*. Princeton: Princeton University Press, 1994.
- Ezell, Margaret. *The Patriarch's Wife: Literary Evidence and the History of the Family*. Chapel Hill: University of North Carolina Press, 1987.
- . *Social Authorship and the Advent of Print*. Baltimore: Johns Hopkins University Press, 1999.
- Fleming, Juliet. *Graffiti and the Writing Arts of Early Modern England*. Philadelphia: University Pennsylvania Press, 2001.
- Foucault, Michael. *The Order of Things*. New York: Pantheon Books, 1971.
- Fumerton, Patricia. *Cultural Aesthetics: Renaissance Literature and the Practice of Social Ornament*. Chicago: University of Chicago Press, 1991.
- Gaunt, Peter. "Elizabeth Cromwell." In *Oxford Dictionary of National Biography*. Edited by H.C.G. Matthew and Brian Harrison, 310-313. Vol. 14. Oxford: Oxford University Press, 2004.
- Geertz, Clifford. *The Interpretation of Cultures*. New York: Basic Books, 1973.
- Gillespie, Katharine. "Anna Trapnel's Window on the Word: The Domestic Sphere of Public Dissent in Seventeenth-Century Non-Conformity." *Bunyan Studies* 7 (1997): 49-77.
- . "Elizabeth Cromwell's Kitchen Court: Republicanism and Consort." *Genders* 33 (2001): 1-20.
- Girouard, Mark. *Life in the English Country House: A Social and Architectural History*. New Haven and London: Yale University Press, 1978.
- Goldberg, Jonathan. "Fatherly Authority: The Politics of Stuart Family Images." In *Rewriting the Renaissance: The Discourses of Sexual Difference in Early Modern Europe*, edited by Margaret Ferguson, Maureen Quilligan, and Nancy J. Vickers, 3-31. Chicago: Chicago University Press, 1986.
- Goodman, Dena. "Public Sphere and Private Life: Toward a Synthesis of Current Historiographical Approaches to the Old Regime." *History and Theory: Studies in Philosophy of History* 31 (1992): 1-20.

- Graham, Elspeth, Hilary Hinds, Elaine Hoby, and Helen Wilcox, eds. *Her Own Life: Autobiographical Writings by Seventeenth-Century Englishwomen*. London and New York: Routledge, 1989.
- Greenblatt, Stephen. "The Touch of the Real." In *Practicing New Historicism*, eds. Catherine Gallagher and Stephen Greenblatt, 20-48. Chicago: University of Chicago Press, 2000.
- Grosz, Elizabeth. *Volatile Bodies: Toward a Corporeal Feminism*. Bloomington and Indianapolis: Indiana University Press, 1994.
- Habermas, Jurgen. *The Structural Transformation of the Public Sphere: An Inquiry into a Category of Bourgeois Society*. 1989. Translated by Thomas Burger. Cambridge: MIT Press, 1996.
- Hall, Kim. "Culinary Spaces, Colonial Spaces: The Gendering of Sugar in the Seventeenth Century." In *Feminist Readings of Early Modern Culture: Emerging Subjects*, edited by Valerie Traub, M. Lindsay Kaplan, Dymna Callaghan, 168-190. Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 1996.
- Hannay, Margaret P. "'How I These Studies Prize': The Countess of Pembroke and Elizabethan Science." In *Women, Science, and Medicine 1500-1700*, edited by Lynette Hunter and Sarah Hutton, 108-121. Phoenix Mill, UK: Sutton Publishing Limited, 1997.
- Harris, Jonathan Gil. "'Some love that drew him oft from home': Syphilis and International Commerce in *The Comedy of Errors*." In *Disease, Diagnosis and Cure on the Early Modern Stage*. Edited by Stephanie Moss and Kaara L. Peterson, 53-92. Aldershot: Ashgate, 2004.
- Harrison, G. B. *A Last Elizabethan Journal, Being a Record of Those Things Most Talked of During the Years 1599-1603*. London: Constable, 1933.
- Haslem, Lori. "Riddles, Female Space, and Closure in *All's Well that Ends Well*." *English Language Notes* 38.4 (June 2001): 19-31.
- Hass, Lorna S. *To the King's Taste: Richard II's Book of Feasts Adapted for Modern Cooking*. New York: Metropolitan Museum of Art, 1975.
- Havens, Earle. *Commonplace Books: A History of Manuscripts and Printed Books from Antiquity to the Twentieth Century*, in conjunction with an exhibition at the Beinecke Rare Book and Manuscript Library, Yale University, 23 July through 29 September 2001. New Haven and Hanover: University Press of New England, 2001.
- Hellwarth, Jennifer. "'Be unto me as a precious ointment': Lady Grace Mildmay,

- Sixteenth-Century Practitioner." *Dynamis* 19 (1999): 95-117.
- Hillman, David and Carla Mazzio, eds. *The Body in Parts: Fantasies of Corporeality in Early Modern Europe*. New York: Routledge, 1997.
- Hillman, David. "Visceral Knowledge." In *The Body in Parts: Fantasies of Corporeality in Early Modern Europe*, edited by David Hillman and Carla Mazzio, 81-106. New York: Routledge, 1997.
- Hobby, Elaine. *Virtue of Necessity: English Women's Writings 1646-1688*. London: Virago Press, 1988.
- Hoeniger, David. *Medicine and Shakespeare in the English Renaissance*. Newark: University of Delaware Press, 1992.
- Hughes, Ann. "Women, Men, and Politics in the English Civil War." An Inaugural Lecture. Given 8 October 1997, University of Keele.
- Isherwood, Charles. "Maybe He's Just Not into You, Helena." *New York Times*. Washington Edition. 14 Feb. 2006: B1, B4.
- Hull, Suzanne. *Chaste, Silent and Obedient: English Books for Women, 1475-1640*. San Marino: Huntington Library, 1982.
- Hunter, G.K. Introduction to *The Arden Edition of All's Well that Ends Well*. London: Methuen, 1959.
- Hunter, Lynette. "Books for Daily Life: Household, Husbandry, and Behaviour." In *The Cambridge History of the Book in Britain*, edited by John Barnard and D.F. McKenzie, 514-532. Vol. 4. Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 2002.
- . "Sisters of the Royal Society: The Circle of Katherine Jones, Lady Ranelagh." In *Women, Science, and Medicine 1500-1700*, edited by Lynette Hunter and Sarah Hutton, 178-197. Phoenix Mill, UK: Sutton Publishing Limited, 1997.
- . "Women and Domestic Medicine: Lady Experimenters, 1570-1620." In *Women, Science and Medicine 1500-1700*, edited by Lynette Hunter and Sarah Hutton, 89-107. Phoenix Mill, UK: Sutton Publishing Limited, 1997.
- Hughes, Ann. "Women, Men and Politics in the English Civil War." Inaugural Lecture, University of Keele, 8 October 1997.
- Iyengar, Sujata. "'Handling Soft the Hurts': Sexual Healing and Manual Contact in

- Orlando Furioso, The Faerie Queen, and All's Well that Ends Well.*" In *Sensible Flesh: On Touch in Early Modern Culture*, edited by Elizabeth Harvey, 39-61. Philadelphia: University of Pennsylvania Press, 2003.
- Jagodzinski, Cecile M. *Privacy and Print: Reading and Writing in Seventeenth-Century England*. Charlottesville and London: University Press of Virginia, 1999.
- Jankowski, Theodora. "Good Enough to Eat: The Domestic Economy of Woman-Woman Eroticism in Margaret Cavendish and Andrew Marvell." In *Privacy, Domesticity, and Women in Early Modern England*, edited by Corinne S. Abate, 83-110. Burlington: Ashgate Press, 2003.
- Jardine, Lisa. "Cultural Confusion and Shakespeare's Learned Heroines: 'These are old paradoxes.'" *Shakespeare Quarterly* 38.1 (Spring 1987): 1-18.
- Kastan, David Scott. "*All's Well that Ends Well* and the Limits of Comedy." *ELH* 52.3 (Autumn 1985): 575-589.
- Kerwin, William. "Where Have You Gone, Margaret Kennix?" in *Women Healers and Physicians: Climbing a Long Hill*. Edited by Lillian R. Furst. Lexington: University of Kentucky Press, 1997.
- King, Margaret L. and Albert Rabil, Jr. "The Other Voice in Early Modern Europe." Introduction to *Whether a Christian Woman Should be Educated*. Edited and translated by Joyce L. Irwin, vii-xxv. Chicago and London: University of Chicago Press, 1998.
- Knoppers, Laura Lunger. *Constructing Cromwell: Ceremony, Portrait, and Print 1645-1661*. Cambridge, UK: Cambridge University Press, 2000.
- Korda, Natasha. *Shakespeare's Domestic Economies: Gender and Property in Early Modern England*. Philadelphia: University of Pennsylvania Press, 2002.
- Lamb, Mary Ellen. "The Agency of the Split Subject: Lady Anne Clifford and the Uses of Reading." *English Literary Renaissance* 22 (1992): 347-68.
- Landes, Joan. "The Public and Private Sphere: A Feminist Reconsideration." In *Feminism, the Public, the Private*, ed. Joan B. Landes, 135-163. Oxford: Oxford University Press, 1998.
- Lawrence, W. W., *Shakespeare's Problem Comedies*. New York: Fungar, 1960.
- Leong, Elaine. "Medical Remedy Collections in Seventeenth-Century England: Knowledge, Text, and Gender." D.Phil diss., Oxford University, 2006.

- Love, Harold. *The Culture and Commerce of Texts: Scribal Publication in Seventeenth-Century England*. Amherst: University of Massachusetts Press, 1993.
- Manuel, Frank E, and Fritzie P. Manuel, *Utopian Thought in the Western World*. Cambridge, Massachusetts: Belknap Press, 1979.
- Marotti, Arthur F. *Manuscript, Print, and the English Renaissance Lyric*. Ithaca: Cornell University Press, 1995.
- Masten, Jeffrey. "Is the Fundament a Grave?" In *The Body in Parts: Fantasies of Corporeality in Early Modern Europe*, edited by David Hillman and Carla Mazzio, 129-146. New York: Routledge, 1997.
- Matchinskie, Megan. *Writing, Gender and State in Early Modern England*. Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 1998.
- Mendelsohn, Sara Heller. "Stuart Women's Diaries and Occasional Memoirs." In *Women in English Society 1500-1800*, ed. Mary Prior, 181-210. London: Methuen, 1985.
- Moss, Ann. *Printed Common-place Books and the Structuring of Renaissance Thought*. Oxford: Clarendon Press, 1996.
- Norbrook, David. *Poetry and Politics in the English Renaissance*. London and Boston: Routledge, 1984.
- Nye, Andrea. *The Princess and the Philosopher: Letters of Elisabeth of the Palatine to Rene Descartes*. Rowman & Littlefield: Lanham, 1999.
- Orlin, Lena Cowen. *Elizabethan Households: An Anthology*. Exhibition Catalog. Washington, DC: Folger Shakespeare Library, 1995.
- . *Private Matters and Public Culture in Post-Reformation England*. Ithaca: Cornell University Press, 1994.
- Ottway, Shelia. "Autobiography." In *A Companion to Early Modern Women's Writing*, edited by Anita Pacheco, 231-247. Oxford: Blackwell Publishing, 2002.
- Oxford, Arnold Whitaker. *English Cookery Books to the Year 1850*. London: Holland Press, 1913, 1977.
- Oxford Companion to Food*. Edited by Alan Davidson. Oxford: Oxford University Press, 1999.

- Palmer, Henry. *Dictionary of Booksellers and Printers 1668-1725*. Oxford: Oxford University Press, 1922.
- Paster, Gail. *Humoring the Body: Emotions and the Shakespearean Stage*. Chicago and London: University of Chicago Press, 2004.
- . *The Body Embarrassed: Drama and the Disciplines of Shame in Early Modern England*. Ithaca: Cornell University Press, 1993.
- Paston-Williams, Sara. "Sweet Herbs and Bitter Brews." In *The Art of Dining: A History of Cooking and Eating*, 143-199. London: The National Trust, 1993.
- Pelling, Margaret. *Medical Conflicts in Early Modern London: Patronage, Physicians, and Irregular Practitioners, 1550-1640*. Oxford: Clarendon Press, 2003.
- . "Thoroughly Resented? Older Women and the Medical Role in Early Modern London." In *Women, Science and Medicine 1500-1700*, edited by Lynette Hunter and Sarah Hutton, 63-88. Phoenix Mill, UK: Sutton Publishing Limited, 1997.
- Pennell, Sara. "The Material Culture of Food in Early Modern England, Circa 1650-1750." D.Phil diss., University of Oxford, 1997.
- . "'Pots and Pans History': The Material Culture of the Kitchen in Early Modern England." *Journal of Design History* 11.3 (1998): 201-216.
- Pollock, Linda. "Medical Matters." In *With Faith and Physic: The Life of a Tudor Gentlewoman Lady Grace Mildmay 1552-1620*, 92-109. New York: St. Martin's Press, 1995.
- . "'Teach Her to Live Under Obedience': The Making of Women in the Upper Ranks of Early Modern England." *Continuity and Change* 4.2 (1989): 231-258.
- Poole, Kristen. "'The fittest closet for all goodness': Authorial Strategies of Jacobean Mothers' Manuals." *SEL* 35 (1995): 69-88.
- Power, D'Arcy. Introduction to *Treatises of Fistula in Ano and of Fistulae in Other Parts of the Body and of Apostemes Making Fistulae*. . . by John Arderne. 15th Century. Early English Text Society. London: Oxford University Press, 1910, 1968.

- Purkiss, Diana. "Material Girls: The Seventeenth-Century Woman Debate." In *Women, Texts, Histories*, edited by Clare Brant and Diana Purkiss, 69-101. London and New York: Routledge, 1992.
- Rackin, Phyllis. *Shakespeare and Women*. Oxford: Oxford University Press, 2005.
- Rawcliffe, Carole. *Medicine and Society in Later Medieval England*. London: Sutton Publishing, 1995.
- Rhodes, Neil and Jonathan Sawday. *The Renaissance Computer: Knowledge Technology in the First Age of Print*. London and New York: Routledge, 2000.
- Sauer, Elizabeth. "Maternity, Prophecy, and the Cultivation of the Private Sphere in Seventeenth-Century England." *Explorations in Renaissance Culture* 14 (1998): 119-148.
- Sawday, Jonathan. *The Body Emblazoned: Dissection and the Human Body in Renaissance Culture*. London: Routledge, 1995.
- . "Self and Selfhood in the Seventeenth Century." In *Rewriting the Self: Histories from the Renaissance to the Present*, edited by Roy Porter, 29-48. London and New York: Routledge, 1997.
- Sherman, William. *John Dee: The Politics of Reading and Writing in the English Renaissance*. Amherst: University of Massachusetts Press, 1995.
- . *Renaissance Commonplace Books from the Huntington Library: A Listing and Guide to the Microfilm Collections*. Marlborough: Adam Matthew Publications, 1994.
- Smallwood, Frank T. "The Will of Dame Johanna St. John." *Notes and Queries* 214 (1969): 346.
- Smith, Lisa Wynn. "Women's Health Care in England and France (1650-1770)." D.Phil diss., University of Essex, 2001.
- Smith, Roger. "Self-Reflection and the Self." In *Rewriting the Self: Histories from the Renaissance to the Present*, edited by Roy Porter, 49-60. London and New York: Routledge, 1997.
- Snyder, Susan. Introduction to *The Oxford Shakespeare's All's Well that Ends Well*. Clarendon Press: Oxford, 1993.
- . "'The King's not Here': Displacement and Deferral in *All's Well that Ends Well*." *Shakespeare Quarterly* 43.1 (Spring 1992): 20-32.

- Sponsler, Claire. "Eating Lessons: Lydgate's Dietary and Consumer Conduct." In *Medieval Conduct*, edited by Kathleen Ashley and Robert L.A. Clark, 1-22. Minneapolis: University of Minnesota Press, 2001.
- Stallybrass, Peter. "Patriarchal Territories: The Body Enclosed." In *Rewriting the Renaissance: The Discourse of Sexual Difference in Early Modern Europe*, edited by Margaret W. Ferguson, Maureen Quilligan, and Nancy J. Vickers. Chicago: University of Chicago Press, 1986.
- Stevenson, Jane and Peter Davidson, eds. *Early Modern Women Poets: An Anthology*. Oxford: Oxford University Press, 2001.
- Stewart, Alan. "The Early Modern Closet Discovered." *Representations* 50 (Spring 1995): 76-100.
- Stine, Jennifer. "Opening Closets: The Discovery of Household Medicine in Early Modern England." Ph.D diss., Stanford University, 1996.
- Summit, Jennifer. *Lost Property: The Woman Writer and English Literary History 1380-1589*. Chicago and London: University of Chicago Press, 2000.
- Teague, Francis. "Anne Clifford." In *Her Own Life*. Edited by Elspeth Graham, Hilary Hinds, Elaine Hobby, and Helen Wilcox, 35-53. London: Routledge, 1989.
- Tebeaux, Elizabeth. "Women and Technical Writing, 1475-1700: Technology, Literacy, and Development of a Genre." In *Women, Science and Medicine 1500-1700*, edited by Lynette Hunter and Sarah Hutton, 29-62. Phoenix Mill, UK: Sutton Publishing Limited, 1997.
- Traister, Barbara Howard. "'Note Her a Little Farther': Doctors and Healers in the Drama of Shakespeare." In *Disease, Diagnosis, and Cure on the Early Modern Stage*. Edited by Stephanie Moss and Kaara L. Peterson, 43-52. Aldershot: Ashgate, 2004.
- Travitsky, Betty, ed. *The Paradise of Women: Writings by Englishwomen of the Renaissance*. New York: Columbia University Press, 1989.
- Turner, James Grantham. "Pepys and the Private Parts of Monarchy." In *Culture and Society in the Stuart Restoration: Literature, Drama, and History*, edited by Gerald MacLean, 95-110. Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 1996.
- Wall, Wendy. *Staging Domesticity: Household Work and English Identity in Early Modern Drama*. Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 2002.

- Warnicke, Retha. "Private and Public: The Boundaries of Women's Lives in Early Stuart England." In *Privileging Gender in Early Modern England*, edited by Jean R. Brink, 123-40. Kirksville: Sixteenth-Century Journal Publishers, 1993.
- Wear, Andrew. *Knowledge & Practice in English Medicine, 1550-1680*. Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 2000.
- Whigham, Frank. "Reading Social Conflict in the Alimentary Tract: More on the Body in Renaissance Drama." *ELH* 55.2 (Summer 1988): 333-350.
- Wilcox, Helen. "Literature and the Household." In *The Cambridge History of Early Modern English Literature*, edited by David Loewenstein and Janel Mueller, 737-763. Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 2002.
- . "Private Writing and Public Function: Autobiographical Texts by Renaissance Englishwomen." In *Gloriana's Face: Women, Public and Private, in the English Renaissance*, edited by S. P. Cerasano and Marion Wynne-Davies, 47-62. Detroit: Wayne State University Press, 1992.
- Zwicker, Steven N. "The Reader Revealed." In *The Reader Revealed*. Exhibition catalog. Compiled and edited by Sabrina Alcorn Baron with Elizabeth Walsh and Susan Scola, 11-17. Washington DC: Folger Shakespeare Library, 2001. University of Washington Press: Seattle and London, 2001.