Vernacular Medical Print (or how to read a recipe book)

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Abstract:
Centred on Hartman's *The Family Physitian*, this essay offers an introduction to the world of vernacular medical print, recipes, and household medicine in early modern England. It opens with a brief outline of how scholars have approached the study of early modern books with an emphasis on medical print, bringing together methodologies from book history, literary studies, and cultural histories of medicine. It then takes the reader through Hartman's book from cover-to-cover, illustrating how analysis of different "book parts" can extend our understanding of the past knowledge practices. In so doing, the article demonstrates that printed medical books from early modern England often presented a mix of learned and popular ideas about health and the body. It also contends that the medical book trade was closely connected with other kinds of health-related business, such as the drug trade or other kinds of medical services. Finally, through its focus on the recipe book as a genre of medical text, the article showcases the early modern home as an important site for medical activities and women as key actors.

The Family Physitian or a Collection of Choic,e Approv'd and Experienc'd Remedies for the Cure of Almost all Diseases appeared on London bookshelves in 1696.[1] Authored by George Hartman, self-described as a "Phylo Chymist," the book contained "hundreds of considerable Receipts and Secrets of great Vallue, with Observations of great Cures." On its debut, the book joined a long and crowded list of similar titles all offering instructions to make drugs and cures in early modern English homes. Recipe books joined a wide array of printed medical texts in English in sixteenth and seventeenth-century London. Available at various price points, these books covered a range of topics, such as first-aid, physic and surgery, pharmacy and dietary advice, and were targeted toward broad audiences from medical practitioners of all stripes and experience levels to householders. As such, vernacular printed books offer rich possibilities to study past ideas and practices of health and the body, and have long been studied by historians of medicine.

Centred on Hartman's *The Family Physitian*, this essay offers an introduction to the world of vernacular medical print, recipes, and household medicine in early modern England. It opens with a brief outline of how scholars have approached the study of early modern books with an emphasis on medical print, bringing together methodologies from book history, literary studies, and cultural histories of medicine. The article then guides the reader through Hartman's book from cover-to-cover, illustrating how analysis of different "book parts" can extend our understanding of the past knowledge practices.[2]

[1] Two editions of this work, with the same title and pagination, were printed in 1696. One is printed by H.Hills for the author (Wing 1003A) and the other is printed for Richard Wellington (Wing 1003). For ease, all references to the work in this article refer to the work printed for the author (Wing 1003A) and specially to the copy now in the William Andrews Clark Memorial Library and digitally available on Early English Books Online, https://www.proquest.com/books/family-physitian-collection-choice-approvd/docview/2240894383/se-2?accountid=14511. This copy is hereafter referenced as Hartman. Images of the work included in this essay are taken from the Wellcome Collection copy which is digitised and available in Public Domain. However, the Wellcome Collection copy is the edition printed for Richard Wellington (Wing 1003). While the two editions contain slightly different prefatory materials, there are no significant differences in the reproduced pages.

[2] Dennis Duncan and Adam Smyth, eds., *Book Parts* (Oxford: OUP, 2019).

The study of book production, reading, and use is a long-standing field of inquiry and scholars have approached past "book worlds" using a number of different analytical frameworks. Historians of the Book have shone light on production methods, publication conventions and the various actors involved in the creation and dissemination of a book object.[3] Literary scholars have focused on topics such as authorship and anonymity, processes of editing, translation, and reading.[4] Bibliographers have constructed a robust vocabulary to describe and analyze different aspects of books, including physical size and length, paper quality, watermarks, stitching, and bindings.[5] Together, these scholars have shown us how material aspects of the book can tell us much about the intentions of book producers, target audiences, and eventual book use.[6] In a period where the cost of paper constituted a large proportion of production costs, the size of the book and thus the amount of paper required for its production is one indication of intended audiences, or at least the size of their purses.[7] The inclusion of images, whether as woodcuts or engravings, will also

[3] The there is a rich literature on book history. For a recent overview see, James Raven, ed., *The Oxford Illustrated History of the Book*, Illustrated edition (Oxford: Oxford University Press, 2020). Seminal works include: Robert Darnton, "What Is the History of Books?," *Daedalus* 111, no. 3 (1982): 65–83; Donald Francis McKenzie, *Bibliography and the Sociology of Texts* (British Library, 1986); Thomas R. Adams and Nicolas Barker, "A New Model for the Study of the Book," in *A Potencie of Life: Books in Society. The Clark Lectures 1986-1987* (London: British Library, 1993), 5–43; Donald Francis McKenzie, *Making Meaning: "Printers of the Mind" and Other Essays*, ed. Peter D. McDonald and Michael Felix Suarez (Amherst and Boston: University of Massachusetts Press, 2002); Robert Darnton, "'What Is the History of Books?' Revisited," *Modern Intellectual History* 4, no. 3 (2007): 495–508. For the early modern British context, see, for example, Adrian Johns, *The Nature of the Book: Print and Knowledge in the Making* (Chicago: University of Chicago Press, 1998); Joad Raymond, ed., *The Oxford History of Popular Print Culture: Volume One: Cheap Print in Britain and Ireland to 1660* (Oxford, New York: Oxford University Press, 2011).

[4] See, for example, Marcy North, *The Anonymous Renaissance: Cultures of Discretion in Tudor-Stuart England* (Chicago: University of Chicago Press, 2003); Sara K. Barker and Brenda M. Hosington, *Renaissance Cultural Crossroads: Translation, Print and Culture in Britain, 1473-1640* (Leiden: Brill, 2013).

[5] See, for example, Philip Gaskell, *A New Introduction to Bibliography* (New Castle: Oak Knoll Press, 1995) and more recently, Sarah Werner, *Studying Early Printed Books, 1450-1800: A Practical Guide*, (Wiley, 2018).

[6] See, for example, Adam Smyth, *Material Texts in Early Modern England* (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 2018).

[7] D. F. Mckenzie, "Printing and Publishing 1557–1700: Constraints on the London Book Trades," in *The Cambridge History of the Book in Britain: Volume 4: 1557–1695*, ed. D. F. McKenzie and John Barnard, vol. 4, The Cambridge History of the Book in Britain (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 2002), 553–67 (556).

raise production costs, thus impacting the kinds of readers and users who could afford the text.[8]

Historians of medicine interested in English vernacular print have drawn heavily on this rich tradition and on the tremendous work conducted by early bibliographers to identify, describe and catalogue extant pre-1800 English printed books. Consequently, the study of English medical print largely takes the form of three connected trajectories. First, scholars such as Paul Slack and Mary Fissell have conducted robust surveys of medical print from c. 1475 - 1700.[9] By identifying emerging and fading trends in book genres and topics and offering an overview of the occupations and interests of authors and other book producers, these essays are crucial to our understanding of the contours of medical print. We now have a clear idea of what was printed when and by whom and which genres grew in popularity over the early modern period. For example, it is clear that recipe books such as Hartman's *The Family Physitian* gained popularity over the course of the seventeenth-century, and became one of the best-selling genres of vernacular medical print by the end of the century.[10] Likewise, scholars such as Fissell and Slack have shown that while long-standing genres such as regimens (or guides to healthy living) were often issued in the early

[8] Maureen Bell, 'Mise-En-Page, Illustration, Expressive Form', in *The Cambridge History of the Book in Britain: Volume 4: 1557–1695*, ed. D. F. McKenzie and John Barnard, vol. 4 (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 2002), 632–62; Alexandra Franklin, 'Woodcuts', in *Book Parts*, ed. Dennis Duncan and Adam Smyth (Oxford: Oxford University Press, 2019), 209–22; Sean Roberts, 'Engravings', in *Book Parts*, ed. Dennis Duncan and Adam Smyth (Oxford: Oxford University Press, 2019), 81–94.

[9] Paul Slack, "Mirrors of Health and Treasures of Poor Men: The Uses of the Vernacular Medical Literature of Tudor England," in *Health, Medicine and Mortality in the Sixteenth Century*, ed. Charles Webster (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 1979), 237–73; Mary E. Fissell, "The Marketplace of Print," in *The Medical Marketplace and Its Colonies c. 1450-c 1850*, ed. Mark Jenner and Patrick Wallis (Basingstoke: Palgrave Macmillan, 2007), 108–32; Mary E. Fissell, "Popular Medical Writing," in *The Oxford History of Popular Print Culture: Volume One: Cheap Print in Britain and Ireland to 1660*, ed. Joad Raymond (Oxford: Oxford University Press, 2011), 417–30.

[10] Fissell, "The Marketplace of Print," 116.

sixteenth-century, their popularity with readers gradually declined over the time period examined.[11]

Secondly, parallel to these general surveys of medical print, historians have also conducted in-depth case studies of particular genres or kinds of books, tracing continuity and change in book content, authors, and production methods in response to political, social, and cultural contexts. Exemplary works include Agnes Arber and Sarah Neville's work on herbals, Bernard Capp's study of almanacs, Lauren Kassell's detailed article on alchemical books and medical cases, and Mary Fissell's *Vernacular Bodies,* which examines midwifery manuals in sixteenth- and seventeenth-century England.[12] Inspired again by historians of the book, the third strand of research concerns book reception and reading. Here, historians such as Peter Murray Jones, have reconstructed book collections and libraries and analyzed readers' engagement with printed texts via handwritten marginalia and reading notes in notebooks.[13] If the first two strands of study tend to prioritize book production and assess what kinds of knowledge and information was made available, this third strand emphasizes the agency of readers to recover how early modern men and women might have selected, engaged with, and used book-based knowledge in their everyday health practices.[14]

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[11] Slack, "Mirrors of Health," 243 and Fissell, "The Marketplace of Print," 116.

[12] Agnes Arber, *Herbals: Their Origin and Evolution: A Chapter in the History of Botany, 1470-1670* (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 1953); Sarah Neville*, Early Modern Herbals and the Book Trade: English Stationers and the Commodification of Botany*. Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 2022; B. S. Capp, *Astrology and the Popular Press: English Almanacs 1500-1800 / Bernard Capp.* (London: Faber and Faber, 1979); Lauren Kassell, "Secrets Revealed: Alchemical Books in Early modern England," *History of Science* 49, no. 1 (2011): 61–125; Lauren Kassell, "Casebooks in Early Modern England: Medicine, Astrology, and Written Records," *Bulletin of the History of Medicine* 88, no. 4 (2014): 595–625; Mary E. Fissell, *Vernacular Bodies: The Politics of Reproduction in Early Modern England* (Oxford: Oxford University Press, 2004).

[13] Sample works include: Peter Murray Jones, "Reading Medicine in Tudor Cambridge," in *The History of Medical Education in Britain*, ed. Vivian Nutton and Roy Porter (Amsterdam and Atlanta, GA: Editions Rodopi, 1995), 153–83; P.M. Jones, "The Tabula Medicine: An Evolving Encyclopaedia," *English Manuscript Studies: 1100-1700* 14 (1, 2008): 60–85.

[14] There is a rich literature on the history of reading. Key works on the history of reading in general include: Robert Darnton, "First Steps Toward a History of Reading," *Australian Journal of French Studies* 23, no. 1 (1986): 5–30; Lisa Jardine and Anthony Grafton, '"Studied for Action": How Gabriel Harvey Read His Livy', *Past & Present* 129, no. 1 (1990): 30–78; William H. Sherman, *Used Books. Marking Readers in Renaissance England*

Furthermore, by attending to the afterlives of print, it has also traced long-view narratives of medical ideas and concepts.[15]

Scholars analyzing vernacular medical print examine a number of different components or "book parts" to gain further understandings of past health cultures. In recent years, scholars have played increasing attention to "paratextual" materials.[16] These are conventional apparatus framing the main body of text in any book, including but not limited to title pages, table of contents, front matter such as prefaces and letters to the reader, chapter and marginal headings, and indexes. Together, these different "book parts" can tell us a great deal about a printed work. Titlepages and front matter often reveal information about intended audiences, authors' reasons for writing and publishing the work, and the different book producers (printers, publishers, booksellers) involved in the project. Tables of contents and chapter arrangements offer indicators of knowledge organization schemes and hint at particular knowledge hierarchies via the amount of space devoted to particular topics or the sequential listing of topics. In what follows, I will briefly take you through Hartman's *The Family Physitian* from cover-to-cover to illustrate the kinds of questions we might ask of a vernacular printed medical book and the sorts of insights that might be gained.

(Philadelphia: University of Pennsylvania Press, 2008). On medical reading, see for example, Mary E. Fissell, "Readers, Texts, and Contexts: Vernacular Medical Works in Early Modern England," in *The Popularization of Medicine, 1650-1850*, ed. Roy Porter (London: Routledge, 1992), 72–96 and Vanessa Harding, "Reading Plague in Seventeenth-Century London," *Social History of Medicine* 32, no. 2 (2019): 267–86. On gender and medical reading, see Rebecca Laroche, *Medical Authority and Englishwomen's Herbal Texts, 1550-1650* (Aldershot: Ashgate Publishing, 2009) and Elaine Leong, "'Herbals She Peruseth': Reading Medicine in Early Modern England," *Renaissance Studies* 28, no. 4 (2014): 556–78.

[15] For a long view history of Galenism, see Petros Bouras-Vallianatos and Barbara Zipser, eds., 'Brill's Companion to the Reception of Galen', in *Brill's Companion to the Reception of Galen* (Brill, 2019). See also Elaine Leong, "Transformative Itineraries and Communities of Knowledge in Early Modern Europe: The Case of Lazare Rivière's *The Practice of Physick*," in *Civic Medicine: Physician, Polity, and Pen in Early Modern Europe*, ed. J. Andrew Mendelsohn, Annemarie Kinzelbach, and Ruth Schilling, (Abingdon: Routledge, 2019), 257–79 and Lori Jones, 'Itineraries and Transformations: John of Burgundy's Plague Treatise', *Bulletin of the History of Medicine* 95, no. 3 (2021): 277–314.

[16] Helen Smith and Louise Wilson, eds., *Renaissance Paratexts* (Cambridge: University Press, 2011).

The titlepage of *The Family Physitian* is divided into four distinct sections. Like many similar offerings, Hartman gave his work a long and unwieldy title: *The Family Physitian or a Collection of Choice, Approv'd and Experience'd Remedies for the Cure of Almost all Diseases incident to Humain Bodies, whether Internal or External; useful for Familie,s and very serviceable to Country People.*[17] Right off the bat, then, Hartman indicates that his work is comprehensive ("almost all diseases"); intended for lay practitioners ("families" and "country people"); designed to be "useful" and "serviceable;" and contains tried and tested cures ("approv'd and experience'd"). The second section of the titlepage offers more details for curious readers, revealing that the volume contains "hundreds" of "Receipts and Secrets" of "great vallue," as well as "Observations of great Cures." Additionally, Hartman has decided to pair the collection with a tract titled the "Wine-Celler," proffering instructions to make English wines and metheglin (spiced mead), as well as additional instructions for the production of "Choicest and Safest cosmetic Remedies." Crucially, he adds, the know-how offered was "never before publish'd."

For historians, this dense titlepage is revealing of early modern health cultures. First, we note that there was evidently a market for manuals for health practices within families or in non-urban areas.[18] Secondly, know-how gained value via hands-on testing, personal observations, and endorsements; hence the repeated use of verbs such as 'approve' or 'observe,' and 'experience.'[19] Finally, it was common to bind together how-to knowledge

[17] Hartman, Titlepage.
[18] See, for example, Anne Stobart, *Household Medicine in Seventeenth-Century England* (London: Bloomsbury Publishing, 2016).
[19] For a recent overview on experiential knowledge in early modern medicine, see, Alisha Rankin, "Experience," in *A Cultural History of Medicine: The Renaissance*, ed. Elaine Leong and Claudia Stein (London: Bloomsbury Academic, 2021), 141–62. For a recent overview on drug testing, see Elaine Leong and Alisha Rankin, "Testing Drugs and Trying Cures: Experiment and Medicine in Medieval and Early Modern Europe," *Bulletin of the History of Medicine* 91, no. 2 (2017): 157–82.

about the production of drugs, alcohol, and cosmetics due to the close connections between food, drink, and medicines, and the contemporary attention to the surface of the body as a way to monitor health and sickness.[20]

If the first two sections of the titlepage tell us much about contemporary attitudes to recipe knowledge and health practices, the second two sections are revealing about our actors, their authority claims, and their roles as knowers. Hartman describes himself as a "Phylo chymist" or a lover of chemistry and boasted that he had 'liv'd and Travell'd with the Honourable and Renoun'd Sir KENELM DIGBY in several parts of Europe, the space of Seven Years till he died."[21] Hartman's biographical statement suggests that contemporaries and, particularly readers and buyers of such books, considered Hartman's association with an aristocrat well-known for his experimentations and knowledge *and* his travels outside England to be markers of medical authority.[22] The careful note that his service with Digby was lengthy and that Digby had died hints that Hartman had access to Digby's stash of secret knowledge. The final section of the titlepage contains the imprint, which lists information about the various actors (printers, publishers, booksellers, etc) involved in the production and sale of this book. In this case, it notes that the work was "printed by H. Hills for the Author" and offers Hartman's current address. As we will see later, this self-published book was part of a larger scheme to sell medical services and goods.[23]

[20] For an overview see, David Gentilcore, *Food and Health in Early Modern Europe*, 1 edition (London: Bloomsbury Academic, 2015).
[21] On the definition of "Phylochymist", see Nathan Bailey, *An universal etymological English dictionary* (London, 1721), sig. Kkkk7.
[22] On books of secrets and the trope of the wandering professor of secrets, see William Eamon, *Science and the Secrets of Nature: Books of Secrets in Medieval and Early Modern Culture* (Princeton: Princeton University Press, 1994).
[23] Roy Porter, *Health for Sale: Quackery in England, 1660-1850* (Manchester: University of Manchester Press, 1989) and P. Isaac, "Pills and Print," in *Medicine, Mortality and the Book Trade*, ed. R. Myers and M. Harris (Folkstone, Kent, 1998), 25–47.

Once we flip open the book, we encounter two additional pieces of paratextual materials, both penned by Hartman. First is a letter dedicating the book to William Paston, Viscount and Earl of Yarmouth, and second is a detailed letter to the reader outlining Hartman's intentions for the work and hopes for its place in the hearts of the English reading public.[24] Dedicatory letters are commonplace in early modern books and served as a space for authors to seek or firm up their connections with wealthy and/or well-connected patrons.[25] In this dedication, Hartman connects his work with another aristocratic family renowned for their interests in medical and alchemical practices.[26] As Hartman's letter is careful to note, William's father Robert Paston was known for his skills in iatrochemistry (medical alchemy) and was the dedicatee of Hartman's earlier publications. Moreover, it seems that William had promised Hartman access to his father's famed "Manuscripts and Secrets" learned from the famous physician Sir Theodore Mayerne.[27] Thus, Hartman's short dedicatory letter not only reveals his connections and past support from another aristocratic expert but also puts in print and thus public, William Paston's promise to open his books of secrets to Hartman. In other words, these often brief letters enable historians to trace and reconstruct networks of patronage and knowledge communities.

If the dedicatory letter was a masterpiece of name-dropping, the letter to the reader is rather more of an advertisement of the authors' expertise and the utility of the work at hand.[28] Hartman begins by telling readers that *The Family Physitian* is his fourth book in

[24] Hartman, sigs., A2r-A3v.
[25] See, for example, Helen Smith, "Acknowledgements and Dedications" in *Book Parts*, 95-108.
[26] Andrew Moore, Nathan Flis, and Francesca Vanke, eds., *The Paston Treasure: Microcosm of the Known World*, Illustrated edition (New Haven: Yale University Press, 2018); Spike Bucklow, *The Anatomy of Riches: Sir Robert Paston's Treasure* (London: Reaktion Books, 2018).
[27] Hartman, sig., A2v. On Mayerne, see Brian Nance, *Turquet de Mayerne as Baroque Physician: The Art of Medical Portraiture* (Amsterdam: Rodopi, 2001). The manuscript in question might be MS Osborn fb255 in the Beinecke Rare Book and Manuscript Library, Yale University, Yale, CT.
[28] On these letters as a genre of writing see, Meaghan J. Brown, "Addresses to the Reader" in *Book Parts*, 81-94.

print, thus reminding them of his considerable experience as a practitioner and as an author. The rest of the letter reinforces themes already introduced on the titlepage. Hartman is keen to remind readers that much of book was "never Printed," alluding to the value of the knowledge that had previously only circulated in manuscript form within select circles. This volume of the "Marrow of Collections" represented know-how tested by "an able Physitian and Chyrurgion," that is approved and backed by an expert practitioner. There is again language about the value of these "Secrets" and "Observations of Famous Cures." Very quicky though, Hartman turns to a series to disclaimers, emphasising that these instructions were not for "any Man exactly to follow" but rather a "light and Guide" to those who have "wisdom prudently to use."[29] It was also intended to be of "good use" to others such as "well dispos'd worthy Ladies and Gentlewomen, that take delight in the Charitable Contributing to the Health as well as Sustenance of their Poor Neighbours and Domestical Servants" and also those based in the country where "Physitians and Chyrurgions are scarce, if at all to be had."[30]

Three points are significant here. First, women were encouraged to engage in medical activities within their own households, particularly if it concerned patients who were unable to pay for other kinds of medical services.[31] Second, there is recognition that while medical practitioners of all stripes are common in urban centers, they were hard to come by in rural areas. In these cases, readers were encouraged to fill in this gap in healthcare provision. In other words, while Hartman was eager to open medical knowledge to all those who could read, but he was careful to delineate that this knowledge was not to

[29] Hartman, sig., A3r.
[30] Hartman, sig., A3v.
[31] See, for example, Linda A. Pollock and Lady Grace Mildmay, *With Faith and Physic: The Life of a Tudor Gentlewoman, Lady Grace Mildmay, 1552-1620* (New York: St. Martin's Press, 1995); Alisha Rankin, *Panaceia's Daughters: Noblewomen as Healers in Early Modern Germany* (Chicago: University of Chicago Press, 2013).

be used in place of services or advice from paid medical practitioners. As part of a community of practitioners offering various kinds of health services, Hartman was careful not to be a threat or to take business away from his colleagues.[32] By closely analyzing Hartman's letter to the reader, historians can recover not only how authors promoted themselves, but also their subtler intentions for how readers should use their books.

The final piece of the front matter of this publication, the index, follows the dedication and address to readers. It is somewhat unusual to see the index at the front rather than the back of the work, but even by the late seventeenth-century, printing conventions were still in flux and works could include both a table of contents and an index or just one or the other.[33] Indexes can tell us much about contemporary attitudes towards disease entities and medical knowledge schemes. The one in *The Family Physitian* is listed alphabetically and I will explore the letter B as an example. There are 16 entries listed under the letter B, starting with "Barreness" and ending with "Balsam of St. Johnswort;" the indexer was clearly comfortable listing bodily states (to be barren) with instruction to make specific drugs. Interestingly, readers looking to learn more about "barreness" are instructed to see "conception" instead. Under the heading "C" is an entry "Conception to procure." Other entries addressed ailments visible on the surface of the body such as "Burns," "Bruises and Swellings" or "Breasts in Women Swell'd hard and painful, cur'd." Others alluded to issues inside the body, including "Beating of the Heart" or "Back weak to strengthen." Elsewhere, the indexer included disease entities such as "Apoplexie," "Dropsie," "Green Sickness," "Kings Evil," and "Yellow Jaundice." While brief and often one-

[32] On medical economies and markets, see, Mark Jenner and Patrick Wallis, eds., *Medicine and the Market in England and its Colonies, c.1450-c.1850* (Basingstoke: Palgrave Macmillan, 2007).
[33] See, for example, Denis Duncan, "Indexing" in Ann Blair et al., *Information: A Historical Companion* (Princeton: Princeton University Press, 2021), 491-5.

word long, these entries richly reveal the various bodily signs that early modern men and women searched for and noted. It also gives historians a sense of the language and vocabulary used by our historical actors to describe sickness, which included terminology for bodily symptoms and for ailments and diseases. As many have noted, this broad and fluid view of sickness and disease was common throughout the early modern period and is reflected across different genres of medical writings.[34]

[insert figure 1 here]

Turning to the body of the text, the "First volume of the Family Physitian," as Hartman optimistically termed it (he had high hopes for a follow-up publication which did not materialize), is a lengthy work of more than 520 pages.[35] The hundreds of medical recipes in the book covered all sorts of bodily pains, ailments and disease and were organized into 65 chapters. Hartman begins by listing the remedies by parts of the body or the organs addressed, starting from the head and moving down the body, and then proceeds to address ailments pertinent to the whole body, such as fevers or plague.[36] The listing of recipes from head-to-toe (in Latin *a capite ad calem*) was a widespread practice in medieval texts on practical medicine, and Hartman's use of this convention not only presented the information in a familiar organizational structure but also connected his work (for some readers at least) to long-standing traditions of learned medical writing. Around halfway through the chapters, Hartman switches the organizational categories from ailments to types of medicine with a strong focus on distilled waters, these included instructions to make cordial waters, strong waters and cordial juleps.[37] This is followed by

[34] For a recent overview, see, Olivia Weisser, "Disease," in *A Cultural History of Medicine: The Renaissance*, ed. Elaine Leong and Claudia Stein (London: Bloomsbury Academic, 2021), 63–84.
[35] Hartman, 524.
[36] Hartman, 222-229 (agues and fevers) and 259-273 (plague).
[37] Hartman, 274-294 (cordial waters); 294-316 (strong waters) and 317-330 (cordial juleps) and 330-343.

sections on medicines which purge the body and, relatedly, remedies which control vomiting, bleeding, and sweating, and a long list of remedies addressing women's health issues and children's illnesses.[38] The volume concludes with a section on miscellaneous recipes (including for veterinary medicines) and subsections titled "The True English Wine Celler," "Preserving and Pickling," "The Cabinet of Safe Cosmetik Remedies."[39] These section headings suggest that Hartman went to considerable efforts to organize, make accessible and retrievable the vast information contained in his work.

From this brief description above, it is clear that Hartman's weighty tome contained a wealth of health-related information and *The Family Physitian* aimed to offer comprehensive medical know-how geared to deal with all sorts of health and bodily issues arising within a household.[40] In terms of content and structure, *The Family Physician* followed in footsteps of other popular household recipe books such as *A Choice Manual of Rare and Select Secrets in Physick and Chirurgery* (London 1653) which was accredited to Elizabeth Grey, the Countess of Kent and *The Queens Closet Opened* (London 1655), connected with Henrietta Maria. Both of these texts likewise cover a wide range of ailments and offered sections on food preservation and cosmetics.[41] The bringing together of pharmaceutical knowledge with that on fermentation and preservation and beauty know-how is reflective of the close affinity between these areas within early modern mentalities.

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[38] Hartman, 330-360 and 360-402 (women's health) and 402-413 (remedies specifically designated for children), 414-425 (remedies addressing measles, smallpox, nosebleeds and more).
[39] Hartman, 425- ("Miscellanea"); 468-470 (remedies for ailments in horses); 471-498 ("The True English Wine Celler"); 498-510 (preserving and pickling) and 511- 524 ("The Cabinet of Safe Cosmetick Remedies").
[40] Alun Withey, *Physick and the Family: Health, Medicine and Care in Wales 1600-1750* (Manchester: Manchester University Press, 2011).
[41] Lynette Hunter, "Women and Domestic Medicine: Lady Experimenters, 1570-1620," in *Women, Science and Medicine, 1500-1700: Mothers and Sisters of the Royal Society*, ed. Lynette Hunter and Sarah Hutton (Thrupp, Stroud: Sutton Publishing, 1997), 89–107; Elizabeth Spiller, "Introduction", in *Seventeenth-Century English Recipe Books: Cooking, Physic and Chirurgery in the Works of Elizabeth Talbot Grey and Aletheia Talbot Howard: Essential Works for the Study of Early Modern Women: Series III, Part Three, Volume 3* (Aldershot and Burlington, VT: Ashgate Publishing, 2008), ix–li.

Not only did they require similar skills, techniques and tools but, within contemporary ideas of the body, these different substances would have worked together to balance humors and maintain health.[42]

Historians of medicine have demonstrated that the household was likely the first port of call for early modern healthcare provision, and books such as *The Family Physitian* provided much needed support for householders taking on medical roles. Supplemented by other vernacular texts such as general medical guides, surgical books or herbals and informal hands-on training and knowledge exchange with friends and family, printed recipe books such as *The Family Physitian* stood at the centre of a range of home-based health activities.[43] These included all sorts of "body work" such as caring and nursing, diagnosis, observation and tending to different kinds of ailments and medicine production.[44] While it was not unusual for husbands and wives or fathers and mothers to both take an interest and contribute to these health activities, in general, women took on the lion's share of such work.[45] Women's expertise in recipe knowledge is evident by the survival of a large number

[42] Gentilcore, *Food and Health in Early Modern Europe*; Edith Snook, *Women, Beauty and Power in Early Modern England: A Feminist Literary History* (Palgrave Macmillan, 2011); Montserrat Cabré, "Keeping Beauty Secrets in Early Modern Iberia," in *Secrets and Knowledge in Medicine and Science, 1500-1800*, ed. Elaine Leong and Alisha Rankin (Farnham: Ashgate Publishing, 2011), 167–90.

[43] See, for example, Alisha Rankin, "The Housewife's Apothecary in Early Modern Austria: Wolfgang Helmhard von Hohberg's Georgica Curiosa (1682)," *Medicina & Storia* 8, no. 15 (2008): 55–76; Elizabeth Spiller, "Printed Recipe Books in Medical, Political, and Scientific Contexts", in *The Oxford Handbook of Literature and the English Revolution*, ed. Laura Knoppers (Oxford: Oxford University Press, 2012), 516–33;Michelle DiMeo and Sara Pennell, eds., *Reading and Writing Recipe Books, 1550-1800* (Manchester: University of Manchester Press, 2013); Elaine Leong, *Recipes and Everyday Knowledge: Medicine, Science and the Household in Early Modern England* (Chicago: University of Chicago Press, 2018), Chapter 5.

[44] Mary E. Fissell, "Women, Health and Healing in Early Modern Europe," *Bulletin for the History of Medicine* 82 (2008): 1–17; Sharon Strocchia, ed., "Women and Healthcare in Early Modern Europe," *Renaissance Studies* 28.4 (2014); Debra Blumenthal, "Domestic Medicine: Slaves, Servants and Female Medical Expertise in Late Medieval Valencia," *Renaissance Studies* 28, no. 4 (September 1, 2014): 515–32; Stobart, *Household Medicine in Seventeenth-Century England*.

[45] Lucinda McCray Beier, "In Sickness and in Health: A Seventeenth Century Family's Experience," in *Patients and Practitioners: Lay Perceptions of Medicine in Pre-Industrial Society*, ed. Roy Porter (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 1985), 101–28; Lisa Smith, "The Relative Duties of a Man: Domestic Medicine in England and France, ca. 1685–1740," *Journal of Family History* 31, no. 3 (2006): 237–56.

of manuscript recipe books, a number of printed works fronted by gentlewomen and by the common citation of female recipe donors in both manuscript and printed collections.[46]

Like many other printed recipe books, *The Family Physitian* is a compilation of know-how drawing from Hartman's own medical and reading practices, both of which were shaped by his service to Sir Kenelm Digby.[47] The work contains a number of recipes for which Digby was well-known, including his "Wound-drink for the Kings Evil, Fistula, Corroding Ulcers, or old Soree" and cure testimonies from Digby's own practice.[48] Furthermore, Hartman offers medical and beauty know-how from a number of Royalist courtiers such as Prince Rupert and Lady Crisp, demonstrating how political and social networks framed knowledge transfer in this period.[49] Hartman also included successful cases from his own healing activities, including his observations on how a powder for "Kings Evil and other desperate scorbutick Diseases" cured a unnamed gentleman, the daughter of Sir Nathaniel Johnson and Mrs Pannel.[50] By the late seventeenth-century, the inclusion of

[46] See, for example, Sara Pennell, "Perfecting Practice? Women, Manuscript Recipes and Knowledge in Early Modern England," in *Early Modern Women's Manuscript Writing: Selected Papers from the Trinity/Trent Colloquium*, ed. Jonathan Gibson and Victoria E. Burke (Aldershot: Ashgate, 2004), 237–58; Lynette Hunter, "Women and Domestic Medicine: Lady Experimenters, 1570-1620," in *Women, Science and Medicine,* 89–107; Michelle DiMeo, "Authorship and Medical Networks: Reading Attributions in Early Modern Manuscript Recipe Books," in *Reading and Writing Recipe Books*, 25–46 and references in footnote 37.

[47] Michael Foster, "Digby, Sir Kenelm (1603–1665), Natural Philosopher and Courtier", in *Oxford Dictionary of National Biography*, 2004, https://doi.org/10.1093/ref:odnb/7629; Lawrence Principe, 'Sir Kenelm Digby and His Alchemical Circle in 1650s Paris: Newly Discovered Manuscripts', *Ambix* 60 (2013): 3–24.

[48] Hartman claims that Digby "cur'd the Daughter of Sir William Curtius at Franckfort in Germany, in the year 1[6]59 of a corroding Ulcer in her Leg". Another example of a cure testimony is the recipe titled "An experienc'd Remedy against the Falling-sickness, wherewith Sir K Digby cur'd a Ministers Son at Franckfort in Germany in the year 1659" where Hartman claimed that the patient "was perfectly cur'd to which I was an Eyewitness, helping to prepare the said Remedy with my own hands". Hartman, 214-15 and 41-2.

[49] Lady Crisp is likely the wife of Sir Nicholas Crisp, a royalist who also spent time exiled in France. She is credited as the author of a purging powder. See, for example, "Prince Rupert's Receipt to prepare the said Frankfurt Pills" and other references to his role as a recipe creator and knowledge mediator, Hartman, 198 (Lady Crisp), 132, 195, 290-1 (Prince Rupert). On Nicholas Crisp, see Ashton, R. Crisp, Sir Nicholas, first baronet (c. 1599–1666), merchant and royalist. *Oxford Dictionary of National Biography.* Retrieved 7 Oct. 2021, from https://www.oxforddnb.com/view/10.1093/ref:odnb/9780198614128.001.0001/odnb-9780198614128-e-6705.

[50] Hartman, 218-220.

experiential knowledge such as testimonies and observations in medical texts about drugs, cures and recipes was fairly commonplace and served as a marker for authority.[51]

The Family Physitian also existed within a network of books as Hartman's extensive reading of contemporary medical books provided him with a wealth of information. For example, the recipe for Digby's wound water was actually taken from the *Pharamcopoeia Bateana*, the dispensatory of the physician George Bate compiled by the apothecary James Shipton and published in Latin in 1688 and translated by the popular medical writer William Salmon in 1694. Here Hartman reproduces not only the recipe but also Salmon's comments on the medicine.[52] Other contemporary authors name-checked by Hartman include the French physician and professor of practical medicine at Montpellier, Lazare Rivière, and the physicians William Harvey, Theodore Mayerne, Thomas Sydenham, and Thomas Willis.[53] This is a key characteristic of vernacular medical literature in this period, and rather than thinking of it as plagiarism, we might think of it as reading for others much like students crib notes or study guides. At a time when printed books were expensive and inaccessible for many, these "digested reads" played a key role in knowledge transfer.

Finally, while *The Family Physitian* has much in common with other popular recipe books of the day, it also has one standout feature: the inclusion of an intricate copper engraving of a distillation apparatus usually placed near the front of the book.[54] The text

[51] Rankin, "Experience". On observations and cases as medical genres, see Gianna Pomata, "Observation Rising: Birth of an Epistemic Genre, Ca. 1500-1650," in *Histories of Scientific Observation*, ed. Lorraine Daston and Elizabeth Lunbeck (Chicago: University of Chicago Press, 2011); Kassell, "Casebooks in Early Modern England: Medicine, Astrology, and Written Records."

[52] Hartman, 424. The same recipe can be found in the *Pharmacopoeia Bateana* (London, 1694), 32.

[53] Hartman, see, for example, for Riviére: 6, 345, 366, 406, 463; Harvey: 102, 131, 133, 235, 330-1; Mayerne: 6, 56, 228, 385; Sydenham: 201-2, 330, 366, 371, 378, 411-3 and Willis: 27, 43, 136, 142, 188, 192, 211, 224, 358, 370, 406. This list is illustrative and not exhaustive.

[54] Early modern books were often sold as unbound sheets, enabling book owners to decide on the binding materials and style, as well as other accompanying titles to bind together as a volume. In the case of *The Family Physitian*, many surviving copies, such as the Clark library copy on EEBO, have the image bound in between the letter to the reader and the "explanation of the Figures" on signature A4r.

accompanying the image describes the apparatus as a "Engine of Still" invented by Hartman and debuted in his earlier publication *The Preserver and Restorer of Health*.[55] Made of tin, brass or copper, the engine was designed to boil and stew meat and distill medicinal waters, depending on which of the many different components were fitted together. Heated either by charcoal or by a spirit lamp, it presented a fuel-efficient means to make many of the recipes offered in the book. Helpfully, Hartman would be very happy to direct buyers to expert artisans to have the engine made, particularly if readers visited him at his house at the "lower end of Cherry-garden street near the Jamaica-house" in Rotherhithe.[56]

[insert figure 2 a and b here]

Depictions of apparatus such as Hartman's engine suggest a lively trade in health-related technologies and instruments in late-seventeenth century London. From Hartman's various descriptions of the "Engine" it was evidently a rather popular item, especially with the seafaring communities in Wapping and Rotherhithe and with fashionable gentry.[57] Like many other scientific and medical instruments of the period, consumers often obtained bespoke creations of these engines or instruments which were created to their specification in terms of size and materials by local artisans.[58] The inclusion of the engine schematics and directions on where to obtain the apparatus in *The Family Physitian* reveals the close connections between the touting of medical knowledge and of medical goods and services.

[55] George Hartman, *The Preserver and Restorer of Health* (London, 1682), sigs., A6r-7v and engraving.
[56] Hartman, Sig. A5v. Samuel Pepys and his wife visited Jamaica House in April 1667 and it seems that the building was part of a pleasure garden called Cherry Garden: see, "Parishes: Bermondsey," in *A History of the County of Surrey*: Volume 4, ed. H E Malden (London: Victoria County History, 1912), 17-24. British History Online, accessed September 22, 2021, http://www.british-history.ac.uk/vch/surrey/vol4/pp17-24.
[57] Hartman, *Preserver*, Sig. A6v.
[58] See, for example, Larry Stewart, "Science, Instruments, and Guilds in Early-Modern Britain." *Early Science and Medicine* 10, no. 3 (2005): 392–410; Mario Biagioli, "From Print to Patents: Living on Instruments in Early Modern Europe," *History of Science* 44, no. 2 (2006): 139–86.

Earlier we noted from the titlepage imprint that one edition of *The Family Physitian* was published for the author – that is, funded by Hartman -- and likely sold at his listed address in Rotherhithe. In fact, Hartman offered many other medical items aside from books and engines. The final section of *The Family Physitian* is titled "Catalogue of some choice Medicines which I have by me ready prepar'd" and lists over 40 different compound medicines and their prices. Some of these, such as the "true Royal Hungarian-water" are specific famous medicines made from secret recipes passed through various hands in Royalist circles but not all of the medicines listed here are made from such guarded know-how.[59] In fact, the main text of *The Family Physitian* offers the recipes for many of these medicines, along with their virtues or use, dosage information and endorsements from various medical practitioners. In other words, Hartman offered a drug *production* service, promising medicines made by a trustworthy expert using popular or sought-after recipes. Hartman's more service-orientated commercial outfit existed alongside contemporary enterprises touting proprietary medicines, such as Daffy's Elixir or Anderson's Pills, highlighting market needs for different kinds of medical services.[60] The overlap between Hartman's book contents and his list of medicines for sale also suggests that just because recipes are accessible via printed works, it did not mean that they were widely made by householders. Then, like now, householders might have been interested in how particular medicines were made and what they contained *and yet* still obtain them from a specialised

[59] Hartman provides instructions to the "The Queen of Hungary's Water as they make it in France"; however, he claims that the 'true Royal Hungarian water as it was prepar'd for Kinh Charles the II' exceeds the other in "Vertue against all cold Distempers of the Head and Brain, all affects of the Nerves and Joints &c". The recipe for this version of the water was given to Hartman by a "honourable Lady, who had it of the Illustrious Prince Rupert". As Hartman is under "an obligation not to publish it", he "prepare[s] it and sell[s] it to many of the Nobility and Gentry in this Kingdom", Hartman, 289-291 and 526.

[60] David Boyd Haycock and Patrick Wallis, "Quackery and Commerce in Seventeenth-Century London: The Proprietary Medicine Business of Anthony Daffy.," *Medical History. Supplement*, no. 25 (2005): 1–216; Porter, *Health for Sale.*

or expert producer. A good modern analogy might be coffee table cookbooks from internationally renowned restaurants or lengthy baking tomes with instructions for making intricate celebratory cakes; in both cases, readers eagerly pore over pages for theoretical know-how but few actually make the recipes themselves, leaving that to top chefs and bakers.

[insert figure 3 here]

Printed at the close of the seventeenth century, *The Family Physitian* entered a well-developed market in vernacular medical print offering all sorts of health-related information and advice to a wide-ranging readership. Many surviving copies of these books are heavily annotated and record how contemporary and later readers engaged with the works, underlining particularly important parts, adding supplementary information and contesting information which with they disagreed. Thus, we know that these works were read, used, and played a crucial part in the making, transfer and circulation of health knowledge. The example of Hartman's *Family Physitian* brings out several important points about early modern vernacular medical print. First, many of these texts presented a mix of "learned" and "popular" ideas sourced from a range of places – books by university-trained physicians and professors, personal experience and observations, and even informal conversations. As such, they suggest that for the everyday reader, the lines between "learned" and "popular" medical ideas were considerably blurred. Secondly, the medical book trade was bound up with all kinds of health-related businesses including the sale of new-fangled medical technologies such as Hartman's engine and drug production services. In that sense, the sale of books was an integral part of medical markets. Finally, as suggested by Hartman's title *The Family Physitian*, the early modern home was a primary site for medical activities. Recipe collections were the mainstay of book producers and sellers, reflecting lively

circulation of recipe knowledge and home-based health cultures. Women, as mothers, wives, housekeepers and drug producers, played a central role in these activities and were both producers and consumers of vernacular medical print. In this way, books as *The Family Physitian* serve as excellent introductions to the multi-faceted world of early modern healthcare and related knowledge practices.