

Tea in Terms of Fashion Theory

—A Cultural History of Tea-related Vocabulary in England to 1714—

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Acknowledgements

I started my study of tea as a research student at Tokyo University of Foreign Studies as a master's level research student, but it was only after Professor Yuko Adegawa accepted me as a master's student at Daito Bunka University that I was able to begin a more detailed study of the cultural and linguistic aspects of the introduction and spread of tea drinking in England during the reigns of the post-restoration kings and queens of the Stuart dynasty. For my master's study, my research focused on the cultural aspects of tea in the 17th century primarily during the reign of Charles II. Professor Adegawa's continued support of my research goals enabled me to enter the doctor's program of Daito Bunka University under her guidance and it was here that I was able to continue my research in the cultural and linguistic issues relating to the position of tea in England's cultural history during the late 17th and early 18th centuries. I found that a study of the vocabulary and the culture which that vocabulary represented to the English of previous centuries was intimately connected with other very important historical issues, such as England's colonial history and the associated topics of slavery and of war, as tea almost immediately after its introduction to that country became synonymous with the addition of sugar, a product which could be produced at competitive prices only with the use of slave labor and which had to come from colonies seized at various times from colonial possessions previously under Spanish and French control.

Tea was originally of interest to me because it was a beverage which spread from Asia to Europe (and, from there, to European colonies in other parts of the world) in the 17th century and 18th centuries, and which has continued to be popular

("in fashion", so to speak). Moreover, tea drinking as a custom in Europe can be shown to have come from China, of which I am a citizen (though belonging to a minority ethnic group), and whose culture I am heavily influenced by.

I was also fortunate that Professor Hikaru Kitabayshi, who always supplemented Professor Adegawa's efforts on my behalf to the best of his ability, both when I was working on my master's thesis and more recently as I was working to complete my doctor's dissertation, was available to take over as my academic advisor on the retirement of Professor Adegawa from Daito Bunka University. Professor Hikaru Kitabayshi gave me guidance and constant help in achieving my academic goals. Without his help, I could not have completed either my research or my writing in a timely fashion.

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Abstract

This research takes tea as a case study on luxury fashion spread into English society. Tea, a beverage for which China remained England's sole supplier for well over 150 years, was unique in its impact on the English language and people, going from a fashionable luxury item to a necessity in a surprisingly short time during the reigns of the later Stuarts. This study attempts to match theories of fashion change to the history of the popularization of tea and, for this purpose, is largely data driven in its approach, whereby all available primary source materials concerning tea from the reign of Charles II (1630-1685) to that of Queen Anne (1665-1714) were located and examined for the relationships they might indicate between tea as a new fashion and language. Therefore, the process of how the fashion of tea drinking developed among the British upper classes from being just a way to consume an Asian medicinal infusion to becoming a beverage drunk on a daily basis for refreshment is explored in detail. As Queen Catherine of Braganza's (1638-1705) role in this process would appear to have been critical, her role and the somewhat complicated historical background concerning her is also considered with great care.

The marriage of Charles II with Catherine of Braganza not only resulted in the popularization of tea in England it also signaled a rapid expansion in England's overseas empire. For this reason, this dissertation deals, as necessary, with the inter-relationships between tea drinking in England, its colonial history, and its international relations during the second half of the 17th century and the first years of the 18th century.

Historical developments, however, have profound consequences both for culture and for language. Therefore, concerning the connection between culture and language, this dissertation investigates the development of tea related vocabulary in English, and compares what may be found in primary sources dating to the later Stuarts with what may be found regarding tea related vocabulary in the Oxford Dictionary Online (2013).

An attempt is made to demonstrate beyond reasonable doubt that, though tea can be shown to have first spread to a limited extent in England as an exotic foreign item used for medicinal purposes, only through the influence of Queen Catherine did tea drinking reach a critical mass in terms of numbers, thus becoming what can be designated as a fashion which was first accepted by members of the royal household, and then spread widely among the middle classes. Viewed from the perspective of surviving contemporary historical evidence, the actual documentable process of tea becoming a fashionable item would seem to validate classical fashion theory models.

In addition, under the impact of fashion, tea related items soon became popular among the moneyed classes, thus causing the very quick development of tea-related vocabulary, especially compound words of which tea was one element. Thus, for example, in English a teaspoon may be used to stir sugar and milk in a cup of coffee, the word “coffeespoon” being entirely understandable by way of analogy yet, in practice, non-existent. As a matter of course, all descriptions of vocabulary items are taken from contemporary 17th and early 18th century documents, such as bills, diaries, travel records, government acts, and literary works. Taken together, this documentation has provided more than ample material on which to base research. Tea drinking was one of three hot beverages (with coffee and chocolate being the other two) which conveyed an image of a

sober, domestic life style, although, at least in the 17th and early 18th centuries, coffee had the most masculine image of the three drinks and tea the most feminine.

Although the documentation and argumentation based on the materials gathered could easily extend beyond the scope of this dissertation to include a more detailed discussion issues dealing with England's socio-economic history and the expansion of its colonial empire, the basic conclusions reached in this dissertation are simple. Tea entered England after cocoa and coffee, yet its spread was, due to reasons which may be explained by fashion theory, far more rapid and thorough than these other two drinks. Moreover, its impact on English culture was almost immediate, resulting in an equally rapid growth in tea-related vocabulary items.

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Chapter 1: Introduction

1.1 Object of this study

A measure of the great depth which tea penetrated the life of the British can be seen in a passage in a journal of Gerard Manley Hopkins for 1866, where he writes:

“For Lent. No puddings on Sundays. No tea except if to keep me awake and then without sugar. Meat only once a day. No verses in passion week or on Friday. No lunch or meat on Friday. Not to sit in armchair except can work in no other way. Ash Wednesday and Good Friday bread and water.” (Srinivasa Iyengar, 1948, p. 25)

This passage has added interest in that it indirectly illustrates an important, usually overlooked, reason for the permanence of tea’s penetration of British life, the key to this, of course, being in the mention of tea and also sugar, both of which have addictive qualities and which would have made them suitable as objects of penance. With regard to the power of these addictions, it is to be noted that the already strongly ascetic Hopkins could still manage to justify to himself certain situations in which tea could and, presumably, would be drunk, possibly on a daily basis, and that he put himself under no obligation as to puddings eaten on days other than Sundays.

Nevertheless, the mention of “No tea except if to keep me awake and then without sugar” would indicate something else very important about tea consumption among the British, which is that tea, as indicated by Hopkins, was (and remains) something meant to be drunk with sugar, something which will be shown in due course

to have been a very English thing to do since the earliest years of its introduction into England.

Though England did not exist in isolation among European nations even in the 17th century and though a discussion of tea in the context of other European nations may be seen as a matter of significance, a cross-cultural study of tea is not the focus of this dissertation; and, in fact, this area of research has already been covered with regard to various Western European countries by Akiko Takiguchi of Daito Bunka University. It was felt that an in-depth study of a single country, in this case, England, would be more appropriate as a research endeavor. This, of course, does not completely preclude mention of tea in either Asia or in other European countries. Moreover, especially the interactions of the English with the Dutch and the Portuguese in Asia will have to be considered, as these interactions constantly affected the political balance of power, both in England and in Europe. This will not be exhaustive in nature, though, but covered only so far as these patterns of trade and politics are related to the initial spread and availability of both tea and sugar in England.

The history of tea drinking began with its import via the Dutch as a medicine for middle-aged men suffering from metabolic syndrome ailments (Garraway, 1660, p.1). It soon became an item of fashion among ladies, being used to stimulate a more civilized form of after-dinner conversation than would otherwise have been the case (Cavendish, 1666, pp. 85-86; Sedley, 1668, p. 48). Its popularity in both cases would seem to have been spurred on by an image of exoticness and rarity, as it being an upper class luxury, in contrast with the lower classes who remained firmly attached to

ale (Anon, 1665, p. 1), a drink which was at that time still sometimes distinguished from beer, being made from barley malt but without hops (Johnson, 1755, p. 106).

The intention, thus, of this dissertation is to explore the process by which tea, a product identified in the English mind as Chinese (Pepys, 1893, I, p. 249), spread among the English, first as a fashionable luxury item and eventually as a daily necessity for rapidly increasing numbers of middle-class individuals, a process which may be seen reflected in printed matter dating to the era of the later Stuarts (1649 to 1714). Although a brief outline of England's global relationships must be mentioned to the extent that they affected the supply of tea, the main focus of this dissertation will be on tea in England and, in particular, on the role of the English queens of this era (Catherine of Braganca, Mary II, and Anne) had in popularizing and domesticizing tea as a drink controlled by women and drunk at their tea tables. In particular, the role of Catherine of Braganza (1638-1705) the Queen consort of English King Charles II (1630-1685) will be considered in detail, as her role as a figure of social significance has been systemically unconsidered by historians due to her being consistently cast in the role of the wronged woman by historians of all eras, except her own.

In addition, a study will be found of later Stuart tea-related language development is compared with what currently appears in the Oxford English Dictionary (Hereafter, OED). One point of this paper will strive to show is that very soon after "tea" came into the English language, it combined with many English words and that these developments were quite rapid, indeed. Although the "Chineseness" of tea drinking customs was soon Englished out of existence, the copying of Chinese tea drinking paraphernalia quickly led to "tea" combining with many English words such

as spoon, cup, table, etc., to create compound words which survive with specific uses today. It is from this relationship between semantics and the cultural history of tea, we can hope to provide a time-frame for the development of cultural developments connected with tea and see that as an important part of this dissertation.

By the end of the 17th century and the beginning of the 18th, tea became a popular form of cultured entertainment. Where coffee was a part of the public domain in coffee-houses, and often connected with politics and political debate, tea, apparently under the influence first of Catherine of Braganca and later under that of Queen Mary II, became a domestic drink, a drink over through which women could exercise the power of their social status through their control of the tea table. In fact, not only tea, itself, but most fashion items of the 17th and 18th centuries related with tea, functioned to show off the elegance as well as social position of the mistress of the tea table, including the luxurious appearance of the table, itself. Accessories to the tea table, such as Chinese porcelain, fine fabrics, and silver tableware, also appealed to feminine sensibilities, and allowed women of the day to show off their access to wealth and power through the symbolism of luxury and of fine talk. In order to better understand the dynamics of the tea drinking culture at the end of the Stuart era, early 18th century literary works (for the most part, comedies) will be analyzed with regard to how these works might both reflect as well as stimulate the imaginations of ordinary people.

This dissertation aims to apply the theory of luxury fashion change to the initial stages of the spread in England of the custom of drinking tea. Predictions from theories of luxury fashion change will be compared with the known progress of the spread of tea-drinking to determine to what luxury extent the outcome with regard to

the actual history of tea in England is consistent with the theory of luxury fashion change. In doing so, Blumer (1969, p. 251), who generalized the study of fashion from clothing to any field of human behaviour, will be followed.

Though the details might be open to discussion, it would seem abundantly clear from the primary sources that coffee houses remained throughout this period as a male domain, whereas tea drinking, though originally a male domain drink, became more and more a female domain one. Fashion theory alone would lead one to expect that these women and, in particular, the first, Catherine of Braganza, would have had to have played important roles in this process, thus encouraging other women to regard to consumption of tea as something to be controlled by women at their tea table, particularly as the tea table provided opportunities to show off one's status.

The theory of fashion creation and diffusion promoted by Blumer builds on that proposed by Simmel (1904) and Veblen (1899) which assumes that fashion creators typically belong to the uppermost social class, because the image of the upper class has always been closely intertwined with power and wealth and the consequent ability to obtain and enjoy luxury items which were rare and expensive. If we accept this theory of fashion change as a valid one, then Catherine being a foreigner but also having royal status, can be seen as having been able to add a certain image of quality, rarity, and desirable exoticness to tea-drinking, which, till she arrived in England, had largely been treated as a strange Asian "medicine" for men. From this viewpoint, it might be proposed that the key to Catherine's success in advancing this particular cultural shift in England was that she, as others before her in England, drank sugar-sweetened tea. Not only was tea itself expensive, but sugar was, too, being in

great demand. The combination of these two expensive and somewhat difficult to get items being used by a Queen who gave the impression of possessing exotic tastes could be seen as a catalyst in creating a custom of tea-drinking among the upper-classes. Additionally, the fact that tea contains caffeine, which is an addictive stimulant, would further explain why, long after Catherine had disappeared from the English consciousness, tea-drinking remained and continued to flourish.

Catherine, herself, will be considered in the role of a “fashion originator” and Mary II and Ann in the roles of “fashion continuators”. Later Stuart era English society will be examined as an environment ready for fashion spread. A discussion on the successes and failures of the theoretical models about the fashion change with regard to the spread of tea-drinking will then ensue. Suggestions, where possible, will then be given for possible extensions to the theory of the fashion change.

1.2 Research questions and hypothesis

After arriving at a suitable definition of fashion, if it can be shown to apply to tea-drinking, its spread into society from one individual or group of individuals to another would then logically be a process of luxury fashion change. However, by what process did something merely new and exotic such as tea drinking become a fashion? In connection with this, what kind of influence was Catherine of Braganza or any of her immediate royal successors likely to have had on this process? What political and economic phenomena, if any, were related to this process? Moreover, how did the popularization of tea influence the English language? How did non-royal people living in the late 17th and early 18th centuries react to the presence of tea? Did the spread of

tea-drinking in England correspond to any prediction that could be logically expected of possible theory?

Actually, there would seem to be many roles in fashion change, if we take into account that for fashion to be fashion, in addition to its creators, it would also need imitators, designer/adapters, and continuators. What were the roles of these other individuals in the spread of tea drinking? Likewise, if we assume tea drinking to be a fashion, how long did it take for the process to complete itself? Moreover, to what extent were the roles of fashion creators and imitators performed by the same groups for tea as would have been predicted for fashions in clothing? Did its creators and imitators take on similar roles as one might see for fashion change in clothing?

This dissertation accepts the hypothesis that the class structure of the later Stuart era would lead one to expect that the trickled down theory of fashion change would describe fashion change more accurately for this period of English history than other theories of fashion change. It is, likewise, predicted that this would be equally true of English language development. When examining the connection between tea-related vocabulary and the spread of tea-drinking in late 17th and early 18th century England, it would be hoped that an investigation of the speed of development and the spread in usage of such terms during the first half century after the introduction of tea into England will lead to more historical precision in describing the process and pinpointing when and where events might have taken place.

Chapter 2: Background knowledge

2.1 Tea from Asia to Europe

2.1.1 The origins of tea in Asia

Tea is first mentioned in connection with the reign of Emperor Shen Nung of China around A.D. 350. In *Shengnong Ben Cao Jing* 「神农本草经」 (a book dealing with herbs and their uses. It was recorded that Shen Nung tasted many herbs from which he absorbed 72 poisons and which would have caused him great harm had he not come across tea drinking of which detoxified him. Another mention of tea appears in *Huayang Guo Zhi* 「华阳国志」 (a work written from around 350 A.D. or later) by Chang Qu. This work has been taken as proof that tea was used as a means of paying tax obligations from some time during the Zhou dynasty onward.

Tea was first named as “tu” 「荼」 with the Chinese character for it being similar with the character “cha” 「茶」 [tʃa], and was frequently used as such until Tang dynasty (A.D 620-907). The meaning of “tu” was “bitter herb”, and was pronounced “dia” or “tia” [tiə] in the ancient southern Chinese dialects, especially those of Yunnan and Sichuan. There has been much discussion about how “tu” evolved to “cha”. It has been reported that Lu Yu (733-804) changed the character of “tu” to that of “cha” in the first book written exclusively about tea. It was called *Cha Ching* 「茶经」 (A.D. 780) and was divided into three volumes and ten parts, being the (1) Origin of Tea, (2) Tools for Tea, (3) Making Tea, (4) Tea Utensils, (5) Boiling Tea, (6) Drinking Tea, (7) History of Tea (8) Tea Producing Regions, (9) Expedients in Tea Making Emergencies, and (10) Pictures of Tea. When recording the cultivation and manufacture of tea, he

evaluated tea as: *“With regard to drinks, boiled water is to quench thirst, wine to drown sorrow, and tea is to avoid sleepiness, heaviness of the head, and ailments of the eyes. It gives people long life”*. (Ukers, pp. 3-21)

With increasing popularity, “cha” spread throughout the empire and was drunk among all classes of individuals. The demand for tea increased the amount of land devoted to tea farming, until by the Sung dynasty tea farming became widely practiced in Anhwei and Fukein provinces. There are still arguments as to whether tea had its origin in India or China, but Chinese were certainly the first to make tea a commodity, as can be confirmed by a letter dated 11th December 1838 from Lord Wallace to his great friend Sir Charles Monck of Belsay which is cataloged in the Northumberland archives, where it was summarized in the archival catalogue as *“...having been sent a small canister of tea from the first consignment grown and sent over from India, the taste of which he likes less than China tea but realises the importance of growing tea in the British Dominions "since it has become a necessity of life which might have laid us under the necessity some day or other of possessing ourselves of the tea provinces of China.”* (1838, ZMI/S/77/11/1-22)

Tea had, in any case, become a trade item since the 5th century, when the Ancient Tea Horse Road [Cha Ma Gu Dao], the oldest Chinese trade road, enabled trade in tea bricks, sugar and salt to Tibet, Bengal, and Burma from Sichuan province through Yunnan province (Gleason, 2007). Building of the road began during the Han dynasty and was finished in the 11th century. There are also records left by two Arabian traders mentioning tea during the 8th and 9th centuries, respectively.

There are two hard to reconcile versions of tea's introduction into Japan, one being that Buddhists brought seeds to Japan and started to planting tea (Hoekstra, Chapagian, 2008) in the late 6th and early 7th centuries. Like many other Chinese imported items, tea was then first only used by the elite for its medicinal properties. Another probably more accurate story has it that the Buddhist priest Eisai (1141-1215) first brought propagated tea to Japan and promoted the tradition of green tea drinking in Japan. In his famous book *Tea Drinking Cure* 「喫茶養生記」 (1214), besides an introduction of how to manufacture tea, he described its use as a medicine promoting a long life.

2.1.2 The introduction of tea into Europe

Tea was a beverage, which appears to have spread to Europe during the first two decades of the 17th century. Though tea would have certainly been encountered during the 16th century by Europeans trading in the East Asia, its first recorded arrival in that continent was by land route to Moscow in 1618 as a gift to the emperor Michael I by a Chinese embassy. For other western countries tea came by means of seaborne trade.

The Portuguese, as a result of their arrival in Guangzhou in 1519 and eventually obtaining permission from the Chinese Ming dynasty government to settle in Macao in the 1557, would seem to have been the first Europeans to be involved in the tea trade. However, as the distances and the primitive marine technologies available to mariners at that time made making a profit off direct trade between Europe and East Asia all but impossible during the early years of Portuguese imperial expansion, Portuguese trade in East Asia seems to have consisted primarily of being a carrying trade between various East Asian nations rather than a direct trade between Europe and China.

It was not until 1596 that the first Portuguese trade shipment directly from China arrived in Lisbon, with the main products of this trade being silk and other raw materials. Though the exact nature of the relationship is unclear, this would seem to have some connection with the Portuguese closing the port of Lisbon to the Dutch in 1595, probably due to the long-continuing Dutch rebellion against Philip II, a monarch they shared in common with Spain and Portugal.

The generation long war for independence by the Dutch had other far-reaching consequences for European history, generally, and the spread of tea in particular. For one, it prevented succeeding Spanish kings from integrating either Portugal or its colonies with their other possessions, thus allowing the existence of a continuing Portuguese political identity, both in Europe and in Asia, which remained distinct from that of Spain. For another, it meant that the Dutch had to develop their own network of trading post and colonies in Africa, Asia, and the Americas in direct competition with the Portuguese and the Spanish. With regard to East Asia, this was achieved through the foundation of the Dutch East India Company in 1602. Thus, though it was Portuguese priest who is credited with first bringing a small amount of tea with him back to Europe, it was the Dutch who brought first ship of tea to Amsterdam in 1609 (Braudel, 1967, p. 179), and in 1610 tea as an item of trade in Europe.

Not only in terms of political and economic history, but also in terms of linguistic history, the Dutch war for independence left its impact, as may be seen from the fact that different European nations now use different terms for tea. One group of nations, best represented by Russia and Portugal, use the term “cha” coming from a word common to both Mandarin and Cantonese. Another group of nations represented by

the Netherlands, England, France, Germany, and, interestingly, Spain use some form or other of the Fukkienese (possibly via Taiwan) term “tei”.

The different forms of tea in different European languages clearly bear the imprint of European colonial history and international trade relations. Thus, the Mandarin word “cha” spread, at the very latest, in the very early 13th century to Japan due to the cultural penetration of Chinese Buddhism. Mongolian adoption of the word “chai” would have also been very early and, in consideration of the close physical proximity of Mongolia to Uyghur. Russia, as has already been mentioned, would have adopted the term “cha” from Mandarin in the early 17th century as a result of the opening of direct diplomatic relations with China. Though the term “cha” is the same in Cantonese as it is in Mandarin, it would have been through the Cantonese used in Macao that the word “cha” entered into Portuguese, with the meaning of tea, something which would seem to have been a late 16th century or early 17th century development. Interestingly, as the word for tea in India is “chai”, one can see this as an indication that, if the Indians had not already adopted this word through their trade with China across the Himalayas, then it might also represent a loan word introduced through Portuguese influences in the late 16th century.

On the other hand, Dutch shipped tea by way of Indonesia and later Taiwan. In the Fukkienese dialect used in Taiwan, tea took on a different pronunciation from that of Mandarin or Cantonese. Though the spelling varies according to the language, the pronunciation in English would have been the same as English-speaking people would pronounce “tay” even today. This became the pronunciation of the word in French where tea was imported in 1636 from the Dutch, Spanish, German, Italian, and, in the

17th century in some dialects of English. It is significant that various derivatives of the Fujian dialect word for tea spread among those countries in Europe originally supplied with this commodity by the Dutch, including England, France, and Germany. Also of interest is that Spain, possibly because of its colonial ventures in Taiwan from 1626 to 1642, did not become a “cha” speaking nation, but came to use the same word as was used by the Dutch, which would also mean that tea could not have spread in Europe beyond Portugal before the late 1620s.

2.1.3 Background of Catherine of Braganza

Being the first member of the English royal family to be identified with tea, Catherine of Braganza (1638-1705) assumes a possible role in the spread of tea-drinking among the English upper classes which must be carefully examined. For this reason, a bit of background information about her is needed.

Catherine of Braganza, the future queen consort of Charles II was born in Villa Vicoso, Portugal. In the years from 1580 to 1640, Portugal was seen as little more than an autonomous province of Spain, the most powerful kingdom of Europe. Certain sections of the nobility united around the Duke of Braganza (Catherine’s father, afterwards King John IV (1603-1656) of Portugal), since the house of Braganza was the most important in the peerage of Portugal and more directly descended from the former kings of Portugal than the kings of Spain. Catherine’s mother Luisa de Guzmán (1613-1666) was the daughter of the eighth Duke of Medina Sidonia.

One of the first things for John IV to do as king of Portugal was to strengthen the alliance with England, and he proposed to Charles I (1600-1649) the marriage of

their children, his daughter and Prince of Wales, later Charles II. At first Charles I did not respond out of consideration for the religious problems, but the great dowry proposed made him agreeable. Nevertheless, nothing came of these negotiations, as Charles's own position as King of England was rapidly becoming untenable.

Catherine was given by her father “the island of Madeira, the city of Lamego, and the town of Moura, with all their territories, rents, tributes, and other privileges to be enjoyed by her, but that she should give these possessions up if she were to marry someone who was not Portuguese” (Strickland, 1873, p. 357). When John IV died, he left the regency of the kingdom to Catherine’s mother. One objective of the Queen Mother’s diplomatic policy was to solidify an alliance with England against Spain.

Marrying Catherine would also bring advantages which no other power in Europe could offer, being £500,000 sterling, Tangier, which was projected as being a place likely to bring great benefits to the trade of England, the islands of Bombay, and a grant to English merchants of free trade with Brazil and the East Indies. With these benefits in mind, Charles informed parliament of his intention to marry the princess (Strickland, 1873, p. 372). On 14 May 1662, after a long trip from Portugal, Catherine arrived in Portsmouth, and the couple was married with two wedding ceremonies, one Catholic and the other Anglican. When they were in Portsmouth, Catherine also received a congratulatory letter from the English Queen Mother, Henrietta Maria, from Paris. Charles, himself, expressed great satisfaction with his new wife, as can be seen in a letter Charles wrote to a member of parliament a few days after the marriage:

“Portsmouth, 25th may.

...cannot easily tell you how happy I think myself, and I must be the worst man living (which I hope I am not) if I be not a good husband. I am confident never two humours were better fitted together than ours are...” (Strickland, 1873, p. 381)

Also, the king publicly stated:

“You may credit her being a very extraordinary woman; that is, extremely devout, extremely discreet, very fond of her husband, and the owner of a good understanding. As to her person, she is exactly shaped, and has lovely hands, excellent eyes, a good countenance, a pleasing voice, fine hair, and, in a word, is what an understanding man would wish a wife. Yet I fear, all this will hardly make things run in the right channel; but if it should, I suppose our court will require a new modeling, and then profession of an honest man’s friendship will signify more than it does now.” (Strickland, 1873, pp. 381-382)

On the boat bearing Catherine from Portugal were also large amounts of sugar and chinaware which were to be exchanged for letters of credit as part payment on Catherine’s dowry. Charles, himself, expressed great satisfaction with this marriage, ultimately not only on account of her dowry, but on her total loyalty to him as king.

Catherine’s marriage did not cause tea to be imported from East Asia. By the time of Catherine’s marriage, it was available in every western European nation, including England from 1657, though at a high price that put it beyond the reach of the lower classes. Thus, in England, Samuel Pepys, a naval administrator and Member of Parliament, first mentioned drinking tea in his diary entry for the 25th of September

1660. He wrote that he had been discussing foreign affairs with some friends, “and afterwards did send for a Cup of Tee (a China drink) of which I never drank before”. Since Pepys is a member of the wealthy and fashionable London set, his failure to mention tea earlier suggests that it was still unusual at this time. It has even been suggested that in 1662 after the stormy crossing from Portugal to England, a completely exhausted Catherine asked for a cup of tea (Davidson, 1908, p. 112).

2.2 The sociohistorical context for the introduction of tea into England

The post-Restoration period of the 17th century and early 18th century (1660-1714) is generally considered as a time of economic development and expansion. It was during this era that London emerged as Europe's most important commercial center, overtaking Amsterdam and as a banking center, often in connection with being a goldsmith. As a result of this expansion, however, Charles II was able to increase his debts to two and a half million pounds and, with the eventual bankruptcy of a certain goldsmith, the English government encountered big financial problems (Hughes, 1988). This, among other things, was a stimulus in the founding of the Bank of England in 1694, which had the effect of transferring financial control to the government instead of the monarch.

2.2.1 British colonial expansion during the later Stuarts

The spread of tea-drinking in England may be seen as a function of English colonial expansion, beginning with the marriage (1662) of Catherine of Braganza (1638-1705) with Charles II (1630-1685). For the history of tea in England, more important than the territory acquired as a part of Catherine of Braganza's dowry was

the right the British acquired to trade freely with Portuguese possessions in Asia, thus accelerating the growth of Mumbai which England had also acquired through the marriage on the one hand and eventual direct trade in tea with China on the other, instead of depending on the Netherlands as had hitherto been the case. In addition to Mumbai, England also obtained Tangier on the coast of Morocco.

In the beginning, however, the British showed a far greater interest in Tangier, located on the Atlantic coast of Morocco at the western opening to the Mediterranean Sea, a town which had been an old trading port from Roman times. The Portuguese acquired it in 1471, and it became a center of European diplomatic and commercial rivalry in Morocco. In addition, Moroccans had never accepted the loss of Tangier, and made possession costly and unsafe, first for the Portuguese and then for the English. Under foreign control, though, it ate up financial resources, whether Portuguese or British, as fast as they could throw at it. Charles, being more practical than his Portuguese (and Spanish) predecessors, eventually abandoned this possession, thus allowing the Moroccans to take re-control.

As for the Netherlands, it would seem that country had, until the early 1660s, obtained their tea from China and Japan through their conquest of Spanish controlled portions of the island of Taiwan (1626-1642) and their own settlements on the island dating from 1624 to 1662. It was from Taiwan that the Dutch operated as middlemen in a triangular trade between China and Japan. Significantly, they encouraged the immigration to the island of Taiwan of a Fukkienese dialect speaking Chinese population from the present-day province of Fujian (Fukkien), a policy which meant that their contact with the Chinese language was primarily with Fukkienese and not

Mandarin or Cantonese. When the Dutch were expelled from the island by a Ming dynasty loyalist, Koxinga (Campbell, 1903), in 1662, the English were well positioned to take up the slack in the tea trade brought about by Dutch misfortune, something which continued for most of the 1660s, as the Dutch used considerable resources to unsuccessfully try to reposition themselves in the years 1664 to 1668, only to ultimately face complete failure.

It was precisely during these years that the tea trade underwent explosive growth for the English, with the primary supplier being China. Not only that, but China remained England's chief supplier of tea until 1838 and it would not have been until the first Opium War from 1839 to 1842 between England and China that the tea trade would have been disrupted to the advantage of Indian suppliers.

2.2.2 The expansion of trade during the later Stuart era

It was during the later Stuart era that England became Europe's most important trading nation. British expansion overseas during this period resulted in the establishment of colonies and trading posts in Asia, Africa, and the Americas. From the period of Charles II, England began to systematically develop commercial relations in Africa and, by the early 18th century, had developed Jamaica into a colonial hub for the sugar and the slave trade upon which the production of that product depended. From Virginia and Maryland there was tobacco, a product which also depended on the use of slaves. The trade of the British East India Company with Asia dramatically increased during the second half of the 17th century, came to provide an increasingly greater contribution to British economic life. Moreover, in 1711, the establishment of the South Sea Company resulted in the development of trade with

Spanish colonies and South America, and the transport of slaves from Africa to South America.

Domestic trade would also seem to have significantly increased. Though statistical data is inadequate, not only was there an increase in the population of England, but there also developed a large trade in the export of English grain, something which had, hitherto, never been the case. The ability to export grain would indicate that food supplies were plentiful and this, in turn, would indicate that prices must have been correspondingly lower than in the first half of the century.

With the withdrawal of the Catholic King James II in 1689, the English political establishment invited Mary II, his daughter, and her husband, William III, the Statholder of the Netherlands, to seize the throne, an event which was named the Glorious Revolution. William III and Mary II compromised with parliament by allowing the position of Parliament to be enhanced and by accepting certain constraints on their authority. In 1707, during the reign of Queen Anne (1702-1714), the Act of Union combined the Scottish and English parliaments to establish the Kingdom of Great Britain, thus making England into one of the great powers, not only of Europe, but also of the world.

Even though much changed, much also appears to have remained the same. The numbers of the poor remained high. Wealth remained concentrated in the hands of a very small elite who were very wealthy, usually through inheritance. British society during the later Stuarts was stratified and the distribution of wealth highly unequal. However, the tendency of many aristocrats to hold political appointments and increasing numbers of that group to engage in commerce, the distinctions between

them and the richest members of other classes involved in trade and commerce tended to become blurred.

Conditions, thus, were ripe for the rapid spread of tea-drinking, irregardless of individual social rank, among the monied classes. Moreover, trade figures for the late 17th and early 18th centuries would indicate, that in spite of its great expense, tea-drinking very soon became a national necessity. Moreover, for ladies with upper class pretentions, the taking of tea soon became more and more elaborate, with the lady's tea tables taking on an important role in British social concourse of important.

As with tea-drinking developing rapidly into a national necessity, it would also seem that the development of tea-related vocabulary proceeded at an equally fast pace. It would seem that developments in both culture and language took place at the same speed and were in sync with each other.

2.2.3 Social changes during the later Stuarts

Until the mid-17th century, England's foreign trade had consisted mainly of cloth. The importance of this product decreased with improvements in agricultural production and big increases in trade with Asia (calico and tea from India and China, respectively), Africa (slaves), and the Americas (sugar and tobacco), though not dramatically so. As a result of the increase of new colonies, the range of imported goods expanded to include items such as coffee, tea and tobacco. The total population of England in mid-17th century was about 5.3 million, but due to its re-export trade to Northern Europe, as the exchange of goods between different regions of the globe increased, England became the most important trade area in Europe (Morrill, 1984).

Therefore, the late 17th century saw the formation of a growing commercial class. The wealth of this class tended to manifest itself in the eventual purchase of land and other real estate, and provided the underpinnings of a more powerful “middle class” (Lyon, 2003). Originally, the nobles undertook military duties in exchange for land, but eventually wealth, no matter how acquired, came to underpin both nobility and land. By 1640, there were about 120 officers of the royal household and 20,000 nobles, gentry and close relatives (Morrill, 1984, p. 15) of such individuals. This new class of individuals with global commercial interests as a source of wealth represented an early stage of modern capitalism. Through the purchase of status enhancing items, such as palatial homes and landed estates, some of them were able to become prominent members of the governing class, even during the reigns of the later Stuart monarchs.

Another phenomenon of the court life of Charles II and James II was a rapid increase in number of semi-royal individuals, as a result of the practice of maintaining various mistresses and their children simultaneously (Lyon, 2003, p. 276). The great number of royal children to be provided for, directly and indirectly, out of the national budget meant seeking out marriage partners for these individuals on the basis of wealth as opposed to birth, thus resulting in a further increase in status of the nation’s wealthiest families and their commercial interests, both on account of newly available royal connections and also through imitation of the royal family by other leading aristocratic families.

The trade routes connecting England with its colonies and with other countries provided the security necessary for financing trade and covering the risks inherent in this commercial activity. By 1690, due to their increasing wealth,

landowners (largely, though not exclusively, aristocratic) began to turn their views to the trade, and government loans. This phenomenon made the landowners spend more time at home or in their town houses in cities such as London (Morrill, 1984, p. 16). There was, thus, by the mid-17th century, a class of landowners who had both the time and money to go to coffee houses for entertainment.

Reflecting the development of an extensive colonial empire and an equally vast expansion in foreign trade, beginning in the second half of the 17th century and continuing throughout the 18th, life in England became increasingly influenced by imported goods, including goods which had formerly been considered luxury items. As a result, tea had become affordable, even to the middle class, by the end of the Stuart dynasty in 1714.

2.3 Trade factors influencing availability

2.3.1 East India Company tea trade

The British East India Company initially became known for trading in cotton, silk, indigo, saltpeter, tea and opium. The tea trade of the East India Company did not begin until Catherine of Braganza came to England and among the rarities sent by the company as presents to the King in 1664 were included “2lbs. 2oz. of tea, and that was apparently all that could be got, which cost them 40s a pound.” (Godey, 1830, p. 312). This first importation of tea would seem to have been accepted by the King and his royal household with pleasure, as the present of tea for the King in 1666 by the Company had already risen to 22lbs. 3oz tea which cost 50s a pound.

It seems that the English were less enthusiastic than the Dutch about tea. Nevertheless, in 1667 a first order of importing 100lbs tea was issued by the East India Company and by 1690 the importation of tea had risen to 60,000 lbs per year, from all sources, at around 16s per pound in price (Shillington, 1970). Tea importation rose further to an even higher annual average of 240,000 lbs per year by 1708. It was claimed by a Frenchman that tea had proven popular enough to reduce the consumption of ale in England, even though tea was the more expensive drink.

If one adds St.Helena, which the British India Company held from 1651 to England's trading posts on the West African coast in what is now the Gambia, Sierra Leone, and Ghana, the East India Company found itself, as a result of the marriage of Charles II with Catherine of Braganca, in a position to compete on equal terms with the Dutch East India Company.

A contributing factor to England's enhanced competitiveness in Asia was due to its acquisition of Mumbai from Portugal as a part of Catherine's dowery. Mumbai's importance, however, due to British development and not Portuguese. Rented to the East India Company by the British Crown and becoming the center of Company activities from 1668, Mumbai grew to become before the end of the reign of Charles II in 1685 a city of approximately 100,000 individuals (David, 1973, p. 410) as opposed to the somewhat more than 500,000 inhabitants of London, thus making it the second largest urban center in the British empire. (Emsley, Hitchcock and Shoemaker, 2013)

2.3.2 Sugar

Sugar would seem to have a history in Europe rather longer than that of tea, as it was introduced into Europe around 1100 A.D., being grouped along with pepper, nutmeg and so on as a spice. Later, sugar came to be used as a kind of necessary medical aid. Sugar was derived from sugar cane which was found in South Asia before the fourth century B.C., and was roughly similar to the sugar being produced with modern sugar cane. It was produced on the southern coasts of the Mediterranean islands and was introduced by Spain into the Canary Islands and by Portugal to its Atlantic island possessions as early as the 15th century. The English court took a great liking to sugar from as early as the 1560s, but it did not become generally adopted until the widespread introduction of coffee and tea (Mintz, 1986). Just as coffee and tea were becoming popular in the period between 1645 and 1680, the price of sugar decreased by 70 percent, due to production increasing on account of its popularization by those beverages and for other foods and drinks, both in England and elsewhere.

As with tea, there has been no going back, with sugar being even more widely used now than before. In fact, sugar might be considered as a drug, as it can stimulate the brain by activating beta endorphin receptor sites, in the same way as heroin and morphine. Some scholars even consider that sugar can be, for certain individuals, a gateway drug, leading to other types of drug abuse, something which can be said of the caffeine to be found in tea and coffee.

Chapter 3: Literature survey

When tea from China was first introduced by the Dutch to England, its great expense made it an expensive luxury. Its rapid rise in popularity can only be explained in terms of its becoming not only an expensive item, but also a fashionable one. For this reason, in seeking out a theoretical basis for understanding the great mass of scattered details concerning tea which has survived from the reigns of the later Stuarts, one must necessarily concern oneself with fashion theory as it applies to that era of English history.

3.1 Definitions of fashion spread

3.1.1 Veblen (1899)

Thorstein Veblen (1857-1929), a Norwegian-American sociologist and economist, was famous for his book *The Theory of the Leisure Class* (1899), in which he describes the ruling class as a “leisure class” and defines it by reference to certain characteristics and behavior. He focuses on fashion as concerns clothing and assumes that the primary consumers of fashion are women. Veblen claimed elite consumer behavior obeyed “trickle down” processes and was, thus, based on imitation. The theory of fashion creation and diffusion proposed by Veblen assumes that fashion creators typically belong to the uppermost social class, because this has always been closely intertwined with power and wealth and the consequent ability to obtain and enjoy items which were rare and expensive. According to Veblen (1899), consumption begins in ruling class attempts to define a standard of elegance, where social value correlates with monetary value, so that inexpensive items are not highly regarded.

According to Veblen (1899), fashion as a kind of social phenomenon first comes into being as a result of a hierarchical social structure, as exemplified by feudalism, in which society has a fixed and clearly defined class-system. The ruling class attempts to define a standard of elegance, an assumption from which a number of generalizations about the fashion in the late 17th century. Firstly, social value would be expected to correlate with monetary value, so that inexpensive items would not be highly regarded. Secondly, Veblen would have us consider women to be generally more sensitive to fashion than men, which he explains by noting that women were dependent on their masters' wealth. Women generally did not have much inherent status or power of their own, and so were more reliant on more superficial indicators of status.

3.1.2 Simmel (1904)

Another major scholar who wrote about fashion change was Georg Simmel (1858-1918), who, in his paper *Fashion* (1904), similarly saw fashion as a type of imitation, usually of a powerful and wealthy group. Simmel, as Veblen, considered the role of social structure on fashion to be important. In addition, both Veblen's and Simmel's treatments of fashion are centered on clothing, with particular emphasis on women's fashion. Nevertheless, Simmel takes a more general view of social structure than Veblen, seeing fashions in clothing as being markers uniting one with one social class and distinguishing it from another. Such markers may change over time, either through change in behavior or through change in social structure.

Simmel tries to explain why women tend to be more conscious than men regarding fashion. He considers women to be different from men in their

“psychological characteristics”, by which he means their concern with beauty and their insecurity deriving coming from an inferior social position which gives them a greater need to value customs more, and a greater concern to establish their social position. Thus, they both imitate fashion and attempt to promote their own “individualization” by means of it. Because their prospects tend to be more limited than men’s, they will consequently pay more attention to their appearance, including the garments they might consider wearing. Precisely because women among the upper classes had an education and freedom similar to that of men, they might be expected to show more initiative with regard to fashion change than women of other classes. Simmel, furthermore, considers women to be “faithful creatures” of fashion, having more fashion sense than men. However, Simmel also claims that even some men, fashion is accepted by “sensitive and peculiar persons, who use it as a sort of mask” (1904, p. 151).

Simmel’s theory of fashion spread includes contributions from both personal fashion and group fashion. Within the complex structure of fashion, he asserts the necessity of ascertaining both personal and group tendencies. In the context of group fashion, we would expect to find the contents of different lifestyles being reflected, although the total effect would tend to be similar.

Simmel also introduces the idea of self-expression, claiming that there are two tendencies for each person in human society: one is a tendency to imitate others where the people who are imitated are those whom others admire and the other is to distinguish oneself from those one does not admire. Thus, once a group among whom a fashion originates is imitated by others, that group will attempt to re-distinguish

itself and will create a new style of fashion. Therefore, fashion becomes a cycle of creation→ imitation→ creation→ imitation. Through the spread of fashion, Simmel would have us believe that imitation gives the lower classes a kind of “satisfaction” in being able to identify themselves with the higher classes. However, Simmel also considers that people imitate others not only as a result of a demand for new fashion, but out of the feeling that, if others take “responsibility” for initiating change, that they can thereby be free from the worry of possibly being out of fashion. The upper classes, though, due to their desire to differentiate themselves from other classes, can never experience total security with regard to fashion. Thus, for Simmel, fashion becomes a method of creating “value” and anything that is merely new but suddenly disappears cannot be called fashion. Fashion is, therefore, a continuous process and change is always a basic ingredient of it. He points out that fashion is an unconscious action on the part of human beings, a part of their nature.

3.1.3 Blumer (1969)

By contrast, Blumer, who is a product of a different era, focused more on the economic side of fashion. Herbert Blumer (1900-1987), an American sociologist, in his paper *Fashion: from Class Differentiation to Collective Selection* (1969) gives a more detailed explanation for fashion change. He supports Simmel’s idea of fashion as a social act, but generalizes fashion change to cover any field of social behavior. On the other hand he provides a more detailed description of social roles in fashion change, distinguishing fashion originators, from buyers, and the fashion imitators. He sees the spread of fashion as depending on fashion suppliers' attempts to obtain acceptance for their models.

Blumer agreed with Simmel's opinion of fashion origin as a matter of social elites trying to distinguish their social status from the lower classes. He noted, however, that Simmel's theory of "fashion as class differentiation" (1904, p. 134) was not appropriate to the social structures of modern times. Because Blumer's perspective was that of an economist, he described different roles in fashion, such as designer, buyer, and seller. He emphasized the roles of fashion designers who seek out fashion and create it, and "buyers" who make choices as to what fashions are suitable and should be selected. The sellers of fashion also play a prominent role in his theory, as they are the ones who must make the initial decisions as to what might be the next fashion trend among buyers and then must find ways to promote the fashions they wish to propagate among buyers.

Under his view of fashion change, Blumer argues that all people follow fashion and have a role in its creation, and that this is not only a role of the elite. This does not seem to be because the elite have discarded their previous role in fashion change, but because a new model consistent with a more general way of "developing taste" has come into existence. Therefore, Blumer's model attributes fashion change to "collective selection" and, because of the changed times, it replaces Simmel's concept of "class differentiation".

Following Blumer's model of fashion, we could expect that the introduction of tea into England would demand, designers, sellers, and buyers. To what extent this might be seen as accurately matching 17th century conditions will be considered later.

3.1.4 Berg (2005)

Maxine Berg, a professor of history at the University of Warwick, has carried out extensive research on the consumption luxury goods in the 17th and 18th centuries. In her *Luxury and Pleasure in Eighteenth-Century Britain* (2005) Berg considers that consumer behavior represents “significance of taste”, and that people are active participants in the process, choosing from a wide range of products with a variety of qualities. Her opinion is that consumption, itself, did not influence all people equally and that, therefore, imitation did not apply to every part of society equally. About the competition which would be expected to stimulate consumption, she explained that it could not be a simple “emulative model” and that consumption among the aristocratic class may also have had a kind of “dynastic motivation”. Although there was an increase in the absolute size of the aristocracy in the 18th century, wealth and power continued to belong to them, and most of their consumption could be expected to be connected with family and social status. The new consumer goods in 18th century were things like tea, porcelain, clothes, fine fabrics, and silver plated cutlery, all being luxury goods used by people whose values shared common features of elegance, fashion taste, and politeness, and whose behavior, itself, to a certain extent represented their social status. Maxine Berg asserts that “Within the ranks of the landed classes, peers maintained their position; if anything knights and gentlemen lost ground. But the ratio of peers’ incomes to those of the greater merchants worsened significantly, falling from 7:1 to 3:1” (Cannon, 1987, p. 131). She has pointed out that fashion leaders were in the elite and middle classes as well.

Berg also claims that the exotic items which, in earlier centuries, were imported from the East to Europe stimulated the European taste and raised new consumer expectations. In her *Luxury in the Eighteenth Century* (2003) co-written with Elizabeth Eger, it is emphasized that global trade and New World colonies brought to England a variety of exotic foods and many previously unavailable raw materials in the late 17th and early 18th centuries. Berg assumes that, since the ancient times, foreign goods tend to be identified with luxury and, thereby, create an economic impact as well. However, for Berg, too, it was always “female desire”, women who took the leading in new patterns of consumption, since the society of the time had a clear social structure. The middle class provided the wealth and power for new and exotic fashions, while imitation made it spread and develop.

3.1.5 Others

Though the “trickle-down” theory of fashion spread has continued to occupy the attention of scholars, various aspects of this theory have come under attack. Campbell (1993), for one, is a scholar who disagrees with the “trickle-down” theory and claims that “trickle-down” and imitation behaviour were “quick jump conclusions”, that the reality of consumption was the “motive” and “intention” of fashion change.

Mckendrick in his *The Birth of a Consumer Society* (1983) partially agrees with Veblen in the point of considering fashion spread to be “trickle down” and women to be generally more sensitive than men about fashion. He also agrees that the upper class provides consumption leadership. However, Mckendrick stresses that the consumer economy influences the lives of children as much as women, through children’s toys, clothes, books, and education as well. This kind of phenomena would

seem to have existed well before the end of 18th century, as can be seen in the more ephemeral publications of the period where advertisements concerning schools and dancing classes, among other things, appeared. In addition, Mckendrick describes the spread of new fashion as a process of social status competition. By sometime in the late 18th century and for some possibly much earlier, working-class families would have had the ability to consume not only daily products but some more elegant in nature, because large family numbers combined with the prevalence of child labor in a society where such labor was not yet banned made for increases in total family income. Therefore, even working-class families would have had opportunities to change their tastes, or to at least attempt to follow those of the middle class. Moreover, Mckendrick makes what would appear to be a reasonable assumption that competition for status would have existed among the members of the working class as well.

Though the theory of consumption has its origins in economics, it cannot be easily ignored when writing a work on the culture and linguistic history of tea. For the theory of consumption, Keynes (1936) is of primary importance. In his *General Theory of Employment, Interest and Money* (1936), Keynes asserted that consumption is directly influenced by the “income and a number of unchanging psychological attitudes” of the consumer.

Duesenberry (1949) expanded on the social viewpoints of Keynes’s theory of consumption. He considered that people’s ideas of consumption were usually affected by others, and that this was also true of consumption in the past. This description of consumption by Duesenberry may be seen to have provided a

foundation for certain sociologists, who add more cultural elements into the theory on consumption, including, for instance, race, gender, culture, et cetera.

Heathfield (1992), for one, describes consumption as the “using up” of commodities and services. The condition influencing consumer behavior is, thus, seen as a product of other commodities, and consumption occurs simply because of people’s likes and needs.

On the other hand, with Edwards (2000) consumption is seen as an “Equally multifaceted phenomenon”; that it is most likely a sociological way of thinking. In his theoretical model, he includes various social elements in his definition of consumption, including things such as class, race, and gender.

Tea-drinking in the context of fashion has been discussed by various writers, including Emmerson (1992) who asserted with regard to tea-drinking gave many individuals in the middle and upper classes a chance to show off their taste with regard to expensive items related to tea and tea-drinking itself. Thus, in the process of tea-drinking becoming a fashion among the middle and upper classes was more than just tea itself, but included silver products of great value, such as tea pots, tea spoons, and dishes of fine porcelain which came to be used for tea-drinking.

Finally, with regard to the initial spread of tea, one must note a point made by Moxham (2003), which is that tea, in the 17th century, was not only a beverage but was also considered a medicine. Moxham has also pointed out that tea leaves contain caffeine, and that during the course of the 18th century tea became the national drink of England, whereas in other European countries it became wine and coffee.

For the role of coffee houses in the initial process of popularizing tea in England, Pickford (2008) will be found to be of particular use due to his descriptions of several famous coffee-houses and their functions in 18th century London. The role of coffee houses in the spread of tea will be found to be of significance as, in the 17th and early 18th centuries, coffee-houses not only sold beverages such as coffee, tea, and cocoa, but also provided other services, thus becoming a popular place for people to collect business information and assess political attitudes.

As for tea, itself, no study of tea can totally dispense with *All About Tea* (Ukers, 2007), as this writer brings together a wide range of information not easily found elsewhere in English, such as the discovery of tea in China, its cultivation, its preparation, and its spread into Europe, as may be documented through tea-connected materials such as advertisements, letters, articles, and rare books. It is particularly valuable as a secondary source, in that Ukers makes extensive use of primary sources to document the book's contents and is judicious in his use of the material he does include in his work.

3.2 Sociolinguistic view of language change and development

In 1871 Darwin in his *The Descent of Man* said: "No philologist now supposes that any language has been deliberately invented; it has been slowly and unconsciously developed by many steps." (cited in Pinker, 2000, p. 6). In the process of English becoming a world language spoken as a first language by more than 500 million people and with approximately 900 million people speaking English a foreign language, it would seem that, as compared with earlier eras of English, that it has developed into an ever more efficient tool of human communication. The process of

its development seems to have been an entirely natural one, during which English was influenced by many languages such as Greek, Latin, French, etc. A record of the history of the development of the English language has been recorded in many language dictionaries, with the most famous of the early dictionaries being *A Dictionary of the English Language* (1755) by Samuel Johnson (1709-1784). As Lord Chesterfield (1694-1773) commented in *The World* (1754) about this distinguished 18th century work:

“It must be owned that our language is at present in a state of anarchy; and hitherto, perhaps, it may not have been the worse for it. During our free and open trade, many words and expressions have been imported, adopted and naturalized from other languages, which have greatly enriched our own. Let it still preserve what real strength and beauty it may have borrowed from others, but let it not, like the Tarpeian maid, be overwhelmed and crushed by unnecessary foreign ornaments. The time for discrimination seems to be now come. Toleration, adoption and naturalization have run their lengths. Good order and authority are now necessary. But where shall we find them, and at the same time, the obedience due to them? We must have recourse to the old Roman expedient in times of confusion, and chuse a dictator. Upon this principle I give my vote for Mr. Johnson to fill that great and arduous post.” (cited by Stothard, 1787, p. 225)

We can conclude that new words either come from other languages or old words are recycled with new meaning under special circumstances.

Like all kinds of fashion, language also changes and develops. Language change starts as a function of communication, and exhibits both internal and external change. Internal change includes sound change, spelling change, and vocabulary change, the last of which can also be a result of external change through the work of different social networks through which language change might be stimulated, loan words borrowed, and new vocabulary compounds thought out. Over the course of its history, English has been influenced by many foreign languages such as Greek, Latin, French, etc. Many linguists have pointed out that the development of language is strongly influenced by economic growth.

3.2.1 Hughes (1988)

According to Hughes, the history of language change may be seen as being related to government policy, trade, economics, social structures, population issues, etc. In *Words in Time*, Hughes stresses the sociolinguistic connection between social status and the range (tone) of a word. Concerning methods of language development, Hughes points out the importance of social networks and the various printed media deriving from advertising and journalism. Thus, for Hughes, it is the mix of culture and language that gives birth to loan words and compound words.

He also considers the process of language development to be gradual, and that loanwords have “one thing in common: they encourage mobility and freedom.” (p. 6). He applied concepts of language change into different areas, as in political power, religion, and economics. He also considers the effect of political and economic power in producing “linguistic capitalism”, whereby the economic growth of a certain economy can result in the enlarged significance of words related to that economy, as,

for instance, *buy, purchase, profit, market*, etc. for English. He furthermore asserts with regard to the compounding of words that it is “a fundamental method of word-formation in English, and is a general feature of the Germanic languages” (p. 171).

3.2.2 Hock & Joseph (1996)

In *Language History, Language Change, and Language Relationship: An Introduction to Historical and Comparative Linguistics*, Hock and Joseph describe different types of language change, including sound change, analogy, semantic change, syntactic change, and change resulting from language contact. With regard to lexical change, they mention language borrowing, emphasizing that words are easily borrowed as nouns at first. Reasons for borrowing foreign words easily would be because of economic demand, the invasion of a new culture, or new technology creating new needs for new language. Afterwards, they see borrowed words from other languages undergoing the process of “nativization” which would produce words of similar spelling or new terms coming about as a combination with existing words. For example, English has borrowed much from French and, as a result, shows “a great degree of terminological similarity” (p. 286) with that language.

3.2.3 Others

Raumolin-Brunberg and Nevalainen (1996) in *Sociolinguistics and Language History* points out that language change can be influenced by social class, social network, gender, demography, migration, and even urbanization. In particular, the population growth in the 17th century and, in particular, in second half of the century

England, was, in historical terms, rapid. More than 10 percent of the population came to live in London, which resulted in an increase in the reach of the language as a tool for communication. Moreover, in 17th century England, education came to be ever more heavily emphasized, resulting in a huge number of books and records being produced and preserved.

Thomas Pyles and John Algeo (1993) in their book *The Origins and Development of the English Language* give a definition to language as a “system”, not only of words, but also of “rules or patterns that related our words to one another”. They write about the general matters of English language development starting with the internal history of English language from the viewpoint of its sound, grammar, and vocabulary. They conclude that English borrowed many vocabulary items from other languages, such as Greek, Latin and French at different periods of its history. Moreover, the introduction of these loanwords would seem to have been a gradual process taking time.

Through colonial expansion and the opening up of trade during the 17th and 18th centuries, English vocabulary also underwent a large-scale development. A category study of the OED separated according to phrases, nouns, and verbal nouns added to the English language by century from the 15th to the 18th centuries (Table 1, from Reksulak & Tollison, 2004), suggests that *tea* and its related words and phrases would more likely date to the 17th century than to the 16th and 18th centuries. If language development is a reflection of the extent to which there are new developments in a nation’s culture, then the 17th century would seem to be of particular importance in England’s cultural history with tea being one instance of the cultural expansiveness of this era.

**Table 1. Word types in *Oxford English Dictionary*, by century of first citation
(Reksulak & Tollison, 2004)**

Century	Phrases	Nouns	Verbal Nouns
15th	32	7827	703
16th	62	16,758	1191
17th	71	21,495	945
18th	39	11,789	352

Chapter 4: Methodology

Searches in the various online databases of 17th century documents for examples of “tea” and other tea-related vocabulary were made and the results recorded. The documents in which “tea” appeared were, whenever possible, downloaded in to in order to preserve a sense of context. As such sources, may be considered as primary sources for a work of this nature, an explanation of the source material available would be in order. Most of the primary source material can be found in five online databases, be the (1) A2A database of the British National Archives, which is now in the process of being replaced by a more comprehensive one (2) the Proceedings of the Old Bailey, 1674-1913, (3) British History Online, (4) EEBO (Early English Books Online), and (5) LION (Literature Online). In addition, the online version of the Oxford English Dictionary was of importance for purposes of comparison. In all cases, the emphasis was on gathering digital copies or descriptions of original source material contemporary dating back to the period concerned (1657 to 1714). In a very few cases, to illustrate a point, material was obtained from earlier and later periods of time. Secondary and tertiary sources of information have also been used on occasion, but never in an attempt to prove a point, only for illustrative purposes to further along discussion in a more interesting fashion or to make a point sharper than it otherwise would have been.

4.1 Primary data sources: collections of contemporary texts

4.1.1 The National Archive (TNA)

In the case of the British National Archives, the A2A database of the catalogues of the National Archive and of most major regional archives in England contains information about most government generated (both local and national) primary source materials needed for historical research of the later Stuarts. Material from this source proved to be abundant for all social classes and geographic regions of England.

4.1.2 Early English Books Online (EEBO)

Another invaluable source of information is Early English Books Online (EEBO). This online database has its origin in an American effort during World War II to preserve all early English books and important manuscripts on microfilm so that they would not be lost in the case of possible German air raid successes. With the advent of the internet almost all of the printed books in this collection down to the year 1700 were converted into text file documents and made available in one easily searchable and downloadable comprehensive database. For this reason, it is the preferred source of printed documents for the period concerned.

4.1.3 The Diary of Samuel Pepys

Historians have evaluated the diary of Samuel Pepys as a vividly drawn picture of the daily life of the 1660s, exactly the period in which tea achieves its initial popularity among the upper classes. Pepys was a naval administrator and a Member of

Parliament who eventually became the Chief Secretary of the Navy for Charles II as well. His diary from 1660-1669 recorded not only his daily life, but also the main events of the royal household. Through this diary it is possible to uncover much about the history of Catherine of Braganza and her rivals, the royal mistresses. It provides a picture of the queen which is quite different from that normally appearing in the history books of the Restoration era, coming across as a far more powerful figure than one might expect. On the other hand, the royal mistresses come across as being quite a bit less influential than one might expect. In addition, the diary has its use in vocabulary studies, too, in that one sees, on occasion, the evolution of new vocabulary usages. For this reason, too, material taken from Pepys has proven to be indispensable.

4.1.4 Old Bailey Online

The Proceedings of the Old Bailey, 1674-1913 contains information about court cases tried at this rather well-known London criminal court. The proceedings consist of 197,000 trials held at the Old Bailey, or Central Criminal Court in London, and continue from 1674 to 1913. All aspects of human life and all kinds of crime are recorded in the Old Bailey online records. As tea and tea related items such as silver tea-spoons and porcelain teapots were expensive and rare, they were subject to theft. For the 239 years the records cover, there are literally thousands of records related to tea which were generated in the course of the criminal proceedings of this court. Even the number of records with some reference or other to tea appearing up through 1714 are not insignificant in number.

4.1.5 British History Online

The database of British History Online is a useful supplement to the A2A database. It is a good source of information coming from secondary and tertiary sources of published information. The selection, however, is good and the level of analysis shown in the published works appearing on this website is generally worthy of respect. Also, the works collected in this database often are, in their own right, primary sources of information not easily available elsewhere, either in the national or regional archives of England.

4.1.6 Literature Online (LION)

One other particularly useful online database which, for purposes of vocabulary, cultural and literary research in general, complements EEBO very nicely is the LION (Literature Online) database. It is particularly good when searching works of 18th and 19th century literature, though very occasionally it can add to what EEBO offers for the 17th century, though generally not for the printed works of the 15th and 16th centuries. Thus, for the 18th century, LION is the preferred source as EEBO does not provide text file versions for publications printed in England for that period.

Because of the vast amount of data, it was felt best to extract only those portions of text dealing directly with tea and to gather them into a spreadsheet format for easier manipulation than would have otherwise been the case. This would then be used to make possible a collective study of the historical background and consumption of tea in late-17th and early-18th century England. The extent which tea-drinking spread and the theories of its diffusion were then applied for purposes of historical

analysis and to provide a more accurate outline of the cultural history of tea and how this cultural history might be seen manifested in the appearance of new vocabulary. In connection with this, current scholarship on English social structure in the late 17th and early 18th centuries was combined with original research on vocabulary development to show how, with regard to tea, economic expansion went together with political events to influence matters of war and of peace between England and other European countries.

4.2 Analyzing historical data

Most of the data related to tea from the 1660s to 1680s is related to travel records generated by ambassadors and merchants. They were the ones who had actually been to Asia and had encountered tea before most of their colleagues did in Europe, recording old Chinese ways of drinking tea and tea as it was consumed in India or Persia in daily life. To the extent that one is dealing with contemporary accounts that either purport to be the reports of eye-witnesses or to rely on such documents, one will encounter discussions of tea and its uses in their writings, which, barring good reasons not to, must be accepted, even if they contradict current images. Among such reports, the work of Sir Adam Olearius (1603-1671), the secretary of the embassy of a small German principality to Persia, is a good example. He offers a record of people serving tea (called *cha* or *the*) when others visit them and describes ways of preparing and drinking tea in detail. He wrote that Persians added sugar to tea and served it in a silver pot, and that Japanese used powdered tea. The first compound word, a “tsia-pot,” referred to an item valued at around six or seven thousand pounds sterling. Thus, through him, we learn that Moslems sweeten their tea, that matcha

already existed, and that extremely costly tea-drinking accessories (in this case, a tea-pot) were available to the rich. (Olearius, 1669)

Inside England, for the first decade of tea in that country, the most authoritative evidence of people drinking tea and how they drank it would be those works written by the members of the uppermost classes. Thus, comments on tea in the writing of the Duchess of Newcastle (1623-1673) in 1666 during the first years of Catherine's marriage to Charles II takes on great importance. Of special importance with regard to this category of authorship is its authoritativeness with regard to what kind of impression tea was making on people at the time. Thus, the duchess writes that, though she (the Duchess) had not drunk tea, it had become a fashionable thing to do. In her own words, she states:

“I believe they are very good in some sorts of diseases; and so may Tea, and Coffee, and the water of Birches, for any thing I know, for I never had any experience of them; but I observe; that these latter drinks, Tea, and Coffee, are now become mode-drinks, and their chief effects are to make good fellowship, rather than to perform great cures...”

Here, the term “mode-drinks” would have referred to drinks having achieved recent popularity among those of her own class, but probably can not be understood to refer to middle-class consumption. Nevertheless, when seen primarily as an indication of tea's popularity by the year 1666 among the polite society of the ladies of the royal court, of which the duchess would have been one (having been a maid of honor to the Queen Mother), it may be seen as a source of primary importance, being among the

earliest records of tea and tea-related items in England, and also being a source which would indicate a close connection with the royal court.

Then, one faces the situation of how to use a class of documents represented by the often quoted advertisement about tea published by Thomas Garraway's in 1660, for which the writer is familiar with tea as an imported item but who will have depended on other sources of information for his description of tea in China. In this particular case, information sources are specified, giving greater confidence when one reads that tea is a bush of about four feet with yellow flowers, that it is grown in Hunan Province and Nanjing in China and in some parts of the Japanese islands as well, that it is called "cha" in China, and that it is manufactured in that country and in Japan, and that English imports are mainly from China, having been first imported into England by way of the Netherlands in 1657. Where sources are not available, such as the late 17th century story of tea being made by the Romans, reliability will usually be seen as low.

When dealing with the appearance of tea related compound words and phrases, however, the 17th century writer's sources of information become immaterial, thus enabling the free use of works of literature (mainly comedies written in and around the reign of Queen Anne) will take on great importance. Whether truth or fiction, any work of literature which can be dated as contemporary, will be seen as useful in determining matters of language use.

Chapter 5: Results

Fashion as a kind of social phenomenon has always been impacted by social factors, such as tradition, political power, and economic wealth. The following year by year record of tea-related events will be seen to largely support the theory that fashion spread in the 17th century and should be seen as moving from the very top of society to the bottom. In this chronology, largely indirect support will be found for the role of Catherine of Braganza, though a wider range of evidence will be seen for the royal court of which the queen was at the center. It should be noted that rather more direct evidence would be shown for Mary II and Queen Anne, as consumers of tea.

5.1 Chronology of tea in later Stuart England

5.1.1 Earlier chronology

8th or 9th century

Arab merchants reach China and are aware of tea. (Birdwood, 1891, p. 108)

1615

27 June — In a letter sent from East India Company factor Richard Wickham in Hirando in Japan to Mr. Easton in Kyoto, a request is made for “chaw”.
(Birdwood, 1891, p. 52)

1646

16 November — A record was made of the Factory of Japan's Schuijt silver, copper and tea being shipped and loaded by order of the noble president Pieter Antonisz. An overseas consignment to the merchant Jan van Muijden, chief of company operations in Siam, was made in the Castle Zeelandia at Tajjouan (Taiwan). (NA 1.04.02 1163 Siam 259)

1656

Transfer among private parties of thin and coarse tea sold in the year 1656. (NA 1.04.02 1214 Vengurla 506 - 507)

5.1.2 Under Charles II

1659

Mention is made of tea being sold in London, with the implication that it was being sold as a drink, like coffee, rather than as a medicine. (Sachse, 1961, p.10)

1660

In the form of an advertisement for a coffee shop, we find a description of the plant, the leaves, the processing, the supposed medicinal uses, and recent prices. It documents the first imports as coming from the Netherlands in 1657, and indicates that, even at this early date, tea was drunk sweet on occasion. (Garraway, 1660, p.1)

1663

From January of this year one finds the earliest printed documentation of the production of tea as a beverage being taxed. (Anon, 1663, B38/117)

19 March — There is an advertisement announcing the sale of tea at “The Great Turk” for six to sixty shillings per pound, depending on its goodness. (Williamson, 1889, p. 593)

1664

22 August — An East India Company record makes mention of a silver case of cinnamon oil and two pounds of tea being chosen as a company present to Charles II. (Birdwood, 1891, p. 26)

1665

A poetic satire of a coffee house, described as having male customers only and as being slightly disreputable, is published: “The gallant, Furioso, orders tea”. Many kinds of men of many different professions and various countries are described. The country bumpkin is the only one to request either ale or beer. Though no mention is made as to whether tea was sweetened with sugar or not, coffee is so described. (Anon, 1665, p. 1)

13 December — Pepys writes “...having done that did go to Mr. Pierce’s, where he and his wife made me drink some tea...” (1895, V, p. 172)

1666

A published description is to be found of the tax charged on retailers of brewed tea which, together with chocolate and sherbet, was the most heavily taxed of all beverages, being eight pence per gallon, twice the tax on coffee, four times more than wine, and even more than a barrel of beer which was taxed at only six pence. (Anon, 1666, p.204)

In the same year (1666) we have the first mention in print of drinking tea having become a fashion. This is in a book by the Duchess of Newcastle, a former lady in waiting to the Queen Mother, Henrietta Maria. She gives a first explicit recognition that tea and coffee, even though she claims to have never drunk either, had become items of fashion. She feels tea and coffee, which she calls diet drinks, though they might be beneficial in treating certain diseases, find their primary use in promoting good fellowship. (Cavendish, 1666, pp. 85-86)

Also to be found published in 1666 is a work of fiction which has the hero as being located in the East Indies and describes the drinking of tea by him and others. This work is significant for its early description of pastry (sweetmeats) being served with the tea, indicating that something similar might have also been known in England at the same time, as one would not expect such fictional details to appear if they had been entirely outside the life experience of the writer concerned. (Head, 1666, pp. 115-116)

3 July — The East India Company decides to give £10 of tea to men of influence as presents. In this year, the Company gave the King 23 and 2/3 pounds of tea to the King. (Birdwood, 1891, p. 26)

1667

Another published description is to be found of the taxes on beverages sold, including on tea, and of the fines to be made on unlicensed individuals. (Anon, 1667, pp. 50, 191)

28 June — Pepys has a diary entry where he writes “...I went away and by coach home, and there find my wife making of tea, a drink which Mr. Pelling, the Potticary, tells her is good for her cold and defluxions...” (1895, VI, p. 398)

1668

A very early mention in print of the term “dish of tea” appears, where it is described as something one took after dinner with the ladies. It is also stated that, in imitation of the French, in the afternoon one should show oneself a gentleman by gambling with the ladies and losing, and then going on to drink wine at dinner. These things are mentioned in a play and, as almost all future plays in which tea appears, it is a comedy. The author, Sir Charles Sedley, provides indirect evidence of tea being an upperclass drink, as he, himself, was not only a playwright but also a member of parliament. His daughter, being a mistress of the brother of Charles II, James II, was made a countess by that king, an act which caused Sir Charles to become a supporter of the overthrow of that king during the Glorious Revolution. (Sedley, 1668, p. 48)

Yet another comedy appears, this one about a coffee shop. Here one finds an enquiry as to whether people will drink coffee, tea, or chocolate. Coffee is requested for the sake of staying more alert than would be the case with chocolate. Tea is ignored. As coffee shops were at that time for men only, this might be taken as evidence that tea was no longer considered as an essentially male drink. (Serfe, 1668, p.48)

1669

This year marked the first year in which the East India Company imported tea to England directly from East Asia. Though, as the source was Bantam, an English trading post on the Island of Java, it is not clear exactly where the tea originated. (Birdwood, 1891, p. 26)

Dryden (1669) wrote a comedy which is useful for giving the price of tea as a beverage, being six pence for three dishes of the beverage. As he was already Poet Laureate of England, this would be a strong indication that the common term at the royal court was "*a dish of tea*" rather than "*a cup of tea*" (p. 8).

Also, there appears a type of cook book where there is a recipe for a restorative drink called "*tea with eggs*", which is said to be useful when one is hungry but not ready for a regular meal. This would indicate the continuing existence of a certain recognition of tea as having health benefits. (Digby, 1669, pp. 155-156)

Another mention made to tea is in a chapter of a guide for different types of tax collectors. Constables are instructed in how to assess brewers of beverages, including tea, of the tax they owe and on how to otherwise enforce the law taxing these beverages. (Meriton, 1669, p. 41)

This year is also significant for the appearance of an English translation of a Latin language travelogue of Adam Olearius (1669) covering a tour made by him to Russia and Persia for the years 1633 to 1639, representing the Duke of Holstein. Tea is discussed as being a popular drink among the Persians, being supplied to them from China by the Uzbeks. The Persians are said to make very strong tea to which they add sugar and spices. Tea is variously called cha, tsia, thé, and tea in the passage where it is discussed. It is stated that the Persian, Indians, Chinese and Japanese think of tea as a health drink. Japanese matcha is also described. It is claimed that some Japanese have “tsia-pots” have a purchase price of between six and seven thousand pounds. This work is also valuable for mentioning previous writers who talk of tea in their descriptions of the East Indies, including Maffeus, Linschooten, and Trigault. A mention is also made of a Dr. Tulp, a physician living in Amsterdam, who is said to have carefully examined tea in the last chapter of the fourth volume of his Medicinal Observations (pp. 241, 156).

1670

In a medical work of this year various herb teas, including teas made from sage, rosemary, ground ivy and liquorish, are described for their medicinal properties. This would indicate that tea had, by this year, become popular enough that other herbs were being made to produce untaxed infusions as a substitute. Of these, sage would probably have been the most popular, as, in addition to having a nice fragrance, it could be made in a way to resemble both green tea and brown-colored teas. (Anon, 1670a, pp. 64, 68, 69)

This year also marked an attempt by coffee house owners to lobby the House of Commons for changes in the excise on coffee, tea, and chocolate. An answer to their efforts was published anonymously, where prices are explained in detail. Coffee house owners are described as being under a statutory obligation to pay eight pence per gallon of coffee, sixteen pence per gallon of tea, and sixteen pence per gallon for chocolate produced. According to the coffee house owners, a pound of tea will make nine gallons of the beverage, which, at sixteen pence per gallon, would amount to twelve shillings in tax. The consumption of tea is put at 27000 pounds of tea leaves per year, which, at 12 shillings per pound of tea leaves is said to generate 16,200 pounds in tax. (Anon, 1670b, p. 1)

Evidence of tea-related vocabulary appears this year in the Quarter Sessions records for Michaelmas held by the Essex Record Office. The pertinent records state that a woman is put in a house of correction for, among other things, stealing a tea kettle. This represents a very early, though certainly not the earliest, use of this tea-related term (Anon, 1670c). The OED gives an example of a first known use of *tea kettle* dating to 1705.

1671

In an English translation for this year of *Atlas Chinensis* by Arnoldus Montanus (1671) there is a description of China provided by two Dutch embassies sent by the East India Company to facilitate Dutch aid to the Ching Dynasty in its conflict with Coxinga who had then become master of Taiwan. Tea drinking is described in a situation where a Dutchman was given tea to drink and pastries (sweetmeats) to eat. This book is of particular use for putting Taiwan's role in the Dutch Far East

into proper perspective, something of importance in that the Dutch (and, from the Dutch, the English, French and German) word for tea seems to have had its origin in their control of that island (p. 77).

For 30 April there is an East India Company record of goods remaining on hand, which included tea, among many other items. (Birdwood, 1891, p. 26)

1673

On February 8 of this year the Customs Commissioners are ordered to deliver to the Duke of Lauderdale a box of tea which was sent to him from Scotland. The Duke played an important role in the Kingdom of Scotland during the reign of Charles II, being the king's Secretary of State for that country from 1661 to 1680. Normally, it would seem that he resided in London and was in constant attendance on the king. (Shaw, 1909, p. 58)

In a comedy written in this year by John Dryden (1673), poet laureate of England from 1666, we have tea appearing in the phrase, "*like paddling in a dish of tea*". (p. 90).

Sales of coffee, tea, and cocoa at coffee houses during this year would seem to have been healthy, as a tirade was published demanding higher taxation and more control over the sale of these drinks, claiming that they harmed the nation and that many coffee houses were merely expensive houses of prostitution. (Anon, 1673b, p. 24)

An English translation was published of a report of an embassy to Ching dynasty Emperor of China from the Dutch East-India Company. Mention is made of a plant called *cha* said to grow in abundance in China. Tea leaves from the plant are said to make an excellent drink, better than coffee or chocolate. For more information on this plant one is recommended to read Atlas Sinicus of Father Martinus. (Nieuhof, 1673, p. 408)

A satire of coffee shops appears in which tea is described as a poisonous drink for the sweet-toothed gentleman. Though this is not a first indication that tea was drunk sweetened, it would seem to be the first published reference in English confirming the importance of the relationship between tea and sugar. (Anon, 1673a, p. 3)

1674

Various miscellaneous official records from this year appear. One of these is a listing of certificates issued for those who had given security for the payment of the excise on coffee, chocolate, sherbet and tea. Two others are petitions for David Van Weegan and Abraham Niblet, respectively, for tea seized at the Custom House. Yet another record of a related nature is an order to hand over to Daniel Van Mildret tea imported from Holland by way of Bremen by mistake. The names, David Van Weegan and Daniel Van Mildret, both being Dutch, would indicate that the Dutch would still seem to be involved in some fashion or other in the English tea trade. (Shaw, 1909, p. 581)

A work published in the mid-18th century lists as being written for this year a poem by Andrew Marvell (1674) which satirizes the high tax on coffee, tea, and chocolate,

as compared with alcoholic drinks which Marvell considered to be far more dangerous to the state (p. 120).

1675

An entry for this year in a Treasury Entry Book makes mention of a “tea pot” and distinguishes it from a “chocolate pot”. In the same entry, cups are mentioned but not dishes, a fact which might indicate that people still used cups to drink tea with. (Shaw, 1909, p. 830)

This year would seem to mark the first appearance in print of the compound word “tea-drinking”. It appears in a comedy acted at the Theatre Royal and written by William Wycherley (1675). In it a young man is told he will have to master the art of visiting the ladies and having tea with their boring relatives who will spend their time complaining about important people (pp. 27, 29). This confirms OED’s reference to 1675 as a first occurrence for this term.

1676

There is an entry for April of this year in the records of the London Records Office noting that 25 persons have been licensed to sell coffee, tea etc. (Anon. 1676a)

On the A2A website, there is a link to a brief introduction to the records of the East India Company Factory at Canton. It states that 1676 is the year that company employees were allowed to trade directly with mainland China at the port of Amoy. Later, they were allowed to trade at Canton and Chusan, too, until 1757 when an imperial edict limited all trade to Canton. The company was allowed to

establish a factory in Canton in 1762. The company's monopoly on trade with China was abolished in 1833, but it kept an agent in Canton until 1840. Until 1680, the trade with China was carried out with ships from the Company's factory at Bantam. It was only in that year that ships began to be dispatched directly from England. The significance of this introduction is in its confirmation of England's first direct trading ventures being in Amoy, a port city in the Fukkienese-speaking region of China. (Anon, 1676b)

An entry is made in an entry book of the State Papers of Charles II, where mention is made of the Duke of Buckingham drinking a cup of tea to the health of a new parliament. The Duke had been raised as a child together with the King, but their relations as adults were often rocky. The significance of this entry is as proof that tea was still often drunk out of cups. One wonders if cups were a masculine preference and dishes a feminine one. (Daniell, 1909, p. 352)

The Treasury Books record an order in July to hand over various goods, including tea, for the use of his Excellency, Monsieur (Coenraad) van Beuningen, who was several times Mayor of Amsterdam and one of the most highly regarded Dutch diplomats of his time. (Shaw, 1911, p. 277)

In October the Treasury Books make note that certain collectors of the excise on coffee, sherbet, cider and tea are to be heard and their complaints dealt with. (Shaw, 1911, p. 1537)

This year also saw a royal proclamation issued delaying the enforcement of a previous royal proclamation forbidding the sale of coffee, tea, chocolate, or sherbet at

public venues. This was framed as an act of mercy on the part of the king, but the tradeoff was added income in the form of a fine the dealers in these beverages were to pay to stay in business. (R, 1676, p. 1)

1677

In March some sugar and tea are sent duty free to Duchess of Cleveland from Amsterdam in the ship called Zebulon. (Shaw, 1911, p. 579)

For this year, there is a June 8 warrant in the treasury books to allow certain items, including tea and porcelain, goods belonging to a close friend of Charles II, Alphonse de Créquy, Comte de Canaples, to pass duty free to France. (Shaw, 1911, p. 652)

Tea makes its appearance as a vocabulary item in an early dictionary of English published in this year. It is described as an Indian drink made from the leaves of a shrub. Indian, as an adjective, should be interpreted as referring broadly to the East Indies from the English perspective of the time and which would have including things Chinese, especially things from South China, Taiwan, and the Japanese archipelago. (Coles, 1677, p. 142)

1680

No published references dating to 1678 and 1679 were found, but in 1680 a comedy by Thomas d'Urfey (1680) was performed at the Dukes Theatre by a drama troupe patronized by the Duke of York, the future King James II. In this comedy a casual

mention is made of stepping “over to the coffee-house to drink a dish of tea.” (p. 13)

A work by Samuel Haworth (1680) is published in which one finds a description of the bodily effects and medicinal uses of tea (p. 126).

Tea appears in the publication of a translation of a book concerning the voyages to the East of the Baron of Aubonne. Tea is discussed as being popular among the Vietnamese (the people of the kingdom of Tunquin) which they use medicinally for headaches and for stomach and intestinal problems. It’s popularity among the Europeans in India (the Portuguese at Goa) and in Indonesia (the Dutch in Batavia) is mentioned and also how the Europeans in South and Southeast Asia keep tea leaves after making tea to eat later, mixed with sugar, vinegar, and oil. (Tavernier, 1680, pp.29-30)

1682

No published reference to tea has been found for 1681, but in 1682 a work by G. Hartman appears (1682), describing how coffee, tea and chocolate may be boiled in a pot with a lamp as a source of heat (p. 1).

Tea finds mention in yet another comedy by Thomas d’Urfey (1682) which was acted at the Duke’s Theatre. In it, a coffee house is asserted to be a place where people can be seen drinking coffee or tea and where one finds “the Epitome of Hell, where all sorts of mal-contented Fiends are in office” (p. 46).

We also find a publication in which a complaint is made that many people waste their time in idleness at “Taverns, Ale-houses, and Coffee-houses” and would “rather loiter away” their “time over Tea, or Turkish Liquor”, than to study the teachings of the church. (Phillips, 1682, p. 1)

1683

Mention is made of drinking a cup of tea at Garroways by Roger Whitley (1683), a prominent royalist who had been active in the movement to end the Protectorate and to put Charles II back on the throne. He was a member of every parliament during the reigns of Charles II and James II. One finds proof here that, in spite of the popularity of dishes, tea also continues to be offered in cups. (Stevens, 2004, para. 20)

A guidebook for justices of the peace appears in which there is a section describing their duties under the revenue laws regarding the sale of coffee, chocolate, sherbet and tea. (Keble, 1683, p. 116)

A work on how to maintain one’s health is published, in which there is an extensive discussion of the drinks the author considers the most common, being water, wine, beer, ale, cider, perry, meath or meatheglin, mum, brandy, aquavita, coffee, and tea. (Maynwarings, 1683, p. 107)

A medical work by John Peachy mentions how a tincture taken in the morning with tea, and in the afternoon and evening with mum, can be used to help those suffering from epileptic fits. (Peachy, 1683, p. 8)

A satire is published, wherein it is written that “men shall be much addicted to the drinking of Coffee, otherwise called by the name of Ninny broth, sold at the Turks head in Pisspot-lane; where also is sold divers other liquors, viz. Tea, and Aromatick for the sweet tooth’d Gentlemen; Betony and Rosade for the addle headed Customer, Back-recruiting Chocalet for the Consumptive Gallant, Hereford-shire Redstreak made of rotten Apples at the Three-Cranes, true Brumswick Mum brew’d at Saint Katherines, and Ale in penny Mugs not so big as a Taylors thimble.” Again we have confirmation that tea was sold sweetened. (Robin, 1683, p. 4)

A work promoting the settlement of the island of Tobago claims, as one of many inducements to maintain a British presence there, that the same kind of tea grows wild on the island of Tobago as is sold in English coffee-houses. (Poyntz, 1683, p. 12)

A medical work by Thomas Willis (1683) mentions the use of tea in the treatment of various illnesses. Tea is recommended, on occasion, as the drink of choice for taking certain pills. A drink made from sage and tea is also recommended. Various medicines that go with tea are described and information is given about when to drink them (pp. 118, 149, 151, 160, 171, 196, 198, 208).

A song is printed with the lyrics describing drinking from a coffee dish and that if the poison, coffee, will not warm a person then that tea definitely will. (Anon, 1683, p. 1)

1684

There is record for the 9th of April of the theft of a “silver Tea pot” and other silver items by a certain Elizabeth Volor. (OBP, version 7.0, t16840409-10)

There is a publication in which mention is made of how to make sea water fresh and a claim that such water is better for making coffee, chocolate, and tea than fountain water. (Fitzgerald, 1684, p. 2)

There is indirect evidence of tea being seen as a feminine drink in a collection of songs which claims that the habit of the Turks to drink tea rather than wine was responsible for victories in war being gained over them. (Anon, 1684, p. 1)

A medical work published in this year makes mention of the desirability of taking certain medicines with tea, coffee, or chocolate made with sage water. (Willis, 1684, p. 21)

In this year, the prominent royalist, Roger Whitley, mentions in his diary going to a tea house rather than to a coffee house, indicating that such businesses existed by this time. (Stevens, 2004, para. 1)

5.1.3 Under James II

1685

A humorous tract appears purporting to be written in the Yorkshire dialect and in praise of Yorkshire ale. A mention of tea is made among many other drinks, mostly alcoholic. (Meriton, 1685, p. 2)

A translation into English of a book appearing in the same year in France discusses the manner of making of coffee, tea, and chocolate in many parts of Europe, Asia, Africa, and America, as well as discussing the various virtues to be associated with these drinks. The concerned book printed the same year in French was entitled “Traité nouveaux & curieux du café, du thé et du chocolat” and printed in Lyon at Girin et Riviere. Of greatest interest in the French text concerning tea is a passage from pages 247 and 248, which goes: “Pour ce qui est de nôtre Europe, il est en grande vogue & en grande estime en Angleterre: on peut en juger par le nombre des lieux publics destinez à en vendre, qui à Londres seulement vont au delà de trois mille. On a été obligé quelquefois de les faire fermer, par la même raison qui fit que l’on défendit il y a quelques années les Cabarets à Café: ce que je ne redis pas pour éviter une repetition inutile & par consequent ennuyeuse. On fait aussi assés de cas du Thé en France, en Hollande, en Italie: mais peu ou point en Espagne & en Allemagne, où les Peuples ne sont pas si curieux des nouveautés, & se tiennent à leurs anciens usages. Les Allemands au vin & à la biere, & les Espagnols au Chocolat & au vin : le Thé ny le Café n’étant plus beaucoup connus parmi eux.” This may be translated into English as: “As for Europe, it (tea) is held in great esteem in England, as one can judge by the number of public places designated for its sale, which, in London alone, go beyond three thousand. One has been obliged to close these places at times for the same reason to sell, which in London alone go beyond three thousand was summer. Sometimes forced to shut them down, for the same reason that the coffee houses were a few years ago. I will not speak again on this so as to avoid a useless and boring repetition. Tea is well regarded in France, Holland, and Italy but little or not at all in Spain and Germany

where people are not so curious about novelties and they stick to their old ways. The Germans prefer wine and beer, while the Spanish chocolate and wine. Neither tea nor coffee are well-known among them.” (Dufour, 1685, pp. 14, 30, 37, 38, 41-48, 52)

In an Entry Book of September mention is made that a certain Pilsworth has “carried on a considerable trade in coffee, tea and chocalat”. (Shaw, 1911, p. 503)

In December of this year the Treasury Books have an entry for a present of tea from the princess of Orange (the future Queen Mary II) which is to be delivered customs free to the prince and princess of Denmark (the sister of the princess of Orange and the future Queen Anne). (Shaw, 1911, p. 530)

1686

In April, mention is made in the Treasury Books of a parcel of tea seized by Thomas Jones. (Shaw, 1923, p. 694)

In May Roger Whitley writes in his diary that he went in the evening to Elford's to drink a dish of tea with an acquaintance by the name of Paige. (Stevens, 2004, para. 1)

In May customs commissioners are directed to open a chest at the Earl of Dunbarton's house in Leicester Fields containing, among other things, tea. The Earl of Dunbarton was a member of a royalist family and the brother of the Duke of Hamilton. (Shaw, 1923, p. 781)

In August of 1686 there is a Treasury Books entry that customs duties are to be paid on the arrival of three chests of tea from Thailand in a French ship. (Shaw, 1923, p. 923)

A book of songs appears in which the lyrics of one song has the line “Arabian Tea, is dish-water stuff to a dish of new whey.” (Playford, 1686, p. 24)

Court records show 20 pounds of tea listed as having been stolen on the 13th of October. (OBP, version 7.0, t16861013-2)

A comedy by Thomas d’Urfey (1686) appears in which a young lady reports to having added opium to the tea her guardian takes after dinner, so that she can escape him to do whatever she wants (p. 1).

A political tract supporting the monarchy by Nathaniel Johnston (1686) asserts that the drinking of tea, coffee, ale, and claret are having a bad influence on the political life of the nation (p. 424).

In a work on the proper treatment of venereal disease, it is maintained that it is proper for people to drink as much “White-Wine, or Rhenish, with Water and Lemon, or as much Tea as they please”. (Peter, 1686, p. 61)

A medical work by Charles Peter (1686) advocates a tincture which he sells for the purpose of curing liver malfunction, after which coffee, sage tea, or tea may be drunk. (p. 9)

1687

In this year, in response to a declaration for liberty of conscience in England, and a proclamation for toleration in Scotland, a work claiming that protestants are under attack appears. In this work, Catholics were accused of having assassinated Charles II by poisoning a cup of tea or chocolate. This work is interesting for the use of the term “cup” as opposed to “dish”. (Ferguson, 1687, p. 18)

An account of weekly expenditures, usually countersigned by the Marchioness of Worcester, includes mention of a Dutch tea pot. (Anon, 1687a)

A licence in the Lancashire Record Office granted to Richard Hilton in this year allows him to open a Coffee House to sell coffee, chocolate, sherbet and tea. (Anon, 1687b)

An order can be found in the Treasury Books to hand over to Charles Fox “some tea and black cloth which he brought with him from Holland.” (Shaw, 1923, p. 1521)

In an October diary entry, Roger Whitley writes that he saw some individuals and had tea and a bottle of wine with them before parting. (Stevens, 2004, para. 4)

In a book published about Balsamick Wells at Hoxdon, there is a claim that, in addition to the mineral water from Hoxdon being a cure all, that it will react with tea. (Byfiels, 1687, p. 26)

In a book purporting to instruct young ladies from respectable families in the domestic arts, there is a passage which claims that everyone knows how to make tea and coffee and so there is no need to write any instructions on this topic and that the

writer will proceed to write about how to make syrups. In an essay of the medicinal effect of the waters of Tunbridge, one can find a short passage on the medical uses of tea. (Shirley, 1687, p.15)

In a translation into English of a French book written by Jean de Thévenot before 1667, passing mention is made of the fact that, though people of the Brahmin caste are vegetarian, they drink coffee and tea. (Thévenot, 1687, pp. 33, 81)

In a comic poem dealing with the theme of the city mouse and the country mouse, mention is made of “priests sipping coffee, sparks and poets tea...” (Prior, 1687, p. 20)

A letter from Mr. Samuel White, to his brother in London, written in Siam in September, gives a full account of the a rebellion made by the people of Macasser, and how the rebels were treated to tea before being told to surrender (p. 2).

An English translation of a book by Alexandre de Chaumont, gives an account of his embassy to the court of the King of Siam. Among other matters, a description of Thailand's trade with India and China is given and for which tea is thought to figure prominently. A description of presents to the king mentions a silver tea pot, three extraordinary earthen tea pots, another China tea pot, two tea pots full of such tea as the emperor of China uses, and a golden tea pot (pp. 21, 97, 149, 150).

1688

As concern over the king's Catholicism develops, an essay cast in the form of a dialogue has a passage in which an invitation is made to share in a serious discussion on

religious matters over dish of tea in a private room at Wills Coffee House (Brown, p. 32).

An polemic piece of writing urges people to take offense at statements made about and actions taken against the English East India Company by the Netherlands East India Company, in which work mention is made of the Dutch in Bantam (Java) breaking into the house of an Englishman, Ambrose Moody, and confiscating all that was there, including a chest of “fine tea pots” (p. 35).

In a publication purporting to be a letter from a clergyman in the city, to his friend in the country, concerning the religious problems facing England, allusion is made to “frequent sermons upon loyalty preached over tea and coffee at Sam’s Coffee House...” (Poulton, p. 1)

5.1.4 Under William III and Mary II

1688

Soon after the accession of Mary II and William III, a statute is enacted by Parliament “for the charging and collecting the duties upon coffee, tea and chocolate at the custom house”. (Anon, 1688, HL/PO/PU/1/1688/1W&Ms2n9)

1689

A May entry in the Treasury Books makes mention of a gilt tea cup. (Shaw, 1931, p. 106)

Mention can be found in the London Metropolitan Archives of a tea pot. (Anon, 1689, ACC/0262/043/130)

Mention is made in the Treasury Books of a tea table. (Shaw, 1923, p. 2035)

An advertisement mentioning Mary's Tea-House as a site for a future auction of prints, paintings, and limnings. Mr. Mainwaring's Tea-House is described as one of various places where one might obtain a catalogue (Millington, p. 1). The OED reference to an earliest mention of tea house is from the same source.

An advertisement mentions the projected auction on Friday, 28 June 1689, of a collection of paintings, drawings, and prints, etc. at Tom's Coffee-House, in Pope's-Head-Alley, over against the Royal-Exchange, Cornhil. One of the paintings (no. 94) was described as "A Fruit piece of Willebeck—A piece of still life, with a Tea-pot, Coral, &c." (Anon, 1689a, p. 4)

At the first session of the Convention Parliament of William and Mary, certain duties were laid on "coffee, chocolate, sherbet, and tea, to be paid by, and levied upon, the retails of the said several Liquors". (History of Parliament Trust, 1802a, p. 117)

To supply for the needs of the Navy, "an additional Duty of Excise be laid upon Beer, Ale, and other Liquors, except Coffee, Chocolate, and Tea; and except Strong Liquors" was enacted. (History of Parliament Trust, 1802b, p. 113)

A petition is made to Parliament on behalf of those in trading in coffee, cacao nuts, tea, and chocolate. Also presented is a report on the trade in these commodities from 1 July 1687 to 1 July 1689. (Anon, 1687b, HL/PO/JO/10/1/411/121)

The petition claimed that from the 12th year of Charles II, an excise had been made on the production of coffee, chocolate, and tea as beverages, but that this, being difficult to collect, should be changed into an imposition on the commodities, themselves, which could be easily collected. The suggested rate for tea was five shillings per pound which it was claimed would be enough to make 15 gallons. It was admitted that, if it were actually possible to collect a tax on the beverages consistently and fairly, then the present tax regime would produce more income, but that poor enforcement meant that more would be gained by lowering the rates and taxing the commodity, instead. It was said that the present consumption of tea was then 27000 pounds per year, which, if taxed at the rate of five shillings per pound, would produce a guaranteed income to the king of 6750 pounds per year. (Anon, 1689c, p. 1)

A parliamentary resolution is made in December to lay a customs imposition on tea and chocolate. (Hardy, 1898, pp. 342-388)

A medical essay claimed that herb teas made from rosemary, sage, betony, lily of the valley, etc. could be used in the same form as tea as a recommended treatment for epileptic fits. (Cole, p. 153)

A claim is made in a passage of a collection of satirical poems by Andrew Marvell that, though wine and other strong drinks cause trouble to increase among those who drink them, “chocolate, tea, and coffee are liquors of peace”. (Marvell, p. 6)

The story of Henry Pitman, a vendor of medicines to the then dead Duke of Monmouth contains an account of various herbs from the Caribbean, including “tea radix” (p. 29).

A comedy by Thomas Shadwell contains the story of a raffle for a tea pot. As the price of participation was one guinea, the tea pot itself must have been a rather expensive one (pp. 18, 21, 22, 28).

1690

On January 2, there is a first reading a bill for laying a duty upon tea and others, regarding a “bill for collecting the duty upon coffee, tea, and chocolate, at the custom house”. (History of Parliament Trust, 1802d, p. 321)

On January 3, the House of Commons becomes a committee of the whole house, for the purpose of considering “the bill for collecting the duty upon coffee, tea, and chocolate, at the custom house”. (History of Parliament Trust, 1802e, p. 324)

On January 4, a report is submitted to a committee of the whole House of Commons considered coffee, tea, and chocolate, at the custom house. (History of Parliament Trust, 1802f, p. 325)

On January 8 permission was given to a certain individual to re-transport “to Holland, customs free, of some chocolate, tea and spices”. (Shaw, 1931, p. 552)

In July the Treasury Books have an entry stating that Mary Devitt's muslins and tea shall not be delivered till she make oath of the property being hers and Mr. Hosyer's fees be paid. This is followed by another entry for July concerning "tea belonging to Mary Devet, which were seized at Crayford in Kent by Mr. Peregrine Bertie as prohibited goods". (Shaw, 1931, p. 749)

A petition of the Governor and Company of Merchants of London, trading to the East Indies with regard to tea and coffee is recorded in the Treasury Papers for the last third of July. (Redington, 1868, p. 132)

In September there is the entry in the Treasury Books of a petition of "William Jephson to the Customs Commissioners to view and make allowance for decay and damage of the tea and coffee imported by the East India Company". (Shaw, 1931, p. 833)

In August there is an entry in the Treasury Books of a "tea drum for the Queen". (Shaw, 1931, p. 780)

An advertisement for an auction in September of artwork and of "large looking-glasses in rich frames, and rich tea-tables" mentions that catalogues may be "seen at the principal coffee-houses". (Anon, 1690, p. 1)

For October there is mention made of two boxes of tea for the Queen which had been stopped at Harwich, and sent to Ipswich. (Redington, 1868, p. 137)

On the 15th of October 1690 Constance Wayne-wright is accused of stealing a silver tea pot valued at six pounds from Paul Hayley. (OBP, version 7. 0, t16901015-10)

In an advertisement of an auction of artwork to take place on the 20th of October at Kiftell's Coffee House, adjoining to the Court of Requests, near Westminster Hall, two paintings with tea-related themes are mentioned, being no.267 which was an "original picture of a still-life, with a book & tea-pot" and no. 393 which showed "a Turkey-worked carpet and tea-pot". (Bullord, pp. 6, 8)

An advertisement announces an auction of a collection of paintings and limnings on the 20th of November at the Barbadoes Coffee-House in Exchange Alley. Painting no. 105 was described as a painting of "a delicate green Turkey-worked carpet and tea-pot, finely painted". (Millington, p. 3)

In a dialogue about religious conversion and re-conversion, reference is made of drinking a dish of tea twice a day in a way that would make it seem to be a rate of consumption that people would have considered to be an ordinary one. A satire on the same topic shows people discussing serious matters over a dish of tea. That they would do so would seem to be taken for granted in the one passage for which there is a mention of tea. (Brown, p. 3)

In a comic poem it is claimed that women, when they gather to drink a dish of tea, do what they would do if they were to drink a pint or more in a beer glass. (D'Urfey, p. 161)

In this year, a work by Samuel Price of Christ-Church Hospital describes tea as an herb growing in China and Japan which is beneficial to the health, helping to keep the body active, to recover from headaches, and to alleviate other problems, including difficulty in breathing and bowel pains. (p. 1)

In this year Edmund Waller's poems were printed, one of which was in praise of Catherine of Braganza and presented a glimpse of her role in promoting the use of tea. (p. 61)

A poem by Edward Ward appears, making fun of coffee house stereotypes. Mention is made of certain individuals drinking or sipping tea. (pp. 11, 14, 23)

In a humorous work by Mary Evelyn mention is made of a lacquerware tea table and a tea and chocolate pot. (p. 11)

1691

There is possibly a first mention in print in the comedy *Love for money, or, The boarding school* of cold tea being a synonym for brandy and a drink popular among the ladies. (D'Urfey, pp. 11, 36)

In a comic dialogue, the scene of which is set at Jonathan's Coffee House, mention is made of someone ordering a dish of tea. (Anon, 1691a, p. 1)

An English translation of a work by Jean Cornand de Lacroze talks of a certain plant as coming from the Americas and being called "Indian Tea". (Lacroze, p. 44)

In March the Treasury Books show that permission was granted to allow "the East India Company a discount of 4½ per cent on the new impositions on coffee, tea etc". (Shaw, 1931, p. 1053)

In May the Treasury Books record a request for a "report on the petition of John Due et al. concerning a parcel of tea imported in the ship James from China" to be speedily prepared. (Shaw, 1931, p. 1172)

A character appearing in a satirical poem of Richard Ames asks rhetorically whether he'd work at brewing coffee and tea for others if he had enough money to do something else or be someone else. (p. 9)

A satirical fable appears in which a pug gets his brother a house and furnishes it with coffee, tea, mum, and ale, among many other things. (Anon, 1691b, p. 2)

A travelogue has a description of the central offices of the Dutch East India Company, in one room of which various drugs, tea, wax, ambergris, and musk are said to be stored. (Anon, 1691c, p. 39)

In a comprehensive description of England under the rule of William and Mary by a French author, the writer maintains that one reason for the moderation of the English in eating only one full meal a day was their frequent use of tobacco, tea, and coffee. Thus, they are said to either make small suppers or to turn them into a time to drink beverages; and this is said to be good for the health. It is claimed that the English diet, in general, is good for the health, as their cooking is very plain, simply “boiled and roasted, without any Sophistication”. It is, furthermore, maintained that the use of coffee and tea was then so common in England that people no longer drank strong liquors as much as before; and, for this reason, “coffee houses ought to be kept up and encouraged”. It is claimed that tea, by its very nature, is a proper drink for a phlegmatic people like the English. (Miege, pp. 35, 37)

In a work dedicated to good health we can find probably the first notice of the power of coffee or tea to induce an addiction in the same way that alcoholic drinks or tobacco can. (Tryon, p. 128)

In a comedy of this year we find mention of tea being offered to one with whom a dish of coffee seems to have disagreed. (Anon, 1691d, p. 35)

1692

A guide for tax and other impost collectors has instructions for gaging tea for tax purposes and includes an instruction for having the gagers bring a constable with them and another that they are to enter the houses of brewers at night. (Gent, p. 37)

A satirical dialogue states that cold tea (brandy) has served as a joke in two or three plays (*Love for Money* and *The Marriage Hater Matched* being mentioned) but won't serve as a joke anymore. (Gildon, p. 12)

In a comedy by Alexander Oldys (*The female gallant*) a woman is mentioned as frequently drinking cold tea to excess and dying a premature death (p. 98).

A comedy called *The wives excuse* mentions drinking tea in a garden. The types of tea to choose from are the plain Canton, the Nanquin, the Bohea, the Latheroon, and the Sunloe. It was settled on that Bohea should be drunk. A claim was made that it was the best quality of Bohea and cost 10 pounds per pound of tea leaves. (Southerne, pp. 37, 38, 40, 41)

In a humorous work by Charles Gildon, there is a comic piece where a woman gives cold tea (brandy) to two or three Irishmen to keep them from singing (p. 243).

The Treasury Papers for this year contain a report regarding an allowance made upon a parcel of imported tea. (Redington, 1868, p. 213)

In a work by Robert Boyle, one finds a discussion of the best tea growing “at the first of the Spring, and are the top leaves; in what manner it is dried, and whether the too hasty drying thereof hurts it”. (Boyle, p. 93)

An anthology of poetry published this year has a satirical poem by the second duke of Buckingham, in which there is a couplet which goes “Tell me, sage Will, thou, that the town around/For wit, and tea and coffee art renowned”. The poem, itself, would have been written no later than 1687, the year in which the Duke of Buckingham died. (Villiers, p. 45)

In a translation of a purported letter from Pope Innocent the XII to the emperor, mention is made of tobacco, coffee, tea, and chocolate in a context that would indicate their being objects of tax revenue in the Holy Roman Empire as well (p. 3).

In a medical self-help work for housewives, there is a somewhat rare criticism of tea by a 17th century writer, worthy of being extensively quoted: “Tea is another foreign Drink, the use whereof has not been long known in England, the best that can be said of it is, That it is a pretty innocent harmless liquor, it has an opening quality, and purges by urine, but not so much as many of our own country’s herbs, and its great esteem is not from the more than ordinary virtues that it is endued with, but chiefly for novelty’s sake, and because it is outlandish (=foreign), and dear, and

far-fetched (=brought from afar), and therefore admired by the multitude of ignorant People, who always have the greatest esteem for those things they know not. The truth is, our herb called dandelion (that is in English, lion's tooth, because of the similarity of its leaf) being gathered according to our directions in 'The Way to Health, &c.' and infused in boiling hot water about half an hour, and then the liquor poured from the herbs, and sweetned with fine white sugar, is a far better drink than tea, though the latter costs sixteen or twenty Shillings a pound, whereas the former may plentifully be had by most people for gathering, and is of far more use and virtue; for it cleanses the stomach, and powerfully purges by urine; its natural taste is a moderate bitter, which being allayed by sugar, becomes as grateful, if not more than the best tea. There are several other of our common Herbs that will perform the like, which I shall not trouble the reader with in this place, only this I must tell you, that sage, penny-royal, mint, mother of thyme, and garden thyme being gathered and dryed in their proper seasons, and preserved in bags, will make more suitable drinks for our constitutions, and answer the end of nature's wants to a greater advantage than tea." (Tryon, pp. 215-217)

In a comedy called *The marriage-hater match'd*, there is a scene in which ladies are at their tea. Cold tea is served to the surprise of one of the ladies who calls it burnt brandy, to which the response is that this was what was in fashion then. (D'Urfey, pp. 29-31)

In a probate inventory to be found in the Lincolnshire Archives, one finds listed a chocolate pot and two tea pots worth a total of £118.9.0. (Anon, 1692, Mass/16/17)

In a medical self-help work by John Pechey, a description is provided of the daily pattern of his life, that he drinks a dish or two of tea upon waking up in the morning, that he rides in his coach till noon, eats his dinner, drinks a pint of Canary wine, takes to his coach again, has a beer after supper and then another when going to bed. (pp. 63, 148)

1693

A satire by an anonymous writer claims that women drink cold tea just as much as men drink wine and that wine is less dangerous than marriage. (Anon, p. 2)

In a comedy by Elkanah Settle, it is proposed that the characters drink cold tea when discussing whether a louse or a flea is the nobler animal. (Settle, p. 5)

A medical work asserts that drinking a dish of tea among other beverages would be acceptable after taking a certain medicine recommended to purge the stomach and intestines. (Packe, p. 4)

There is mention of a report being received that a boat had been sent with sugar and tobacco to Scotland. (Fortescue, 1903, pp. 1-13)

In January the Treasury Books record money being received from Mr. Howard out of Coffee and Tea duties. (Shaw, 1939, p. 713)

One can find in the Treasury Papers an opinion of the "*Attorney-General, to the Lords of the Treasury, on the new duty upon coffee, tea, cocoa, and chocolate*", regarding Secret Service Payments. (Redington, 1868, p. 316)

In September, according to the Treasury Books, money is sent from the new duty on coffee and tea to the Earl of Ranelagh as part of the arrears of subsistence to the Army. (Shaw, 1935, p. 329)

In September the Treasury Books have orders regarding the payments to be made from the duty on coffee and tea. (Shaw, 1935, p. 347)

In October the Treasury Books record money being received from Mr. Howard out of Coffee and Tea duties. (Shaw, 1939, p. 713)

In November the Treasury Books record money being received for secret service out of taxes on coffee and tea. (Shaw, 1935, p. 368)

In December the Treasury Books record money being received for secret service out of taxes on coffee and tea. (Shaw, 1935, p. 413)

In a collection of medicinal remedies by Robert Boyle, there is a description of a drink made of eye-bright that could be drunk like tea is made. It is, appropriately, supposed to be for strengthening the eye-sight. (p. 137)

In a work by Sir Thomas Pope Blount, Thomas Pope, one finds a copy, almost word for word, of a previous book on tea's use in the Kingdome of Tonkin (Vietnam) and among the Europeans in south Asia. (Blount, pp. 99, 103-107)

In a comedy by Thomas Southerne a lady drinks tea and cold tea, the latter especially when she's in the country and has nothing to do. (pp. 6, 30-32)

A satirical poem by Richard Ames is published in which the stereotype was kept that cold tea was admired by the ladies. (p. 16)

A translation of a French work on Thailand appears in which the writer, in passing, notes that in French Tcha denotes tea made from flowers, as opposed to the ordinary word for tea which means tea made from tea leaves. (La Loubère, pp, 14, 21, 22, 166, 183)

1694

A comic work appears which maintains that a bit of cold tea (brandy), now and then, is a good thing, but that one has to be careful not to indulge oneself too much. (N.H, pp. 160, 202)

An act of parliament is enacted, establishing additional duties upon coffee, tea, chocolate and spices, to help pay off transport service debts and to put down an uprising in Ireland. (Anon, 1694, HL/PO/PU/1/1694/6&7W&Mn9)

In February an order may be found in the Treasury Books to pay Edmund Wallers 40l. out of the new duty on coffee and tea. (Shaw, 1935, p. 512)

In March the Treasury Books record money being received for secret service out of taxes on coffee and tea. (Shaw, 1935, p. 525)

In June the Treasury Books indicate that instructions are issued regarding the new duty on coffee and tea. (Shaw, 1935, p. 680)

In June the Treasury Books indicate Mr. Howard received funds from the new duty on coffee and tea according to instructions given on the 19th of April, 1694. (Shaw, 1939, p. 732)

In September the Treasury Books indicate that instructions are issued regarding the new duty on coffee and tea. (Shaw, 1935, p. 777)

In December the Treasury Books show that 21 pounds of tea had been brought from Holland in one of his Majesty's baggage ships. (Shaw, 1935, p. 844)

In December, the Treasury Books show a record of Henry Guy being paid for secret service out of coffee and tea duty. (Shaw, 1935, p. 856).

There is a description of a medicine for violent colds, consisting of coltsfoot, maiden-hair, and a stick of liquorish, boiled in spring water and, being drained, drunk like hot tea, three or four nights in a row. (Boyle, p. 2)

John Peachy writes about a tincture which can be used as a cure for gout and which may be drunk with tea or coffee (Peachi-1, p. 7). In another work published in the same year, he includes tea among a list of plants with medicinal qualities (Peachi-2, p. 10).

In a work by Thomas Tryon, one finds a summary of a passage in a previous book being used in a different context. Tea is compared with dandelion, but without the criticism of tea one finds in the original passage. There is also a similar mention of various other herbs being just as good (p. 16).

A comedy by William Congreve describes the ladies as having gone to have their tea and gossip about some scandal or other. The men agree to go to the ladies to enjoy a dish of tea. (p. 2, 7)

In yet another work on health related topics, John Peachy claims that a clergyman who would drink three or four dishes of tea whenever someone would visit him eventually got diabetes as a result (p. 7).

An advertisement to sell a lacquered tea table, among many other goods, appears. (Rose, p. 1)

John Peachy, in yet another work on medical remedies, claims that herb tea made from sage, betony or ground-pine, when sweetened and drunk hot, works against the gout, headaches, and diseases of the nerves. (p. 18, 338)

1695

Concerning the recently departed Mary II as a queen, the following passage with tea in it from this work deserves to be quoted at length and goes: “What an enemy she was to idleness, even in ladies. Those who had the honour to serve her, are living instances. It is well known how great a part of the day they were employed at their needles, and several ingenuities — the Queen, herself, when more important business would give her leave, working with them. And, that their minds might be well employed at the same time, it was her custom to order one to read to them, while they were at work; either divinity, or some profitable history. And what a value she set on time, appeared by her leaving her pillow by six in the morning, and her late returns to it, and by the hours which she daily spent in her closet. And it was admirable to see how she would contrive, to be as little as needs must out of business. She did not spare so much as her dressing time from it, which was after she had been first in her closet about half an hour, and then, after a dish of tea or

chocolate, about two hours more. She appointed her levy (that is her dressing time) for the receiving of petitions, and doing what other business could then conveniently be dispatched. And even now also would she have reading when there was a vacancy for it. And this was the time which the ladies knew to be most acceptable for the receiving of Visits, because then they would least hinder business. As for those ladies who came at her working time, they knew they should not be welcome, except they worked, too.” (Fowler, p. 14)

John Peachy repeats a passage concerning tea virtually word for word from another book he previously wrote, though after doing so he offers herb tea recipes along with one for regular tea. Also, in another work dated to this year, he discusses an herb from the Carolinas called cassiny which is claimed to be effective against small pox and which is to be drunk as the English drink tea and coffee (pp. 295, 447).

Mention is made of purchases of tea, among many other things, in Thomas Wood’s London accounts. (Anon, 1695a, ACC/1302/003)

In April, a decision is made by the House of Commons to lay a duty of one shilling per pound weight on all imported tea, over and above what was already payable. (History of Parliament Trust, 1803d, p. 292)

On the 3rd of April there is an advertisement extolling the drinking in the morning of any liquor, such as ale, tea canary, etc. as a means of treating various ailments. (OBP, version7.0, a16950403-1)

On the 14th of October the same advertisement as in April appears. (OBP, version7.0, a16951014-1)

In December Colonel Perry presented to the House of Commons a bill granting the king certain rates and duties upon coffee, tea, chocolate, and other goods. (History of Parliament Trust, 1803e, p. 296)

Also in December, the Treasury Books show a record of Henry Guy being paid for secret service out of the coffee and tea duty. (Shaw, 1935, p. 682)

In relation to a petition to Parliament regarding transport-ships, taken up in the years 1689, 1690, and 1691, for the reduction of Ireland, mention about tea is in the context of “An Act for Granting to His Majesty several Additional Duties upon Coffee, Tea, &c. towards Satisfaction of the Debts due for Transport Service, for the Reduction of Ireland; which Act was to Continue but for Three Years, at Five Pounds per Cent per Annum Interest”. (Anon, 1695b, p. 1)

A textbook on the use of a newly invented gauging rod instructs one on how to make and measure various beverages, including coffee, tea, and chocolate. (Anon,1695c, p. 12)

In an English translation of a Spanish work concerning Portuguese Asia, there is a passage concerning *cha* in Japan which the writer assumes to be tea, but, being Spanish, is not sure. (Faria e Sousa, pp. 438, 460)

A self-help book appears instructing one on how to make cheap substitutes equal in taste to expensive drinks such as metheglin, rum, coffee, tea, mum, cider, etc. (Markham, p. 28)

A song appears whose lyrics claim that the English drink “all the morning both coffee and tea” and were a very sober people, but that “at dinner we move, then the glass must go round, full bumpers of wine till our senses are drowned”. (Anon, 1695d, p. 1)

An essay appears which is ahead of its time in terms of economic analysis. In response to a call for public measures to promote an increase in the price of barley, the writer stated that, if a law prohibiting tea and coffee from being drunk at public houses had been passed in the beginning before these drinks became popular, then not only would the production of barley have been encouraged for the sake of making ale, its price would have risen in response to increased demand. Moreover, it would have encouraged brewers to become more inventive in creating new drinks. This essay has importance as an indication of a rise in productivity of English agriculture. (Cary, p. 18)

1696

In 25th of September the Customs Commissioners were instructed to send to “Lord Godolphin’s house a parcel of tea in the warehouse”. (Shaw, 1933, p. 271)

In September it is asserted in the House of Commons that “the duties for 3 years on coffee, tea, chocolate and spices, have not amounted to above one fourth of what they were designed for”. (History of Parliament Trust, 1742, pp. 25-73)

An essay is published discussing the problems involved with collecting the tax on coffee, chocolate, sherbet and tea, etc. (Farthing, p. 10)

In a comedy by Mrs. Manley, one character asserts that women should stick to fashion and drinking tea. (p. Prologue)

A work is published which contains a discussion of tea and coffee in India (both among Europeans and among Indians, themselves) and among the Arabs. Mention is made of their drinking it with sugar candy. (Ovington, pp. 207, 305-309, 368, 427)

An English translation of a French work appears concerning a voyage to the Far East by French merchant sailors. One passage discusses their being entertained by Muslim merchant sailors with wine, tea, and sweetmeats in the East Indies. (Du Quesne, p. 117)

A comedy appears where one is advised to drink one’s tea hot, which probably should be taken as code for advising one to stay away from cold tea (=brandy). (Hopkins, p. 4)

In a publication of letters by famous people, a then dead man, Sage Will, was described as having used a nutmeg grater and teapot in Bowstreet. (Dennis, p. 2)

In a comedy by George Granville it is stated that a note put in a teapot is more secure than one put at the bottom of a basket of fruit (p. 31).

A comedy by Peter Anthony Motteux continues the stereotype tea being a woman's drink, with some women drinking hot tea and others cold tea (brandy) (p. 6).

One finds in a travelogue of the Netherlands a passage concerning tea at the Dutch East India Company offices, but copied from a previous work. Then there is a description young women being entertained and how they will have a dish of tea both before and after going to a theater. (Mountague, pp. 159, 221)

1697

On 15th of December a report is made to the House of Commons on the money for the transport service generated by the tax on coffee, tea, chocolate, and spices. (History of Parliament Trust, 1803a, p. 9)

In a Vanbrugh comedy a stereotype is broken when a man asks a woman for cold tea, saying that he needs it. In another passage, a woman exclaims how bad the cold tea is, that it is the worst she has ever had in her life. (Eccles, p. 14)

In a comedy by Mary Pix, a woman is described as throwing a “whole dish of scalding-hot Tea full in” another individual's face in anger. (Pix, p.11)

In a biography of a certain Bishop of Salisbury and chancellor of the most noble Order of the Garter, the bishop was described as having the habit of drinking a dish or two of coffee or tea, when entertaining visitors, though allowing those who wished to drink wine, of which he was well-stocked with the best available. (Pope, p. 72)

In a self-help book on treating childhood diseases, John Pechey describes the making of certain drinks with medicinal properties and which include tea leaves as an ingredient. Sugar is then to be added (p. 153).

In a work on the spas of England, mineral water and bathing at Buxton is recommended as being more beneficial to a person's health than drinking coffee or tea. (Floyer, p. The Preface)

In a new opera of that year a wish is expressed that this dramatic piece will stimulate people to remember it and chat over it later when having their tea in the evening. (Powell, p.1)

A comic work appears where complaining about one's neighbors is stated to be "a more necessary and gentle part of the entertainment, than tea, or chocolate". Concerning what goes on at the tea-table, the writer then goes on to have a female character assert that when "we retire to our tea-table, and leave our masters at their claret, pray is not our Loss extreamly great, in being deprived of their beneficial converse? Dogs and foxes, and hares, and horses are the top of your entertainment, or else a little grumbling at taxes, and banning the confounded bankers; but that must be after the third bottle, when the spirit of politicks begins to come upon ye. But then, what a harmony is there, and how many rooms off may it be heard? Never blame us for gossiping once a year, when you do it every day. A dozen women, talking with all their might, and stretching to the utmost the weak pipes that nature has given them, would easily be drowned by one small knot of good fellows got together. Sometimes every one talks to every one, then you single, and each takes his antagonist at this terrible tongue combat, which, defend every poor

woman from falling into! Can any thing be lower or more impertinent than you are, on these occasions, as if you were disputing for lives and fortunes, and no less were upon the wheel than some grand affair of christendom? And yet, this is you who blame us for noises, and tattling, and impertinence, when we can defie you, as wise as you are, in twenty conversations with any of your cronies, to bring away so much as one single Sentence worth remembring.”(Philaretos, pp. 62, 66)

A book appears describing a trip around the world. In it one finds many comments are made in this book about tea in east Asia, in south China and in Vietnam. Tea in Vietnam is not rated as good as that of China, but the tea of Japan is considered to be of excellent quality. In what is now Indonesia, the Dutch are said to have replaced the Portuguese, but it is said that Malacca was a place of not great trade, but where some of the Chinese residents there would try to sell Chinese products, but especially tea and sugar candy and various pastries. (Dampier, pp. 403, 409, 18. chapterII, 31, 53, 100, 162)

An English translation of a French work on China appears which has a discussion on tea in China and its uses among the Chinese. (Le Comte, pp. 36, 41, 99, 112, 271, 275, 278, 291, 366)

1698

In January the Journal of the House of Commons states that someone is sent to discuss a matter with Mr. Herne and finds him drinking tea. (Anon, 1803, p. 24)

The discussion takes place in the House of Commons regarding finances and in connection with “the Act for granting to his Majesty several additional Duties upon Coffee, Tea, Chocolate, etc.” (Raithby, 1820, p. 369)

In a work published in the form of a satirical epistle, a complaint about living in the city is voiced with the words: “Is chatting treason over a dish of tea like living in the Country loved and free?” (C.S. p.11)

In a comedy called *The lover’s luck*, a certain character suggests to another that they go chat over a dish of tea with a certain lady. At another point, someone suggests that a lady’s closet be searched through for cold tea. (Dilke, pp. 22-23)

A parody purporting to be about a trip of a Frenchman to London reports that a certain English gentleman, told the French writer in secret, that “the old Romans in their Luxury took their tea, and chocolate, after a full meal, and every man was his own cook in that case. Particularly Caesar that most admirable and most accomplished prince, being resolved to eat and drink to excess before he lay down to table, *emeticen agebat*, prepared for himself his chocolate and tea!”. This would seem to indicate that, at least in the eyes of some, tea was already so much a part of the English way of life that it was felt they were no longer aware how new it was. Mention is also made of a Roman “tea dish”, which is quite a bit earlier than the first OED reference to that word as being 1711. (King, pp. 25-26)

In May a complaint is lodged against a ship called *The Arms of Amsterdam*, on account of Ary Poy, her commander, using her to import tea from Holland. (Bateson, 1933, pp. 384-397)

In a work by Aphra Behn, an old lady is described as being entertained in a garden with sherbet, wine, tea, chocolate, etc (p. 29).

John Pechey publishes a work promoting a purging pill which is described as a miracle drug that can be taken with warm tea. (Advertisement after book)

In a comedy called *The pretenders, or, The town unmaskt*, Lady Rampabout is described as infusing opium into her husband's tea, so that when he is fast asleep, she can receive "friendly visits without any danger of a discovery". (Dilke, p. 7)

An English translation appeared of a German language travelogue published in the same year of a journey to Russia to China. Mention is made of the joy of drinking tea on a journey through the desert on the way to Beijing. (Brand, pp. 66, 70, 73)

An account appears of how the British East India Company manages inter-Asian trade between India and Indonesia in order to generate funds to buy sugar, tea, porcelain, lacquer ware, mercury, copper, etc. from China. Also, a description is given of a Persian feast at which tea is mentioned. (Fryer, pp. 34, 86, 225, 287, 344, 398)

1699

A biography of the current emperor of China appears in which mention is made of certain individuals employed in boiling the emperor's tea and cooking for him. (Bouvet, p. 42)

In a humorous work trying to dissuade a country gentleman from going to London, a satirical description of a fashion conscious young man is made. It is stated that he spends at least three hours dressing in order to spend an hour's company with

someone as he drinks tea, etc. The conclusion is that his company soon becomes tedious to anyone he gets to know. (Anon, 1699, p. 31)

Edward Ward writes of a group of old men drinking coffee and cheap tea made of sage (p. 11).

A humorous poem by William King maintains that, even though barley water in the morning would be the best drink for the English people that, in recent years, coffee and tea in the morning have become more popular. There is also an indirect allusion to cold tea (p. Preface).

In February mention is made in the House of Commons of certain individuals who have been put on a list to pay extra duties on coffee, tea, etc. to pay interest for the transport debt. (History of Parliament Trust, 1803c, p. 503)

In February mention is made in the House of Commons for customs duties collected on tea and coffee for the year 1695 being 359,455 pounds, 17 shillings, 11½ pence. (Shaw, 1934, p. 310)

In a collection of new songs and ballads, one of the songs has the words: “When with a friend abroad I take a bottle, over your tea regale with who you can”. (D’Urfey, p. 1)

An English translation of a French account of Russia appears in which it is asserted that the Russians are too poor to buy more than “a few silks, tea, wooden ware, and such like Baubles”, so that they could never impact the trade of other nations with China. (Foy de la, p. 117)

A response to a 1698 parody expresses shock over an Englishman being described as talking about the Romans drinking tea and chocolate. Mention is made of the titles “*The History of Coffee, Tea, Chocolate, and Tobacco*” and “*The Treatise of Northallerton Ale*”. (King, p. 47)

A book of the letters of John Wilmot, Earl of Rochester (1647-1680) appears in which is written “Did they not make old Homer prate Of boots and shoes, and God knows what? Made him hold-forth on philosophy and virtues of sage, tea and coffee.” (p. 159)

An assertion is made in an advertisement on the 13th of December that any drink such as wine, ale, tea, or a glass of fair water, etc. would be good for all ailments of the stomach. (OBP. Version 7.0, a16991213-1)

There is a court record of the theft of four tea spoons, among many other things, from Lady Alice Row. (OBP, Version 7.0, t16991011-7)

A writer of an essay upon the nature and qualities of tea asserts that tea-drinkers do not always get the full benefit of that drink because they commonly mix it with sugar (Ovington, p. 37). The OED gives 1737 as an earliest mention of the term “tea-drinker”.

A dictionary of English slang is published. It describes “aristippus” as “a diet drink sold at certain coffee houses, and drunk as tea”; describes cold tea as brandy; and describes a twist as being “half tea and half Coffee”. (B.E, p. 8, 21, 89)

A book building on a parody of the year before and the controversy it engendered appears. The author claims people will “plead for things long used, and make that pleasant which is very destructive to their Healths”. In this category is a list including, tobacco, the drinking of mineral waters, tea, coffee, chocolate, etc. He also talks of a scam by which two Dutchmen produced imitation Chinaware in Staffordshire that was done better than Chinaware from China and sold the counterfeits at exorbitant prices as coming from China. They are said to have sold some tea tables at 400 Livres a set. The writer also blames coffee, tea, and chocolate from changing the shape of Parisian bodies from lean and slender to fat and corpulent, because of the sugar used in them. He has trouble understanding the attraction of these drinks in France when there is so much good wine and cider and many ale houses. He repeats the story of the old Romans drinking tea and chocolate and Caesar making his own and Cicero telling his friend Atticus, that he would prepare for himself his chocolate and tea. It is interesting how the story of the Romans continues to develop so fast. (Lister, pp. 33, 139, 165-168, 206)

1700

A comic piece appears in which the stereotype of cold tea as a women’s drink is maintained. (Brown, p. 30)

In a comedy by William Burnaby cold tea is seen by an upper-class lady as being a drink of lower class women (p.11).

In a work by Edward Ward, going somewhat against stereotype, a man is portrayed as going to a coffee shop and ordering a large glass of cold tea, the justification being

that he wishes to write a love letter to a young lady and feels that this would give him the greatest inspiration to make it witty (p. 10).

A humorous collection of letters appears describing in one part a French coffee shop in Soho for Huguenot refugees in London. A protestant French teacher is described as ordering a dish of tea. A sugar box is mentioned. Cold tea is said to have long been fashionable at court. The story of the now dead Sage Will appearing in an earlier work is copied and elaborated on (Voiture, p. 176, 212, 214, Collection of letters p. 2).

A book has a passage making fun of a Quaker who, to avoid idolatry, took offence at the images painted on a pair of gilt teapots from Chinese creatures painted on them. That the same man had an image painted on his shop sign was seen as an inconsistency, as well as their willingness to sell for a profit in their shops things not consonant with their beliefs, including gilt China teapots. (Leslie, pp. 49, 50)

An English translation of the works of Monsieur Scarron (1610-1660) appears. Mention is casually made of the possibility of drinking a pot of tea together privately in one's living quarters. This collection of comedies is of more than normal interest because it was written by the first husband of the Marquise de Maintenon, who became the second wife of Louis XIV of France. Also, although the translation is published in 1700, the original French had to have been written before the first published reference to tea appears in English in 1660, as this is the year in which Scarron died. One must assume that tea had achieved a certain popularity in Paris fairly quickly in the 1650s (Scarron, p. 26).

In "*The way of the world*" by William Congreve a very famous passage appears. First, there is a mention of Rhenish-wine tea. Then the lady speaking goes on to list her requirements of the man, if she is to consider accepting him as a future husband: "Trifles,—as liberty to pay and receive visits to and from whom I please, to write and receive Letters, without interrogatories or wry faces on your part. To wear what I please; and choose conversation with regard only to my own taste; to have no obligation upon me to converse with wits that I don't like, because they are your acquaintance; or to be intimate with fools, because they may be your relations. Come to dinner when I please, dine in my dressing room when I'm out of humour without giving a reason. To have my closet inviolate; to be sole empress of my tea-table, which you must never presume to approach without first asking leave. And lastly, where ever I am, you shall always knock at the door before you come in. These articles subscrib'd, if I continue to endure you a little longer, I may by degrees dwindle into a Wife." To which, the man responds: "I denounce against all strait-laceing, squeezing for a shape, till you mold my boy's head like a sugar-loaf; and instead of a man-child, make me the father to a crooked billet. Lastly to the dominion of the tea-table, I submit—but with proviso that you exceed not in your province, but restrain your self to native and simple tea-table drinks, as tea, chocolate and coffee. As likewise to genuine and authorized tea-table talk, such as mending of fashions, spoiling reputations, railing at absent friends, and so forth. But, that on no account, you encroach upon the mens prerogative, and presume to drink healths, or toast fellows; for prevention of which; I banish all foreign forces, all auxiliaries to the tea-table, as orange brandy, all anniseed, cinamon, citron and Barbado's waters, together with ratifia and the

most noble spirit of claret. But for cowslip wine, poppy water and all dormitives, those I allow. These provisos admitted, in other things I may prove a tractable and complying husband.” In one other passage, one finds: “...be damned over tea-cups and coffee.” These references to tea are important because they can infer what the stereotypes regarding tea were and give a certain idea of the dynamics of the male-female relationship as it found expression in tea. Also, one finds here evidence of the term “tea-cup” (pp. 40, 58, 59, 64).

In a natural history of Lancashire, Cheshire, and the Peak in Derbyshire one finds mention of teapots made in London and Staffordshire from a clay found in the west country and the assertion that these tea pots are almost as beautiful as any coming from China. (Leigh, pp. 85, Book III p. 6)

A document was printed, entitled: “Answer of the Coffee Men to Propositions for changing the Excise now laid upon Coffee, Chocolate and Tea into an Imposition upon those Commodities at their Importation.” (Anon, 1700a, D258/21/4)

There is an act of Parliament for this year entitled “An Act for granting to His Majesty several Duties upon Low Wines or Spirits of the first Extraction, and continuing several additional Duties upon Coffee, Tea, Chocolate, Spices and Pictures, and certain Impositions upon Hawkers, Pedlars and petty Chapmen, and the Duty of fifteen per Centum upon Muslins, and for improving the Duties upon japanned and lacquered Goods, and for continuing the Coinage Duty, for the several Terms and Purposes therein mentioned”. (Anon, 1700b, HL/PO/PU/1/1700/12&13W3n42)

In an English translation of a French work concerning Dutch trade mention is made of tea as an item of trade for the Dutch, along with sugar, among many other things. Tea is described as being the leaves of a small tree. Tea is said to grow in China, Vietnam, and Japan, with Japanese tea considered to be of the highest quality. Tea purchased by the Dutch in India costs only 20 pence per pound for the best quality tea and is resold by them in Europe for 20 crowns per pound. For the worst sort, they are said to charge between 25 to 30 livres. It is claimed that the Dutch probably mix the tea they bring to Europe with the leaves of young sage which resembles tea in flavor when dried in an oven. The writer also has reason to believe that the Dutch export sage to China where they sell it at a high price. A claim is made that tea made in tea pots coming from certain areas of China is felt to be better tasting than tea made in tea pots from other regions (pp. 66, 110, 143, 158, 160, 161, 171).

In a work by William King the claim is made that coffee “greatly increased the trade of tobacco and pipes, earthen dishes, tin wares, newspapers, coal, candles, sugar, tea, chocolate, and what not” and, as “coffee houses make all sorts of people sociable, they improve arts and merchandize, and all other knowledge”. (p. 86)

In an English translation of a French work of pharmacology a discussion can be found of the effects on the blood of an extract of tea. (Lémery, p. index)

In a book describing the English acquisitions in Africa and the commercial activities of the East India Company one finds, among the many kinds of goods mentioned as forming part of the trade of the East India Company, including sugar, sugar candy, porcelain, and tea. (B, p. 117)

Nahum Tate writes a poem in praise of tea, in which no new insights seem to be available, though the content, itself, is very positive (pp. Preface, Introduction, 3, 5, 16, 17, 22, 31, 32). The term “tea-tree” is mentioned, a term for which the OED has 1760 as a first appearance.

A book of letters by Thomas Tryon has significance for pointing out the importance of sugar imports in creating customs revenue for the king. It also states that without sugar many other foreign commodities would not be imported, such as cocoa, tea, and coffee, which depend on sugar to make them palatable. Likewise, it is claimed that more than half the medicines one finds are compounded with sugar as the volatile essences these medicines contain could not be preserved without sugar, nor could the medicines be made tolerable without sugar’s help. The writer makes a rough estimate of their being well over three hundred medicines being made with sugar as an ingredient (p. 219).

In a translation into English of a Dutch work, one finds mention of tea-drinking and tea houses in an area of China reserved for trade with Europeans. Japanese craftsmanship was highly admired and especially the lacquerware. A proverb among the Dutch was quoted which goes: “Though a Dutchman was cunning (=intelligent), he might go to school to a Japanese”. (Frick, pp. 132, 147, 205)

1701

In the Gloucestershire Archives one can find a reference to Bohea tea as being a cure for kidney stones. (Anon, 1701, D3549/6/1/M3)

In a comedy by Mary Pix, the writer finds it ironic that so much of the big business one finds has as its object the furnishing of fools with tea and cloth (Epilogue).

George Farquhar writes a comedy in which one finds it stated that, to enjoy tea, ladies had to have something malicious to talk about (p. 2).

In a comedy by Thomas Baker there is a scene where everyone is at tea table preparing to drink tea (pp. 19, 20, 22, 23).

1702

Richard Steele writes a comedy in which one of the characters finds it laughable that the English drink “gallons of the juice of tea” while they ignore herb teas they could have for free (p. 46).

In a comedy by George Farquhar, a visit by the ladies was seen as fortunate in that it provided an excuse to make tea (p. 51).

5.1.5 Under Queen Anne

1702

Among the State Papers, a report from the very beginning of Queen Anne’s reign purports to show that how a certain individual was able to improve the king’s revenue (in reference to William III), through a change in the excise on coffee, tea, and chocolate. (Mahaffy, 1916, pp. 421-450)

Colley Cibber writes a comedy in which a man is shown spending 50 guineas over a three day period to buy as presents, including, among many other things, tea. The

amount of money spent would have been a huge amount of money for the time (p. 60).

Susanna Centlivre writes a comedy in which one of the characters is made to express a hatred of “tea-table vanity, and card play” (p. 35).

1703

In a comedy by Thomas Baker, one finds the stereotype cold tea bent a bit with the words: “One lady loves hot tea, another cold tea; I drink both”. The tea table is presented as a female dominated domain (pp. 15, 21, 34, 40).

In a comedy by Mary Pix, a woman has her servants get her tea-table ready in preparation for letting a man join her (pp. 18, 19, 21).

In the Gloucestershire Archives for this year one can find a money account from John Aynsworth with mention being made, among other things, of tea (Anon, 1703, D340a/C19/6).

In a comedy by William Burnaby, claret is compared with tea (p. 25).

1704

The Staffordshire Record Office has a letter dated this year of Sir William Wyndham to his mother, asking her to send some tea. (Anon, 1704a, D868/6/34a 6 Nov. 1704)

An act of Parliament is enacted called “An Act for continuing Duties upon Low Wines, and upon Coffee, Tea, Chocolate, Spices and Pictures, and upon Hawken, Pedlars and Petty Chapmen, and upon Muslins; and for granting new Duties upon several

of the said Commodities, and also upon Callicoes, China Ware and Drugs”. (Anon, 1704b, HL/PO/PU/1/1704/3&4A1n12)

In a comedy by Richard Steele, mention is made of two ladies at tea, the tea being Bohee tea (p. 24).

In a comedy by Thomas Baker, the image of certain effeminate military officers is reinforced by a claim that at every Council of War, they “sit and take orders round a tea table”. Later, a man forbids his wife to visit certain individuals and to have white wine tea to be followed by a bottle of Dr. Stephens (pp. 17, 57).

1705

About January 4th a mention is made in Parliament of the Glorious Revolution and of a proposal made at that time to change the excise on coffee, tea, and chocolate. (Redington, 1874, p. 404)

In a comedy by Vanbrugh, one finds the image of the tea-table as a battle ground. It is also interesting because cup of tea and dish of tea seem to be used interchangeably (pp. Epilogue, 64, 65, 69).

In a comedy by Colley Cibber, it is asserted that a woman should be careful in associating with a man who plays around too much because, otherwise, it will be a prime topic for “malicious tea-tables” (pp. 20, 41).

A poem by Daniel Defoe, dedicated to the Duke of Marlborough, has the phrase “and fight the French in tea and chocolate” (p. 177).

A comedy by Nicholas Rowe, whose setting is in China, describes tea as “the divine liquor tea” (pp. 22, 54).

1706

In a comedy by Richard Estcourt, a reference is made to cold tea with its usual associations with a woman (p. 22).

In a comedy by George Farquhar, there is an important reference to ten o’clock, being “the hour of tea drinking throughout the Kingdom” (p. 54).

There are court records of a report of six silver teaspoons gilt, and six ungilt, among various other things, being found on a man when apprehended. (OBP, version 7. 0, OA17060719)

A report is to be found in the State Papers of a certain tea better than from China being found in the West Indies (Headlam, 1916, pp. 108-125).

There is a comedy by Mary Pix in which mention is made of a lamp being lit for tea (p. 46).

In a parody by Nicholas Rowe on the theme of Ulysses, Penelope’s suitors are described as presenting her “ancient tea and Thericlean china”. One also finds that they had no coffee and the tea they drank was mostly cold. As tea, whether hot or cold (=brandy), was considered a woman’s drink, this was an indirect way of criticizing the suitors as being effeminate. More importantly, the extremely anachronistic imagery would confirm that many people in England would no

longer have realized how recent the arrival of tea in Europe had been (p. Prologue).

In certain court records one can see stereotypes connecting venal politicians with coffee houses and tea Tables with self conceit. (OBP, version, OA17061025)

In a comedy by Thomas Baker, the stereotype of cold tea being a woman's drink is maintained. The image of taking orders round a tea-table comes from an earlier play as does the imagery of getting “half-flushed with white wine tea, come Home in a violent fit of the choleric, and conclude the evening with a bottle of Doctor Stephens” (pp. 6, 19, 59).

In a comedy by Susanna Centlivre, a gift of “chocolate, tea, Montifiasco wine, and 50 rarities beside” is mentioned. Also, on mentioning that a certain lady should be sent a present of wine, one finds the retort that the lady concerned drinks lady’s tea (=brandy). One also sees mention of people leaving a tea table early because there was no malicious gossip available to keep it going. A man also accuses his wife of spending 200 pounds on her tea, coffee, and chocolate in pursuit of her goal to keep “quality company” and how he will no longer tolerate it (pp. 18, 25, 33, 60).

In another comedy by Susanna Centlivre, a complaint is made of women’s ways, including their drinking of tea. A man says that his wife’s many relatives cost him at least five pounds a week just to pay for the coffee, tea, chocolate, and rarefia (pp. 7, 48).

1707

One can find in the Lancashire Record Office, a record of the aunt of Thomas Bold giving him green tea among many other household records. (Anon, 1707, DDX 1487/2/1)

In the Treasury Books, the duties on coffee, tea, etc. are shown as having yielded 2,725, 9, 5¼, and the additional duties on coffee, tea, etc. 200, 2, 8¼. (Shaw, 1952, p. 243)

In the Treasury Books continued duties on coffee, tea, etc., are shown to have yielded 8,042, 13, 8½ whereas new additional duties on coffee, tea, etc., are shown to have yielded 27,753, 7, 8. (Shaw, 1952, p. 122)

In a comedy by Susanna Centlivre, the stereotype of identifying tea as being in the feminine domain is maintained (p. 19).

In a comedy by Colley Cibber, the stereotype of tea and women goes together to the extent that having tea in private with a man could be interpreted as having brought on consequences of a physical nature (pp. 27, 29, 31, 41. 42, 53, 72).

On the 15th of October, Margaret Underhill was accused of stealing, among other items, six tea spoons valued at 18 shillings from Noah Overy. (OBP, version 7.0, t17071015-9)

On the 15th of October Ann Munday was accused of stealing from John Arnold, among other items, four tea spoons. (OBP, version 7.0, t17071015-10)

On the 10th of December, Mary Morrice was accused of stealing from Gabriel Chase one pound of tea valued at 30 shillings. For purposes of comparison, it is interesting to see that the petticoat she was accused of stealing was valued at only two shillings. (OBP, version 7.0, t17071210-1)

On the 10th of December, Joseph Montisanto and William Travis were accused of theft, burglary, and housebreaking, stealing, among other items, six tea spoons from David Martin. (OBP, version 7.0, t17071210-6)

In a comedy by George Farquhar, a married sister tells an unmarried one how lucky she is not to have a husband like hers, who is so clumsy about her tea-table. Tea is, like in other comedies, associated with women. (pp. 12, 13,15, 32, 71)

1708

In the Treasury Books, mention is made of 2,946, 8, 4½ in income off the new duty on coffee and tea. (Shaw, 1952, p. 511)

In the Shropshire Archives, there is a record of Francis Gwyn asking for help in acquiring wine and Bohee tea. (Gwyn, 1708, 112/2/158)

In a poem dated to this year, there is a line that has the words: “To feed on jellies, and to drink cold tea”. (Fenton, p. 374)

In a satirical poem by Edward Ward, there is a line that goes: “Though caused by drinking much cold tea”. (p. 23)

There is a letter with a date of this year at the Centre for Buckinghamshire Studies from Anne Baker requesting green tea. (Baker, 1708, D-X1069/2/14)

In March, one can find a claim in the Treasury Books by a Mr. Rossington stating that “he has been the occasion of improving the revenue by procuring the excise on coffee and tea to be changed into a custom”. (Shaw, 1952, p.27)

On the 13th of October, Mary Bell was accused of stealing, among many other silver items, a silver tea pot valued at eight pounds. (OBP, version, t17081013-11)

One can find in the Nottingham University Library, Department of Manuscripts and Special Collections, a letter from Lucy Molyneux mentioning that “coffee at Mansfield is too expensive, but hopes tea will be cheaper”. (Molyneux, Mol 59. 24 Jan)

Information concerning customs duties on coffee and tea may be found in the Treasury Books (Shaw, 1952, p. 549).

In a comedy by Susanna Centlivre, it is asserted that, if a gentleman gambles, he will be admitted into the company of ladies anywhere to have a dish of tea, as gambling is just as popular with English ladies as it is with French (p. 36).

In a comedy by Colley Cibber, a man is shown having tea, but only after his wife has sent a servant to inquire whether he is ready for it or not. After a series of accidents and misunderstandings, he finds himself not ready for it. There is also the interesting phrase: “fall out of humour with your tea” (pp. 5, 6, 8, 9, 10, 18, 21, 22, 24, 29)

In a comedy by Thomas Baker, a man is asked by a woman if he wants tea. A tea-table is brought. He is asked if he takes much sugar in his tea. Various equipment is

mentioned such as tongs, shovels, grates, and fenders. Bohee tea is mentioned. There is an interesting phrase: “the tea-tables will drop for want of tittle-tattle” (pp. PROLOGUE, 6, 7, 11, 28, 43, 54).

1709

In the Shropshire Archives there is a report of a man whose trunk was lost when we was traveling in Germany. A wig, two boxes of tea, and some books were recovered when the trunk was found. (Anon, 1709a, 112/2/192)

In a comedy by Susanna Centlivre, a man goes to a coffee house for a dish of tea. Another passage indicates cream was liberally used for coffee and tea and that the purpose of tea for women was gossip. As for tea, both green and Bohea are mentioned (pp. 5, 68).

In a work by William King, a phrase, “must vent our scandal o'er our tea”, appears which would seem to reflect the stereotype of women drinking tea when gossiping (p. 161).

It is recorded that on the 17th of January, there was a theft, among other things, of three silver tea spoons valued at 7 shillings, 6 pence and belonging to William Lovelock. (OBP, version, t17090117-1)

A request may be found in the Treasury Books for December for a license to set up “a tea and chocolate room”. (Redington, 1974, p.148)

A theft is reported for the 16th of September 1709 of, among other silver items, three tea spoons. (OBP, version 7.0, OA17090916)

In the Treasury Books, there is a listing of tax revenue or the duties on coffee, tea, etc. and the new duty on coffee, tea &c. (Shaw, 1949, p. 58)

The Shropshire Archives has a letter from an individual who writes that he has some very good tea which he will send to Richard Powys at the Treasury in London. (Anon, 1709b, 112/2/172)

The Derbyshire Record Office has James Gascoigne's part of a receipted bill to John Harpur for cloth and tea. (Anon, 1709c, D3155/C5644)

The Centre for Buckinghamshire Studies has a letter with the request: "I received the Tea on Saturday. I like it. Send me two pound more of it ..." (Anon, 1709d, D-X464/6/7)

In a comedy by Thomas D'Urfey, women have coffee and tea together, using it as a time for sniggering and sneering. Besides this stereotype, there is another about lawyers with the words "take fees with both Hands, and if there's money enough, let the cause be right on both sides, and swear it without scruple" (p. 55).

1710

In a comedy by Charles Johnson, someone is shown trying to sell a lady things women are supposed to be interested in, such as: "perfumes, essences, cream washes, powder, complexion, white or red, pomatums, rosa solis, may dew, ratifia, saffron, citron, cinnamon, lemon waters, or cold tea, paste for your hands, or pencils for your brows" (p. 58).

On the 6th of December, Sarah Robinson and Elizabeth Williams are accused of stealing various items made of silver, including a tea kettle, valued at 20 pounds. (OBP, version 7.0, t17101206-30)

In the Warwickshire County Record Office, there is a letter from Charles Mordaunt at Isleworth to his father, Sir John Charles, asking for more tea. (Anon, 1710, CR 1368 Vol 1/88)

In the Centre for Buckinghamshire Studies, there is a letter in which James Baker says he does not require tea this term at Eton. (Baker, 1710, D-X1069/2/80)

In October there is an entry in the Treasury Books stating that the income raised off the new duty on coffee, tea, etc. was 3,781, 17, 11. (Shaw, 1952, p. 491)

In May the Treasury Books is to be found a statement by a captain concerning the cargo of his ship which included pepper, saltpetre, muslins, calicoes, tea, drugs, cowries, redwood, etc. (Shaw, 1952, p. 305)

In a comedy by Charles Shadwell, tea appears with the words: “Why I generally treat with Tea, but the most modern way is to give nothing.” (p. 8)

1711

In the Warwickshire County Record Office, there is to be found an advertisement for “spirits of Bohee tea”. (Anon, 1711a, CR 1368 Vol 4/31)

In a comedy by Susanna Centlivre, a woman says “now would not I give a dish of tea for a lover that I could not make sacrifice every thing to me. These Englishmen have too much sense to make husbands on” (p. 34).

Charles Goodale is accused on the 5th of December of stealing, among other items, a silver tea pot valued at seven pounds. (OBP, version 7.0, t17111205-29)

In the East Riding of Yorkshire Archives and Records Service, one finds a record of Mary Duffey (alias Duffin) of Bishop Burton widow being accused of the theft of, among other things, sugar, tea, and coffee belonging to Sir Charles Hotham. (Anon, 1711b, QSF/16/B/13)

In the Warwickshire County Record Office, there is a letter from Charles Mordaunt to his father and mother, from Isleworth, to report that he had received the tea they sent. (Mordaunt, 1711, CR 1368 Vol 1/91)

An act of parliament dealing with new duties on starch, coffee, tea, drugs, gilt and silver wire is enacted. (Anon, 1711c, HL/PO/PU/1/1711/10A1n67)

In the Cornwall Record Office is an account for tea, coffee, brandy, hyssop, black beer, sherry, etc. (Anon, 1711d, CA/B47/43)

In the Wiltshire and Swindon Archives is an account, mainly for “chocolate [and] tea”. (Anon, 1711e, 413/386)

In the Treasury Books, there is an entry concerning the new additional duties on coffee, tea, and spices, etc. (Shaw, 1952, p. 80)

In the Treasury Books, there is a report that a woman brought with her from Holland, among other things, a pound of tea and 90 yards of lace. (Shaw, 1952, p. 602)

In the Treasury Books, one finds that tax income off the duties on coffee, chocolate, tea and spices, came to 25,317, 17, 0½ with the new additional duties amounting to 42,403, 13, 9. (Shaw, 1952, p. 128)

On the 16th of May, Richard Thornhill stood accused of murder. When the deceased was asked whether he would drink a dish of tea, or any small beer, the deceased is said to have chosen the latter. (OBP, version, t17110516-39)

1712

On the 27th of February, William Yarwood and Rodry Awdry are accused of stealing, among other things, six tea spoons belonging to Daniel Mahon. (OBP, version 7. 0, t17120227-30)

In August John Booth is mentioned in the Treasury Books as the comptroller of the warehouses for coffee and tea imported by the United East India Company. (Shaw, 1954, p. 399)

In November there was an order in the Treasury Books by the Lord Treasurer to “compute how much the duty will be on a quantity of tea according to the method lately practised in the Customs”. (Shaw, 1954, p. 517)

On the 10th of September, Frances Ward was accused of stealing a pair of silver tea tongs, valued at four shillings six pence from Thomas Burnaby. (OBP, version 7.0, t17120910-14)

Mention is made in the Treasury Books that the duties on coffee, tea, chocolate, spices, snuffs, etc., came to 22,924, 14, 0½. (Shaw, 1954, p. 82)

In a literary work by Samuel Cobb, the stereotype is repeated that tea is a harmless drink (p. 40).

In a comedy by Susanna Centlivre, a woman complains about a man saying that: “and when I say I am dry, he says there is tea in the Pot” (p. 26). One would suspect “tea in the pot” would have had a figurative meaning in this case, though what it might be is not clear.

In a comedy by Charles Johnson, much is made of the stereotypes regarding the tea-table. Thus, female characters are made to say: “I shall be serv’d up for the diversion of prudes at tea-tables and assemblies” and “I must have my assemblies, tea-tables, visiting days, and a title—a title would make every thing so becoming”. A male character says: “But keep all close, do you hear. Don't so much as let one word fall at your tea-table”. (p. 58)

1713

For the 31st of January there is a report of the stealing of a tea table with three silver pots on it. (OBP, version 7.0, OA17130131)

In February one finds in the Treasury Books a record of the purchase of “one fine tea equipage”, valued at 42, 0, 0.(Shaw & Slingsby, 1955, p. 167)

In February there is a request in the Treasury Books from the Admiralty Lords for a present to the Alcaid of Alcazar “and also that you provide the copper tea kettle”. (Shaw & Slingsby, 1955, p. 133)

On the 25th of February, John Daley and Jane Roberts are accused of stealing various items, including a silver tea kettle and lamp, valued at 20 pounds. (OBP. 1713, t17130225-6)

In May one finds in the Treasury Books a request for information about “the method of computing the duties on unrated goods imported from the East Indies, particularly tea, China ware, etc”. (Shaw & Slingsby, 1955, p. 199)

An appointment is recorded in the Treasury Books of certain individuals to be Commissioners for the duties on hides, skins, vellum, parchment, starch, coffee, tea, drugs, gilt and silver wire, etc. (Shaw & Slingsby, 1955, p. 440)

In a comedy by William Taverner, a woman is told that her tea is ready (p. 34).

In a book of poetry by the countess of Winchilsea, there is a poem where one finds the words: “For sober coffee, smoke, or tea” (p. 204).

In a comedy by Charles Shadwell, a female character is told that her mother expects to drink tea with her (p.8).

In a comedy by Charles Johnson, there is mention of an ageing gentleman who “is only studied in tea-tables, women, china, and snuff-boxes” (p. 4).

1714

On the 10th of March, there is a record of eight tea spoons and two tea pots, among other items, being stolen. (OBP, version 7.0, OA17140310)

In May there is a record in the Treasury Books that, in an effort to help “her poor subjects from a miserable captivity, the Queen seemed inclined to gratify the King of Morocco in sending him the cloth, china dishes, tea-kitchen, and...”. (Redington, 1974, p. 585)

On the 28th of May a report made of the theft, among other objects of value, of six or seven tea spoons. (OBP, version 7.0, OA17140528)

In June the Treasury Books have a review of the work of the customs commissioners at the end of Queen Anne’s reign with regard to the new duties as concerned hides, skins, vellum, parchment, coffee, tea, drugs, etc. (Shaw & Slingsby, 1955, p. 343)

In the Treasury Books mention is made of two large copper tea kitchens and ten pounds of the finest tea at 30 shillings per pound. (Shaw & Slingsby, 1955, p. 324)

In the Shropshire Archives, one may find the record of a purchase of the “finest Green Tea, bought of Daniel Twining in Devereux Court, near Temple Bar, London”. (Anon, 1714, 112/1/2209)

5.2 Initial introduction of tea into England

5.2.1 English attitudes to tea in 17th and early 18th centuries

As a result of tea’s rapidly growing popularity, tea not only became a fashion, but also became a lucrative source of tax revenue for the crown. As it was a luxury and also felt by some, along with coffee, to be mildly sinful, it was thought fit to tax it as such, whether as tea leaves upon importation into the country or as a beverage produced at coffee houses, the tax being higher than for coffee or chocolate or

imported alcoholic beverages. As transportation costs made it an already expensive commodity, and various taxes made it even more expensive, in the beginning it would appear to have been drunk on a regular basis for pleasure only among those classes of individuals surrounding or directly influenced by the royal family, with the word family being more broadly defined then than now to include not only the king and the queen, but also their relatives and personal attendants. By 1667 the popularity of tea at the royal court had had grown to the extent that a first order for the importing of 100 lbs. of tea was issued. By 1690, the importation of tea was 60,000 lbs per year at around 16s per pound in price. (Shillington, 1970) The price of tea in 1720 was 12-36s per pound (Burnett, 1999). From the above figures, it can be seen that, after tea-drinking spread through the royal household in the first half of the 1660s, it rapidly diffused in a more general fashion into the upper-classes.

Though potentially available to members of the working classes of the population by the end of the Stuart dynasty in 1714, tea would not seem to have become widely popular among them until quite a bit later, as is evidenced by an early 19th century novelist, Sir Walter Scott, in his best-seller, *Rob Roy* (1872), a historical novel dealing with the years immediately after the end of the Stuarts. Though Scott's description must have been based on personal experiences acquired late in the 18th century, what was described regarding working class attitudes must have been even truer in the early years of the century. It would seem that, even as the upper classes switched to taking tea, coffee, or chocolate served with bread, toast and butter came for breakfast, those who belonged to the working classes or were living in the countryside still favored beer or ale as their breakfast drink (Martin, 2007). Thus, in Scott's *Rob Roy*, we have:

Miss Vernon first laughed, then blushed, and was disposed to be displeased; and then, suddenly checking herself, said, “I believe you are very right; and when I feel inclined to be a very busy scholar, I will bribe old Martha with a cup of tea to sit by me and be my screen.” (p.295)

“Martha, the old housekeeper, partook of the taste of the family at the Hall. A toast and tankard would have pleased her better than all the tea in China. However, as the use of this beverage was then confined to the higher ranks, Martha felt some vanity in being asked to partake of it; and by dint of a great deal of sugar, many words scarce less sweet, and abundance of toast and butter, she was sometimes prevailed upon to give us her countenance.” (p.295)

From the above, we can see that tea (which invariably came to mean tea sweetened with sugar) must have been something of a class marker during the early years of the 18th century. Not only that, but we can also see that it could be used as an indirect means of confirming another’s social importance.

5.2.2 Status of tea in the late 17th and early 18th centuries

As a result of the great developments in industry and population increase occurring in the 17th and early 18th centuries, many historians and economists have come to take an interest in the consumption trends of this era. Tea and sugar, being goods imported in increasing quantity over great distance from overseas, were relatively expensive items which came to have important implications for colonial policy and international trade. In addition, there is every indication that the adoption of

tea by polite society did not affect its growing popularity in the coffee houses, rather, if anything, contributing to its popularity here, too.

In particular, the increased number of British colonies made for unprecedented cultural exchange, as new and exotic goods becoming more common among consumers. One scholar has it that “Importation of exotic consumer goods, especially from Asia, prompted a rethinking of the feature of consumer goods production in Britain. The result of these creative interactions was the invention of new products which came to form the basis of an identifiably British consumer goods sector during the 18th and early 19th centuries” (Berg, 2005, p.85). With regard to foreign goods, in addition to addictive goods like sugar, tobacco, coffee and tea, there were also household products, such as silverware, cloth, and porcelain as well. Furthermore, it would seem that the consumption of foreign luxury goods such as tea, coffee, and chocolate had a stimulatory effect in England on the import of foreign luxury goods such as porcelain which, during the later Stuarts, was seen as a rare and elegant product, indicating one's wealth and refinement. Accordingly, with the spread of tea in the United Kingdom, chinaware also became an item of fashion. Drinking tea with elegant chinaware was something for ladies to aspire to at their tea-tables. It was not, therefore, long before the manufacturing of porcelain imitations of Chinese porcelain appeared and silverware took on popularity.

However, whether there was royal patronage or not in connection with the domestic production of the above-mentioned tea-related luxury goods, one should probably look to tea as the ultimate catalyst for changes in consumption patterns, as

tea and not coffee came to be the drink of choice in the household, the number of which greatly outnumbered the coffee shops in the 17th as in every succeeding century.

5.3 The role of Catherine of Braganza

5.3.1 The Diary of Samuel Pepys concerning Queen Catherine

17 May 1660 — Pepys pays courtesy calls on the Queen of Bohemia and then the Queen Mother, of whom he had a good impression. (1893, pp. 145-146)

23 May 1660 — Pepys and others meet the king who boarded the boat that was to take him to England. With the king were his brothers, the two Dukes, the Queen of Bohemia, the Princess Royal, and her son the Prince of Orange. After dinner the King and the Duke of York altered the name of some of the ships. That done, the Queen of Bohemia, the Princess Royal, and the Prince of Orange took leave of the King. The Duke of York went on board the London and the Duke of Gloucester on the Swiftsure. After that, with a fresh wind and excellent weather, they set sail for England. (1893, pp. 155-158)

6 October 1660 — Pepys goes to Whitehall in an attempt to make arrangements for bringing over to England the Queen Mother, but is unable to make any progress on the issue. (1893, p. 255)

7 October 1660 — Pepys hears the story of the Duke of York having impregnated the Lord Chancellor's daughter, Anne Hyde, and that the Duke of York had promised to marry her and that the king demanded that he do so. (The actual marriage was

acknowledged by the Duke four days earlier.) People around Pepys did not think the Duke should marry her. (1893, pp. 255-256)

16 October 1660 — Pepys has discussions on the furnishing with food the ships to be sent to France to bring the Queen Mother to England. (1893, p. 262)

22 October 1660 — Pepys finds preparations being made in earnest for sending off the next day ships to bring the Queen Mother to England. (1893, p. 265)

26 October 1660 — Pepys buys a badly written biography of the Queen Mother. He notes that there is “Great talk as if the Duke of York do now own the marriage between him and the Chancellor’s daughter.”(1893, pp. 268-269)

28 October 1660 — Pepys notes that the king has gone to meet the Queen Mother. (1893, pp. 269-270)

30 October 1660 — Pepys reports his immediate superior probably having gone to meet the Queen Mother at the Downs and that he will soon be coming back to London. (1893, p.183)

31 October 1660 — Pepys hears that the Queen Mother has landed at Dover that day, and will be in London on Friday next, November 2nd (old calendar). (1893, p. 272)

2 November 1660 — Pepys goes to Lambeth, which was crowded on account of the Queen Mother's coming. He is unable to catch sight of the Queen Mother, so he leaves. Pepys notices not more than three bonfires in all the City of London to celebrate the Queen Mother’s coming, something which indicates to him that her arrival pleased very few Londoners. (1893, pp. 273-274)

3 November 1660 — Pepys goes to White Hall, where the Queen Mother was receiving people. (1893, pp. 274-275)

20 November 1660 — Pepys makes his wife rejoice, telling her that she would see the Queen Mother the next Thursday. He notes that the King, the Queen Mother, and the Princess Henrietta saw a play that evening at the Cockpit. Pepys notes that the king preferred French music. He mentions having expressed his thanks to Mr. Fox for having invited him and his wife to dine with them Thursday next, and then to see the Queen Mother and her two daughters. (1893, p. 289)

22 November 1660 — At noon Pepys and his wife take a coach for Whitehall to Mr. and Mrs. Fox, Mr. Fox receives them with a great deal of respect and then takes Pepys and his wife to the Queen Mother's presence-chamber, where he places Pepys' wife behind the Queen Mother's chair. Pepys, himself, blends into the crowd, while waiting for the Queen Mother and her two daughters to come to dinner. Pepys describes the Queen Mother as “a very little plain old woman, and nothing more in her presence in any respect nor garb than any ordinary woman.” Concerning the Princess of Orange he merely notes that he had seen her before. As for the Princess Henrietta he writes that she is “very pretty, but much below my expectation; and her dressing of herself with her hair frizzed short up to her ears, did make her seem so much the less to me. But my wife standing near her with two or three black patches on, and well dressed, did seem to me much handsomer than she.” (1893, pp. 290-291)

25 November 1660 — Pepys receives a letter instructing him to get a ship ready to carry the Queen Mother's things to France, as she intended to go within five or six days. (1893, p. 293)

27 November 1660 — Pepys hears that the Queen Mother's plan to return to France has been stopped, something which pleases him, because it will mean that the King will be in London to do state business during the coming month. (1893, p. 294)

26 December 1660 — Sir Thomas Bond was at the Navy Office with a message from the Queen Mother about vessels for the carrying over of her goods to France. Sir Henry Wright was to attend the Queen Mother on her journey. (1893, p. 311)

1 January 1661 — Pepys sums up the previous year, stating that the King is now in England and loved by everyone, that the Duke of York has married the Lord Chancellor's daughter, which does not please many, that the Queen Mother is on her way back to France with the Princess Henrietta, that the Princess of Orange had recently died, and that people were in mourning for her, that Parliament had been dissolved on December 29th, and that another was soon likely to be chosen. Pepys also notes seeing the Duke of York bring his wife to wait upon the Queen Mother, the first time that she had ever been allowed to do so. He also notes that the Queen Mother was said to have received the Duchess of York with much respect and love. (1893, pp. 314-316)

2 January 1661 — Pepys notes that the Queen Mother's things were found to be in White Hall Court ready to be sent away, and that she was ready to be gone an hour

later to Hampton Court to-night, and so to be at Portsmouth on the next Saturday.
(1893, pp. 316-317)

11 January 1661 — Pepys is informed by letters from Portsmouth, that Princess Henrietta had fallen sick of the measles on board the London, after the Queen Mother and she had put to sea and that they were forced to come back again into Portsmouth harbor. The Queen Mother had decided to not come ashore until she sees how the condition of the young Princess would progress. Pepys writes that three members of the royal family had contracted the same sickness, one after another. (1893, p. 323)

27 January 1661 — Pepys mentions that letters came to him from Portsmouth, telling him that the Princess is now well, and that Lord Sandwich had set sail for France with the Queen Mother and the Princess the day before. (1893, pp. 334-335)

7 February 1661 — Pepys reports that Lord St. Albans, the Queen Mother, and Ambassador Montagu intervened in a quarrel between the Duke of Buckingham and the Earl of Sandwich. (1893, pp. 342-343)

14 February 1661 — Pepys states that everyone is talking of whom the King will have as his Queen. (1893, p. 346)

3 May 1661 — Pepys and his wife stay in a bedroom the Queen Mother had recently used in the course of her return to France. (1893, II, pp. 29-30)

10 June 1661 — Pepys notes that the Earl of Sandwich had been named by the king as his ambassador in bringing his future Queen from Portugal. (1893, II, pp. 52-53)

- 30 June 1661 — The Portuguese ambassador is stated to have gone to White Hall to take leave of the King in preparation for sending the new Queen to England. Pepys hopes that he can use the preparations for sending a fleet to bring the new Queen to England as a means for covering some of his recent heavy expenditures. (1893, II, pp. 61-62)
- 3 September 1661 — A daughter of the Earl of Sandwich was christened Katherine on this day in honour of the Queen to be. (1893, II, pp. 95-96)
- 30 September 1661 — Pepys notes that the Navy Office was “very busy about the business of sending forces to Tangier” and that the Earl of Sandwich was then at Lisbon in the process of bringing over to England the Queen-to-be, who was then keeping a Court as Queen of England. (1893, II, pp. 110-113)
- 17 October 1661 — Pepys writes of a talk he had with Captain Lambert about Portugal, who claimed that the City and Court of Lisbon was very dirty, that the King was a simpleton, that they don't have glass windows, that the King has strange eating habits, and that the Infanta who is to become the Queen of England is served a whole hen or goose at her table, which was not considered ordinary. (1893, II, pp. 121-122)
- 18 October 1661 — At White Hall that day he consulted about things to be sent to the Earl of Sandwich for the Queen's provision. He mentions that all haste was made for the fleet's going. (1893, II, pp. 122-123)
- 10 November 1661 — Pepys hears Queen Catherine for the first time publicly prayed for. (1893, II, pp. 133-134)

6 December 1661 — Pepys is a party to the signing of a contract with the Governors of the East India Company confirming and extending a former charter dated 3 April 1661. He writes that, this being done, the Governors went to speak with the King and the Duke of York and promised to do their best to promote trade with India. (1893, II, p. 149)

31 December 1661 — Pepys reports that the fleet has been ready to sail for Portugal for two weeks, but has lacked the wind to do so and that this means that the Earl of Sandwich will be forced to keep at sea all winter until he brings the Queen to England, something which has captured popular imagination and which everyone speaks. (1893, II, pp. 161-162)

22 January 1662 — Mention is made of different factions developing around Barbara Villiers, possibly having to do with the king's favor to her on account of the imminent arrival of the new Queen. (1893, II, pp. 176-177)

21 March 1662 — Pepys visits the Earl of Sandwich's lodgings to find it undergoing extensive renovation in anticipation of the Earl coming back to England with the Queen. (1893, II, p. 207)

23 March 1662 — Pepys reports that letters have arrived from Portugal from the Queen to the King and that he, himself, was given letters which speak of all the English fleet being at Lisbon and of the Queen intending to embark within the next 15 days. (1893, II, p. 208)

- 10 April 1662 — Pepys writes that the day before Col. Talbot arrived with letters from Portugal, stating that the Queen intended to embark for England that week. (1893, II, pp. 217-218)
- 11 April 1662 — Pepys goes to Greenwich, where the King had “planted trees and made steps in the hill up to the Castle, which is very magnificent.” He then walked up and down the house, which was being now repaired for the Queen’s use. (1893, II, pp. 218-219)
- 13 April 1662 — Pepys records gossip about the pride of the Duchess of York and how all the ladies envied Barbara Villiers. He writes of an intention to go to Portsmouth to meet the Queen that week and that her expected arrival was something everyone was talking of. (1893, II, pp. 219-220)
- 21 April 1662 — Pepys records gossip of a falling out between Barbara Villiers and the Duchess of Richmond and that the Duchess called Barbara “Jane Shore” and expressed the hope that Barbara would come to a similar ending. He is told that the Queen has landed, at which he goes by coach to White Hall. On the way, he hears bells ringing in several places, but finds the Queen has not arrived. (1893, II, pp. 222-223)
- 24 April 1662 — Pepys reports that there was still no news of the Queen. (1893, II, p. 224)
- 27 April 1662 — Pepys meets the Lord Chamberlain and follows him through the Queen’s lodgings to the chapel. He notes that the rooms were all exquisitely furnished. The Mayor of Portsmouth shows Pepys and others the present he has

prepared for the Queen, being a salt-cellar of silver and crystal, with four eagles and four greyhounds standing up at the top to hold up a dish. Pepys considers it to be beautifully designed. A merchant ship arrived, which had been hired in London to carry horses to Portugal, but many people mistook it for the ship bearing the Queen. (1893, II, pp. 225-226)

1 May 1662 — Pepys mentions the birth of the future Mary II to the Duchess of York, but also notes that, on account of it being a girl, no one was pleased. (1893, II, pp. 228-229)

7 May 1662 — Pepys reports that news has arrived that the Queen had, by then, probably come as far as the Isle of Scilly. (1893, II, pp.231-232)

8 May 1662 — Pepys has news that the Queen and the fleet were in Mount's Bay on the previous Monday and that she was enduring sea-sickness as well as could be expected. (1893, II, p. 232)

9 May 1662 — A report is given that the Duke of York had gone the night before to Portsmouth. On the basis of this, Pepys believes the arrival of the Queen to be near. (1893, II, p. 233)

10 May 1662 — Pepys hears that Barbara Villiers intended to give birth at Hampton Court, but that the ladies at court were much troubled by this, because it will force the King to “show her countenance in the sight of the Queen when she comes.” (1893, II, pp. 233-234)

12 May 1662 — Pepys goes to Hampton Court where he is shown the premises by a Mr. Marriott and found it to be “nobly furnished, particularly the Queen’s bed, given her by the States of Holland; a looking-glass sent by the Queen-mother from France, hanging in the Queen’s chamber, and many brave pictures.” (1893, II, p. 234)

15 May 1662 — In Portsmouth, at night, Pepys claims that “all the bells of the town rung, and bonfires made for the joy of the Queen’s arrival, who came and landed at Portsmouth last night. But I do not see much thorough joy, but only an indifferent one, in the hearts of people, who are much discontented at the pride and luxury of the Court, and running in debt.” (1893, II, pp. 235)

17 May 1662 — Pepys buys a satin petticoat and other things for his wife on account of the Queen’s coming. (1893, II, pp. 235-236)

21 May 1662 — In the Privy-garden of White Hall Pepys is impressed by the sight of “the finest smocks and linnen petticoats of my Lady Castlemaine’s, laced with rich lace at the bottom...” At dinner, he hears that the King had both his mid-day and evening meals at Lady Castlemaine’s (Barbara Villiers) every day and night the previous week. He also hears that at night bonfires were made for joy of the Queen’s arrival, but that it was much noticed there was no bonfire at Barbara Villiers’ door, though there were at all the rest of the doors in the street. Additionally, Pepys hears that the King and Barbara Villiers did send for a pair of scales and weighed one another, and that she, being with child, was the heavier. Furthermore, he claims that Barbara Villiers was then “a most disconsolate

creature, and comes not out of doors, since the King's going." (1893, II, pp. 239-240)

23 May 1662 — Pepys, upon hearing that the Earl of Sandwich had arrived, went to meet him. The earl appeared "very merry". He had left the King and Queen at Portsmouth, and had come back to stay in London till the coming Wednesday, when he would go to meet the King and Queen at Hampton Court. The earl is described as being very happy, claiming that the Queen was a very attractive lady. (1893, II, pp. 241-242)

24 May 1662 — Pepys hears that the Queen had given no rewards to any of the captains or officers who had accompanied her, other than to the Earl of Sandwich. Even in his case, all he received was a bag of gold, which Pepys considered to be "no honourable present," as it was only of about 1400 pounds sterling. Pepys also states that the Queen had always stayed to herself during the voyage and had "never come upon the deck, nor put her head out of her cabin; but did love my Lord's musique, and would send for it down to the state-room, and she sit in her cabin within hearing of it." He also heard that the Earl of Sandwich had had difficulty with the Council of Portugal about the payment of the Queen's portion, before he could get it, "which was, besides Tangier and a free trade in the Indys, two millions of crowns, half now, and the other half in twelve months. But they have brought but little money, but the rest in sugars and other commoditys, and bills of exchange." Pepys also heard that the King of Portugal was mentally incompetent, and that his mother controlled everything. (1893, II, pp. 242-243)

25 May 1662 — Pepys comes across some Portuguese ladies who had come to London before the Queen. He feels that they are unattractive and that their farthingales represent a strange way of dressing. He claims that many “ladies and persons of quality” had come to see them, but that he found nothing in them pleasing. He did note that they had learned “to kiss and look freely up and down.” He also feels that they would become more sociable over time. He mentions in passing that they complained much for lack of good water to drink. (1893, II, p. 243)

29 May 1662 — Pepys records that “This day, being the King’s birth-day, was very solemnly observed; and the more, for that the Queen this day comes to Hampton Court. In the evening, bonfires were made, but nothing to the great number that was heretofore at the burning of the Rump.” (1893, II, pp. 245-246)

31 May 1662 — Pepys reports that, the Queen, having recently arrived at Hampton Court, has made a favorable impression and that everyone says she is “a very fine and handsome lady, and very discreet; and that the King is pleased enough with her,” a fact which Pepys feels would be most disturbing to Barbara Villiers. Pepys also writes that the Earl of Sandwich, having successfully brought the Queen from Portugal, is doing “very well and in good repute.” (1893, II, pp. 247-248)

3 June 1662 — Pepys meets the Countess of Sandwich who had come from Hampton Court, where the Queen had been friendly with her. The Countess claimed that the Queen was “a most pretty woman.” Pepys writes that Sir R. Ford told him the day before that the Aldermen of the City met her and gave her a gold cup holding 1000 pounds in it. (1893, II, pp. 249-250)

20 June 1662 — In the course of business, Pepys meets Sir John Winter, the Queen's Secretary. (1893, II, pp. 261-262)

22 June 1662 — Pepys hears that a Portuguese lady, at Hampton Court, had already had a child since the Queen's coming, but that the king would not have the women searched to find out whose it was. (1893, II, pp. 263-264)

30 June 1662 — Pepys writes “The King and his new Queen minding their pleasures at Hampton Court. All people discontented; some that the King do not gratify them enough; and the others, fanatics of all sorts, that the King do take away their liberty of conscience; and the height of the Bishops, who I fear will ruin all again. They do much cry up the manner of Sir H. Vane's death, and he deserves it. They clamour against the chimney-money, and say they will not pay it without force. And in the mean time, like to have war abroad; and Portugal to assist, when we have not money to pay for any ordinary layings-out at home.” (1893, II, pp. 270-271)

1 July 1662 — Pepys writes that his wife was afraid he would be sent with the Earl of Sandwich to bring the Queen mother to England and that he tells her it is not so. (1893, II, p. 272)

17 July 1662 — Pepys writes that Mr. Coventry took his leave to go with the Duke of York to bring the Queen-Mother to England. (1893, II, pp. 282-283)

19 July 1662 — The King goes by barge towards the Downs to meet the Queen Mother, the Duke of York having gone the previous day. (1893, II, pp. 283-284)

22 July 1662 — Pepys writes that people sent to bring the Queen Mother had suffered from bad weather. (1893, II, p. 286)

26 July 1662 — Pepys hears the King and Queen intend to come to White Hall from Hampton Court during the next week and stay all winter. He hears from a female acquaintance at court that Barbara Villiers and her husband, the Earl of Castlemaine, had had a falling out about the christening of her newborn child, that he had done it by a priest and that some days after, she had it again christened by a protestant minister with the King in attendance. She then left her husband, taking away every thing in the house. He then went away to France and she returned to her house. Pepys also writes that “the Queen did prick her out of the list presented her by the King, desiring that she might have that favour done her, or that he would send her from whence she come: and that the King was angry and the Queen discontented a whole day and night upon it; but that the King hath promised to have nothing to do with her (Barbara Villiers) hereafter. But I cannot believe that the King can fling her off so, he loving her too well...” (1893, II, pp. 288-290)

28 July 1662 — Pepys takes a boat to the Tower upon hearing that the Queen Mother would be coming and that the Earl of Sandwich was with her. (1893, II, p. 291)

6 August 1662 — Pepys hears that a gentleman-usher to the Queen had been involved in a duel. (1893, II, pp. 298-299)

23 August 1662 — Pepys can not get a boat after having dined with Mr. Creed, as it was the day of the Queen’s coming to town from Hampton Court. He goes to the top

of the new banqueting house and sees many boats and barges and two pageants. The King and Queen arrived in a barge under a canopy with so many barges and boats that Pepys claims to have been unable to see water for them, nor make out the King or Queen. When they landed at White Hall Bridge, great guns on the other side went off. What pleases Pepys most, however, was Barbara Villiers standing at White Hall, where he “glutted” himself “with looking on her.” Nevertheless, he thought it strange to see her with her husband at the same place walking here and there not taking notice one of another. In Pepys’ words, “only at first entry he put off his hat, and she made him a very civil salute, but afterwards took no notice one of another; but both of them now and then would take their child, which the nurse held in her armes, and dandle it.” Pepys goes on to write “One thing more; there happened a scaffold below to fall, and we feared some hurt, but there was none, but she of all the great ladies only run down among the common rabble to see what hurt was done, and did take care of a child that received some little hurt, which methought was so noble. Anon there came one there booted and spurred that she talked long with. And by and by, she being in her hair, she put on his hat, which was but an ordinary one, to keep the wind off. But methinks it became her mightily, as every thing else do. The show being over, I went away, not weary with looking on her, ...” (1893, II, pp. 315-319)

1 September 1662 — Pepys encounters the Duke and Duchess of York going to meet the Queen Mother. The Earl of Sandwich went to be with the King and Queen. (1893, II, pp. 324-325)

7 September 1662 — Pepys goes with Mr. Pierce to Somerset House who takes him into the Queen-Mother's presence-chamber, where she was with the new Queen sitting on her left hand. It is the first time for Pepys to encounter Queen Catherine. He thinks she is “not very charming, yet she hath a good, modest, and innocent look, which is pleasing.” He also saw Barbara Villiers there as well as the future Duke of Monmouth, the King’s bastard, whom he thought to be “a most pretty spark of about 15 years old, who, I perceive, do hang much upon my Lady Castlemaine (Barbara Villiers), and is always with her...” Pepys also writes that he has heard both the Queens are very kind to him. The king also came and so did the Duke and Duchess of York. Pepys records them staying until dark, when the King and his Queen, Barbara Villiers, and the future Duke of Monmouth went off in one coach and the rest in other coaches. Many ladies had been in attendance, but Pepys considers very few to have been good-looking. According to Pepys, “the King and Queen were very merry and he would have made the Queen-Mother believe that his Queen was with child, and said that she said so. And the young Queen answered, “You lie,” which was the first English word Pepys hears the Queen utter. He then said that the king found this funny and that he tried to teach her to say in English, “Confess and be hanged.” (1893, II, pp. 330-332)

18 September 1662 — At a raffle for a charity used in Catholic countries, two pearls were put up for auction and sold for 200,000 crowns. Pepys records that “the Queen, seeing them, knew whose they were, but did not discover it...” (1893, II, pp. 340-341)

21 September 1662 — The Queen went in her coach to her chapel at St. James's for the first time upon it being made ready for her. The religious service was in Portuguese. He records the Queen being very devout. Barbara Villiers, though still a protestant, was waiting on the Queen at the chappel. The King was expected to dine with the Queen in her presence chamber. As she stayed at St. James's, the King had to dine alone in his own presence chamber. (1893, II, pp. 342-343)

2 October 1662 — Pepys goes to a play at the Cockpit and manages to get into a box next to the king's. He is unable to see either the King or Queen, but does see many fine ladies, whom he perceives to be not so nice looking as he formerly thought, yet still finely dressed. (1893, II, pp. 350-351)

9 October 1662 — Pepys hears a rumor that the Queen is with child, which was said to have started because the coaches had been ordered to ride very easily through the streets. (1893, II, pp. 355-356)

24 October 1662 — Pepys hears a complaint from Mr. Pierce that the King does not show any favor to any English person in the Queen's service for fear they should tell her of his actions with Barbara Villiers. Moreover, he complains to Pepys that the King's mind is so negative in favour to her dependants, that she has decided to let her Portuguese women go back into Portugal without doing anything for them. Mr. Pierce, however, goes on to tell Pepys that the Queen's own physician told him within the previous three days that the Queen knows quite well how the King is managing things with Barbara Villiers and others. The physician is quoted as saying that "though she hath spirit enough, yet seeing that she do no good by

taking notice of it, for the present she forbears it in policy...” This attitude of the Queen’s is something which pleases Pepys. (1893, II, pp. 372-373)

10 November 1662 — Pepys reports that a fleet sent in aid of the Portuguese has been sent back as the King of Portugal had no more use for it. Pepys also states that everyone knows of the King’s new bastard by Mrs. Haslerigge, nor is the King’s support of the Bishops popular. (1893, II, pp. 389-391)

17 November 1662 — Pepys and his wife enjoy a performance of “The Scornfull Lady” at the Cockpitt, where they “had excellent places, and saw the King, Queen, Duke of Monmouth, his son, and my Lady Castlemaine, and all the fine ladies. (1893, II, pp. 395-396)

22 November 1662 — Mr. Moore tells Pepys that it was certain that the Queen-Mother was married to Lord St. Albans, and he will probably be made Lord Treasurer. (1893, II, pp. 397-398)

1 December 1662 — Pepys meets with the Commissioners for Tangier. They discussed supplying Tangier with food and the building of the Mole and left other matters to be discussed at their next meeting. Pepys then saw “The Valiant Cidd” at the Cockpit. He notices that no one, including the King or Queen, took pleasure in the performance. (1893, II, pp. 406-407)

7 December 1662 — Pepys and his wife visit an aunt after church. He jokes with her about the beauty of the Queen, with his aunt claiming that the Queen was beautiful and Pepys claiming that this wasn’t the case. (1893, II, p. 410)

15 December 1662 — Pepys talks with Dr. Clerke, who claims that “Sir Charles Barkeley’s greatness is only his being pimp to the King, and to my Lady Castlemaine. And yet for all this, that the King is very kind to the Queen” whom Dr. Clerke says is one of the best women in the world. Pepys marvels at how the King is bewitched by Barabara Villiers. Lord Rutherford was made this day made Governor of Tangier, and Lord of Peterborough was called home. Pepys is not entirely pleased that a Catholic was chosen governor. (1893, II, pp. 414-416)

23 December 1662 — Dr. Pierce claims that Barbara Villiers is more influential than the Queen, and has been influential in getting positions for Sir H. Bennet, and Sir Charles Barkeley. He also claims that the queen “is a most good lady, and takes all with the greatest meekness that may be.” (1893, II, pp. 421-422)

24 December 1662 — Certain individuals at the Court are said to believe that should the Queen not have a child, then the King would try to make the future Duke of Monmouth his heir instead of the Duke. (1893, II, pp. 422-423)

29 December 1662 — The King and Queen received ambassadors from Russia who kissed first the King's hand and then the Queen’s. After this, Pepys spent some time walking up and down the gallery seeing the ladies, the two Queens, and the Duke of Monmouth with his young wife. (1893, II, pp. 427-429)

30 December 1662 — Pepys visited Mrs. Ferrer’s, where he hears another woman say that the Queen-Mother’s Court at Somerset House outdoes that of the Queen Consort's. Pepys is offended as there was no allowance for the laughter and the happiness at the Queen Consort’s court or the fact that this is where people enjoy

life the most. He then goes to White Hall, where he takes his wife to see the Queen in her presence-chamber together with her maids of honour and the young Duke of Monmouth playing at cards. He notes approvingly that some of them were very pretty and that all were well dressed in velvet gowns. (1893, II, pp. 429-430)

31 December 1662 — Pepys goes with Mr. Povy to White Hall to see a ball that was to have the King in attendance. First Mr. Povy takes Pepys to the Duke of York's chamber, where they see the Duke and Duchess of York at supper. From there, they go into the room where the ball was to be and which is crammed with fine ladies and where, by and by, the King and Queen, the Duke and Duchess of York, and the other prominent figures of the court arrive. After seating themselves, the King took out the Duchess of York; the Duke of York, the Duchess of Buckingham; the Duke of Monmouth, Barbara Villiers; etc. to dance the Bransle. After that, the King chose a lady to dance a single Coranto with, as did other lords with other ladies. Then there were country dances with the King leading the first, which he called for and which was, he said, "Cuckolds all awry", an old dance of England. Pepys observes that, of the ladies that danced, the best were the Duke of Monmouth's young wife, Barbara Villiers, and a daughter of Sir Harry de Vicke's. Pepys notes that, when the King danced, all the ladies in the room, including the Queen herself, would stand up, but that, though he dances much better than the Duke of York, he dances rarely. On this last day of the year, Pepys prides himself on his hard work and how it has gained him recognition from the Duke of York himself, who now takes special notice of him because they are both Commissioners for Tangier. To the King's credit, Pepys notes that expenses for the

royal family and the navy are coming more under control. However, Pepys finds it to the King's discredit that he follows his pleasures so openly, especially with regard to his affair with Barbara Villiers which is quite public. Also, Pepys dislikes that the King favors "the confidants of his pleasure", such as Sir H. Bennet and Sir Charles Barkeley, so much. Pepys considers that the Duke of Monmouth is, indeed, so well loved by the King, that some believe that the King, if he should have no child by the Queen, would recognize the boy as his lawful son, thus excluding his brother, the Duke of York from succession. As for the Duke of York, Pepys writes that his father-in-law, the Lord Chancellor was in danger of having his position undermined in the next sitting of the Parliament, even though he is a good servant of the king. Finally, concerning the Queen-Mother, she is said to keep too great a Court now, that she secretly married Lord St. Albans, and that the two of them had a daughter born between them in France, though Pepys expresses a certain amount of scepticism about this. (1893, II, pp. 430-434)

1 January 1663 — Pepys hears a lot of gossip from a female acquaintance about the goings on at the royal court. The King is said to eat at least four or five times a week with Barbara Villiers and to usually stay with her until the morning when he returns home all alone through the garden, thus attracting the notice of the royal guards who speak of it. About a month before, Barbara is said to have gone into labor at a dinner at Lord Gerard's. He is displeased at the bawdiness of all levels of the court. An exception is said to be Lord Chesterfield, groom of the stole to the Queen, who was no longer at Court on account of his wife having attracted the Duke of York, so that the Duke was watched by the Duchess of York, and Lady

Chesterfield has is retired into the country. Pepys does not vouch for how much of this might be true, but he is unhappy that it has become common talk. (1893, III, pp. 1-2)

5 January 1663 — Pepys goes with his wife to see a play at the Cockpit, but neither the King nor Queen were in attendance, only the Duke and Duchess of York. He notes disapprovingly that they were kissing and leaning upon one another. (1893, III, pp. 4-5)

21 January 1663 — On Pepys boarding a ship, the Captain gives him pickled oysters which had originally been made for the Queen Mother. (1893, III, pp. 19-20)

25 January 1663 — Captain Ferrers tells Pepys of Barbara Villiers and Sir Charles Barkeley being the great favourites at Court. Also, he spoke of a dispute between Lord Chesterfield, the Queen's Lord Chamberlain, and Mr. Edward Montagu, her Master of the Horse, about who should have the precedence in taking the Queen's upper hand when going outside from house, something which Mr. Montagu challenged because it was given to Lord Chesterfield. (1893, III, pp. 22-24)

8 February 1663 — Captain Ferrers tells Pepys that a lady at Court gave birth while dancing but that no one knew who it was and that someone took the dead child up in their handkerchief. It was said that Winifred Wells, a maid of honour to the Queen, fell sick the next afternoon, so people assumed the child was hers. Pepys hears another story from the same source that Barbara Villiers, few days before, had Mrs. Stuart to an entertainment, where they pretended to get married and, upon Mrs. Stuart entering the bed, the King came and took Barbara's place.

Captain Ferrers claims to have seen Barbara go to bed with Sir Charles Barkeley remaining in her room. The Captain was scolded by Sir Charles upon asking for leave. Pepys notes that the young Duke of Monmouth was given precedence over all non-royal dukes, coming after Prince Rupert and before the Duke of Buckingham. (1893, III, pp. 34-36)

17 February 1663 — Pepys is told that Mr. Cholmely attended the Queen to the displeasure of certain others. Mr. Pickering tells Pepys that the story was true of a child being dropped at the ball at Court and that the King dissected it, claiming it must have been a month and three hours old and that, it being a boy, he feels the greatest sorrow at having lost a subject in such a fashion. Mr. Pickering confirmed the story of Barbara Villiers and Frances Stuart's marriage, and that it was generally believed that this was in order to facilitate the King's coming to Stuart. Claims were also made that Sir H. Bennet is a Catholic and that the Queen-Mother's Court was the greatest with the Queen consort having little or no company come to her, something which Pepys claims to be true and about which he is not happy. (1893, III, pp. 41-44)

23 February 1663 — Pepys sees a performance of "The Wilde Gallant" at Court. Pepys is bored by it and claims the King was, too, though he claims that being able to look at Barbara Villiers and Frances Stuart made it worth it. He also says that Mrs. Wells appeared at Court again, and looked well, so that maybe the rumor of her having had a child while dancing was not true. Pepys hears a report of Barbara being given all the King's Christmas presents, given to him by the peers.

Furthermore, at the great ball he noted that she was much richer in jewels than the Queen Consort and the Duchess of York put together. (1893, III, pp. 49-52)

7 March 1663 — Lady Gerard was reported to be upset with Barbara Villiers on account of the King giving special favor to Barbara at a dance. As a result, she was forbidden to attend the Queen though the lady's husband is said to have remained a great favorite. (1893, III, pp. 61-62)

25 April 1663 — Pepys hears that the Queen is much grieved at the King's neglecting of her, he not having eaten with her once in the previous three months and being almost every night with Barbara Villiers, who was with him at St. George's feast at Windsor, and came home with him the night before. Furthermore, Pepys reports that the King removed her bed from her home to a room in White Hall, next to his own. This was something Pepys expresses sorrow at hearing though he also professes to have a high regard for Barbara. (1893, III, pp. 98-100)

29 April 1663 — The Earl of Sandwich claims to Pepys he has incurred the Queen's displeasure on account of his kindness to Barbara Villiers but also that he is not be afraid of that displeasure. In addition, he claims that his relations with the Duke of York remain excellent and expresses reservations about Lord Tiviott having taken the governership of Tangier. (1893, III, pp. 102-106)

7 May 1663 — Sir Thomas Crewe tells Pepys that day that the Queen, hearing that 40,000 pounds per year had been budgeted for her expenses, ordered that the Committee of Parliament investigating the matter be informed that she had

received only 4,000 pounds for herself and her household, an act of spirit which Pepys expresses admiration for. (1893, III, pp. 113-114)

8 May 1663 — Pepys goes to view the work being done at the Queen-Mother's Somerset House. (1893, III, pp. 114-116)

15 May 1663 — Sir Thomas Crew complains to Pepys that the King minded nothing but his pleasures, that he hated the very sight or thought of business, that Barbara Villiers ruled him, that it seemed likely that the King might make the Duke of Monmouth legitimate, that the Duke of York would not allow it, that the Duchess of York troubled her husband with her jealousy, that Sir Charles Barkeley was still a great favorite of both the King and the Duke of York. Pepys claims that the Portuguese deceived the British regarding the Island of Bombay, that the Portuguese governor of the island found an excuse not to hand over the island to the King's representatives. Pepys fears that, as the King was said to think ill of the matter, the Queen Consort would suffer as a result. (1893, III, pp. 120-126)

18 May 1663 — Pepys encounters the Queen walking with her Maids of Honour to the Park. He notes the beauty of Frances Stuart and how it was reported that she, as Barbara Villiers, had become a mistress of the King, something he considers a great pity. (1893, III, pp. 127-128)

4 June 1663 — Dr. Pierce tells Pepys that the Queen had become more active and had started to play like the other ladies, and that she had become quite a different woman from what she had been, something which pleases Pepys, as he hopes this

would make the King like her better, and forsake his two mistresses, Barbara Villiers and Frances Stewart. (1893, III, pp. 157-159)

7 June 1663 — Mrs. Turner tells Pepys that the Queen had much changed and had become very pleasant and as sociable as any, and that it was believed that she was with child. (1893, III, pp. 161-162)

23 June 1663 — Pepys sees the King and the Queen passing by in great state, with the streets being full of people. He reports that they were to dine at the Lord Mayor's. (1893, III, p. 176)

4 July 1663 — Creed informs Pepys that Barbara Villiers had left the Court, but that he didn't know the reason. He also tells Pepys of a recent occurrence when Barbara found the Queen having been a very long time under the dresser's hands. Their dialog is said to have been:

Barbara: I wonder your Majesty can have the patience to sit so long a-dressing?

Queen: I have so much reason to use patience, that I can very well bear with it.

Creed thought that the Queen had commanded Barbara to retire, but Pepys considers that to be unlikely. Pepys then goes to see a general muster of the King's Guards at Hyde Park, where the King and the Duke of York came by horse, whereas the two Queens come in the Queen-Mother's coach with Barbara Villiers not being in attendance. (1893, III, pp. 196-198)

10 July 1663 — Mr. Pierce tells Pepys that the King had grown colder to Barbara Villiers than usual and that he thinks that the King was beginning to love the

Queen, and to make much more of her, more than he used to do. Pepys hears that the Lord Chancellor was to be impeached and that one of the articles of impeachment was that the Lord Chancellor had to have known when he promoted so strongly the marriage of the King was that the Queen was not capable of having children. Another article of impeachment concerned the Duke of York marrying his daughter. (1893, III, pp. 202-204)

13 July 1663 — Pepys meets the Queen-Mother walking in the Pall Mall, being led by Lord St. Albans. He hears the Duchess of York was brought to bed with a boy and that the King and Queen had gone out with her Ladies of Honour to the Park. The Queen had on “a white laced waistcoat and a crimson short pettycoat, and her hair dressed *ci la negligence*” and, according to Pepys, looked very pretty. Pepys notes that the King rode hand in hand with the Queen. He also notes that Barbara Villiers rode among the rest of the ladies, but that the King did not seem to take any notice of her, nor did anyone offer to take her down when they stopped, but that this was something that was done by one of her own servants. Pepys writes that Barbara looked very much out of humour, that she had a yellow plume in her hat which made her stand out, that she was very attractive, but also seemed dispirited, that no one spoke with her, nor did she smile or speak to anybody. Pepys follows everyone “into White Hall into the Queen’s presence, where all the ladies walked, talking and fiddling with their hats and feathers, and changing and trying one another’s by one another’s heads, and laughing. But it was the finest sight to me, considering their great beautys and dress, that ever I did see in all my life. But, above all, Mrs. Stewart in this dress, with her hat cocked and a red plume, with her sweet eye, little Roman nose, and excellent taille, is now the

greatest beauty I ever saw, I think, in my life; and, if ever woman can, do exceed my Lady Castlemaine, at least in this dress nor do I wonder if the King changes, which I verily believe is the reason of his coldness to my Lady Castlemaine.” (1893, III, pp. 207-209)

15 July 1663 — On going to bed, Pepys imagines himself romancing the Queen. (1893, III, p. 210)

22 July 1663 — Captain Ferrers tells Pepys me that, upon checking the matter with the ladies of the Court, he finds that Barbara Villiers was still as great as before, and that her going away was her own doing as a result of “some some slighting words of the King, so that she called for her coach at a quarter of an hour’s warning, and went to Richmond; and the King the next morning, under pretence of going a-hunting, went to see her and make friends, and never was a-hunting at all. After which she came back to Court, and commands the King as much as ever, and hath and doth what she will. No longer ago than last night, there was a private entertainment made for the King and Queen at the Duke of Buckingham’s, and she: was not invited: but being at my Lady Suffolk’s, her aunt’s (where my Lady Jemimah and Lord Sandwich dined) yesterday, she was heard to say, “Well; much good may it do them, and for all that I will be as merry as they” and so she went home and caused a great supper to be prepared. And after the King had been with the Queen at Wallingford House, he came to my Lady Castlemaine’s, and was there all night, and my Lord Sandwich with him, which was the reason my Lord lay in town all night, which he has not done a great while before. He tells me he believes that, as soon as the King can get a husband for Mrs. Stewart however, my

Lady Castlemaine's nose will be out of joynt; for that she comes to be in great esteem, and is more handsome than she." Pepys also heard that the next day the King and Queen would go for certain go to Tunbridge, but that the King will come back again by Monday to close Parliament. (1893, III, pp. 215-218)

27 July 1663 — Upon closing Parliament, the King went to Tunbridge to the Queen. (1893, III, pp. 225-228)

31 July 1663 — Dr. Pierce tells Pepys of his good luck to get to be groom of the Privy-Chamber to the Queen without the Earl of Sandwich's help, but only by his good fortune. Pierce also claims that the Earl of Sandwich has lost much of the credit he had with the King and Queen since the Queen's coming. Pepys is unhappy to hear that Sir Charles Barkeley still has enough power over the King, to get him to leave his Council table to visit Barbara Villiers whenever he pleases. (1893, III, pp. 231-234)

11 August 1663 — Pepys hears that the King was to be in town a day or two before returning to Tunbridge, to bring the Queen back. The Queen is said to have become a very affectionate lady, who "hugs him, and meets him galloping upon the road, and all the actions of a fond and pleasant lady that can be..." Pepys'

informant also says that people talk now and then of Frances Stuart, but that she was not dangerous, being only an innocent, young, girl and that Barbara Villiers was falling out of favour. Pepys also records that the Queen, after she comes back, will visit Bath and then Oxford, where great entertainments were being prepared for her. (1893, III, pp. 245-247)

31 August 1663 — The King and Queen and the Court are reported as being at Bath.
(1893, III, pp. 265-266)

5 September 1663 — Captain Minors informs Pepys of the disappointment of the King met with the last voyage to India, of the lack of cooperation of the Portuguese Viceroy, and of the insignificance of Bombay. Pepys feels it strange that no one checked things out before the marriage. It would seem that the King and Lord Chancellor, and other learned men about the King, believed that the main island, and other islands near it, were all one piece. Pepys also hears of peace between Tangier and the Moors. (1893, III, pp. 271-272)

22 September 1663 — The King and Queen arrive in Oxford that day. Pepys hears that Barbara Villiers has gone to Oxford to meet the king, having had a supposed miscarriage at her home the last week or so. (Actually, Henry Fitzroy, her second son by Charles II and future Duke of Grafton.) (1893, III, pp. 285-287)

30 September 1663 — Pepys states that the King, Queen, Duke and Duchess of York, and the whole Court will arrive in London a day later. (1893, III, p. 291)

17 October 1663 — Pepys hears that the Queen was very sick, if not already dead, and that the Duke and Duchess of York had been sent for that morning to go to White Hall to see her. (1893, III, pp. 304-305)

18 October 1663 — Pepys's parson seemed not to know whether to pray for the Queen or not, and so said nothing about her, something which made Pepys fear she might be dead. Upon asking Sir J. Minnes, he told me that he heard she was better the previous night. (1893, III, pp. 305-306)

19 October 1663 — Upon waking, Pepys fears the Queen might be dead. On arriving at St. James's, he hears that the Queen slept five hours fairly well the night before and that, when she woke and gargled her mouth, she then went to sleep again. Her pulse, however, was said to beat fast, at twenty to the King's eleven, but that it was not so strong as it had been. She is said to have been so ill that she was shaved and pigeons put to her feet, and to have been given extreme unction by the priests, who took so much time that the doctors about her became angry. Pepys reports everyone saying that the King showed great sorrow and was weeping beside her, which, in turn, made her weep, something a certain person tells Pepys is a good sign, as the Queen weeping would carry away some of the congestion from her head. (1893, III, pp. 306-309)

20 October 1663 — A female acquaintance tells Pepys and his wife that the King tended the Queen in her illness and that her sickness was the spotted fever and that she was as full of spots as a leopard which was very strange as it had not occurred recently. Pepys is told that the King seemed to take it much to heart, and that he has wept before the Queen. Nevertheless, he is said to have not missed one night of eating with Barbara Villiers since the Queen became sick, something which Pepys finds to be sufficiently confirmed enough to believe as true. In fact, he, himself, saw preparations for a big supper that night, which it was claimed by his source as also having been for the King and Barbara, something which Pepys considers to be a very strange thing. (1893, III, pp. 309-310)

- 22 October 1663 — On hearing that morning that the Queen's condition had grown worse again, Pepys sends a message to stop the making of his velvet cloak, till he could better determine whether the Queen would live or not. (1893, III, p. 311)
- 23 October 1663 — Pepys hears that the Queen had slept pretty well the night before, but that her fever continues upon her still. He also reports that it appears that she has never had a Portuguese doctor in attendance on her. (1893, III, pp. 311-313)
- 24 October 1663 — The Queen is reported to be on the way to recovery and Sir Francis Pridgeon to have gotten great honour by it, due to his cordial, which in her worst moment gave her rest and brought her hope of recovery. (1893, III, pp. 313-314)
- 26 October 1663 — Dr. Pierce tells Pepys that the Queen was making good progress in her recovery, but that her delirium in her head continued still, that she talked disconnectedly, not just occasionally, but always. The doctor maintains that after so high a fever, this was normal and that for some it would continue forever. That morning she is said to have talked of having had a baby, and wondered that she should be delivered without pain and without spewing or being sick, and that she was troubled that her boy was so ugly. The King, being beside her, is reported to have said, "No, it is a very pretty boy." to which she replied "Nay, if it be like you it is a fine boy indeed, and I would be very well pleased with it." Pepys reports that a day or two before she talked of Sir H. Wood's lady's great belly, and said if Lady Wood should miscarry he would never get another child, and that she had never seen such a man as Sir H. Wood in her life. Then, seeing Dr. Pridgeon, she said, "Nay, Doctor, you need not scratch your head, there is hair little enough already in the place." (1893, III, pp. 315-317)

27 October 1663 — Mr. Coventry tells Pepys that the Queen had a very good night the night before, but that she was still strange and that she still raved and talked of little more than of her having of children, and that she believed that she had three children, and that the girl looked very much like the King. That morning about five o'clock she woke when the physician feeling her pulse, while she was sleeping, woke her) and the first words she was reported to have said were, "How do the children?" (1893, III, pp. 317-319)

29 October 1663 — The Queen is reported to be getting better, but that her talk remains disconnected. (1893, III, pp. 320-323)

30 October 1663 — The Queen continues to recover, but her talk remains disconnected. (1893, III, p. 323)

31 October 1663 — The Queen continues to talk in a lightheaded fashion, but there is hope of her full recovery. (1893, III, pp. 323-325)

4 November 1663 — The Queen is reported to be in a great way to recovery. (1893, III, p. 328)

6 November 1663 — Pepys is told that several individuals had tried to get Frances Stewart for the King, but that she had proven too intelligent for them and, being advised at Somerset House by the Queen-Mother and by her own mother, people gave up their efforts. (1893, III, pp. 329-332)

9 November 1663 — Pepys hears that the King has become attracted to Frances Stewart, that he would get into a corner with her for half an hour kissing her publicly, that

Frances stayed by herself and expected the same treatment as Barbara Villiers used to have and to whom the King was reported to still be kind, going to her now and then to have a chat, but without the fondness he used to show. Pepys hears, however, that Frances Stewart managed things so well that she would not let him do anything other than what was safe to her, but that the king's dotting on Frances was so great that it was thought by some that, if the Queen had died, he would have married her. (1893, III, pp. 334-340)

10 November 1663 — Pepys hears that Queen has fully recovered and has ordered a new gown for herself. (1893, III, pp. 340-341)

15 November 1663 — This day, being the Queen Consort's birthday, the guns of the Tower were all fired and in the evening the Lord Mayor sent from church to church to order the constables to cause bonfires to be made in every street, something which Pepys thinks as being an inappropriate thing to command people to do. (1893, III, pp. 344-345)

7 December 1663 — The Queen, being fairly pretty well, is reported as having gone out of her chamber to her little house chapel. (1893, III, pp. 367-368)

22 December 1663 — Pepys is able to confirm that Barbara Villiers had become a Catholic, which the Queen was not said to like, thinking that she had not done it for the sake of her conscience. (1893, III, pp. 387-389)

31 December 1663 — Pepys confirms that the Queen, after a long and serious sickness, had become well again, but is disapproving of the King minding his mistress a too

much. He reports the Duchess of York being, at that time, sick of the measles, but growing well again. (1893, III, pp. 395-397)

4 January 1664 — Mr. Pierce tells Pepys that the Queen was very well again, and that the King lay with her on the previous Saturday night. She was said to have come to speak very nice English, and that she expresses herself with charming phrases which have become a topic of conversation. One of which was when she said that “she did not like such a horse so well as the rest, he being too prancing and full of tricks, he did make too much vanity.” Pepys sees the King play at tennis, but didn't like the open flattery with which the King's play was often praised for no reason, even though he played well and deserved to be commended. (1893, IV, pp. 4-5)

20 January 1664 — Mr. Pierce tells Pepys that the King did not pay Barbara Villiers the same attention as before and that the King doted upon Frances Stewart, leaving his business unattended and openly slighting the Queen. The King was said to dally with Frances both openly and then privately in her chamber below, where the palace guards observe his going in and out. This was such common knowledge that the Duke of York or any of the King's nobles, when they would ask the King whereabouts, would ordinarily say, “Is the King above, or below?” meaning with Mrs. Stewart or not. The King, however, was not openly said to disown Barbara Villiers, but that she would come to Court, where others did not pay her the same attention as before. The king was said to still dote on the Duke of Monmouth to the extent that, in the wearing of mourning for the Duchess of Savoy, he was treated as a Prince of the Blood, in exactly the same manner as the Duke of York

and the Prince Rupert. The Duke of York was said to give himself up to business, something of which Pepys has first hand experience. Pepys feels himself wishing that that the King would look more after his business as King, something which Pepys feels he was not doing enough of. (1893, IV, pp. 17-20)

8 February 1664 — Mr. Pierce tells Pepys how the King doted upon his women beyond all shame; and that the good Queen would stop before going into her dressing-room, till she might know whether the King be there or not, for fear that she should find him with Frances Stewart. Pepys also hears that some of the best parts of the Queen's jointure had been bestowed or lent to Lord Fitz-Harding, Frances Stewart, and others of that group. In addition, he hears that the King doted greatly upon the Duke of Monmouth, apparently with the intention of having the Duke succeed him. (1893, IV, pp. 35-36)

17 February 1664 — Mr. Pierce tells Pepys of the King giving Lord Fitz-Harding two leases which belonged to the Queen and were worth 20,000 pounds. (1893, IV, pp. 44-45)

22 February 1664 — Mr. Alsopp, the King's brewer, and Pepys complain to each other of the King being led away by half-a-dozen men, being Lauderdale, Buckingham, Hamilton, Fitz-Harding, Progers, and Sir Henry Bennett. Complaints included that the King loved not the Queen at all, but was rather sullen to her and that she, by all reports, was incapable of having children. He was also said to be so fond of the Duke of Monmouth, that everybody marvels at it and that the Duke has said, that he would be the death of any man that says the King was not married to his mother. Pepys notes, though, that Alsopp states that the Duke's mother was a

common whore before the King lay with her. But Alsopp maintains that the King was very kind to his bastard children and will go in the middle of the night to Barbara Villiers' children to play with his child and dance it in his arms. Pepys also heard that it was unlikely that the King would be dining again in public again anytime soon, because his friends intended to keep him to themselves. He has ordered the Hall, where there was to be a ball the night before the King, to be guarded, as the Queen-Mother's residence is, by his Horse Guards, though till then this had been the responsibility of men reporting to the Lord Chamberlain or the Steward. People were beginning to fear military rule. Pepys notes that Lord Lauderdale, being Middleton's enemy, scorns the Chancellor, even to extent of openly affronting him before the King, and that he has gotten complete power in Scotland into his own hands. Pepys claims that the King did wrong in the business of Lord Antrim, and has settled an estate in Ireland upon a daughter of the Queen-Mother which Pepys assumes to have been by a marriage with Lord Germain. Pepys reports that a daughter of the Duke of Lenox's was, by force, going to be married the other day at Somerset House, to Henry Germain, but that she got away and ran to the King, who he said he would protect her. Pepys also reports disappointment at a crime by two servants of the Queen Mother's being covered up for 300 pounds and that there is a report that the Duke of York took offence at a translation of a French book in verse made in honor of the Duke of Monmouth. The Duke of Monmouth's mother's brother is said to have a place at Court and is expected to talk extensively of his sister having been married to the king. The Queen-Mother was reported to have run into debt. Pepys hears that there were no savings available and that, though everyone at Court seems to want

a Dutch war, it was something more to be dreaded than to be hoped for, unless the French King should attack Flanders. Pepys reports that the English Ambassador in France was given a dishonorable audience with the King of France. Pepys reports that Lord Digby had sent to Lisbon a couple of priests, to search out what they could against the Chancellor concerning the marriage of the King, as to the point of his knowing beforehand whether the Queen were not capable of bearing children, but that they had been put in prison as soon as they arrived in Portugal. Lord Digby was said to be trying to bring the business of the Lord Chancellor into the House of Commons. That King was said to have cleared a mortgage on 'Clarendon' at 20,000 pounds for the benefit of the Lord Chancellor. Pepys hears that the Protestants were having it bad in Ireland and feels gloomy about the way things were going in general. (1893, IV, pp. 49-54)

4 March 1664 — Pepys observes at Greenwich the foundation laying of a great house for the King. (1893, IV, pp. 64-66)

21 March 1664 — The Houses of Parliament met with the King and Queen in attendance. (1893, IV, pp. 82-83)

1 April 1664 — Pepys records having met the Duke of York at White Hall and that he also saw the Queen going to the Park with her Maids of Honour. Pepys notes that the Queen herself looked ill, and Frances Stewart had grown fatter, and was not so beautiful as she had been. Pepys writes that the Duke of York had called out to him, and talked quite a bit and expressed a hope that Parliament would find reason for going to war with the Dutch. (1893, IV, pp. 94-96)

17 April 1664 — Pepys' parson, Mr. Mills, made a mistake in reading of the service, that instead of saying, "We beseech thee to preserve to our use the kindly fruits of the earth," he said, "Preserve to our use our gracious Queen Katherine." (1893, IV, pp. 111-112)

20 May 1664 — Pepys hears that Mr. Edward Montagu had been expelled from the Court, due to his pride, and most of all for his affecting to seem intimate with the Queen whose ear he had more than anybody else, and with whom he would talk alone two or three hours at a time. Things came to a point that the Lords about the King, when he would be jesting with them about their wives, would tell the King that he must have a care of his wife too, for she had now a gallant attending her. People even said that the King himself once asked Montagu how his mistress (meaning the Queen) did. He grew proud and would suffer no one else to have free access to the Queen, in the hope people would pay for his favor. People also said that he gave some affront to the Duke of Monmouth, which the King, himself, spoke to Mr. Montagu of. In any case, he came to monopolize the Queen, and people came to expect the worst. No one is said to pity his absence, only laugh at him, though he himself was said to pretend that it was only a matter of him having gone to his father, who was sick in the country. (1893, IV, pp. 137-139)

29 May 1664 — After the ladies on the Queen's side finished listening to a sermon, Pepys notices Frances Stewart, whom he finds very pretty, but still far beneath Barbara Villiers in beauty. (1893, IV, pp. 143-145)

31 May 1664 — Pepys reports that the Queen had gone that day by the Park to Kensington. (1893, IV, pp. 145-147)

23 June 1664 — Pepys reports that the King and both the Queens intend to visit Mr. W. Howe. (1893, IV, p. 167)

24 June 1664 — Mr. Pierce showed Pepys the Queen's bed-chamber, and her closet, where she had nothing but "some pretty pious pictures, and books of devotion; and her holy water at her head as she sleeps, with her clock by her bed-side, wherein a lamp burns that tells her the time of the night at any time." He goes with Mr. Pierce to the Park, and comes across the Queen coming from Chapel, with her Maids of Honour, all in silver-lace gowns, which were new to Pepys and which he does not think will be soon worn again. Mr. Pierce then took Pepys to the King's closet, where there was such "variety of pictures, and other things of value and rarity, that I was properly confounded and enjoyed no pleasure in the sight of them; which is the only time in my life that ever I was so at a loss for pleasure, in the greatest plenty of objects to give it me." (1893, IV, pp. 167-169)

30 June 1664 — Pepys reports that the King and Queens are to visit the fleet on the next Saturday. (1893, IV, pp. 172-173)

4 July 1664 — Pepys reports that on this day the King and the Queen went to visit Lord Sandwich and the fleet. (1893, IV, p. 175)

20 July 1664 — On arriving at White Hall for a lottery, Pepys got a position near the two Queens and the Duchess of York, and just behind Barbara Villiers for whom he expresses great admiration. Pepys notes that the King and Queens got no better lots than anyone else. (1893, IV, pp. 192-193)

26 August 1664 — Pepys is shown some pictures and felt the pictures of the two Queens and Maids of Honour (particularly Frances Stewart's painting in a buff doublet like a soldier) were as good as he had ever seen. Pepys notes that the Queen is painted in one like a shepherdess and in the other like St. Catharine, and that it was a good likeness as well as being most admirably done. (1893, IV, pp. 227-229)

12 September 1664 — Pepys does business with the Duke of York and finds him taking great pleasure in playing with his little daughter, the future Queen Mary II, just like an ordinary man would. (1893, IV, pp. 241-242)

18 October 1664 — At Somerset House Pepys sees the Queen's new rooms, which he finds to be "most stately and nobly furnished". He sees the Queen there and also the Duke and Duchess of York. The Duke talks with Pepys a great while. (1893, IV, pp. 269-271)

26 October 1664 — Pepys stays with the King and Duke of York while a ship is successfully launched. The King expressed admiration of the ship, but Pepys reports disorder among his courtiers. The Queen and her Maids of Honour came, with a Mrs. Boynton and the Duchess of Buckingham suffering from motion sickness on account of having come by water in a barge and the water being very rough. The launching being done, the King and company went down to take a barge. Pepys sent for Mr. Pett, and put the flagon into the Duke of York's hand, and he, in the presence of the King, did give it to Mr. Pett. (1893, IV, pp. 274-277)

17 December 1664 — Pepys reports that there had been much talk of a Comet that could be seen at night and that the King and Queen sat up the night before to see it, successfully it would seem. (1893, IV, pp. 308-309)

21 January 1665 — Pepys goes with Mr. Povy to Somerset House, where he is shown the Queen-Mother's chamber and closet, and finds the most furniture and pictures to be beautiful. From there, he goes to a Tangier Committee meeting at White Hall, where there was great passion on behalf of Lord Bellaynes, and reproach of Lord Tiviott. (1893, IV, pp. 337-338)

20 March 1665 — Pepys expresses satisfaction at having been received by a long-time Secretary to the Queen-Mother. (1893, IV, pp. 375-377)

29 June 1665 — Pepys calls at Somerset House, where he finds everyone packing up as the Queen-Mother was setting out for France that day to be able to drink Bourbon waters before the year was over, she going because she was suffering from a consumption and intending not to come to England again on another year or so. (1893, IV, pp. 450-452)

27 July 1665 — Pepys sees the King and Queen set out toward Salisbury, and after them the Duke and Duchess of York, whose hands he kisses. He notes regarding the Duchess of York that it was “a most fine white and fat hand.” He notes that that “it was pretty to see the young pretty ladies dressed like men, in velvet coats, caps with ribbons, and with laced bands, just like men. Only the Duchess herself it did not become.” (1893, V, pp. 28-29)

- 12 August 1665 — Pepys hears that the wife of one of the grooms at Court had died at Salisbury, causing the King and Queen to speedily to go to Milton. (1893, V, pp. 43-44)
- 13 September 1665 — Pepys is pleased at seeing a very nice picture of the Queen-Mother, when she was young, by Van Dyke and thinks she had a lovely, sweet face. (1893, V, pp. 74-76)
- 13 December 1665 — Pepys writes “...having done that did go to Mr. Pierce’s, where he and his wife made me drink some tea...”
- 15 February 1666 — Pepys notes that Mr. Hales had begun a painting of his wife as St. Catharine, someone whom he had seen another lady painted as and something which may be considered as a fashion of the time, as being painted as St. Catherine was done as a compliment to the queen. (1893, V, pp. 223-224)
- 16 February 1666 — Pepys goes to White Hall to speak with Sir W. Coventry and to see the Queen, but finds that she came only to Hampton Court that night. (1893, V, pp. 224-225)
- 18 February 1666 — Pepys walks to White Hall, where the Queen and her ladies had all come. He sees a few of the ladies, but “not the Queen, nor any of the great beauties.” (1893, V, pp. 225-226)
- 19 February 1666 — Pepys walks to White Hall, where he sees the Queen at cards with many ladies, but none of the beauties. He is glad to see the Queen look so well

and pretty. He thinks she had more life than before, since everyone said that she had recently miscarried. Dr. Clerke told him the day before at White Hall “that he had the membranes and other vessels in his hands which she voided, and were perfect as ever woman’s was that bore a child.” (1893, V, pp. 226-227)

26 February 1666 — Pepys records that Lady Carteret spokes against Barbara Villiers, saying that she made the King neglect his business. She is also said to have exclaimed against the Duke of Albemarle, and even more against his Duchess. Pepys goes on to mention that the view from the balcony in the Queen’s lodgings, and the terrace and walk, were wonderful things to contemplate, being the best in the world. (1893, V, pp. 234-236)

28 March 1666 — Pepys hears that night that the Queen Regent of Portugal, the mother of the Queen Consort, had recently died that that news of it arrived that day. (1893, V, pp. 256-257)

1 April 1666 — Pepys goes with Dr. Allen to the Queen’s chapel, where he rather likes the music. He hears that the Queen has not yet heard of the death of her mother, due to her being in a physical condition that made people reluctant to tell her. (1893, V, pp. 259-260)

22 April 1666 — Pepys puts on his black coat, reaching down to his knees, and goes with Sir W. Batten to White Hall, where he found all in deep mourning for the Queen’s mother. (1893, V, pp. 276-277)

10 June 1666 — Pepys hears how the Duke of York is fully absorbed in his new mistress, Lady Denham, and had gone at noon-day with all his gentlemen with

him to visit her in Scotland Yard. She is said to have declared that she would not be his mistress, as Mrs. Price had been, merely going up and down the Privy-stairs, but that she would be owned publicly, and so she is. Pepys thinks Mr. Bruncker and Barbara Villiers had helped bring it about. In Barbara's case, Pepys thinks Barbara wanted to strengthen her position with the Duke, because of a recent falling out with the King. It seems that “the Queen, in ordinary talk before the ladies in her drawing-room, did say to my Lady Castlemaine that she feared the King did take cold, by staying so late abroad at her house. She answered before them all, that he did not stay so late abroad with her, for he went betimes thence (though he do not before one, two, or three in the morning), but must stay somewhere else. The King then coming in and overhearing, did whisper in the ear aside, and told her she was a bold impertinent woman, and bid her to be gone out of the Court, and not come again till he sent for, her; which she did presently, and went to a lodging in the Pell Mell, and kept there two or three days, and then sent to the King to know whether she might send for her things away out of her house. The King sent to her, she must first come and view them: and so she came, and the King went to her, and all friends again. He tells me she did, in her anger, say she would be even with the King, and print his letters to her. (1893, V, pp. 319-323)

22 July 1666 — The Queen and her Maids of Honour are reported to be at Tunbridge. (1893, V, pp. 370-371)

1 October 1666 — Upon seeking out Lord Bruncker, Pepys finds him extremely busy in a council of the Queen's. (1895, VI, p.1)

20 October 1666 — Pepys hears talk of friends at the court that “the Queen had a great mind to alter her fashion, and to have the feet seen, which she loves mightily; and they do believe that it come into it in a little time.” (1895, VI, pp. 29-32)

25 October 1666 — Pepys and his wife visit Mrs. Pierce, who was preparing to attend a great ball that night at Court, being for the Queen’s birthday. Pepys notes that “the ladies for this one day do wear laces, but to put them off again tomorrow.” (1895, VI, pp. 37-38)

29 October 1666 — Pepys sees a play attended by the King and Queen, the Duke and Duchess of York, and all the great ladies of the Court, which Pepys considered “a fine sight.” Pepys especially considers Barbara Villiers to be impressive. (1895, VI, pp. 41-43)

15 November 1666 — Pepys finds Mr. and Mrs. Pierce preparing for a ball that night at Court, it being the Queen’s birthday. Pepys and his wife also go. Pepys, with a bit of difficulty, gets himself a place where he can see well. According to Pepys, “Anon the house grew full, and the candles light, and the King and Queen and all the ladies set: and it was, indeed, a glorious sight to see Mrs. Stewart in black and white lace, and her head and shoulders dressed with diamonds, and the like a great many great ladies more, only the Queen none; and the King in his rich vest of some rich silk and silver trimming, as the Duke of York and all the dancers were, some of cloth of silver, and others of other sorts, exceeding rich. Presently after the King was come in, he took the Queen, and about fourteen more couple there was, and began the Bransles. As many of the men as I can remember presently, were, the King, Duke of York, Prince Rupert, Duke of Monmouth, Duke of

Buckingham, Lord Douglas,' Mr. [George] Hamilton, Colonel Russell, Mr. Griffith, Lord Ossory, Lord Rochester; and of the ladies, the Queen, Duchess of York, Mrs. Stewart, Duchess of Monmouth, Lady Essex Howard, Mrs. Temples Swede's Ambassadors, Lady Arlington; Lord George Berkeley's daughter, and many others I remember not; but all most excellently dressed in rich petticoats and gowns, and diamonds, and pearls. After the Bransles, then to a Corant, and now and then a French dance; but that so rare that the Corants grew tiresome, that I wished it done. Only Mrs. Stewart danced mighty finely, and many French dances, specially one the King called the New Dance, which was very pretty; but upon the whole matter, the business of the dancing of itself was not extraordinary pleasing. But the clothes and sight of the persons was indeed very pleasing, and worth my coming, being never likely to see more gallantry while I live, if I should come twenty times." Pepys notes Barbara Villiers, "without whom all is nothing, being there, very rich, though not dancing." (1895, VI, pp. 64-66)

25 November 1666 — Pepys sees Frances Stewart that afternoon and thinks she is the most beautiful creature that he had ever seen in his life, and that she has begun to exceed even Barbara Villiers. This being St. Catherine's day, the Queen was at mass by seven o'clock in the morning. Mr. Ashburnham tells Pepys that he never seen anyone so zealous about her religion as she was, exceeding by far the Queen-Mother. (1895, VI, pp. 77-80)

16 December 1666 — Pepys goes to White Hall, and there walked to the Queen's side, where he saw Barbara Villiers, whom he continues to find admirable and for whom he hears the King remains the same as ever. Pepys is told not to believe the

Duke of York would go to sea again, though there are a great many about the King that would be glad of any occasion to get rid of him. Pepys mentions further talk of the Duke of Monmouth, being considered as a possibility for supplanting the Duke of York, but whom Pepys considers to be a terrible choice. (1895, VI, pp. 103-106)

24 December 1666 — Pepys hears that the Queen-Mother is active and has nearly finished negotiating a peace with France. (1895, VI, pp. 112-113)

12 February 1667 — Pepys writes approvingly of a change for better in a certain theatre where before the Queen would seldom come and the King never, but that recently the King comes and all civil people have come to think likewise. (1895, VI, pp. 170-173)

17 February 1667 — Pepys expresses amazement to have seen that day, which was a Sunday, the Queen, the Duchess of York, and another one or two, at cards, with the room full of great ladies and men. (1895, VI, pp. 181-185)

10 April 1667 — Pepys goes with Sir G. Carteret to the King's little chapel where he sees the King heal the King's Evil, in which he finds no pleasure, having seen it before. He then goes to see the King and the Queen and the Duke and Duchess of York at dinner in the Queen's lodgings. Pepys goes with Sir G. Carteret to his lodgings to dinner where he is told Sir Thomas Allen was tried for his life in Prince Rupert's fleet for cowardice and condemned to be hanged and had fled to Jersey, where Sir G. Carteret had received him, not knowing the reason of his coming there. Thereupon, Prince Rupert is said to have written to the

Queen-Mother of his dislike of Sir G. Carteret's receiving a person that stood condemned; and so Sir G. Carteret was forced to bid Sir Thomas Allen to go to some other place. (1895, VI, pp. 265-269)

11 April 1667 — Pepys writes that he had hoped to see the Duchess of Newcastle's coming that night to Court to make a visit to the Queen, the King having been with her yesterday. Pepys considers the whole story of this lady to be a romance, and everything she does to be romantic, her footmen wearing velvet coats and she dressing in the dress of former times. He reports her to have been recently to see her own play, "The Humorous Lovers", a play Pepys considers to be the most ridiculous thing ever written. Nevertheless, she and her husband the Duke are said to have been very pleased with the production and, at the end, the duchess is said to have paid her respects to the players from her box and give them thanks. Pepys notes that many people wanted to get a glimpse of her coming to Court, as if it were the Queen of Sheba, but that he went to no purpose, as she didn't come. (1895, VI, pp. 268-270)

15 April 1667 — Pepys goes to see a play for which there was standing room only. The King, and Queen, and Duke and Duchess of York, and all the Court were in attendance. (1895, VI, pp. 272-273)

26 April 1667 — Pepys hears the story of Frances Stewart's going away from Court. When the Duke of Richmond courted her, both she and the Duke went to the King and he did not deny them. Frances is said to have claimed that she had resolved to marry any gentleman of 1500 pounds a year in income who would have her in honor, because she had reached a point where she could no longer "continue at

Court without prostituting herself to the King, whom she had so long kept off, though he had liberty more than any other had, or he ought to have, as to dalliance.” She felt that she had let the world think of her as a bad woman, and that her only way out was to get married and leave the Court, so that the world might see that she sought nothing but her honor. Frances was claimed to have said that her only future presence at Court would be to kiss the Queen her Mistress's hand and that she hoped she could please the Duke of Richmond so that they could live comfortably together in the country on his estate. Frances is also claimed to have said that all the jewels she had even been given at Court, or any other presents, other than the King's allowance of 700 pounds per year out of the Privy purse for her clothes, were worth not more than a couple of thousand pounds. She is furthermore claimed to have said that the King of France would have had her mother to have let her stay in France, “saying that he loved her not as a mistress, but as one that he could marry as well as any lady in France; and that, if she might stay, for the honour of his Court he would take care she should not repent. But her mother, by command of the Queen-mother, thought rather to bring her into England; and the King of France did give her a jewell.” Pepys writes that Mr. Evelyn believed Frances to be worth in jewels about 6000 pounds, and that that was all that she had, and that he believed she was a worthy woman. Mr. Evelyn tells Pepys that Barbara Villiers had won and that to prove Mrs. Stewart to have been honest to the last, he says that this proved it so, because the King was not known to keep two mistresses at the same time, and would never have kept Barbara if he had prevailed with Frances Stewart. Pepys states that

Frances had left the day before with the Duke of Richmond to Cobham. (1895, VI, pp. 285-291)

24 May 1667 — Pepys, his wife and Sir W. Pen went to the King's playhouse, where they saw "The Maiden Queen". Though he has often seen the play, he thought that it would be impossible to ever have "the Queen's part, which is very good and passionate, and Florimel's part, which is the most comical that ever was made for woman, ever done better than they two are by young Marshall and Nelly." (1895, VI, pp. 335-336)

14 June 1667 — Pepys hears that people have cut down trees before the house of the Lord Chancellor, set up a gibbet and painted on his gate "Three sights to be seen; Dunkirke, Tangier, and a barren Queene." (1895, VI, pp. 365-371)

17 July 1667 — Pepys hears that perhaps due to the efforts of Barbara Villiers, the Duke of Buckingham is well received by the King again. Pepys is also told the story of Frances Stewart, much like he had heard it from Mr. Evelyn, the main difference being that, according to this version, the King intended to marry Frances to no one other than himself, and that the Duke of York and the Lord Chancellor were jealous of it. They were said to worry that the King might admit having been previously married and that his contract to marry the Queen was nothing more than that. Pepys is told that, for this reason, the Duke of York and the Chancellor did do all they could to forward the match of Frances with the Duke of Richmond, but that the lady acted in a worthy fashion. (1896, VII, pp. 26-29)

27 July 1667 — Pepys is told that the King and Barbara Villiers have broken up, and she went away, and was with child, and swore the King would recognize it and that she would have it christened in the Chapel at White Hall and recognized for the King's, or she would bring it into White Hall gallery, and dash its brains out before the King's face. Pepys hears complaints of the King and his Court being the worst ever for gambling, swearing, whoring, and drinking and that they should be laboring to settle the business of the kingdom. The King is said to adhere to no man, but that he was “at the command of any woman like a slave, though he be the best man to the Queen in the world, with so much respect, and never lies a night from her, but yet cannot command himself in the presence of a woman he likes.” (1896, VII, pp. 38-40)

28 August 1667 — Pepys sees the King and Queen eating their mid-day meal, and hears a little of their violin music, before going home. (1896, VII, pp. 84-85)

2 September 1667 — Pepys tells a friend that the friend was identified with Barbara Villiers' faction, which the friend denied. Mr. Ashburnham mentioned at dinner the change of men's humors and fashions with regard to food, telling Pepys now that the only fruit in request (and eaten by the King and Queen at their table as the best fruit) was the Katharine pear, though people knew of other fruits of France and England. (1896, VII, pp. 91-97)

8 September 1667 — Pepys walked to the Queen's Chapel to hear the music, which he rather liked in its composition, but found the singers' voices harsh and rough. At White Hall, he saw the King and Queen at dinner; and observed for the first time “the formality, but it is but a formality, of putting a bit of bread wiped upon each

dish into the mouth of every man that brings a dish; but it should be in the sauce.”

(1896, VII, pp. 101-106)

16 September 1667 — Sir H. Cholmly tells Pepys that he did not think the King had the intention of raising the Duke of Monmouth to the Crown, though he thought there may possibly be individuals who would, and that there were others who would be glad to have the Queen removed to some monastery, or elsewhere, to make room for a new wife, because they would all be unsafe under the Duke of York. He adds that Parliament would agree. (1896, VII, pp. 114-115)

6 October 1667 — Pepys walks in the Park a little, and approaches the Queen’s proximity, where he sees the King and Queen, and the ladies, but not hearing any important news, goes home. (1896, VII, pp. 135-136)

4 November 1667 — Sir H. Cholmly tells Pepys that the mood regarding the Lord Chancellor is dangerous, but that he is keeping up appearances as much as possible to those who take a chance on seeing him. The Duke of York is said to be much troubled, knowing that those who would fling down the Chancellor would not stop there, but would do something to him, to prevent him from having it in his power later to avenge himself and his father-in-law. Sir H. Cholmly told Pepys he feared this might mean the King divorcing the Queen and getting another wife, or declaring the Duke of Monmouth legitimate, which Pepys and Cholmly both consider a bad prospect. (1896, VII, pp. 185-186)

16 November 1667 — Pepys hears that Sir Edward Nicholas was one of the best men in the world, but hated by the Queen-Mother, for a service he did the old King

against her wishes and that it was the Queen-Mother and Barbara Villiers who made the King to dismiss him. Pepys sees the King and Queen, and some of the ladies, among whom none appeared to him happier than the Duchess of Buckingham, as her husband was once more a great man. (1896, VII, pp. 197-200)

28 November 1667 — Pepys mentions that the King and Queen have visited the Duke of York, so that there is no reason why he or his circle should not go see him as well. (1896, VII, pp. 215-216)

2 December 1667 — Lord Crewe tells Pepys, with sorrow, that he heard that the King had not recently eaten mid-day or evening meals with the Queen, as he used to. (1896, VII, pp. 220-221)

4 December 1667 — Pepys finds himself irritated at a man who said he did not desire to have any more wealth than what he already had. Pepys notes that the man is the heir of his uncles, Lord St. Alban's, and that Lord St. Albans is in actual possession of all that belongs to the Queen-Mother. (1896, VII, pp. 225-227)

8 December 1667 — Going to White Hall, Pepys sees the Duchess of York, in a fine dress of second mourning for her mother, being black and edged with ermine, go to make her first visit to the Queen since the Duke of York had become sick. After she came back, the Queen paid her a return visit. Sir W. Coventry was pleased that the Duchess, as soon as she noticed him, turned her head to one side. (1896, VII, pp. 230-233)

24 December 1667 — Pepys has, as his plan, seeing the Christmas eve ceremonies at the Queen's chapel. As they hadn't begun, he goes to Westminster Hall, then back to the chapel, where, it being high mass, he finds nothing special. He notes that the Queen was there, and some ladies, but the mix of social classes offended his sensibilities. He was afraid of his pocket being picked. He finds the music to be very good, though he considered the Catholic church service to be frivolous, with the attendees not taking it seriously enough. He found himself bored and, with the Queen and her ladies gone, only Barbara Villiers remained who Pepys thought looked pretty in her evening clothes. (1896, VII, pp. 247-248)

26 December 1667 — Pepys hears that Frances Stewart is keeping a great court at Somerset House, with her husband the Duke of Richmond, and that she is being visited for her beauty's sake by people at nights, just like the Queen is. He hears people say that she is likely to go to Court again, and there put Barbara Villiers' nose out of joint. (1896, VII, pp. 248-249)

30 December 1667 — Pepys hears it suggested that something is intended for the Duke of Monmouth, and that it might not be in the Queen's best interests. He also hears that there might be an invasion in the coming year and that the Duke of Buckingham is ruling all, with the Duke of York coming indeed to the Caball, but being of little significance there. (1896, VII, pp. 253-258)

5 January 1668 — Pepys goes to White Hall, approaching the vicinity of the Queen, to see the ladies, and sees the Duchess of York. He feels that few pay her the same respect they used to, but that she bears it all with a great deal of patience. (1896, VII, pp. 267-269)

- 3 March 1668 — Pepys goes to Deptford, where the King, Queen, and Court are to see launched a new ship built by Mr. Shish, called “The Charles”. (1896, VII, pp. 348-349)
- 9 May 1668 — Pepys hears that the Queen miscarried a perfect child, being gone about ten weeks, which he felt proved that she can conceive, though it was unfortunate that she could not bring it to term. Pepys also hears that the night before the Duchess of Monmouth, dancing at her lodgings, sprained her thigh. (1896, VIII, pp. 9-11)
- 18 May 1668 — Pepys goes to a play attended by the King and Queen, and the whole Court, making for a crowded theatre. The King did not seem charmed by it and Pepys considers the music to be the worst he had ever heard. Pepys described himself as being dissatisfied with the play, but pleased with his company. (1896, VIII, pp. 19-21)
- 19 May 1668 — Pepys hears that, since Lord Ormond’s arrival, the King appears to have gone through a reformation and takes all his evening meals with great pleasure with the Queen. Even so, Pepys disapprovingly reports that the King still has a sexual interest in Frances Stewart, that Sunday night a week before, after he ordered his Guards and coach to be ready to carry him to the Park, he suddenly took a pair of oars and, either all alone, or with just one other, went to Somerset House. When he found the garden-door not being open, he climbed over the walls to make a visit to her. (1896, VIII, pp. 21-22)

31 May 1668 — Pepys reports that at a recently performed play at Court, Margaret Davis came to dance her jig, but that the Queen would not stay to see it. People thought it was out of displeasure at Margaret Davis being the King's whore. Pepys also reports that Barbara Villiers was no longer in favor with the King with him going to her but seldom and that she was very melancholy and discontented. (1896, VIII, p. 35)

6 July 1668 — Pepys reports that Frances Stewart was made a lady of the Queen's bedchamber the week before and that the King was minding little else than what he normally did, being his women. (1896, VIII, pp. 61-62)

9 August 1668 — Pepys goes to White Hall, where he saw the Queen and her ladies. (1896, VIII, p. 77)

30 August 1668 — Pepys goes to the Park, and then to the King's garden, where he sees the Queen and her ladies walk. He notices that Frances Stewart's face was much disfigured by the smallpox, while noting that Frances's sister was also very attractive. Pepys encountered the Duke of York's little daughter, the future Queen Anne. From there, he went to White Hall in the evening, to the vicinity of the Queen, where he met the Duke of York. (1896, VIII, pp. 94-95)

27 September 1668 — Pepys goes to the Queen's Chapel, where he hears some good singing, and then to White Hall, where he sees the King and Queen at their mid-day meal. In the evening he goes to the Court, staying in the vicinity of the Queen, where Mr. Godolphin confirms that Lord Sandwich had come to Mount's Bay in Cornwall. At night, in the Queen's drawing-room, Lord Brouncker tells

him of a problem of precedence among three Ambassadors, the Venetian, French, and Spanish. (1896, VIII, pp. 115-117)

28 September 1668 — Pepys sees a play at which the King and Court were in attendance. He spends the evening at White Hall in the vicinity of the Queen. Being a fine warm evening, a group of Italian singers came in a barge in front of the Queen's drawing-room, so the Queen and her ladies went out and heard them for almost an hour. Pepys considers it to have been nicely done, but that there was only truly superior voice, that of Signor Joanni. After the music, the ladies go back in and Pepys sees Mr. Sidney Montagu kiss the Queen's hand, and notices that she and the ladies were very kind to him and that, by and by, the King came over to talk with him. (1896, VIII, pp. 117-119)

18 October 1668 — Pepys sees the Queen and some ladies at White Hall. (1896, VIII, p. 125)

2 December 1668 — At White Hall, Pepys and his wife stay in the vicinity of the Duchess of York and the Queen, in order that he might have a chance to speak with the Duke of York. There, he “saw all the ladies, and heard the silly discourse of the King, with his people about him, telling a story of my Lord Rochester's having of his clothes stole, while he was with a wench; and his gold all gone, but his clothes found afterwards stuffed into a feather bed by the wench that stole them.” He managed to speak with the Duke of York, just as he sat down to supper with the King, about the sending of supplies to Sir Thomas Allen's fleet. (1896, VIII, pp. 170-171)

17 January 1669 — Pepys spends time in the Queen's vicinity, talking with people.
(1896, VIII, pp. 202-203)

18 January 1669 — At White Hall, in the Queen's withdrawing-room, Pepys invites Lord Peterborough to have a mid-day meal with him and with Lord Sandwich. Lord Peterborough readily accepts the invitation. (1896, VIII, pp. 203-205)

12 February 1669 — Pepys goes with the King and the Duke of York to the Queen where the Duke of York takes Pepys aside to talk about Navy business. (1896, VIII, pp. 225-227)

20 February 1669 — Pepys goes to Mrs. Gotier, the Queen's tire-woman, for a pair of locks for his wife. (1896, VIII, p. 234)

22 February 1669 — In the evening, Pepys sees "Bartholomew Fair", a play attended by the King and Queen. (1896, VIII, pp. 235-236)

2 April 1669 — Pepys moves to the vicinity of the Duchess of York to speak with Lady Peterborough. There he sees the future Mary II dancing "so as almost to ravish me, her ears were so good: taught by a Frenchman that did heretofore teach the King, and all the King's children, and the Queen-Mother herself, who do still dance well." (1896, VIII, pp. 281-282)

4 April 1669 — Pepys reports that the Queen-Mother had recently been very ill, and some feared for her death. (1896, VIII, p. 283)

28 April 1669 — Pepys talks with Sir H. Cholmly of Tangier and of the King of France paying a sum of money to Charles II for a peace, something which had come

about through the recent endeavors of the Duke and Duchess of York, the Queen-Mother, and Lord St. Albans, together with Lord Arlington. This is said to make it possible for the King to dispense with the calling of Parliament and that, for this reason, it would be supported by the Duke of Buckingham, as he and his faction are said to dread Parliament. (1896, VIII, pp. 308-309)

11 May 1669 — Pepys hears that people at the Court were worried for fear of the Queen's miscarrying, as they all conclude that she was far gone with child. (1896, VIII, p. 321)

19 May 1669 — Pepys goes to White Hall and “waited upon the King and Queen all dinner-time in the Queen's lodgings, she being in her white pinner and apron, like a woman with child; and she seemed handsomer plain so, than dressed.” Pepys goes on to write that in “discourse this afternoon, the Duke of York did tell me that he was the most amazed at one thing just now, that ever he was in his life, which was, that the Duke of Buckingham did just now come into the Queen's bed-chamber, where the King was, and much mixed company.” There, the Duke of Buckingham incriminates himself in a conspiracy which had already resulted in death and which could cost the Duke of Buckingham dearly in the House of Lords, something that is said to have greatly pleased the Duke of York. (1896, VIII, pp. 325-327)

26 May 1669 — Pepys writes that the Queen suffered so badly from what had to be morning sickness that day that two women were called from dinner to tend her, but that she was well again before night. This removed all remaining doubts as to her pregnancy. (1896, VIII, pp. 329-330)

5.3.2 Catherine's introduction of tea to court society

It was only after Catherine married the English king that tea in England became fashionable. Before, it had been a "medicine." Whether or not Catherine used sugar in her tea, it was already considered a proper addition to tea on her arrival in England and was treated as being normal in a satire on coffee houses published in 1674. One would, therefore, be surprised if Catherine did not use sugar, too. Moreover, Catherine's marriage did open the door to an extensive trade in sugar with Brazil for English merchants in exchange for slaves bought by the English in Africa, a trade which had been permitted by the Portuguese until the agreement concerning Catherine's marriage was ratified. Tea, though, before Catherine's arrival in England was associated exclusively with coffee houses, an almost totally male domain at that time. As the first tea-drinking queen in England, she gave tea respectability and started a new English fashion.

Tea was not the only example of Catherine's influence over fashion in England. Another example of Catherine was the use of a green shading fan she had brought from Portugal. When the Queen and her ladies would walk from Whitehall to the chapel of St. James's Palace in procession, they would use the fan to protect themselves from the bright sunshine. It was noted that very soon other ladies soon imitated by her using the same kind of fan. Likewise, we have Pepys noting in his diary that fashions in food are subject to change and that a good example was the popularity of the Katherine pear, a fruit that was favored by the King and Queen at their meals. Pepys also notes that the Queen was interested in initiating a fashion that would show off her feet and thinks it likely that in the near future everyone would be

imitating her. Other examples from Pepys of the Queen's influence over fashion can be seen in his mention of babies being named after her, and various individuals being painted as St. Catherine, as a complement to the Queen. As a Queen, widely regarded as being pretty and still in her youth, yet also well-meaning and sincere, she occupied a formidable position in English society that could never be matched by any of the King's mistresses, whom, for all their wealth, the ordinary Englishman considered to be no more than highly paid whores.

The Queen's connection with the custom of tea-drinking finds its most direct expression in a poem written by the English poet Edmund Waller (1606-87) who composed the following lines as part of a eulogy for her birthday. Even if this poem did not exist, the fact is that the English began bypassing the Dutch to import their tea directly from Asia immediately after her marriage to Charles II and in the same year as the Dutch were first dislodged from Taiwan is suggestive, even without the need for further evidence. The portion of the 1690 publication Waller's poem, establishing a connection between Catherine of Braganza and the introduction of tea among the English is as follows:

“Pride was not made for Man: a conscious sense
Of Guilt, and Folly, and their consequence
Destroys the claim; and to beholders tells,
Here nothing, but the shape of manhood dwells.
Tea, commended by Her Majesty.
Venus Myrtle, Phoebus has his bays;
Tea both excels, which she vouchsafes to praise.
The best of Queens, and best of Herbs we owe,

To that bold Nation, which the way did shew
To the fair Region, where the Sun does rise;
Whose rich Productions we so justly prize.
The Muses Friend, Tea, does our fancy aid;
Repress those Vapours, which the head invade:
And keeps that Palace of The Soul serene,
Fit on her Birth-day to salute the Queen.”

Thus, though it is impossible to know whether Catherine came to know of tea before her arrival in England or after, for the history of tea in England the important thing is that tea was “commended by Her Majesty”, something which would seem to have taken place very shortly after her arrival in that country.

In addition, we have evidence from the Duchess of Newcastle (1623-1673) in 1666 during the first years of Catherine’s marriage to Charles II that, though she (the Duchess) had not drunk tea, it had become a fashionable thing to do. In her own words, she states: “And for Diet-drinks, I believe they are very good in some sorts of diseases; and so my Tea and Coffee, and the water of Birches, for any thing I know, for I never had any experience of them; but I observe; that these latter drinks, Tea, and Coffee, are now become mode-drinks, and their chief effects are to make good fellowship, rather than to perform great cures; for I can hardly believe, that such weak liquors, can have such strong effects.”

As the word “mode-drinks” would have referred to a fashion among the her own class, this can only be an indication of its popularity by the year 1666 among the polite society of the ladies of the royal court, of which the duchess would have been

one, having been in her early years a maid of honor to the Queen Mother, Queen Henrietta Maria. Furthermore, the earliest records of tea and tea-related items in British customs records indicate a close connection with the royal court.

5.3.3 The social network around Catherine

Catherine did not experience a totally happy life in England. For one thing, as a Roman Catholic, she had a different religion from most people over which she was queen. In fact, that had been a problem brought up by certain members of Parliament while marriage negotiations were going on. Moreover, Catherine soon had to face, on a day-to-day basis, dealing with Barbara Villiers, the Countess of Castlemaine, who was already the mother of at least one child by the king. Initially, Catherine resisted including Barbara as one of her ladies in waiting, but the King was insistent. Seeing she couldn't do anything about it, she gave in and, characteristically, soon made the best of the matter.

Barbara Villiers was called "the curse of the nation" by the writer John Evelyn (1620-1706). Barbara was considered one of the most beautiful women of her time, and five of her six children were acknowledged by the king. After being appointed as a Lady of the Bedchamber, she was created "Baroness Nonsuch", being the owner of Nonsuch Palace as well as of Phoenix Park in Dublin, both gifts from the king. Other gifts included huge sums of money and jewels and eventually the title of duchess of Cleveland. After her relationship with the king ended, she had a succession of lovers, including an actor, a dancer, a highwayman, a bigamist, and the future Duke of Marlborough who was sometimes considered the father of her daughter, Barbara.

But the duchess of Cleveland was not the only mistress Catherine had to tolerate. There were also the duchess of Portsmouth, Nell Gwynne, and Margaret Hughes, all of whom bore children to the king. In addition, there were the children of previous mistresses, including the King's oldest son, the Duke of Monmouth, a young man whom not only Catherine, but the Queen Mother and Barbara Villiers, are all said to have made much of.

In fact, a close reading of Pepys' diary would seem to indicate that it took Catherine not more than two years to establish a dominant position at court and that her relationship with the King was further strengthened by a life-threatening illness of the Queen 1663 which was diagnosed as "the spotted fever" (typhus) which had not been recently seen, but which would normally have been transmitted by body lice, thus creating the presumption that it was a sexually transmitted disease in her case and that the King was an asymptomatic carrier. At one point, the Queen's fever was so strong that it was announced that she was in imminent danger of death. When the king went to his wife's bedside, she told him that she would have "willingly left all the world but him". Upon hearing those words, the inconstant king fell to his knees by her bedside and, with tears, begged her "to live for his sake". Due to the heavy illness, Catherine left her last will, in which "she preferred two requests to the king; one, that her body might be sent to Portugal for interment in the tomb of her ancestors; the other, that he would remember the obligation into which she had entered never to separate his interests from those of the king her brother, and to continue his protection to her distressed people." (Strickland, 1873)

During the illness, the young Queen dreamed that she gave birth to a son, but she said “she was much troubled that her boy was but an ugly boy.” The king comforted her, saying it was a pretty boy for him. Charles spent much time at the bedside of his ill wife, but his wife’s recovery was very slow, lasting into the succeeding year.

It is significant that during the worst days of her illness, her physician gave her an otherwise unidentified “cordial” to drink which is said to have brought her comfort. (1893, III, pp. 313-314) It was not unknown for tea to be called a cordial in the later Stuart period (Cibber, 1708, p. 9), and a dish of tea with other ingredients may in October of 1663 might very well have some connection with an advertisement for the sale of tea (which was still being sold at a price which made it a medicine rather than a refreshment) in London in March of 1663 at six to sixty shillings per pound of tea leaves (Williamson, 1889, p. 593). This could also account for the welcome given to tea by the Queen and the royal court. In 1664, Catherine recovered perfectly, and the royal household found themselves pleased with her improvement in English. Though the king began to distance himself from Barbara and to again spend more time with his Queen, Charles remained famous for his infidelities. Nevertheless, but the last 11 years of his reign saw the birth of no new children, no new mistress, and the Queen solidly entrenched at the pinnacle of English society.

That Charles would need to support his many illegitimate children was a matter Catherine always showed understanding of. It has been suggested that she, herself, was underfunded as a result of this, but this does not take into account public expenditures made in connection with activities as Queen of England. Catherine’s

public persona, however, was one of simplicity. According to Pepys with regard to her living, “she had nothing but some pretty pious pictures and books of devotion, and her holy water at her head as she sleeps. She had an illuminated clock near her bed, in order to see what the hour was in the night. She had also a curiously inlaid cabinet of ebony, mother-of-pearl, ivory, and silver, which contained a small altar and relics, with all things necessary for her private devotion.” Moreover, since Catherine was beloved of the Queen-Mother Henrietta Maria, her royal income was somewhat improved by financial support from that direction (Strickland, 1873, p. 427).

Evidence of Catherine’s devotion to the King after his death can be seen when one of the King’s mistresses, Nell Gwyn, died in 1687, leaving a young son (the Duke of St Albans) in need of support. Catherine took responsibility for him, granting him a pension and continuing this pension until she died after her return to Portugal.

Many people, including perhaps Catherine herself, blamed her for being unable to have children. In fact, she became pregnant three times during the 1660s alone, but each time her pregnancy ended in miscarriage, possibly as a result of some venereal disease or other having been given to her by the king, something one may assume on account of his not having any children during the last years of his reign, even though both his mistresses and his wife remained of a child-bearing age. This would, furthermore, seem likely as a mistress of the king’s, the duchess of Portsmouth, whom he took on after his marriage to Catherine, is recorded as having obtained a venereal disease from the king and to have borne him no new children after acquiring the disease.

In spite of his infidelities, the King nevertheless showed loyalty and affection for his wife, as shown by the fact that, when a magistrate was murdered by the Queen's servants and Catherine herself was accused, and with Parliament attempting to drive her out of England, the King came to her defense and protected her, absolutely refusing to consider a divorce. (Strickland, 1873, p. 456)

When we consider the influence of Catherine of Braganza in British history, we will find she was not simply a foreign Queen in England, but also of significance in the context of English diplomacy, and English colonial history. As early as the time of James I, the Stuart royal family strove to create a diplomatic balance of power in Europe. With that in mind, he negotiated a marriage between his son, Charles I and the Spanish princess Maria Anna, a daughter of Philip III of Spain, one which failed to take place. Finally, Charles married a France princess, Henriette Marie, one side effect of all this was to manifested itself in the willingness of Charles I to assist Portugal in becoming independent from Spain. English favor for Portugal continued even during the period of Cromwell, when England signed a treaty with Portugal, which gave English merchants in Portugal certain privileges. Through the marriage of Catherine of Braganza with Charles II and the daughter of Philip IV of Spain with France, a new diplomatic balance of power in Europe was created.

Even when Catherine of Braganza was in England, she still paid great attention to her motherland and Charles II showed readiness to assist Portugal with his navy. The commercial advantage was not only the possession of Bombay and Tangier, but also the assisting in mutual exploitation of the colonial trading route. Moreover, her historical achievements after the death of Charles II as Queen Regent of Portugal

during the last years of her life were not insignificant in promoting close relations between Portugal and England. She played a key role in successfully maintaining Portugal's independence in a war against Spain and France, firmly remaining attached to the English alliance. Moreover, even after her death, this relationship proved to be a durable one for both countries, lasting to the present time.

5.3.4 Catherine's connection with tea drinking in England

Catherine's connection with tea drinking can be assumed, based on various criteria. Firstly, as may be seen by the adoption of the Cantonese (and Mandarin) word for tea into both Hindi and Portuguese, Portuguese traders must have imported tea from China through their trading post in Macao before the Dutch established a colony in Taiwan in 1624. Interestingly, even though Portugal was ruled by the Kings of Spain from 1580 to 1640, the Spanish word for tea, like the Dutch, derives from Fukkienese rather than Cantonese or Mandarin. This probably finds its explanation in the Spanish kingdom establishing also establishing a colony in Taiwan from 1626 to 1642 in competition with the Dutch and ostensibly to protect Macao from that nation. This would indicate that, regardless of their possessing a common king, Spain and Portugal initially obtained their tea from different parts of China and that tea would have first arrived in Spain, as it did in the Netherlands, through trade either originating in or transiting through Taiwan; and, that to best explain the difference in what this item of commerce was called, one must assume that tea consumption on the Iberian peninsula must have begun, at least in the Spanish part of the peninsula, between 1626 and 1642, even if it were not to become a popular drink. The timeframe for the Portuguese part of the peninsula must have been only slightly earlier, as otherwise the Cantonese word

would have spread to Spain during this period of sharing a common monarch. Catherine, having been born in 1638 would, thus, have never remembered a time when tea was not available in Portugal, though whether she ever drank it as a child cannot now be ascertained. Likewise, it could not have ever been considered as an unfashionable drink in Portugal, otherwise it could never have been sold in at a price high enough to have justified its transportation costs to Portugal in quantities large enough to have turned it into a lexical item in that language before a different word for tea can be documented as having appeared in Dutch. If nothing else, the very costliness of tea would have given it certain attractiveness among the aristocratic classes in which Catherine grew up.

Further strengthening the presumption that Catherine would have been familiar with tea sweetened by sugar can be found in the fact that Portugal, in Catherine's time, was a major trader in sugar, producing it in both its Atlantic island possession of Madeira from the 1450s and later in Brazil, where production antedates the birth of Catherine by many years. In fact, one of the territorial possessions Catherine had to return to the Portuguese crown was the sugar-producing island of Madeira which, presumably, supplied that part of Catherine's dowry which was paid in sugar. As a result, Catherine herself would have been intimately acquainted with the many uses of sugar and may be expected to have drunk her tea with sugar, if not in Portugal, at least after her arrival in England.

Although it is sometimes suggested that tea during the 17th century was drunk unsweetened, the assumption that this would not have necessarily applied either to Catherine or the English can be supported by evidence coming from many different

directions, the first of which is that it was already known to people in Europe that people in other countries were drinking tea sweet. In this regard, there is a Latin work concerning an expedition of Adam Olearius (1601-1671) for the Duke of Holstein to Russia and Persia in the years 1633 to 1639 that tea was consumed sweet in Persia, a country with which Portugal had Indian Ocean trading interests. The English translation published in 1669 describes the situation as: “We said before, that the Persians are great frequenters of the Taverns or Tipling-Houses, which they call Tzai Chattai Chane, in regard there they may have The, or Cha, which the Vsbeques Tartars bring thither from Chattai. ... The Persians boyl it, til the water hath got a bitterish taste, and a blackish colour, and add thereto Fennel, Anniseed, or Cloves and Sugar.”

Furthermore, a 1673 English translation of the account of a Dutch East India Company embassy to China by Johannes Nieuhof (1618-1672) gives evidence that it was not unknown for even 17th century Chinese to add sugar to their tea. The passage concerning this goes: “But amongst all others, China is famous for an Herb call’d Thea or Cha, and whereof the Natives and other neighboring People make their Liquor call’d Thea or Cha, taking its Name from the Herb. ... but the Leaves they gather every day, and drying them in the shade, preserve them for their Drink, which they use in stead of Beer, not only at Tables, but upon all Visits and Entertainments; and which is more, whosoever has any thing to dispatch in the Palaces of the Grandees, is Presented as soon as he is seated with a Cup of this Liquor, which is always drunk, or rather supp’d off hot, according to the fashion of the ancient Romans, who esteem’d more of warm than cold Water. If at any time this Liquor proves bitter to the taste, they mingle a little Sugar with it, and drink it to drive away drowsiness: But such especially find the benefit thereof who have overcharg’d their Stomachs with eating, or discompos’d

their Brains with too much strong Drink: for it is a very great drier of gross Humors, and dispels Vapors, occasioning sleep; it strengthens the Memory, but increases Gall, if drank in too great a quantity: In brief, they extol the Vertues of this Drink infinitely, and attribute their not having the Stone or Gout to this (as they term it) Most noble Drink; which we may believe the rather, because in all our Journey forward and backward, we met with none that were afflicted with these Distempers. ... but however prepar'd, it is not only drunk in China, and other Parts of India, but is much us'd likewise in divers other Countries; and the general consent of all People, that they find much good by it, enhances the Price, and makes the same be sold here at a very dear Rate.”

Furthermore, even before Catherine’s arrival in England, there is direct evidence that sweetening tea with sugar in England was known of by 1660, a date which is a good two years before Catherine’s arrival, as is made clear in an advertisement for tea published in that year. The author of this short tract, Thomas Garraway, writes: “It is very good against the Stone and Gravel, cleansing the Kidneys and Vriters being drank with Virgins Honey instead of Sugar.”

5.4 The role of tea in England

After the 17th century, tea-drinking as a fashion spreading from the top of society, becoming a mark of social distinction, though it was only during the 18th century that tea seems to have begun its gradual spread among the lower middle classes, possibly being used by the individuals adopting the custom as a means to try to lift their social status.

5.4.1 Tea in coffee houses

Compared with tea, coffee was imported to England somewhat earlier in the 17th century, and in 1652 the first coffeehouse opened in Oxford, being called “The Grand Cafe”. At the end of 17th and beginning of the 18th centuries, coffee-houses were regarded as popular spots for members of the social elites, and were, at least in practice, off-limits to women. Men spent time not only drinking coffee, tea, cocoa or a variety of alcoholic drinks at coffee-houses, but they also used these places as venues for discussing politics.

It was, thus, at a coffee shop owned by Thomas Garraway that tea was first sold in 1657 in both liquid and dry forms. The price of tea at that time varied between £6 and £10 per pound of tea leaves, which would have represented several months of income for the average laborer. This was justified by the claim that tea's normal use was still considered to be medicinal. Among its claimed benefits were as a relief from headache and as a stimulant to make the body active. The process by which this wonderful foreign “medicine” became a fashionable drink was not due to it being sold at coffee shops, even though it rapidly became cheaper and popular in the coffee houses of the time, so that, by the late 17th century, over 500 coffee houses are claimed to have sold tea with tea becoming at least as popular as ale and brandy. In fact, the popular slang term for brandy in the late 17th century was “cold tea”. Nevertheless, it must be acknowledged, at least among a few, that tea also inspired a xenophobic counter-reaction on the basis of being from Asia, as seen, for example, in George Sigmond’s rejection of tea. Sigmond was highly addicted to tea, despite his views, and only managed to give it up for 2 months. Tea, thus, took a place along with ale and gin

in coffee houses at the beginning of the 18th century, though by no means supplanted other drinks at the coffee shop in the same way as it came to do in the average English home.

It would seem that Catherine of Braganza's role was to make tea the Queen's drink, one of those foods and drinks which, like the Katherine pear, she created a fashion for, turning it into a drink popular at court by 1666 at the latest. As tea at this time was still an import from the Netherlands, this would explain the pleasure expressed by the directors of the East India Company felt when it was suggested they give Charles II a present of tea. It would not have been deemed appropriate, if it were not already common knowledge among those in the know that members of the royal family were consumers of tea, but that it was being supplied by imports from a rival trading nation.

5.4.2 The role of Mary II in promoting tea consumption

William III (1650-1702) gained control of the Netherlands with the help of Charles II and, to strengthen the relationship between England and the Netherlands, he married his cousin the Princess Mary, the eldest daughter of the Duke of York who later became James II. After the Glorious Revolution in 1688, William III and Mary II ruled England. A Bill of Rights in 1689 limited the power of the crown and affirmed the power of Parliament. The Act of Toleration in the same year extended tolerance to certain religious groups. As an organ of government, power in Parliament was balanced between the Whigs and the Tories. Foreign policy was still in the process of bringing about the expansion of the English colonies with William being noted for his military successes in his wars against France, and especially the War of Spanish

Succession. In domestic life, England improved in its manufacturing, mining and agriculture as well. Especially, agriculture developed, with the result that prices got cheaper during the 1690s.

Unlike Catherine of Braganza, where much must be inferred, there are various records showing that Queen Mary and King William were keen on their tea drinking time together and Queen Mary's tea table. Queen Mary (1662-1694) was born in London, and from her childhood Mary was raised in close contact with her beloved aunt, Catherine of Braganza. Therefore, tea as an elegant royal beverage was already a part of her life from her earliest years. The custom was maintained and developed by Queen Mary both as Princess of Orange and also as Queen Regnant of England.

The Duchess of York, Anne Hyde (1637-1671), the first wife of James II and the mother of Queen Mary (1662-1694) and Queen Anne (1665-1714), became sick and died in 1671. There is abundant evidence of her being a close friend of Queen Catherine of Braganza who stayed with her in her last hours. (Strickland, 1873) The early death of the mother of the princesses Mary and Anne, Anne Hyde, in 1671 would have resulted in making them closer to Queen Catherine, who taught the ladies who surrounded her, including rivals such as the Barbara Villiers and Eleanor Gwynne, to drink tea for pleasure instead of drinking tea as a medicine, and to consider it as a fashionable thing to do. Even though there is no direct evidence of the Queen drinking tea with the princesses, another record shows that Queen Catherine once took the princesses Mary, Anne, and other ladies of the court to enjoy a musical performance at Whitehall. Concerning her affection for the princess, it should be noted that on the

wedding of Prince of Orange and Princess Mary that: “Catherine, who had known the princess Mary almost from the day of her birth, and regarded her with the affection of an aunt, felt great compassion for her when she came bathed in tears to take leave of her, previously to her embarkation for Holland.” (Strickland, 1873, p.455)

Among the records showing that both Queen Mary and her sister Queen Anne consumed tea from an early age is an entry in the *Calendar of Treasury Books*, Volume 8 showing that in 1685 the princess of Orange (the future Queen Mary II) is mentioned as sending to the prince and princess of Denmark (the sister of the princess of Orange and the future Queen Anne) a present of tea from the Netherlands which is to be delivered customs free. Edward Fowler (1632-1714), an English churchman and Bishop of Gloucester from 1691, wrote of the daily life of the queen as: “What an enemy she was to idleness, even in ladies. Those who had the honour to serve her, are living instances. It is well known how great a part of the day they were employed at their needles, and several ingenuities — the Queen, herself, when more important business would give her leave, working with them. And, that their minds might be well employed at the same time, it was her custome to order one to read to them, while they were at work; either divinity, or some profitable history. And what a value she set on time, appeared by her leaving her pillow by six in the morning, and her late returns to it, and by the hours which she daily spent in her closet. And it was admirable to see how she would contrive, to be as little as needs must out of business. She did not spare so much as her dressing time from it, which was after she had been first in her closet about half an hour, and then, after a dish of tea or chocolate, about two hours more. She appointed her levy (that is her dressing time) for the receiving of petitions, and doing what other business could then conveniently be dispatched. And even now also

would she have reading when there was a vacancy for it. And this was the time which the ladies knew to be most acceptable for the receiving of Visits, because then they would least hinder business. As for those ladies who came at her working time, they knew they should not be welcome, except they worked, too.” (p.14)

Furthermore, we have a story which records clearly enough that King William, like other men of his generation, deferred to his wife in matters regarding the tea table. It goes as follows: “It happened that Her Majesty having, one afternoon by his desire, made tea, and waiting for the King’s arrival, who was engaged on business in his Cabinet, at the other extremity of the Gallery; the boy hearing the Queen express her impatience at the delay, ran away to the closet, dragging after him the Cart. When he arrived at the door, he knocked; and the King asking ‘Who is there?’ ‘Lord Buck,’ answered he, ‘And what does Lord Buck want with me?’ replied His Majesty. ‘You must come to tea directly,’ said he, ‘the Queen is waiting for you.’ King William immediately laid down his pen, and opened the door; then taking the child in his arms, placed Lord Buckhurst in the Cart, and seizing the pole, drew them both along the Gallery, quite to the room in which were seated the Queen, Lady Northampton, and the company.” (Wraxall, 1815)

Queen Mary was also a collector of exotic Asian goods as well. Daniel Defoe mentions that the queen’s love of chinaware served as an encouragement to others to the extent that it became a nuisance. He writes that women were “furnishing houses with China-ware, which increased to strange degree afterwards, piling their China upon the Tops of Cabinets, Scrutores, and every Chymney-Piece, to the Tops of the Ceilings, and even setting up Shelves for their China-Ware, where they wanted such

Places, till it became a grievance in the Expence of it, and even injurious to their families and Estates”. (Rujivacharakul, 2011, p. 47)

Queen Mary as the head of English society, enjoyed tea as a daily necessity, and, by example, confirmed in the English mind that the tea table was strictly the domain of women and a place where the social graces would be valued. It is, thus, not surprising that mention of things related to tea dramatically increases during her short reign with the written record being as great for the five years she was Queen as for the twenty-five years her uncle Charles II was king.

5.4.3 The socio-linguistic aspects of tea drinking as evidenced in the literary works of the reign of Queen Anne

The full range of English publications cannot be as easily examined to same extent as for the period of Queen Anne’s reign as for the reigns of her predecessors due to the fact that text file version of the EEBO database cease with the year 1700. To a certain extent this can be compensated for by LION and other sources such as OBO and BHO, but this is far from complete. Fortunately, dramatic works (invariably, comedies, due to the identification of tea with tea tables and malicious gossip) are abundant for the period and can provide valuable insights as to how English society was evolving with regard to tea during the reign of the last Stuart monarch, Queen Anne (1702-1714). Queen Anne, like many other females playing a prominent role in history, has been seriously underrated as a monarch. Yet, it was during her reign and due to her encouragement that the Act of Union passed, combining the Scottish and English parliaments, to establish the Kingdom of Great Britain, something which had eluded all previous British monarchs, beginning with Edward I who tried to conquer

Scotland in the early 14th century. The new kingdom of Great Britain automatically became one of the great powers of Europe and of the world. Also, in the field of foreign relations, England achieved remarkable successes during this period, both through diplomacy and through war, with the war of Spanish Succession (1701–1714) being but one example. This, in turn, reflected the fact that England under Queen Anne was a country making steady progress, almost unconsciously on the way to Industrial Revolution through the development of its industry agriculture, trade and even through change in its society.

In terms of domestic life, tea appears to have clearly become a more important beverage than coffee and is universally portrayed in the comedies of the time as the drink of choice in the home for the purpose of encouraging non-alcoholic, yet animated conversation. It was customary, for ladies to gather around a tea table to take tea while enjoying their conversation and gossip and to invite male family members and gentlemen friends to join them. Even as early as the reign of Charles II, the tea-table had become a place for women to display wealth and power, through the use of Chinese porcelain, fine fabrics, silver tableware, and the careful enforcement of good manners, thus establishing a new fashion in social discourse.

Evidence for this would seem to be abundant in the drama of the era beginning with the reign of Charles II, but becoming abundant during Queen Anne's reign, even if the Queen herself was not an enthusiastic drama fan, something one may assume from a proclamation issued in her name on 17 January 1704 which states that: "Where we have already given orders to the master of our revels and also to both the companies of comedians acting in Drury Lane and Lincoln's Inn Fields, to take special

care, that nothing be acted in either of the theatres contrary to religion or good manners, upon pain of our high displeasure and of being silenced from further acting and being further desirous to reform all other indecencies and abuses of the stage, which have occasion'd great disorders and justly given offences, our will and pleasure therefore is and we do hereby strictly command, that no person of what quality soever, presume to go behind the scenes, or come upon the stage, either before, or during the acting of any play. That no woman be allow'd or presume to wear a vizard mask in either house without paying the prices establish'd for their respective places.” (McCarthy, 1905, p. 1)

The dramatists active during the reign of Queen Anne are numerous, but a fairly representative list would be as follows:

a. Colley Cibber (1671-1757), an English poet, actor and playwright, who wrote 25 plays in his lifetime and who was also a long time actor-manager.

b. Richard Steele (1671-1729), an Irish writer, politician and known as a founder of the famous English magazine *The Spectator* which aimed to bring philosophy and morality out of the library to the tea-table;

c. George Farquhar (1677-1707), an Irish dramatist, who was famous for his contribution to Restoration comedy;

d. Thomas Baker (1680-1749), an English attorney, who was active as a playwright in first years of the 18th century;

e. **Mary Pix** (1666-1720), a prolific, yet somewhat obscure English dramatist; and

f. **Susanna Centlivre** (1667-1723), an English poet, playwright, and actress, being the most distinguished woman to write for the stage since Aphra Behn (1640-1689) and being considered the most popular female English comic playwright of 18th century.

In *“Love Makes a Man”* (1702) by Colley Cibber, tea appears as a consequence of the adventures of a “pert coxcombin” gentleman talking about his social life in London. Professing to know the playhouse well, he spends fifty guineas on all types of refreshments, including muffins, coffee, tea, oranges and chocolate, which he uses to please those surrounding him. In the best known comedy of Cibber *“The Careless Husband”* (1705), the main character, Sir Charles, complains that a woman is not easy to understand, even if a man has the opportunity to talk with her over a dish of tea. He, nevertheless, goes on to venture that it might be different if a man were to look at a woman under candle-light. When Sir Charles suggests to a lady that her husband is cheating on her, he says “Right, Madam, that's what I strictly warn'd him of; for among Friends, whenever the World sees him follow another Woman, the Malicious Tea-Tables will be very apt to be free with your Ladyship.” This quote illustrates most clearly that the tea table was viewed by the middle and upper classes as being a natural place for the spread of gossip.

On the other hand, in Cibber's comedy *“The Double Gallant: or, The Sick Lady's Cure”* (1707), the main female character went to an Indian religious ceremony, and the Indian trader suggested buying a pound of fine tea, with the lady asking

whether it was Bohea tea or not, but the man said it was “Kappakawawa”, and that its cost was six guineas per pound of tea. Then, the lady was pleased about the price and bought it all. This, incidentally, was a huge sum of money, being between six and half to eight pounds sterling in value, a sum of money which had not been charged for tea leaves since the late 1650s. In addition, a man is shown asking when it would be tea time and saying that, if there wasn’t any, he would go to a coffee house for a dish of tea.

Colley Cibber in his comedy “*The Lady’s last stake, or, The Wife’s Resentment*” (1708) mentioned a lady inviting her friends to her tea table. In this play, we find the following lines: “...No sooner was that Mistake set to rights, but the Pieces of the Letter fall into your Hands, and (as if Fortune resolv’d the Jest should not be lost) you really fancy’d it came from a Mistress of mine, and so by way of Comical Resentment, fall out of Humour with your Tea, and send it to me again. Ha, ha, ha.” One also finds the following lines spoken by a character called Lord George. “Tea! Thou soft, thou sober, sage, and venerable Liquid, thou innocent Pretence for bringing the Wicked of both Sexes together in a Morning; thou Female Tongue-running, Smile-smoothing, Heart-opening, Wink-tipping Cordial, to whose glorious Insipidity I owe the happiest Moment of my Life, let me fall prostrate thus, and s-p, s-p, s-p, thus adore thee” (1708, p. 9). This, as well as anything, would indicate the power of tea as social lubricant, even in the first decade of the 18th century.

Richard Steele (1671-1729), in one of his most distinguished comedies, “*The Funeral: or, Grief A-la-mode*” (1702), the main character in the play criticizes the English for adopting foreign habits, e.g. speaking French rather than English, and

trampling over dock-leaves to drink tea by the gallon. In another comedy, *“The Lying Lover: OR, The Ladies Friendship”* (1704), Steele shows a character called lady Penelope, who, dealing with her best friend lady Victoria, calls for a Bohea tea and, while filling the cups, talks about potential lovers. Tea is presented as a backdrop to an exchange of personal information. George Farquhar (1677-1707), in *“The Recruiting Officer”* (1706), has a character mention that ten in the morning is time for tea drinking throughout the kingdom. In another of his comedies, *“The Beaux Stratagem”* (1707), Farquhar describes tea as a remedy against being depressed or irritable and as being drunk in the morning before going to church.

Thomas Baker (1680-1749), in his play *Tunbridge-walks: or, The Yeoman of Kent* (1703), shows one of the main characters, Ms. Hillaria, talking with her brother about the privileges of women, mentioning that a woman can be “presented”, “treated”, and “addressed”, but for a man all those things were difficult to manage. She also said that a lady must have variety of their interests, that, for example, she should not only take hot tea, but also have the ability to take cold tea, as well. (Here and elsewhere in early 18th century drama the cold tea referred to is brandy.) She herself admits to not only attending country-dances, but also in having talked with gentleman in a chocolate house.

Thomas Baker again in his comedy called *An Act at Oxford* (1704) wrote of a modern city lady, Mrs. Arabella, who is made to say that she was not same as women who cry and fight with their men, but that she would like to talk with her husband at a tea-table and sweeten him with good words. A gentleman in the play, a Mr. Bullock, says that he would permit Mrs. Junket to drink white wine and tea, and to finish

everything with a bottle of Doctor Stephens. In Thomas Baker's comedy *Hampstead Heath* (1706), one of the characters, Mr. Milles, ridicules a man in talk about the Inns of Court and other places in greater London like Hampstead and Westminster. He mentions that ladies were becoming cold tea drinkers. Concerning quarrels between ladies and their men, he says that men must sit in front of the tea-table with the lady and pursue the ladies in question with sweet sentences. When mention is made of the drinking of an Indian woman, Mrs. Kanisters, it is said that she took white wine tea and ended her day with Doctor Stephenes.

Thomas Baker, in his comedy called *The Fine Lady's Airs: Or, An Equipage of Lovers* (1707), has two men talk about business over tea sweetened by sugar. Also mentioned is Bohee-tea for breakfast, and a lady's stolen tea-spoon.

Mary Pix (1666-1720), in her most successful play *The Innocent Mistress* (1697) writes of an angry lady who throws a whole dish of hot tea at a man in front of many people. In another of her comedies, called *The Difference Widows: OR, Intrigue All-A-Mode* (1703), the main character, Lady Gaylove, orders her servant Lucy to prepare a tea-table, and only then permits Lord Courtall to come in. In a further comedy called *The Adventures in Madrid* (1706), she mentions tea, women and wine as the flame of Cupid.

Susanna Centlivre (1667-1723), in her *The Beau's Duel: or A Soldier for the Ladies* (1702), has one of her characters, a woman called Mrs. Plot, say that, after her retirement from the world, she would like to enjoy her life in her own way without spending time at the tea-table, since she considers the tea-table a "vanity". Her fifth play and most successful one *The Gamester* (1705) is considered a "sentimental

comedy” and, together with another play, *The Basset Table*, provides a critique of gambling, which Centlivre disapproved of. She has one of the characters, Ms. Valere, describe the life of ladies in England as being just as addicted to gambling as ladies in France. Other fashions among ladies she mentions include drinking tea and listening to glittering conversation.

In her comedy *Love at a Venture* (1706) Centlivre writes about a gentleman and certain ladies being entertaining in a playhouse and taking tea. The gentleman says he spends five pounds a week in coffee, tea, chocolate and Rarafia. In her comedy *The Basset-Table* (1706) she mentions chocolate, tea, Montifiasco wine, and Rarities, and ladies treating each other to tea. Also mentioned is the tea-table. In *The Platonick Lady* (1707), a lady invites her visitor to take tea while they see a picture collection. She uses the phrase “have nothing but tea”. In *The Man's Bewitch'd; OR, The Devil to do about Her* (1709) a gentleman is mentioned as going to a coffeehouse to think about his business over a dish of tea. Of the several kinds of tea there, Bohee and green tea are mentioned as being popular. Tea was served in small bowl but as the word was not then in use, it went by the word dish.

Susanna Centlivre's comedy *Mar-Plot; Or, The Second Part of The Busie-body* (1711) shows Mademoiselle Joneton, an affected French Lady in Lisbon, as wanting to give a dish of tea to her lover to make him more like an Englishman who readily become husbands. In the comedy *The Perplex'd Lovers* (1712) a footman complains about his master, saying that when he is thirsty his master just will say that there is tea in the pot, and when he hungry his master will say he is not hungry yet.

Though not a dramatist, Daniel Defoe (1660-1731), an English writer, trader, journalist, and the writer of *Robinson Crusoe* mentions tea in a poem called *The Double-welcome. A poem to the Duke of Marlborough* (1705), the Duke of Marlborough being for most of the reign of Queen Anne, her chief general. Defoe writes that: “The very Words a different Accent bear, Fighting must not be understood by War ; Battle and Death’s Synonymous in Name, And Wounds and Blood will only purchase Fame; Cowards must lay their bought Commissions down, Their Camp’s the Pit, and their Campaign the Town; There they may bully, swagger and repeat The mighty no Engagements they were at, And Fight the French in Tea and Chocolate.”

Thus literature, and drama in particular, may be seen, not only as an important leisure activity among the upper classes during Queen Anne’s reign, but may also be seen as showing a record of contemporary life and fashion. As such, one can see tea appearing in a wide range of contexts.

Though people occasionally refer to cups of tea, the dramas make it clear that for the upper classes, tea was usually served by the dish. One explanation is that tea dishes promoted more rapid cooling so as to prevent hot tea burning the lip and tongue. Another possible explanation might be that this was the usage of Catherine of Braganza, reflecting the use of Chinese porcelain without handles and the language usage of Catherine’s native Portuguese.

It seems to have been common to describe women gossiping with each other at the tea table and their using it in discussing the intimate details of private life. The image is more one of tea being domestic than public and more in the female domain than the male domain. Men, on the other hand, were more often described as talking

about political topics or their business over a cup of coffee or tea in the context of a coffeehouse. As for women, in accordance with the stereotypes of the time, they were seen as drinking tea and not coffee, and doing so in the privacy of their homes or in their gardens. Moreover, the talking done by women was seen as more inconsequential, yet also at the same time, as being more social by its involvement of family and friends.

The dramas of the reign of Queen Anne show that tea, having been introduced to England in 1657, can be seen to have become a commonly commented on aspect of British life by the year of her death in 1714 and, indeed, already from the beginning of her reign in 1702. Though not appearing in the drama of the period, there is strong evidence that she enjoyed tea-drinking from at least the reign of her father, James II, and that she remained interested in the culture of tea to the end. Because the drama of the period was expressing what had already become ordinary, we can see that certain stereotypes regarding tea had already taken root by the time of Queen Anne's reign. Moreover, these stereotypes can be seen to continue influencing people's thinking with regard to tea in future generations of the 18th and even 19th centuries.

5.5 Language change with regard to tea in 17th and 18th century England

5.5.1 "Tay", "Chai", and "Cha" in English

The first known mention of tea by an Englishman was in 1615, when one trading agent in Japan wrote another in Kyoto (Miaco), requesting him to send "a pot of the best sort of chaw." Whether this was meant for the individual concerned, or as a gift to a Japanese colleague, or as an export item to Southeast Asia, or even meant to

be sent to England as a curiosity is unknown. It is notable that here, tea was not called “tea”, but “tcha” or “chaw”. Although green tea was imported to England later in the 17th century, it did not come from Japan, at least not directly, this being an unintended consequence of Charles II marrying Catherine of Braganza. In the Japanese mind, during the period in which the Portuguese and Spanish shared a common monarch, they had come to assume a common identity in the Japanese mind and were feared as potential aggressors. “Tea”, in any case, does not appear to have become an item of trade for the English until Dutch traders first popularized it in the Netherlands and in France during in the 1650s as *thee* (pronounced like *tay* would be pronounced in modern English) which was written in English as *tea*, a spelling which had two possible pronunciations at the time, one being like the modern English *tay* and the other like the modern English *tee*. It would appear, however, that the pronunciation of upper-class Londoners was as in *tee* and that London was where tea was first sold and first became popular, so this is the pronunciation tea very soon came to have among most individuals throughout the English-speaking world. In any case, although there is evidence that certain early writers were aware of *cha* as an alternative term for tea, it never came into general use. The Dutch word for their exports to London in the 1650s and 1660 came from *tei*, the Fukkienese word for tea, as Fukkienese was the dialect of Chinese spoken in Taiwan where the Dutch (and, for a while, the Spanish, too) had a colony. It would seem that even tea shipped by the Dutch through Taiwan from Japan was also called *thee*. Although the re-export from the Netherlands by the Dutch began during Cromwell's Commonwealth, it was the marriage of Charles II with a Queen who chose to “commend” tea that stimulated its consumption, even though it was a luxury item with a high tax attached to its import.

5.5.2 Compounds of *tea* + English words

With the popularization of tea in England some English words combined with “tea”, to create new vocabulary observed as early as the reign of Charles II, as listed in Table 2.

Table 2. First attestations of tea-related vocabulary

Year	Vocabulary	Source	Content
1670 [cf. OED 1705]	<i>tea kettle</i>	National Archive: Anon	Bulmer woman in Halstead House of Correction for stealing two sheets, warming panlid, tea kettle, brass pepper-box, box-iron and heaters etc., her husband discharged because he enlisted (Q/SBb 223/12)
1675 [cf. OED 1675]	<i>tea-drinking</i>	EEBO: Wycherley	As every raw peevis, out of-humour'd, affected, dull, Tea-drinking, Arithmetical Fop sets up for a wit, by railing at men of sence, so these for honour, by railing at the Court, and Ladies of as great honour, as quality.
1687 [cf. OED 1705]	<i>tea pot</i>	EEBO: de Chaumont	Tea Pot. Two small Cups with Ears. Two Chocholate Cups. Four several small Dishes to burn Incense after the China and Japon fashion.
1687 [cf. OED 1675]	<i>tea leaves</i>	EEBO: Madan	To those to whom it's offensive taken alone, may add thereunto some Tea leaves or Catechu, to qualifie the ingratefulness thereof, and render it in-offensive taken Pipe-wise.
1688 [cf. OED 1703]	<i>tea-tables</i>	EEBO: Shadwell	Our Poet begs you who adorn this Sphere, This Shining Circle, will not be severe. Here no Chit chat, here no [H] Tea Tables are.
1689 [cf. OED 1689]	<i>tea-house</i>	EEBO: Millington	London Gaz. No. 2481/4, Catalogues are given at..Mr. Mainwaring's Tea-house.
1693 [cf. OED 1700]	<i>tea-cup</i>	EEBO: La Loubère	A little tea-cup
1698 [cf. OED 1711]	<i>tea dish</i>	EEBO: King	Tea. He pre sented me with a Roman <-[H] Tea Dish, and a Chocolate Pot, which I take to be about Augustus's time, because it is very Rusty.
1699 [cf. OED 1737]	<i>tea-drinkers</i>	EEBO: Ovington	Tea-drinkers, are more disturb'd with that Distemper, than such as plentifully drink it daily.
1700 [cf. OED 1760]	<i>tea-tree</i>	EEBO: Tate	<i>THE</i> Tale in the First <i>Canto</i> of this Poem, was taken (as Romantick as it may seem) from the <i>Chinese</i> History, and, with very mo dest Fiction, accommodated to my Subject; to make the Discovery and Production of the <i>TEA-TREE</i> more wonderful and surprizing.

5.5.3 Phrases for quantifying consumption of tea

The beginning of tea as a fashion accepted in the royal household must have had something to do with Catherine's deeply held affection for the king, all of which won his abiding respect, even if it did not prevent him from having several simultaneous affairs with other women. (Strickland, 1873) In addition to her contribution to the domestication of tea, Catherine of Braganza might also be seen as the source of an interesting item of vocabulary usage with regard to the drinking of tea. The earliest entry in Pepys' diary dealing with tea has him ordering a "cup" of tea. However, by the end of the 1660s, *cup* is replaced by *dish* among those with connections to the royal court, where it would seem that it was *de rigueur* to drink tea, a Chinese drink, in Chinese porcelain, a product which was not produced at comparable quality until the end of the 17th century. As it was, porcelain tea cups from China were not produced with handles until the mid-1750s and, when they were so produced, it would seem to have been due to the influence of European culture, possibly in response to people wishing to not burn their fingers when holding a cup of hot tea. The evidence, though circumstantial, would seem overwhelming that Catherine and her entourage would have drunk tea in what, due to her Portuguese background, she would have seen as being the equivalent of small soup bowls, an item for which, in Portuguese, even today the same word as for "dish" is used. Moreover, the word *bowl*, though a word was already a part of the English lexicon in the Old English period, does not, if one makes a search of Pepys' diary, appear to have existed as an object from which people would consume food or drink. In fact, the word doesn't appear at all in Pepys' diary, but other words for measuring food and drink, including *dish*, *pint*, *glass*, *cup*, *mess*, etc. do appear, and almost almost always with the same meaning as

now. The one partial exception is *dish* which, with the exception of a dish of coffee, has the same range of usage as it does today. Moreover, by January of 1664, Catherine was said to have come to speak very nice English, and that she was expressing herself with charming phrases which had become a topic of conversation. (1893, IV, pp. 4-5) One of these might very well have been “dish of tea” or “dish of coffee,” even though *dish* was otherwise used exclusively for food which was to be eaten and not a drink to be drunk. It would, thus, have been natural for Catherine and her circle to have talked of tea in terms of “dishes of tea” (and, more importantly, would not have conflicted with any previous lexical usage), when trying describe Chinese porcelain tea bowls. No matter who actually first thought of the term, all surviving evidence points to it having its origin in the royal court and that it became and remained the most common term in use among the upper classes of England when describing the drinking of tea during the late 17th and early 18th centuries. Considering Catherine’s predominant position in English court life by 1664, it would seem that would have had to have been her way of saying things, too.

Table 3. References to containers of food or drink in Pepys' diary

Date	Verb	Term	Information	Citing Info
1660/01/02		CUP OF	<i>ale</i>	1893, I, p. 6
1660/01/07		DISH OF	<i>steaks and a rabbit</i>	1893, I, p. 11
1660/01/10	<i>drink</i>	PINT OF	<i>wine</i>	1893, I, p. 15
1660/01/14		DISH OF	<i>meat</i>	1893, I, p. 19
1660/01/16	<i>drink</i>	PINT OF	<i>wine</i>	1893, I, p. 20
1660/01/20		CUP OF	<i>ale</i>	1893, I, p. 26
1660/01/21	<i>drink</i>	PINT OF	<i>wine</i>	1893, I, p. 28
1660/01/24	<i>drink</i>	POT OF	<i>ale</i>	1893, I, p. 31
1660/01/26		DISH OF	<i>marrow bones</i>	1893, I, p. 31
1660/01/26		DISH OF	<i>two dozen of larks</i>	1893, I, p. 33
1660/01/26		DISH OF	<i>anchovies</i>	1893, I, p. 33
1660/01/26		DISH OF	<i>prawns and cheese</i>	1893, I, p. 33
1660/01/31		POT OF	<i>ale</i>	1893, I, p. 38
1660/02/02		DISH OF	<i>eggs and herrings</i>	1893, I, p. 42
1660/02/03		DISH OF	<i>anchovies</i>	1893, I, p. 42
1660/02/03		POT OF	<i>ale</i>	1893, I, p. 43
1660/02/06	<i>drink</i>	PINT OF	<i>wine</i>	1893, I, p. 46
1660/02/09	<i>drink</i>	GLASS OF	<i>sack</i>	1893, I, p. 50
1660/02/09	<i>eat</i>	DISH OF	<i>poached eggs</i>	1893, I, p. 51
1660/02/11	<i>drink</i>	PINT OF	<i>wine</i>	1893, I, p. 53
1660/02/15	<i>dine upon</i>	DISH OF	<i>buttered salmon</i>	1893, I, p. 59
1660/02/17		CUP OF	<i>ale</i>	1893, I, p. 60
1660/02/22		DISH OF	<i>powdered beef</i>	1893, I, p. 66
1660/02/22		DISH OF	<i>carrots</i>	1893, I, p. 66
1660/02/26		CUP OF	<i>drink</i>	1893, I, p. 71
1660/02/28		PINT OF	<i>wine</i>	1893, I, p. 75
1660/03/07		CUP OF	<i>ale</i>	1893, I, p. 85
1660/05/30	<i>eat</i>	DISH OF	<i>mackerel</i>	1893, I, p. 167
1660/07/14		DISH OF	<i>meat</i>	1893, I, p. 201
1660/07/14		GLASS OF	<i>wine</i>	1893, I, p. 201
1660/07/19		DISH OF	<i>anchovies and olives</i>	1893, I, p. 205
1660/07/26		DISH OF	<i>meat</i>	1893, I, p. 208
1660/08/17		DISH OF	<i>sheep's trotters</i>	1893, I, p. 223
1660/08/24		PINT OF	<i>sack</i>	1893, I, p. 229
1660/08/25		GLASS OF	<i>wine</i>	1893, I, p. 230
1660/09/05		GLASS OF	<i>wine</i>	1893, I, p. 236
1660/09/08	<i>drink</i>	GLASS OF	<i>wine</i>	1893, I, p. 238
1660/09/25	<i>drink</i>	CUP OF	<i>tee (a China drink)</i>	1893, I, p. 249

1660/10/01	<i>drink</i>	GLASS OF	<i>wine</i>	1893, I, p. 252
1660/10/02		GLASS OF	<i>wine</i>	1893, I, p. 252
1660/10/16		DISH OF	<i>anchovies</i>	1893, I, p. 262
1660/10/23		DISH OF	<i>meat</i>	1893, I, p. 266
1660/11/02		PINT OF	<i>wine</i>	1893, I, p. 274
1660/11/08		POT OF	<i>ale</i>	1893, I, p. 278
1660/11/15		POT OF	<i>ale</i>	1893, I, p. 284
1660/11/20		POT OF	<i>ale</i>	1893, I, p. 288
1660/12/01		PINT OF	<i>wine</i>	1893, I, p. 297
1660/12/06	<i>drink</i>	GLASS OF	<i>wine</i>	1893, I, p. 301
1660/12/09		GLASS OF	<i>sack</i>	1893, I, p. 304
1660/12/09		CUP OF	<i>good sack</i>	1893, I, p. 304
1661/01/01		DISH OF	<i>anchovies</i>	1893, I, p. 315
1661/01/01		DISH OF	<i>neat's tongues</i>	1893, I, p. 315
1661/01/04	<i>drink</i>	CUP OF	<i>ale</i>	1893, I, p. 318
1661/01/15		CUP OF	<i>burnt wine</i>	1893, I, p. 325
1661/01/19	<i>drink</i>	CUP OF	<i>ale</i>	1893, I, p. 330
1661/01/28		PINT OF	<i>sack</i>	1893, I, p. 335
1661/01/28		PINT OF	<i>claret</i>	1893, I, p. 335
1661/02/06	<i>have</i>	DISH OF	<i>fish and a good hare</i>	1893, I, p. 342
1661/02/12	<i>drink</i>	CUP OF	<i>ale</i>	1893, I, p. 345
1661/02/13		CUP OF	<i>wine</i>	1893, I, p. 345
1661/02/27	<i>have</i>	DISH OF	<i>fish</i>	1893, I, p. 353
1661/03/04	<i>drink</i>	CUP OF	<i>ale</i>	1893, I, p. 356
1661/03/12	<i>drink</i>	GLASS OF	<i>wine</i>	1893, I, p. 359
1661/03/28	<i>drink</i>	CUP OF	<i>ale</i>	1893, I, p. 366
1661/03/30	<i>drink</i>	PINT OF	<i>wine</i>	1893, I, p. 367
1661/04/01	<i>drink</i>	PINT OF	<i>wine</i>	1893, II, p. 1
1661/04/23	<i>drink</i>	POT OF	<i>ale</i>	1893, II, p. 24
1661/08/24		GLASS OF	<i>sack</i>	1893, II, p. 87
1661/08/31	<i>drink</i>	GLASS OF	<i>wine</i>	1893, II, p. 92
1661/10/17		GLASS OF	<i>sack</i>	1893, II, p. 121
1661/10/18		PINT OF	<i>vinegar</i>	1893, II, p. 122
1661/10/18		PINT OF	<i>water</i>	1893, II, p. 122
1661/11/04		DISH OF	<i>marrowbones</i>	1893, II, p. 130
1661/11/20		PINT OF	<i>sack</i>	1893, II, p. 140
1661/12/01		GLASS OF	<i>girkins</i>	1893, II, p. 147
1662/02/14	<i>drink</i>	CUP OF	<i>ale</i>	1893, II, p. 188
1662/03/08	<i>drink</i>	CUP OF	<i>ale</i>	1893, II, p. 201
1662/04/22		DISH OF	<i>buttered eggs</i>	1893, II, p. 223
1662/04/27	<i>drink</i>	GLASS OF	<i>wine</i>	1893, II, p. 227

1662/05/11	<i>have</i>	DISH OF	<i>stewed beef</i>	1893, II, p. 234
1662/05/25	<i>have</i>	DISH OF	<i>peas</i>	1893, II, p. 243
1662/05/30	<i>have</i>	DISH OF	<i>mackerell and peas</i>	1893, II, p. 247
1662/06/27	<i>eat</i>	DISH OF	<i>meat</i>	1893, II, p. 269
1662/06/28		DISH OF	<i>fish</i>	1893, II, p. 269
1662/08/11	<i>drink</i>	GLASS OF	<i>wine</i>	1893, II, p. 304
1662/09/14	<i>drink</i>	CUP OF	<i>ale and a toast</i>	1893, II, p. 336
1662/09/10	<i>drink</i>	CUP OF	<i>beer</i>	1893, II, p. 334
1662/09/20		GLASS OF	<i>wine</i>	1893, II, p. 341
1662/10/07		GLASS OF	<i>wine</i>	1893, II, p. 354
1662/10/11	<i>drink</i>	CUP OF	<i>ale</i>	1893, II, p. 358
1662/10/13	<i>drink</i>	CUP OF	<i>beer</i>	1893, II, p. 359
1662/10/24		GLASS OF	<i>wine</i>	1893, II, p. 372
1662/10/25	<i>dine upon</i>	DISH OF	<i>neats' feet</i>	1893, II, p. 373
1662/10/27		POT OF	<i>ale</i>	1893, II, p. 375
1662/11/10	<i>drink</i>	PINT OF	<i>wine</i>	1893, II, p. 390
1662/12/19	<i>drink</i>	CUP OF	<i>wine</i>	1893, II, p. 418
1662/12/25		MESS OF	<i>plum-porridge</i>	1893, II, p. 424
1662/12/26	<i>drink</i>	CUP OF	<i>ale</i>	1893, II, p. 426
1662/12/29		PINT OF	<i>sack</i>	1893, II, p. 427
1663/01/06		POT OF	<i>chocolate</i>	1893, III, p. 5
1663/01/13		DISH OF	<i>roasted fowl</i>	1893, III, p. 13
1663/01/19	<i>drink</i>	GLASS OF	<i>wine</i>	1893, III, p. 18
1663/01/21		GLASS OF	<i>wine</i>	1893, III, p. 20
1663/02/02	<i>drink</i>	CUP OF	<i>Cock ale</i>	1893, III, p. 30
1663/02/10		DISH OF	<i>silver</i>	1893, III, p. 37
1663/02/21	<i>drink</i>	GLASS OF	<i>wine</i>	1893, III, p. 47
1663/04/04	<i>have</i>	DISH OF	<i>a side of lamb</i>	1893, III, p. 84
1663/04/04	<i>have</i>	DISH OF	<i>anchovies</i>	1893, III, p. 84
1663/04/04	<i>have</i>	DISH OF	<i>roasted pigeons</i>	1893, III, p. 84
1663/04/04	<i>have</i>	DISH OF	<i>three carps</i>	1893, III, p. 84
1663/04/04	<i>have</i>	DISH OF	<i>four lobsters</i>	1893, III, p. 84
1663/05/01		GLASS OF	<i>wine</i>	1893, III, p. 107
1663/05/02		GLASS OF	<i>bad syder</i>	1893, III, p. 108
1663/05/19		GLASS OF	<i>aqua-fortis</i>	1893, III, p. 129
1663/06/19	<i>eat</i>	DISH OF	<i>peas</i>	1893, III, p. 173
1663/07/01	<i>drink</i>	GLASS OF	<i>wine</i>	1893, III, p. 191
1663/07/08		DISH OF	<i>eeles</i>	1893, III, p. 201
1663/07/24		GLASS OF	<i>wine</i>	1893, III, p. 220
1663/07/25	<i>have</i>	DISH OF	<i>cream</i>	1893, III, p. 222
1663/07/26	<i>have</i>	MESS OF	<i>cream</i>	1893, III, p. 223
1663/07/27		DISH OF	<i>peas</i>	1893, III, p. 228

1663/08/19	<i>drink</i>	PINT OF	<i>wine</i>	1893, III, p. 255
1663/08/22	<i>drink</i>	CUP OF	<i>strong water</i>	1893, III, p. 258
1663/09/12		GLASS OF	<i>wine</i>	1893, III, p. 277
1663/09/18	<i>eat</i>	DISH OF	<i>cold cream</i>	1893, III, p. 282
1664/03/05	<i>drink</i>	DISH OF	<i>coffee</i>	1894, IV, p. 65
1664/04/26	<i>have</i>	DISH OF	<i>curds and cream</i>	1894, IV, p. 120
1664/06/15		DISH OF	<i>roasted chickens</i>	1894, IV, p. 161
1664/08/19		DISH OF	<i>fritters</i>	1894, IV, p. 221
1664/09/16	<i>drink</i>	CUP OF	<i>horse-radish ale</i>	1894, IV, p. 244
1664/11/24		DISH OF	<i>meat</i>	1894, IV, p. 295
1665/01/27		GLASS OF	<i>most pure water</i>	1894, IV, p. 343
1665/05/28		GLASS OF	<i>water</i>	1894, IV, p. 420
1665/06/13	<i>eat</i>	DISH OF	<i>cream</i>	1894, IV, p. 436
1665/07/18		PINT OF	<i>wine</i>	1895, V, p. 19
1665/08/21		DISH OF	<i>partridges</i>	1895, V, p. 54
1665/09/15	<i>drink</i>	CUP OF	<i>good drink</i>	1895, V, p. 79
1665/09/16		MESS OF	<i>broth.</i>	1895, V, p. 80
1665/09/28	<i>drink</i>	CUP OF	<i>beer</i>	1895, V, p. 96
1665/12/13	<i>drink</i>		<i>tea</i>	1895, V, p. 172
1665/12/21		DISH OF	<i>fowl</i>	1895, V, p. 179
1666/06/02		DISH OF	<i>steaks</i>	1895, V, p. 305
1666/06/13	<i>drink</i>	PINT OF	<i>sack</i>	1895, V, p. 328
1666/07/22		POT OF	<i>a flower or green</i>	1895, V, p. 370
1666/11/13		GLASS OF	<i>wine</i>	1895, VI, p. 62
1666/11/16		DISH OF	<i>fowl</i>	1895, VI, p. 67
1667/01/23		CUP OF	<i>earth</i>	1895, VI, p. 144
1667/01/23		DISH OF	<i>meat</i>	1895, VI, p. 144
1667/04/08	<i>drink</i>	PINT OF	<i>Rhenish wine</i>	1895, VI, p. 262
1667/05/12		MESS OF	<i>potage</i>	1895, VI, p. 314
1667/06/28	<i>drink</i>		<i>tea</i>	1895, VI, p. 398
1667/07/01	<i>have</i>	DISH OF	<i>very good cream</i>	1896, VII, p. 1
1667/07/14	<i>have</i>	DISH OF	<i>cream</i>	1896, VII, p. 25
1667/07/29		DISH OF	<i>fire and brimstone</i>	1896, VII, p. 44
1667/09/01		GLASS OF	<i>strong water</i>	1896, VII, p. 90
1667/09/11		DISH OF	<i>fruit</i>	1896, VII, p. 109
1668/02/07		GLASS OF	<i>wine</i>	1896, VII, p. 309
1668/02/22		DISH OF	<i>meat</i>	1896, VII, p. 334
1668/03/05	<i>drink</i>	DRAM OF	<i>brandy</i>	1896, VII, p. 350
1669/05/03	<i>drink</i>	CUP OF	<i>ale</i>	1896, VIII, p. 3
1668/05/04		DISH OF	<i>mackrell</i>	1896, VIII, p. 4
1668/05/05	<i>drink</i>	PINT OF	<i>mulled sack</i>	1896, VII, p. 350
1668/05/21	<i>eat</i>	DISH OF	<i>green peas</i>	1896, VIII, p. 25

1668/06/03	<i>drink</i>	CUP OF	<i>new milk</i>	1896, VIII, p. 38
1668/06/29		GLASS OF	<i>eye medicine</i>	1896, VIII, p. 58
1669/02/24	<i>have</i>	DISH OF	<i>custards and tarts</i>	1896, VIII, p. 237
1669/03/24		DISH OF	<i>fresh fish</i>	1896, VIII, p. 273
1669/04/07		DISH OF	<i>anchovies and sweetmeats</i>	1896, VIII, p. 286
1669/05/19		DISH OF	<i>cold chickens</i>	1896, VIII, p. 326

5.5.4 Idiomatic and metaphorical expressions including *tea*

The first clearly metaphorical use of *tea* appears in 1673 in a comedy written by the Poet Laureate of England from 1666, John Dryden, and may be taken as representing a colloquial expression current at the court of Charles II and Catherine of Braganza. Though not now used in English, the phrase retains its interest. It is “like paddling in a dish of tea”, which would seem to have meant being involved in a situation, about which one could do nothing other than to just accept things as they are. The significance of this phrase is not in its survival as a colloquial expression in actual use in modern English, but as that tea had reached a point in the early 1670s where it was well-known enough to take on a metaphorical sense, at least in the court circles, in which Dryden frequented (p. 90). Moreover, this usage clearly confirms that the relatively new phrase, “dish of tea”, which has survived and which would have had its origin in Catherine of Braganza’s circle in the 1660s, would have replaced the phrase “cup of tea” among the upper classes as the ordinary way of measuring one's consumption of tea.

A second expression which is no longer in use, *to fall out of humour with one's tea*, but which would appear to have been fairly common among certain upper-class circles in the early 18th century, is to be found in Colley Cibber’s comedy “*The Lady's last stake, or, The Wife's Resentment*” (1708). The relevant passage goes

“...No sooner was that Mistake set to rights, but the Pieces of the Letter fall into your Hands, and (as if Fortune resolv’d the Jest should not be lost) you really fancy’d it came from a Mistress of mine, and so by way of Comical Resentment, fall out of Humour with your Tea, and send it to me again. Ha, ha, ha.” Thus, according to the content, *fall out of humour with your tea* would seem to have meant being upset about something or someone. This appearance of this phrase is of interest because it illustrates the power of tea to generate idiomatic expressions in English well over 100 years before Scott’s *for all the tea in China*, otherwise the earliest datable idiomatic expression to use tea (1818).

The above-mentioned idiomatic expressions are unlikely to have been the only early idiomatic expressions using tea. In particular, one would expect that other, now unused, idiomatic expressions making use of tea as a component part could be found, if a thorough study were made of 18th century texts.

Chapter 6: Applying theories of fashion and of language and social class to the spread of tea

6.1 Tea-drinking as a “fashionable” behavior

The beginning of English tea-drinking spread in the 17th century matches well earlier theories of fashion spread, beginning with Veblen and as modified by Simmel and Bulmer. The European upper classes of certain countries such as France and the Netherlands were apparently keen on tea from the 1650s at the latest and through Catherine of Braganza it would seem to have found a similar acceptance by the English royal household before becoming popular among the English upper classes in general. However, in this, it would not seem to have followed all aspects of classical fashion theory, at least as modified by Simmel who postulated that, if the upper class’s fashion is imitated by the lower, the upper class will create a new fashion. In the case of tea-drinking, when it completed its spread into the lower class, tea did not go out of fashion, rather the upper class reacted by making their own consumption of tea more elegant. However, even in the 17th century, tea was on its way to becoming more than just a drink. In fact, as the chronology of tea in the later Stuart era given above so abundantly illustrates, the process was well under way by the time of the reign of Mary II and reached a completion of a sort in that of her sister, Queen Anne.

As a part of the process by which increasing emphasis on elegance was promoted, one can note the introduction of an increasingly greater variety of Chinese teas (Indian teas do not appear in England until very shortly before the 19th century Opium Wars with China), with the most expensive types being sold at much the same

high prices one finds at the beginning of tea's introduction into England. According to the tea, the time of the day, and one's purpose, what one mixed in it or didn't come to include various additives as sugar, cream, and even German white wine. In addition to the different types of tea, one finds people combining the drinking of tea with the eating of toast and the taking of other light foods, something the English were already becoming known for by the end of the Stuart era. Likewise, one can see a sudden appearance of specialized tea accessories as, for example, tea cups, tea pots, tea tables, tea spoons, etc. In addition, the English appear to have developed a code of etiquette for the tea table. However, not all fashion need be simply a matter of creation→ imitation→ creation→ imitation. It is also possible, as would seem to be the case of tea, that, after the first imitation, the creators may change some points of the first creation, not change its meaning, though a discussion of these points would expand the scope of this dissertation well beyond the later Stuarts and is, therefore, not attempted. Suffice it to say that fashion creators do, at times, initiate changes, based on the desire for greater comfort or convenience, and not merely as a reaction to blind imitation by others. Therefore, in any future study of tea in England, whether one deals with the 18th, 19th, or 20th centuries, notions about fashion creators would have to be extended, as compared with the second half of the 17th century or the first years of the 18th.

As it was, English tea-drinking first spread in the mid-17th century, when the social structure was, significantly, a pyramid model. In this model, fashion change as a mark of social status would be expected to mainly begin from the very top of the pyramid. Tea, because of its foreign, exotic, and rare image and high price was, thus, ideally placed to attract the top class's attention. However, all things considered, the initial impetus to tea-drinking in Europe was due to its "medicinal" effect, something

which was noted as “extremely wholesome” in advertising as early as 1588 in Italy (Ukers, p. 25). This insured its availability in Europe, but its spread depended on it becoming fashionable. In other words, it is not only a necessity that the fashion creators pay attention to some utility when adopting a new commodity, but the imitators also keep in their minds a sense of this value. Thus, people in whatever class will take to the fashion concerned and spread it, not just purely on account of imitation but also because the commodity is perceived of as having intrinsic value. Whether an item is comfortable or useful, will also decide the ultimate extent of fashion spread, and fashion change will happen fastest when people hope to experience some improvement through its adoption.

Another phenomenon of the court life of Charles II and James II was a rapid increase in number of semi-royal individuals, as a result of the practice of maintaining various mistresses and their children simultaneously (Lyon, 2003, p. 276), with Charles II having at least twelve illegitimate children and James II five. The large number of royal children to be provided for in a largely private fashion meant seeking out marriage partners on the basis of wealth as opposed to birth, thus resulting in a further increase in status for the nation’s wealthiest families and their commercial interests. Opportunities for fashion spread were, thus, increased, both on account of newly available royal connections and also through imitation of the royal family by other leading aristocratic families. The expansion of the uppermost class that was, to an important degree, also semi-royal, was something which would have also tended to increase the number of rare and expensive goods seen as fashionable items.

The long-term economic trends in England, beginning in the 17th century and continuing throughout the 18th century have been viewed in terms of a consumer boom by many historians. These changes in behavior were described in 1771 by Arthur Young in “Universal Luxury” which, though, as a source, might not be of the period under examination which ended 50 years before, but whose conclusions cannot be completely foreign to it. It would seem that people not only bought necessary commodities, but that the new and numerous social elites bought increasingly greater amounts of luxury goods.

6.2 Catherine as a “fashion originator” and Mary II as a “fashion continuator”

Concerning the previous chapter, even if there aren't any records unambiguously showing Queen Catherine to have spent large amounts of time together with Queen Mary and Queen Anne when they were children, we cannot neglect the implications of an extensive inter-relationship between them. One can find various times being mentioned in Pepys's diary concerning about Charles II and Queen Catherine dining with the Duke and Duchess of York (James II and Anne Hyde, the parents of the future Mary and Queen Anne). Strickland also write about the friendship between Catherine and Duchess of York which is illustrated by mention being made that Catherine attended the Duchess her last sickness and stayed with her until she passed away. In addition, at the wedding of Mary and William, Mary is recorded as having visited Catherine to say farewell and bursting into tears. Moreover, due to the rigid nature with which court hierarchy was enforced, we can conclude that, from their earliest childhoods until their ascension to the throne as Queens in their own right, they can not have escaped being influenced by the solid achievements of the two

younger women as reigning Queens of England and by the older woman in protecting Portugal's independence when she was made the Queen regent of that country during the last years of her life. Something of the same fortitude and seriousness of purpose may be seen in all three women and a common approach may be seen in the methods employed by the three women as heads of state and which may, in part, be a reflection of the influence of the older woman on the two younger ones. As it is, in connection with tea drinking, one can not help but conclude that records about Queen Mary's tea drinking may also be taken as an influenced of Catherine; and that, considering the particular circumstances of the royal household, it is not difficult to postulate Catherine as having been an originator of tea drinking as a fashionable behavior in England. Nor would there be any reason not see Queen Mary in the role of a fashion continuator.

According to Simmel's theory of fashion, one may assume the tendency for Catherine of Braganza and, later, Queen Mary and Queen Anne to have been responsible for developing and maintaining a certain royal lifestyle. Pepys's diary also shows that people held Catherine in respect and document various things becoming popular as a result of her presence in England, such as a sudden preference for a certain type of pear (the Katherine pear, bearing the same name as the Queen) and a certain manner upper-class women chose to have themselves painted. Catherine is also reported by Pepys as being keen on wearing dresses that would show her shoes, something which might reflect a practical desire to insure the easier maintenance of her wardrobe. The extent of her success in this matter is not altogether clear, but it may be seen elsewhere that she was not entirely alone in this regard. Certain upper-class women of the same era have been painted as wearing dresses of this

fashion for what appears to have been informal indoor use (Peacock, pp. 118, 129; Racinet, pp. 284, 290). Also, Pepys notes that it would just be a matter of time before Catherine would have her way in this matter.

Catherine, as a foreigner possessing different sensibilities from the people around her, would have found herself in a unique position to lead fashion at court, especially when it came to consumption of a perishable item, as can be seen by the example of Katherine pears achieving sudden popularity. Unlike pears, however, tea drinking would have a need of the people for a healthy, yet addictive (because of the caffeine), substitute for beer and ale, which had, hitherto, been England's drink of choice.

Queen Mary, though in the role of a fashion continuator and with a short reign of only approximately five years, nevertheless, to judge from the great quantity of references found to tea during her reign would seem, by example, to have played a significant role in further changing people's perceptions of tea. Moreover, it was at her tea table where the Queen exercised her greatest authority, where the King had to show his presence no matter how busy he might be with other business. Moreover, Queen Mary, like Catherine before her, was a collector of exotic Asian goods as well.

Actually, not only is Queen Mary to be identified with the consumption of tea, but other high-ranking women of the same era are, too. For instance, the Duchess of Lauderdale (1626-1698), like her husband, the Duke, may be identified as a tea-drinker. Her husband was an intimate of Charles II who was for many years entrusted with the management of Scotland and she was a powerful woman who supported Charles II in his exile. Her living quarters have been described as:

“furnished like a great Prince’s with tapestries, damask, velvet, mohair on walls, bedsteads, chairs upholstered in luxurious fabrics”. Around 1679 she is stated to have possessed a “white closet”, being a small room with “one scriptore of princewood garnished with silver, one little ceader table, six arm chairs Japanned, with black cane bottoms, one Indian furnace for tea garnished with silver.” (Pettigrew, 2001) This would indicate that the Duchess was in the habit of drinking tea in her bedchambers with visitors in her “closet”. One should also note the mention of silver, which seems to have become more common in England from 1675, especially in London.

As the fashion of tea drinking developed during the reign of Queen Anne, tea drinking came to be adopted by much of the middle class as an item of daily consumption. The famous Queen Anne’s silver teapot would show evidence of her love of tea when seen from the perspectives of others. Another use of tea that seems to have become common was drinking it at breakfast. In fact, the famous poet, Alexander Pope (1688-1744) writes in an early poem of his:

“Here thou, great Anne! Whom three realms obey,
Dost sometimes counsel take—and sometimes tea.”

Interestingly, Pope’s rhyming scheme would indicate that he pronounced tea as “tay” which is like it would be pronounced in French or Dutch or Fukkienese. As Anne’s sister, Mary had spent much of her life in the Netherlands, and Anne herself had spent part of her childhood in France undergoing treatment for her eyes, this might indicate a royal preference for the pronunciation “tay” and that this pronunciation had penetrated the speech habits of certain individuals with court connections. Obviously, not only would the fashion creator, but every fashion continuator, would attempt to

add new elements into the fashion being continued, and even pronunciation might not always be exempt.

6.3 Evaluation

Both fashion spread and vocabulary development illustrate change in 17th century English society. In a sense, this could not be avoided as England had a growth in population, in its economy, and in its network of global relationships.

6.3.1 Successes of the theoretical models in predicting fashion spread and vocabulary development

Generally speaking, we can explain the spread of tea as a process of imitation and consumerism, as the social structure in early modern England was clearer than now. James Nelson (1710-1794) in his *An Essay on the Government of Children, under Three General Heads: Viz. Health, Manners, and Education* (1753) claimed that “Every nation has its custom of dividing the People into Classes”. He also divided English society into “Nobility”, “Gentry”, “Mercantile or common people” “mechanics”, and “peasantry”. To the extent that tea was a luxury and an item of fashion, it spread from the English upper classes to the middle and lower by means of imitation. This process has been elaborated on by several generations of sociologists and economists like Maxine Berg (2005), Thorstein Veblen (1899), and Herbert Blumer (1969) who deal in their work with the function of luxury items being a mark of upper class society, in which the upper class creates fashion and the other classes follow, with the motive of the lower classes being to initiate a change in their social status through imitation of those above them. This desire, of course, is seen as having

economic consequences in the stimulation given to consumption with a resulting increase in consumption generating a need for language development.

English traders had to cross oceans and struggle with the various dangers to get their commodities. As the result, tea and other oriental commodities which became part of this cultural exchange, were initially too rare and expensive for mass consumption and could only be adopted by the upper social classes at first. Later, as supplies grew and dangers lessened, these goods could spread into other parts of society, with, in the case of tea, compound words being generated in a process of language expansion and development. Steven Pinker in his book *The Language Instinct: How the Mind Creates Language* (2010) informs us that: “People do not just blurt out isolated words but rather combine them into phrases and sentences, in which the meaning of combination can be inferred from the meaning of the words and the way they are arranged” (p. 4). This would seem to be particularly true of tea-related vocabulary.

6.3.2 Limitations of the theoretical models

Viewed from the perspective of theoretical models of fashion spread, the beginning of English tea-drinking's spread in the second half of the 17th century matches well earlier theories of fashion spread. The European upper classes of certain countries, such as the Netherlands and, with somewhat less certainty, Portugal, were well-known for being keen on tea. Moreover, in the case of the Netherlands, a close royal connection existed with the marriage of the oldest sister of Charles II to the Prince of Orange who was the head of state of the Netherlands and who was the mother of William III who was made king of England by virtue of his marriage with

his cousin Mary II. Nevertheless, it was only with the appearance of Catherine of Braganza that tea spread among the English royal household, and, from there, to the English upper classes more generally. However, according to the model of fashion taken from Simmel, if the upper class's fashion is imitated by the lower, the upper class will recreate fashion. In the case of tea-drinking, tea would seem to have become more than just a drink, thus making a recreation of fashion impossible. Instead, the response was to introduce different kinds of tea, a wider variety of tea equipment accessories, of possible additives, and of accompanying foods. In addition, matters of etiquette at the tea table would seem to have become of greater importance. A new fashion was, thus, superimposed on an old one. Thus, not all fashion need be simply a matter of creation→ imitation→ creation→ imitation. After the first imitation, the continuators may, on occasion, increase the detail of certain points regarding the first creation, without changing the meaning of what was first created.

On the other hand, traditional theoretical models of fashion spread are not necessarily applicable to the present where creators may not always be a wealthy and powerful class, and fashion may very quickly spread simply because a commodity is comfortable or suitable for individual use. Therefore, the notion of the fashion creator needs to be extended, as previous studies about fashion overlooked the passiveness of imitators. Moreover, the possibility that fashion change can spread from the lower class to the upper class was largely overlooked in traditional theory. George A. Field in 1970 claimed another way of viewing fashion trends is “trickled upwards”, by which he uses in reference to an older or higher class picking up the fashion of a younger or lower class. There is, thus, scope for the introduction of modern elements

of fashion theory into traditional theory to attempt the production of theoretical models that more accurately accommodate available data.

6.3.3 Extensions of the theoretical models

When models of fashion change are applied to English tea-drinking, they need some extension to make the theory more accurate, especially with regard to more recent times. English tea-drinking first spread in the mid-17th century, and the social structure of that century was, significantly, a pyramid model. In this model, fashion change as a mark of social status mainly begins from the very top of the pyramid. Tea, because of its foreign, exotic, and rare image and high price was, thus, ideally placed to attract the top-class's attention. However, all things considered, the initial impetus to tea-drinking in Europe was its "medicinal" effect (Ukers 2007, p. 25). This ensured its availability in Europe, but its spread depended on it becoming fashionable. In other words, not only do the fashion creators pay attention to some utility when adopting a new commodity, but the imitators also keep in their minds a sense of this value. Thus, people in whatever class will take fashion and spread it, not only on account of imitation but also because the commodity itself has some preserved value. Whether an item is comfortable or useful, will also decide the ultimate extent of fashion spread, and fashion change will happen fastest when people hope to have some improvement in something.

Chapter 7: Conclusions

Nearly 400 years of English tea-drinking history and custom started with class-based imitation in the early theories of fashion change. This thesis covers only the very start of the spread of tea-drinking into the English upper classes, and how this happened through Catherine of Braganza introducing tea-drinking to the English royal household and progressing to Mary II and Anne who, being monarchs in their own right, acted as powerful role models for women throughout England. Fashion change was, of course, for the era of the later Stuarts a mark of social status, and one would expect fashion creators to attempt to distinguish themselves and the imitators of the age eager to prove themselves as having the same tastes as the upper class. In the case of tea-drinking, it spread into all parts of English society. The completeness of its quick penetration of English society during the 17th century might, however, be as much due to its largely unperceived addictive effects as to either its “medicinal” effect or the fact that it was, to use a word from Waller’s birthday poem for Catherine of Braganza, “commended” by English female royalty.

Tea, being first sold in England 1657, is a precisely dateable event and the first evidence that it was normally drunk sweet comes in 1674 from an anonymously published tract condemning coffee-houses. In this small tract, the typical coffee house owner is characterized as being one who “holds it as part of his creed, that the Great Turk is a very good Christian, and of the reformed church, because he drinks coffee”. The author further writes that the typical coffee-shop owner not only sells coffee, but that “never was [a] mountebank furnished with more variety of poisonous drugs, then he

of liquors, tea and aromatique for the sweet-toothed gentleman, ... chocolate for the consumptive gallant, ... and ale in penny mugs, not so big as a tailor's thimble.”

The important point here is that, even as early as the beginning of the second decade after Catherine of Braganza's arrival in England, tea was seen as something for the “sweet-toothed gentleman”, thus indicating the liberal use of sugar in its production in the coffee houses of the 17th century and, because of the unlikelihood that coffee shops would sell something incapable of popularity generally, that this would have been the case elsewhere in English society of the same time. This might be because, in order to fully tap the heavy caffeine content of tea leaves, one must brew tea longer than one otherwise would, thus releasing the tannins of the tea leaf which creates a rather unpleasant taste, that can be rectified with the addition of sugar. One should also note that the extreme expensiveness of tea leaves in the 17th century would have encouraged individuals to have brewed tea leaves longer than might be common now, simply to get maximum value for the money spent, but also increasing the need for the use of sugar to counter the resulting unpleasant flavor.

However, not only did tea penetrate British society as an integral part of social life, it also left a much more extensive impact on the vocabulary of the English language than either coffee or cocoa, two other beverages containing caffeine which preceded it. With regard to the development of tea-related vocabulary in English, an examination of contemporary sources available in EEBO, LION, and the National Archive shows that new words for tea-related items were coined at a surprisingly fast pace in the years immediately after the introduction of this drink. In fact, most of the tea-related compound words we find in English would appear to have been coined in the second

half of the 17th century with the possibility that those unattested in print might be equally as early. One would also suspect that those terms which are unattested in print in the 17th century might, for the most part, be equally as early. One point, however, is indisputable. Vocabulary creation was equally as rapid as tea's spread in 17th century and early 18th century England.

In that vocabulary developments are seldom static. A quick glance at the OED would indicate interesting vocabulary developments in the 18th and 19th centuries where one first comes across various idiomatic expressions related to tea such as “a different cup of tea” meaning that something is of an altogether different kind in comparison to something else, or “one's cup [or dish] of tea” indicating something that interests or suits one, or “tea and sympathy” referring to consolation offered to a distressed person, or “take tea with” being seen as synonymous with having dealings with someone, or “go (out) for one's tea” which is said to be Irish slang for being a part of some military related activity which might result in painful consequences, or a “chocolate teapot” would indicate that something or someone is useless, or “dressed to a tea” that one is impeccably dressed, or, perhaps the most widely used of all, being “tempest in a teapot (or, teacup)” which means that someone or some group of individuals is over-reacting in a hostile way to what should be a small problem. The development of tea-related idiomatic expressions and slang, however, do suggest that the study of the continued use of tea as a lexical component in the development of English vocabulary would seem to be a worthwhile area for extensive future research and publication.

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[Anon.] (1689a). *A collection of paintings, drawings, and prints, by the best masters. With several volumes of Mr. Ogilby's Atlas, &c. Will be sold by auction on Friday the 28th of this instant June, 1689. at Tom's Coffee-House, in Pope's-Head-Alley, over against the Royal-Exchange, Cornhil The sale beginning precisely at four of the clock in the afternoon. Catalogues of which are distributed by Mr. Gilliflower; in Westminster-Hall: Mr. Nott in the Pall-Mall: Mr. Bently in Russel-street, Covent-Garden: Mr. Wilkinson in Fleet-street: Mr. Miller in St. Paul's Church-yard: and Mr. Crouch over against the Royal-Exchange, in Cornhil, booksellers. The conditions of sale as usual, and the time of paying and fetching away the lots so bought, to be within three days after it, at the said place.* London: Catalogues of which are distributed by Mr. Gilliflower, et al.

[Anon.] (1689b). *Coffee, etc. (Customs Collection)*. Parliamentary Archives. Bill HL/PO/JO/10/1/411/121.

[Anon.] (1689c). *To the honourable, the knights, citizens, and burgesses in Parliament assembled, propositions for changing the excise, now laid upon coffee, chacholet, and tea, into an imposition upon those commodities at their importation*. London: England and Wales. Parliament. House of Commons.

[Anon.] (1690). A curious collection of painting [sic], of the most famous, antient and modern masters in Europe viz. Tintoret ... Wyck with many more great masters, will be exposed to sale by auction, on Wednesday, the 24th. of this instant September, at the house of Mr. Smith Gent. next Bedford-Gate in York-street, Covent-Garden, and are to be seen this Saturday, and Monday, and Tuesday following. Likewise there will be large looking-glasses in rich frames, and rich tea-tables exposed to sale. The sale begins precisely half and hour after two. Catalogues may be had at the place of sale, and to be seen at the principal coffee-houses. British Library: 1828:30.

[Anon.] (1691a). *The Art of getting money by double-fac'd wagers, or; Cross and pile whether Mons be taken, or no? a dialogue between a courtier, a citizen, and a sharper of the town : the scene, Jonathan's coffe-house*. Henry E. Huntington Library and Art Gallery: 8:06.

[Anon.] (1691b). *A lash for the parable-makers*. London: C. B.

[Anon.] (1691c). *An accurate description of the United Netherlands, and of the most considerable parts of Germany, Sweden, & Denmark containing a succinct*

account of what is most remarkable in these countries, and necessary instructions for travellers : together with an exact relation of the entertainment of His Most Sacred Majesty King William at the Hague. London: Timothy Childe.

[Anon.] (1691d). *The bragadocio, or, The bawd turn'd Puritan a new comedy.* London: Richard Baldwin.

[Anon.] (1692). *Minute book (fair).* Corporation of London Records Office: CLA/047/LJ/04/062.

[Anon.] (1692). *Probate inventory of George Wood Mass/16/17.* Lincolnshire Archives.

[Anon.] (1693). *An Humble remonstrance of the batchelors, in and about London, to the Honourable House in answer to a late paper, intituled A petition of the ladies for husbands.* London: Printed for the Book-selling Batchelors in St. Paul's Church Yard.

[Anon.] (1694). *Public Act, 6 & 7 William & Mary, c. 7.* Parliamentary Archives. HL/PO/PU/1/1694/6&7W&Mn9.

[Anon.] (1695a). *Account book.* London Metropolitan Archives. ACC/1302/003.

[Anon.] (1695b). *The case of the transport-ships, taken up in the years 1689, 1690, and 1691, for the reduction of Ireland. Humbly offered to the High Court of Parliament.* London: s.n.

[Anon.] (1695c). *The victualler's friend: or, The use of a new-invented gauging-rod, contriv'd chiefly for the advantage of victuallers in and about London Whereby they may not only discover the want of measure from the brewer (either in beer or ale) but likewise what quantity they want.* London: H Newman.

[Anon.] (1695d). *An excellent new song, call'd, The praise of women. Or, Wine, women and musick. Being a playhouse song to a pleasant new tune.* London: Tho. Moore.

[Anon.] (1699). *The country gentleman's vade mecum, or his companion for the town in eighteen letters from a gentleman in London to his friend in the country wherein he passionately dissuades him against coming to London, and represents to him the advantages of a country life, in opposition to the follies and vices of the town : he discovers to him most of the humours, tricks and cheats of the town, which as a gentlemen and a stranger he is most exposed to, and gives him some general advice and instructions how he may best in his absence dispose of his affairs in the country, and manage himself with the most security and satisfaction when he comes to London.* London: Printed for John Harris.

[Anon.] (1700a). [No title.] Derbyshire Record Office: D258/21/4. C. 1700.

[Anon.] (1700b). Public Act, 12&13 William III, c. 11
HL/PO/PU/1/1700/12&13W3n42 1700.

[Anon.] (1701). [No title.] Gloucestershire Archives: D3549/6/1/M3.

[Anon.] (1703). [No title.] Gloucestershire Archives: D340a/C19/6 28 Dec. 1703.

[Anon.] (1704a). [No title.] Staffordshire and Stoke-on-Trent Archive Service,
Staffordshire Record Office: D868/6/34a 6 Nov. 1704.

[Anon.] (1704b). Public Act, 3&4 Anne I. c. 18. Parliamentary
Archives: HL/PO/PU/1/1704/3&4A1n12 1704

[Anon.] (1707). *Household accounts*. Lancashire Record Office: DDX 1487/2/1 Oct
1706 - Dec 1707.

[Anon.] (1709a). *Keydell to Richard Powys*. Shropshire Archives: 112/2/192.

[Anon.] (1709b). *James Cockburn to Richard Powys*. Shropshire Archives: 112/2/172.

[Anon.] (1709c). *No Title*. Derbyshire Record Office. D3155/C5644 1709-1714.

[Anon.] (1709d). *N.D. to his daughter "Betty"*. Center of Buckinghamshire Studies:
D-X464/6/7.

[Anon.] (1710). [no title]. Warwickshire County Record Office: CR 1368 Vol 1/88.

[Anon.] (1711a). [no title]. Warwickshire County Record Office: CR 1368 Vol 4/31
2-4 August 1711.

[Anon.] (1711b). *File of Indictments*. East Riding of Yorkshire Archives and Records
Service: QSF/16/B/13.

[Anon.] (1711c). *Public Act, 10 Anne I, c. 19*. Parliamentary
Archives: HL/PO/PU/1/1711/10A1n67.

[Anon.] (1711d). [no titel]. Cornwall Record Office: CA/B47/43.

[Anon.]. (1711e). [no titel]. Wiltshire ad Swindon Archives: 413/386.

[Anon.] (1714). Receipt. [Shropshire Archives](#). 112/1/2209.

Baker, Anne. (1708). *Letters of Anne Baker: From Anne at Penn to her brother John Baker*. Center of Buckinghamshire Studies: D-X1069/2/14 13 Mar 1707[1708].

Baker, James. (1710). *James Baker at Penn to his brother John at Cornhill*. Centre for Buckinghamshire Studies: D-X1069/2/80.

Baker, Thomas. (1706). *Hampstead Heath. A COMEDY. As it was Acted at the THEATRE ROYAL in Drury Lane*. London: Bernard Lintott.

Baker, Thomas. (1708). *THE Fine Lady's Airs: OR, AN EQUIPAGE of LOVERS. A COMEDY. As it is Acted at the THEATRE-ROYAL IN DRURY-LANE*. London: Bernard Lintott.

Baker, Thomas. (1764). *Tunbridge-walks: or, The Yeoman of Kent*. London: S. Crowder.

Baker, Thomas. (2006). *The Fine Lady's Airs: Or, An Equipage of Lovers*. London: Dodo Press.

Baker, Thomas. (2010). *An Act at Oxford*. London: BiblioBazaar.

Bateson, Edward (editor). (1933). "William III: September 1698" Calendar of State Papers Domestic: William III, 1698, British History Online, <http://www.british-history.ac.uk/report.aspx?compid=57957>.

B. E. (1699). *A new dictionary of the canting crew in its several tribes of gypsies, beggars [sic], thieves, cheats &c., with an addition of some proverbs, phrases, figurative speeches &c. : useful for all sorts of people (especially foreigners) to secure their money and preserve their lives ; besides very diverting and entertaining being wholly new.* London: Printed for W. Hawes, P. Gilbourne & W. Davis.

Behn, Aphra. (1698). *The unfortunat happy lady a true history / by Mrs. A. Behn.* London: Samuel Briscoe.

Blount, Thomas Pope, Sir. (1693). *A natural history containing many not common observations extracted out of the best modern writers / by Sir Thomas Pope Blount, Baronet.* London: R. Bentley.

Bouvet, Joachim. (1699). *The history of Cang-Hy, the present emperour of China pesented [sic] to the Most Christian King.* London: F. Coggan.

Boyle, Robert. (1692). *General heads for the natural history of a country great or small drawn out for the use of travellers and navigators / imparted by ... Robert Boyle ...; to which is added, other directions for navigators, etc. with particular observations of the most noted countries in the world ; by another hand.* London: John Taylor & S. Holford.

Boyle, Robert. (1693). *Medicinal experiments, or, A collection of choice and safe remedies for the most part simple and easily prepared, useful in families, and very serviceable to country people; to which is annexed a catalogue of his theological and philosophical books and tracts.* London: Sam. Smith.

Boyle, Robert. (1694). *Medicinal experiments, or, A collection of choice and safe remedies, for the most part simple and easily prepared very useful in families and fitted for the service of country people: the third and last volume, published from the author's original manuscripts: whereunto is added several other useful notes explicatory of the same.* London: J. Taylor.

Boswell, James. (1791). *The Life of Samuel Johnson.* New York: Penguin Classics.

Brand, Adam. (1698). *A journal of the embassy from their Majesties John and Peter Alexievitz, emperors of Muscovy &c. over land into China through the provinces of Ustiugha, Siberia, Dauri, and the great Tartary to Peking the capital city of the Chinese empire by Everard Isbrand, their ambassador in the years 1693, 1694, and 1695 written by Adam Brand, secretary of the embassy ; translated from the original High-Dutch printed in Hamburgh, 1698 ; to which is added Curious observations concerning the products of Russia.* London: Printed for D. Brown & T. Goodwin.

Brown, Thomas. (1688). *The reasons of Mr. Bays changing his religion considered in a dialogue between Crites, Eugenius, and Mr. Bays.* London: Richard Baldwin.

Brown, Thomas. (1700). *Amusements serious and comical, calculated for the meridian of London.* London: John Nutt.

Buckingham, George Villiers, Duke of. (1692). *Miscellany poems upon several occasions consisting of original poems / by the late Duke of Buckingham, Mr.*

Cowly, Mr. Milton, Mr. Prior, Mrs. Behn, Mr. Tho. Brown, &c.; and the translations from Horace, Persius, Petronius Arbiter, &c.; with an essay upon satyr, by the famous M. Dacier. London: Peter Buck.

Bullord, John. (1690). *A collection of paintings, of the most eminent, ancient and modern masters viz. Albert Durer. ... Dixon. And others. Which curious collection of paintings, will be exposed to sale by auction, (or who bids most) at Kiftell's Coffee-House, adjoining to the Court of Requests, near Westminster-Hall, on Monday, the 20th of this instant October 1690. At nine of the clock in the morning, and three in the afternoon exactly. By John Bullord. Catalogues are distributed gratis, at Mr. Manship's at the Black Bull in Cornhil: Mr. Richard Parker's at the Piazza under the Royal Exchange: at Mr. Bullord's at the Old Black Bear in St. Paul's Church yard: at Mr. Roper's next to the Devil Tavern, at Temple-Bar: at Mr. Not's in the Pall-Mall, booksellers; and at the place of sale.* London: s.n.

Burnaby, William. (1700). *The reform'd wife a comedy, as it is acted at the Theatre-Royal in Drury Lane.* London: Thomas Bennet.

Byfield, T. (1687). *A short and plain account of the late-found Balsamick Wells at Hoxdon, and of their excellent virtues above other mineral waters, which make 'em effectually cure most diseases, both inward and outward with directions how to use 'em.* London: Christopher Wilkinson, Thomas Fox, et al.

C. S. (1698). *Menippeus rusticus a satyrical epistle / from C.S. in the country to his friend in the city.* London: s.n.

Cary, John. (1695). *An essay on the state of England in relation to its trade, its poor, and its taxes, for carrying on the present war against France by John Cary, merchant in Bristoll*. Bristol: W. Bonny.

Cavendish, Margaret. (1666). *Observations upon experimental philosophy to which is added The description of a new blazing world*. London: A. Maxwell.

Centlivre, Susanna. (1706). *Love at a Venture. A COMEDY. As it is ACTED By his Grace, the Duke of Grafton's Servants, AT THE NEW THEATRE IN BATH*. London: John Chantry.

Centlivre, Susanna. (1706). *THE BASSET-Table. A COMEDY. As it is Acted at the Theatre-Royal in Drury-Lane, by Her Majesty's Servants*. London: Printed for W. Turner.

Centlivre, Susanna. (1707). *THE PLATONICK LADY. A Comedy. As it is Acted at the QUEENS THEATRE IN THE HAY-MARKET*. London: James Knapton.

Centlivre, Susanna. (1708). *THE GAMESTER: A Comedy. As it is Acted at the New-Theatre IN LINCOLNS-INN-FIELDS, BY Her Majesty's SERVANTS*. London: James Knapton, and William Turner.

Centlivre, Susanna. (1709). *The Man's bewitch'd; OR, The Devil to do about Her. A COMEDY. As it is Acted at the NEW-THEATRE IN THE HAY-MARKET; BY HER MAJESTY's SERVANTS*. London: Bernard Lintott.

Centlivre, Susanna. (1711). *MAR-PLOT; Or, The Second Part of The BUSIE-BODY. A COMEDY. As it is Acted at the Theatre-Royal in Drury-Lane, BY Her MAJESTY's Servants.* London: Jacob Tonson.

Centlivre, Susanna. (1712). *THE Perplex'd Lovers. A COMEDY. As it is Acted at the Theatre-Royal in Drury-Lane, BY Her MAJESTY's Servants.* London: Owen Lloyd, et al.

Chaumont, Alexandre, chevalier de. (1687). *A relation of the late embassy of Monsr. de Chaumont, Knt. to the court of the King of Siam with an account of the government, state, manners, religion and commerce of that kingdom.* London: Henry Mortlock.

Cibber, Colley. (1702). *Love makes a Man: OR, The Fop's Fortune. A COMEDY. Acted at the Theatre Royal in Drury-Lane, BY Her MAJESTY'S Servants.* London: Richard Parker, Dorman Newman, et al.

Cibber, Colley. (1705). *Careless Husband. A COMEDY. As it is ACTED at the THEATRE ROYAL, BY Her MAJESTY's Servants.* London: William Davis.

Cibber, Colley. (1707). *THE DOUBLE GALLANT: OR, THE Sick Lady's Cure. A COMEDY. As it is Acted at the QUEEN's THEATRE IN THE HAY-MARKET.* London: Bernard Lintott.

Cibber, Colley. (1708). *THE Lady's last Stake, OR, THE WIFE's RESENTMENT. A COMEDY. As it is Acted at the QUEEN's THEATRE IN THE HAY-MARKET, By Her MAJESTY's Servants.* London: Bernard Lintott.

Cobb, Samuel. (1712). *CALLIPÆDIA*. London: Peter Parker.

Cole, William. (1689). *A physico-medical essay concerning the late frequency of apoplexies together with a general method of their prevention and cure : in a letter to a physician*. Oxford: Printed at the theatre.

Coles, Elisha. (1676). *An English dictionary explaining the difficult terms that are used in divinity, husbandry, physick, phylosophy, law, navigation, mathematicks, and other arts and sciences, containing many thousands of hard words, and proper names of places, more than are in any other English dictionary or expositor : together with the etymological derivation of them from their proper fountains, whether Hebrew, Greek, Latin, French, or any other language : in a method more comprehensive than any that is extant*. London: Samuel Crouch.

Congreve, William. (1694). *The double-dealer a comedy, acted at the Theatre Royal by Their Majesties servants / written by Mr. Congreve*. London: Iacob Tonson.

Congreve, William. (1700). *The way of the world a comedy, as it is acted at the theatre in Lincoln's-Inn-Fields by His Majesty's servant*. London: Jacob Tonson.

D.T. (D.B). Estrange, L, Sir Roger. Phillips, John. Prance, Miles. (1682). *Horse-flesh for the Observator being a comment upon Gusman, ch. 4, v. 5 held forth at Sam's Coffee-House*. London: R. Read.

Daniell, F.H, Blackburne (editor). (1909). "Charles II: October 1676" Calendar of State Papers Domestic: Charles II, 1676-7, British History Online, <http://www.british-history.ac.uk/report.aspx?compid=57353>.

Dampier, William. (1697). *A new voyage round the world describing particularly the isthmus of America, several coasts and islands in the West Indies, the isles of Cape Verd, the passage by Terra del Fuego, the South Sea coasts of Chili, Peru and Mexico, the isle of Guam one of the Ladrões, Mindanao, and other Philippine and East-India islands near Cambodia, China, Formosa, Luconia, Celebes, &c., New Holland, Sumatra, Nicobar Isles, the Cape of Good Hope, and Santa Hellena : their soil, rivers, harbours, plants, fruits, animals, and inhabitants : their customs, religion, government, trade, &c. / by William Dampier ; illustrated with particular maps and draughts.* London: James Knapton.

Dennis, John. (1696). *Letters upon several occasions written by and between Mr. Dryden, Mr. Wycherly, Mr. ----, Mr. Congreve, and Mr. Dennis, published by Mr. Dennis with a new translation of select letters of Monsieur Voiture.* London: Printed for Sam Briscoe.

Digby, Kenelm. Sir. (1669). *The closet of the eminently learned Sir Kenelme Digbie Kt. opened whereby is discovered several ways for making of metheglin, sider, cherry-wine, &c.: together with excellent directions for cookery, as also for preserving, conserving, candying, &c.* London: published by his son's consent.

Dilke, Mr. (1698). *The lover's luck a comedy as it is acted at the theatre in Little Lincolns-Inn-Fields by His Majesty's servants / written by Mr. Dilke.* London: Henry Playford & Benj. Tooke.

Dilke, Mr. (1698). *The pretenders, or, The town unmaskt a comedy acted at the theatre in Little Lincoln-Inn-Fields by His Majesty's servants / written by Mr. Dilke.* London: Peter Buck.

Du Quesne, Abraham. (1696). *A new voyage to the East-Indies in the years 1690 and 1691 being a full description of the isles of Maldives, Cicos, Andamants, and the Isle of Ascention; and all the Forts and Garrisons now in possession of the French, with an Account of the Customs, Manners, and Habits of the Indians / by Monsieur Duquesne; to which is added, a new description of the Canary Islands, Cape Verd, Senegal, and Gambia, &c.; illustrated with sculptures, together with a new map of the Indies, and another of the Canaries ; done into English from the Paris edition.* London: Daniel Dring.

Dryden, John. (1669). *The Wild Gallant.* London: Thomas Davenant.

Dryden, John. (1673). *S'too him, Bayes, or, Some observations upon the humour of writing Rehearsals transpros'd.* London: s.n.

Dufour, Philippe Sylvestre. (1685). *The manner of making of coffee, tea, and chocolate as it is used in most parts of Europe, Asia, Africa, and America, with their vertues / newly done out of French and Spanish.* London: William Crook.

D'Urfey, Thomas. (1680). *The virtuous wife, or, Good luck at last a comedy, as it is acted at the Dukes Theater by His Royal Highness his servants.* London: R. Bentley and M. Magnes.

D'Urfey, Thomas. (1682). *The royalist a comedy: as it is acted at the Duke's Theatre.*

London: Hindmarsh.

D'Urfey, Thomas. (1686). *A common-wealth of women a play : as it is acted at the*

Theatre Royal. London: R. Bentley.

D'Urfey, Thomas. (1690). *Collin's walk through London and Westminster a poem in*

burlesque. London: Rich. Parker.

D'Urfey, Thomas. (1691). *Love for money, or, The boarding school a comedy as it is*

acted at the Theatre Royal. London: I. Hindmarsh.

D'Urfey, Thomas. (1699). *A Choice collection of new songs and ballads the words*

*made to several pleasant tunes / by Mr. D'urfey ; with tunes transpos'd for the
flute.* London: William Pearson.

D'Urfey, Thomas . (1709). *THE Modern Prophets: OR, NEW WIT for a HUSBAND. A*

*COMEDY. As it is Acted at the THEATRE-ROYAL IN DRURY-LANE, By Her
Majesty's Servants.* London: B. Lintott.

East India Company. (1688). *An impartial vindication of the English*

East-India-Company from the unjust and slanderous imputations cast upon them

in a treatise intituled, A justification of the directors of the Netherlands

East-India-company, as it was delivered over unto the high and mighty lords the

States General of the United Provinces / translated out of Dutch, and feigned to

be printed at London, in the year 1687; but supposed to be printed at

Amsterdam, as well in English as in French and Dutch. London: J. Richardson, for Samuel Tidmarsh.

Eccles, John. (1697). *Europes revels for the peace and His Majesties happy return a musical interlude : with a panegyricall poem spoken there on the same occasion / written by Mr. Motteux.* London: J. Tonson.

Emsley, Clive; Hitchcock, Tim; & Shoemaker, Robert. (2013). "London History - A Population History of London", *Old Bailey Proceedings Online* <www.oldbaileyonline.org>, version 7.0.

Estcourt, Richard. (1706). *THE FAIR EXAMPLE: OR/THE Modish Citizens. A COMEDY. As it was Acted at the THEATRE ROYAL in Drury Lane.* London: Bernard Lintott.

Evelyn, Mary. (1690). *Mundus muliebris: or, The ladies dressing-room unlock'd, and her toilette spread In burlesque. Together with the fop-dictionary, compiled for the use of the fair sex.* London: R. Bentley.

Faria e Sousa, Manuel de. (1695). *The Portugues Asia, or, The history of the discovery and conquest of India by the Portugues containing all their discoveries from the coast of Africk, to the farthest parts of China and Japan, all their battels by sea and land, sieges and other memorable actions, a description of those countries, and many particulars of the religion, government and customs of the natives, &c.: in three tomes / written in Spanish by Manuel de Faria y Sousa, of the Order of Christ ; translated into English by Cap. John Stevens.* London: Printed for C. Brome.

Farquhar, George. (1701). *Sir Harry Wildair: Being the Sequel of the Trip to the JUBILEE. A COMEDY. As it is Acted at the THEATRE-ROYAL in Drury-Lane, BY His MAJESTY's Servants.* London: James Knapton.

Farquhar, George. (1702). *THE INCONSTANT: OR, The way to win him. A COMEDY, As it is Acted at the Theatre Royal in Drury-lane. By his Majesty's Servants.* London: James Knapton.

Farquhar, George. (1706). *THE Recruiting Officer. A COMEDY. As it is Acted at the THEATRE ROYAL IN DRURY-LANE, By Her MAJESTY's Servants.* London: Bernard Lintott.

Farquhar, George. (1707). *The Beaux Stratagem. A COMEDY. As it is acted at the QUEEN's THEATRE IN THE HAY-MARKET.* London: Bernard Lintott.

Farthing, John. (1696). *The excise rectify'd, or, A plain demonstration that the revenue now raised thereby, is capable of being improved at least four or five hundred thousand pounds per annum, which is now paid by the subject, but diverted from its proper chanel into private hands.* London: s.n.

Fenton, Elijah. 1708. *Oxford and Cambridge Miscellany Poems, On the first Fit of the Gout.* London: B. Lintott.

Ferguson, Robert. (1687). *A representation of the threatenng dangers, impending over Protestants in Great Brittain With an account of the arbitrary and popish ends, unto which the declaration for liberty of conscience in England, and the proclamation for a toleration in Scotland, are designed.* Edinburgh : s.n.

Fitzgerald, Robert. (1684). *A brief of two treatises formerly published concerning the making sea-water fresh, and of some matters transacted since in relation to the same*. Christ Church (University Of Oxford) Library.

Floyer, John, Sir. (1696). *An enquiry into the right use and abuses of the hot, cold, and temperate baths in England ... to this is added I. an extract of Dr. Jones's treaty on Buxton-Bath ..., II. a letter from Dr. Clayton ... concerning the use of St. Mungus-Well, III. an abstract of some cures perform'd by the bath at Buxton / by Sir John Floyer, Kt. M. D.* London: R. Clavel.

Fowler, Edward. (1695). *A discourse of the great disingenuity & unreasonableness of repining at afflicting providences and of the influence which they ought to have upon us, on Job 2, 10, publish'd upon occasion of the death of our gracious sovereign Queen Mary of most blessed memory: with a preface containing some observations, touching her excellent endowments, and exemplary life*. London: Brabazon Aylmer.

Foy de la Neuville. (1699). *An account of Muscovy, as it was in the year 1689 In which the troubles that happen'd in that empire from the present czar Peter's election to the throne, to his being firmly settled in it, are particularly related. With a character of him, and his people. By Monsieur de La Neuville, then residing at Moscow*. London: Edward Castle by Whitehall.

Frick, Christoph. (1700). *A relation of two several voyages made into the East Indies by Christopher Fryke and Christopher Schewitzer the whole containing an exact account of the customs, dispositions, manners, religion, &c. of the several*

kingdoms and dominions in those parts of the world in general: but in a more particular manner, describing those countries which are under the power and government of the Dutch / done out of the Dutch by S.L. London: D. Brown, S. Crouch, J. Knapton, R. Knaplock, J. Wyate, B. Took, & S. Buckley.

Fryer, John (1698). *A new account of East-India and Persia, in eight letters being nine years travels begun 1672 and finished 1681: containing observations made of the moral, natural and artificial estate of those countries: Namely, of their government, religion, laws, customs. Of the soil, climates, seasons, health, diseases. Of the animals, vegetables, minerals, jewels. Of their housing, clothing, manufactures, trades, commodities. And of the coins, weights, and measures, used in the principal places of trade in those parts. / by John Fryer, M. D. Cantabrig. and Fellow of the Royal Society ; illustrated with maps, figures and useful tables.* London: R.R. for Ri. Chiswell.

Garrway, Thomas. (1660). *An exact description of the growth, quality, and vertues of the leaf tea. By Thomas Garway in Exchange-Alley near the Royal Exchange in London, tobacconist, and seller and retailer of tea and coffee.* London: s.n.

Gildon, Charles. (1692). *Poeta infamis, or, A poet not worth hanging being a dialogue between Lysander Valentine, and poet Pricket : with a letter to the author of The marriage-hater matched, written by his friend.* London: B. C.

Gildon, Charles. (1692). *The post-boy rob'd of his mail, or, The paquet broke open consisting of five hundred letters to persons of several qualities and conditions,*

with observations upon each letter / publish'd by a gentleman concern'd in the frolick. London: John Dunton.

Godey, L.A. (1830). *The Lady's Book, Vol 1.* London: L.A. Godey & Company.

Gwyn, Francis. (1708). *A letter from Francis Gwyn to Richard Powys.* Shropshire Archives: 112/2/158.

Hanway, Jonas. (1756). *A journal of eight days journey from Portsmouth to Kingston upon Thames, with miscellaneous thoughts, moral and religious, in a series of letters: To which is added, an essay on tea.* London: H. Woodfall, M.DCC.LVI.

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