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‘if you desire to enjoy life, avoid unpunctual people’: Women, Timetabling and Domestic Advice, 1850-1910

Abstract

In the second half of the nineteenth century domestic advice manuals applied the language of modern, public time management to the private sphere. This paper uses domestic advice and cookery books, including Isabella Beeton’s *Book of Household Management* to argue that women in the home operated within multiple, overlapping temporalities that incorporated daily, annual, linear and cyclical scales. I examine how seasonal and annual timescales coexisted with the ticking clock of daily time as a framework within which women were instructed to organise their lives in order to conclude that the increasing concern of advice writers with matters of timekeeping and punctuality towards the end of the nineteenth century indicates not the triumph of ‘clock time’ but rather its failure to overturn other ways of thinking about and using time.

Keywords: Time, Timekeeping, Domesticity, Women, Advice Manuals, Eating Habits

‘if you desire to enjoy life, avoid unpunctual people’: Women, Timetabling and Domestic Advice, 1850-1910

Writing about growing up in London in the 1870s, Molly Hughes recalled her mother’s habit of setting the clock ten minutes fast:

‘to be on the safe side’, as mother said. She also confided to me once that it caused visitors to go a little earlier than they otherwise might...for she had observed that they never trusted their own watches.¹

For Hughes’s mother time was precious and needed to be protected from lingering visitors. She assumed her guests would share her view of time as worth ‘keeping’ and believed that if they saw it was ten minutes later than they had thought, would be quicker to leave. In 1880, addressing ‘that large and important middle class, the comfort and well-being of which cannot be too earnestly desired’, Henry Southgate urged, ‘if you desire to enjoy life, avoid unpunctual people. They impede business and poison pleasure.’² Hughes and Southgate, like many of their contemporaries, identified punctuality as a moral quality and the lack of it as a significant failing.³ Yet while historians have tended to identify the Victorians as efficient time keepers, recurrent contemporary anxieties about clocks and lingering guests suggest a more complex situation. The Victorian middle classes did own and appreciate timekeeping devices, and did value time management, but there are hints that sufficient numbers of women were squandering their time as to make this an area of tension in domestic advice literature.

In the second half of the nineteenth century, domestic advice manuals applied the language of modern, public time management to the private sphere.⁴ Some historians have mistaken this new way of writing with practice.⁵ Building on recent research on the history of time, I argue that women in the home operated within multiple, overlapping temporalities which

incorporated daily, annual, linear and cyclical scales.⁶ From around 1850, domestic advice writers gradually came to acknowledge that strict time management was not always possible for housewives and their staff. In some books, this acknowledgement manifested itself as a growing sense of urgency about the importance of scheduling and punctuality; in others, there appeared new forms of advice about how to accommodate unexpected time delays or the appearance of uninvited guests at mealtimes.⁷ In this paper I discuss the possibilities and limitations of using advice books as sources and analyse notions of temporality in a range of contemporary advice books, using Mrs Beeton's *Book of Household Management* as a case study of changing advice about time keeping; finally, I examine how seasonal and annual timescales coexisted with the ticking clock of daily time as a framework within which women were instructed to organise their lives. I want to suggest that the increasing concern of advice writers with matters of timekeeping and punctuality towards the end of the nineteenth century indicates not the triumph of 'clock time' but rather its failure to overturn other ways of thinking about and using time.

Historians' assumption that contemporaries saw men as cultured and modern, while women were perceived to be more natural and less rational underpins our understanding of the public/private divide.⁸ Beyond 'separate spheres', an extensive literature has emerged on the modern urban environment, the opportunities it presented for challenging gender roles, as well as the anxieties this provoked.⁹ New technologies, in particular lighting, also altered the relationship between time and nature, and allowed men and women to inhabit spaces differently than had previously been possible.¹⁰ The contemporary perception that women's relationship with nature was being altered by novelties such as department stores, public toilets or convenience food led advice writers to focus on providing women with an understanding of the connection between their domestic and cooking work, and the seasons and cycles of nature.¹¹ While this may be read as a reinforcement of women's natural rhythm, it seems, rather,

to indicate unease about women's awareness of this cyclical rhythm and, therefore, the possibility that women's more managerial role in the home may have been undermining their supposedly innate ability to nurture. While Barbara Gates argues that it was the very assumption of women's naturalness—as opposed to men's culturedness—that was seen to render them less able to grasp nature as an intellectual concept, the perceived need for expert advice on natural cycles suggests this naturalness was seen as corruptible rather than permanent.¹² The production of expert knowledge on the links between the seasons (nature) and cooking (culture) exposed anxieties about urban women's alienation from nature. This anxiety intermingled with another prevalent theme in domestic advice, that of the 'golden age' in which all women had instinctively known how to cook and nurture. These two strands—the broken link with nature, and the loss of women's intuitive knowledge—underlay advice about how to shop and cook appropriately for the seasons.

The domestic interior and the people and activities it contained have long attracted scholar's attention. Women's and gender historians looked at the private sphere, with groundbreaking studies arguing for the historical contingency of domestic habits, rituals and relationships.¹³ The advent of histories of material culture and consumption extended our understanding of how homes were furnished and navigated, suggesting that things have cultural meanings which can enhance our understanding of the lives of people who owned them.¹⁴ More recently, studies of specific aspects of domestic life, such as food or furniture, have been the subjects of detailed studies, showing the extent and limits of women's power within the domestic sphere.¹⁵ At the same time, the notion that domesticity is a model which can be exported into the public sphere, in that certain public institutions such as schools, hospitals, clubs, and restaurants, reproduce middle-class morality by recreating the familiar terrain and practices of the home, led to an awareness that the public/private divide was not clear.¹⁶ How

and where the public sphere infiltrated the private, for example in the form of the language of business management used by domestic advisors, has attracted less attention.

The use of advice literature by historians is well established, and many scholars have discussed the ways in which books such as conduct manuals or etiquette books ought to be read, pointing especially to the importance of not confusing prescription with practice.¹⁷ Historians of domestic advice acknowledge that what it pedals is fantasy, rather than a realistic guide to life. Sarah Leavitt suggests that readers 'astutely identify' such writing as 'domestic fantasy'; a fantasy some scholars suggest played a part in regulating desire and sustaining the family order.¹⁸ It is a mistake to read these books as representations of practice or even as precise models of what could be achieved.¹⁹ Rather, like Anna Bryson and C. Dallett Hemphill, we can understand these books as articulating a 'dominant ideology.'²⁰ Yet this ideology was one which women mediated, interpreted and possibly subverted in their daily lives.²¹

While there is no direct way of assessing the impact of advice books—including cookery books—on their readers, some evidence of their popularity can be measured. The sheer number of titles and editions published in this period, estimated by Dena Attar as 'millions', suggests an eager audience.²² Their commercial viability is also suggested by their being regularly advertised not only in women's magazines, but in periodicals of general interest, such as *The Examiner*, *The Athanaeum*, *The Outlook*, *The Saturday Review* and even as far away as the *Bombay Chronicle*. Less frequently, cookery and domestic advice manuals were reviewed, giving some clues about their reception. A review of five books on domesticity and cooking in *The Athenaeum* in 1862 suggested that the sum of human happiness had recently increased thanks to the possibility of 'getting good dinners *oftener!*'²³ The author went on: 'No one can read a modern cookbook without being struck by the good sense which pervades them as a general rule.' Advice books did not describe contemporary habits, but advertisements and reviews suggest that they did

capture a prevailing idea of what was practical, possible and desirable in terms of cooking and domestic arrangements.

TIME, AND HOW TO SPEND IT

Historians have noted that time was seen by contemporaries as an economic unit.²⁴ Many have argued that the rise of industrial capitalism brought with it a new, oppressive temporal regime, though none of these consider what—if any—impact this had within the home.²⁵ Whether in or out of the home, women were seen as having a different relationship to timekeeping than men: Mike Esbeter, for example, has suggested that with regard to train timetables women were seen to be ‘both less rational and less able to read timetables.’²⁶ Author Arnold Bennett was explicit in linking the language of capitalism with contemporary worries about time:

It has been said that time is money. That proverb understates the case. Time is a great deal more than money. If you have time you can obtain money—usually. But though you have the wealth of a cloak-room attendant at the Carlton Hotel, you cannot buy yourself a minute more time than I have, or the cat by the fire has.²⁷

Karl Marx and Friedrich Engels’s assertion that under capitalism ‘all that is solid melts into air’ has become a cornerstone for definitions of modernity as something people experience as accelerated, fleeting and alienating.²⁸ Within this everything, including the minutes and hours with which the days are measured, become commodities of exchange.²⁹ David Landes argues that Europe’s global dominance in the modern era can be attributed to ‘time discipline’ becoming part of European consciousness alongside the technological innovation of the

miniature, portable, timepiece.³⁰ According to E. P. Thompson, with modernity came oppressive clock-time, and people forced to organise their lives to the ticking of the clock, rather than the more varied rhythm of nature, or the chiming of the church bell.³¹ This argument, though based on sparse and chronologically disparate sources, was convincing as it fit with various assumptions held by and about the middle classes' fondness of order and efficiency.³² Yet John North suggests that modern historians are wrong to ignore the medieval and scientific origins of the quest for accurate time measurement, while both North and Hans-Joachim Voth argue that rather than being an instrument of oppression, the clock was of equal interest to workers as their employers, since it separated free time from paid labour.³³ As women's principal area of occupation, domestic interiors were also subject to the regulations of time as an economic unit, though the advice in domestic manuals implies a complex relationship rather than an oppressive one.

Molly Hughes's story of her mother's clock and lingering guests should alert us to the possibility that some people were weaker on timekeeping than others, and also that clocks were not only followed, but used by their owners for particular ends. Similarly, advice books provide ample evidence that far from everyone having an agreed upon understanding of how time should be used, timekeeping was a source of tension, especially where private timetables coincided with the scheduling of public and social life, as in the paying and receiving of visits. In a ground-breaking study of timekeeping in early modern England and Wales, Paul Glennie and Nigel Thrift suggest that there is no such thing as clock time, but rather a number of '*concepts, devices and practices*' without a single, unifying meaning while distinct 'clock times' have been produced by what they refer to as 'temporal communities.'³⁴

Class and gender both shaped the ways in which people experienced time, as many historians have already noted.³⁵ The middle classes—who were the intended audience of much

of the domestic advice considered here—have been referred to as ‘time keepers’ and understood to have greatly valued efficiency and punctuality.³⁶ The position of women within the middle class has not explicitly been analysed in relation to the perceived obsession of that class with time keeping. It is elsewhere, within feminist history and theory, that the question of the existence of ‘women’s time’ is debated.³⁷ Beginning with Joan Kelly’s groundbreaking thesis that women never experienced the Renaissance, historians have explored the idea that gender determines how a historical period is experienced.³⁸ Equally significant has been Julia Kristeva’s suggestion that there is ‘women’s time’ which is distinct from ‘men’s time’. The majority of historians do not suggest that women’s sense of time is different from that of men, but are keen to argue that women had less control over their time, and spent it differently than men.³⁹ In fact, women seem to have been charged with the role of keeping domestic time: they were not entirely masters of their own time, having instead to organise their timetables around the needs of others: husbands, whose work schedules needed to be considered, children who needed to be inculcated into the cultural practices of their communities, and servants who were believed to model their habits on those of their mistresses. Part of a woman’s domestic work—as Mrs Beeton made explicit in her *Book of Household Management*—was to foster the family’s social networks;⁴⁰ this meant that women also had to coordinate their families’ schedules with those of the wider communities to ensure, for example, that their mealtimes were synchronised to allow for social interaction.⁴¹

DOMESTIC ADVICE AND THE PASSAGE OF TIME

Nineteenth-century advice writers understood time to be linear and fleeting.⁴² Henry Southgate called it ‘a calamity to lose the smallest portion of time’, since time lost could never be

regained.⁴³ The linear passage of time shaped the way authors wrote about the day as moving from morning till night, and from breakfast till dinner. Mealtimes punctuated the day, and formed the basis for a great deal of the mixing of the public and private spheres.⁴⁴ Dinner also denoted another form of movement through time, with many food and advice writers stating that the current era possessed particularly advanced eating habits, which they illustrated by offering histories of dining customs, as in an article from the *Hotel Review* in 1886 that began: 'Meals and their hours, and the divisions of the day which they control, are of permanent and close personal interest to all of us.'⁴⁵ The Victorian's preoccupation with history has been identified as part of an interest in the presence of the past and with the emergence of 'time consciousness' and 'historical memory,' ways of thinking which made the passage of time central to the contemporary mindset.⁴⁶ Advice writers interested in dining and manners often began with an overview of the history of mealtimes, which culminated with the triumph of British civilization.⁴⁷ William Kitchener (1828), like many of his early-nineteenth century contemporaries, looked to ancient Greece and Rome as the forebears of the eating habits of the day, while Eliza Cheadle's (1875) chapter on dining traced the history of dinners from 'very early times', through to the Normans, Tudors and so on, signalling the importance of change, but with a clear eye on tradition and continuity.⁴⁸ For Mrs Beeton, the history of dining was a way to link modern British habits with those of the ancient Greeks, for whom she expressed great admiration⁴⁹

Through the middle of the nineteenth century, the tone of advice to women changed from an understanding of women's role inspired by a sense of the 'natural order' and making frequent reference to ideas of God and Providence, towards a more modern, secular worldview with a greater emphasis on time management. Writers in this new mode addressed their female readers as efficient managers of homes to be run along the same lines as any other economic

enterprise. Published in 1824, *The New Female Instructor or Young Woman's Guide* relied on references to God, Providence and nature to make the case that 'It is by pleasing only that [women] can hope to become objects of *love* and *affection*.'⁵⁰ By the 1850s, tropes about nature and providence were replaced by an emphasis on rational efficiency, as advocated by Anne Cobbett in *The English Housekeeper* from 1851:

Ladies who have houses and servants to look after, should be capable of superintending the whole in a manner so systematic, as that they may have a due portion of their time...to give to other...matters.⁵¹

Cobbett spoke to 'ladies' as 'superintendents', addressing them as rational workers rather than creatures following a natural instinct. From there it was a short step to Mrs Beeton's introduction of the idea of household management a decade later, thereby completing the process of bringing the language of business into the running of the household.⁵²

This managerial language persisted to the end of the century, but was gradually joined by competing voices. As women forged new roles for themselves in the late nineteenth century, advice writers began to acknowledge that there might be more than one correct way of running a home.⁵³ By the beginning of the twentieth century, even writers who persisted in addressing the role of women as domestic managers had to acknowledge, though they didn't like it, that there were many new possibilities open to women. One author, in 1894, expressed the fear that 'With the advance of education...the essentially domestic part of the training of our daughters is being more and more neglected.'⁵⁴ In 1909, Mrs Cloudesley Brereton wrote that:

The modern wife has a difficult role. It has been said that she must be twenty women in one if she is to be a help instead of providing an impediment to all great enterprises...happily the average woman is exceedingly versatile.⁵⁵

Owing to the range of demands placed upon her, the 'average' woman had no choice but to be versatile, and one of the ways in which this versatility was presumed by advice writers, was in terms of her ability to coordinate a range of activities across a variety of distinct temporalities.

Cobbett was unequivocal about the importance of time and timekeeping: 'The hours of meals should vary as little as possible; particularly the first meal of the day.'⁵⁶ She reasoned that 'the work may be said to commence immediately after breakfast, and when that takes place one hour only, after the usual time, the whole business of the house is retarded.' Cobbett's choice of words seems to foreshadow Mrs Beeton's claim, a decade later, that the mistress of a house should see herself as the leader of an enterprise.⁵⁷ And indeed for Cobbett one of the principal reasons for maintaining a strict timetable at home was to set the correct tone for the servants employed therein.⁵⁸ Yet as Jane Hamlett has noted, the existence of a schedule for mistress and servant was not the same as adherence to one.⁵⁹ Indeed Cobbett's very insistence on the importance of strict timetables reveals her doubts about the ability of her readers to adhere to them.

While women may have been flexible about time, advice writers generally stuck to the idea that a happy home was one that followed the clock, even if some were also keen to offer advice on coping with the unexpected. It was widely, if tacitly, acknowledged that though private, the home was not altogether detached from the unpredictability of the outside world.⁶⁰ On the contrary, it was the fluid boundary between public and private that made a woman's job so hard, if she was to succeed in shielding her husband from any stress within the home. Many

authors urged that scheduling needed to be tight, but also flexible. Cobbett, in 1851, acknowledged that 'In even the most regular families, the time of dining may unavoidably be postponed.' However, she was not encouraging on this note, urging that 'this should happen as seldom as possible,' because 'the cook may be prevented from performing some other part of her work, for which she has allotted the time.'⁶¹ In 1862, Georgiana Hill commented in the introduction to *Everybody's Pudding Book*, that

Fritters, omelettes, and other entremets, I have also given, because they are quickly made, and I know from experience that nothing is more difficult than for a housekeeper to make choice of an easily prepared dish of pastry upon occasions of emergency, when suddenly called upon to produce a dinner for unexpected visitors.⁶²

In *The Dining Room* (1878), Mrs Loftie accepted the need for flexibility and suggested that a well-arranged dining room could include a side table always laid and ready for a meal to be eaten, for 'families whose avocations are various, and where business must be attended to at irregular times.'⁶³ By 1899, Mrs Praga, dubbed 'A Careful Cook', wrote that 'punctuality is [a] great virtue you should endeavour to inculcate', but acknowledged that some households could not guarantee punctual mealtimes as '[punctuality] is often a virtue that the master, by the exigencies of his business, finds it impossible to practice.'⁶⁴ So she provided readers with an entire chapter of emergency meals such as 'ragoûts, curries, braises' which would 'keep' rather than roasts or fritters which would not.⁶⁵ In allowing for the fact that modern women needed to respond to fluid timekeeping, domestic advisors were not trying to give women greater personal

flexibility, but rather confirming that a woman's timekeeping skills were part of the service she provided to husband, household and community.

MRS BEETON'S PLAN FOR THE DAY

Isabella's Beeton's *Book of Household Management*, first published in 1861, is generally regarded as 'the most famous English cookery book ever published.'⁶⁶ Its author's name, though she did not even live long enough to see the second edition, did become synonymous with domestic writing for generations of English middle classes. Nicola Humble argues that Beeton offered something original, and was 'in no small part responsible for the new cult of domesticity that was to play such a major role in mid-Victorian life,' yet I would argue that looking at Beeton in relation to the many author manuals published both before and after 1861, what is more notable is her talent for summarizing ideas which were already very current.⁶⁷ Through successive editions of Mrs Beeton's *Book of Household Management*, the use of managerial language and an increasing concern with clock time and scheduling can be traced over time.⁶⁸ As the title suggest, Beeton—as well as the anonymous writers of the later editions which used her name--saw housewives as managers, to whom she offered a plan for daily chores, routines and pleasures, 'which may be the most profitably pursued for the daily regulation of [the household's] affairs.' Beeton emphasised the importance of early rising, stating that 'when a mistress is an early riser, it is almost certain that her house will be orderly and well-managed.'⁶⁹ Following from this, time was introduced as a precious commodity to be spent but not squandered, with each moment of the day carefully accounted for. The need to distinguish between advice and practice is made clear when one considers the unlikelihood of any woman being able to live out her days according to Beeton's strict schedule, which included chores and

leisure, but presented both equally as obligations. Upon rising, a woman should give 'due attention' to bath and toilet, before going on to see that 'the children have received their proper ablutions and are in every way clean and comfortable.' Then breakfast, at which 'all the family should be punctually present, unless illness, or other circumstances, prevent.'⁷⁰ The mistress then proceeded to the kitchen and other offices 'to see that all are in order, and that the morning's work has been properly performed by the various domestics.'

Having dealt with her servants, a woman who was the mother of young children was then intended to move into a different mode, that of educator, and then 'it is right that she should give some time to the pleasures of literature, the innocent delight of the garden,' or to the pursuit of 'other elegant arts' like music or painting. Then came lunch, since as Beeton observed 'a healthy person, with good exercise, should have a fresh supply of food once in four hours.'⁷¹ Lunch was followed by 'morning calls and visits'. Mrs Beeton was keen to alert her readers to the pitfalls of making the wrong sorts of friends, and to the necessity of keeping visits short, 'fifteen to twenty minutes being quite sufficient.'⁷² The advised brevity of morning visits was mirrored in J. H. Walsh's *Manual of Domestic Economy* also published in 1861, while Southgate, in 1880, suggested readers avoid 'a large acquaintance' and setting open 'our gates to the invaders of most of our time.'⁷³ The shortness and formality of morning calls indicates the extent to which timetabled female sociability represented work in the guise of leisure, as opposed to genuinely free time.

The next big event of the day was "The Dinner", of which Beeton wrote that, 'The half-hour before dinner has always been considered as the greatest ordeal through which the mistress, in giving a dinner-party, will either pass with flying colours, or, lose many of her laurels.'⁷⁴ In her role as timekeeper, the middle-class housewife trained her children in contemporary mores, coordinating family mealtimes with social ones in order to facilitate the

family's interaction with the community. The 1891 edition of *Beeton's Every-Day Cookery and Housekeeping Book* was explicit on the importance of modelling punctuality for the good of the household:

Take, for example, a child reared in a household where there is no regard for punctuality, and think how hard it will be for him or her in after years...to forget their early training...A late breakfast will make them late for school or office, while, if they bravely set off without it, they will suffer, both in mind and body, from the loss of what should be one of the best meals of the day.⁷⁵

This allowed for the inculcation of time as part of a shared store of communal knowledge, which Norbert Elias has argued is the key to understanding the social experience of time.⁷⁶ As with morning visits, the ostensibly social and pleasant purpose of the dinner-party actually belied the fact that this formed an important part of the housewife's working day.

As well as outlining the shape of an average day and enumerating a range of qualities a woman ought to possess, ranging from frugality to good temper to discernment in her choice of friends, Beeton also offered her readers advice on their choice of clothing at different times. Helene Roberts, quoting from the *Quarterly Review* in 1847, argues that clothing was not a personal matter in that period, but rather a crucial indicator of place and status: 'Dress becomes a sort of symbolic language...which it would be madness to neglect.'⁷⁷ In Beeton's view a woman needed to combine conformity with a clear understanding of what each moment of the day required: 'at breakfast she should be attired in a very neat and simple manner...exchange [that dress] before the time for receiving visitors...jewellery and ornaments are not to be worn until the full dress of dinner is assumed.'⁷⁸ As in the advice books discussed in the previous section, versatility is presented as a key attribute of womanhood. The use of wardrobe changes to visibly

denote the different parts played by a respectable woman through the day hint at the performative nature of both the class and gender identity being constructed through discourses of domesticity.⁷⁹ Kay Boardman has argued ‘the ideal domestic woman used all her time to make the home run smoothly,’ something which the ideal woman constructed by Mrs Beeton could clearly be seen to be doing, though as a hard-working journalist Beeton herself clearly never attempted to spend her own time in this way.⁸⁰

Mrs Beeton’s name and her words lived on long after her early death in 1865. Little is known of the authors of posthumous editions of her book and its many offshoots, though her husband and publisher Samuel O. Beeton took credit for the 1869 edition.⁸¹ By the end of the century *Beeton’s Book of Household Management* had appeared in numerous editions, and there were also other titles bearing the Beeton name, which to greater or lesser extents maintained links with the original.⁸² Looking at the longevity of Beeton’s ‘plan’ exposes both continuity and change in discourses about timekeeping and domestic management through the second half of the century.

The 1895 and 1906 editions of *Household Management* are mostly reproductions of the 1861 original, making the addition of a new section on timekeeping all the more notable:

Order and Punctuality are so important to the comfort and happiness of the household that every mistress should fix stated hours for meals, etc., which ought to be strictly observed by every member of the family.

This advice was accompanied by a specimen card, a version of which the reader was advised to produce for her own household ‘adapted to the special requirements of her own home’.

■ **MEALS.**

- Breakfast (Kitchen and Nursery) 8 a.m.
- " (Dining-Room) 8.30 "
- Kitchen Dinner 12.30 p.m.
- Luncheon 1.30 "
- Kitchen and Nursery Tea 5 "
- Dinner 6.30 "
- Kitchen Supper 9 "

The greater insistence on punctuality might be taken as an indication of the triumph of clock time and of a managerial approach to domestic timekeeping. Yet increasing insistence on punctuality *Mrs Beeton's Book* seems instead to reveal an area of tension since as we have seen other, newer, titles were busy adapting to ideas like flexibility, convenience foods and emergency meals. A review of the 1906 edition of *Household Management* found that the sections of the book 'concerned with the kitchen and the table' were 'excellent' but was much more critical of the advice about behaviour, writing that it 'can only make those with an elementary training in good manners smile.'⁸³ This review, viewed alongside new advice books which differed so markedly from Beeton's, suggest a complex situation in which domestic advice writers were reacting to women who were taking on more diverse roles, perhaps at the expense of the family's timekeeping.

Offshoots of *The Book of Household Management* written after Isabella's death but still in her name offered variations on her plan for the day, which diverged in detail but not in spirit. A notable example appeared in *Beeton's Every-Day Cookery*, probably published in 1878, in which the writer acknowledged that 'It is impossible to arrange the time of any individual.' since each family has their own needs and occupations. Yet with an apparently lack of irony, the author proceeded:

The following work a mistress should do. Two hours devoted to the house and morning duties brings one to eleven o'clock; on Monday the mending must be carefully executed up lunch time (sic). A daily walk should be taken, weather permitting, and the lady should first go and order anything required for the house, then return visits, or take a good constitutional until four o'clock. From four to five write letters, or read for an hour (serious reading, leaving light reading for evening). At five when necessary, go downstairs to speak to cook, lance round to see preparations are getting forward for the six o'clock dinner; then go upstairs, inspect the housemaids performance of the needle-work, always laid out in your room for that purpose, and dress for dinner. Go into the dining-room, and see all is ready, put out the wine, arrange dessert and flowers. Then be ready at a quarter to six to receive *le mari*, and see that he has his hot water, slippers, &c. At six, dinner, and which coffee and amusements of music, reading, cards, or needle-work of a light nature.

This very detailed list implies a lack of trust in individuals' ability to manage their time, and anxiety about the amount of work a woman needed to do to live up to the domestic ideal. And this daily timetabling had to be set alongside the longer-term annual and seasonal timetabling for which expert advice was also on offer.

THE ANNUAL CYCLE OF TIME

Mrs Beeton reminded readers of the different seasons of the year, and the different tasks appropriate to each. In winter because 'servants have much more to do, in consequence of the necessity there is to attend to the number of fires throughout the household, not much more than the ordinary every-day work can be attempted.' Whereas since in summer, 'the absence of fires gives the domestics more leisure, then any extra work that is required, can be more easily performed.' This included very extensive spring cleaning intended to give the house 'with the approaching summer, a bright appearance, and a new face, in unison with nature.' The need for the house to mirror the seasons of nature perhaps hints at the duality of a woman's roles in being expected to fully facilitate the household's success in the modern world while simultaneously keeping one foot in the natural world, outside of time and progress. Other seasonal chores included maintaining the household linen; preserving fruit, and making pickles of various kinds, until the year's end, when:

In December, the principal household duty lies in preparing for the creature comforts of those near and dear to us, so as to meet old Christmas with a happy face, a contented mind, and a full larder; and in stoning the plums, washing the currants, cutting the citron, beating the eggs, and mixing the pudding, a housewife is not unworthily greeting the genial season of all good things.⁸⁴

In other Beeton publications, which were less expensive and aimed at a broader audience, there was a tacit awareness that many women were doing the bulk of the housework themselves, though the pretence of a large staff was never altogether dropped.⁸⁵ Seasonal chores were still outlined in these books, though more briefly, under the heading of 'spring cleaning.'⁸⁶ The association of women's responsibilities with the cycle of the seasons may seem to suggest a

bond between women, home, family, and nature; yet the perceived need for the advice also indicates an anxiety that this bond may be broken.

Modern technology and transportation meant that many foods were available to buy even when not in season.⁸⁷ While some celebrated this as progress, others were critical of out-of-season food for being both tasteless and expensive; they criticised its purchasers for their luxurious spending, as in an 1862 cookbook review in *The Athanaeum*, containing criticism of those who bought 'salmon, lamb, lobsters and asparagus long before they come down to a reasonable price'.⁸⁸ Henry Southgate complained of women's ignorance over which dishes to serve when, bemoaning the aesthetic as well as the practical aspect of the mistake: 'summer dinners are, for the most part, as heavy and hot as those of winter, and the consequence is that they are frequently very oppressive.'⁸⁹ Eliza Cheadle echoed some of Southgate's concerns, but focussed on the financial cost as much as the aesthetic blunder when buying out-of-season items. Like the anonymous author in *The Athaneum*, Cheadle saw over-spending on out-of-season foods as ostentation and poor management. She admonished her readers that 'Money can now command meats, vegetables, and fruit at any and every season of the year...But sumptuous viands...alone will not ensure an enjoyable dinner.'⁹⁰ She went on:

Asparagus at a shilling a stalk, peaches ten shillings apiece, and strawberries at two guineas a basket, serve as things to be boasted of by the purchaser; but we doubt if vegetables and fruit preternaturally forced are real luxuries.⁹¹

Similarly, for Mrs Praga good shopping habits were the key to domestic economy, so a good housewife had to be: 'careful to buy only that kind of fish which is well in season, and therefore plentiful and cheap', and the same rule applied to fruit, vegetables and meat.⁹² In effect, readers

were admonished for enjoying the benefits of modern technology instead of sticking to a traditional, nature-bound, temporality.

Almost every cookery book and domestic advice manual offered charts showing which foods were in season in each month of the year, and many also offered up menu selections for dinner parties arranged by month or season.⁹³ In *Everybody's Pudding Book* (1862) Georgiana Hill divided her recipes into chapters according to the months of the year, rather than the type of recipe. Each chapter opened with a brief introduction to the special character of the month in question, such as March, in which Hill suggested that for epicures, the dullness of Lent was 'somewhat redeemed by the increasing abundance of eggs', or April in which 'the verdant fields rejoice our sight, and enrich the quality of the milk, cream, and butter which lend perfection to those puddings that we presently enjoy'.⁹⁴ In the *Book of Household Management*, Mrs Beeton included information about the time of year to cook each dish next to every recipe in her *Book*, as well as setting out menus and weekly meal plans for each month of the year, such as 'Dinner for 6 Persons (January)' or 'Plain Family Dinners for December'.⁹⁵ Neither Hill nor Beeton suggested that this knowledge was something women might already possess, either instinctively or otherwise. Instead, the cyclical time of nature and its produce was put side-by-side with the managerial time of modernity.

CONCLUSION

The variety of ways in which advice writers imagined themselves ordering and organising women's lives offers a new way to think about what it meant to be preoccupied with time and its passage. The historiography of timekeeping seems to suggest that new clock technologies are always closely allied with changes in *mentalité*. Yet such research has tended to overlook

women, as well as ignoring the more mundane and repetitive aspects of daily life. Through the study of women and domestic advice, I have argued against the idea of a singular 'clock time', which came to dominate people's lives in the eighteenth and nineteenth centuries. In fact, the increasing insistence of advice writers towards the end of the century on the need for order and punctuality in timekeeping, coupled with an increase in advice on dealing with unscheduled meals and guests, suggests that timekeeping was not something which oppressed middle-class women in their homes. Indeed if we assume that advice is often written in reaction against a prevailing tendency, we find hints that many women, at a time when 'time' was being conceptualized as an economic unit, were judged guilty of timewasting at worst or, at best, of a cavalier attitude towards 'order and punctuality.' Underlying this perception of women's abandonment of their natural role, may have been the gradual opening up of venues and pursuits beyond the domestic, as the anxiety around domestic timekeeping seemed to increase towards the end of the century, coinciding with the arrival of restaurants and department stores, women's clubs, and debates about the 'new woman', as well as more explicit forms of political feminism. The continued insistence on the importance of seasons and a respect for nature's timekeeping further complicates the picture, since it indicates that modernity did not in fact mean a full-scale rejection of more traditional ways of marking time in all areas of life. The question of religious feasts and special occasions is an area for future research with the potential to add further nuance to our understanding of Victorian temporalities. Indeed, there is a great deal more research to be done if we are to begin to understand the connection between large-scale changes in how time was measured and imagined, and the ways in which such changes altered—or failed to alter—the ways in which ordinary people experienced the passage of time.

Word Count 9081 (including notes)

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- ¹ M. V. Hughes, *A London Child of the 1870s* (Oxford, 1977), p. 61.
- ² Henry Southgate, *Things a Lady Would like to Know* (Edinburgh, 1880) p. 511.
- ³ See also Arnold Bennett, *How to Live on 24 Hours a Day* (London, 1910), p. 3; Isabella Beeton, *The Book of Household Management* (London, 1861), pp. 1-3. Etiquette books consistently emphasised the importance of arriving punctually at dinner parties, see. Rachel Rich, *Bourgeois Consumption: Food, Space and Identity in London and Paris, 1850-1914* (Manchester, 2011) p. 107.
- ⁴ This is alluded to in Paul Glennie and Nigel Thrift, *Shaping the Day: A History of Timekeeping in England and Wales, 1300-1800*, Oxford: Oxford University Press, 2009, p. 193.
- ⁵ See Rachel G. Fuchs and Victorian E Thompson, *Women in Nineteenth-Century Europe*, (Basingstoke, 2005) p. 73.
- ⁶ See for example Hannah Gay, 'Clock Synchrony, Time Distribution and Electrical Timekeeping in Britain, 1880-1925,' *Past and Present* 181 (2003) 107-40; Glennie and Thrift, *Shaping the Day*; Hans-Joachim Voth, *Time and Work in England, 1750-1830*, Oxford: Clarendon Press, 2000; Hugh Cunningham, *Time, Work and Leisure: Life Changes in England since 1700* (Manchester, 2014); Giordano Nanni, *The Colonization of Time: Ritual, Routine and Resistance in the British Empire* (Manchester, 2012); Penelope J Corfield, *Time and the Shape of History* (London, 2007); Jarrett Rudy, 'Do You Have the Time? Modernity, Democracy, and the Beginning of Daylight Saving Time in Montreal, 1907-1928,' *The Canadian Historical Review*, 93 (2012) 531-554.
- ⁷ Uninvited guests were a reasonably frequent occurrence in this period. See Rich, *Bourgeois Consumption*, pp.125-6.
- ⁸ Penelope Brown and L. J. Jordanova, 'Oppressive Dichotomies: The Nature/ Culture Debate,' in *Women in Society: Interdisciplinary Essays Compiled and Edited by the Cambridge Women's Studies Group*, (London: 1981), Barbara T. Gates, *Kindred Nature: Victorian and Edwardian Women Embrace the Living World* (Chicago, 1998) p. 3.
- ⁹ See for example Erika Rappaport, *Shopping for Pleasure: Women and the Making of London's West End* (Princeton, 2001); Lynda Nead, *Victorian Babylon: People, Streets and Images in Nineteenth-Century London* (New Haven CT, 2000).
- ¹⁰ On lighting see Christopher Otter, *The Victorian Eye: A Political History of Light and Vision in Britain 1800-1910* (Chicago, 2008); Wolfgang Schivelbusch, *Disenchanted Night: The Industrialization of Light in the Nineteenth Century*, (London, 1995).
- ¹¹ On the importance of public toilets for allowing women to spend increasing time away from home see B. Penner, 'A World of Unmentionable Suffering: Women's Public Conveniences in Victorian London,' *Journal of Design History*, 14 (1) 35-51.
- ¹² Gates, *Kindred Nature*, pp. 11-22.
- ¹³ See for example Leonore Davidoff and Catherine Hall, *Family Fortunes: Men and Women of the English Middle Class, 1780-1850* (London, 1988); John Tosh, *A Man's Place: Masculinity and the Middle-Class Home in Victorian England* (London, 1999).
- ¹⁴ For a discussion of the opportunities and challenges for historians of material culture see Richard Grassby, 'Material Culture and Cultural History,' *The Journal of Interdisciplinary History*, 35 (2005) 591-603.
- ¹⁵ On food see Rich, *Bourgeois Consumption*; on furniture see Jane Hamlett, *Material Relations: Domestic Interiors and Middle-Class Families in England, 1850-1910* (Manchester, 2010)
- ¹⁶ A great example of this is Amy Milne-Smith's argument that men brought middle class domesticity into the homosocial, semi-public gentlemen's clubs in nineteenth-century London: Amy Milne-Smith, 'A Flight to Domesticity? Making a Home in the Gentlemen's Clubs of London, 1880-1914,' *Journal of British Studies*, 45 (2006) 796-818; see also Jane Rendell, 'The Clubs of St James's: Places of Public Patriarchy - Exclusivity, Domesticity and Secrecy,' *The Journal of Architecture* 4 (1999) 167-189. The same argument can be made about restaurants, see Rich, *Bourgeois Consumption*, pp. 137-42.
- ¹⁷ See for example Andrew St George, *The Descent of Manners: Etiquette, Rules and the Victorians* (London, 1993); C. Dallett Hemphill, *Bowing to Necessities: A History of Manners in America, 1620-1860* (Oxford, 1999); Anna Bryson, *From Courtesy to Civility: Changing Codes of Conduct in Early Modern*

England (Oxford, 1998); Catriona Kelly, *Refining Russia: Advice Literature, Polite Culture, and Gender from Catherine to Yeltsin* (Oxford, 2001).

¹⁸ Sarah A. Leavitt, *from Catherine Beecher to Martha Stewart: A Cultural History of Domestic Advice* (Chapel Hill, 2002), p. 2; Gwendolyn Audrey Foster, *Troping the Body: Gender, Etiquette and Performance* (Carbondale and Edwardsville, 2000), p. 4; Nancy Armstrong and Leonard Tennenhouse eds. *The Ideology of Conduct: Essays on the Literature and History of Sexuality* (London, 1987).

¹⁹ This way of reading etiquette books appears in Yaffa Claire Draznin, *Victorian London's Middle Class Housewife: What she did all day* (London, 2001). Draznin assumes that Mrs Beeton's prescriptions teach us something about the experience of the middle-class housewife, an idea which is contradicted by almost everyone else who works with these kinds of sources.

²⁰ Dallett Hemphill, *Bowing to Necessities*; Anna Bryson, *From Courtesy to Civility*.

²¹ On the ways in which women interacted with the advice on offer, see Margaret Beetham, *A Magazine of her Own? Domesticity and Desire in the Woman's Magazine, 1800-1914* (London, 1996).

²² Dena Attar suggests that there were 'millions' of volumes of household manuals sold in the nineteenth century. See *A Bibliography of Household Books Published in Britain, 1800-1914* (London, 1987), p. 13.

²³ Anon, review of *Mrs Beeton's Book of Household Management*. (Beeton.); *A Plain Cookery-Book for the Working Classes*. By Charles Elmé Francatelli. (Bosworth & Harrison.); *Handbook of Domestic Recipes*. (Cassell, Petter & Galpin.); *everybody's Pudding Book*. (Bentley.); *Passages in the Life of a Young Housekeeper, related by Herself*. (Hogg & Sons.) *The Athenaeum*, July 19, 1826, pp. 78-80.

²⁴ Cunningham, *Time, Work and Leisure*, p. 5.

²⁵ See for example E. P. Thompson, 'Time, Work-Discipline and Industrial Capitalism,' *Past and Present* 38 (1967); Gerhard Dohrn-van Rossum, *History of the Hour: Clocks and Modern Temporal Orders*, T. Dunlap trans. (London, 1996); David Landes, *Revolution in Time: Clocks and the Making of the Modern World* (London, 2000).

²⁶ Mike Esbeter, 'Designing Time: The Design and Use of Nineteenth-Century Transport Timetables,' *Journal of Design History* 22 (2009) p. 106.

²⁷ Bennett, *How to Live on 24 Hours a Day*, p. 1.

²⁸ Karl Marx and Friedrich Engels, *Manifesto of the Communist Party* (London, 1848). The phrase is often picked up by scholars attempting to define modernity, for example Marshall Berman, who used it as the title of his book: Marshall Berman, *All That is Solid Melts into Air: The Experience of Modernity* (London: 1983).

²⁹ This version of the temporality of modernity persists, for example in Jarrett Rudy, 'Do you have the Time? Modernity, Democracy and the Beginnings of Daylight Saving Time in Montreal, 1907-1928,' *The Canadian Historical Review* 93 (4) 2012, p. 532; Krista Lysack, 'The Production of Time: Keble, Rossetti, and Victorian Devotional Reading,' *Victorian Studies*, 55 (3) 2013, pp. 453-4; Caroline Lieffers, "'The Present Time is Eminently Scientific': The Science of Cookery in Nineteenth-Century Britain," *Journal of Social History* 45 (4) 2010 p. 939.

³⁰ Landes, *Revolution in Time* (London, 2000), pp. 10-11

³¹ E. P. Thompson, 'Time, Work-Discipline and Industrial Capitalism,' *Past and Present* 38 (1967) 56-97. For a succinct discussion of the reasons for this nineteenth century preoccupation with time see Gerhard Dohrn-van Rossum, *History of the Hour: Clocks and Modern Temporal Orders*, T. Dunlap trans. (London, 1996), pp. 1-10.

³² See for Example: R. D. Altick, *Victorian People and Ideas* (New York, 1973), pp. 96-106.

³³ John North, *God's Clockmaker: Richard of Wallingford and the Invention of Time* (London, 2005), pp. 219-20; Hans-Joachim Voth, *Time and Work in England 1750-1830* (Oxford, 2000) p. 17.

³⁴ Paul Glennie and Nigel Thrift, *Shaping the Day: A History of Timekeeping in England and Wales, 1300-1800* (Oxford, 2009), p.9.

³⁵ For a recent evaluation of the importance of class and gender on time use see Cunningham, *Time, Work and Leisure*, pp. 1-5.

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- ³⁶ Jonas Frykman and Orvar Löfgren, *Culture Builders: A Historical Anthropology of Middle-Class Life* A. Crozier trans. (New Brunswick, 1987) p.
- ³⁷ See for example Rita Felski, *Doing Time: Feminist Theory and Postmodern Culture* (London, 2000)
- ³⁸ For example A. Jacobson Schutte et al, *Time, Space and Women's Lives in Early Modern Europe* (Kirkville, 2001).
- ³⁹ See for example Joan Wallach Scott, 'New Documents on the Lives of French Women: The Journal of Caroline B., 1864-1867,' *Signs: Journal of Women in Culture and Society*, 1987 (12) 572.
- ⁴⁰ Beeton, *Book of Household Management*, pp. 2-3; 10-19.
- ⁴¹ The importance of mealtimes and socialbility is discussed in greater length in Rich, *Bourgeois Consumption*, pp 69-90.
- ⁴² Sociologist Rita Felski argues that all people experience time in this way: 'This sense of the irreversible nature of time is a fundamental aspect of everyday experience: we grow older rather than younger, just as our cars get rustier rather than shinier.' Felski, *Doing Time*, p. 13.
- ⁴³ Southgate, *Things a Lady Would like to Know*, p. 523.
- ⁴⁴ Rich, *Bourgeois Consumption*, pp. 73-80; Ken Albala, *Eating Right in the Renaissance* (London, 2002), pp. 112-13; John Burnett, *Plenty and Want: A Social History of Diet in England from 1815 to the present day* (London, 1966) pp. 55-6
- ⁴⁵ 'Hours for Meals,' *The Hotel Review* (London, June 1886), p. 61.
- ⁴⁶ See for example Jerome H. Buckley, *The Triumph of Time: A Study of the Victorian Concepts of Time, Progress and Decandence* (London, 1966) p 15; and Patricia Murphy, *Time is of the Essence: Temporality, Gender, and the New Woman*, (London, 2001); Dohrn-van Rossum, *History of the Hour*, pp. 3-4.
- ⁴⁷ Caroline Lieffers also argues that in the nineteenth-century cookery writers took an increasingly scientific approach to their subject, and advances in cookery came to be conflated with the progress of civilization. 'Science of Cookery in Nineteenth-Century Britain,' p. 951.
- ⁴⁸ William Kitchener, *The Housekeepers Oracle; or, Art of Domestic Management*, (London, 1828), pp. 2-7; Eliza Cheadle, *Manners of Modern Society* (London, 1875), pp. 129-132. See also G. H. Ellwanger, *The Pleasures of the Table: An Account of Gastronomy from Ancient Days to Present Times* (London, 1903).
- ⁴⁹ Beeton, *Book of Household Management*, p. 907.
- ⁵⁰ Anon. *The New Female Instructor* (London, 1824), p. 1.
- ⁵¹ Anne Cobbett, *The English Housekeeper: or, Manual of Domestic Management* (London, 1851), p. x.
- ⁵² Robin Wensley has argued that the household Beeton described in *Household Management* was essentially a small enterprise 'with between five and thirty full-time resident employees, plus part timers working from their own homes.' See: Robin Wensley, "Isabella Beeton: Management Lessons from the Kitchen," *Business Strategy Review* 2004;15(3):66-72.
- ⁵³ Leonore Davidoff wrote about the ways that etiquette acted as a break on social mobility between the middle and upper classes in mid-nineteenth-century London in *The Best Circles: Women and Society in Victorian England*, (somewhere, 1973)
- ⁵⁴ *Spons' Household Manual: A Treasury of Domestic Recipes and Guide for Home Management* (London, 1894)
- ⁵⁵ M. A. Cloudesey Brereton, *The Mother's Companion* (London, 1909), p. 19.
- ⁵⁶ Cobbett, *The English Housekeeper* p. 8.
- ⁵⁷ Beeton, *The Book of Household Management*, p. 1.
- ⁵⁸ Cobbett, *The English Housekeeper*, pp. 8-9.
- ⁵⁹ Jane Hamlett, *Material Relations*, p. 56.
- ⁶⁰ On the fluid boundaries of the home see for example R. Rich, *Bourgeois Consumption*, p. 112-126.
- ⁶¹ Cobbett, *The English Housekeeper*, p. 8.
- ⁶² Georgiana Hill, *A Year of Victorian Puddings*, (Basingstoke, 2012). This is a reproduction of the 1862 original, published by Richard Bentley and Son.
- ⁶³ Martha Jane Loftie, *The Dining Room* (London, 1878), p. 36.

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- ⁶⁴ 'A Careful Cook' (Mrs Charles Praga), *Dinners of the Day* (London, 1899) pp. 47-8.
- ⁶⁵ Praga, *Dinners of the Day*, pp. 47-8, 112-117.
- ⁶⁶ Nicola Humble 'Introduction,' *Mrs Beeton's Book of Household Management* (Oxford, 2000). p. vii.
- ⁶⁷ Humble 'Introduction,' *Mrs Beeton's Book of Household Management*, p. xii.
- ⁶⁸ The editions of *Household Management* I have consulted include the 1861 original published by S. O. Beeton, as well as later, posthumous editions: Beeton, *The Book of Household Management*, New ed. (London, n.d. c. 1869); Beeton, *The Book of Household Management*, New ed. (London, n.d. c. 1879); Beeton, *The Book of Household Management* (London, n.d. c. 1888); *Mrs Beeton's Book of Household Management*, (London, 1906). I have also looked at some of the spin-off titles which used Beeton's name but diverged from the original texts and were intended to be more affordable and practical later in the century: *Beeton's Every-Day Cookery and Housekeeping Book*, (London, New York and Melbourne, n.d. c. 1878); *Beeton's Every-Day Cookery and Housekeeping Book* (London, New York and Melbourne, 1891); *Mrs Beeton's Cookery Book: A Household Guide* New ed. (London, 1901); *Beeton's Housewife Treasury of Domestic Information* (London, n.d. c. 1883).
- ⁶⁹ Beeton, *Book of Household Management*, p. 2.
- ⁷⁰ Beeton, *Book of Household Management*, pp. 8-9.
- ⁷¹ Beeton, *Book of Household Management*, p. 9.
- ⁷² Beeton, *Book of Household Management*, p. 10.
- ⁷³ J. H. Walsh, *A Manual of Domestic Economy* (London, 1861), p. 623; Southgate, *Things a Lady Would like to Know*, p. 527.
- ⁷⁴ Beeton, *Book of Household Management*, p. 12. For a fuller discussion of the importance of dinner parties see Rich, *Bourgeois Consumption*, pp. 96-134.
- ⁷⁵ *Beeton's Every-Day Cookery and Housekeeping Book*, (London, 1891) p. xv. Similar advice appeared in *Mrs Beeton's Cookery Book: A Household Guide* New ed. (London, 1901) p. 17.
- ⁷⁶ Norbert Elias, *Time, an Essay*, trans. Edmund Jephcott (Oxford, 1992).
- ⁷⁷ H. E. Roberts, 'The Exquisite Slave: The Role of Clothes in the Making of the Victorian Woman,' *Signs*, Vol. 2, No. 3 (Spring, 1977), p. 554.
- ⁷⁸ Beeton, *Book of Household Management*, p. 5.
- ⁷⁹ Foster notes that the entire genre of advice literature promotes the notion of gender as performance, in which writers express their desire to control how bodies move within the space of the home. See: Foster, *Troping the Body*, pp. 1-2. On the importance of clothing as a demarcator of class see for example E. Langland, 'Nobody's Angel: Domestic Ideology and Middle-Class Women in the Victorian Novel' *PMLA* 107 (2) p. 294.
- ⁸⁰ Kay Boardman, 'The Ideology of Domesticity: The Regulation of the Household Economy in Victorian Women's Magazines,' *Victorian Periodicals Review*, 33 (2) p. 150. On Isabella Beeton's life and how it contrasts with her writing see Kathryn Hughes, *The Short Life and Long Times of Isabella Beeton* (London, 2006); Humble, 'Introduction,' *Mrs Beeton's Book of Household Management*.
- ⁸¹ In a 'Note to the New Edition,' S. O. Beeton wrote 'I have striven, with feminine aid of the most valuable kind, to make a few improvements upon the original model of this work'. Beeton, *The Book of Household Management*, New edition (London, n.d. [c. 1869]) p. iv.
- ⁸² Humble, 'Introduction,' *Mrs Beeton's Book of Household Management*, p. viii
- ⁸³ Anon. Review of *Mrs. Beeton's Book of Household Management*, London: Ward Lock. 1906. *The Saturday Review*, March 3, 1906, p. 274.
- ⁸⁴ Beeton, *Book of Household Management*, p. 24.
- ⁸⁵ Nicola Humble points out that even at the time of the original publication in 1861 most of Beeton's readers would not have had the extensive staff she wrote about, not been able to prepare some of the

more elaborate recipes, which acted, instead, as aspirational fantasies. Humble, 'Introduction,' *Mrs Beeton's Book of Household Management*, pp.xxii-xxiii

⁸⁶ *Beeton's Every-Day Cookery and Housekeeping Book*, (London, New York and Melbourne, n.d. c. 1878) pp. xxv-xxvii; *Beeton's Every-Day Cookery and Housekeeping Book* (London, New York and Melbourne, 1891) pp. 562-4.

⁸⁷ For a discussion of the history of food preservation and transportation see Susanne E. Freidberg, *Fresh: A Perishable History*, Cambridge, Mass.: Harvard University Press, 2009.

⁸⁸ Anon. Book Review, *The Athenaeum*, July 19, 1862, p. 79.

⁸⁹ Southgate, *Things a Lady Would like to Know*, p. 377

⁹⁰ Cheadle, *Manners of Modern Society*, p. 128.

⁹¹ Cheadle, *Manners of Modern Society* p. 128.

⁹² Praga, *Dinners of the Day*, p. 70.

⁹³ For example nearly every iteration of Mrs Beeton contained extensive information on the seasonality of food: Beeton, *The Book of Household Management*, New ed. (London, n.d. c. 1869) pp37-40; *Beeton's Every-Day Cookery and Housekeeping Book* (London, New York and Melbourne, 1891) pp. xxiii-xxviii; *Mrs Beeton's Cookery Book: A Household Guide* New ed. (London, 1901) pp. 40-1, 51-5.

⁹⁴ Hill, *A Year of Victorian Puddings*.

⁹⁵ Beeton, *Book of Household Management*, pp. 911, 952.