The Way to Wealth, Health and Happiness: The Significance of Frugality in the British Printed Culture of the Long Eighteenth Century

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Summary

This thesis examines the written works of individuals who championed frugality during a period more associated with the emergence of a new consumer society. It will reveal the relevance of their writings and how they aimed to impact the social, economic and personal wellbeing of those who lived during the long eighteenth century. By concentrating on the luxury debate, existing studies have marginalized writings on frugality; often interpreting them as the ramblings of pious naysayers who fought desperately against the negative influences of luxury and the rising tide of consumerism and immoral behaviour. However, by focusing on the relationships between frugality, class and consumption, it becomes clear that frugality was more than a reaction and was instead viewed as a vital source of social stability, as well as a catalyst for economic growth. An analysis of frugality reveals how frugal doctrines were adapted and adopted according to the social class of the reader. For the gentry and middling sorts, frugality was framed as a way to maintain and ideally improve their personal finances, health and social position. For the poor, frugality was preached as a way of shifting the blame for their suffering away from the state and towards their own mismanagement of resources. The social interplay between frugality and luxury was an important component of national economic growth and social balance. However, frugality was heavily nuanced: acting not only as the ideological balance between luxury and avarice but also as a methodological tool for economic growth; an indicator of respectability; a spur for self-reliance; a regimen for good health and as a moderator of social emulation. In essence, this thesis shows that frugality was a significant factor in the social and economic development of the long eighteenth century and that it is worthy of study in its own right and not just as the antithesis of luxury.

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Preface

> Economy is not a natural instinct, but the growth of experience, example and forethought. It is also the result of education and intelligence. It is only when men become wise and thoughtful that they become frugal. Hence the best means of making men and women provident is to make them wise. Prodigality is much more natural to men than thrift.[1]

While this thesis centres on the long eighteenth century, originally it was inspired by how frugality was considered and expressed during the mid-nineteenth century and in particular, by the writings of Samuel Smiles. It was initially guided by a desire to uncover the origins of the frugal ethic adopted by Smiles; an ethic, which as the above quote demonstrates, convinced him that while frugality was benefical for all men, it was not inherent and not all men were educated enough to be aware of it.

Samuel Smiles is seen as one of the most influential Victorian writers on frugality and self-reliance. His books *Self-Help* (1859) and *Thrift* (1875) were best sellers, which were printed and sold in large numbers and were translated into many languages. [2] Through them, Smiles tried to instil the working classes with a praxis of frugality, which would enable them to maximise their potential and take their place alongside the bourgeoise as respectable, hardworking and diligent citizens.[3] In his work on Smiles, Travers labelled it as an example of Victorian middle-class individualism but placed its

[1] Samuel Smiles, *Thrift* (London, 1875), p. 2.
[2] Smiles, *Self-Help* (London, 1859), Smiles, *Thrift* (London, 1875). Thomas, Mackay, (ed) *The Autobiography of Samuel Smiles* (London, 1905).
[3] Thomas Mackay, (Ed), *The Autobiography Of Samuel Smiles, LL. D* (London, 1905). John Hunter, *The Spirit of Self-Help, a life of Samuel Smiles* (London, 2017); Kenneth Fielden, Samuel Smiles and Self-Help, *Victorian Studies* 12:2 (Dec,1968), pp.155 – 176.

intellectual origins within eighteenth century enlightenment ideals.[4] Therefore, an attempt was made to trace the roots of Victorian frugality, both its ideology and its methodology back to the eighteenth century, where many of the frugal pioneers exemplified by Smiles started their journey and learnt how to practice economy.[5] It was assumed that here, a combination of industrialisation, economic growth, and social mobility, alongside the evangelical awakening of Christian consciousness and concerns of politeness, polity, and poverty, would have been the perfect breeding ground for frugality to be established as an essential moral and practical doctrine. By examining eighteenth century publications, trigger points were sought that could explain the acceptance and adoption of frugality by the Georgian middling classes.

A precursory search for evidence of frugality in the print culture of the eighteenth century revealed a more complex picture. What became apparent was that many sources were reprints of works by earlier authors.[6] Even a contemporary writer on frugality, the American Benjamin Franklin, who flooded the English booktrade with his calls for thrifty ways, and has been heralded as 'the great inventor of post-Puritan Thrift', was found to have been heavily influenced by the views of a seventeenth century English promotor of frugal living called Thomas Tryon.[7] Intriguing English book titles, such as *The*

[4] T.H.E. Travers, Samuel Smiles and the Origins of "Self-Help", Reform and the New Enlightenment, *A Quarterly Journal Concerned with British Studies,* 9:2 (1977), p. 161.
[5] Smiles gave examples such as Richard Cobden, John Bright, Robert Burns, The Duke of Wellington, George Stephenson and James Watt.
[6] Such as titles by Henry Peacham (1578-1644), Dudley Lord North (1581-1666), and George Mackenzie (1636-1691).
[7] Alison Hulme, *A Brief History of Thrift* (Manchester, 2019), p. 35. Franklin wrote in his autobiography 'When about 16 years of age I happened to meet with a book, written by one Tryon, recommending a vegetable diet.' He switched to this cheaper diet and used the money he saved to buy books and educate himself. Franklin, *The Autobiography of Benjamin Franklin* (New York, 1950 edition), p. 20.

Way to Get and Keep Money (1674), *The Pleasant Art of Money Catching*, *The Art of Thriving* (1684) and *The Way to Save Wealth, shewing how a man may live plentifully for two-pence a day* (1685), suggested that a methodology of financial frugality had been present, since at least the latter part of the seventeenth century.[8] This research suggested that while frugality appeared on the surface to be an eighteenth-century ideology, perfectly intertwined with the 'polite and commercial' people of that time, it may have originated earlier and is far more complex than previously thought. [9]

These findings prompted a series of questions as to where the origins of Victorian self-serving frugality lay? What significance did frugality have during the burgeoning industrial and commercial period? and how and why was the concept of frugality, as understood by Smiles, originally promoted and to whom? What became clear was that the evolution of Victorian frugality needed to be traced back to a more defined point of origin, and the story of how it came to be absorbed into the collective consciousness of the middle classes needed to be explored. Consequently, these new questions had to take precendence over the original remit of study and needed to be answered before frugality during the nineteenth century could be adequately addressed.[10]

As this thesis will reveal, frugal endorsements were directed consistently at all sections of society over a prolonged period of time, with the aim of instigating significant change within both the private and public spheres. Therefore, a

[8] Thomas Tryon, *The Way to Save Wealth (London, 1685),* N.H., *The Pleasant Art of Money Catching* (London, 1684*),* and Anonymous*, The Art of Thriving, Or The Way to Get and Keep Money* (London, 1674).
[9] Paul Langford, *A Polite and Commercial People: England 1727 – 1783* (Oxford, 1989).
[10] It is hoped that this will be addressed in future PhD research by the author.

thorough scholarly investigation of the early modern history of frugality, and the individuals who promoted it, is justified.

The Introduction

> If Frugality prevailed, it would open the Store-Houses of Charity, the Poor would be fed, the Sick would be taken Care for, and the Prisoner would be Relieved. This would restore Men to their sleep, which is now oft-times broke by the fear of Want, or the oppression of Abundance. This would prevent the melancholy caused by the one, and the many Diseases caused by the other. And we should have a satisfied mind in a sound body: a Frugal Womans staying within doors, would prevent the jealousies of her Husband, and the Husband by minding his business, would thereby secure her against the infecting Diseases which he contracts in his idleness: and Parents thus living thus regularly, would not have Children, who will prove rather Crosses than Comforts, wishing either their parents dead, through Avarice. Or making them Beggars during their life by Luxury. Frugality would enable every Man to live so well, that the Servant needed not cheat his Master, nor the Tenant the Landlord, but on the contrary, every Man would take as great pleasure to help his Neighbour, when he needed his assistance. [1]

While on his death bed in 1691, George Mackenzie listed all the benefits he saw for a population that adopted frugal ways. His book, *The Moral History of Frugality,* contained an epiphany of frugal rhetoric and reflected on a society, which Mackenzie interpreted as being lost to luxury and profligate behaviour.[2]

Historically, notions of frugality have been linked either to periods of poverty and privation, such as during famine or war, or to more godly times, when some sections of the population were influenced by religious dogma to adopt pious and temperate ways of living. Yates and Hunter describe the notion of frugality as being 'part of a cluster of normative characteristics that signal limitation, self-restraint, reticence, conservation and stewardship'.[3]

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[1] Mackenzie, *The Moral History of Frugality* (London,1691), p. 92.
[2] Ibid.
[3] Joshua Yates and James Davison Hunter, *Thrift and Thriving In America, Capitalism and Moral Order From the Puritans To The Present* (Oxford, 2011), p. 5.

Frugality, alongside its sister virtue industry, which is a temporal form of frugality, can be considered the inevitable consequence of religious asceticism. However, during the long eighteenth century, frugality was far more complex than being merely a financial coping strategy or a religious or moral behavioural ideal. Instead, it was a virtue that was believed to have many personal benefits as well as utilitarian and social incentives for its adoption. Mackenzie, clearly saw frugality as being the panacea for all of life's ills and a solace to frayed tempers and fractious times. Confirming, that for Mackenzie and others like him, frugality was not so much about personal denial, restraint and anti-consumption, but rather about self-control, self-reliance, improved health and personal and spiritual empowerment. These more worldly outcomes of frugality were later advocated in the nineteenth century by Samuel Smiles, who promoted thrift as an effective method of personal and familial self-improvement and a catalyst to commercial enterprise.

The Christian Church, in all its manifestations, has always been a strong promoter of frugality, and the Bible is littered with passages that are linked to the worldly and heavenly benefits of simple living. Religious frugality can be related to a requirement to accept one's lot in life and to be content with what one already has, rather than coveting more. It can also be cast in a pious and moralistic light, which was relevant during the emerging industrial age, whereby, the Church discouraged luxury and prodigality and positively promoted self-restraint and charitable giving.[4] The connection between

[4] Hannah Barker, A Devout and Commercial People: Religion and Trade in Manchester during the Long Eighteenth Century in Elaine Chalus and Perry Gaunci (eds) *Revisiting the Polite and Commercial People: Essays in Georgian Politics, Society, and Culture in Honour of Professor Paul Langford* (Oxford, 2019).

frugality and religion cannot be denied, and it is essential to acknowledge the aftermath of behaviours which resulted from religious preaching and the inevitable frugal legacy which would come from such asceticism.

Marxist analysis, which uses a materialist interpretation of historical development, states that the supposed rise of thriftiness and saving by English Puritans in the seventeenth century, provided the 'original accumulation of capital' which was able to kick start modern capitalism.[5] McCloskey, however, disagrees that religious frugalism sparked the mindset of saving and 'accumulation for accumulation's sake', which allowed greater levels of capital to be invested. Instead, she argues that people had always been thrifty, but what changed was that this naturally occurring frugality combined with a newfound spirit of 'industrial enlightenment', which was then harnessed by 'an original accumulation of inventive people'. In other words, for the first time 'useful knowledge was used with an aggressiveness and single-mindedness that no other society had experienced'.[6] While McCloskey admits that the reasons for this convergence were unclear, she does suggest that the period also saw a 'change in cultural attitudes towards thrift, thriftiness and other specifically economic virtues'.[7]

Yates and Hunter describe how Western cultures moved away from an 'ethic of virtue', towards an 'ethic of interest', and that frugality played a vital role in this.[8] This thesis suggests that this was partly influenced by the increasing number of self-empowering and self-affirming frugal rhetorics, that

[5] R. S, Neale, *Writing Marxist History, British Society, Economy and Culture since 1700* (Oxford, 1985); Deidre McCloskey, The Pre-history of American Thrift, *Thrift and Thriving in America* (2011), p. 69.
[6] Ibid. p. 72.
[7] Ibid.
[8] Ibid. Yates and Hunter, *Thrift and Thriving* (2011), p. 8.

were made available to the artisan and merchant classes via printed culture from the end of the seventeenth century. For while surviving examples prove that frugal docrines existed both amongst and alongside the ascetic Puritan ethic, these have never been properly explored. [9]

It is puzzling that a concept as commonplace as frugality has been so little studied: it seems to be the 'elephant in the room' for social and economic historians. As a word, it appears countless times in academic studies of religion, consumerism and poverty, and yet it rarely warrants proper analysis or scrutiny and almost never appears as a searchable term in the index. For the purpose of this study, frugality is viewed not as a single act of restraint, but as a set of behaviours and the adoption of a mindset which aimed to manage the consumption of resources in a way that would improve the conditions of either an individual or society as a whole. Frugality is often referred to as thrift or thriving and these terms will be described in more detail in chapter one, but in this thesis, they will be accepted as essentially meaning the same.

Yates and Hunter state that 'the historical sociology on the meaning and practice of thrift during the rise of capitalism is sadly thin'.[10] While Calder declares that it was a 'crucial point' that 'thrift has a history, though it has not had historians'.[11] This lack of focus on frugality, alongside its tendency to be interpreted from modern-day perspectives, has led to an unbalanced view of the social and economic values of the long eighteenth century. Whereas, a more holistic historical examination of frugality can offer a greater

[9] Weber, *The Protestant Ethic and The Spirit of Capitalism* (London,(1930,1989 edition).
[10] Yates and Hunter, *Thrift and Thriving,* p. 5.
[11] Lendol Calder, Saving and Spending, *The Oxford Handbook of The History of Consumption* (Oxford, 2013), p. 363.

understanding of eighteenth century attitudes; casting light on the variable mindsets and vulnerabilities of different social groups, particularly regarding respectability, social position, consumption, poverty and health and wellbeing.

This thesis seeks to pull these frugal threads together by drawing attention to the views and opinions of those who promoted and commented on frugality from the seventeenth century, until the early years of the nineteenth century. It a will argue that frugal ideals were established within printed culture well before they were fully embraced by Benjamin Franklin and the Georgian middling classes. It also aims to outline how, why and to whom frugality was promoted in print and how it was seen to relate to consumerism and capitalism at the time.

By tracing the preaching and teaching of frugal doctrines throughout British society and observing how self-denial, self-restriction, and self-reliance were encouraged, we can better understand how individuals were taught to manage during times of economic growth and stress. As well as helping assess to what extent frugality was used to regulate spending on new consumer goods and how the excessive consumption, bankruptcy and business failures of a few, could be offset by the diligence and calculated abstinence of the many. Alongside the fiscal and social benefits of frugality ran a series of other less tangible and less definable advantages, which also warrant further study. These blessings of frugality were promoted through texts as being beneficial to health, independence, and overall happiness and wellbeing, for those who chose to adopt it.

The Historiography of Frugality

Often, frugality is significant only by its absence in scholarly literature. Yates and Hunter acknowledge that in their search for the historiography of thrift and its twin frugality, they were surprised to find very little. They suggest that 'thrift is an idea, a virtue and a practice without a history' and that scholars in the social sciences and the humanities have largely ignored it.[12] That being said, frugality has not been completely disregarded by historians. *Thrift and Thriving in America,* outlined frugality from an American perspective and acknowledged that the concept of modern frugality began in early seventeenth century England.[13] However, few primary sources from that time were consulted and conclusions were made without referencing the many authors and publications, which would have influenced and encouraged the adoption of frugality at that time.

More recently, Hulme has written *A Brief History of Thrift,* which explores ideas of frugality from a western historical context and usefully classifies them into type according to their origin and motivation, such as 'religious thrift', 'individualist thrift' and 'spiritual thrift'.[14] Hulme also acknowledges the significance of the relationship between capitalism and frugality, by describing capitalism as the 'parasite of thrift' and thrift as 'capitalism's other', which are views which will be explored further in this thesis.[15] However, while crediting the importance of Benjamin Franklin as the father of eighteenth century frugality and indivualism, Hulme fails to reference

[12] Yates and Hunter,*Thrift and Thriving in America* (2011), p. 6.
[13] Ibid.
[14] Alison Hulme, *A Brief History of Thrift* (Manchester, 2019).
[15] Ibid. p.6 and p.9.

or recognise the plethora of published frugal advice and endorsments of moral and fiscal frugality which came before him.

Many academics have touched on the importance of frugality during the early consumer period, however, the history of frugality needs to be reconsidered. For example, frugality has been highlighted as being a marker of trust and respectability within the burgeoning economic and credit systems of the seventeenth century.[16] However, the significance of frugal behaviour within different ranks of society has not been explored. Frugality has also been discussed as a form of oeconomy and argued as part of the patriarchy of the home and an essential masculine code of conduct, as well as a vital characteristic required for household management by women.[17] However, frugality had agency in all aspects of life, not just within the home environment. Self-elected frugality or anti-consumerism during the Georgian era has been researched in an attempt to challenge 'the somewhat Whiggish idea that the march of materialism was neither questioned nor challenged'.[18] However, frugality was seen as being more than belligerent non-conformity by the well-to-do.

At the other end of the social scale, the link between frugality and poverty has been nominally discussed. It has been highlighted that the dissemination of information, which included frugal instruction, allowed the poor to adapt to the challenges of the new market economy.[19] Likewise,

[16] Craig Muldrew, *The Economy of Obligation: The Culture of Credit and Social Relations in Early Modern England* (London,1998).
[17] Karen Harvey, *The Little Republic, Masculinity and Domestic Authority in Eighteenth-Century Britain* (Oxford, 2012).
[18] Ibid. p. 266.
[19] Sandra Sherman, *Imagining Poverty: Quantification and the Decline of Paternalism* (Ohio, 2001).

frugality is included in an analysis of the motivations behind the writing of economical recipe books for the poor, stating that while it played a role in retrenching domestic expenditure, frugality also drew attention to their lack.[20] However, frugality was more than a negative patriarchal mechanism, and no acknowledgement has yet been made of the benefits of its adoption, or why its endorsers and adopters were so convinced of its worth.

Time and again, where frugality is considered, it is portrayed in a negative, coersive light and it is not fully justified or explored in its own right. On the rare occasions where scholars have discussed frugality, it has been viewed as little more than a moralistic outburst; a fearful response to overwhelming change, or an evolutionary survival mode that kicked in during times of shortage.[21] Often intertwined with the historically emotive subject of luxury, it has generally been treated as a pious virtue, rather than a practical doctrine.

Hont, when he described the luxury debate of the eighteenth century as a battle between 'ancients' and 'moderns', declared that the ideals of frugality were set firmly in the ancient past and Christianity.[22] Likewise, when endorsers of frugality from the long eighteenth century have been referenced, they are often accused of being mere 'moralists'. For instance, in *Consuming Splendor*, which charts the increase of luxury goods through the seventeenth century, Peck suggests that 'some contemporary moralists continued to rail

[20] Samantha Webb, One Man's Trash is Another Man's Dinner: Food and the Poetics of Scarcity in the Cheap Repository Tracts, *European Romantic Review, 17:4* (2006), pp. 419 - 436.
[21] 'Thrift is thus the thoroughly unremarkable social ethic of material scarcity' as quoted from the introduction to Yates and Hunter (eds) *Thrift and Thriving in America* (2011) p. 6.
[22] Istvan Hont. Commerce, Luxury, and Political Economy, *The Cambridge History of Eighteenth Eighteenth-Century Thought* (Cambridge, 2006), p. 380.

against luxury, effeminacy, and the commodification of honour from the pulpit to city comedies despite the increasing importance of worldwide trade to the economy'.[23] langford also outlines the beliefs of those he described as pessimists who vituperated against social change, without acknowledging that perhaps frugality was as much a tool of social control, as politeness was to the middling classes.[24]

Pro-frugality in the seventeenth and eighteenth century has been associated with being anti-progress and increasingly 'out of tune' with free trade.[27] As Whatmore comments: 'For late seventeenth and early eighteenth century moralists, luxury was part of the contagion of modern vices'.[28] This description concentrates attention on the disapproving nature of frugality and what it was thought to fight against. As such, those that promoted frugality, have been portrayed as nothing more than economic wet blankets who sought to extinguish the flames of commerce and national progress by chastising luxury and unnecessary consumption.[29] For economic historians, society's gradual acceptance of anti-frugal behaviour, is framed as a part of the 'Luxury Debate', and not as something to be studied it its own right.[30]

The study of frugality during the long eighteenth century touches on many diverse areas of historical research, from preaching to political economy

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[23] Linda Peck. *Consuming Splendor, Society and Culture in Seventeenth-Century England* (Cambridge, 2005), p.10. see also Colin Campbell, *The Romantic Ethic And The Spirit Of Modern Consumerism* (Oxford,1987); Maxine Berg and Elizabeth Eger (Eds) *Luxury in The Eighteenth Century, Debates, Desires and Delectable Goods* (London, 2003).
[24] Langford, *Polite and Commercial People* (1989).
[27] Christopher J Berry, *The Idea of Luxury, A Conceptual and Historical Investigation* (Cambridge, 1994), p. 106.
[28] Richard Whatmore. Luxury, Commerce, and the Rise of Political Economy, *The Oxford Handbook of British Philosophy in the Eighteenth Century* (Oxford, 2013), p. 582.
[29] Joyce Appleby, Ideology and Theory: The Tension between Political and Economic Liberalism in Seventeenth-Century England, *The American Historical Review,* 81:3 (1976), pp. 499-515.
[30] Hulme, *A Brief History of Thrift* (2019), p.8, see also John Galbraith, *The Affluent Society* (1958).

and from fashion to food. However, as yet, its significance within these fields has remained largely unexplored. For example, there has been substantial literature produced on early modern preaching, but studies have not explicitly consulted sermons that called for thrifty living or considered what preachers believed about frugality or why they promoted it.[31] Historians who have focused on the emergence of the ruling and middling orders, have not yet acknowledged the role that frugality might have played in building capital and developing the mindset and manners required for personal success.[32]

Likewise, studies of consumption, while often containing references pertaining to frugality, rarely discuss or explain them. For instance, Pennel in her analysis of the historiography of consumption, quotes an example of how the close scrutiny of the consumption of old goods (as in second-hand) is required, however, she does not link the use of second-hand goods with frugality and neither does she acknowledge the influence of frugality on consumption.[33] The history of fashion has also received extensive attention, and while studies such as Harvey's have looked at fashions for sober attire, and King and Tomkin have looked at the use of 'hand me down' clothes by the poor, no study has specifically linked frugality with fashion and

[31] For works on the influence of preachers and sermons see: Larissa Taylor, *Preachers and People in the Reformations and Early Modern Period* (Boston, 2001); Arnold Hunt, *The Art of Hearing, English Preachers and Their Audiences, 1590 - 1640* (Cambridge, 2014).
[32] Paul Langford, *A Polite and Commercial People: England 1727 – 1783* (Oxford University Press, 1989). Davidoff and Hall, *Family Fortunes, Men and Women of the English Middle Class 1750 - 1850* (London, 1987); Margaret R Hunt, *The Middling Sort: Commerce, Gender, and the Family in England, 1680-1780* (California, 1996); Rosenheim, *The Emergence of a Ruling Order, English Landed Society 1650 -1750* (London, 1998); See also: Peter Earle, *The Making of the English Middle Class, Business, Society and Family Life in London, 1660 - 1730*, (London,1989).
[33] Pennell. Consumption and Consumerism in Early Modern England, *Historical Journal,* 42:2 (1999), p. 560.

investigated how its promotion and adoption changed the way people viewed clothing.[34]

Furthermore, frugality has long been associated with its links to charity, yet while numerous studies of charitable institutions and philanthropy of the period have been published, all have neglected to chart the role which frugality may have played. Firstly, in directing incomes away from profligate spending and towards charitable donations and secondly in endorsing self-reliance amongst the labouring poor, so as to make them less dependant on hand-outs.[35] Finally, simple and restrictive diets have been studied by the likes of Guerrini and Rudram from the perspective of religious ethics and medical regimen, and their impacts on the evolution of alternative diets such as vegetarianism. However, the concept of the frugal diet and its perceived links to financial savings and improved health and well-being has not as yet been explored.[36]

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[34] John Harvey. *Men in Black* (London, 2013); Vivienne Richamond, *Clothing the Poor in Nineteenth Century England* (Cambridge, 2013); Peter Jones, Clothing the Poor in Early-Nineteenth-Century England,*Textile History*, 37:1 (May 2006), p. 17–37; Steven King and Alannah Tomkins, *The Poor in England 1700–1850: An Economy of Makeshifts* (Manchester, 2003); Custom or Consumption? Plebeian Fashion in Eighteenth Century England, in Maxine Berg and Elizabeth Eger (eds), *Luxury in the Eighteenth-Century: Debates, Desires and Delectable Goods* (Basingstoke, 2002); Miles Lambert,"Cast Off Wearing Apparell'': The Consumption and Distribution of Second-Hand Clothing in Northern England During the Long Eighteenth-Century', *Textile History* 35:1 (2004).

[35] Examples include:- R Bremner, *Giving, Charity and Philanthropy in History* (New York, 1994); Donna T Andrew, On Reading Charity Sermons: Eighteenth-Century Anglican Solicitation and Exhortation. *The Journal of Ecclesiastical History*, 43:4 (1992), p. 581–591; D T Andrew. *Philanthropy and Police, London Charity in the Eighteenth Century* (Princeton, 1989); Sandra Sherman, *Imagining Poverty: Quantification and the Decline of Paternalism*, (Ohio, 2001).

[36] Alan Rudrum. Ethical Vegetarianism in Seventeenth-Century Britain: Its Roots in Sixteenth-Century European Theological Debate. *Seventeenth Century* 18:1 (Spring 2003), p. 76. Anita Guerrini. A Diet for a Sensitive Soul: Vegetarianism in Eighteenth-Century Britain. *Eighteenth-Century Life*, 23:2 (1999), pp. 34-42; M Lindemann, *Medicine and Society in Early Modern Europe* (Cambridge, 1999); Andrew Wear, *Knowledge & Practice in English Medicine, 1550 - 1680* (Cambridge, 2000); E, Furdell, *Publishing and Medicine in Early Modern England* (Rochester, 2002).

Past studies have interpreted the luxury debate of the late seventeenth and eighteenth centuries as placating society into accepting the inevitability of mass consumerism; with frugality being merely an ineffective weapon in the armoury of the moralists that fought against it.[37] When, for many authors of the time, frugality was offered as a solution for the burgeoning consumer driven world. In fact, early frugal texts reveal how these social commentators believed that they could see through the chinks in the armour of capitalism, before it was fully formed and were compelled to expose the fundamental social problems they saw in its economic formulae. Indeed, the study of the printed culture of frugality reveals that rather than merely being a side effect of religious fervour, frugality was significant in its own right. That as a philosophy of living, frugality worked in constant balance with luxury, and it was this symbiotic relationship between luxury and frugality, which allowed stable economic and social progress to take place.[38]

The tide of academic thought does appear to be turning however. In 2019, Hulme declared that not only has there 'not been a slide from thrift to spending', but that 'thrift has been a consistent underlying current in economic history, being practised, or at lease preached, for various reasons throughout history'. [39] This thesis aims to explore this argument further, to clarify the reasons why frugality was preached and to seek evidence of its significance amongst the printed culture of the seventeenth and eighteenth centuries. Integral to this thesis is the identification and close study of the individuals who made it their mission to preach and teach frugality through their writings.

[37] See - Peck. *Consuming Splendour. Society and Culture in Seventeenth-Century England* (Cambridge, 2005).
[38] This point is argued in Alison Hulme's *A Brief History of Thrift* (2019).
[39] Hulme*, A Brief History of Thrift* (Manchester, 2019), p. 8.

The Champions of Frugality

From the early seventeenth century a succession of preachers, teachers, moralisers, entrepreneurs, physicians, philosophers, philanthropists and early economists took up the baton of frugality, hoping to pass it onto the next generation. This ill-defined group of writers appear to have believed in frugality for frugality's sake. Some were religious, others not, some believed that all should be frugal, while others endorsed frugality to particular audiences only. These champions of frugality were encapsulated within the printed culture of their time. Many remain unidentified, or were only evident in an ephemeral way, however, evidence of their messages and social reach can be found.

While religiously motivated texts were widespread during the period and warrant further study, this thesis will specifically evidence the many publications, which whilst paying deference to religion, were clearly motivated by the more worldly, utilitarian and individualistic incentives of frugality. It will make the case that frugality was actively and purposely proselytised in a variety of forms, and was considered significant enough by a multitude of authors to justify a constant publishing presence, generations before they were superceded and transended by the likes of Franklin and Smiles, who merely snatched the frugal baton that was extended to them and passed off their predecessors ideas as their own.

A wealth of primary sources written and commenting on frugality have been consulted and although they remain mostly unacknowledged by modern academics, they nevertheless worked within the cultural mainstream of their time. Where they have previously been referenced in scholarly works, the

focus has concentrated on what these texts were against, rather than what they actively sought to promote and achieve.[40] By extension, rarely has it been considered what effect these messages were hoped to have on their readership and why they were written.

Calder declares that 'The print culture that helped people make sense of money – through financial advice offered in books, newspapers, magazines, and advertisments – awaits its historian'.[41] This thesis aims to address this inbalance. It assesses these written works to establish how they could have been viewed and used to influence and motivate contemporary audiences. By reviewing and considering these texts cumulatively, the strengths of these frugal messages are amplified and an alternative perspective of the rise of consumerism and social change appears. These authors were significant; they adapted the religious and moral message of frugality to embrace the new burgeoning sense of the importance of self and to encourage a new entrepreneurial spirit. Resulting in a doctrine of living, which would go on to be recognised by the likes of Samuel Smiles as being appropriate for anyone wishing to better their position in life.

[40] Christopher J Berry, *The Idea of Luxury, A Conceptual and Historical Investigation* (Cambridge, 1994); Linda Peck. *Consuming Splendor, Society and Culture in Seventeenth-Century England* (Cambridge, 2005); Colin Campbell, *The Romantic Ethic And The Spirit Of Modern Consumerism* (Oxford,1987); Maxine Berg and Elizabeth Eger (eds), *Luxury in The Eighteenth Century, Debates, Desires and Delectable Goods* (London, 2003).
[41] Calder, Saving and Spending, *The Oxford Handbook of the History of Consumption* (2013), p. 349.

Methodology

It is not enough to assume that frugality was naturally present in the religious, the poor or the industrious, or that it was an attribute that revealed itself to those who were sufficiently pious or fiscally motivated. It is not enough to state that people in the past were frugal or even more frugal than they are today, without explaining what frugality was, what being frugal entailed and how it came to be considered important. Therefore, the methodological focus will be on printed sources and what they had to say to their readers, rather than attempting to seek evidence of frugal behaviours within the population of the time. By exploring the part these texts played in both religious and secular society, we can add to our understanding of what frugality and frugal behaviour was considered to be, what benefits it was thought to have and how and why frugality was consistently promoted and endorsed.

The didactic writings of those who sort to extol the virtues of frugality provide an insight into the thoughts of early protagonists as they fought against the tide of what they saw as declining morals, uncontrolled consumerism and the increasing pace of social change. However, they also reveal how these same frugal habits were thought to channel economic and personal resources and skills into investment capital, while simultaneously creating a climate whereby preexisting brilliant and inventive people were inspired and empowered to make their creative visions a reality. Maybe a protestant ethic didn't spark capitalism, but perhaps the constant preaching

and teaching of frugal ideology helped to create the mindsets and habits which allowed capitalism to thrive?[42]

Through a comprehensive study of frugal texts, this thesis firstly aims to investigate frugality's relationship with class. To show how the origins of Smile's version of frugality saw its genesis in the early modern period, where frugality was not only preached by the Puritans for religious reasons but was simultaneously promoted to the nobility through didactic publications, for more worldly and self-rewarding ends. How, during the long eighteenth century, frugality as a moral concept and doctrine of behaviours, was embraced and championed as a practical regimen of living by the ambitious and God-fearing middling classes. And then, as the eighteenth century progressed, this frugal idealism and zeal became directed at the lower classes, as a form of social control and as a way of both explaining and alleviating poverty.

Secondly, this thesis will investigate frugality's relationship with consumption, how a frugal diet and consuming less were thought to have many holistic benefits for individuals and improve their general health and wellbeing. As well as how frugality was seen to interact with and influence the consumption of fashionable consumer goods as part of the luxury debate. By pulling together these sources and analysing the views of their writers, the methods by which frugality was preached, promoted, eulogised and taught can be studied and better understood. By doing so, this thesis sets out to plot the origins of frugal beliefs, outline the principles behind frugal doctrines, and trace the dissemination of frugal rhetoric from the seventeenth century to the early nineteenth century.

[42] Ibid, p.9. 'In fact, capitalism could not have survived without thrift. Or rather, it could not have survived without appropriating thrift as frugality.'

By interpreting and comparing the many views on frugality in both private and public spheres, it is hoped to demonstrate that frugality played a significant, and as yet, undervalued role in the social, economic, political and moral development of the long eighteenth century.[43] Furthermore, this thesis hopes to contribute a new perspective on frugality, one which will allow scholars to see both sides of the luxury debate with greater clarity and understand the motivations behind, and the benefits of not consuming, at the birth of the consumer society.

The Sources

This thesis examines printed books, pamphlets, tracts, sermons, broadsheets, periodicals and ballads published between 1622 and 1815.[44] Prescriptive texts are a rich source of social commentary on frugality; many of these were polemical, combining the positive reinforcement of frugality as a virtue, alongside the chastisement of opposing behaviours such as luxurious living, extravagance, profligacy and waste.

Research efforts were concentrated on those publications that had dedicated a significant proportion of the text, either to the subject of frugality (thrift and economy included), or to the avoidance of actions viewed as being anti-frugal. Although the focus of this thesis is primarily on publications written during the long eighteenth century, it is important to mention the seminal

[43] Hulme, *A Brief History of Thrift* (2019), p. 9. Hulme also acknowledges that frugality occupies a larger place in history than mainstream accounts have allowed for.
[44] A full list, in chronological order of publishing, can be found as an appendix.

pieces which came before, as they not only continued to be republished throughout the period, but they also influenced and are cited in later works. These sources show how frugal messaging was continuous throughout the period and was cascaded through the social ranks both horizontally and vertically, taking advantage of cheaper printing, increasing literacy levels, and a growing sense of individualism and social ambition.

Often the same frugal texts and messages were not only recycled for each class but were also adapted and emphasised to suit different purposes and to meet various social needs and agendas.[45] According to Yates and Hunter, frugality had a duel role, with the attributes associated with frugality sometimes functioning 'as enablers of capitalist production', while at other times, they have been used as 'a form of resistance and antagonism to the market's reach'.[46] This can be investigated by analysing all works which comment on frugality and assessing the motivations of their authors.

Previously, assertions have been made by scholars that frugality must be linked to the 'Protestant Ethic' promoted by Max Weber and his followers, and that religious preaching was at the forefront of its promotion.[47] Inferring that the continuous preaching of Christian values provoked a simultaneous adoption of the frugal and industrious traits, which manipulated the mindset of the middling classes and allowed them to naturally embrace the spirit of capitalism.[48] However, numerous early modern publications have been discovered during this research, which were secular and utilitarian in

[45] Yates and Hunter, The Introduction, *Thrift and Thriving in America* (Oxford, 2011), p. 5.
[46] Ibid. p. 5.
[47] Gordon Marshall, *In Search of Capitalism: An Essay on Max Weber's Protestant ethic Thesis* (London, 1982); Jack Barbalet, *Weber, Passion and Profits: 'The Protestant Ethic and the Spirit of Capitalism' in Context* (Cambridge, 2008).
[48] Max Weber, *The Protestant Ethic and the Spirit of Capitalism* (1930).

approach and yet heavily promoted the same frugal ethic. These publications, as shall be explained, ran alongside and in conjunction with the religious and moralistic frugal rhetoric of the day. They reveal an alternative perspective on frugality and how and why it was promoted and practiced at the time.

These sources also expose the many positive aspects and attributes to frugality, which at the time were not only thought to benefit the self, but also society as a whole. These beneficial interpretations of frugality have been left out of the history of consumption so far. Whereas many scholars have studied how society fought against frugal ideals and came to embrace luxury and how the consumption of goods was encouraged.[49] Overwhelmingly, it is this 'democratization' and 'demoralization' of luxury, which has been interpreted as the route to modern capitalism and the development of current theories of political economics.[50]

However, the replacement of frugality by luxury cannot explain the evolution of consumerism, as sources that promoted frugality were not against the spending of money. Evidence within the printed culture of frugality reveals how the spending of large sums of money on capital investments, socially beneficial projects and home-produced goods, by those who could afford them, was actively encouraged.[51] Neither was the practice of frugality necessarily dependent on rejecting all luxuries, as confirmed by one eighteenth century writer, who was adamant that: 'tis false that Frugality

[49] Key books and papers on the Luxury Debate include: Berry, *The Idea of Luxury, A Conceptual and Historical Investigation* (1994); Berg and Eger (eds), *Luxury in The Eighteenth Century, Debates, Desires and Delectable Goods* (London, 2003).
[50] Democratization of luxury is termed by Appleby in Consumption in *Early Modern Social Thought, Consumption and The World of Goods* (London,1993) – The term demoralization of luxury was termed by Berry in *The Idea of Luxury, A Conceptual and Historical Investigation* (Cambridge,1994).
[51] These ideas were exemplified in the works of Thomas Tryon, which will be referred to in detail later in this thesis.

admits only the bare Neccessities of nature; it consults, in its proper Degree, every Convenience and Indulgence of Life, that may not be attended with some disproportioned ill Consequence'.[52]

Pro-frugal and anti-luxury moralism, therefore, was more about the control of, rather than the cessation of spending; although this view does not sit with the dominant model of industrialisation and the emergence of consumer society during the eighteenth century. [53] Therefore, while there was a well-documented luxury debate, there was also a complimentary frugality debate. This frugality debate provided both arguments for and counterarguments against luxury and was not just a virtuous chastisement of superfluous spending or the abandonment of morals and respectability. Instead, frugality was championed by its many advocates as a valid pathway to personal and national advancement, prosperity and power.

These sources will show how authors during the long eighteenth century offered frugality as an effective method of control, which could either be self-applied by individuals or directed at others. As well as how frugality was perceived as being able to channel respectability and to improve the condition of both individuals and the nation as a whole. In essence, frugality was perceived to be the way to wealth, health and happiness, for the many as

[52] Mercator, On Frugality, *The Museum: of The Literary and Historical Register*, XIV (Sept 27th, 1746), p.6.

[53] Key books on consumption in the seventeenth and eighteenth centuries include: John Brewer, Roy Porter, *Consumption and the World of Goods* (London, 1993); John Sekora, *Luxury, The Concept in Western Thought, Eden to Smollett* (London, 1977); Paul Slack, *The Invention of Improvement, Information and Material Progress in Seventeenth-Century England* (Oxford, 2015); Mckendrick, N. Brewer, J. Plumb, J.H. *The Birth of a Consumer Society, Commercialisation of Eighteenth-Century England* (London, 1983); Peck, L. *Consuming Splendor, Society and Culture in Seventeenth-Century England* (Cambridge, 2005); Woodruff D Smith. *Consumption and the Making of Respectability 1600 - 1800* (London, 2002); Key papers include: S Pennal. 'Consumption and Consumerism In Early Modern England', *The Historical Journal,* 42:2 (1999).

well as the few. The foundations of Georgian and Victorian middle-class frugality were laid by these forgotten early champions of frugal living, who created an ideology which inspired the later authors, who succeeded in popularising their frugal teachings to a wider audience.

Outline of Chapters and Brief Chronology of Frugal Publications and Thinking 1622 – 1815.

Here, an outline of the chapters in this thesis has been combined with a chronological outline of significant authors and their publications. This offers a brief overview of the broad range of literature consulted, charting and summarising the changing roles, motivations, and social acceptance of frugality throughout the period of study.

Chapter One: Framing Frugality, explores the concept and meaning of frugality as a term within its social and historical context, by examining the language, semantics, meanings and specifications instilled by those who championed it. It will discuss the links between frugality and religion as well as evidence secular and utilitarian motivations to frugality. It will consider why frugal instruction was required and outlines the roles that individuals, family and gender were perceived to play in encouraging its adoption.

Chapter Two – Frugality for the Elite and the Nation investigates how and why frugality first came to be promoted to the aristocracy and the nobility of England. How they were motivated by the concept of the Golden Mean to moderate their behaviours, in the midst of increasing temptation to spend. It will consider how frugality was targeted at the very rich as well as

gentlemen of small fortune. Lastly, it will reveal how frugality was encouraged on behalf of the wider public and the nation.

Writings focusing on frugality emerged from the 1620s when Henry Peacham and Robert Aylett, started championing the merits of frugality to the nobility as a way of stabilising what they viewed as a threat to the concept of *noblesse oblige.* Before the Civil War, printed material preached frugality to the nobility as a way of securing the ancient lines of power and the status quo. The Interregnum period, however, saw a noticeable absence of frugal publications in the form of noble advice guides. This reflected the change in power and influence of the aristocracy, with many entrenched in personal battles to keep control of their estates and assets and to protect their own family fortunes' from the Parliamentary forces.

Instead, at this time, frugal advice took the form of puritanical sermons and religious guides by the likes of Richard Younge and Richard Baxter.[54] Charitable giving was encouraged, and the deserving poor were judged suitable recipients for any excess wealth that could otherwise be directed at ungodly licentious and luxurious behaviours.[55] In his title *The Poores advocate* of 1654, Richard Younge demonstrated how puritanical authors appealed for frugal behaviour, not directly, but by sternly rebuking its opposite vices, thereby enticing guilt and instigating frugality by proxy. Morality and

[54] Richard Baxter, *A Christian Directory, or A sum of practical theologie and cases of conscience directing Christians how to use their knowledge and faith, how to improve all helps and means, and to perform all duties, how to overcome temptations, and to escape or mortifie every sin: in four parts* (London, 1673); *The Poor Man's Family book* (London, 1677). *Mr Baxters rules and directions for family duties shewing how every one ought to behave himself in a Christain Behaviour, suitable to that relation in which God hath placed him: wherein is set forth the duty of parents (required of God) towards their children, likewise children's duty to their parents, husbands to their wives, and wives to their husbands, masters to their servants, and servants duty their masters…* (London, 1681).
[55] Richard Young(e), *The Poores Advocate in 8 parts* (1654).

Christianity were used to implant the seeds of social justice, fairness and the redistribution of wealth into the minds of the wealthy, and frugal behaviour and the control or abstention of profligate spending was how this was to be achieved.

Early endorsers of frugality, including Henry Peacham, tended to be staunch Royalists. One notable exception was Dudley, Lord North, who had sided with Parliament to favour his political career. North anonymously wrote *Observations And Advices Oeconomical,* which was published in 1669, where he outlined the financial pressures and difficulties that many noble families had experienced during the civil war period and how the adoption of frugal ways could help them maintain their standards of living as well as their position within society.[56]

Chapter Three – Frugality for Wealth, Health and Happiness will concentrate on the positive impacts, which the adoption of a frugal lifestyle was thought to have on the individual. Whilst previously, historians have paid great attention to the material culture that the promotion of frugality discouraged, for example: the rise of conspicuous consumption; the exuberant fashions; flamboyant fripperies; intoxicating drinks and glutinous feasts. Too little attention has been given to the positive effects and benefits felt by those who resisted these seemingly overwhelming temptations. This chapter will focus on the improved position and wellbeing that was perceived to be the reward for those stalwarts of frugality, who practiced temperance, moderation, economy and thrift.

[56] B.J. Randall, *North, Dudley, fourth Baron North (1602 - 1677)* ODNB entry (Published online 2004).

It will also show how patterns of consumerism began to change and ideas around the individual, as opposed to social responsibility took hold. How at this time, didactic literature in the form of self-help publications and advice books, such as *The Pleasant Art of Money-Catching* (1684) became popular.[57] By endorsing frugality as a spur to self-betterment and individual and familial prosperity, these publications quickly grew in number, and they were read enthusiastically by the newly emerging middling orders.

Many of these self-improvement books were initially intended as parental advice guides, at one time they were written by noble fathers for their heirs.[58] However, *A Cap of Grey hairs for a Green Head* by Caleb Trenchfield (1671), was boasted as the first work aimed at sons of the lower orders of gentlemen, who were destined to become apprentices in one of the many burgeoning professions or trades.[59] Such works highlighted the changes in attitudes and aspirations of families and the importance of laying frugal foundations in order to raise the social status of their children.

Thomas Tryon, who wrote from the 1680's, acknowledged frugality as 'the prime way of getting' for those who aspired to a better life.[60] Enterprising

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[57] N H, *The Pleasant Art of Money-Catching* (London,1684).
'Through the course of the seventeenth century, upper-class Englishmen had disentangled themselves from the constraining ties of a corporate society and embraced instead the ethos of liberalism. Slowly the individual's rights to be free of inherited social obligations had gained precedence over the older notion of society's primary claim on its members' -
Appleby, Ideology and Theory: The Tension Between Political and Economic Liberalism in Seventeenth Century England, *The American Historical Review,* 81:3 (1976), pp. 499 - 515.

[58] Raleigh, *Sir Walter Raleigh's instructions to his sone and to posterity* (London,1632).

[59] Caleb Trenchfield, *Cap of Grey Hairs for A Green Head* (London, 1671).

[60] Examples include H, N, *The Pleasant Art of Money-Catching, Newly and Fully Discovered, Being the Second and Last part of that very useful Book, Intitled The Compleat Tradesman.* (London, 1684); John Sowter, *The Way to be Wise and Wealthy: Or, The Excellency of Industry and Frugality, As the due and regular Exercise thereof is the necessary Means of procuring the Happiness of This life, and preparing for that of a Better* (Exeter, 1716);Thomas Tryon, *The Way to make all People Rich: Or Wisdoms Call To Temperanae (sic) And Frugality in a Dialogue Between Sophronio and Guloso, One Lover of Sobriety, The other addicted to Gluttony and Excess* (London,1685).

authors also plagiarised the frugal messages of the previous generation, making them available to the lower classes through popular ballads and broadsheets such as *The New Art of Thriving,* which was published in different formats and for different audiences, numerous times between 1674 and 1706. [61] Even those who allegedly spoke in favour of profligacy such as the infamous Bernard Mandeville, admitted that private frugality was the 'most certain Method to increase an Estate'.[62]

By the eighteenth century, frugal advice was offered to the growing number of shopkeepers and merchants. John Sowter published his *Way to be Wise and Wealthy or the Excellency of Industry and Frugality* in 1716, which stressed the importance of frugality and industry to professional men, scholars, traders and artificers as a way of increasing their personal wealth as well as their happiness in life.[63] Daniel Defoe's book *The Complete English Tradesman,* first published in 1726, whilst purporting to be a useful advice guide to 'young tradesmen', was in fact published solely out of Defoe's concern that: 'there never were so many bankruptcies, or failures in trade, as of late'.[64] Defoe's underlying message was the importance of frugality in ensuring not only the welfare of the young traders but also the success of the country. Indeed, he went so far as to declare frugality as being essential for successful trading: stating 'Frugality may be out of fashion among the gentry;

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[61] Anon. *Wit bought at a dear rate. Being a relation of the misery, one suffers by being too kind hearted: wishing all people to beware of that undoing quality: and to be frugal and saving, that in ages years, their life may be as comfortable, as in youth it was pleasant and folly* (Printed ballad sheet, s.n.,1646-1674).
[62] Bernard Mandeville, *The Fable of The Bees, Or Private Vices, Publick Benefits* (London, 1714, Reprinted,1970), line 22, p. 199.
[63] John Sowter, *The Way to be wise and wealthy or the Excellency of Industry and Frugality* (Exeter, 1716).
[64] Daniel Defoe, *The complete English tradesman: directing him in the several parts and progressions of trade, from his first entring upon business* (London, 1745), The Preface.

but if it comes to be so among tradesmen, we shall soon see, that wealthy tradesmen will be hard to find. For they who will not save as well as gain must expect to go out of trade as lean as they began'.[65]

There is evidence of frugality being promoted for a variety of overlapping reasons during the long eighteenth century. A frugal doctrine of living could help garner a good reputation, honour and respectability; all of which were essential personal attributes, especially for a businessman. Therefore, the avoidance of all thoughts, words and deeds which were seen as being anti-frugal could help maintain the status of an individual in the eyes of their community as well as God.[66] However, overindulgences in eating, drinking, sleeping and sex were chastised as much for health reasons, as for moral and fiscal ones.

Food and drink were central to the conversation on health, and there was an evident link made between health and wellbeing, and frugality in the forms of temperance and abstinence.[67] Food was particularly important to Galenic physiology, as it was thought to literally make the body, and therefore, many of the English regimens followed these traditions.[68] From the 1680s Thomas Tryon promoted frugality as 'The Foundation of health'. His book *The Way to Health, Long Life and Happiness* (1685*),* described his own temperate eating regimen.[69] Tryon's beliefs followed those of Peacham, who in the early seventeenth-century firmly believed that frugal eating was not only

[65] Ibid. p. 276.
[66] Mackenzie, *The Moral History of Frugality* (London, 1691), p. 6.
[67] Andrew Wear, *Knowledge and Practice in English Medicine, 1550 – 1680* (Cambridge, 2000), p171 - 172.
[68] See: We are What we Eat: Digestion Health and Illness, in Wear, *Knowledge and Practice in English Medicine, 1550 - 1680* (Cambridge, 2000), p169.
[69] Thomas Tryon, *The Way to make all People Rich or Wisdom Calls to Temperance and Frugality* (London, 1685), p. 25.

economical but the most suitable for a man's constitution.[70] These views continued throughout the seventeenth and into the eighteenth century, whereby, George Cheyne published his *Essay of Health and Long life* in 1724 and then *The English Malady* in 1733. Cheyne promoted a frugal eating regimen to his patients, especially those with delicate constitutions.[71]

Throughout the period of study, frugality was also extolled for spiritual reasons. While riches and wealth were desirable outcomes of frugality, the eventual goal of many was the achievement of something more intangible; wisdom and self-respect or *amour propre*, to the point where individuals became free of the influence of mortal trappings. As Tryon described temperance as being 'the delight of the Wise and the Solace of the private man', frugality was perceived to provide spiritual returns, which would benefit man far more than any material gains.[72] For those who reached this epiphany of frugal understanding, such as George Mackenzie, whose quote opened this introduction, life changed dramatically: 'For if I can once bring my self to live on a little with as great pleasure as others follow their recreations, why should I ruine my Soul or mankind, that I may get what Frugality will persuade me to be superfluous'.[73]

The link between frugality and contentment was well established during the period as outlined in an anonymous tract: *An Effort Towards Promoting Contentment,* written in 1785, which stated:

> All Philosophers have owned, that, to retrench one's Appetites must be the readiest Way to true Riches, and Experience, daily shows, that even the utmost in the Power of Fortune to bestow, can do no more

[70] Peacham, *The Worth of a Penny* (London, 1641), p. 25.
[71] Guerrini, 'A Diet for a Sensitive Soul: Vegetarianism in Eighteenth-Century Britain.' *Eighteenth-Century Life*, 23:2 (1999), p. 34-42.
[72] Tryon, *The Way to make all People Rich* (London, 1685), p. 25.
[73] George Mackenzie, *A Moral History of Frugality* (London, 1691), p. 3.

> towards satisfying the Ambition of a proud, luxurious and empty Mind, than the Wing of an Ortolan would towards satisfying the Hunger of an half starved Ploughman …...'It is evident, therefore, that the Contentment of this Life, will consist chiefly in the good Qualities of the Mind, and not in the Superfluous Attainments of the Body.[74]

Whilst it is difficult to judge how much frugality affected the general happiness and wellbeing of the population, this chapter aims to chart the role which frugality played via printed media in encouraging these 'good qualities of the mind'.

Chapter Four: The Frugal Poor, looks at how, in the eighteenth century, frugal writings continued to champion charity, and how it was used as a tool to leverage donations out of the pockets of all except the poorest through sermons and emotive pleas. Also, how frugality took on a new role by helping to spread ideas of self-reliance and individual responsibility to the lower classes.

The rise in pauperism caused a strain on the existing Poor Law system, meaning that local ratepayers started to begrudge their civic payments to support those, who they increasingly came to see as the idle poor.[75] As a possible solution to this, frugal messages were disseminated in publications such as *An Inquiry into the Management of the Poor*, in order to 'rescue the common people of this nation from their present unhappy condition' by advocating 'sobriety and frugality' and encouraging them to have a more stable home life and to adopt 'habits of honest labour'.[76]

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[74] Anonymous, *An Effort Towards Promoting Contentment* (Banff, 1785), pp. 5-6.

[75] See: Sherman, *Imagining Poverty: Quantification and the Decline of Paternalism*, (Ohio, 2001); Donna T Andrew, *Philanthropy and Police: London Charity in the Eighteenth Century* (Princetown,1989).

[76] Anon, *An Inquiry into the Management of the Poor, and Our usual Polity respecting the Common People; with Reasons Why, they have hitherto been attended with Success* (London, 1767), p. 91.

Gradually, chastisements against idleness and mismanagement were replaced with more empathetic calls for the appropriate education of the masses. New philanthropic societies instructed the poor and encouraged the practicalities of frugal living. Educational advice guides were developed by those such as the Meat and Soup Society, The Society for Bettering the Condition and Increasing the Comforts of the Poor, and The Cheap Repository for Moral and Religious Tracts.[77] These texts were used to demonstrate examples of good practice in the relief of the poor, which culminated at the very end of the eighteenth-century with widely produced handouts containing practical, thrifty advice and economical recipes.

Chapter Five: The Significance of Frugality. This chapter pulls together the arguments put forward in this thesis, to form an alternative view of the luxury debate. It explores some of the nuances and contradictions in our understanding of both luxury and frugality and explains them in the context of the long eighteenth century. One of the most emotive endorsements of frugality was in defiance to, and as a defence against luxury. This caused a heated debate that emerged from the late 1600s and continued unrelentingly into the early nineteenth century. Many endorsers of frugality struggled with the idea that luxury was of any positive benefit, either to individuals or to the nation. The morals and virtues of both luxury and frugality were debated through print by the likes of George Mackenzie, Bernard

[77] Magistrate (by a), *An Account of a Meat and Soup Charity, Established In The Metropolis, In The Year 1797, With Observations Relative to the Situation of The Poor, And One the Means of Bettering the Condition of the Labouring People with regard to Food; And Of Increasing Their Comforts In Other Respects, By A More Frugal Mode of Living, Particularly In The City Of London, and Its Environs* (London, 1797); *The Society For the Bettering The Condition and Increasing The Comforts of the Poor*, The Reports of, Vol. I (London,1798). Also, the writings of Hannah More such as *The Cottage Cook or Mrs Jones's Cheap Dishes Showing The Way to Do Much with Little Money* (London and Bath,1795).

Mandeville, John Sowter, Daniel Defoe, Erasmus Jones, John Trusler and Adam Smith.

Bernard Mandeville first published his satirical poem *The Grumbling Hive* in 1705. He finally caught the full attention of the world after it was re-published in 1714, and then again in 1723, when it was published as an extended edition. Scholars have picked apart the original poem, along with its copious accompanying notes, ever since its publication. Still, there is little agreement as to whether Mandeville was categorically anti-frugality and pro-luxurious living or whether he merely recognised that superfluous spending was necessary for the growth of the national economy, even though it risked the integrity and happiness of the entire population.[78]

Publications that were overtly against luxury, such as *An Enquiry Into The Melancholy Circumstances of Great Britain*, which was published anonymously circa.1740, made a robust nationalistic case for public frugality by the government, as well as private frugality by way of conscious spending on home-produced staples, rather than imported French luxuries.[79] These seventeenth and eighteenth-century arguments, which favoured frugality over luxury, both privately and publicly played a fundamental role in the luxury debate of the day and significantly influenced the social conscience of the time.

[78] Hont, et al. The Early Enlightenment Debate on Commerce and Luxury, *The Cambridge History of Eighteenth-Century Political Thought* (Cambridge, 2006), pp. 377– 418.
[79] Anon. *An Enquiry Into The Melancholy Circumstances Of Great Britain: More particularly in regard to the Oeconomy of Private Families and Persons, Gentlemen, Clergy, Farmers, Merchants, Tradesmen, Mechanicks, &c. With Observations on the New Methods of Living and Diversions in both City and Country, with some Remedies to prevent the Ruin of private Families; and Remarks upon our Trade in general, and especially of such Commodities as are imported for Luxury, or injurous to our Manufactures. Also, some Hints to prevent the growing Poverty of these Nations* (London, circa 1740).

Summary

The authors and writings identified in this thesis, worked alongside religious discourses and were vital in promoting a conscious consideration of appropriate spending and behaviour within a quickly changing society. Whilst the religious impact on behaviour has been thoroughly examined as part of the scholarly analysis of Weber's theory of the 'Protestant Ethic', these more secular publications and the views endorsed by them, have been previously discounted from the debate.

Slack does acknowledge that these publications were closely associated with 'an ethic favouring self-advancement, in husbandry and trade', which in the second half of the eighteenth century could be 'incorporated into a discourse about industriousness and without losing their relevance'. Slack links their popularity with an increased awareness of the virtues of frugality, after the economic instability of the late seventeenth century and the memory of the Crown's defaulting on debts between 1672 - 4. Whereby, frugality became one of the virtues 'continually urged on young tradesmen in sermons and advice literature'.[80] However, this thesis evidences that frugal publications of this nature had been popular at least fifty years previously. Whilst Slack points out that these types of publications represented 'a culture conspicuously at odds with the one Nicholas Barbon embodied and advocated; one of acquisitiveness and emulation of one's betters, driven by infinite passions of the mind'. This profound statement is not explained further, and for Slack, they merely help to make the point that 'The

[80] Paul Slack, *The Invention of Improvement, Information and Material Progress in Seventeenth- Century England* (Oxford, 2014), p. 165.

virtues of thrift, prudence, and industriousness were not inconsistent with improvement but inseparable from it'.[81]

This thesis will expand on this idea and prove that not only was frugality inseparable from ideas of improvement, but also fundamental for their development. It reveals how frugal texts not only highlighted the social anxieties, which existed between the classes at the time, but also predicted the rise in poverty as a consequence of the unequal distribution of wealth. They also called out the half-hearted paternalism of the 'frugal elite' and made a plea for the poor to be paid enough to be able to benefit from their own frugality.

[81] Ibid. pp. 165 - 166.

Chapter One - Framing Frugality

In 1758, to celebrate his birthday, Thomas Comber wrote a poem, *An Ode to Frugality*. Comber, a gentleman of York, described frugality as a goddess and a key part of a wider family of virtuous characteristics, whereby the union of prudence and experience, worked alongside its sibling virtues of temperance and industry, to produce a utopian world of peace, liberty and reason.[1]

Notwithstanding Comber's assumptions about frugality, the evolution of frugality as an idea is complex. Frugality is often interpreted by historians as a fearful reaction to modernity, or a way of clinging to the past by reverting back to rose-tinted, old-fashioned ancestral ways.[2] Yet, rather than being mere melancholic nostalgia this chapter shows that frugality was framed, in print at least, as a positive and vital force for the individual as well as a way of instigating social and economic improvements and change.

Calder suggests that 'no one inherits prudence' and that 'every generation has to learn to handle money for itself'.[3] The study of frugality through printed culture can help pinpoint the moments in time when this concept became apparent. Detailing how authors saw themselves as the ones responsible for teaching the next generation how to cope with, control and capitalise the resources they had to hand; for the benefit of themselves and generations to come. It also allows us to view the conflicts of conscience

[1] Mr. Comber, *An Ode to Frugality* (York,1758), p. 5.
[2] Frugality was intertwined with 'the ideology of mercantilism' which 'blunted the source of new ideas' in the late seventeenth-century - Joyce Appleby, Ideology and Theory: Tension Between Political and Economic Liberalism in Seventeenth-Century England, *American Historical Review.* 81:3 (1976), pp. 499-515.
[3] Lendol Calder, Saving and Spending, *The Oxford Handbook of The History of Consumption* (Oxford, 2013), p.349.

regarding consumption and class and how the definition and acceptance of frugality fluxed during the long eighteenth century, in response to changing times and religious and social expectations.

To understand what frugality meant in the long eighteenth century, the chapter examines how these writers defined frugality and the behaviours they associated with it. For, although the notion of frugality was often ambiguous, by examining the language and semantics of frugality and discussing the terminology and phraseology associated with it, it becomes possible to pin down its meaning and specific usage. Hence, the chapter seeks to build a picture of how frugality was viewed as a concept, through the printed culture of the time.

Central to this chapter, are those seventeenth and eighteenth-century individuals, such as Henry Peacham, Lord North, Thomas Tryon, George Mackenzie, John Sowter, and Daniel Defoe, who extolled the individual advantages as well as the social practicalities of frugality to their respective audiences. In exploring their work, the chapter reveals how frugality was seen as a moralistic mental attitude or a virtuous voluntary way of living as opposed to a random reactionary action in response to lack. Showing how the habitual adoption of frugality by individuals was passionately endorsed, for individualistic and nationalistic as well as for religious reasons. It also asks why so many writers wrote about frugality, and by analysing the reasonings of the authors, it attempts to explain how and why they tried through their works, to lay the optimum foundations for frugality, in order to ensure the best possible conditions for its conception within individuals and society.

The Language of Frugality

Establishing the semantics of frugality is a vital first step in its contextual exploration. What exactly did frugality mean to the people of the long eighteenth century? The Latin origin of frugal/frugality is *frugalis*, meaning economical, comprising of *frux*, meaning to produce fruit, thereby fruitfulness. However, this meaning is not reflected in early definitions of frugality that appeared in the newly emerging publishing genre of dictionaries. Such dictionary definitions were generally very simplistic. For instance, Robert Cawdrey's *A Table Alphabeticall* (considered the first dictionary) offered the word 'thriftie' by way of explanation, which is expanded further by 'temperate in expenses'.[4]

Other early dictionaries used terms such as 'sparing', 'sobriety' and 'moderation' alongside 'thrifty'. Thrifty, literally means thriving, as in flourishing, and during the long eighteenth century the terms frugality and thrift are used in similar contexts and are often interchangeable. However, In the sixteenth and early seventeenth century, thrift was more commonly used, with frugality becoming increasingly more popular during the eighteenth century. Why this should be the case is difficult to prove, as words can fall in and out of

[4] Robert Cawdrey, *A Table Alphabeticall,* the 3rd edition (1617, first published in 1604). Frugall = 'Thriftie, temperate in expenses'.
John Bullokar, *An English expositor teaching the interpretation of the hardest words vsed in our languag*e (London,1616), Frugall = 'Thriftie, sparing. Frugalitie = Thriftinesse, good husbandry'.
Henry Cockeram, *The English dictionary* (London, 1650), Frugall = Thrifty. Frugality - Thriftinesse
Thomas Blount, *Glossographia,* (1656), Frugality = 'Thrift, Sobriety, moderation in expenses'.
Cocker's English Dictionary (London, 1704), Frugality = 'Good husbandry'.
John Kersey. *Dictionarium Anglo-Britannium* (London, 1708), Frugal = 'Thrifty, sparing. Frugality - Thriftiness, sparingness in expenses'.

fashion. However, frugality does seem to have been appreciated by the authors consulted in this study as a practical and purposeful behaviour or action which contributed towards a state or position of thrift and therefore thriving.[5]

Charting word frequencies through Google N-gram reveals a small peak in the use of the terms frugal and frugality in printed media in the 1620s and 1640s and again in the 1680s, which relates directly to the publication of the earliest texts identified in this thesis. It also shows a rising level of usage from 1720, building to a larger peak in the late 1770s. [6] These peaks in frugal publishing can be linked to periods of economic stress, which are often referred to by the authors. These texts either offer a frugal solution to straightened times directly to the reader or attempt to suggest a wider social solution by promoting the adoption of frugality to a wider group of people, most frequently the labouring classes.[7]

Works such as George Herbert's *Outlandish Proverbs Selected* and Ray's *A Collection of English Proverbs,* evidence that by the mid seventeenth century, many of the proverbs and maxims associated with frugality were already in common parlance.[8] In the same spirit as many gentlemen collectors of the Enlightenment, both Herbert and Ray gathered together and sought to research the maxims and sayings of their time. *A Collection of English Proverbs* was a comprehensive publication and provides a useful

[5] As reflected in the titles of many books on frugality such as Thomas Powell, *The Art of Thriving* (1635), Anon, *The art of Thriving or, the way to get and keep money* (1675).
[6] Whereas the words thrifty/ thrift peaks before 1640 and then usage declines until 1800. *Books.google.com/ngram.*
[7] See Appendix for the chronological list of key texts.
[8] George Herbert, *Outlandish Proverbs Selected* (London, 1640); J Ray. *A Collection of English Proverbs* (Cambridge, 1678).

reference tool for the morals and maxims of the age. For the first time it drew together the common sayings of the people and attempted to trace their origins.[9] Many of the entries related directly to frugality, such as 'Industry is fortunes right hand, and frugality her left' and 'Drift is as bad as unthrift'.[10] They also related to the frugal use of money and resources; for example, 'Who spends more than he should, shall not have to spend when he would' as well as the well-known frugal maxim, 'You must cut your coat according to your cloth'.[11]

Ray provided a benchmark for frugal terminology and phraseology and evidenced the extent to which the concept of frugality had been absorbed into use by the mid seventeenth century. The text reveals how many of the frugal maxims and proverbs, which were used time and again by the authors discussed in this thesis, were already in common circulation by 1678. Therefore, it becomes clear that later writers, including Benjamin Franklin, reused passages from earlier texts to remind their readers of concepts with which they were already familiar.[12] Unfortunately, without this analysis, many scholars have acknowledged Franklin as the originator of these maxims, and

[9] Rather than simply listing random proverbs and sayings as in *Outlandish Proverbs Selected,* it was a scholarly attempt to research and trace the origins of the words from ancient languages and foreign lands. See: Charles Clay Doyle, Collections of Proverbs and proverb dictionaries: Some Historical observations on what's in them and what's not, *Phraseology and Culture in English* (London, 2007)
[10] Ray, *A Collection of English Proverbs* (Cambridge, 1678), p. 23.
[11] Ibid. p. 7, p. 14, p. 115.
[12] For example, *The Pleasant Art of Money Catching,* from its second edition (1705), featured numerous frugal proverbs and sayings which were taken chronologically out of *A Collection of English Proverbs,* unedited and uncredited and which were used as convenient page fillers. Franklin took many of the maxims from Ray, either directly from Ray, or via later texts such as The Pleasant Art of Money Catching and presented them in his Poor Richard entries in his many almanacs. Ford, "*The Sayings of Poor Richard" The Prefaces, Proverbs, And Poems of Benjamin Franklin, Originally Printed In Poor Richard's Almanacs for 1733 – 1758* (New York,1890).

have falsely declared him as the main eighteenth century contributor and founding father of self-serving frugal ideology.[13]

However, there are many examples of printed texts that predated Franklin, and which interpreted frugality as meaning the good husbanding of resources for advantage. William Ames in *Marrow of Theology* (1629) stated that frugality was the 'virtue of conducting our affairs with profit and benefit', and in 1673, Richard Baxter in *A Christian Directory* called it 'an act of fidelity, obedience, and gratitude, by which we use all our estates so faithfully for the chief owner, so obediently to our chief Ruler, and so gratefully to our chief Benefactor, as that we waste it not any other way.'[14]

In the eighteenth century, Thomas Dyche in *A New General English Dictionary* (1735), defined frugality as 'Thriftiness, Sparingness, good Husbandry, the Opposite of Extravagancy'. Dyche also provided a more detailed definition for the word frugal as 'One that husbands his money well, that is very careful of avoiding all Extravagant expenses, as well in Garb as Diet, & co.'[15] Thereby demonstrating how by this time, frugality had become linked to luxury as its opposing force and that it was accepted by this period, that a person could not be frugal as well as highly fashionable. Indeed one contemporary commentator stated that 'good husbandry and Frugality are quite out of Fashion'.[16]

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[13] Franklin, *Maxims And Morals From Dr. Franklin: Being Incitements To Industry, Frugality and Prudence* (London, 1807); Gallagher, The Rhetorical Strategy of Franklin's "Way to Wealth", *Eighteenth-Century Studies.* 6:4 (1973), pp. 475 - 485. Reinert, The Way to Wealth around the World: Benjamin Franklin and the Globalization of American Capitalism, *American Historical Review* (2015), pp. 61 – 97; Hulme, *A Brief History of Thrift* (2019).
[14] James Calvin David and Charles Mathewes, Saving Grace and Moral Striving: Thrift in Puritan Theology, *Thrift and Thriving in America* (Oxford, 2011), p. 98.
[15] Thomas Dyche, *A New General English Dictionary* (London, 1735).
[16] Anonymous, *Luxury, Pride and Vanity, The Bane of the British Nation* (The Second Edition, London, 1736), p. 9.

While no early dictionary definition directly associated frugality with virtue or morality, they were joined together into the social consciousness to such an extent, that they were explored through art. For example, Hogarth's *Modern Moral Subjects* linked exuberant fashions to the declining morals of the day.[17] They were also debated by Adam Smith in his *Theory of Modern Sentiments,* which identified the 'great mob of mankind', as those that followed riches and not a virtue. Therefore, fashion and luxury, which fuelled this process, was seen as implicit in the corruption of human sentiments.[18]

This frugalistic idealism continued until the end of the period and was championed by devout frugal moralists. However, as the period progressed and consumption levels rose, frugality also came to attract more negative connotations, and became associated with enforced self-denial, self-restriction and lack. One text, written to be reflective of the views of the profigate rich, denounced frugality and sobriety as:

> virtues only fit for Labouring Clowns, and needy Handicrafts-men, to harbour in cells and cottages, and attend pitiful pinching Plebians: They are not meet companions for Grandees, and men of inlarged Fountaines.[19]

Therefore, it appears that as pressures to consume increased, frugality simultaneously developed into an attribute that was seen as being restrictive and unfashionable.

These contradictions were the consternation of John Sowter, when in 1716, he asked why industry and frugality 'are grown so much out of fashion

[17] See: Catherine Molineux, 'Hogarth's Fashionable Slaves: Moral Corruption in Eighteenth-Century London." *ELH*, 72:2 (2005), pp. 495–520.
[18] See: Craig Smith; Adam Smith's "Collateral" Inquiry: Fashion and Morality in *The Theory of Moral Sentiments* and *The Wealth of Nations*. *History of Political Economy*, 45:3 (2013), pp. 505–522.
[19] Tryon, *The Way to make all People Rich* (London, 1685), pp. 30-31.

as to be thought (as in this age they are) dishonourable, and below the dignity of any one above the degree of common labourer,' and he questioned why these 'once admired vertues' were now viewed with contempt.[20] In almost every case, the perception of those that endorsed frugality was that times had changed; that they were living in an unprecedented era and that the people surrounding them were more profligate, wasteful and wanton than they had ever been before. A contributor to *Hibernicus' Letters* in 1726, for example, wrote:

> But we are told that Luxury and Prodigality were never such a height as now: and that, in these kingdoms at least, we are prodigiously fallen from the plain and frugal Ways of our Fore-fathers, an Age or an Age and a half ago, and consequently have lost much of their Innocence and Virtue. And why, pray?[21]

Another anonynous writer, whose discourse *On Frugality* was published under different pseudonyms at least four times between 1746 and 1776, in various newspapers and periodicals, stated that 'It has been the Custom of all Nations, and all Times, for some Men to cry down the present Age, and make sad Prognosticks concerning the Succeeding one.' The author went on to explain how his own time had suffered from the 'Growth of Popery, of Religious Infidelity and common Profaneness'. However, in this author's view, 'the worst-boding Symptom' of the 'present State of private Life', was that 'Frugality is quite out of Fashion.'[22]

Frugal texts reveal the complex battle that was taking place within the social conscience of the day. While the concept of frugality had been

[20] Sowter, *The Way To Be Wise and Wealthy* (Exeter,1716), p. 25.
[21] *Hibernicus' letters: or, a philosophical miscellany* (London,1726-7), p. 463.
[22] Mercator, On Frugality, *The Museum: or The Literary and Historical Register,* XIV (1746), pp. 3-8.

legitimised by its very definition as being positive, at the same time it increasingly came into direct conflict with the pressures imposed by luxury.[23] Therefore, for those who wished to partake in this new consumer world, the importance of frugality either had to be reinterpreted, or its relevance needed to be transferred onto others. This will be discussed in chapter four, when the need for frugality was deflected more and more onto the labouring classes and the poor.

Most frugal writers, however, vehemently reacted against public perceptions that frugality was anything other than beneficial and indeed, necessary for all classes. Texts attempted to address and rectify the ignorance of the general population on the benefits of frugality, as well as offer an explanation as to why frugality was not adopted by all. However, by the end of the seventeenth century, teaching the population to be frugal was becoming increasingly frustrating for George Mackenzie, who lamented that even after listening to 'pious Sermons' and being convinced by 'many Moral Philosophers', people still chose not to be frugal, and like others, he was at pains to discover why.[24]

Mackenzie believed that there must lie 'some strange hidden Engine in the Heart of Man, which is able to pull back even thinking Men from improving these impressions'. Whereas Stockdale later thought it was because 'They are not industrious to know themselves, to probe the constitution of the human mind', thereby leaving themselves 'implicitly misled by sense and passion' and 'deluded by volatile, and glaring phantoms'.[25] He argued that

[23] See Hulme, scarcity, abundance and morality, *A Brief History of Thrift* (2019), pp. 13 -16.
[24] Mackenzie,*The Moral History of Frugality* (London, 1691), pp. 2-3.
[25] Stockdale, *Three Discourses: Two Against Luxury and Dissipation* (London, 1773), p. 29.

‘Mankind, though reasonable beings, are so unaccountably the slaves of caprice, and fancy,’ however, ‘If they gave due attention to this useful study (frugality), they would soon learn to discriminate splendour from substance; and they would act agreeably to their moral conviction.’[26]

Printed works of this time presented frugality as the ideal doctrine for living. It was the study and implementation of frugality that was seen as the key to men gaining the strength of character required to resist the many temptations of the age and to become the best versions of themselves. The following quote from *Hibernicus’s Letter*s from 1726 sums up the conflict felt by many of the frugal preachers of the time.

> The Perfection of Wisdom has ever been esteemed to consist in the moderating of our Desires, reducing them within the bounds of Nature and Reason, and disengaging our Affections from all Objects foreign to the Happiness of Social and intelligent Beings. Now it is evident, that all the Objects of *Luxury,* either in Entertainments, Dress or Equipage, which are what the World commonly calls *Luxury*……..and consequently it is our wisdom to banish them as much as we can from our Thoughts, and to be as sparing in the use of them as the Circumstances of the Age and Country we live in will permit. [27]

Here, the conflict between luxury and frugality is clear. Whilst authors acknowledged the dangers of luxurious goods; at the same time, they were cognizant of their importance in ‘the circumstances of the age’. Therefore, if consumption was to be deemed respectable, then frugality had an important role to play in moderating it. The call was for men to moderate their desires within the bounds of nature and reason, and the debate of the time was very much about what the bounds of nature and reason were.

[26] Ibid.
[27] *Hibernicus's letters* (London,1734), pp. 211 - 220.

Frugal texts aimed to help their readers to resist temptation and to battle against personal indulgences and the desire to outwardly impress others. Sir John Barnard, who had been the Lord Mayor of London and wrote *A Present for an Apprentice* in 1734, implored his young readers to be mindful that profligate behaviour could easily sneak upon them. Warning them that 'The Frolick first appears harmless, and when taster, leaves a longing Relish behind it; one Appointment makes Way for another, one Expence leads on to a second: Some invite openly, some insinuate craftily, and all soon grow to importunate to be deny'd.'[28] There were frequent calls by frugal texts and clergymen for people to examine their behaviour, and to check it against that which was described as being profligate and unfrugal, in order to ensure that bad habits did not take them unawares. It was deemed easier to keep the young on the straight and narrow, rather than save them from a profligate abyss. [29]

However, the art of 'disengaging affections' from the luxurious temptations, and 'to banish them from thought' was easier said than done. John Kettlewell was a clergyman, who wrote *The Great Evil And Danger of Profuseness and Prodigality in a Letter to a Friend*, which was originally written as an appeal to a profligate aquaintance in the 1680s. This private letter, owing to 'the great vanity and growing luxury of the present age' was deemed more relevant than ever by the turn of the eighteenth century and it

[28] Barnard, *A present for an apprentice* (London, 1740), p. 22.
[29] Examples include: Country Clergyman, *Of Luxury, More particularly with Respect to Apparel. Being The Substance of Two Discourses, On I Tim.ii.9* (London, 1736); Anon. *An Enquiry Into The Melancholy Circumstances Of Great Britain* (London, circa 1740); Anon, *A Letter From A Gentleman in Town To His Friend in The Country, Recommending the Necessity of Frugality* (London, 1750).

was licensed and published posthumously by a certain Robert Nelson in 1705.[30]

Kettlewell, while trying to justify the profligate behaviour of his friend, explained that his wild spending was not caused by his lack of attachment to money, but rather a counteracting attachment to the things it could buy. Kettlewell expanded on this by suggesting that as well as the desire for acquisition, it was primarily greed and hubris which caused his friend to be extravagant, as he described:[31]

> It is for the Credit of good Fellowship, the Reputation of a Gentleman, the Delights of good Liquor, or the Charms of a Good Meal, that you are drawn on to spend above your self, and to waste both what you have and what you borrow. Run over your Expences in your own Thoughts when you will, and I'll engage you shall find 'tis your intemperance and Appetite, your affection of great and Costly Company that has swell'd up the Sum of them.[32]

In his preface, Nelson referenced the 'Exorbitant Extravagancies of the Age' and the fear of these lead other writers to warn their readers against the particular actions, habits and customs of the age that could lead to overspending and the waste of resources.[33]

This tendency to chastise bad behaviour in order to tip the balance towards the virtuous was common practice by frugal preachers. Hence, examples of customs, habits and behaviours, which conflicted with frugality were exposed as being undesirable.[34] Tryon, saw these new 'modern' habits

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[30] Kettlewell, *The Great Evil And Danger of Profuseness and Prodigality in a Letter to a Friend* (London, 1705), Preface.
[31] Ibid. p. 48.
[32] Ibid. pp. 49-50.
[33] Jones, *Luxury, Pride and Vanity, The Bane of the British Nation* (The Second Edition, London c1736); Well-wisher to Great Britain, *The Ten Plagues of England, of worse Consequence than those of Egypt* (London, 1757).
[34] Spending on luxuries, foreign goods, building and furnishing elaborate homes, new entertainments, carriages, fashionable clothes, drinking and eating to excess and gambling as outlined in works such as: Jones, *Luxury, Pride and Vanity* (s.n., c1736).

as being his greatest enemy, when he declared: ‘Here we must give way to the prevailing Tyrant Custom, which is the Champion I am to make War against’.[35] Tryon feared that centuries-old codes of conduct and traditions were quickly being erased by new undesirable habits, that were shaking the foundations of society to the core.

Even though it was acknowledged that luxury and profligate behaviour had become more common by the eighteenth century, profligacy as evidenced by the amount of literature which was positioned against it, was not taken lightly by the God-fearing, particularly as the eighteenth century progressed.[36] Running alongside any temptation was a contradicting struggle of conscience. Frugality was instilled into the moral compass of society via ongoing frugal indoctrination from multiple sources. In many cases, those who acted contrary to their consciences experienced feelings of shame and guilt, especially in the overthrow of Puritanism. Carroll suggested that it was a culture which was ‘precipitated by parricidal guilt’ with an ‘ascetic obsession with order and discipline, hard work and pious frugal living’, which evoked guilty feelings of ‘extrordinary ferocity’.[37]

Frugality was interpreted in texts of the period as being God’s will, even in more secular writings, so ingrained was it into every aspect of life. Indeed, frugality was deemed the best method for men to demonstrate their

[35] Thomas Tryon, *Monthly Observations* (London, 1691), p. 148.
[36] See Erasmus Jones, *Luxury, Pride and Vanity* (London 1738); *An Enquiry into the Melancholy Circumstances of Great Britain* (London, 1740); *The Ten Plagues of England* (London, 1757).
[37] John Carroll, The Role of Guilt in the Formation of Modern Society: England 1350-1800, *The British Journal of Sociology*, 32:4 (1981), pp. 459–503. p. 475.

compliance with God's teachings. George Mackenzie described frugality as 'The true Mathematicks of Moral Philosophy' and of 'Christian Morality.' [38] Whereas Max Weber in his work *The Protestant Ethic and the Spirit of Capitalism*, argued that it was this puritanical outlook and the asceticism it provoked, which spurred modern capitalism.[39]

Delacriox and Neilson, expanded on Weber's notions, stating that Protestantism fostered new attitudes and doctrines which included emphasising 'the value of denying the pleasures of this world and living frugally, a practice that enabled those who became economically successful to accumulate capital'.[40] This view has been identified as part of a broader acceptance by historians that industrial capitalism developed first in Protestant countries, which is termed 'The Common Interpretation'.[41] Delacroix and Neilson went to great lengths, by using five different empirical tests, to disprove that Protestantism was the catalyst for capitalism, and successfully unlinked religion from the equation. However, while frugal behaviour as a consequence of Protestantism is noted as being a significant factor in the development of capitalism, it was not considered by them that it instilled a set of behaviours and beliefs in its own right.[42] So, whilst it is vital to recognise the influence which religion held over frugality, it is also important to explore whether as a doctrine, it had wings of its own.

[38] George Mackenzie*, The Moral History of Frugality* (London,1691), p. 8 and p. 72.
[39] Max Weber,*The Protestant Ethic and The Spirit of Consumerism* (London, 1989, original translation 1930).
[40] Delacriox, Jaques and Neilsen, Francois, The Beloved Myth: Protestantism and The Rise of Industrial Capitalism in Nineteenth Century Europe, *Social Forces*, 8:2 (2001), p. 511.
[41] Ibid. p. 510.
[42] Ibid. pp. 509 - 553.

Frugality and Religion

Faith and biblical teaching was a recurring factor which motivated the endorsement and adoption of frugality. The books, tracts, sermons and discourses which reflected this, formed a significant category in publishing, and the abatement of ungodly profligate behaviour was a favourite topic for puritanical preachers and moralists alike.[43]

Davis and Mathewes describe thrift/frugality as being an important discipline to the Puritans, which was understood to respect God's sovereignty. Stating that the moral imperative to exercise thrift was 'rooted in the experience of grace and embedded within the broader theological themes of providence, sanctification, and calling'.[44] However, frugality and the accumulation of assets were not treated as an unqualified good, as it was tempered by a belief that it needed to be governed by the theological conviction that 'all must serve the common good'.[45]

The Puritans were reacting to what they saw as a moral and theological crisis in early modern England and frugality was offered as part of

[43] Richard Baxter, *The Poor Man's Family book* (London, 1677); Richard Younge, *The Poores advocate* (London, 1654); Richard Younge, *A Precious mithridate for the soule made up of those poysons* (London,1661); Richard Baxter, *A Christian directory, or, A sum of practical theologie* (London, 1673); Tew, *Frugality the Support of Charity, A Sermon Preached at St. Nicholas's Church in Newcastle, Before the Governors of the Infirmary, for the Counties of Durham, Newcastle, and Northumberland, on Wednesday June 23, 1756* (Newcastle, London, 1756); Adams, *The Duties of Industry, Frugality and Sobriety, A Sermon Preached Before a Society of Tradesmen and Artificers, In The Parish Church of St. Chad, Salop, on Easter-Monday, 1766* (London, 1770); Wood, *The Duty of Frugality, And The Sin of waste Considered, With A Viwe To Recommend Christain Benevolence and Good Works* (London, 1795); Edward Watkinson, *Frugality and Diligence, Recommended and Enforc'd From Scripture… Compos'd for his Parishioners* (York, 1766).

[44] James Calvin David and Charles Mathewes, Saving Grace and Moral Striving: Thrift in Puritan Theology, *Thrift and Thriving in America* (Oxford, 2011), p. 88.

[45] Ibid. p. 88

a ‘reform of manners’, which would counteract the worldy dissipation they saw before them.[46] For Davis and Matthewes, ‘Thrift was an integral component of the Puritan’s understanding of their position “before God”....Thrift was the way to joy; it was the reponse to grace’.[47] What made riches good or bad was how they were used, and the Puritans were mindful that temptations and their love of wealth did not override their life of faith, or love of God.

Religious sermons of all denominations were an effective way of warning their congregations about the specific dangers and temptations of modern living, whilst encouraging frugality and industry, as ordained by God. An entry in the diary of a shopkeeper called Thomas Turner for Sunday 29th February 1756, described how an excellent sermon provoked him to ‘drew up my rules for regimen, I mentioned to breakfast one day in every week on only dry bread for eatables, and likewise to eat no meat one day in every week, as also to go to bed at least one night in every week without a supper’. [50] This reveals the power sermons had to incite frugal behaviour as a way of purging guilt and appeasing the conscience. Turner, who was a respectable resident of East Hoathly in Sussex was aware that he had been guilty of excess, and his patriotism and godliness triggered his guilt, which then set his frugality in motion as a possible contribution to the greater good.

For the Quakers and other nonconformists of the time, who were generally viewed suspiciously, their frugality was seen as a redeeming quality.[51] George Mackenzie’s thought that their frugal ways ‘Atones very

[46] Ibid.
[47] Ibid. p. 89
[50] David Vaisey (ed), *The Diary of a Village Shopkeeper 1754 - 1765* (London, 1998), p. 43.
[51] See Hulme, Religious Thrift: puritans, Quakers and Methodists, *A Brief History of Thrift* (Manchester, 2019).

much for the other irregularities with which they are charged'.[52] The more worldly benefits of wealth, security and comfort portrayed by those of faith, were also clearly observed and coveted by those around them. Carroll states that motivations to improve material wealth and social standing attracted many people to Puritanism and the nonconformist religions. For, even though individuals may have been honest, sober and industrious, they also needed the self-control and discipline demanded by religion in order to succeed.[53] Of course, members of a religious community also benefited from the close relationships and networks in trade that developed between them, which can be evidenced by the numbers of successful eighteenth century businesses with Quaker founders.[54] Therefore, Caroll suggests that the desire to be more frugal and to improve one's lot in life may have held specific attractions for individuals towards religion, as well as the religious doctrines themselves encouraging greater frugality in their followers.[55]

However, printed sources show that in the years prior to the evangelical revival of the eighteenth century, the influence and impact of religious docrine was seen to be losing influence over the behaviour of the population. For example, in 1726, Daniel Defoe referenced this loss of religious fervour as causing tradesmen to neglect their shops and businesses, 'to follow the track of their vices and extravagances, by taverns, gaming-houses, balls, masquerades, plays, harlequinery, and opera's insomuch that

[52] Mackenzie, *The Moral History of Frugality* (1691), p. 95.
[53] John Carroll, The Role of Guilt in the Formation of Modern Society: England 1350-1800, *The British Journal of Sociology*, 32:4 (1981), pp. 459–503.
[54] For example, William Cookworthy (1705-1780) China Clay industry, Abraham Derby (1678 – 1717) Iron Industry.
[55] Carroll, The Role of Guilt (1981), pp. 459–503.

this may be truly called an age of gallantry and girth'.[56] Crawford suggests that the Evangelical revival of the eighteenth century marked a 'high-tide in the consciousness of sinfulness', to which the writers who endorsed frugality would have significantly contributed.[57] Before this time, even the Quakers, who were the embodiment of religiously motivated frugality and industrious fervour, were concerned by their own falling standards. As evidenced in an epistle of 1732, which warned fellow Friends against 'insincere dealings' and the accumulation of 'greater debts than they were able to pay in time', and more worryingly about the loss of such 'conduct which brought great credit and reputation to our religious society'.[58]

A combination of increased temptations combined with a decrease in the practice of frugality was held responsible for what was perceived as a decline in the fortunes, health and the moral fibre of individuals, as well as the stability of the nation during the long eighteenth century. Therefore, the increase in frugal messaging played an important role in introducing new generations to the advantages and appropriateness of frugality as well as tempering the many anxieties associated with social change.

Frugality: Nature or Nurture?

> Nature is Regular, and knows her bounds, where to stop, and when to say enough, if she be not depraved by custom, or forced out of her innocent Road.[59]

[56] Defoe, *The complete English tradesman* (London, 1745), p. 44.
[57] Michael, J Crawford, Origins of the Eighteenth-Century Evangelical Revival: England and New England Compared, *Journal of British Studies* 26:4 (1987), pp. 361-97, p. 365.
[58] Arthur Raistrick, *Quakers in Science and Industry* (Newton Abbot, 1968), p. 47.
[59] Tryon, *The Way to make all People Rich: Or Wisdoms Call To Temperanae (sic) And Frugality* (London,1685), p. 10.

Writers on of frugality, like many thinkers of the time, were eager to better understand the world around them.[60] They strove to comprehend all aspects of frugality, both its ideology and its methodology. The influence of classical philosophy as well as religious thinking, led them to believe that frugality was integral to humanity and divinity.[61] Much of the impetus behind the preaching of frugality was the belief that it was part of the natural and prelapsarian state of man, and that somehow this had been forgotten. This is indicative of the debates which were raging during the eighteenth century, which aimed to justify the role of religion and theology in a world which was increasingly embracing science.[62]

John Sowter, for example, felt that frugality when practised alongside the virtue of industry, was innately human and that it was requisite for the success and growth of humankind. He stated in 1716: 'These two virtues then are nothing else but what arises from that first and universal principle of nature, *Self-Preservation.* They are the two main streams that flow from that fountain'.[63] Sowter further explained that 'we are naturally solicitous about ways and means of subsistence as we are to suck the breast when we are born', however, he also feared that man was easily tempted away from it by 'the poisoning of the mind'.[64]

Later in the eighteenth century, Adam Smith also commented on man's inherent predisposition towards frugality by saying:

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[60] Carl L. Becker, *The Heavenly City of The Eighteenth Century Philosophers* (Yale, 1978).
[61] See: Mackenzie, *The Moral History of Frugality* (London, 1691); Sowter, *The Way to be Wise and Wealthy* (London, 1716).
[62] See: John Hedley Brooke, *Science and Theology In the Enlightenment*, (London, 1996); A. Thomson, *Bodies of Thought: Science, Religion, and the Soul in the Early Enlightenment (Oxford, 2008).*
[63] John Sowter, *The Way To Be Wealthy and Wise* (Exeter,1716), p. 44.
[64] Ibid. p. 44.

> the principle which prompts to save is the desire of bettering our condition, a desire which, though generally calm and dispassionate, comes with us from the womb, and never leaves us till we go to the grave.[65]

Smith equally acknowledged that man had a tendency to profligacy and that 'With regard to profusion, the principle which prompts to expense is the passion for the present enjoyment; which, though sometimes violent and very difficult to be retrained. Is in general only momentary and occasional'.[66] Smith concluded that overall, men wished to better their situation and were therefore generally frugal. As a result, a balance was maintained as not all men were profligate all of the time or even at the same time.[67]

However, this perception was not held by those who were focused entirely on the moral failings of the age. At the height of the luxury debate and years before Smith's theories of personal frugality were published, one devout supporter of frugality, Erasmus Jones, thought that the balance between frugality and luxury was dangerously out of kilter and required dramatic adjustments. He declared in 1736 that 'scarce *one* Family in *ten*, keeps strictly within the Compass of its Income', commenting that it had become the general practice for people to eagerly pursue 'the Pleasures and Novelties of the Times, leave their Estates and Businesses of all Kinds, at Sixes and Seven.'[68] Jones feared that chaos would result from the breakdown of tradition and previously conformed to behaviour, and this spurred himself and

[65] Smith, *The Wealth of Nations, Book I - III* first published 1776 (London, 1999), p. 441.
[66] Ibid. p. 441.
[67] Ibid. p. 442.
[68] Anonymous, *Luxury, Pride and Vanity, The Bane of the Nation* (The Second Edition. London, 1736, first edition c1730), p. 1.

other moralistic frugalists into fervent rantings against profligacy.[69] By forcefully exposing the failings of human behaviour, they hoped to re-establish what was believed to be the natural balance. Therefore, the ideal for many authors was for all men to be frugal all of the time and they saw luxury and frugality as being entirely incompatable.

John Sowter expressed how only frugal and industrious people would receive 'inward satisfaction and serenity', which could prove far more rewarding than the temptations of profligacy.[70] By carefully observing his fellow men, Sowter became convinced that his contemporaries were programmed from an early age against frugality, so that it was gradually becoming the social norm to be profligate, rather than frugal. As Sowter explained:

> But 'tis for the most part owing to our early habits and idleness and expensiveness that industry and idleness find so few votaries. Habit and custom is so rarely overcome, that it may be called a second nature, and whenever it is to any degree, 'tis recorded for an extraordinary event, somewhat akin to a miracle.[71]

Hence, characterisitics such as frugality, which were supposed to be naturally occurring in men, were now being seen as exceptional. The explanation being, that the population was being brainwashed against frugality by following dangerous customs and succumbing to bad habits. Written pleas for frugality aimed to quell their reader's thirst for temptations to an acceptable level, through guilt and fear. While preachers provided graphic warnings of

[69] See also Dennis, John. *Vice and Luxury Publick Mischiefs Or, Remarks on a Book Intituled the Fable of the Bees, Or, Private Vices Publick Benefits* (London, 1724); Well-wisher to Great Britain, *The Ten Plagues of England, of worse Consequence than those of Egypt* (London, 1757).
[70] John Sowter, *The Way To Be Wise and Wealthy* (Exeter, 1716), p. 45.
[71] Ibid. p. 27.

what would happen to the souls of the profligate, other writers emphasised the dire consequences in this life for the unfrugal man who was seen as being debauched, attended by loose and vicious people and wracked with diseases of the body and mind.[72] What is more, Nelson described how the wisdom of ages treated the profligate 'very roughly' and ranked 'Prodigals in the Class of Children and Madmen'.[73]

One alternative, and perhaps more effective method of curbing excessive behaviours, involved channelling the pre-existing social aspirations of their readers away from the wasteful and unhealthy extravagances of luxury and imitation and towards permanent self-betterment. By harnessing this desire for the improvement of their situation it was believed, by many frugal proponents, that tangible increases in wealth and status could be obtained through the application of industry and frugality.[74] By being industrious as well as frugal, writers thought that men would soon find themselves in better circumstances.[75]

Class insecurities, however, were always apparent, and warnings were also given as to how far up the ranks a person should aspire to raise themselves. John Sowter stated that it was wrong for all traders to automatically assume the right to live like a gentleman. Recognising that there were different levels of traders and that they should instead 'sacrifice their inclinations to Ease and Pleasure, and make the promoting their interest, and

[72] Ibid. p. 80.
[73] Kettlewell, *The Great Evil And Danger of Profuseness and Prodigality in a Letter to a Friend* (London, 1705), Preface.
[74] This was a common approach taken by the likes of John Sowter, Daniel Defoe, John Barnard and especially in *The Pleasant Art of money catching*. Which will be examined further in chapter.
[75] Sowter, *The Way to be Wise and Wealthy* (Exeter, 1716), pp. 53-54.

providing for their families, which is their Duty, their greatest delight.'[76] Defoe also advised traders that if they wished to succeed in business they would have to 'mortify everything about his life that has the least tincture of vanity', otherwise, they would surely 'go on to extremity, to break, become bankrupt and beggars,'.[77]

Inevitably, promoters of frugality claimed that the best-perceived course of action was to prevent people from being tempted in the first place. As one writer explained, 'It is difficult to break the fence of bad habits; but it is easy to avoid contracting them'.[78] Should the foundations of frugality not have been laid, and if religion and guilt had little effect, then other methods of persuasion would be required, for as Sir John Barnard exclaimed, 'when you are lin'd to bad Habits, 'tis as hard to think of parting with them, as to plunge into a cold Bath to get rid of an Ague'.[79]

Persuading their readers against adopting bad habits and indulging in too much luxury was a constant battle, which Tryon described in an interplay between his characters Guloso (excess) and Sophonio (sobriety). Sophonio declared how it was common that 'men though persuaded, will not be convinced' of the benefits of frugality, stating that 'They hate the Light, because they love the Deeds of Darkness which it manifests and reproves'.[80] For Tryon, temperance and sobriety were the most sublime vertues, 'too precious to be parted with because Fools deride and despise them'.[81] He was

[76] Ibid. pp. 53-54.
[77] Defoe*, The Complete English Tradesman* (1726), p. 101.
[78] *Industry, Frugality, and Sobriety Recommended. Number 1 of Tracts Published By the Society for Promoting Christian Knowledge and Practice In the Kingdom of Ireland* (Dublin, 1790), p. 10.
[79] Barnard, *A present for an apprentice: or, a sure guide to gain both esteem and an estate* (London, 1740), p. 22.
[80] Tryon, *The Way to make all People Rich or Wisdoms Call* (London,1685), pp. 24-25.
[81] Ibid. p. 8.

a staunch individualist, and believed that health and wellbeing were a person's own responsibility, and making his fellow men aware of this was the motivation for his writings. He saw satire as an effective tool in grabbing the attention of his readers and rousing them out of their stupidity. For he also considered that 'the paths of sobriety and moderation' were the first steps of attaining 'Health both of Body and Mind'.[82] This approach by Tryon reveals the creativity with which endorsers of frugality adapted their messages to their audiences.

At the end of the period of study, The 'Very Distinguished Lady', who wrote the opening chapter on household economy in *The Young Woman's Companion: Or Frugal Housewife,* reflected on the importance of frugality, yet lamented that it was the 'natural turn of young people....to neglect and even despise it.'[83] Suggesting that despite much advice being provided to the contrary, young people still viewed frugality as being a negative trait and that they did not allow their natural inclinations towards it to develop for fear of being considered ungenerous. Thus, at both ends of the long eighteenth century, cases were made in writing that consistent frugal teaching was required, especially to parents. Thereby, proponents of frugality hoped that by laying frugal foundations within families, children would be able to regain their natural frugality and grow up to put the world to rights.

[82] Ibid. p. 8.
[83] *The Young Woman's Companion: Or Frugal Housewife* (Manchester, 1813), Introduction On Economy By A Very Distinguished Lady p. xv.

The Importance of Good Parenting

> Parents have a most special Obligation to be virtuous beyond others, for Children whilst young, do easily like soft Wax, receive impressions from their Example, because of the respect they have to them, and their being constantly in their Company.[84]

Towards the end of the seventeenth century, perceptions around the role of parenting changed, as did the dynamics of the family and opinions of how children should be treated.[85] Fletcher observed that the 'core of seventeenth-century thinking about the child was that it lacked self-control and self-discipline'.[86] Hill argued that a godly and disciplined upbringing was seen as the paramount responsibility of parents in the Protestant age. Parents were encouraged by writers such as William Gouge to demand outward displays of deference from their children.[87] However, this attitude was not reflected in frugal texts of the time and instead, it was the parents themselves who were called out for lacking discipline. With poor parenting being blamed for altering a child's natural predisposition to frugality.

Parental responsibility, or the lack of it, was a strong theme in frugal texts. Many of the formative frugal texts from the early seventeenth century were written by those with Royalist, rather than Puritan allegiances. This may explain the different methodologies by which their children were raised. The Puritans believed that children were inherently evil, and that sin was an inborn trait that needed to be beaten out. Whereas the common view among

[84] Mackenzie, *The Moral History of Frugality* (1691), p.36.
[85] Anthony Fletcher, *Growing up in England: The Experience of Childhood 1600-1914* (London and New Haven, 2008).
[86] Ibid. p. 3.
[87] Ibid. p. 4.

endorsers of frugality was that children were born frugal but then became disinclined to it due to the 'fondling' and 'neglect' of their parents.[88] Henry Peacham certainly considered parents to have culpability when it came to the profligate nature of their young. According to Peacham, parental neglect caused 'so many young men and women come to untimely endes, who living might have beene comforts to their friends and parents, and prooved good members of the common-wealth.' [89]

The frugal failings of parents were also pointed out by Thomas Tryon, who suggested that either, the children inherited the 'seeds of such intemperence .... from their gluttonous Parents', or they were 'were forced to excess'.[91] The belief that children were naturally frugal, was justified according to Tryon, by simply observing the behaviour of babies, 'For whilst they are very little, we see, that as soon as they have sufficient, they refuse any more, and strive according to their power against it.' Then, Tryon suggested, due to the 'Madness and Folly of most fondling Mothers and Nurses' they 'continue to press greater quantities, and entice them with too Rich and High-prepared foods', and so little by little innure them to it'. It was then inevitable that in time, by these 'ill Customs, and what by the pernicious Examples of others about them', children became greedy and profligate.[92]

The recognition that children learnt behaviour by forming habits was in line with the theories of Locke on childhood and education. These views were to influence didactic books on child-rearing from the late seventeenth century

[88] Tryon, *The Way to make all People Rich* (1685), p. 28.
[89] Peacham, *The Worth of a Penny* (London,1641), p. 17.
[91] Tryon, *The Way to make all People Rich* (1685), pp. 9 -10.
[92] Ibid.

and placed the responsibility of the character of children firmly onto parents.[93] Indeed, Sowter feared these parental failures would be detrimental and perhaps irreversible. He foretold that the fashion for 'fondling and neglecting' children, initiated them into 'idleness and lavishness…..that it is never thoroughly eradicated as long as we live.[94] Instead, he felt that for children in their tender years, 'the seeds of industry and frugality should be sown…...by all the little studies ways of moral culture, adapted to our age'.[95]

Therefore, as well as setting a good example, positive reinforcement and instruction in frugality was also required of parents. Sowter recommended that parents should be 'early watching and observing their desires and doings, and by degrees habituate them to exercise and labour in things they are capable of, and teach them how to value and save, and lay up, instead of spending money.'[96] This, Sowter reasoned should be readily achievable as he pointed out how 'easy it is to train up even brute creatures, while they are young'. However, he also found that unfortunately his contemporaries were often better at raising animals than their own children:

> That we should be so solicitous and earnest in the breeding and teaching of birds and beasts, and be so inhumane to our own offspring, as not to lay heart and be truly affectionate with, the absolute necessity of making them good children, in order to their being good men and women?[97]

For frugal moralists, both mothers and fathers equally bore the blame for the development of unfrugal habits in their offspring. Fathers were accused

[93] John Locke, *Some Thoughts Concerning Education* (1693) as quoted in Fletcher, *Growing up in England* (London and New Haven, 2008), p. 6-7.
[94] Sowter, *The Way To Be Wise and Wealthy* (1716), p. 26.
[95] Ibid. p. 26.
[96] Ibid. p. 28.
[97] Ibid. p. 29.

of spending too much time at the 'Tavern, ale-houses, coffee-house &c', whilst the mothers neglected their children 'in needless visits, gossiping and diversions, leaving them, who should be so much objects of their utmost care and sollicitude as never to be suffer'd out of their sight, but upon necessary avocations and business, to careless maids and nurses'.[98] There was perceived to be an imbalance of fatherly discipline and motherly nurturing, which resulted in children becoming spoilt, as expressed by an anonymous writer in 1726:

> Young Master is made a Coxcomb, and little Miss a Coquette, before either of them can speak. A fond Mother takes great pains to settle their Affections on *Finery* and *Gewgaws,* and make them imagine that sort of Trumpery among the real Goods and Blessings of Life.[99]

This behaviour was believed to instil 'a Spirit of Pride, and immoderate Self-love' in the children, which taught them from an early age to condemn their inferiors, and to treat them with 'Haughtiness and Scorn.'[100] For the nobility, this would not have been a concern; their position of rank was unquestioned, although manners and humility towards the lower orders was also expected.[101] However, by instilling ideas of superiority in the children of the middling sorts, authors who wrote for the new trading classes such as Trenchfield, Defoe and Barnard, thought the young would be prevented from adopting the frugal and industrious attitudes they would need to succeed as adults. This, Tryon warned of in 1702:

> No Man ought to act so imprudently, as to bring up his children above what can ever be hoped they should attain to, when they come to Maturity, and to be scattered in the world; all which do arise and

[98] Ibid. p. 30.
[99] *Hibernicus's letters* (London, 1734), p. 102.
[100] Ibid. p. 102.
[101] Peacham, *The Compleat Gentleman* (London,1622).

> proceed from Pride, and a foolish, unthinking, vain Glory. And therefore these heedless Jackstraws ought to be exposed and treated accordingly.[102]

Tryon had imposed the responsibility of raising children onto men, however, by the eighteenth century, the gender balance of parenting was changing. Wives and mothers, though seen as subservient to the rule of men, came to be recognised as having an important role to play in the raising of a family.[103] Then, by extension, the frugality of the woman was an indication of her success as a wife and mother. It was thought that a frugal wife would instinctively give all her attention to her husband, children and home and would not be swayed by temptations to misuse her time or housekeeping money.

The Role of Marriage, Women and Mothers

Hannah More highlighted the importance of the frugal wife in her tract *The Wife Reformed,* which told the woeful story of a once frugal and respectable wife called Sarah Smithwaite. For the first two years of her marriage,'Sarah was as happy as a good husband and a prudent conduct could make her' and her husband, 'honest' Richard, 'was so happy in his wife and child that he scarcely ever spent an evening from his own fireside'. Then, Sarah fell under the influence of a gossiping neighbour called Mrs Clackett, who encouraged her to neglect her children, which also resulted in her home becoming dirty

[102] Tryon, *A Brief History of Trade in England* (London, 1702), p.116.
[103] Margaret R Hunt, *The Middling Sort: Commerce, Gender, and the Family in England, 1680-1780* (California, 1996).

and disorderly. Sarah would also 'crib out' of her husband's earnings in order to buy 'frippery ornaments, to make her fit, as she used to say to keep company with her betters'. Thereby, the family almost came to ruin. Finally, Sarah, whilst on the verge of leaving her home and husband, ran into Mr Allen a local Curate, who spoke sense to her. Henceforth, she stopped the friendship with the dishonourable Mrs Clackett and returned to her previous frugal and respectful ways, and the family was saved.[104]

This focus on the importance of female frugality highlights the change in attitudes towards familial relationships at the time. The family was still viewed by commentators as being of the utmost importance. However, as the patriarch had to turn his attention elsewhere, the focus of concerns within the home were falling more towards the wife and mother.[105] The following advice was published in a domestic manual and was typical of that given to young brides, especially those of the middling ranks, starting their journey into domesticity:

> Economy is so important a part of a woman's character, so necessary to her happiness, and so essential to her performing properly her duties of a wife and of a mother, that it ought to have precedence of all other accomplishments, and take its rank next to the first duties of life. It is moreover an art as well as a virtue - and many well-meaning persons, from ignorance, or from inconsideration, are strangely deficient in it. Indeed it is too often wholly neglected in a young woman's education..[106]

Throughout the eighteenth century, cookery and home management books sold promises of economy and used frugality to attract purchasers. However, by the end of the eighteenth century, social aspirations had affected the

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[104] Hannah More, *The Wife Reformed* (Dublin, c1795).
[105] See: Hunt, *The Middling Sort: Commerce* (1996). Davidoff and Hall, *Family Fortunes, Men and Women of the English Middle Class 1750 - 1850* (London, 1987).
[106] *The Young Woman's Companion: Or Frugal Housewife* (Manchester, 1813), Introduction On Economy By A Very Distinguished Lady, p. i

homely childhood of middling daughters, who instead of being tied to their mother's apron strings and learning the intricacies of keeping house while still young, were instead being educated in genteel arts or spent their days socialising.[107] The consequences of them not being familiar with the art of economy and frugality were laid out clearly by the above author, for the family 'may get into habits, which are difficult to alter and 'what is worse, the husband's opinion of his wife's incapacity may be fixed too strongly to suffer him ever to think justly of her gradual improvements.'[108]

The horror of being tarnished with their husband's poor opinion can be explained by Harvey who described economy as 'the practice of managing the economic and moral resources of the household for the maintenance of good order', which was seen as being under the control of men, whereas 'domesticity' and the practice of frugality within the home was the domain of women.[109] Harvey also argued that 'oeconomy's raison d'etre was to unite the moral and economic, and to situate the household in a wider economic and political environment', with successful private domesticity serving as 'the foundation for public virtue'. [110] In addition, Muldrew noted how the world view of the middling sort was 'a constant vigilance to maintain their credit according to the expectations of public perception'.[111] Therefore, as oeconomy encompassed women's housekeeping, it was the concern of the man to ensure that any woman in the household was not to become a hindrance to

[107] See the chapter 'To Read Knit and Spin, Middling Daughters and the Family Economy in Hunt, *The Middling Sort* (1996).
[108] *The Young Woman's Companion* (1813), p. i.
[109] Karen Harvey, *The Little Republic, Masculinity and Domestic Authority in Eighteenth Century Britain* (Oxford, 2012), p. 24.
[110] Ibid. p. 39.
[111] Craig Muldrew, *Economy of Obligation* (1997) As quoted in: Karen Harvey, *The Little Republic* (Oxford, 2012), p.36.

this ideal through her own lack of frugality; thereby making marriage and the choice of a wife of paramount importance.[112]

Hunt described how perceptions of the role of women in the eighteenth century have often been influenced by the prescriptive writings of the time, which portrayed 'most women as being largely passive in the face of men'.[113] While historians have often struggled to prove otherwise, many contemporary commentators openly recognised the positive effects that women could have on men. As Erasmus Jones stated: 'It happens sometimes, that a witty virtuous Woman will improve a dull heavy country Booby, into a Man of Sense and Gallantry'.[114] However, marrying the right woman at the wrong time was also seen as detrimental to the success of some men.

Daniel Defoe considered that the tradesmen of earlier times were more careful in their marriages. They were often restricted as apprentices by indentures stating that 'they should not contract matrimony during their apprenticeship'. This contract was then bound with a financial penalty, which was thought to be sufficient to delay marriage, believing that tradesmen 'should not wed before they have sped'.[115] Frugality was seen by Defoe as being requisite in the gaining of a good marriage and that 'by his diligence and frugality' alongside a 'small expense in housekeeping', the young tradesman could increase his stock and trade and 'have some pretence for insisting on a fortune', by way of the portion settled on marriage by his new bride.[116]

Therefore, delaying marriage was the frugal choice as it ensured the

[112] Karen Harvey, *The Little Republic* (2012), p. 26.
[113] Hunt, *The Middling Sort* (1996), p. 75.
[114] Erasmus Jones, *Luxury, Pride and Vanity, the Bane of the British Nation* (1736), p. 49.
[115] Defoe, *The Complete English Tradesman* (1726), p.114.
[116] Ibid. p.120. This view was also endorsed by Barnard, *A present for an apprentice* (London, 1740), p. 56.

man had time to save enough money and resources to look after his wife and new family. It also positioned him higher up the pecking order of potential husband material, allowing him to choose a more affluent wife, one who could bring a larger dowry to increase the family fortunes still further. Hence, it was recognised that men of lower ranks, who were frugal and saved, could accumulate enough money to gain respectability and therefore access higher ranks of society through marriage.

Of course, many men chose to marry before making their fortunes, and in these cases, the frugality of the wife was to prove vital to their future success. Benjamin Franklin, in his autobiography, described the advantages that his wife's frugality brought to his fledgling business. Stating how she assisted him cheerfully in his business and ensured they kept no idle servants, their table was plain and simple, and their furniture of the cheapest.[117] It is doubtful that he would have acquired such a 'hands-on' wife, had he waited until he was successful to get married.

While Franklin's wife joined him in the frugal ways for which he became famous, other men, were not so lucky with their marriage partner. Benjamin Shaw, a mechanic, left a diary that charted the domestic conflicts he experienced, as his wife continually failed to live up to his frugal expectations. Shaw lamented how Betty, whom he had married in 1793, 'had never been shown the way to manage household affairs in the best way' therefore 'our money did not do us the good it might had it been in some hands'. It seems that Betty's unfrugal ways were implacable, with Shaw stating, 'I could not prevail with her either by fair, or fowl means to change this plan. She began

[117] Benjamin Franklin, *The Autobiography of Benjamin Franklin, 1771* (New York,1950), p. 90.

this way and we have continued in this way, do all I could to prevet [sic] it'. Shaw's comments demonstrate the integral role which mothers and women had to play in the financial stability of the home, and that while the man had all the legal power of ownership and responsibility, he still relied on his wife to be compliant and complicit.[118]

The power which women had in setting the frugal tone of a family was also described by Franklin, who in is Autobiography, revealed how his wife categorically decided how far their frugality stretched:

> my breakfast was for a long time bread and milk (no tea), and I ate it out of a twopenny earthen porringer, with a pewter spoon. But mark how luxury will enter families, and make progress in spite of principle: being called one morning to breakfast, I found it in a China bowl, with a spoon of silver! They had been bought for me without my knowledge by my wife, and had cost her an enormous sum of three and twenty shillings, for which she had no other apology to make, but that she thought her husband deserv'd a silver spoon and China bowl as well as any of his neighbors.[119]

Franklin's wife's temporary foray into luxury was driven partly out of respect for her husband, but mostly by peer pressure and the wish to be seen as good as her neighbours. As Franklin expressed, there was a limit to her frugality. When it crossed the lines of respectability and social rank, Mrs. Franklin, was unwilling for them to be viewed as miserly or as niggards. This quote mirrors the theories on consumption as laid out by Smith, who suggested that the demand for luxury goods was fuelled by the aspiring middling classes and their quest to be seen as being respectable.[120]

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[118] As quoted in, Harvey, *The Little Republic* (Oxford, 2012). Taken originally from The Family Records of Benjamin Shaw, Mechanic of Dent, Dolphinholme and Preston, 1772 - 1841 (ed) Alan G Crosby (Lancashire and Cheshire, 1991), p. 32.
[119] Franklin, *The Autobiography of Benjamin Franklin, 1771* (New York, 1950), p. 90.
[120] Woodruff D Smith, *Consumption And The Making of Respectability 1600 – 1800* (London and New York, 2002).

No matter how careful a woman's housekeeping was however, there were still insinuations that some women were not being frugal enough. Peacham, for instance, accused great ladies of being careful over small expenses, but lavish with larger purchases, thus being 'penny wise and pound foolish'.[121] For although the woman may resist the mismanagement of her own domestic purse as a matter of pride, as well as for the fear of being judged harshly by her husband.[122] When it came to more significant items of expenditure, which were seen as being within the domain of her husband/father, there was a less disciplined approach.

Women, as exemplified by Mrs Franklin, were perceived as being heavily influenced by social pressures. The occupation and aspired to socioeconomic situation of their husbands, often gave them the impetus to spend more of their husband's money than they should. Women were accused of making a 'scheme of advancing the success of their husbands an excuse for indulging their own vanity and ambition.'[123] However, whilst writers on frugality chastised men for succumbing to such pressures, women were rarely singled out for their profligacy. If they were highlighted, it was generally in an anonymous tract, where the author who defamed the characters of women could remain unchallenged.[124] In extreme cases profligate women, such as those who gambled, were referred to as monsters and stripped of their womanhood and described as 'half-human' and 'Harpy in Masquerade'.[125] Overall, however, there was an assumption, that either

[121] Peacham, *The Worth of a Penny* (1641), p. 17.
[122] Harvey, *The Little Republic* (2012), p.33.
[123] *The Young Woman's Companion: Or Frugal Housewife* (Manchester,1813), p. V.
[124] For example: Anon. *An Enquiry Into The Melancholy Circumstances Of Great Britain* (London, circa 1740).
[125] Jones, *Luxury, Pride and Vanity* (London,1736), p. 26.

women were less inclined to wanton luxury, or had their desires for spending kept in check by men.

When it was acknowledged that aspirational spending by women could become dangerous, rarely were women's motivations seen as being selfish, and instead they were viewed as misguided efforts to support their husband's or family's situation. While women were accepted as enjoying and often instigating consumption within the home, the idea that wives and mothers could be greedy and morally corrupt was incomprehensible. Often, when their spending habits did come into question, it was portrayed as a failure on the part of their husbands, either because the husband was himself profligate, or because he had failed to keep his wife aware of any financial difficulties, which would cause her spending to be a problem. This was especially so in the case of tradesmen, as Defoe pointed out:

> The husband is often the prompter of it; at least, if he does not let his wife into the detail of his circumstances, he does not make her mistress of her own condition; but either gives her ground to flatter herself with notions of his wealth, his profits, or his flourishing circumstances; and so the innocent woman Spends high, and lives great, believing her husband is in a condition to afford it.[126]

Defoe implored traders to keep their wives as 'innocent women' informed of their financial situation and 'not to let her run on in ignorance, till she falls with him down the precipice of unavoidable ruin'. Defoe defended women by stating that 'there are very few of the sex so unreasonable, bit their husbands seriously informed them how things stood with them, and they could not support their way of living, would not willingly come into measures to prevent their own destruction.'[127]

[126] Defoe, *The Complete EnglishTradesman* (1726), p. 106 - 7.
[127] Ibid. p. 127 - 8.

The author of *The Young Woman's Companion* also expected women to have an open financial relationship with their new husbands, writing that 'a woman can be answerable for no more than is entrusted to her.' Advising her readers, 'As I trust you will deserve the confidence of your husband, so I hope you will be allowed free consultation with him on your mutual interests'. The author ended by stating: 'I believe there are few men who would not hearken to reason on their own affairs when they saw a wife ready and desirous to give up her share of vanities and only earnest to promote the common good of the family.'[128]

Texts consistantly portray women as being more naturally frugal and more dutiful to the family situation than men, which was reflective of society's views on women at the time.[129] This idea was strongly endorsed by Sir Frederick Eden. Eden wrote specifically about the labouring classes, and it was clear that he held even poor women in high frugal esteem. Eden's confidence in the ability of a woman to 'render her family thriving and happy' was, he felt, dependant on her being assisted by her husband. If a woman was put in charge of the family's expenses, he believed that the children 'would not so often lament the prodigality of their parents'; recognising that 'it still seldomer happens that the welfare of a family is affected by the misconduct of a mother'. Eden observed that it was a working-class women's inability to earn her own money and be entitled to keep it, that caused many families considerable stress, for as he said:

> The instances are not few, where a stupid, drunken and idle man, has an intelligent and industrious wife, with perhaps both the opportunity and ability to earn enough to feed her children; but who yet is deterred

[128] *The Young Woman's Companion: Or Frugal Housewife* (1813), introduction iv.
[129] See: Ideas of Female Perfection in Bridget Hill, *Eighteenth Century Women, An Anthology* (2012).

> from working from a thorough conviction that her mate would, too probably, strip her of every farthing which she had not the ingenuity to conceal.[130]

Eden ends by concluding:

> There is perhaps, no better mode ascertaining what degree of comfort is enjoyed by a labourer's family, than by learning what portion of his weekly earnings he commits to his wife's disposal.[131]

The problem of financial inequality between men and women impacted on all social classes, but the effects were felt more keenly amongst the poor. Didactic publications by philanthropic and religious organisations often cited examples of how families were ruined by selfish unfrugal husbands and fathers who failed to give their wages over to their more capable and thrifty wives.

Summary

This chapter set out to frame frugality within the historical context of the long eighteenth century and has identified it as a complicated phenomenon of its time. Frugality was so intertwined within a set of principles and codes of practice and behaviour that it is difficult for us to view it merely as an adjective of abstention. It was a complex concept of best behaviour, which floated between the sins of avarice and prodigality. These behaviours in themselves were difficult to pin down, other than the fact that they were viewed as being

[130] Sir Frederick Morton Eden, *The State of The Poor, or An History of The Labouring Classes in England, Vol One* (Facsimile of the 1797 edition, 1966), p. 627.
[131] Ibid. p. 628.

unacceptable.[132] This conflict between positive and negative reinforcement of frugality is indicative of the differing motives of the various frugal authors; those who saw themselves as moralists and those who saw themselves as the advisors to the new middling classes.

This chapter has also demonstrated how integral frugality is in studying many key themes such as gender and respectability as well as how it reflected changes in attitudes and insecurities surrounding parenting, gender roles and household dynamics. Highlighting that the promotion of frugality directly to women or any criticism of them being profligate was problematic. As on the one hand, it would dispel the sanctity and ideal of womanhood as being nurturing, innocent and beyond reproach, whilst also inferring that men had negated or lost control of their rightful duty and responsibility to protect and rule over their female family members.

Overall, however, this chapter has revealed how the study of attitudes towards frugality are intricately linked to opinions on social class. For, while it is easy to take a general view of what frugality was thought to be during the long eighteenth century, the following chapters will reveal how it was targeted at the different ranks of society and why.

[132] Mackenzie, *The Moral History of Frugality* (1691), p. 70. This complexity was partially explained by George Mackenzie in 1691: 'As Avarice differs from Parsimony, so does Prodigality from Luxury, for Prodigality is a profuse spending on others, but Luxury upon ones self, In Prodigality a Man seems to value every Man more than himself, because he prefers them, defrauding himself of Necessaries, to bestow upon them. In Luxury a Man prefers himself to all others, robbing and cheating them by all arts and devices, to get thereby superfluities, to feed himself and his lusts… whereas it seems that the Prodigal is less an Enemy to the Common-Wealth, than the Luxurious. Seeing he is ready to prefer his fellow Citizen to himself.'.

Chapter 2: Frugality for the Elite and for the Nation.

Whereas frugality is traditionally viewed from the perspective of necessity and lack, the first concerted efforts to promote frugality in print were directed specifically at the country's elite; those who appeared to have more than enough.[1] From the early seventeenth century, authors close to the aristocracy and the nobility, observed how many of the highest ranks had allowed their positions of power and privilege to become compromised through extravagant spending. Whilst, at the same time a different format of frugality was directed at gentlemen with smaller estates. Here frugality was promoted as a way to help them secure their fortunes and was seen as a necessary tool of retrenchment, as land rents continued to fall and expected standards of living became more expensive to maintain.

Historians have well documented the profligate tendencies that the nobility were susceptible to, which saw many gamble and flitter their estates away in extravagant living.[2] This chapter will add to this research by detailing how for young nobles, frugality was suggested as an antidote to this perilous behaviour and was promoted as being badge of honour. Frugal texts attempted to realign the family allegiances and responsibilities of the aristocracy and prevent them from squandering away their ancient seats, whilst under the trance of new worldly temptations and increasing social expectations.

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[1] Peacham and Aylett in 1622 dedicated and addressed their publications, which endorsed frugality to members of the nobility, Aylet, *Thrifts Equipage* (London, 1622). Peacham, *The Compleat Gentleman* (London, 1622).

[2] Donna T Andrew, *Aristocratic Vice, The Attack On Dueling, Suicide, Adultery, And Gambling In Eighteenth-Century England* (London & New Haven, 2013). See also Reith, *The Age of Chance, Gambling in Western Culture* (London, 1999).

However, frugal texts were also motivated by more patriotic ideals and persuaded the elite into frugality for the sake of the Commonwealth as well as their ancestors and heirs. Authors feared the consequences of foreign competition and held other, more frugal countries and nations in high esteem. Texts attempted to boost the strength of the nation and English trade by promoting both public and private forms of frugality in the upper ranks. Early endorsers are also shown to have believed that the nation would benefit from having frugal leaders who were not 'besotted with depraved Customs' as well as having strong frugal countrymen who could fight for it.[3]

Scholarly works often associate the teaching of frugality for necessitous reasons as being directed towards the labouring poor.[4] However, this chapter will reveal how fiscal frugality was initially directed at those viewed as respectable gentlemen, who due to the increased temptations of their times were starting to fear for their economic and social stability. Therefore, when it came to the upper ranks, there was a conflict between frugality for the benefit of the self/individual (private frugality) against that of the best interests of the nation (public frugality). A balance of behaviour where both would benefit was the ideal, and frugality was perceived to play a key part in moderating the desires of individuals.

[3] Tryon, *The Way to make all People Rich: Or Wisdoms Call* (London, 1685), p. 23.
[4] Sherman, *Imagining Poverty: Quantification and the Decline of Paternalism* (Ohio, 2001). Webb, One Man's Trash Is Another Man's Dinner: Food and the Poetics of Scarcity in the Cheap Repository Tracts, *European Romantic Review,* 17:4 (2006), pp. 419-436,

Frugality as The Golden Mean

As previously highlighted, the concept of the Golden Mean was integral to seventeenth century ideas of frugality. Shagan outlined that it was closely tied to religious and moral obligations of moderation.[5] Moderation was seen as an essential rule of society, particularly during the seventeenth century, but it continued as a marker of respectablity throughout the period of study and was a particularly important factor in convincing the upper ranks to adopt frugality, especially those who deemed themselves too wealthy to be frugal.

Hence, building on this idea, it will be investigated how the primary role of frugality for the most wealthy was as a balancing tool, which was perceived to play a vital role in steering individuals between the sinful extremes of prodigality and avarice. For, although the aristocracy had the resources to be extravagant and excessive in their spending and consumption, the observations of the Golden Mean, through the adoption of frugality, imposed restrictions that would maintain an appropriate balance of behaviours commensurate with both their religious obligations and their social position.

Sir George Mackenzie, who was a Scottish Lawyer and Late Lord Advocate of Scotland, had noticed an imbalance and a movement away from the Golden Mean by 1691. He concluded that men, by forsaking frugality through their love of luxury, had become governed not by the law of the land, but instead by convenience.[6] For Mackenzie this was a recipe for chaos. He recognised that frugality was not convenient, but nevertheless, it was the

[5] Shagan, *The Rule of Moderation* (Cambridge, 2011).
[6] Mackenzie, *The Moral History of Frugality* (London, 1691), The Dedication.

rudder that steered men through a virtuous life and prevented them from veering too close to prodigality, or its opposite vice avarice. Thereby, Mackenzie concluded that even for those who had the resources with which to be extravagent, the moral duty of the rich was to continue living a moderate life.[7]

The concept of moderation was integral to seventeenth century life, and it was the controlling force of both church (The Via Media) and government.[8] The concept of the Golden Mean was also amalgamated with medical advice and recommended dietary regimens, as will be discussed further in Chapter three.[9] With its strong links to temperance and voluntary abstention, frugality, as the active and conscious application of self-imposed restriction, was encouraged by authors as a stabilizing tool. For instance, Shagan described how 'In ancient Peripatetic ethics in particular, moderation or *sophrosyne* was the virtue of self-restraint, while quite separately, the ethical mean or middle-way was the state between excess and deficiency that characterised all virtues.'[10]

Equally, Robert Aylet's poem on thrift, which was published in 1622, evidences how vital this balance was perceived to be at the beginning of the seventeenth century and the critical role which frugality had to play:

> She is that Vertue, or that Golden Meane,
> Twixt Avarice and Prodigalite,
> The constant moderation betweene
> Base Niggardize, and wasting luxury.[11]

[7] Ibid.
[8] Shagan, *The Rule of Moderation* (Cambridge, 2011), p. 18.
[9] Guerrini, A Diet for a Sensitive Soul: Vegetarianism in Eighteenth-Century Britain, *Eighteenth-Century Life*, 23:2 (1999), p. 35.
[10] Shagan, *The Rule of Moderation* (2011), p. 13.
[11] Robert Aylet, *Thrifts Equipage: Viz Five Divine and Morall Meditations of 1.Frugalite 2. Providence 3. Diligence 4. Labour and Care 5. Death* (London 1622).

Frugality was viewed by the Church and moralists alike as a path that needed to be followed through life. Frugality was the straight and narrow line, which kept men virtuous and away from temptations that could lure them into 'niggardize' or 'wasting luxury'.[12] Throughout his poem, Aylet compared life to a beautiful and bountiful garden 'with all variety and choyce arrayd of herbs and flowers to please s(c)ent and sight' and how the bewildering variety caused confusion so that 'out of those pleasant knots I cannot wind'. Hence thrift and frugality were the central pathway through the garden, as 'she moderateth all delights and pleasure'.

Aylet appears to have had empathy with the overwhelming impulses and temptations that would have been felt by his readers and understood why they were challenging to avoid. A combination of hubris and the love of indulgence caused the temptations of the age to be difficult to resist.[13] However, If frugality was not adopted, warned Aylet, then man would be lost in the garden of delights forever, never achieving life's potential.[14] Yet, Aylet was careful to remind his more noble readers that frugality did not exclude liberality: It was not about sacrifice, lack, or severe rationing, but mindful and consistent kerbing of dangerous excesses. He reaffirmed 'Not that she forbids all sports and play, but makes us recreate ourselves with measure'.[15] As a

[12] For example: Baxter, *A Christian Directory, or, A sum of practical theologie and cases of conscience directing Christians how to use their knowledge and faith, how to improve all helps and means, and to perform all duties, how to overcome temptations, and to escape or mortifie every sin: in four parts* (London, 1673); Allestree, *The Art of Contentment,* (Oxford, 1675); Hope, *Of Luxury and Extravagance, Temperance and Frugality, Essays and Letters on the Following and Important Subjects* (London, 1763).
[13] Robert Kettlewell, *The Great Evil and Danger of Profuseness and Prodigality in a Letter to a Friend* (London, 1705), p. 48.
[14] Aylet,*Thrifts Equipage* (1622).
[15] Ibid.

Royalist, in the Court of the extravagant King James I, a strict abstention from such pleasures would not have been popular with his audience, furthermore, such martyr-like behaviour would have smacked of popery.[16]

This idea of moderation and not losing oneself was common throughout the early modern period. For instance, Percival Stockdale in 1773 warned that misery was the certain consequence of luxury, whereas its opposite virtue frugality, was 'the most prudent, as well as the noblest conduct'. Stockdale went on to express that following the path of frugality, resulted in 'health of body, peace of mind, lively and durable enjoyment, and keeps us independent of a changeable and inhumane world'.[17]

Such claims were made in the context of profligate behaviour being viewed as a particularly British problem. For Henry Peacham, who was schoolmaster to an aristocratic family in the 1620s, his noble English readers warranted particular frugal advice.[18] He warned that 'of all nations in Europe, our English are the most profuse and careless in the way of expence.'[19] This reflected the increasing competiveness for foreign trade across the Western World, which will be explored later in this chapter. Peacham chastised the English aristocracy for not taking control of their finances, for not being responsible for their own merchandising, for overeating, and in particular for accumulating large debts at taverns. This meant the English 'Gallants', as

[16] See Linda Peck, *Court patronage and corruption in early Stuart England* (Cambridge (MA),1990).
[17] Percival Stockdale, Three Discourses: Two Against Luxury and Dissipation (London, 1773), p. 33
[18] Peacham was tutor to William Howard, son of the Earl of Arundel. Peacham, *The Compleat Gentleman* (London,1622), The Dedication.
[19]Peacham, *The Worth of a Penny* (1641), p. 23.

Peacham referred to them, were not only greedy and wasteful but also easily cheated by dishonourable foreigners.[20]

This same view of the profligate and easily influenced English, was still evident over a century later when 'A Well-wisher of Great Britain' wrote:

> There is no Nation in the World so subject to the Imposition of Foreigners, nor so liable to be hurried away in the Steam of Folly from their Reason, by an Alarm of any Thing new and prodigious; the Love of Wonder seems to be so Strongly inculcated in the Nature of the Englishman, that, unless he has something every now and then to satisfy the predominant Passion, he is out of Humour with himself, as it were, and grows rusty for the Want of extraordinary Incidents.[21]

The avert and uncontrollable profligacy of the English, compared with the disciplined frugal ways of foreigners was a recurring theme in advice literature.

Patterns of chaotic behaviour, especially among the young nobles had become more evident as the seventeenth century progressed, and the consequences had been keenly felt by their advisors.[22] An example of this can be shown in John Kettlewell's 203-page letter, pleading for his profligate friend to adopt frugality. Kettlewell presented his friend 'with the greatest clearness….. Those frightful Evils which accompany your running yourself out of your Estate, and being plunged deeper into Debt than you can have any Prospect of getting out of again'. Outlining the temptations faced by gentlemen as:

> Revelling and Company, in Gluttony and Drunkenness, in Ostentation and a vain shew of Gentility and Honor, that men are profuse, and lavish away all that should supply the real Necessities either of themselves or others. [23]

[20] Peacham, *The Compleat Gentleman* (London,1622), p. 31.
[21] A Well-wisher to Great Britain, *The Ten Plagues of England, Of Worse Consequence than those of Egypt* (London,1757), p. 20.
[22] See: Andrew, *Aristocratic Vice* (2013).
[23] Kettlewell, *The Great Evil and Danger of Profuseness and Prodigality* (1705), p. 49.

Kettlewell clearly outlined the dangers of his friend's prodigality so that he would 'either affright' or draw him away from it.[24] Shagan reaffirms how the drive for moderation in all things put more emphasis on reigning in bad behaviour by fear, rather than in promoting good through example. [25]

Within this framework, frugality was often used as a stick with which to beat feelings of guilt into those who were perceived to be overindulging, and to remind them of the importance of staying true to the path of the Golden Mean. Over time, the constant beratement of attributes seen to be opposed to frugality and thriftiness, such as profligacy, extravagance, prodigality and luxury, came to instil an association of chastisement and malcontent. As Berry states, 'Shame, guilt and ennui were as much by-products of consumption as pleasure.'[26]

There was always a danger, however, that by chastising profligacy, the balance of behaviour could tip too far in the opposite direction, leading instead to avarice, covetousness and niggardliness, which were also viewed as unacceptable. *The Pleasant Art of Money Catching*, whilst on the one hand it encouraged frugality, on the other it implored its readers to 'Make Money not a contemptible Stone'. A message preceded by the following advice: 'Be thrifty, but not covetous; therefore give. Thy Need, thine Honour, and thy friend his due: Never was Scraper brave Man: get to live'.[27] Dudley, Lord

[24] Ibid. p. 2.
[25] Shagan, *The Rule of Moderation* (2011), p. 13. 'so great was the Christian emphasis on the weight of original sin and the dangerous appetites of fallen humanity that virtually all transgressions, and indeed the whole postlapsarian world, could be imagined as excesses requiring moderation.'
[26] Berry, The Pleasures of Austerity. In: *Journal for Eighteenth Century Studies* 17:2 (2014), p. 264.
[27] N H, *The Pleasant Art of Money-Catching: To Which is Added, The Way to turn a Penny: or The Art of Thriving, With several other Things, both Pleasant and Profitable* (London, 1684),

North was also concerned by avarice, stating that it was not conducive to a well-run household:

> I have alwayes thought it a most uncomfortable thing to keep House in so sparing a manner, as to pinch the belly of Servants, and some I have known, who doing so have yet wasted the greatest part of their Patrimony. Hospitality hath ever been a great honour to this Nation.[28]

North declared those who used frugality as an excuse to under-provide for servants and guests as dishonourable. However, advice literature, much like medical advice, recommended that a balance needed to be maintained, as being overly hospitable was also frowned upon.[29] For instance, overindulgence with guests was seen as not only being wasteful but also pointless, by the likes of Caleb Trenchfield, who said it 'will be looke upon but as the wrens pissing in the sea to them'.[30] Therefore, it was seen that no matter how much you tried to impress the rich, it would never be of any consequence to those who were used to more and so a balanced approach was advised, which at the same time discouraged thoughts of emulation.

Henry Peacham was the first published author to explicitly highlight the profligate nature of the aristocracy, though he was sensible not to flog the nobility with frugal chastisements. In *The Worth of a Penny* he sought to persuade his readers how frugality was of great personal utility by reminding them of all the many things that could be purchased or exchanged for a single penny, thereby instilling a sense of perspective and value to their spending

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p. 25. This was unattributed by the author, but has been traced to a verse of poem: by George Herbert (1593 - 1636) entitled *"From The Church Porch" Wealth,* found in: Beeching, Henry Charles (ed), *Lyra Sacra: A Book of Religious Verse,* 2nd ed (London, 1903).

[28] Dudley Lord North, *Observations and Advices Oeconomical*, (London,1669), p. 76.

[29] Mary Lindemann, *Medicine and Society in Early Modern Europe,* (Cambridge, 1999).

[30] Caleb Trenchfield, *A Cap of Gray Hairs, For A Green Head. Or, The Fathers Counsel To His Son, An Apprentice in London. To which is added a Discourse on the worth of a good Name* (London,1671), p. 149.

habits.[31] Likewise, the last words of John Sowter in *The Way to be Wise and Wealthy* explained how he had also tried to take a different approach to the naysayers who used negative methods of instruction, 'by falling foul with that which they do not like'. Sowter preferred to 'compliment the world into better conduct' and to 'set about doing what they imagin to be more conducive to the good end of making us better'.[32] Sowter clearly understood the psychological benefits of encouraging good behaviour by pointing out its potential rewards. Indeed, as seen in chapter one, many frugal writers battled with as yet undefined doctrines of philosophy and human psychology, as they tried to understand the different natures of men and their varied responses to reason, temptation and guilt.

For works directed at the upper ranks of society, the key to successfully interpreting frugality was not just to focus on what being frugal was seen to be, but on investigating what it was not. Finding the right balance between these two extremes of behaviour was ultimately the goal of those who promoted frugality and inspired their prolific writings. For them, it was acceptable for people to spend and consume, but not too much or on the wrong things.[33] Likewise, it was acceptable for people to save, but not to hoard wealth purely for their own benefit. Frugality at this time was a battle of conscience and common sense versus temptation, greed and hubris.[34]

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[31] Peacham, *The Worth of a Penny* (1641).
[32] Sowter, *The Way to be Wise and Wealthy* (1716), conclusion.
[33] 'I confess indeed Riches are really God's Blessing, and if rightly employ'd, may administer not only the Lawful Delights and Comforts of Nature, but the Means and Opportunities of eminent Virtue.' Graile, *An Essay of Particular Advice* (1711), p.5.
[34] Anon, *The art of thriving or, the way to get and keep money: being a seasonable caution to slothful drones and prodigal spend-thrifts: containing sundry excellent rules and observations for promoting good-husbandry, and banishing idleness and profuseness, the certain parents of poverty: principally intended for an admonition to youth, but necessary to be practiced by all persons in these hard times; and to be set up in every family* (1674).

However, concern was not just expressed about the individual or family. Numerous frugal texts had a wider remit and many authors had serious social and economic concerns. Works such as Thomas Tryon's *England's Grandeur, And Way to get Wealth* (1699) and Charles Povey's *The Unhappiness of England* (1701), demonstrate how important a study of frugality is to understanding early thoughts around foreign trade and political economy, in what was to become a declining mercantile nation.[35] These authors outlined the negative impact, which not respecting the Golden Mean was thought to have on the state of the nation.

Avarice was one of the first issues identified by Peacham as a cause of the depressed nature of the national economy, which he linked to the lack of spending. He saw the scarcity of money circulating in the country as the main cause of the economic distress, which stemmed primarily from the hoarding of money by the rich. For Peacham, 'money so heaped up in chests, and odde corners, is like (as one saith) unto dung, which while it lies upon an heape doth no goode, but dispersed and cast abroad, maketh fields fruitfull'.[36] He then made a statement that seemed to go against frugal teachings, but in fact is key to his balanced approach:

> Hence Aristotle concludeth, that the prodigall man is more beneficiall to, and deserveth better of his country than the covetous miser, every

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Jones, Erasmus, *Luxury, Pride and Vanity, The Bane of the British Nation* (London, c1736); Sibbet, Adam. *A Dissertation, Moral and Political on the Influence of Luxury and Refinement on Nations, With Reflections on The Manners of the Age at The Closure of the 18th Century,* (London, 1800); Anon, *A Letter From A Gentleman in Town To His Friend in The Country, Recommending the Necessity of Frugality* (London, 1750).

[35] Thomas Tryon, *England's Grandeur, And Way to get Wealth: or Promotion of Trade Made Easy and Lands Advanced* (London, 1699); Povey, Charles. *The Unhappiness of England, As To Its Trade By Sea and Land. Truly Stated* (London, 1701).

[36] Peacham, *The Worth of a Penny* (London, 1641), p. 3. Peacham was referring to Sir Francis Bacon's (1561-1628) famous quote "Money is like muck, not good except it be spread"

> trade and vocation fareth the better for him, as the Tailor, Haberdasher, Vintner, Shoemakers, Sempsters, Hostlers, and the Like.[37]

These views were later reflected in the writings of John Houghton, who wrote *England's Great Happiness* in 1677, and Nicholas Barbon who wrote *A Discourse of Trade*, in 1690, who have been repeatedly identified by academics as being the authors who justified the consumption and trade of luxurious goods as being of benefit to the nation.[38] David Hume, the Scottish Enlightenment philosopher and economist Adam Smith, have also been attributed with contributing arguments in favour of luxurious spending.[39]

Needless to say, the poor circulation of money within the economy caused by too much avarice, continued to be viewed as a common economic problem. With one eighteenth century commentator describing its insatiable nature:

> Avarice has always been looked upon as the worst and meanest of Crimes, because the Person who enriches himself, does not only distress his fellow creatures, but is, at the same time, in a state of Discontent, because he is still desirous of more, and therefore it is not what he gets by the Ruin of a few Individuals that will content him, nor even the Destruction of a Nation, provided he could do it without incurring the Punishments that are due to such a national Injury. [40]

Contrary to what many historians think about the writings of early frugal writers, they were not opposed to the spending of money on goods; if a man

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[37] Ibid.

[38] Mckendrick, Brewer, and Plumb, *The Birth of a Consumer Society, The Commercialization of Eighteenth-Century England* (London, 1983).
Berry, (ed) *The Idea of Luxury, A conceptual and historical investigation,* (Cambridge, 1994); Berg and Eger (Eds) *Luxury in The Eighteenth Century, Debates, Desires and Delectable Goods* (Basingstoke, 2003); Hont, Commerce, Luxury, and political economy, *The Cambridge History of Eighteenth-Century Political Thought* (Cambridge, 2006), pp. 377 - 418.

[39] Hutchinson, *Before Adam. The Emergence of Political Economy,* 1662 – 1776 (Oxford, 1988); Cunningham, David Hume's Account of Luxury, *Journal of the History of Economic Thought,* Vol 27. No 3. (Sept 2005), pp - 231 - 250.

[40] Well-wisher to Great Britain, *The Ten Plagues of England, of worse Consequence than those of Egypt* (London, 1757), p. 32.

was to have money, then he was entitled to spend it and indeed should. Dudley, Lord North, whilst strictly endorsing frugality for the benefit of some, did not see his observations and advice as being necessary for all, stating that those with vast fortunes 'need not be obliged to any Rules of Frugality' and that their spending 'brings advantages to the People'. Although there was always the assumption that a Nobleman should spend within his means and 'do that which is most proper for himself'. [41]

Likewise, those who desired more money and a better social position, could justifiably use frugality to improve their lot in life. In fact, Adam Smith praised the frugal habits of his late friend David Hume, who he described as being sparing in his spending habits while a young man, in order to raise himself socially and gain advantage over his fellow men.[42] Therefore, the relationship between luxury and frugality was not as simple as it has been interpreted to be and texts prove that frugality firstly became important to the to the upper ranks of society.

The Nobility: The Frugal Elite

Henry Peacham's first appeal for frugality was in his book *The Compleat Gentleman* (1622).[43] Born in c1576, in Hertfordshire, Peacham was educated at Cambridge University and was a poet, private tutor and schoolmaster.

[41] Dudley Lord North, *Observations And Advices Oeconomical* (London, 1669), LXXX1V.
[42] David Hume, *Early Biographies of David Hume,* (ed). James Fieser (Internet Release, 1995).
[43] Peacham, *The Compleat Gentleman* (1622), p.189: 'Wherefore I must commend you to Frugality, the mother of all Virtues…..'

Peacham's contribution towards frugal texts cannot be underestimated. His views and opinions on the importance of frugality for both individuals and the state, laid the foundations of all who followed and were published for over a hundred years.

The few historians who have written about him, describe him as being an extreme Royalist.[44] His work *The Compleat Gentleman,* was one of a spate of popular 'courtesy' books, which instructed courtly behaviour. Peacham's guide advised on 'Fashioning him [the pupil] absolute in the most necessary and commendable Qualities concerning Minde and Body to country's glory', as a way of stabilising what he viewed as a threat to the concept of *noblesse oblige*. [45]

The impetus for the frugal teaching of the nobility in the early 1620s reflected wider social instability. Peacham considered himself a teacher and advisor to the next generation of the aristocracy and wanted to ensure that young nobles maintained the respectability, status, titles and estates of their birth. New temptations of leisurely pursuits and the consumption of luxury goods increasingly vied for the attention of the new generation and drew them away from their traditional roles and responsibilities.[46] Peacham believed that the nobility held special status, as he explained to William Howard the youngest son of the Earle of Arundel, in his dedication to him: 'it is affirmed,

[44] For example, see Paul Harold Levitt, *The Political Writings Of Henry Peacham* (Unpublished PhD Dissertation, New York University, 1968), and Robyn P Andrews, *A Critical Edition of The Compleat Gentleman (1622) By Henry Peacham* (Unpublished PhD Dissertation, Bedford College, University of London, 1982).
[45] Peacham, *The Compleat Gentleman* (London,1622), dedication.
[46] As expressed by Peacham, in his dedication for '*The Compleat Gentleman'* to Mr. William Howard, The youngest Son of the Earle of Arundell, and how he hoped the book would:
at least, let us recover you from the tyrannie of these ignorant times, and from the common Education; which is, to weare the best cloathes, eate, sleepe, drinke much, and know nothing.
Peacham, *The Complete Gentleman* (London, 1622), The Epistle.

that there are certaine sparkes and secret seeds of virtue innate in Princes, and the Children of Noble personages; which (if cherished, and carefully attended in the blossome) will yeild [sic] the fruit of Industry and glorious Action'. Peacham then continued to compare the young noble, who he felt had inevitably inherited the great attributes of his fore-fathers, to a grape vine 'as it is laden with Clusters, by so much it hath need of props: So say I of Greatnesse and Nobilitie, ever fruitfull, and apt to abundance, it hath hourely need of support and helpe, by all timely advice and instruction, to guide and uphold it from lying along.'[47]

Frugality was viewed by Peacham and his contemporary Robert Aylet, as an essential virtue for the nobility, allowing them to hone the God-given grace, honour and status with which they had been endowed.[48] Within a destabilising and increasingly socially fluid society, frugality allowed the rich to maintain the respectability and rank, which they felt entitled to.[49] These early promoters of frugality were neither pious nor moralistic but were protective of the monarchy, the aristocracy and the Royal Court. They were unnerved by the reckless behaviour of some young nobles, who by embracing the new luxuries of the day, were threatening the stability of their class.[50] These pragmatic royalists clearly stated the importance of frugality in maintaining the shibboleth of gentlemanly codes of conduct and honour.[51]

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[47] Peacham, *The Compleat Gentleman* (London,1622), The Dedication.
[48] Robert, Aylet, *Thrifts Equipage* (London, 1622)
[49] Ibid. p. 185.
[50] For example: The Duke of Buckingham, who died in 1687, and who had inherited an estate and income of over £50,000 a year, was said to have departed this life in 'the utmost misery by a life of wanton riot and debauchery, which exhausted all his princely resources'. Tuckett, *A History of the Past and Present State of The Labouring Population, Vol 2* (London, 1846, facsimile 1971), p. 454.
[51] For more details see Colin Campbell's chapter - The Aristocratic Ethic in *The Romantic Ethic And The Spirit Of Modern Consumerism* (Oxford, 1987).

Robert Aylet, published his poetical tributes to thrift and frugality as well as to providence and diligence in 1622. The book was dedicated to The Right Honorable William Lord Maynard and inferred a link between being frugal and attaining honour, both in this life and the next. Aylet affirmed this by stating: 'Who doth to the name of frugall man attaine. One of the highest Titles due to man doth gaine.'[52] The breakdown in moral virtue and the potential loss of honour, status and respectability of the landed gentry was an increasing social concern and was seen by both authors as the start of a terrible decline in standards and behaviour.

In *The Compleat Gentleman*, Peacham wrote 'There is no one thing that setteth a fairer stampe upon Nobilitie then evenesse of Carriage and care of our Reputation, without which our most gracefull gifts are dead and dull, as the Diamond without his foile.'[53] Peacham expressed that without a good reputation, the nobility had no integrity and that 'the principall meanes to preserve it is Temperance and that moderation of the minde, wherewith as a bridle wee curbe and breake our ranke and passions'. Therefore, It was necessary for the nobility to be reigned in by the use of frugality, not only for their own good, but also for that of the nation.

In 1622, Peacham commended 'unto you (the readers of *The Compleat Gentleman*) frugality, the Mother of vertues', Advising that frugality was 'a virtue as requisite in a Noble Gentleman, as the care of his whole Estate, and presentation of his name and posterity.'[58] Yet, Peacham went on to lament how frugality was 'greatly wanting in many, as they come short of

[52] Ibid.
[53] Peacham, *The Compleat Gentleman* (1622), p. 185.
[58] Ibid. p. 189.

the reputations and entire Estates of their forefathers, who account thrift the object of the plow or shoppe, too base and unworthy their consideration'.[59] Peacham declared the 1620s as being 'ignorant times', with young nobles thinking education to be little more than how to 'weare the best cloathes, eate, sleepe, drink much and know nothing.'[60]

Peacham's concerns for the increasingly profligate and undignified behaviour of the upper ranks continued to be expressed in his later publications. For example, Peacham's *Coach and Sedan,* published in 1636 set out a satirical argument between a coach, sedan chair and a country cart, as to which was the most welcome in town. The book reveals the author's views on the needless expense wasted on transport by the rich and the excessive behaviours of the gentry as they embraced luxury and became increasingly reticent to walk anywhere, thinking that their 'feet too good to tread upon Mother-earth'. [61]

Peacham became concerned enough by the profligate behaviour of the young nobles that he wrote his seminal work *The Worth of a Peny [sic]: Or A Causion to Keep Money. With the causes of the Scarity and misery of the want hereof in these hard and mercilesse Times: As also how to save it in our Diet, Apparell, Recreations, &c. And also what honest Courses men in want may take to live*.[62] Peacham had knowledge of 'many young Heirs in England' who had 'gallop'd through their estates before they have been thirty' and so instruction in frugality was deemed vital.[63] Peacham described frugality as:

[59] Ibid.
[60] Ibid. The Epistle.
[61] Peacham, *Coach and Sedan, Pleasantly Disputing for Place and Precedence, The Brewers Cart being Moderator* (London, 1636), p. 17.
[62] This was the original spelling, but from here after it will be spelt Penny.
[63] Peacham, *The Worth of a Penny* (London, 1641), The Dedication.

> Frugality is a virtue which holdeth her own, layeth out or expendeth profitably, avoideth unnecessary expenses, much buying, riot, borrowing, lending, superfluous buildings, and the like, yet can spend in a moderate way, as occasion and reason shall require, as, The Groat is well spent that Saveth a Shilling. [64]

The Worth of a Penny was reprinted many times throughout the seventeenth and eighteenth centuries, and its contents were widely copied in later publications.[65]

Existing studies of Peacham's writings declare that it was first written in 1641.[66] However, whilst 1641 is the date of the earliest known licensed publication of the work. *An Advertisement to The Reader*, attached to the 1664 edition of The *Worth of a Penny*, which was published posthumously by William Lee, explains how Peacham had published *The Worth of a Penny* 'many years' after finishing it, in order to distribute it to some friends.[67] What 'many years' means in this context is open to interpretation: it could simply

[64] Ibid. p.18.

[65] It was republished many times in the seventeenth century by one William Lee (see listing in appendix) Almost the entire contents of *The Worth of a Penny* were reprinted but unacknowledged within NH's *The Pleasant Art of Money Catching* which was first published in 1684 and reprinted for almost 200 years.

[66] Levitt, *The Political Writings of Henry Peacham,* Unpublished PhD, New York University, 1968. Andrew, *A Critical Edition of The Compleat Gentleman* (1622) By Henry Peacham, (1982, Unpublished PhD, University of London).

[67] An advertisement at the rear of the 1664 edition published by William Lee. Lee stated that 'Mr Peacham many years since having finished this little book of *The Worth of a Penny*, did read it unto me: and some eminent friends of his' and that they were 'very much pleased with his conceits' and that 'The chief intent of printing it was to present them to his friends' (This refers to the 1641 publication).But that some years later with Peacham dying, William Lee was persuaded to 'print the book a new: but after much search and inquiry I found the book without any printers name, and without any true date; and having procured it to be licensed and entered, and corrected all the mistakes in it'. As Henry Peacham is presumed to have died in 1644, he must have read the book to Mr Lee, before his death c1644 and therefore, the reference to it having been written 'many years since' cannot explain the whole contents of the book as being written in 1641, just 3 years before his death and could suggest that at least part of the contents were written before 1641 and that these were updated by Peacham after the approval of Mr Lee and his 'eminent friends' and licensed and published in 1641. Another edition was published in 1647, after Peacham's death without a printer's name, and it is suggested by Pitman that it was this edition that William Lee procured 'some years after' when Peacham had died and that on seeing no printers name and it dated after Peacham's death, he assumed that the date was wrong and that the first copy printed by Peacham was not licenced and so he licensed the title himself, updated it and published it in 1664. Pitman, *Studies in the Works of Henry Peacham,* (1933), p. 68.

refer to the gap between the 1664 edition and when *The Worth of a Peny [Sic],* by H.P. was first entered into the register of the Stationers Company on 20th April 1641 by Master Hearne.[68] While it is clear that the introduction and dedication were written in 1641, evidence within the rest of the text suggests that it may have been written earlier. [69] Lee's note to the reader also suggests that Peacham had 'finished' the book many years before it was read to him and shortly before it was published in 1641. Indeed, much of the style of the book resembles that of Peacham's earlier work *The Compleat Gentleman* published in 1622, rather than to Peacham's works of the 1630s.[70] All the references and case studies, which appear in the 1641 edition (except for those in the introduction or dedication), either predate or are contemporary to the 1620s, and none can be dated from between 1630 and 1641. This raises a question: why did a prolific author, like Peacham, who from the mid 1630s was writing modern political satire, write and published a new book using so much re-used content and outdated references.[71] If *The Worth of a Penny*

[68] The Stationers Company*, A Transcript of the Registers of the Worshipful Company of Stationers from 1640 – 1708 A.D.* (London, 1913-14), p. 21.

[69] Firstly: The 1641 edition of *The Worth of a Peny* was dedicated to Master Richard Gipps, eldest son of Master Richard Gipps, who was a Judge of the Guild-Hall. Records show that Richard Gipps was admitted to Gray's Inn in 1598 and was 'Judge of the Sheriff's Court' and was married to Margaret Pell of Norfolk in 1616 and the father of Richard Gipps, who was admitted to Gray's Inn 1635. George Eller, *Memorials Archaeological and Ecclesiastical of the West Winch Manors from the Earliest Ages to the Present Period* (London, 1861), p.147. Secondly: The first sentence of the introduction to the 1641 edition of *The Worth of a Penny,* refers to a visit to London of 'The Ambassadour of Mully Hamet Sheck King of Morocco, 'about four or five years since' and this is described as having happened in 1637 by George Glover in his book: *The Arivall and Intertainements of the Embassador Alkaid Jaurar Ben Abdella with his associate Mr R Blake, from the high and mighty Prince, Mully Mahamed Sheque, Emporor of Morocco, King of Fesse and Suss* (London, 1637).

[70] Peacham's known titles published post 1635 include: *The Valley of Varietie, or Discourse Fitting for the Times* (London, 1638); *The Truth of our Times: Revealed out of one Mans Experience, by way of Essay* (London 1638); *The Duty of all True Subjects to their King* (London, 1639); *A Merry Discourse of Meum and Twm* (London, 1639); *A Dialogue between the Crosse in Cheap and Charing Crosse* (London, 1641), *The Art of Living in London* (London, 1642); *A Paradox in Praise of a Dunce to Smectymnuus* (London, 1642);

[71] For example, In *The Compleat Gentleman* (1622) Peacham makes reference to a famous example of frugality in practice:

was written as new, but using a compilation of Peacham's past works, it is curious why he didn't include the carefully constructed arguments and examples on the folly of following fashion, which he had written for his 1638 book *The Truth of our Times.*[72] For while this earlier work contained some common elements with the prose that Peacham wrote on the same subject in *The Worth of a Penny,* it is a much better argued piece, with more detail and contains examples of the contemporary behaviour of peers. Indeed, there are many elements within it that would have been more appropriate for reuse in a later publication titled *The Worth of a Penny*.[73] It may be that *The Truth of our*

> "That glory and champion of Chrisendome, Charles the fift (sic), would goe (except in times of warre) as plaine as any ordinary gentleman, commonly in blacke or sadde stuffe, without lace or any other extraordinary cost; only his Order of the golden Fleece about his necke in a ribband: and was so naturally frugall, not out of parsimonie (being the most bountifull minded Prince that ever lived) that as *Guicciardini* reported of him, if any one of his points had chance to breake, he would tye it of a knot and make it serve againe".

In *The Worth of a Peny* (1641), Peacham reuses the reference to him retying the broken points of his hose as opposed to demanding a change of attire. The Charles the Fifth he refers to is The Holy Roman Emperor Charles V (1500-1558) and he is referenced elsewhere in the 1641 and in later editions of *The Worth of a Penny* as being frugal in his attire. However, where the reference is made specifically to the tying of the broken points, his name is cited incorrectly in the 1641 edition as 'Charles the First', and it appears as such in all subsequent editions of *The Worth of a Penny.* This example suggest that previously written contents were changed in order to endorse a King, who can only be assumed, by the reader to be Charles I of England with great frugality in his attire. This strongly suggests that the 1641 edition of *The Worth of a Penny*, uses parts of text which were likely drafted before Charles came to the throne in 1625. Of course, this could have been a mistake due to a miss-reading of the original spelling: Fift (sic). However, to leave out any mention of the current King would have been remiss of any publication, especially when other Royal monarchs are cited and Peacham had published a title called: *The Dutie of all True Subjects to Their King,* just three years previously in 1639. Therefore, it is more likely that by the time of the publication of *The Worth of a Penny* in 1641, changing this little detail in order to cite a supposed example of the frugality of Charles I, would have solved that problem. It would also have been helpful to the Royalist cause to merit their current King with some frugality rather than just referring to the long since dead Charles Fifth.

[72] Peacham, *The Truth of Our Times: Revealed out of one Man's Experience, by way of Essay* (London, 1638).

[73] Ibid. p 60, for example it mentions the frugal attire of the 'Emperour Charles 5', which is also referred to in *The Compleat Gentleman* and *The Worth of a Penny*.
p.62, a conversation is related between Peacham and a 'Semster in Holbourne' outlining the vast amounts of money that some gentlemen spent on fashion and that there were 'shoo-tyes, that go under the name of Roses, from thirty shillings to three, foure and five pounds the paire' and that a 'Gallant of the time not long since, pays thirty pound for a paire'. If *The Worth of a Penny* was written subsequent to *The Truth of Our Times*, information such as this would have made a far better addition to Peacham's argument than the outdated examples which were published.

Times used information from comprehensive notes, or indeed an earlier unpublished version of *The Worth of a Penny* and expanded on them, whereas the 1641 published edition of *The Worth of a Penny* reproduced the earlier notes in full and merely updated the introduction and dedication. Hence, while 'many years' could refer to the gap between Lee's edition and the 1641 publication, we need to be open to other interpretations.

Furthermore, an unattributed pamphlet entitled *A Caution to Keep Money,* which is the subtitle of the published *The Worth of a Penny,* and contains much the same content as the 1641 edition, but without the dedication or introduction, was printed for a certain G Lindsey in 1642.[74] Margaret Pitman in her unpublished thesis of 1933 suggested that this edition may have been published from notes taken from Henry Peacham's estate after his death.[75] However, Peacham was still publishing in 1642 and is not thought to have died until 1644.[76] Therefore, with different versions of Peacham's *The Worth of a Penny* in existence at the same time, the exact provenance of this work is difficult to pin down.

Scholars such as Stoyle and Gilbert have previously identified the origins of the much-criticised flamboyant behaviour of noble Royalist Cavaliers as dating from the early 1640s.[77] However, the fact that Peacham

[74] *A Caution To Keepe Money: Shewing the Miserie of the want thereof,* (London, 1642).
[75] Pitman, Margaret, *Studies in the Works of Henry Peacham*, Unpublished PhD Thesis (University of London, 1933), p. 61.
[76] Paul Harold Levitt, *The Political Writings Of Henry Peacham* (Unpublished PhD Dissertation, New York University, 1968), and Robyn P Andrews, *A Critical Edition of The Compleat Gentleman* (1622) *By Henry Peacham* (Unpublished PhD Dissertation, Bedford College, University of London, 1982).
[77] Mark Stoyle, "The Cannibal Cavalier: Sir Thomas Lunsford and the Fashioning of the Royalist Archetype." *the historical journal*, 59:2 (2016), p. 293–317; Gilbert, C.D., The Image of the 'Cavalier': David Hyde and a Disorderly Banquet in 1643 Worcester, *Midland History,* 42:2 (2017), pp.233-242 For the use of 'cavalier' as a synonym for 'royalist' by modern academic historians, see, for example, D. Underdown, *Revel, riot and rebellion: popular politics and culture in England, 1603–1660* (Oxford, 1985), p.167.

wrote *The Compleat Gentleman* in 1622 and continuously commented on the wasteful and wanton behaviour of the nobility in his publications throughout the 1630s, would suggest that the endorsement of frugality to the upper gentry, was at first a reaction to the profligacy surrounding the Court of King James I (1603 - 1625), which then continued into the reign of King Charles I. Thereby, evidencing that the stereotypical, extravagant and pleasure-seeking characters, previously associated with Charles I, were clearly present and forewarned, privately at least, a generation before they were publically exposed.

Peacham, however, as a dedicated aristocratic pedagogue, would have originally intended his frugal wisdom as specifically tailored advice for a selected few, rather than for general readership, 'the chief intent of printing it, was, to present them to his friends'.[79] Needless to say, the full disclosure into the public realm of the profligate ways of the nobility and gentry would not have been in Peacham's best interest nor that of the Court, especially in the years leading up to the Civil War. The aristocracy were not willing to be told that the new consumer pleasures and indulgent lifestyle choices that they were making were putting both themselves and their estates in danger. Nevertheless, this threat would be justified restrospectively by the number of frugal texts (to be discussed), which were written years later by nobles, who had regretted not listening to such advice while they were still in their prime.[80]

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[79] As stated by William Lee in The Advertisement to the reader, *The Worth of a Penny* (London, 1664).

[80] Thomas Powell and Lord North are examples of authors who wrote frugal advice books after regretting spending a profligate youth. Powell, Thomas, *The Art of Thriving, Or The Plaine path-way to Preferment. Together with The Mysterie and Misery of Lending and Borrowing. As also a Table of the Expence of Time and Money. Consider it seriously. Examine it judiciously. Remember it punctually. And thrive accordingly. Published for the*

However, by the eighteenth century, the profligate tendencies of the elite were common knowledge. John Graile, was the Rector of Blickling and the son of an English Puritan minister, his first book *Youths Grand Concern* was published in 1708. Like Peacham before him, Graile saw himself as a loyal advisor to those who God had ordained to the upper ranks of society.[82] In 1711, he wrote *An Essay of Particular Advice To The Young Gentry, For The overcoming the Difficulties and Temptations they may meet with, and the making an early and happy Improvement of the Advantages they enjoy beyond others*. While acknowledging the superiority of the aristocracy and nobility, Graile was keen to point out that the privileges of birth, titles and riches did not automatically infer honour and that 'virtue is the only true Nobility'.[83]

Graile was specifically concerned that the wealth, opportunites and advantages given to the young gentry could actually be their downfall, as the 'temptations of the Rich and the Great, are more numerous and considerable'.[84] The nobility were repeatedly highlighted as being the spenders, rather than the accumulators of capital and his book included examples of how young nobles could befall these 'glittering allurements, intoxicating delicacies and trecherous Inchantements' and he aimed to show the young gentry how they could overcome them.[85] Graile was also mindful to

common good of all sorts, &c. (London, 1635); North, Dudley Lord *Observations And Advices Oeconomical* (London, 1669).

[82] John Graile, *An Essay of Particular Advice To The Young Gentry, For The overcoming the Difficulties and Temptations they may meet with and Temptations they may meet with, and the making an early and happy Improvement of the Advantages they enjoy beyond others* (London, 1711), p. xii.

[83] Ibid p xii.

[84] Ibid. p. 3.

[85] Ibid. p.2.

help the young nobles to make the most of the advantages, which 'those in the upper part of the World enjoy above others, and the way to make an early and happy improvement to them.'[86]

The profligate nature of the English nobles was seen by Graile almost as a genetic impediment, which they inherited through no fault of their own. He claimed:

> But it is a work of considerable difficulty for a Rich Man, especially for a Rich young Heir, to lay a just restraint upon his Desires, and contain himself within the Bounds of a Regular and Vertuous life. His Passions are raised by the warm Blood and Spirits within him, and the abundence of his external goods affords him the means of obtaining almost every thing that he hath a mind to.[87]

As Graile observed, though the young nobles had the wealth with which they were born, they were 'never born with the skill to manage it. That never descends from your ancestors, but it is to be learned by your own industry.'[88] Graile further pointed out that there was no 'great Art of Knowledge required towards the wasting or misemploying of a fair Estate,' but some 'studious and serious thought' needed to be put into understanding how to preserve and rightly use it. This, he maintained, needed to be done by 'Prudence, Diligence, and Frugality, together with a liberal and generous Piety and Charity.'[89]

For the nobility, the teaching of frugality continued to be an important element of their personal development. Graile advised nobles that the 'frugal husbanding your Estates' was 'fundamentally necessary to all the good uses that are to be made of them', but 'if you squander them away in luxury and Profuseness, you are not only ungrateful to the Donor of them, but oppose

[86] Ibid. p. xv.
[87] Ibid. p. 4.
[88] Ibid. p.163.
[89] Ibid.

and defeat the true ends for which they are given you'.[90] Whereas persons of a lower rank only had the capacity to improve themselves, like Peacham and Aylet before him, Graile believed that God had blessed the nobility with the position and resources to enable them to show more piety and virtue, and had a responsibility to make a real difference to those who surrounded them. Furthermore, they believed that the efforts of the frugal, virtuous and pious noble would be rewarded in heaven.[91] This view was not only reflective of the importance of religious teaching at the time, but also how it was used alongside more secular appeals for frugality, for this was a period when science and religion needed to be seen to work together in unison.[92]

As well as causing the nobility to consider the spiritual as well as the financial consequences of their spending habits, Graile also encouraged them to treat their estates in a more business-like manner, asking that they didn't 'think it beneath your Quality to look into them with your own Eyes, to see what Rents are paid, and what Deductions are made for Taxes and Repairs.' Adding that 'Justice will not allow you to spend any more than what is truly your own, and a discreet Frugality will teach you to spend somewhat less.'[93]

By this time the publishing trade, as will be discussed in the next chapter, had started feeding the middling classes with a methodology whereby they could use their frugality and industry for their own personal advancement and success.[94] There had always been apprehension, going

[90] Ibid. p.165.
[91] Ibid. p.184.
[92] See: Jonathan Israel, *Enlightenment Contested: Philosophy, Modernity, and the Emancipation of Man 1670-1752* (Oxford, 2006).
[93] Graile, *An Essay of Particular Advice* (1711), p.165.
[94] H, N, *The Compleat Tradesman: Or The Exact Dealers Daily Companion. Instructing Him thoroughly in all things absolutely necessary to be known by all those who would thrive in the World; and in the whole Art and Mystery of Trade and Traffick* (Third Edition, London, 1684);

back to Peacham's time, that the nobility were being left behind in both business and investment. Peacham commented on how the lavish fashion choices of the nobility had caused many of the 'City Tailors' to 'arise to great estates' and to build brave houses'.[95] Research by Edwards also shows how the middling sorts of the early modern period were being educated in new methods of business and accounting, rather than receiving the classical education that was given to the nobility. Therefore, as well as imposing the moral obligations on the young nobles to be frugal, there was also a financial necessity for them to husband their estates more wisely. For as well as protecting the wealth they already had, the rich needed to start competing with those who were to become the new capitalists of the age, most of whom were not of noble birth.

However, while Peacham, Aylett and Graile hoped to protect the nobility by encouraging them to spend their vast wealth in more honourable ways, at the same time, some gentlemen were finding it increasingly difficult to maintain a standard of living commensurate with their status. For these lower orders of gentlemen, frugality became more of a matter of survival than honour.

The Gentleman of Small Fortune: Genteel Frugality

After Peacham published his plea for frugal ways in the 1641 licensed edition of *The Worth of a Penny,* the book was able to speak to a wider audience.

H, N, *The Pleasant Art of Money-Catching, Newly and Fully Discovered, Being the Second and Last part of that very useful Book, Intitled The Compleat Tradesman* (London, 1684).
[95] Peacham, *The Worth of a Penny* (London, 1641).

The Civil War period saw the loss of power and control by the court and an equalising of opportunity. However, the practical necessity of teaching frugality to gentlemen of all levels had been recognised by other writers since the 1630s.

In 1631, Thomas Powell wrote *Tom of all trades, Or The plaine path-way to preferment*. [96] It was re-published a few years later under a more eye-catching and appealing name: *The Art of Thriving* (1635).[97] In his book, Powell passed on his wisdom, which he now 'published for the common good.' His approachable form of advice-giving, like a modern parable or fable, allowed the readers to compare their mistakes and misfortunes with others, without feeling that they were being preached at or chastised directly. Thus, this early advice guide adopted a different and less judgemental tone, compared with the religious and moralistic tracts and sermons of this increasingly puritanical period.

The protagonist of Powell's book was a 'Gentleman of Northamptonshire', who took the lead role in the story and would have reflected the concerns of his readers. This Gentleman character admitted to being profligate in his past (presumably the 1620s, when Peacham warned of such behaviour) and as a result he was now suffering. In a time of decreasing rental incomes, he was forced to live on credit for most of the year. Needless to say, this unfortunate Gentleman lamented his past unfrugal behaviour and now feared for the future of his children:

> I remember mee of Children, sixe soones, and three daughters, of whom I am the unhappy father. In that, besides the scars which my unthriftiness hath dinted upon their fortunes, the wounds of unequal times, and a tempestuous age approaching are like to take away from

[96] Thomas Powell, *Tom of all trades, Or The Plane path-way to preferment* (London,1631).
[97] Thomas Powell, *The Art of Thriving* (London,1635).

> them all hope of outliving the low water ebbe of the evil day all meanes of thriving by honest paynes, study or industry are bereft to them.[98]

The 'tempestuous' times leading up to the outbreak of the Civil War and the general economic instability, combined with the gentleman's lack of savings and his decreasing income, caused him great concern. These would have been familiar circumstances for many who suddenly found their ancestral estates insufficient to support their families in the manner to which they were accustomed.[99] Therefore, the rest of Powell's book advised this melancholic father on how he could increase his income and rectify his self-inflicted economic instability. Firstly, by marrying off his eldest son to a woman who came with a large dowry. Secondly, by sharing his estate according to the abilities of his children and thirdly by finding suitable professions for his sons.[100]

There was a gap in secular frugal advice writing during the interregnum period, however, Post-Restoration, Dudley North, the fourth Baron North, wrote *Observations and Advices Oeconomical,* which was published a year after his death in 1669. North, having himself recovered from a profligate youth, was motivated at the end of his life to pass on the 'Rules in Oeconomy'. With North stating that 'I receive great contentment in being beneficial to others… For better do a little good, than none at all' and that 'Perhaps it may yield assistance somewhere, and so I leave it to its

[98] Powell, *Tom of all trades* (1631), p.3.
[99] James M. Rosenheim. *The Emergence Of a Ruling Order, English Landed Society 1650-1750* (London and New York, 1998), p. 49 - 'During a century of lower return on land that started around 1640, when grain prices dipped more than ten percent, many landowners faced financial trouble. Some only maintained their aristocratic style of life by using their resources to borrow'.
[100] Powell, *The Art of Thriving* (London, 1635), pp. 11-12.

fortune'.[101] Like Powell before him, North had learned frugality through the benefit of hindsight and he wanted to share his lessons with others. He particularly expressed his concern over the profligacy of the gentry, who didn't keep their expenses under their annual revenue. North exclaimed, 'they consider high living as a great happinesse.....presuming of a supply to come to them out of the clouds'. For North, the remedy was easy, 'for common prudence forbids all men, to continue in a consumptive condition, without absolute necessity.'[102]

North also reminded his readers how the expectations and markers of respectability had to be constantly adhered to and how in certain circumstances excessive spending was seen as an 'absolute necessity'. Although these occasions could be better afforded and these expenses could be offset by adopting frugality for the rest of the time. As North explained:

> I knew a Noble-man whose course was this, to apparrel(sic) his Daughters in very plaine Habit till they became Marriagable (sic), and then he trimmed them them one by one in Garments of more cost, which succeeded very well, all of them being seasonably and fitly disposed of.[103]

Thus, even for staunch believers in frugality, a certain amount of luxury was required in order to maintain social rank, referencing again the need for a balanced approach to consumption.

The print culture of the long eighteenth century shows that frugality continued to be an important virtue for the elite. For many Gentlemen on their uppers, frugality became particularly important, with publications written especially for genteel sorts who needed to keep up appearances and maintain

[101] North, *Observations and Advices Oeconomical* (London, 1669), Preface.
[102] Ibid. p. 107.
[103] Ibid. p. 67.

a respectable demeanour without the income to support it. The clergy were especially targeted with frugal advice. As a profession, The Church attracted many younger sons of the gentry, even though the incomes could be notoriously low. In some cases, the living associated with a clergyman could pay him little more than a skilled artisan, though the lifestyle and behavioural expectations placed on him by society were far greater.[104]

The Reverend John Trusler wrote *The Way to Be Rich and Respectable, Addressed to Men of Small Fortune* in the 1770s, which outlined how practical frugality and budgeting could allow a man to 'cut his cloth' according to his income, while still maintaining an appropriate air of respectability.[105] In 1774, another 'Gentleman of Experience' published a book entitled *The Economist. Shewing, In a Variety of Estimates, From Fourscore pounds a year to upwards of 800l. How comfortably and genteely a family may live, with frugality, for a little money*.[106] This genteel frugality, was presented through texts as a way of allowing a family to disguise their financial shortages in the presence of the polite company that surrounded them, and this was a common, though rarely publicised motivation for its adoption. These promoters of frugality persuaded their readers to self-prescribe frugality and convinced them that there was no dishonour in living honestly within their means, for 'there is no justification so sure, as that which is built upon necessity'. Therefore, it can be seen that frugality was important

[104] Gentleman of Experience, *The Economist. Shewing, In a Variety of Estimates, From Fourscore pounds a year to upwards of 800l. How comfortably and genteely a family may live, with frugality, for a little money* (Fourth Edition, London, 1774), The Preface.
[105] Trusler, *The Way To Be Rich and Respectable. Addressed To Men of Small Fortune* (s.n. c1776).
[106] Gentleman of Experience, *The Economist* (London, 1774).
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for the upper classes as it enabled them to maintain their own social positions and family fortunes. However, as briefly touched upon, frugality by the upper ranks was also considered a subject of national as well as individual importance.

Frugality for the Nation

Tensions regarding the insecurity of the personal wealth of the aristocracy were closely tied to concerns regarding the instability and economic decline of the Commonwealth and these fears provoked the earliest frugal outpourings. The political economy of the nation and the balance of private and public expenditure was certainly a concern for Henry Peacham, who could see the societal and economic consequences of the upper classes abandoning frugality.

Peacham, was clearly troubled with the economic welfare of the nation, as suggested by the subtitle to his book: '*With the causes of the Scarcity and misery of the want thereof, in these hard and mercilesse Times:',* which appeared in this and subsequent imprints and editions.[107] The 'hard and mercilesse times' to which Peacham referred, began with an economic depression and trade crisis that hit England during the early 1620s. This well-documented crisis provoked an intense period of widespread poverty, unemployment and social unrest, as outlined by Peacham: [108]

> All people complaine generally (as I have said) of the want of money, which like an Epidemicall disease, hath overrun the whole land. The

[107] See appendix for further details of the different editions.
[108] Carlos Eduardo Suprinyak, "*Trade, Money, and the Grievances of the Commonwealth: economic debates in the English public sphere during the commercial crisis of the early 1620'S".* IDEAS Working Paper Series from RePEc; St. Louis (2011), p. 7.

> City hath little trading, Country Farmers complaine of their Rents yearly raised …… yet can finde no utterance for their Commodities, or must sell them at under rates. Scholars without money get neither Patrones nor preferment, Mechanique Artists no work, and the like of other professions.[109]

So while the early political economists of the 1620s, such as Malynes, Misselden and Mun, openly debated the causes of this stagnancy of trade and suggested mercantile solutions in the political arena and via the printing houses of London, Peacham judged the problem more domestically and saw frugality by the elite as the cure to this 'Epidemicall disease'.[110] This is reflective of the power held by the Royal Court at the time and the realisation by Peacham, that if the aristocracy were not involved with the solution, then nothing would or could change.

Nevertheless, the sufferings of the people must have been serious for Peacham to have compared them so, as the great epidemic of the age was the plague and the effects of this 'pestilence', were indiscriminate and severe.[111] Harding exposed the horrific reality of the London plagues in her study of a seventeenth century plague broadside, which was annotated at the time by one Richard Smyth, a resident of London.[112] Proving how the plague held a morbid fascination with the general populous. And while science and medicine were making great advancements in improving health and the quality of life, disease continued as a common metaphor of impending doom well into the eighteenth century. In this case it represented profligacy, and to those who endorsed frugality it was a frustrating reminder that modern

[109] Peacham, *The Worth of a Penny* (1641), p. 5.
[110] Suprinyak, *Trade, Money, and the Grievances of the Commonwealth* (2011), p. 6.
[111] Stephen Porter, *17th Century: Plague* (Gresham College, 2001).
[112] Vanessa Harding, Reading Plague in Seventeenth-century London, *Social History of Medicine*, Volume 32, Issue 2 (2019), pp. 267-286.

thinking was unable to solve every problem, especially one so linked to the human condition. As expressed by Erasmus Jones in 1736:

> The Contagion, as I have said, hath spread itself over the whole Kingdom; the grand Controversy among all ranks and Degrees, being only who shall out-dress, Drink or Eat his Neighbour. It is a most deplorable Truth, that the Country is in such a wretched condition and so empty already, that a true Englishman cannot look into it without just pity and concern.[113]

This 'wretched condition' of England in the eighteenth century became a serious issue. Peacham's concerns predated the outbreak of the English Civil War in 1642 and to some extent predicted the chaos that was to come. He believed that it was the nobility's abandonment of frugality that was the root cause of the nation's ills.

Post-Restoration, Thomas Tryon, who was a hatmaker, merchant and one of the most ardent adoptors of frugality in the late seventeenth century, summarised his belief that frugality was as good for the nation as it was to the individual.

> For who ever knew a Nation Ruin'd where Sober and Abstemious Persons had the superintendence of its publick Affairs? And though this Sobriety be in it Self (after a firm Resolution, and some little Patience) none of the more difficult Virtues, but most pleasant, because most Natural, being not painted to any but Fools and Mad men, besotted with depraved Customs.[114]

Tryon thought that sobriety (frugality) was the natural condition of man and that it placed him in a state of equilibrium that made his life the best it could be. While many academic studies, which describe the rise of luxury and consumerism have focused on writers such as Houghton and Barbon, who

[113] Erasmus Jones, *Luxury, Pride and Vanity, The Bane of the British Nation* (London,1736), pp. 1 - 2.
[114] Tryon, *The Way to make all People Rich* (London,1685), p. 23.

promoted foreign competition, free trade, and expenditure on luxurious goods. Many frugal texts took an opposing, although no less justifiable view.[115]

Public frugality can be defined as a national culture of frugality that affected large parts of society. More than the cumulative frugality of random individuals, it required a policy of frugality and its adoption by both the state and its people. Further more, it was framed by Tryon as a form of social investment which encouraged a conscious and considered spending for the greater good, rather than just being for the benefit of private individuals. The balance of trade was an important concept at the time and this mercantile case was set out by Thomas Mun in his book *England's Treasure by Forraign Trade*, which although written in 1623 was not published until 1664.[116] Mun famously stated ‘But, if the commonwealth consumes too many foreign wares, more than what the country is able to export, the king, although still gaining in the short run, will have 'the greatest loss' in the long run, if he does not prevent such 'unthrifty courses' which impoverish the subjects.’[117]

In biblical terms, it was deemed that a lack of frugality ‘preceded the universal Deluge wherein the old World was drowned; Pride, Idleness and fulness of Bread stand upon Record for the Sins of Sodom that hastened their

[115] John Brewer, Roy Porter, *Consumption and the World of Goods* (London, 1993); John Sekora, *Luxury, The Concept in Western Thought, Eden to Smollett* (London, 1977); Paul Slack, *The Invention of Improvement, Information and Material Progress in Seventeenth-Century England* (Oxford, 2015); Mckendrick, N. Brewer, J. Plumb, J.H. *The Birth of a Consumer Society, Commercialisation of Eighteenth-Century England* (London, 1983); Peck, L. *Consuming Splendor, Society and Culture in Seventeenth-Century England* (Cambridge, 2005); Woodruff D Smith. *Consumption and the Making of Respectability 1600 - 1800* (London, 2002); Berry, *The Idea of Luxury, A Conceptual and Historical Investigation* (1994).; Berg and Eger (eds), *Luxury in The Eighteenth Century, Debates, Desires and Delectable Goods* (London, 2003).

[116] Mun, 1623. *England's Treasure by Forraign Trade, or The Ballance of our Forraign Trade is The Rule of our Treasure* (London, 1664).

[117] Perrotta, Thomas Mun's England's Treasure by Forraign Trade: the 17th-Century Manifesto for Economic Development. *History of Economics Review,* 59 (2014), p. 102

destruction.'[118] The view that frugality was a national panacea was affirmed later in the seventeenth century when its ability to control temptations in ancient times was outlined by Mackenzie in 1691.

> Therefore to secure us against this reigning Distraction and those temptations. Let us embrace ancient Frugality under whose Empire, Vice was of old curbed with great success, and which by freeing us from poverty, secures us against all the snares which it occasions……. And if we of this nation would practice temperance and frugality, there would be little danger of being ruined by ourselves, or conquered by our enemies. Such are the bulwarks and safe-guards of virtue.[119]

An increased interest in antiquarianism at the time had brought the conflicting ideologies of the frugal ancient Roman Republic, and that of its luxurious successor the Roman Empire into sharp focus and direct comparisons were made with how English society was seen to be changing. Mackenzie, like other supporters of frugality, harked back to the Republic of Rome as proof that a frugal society could be successful, and that the people would be happy and prosper under it. Likewise, the example of the proud Republic of Rome and its fall from grace by profligate behaviour and an obsession with luxury, was a popular analogy for those who preached against luxury.[120]

Peacham had also been concerned that much of the profligacy and increased spending of the young nobles was linked to foreign trade. Peacham noticed that foreigners (non-British nationals) were more frequently setting up residence and establishing businesses trading in luxury goods.

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[118] Ibid. pp. 21-22.
[119] Mackenzie, *A Moral History of Frugality* (London, 1691), p. 3.
[120] 'So long as antient Rome practised these virtues, she preserved her liberty, and pronounced some of the best and most famous men that ever were; and, from an inconsiderable beginning, grew to be mistress of the world: but luxury soon involved her slavery, and she then abounded with men guilty of all vices; such as Tiberius, Nero, Caligula, and many other monsters of human nature"
Thomas Hope, '*Essays and letters' Of Luxury and Extravagance, Temperance and Frugality* (London, 1763).

Here, they would make considerable amounts of money and asset strip the country of its resources before returning home to 'purchase great estates in their own Countreys, enhaunsing there our moneys to a higher rate to their excessive gain and impoverishing of our people in England'.[121] During times of national economic distress, these xenophobic views were compounded into overt nationalistic behaviour and self-protectionism.

Peacham, however, was not a politician and not in a position to advise on potential actions or sumptuary laws, which the government could make to prevent the profiteering of foreigners. Peacham's concerns were later mirrored by Thomas Tryon, during another time of economic decline, when he stated that due to 'the misfortune of our Publick Affairs, and the present discouragement of Trade, the Cries of the Poor are exceedingly raised in this Nation, and likely to be a great deal more'.[122] He discussed the impact of 'The prejudice of Trade by Strangers, that are lodgers and inmates only'. This concerned him so much, that he warned of it in his 1699 book *England's Grandeur, and Way to get Wealth or the Promotion of Trade.*[123] Within this book, Tryon described in detail how these interlopers prejudiced the nation, explaining how they were often single men who came to live in England for between seven and twenty years, setting themselves up as merchants, paying low wages and dealing wholesale and thereby undercutting the English traders. Who unlike the foreigners had to pay fees and duties and were 'overwhelmed and oppressed with Taxes and Offices'. Then, Tryon described

[121] Peacham, *The Worth of a Penny* (London,1641), p. 4.
[122] Tryon, *Miscellania, Or, A Collection Of Necessary, Useful, and Profitable Tracts On Variety of Subjects, Which for their Excellency, and Benefit of Mankind, are Compiled in One Volume* (London, 1696), p. 137.
[123] Tryon, *England's Grandeur and Way to get Wealth: Or, Promotion of Trade* (London, 1699), Frontispiece.

how these foreigners by 'their frugal living and monopolizing methods obtained great estates, they then remit them into their own countries and bid farewell to England.'[124] Therefore, the frugal foreigners were taking advantage of the weaknesses of the profligate English and the trading opportunities of the country and making vast profits. However, they contributed as little as possible to the nation and reinvested any profits in their native lands.

Tryon was a devout vegetarian and promoter of simple eating, as well as craftsman and trader. His holistic approach allowed him to connect the personal benefits he felt from practicing frugality with the potentially greater benefits which public frugality could have for the nation. Tryon was concerned for the welfare of all people, believing that if most of the people were happy and healthy then so would the nation be. Tryon also worried that the English were not advancing economically in the world as they should, and that the reason was primarily their lack of frugality, which he expressed in comparison with other nationalities such as the French, Portuguese, Genoese, Swedes, and Dutch. Tryon thought, that these particular countries, by way of 'their Industry and good Husbandry, never fail to advance their interest wherever they get a footing'. Whereas the English, while gaining traffic in some ways, were losing ground in others.[126] Indeed, the endorsement of frugality often went hand in hand with calls for nationalism. Tryon feared, not only the leeching of money out of the country by the purchase of foreign goods but also foreign traders who placed their own profit above that of the nation.[127]

[124] Ibid. p. 15.
[126] Ibid. p. 3.
[127] Tryon was in favour of sumptuary laws, such as the Act brought in by Charles II which decreed that all burials had to be wrapped in shrouds and cloaks and other funerary goods made of British wool, which should have been a boost to the home trade. However, he was concerned that funeral directors were flouting the law, not by using a different material, but by

Thomas Tryon had also blamed in retrospect, 'The Mischiefs arising to Kingdoms and States' on the encouragement and practice of 'Gluttony and Excess'. Believing that the outcome for the Country of forsaking frugality was far worse than that to any individual. He explained 'that where ever Luxury abounds in a Nation, you shall find it languishing with Penury, and swarming with Beggars; for the inferior People' and the consequences of this imbalance was, according to Tryon, the very revolution, which the teachings of Henry Peacham had failed to prevent. Tryon dramatically stated that the profligate English were:

> debauch't by great Examples, and thinking it a kind of Obedience to imitate even the Vices of those above them, follow them as fast and as far as they can, and so waste their time and expence in Riot and Idleness, till they are reverted to Extremity, and then growing Impatient and Mutinous, (Spurr'd on with Want and Dispair) fall into Tumults, and become apt fewel for Sedition and the Flames of Civil War.[128]

It is interesting how both Peacham and Tryon felt that their compatriots allowed themselves to be outperformed by foreigners through their own lack of frugality. Their views reflect the hostility and sense of vulnerability as the British vied in a new commercial world, with other more competative nations and especially those without the same ties to an overbearing and demanding establishment.

The thoughts of many commentators on frugality turned to the state of the nation and political economy, which as a new science, was a topic of much interest. Peacham responded by appealing to the young gentry to re-evaluate their spending, taking stock of what and whose products they

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reusing the cloaks and hiring them out so that they could be used again and again. Thereby the woollen industry was not benefiting, but the traders were. Thomas Tryon, *England's Grandeur* (London, 1699), p. 6.

[128] Tryon, *The Way to make all People Rich* (London,1685), pp. 21-22.

bought, rather than acting like the 'many young heires in England (that) have galloped through their estates before they have been thirty'.[129] However, by the eighteenth century, the groundswell of luxurious consumption was perceived to be at such a height that some feared that the nation would suffer as a result. As described by one concerned writer in 1736:

> The prodigious Spirit of Pride, Luxury, Profuseness, Vanity and Corruption, that hath shewn itself in this Kingdom for some Years past. (and which if not speedily remedied, will inevitably put an end to the Name, Trade, and Constitution of the British Nation) begins now to be felt by every honest and thinking subject: Nothing but Extravagence, Voluptuousness and Idleness, with all their direful Consequences, being seen in every Corner of the Kingdom.[130]

This author felt that the love of luxury, emulation, and the uncontrolled spending on new consumer goods by all social classes, was putting Britain at risk of not only damaging its trade but more significantly its respectability and constitutional integrity. Therefore, public frugality was championed as the logical saviour of the nation.

The British and their 'love of novelty', were still seen as being a soft touch by enterprising foreigners who were portrayed as monsters that sought to take advantage of them. As this quote from *'The Ten Plagues of England'* described:

> This extravagant Love of Novelty and Wonder has rendered the British Nation, the best Market, where any Thing new and Surprising may be brought to; for there the Venters are sure enough of Customers, who are as well pleased at being gulled as the others are of gulling them. For this Reason, many Monsters have made their Appearance on this Island, which perhaps have never heard of any other Part of the World; or at least, if they had, would not have had sufficient Power to attract the Wealth of the People; for, in other Nations, they do not chuse to give the least Encouragement to any thing of this surprising Nature, because they know better how to bestow their Money.[131]

[129] Peacham, *The Worth of a Penny* (London, 1641), Dedication.
[130] Anonymous, *Luxury, Pride and Vanity* (London 1736), p. 1.
[131] A Well-wisher to Great Britain, *The Ten Plagues of England* (London, 1757), p. 20.

This overt sign of British weakness, alongside the one-upmanship of foreigners added to the already increasing concerns over the influx of foreign goods and their consumption. Foreign luxuries placed too much temptation in the way of the population. Whereas previously, the balance of trade remained stable, with the majority of the spending being made by the rich, it was soon realised that new spending habits and patterns in the general population were being triggered by them.[132]

Developing national frugality was seen as an important form of protectionism. This was initially justified by early writers by looking at examples from the ancient past, such as Rome but also by comparing England against the practices of more frugal foreign nations. The profligacy of the English was held in sharp contrast with the frugality of rival mercantile and empire-building nations in Europe, namely the Venetians, Dutch, and Spanish, who were also Britain's closest competitors in world trade.

Manderville argued that frugality was merely a tool, which could be imposed and withdrawn at will by the state, to achieve the desired result and that it was not necessarily for the benefit of all people. Mackenzie, however, wrote about how frugality was also used by the Dutch and the Venetians for 'the Management of Publick Imployment' explaining how by controlling the wages of statesmen and public figures, they would live in a way that was 'neither able to keen their Luxury, nor raise their Avarice'. This was seen as being in stark contrast to the British Court and Aristocracy, whom the Dutch were said to laugh at because they were paid so much money that they

[132] Mckendrick, Neil, Brewer, John and Plumb J H, *The Birth of a Consumer Society, The Commercialization of Eighteenth-Century England* (London: Hutchinson, 1983), p. 13-14.

became diverted from public affairs and instead followed ‘those Pleasures, with which vast Salaries do daily tempt them.’[133] Thereby, frugality was observed to have been of benefit to foreign competitors and it was hard to justify why it was not so for England and the English too.

Summary

The imposition of frugality on the upper ranks for the greater good of themselves and of the nation, was seen as common sense to many, who saw luxury as the controlling evil of society. George Mackenzie was not convinced by the arguments put forward by the likes of Barbon and Haughton, who felt luxury was needed for a strong economy and to keep working people in employment. Mackenzie did acknowledge that luxury goods provided employment opportunities and that their sudden withdrawal would cause suffering, but stated that it would not starve many as ‘in a little time all these Artisans who now drudge to please Luxury, would follow other Trades, whereby they might please God Almighty much better’.[134] Therefore, very quickly, a new frugal equilibrium would be reached.

Mackenzie thought that it was husbandry, rather than the arts which sustained the world and supported all men equally.[135] It was this equality and the increased strength of individuals, which endeared Mackenzie towards the idea of public frugality. Mackenzie observed that in other countries, where it was discouraged and where men were ‘inclined to Luxury’, such as Greece

[133] Mackenzie, *The Moral History of Frugality* (London,1691), p. 201.
[134] Ibid. p. 84.
[135] Ibid. p. 85.

and Italy, the ordinary people were poor and were no better than slaves. Whereas in countries like Switzerland, where public frugality was endorsed, they 'breed men who think'.[136]

This belief linked back to ancient times, where Cynic, Sophist, and early Stoic philosophy taught that self-indulgence and luxurious living was said to cause a lack of independence, weakness and effeminacy.[137] These were concerning consequences, that could impact the security of the nation. Mackenzie worried that without frugality, it would be difficult to raise a warlike nation, as frugality 'harden'd men into a temper of being Souldiers'. Mackenzie went further by declaring that 'Luxuries are not only useless, but enemies to the Common-Wealth' as they caused men to become 'effeminate and soft,'[138] For a small island nation, which was under constant threat of war, any effeminacy or perceived lack of strength in its menfolk was a serious concern.

Whereas conversely, a spirit of public frugality, as described by Mackenzie, would result in proud patriotic men of honour, as 'The pleasure of sin lasts but for a moment, but a good Conscience is a continual Feast.'[139] Therefore, a frugal people would live and fight for honour and glory rather than the lure of luxuries and would be more dependable and effective, causing the nation to be stronger as a result. There were inevitably conflicting views from those who considered social aspirations and consumption as being more important than the merits of frugality over luxury. However, the

[136] Ibid. p. 79.
[137] John Sekora, *Luxury, The Concept in Western Thought Eden to Smollett* (Baltimore and London, 1977), p. 33.
[138] Mackenzie, *The Moral History of Frugality* (1691), p. 19.
[139] Ibid. p. 80.

benefits of practicing frugality for the individual had been recognised by the elite and now, as shall be explored in the next chapter, they were becoming increasingly noticeable to lower ranks, who by catching the zeitgeist of their age became motivated to join them.

Chapter 3: Frugality for Wealth, Health and Happiness.

As shown in chapter two, frugality was originally targeted at the upper ranks of society as a way of securing their estates and social position, as well as ensuring the strength of the Commonwealth. However, as Langford suggested, for many during the long eighteenth century, 'their prime ambition in life was to rise higher up the social ladder'.[1] In order to meet this new aspirational need, frugal texts, which were initially written for the elite were republished in cheaper formats to a wider public. As the audiences for printed publications grew, these texts were adapted, reconfigured and combined with new material. Their original intentions and audience were lost, and the messages became relevant to a new ambitious and socially aspiring class of merchants, traders and professionals. By the start of the long eighteenth century, frugality became targeted specifically at the middling orders and was offered as a practical means to improve both themselves and their situation in life.

This chapter centres on private frugality and how it was promoted, adopted and viewed by those who had sufficient resources to be frugal with. It explores how private frugality was presented as a means to create spare fiscal capacity in order to improve social and economic standing. This form of frugality required the denial of temptations, the avoidance of extravagant expense, restrictions to diet and routine, as well as an active application of willpower to change and improve. By focusing on the new genre of business

[1] Langford, *Polite and Commercial People* (1989), p. 64.

advice books, which were directed at young traders and professionals, it is possible to view how the middling classes sought to use frugality, combined with industry, to improve their lot in life and make progress through the increasingly fluid social structure of the time.

As this chapter highlights, frugality was also recognised at the time, particularly when applied to diet, as being beneficial to a person's health and state of mind. As Tryon noted, frugality was 'the foundation of health' 'the best Doctor for the Rich', 'a restorative for Such as are Sick' and 'Physick to the Body'. The chapter also explores how frugality was presented as beneficial to individual happiness and wellbeing and how it was described as being a 'Whetstone to the Faculties of the Mind, The Practice of the Good, and the Delight of the Wise, The Solace of the Private Man'.[2]

By examining general frugal advice of the period, the positive 'effects' of temperance and frugality, as perceived at the time, can be explored. For while the many adverse side-effects of not being frugal were extensively written about and debated in the printed culture of the day, a less evangelical emphasis was placed on the advantages of frugality. The aim of such writing was to implore the middling classes into frugal ways and while most used guilt as a trigger, others boldly extolled the many personal benefits of well-practised economy and thrift. Thereby suggesting, that the constant reinforcement of these blessings of frugality played as much of a role in motivating individuals as chastising religious sermons, and that these compelling arguments greatly appealed to their readers and had a direct impact on the consumptive habits of many.

[2] Tryon, *The Way to make all People Rich* (1685), p. 25.

Frugality as The Way to Wealth

The seventeenth century saw the emergance of a new and more entrepreneurial spirit.[3] As early as 1642, Henry Peacham, whose allegiance towards the aristocracy had clearly wavered, wrote a guidebook for London, which was specifically written for 'the poorer sort that comes thither to seeke their fortunes'. [4] Opportunities for making money and for self-improvement were ripe for the picking, and social barriers to progress were wearing thin in places, due to changes in opportunity and patronage.[5]

There was a movement away from a 'lineage society' and the feudal bonds of the aristocracy, and towards independence and a classical idea of a civil society.[6] Whereas previously, a man's responsibility was towards his kith and kin, at this time traditional communities were starting to break down. Towns and cities were rapidly growing, and competition rather than compliance was becoming the standard rule of behaviour.[7] New goods, trades and services were creating business opportunities for those willing and able to take them and the rewards of success were more than financial, they were life changing**.**

Reflecting these social changes and freedoms, a new genre of publishing quickly arose from the 1680s, which encouraged and informed

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[3] Deidre McCloskey, The Pre-history of American Thrift, *Thrift and Thriving in America* (Oxford, 2011), p. 69.
[4] Peacham, *The Art of Living in London, Or, A Caution how Gentlemen, Countreymen and Strangers, drawn by occassion of business, should dispose of themselves in the thriftiest way, not onely in the Citie, but in all populous places. As Also, A direction to the poorer sort that comes thither to seeke their Fortune* (London, 1642).
[5] See also: Hunt, *The Middling Sort* (1996). Langford, *A Polite and Commercial People, England 1727 – 1783* (London, 1989).
[6] Muldrew, *The Economy of Obligation* (London, 1998), p. 133.
[7] Hunt, *The Middling Sort (*1996); Earle, *The Making of the English Middle Class* (London,1989).

those with a desire to improve their lot in life. In this more liberal, post Restoration and economically expanding world, frugality was an important component of the advice given to the aspirational. Much of the new didactic frugal literature reused earlier writings, which were not restricted by copyright laws and were easily adapted for new audiences. Publishers, such as William Lee, proudly re-printed the complete work of Peacham's *Worth of a Penny*, while others, took excerpts of early works, recycled and republished them without acknowledgement.[8]

These early works were believed to contain wisdom that was relevant to anyone eager to progress and make their fortune. For example, Thomas Powell in *The Art of Thriving*, which was originally written for gentlemen in 1631 and republished in 1635, stated that thriving was like any other art in that a method was required. He quoted '*Magister artis venter'* or 'necessity is the mother of invention', suggesting that the act of restriction or frugality sparked creativity, which then catalyzed personal success. Powell advised that the study of the 'art of thriving' required making 'the world your Library' and to 'learne to reade men as well as bookes.'[9] He described how fortunes did not just happen, but needed to be worked at, or 'screwed the right way', suggesting that there was a formula for success and wealth, which had little to do with birth and rank, and that anyone who was aware of it, and was

[8] William Lee was the publisher of Henry Peacham's *The Worth of a Penny*, publishing editions in 1664 and 1667. See appendix for details. Anon, *The art of thriving or, the way to get and keep money: being a seasonable caution to slothful drones and prodigal spend-thrifts: containing sundry excellent rules and observations for promoting good-husbandry, and banishing idleness and profuseness, the certain parents of poverty: principally intended for an admonition to youth, but necessary to be practiced by all persons in these hard times; and to be set up in every family* (1674).

[9] Thomas Powell, *The art of Thriving, or The plaine path-way to Preferment* (London, 1635), The Epistle.

prepared to work hard, was able to change the course of their own destiny. Yet, Powell added a warning:

> All men are or would be rich; even the sluggard wisheth, though he hath not: 'tis easie indeed to covet the top of wit or preferment, but to get up the hill, *hic labor, hoc opus* [that's the hard part] thee is a business indeed![10]

For Powell, hard work and the careful use of time was the 'key to the door of preferment', and he warned against the wasting of time and to 'think the losse of a minute more dear than the losse of a pound; for certainly of all expences, the expence of time is the costliest.'[11]

This holistic approach to frugality, where all resources were required to be treated with the same level of care and respect, was key to the frugal teaching of the middling sorts. It was about more than saving money, it was the development of a moral code and life-long habits, which made the most of any opportunities. As Powell explained:

> Every man sits at the very Anvile and forge of his own Fortune-making: now then if you can see to strike the Iron, while it is hot, that is while time and the hand of Providence hold forth the opportunity, you may make your trade, but if you linger till it be cold, it will cost you another Heate.[12]

Powell's book was intended to help his fellow gentlemen to maintain their estates and positions in the wake of challenging economic times. However, now his words had a relevance for those who set out to build new estates of their own.[13]

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[10] Ibid. Introduction. The Epistle.
[11] Ibid.
[12] Ibid.
[13] Powell's words were used, but unacknowledged in H, N, *The Pleasant Art of Money-Catching: To Which is Added, The Way to turn a Penny: or The Art of Thriving, With several other Things, both Pleasant and Profitable* (London: 1705).

Those who wrote for the middling sorts recognised that while they could indeed become very wealthy through trade and afford the luxuries of the age, in reality unlike the landed gentry they emulated, they had to work for their living and they alone were responsible for their fortune. Frugality was framed not only as a sensible and virtuous way to increase their fortune, but more importantly, it was a method by which those who initially lacked resources could create capacity, which could then be invested and enabled them to better their situation.[14]

This optimism inspired the publication of many advice guides for aspiring businessmen post Restoration. In his introduction, Trenchfield, who wrote *A Cap of Grey Hairs for a Green Head* in 1671, referred to the fathers of 'great Note' who had previously written advice to their sons, with James I, Charles I and James II all having writing advice books for their heirs as did Sir Walter Raleigh and Lord Burghley.[15] Though Trenchfield valued their contributions, he was persuaded as to the merits of his own book, as he explained, 'yet there's not any (that I know of) hath stoopt so low, to give advice to an apprentice' and that the reader would from his edition 'find...some store of things not touched' by the previous advice books of their kind. Whatever the class, however, it was acknowledged that the young, or 'Green Heads are apt to think themselves the wisest' and that it would be of

[14] For example: Tryon, *The Way to Save Wealth; Shewing how Man may Live plentifully for two-pence a Day* (London, circa 1695).
[15] R.C Richardson, *The Generation Gap: Parental Advice in Early Modern England*' vol 32. (2002), p. 5. Sir Walter Raleigh's. *Instructions to his sonne and to posterity*, 1632. Lord Burghley *Ten Precepts of Advice to his son Robert*, was first published in 1584. Both Raleigh and Burghley's advice books were re-published throughout the seventeenth and into the eighteenth centuries.

benefit to them to experience from the wisdom of the older generation, which was 'bought by experience'.[16]

Trenchfield specifically advised his son, and by extension the sons of the new middling orders, in 'the practice of Frugality'. Describing it as a 'virtue expedient for all, but chiefly for you, who like the Silk-worm, must spin your riches out of your own bosom, having such mean expectations of helps from abroad'. Unlike gentlemen who had rents to boost their incomes, Trenchfield made a point of stressing how little he was able to give his son, even though he was the eldest, stating: 'yet there are nine more, which must be furnished out into the world as well as you'. Hence as a father, he was making preparations and passing the responsibility of the future success of his line firmly to his eldest.

This attribute of personal responsibility was instilled in all classes, but none more so than the aspiring middling orders, because having 'furnished' his son the best he could, the consequences to the son of not following his advice were severe:

> Be careful then to play your fore-game well, for an after-game will have no place with you; and such wit will be but *Phrygian* wisdom, where they are wise too late. There will be no hopes of a second setting forth.[17]

Trenchfield warned his son against 'spending high, whilst his estate is low', as this would 'blow a bladder, which will burst with a stink'. Advising instead to 'lay out no money, but what necessity extorts' and to observe the old rule 'that a penny sav'd is two pence got; and the way to much is by a little, for the

[16] Trenchfield. *A Cap of Gray Hairs for A Green Head* (London, 1671), Preface.
[17] Ibid. p. 34. Phrygian wisdom - Elisha Coles, *An English Dictionary* (1701) Describes the Phrygians as 'the careless wonton inhabitants of the greater Phrygia, part of Africa' and Phrygian wisdom as 'after-wit'.

greatest sum which can be imagined, was begun in a penny'.[18] For 'he that is not frugal in what is small, no wise deserveth to be trusted with much'. This aspirational advice could not just rely on frugal behaviour alone, and so industry was suggested as 'a very fit partner for Frugality' as 'that which is by sparing saved, may be with diligence improved…. For frugality alone is but single getting, but joyned with industry, is double.'[19] Therefore, Trenchfield encouraged his son to be industrious as well as frugal and to work at a slow and steady pace to improve his situation.

A significant example of this genre was *The Pleasant Art of Money Catching,* which was first published in 1684. This book was a sequel to *The Compleat Tradesman,* also published in 1684 and said to be composed by N.H. a Merchant of the City of London. The book contained many unattributed extracts from earlier works, including Peacham's *Worth of a Penny,* Powell's *The Art of Thriving,* Tryon's *Way to Wealth* and Ray's *A Collection of English Proverbs* .The appeal of *The Pleasant Art of Money Catching* to its new audience is easy to understand by reading its bold claims. The mysterious Mr N.H. promised his readers: 'This book and its first part will make you all (if you follow the excellent instructions therein given) both Honest and Compleat Dealers, and in a little time very Rich and Wealthy men.'[20] The very title of his work alone would have enticed a curious readership with its insinuation that money making could be an enjoyable and easy hobby, rather than a hard

[18] Trenchfield, *A Cap of Gray Hairs for A Green Head* (London,1671), p. 30. This quote evidences the use of frugal proverbs and sayings by authors as listed in J Ray, *A Collection of English Proverbs* (Second Edition, Cambridge, 1678) and may be making reference to the works of Peacham as *A Worth of a Penny* would have been a well-known book when Trenchfield was writing.
[19] Trenchfield, *A Cap of Gray Hairs* (1671), p. 38.
[20] NH, *The Pleasant Art of Money-Catching* (London, 1684), The Preface.

graft and sacrifice. However, it is debatable as to whether the aspirational readers would have admitted publically to being influenced by such a book, as it may have been seen as self-serving and crass.

John Sowter, whose writings are extensively referenced throughout this thesis, offered another advice manual with an appealing title during this period: *The Way to be Wise and Wealthy, or the Excellency of Industry and Frugality,* which was first published in 1716. Sowter was a merchant from Exeter, where the first edition was published. Little else is known about him, although his publication was re-published unedited at least eight times during the eighteenth century, in London, Belfast and Dublin. However, the only edition which credits Mr. J.S. with its authorship is the 1716 edition. Sowter likely died shortly after the first publication, with its contents subsequently re-published anonymously in its original format, often with the preface removed. Sowter wrote for all classes, with chapters explaining how frugality and industry needed to be adopted by specific groups, including the gentleman, scholar, soldier, trader, sailor, artificer and husbandman. His frugal reasonings, which were based on careful observations and his vast experience, would have been most attractive to the aspiring middling classes.[21]

Sowter saw industry and frugality as being 'the necessary Means of procuring the Happiness of This Life and preparing for that of a Better', and therefore it was seen as more than just a way of anchoring fiscal security, but

[21] Other similar advice guides of the seventeenth and eighteenth century include: H, N, *The Compleat Tradesman: Or The Exact Dealers Daily Companion. Instructing Him thoroughly in all things absolutely necessary to be known by all those who would thrive in the World; and in the whole Art and Mystery of Trade and Traffick* (London, 1684); Richard Steele, *The Tradesman's Calling* (London, 1684); Daniel Defoe, *Complete English Tradesman* (London,1726).

as being vital for general well-being too. Likewise, Daniel Defoe, was motivated by what he saw as a lack of frugality in the merchant and trading classes of England when he wrote the *Complete English Tradesman* in 1726. Defoe's notority as an author of novels, meant that his frugal advice was well regarded by generations of aspiring bourgeoise.[22]

In 1740, *A Present for the apprentice, or a Sure Guide to gain both Esteem and an Estate,* was published and was attributed to Sir John Barnard. Barnard, like John Gaille before him, suggested that the upper classes were at a disadvantage when it came to making money and was of the opinion that those who set out with less, were more likely to achieve success in the end. Like Graile, Barnard believed that the rich were exposed to many temptations, and the privileges of birth lulled them into a false sense of entitlement. Stating that the 'young sparks, who set up with a large affluent fortune, are in no sure Road to thrive' as they 'think they may command Fortune, and therefore launch into Expences without Fear or Wit.' Whereas he described how those who start out with little could just as well build an estate of their own:

> by being ever in Fear of Ruin, make Use of all their Wit, Application, and Industry, to be above the Danger: And hence get into such a Habit of Temperance, Solicitude and Frugality, that no Prosperity can get the better of; Whence in the Process of Time, every Pound becomes a Hundred, every Hundred a Thousand; and the Labour of one Life, enriches a whole Family for Ages.[23]

Barnard was also endorsing the beliefs of Powell; in that it was no longer pedigree that guaranteed success, instead, it was open to all who knew the frugal formula. This was the period of time when many of the frugal and industrious heros referred to by Samuels Smiles's ninteenth century books,

[22] Defoe's most famous Novels include *Robinson Crusoe* (1719) and *Moll Flanders* (1722).
[23] Barnard, *A present for an apprentice: or, a sure guide to gain both esteem and an estate* (London, 1740), p. 57.

set out on their quests for self-betterment.[24] It was also the time that Benjamin Franklin was inspired by the words of Thomas Tryon to adopt a vegetarian diet in order to save the money he required to buy books and learn his trade as a publisher.[25]

In numerous works, frugality was presented as requiring the husbanding of resources to their best advantage, which also necessitated the avoidance of those, which were considered wasteful. Whilst authors expressed genuine concern regarding the financial, physical and spiritual condition of their fellow men, which they aimed to rectify through their writings. An undeniable undercurrent of social and moral anxiety was also present throughout their works, which are reflective of wider concerns over class and social mobility at the time. These class tensions showed themselves, often satirically, as they reacted against the advancing social fluidity of the age. Erasmus Jones in 1735, for instance, felt possessive of the Christian names of the 'Daughters of Nobility', as common tradesman sought to 'vie with their superiors' by giving them to their own.[26]

Encouraging frugal attire was commonly used as a way of controlling the social classes in an often desperate attempt to maintain the status quo. The inherent and visible respectability of the noble ranks was being threatened and Peacham was the first to criticise those he saw as 'dogging the fashion'. Social mimicry had become more common by the long eighteenth century, as evidenced in the book *The Art of Contentment* (1675). The author described how a man 'that cannot make any real advance in his

[24] Smiles gave examples such as Richard Cobden, John Bright, Robert Burns, The Duke of Wellington, George Stephenson and James Watt.
[25] Franklin, *The Autobiography of Benjamin Franklin* (Random House, 1950 edition), p.20.
[26] Jones, *Luxury, Pride and Vanity* (1735), p. 10.

quality, will yet do it in effigie, in all little gaieties and pageantries of it. Every degree in these respects not only emulates, but imitates its superior'. Indeed he was so concerned that the 'world seems to be over-run with this vanity' that 'there is little visible distinction of degrees' and that 'one need go to the Heralds office to know mens qualities'. [27] Therefore, the aristocracy were feeling threatened by the fact that their clothing and equipage no longer distinguished them from the lower orders.

Post-Restoration, Caleb Trenchfield also acknowledged the lure of extravagant clothing for the middling orders and was concerned by men spending more than they could afford on their apparel, making them prodigal fools. He felt sumptuous clothing to be an unnecessary expenditure, stating 'For you may observe, that the value which we set upon persons (besides that due to the endowments of their mind) is according to their Rentals; and that he hath an ample revenue, shall be respected, however plainly clad.'[28] Like Peacham before him, Trenchfield had a puritanical view of fashion and felt it necessary for men 'to be neat, not gallant; as to wear such apparel as may shew you are not sordid, and neglect your self; not such as would make your purse look thin through the cost, nor your judgement censured for the vanity'.[29]

There was a balance required between looking respectable and 'fantastickness in Apparel' which saw persons 'exposed like owls, to the ridiculous wonder of sober men, strut along, as if they drew after them the

[27] By the Author of The Whole Duty of Man, *The Art of Contentment* (The second Impression Oxford, 1675), p. 114.
[28] Trenchfield, *A Cap of Gray Hairs* (1671), p. 21.
[29] Ibid. p. 22.

admiration, and not the laughter of those that see them.'[30] Trenchfield's book was intended for the apprentices of tradesmen, and his views can be explained by his acceptance of his own as well as other people's place within society. His professionalism also recognised that competing in attire with either a master or his rich clients, would be detrimental; an apprentice not knowing their place could have affected the good opinion of the business and the custom it received.

More than 60 years later, Erasmus Jones was still concerned by how easily fine clothes were able to dupe strangers into thinking that the wearer was better than he was.[31] Stating how 'Fine Feathers make fine Birds' and that people were, 'generally honour'd according to their clothes, and other Accoutrements they have about them'. Therefore, it was inevitable that 'every body, who is conscious of his little merit, if he is any ways able to, wear Clothes above his Rank' and 'appear not as what they are, but what they appear to be.[32] Frugal writings passionately highlighted the ostentatious consumption of luxury goods by the rich and how they continued to be emulated by the middling orders. Through them, a level of snobbish expectation became apparent as the eighteenth century progressed, which is demonstrated by this comment by Erasmus Jones:

> Our Physicians and Surgeons have indeed, of late years, found an Equipage to be the most essential part of their practice; for the one may as well pretend to visit a Patient without his skill as his coach' …' What an Out-cry had we last Summer at Hampstead, of a Lady who lost her Life in Child-bed; all the Women calling it the most barbarous and inhuman Murder that ever was committed; because the Man-

[30] Ibid. p. 20.
[31] 'Hence it is very probable, that silver and gold Brocades, Jewels, and the richest Embroideries, may, without a thought of Pride, be wore by many, whose Quality and Fortune are suitable to them. Jones, *Luxury, Pride and Vanity the Bane of the British Nation* (London, 1736), p. 13.
[32] Jones, *Luxury, Pride and Vanity, The Bane of the British Nation* (London,1736), p. 12.

> midwife who had the care of her, unhappily attended, it seems, once or twice in a Hackney-Coach instead of his own Chariot!.[33]

This expectation of luxury was declared by Daniel Defoe as being 'a modern custom, and wholly unknown to our ancestors'. Defoe also referred particularly to the tradesman class, who he said had become accustomed to spending 'two-thirds of their fortune and often up to five hundred pounds in fitting up their shops.'[34] While he agreed with the old proverb 'That everybody has a penny for a new shop', he observed that 'a fine set of shelves, a time front, and glass-windows, should bring customers, that was never made a rule in trade until now'. Defoe's only conclusion was that 'this age must have more fools than the last.[35]

These views, which were reflected across frugal texts, tell us a lot about how previous assumptions regarding appearance and respectability were having to be reassessed by the upper classes. No longer was it a matter of the haves and the have nots, as the meaner sorts were also consuming luxury goods. Langford identified this uneasiness and suggested that politeness was the defensive action of the elite, who initiated strict patterns of behaviour and conduct that were known only by the chosen, and the absence of which would easily identify any usurpers to the upper eschelons of society.[36] Langford stated that 'politeness was primarily about the social control of the individual at a time of intense enthusiasm for individual rights and responsabilities'.[37]

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[33] Ibid. p. 7.
[34] Defoe, *The complete English tradesman* (London, 1745), p. 269.
[35] Ibid. p. 270.
[36] Langford, The Uses of Eighteenth Century Politeness, *Transactions of the Royal Historical Society,* 12 (2002), pp. 311 – 31.
[37] Langford, *A Polite and Commercial People, England 1727 – 1783* (London, 1989), p. 5.

Therefore, the preaching and teaching of fiscal frugality and the motivation to adopt it, were sometimes complementary but often conflicting. Frugality was on the one hand presented as a means for individuals to raise themselves up through the ranks, and on the other, it was used by the upper ranks to keep everyone else from following them. Langdon described how the 'aspirants' of the eighteenth century sought incorporation into the class above them 'hence the need to condemn in others the very snobberies which they themselves practiced'.[38] Langdon also described how the study of politeness in the eighteenth century 'is not least an account of the way in which the polite and commercial class dealt with its inferiors'.[39]

Thereby, frugality during the long eighteenth century was encouraged in the elite to ensure they kept their elevated status and rank, as well as being used as a safety device to assure financial security for those with a social position, but without the income to maintain it. For the aspiring middling classes, it was a tool for financial accumulation and a method for improving ones position in life. While at the same time, frugality was also used to curb social advancement for those seen as being inferior. In a society where elusive politeness made it impossible for the masses to act like they belonged, frugality worked in a complimentary way, as the moral breaking system, which justafiably disproved of excessive consumption amongst those who had no right to elevate themselves by it. Many frugal texts, as will be explored in the next chapter, identified the mimicking of one's betters as being unfrugal, therefore, excessive consumption would be perceived as being unvirtuous, disrespectful and unjustified any future need for charity.

[38] Ibid. p. 67.
[39] Ibid. p. 6.

There is no doubt, that there is a considerable amount of continuity within the frugal messaging of the seventeenth and eighteenth centuries and that essentially the same hopes and fears are repeated over again as they were reworked for new audiences, however, the emphasis does change over time. Therefore, fiscal frugality must be considered alongside class, for there was no universal frugal message and the reasons for adopting and practicing frugality were very different depending on the motivation of the authors and their reader's allocated lot in life. However, when it came to health, there was never any doubt that all could benefit equally from a frugal diet, as long as there was sufficient food to be frugal with in the first place.

Frugality: The Way to Health

> There is no men in the world that live more pleasantly, healthfully, prosperously, and in all respects happily then the moderate vertuous man for by reason of his temperance in the desire and in the use of these earthly Felicities, his body commonly becomes free and clears from crudities, rheumes, noysomnes, ill diseases, and distempers, and so most healthy, agill, lightsome and expedite to all the motions appertaining thereunto, his minde also thereby becomes free from sloth, duines, evill passions, and perturations, his affections well tempered, and his whole soul apt, perspicious, free, and cheerful in the performance of his actions. [40]

This quote by Robert Crofts is taken from his 1639 book *The Terrestrial Paradise, or, Happinesse on Earth.* It outlined many of the blessings of frugality and clearly linked overeating with disease, irrationality and angst. Waddington described how before the late eighteenth century, people often used domestic analogies to understand the body and the humoural system

[40] Robert Crofts, *The Terrestrial Paradise, or, Happinesse on Earth* (London, 1639), p. 26

was used to maintain and restore any lost equilibriam, which was thought to be the cause of disease.[41] Frugal writings reveal that eating less was considered as an important method of medical self-help and a way of balancing appetite and preventing the over-consumption of food and drink, which could lead to poor physical and mental health.[42] Diet was also an important consideration for early modern medical writers who were inspired by Galenic literature and medical men such as Muffet, who shared the belief that there was a close link between food and health.[43]

The development of the medical marketplace in early modern England, as described by Jenner and Wallis, meant that increasingly, treatments and cures for ailments and disease were seen as being tangible items and objects of consumption, in the form of herbals, tincures, potions and pills. These items were, traded, processed and sold via a growing number of agents, from surgeons and physicians to apothacaries and quacks.[44] Of course many of these cures could also be self-medicated and reciept books of the time always had a ready supply of instructions for making home remedies. Nevertheless, consumption was seen as a necessary component of cure.

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[41] Keir Waddington, *An Introduction to the Social History of Medicine* (Basingstoke, 2011), p. 81.

[42] Tryon, *The Way to Health, Long Life and Happiness, Or, A Discourse of Temperance and The Particular Nature of all things requisit for the Life of Man…. Communicated to the World for a general Good, by Philtheos Phyotolgus,* (London, 1683); Tryon, *Monthly Observations for the Preserving of Health, With A Long and Comfortable Life, With Proper Foods for Women and Children. But More Particularly for the Spring and Summer Seasons. The Cause of the Deformity in Children, and how to prevent them, (*London, 1691); Tryon, *The Way to make all People Rich: Or Wisdoms Call To Temperanae (sic) And Frugality in a Dialogue Between Sophronio and Guloso, One Lover of Sobriety, The other addicted to Gluttony and Excess* (London, 1685).

[43] Andrew Wear, *Knowledge and Practice in English Medicine* (Cambridge, 2000), p. 170. See also Lindemann, *Medicine and Society in Early Modern Europe* (Cambridge, 1999).

[44] Jenner and Wallis, (eds), *Medicine and the Market in England and its colonies, c.1450-c.1850* (2007).

At the same time, as Porter observed, a conflict existed, especially during the eighteenth century, between the elite who wanted to believe that the formula for good living was the consumption of luxury goods and yet when it came to what they themselves consumed, particularly in terms of food and drink, the opposite appeared to be true. As Porter explained, the more they ate and drank, and the richer and more luxurious their meals were, the sicker they became.[45] Then, when they were sick, they searched for items which they could buy and consume which would provide them with the necessary cure.[46]

Writers on frugality however, continued to reflect longer standing beliefs, those which stemmed back to the foundations of medicine. Therefore, they need to be seen as part of wider discussions around poor digestion and diet and the connections made between overconsumption and diseases and humoral disorders.[47] Bullein, a sixteenth century physick and writer on regimen, stated 'The coruption of digestion is the mother of all diseases, and the beginner of all infirmities'.[48] Confirmation that excessive living was damaging, was nowhere more evident than in the human body itself. Overindulgence, not only of food and drink, but also of comfort, sleep and sex, was not only seen as being a waste of money and resources but also an assault on the person.[49]

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[45] Roy Porter, Consumption - disease of the consumer society, in Brewer and Porter (eds), *Consumption and The World of Goods* (London, 1994), pp. 58 - 81.
[46] See: The Medical Marketplace in Jenner and Wallis, (eds), *Medicine and the Market in England and its colonies, c.1450-c.1850* (Basingstoke, 2007).
[47] Porter, *The Greatest Benefit To Mankind, A Medical History of Humanity from Antiquity To The Present* (London, 1997). Wear, *Knowledge & Practice in English Medicine, 1550 – 1680* (Cambridge, 2000).
[48] As quoted in Wear, *Knowledge and Practice in English Medicine* (2000), p. 174.
[49] Thomas Tryon, *Monthly Observations For the Preserving of Health With A Long and Comfortable Life, With Proper Foods for Women and Children. But more particularly for the*

Frugal texts as already discussed, were governed by the principles of moderation and the Golden Mean. These theories oversaw many aspects of contemporary life during the seventeenth century as well as being mirrored by religious and medical doctrines of the day.[50] George Mackenzie, in 1691 explained how through vice, men are led to believe that 'because some Ease and Aliments are pleasant, therefore the more he takes of them, the more he will be pleased. Then 'the first proofs by which he is convinced, that he is cheated in this, are those Gouts, Gravels, and other Diseases. Only then will man begin to understand 'that Mediocrity is the golden Rule, and that Proportion is to be observed in all the course of our Life'.[51] Therefore, for endorsers of frugality, one of the first signs that a person was living a profligate rather than a frugal life, was that they would become sick.

Percival Stockdale, who wrote his discourses against luxury in 1773, demonstrated how immoral and overly luxurious living was strongly linked with physical ill health. Stockdale asked his readers to view the 'factitious demi-gods', those who loved luxury, 'with a keen, and impartial eye, undazzled with the rays of grandeur' because by 'penetrating its object, we shall find that they are less happy than the rustic farmer, with his home-spun coat, and his rosy face, the image of health and peace'.[52] For Stockdale, if you looked into their

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Spring and Summer Seasons (London, 1691), p. 20. "But when I consider how Impudently most People Live, what Disorders they commit, how Heterogeneous their Foods and Drinks are, together with the many other idle Habits and Secret wounds they give innocent Nature, by visiting too frequently the *Shades of Venus,* which quickly makes the Strongest Nerves to Bow, and is the chief Cause and Original of most *Consumptions*, especially in the *Males."*

[50] Wear, *Knowledge and Practice in English Medicine* (2000), p. 180. 'Temperance, especially, denoted the overlap between medicine and religion and medical meanings - sobriety and restraint and the right humoral balance (achieved by restraint) - and represents another example of a bridge between religion and medicine..

[51] Mackenzie, *The Moral History of Frugality* (1691), p. 77-78.

[52] Percival Stockdale, *Three Discourses: Two Against Luxury and Dissipation* (London, 1773), p. 30.

coaches, instead of seeing them ‘flushed with a healthy bloom’ with their eyes sparkling with pleasure, the rich were ‘commonly bloated’ or ‘emaciated with disease’, showing the distress of their minds and the disease of their bodies. Stockdale was convinced this was caused by their insatiable desires and their constant succumbing to them, which made their lives a tormented living death. [53]

Frugal moralists, who were mostly devout supporters of the aristocracy and the natural order of society, explained this type of sickness in the rich as being due to a corruption of morals and was perceived as God’s punishment for greed and for taking more of his bounty than could justifiably be allocated to one individual. When it came to appetite, nature was considered the ideal measure for consumption, and frugality according to Mackenzie, was the formula which allowed men to work it out.[54] However, those who wrote about frugal regimen, as well as regimens for healthy living, it was acknowledged that people preferred to enjoy themselves more than they desired to look after their health.[55]

For Wear, dietary advice in the seventeenth century was not just a description of best practice, but also contained admonitions and warnings as it was common for ‘moralising to be joined by medicine’.[56] It is useful to demonstrate how in this case, the negative and positive were effectively used together. The frugal commentators sought to rectify this form of excess, by

[53] Percival Stockdale, *Three Discourses* (1773), p. 31.
[54] Mackenzie, *The Moral History of Frugality* (1691), p. 77. ‘Thus God has given to the Beasts of the Field, that moderation by Instinct, which Man, created to adore him, is to beg from him, in these words, *Give us this day our daily bread.* So that Frugality is the true Mathematick of Christian Morality, and there can be nothing more against nature, than Avarice and Luxury.’
[55] Wear, *Knowledge and Practice in English Medicine* (2000), p. 178.
[56] Ibid.

associating it with immoral behaviour as well as ill-health. The choice of diet was an effective way of demonstrating the timely, sentient and visible consequences of greed and excess. The fact that the link between the over-consuption of food and sickness appeared obvious to endorsers of frugality and early medics alike and yet still individuals chose to eat too much of the wrong things needs exploring. Therefore, it is important to examine why individuals were thought to overeat by those who lived at the time, as well as consider the retrospective theories suggested by historians.

Porter explained that the tendency for excessive eating during the eighteenth century was a throw back to past human conditioning. Referencing that society had previously been one of fasting and feasting, where the next food shortage caused by drought or disaster was never far away and that the seasonal rituals such as Christmas, Easter and Harvest Home, bound communitites together by the gorging of food and drinking to excess. [57] Vigarello, in his history of obesity describes how elaborate feasting was linked to ideas around the land of plenty and confirmed the social value of endless eating and its links with lineage.[58]

While the Church counteracted these indulgences with periods of fasting throughout the year, the longest being the forty days of Lent, they were not always enthusiastically followed. This was evidenced by John Mayo as early as 1609, who lamented that there were many who ‘can not be brought to observe and keep any time and season of abstinence and fasting.....but will rather hazard an opposition to the peace of the Church, and to the good of

[57] Porter, Consumption - disease of the consumer society, in Brewer and Porter (eds), *Consumption and The World of Goods* (London, 1994), p. 59.
[58] Georges Vigarello, *The Metamorphoses of Fat* (New York, Chichester, 2013), pp. 33 – 34.

their country, than suffer their appetites to be bridled, and their zeal to be guided by the limits of any good laws.' Often, devout fasting, as dictated by the Church, was seen as being 'popish and superstitious', but there appeared to be no such negative associations attached to the many days of feasting scheduled into the religious calendar.[59] Therefore, not only had human evolution programmed people to eat what they could, when they could, and to consider binge-eating a signifier of good and happy times, but also, anti-catholic rhetoric made fasting and the voluntary abstinence of food appear unpatriotic.

In the cheap religious tract *The Way to Plenty*, Hannah More tells a tale of Farmer White, who stood against the tradition of the Roof Raising Holiday, whereby, the labourers who helped to raise a new barn were fed a large meal and allowed to drink as much liquor as they wished. Usually, this meant that the men became very drunk and were unable to work for days. However, Farmer White expressed how he did not wish to 'help any man to make a beast of himself' and that he was 'resolved to break through a bad custom.'[60] The story reveals how the labourers saw sense and complied with Farmer White's wishes by returning to work without the ill effects of overindulging and with more money in their pockets.

The reality, however, was very different, which is evidenced by the need for such a didactic publication in the first instance. As a result, when food and drink became consistently plentiful, it was more difficult for individuals to restrain their appetites and naturally register when levels of

[59] Hampton, 'Welcome Dear Feast of Lent': Rival Understandings of The Forty-Day Fast in Early Stuart England, *The Journal of Theological Studies*, 63:2 (October 2012), p. 609.
[60] More, *The Way to Plenty* (London and Bath, 1795), p. 8.

sufficiency had been achieved. It seemed to writers that no matter how many times it was pointed out that over indulging rich foods was detrimental to both physical and spiritual health, nevertheless, 'multitudes were seduced into habits of convivial gourmandising and abused their stomachs.'[61]

Authors who stressed the positive benefits of a frugal diet aimed to counterbalance what was seen as another particularly English weakness. During the seventeenth century, the English held a reputation for gluttony, and they were particularly noted for their vast appetites and love of luxurious food and copious amounts of drink.[62] Notable examples of excessive English gourmands included Wolmer of Windsor as well as Wood of Kent, who according to Peacham, ate at one dinner 'nineteen greene geese….with sauce of gooseberries'.[63] Another case of extreme gluttony was recorded by Tryon, who mentioned 'a great Lord, who at a Sumptuous Supper ate amongst other 'Rarities' a 'Pye composed of Amber-greece' and 'Sweet-Mets' which not only cost the objectionable amount of 'thirty Pounds', but had an equally objectionable effect on his constitution, as the following day, it was said, like a 'Satyr in the Fable, he would gladly have run away from his own Stench, which was so intollerable, that none of his People could endure to come near him.'[64]

English banquets had long been seen as occasions where gross and prolonged over-eating and drinking were expected of guests. Boorde, the sixteenth century Welsh Physick and author of *Dyetary of Helth,* commented

[61] Ibid. p. 60.
[62] Wear, *Knowledge and Practice in English Medicine* (2000) p. 181. See also Vigarello, *The Metamorphosis of Fat,* (2013).
[63] Peacham, *The Worth of a Penny* (London, 1641), p. 25.
[64] Tryon, *The Way to make all People Rich* (London,1685), p. 20.

that ‘England hath, an evyll use in syttynge longe at dyner and supper’. While, Tryon concluded that for the English, gluttony was ‘a most shameful and dishonorable, as well as an unthrifty Vice.’ [65] Stating that these men of ‘Canine Appetites, and continual Devourers’ suffer ‘a Disease not Nature, and rather a thing to be pitied than condemned’.[66]

> Observing the multitudes of *Distempers* and Torturing *Diseases* People bring upon themselves for want of a due regard to proper *Foods* and *Drinks*, hastening *Death* by the *Errors of their Lives*, and digging their *Graves* with their own *Teeth*;[67]

The saying ‘digging their graves with their teeth’ was a popular one of the time.[68] It was featured in the 1678 edition of *A Collection of English Proverbs* and was therefore in common usage before that date.[69] The phrase is thought to originate from an old French Proverb and was also used by Thomas Muffet (1553-1604) who was a physician and naturalist who promoted both Paracelsian and Galanist medicine. His work was rediscovered by the seventeenth-century physician Christopher Bennet who posthumously published Moffet’s book *Healths improvement* in 1655.[70] The book contained dietary advice, with a section on temperance and the need for men to eat according to their nature, by maintaining a balance of sufficiency rather than

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[65] Ibid. p. 20.
[66] Ibid. p. 12.
[67] Tryon, *Monthly Observations For the Preserving of Health With A Long and Comfortable Life, With Proper Foods for Women and Children. But more particularly for the Spring and Summer Seasons* (London, 1691), p. 3.
[68] Sophronio accused Guloso of having ‘The Hospitality of a Brute! The Happiness of a Swine! The Civility of a Devil!’ and accuses him and his guests of ‘having digged your Graves with your own Teeth; or if you survive, should be indicted for the Murder of every one of your Guests, whose untimely end is occasioned by your Extravagant Feasts and Hellish Carrouzes’ in Tryon,*The Way to make all People Rich: Or Wisdoms Call* (London,1685), p. 6
[69] J Ray. *A Collection of English Proverbs* (1678), p. 174.
[70] Victor Houliston, *"Moffet [Moufet, Muffet], Thomas [T. M.] (1553–1604), physician and naturalist."* Oxford Dictionary of National Biography (Oxford, 2004).

excess.[71] Moffet, when discussing diet, proposed that for many men, it was their downfall, declaring:

> Men will besiege and demolish their own Castles, with that very Amunition which was appointed to maintain and strengthen them; and more of them fall, by Repletion, Surfiet, and Satiety, than by the Assaults of Time itself; since greater Numbers dig their Graves with their own Teeth and die more by those fated Instruments than by the Weapons of their Enemies.[72]

Many of Moffet's ideas on diet, as expressed in *Healths Improvement*, are also mirrored in the writings of Thomas Tryon. However, he is not acknowledged by Tryon, who emphatically makes a point of declaring that he had consulted no other authors and claimed originality over his content.[73] However, as has been described, it was rare for the authors of new publications to acknowledge their sources.

Tryon's ideas on dietary regimen and the dangers of luxurious and excessive eating and drinking, however, did align with the accepted medical advice of the late seventeenth century. Many writers who were qualified physicians, such as Thomas Cocke, who wrote the *Kitchen Physick* in 1676, noted that multiple diseases could be prevented by 'Frugality, Temperance and Sobriety'.[74] Richard Morton also wrote a lengthy essay on consumption

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[71] Thomas Moffet, & Christopher Bennet (Ed),*Healths improvement: or, Rules comprizing and discovering the nature, method, and manner of preparing all sorts of food used in this nation. Written by that ever famous Thomas Muffett, Doctor in Physick: corrected and enlarged by Christopher Bennet, Doctor in Physick, and fellow of the Colledg of Physitians in London* (London, 1655).

[72] Ibid. xxxii

[73] 'All I shall say is, here are variety of Truths plainly delivered, which I do not know else-where (in books) to be met with; for I have not consulted Authors in composing this Tract, to pay you, like a Banker with other People's coin, or entertain you with a Rapsody of Stolen Notions'. Tryon, *The Way to Health Long Life and Happiness* (London, 1683), To The Reader.

[74] Thomas Cocke in his *Kitchen Physick* (1676) used the same mix of morality and medicine as had earlier treatise to paint a lurid, almost Hogarthian, picture of the effects of bad diet. Men who are 'addicted to variety, extravagancy and excess… become obnoxious Cheats, violating Justice, Faith and Friendship, and many times precipitate themselves into grievious Diseases, losses and disparagments: which by Frugality, Temperance and Sobriety they

(Tuberculosis), linking the disease specifically with 'too plentiful and unseasonable gorging of meat and drink'.[75]

Tryon, however, claimed his ideas came from a series of dreams and he acknowledged that he was not a doctor himself, by stating 'Not that I would invade the Learned *Physicians* Province'. Although it was not unusual for laymen to provide medical advice during this period.[76] Tryon claimed 'only to lay down some *General* Rules and Animadversions, which well practised would render most Persons Lives abundantly more *Comfortable* then now they are, and conduce not a little to the prolonging of their Days'.[77]

While the rapid expansion of the medical marketplace would suggest otherwise, Tryon expressed disappointment that people didn't observe the root causes of their ill health and instead merely looked to consume more.[78] He was suspicious of people's diet and blamed sickness on an excess of food but also on the accessibility of new foods and new ways of cooking and serving them. A simple seasonal diet was no longer the staple it once was, and he observed the negative effects of a greater variety of unfamiliar foods.[79]

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might have avoided' as quoted in Wear, Andrew, *Knowledge and Practice in English Medicine* (2000), p. 184.

[75] Porter, Consumption - disease of the consumer society (1994), p. 62 - Also recognised by Robert Crofts, *The Terrestrial Paradise, or, Happinesse on Earth* (London, 1639).

[76] See: Waddington, Medical Self-Help and the Market for Medicine, *An Introduction to the Social History of Medicine, Europe since 1500,* (2011); Leong, Pennell, Recipe Collections and Medical Knowledge, *Medicine and Market in England and its Colonies c.1450 - 1850* (2007).

[77] Thomas Tryon, *Monthly Observations For the Preserving of Health With A Long and Comfortable Life, With Proper Foods for Women and Children. But more particularly for the Spring and Summer Season* (London, 1691), p. 4.

[78] Jenner and Wallis, The Medical Marketplace, *Medicine and Market in England and its Colonies c.1450 - c.1850* (2007).

[79] 'I do sincerely believe that the kale, Brochan, Sowens, Pottage, Milk, Cheese, and even Spring Water of the homely Cottagers is the most wholesome, strengthening and valuable Fare in Nature; and I am likewise certain, that a little while's Custom and Inurement, with the proper Degree of Bodily Exercise, is all that could be wanting to make such Simplicities also, even the most agreeable to a just taste.'A Friend*, An Effort Towards Promoting Contentment Chap.I* (1785, Banff), p. 19. This change in the eating habits of the poor was also evidenced throughout: Eden, *The State of the Poor, Vol 1* (1797).

Tryon was amazed that people were healthy at all, considering the 'hodg-potch' they made of their stomachs,' which he said must 'wonderfully opress and distract Nature'.

According to Tryon, the dangers of fancy food were caused partly by the fashion for complex recipes popularised by the many cookery books which were being written 'To teach this mischievous Art'. This was a particularly antagonistic time between England and France, and Tryon was damning and sarcastic in his view of the 'French Cooks' who were 'Imployed, as if we had not Natural Folly and Vanity enough at home, but must learn it by Art, and from foreign Nations'. [80] As a trader himself, Tryon had experienced first hand the negative consequences of foreign imports, and by extention he would have viewed their food with the same suspicion and contempt. However, despite his xenophobic views and overt nationalism, Tryon considered that these 'compounded' meals based on foreign and unseasonable ingredients were 'the greatest snare in eating and Drinking' as the 'liquorish pleasures of the Palate is prolonged many degrees beyond the necessities of nature, and indeed beyond the concoctive ability of the stomach'. Causing people to overcharge their systems. Leading them to 'heap up Crudities, Noxious Juces, Torturing Diseases, and in the end Death itself.' [81]

So worried was Tryon by the influence of what he saw as foreign and exotic food fads, he expressed his concern that 'A French Cook shall have

[80] Tryon, *The Way to make all People Rich* (London,1685), p. 21. 'For if you should take Flesh or various sorts, Fish of as many, Cabbages, Parsnops, Turnops, Potatoes, Mustard, Butter, Cheese, a Pudden that contains more than ten Several Ingredients, Tarts, Sweet-meats, Custards, and add to these Curries, Plums, Currants, Apples, Capers, Olives, Anchovies, Mangoes, Caveare, & c. and jumble them altogether into one Mass, what Eye would not loath, what stomach not abhor such Gallimaufry?'.
[81] Tryon, *Monthly Observations* (1691), p. 25.

more power than a Philosopher'.[82] Likewise, John Sowter was equally suspicious of exotic foods such as 'The delights of Asia, so much talked of, as the enervating poison heroick Spirits: being but as Kickshawes to those excesses which the present luxury hath excoriated,' [83]

The frugal food recommendations of Tryon also concentrated on eating only what the body needed to rejuvenate itself, stating that people should 'eat to live, and not to live to eat; for Victuals are designed for Nourishment, to sustain and repair the infirmities of the Body, and supply those daily Wastings, which Growth, Motion, Labour and Exercise occasion.'[84] Therefore, the amount and the type of food required to be consumed would depend on the size, sex, age, constitution and occupation of the individual as well and the season and the climate.[85] Hence, it was the continued consumption of more than that which a person's constitution and their situation required, which caused sickness and disease.[86] Just as excessive spending and luxurious consumption could bring a gentleman's estate or the body politic into jeopardy.

One eighteenth-century physician who had a first-hand experience of the ill effects of over-eating and a luxurious diet was George Cheyne. Born in Scotland in 1672, he qualified as a doctor in Aberdeen and studied both medicine and mathematics in Edinburgh, where he later became a Fellow of

[82] Tryon, *The Way to make all People Rich* (1685), p. 20.
[83] Sowter, *The Way to be Wise and Wealthy* (1716), pp. 18-19.
[84] Tryon, *The Way to make all People Rich* (London,1685), p. 12.
[85] Ibid. p.12. 'I deny not but difference of Constitutions may require a suitable proportion of Food; strong natural Heats expect a large Supply; nay, difference of the Season or the Climate, vary the case; for the Northern Inhabitants of the World are found to be more voracious Feeders that the Southern, and here with us in Winter when the Natural Heat becomes more central, we have greater stomachs than in Summer.'
[86] Ibid. pp. 5-6.

the College of Physicians.[87] He travelled to London to seek his fortune, but 'the high living eroded his health and he grew 'excessively fat, short-breath'd, Lethargic and Listless'. Fearing for his life, he quit town, imposed an austere diet, and saw his excess body weight melt away, 'like a Snow-ball in Summer'.[88] Cheyne observed that overeating and drinking had become problematic 'since our Wealth has increas'd, and our Navigation has been extended,' and the ransacking all the Parts of the Globe to bring together materials for 'Riot, Luxury and to provoke Excess'.[89]

Cheyne also blamed exotic foreign foodstuffs as contributing to the increase in obesity and poor health. He commented that the tables 'of the rich and great (indeed of all Ranks who can afford it) are furnished with Provisions of Delicacy, Number and Plenty, sufficient to provoke, and even gorge, the most Large and Voluptuous Appetite'.[90] Cheyne posed the question 'did the wealth of the nations secure the health of nations?' and the answer was discovered to be emphatically no.[91] He noted that these indulgences of wealth caused a series of diseases, which he referred to as 'The English Malady'. This was also the title of his most famous book published in 1733, which contained testimonies from Cheyne himself, regarding his battle with corpulency and sickness. His theories of moderation and abstinence in diet were also described and it took the form of an easily understandable self-help manual. Cheyne explained that his sickness had been caused by 'this higher

[87] Berry, The Pleasures of Austerity, *Journal for Eighteenth-Century Studies, 37:2* (2014) p. 270. See also Porter, Roy (Ed), Cheyne, *The English Malady* (1733) Psychology Rivals Edition. (London, 2013).
[88] Porter, Consumption - disease of the consumer society (1994), p. 61.
[89] Berry, The Pleasures of Austerity, *Journal for Eighteenth-Century Studies,* 37:2 (2014), p. 270
[90] Ibid. p. 272.
[91] Porter, Consumption - disease of the consumer society (1994), p. 63.

self (‘my spirit nature’) …. impaired ‘through Carelessness and Self-Sufficiency, Voluptuousness and Love of Sensuality ’. The solution he advised was ‘to recommend to all my Fellow Creatures that plain Diet which is most agreeable to the Purity and simplicity of uncorrupted Nature and unconquer’d Reason’.[92]

Cheyne’s regimen proved very popular with the upper and middling classes, resulting in him treating many famous clients, including Sir Hans Sloane and Sir Robert Walpole.[93] One of Cheyne’s patients, Lord Harvey was converted to Cheyne’s dietary regimen after reading one of his early works, an *Essay on Health and Long Life* (1724), and he quickly noted the significant improvements in his health. Stating that as soon as he started his restrictive diet, which consisted ‘entirely upon herbs, root pulse, grains, fruit’ and legumes, he had not experienced a ‘fit of colic’ or pain in his stomach.[94] In many ways, Cheyne's recommended regimen mirrored the sentiments of those who advocated frugality by agreeing that ‘moderation in everything was the key to health and long life’. His final plea in his *Essay on Health and Long Life* was: ‘if men would but observe the golden mean in all their Passions, Appetites and Desires’.

Cheyne, like Tryon, believed in being mindful of health at all times and in developing regular habits of abstention to prevent problems occurring in the first place. Both writers believed that a frugal diet should be adopted not just to cure but to maintain good health consistently as this would ‘conserve the Mind in Serenity, Accuteness and Vigour, and all the Offices of the Body in

[92] Berry, The Pleasures of Austerity, p. 272.
[93] Ibid. p. 272.
[94] Quoted in Porter, (ed), Cheyne, George, *The English Malady* (London, 2013), The Introduction written by Roy Porter. xi.

due Tone, Strength and Agility.[95] Above all, Tryon believed that good health was indeed a blessing, that it 'Sweetens all God's Blessings, and is the prime good of this life' for what pleasure, he observed, is there in 'the highest prepared Food' 'The most Cordial Drinks', 'The gayest Apparel' or 'the Most flattering Addresses of Honour' to a person who is 'ract with stone, or 'half drains with an overflowing Dropsie" - in short 'what are riches and Fame to a Body full of Pain?.[96] These pleadings, however, and the reinforcement of the blessings of frugal eating and living, were not enough to persuade his readers to adopt them. For as Tryon said: 'But I fear I spend my Breath to little purpose; for what hope is there of prevailing, when I speak to the Belly, and that hath no Fears?[97]

The promotors of frugal living clearly saw the benefits of their doctrine on the health of individuals who followed it. However, just like today, food was an emotive consumable and no matter how much evidence was presented showing the damage and side effects on the body by excessively eating unsuitable foods, still people continued 'digging their graves with their own teeth'. Although, for those with the fortitude to be frugal, even greater spiritual blessings could be obtained.

Frugality as the Way to Happiness

> So that tho' some Men have all the materials of Happiness at their disposal, yet by a perverse and unaccountable management they make a shift to render themselves completely miserable.[98]

[95] Tryon, *The Way to make all People Rich* (London,1685), p. 8.
[96] Tryon, *The Way to Health, Long Life and Happiness* (London,1683), p. 2.
[97] Tryon, *The Way to make all People Rich* (London,1685), p. 129
[98] Kettlewell, *The Great Evil and Danger of Profuseness and Prodigality In a Letter to a Friend* (London, 1705), p. Xii.

This quote by the Rev. John Kettlewell recognised that money and beautiful possessions did not always bring happiness. Hence, anti-consumption and the saving and sparing of resources was about more than baseless accumulation put to the service of capitalism.[99] Instead, writers on frugality intermingled its fiscal and health benefits with ones more linked to the mental health and wellbeing of individuals. These were often explained as religious and spiritual phenomena, as a consequence of living the way God ordained.[100]

Many enquiries in print were made during the seventeenth and eighteenth centuries as to the nature of happiness and contentment, which outlined the tremendous spiritual rewards that came from a moderate frugal life.[101] Although many of these texts were religiously inspired, they nevertheless made observations on the mysteries of human nature. For example, one anonymous Scot summarised happiness as being submissive to the rule of God and more directly, to be contented with one's lot in life.[102] Writing in 1785, this author published his observations on contentment in

[99] Hulme, *A Brief History of Thrift* (2019) p. 9.
[100] Ibid. pp. 53 – 69. Hulme refers to it as 'Spiritual Thrift'
[101] For example: Robert Crofts, *The Terrestrial Paradise, or, Happinesse on Earth,* London, 1639. Richard Allestree, *The Art of Contentment,* (Oxford, 1675); *An Effort Towards Promoting Contentment Chap.I* (Banff, 1785).
[102] A Friend, *An Effort Towards Promoting Contentment Chap.I* (1785), p. 3. 'In order to be contented with one's Lot, three Things will in a particular Manner be necessary. The first is, Resignation to the Will of that Being who must be the best Judge of all Things, and has deemed such a Condition the most suitable for us. The second, To make the most prudent Use of the Advantages in our Possession: and the third, To endeavour to make Matters better and better, by just and lawful means' John Sowter, also agreed with this sentiment stating 'The best and safest Way is to be pleased with, and wholly taken up in, minding the Work and Business we are appointed to. He who makes an Art which he professes his Delight will work at it without Weariness, attend it with Willingness, and conclude it with Chearfulness; and he that doth so is happy as any other conditions can make him'. Sowter, *The Way to be Wise and Wealthy* (1716), p. 86.

retrospect of his own past failings, which was common to other frugal enthusiasts, as often their mistakes were not realised until the end of their lives were almost upon them.[103]

Likewise, Charles Povey, recognised that a life of mindless consumption had many physical and mental ramifications and provoked feelings of guilt and regret. Povey recalled the story of a 'person of Note, a little before his departure of this World':

> I stand amaz'd (said he) when I consider with my self, how vain I have been in Spending sixty years, to purchase a large Estate by Injustice, and all to feed and cloath this Body of mine with those superfluities I now abhor: Were I to live a-new, I had rather Spend and Age in Labour and Toil, in an honest Station; cloathing this Body in the meanest Garb, contenting, my self with the coursest Food, quenching my Thirst in Chrystal Streams, refreshing Nature with sweet Repose in a Cottage; secure from Storms, and free from Envy, than to live a Thousand Years in my former course of grinding the Poor.[104]

Inevitably, the guilt of greed and past sins would torment the dying, provoking deathbed revelations. However, more than that, there appeared to be a sudden realisation of what was important in life, and that happiness had little to do with material gain.

The long eighteenth century saw a change in the way writers observed the world and the identification of the practice of frugality as a specific source of happiness showed how the metaphysical and spiritual aspects of life were starting to be explained, rather than just being accepted unquestioningly. Wealth, health and happiness were no longer guaranteed just to the pious

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[103] 'A Friend, *An Effort Towards Promoting Contentment Chap.I* (1785), p. 16. 'And I do indeed, blame my own Carelessness, Inattention and Stupidity chiefly, for my late and present Distress, owning, of course, that the self-deed and self-pay can neither be more or less than fair play, and so forth'. See also Dudley Lord North, George Mackenzie.
[104] Charles Povey, *The Unhappiness of England As To Its Trade by Sea and Land* (London, 1701), p. 126.

who followed God's law, but by decoding the principles behind the beliefs, it became clear that miracles could also be achieved through more secular means. The overarching frugal messaging, however, advised everyone and not just the poor, to be happy with their lot. Laying beneath these pleas was a desire to maintain social stability as well as increasing personal satisfaction. As an anonymous 'Friend' noted in *An Effort Towards Promoting Contentment*

> The person who has a moderate Competency of the good Things of this life, would do well to believe and consider, that, if it shall not be sufficient to supply his wants, establish his Contentment, and satisfy his Ambition, it will be owing more to the Greatness of his Pride, Extravagance and Folly, than to the littleness of his fortune; for, it what might satisfy, will not, Nothing can …. By so far despising the Necessaries, as to make a Slave of himself for the Superfluities of such a World.[105]

Superfluities meant things that could not be afforded, or that were not needed; that is to say, excessive spending and consumption which met no reasonable purpose. They were also referred to as luxuries or, earlier in the seventeenth century, as felicities. However, the point needs to be made again, that the endorsers of frugality were not against the consumption of good things or luxury goods, just those things which subverted the individual or their circumstances by their consumption.

In 1639 Robert Crofts described the felicities of life as being blessings from God:

> They are naturall and necessary to us. Which appears in their pleasantnesse, and variety of curious colours, harmonious sounds, pleasant tasts, and fragrant smels which God hath particularly appropriated to every kinde of creature, affording rather delight than necessity…. Necessity and pleasure is an excellant Marriage in Nature. And it is good reason that those actions which are necessary, should also be delightfull.[106]

[105] A Friend*, An Effort Towards Promoting Contentment Chap.I* (1785), pp. 3-4. It is not known whether the sydonym was a reference to the author being a Quaker.
[106] Robert Crofts, *The Terrestrial Paradise, or, Happinesse on Earth* (London, 1639), p. 45.

While Crofts tried to justify the increasing luxuries of the age as being God's gifts, at the same time there was no doubt that the presence of luxuries and good things in the world brought temptation: 'disposing people to Covetousness, Ambition, Intemperance, and sundry vices'.[107] Even so, the danger they threatened were thought by some to be no sufficient excuse to prevent the right and proper use of them. Therefore, it was the individuals' own responsibility to learn to moderate their consumption. Croft, for instance, questioned why pleasures should be denied to the many, just because they were dangerous to the few:

> That a man may not use a knife, because some have cut their fingers therewith, so to say we ought not, to desire Riches, Honor, & Pleasures in a moderate manner, And so in their good use freely to enjoy them, because they are an occasion that some men fall into Covetousnesse, Ambition, Intemperance, and other vices, is an insufficient Reason.[108]

Thereby, frugality was presented as a tool, the 'mathematick' which was used to maintain balance. For writers on frugality, it was the lack of personal power to resist the temptation to overindulge and to avoid 'evil, dangers and impediments', which caused harm to the individual, rather than the luxuries themselves. Whereas anyone who was in a position to afford these luxuries and could do so moderately, while maintaining or even improving their prosperity, their position within society and staying healthy was to be 'most worthy of prayse'.[109] For, with 'self-denial, and perserverence, a Man's Heath and Peace may not only be preserved, but his Fortune also made great,

[107] Ibid.
[108] Ibid. p. 52.
[109] Ibid. p. 64.

however small.' [110] Indeed, according to Croft, for the frugal man such as this: 'His whole life resembles a fair, bright and pleasant day, wherein are no clouds, no tempest, but all fairness, serenity and peace, he seems to go to heaven, treading on Roses.'[111]

However, for another anonymous author, the frugal rewards of shunning 'destructive Intrusions, spiderick Occupations and Hell-sweetened Entertainments' were not visible to everyone. This author was offended that it was the vain and profligate individuals who received the most praise and attention from society and that were being noticed and respected 'by the dim sighted, and windly headed Multitude'. Despite this, he argued that frugality was the chief safeguard, and greatest blessing' and that 'Extravagance, Luxury and Pride can as quickly ruin Kings and Kingdoms as private Men or small Estates, so that, as Care and Frugality can only be wanting to make a little, enough, and enough, a Feast'.[112] Thereby the frugal were considered strong, steadfast and incorruptible, although not fashionable and popular.

There was an underlying resentment that not only the were the frugal unappreciated, but that the great personal power they achieved through their frugality was unrecognised by the masses. Mackenzie defended frugality as being excellent preparation for hard times. For if times of shortage were to come, the temperate man 'can by fasting till a convenient time, be hardened sufficiently not to be troubled by any ordinary Accidents'. Whereas the luxurious man, who has become used to the pleasures of 'Wines, Feastings and Fruits' is forced to become 'servilely drudg under those who support his

[110] A Friend*, An Effort* (1785), pp. 19-20.
[111] Crofts, *The Terrestrial Paradise (*1639), p. 26.
[112] A Friend*, An Effort* (1785), pp. 13-16.

Luxury. In pimping their Vices, flattering all their Extravagancies, and executing the most dreadful of their Commands'.[113] Mackenzie also stated that some of his acquaintances, who had been forced into frugality through straightened circumstances, as a result of the imposed restrictions, became healthy and strong and that 'Some whereof have confessed to me that they never thought themselves so happy, and that they were never so well pleased.'[114] Therefore, the blessings of frugality were often the 'silver lining' of financial hardship.

For Thomas Tryon, frugalism was uniquely focused on his ultimate aim, which was to make people healthier and happier through self-inflicted restrictions. The frontest piece of an un-dated edition of Tryon's book *The Way to save Wealth; Shewing how a Man may live plentifully for Two-pence a Day,* includes a verse beneath a portrait of the author which states:

> Tis not that possesseth most, but that wanteth least,
> that is the richest man.
> To be content is to be rich, and these Riches any Man that will, may give himself.
> Content is all we aim at with our Store,
> If that be had with little, what needs more?[115]

It was the quest to be released from the many social and material pressures and temptations of the day, which inspired the call for the habitual use of frugality. Therefore, in an age where individuals felt under pressure to consume, frugal texts are significant as they taught their readers that it was not harmful to abstain, and that abstention itself could be highly beneficial.

[113] Mackenzie, *The Moral History of Frugality* (London,1691), pp. 78-79.
[114] Ibid. p. 79.
[115] Tryon, *The Way to Save Wealth* (London, circa 1695), Frontispiece.

Summary

The blessings of frugality that have been outlined in this chapter were often set in stark contrast against the perceived consequences of not being frugal. These were clearly outlined by John Sowter, and would have struck a chord with many:

> the idle, slothful, prodigal spendthrift is the blemish and deformity of his species; one that pursues no end of his being, that seems born to no purpose but to be miserable: for wherever a slothful lavish humour possesses a man, nothing but a miracle can keep him from misery. His condition becomes, by a natural and necessary consequence, the reverse to every thing that is worth the wishing for in this world, or to be hop'd for in the other.[116]

Sowter recognised that whilst all men had a strong desire to capitalise on their blessings and become wealthy and wise, they were not willing to match their desire with enough frugality and industry to make it happen, saying:

> It is the unhappiness of humane nature, that it desires infinitely exceed its endeavours. We would fain have the good things of the world without taking the necessary pains to come at them, being strangely apt to overlook the Means, and fix our Eyes upon the End.[117]

However, on a positive note, he concluded that success was surely possible for anyone, 'For Divine Providence hath so annexed the End to the Means, that if we faithfully and vigilantly use the one, we will certainly obtain the other.'[118] It was this thought that kept frugality alive in the hearts of those who used it to either maintain or improve their situation. For the merchants, traders and business owners of the emerging middling order, frugality was presented on the one hand as a tool for financial gain, while on the other hand, frugal

[116] Sowter, *The Way to Be Wise and Wealthy* (1716), pp. 19-20.
[117] Ibid. p. 18.
[118] Ibid. p. 92.

respectability was strongly linked to politeness and social control by restraining aspirations of status within the artisan classes and discouraging the mimicking of one's social betters.

The undeniable connection made between a frugal diet and improved health, was an anomaly to the affluent classes and it is a subject that requires further study. Thomas Tryon tried to invert the population's positivity towards endless possibilities for consumption, but even with medical opinion on his side, he was deemed too radical, especially in his recommendations to give up the eating of meat.[119] However, the constant pressure that the middling classes felt to compete, both amongst themselves and with their betters, was a common cause of unhappiness and malcontent. Whereas, the adoption of frugality was said to instil a sense of freedom and independence, which was perhaps its highest prize. As Hannah More wrote in 1795:

> And he used to say, that a man with ever so small an income if he had but frugality and temperance, and cast off all vain desires, was richer than a lord who was tormented by vanity and covetousness.[120]

That being said, the assumption that enough is as good as a feast, may have been well meant by the likes of Hannah More, however, the reality, as shall be discussed in the next chapter, was very different, and the frugal poor rarely had enough to be frugal with.

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[119] See: John Field (Junior), *The Absurdity & Falseness of Thomas Trion's Doctrine Manefested in Forbidding to Eat Flesh* (London, 1685).

[120] This was said of Tom White in Hannah More's Cheap Religious Tract, *The Way to Plenty* (London and Bath,1795).

Chapter 4: The Frugal Poor

Hunt described how the 'high-mindedness' of the middling sorts in the eighteenth century allowed them to 'self-congratulate' themselves for their ethical behaviour as they increasingly saw themselves as part of the social and political elite.[1] Just as the aristocracy before them, the middling classes also feared greater integration into their ranks. Therefore, many of the criticisms regarding luxury and expensive living during the eighteenth century were directed at the lower orders, and in particular the artisan class. Those who wished to emulate their betters, used their money to successfully mimic their clothing and equipage and therefore caused an uncomfortable and almost undetectable imposition of the wrong sort into polite society.[2] Authors who endorsed frugal ways, expressed concern that this inappropriate spending would spark a chain reaction of one-up-man-ship, which would work its way into the upper ranks and become the catalyst for self-perpetuating forms of endless emulation that could never be quelled.[3]

Sowter and Defoe appealed to the lower tradesmen and labouring classes to recognise their rightful place in society and make the best of it, rather than constantly seeking advancement; stating 'Tis not for him to think of the Pleasurable Parts of Life, who is already consign'd to that of the

[1] Hunt, *The Middling Sort* (1996), p. 197.
[2] Jones, *Luxury, Pride and Vanity, The Bane of the British Nation* (1735), p. 10. The Tradesman's - 'that eager resolved Pursuit of that empty and meanest kind of Pride call'd Imitation, viz to look like the Gentry, and appear above themselves'.
[3] *Hibernicus's letters* (London, 1734), pp. 211-220.

Laborious'.[4] Such writers justified themselves as reflecting a common perception that everyone had a place in the world and that happiness was to be found when that place was fully embraced. This elitist and Tory view of social structure was accepted throughout the period of study and was expressed in the writings of Henry Peacham, who while he originally wrote during the early seventeenth century, his words were still being read and copied a hundred years later. Peacham declared that:

> There must, by the Divine Providence, in the body of a Common-Wealth, be as well poore as rich, for as an humane body cannot subsist without hands and feet to labour, and walke about to provide for the other members, the rich being the belly which devoure all, yet do no part of the work.[5]

Being content with the lot an individual was dealt in life was, as seen in the previous chapter, an important element in the quest for personal happiness.[6] Occasionally however, movement up the ranks and injections of new blood and wealth was sometimes deemed appropriate and part of God's will. Peacham stated: 'God raiseth up, as by miracle, the children and posterity of these (the poor), oftentimes to possesse the most eminet places either in Church or Common-Wealth'.[7]

However, as the long eighteenth century progressed, there were far more of the lower sorts snapping at the heels of the highest ranks, and it was no longer so easy for them to escape from each other. For the poorest in society, however, frugality was more a matter of survival than emulation. As

[4] Jones, *Luxury, Pride and Vanity* (1735), p. 1. See also Sowter, *The Way to be Wise and Wealth* (Exeter, 1716), and Defoe, *The Complete English Tradesma,* (London, 1745).
[5] Peacham, *The Worth of a Penny*, (1641), p. 9.
[6] See: Richard Allestree, *The Art of Contentment* (Oxford, 1675); Robert Crofts, *The Terrestriall Paradise, Or Happinesse on Earth* (London, 1639).
[7] Peacham, *The Worth of a Penny* (1641), p. 9.

pauperism grew throughout the eighteenth century, and the poor became an increasing burden on society. The new middling classes, who had benefited from their own frugal ways, started preaching it directly to the poor.

This chapter will detail how frugality was used in different ways to affect the lives of the lower classes. Firstly, it shows how frugal messages were directed at those with money and were designed to provoke empathy and increase charitable giving to the poor and needy. Secondly, it will focus on the writings of Tryon, who was particularly forward thinking and specific in his ideas of how public frugality could be channelled into improving society and particularly the condition of the poor. Finally, it reveals how, when pauperism became less tolerable, frugal preaching was specifically directed at those who had no choice but to work for their living. The poor were forced to take responsibility for their own resources, their behaviour and their morality; with a lack of frugality implied as a reason for their poverty and dependence on charity.[8]

The Deserving and the Undeserving Poor.

When frugal messages were directed at the labouring classes and the poor, the motivation was not aspiration, instead their purpose was to encourage financial independence. Printed frugal texts were not accessible to the labouring poor early in the period and therefore, new more ephemeral methods of delivery were used. Those unable to read could have listened to

[8] See Sandra Sherman, *Imagining Poverty* (Ohio, 2001).

the singing of ballads such as '*Wit bought at a dear rate'*.[9] The endorsement of frugality and the lamentation of unwise spending while young, was a strong message in the ballad, which contained lines such as 'some with extravagant expence, make their estates fly'. However, the lyrics represent a wider realisation that personal responsibility was becoming increasingly important. Individuals who had previously lived in strong, supportive communities with close families and who helped those around them while they were young, were now unable to receive the same consideration, as they themselves reached their dotage.[10] This suggests that previously dependable social ties and community networks were starting to break down, as these lyrics from the ballad express:

> This age is grown to such a pass,
> That they who go but mean,
> And to their friends for kindness go,
> They give them no esteem:
> So cruel and hard-hearted,
> Are people now, therefore
> Youth must be wise, and careful be,
> Or else in age be poor.[11]

Society was moving away from close-knit patriarchal communities. Now, instead, each person was responsible for his/her own fate.[12] An increased sense of the importance of self, required individuals to be mindful of frugality

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[9] The full title of the work is: *'Wit bought at a dear rate. Being a relation of the misery one suffers by being too kind hearted: wishing all people to beware of that undoing quality; and to be frugal and saving, that in aged years, their life may be as comfortable, as in youth it was pleasant and folly'* Copies exists in Magdalene College, Pepys Ballad Collection dated c1670.The British Library dated 1646-1674. National Library of Scotland, dated 1624 - 1680. Houghton Library dated 1624-1680. Pepys collection was collated in chronological order and therefore it is possible to estimate its collection date to 1670.

[10] Paul Slack, Material Progress and the Challenge of Affluence in Seventeenth Century England, *The Economic History Review,* 62:3 (2009), p 578.

[11] Anon. *Wit bought at a dear rate. Being a relation of the misery one suffers by being too kind hearted: wishing all people to beware of that undoing quality: and to be frugal and saving, that in ages years, their life may be as comfortable, as in youth it was pleasant and folly* (Printed ballad sheet, 1646-1674).

[12] Muldrew, *The Economy of Obligation* (London, 1998), p. 133.

while young and prosperous, in order to guarantee independence and security later in later life, especially if one had to labour for a living.[13]

Evidence of this social shift towards the importance of self-reliance among the lower orders can also be found in a broadsheet entitled *The Art of Thriving or, the way to get and keep money: being, a seasonable caution to slothful drones and prodigal spend-thrifts: containing sundry excellent rules and observations for promoting good-husbandry, and banishing idleness and profuseness, the certain parents of poverty: principally intended for the admonition to youth, but necessary to be practiced by all persons in these hard times; and to be set up in every family.* The first surviving edition is dated 1674 and editions were also published in London and Worcester in 1700, re-titled as *The New Art of Thriving*. The contents of this broadsheet are taken ad hoc from various earlier texts, including Peacham's *Worth of a Penny,* which demonstrates how this text, although published in 1641, continued to be relevant and its messages were constantly reused. This broadsheet made it quite clear to its reader that prosperity was their responsibility, and that poverty was self-inflicted, stating: 'tis ourselves that make them much; men generally by Sloth or Vanity, Pride, Negligence or Extravagancy, twisting those Chains of necessity wherein they lie.[14] Making the reader believe that it was through a lack of frugality and industry that the poor went hungry, rather than a shortage of food and a fair wage. Although, while it was possible to be

[13] These ideas are explored by Johnathan Sawday in: Self and Selfhood in the Seventeenth Century, *Rewriting the Self: Histories from the Middle Ages to the Present* (London and New York, 1997), pp. 28 – 48.
[14] Anon, *The art of thriving or, the way to get and keep money: being a seasonable caution to slothful drones and prodigal spend-thrifts: containing sundry excellent rules and observations for promoting good-husbandry, and banishing idleness and profuseness, the certain parents of poverty: principally intended for an admonition to youth, but necessary to be practiced by all persons in these hard times; and to be set up in every family* (1674).

frugal, if you had the money and resources to be frugal with, those without continued to struggle and the poor became an increasing problem, which required considerable charitable efforts to alleviate.[15]

As with religion, there is also an undeniable link between frugality and charity. Publications of a religious nature quoted biblical references outlining the duty of looking after the poor, such as 'The generous will themselves be blessed, for they share their food with the poor'.[16] At the start of the long eighteenth century, the seeking of alms from the homes of the wealthy still remained in common practice.[17] However, the poor were increasingly seen as the responsibility of all society, with the burden being shared with other members of the community.[18]

Early modern historians such as Thompkins and King, have looked at the coping mechanisms of the poor, and their ways of 'making shift', so as not to become dependant on the parish.[19] However, during the period, pauperism was a growing problem and there was particular concerns regarding the financial burden of the poor on the Parishes that supported them. Eden pointed out in 1797, 'our Poor Rates have gone on increasing with such astonishing rapidity as to have doubled their former amount within the last twenty years.'[20] Printed culture reveals how writers sought to use the frugality

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[15] Anonymous, *Bread of the Poor: or A Method shewing how the Poor may be maintained and duly provided for, in a far more Plentiful, and yet Cheaper manner than they are, without Waste or Want* (Exeter, 1698).
[16] *The Bible,* Proverbs 19:17.
[17] Sandra Sherman *Imagining Poverty: Quantification and the Decline of Paternalism* (Ohio, 2001), p. 7.
[18] Steve Hindle, Dependency, Shame and Belonging: Badging the Deserving Poor, *c*.1550–1750, *Cultural and Social History,* 1:1 (2004), pp. 6-35.
[19] Thompkins, Alannah, King, Steven.*The Poor in England 1700-1850: An Economy of Makeshifts* (Manchester, 2003). See also Jonathan Healey, 'By the charitie of good people': poverty and neighbourly support in seventeenth-century Lancashire, *Family & Community History,* 19:2 (2016), p. 83-94.
[20] Eden, *The State of The Poor* (Facsimile of the 1797, s.n., 1966), Preface XXV Vol 1.

of the rich as a way of syphoning surplus funds away from luxuries and towards charitable donations. As well as promoting frugality to the poor as a way of building resilience and independence into a social class who were generally perceived as being incapable of looking after themselves.

Initially, the belief was that the poor would always be present and that they deserved to be helped.[21] One book, written in 1675, described how when anyone fell on hard times, 'that is when by age, sickness, or decrepitness, they are disabled from work or when their family is too numerous for their work to maintain', then God would help them by 'assigning such persons to the care of the rich.' However, the author went on to acknowledge that they were living in an 'Age of frozen charity', where 'even the authority of God will not prevail with many of the rich to open their purses'.[22] Thus suggesting that charitable giving was no longer seen as a requisite duty and that religion had little effect over those who didn't already have a social conscience.

By practicing frugality, however, the rich were thought to be able to improve the conditions of the poor. Tryon demonstrated how frugality, charity and religion were inter-linked, by stating 'he that gives to the poor, lends to the Lord.'[23] Tryon was all too aware of the contradictory nature of society; with families in London with 'little or no work at their Callings, whereby to support themselves, and supply their perishing Families with bread', whilst in the same city there were 'those whom God hath intrusted with plentiful Estates,

[21] As evidenced in Richard Younge's, *The Poores advocate in 8 Parts. Shewing, what an incomparable favour it is to the rich: that there are poor to accept of their charity, had they the wit to know it. Wherein is also made plain, that bounty and frugality is the best and surest way to plenty: whith many other rational, and strong inducements to make men liberal; were it but for their own ends* (London, 1654).
[22] By the Author of The Whole Duty of Man, *The Art of Contentment* (Oxford, 1675), p. 39.
[23] Tryon, Good News for the Poor, and better for the Rich, &C. *Miscellania, or a Collection of Neccssary (sic), Useful and Profitable Tracts On Variety of Subjects* (London), p. 138.

gorge themselves with overcharged Tables, even to Surfeit, and Riot in Excess of Wine'.[24] He wrote a number of tracts during the 1680s and 90s, which encouraged frugality as a cure-all for both poverty and the general malaise and over-exuberance of the well-to-do.[25]

In one work, *Good News for the Poor, and better for the Rich, &C,* which was probably written in the early 1680s, Tryon specifically mentioned how 'the Cries of the Poor are exceedingly raised in this Nation'. On behalf of these 'many hundreds of Families', Tryon proudly presented in print, a possible solution and an 'easie and convenient Method of raising Fifteen or Twenty Thousand Pounds *per* Week towards the supplying of those that really want'. His solution was to suggest a weekly, day-long fast for the rich. Tryon justified this by suggesting:

> Let us resolve, one Day a Week at least, during the deadness of Trade, and dearness of Corn, to refrain from Large Eating, retrench the superfluous Exorbitance of our tables, abstain from our Customary Excess, of Wine and Strong Drinks (I dare promise it would be never the worse for our Health, but much better, and likewise for our Business) and what we so save, Employ in Charitable Uses for the service of the Poor.[26]

He believed his plan would also solve the problem of excessive consumption of the rich, by 'Retrenching the Luxurious Superfluities of those that abound: and teaching those whose Extravagance would carry their Inclinations beyond their Ability, the Art of good Husbandry.' He went on to add that his plan, if

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[24] Ibid.

[25] Tryon, *The Way to Health, Long Life and Happiness, Or, A Discourse of Temperance and The Particular Nature of all things requisit for the Life of Man…. Communicated to the World for a general Good, by Philtheos Phyotolgus* (London, 1683); Tryon, *A Pocket-Companion; Containing Things Necessary to be Known, By all that Values their health and happiness: being A plain Way of Nature's Own prescribing, to Cure most Diseases in Men, Women and Children, by Kitchen-Physick only. To which is added, An Account how a Man may Live Well and Plentifully for Two-Pence a day* (London, 1693).

[26] Tryon, *A Pocket-Companion* (London, 1693), p. 142.

practiced, ‘would be inconceivable beneficial as well to the Rich as the Poor’.[27]

By multiplying the shillings that would be donated by these temporarily frugal wealthy families, Tryon fully expected this voluntary abstinence of food to raise not only the fifteen thousand pounds projected, but also a further five thousand gained from the rich forgoing ‘strong liquors’. Then, this money would be collected and ‘justly distributed’ in order to supply ‘eighty thousand families at Five Shillings *per* Week a piece’. He also suggested dividing the monies raised so that ‘one half might be imploy’d in the Maintenance of Three-score Thousand Families, and the other half to build schools and Hospitals for the Education of the poor Children and Orphans, and other Miserable People’.[28]

Tryon called out the social injustices of wasteful and excessive consumption and described the chief dish of the ‘Great housekeeping and Tables mightily furnished with their several Courses’ as literally being made up of the ‘Blood of the Poor.’ [29] In his works he directed an emotive and guilt-ridden appeal at the consciences of the rich, who he saw as making ‘Gods of their bellies’.[30] There is no evidence as to whether the wealthy residents of London were convinced, by either the health or the charitable advantages of swapping their sumptuous feasts with Tryon’s wholesome alternatives. However, it is doubtful that Tryon’s recommended vegan diet of ‘Flower of Wheat, Barley, Oats or other grains, made into Paps or Gruels, by a little

[27] Ibid. p. 137-138.
[28] Ibid.
[29] Tryon, *The Way to make all People Rich* (London, 1685), p. 30.
[30] Thomas, *Good News for the Poor* (1696), p. 142.

boyling' was adopted, even though it was for just one day a week and could have saved the lives of thousands of miserable children.[31]

While Tryon's frugality tax and benevolent abstemious diet failed to inspire either charity or an appreciation for the health benefits of a simple diet, the period did see a surge in philanthropic sensibilities and feelings of 'eternal and universal obligation' towards the poor. This was expressed by the English philanthropist Jonas Hanway, who wrote: 'And to what object shall the rich consecrate their lives if the care of the poor is not their first and last attention?'[32] However, the classification of charity and the entitlements of the poor had changed, as described by Andrews: 'The rights of the poor to the superfluities of the rich became reinterpreted into the right of the impotent to beg alms from the merciful.'[33]

In this climate, the definitions of who deserved charity became important. *An Inquiry into the Management of the Poor,* classified the poor as those ' who have no other visible and usual way of maintaining themselves and families, except their frugality and industry'.[34] The Old Testament was frequently quoted, which defined the deserving poor as those who worked for their keep: 'By the sweat of your brow will you eat your bread, until you return to the ground'.[35] Therefore, if the poor were fit and able to work, then there should be no reason for them to ask for charity. However, for those that were justafiably unable to work, through sickness, infirmity or old age, charity was

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[31] Ibid. p. 139.
[32] Jonas Hanway. *Letters to the guardians of the infant poor to be appointed by the act of last session of parliament* (London, 1767), p. 7.
[33] Donna T Andrew, *Philanthropy and Police: London Charity in the Eighteenth Century* (Princetown, 1989), p. 22.
[34] Anon, *An Inquiry into the Management of the Poor, and Our usual Polity respecting the Common People; with Reasons Why they have hitherto been attended with Success* (London, 1767), p. 38.
[35] *The Bible*: Genesis 3:19

deserved and frugality was an effective tool for leveraging charitable contributions from the well-to-do.

A sermon by The Rev. Edward Tew to the Governors of an Infirmary in 1756, was one of many sermons published as a way of raising funds and enticing contributions from the local gentry and middling classes.[36] Andrews outlines that fundraising sermons were common during the eighteenth century, with charities in the City of London having a tradition of sponsored annual sermons called 'spital' sermons which raised money for the many hospitals such as St Thomas and St Barts.[37] Tew sort to convince the Governors that 'because of the strong connection which subsists betwixt Frugality and Charity, insomuch, that, I am verily persuaded, Frugality will support the Charity, which you have set up, in the same high Degree of Usefulness and Credit, as it is this Day.'[38] He then turned to his more affluent audience, reminding them of their wealth and their weaknesses by saying, 'It has been remarked, that Men of Large Fortunes are more apt to exceed them than those who have less'[39]. Then warning that 'Whenever we spend above our Fortunes, we destroy by that very Means the Character which we would wish the World to have of us, and which we ourselves desire to maintain'. He then advocated that 'riches are indeed a Trust of the public Concern'.[40]

Tew outlined the many advantages of adopting a frugal way of life, that 'for a more lasting Reward, it will Supply you with the Means of arriving at the

[36] Edward Tew. *Frugality The Support of Charity. A Sermon Preached at St, Nicholas's Church in Newcastle, before the Governors of The Infirmary, For the Counties of Durham, Newcastle, and Northumberland,* On Wednesday June 23. 1756 (London, 1756).
[37] Andrews, "On Reading Charity Sermons: Eighteenth-Century Anglican Solicitation and Exhortation." *The Journal of Ecclesiastical History*, 43:4 (1992), pp. 581–591, pp 581.
[38] Edward Tew. *Frugality The Support of Charity* (London, 1756), p. 2.
[39] Ibid. p. 5.
[40] Ibid. p. 8.

highest of all Honours, that of being Helpers of the Friendless.'[41] However, at the same time that audiences were listening to these charitable appeals for the poor, they were also aware of arguments in print, which challenged the effectiveness of charitable giving to the poor and needy. It was inferred that charity of this nature may in fact damage the prospects of the poor, stating that the 'excessive pay to the poor, hath greatly occasioned their extravagant expenses, and occasioned Idleness in them, and discouraged Industry in others.'[42]

The eighteenth century continued to see debates that sort to replace charity with increased frugality and self-reliance. However, a rise in the price of bread at the end of the eighteenth century, placed the poor in dire need of charity and this increased demand had to be addressed. Scholars have extensively researched the plight of the poor and the attempts made to alleviate and solve their suffering at the time. However, frugality can be seen to have been an important response by both the rich and the poor.[43] For example, The Rev Basil Wood gave the rich no option when it came to their duty to be both frugal and charitable. He strongly insinuated that by not doing so, the poor would end up revolting against them, as they had done in France:

> Do not say, "I have so many expences, and I cannot do it." I reply, it is your duty to retrench and curtail your expences till you can. Had your property been in France, the Revolution would have compelled you, as

[41] Ibid. p. 10.
[42] Anonymous, *Bread of the Poor: or A Method shewing how the Poor may be maintained and duly provided for, in a far more Plentiful, and yet Cheaper manner than they are, without Waste or Want* (Exeter, 1698), p. 2.
[43] Daunton, M.J., *Progress and Poverty, An Economic and Social History of Britain 1700-1850* (Oxford, 1995); Himmelfarb, Gertrude, *The Idea of Poverty, England in The Early Industrial Age* (London, 1984); Hindle, Steve, Dependency, Shame and Belonging: Badging the Deserving Poor, c. 1550 - 1750, *Cultural and Social History: 1:1* (2004), pp. 6-35; Sherman, Sandra, *Imagining Poverty* (Ohio, 2001).

> it has thousands, to fare less sumptuously every day. - let, then, not necessity, but a sense of duty, teach you to adopt that conduct.[44]

In tempestuous times, frugality took on a new urgency and if the rich did not look after the poor then there was a risk that the poor would riot and help themselves.[45]

Frugal Compliance

The Church, with one hand used religion to leverage charitable donations to aid the poor, whilst on the other it provided essential support and justification to the patriarchy. A balance was needed to be struck between who was required to be frugal and for the benefit of whom. The Rev. Thomas T. Biddulph, who was Chaplain to the Right Hon. the Dowager Lady Bagot, delivered a sermon entitled: *Seasonable Hints to the Poor on the Duties of Frugality, Piety and Loyalty,* to the members of two benefit societies in 1797.[46] Rather than appealing to the rich to alleviate the sufferings of the poor, instead Biddulph addressed his frugal plea to the poor themselves, where he hoped to quel the growing unrest of their situation, which was seen as being provoked by rebellions in revolutionary France.[47]

Biddulph clearly laid out the just rewards of frugality to his audience by citing an example of a good frugal Christian couple called Jacob and Rachel.

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[44] Basil Wood,*The Duty of Frugality and The Sin of Waste Considered with a View to Recommend Christian Benevolence and Good Works* (London, 1795), p. 31.
[45] 'Over 600 riots broke out between 1790 and 1810, with almost 40% focused on food' Sherman, Sandra, *Imagining Poverty* (Ohio, 2001), p. 42.
[46] As noted in: *Practical essays on the morning and evening services of the Church of England.* By the Rev. Thomas T. Biddulph, M.A. Minister of St James's Bristol; Chaplain ;the Right Hon: the Dowager Lady Bagot, and late of Queen's College (Oxford, 1799).
[47] Thomas T. Biddulph. *Seasonable Hints to the Poor on the Duties of Frugality, Piety and Loyalty. Being the Substance of a Sermon Delivered in the Parish Church of St. Maryport, Bristol to Two Benefit Societies On Whit-Monday, June 5 1797* (Bristol, 1797).

This couple said Biddulph, 'While others are beggaring themselves, and starving their families by their excesses at the alehouse, he [Jacob], partakes at home of his frugal meal together with his family.'[48] Because Jacob was a good frugal Christian labourer, Biddulph described how he 'cannot join therefore with the lawless multitudes in speaking evil of dignities'. Although mindful that there must be imperfection in all human establishments, Jacob considered that 'it was not his province to arrange affairs of state, and therefore leaves them to the powers that be as ordained of God,' ie the King and his government: 'His duty is clear and plain, to be quiet and submissive; and if evil exists, to refer the cure of it to those whose proper province it is to make reforms. He has more than enough to do to reform and regulate his own heart'.[49]

For Biddulph, the duty of frugality equated to submission and meant conditioning the lower orders into accepting the status quo. The concept of the 'manipulable body' was described by Foucault in his study of the western penal system, whereby an individual could be coerced into docility, by first being made submissive and docile, before being improved and transformed. [50] This method was central to how frugality was used to subvert, control and then repackage the poor into being a self-reliant yet subservient class, who used their money to provide the bare necessities of life, and not as a source of enjoyment or mimicking those seen as their betters.

At the same time that fears of social unrest were being voiced, there were also increased concerns that the giving of alms was fuelling more

[48] Ibid. pp. 13-14.
[49] Ibid. p. 16.
[50] Ann Schwan, and Steven Shapiro, *How to Read Foucault's Discipline and Punish* (London, 2011); p. 97. Michel Foucault, *Discipline and Punish: The Birth of the Prison* (London, 1991).

problems than it solved. Charity focused too much on the 'supplying of their necessities and punishing their disorders and offences after they have happened' rather than 'removing and preventing the cause of them'.[51] Andrews describes an evolution in the 'tradition of benevolence', where charity became an opportunity for change and improvement, rather than merely the relief of distress. For philanthropists, the problem of the poor needed to be permanently solved rather than temporarily relieved.[52]

The rise of pauperism during the eighteenth century caused a moral dilema for the middling classes who had been brought up to respect the value and necessity of frugality and industry. This was a new age of individualism, where people of all classes were encouraged to take responsibility for their own prosperity, and thoughts naturally turned to the poor. For if others were looking after themselves and making their way in the world through frugality and industry, why could the poor not do the same? Hannah More, a social reformer who wrote countless books and pamphlets in an attempt to educate the poor out of their poverty, declared: 'A man who used every honest means of thrift and industry, will, in most cases, find success attend his labours'.[53]

Throughout the period, the faith that philanthropists held in the power of frugality and industry never wavered. James Donaldson, a Scot who wrote *The Undoubted Art of Thriving,* was convinced that indulging the poor with too much charity was the root cause of pauperism.[54] Donaldson was of the opinion that every person had the capacity to lead a comfortable life with the

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[51] Anon, *An Inquiry into the Management of the Poor, and Our usual Polity respecting the Common People; with Reasons Why they have hitherto been attended with Success (*London, 1767), p. 11.
[52] Andrew, *Philanthropy and Police* (1989), p. 42.
[53] More, Hannah, *The Way to Plenty* (London and Bath, 1795), p. 4.
[54] Donaldson, *The Undoubted Art of Thriving* (Edinburgh, 1700), p. 85.

‘necessaries suitable for one in the rank it has pleased God to place him’.[55] He called for Acts of Parliament which would would discourage the able poor from begging and force them into work. Whereas, those ‘born of poor people that have not whereupon to sustain and Educat then, are Undoubtedly Objects of Charity, and ought to be taken care of, and supplied by others to whom God hath bestowed substance’.

Donaldson called out those who tolerated ‘Ranie Beggers’, who obtained ‘thrice as much alms as would support the like number of necessitous persons.’[56] Convinced that the labouring classes should be capable of proportioning their spending to enable their incomes to be sufficient for their maintenance. Although Donaldson was unable to suggest how much was needed to sustain a poor family, he was clear that it has been demonstrated in ‘the Experience of Multitudes, that those who apply themselves to work, live by their industry, even tho the Employment they follow be mean’.[57]

While acknowledgeing that accidents in life could drive individuals into needing charity, it was by being ‘careful and cautious’ that the poor would be able to ‘regulate their affairs.’ This involved them ‘balancing their accounts’ and that ‘if he find that his outgoings be greater than what he receives, he must of Necessity Retrench his Spending’.[58] ‘For it has been already shewen, that those in the meanest Capacity are able to sustain themselves, and until their Outgivings be reduced to the lowest Degree, they may all wise be retrinched, and better to do it betimes as let it run to too great a length, and

[55] Ibid. p. 84.
[56] Ibid. p. 89.
[57] Ibid. p. 95.
[58] Ibid. p. 97.

then be reduced to the last Extreamity.' [59] For those like Donaldson who had been brought up to believe unconditionally in the rewards of frugality and industry, it was difficult for them to acknowledge that it was not able to overcome all adversity.

Increasingly, it was expressed through print that it was the responsibility of the poor to do all they could to prevent themselves from becoming a burden on the Parish. As Sowter stated in 1716, 'they are under all the ties of reason and a good conscience to do their utmost to prevent their being burthensome or chargeable to either Parish or friends.[60] Later in the eighteenth century, this general reluctance by the poor to accept charity was no longer perceived to be true. One writer harked back to the early part of the eighteenth century stating:

> There was a time within memory of many persons now living, when the common people, in general, had too much spirit and sense of shame, to accept charity either form parishes or hospitals, but thought it much more eligible to struggle hard to make some provision by their frugality and industry, against the common accidents of sickness, dearness or necessaries, and want of employment. [61]

There was a rise in the number of charities who aided the poor throughout the eighteenth century, which could explain how the poor had become more accustomed to accepting charity and even became dependent upon it.[62] Increasingly, however, the poor were expected to be frugal all of the time just to survive, and any expense spent on more than the bare necessities suitable to their rank, were viewed as wasteful.

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[59] Ibid. p. 98.
[60] Sowter, *The Way to be Wise and Wealthy* (Exeter, 1716), p. 84.
[61] Anon, *An Inquiry into the Management of the Poor* (London, 1767), p. 18.
[62] Andrew, *Philanthropy and Police* (1989).

It can be seen from the study of frugal discourse, that frugality played an important role in gauging the level of need within the poor and that any lack of resources was time and again offset against frugality. The opinion that the poor should be able to support themselves through their own hard work and diligence was specifically championed by Sir Frederick Morton Eden. Eden wrote *The State of The Poor* in 1797 as an appraisal of their situation and need. Like Donaldson before him, Eden was convinced that the poor were responsible for their own circumstances and that poverty was primarily caused by their own lack of frugality.

> There seems to be just reason to conclude that the miseries of the labouring Poor arise, less from the scantiness of their income, (however much the philanthropist might wish it to be increased) than from their own improvidence and unthriftiness.'[63]

Eden managed to categorically transfer at least some of the blame for poverty back onto the poor themselves, while at the same time confirming what the frugal middling classes, had long suspected; that poverty was a personal flaw.

Philanthropists and clergy alike declared that the lack of frugality amongst the poor was caused by a lack of morality and virtue.[64] Jonas Hanway, in his *Letters to the guardians of the infant poor* (1767) wrote: 'It is very obvious that the more virtuous they are, the less they are exposed to want, whilst the most vicious and intemperate generally live and die in the acutest wretchedness'. There were calls in print for the immediate punishment of signs of idleness in order to force the development of more virtuous frugal habits in the poor. As suggested in 1767 by an anonymous author:

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[63] Eden, *The State of The Poor* (1966), p. 494.
[64] R. Watson, *The Wisdom and Goodness of God, in Having made Both Rich and poor,* (London,1793); *Joseph, Jefferson, Industry, and pious Submission, Charity and a Strict Oeconomy Recommended and enforced* (London, 1800); Anon, *The Poor Man's Friend: An Address to The Industrious and Manufacturing Part of Britain* (Edinburgh, 1793).

> whenever they are observed to spend their time in idleness, and run into disorders and expences that cannot be supported by honest and lawful methods, should be accountable somewhere for their proceedings, I think it most reasonable The justice of the peace is undoubtedly the proper magistrate to hear and judge in these cases.[65]

While there was some acknowledgement that poverty was due to circumstances and deficiencies, often out of the control of the labouring classes. It was also increasingly recognised that a general lack of understanding and education, meant that people tended to be unfrugal even when they had sufficient wages.[66] The role of charity, therefore, was to 'allure them into good and frugal habits of living' and to 'instil principles of virtue and industry in the minds of the lower orders of the rising generation'.[67]

Teaching the Poor to be Frugal

The teaching of self-sufficiency and domestic skills was to become a focus of philanthropy from the end of the eighteenth century. Philanthropists thought that frugality was easiest taught to those who were already being cared for, or under the control of the parish such as workhouse inmates. For 'if the poor have not learnt to make the most of things at their own homes, they should learn in the workhouse, as one of the most useful objects of instruction'.[68] Jonas Hanaway felt strongly that the 'children of the poor, and common people' should be 'taught to patch and mend their own clothes'. Stating that

[65] Anon, *An Inquiry into the Management of the Poor* (London, 1767), p. 38.
[66] Quote by Sir Thomas Bernard in: The Rev. James Baker, *The Life of Sir Thomas Bernard, Baronet* (London, 1819), p. 161. 'Artisans may be industrious and ingenious, and at the same time profligate, immoral, and worthless, in all relations of life – their profits may be doubled, or even trebled…and yet there may be no increase of the comforts which the artisan and his family enjoy.'.
[67] Anon, *An Inquiry into the Management of the Poor* (London, 1767), p. 10.
[68] Jonas Hanway, *Letters to the guardians of the infant* (London, 1767), p. 25.

‘It is amazing with what little facility children will do this after a little instruction, and what comfort they enjoy in being able to provide for themselves.’[69] However, the emphasis was very much on conditioning the poor with a work ethic that was suitable to their station. Teaching children to ‘enue them to the lowest and most early labour’, thought one writer, ‘will always remain the ground and foundation of every other virtue’ and ‘all teaching, which is not accompanied with labour, will be utterly unprofitable both to themselves and the public’.[70]

This attitude demonstrated further the social anxieties that the study of frugal texts reveals. The reasons to impose frugality were often more about keeping certain people within their allotted ranks and imposing the importance of expected behaviours upon them, rather than allowing them to benefit from any fiscal gain or improvements in wellbeing. Whilst frugality was seen as being a way of controlling the husbandry habits of the poor, at the same time, there was apprehension about educating them. Frugal discourse highlights the dilemma faced by social reformers of the day, for they had proof from their own experience that educating the poor and encouraging their frugality and industry could help raise them out of poverty, but at the same time they were mindful that the same actions would spark greater emulation and ambition in the labouring classes.

One writer felt that educating the poor would diminish rather than inspire the desire for frugal living and improvement by ‘utterly effacing those great motives to frugality and industry’.[71] In the same vein, those who tried to

[69] Ibid. p. 39.
[70] Anon, *An inquiry into the Management of the Poor* (London, 1767), p. 16.
[71] Ibid. pp. 17-18.

educate the children of the poor into better standards of living, were criticised for meddling with the status quo, as one author exclaimed: 'What must be the consequence should this mistaken charity prevail universally? Who will be left to do the labour and drugery of the World?[72] However, as Andrews points out, the productivity of the poor was an important motivation behind charity in the eighteenth century; labouring people had an intrinsic value and it was in the best interests of the state to keep them healthy and growing in numbers.[73] Therefore, a balance needed to be met between making the poor more self-reliant and keeping them in their place.

The printed culture of the time demonstrates that the overriding opinion of the day was that the condition of the poor could only be improved by teaching them how to be frugal.[74] Eden proposed to alleviate the sufferings of the poor by:

> suggesting and explaining the mode of preparing cheap and agreeable substitutes for those articles of diet, which in times of scarcity and distress, exhaust so much of the daily earnings of a working man. [75]

Eden suggested that the problem of the unfrugal poor could be addressed by 'The public and private distribution of cheap pamphlets, on various topics connected with the domestic economy'.[76] As he explained:

> The Poor should not be deceived: the best relief they can receive must come from themselves. Were the Rates once limited, the price of labour would necessarily advance. To expand what labour actually

[72] Ibid. p. 15.
[73] Andrew, *Philanthropy and Police* (1989), p. 23.
[74] Rev J. Fawel, *The Principles of Sound Policy Delineated and Enforced: Or Observations: On the great Wisdom, Necessity, and Policy, of Educating the Poor* (Wigan, 1785); The Rev John Acland, *A Plan for Rendering the Poor independent on Public Contribution* (Exeter, 1786); George Chalmers, *Useful Suggestions Favourable To The Comfort of the Labouring People and of Decent Housekeepers* (London, 1795).
[75] Eden, *The State of The Poor* (1966), p. 493.
[76] Ibid. p. 492.

> produces in the most beneficial manner for the labourer, depends entirely on good management and economy.[77]

Indeed, there was a plethora of such publications, which were distributed freely to the labouring poor.[78] One such pamphlet, published c1797 was entitled *Friendly Advice to the Poor* and it advised those seeking frugal inspiration and advice to 'Paste this up in your home, as you will find these receipts useful'.[79]

These texts persuaded their readers that it was the adoption of frugality, rather than increased wages, that was the best solution for their sufferings. Eden believed that while any deficiency in income may possibly be made up by an increase of work or wages, 'the want of economy is irremediable'. Eden was categoric that the long-term adoption of frugal habits was the only way to alleviate the suffering of the poor, stating: 'If the poor do not prudently serve themselves, non can sufficiently assist them.... it is far more useful to teach them to spend less, or to save a little than to give them much more.'[80]

This form of frugal philanthropy conveniently diverted attention away from the conditions of the labouring classes. It switched the gaze of the middling classes from the lack of resources to the mismanagement of resources and tried to convince the poor that it was their responsibility to look

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[77] Ibid. p. 587.
[78] These include works published by *The Society For the Bettering The Condition and Increasing The Comforts of the Poor*, The Reports of, Vol. I (London,1798). And the Cheap Repository Tracts including More, T*he Cottage Cook or Mrs Jones's Cheap Dishes Showing The Way to Do Much with Little Money* (London and Bath, 1795); More, *The Wife Reformed*, (Dublin, c1795); More, *The Way to Plenty* (London and Bath, 1795).
[79] Anon, *Friendly Advice to the Industrious Poor* (John Rylands Library, Broadsheet published circa 1795). Also contained as an appendix in *Annual Report of the Society for Bettering the Conditions and increasing the Comforts of the Poor.*
[80] Eden, *The State of The Poor* (1966), p. 587.

after themselves.[81] Thereby keeping the poor in a position of well-mannered subservience to the growing capitalist system. It must be remembered, however, that for the upper classes the merits of frugality were thought to be as beneficial to the poor as they were to themselves, and their frugal advice was shared in belligerent good faith. That being said, the majority of do-gooders could not or would not comprehend the levels of deprivation and the impact that the lack of food, comfort and security had on the ability of the poor to respond effectively to their situation.

Frugal Consumption and the Poor.

What the poor consumed and where they consumed it was a of great interest to those who sort to cure pauperism. An appetite for luxuries that were deemed unsuitable for the labouring classes were linked with rebellious tendencies. Taverns and inns became fashionable social hubs, which were thought to agitated such passions. The frugal moralists feared that daily expectations of social interaction, the 'Itch after News, talking Politicks and Love of Drinking' was driving many workers away from their families and labour, resulting in them wasting time as well as money.[82]

The labouring classes, in particular, were chastised for spending their weekends drinking in the public houses, and then being incapable of work on Mondays, which were commonly called St. Mondays, as so many artisan

[81] These ideas are explored in Shammas, Caroline, The Eighteenth-Century English Diet and Economic Change, *Explorations in Economic History* 21:3 (1984), pp. 254 - 269.
[82] Sowter, *The Way to be Wise and Wealthy* (1716), p. 32.

trades chose to take them as unofficial holidays.[83] The social problems caused by drinking were a common concern in frugal texts of the eighteenth century. John Sowter saw, drunkenness as becoming not only more commonplace but that people were becoming worryingly complacent to the problems it caused. He called for the stocks and whipping posts to be brought back into use to punish drunkards, rather than their drunkeness being seen by society as a 'matter of sport and pastime to see any one acting the swine in humane shape.' [84] Sowter's views reflected wider social concerns and drunkenness and inappropriate behaviour was a popular subject for sermons.[85] Indeed, Erasmus Jones looked forward to a time when the rally of reformers against drunkenness would eventually become successful, saying that then:

> our Happiness will be compleat, when we are at peace with ourselves, as well as those around us - then instead of Rage and Madness, the common People will be brought to Sobriety and good Manners.[86]

This quote, which was written in 1735 at the height of the gin craze, shows how writings were reflective of the social concerns of the day.[87] However, rather than just commenting and condemning bad behaviour, they offered frugality as a panacea for their troubled times. If only everyone would be frugal 'then our happiness would be compleat'.[88]

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[83] See Thompson's Time theft theories in:Thompson, E.P, Time. Work-Discipline, and Industrial Capitalism, *Past & Present. No. 38* (Dec. 1967).
[84] Sowter - *The Way to be Wise and Wealthy* (1716), pp. 34-35.
[85] Example: William Powell, *Swearing and Drunkeness, the bane of society, and destructive to body and soul, Two sermons preach'd at llan y Mynach,* Shropshire (London, c1730).
[86] Jones, *Luxury, Pride and Vanity, the Bane of the British Nation* (1735), p. 36.
[87] Peter Clark, The 'Mother Gin' Controversy in the Early Eighteenth Century, *Transactions of the Royal Historical Society* 38 (1988), p. 63-84. Porter, Roy, The Drinking Man's Disease: The 'Pre-History' of Alcoholism in Georgian Britain, *British Journal of Addiction 80* (1985), pp. 385 - 396.
[88] Ibid.

It was not just alcoholic beverages, however, which were subject to the frugalistic criticism of the poor. Tea also came under suspicion. Not only was it foreign, but also its consumption was perceived to be compulsive and triggered emmulative social behaviours. While Smith describes how by the eighteenth century, tea was still seen as a luxury good and that the ritual of making tea came to be linked to patterns of respectability.'[89] Mccants argues that even though most economic historians portray tea as being a product for the middling sorts during the eighteenth century, that infact it was readily available and used by the lower classes.[90] The substantial increase in imports allowed tea to become more affordable. [91] This enabled its adoption by the labouring classes, causing tensions, which were expressed as concerns over its frugality.

In *An Inquiry into the Management of the Poor*, the introduction of 'foreign' tea was described as 'another public error, become almost universal'. The specifics of the exact type of tea (for example, green or black), which was deemed problematic was never described, just that it came from foreign lands, reflecting again the nationalistic concerns which underlay many of the frugal texts. As well as the tea itself, which was seen as 'a pernicious drug', 'which generally leaves those that make use of it weakened and dispirited', the whole occasion of drinking tea was criticised. Women were deemed to be

[89] Smith, *Consumption and the Making of Respectability 1600 - 1800* (London, 2002.), p. 3.
[90] Anne E McCants, Poor Consumers as Global Consumers: The Diffusion of Tea and Coffee Drinking in the Eighteenth Century, *The Economic History Review*, New Series, 61: 1 (2008), pp. 172-200.
[91] The value of annual tea imports per year increased from £8,000 in 1701 to £848,000 in 1772. Smith, *Consumption and the Making of Respectability 1600 - 1800* (London, 2002), pp. 304 appendix.

particularly susceptible to its lure, making it the focus of at least one meal a day, which in turn encouraged the extravagant use of other foods.[92]

> Besides the price of the tea and sugar, which would go a good way towards the support of a poor family, and without reckoning the loss of time usual upon these gossiping occasions; there is another great expense of fewel upon this account alone; the butter also which is generally too expensive a food for the common use of the Poor.[93]

The importation of sugar had also increased dramatically during the same period, and tea taken with both milk/cream and sugar was an established part of the tea-drinking ritual.[94] For many, it was likely to be their only daily dose of something sweet, giving it doubly addictive properties.

The poor's 'infatuation' with tea was, according to the author of *An Inquiry into the Management of the Poor*, so problematic that they would, 'rather suffer themselves and their children to be reduced to the greatest extremities of distress, by the want of common necessaries than give up this favourite beverage.' The suggested solution was to impose a penalty of 40 shillings on any member of the working classes, who were considered as 'all persons who have no other way of supporting themselves and families except by their frugality and industry', upon proof that tea be found or used in their homes without a license, which he suggested should cost 10 shillings per annum.[95] Thereby imposing frugality onto the poor by forcibly restricting their consumption choices. In the emerging consumer economy, however, this option would not have proved popular with merchants, traders, or the 'elite',

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[92] This was commented on in detail in More, *The Way to Plenty* (London and Bath, 1795). This tract was aimed specifically at the working classes, with the aim of discouraging the consumption of luxuries such as tea, in favour of more wholesome foods.
[93] *An Inquiry into the Management of the Poor,* London (1767), p. 25.
[94] From £630,000 per annum in 1701 to £2,364,000 in 1772. Smith, *Consumption and the Making of Respectability 1600 - 1800* (London, 2002), pp. 304 appendix.
[95] *An Inquiry into the Management of the Poor* (London,1767), p. 26.

who were likely to be heavily invested in the importation of tea. Instead, there was an effort to chastise the poor and to educate them out of such expenditure. Although, their consumption of tea was only going to increase, until it eventually came to be viewed as a respectable beverage and a national temperance necessity.[97] This is just one example of how the printed culture of frugality is a rich, and as yet untapped resource for the study of consumption and poverty. By focusing on frugality and understanding its heritage and context within the culture of the long eighteenth, its use as a response to poverty can be explained as being more than just patriarchal, although contrition and control can be seen as being common motivators for its endorsement.

Summary

The preaching of frugality to the lower classes was multifaceted. Not only did it give the poorest an impossible hoop for them to jump through, but also their failure to succeed ensured they had to bear the blame for their desperate situation, rather than the system itself. Whereas, for those workers who had the capacity and resources to be frugal, by instilling the desire for self-reliance and independence from charity, ideas of self-betterment and social advancement could be nurtured. Even though their chances of success were

[97] McCants, 'Poor Consumers as Global Consumers: The Diffusion of Tea and Coffee Drinking in the Eighteenth Century.' *The Economic History Review*, New Series, 61:1 (2008), pp. 172-200. The temperance movement advocated the drinking and ritual of tea as a civilising practice which would produce model and moral workers see: Rappaport, Erika. "Sacred and Useful Pleasures: The Temperance Tea Party and the Creation of a Sober Consumer Culture in Early Industrial Britain." *Journal of British Studies*, 52:4 (2013), pp. 990 –1016. Weatherhill, The Meaning of Consumer Behaviour, in Brewer and Porter (eds), *Consumption and the World of Goods* (London, 1993), p. 216.

low, those who started to emulate and identify with the higher ranks, were more likely to toe the line and less likely to rebel against the system and adopt Jacobin tendencies. Webb described how the Cheap Religious Tracts of Hannah More, which while encouraging frugality and good housekeeping in the poor, also aimed to eliminate 'gross and violent stimulants' which in More's opinion imperiled the nation politically.[98]

The genuine motivation of the eighteenth-century frugal philanthropists and social reformers, such Sir Thomas Bernard, who helped establish the Society for Bettering the Conditions and Improving the Comforts of the Poor in 1796, was to inspire the poor with the desire as well as the ability to live a life of sufficiency.[99] Thereby, they would achieve contentment through the willing application of their never wavering frugality and industry, all whilst happy with their lot and grateful for what they had. Percival Stockdale described frugality as being part of the 'moral electricity' which was channelled through all social classes.[100] Although for the poor, it was more restrictive than energising, as a person whose belly was already pinched through starvation, could not pinch it any more.

This was beginning to be recognised by reformers such as Dr Charles Hall. He noticed through his own observation of poor families, that with regards to their wages 'the sum is inadequate' and that 'the poor are not in fact furnished with the requisite quantity of the necessaries of life'.[101] So, as

[98] Webb, Samantha. One Man's Trash Is Another Man's Dinner: Food and the Poetics of Scarcity in the Cheap Repository Tracts, *European Romantic Review, 17:4* (2006), p. 433.
[99] Baker, The Rev. James, *The Life of Sir Thomas Bernard, Baronet* (London, 1819).
[100] Percival Stockdale, *Three Discourses: Two Against Luxury and Dissipation* (London, 1773), p. 31-33.
[101] Charles Hall, *The Effects of Civilisation on The People in European States* (London, 1805), p. 6.

shall be described in the next chapter, the late eighteenth saw a new battle of opinion commence between social reformers; as those who believed in the undeniable merits of frugality for all, pitched themselves against those who sided with the working classes to justify and fight for increased wages and better working conditions. This battle between frugality and luxury, was about who should be frugal and who should benefit by it.

Chapter Five: The Significance of Frugality

This chapter argues that frugality, as much as luxury, was an essential part of the collective conscience of the long eighteenth century in England, and was used to influence the thoughts and actions of all ranks of society. That frugality not only spurred the motivation to fight against consumerism and social change, but also at the same time, its adoption enabled the levels of investment and individual economic stability that allowed capitalism to thrive. Yet, modern assumptions have weighted research towards luxury, overlooking those consumers who were not only concerned with surviving through economic efficiency, but who also used frugality to thrive through economic, social and other forms of provisioning. As Hulme suggests, this 'alternative human subject occupies a larger place in history than mainstream accounts have allowed for.'[1]

To reveal this 'alternative' history, this chapter explores how the lines separating luxury and frugality were not always that distinct. At times they came together to meet in the middle and often shared common goals. Indeed, frugality was deemed as significant, even by those who promoted luxury. The chapter also examines how controlled luxury was accepted as a necessity and a positive outcome of artistic and scientific progress. It will pull together the evidence discussed throughout this thesis and examine how private frugality impacted on the lives of individuals as well as how public forms of frugality, by both the population and the state, influenced the economic development of the nation. Then by outlining the battle between luxury and

[1] Hulme, *A Brief History of Thrift* (Manchester, 2019). Introduction.

frugality, it will re-evaluate early economic writings to reveal the hidden significance of frugality. Rather than seeing luxury and frugality as opposing forces, this chapter examines them as ideologies, which interlinked and overlapped and were perceived at the time, to work together in harmony.

Frugality versus Luxury

The late seventeenth and eighteenth century, as described by Slack, Peck, Berg, Smith, Campbell, Brewer, Porter et al, became a melting pot of new consumer goods, services and experiences.[2] For Woodruff D. Smith, the consumption of these luxury goods was primarily due to the increased desire of the middling classes to be seen as respectable. Colin Campbell suggested it was a romantic reaction to increased sensibility towards new emotional and aesthetic ideals. While Slack claims it was a way of improving comfort and standards of living.[3]

Irrespective of the reasons why, the artisan and middling classes sought to embrace the new luxuries of the age, and more worryingly, the young came to expect to have everything their parents had earned over a lifetime, to be available to them instantly. On this point, Defoe warned that though ’We must be like other folks: but to begin thus, to set up at this rate when he first looks into the world ’twill not be difficult to guess where he will

[2] Berg and Eger, (Eds) *Luxury in The Eighteenth Century, Debates, Desires and Delectable Goods* (Palgrave Macmillan, 2003); Berry,(ed) *The Idea of Luxury, A conceptual and historical investigation* (Cambridge, 1994); Brewer and Porter, (eds) *Consumption and The World of Goods* (London and New York, 1994); Campbell, *The Romantic Ethic And The Spirit Of Modern Consumerism* (Oxford, 1987); Peck, *Consuming Splendour* (Cambridge, 2005); Slack, *The Invention of Improvement* (Oxford, 2015).
[3] Woodruff D Smith, *Consumption and the Making of Respectability 1600 - 1800* (London, 2002); Campbell, *The Romantic Ethic and The Modern Spirit of Consumerism* (Oxford, 1993 (first edition 1987). Slack, *The Invention of Improvement* (Oxford, 2014).

end'.[4] The consequence of this new age of entitlement and expectation was seen as causing the disconnection of frugal and industrious characteristics from the new generation of workers and in particular its tradesmen, whilst leaving them more open to the new temptations of the age.

Many of these temptations were reflected in frugal writings as being complementary and intertwined, for example, drinking and gambling. It was feared that the indulgence in one, would inevitably lead to the indulgence of another, ending with a cumulative spiral of profligate behaviour. As warned by George Mackenzie:

> We should therefore be very proportionable in our Expence, for that which widens a Mans fancy in any one thing, makes it Extravagant in all things.[5]

A combination of increased leisure time, new shopping venues, new technologies, and newly imported luxuries, caused an influx of opportunities to spend. Whilst improvements in comfort and standards of living were welcomed; new temptations were thought to provoke excessive and often uncontrollable levels of spending. The pressures to live expensively were everywhere, all social classes were susceptible, and readers were warned of the new temptations and how they could be avoided.

McKendrick wrote in *The Birth of a Consumer Society*: 'Intellectually …...the eighteenth century was well prepared for a consumer boom' and that the 'foundations for that advance were laid during the seventeenth-century' but 'If we seek the intellectual origins of the revolution in consumption, we will find them in the 1690s'.[6] However, an examination of didactic literature

[4] Defoe, *The Complete English Tradesman* (London, 1745), p. 102.
[5] Mackenzie, *The Moral History of Frugality* (London, 1691), p. 74.
[6] McKendrick, *The Birth of Consumer Society* (London, 1983), p. 13.

shows how the intellectual backlash against luxury started even earlier in the 1620s. Well before the profusion of luxury became a mainstream concern in the 1690s, writers such as Peacham, Aylett and Powell, believed a lack of frugality upset the balance. However, it was during the 1690s that the luxury debate started in earnest and George Mackenzie's book, *The Moral History of Frugality,* was the first to justify the adoption of frugality and pitch it directly against Luxury.

In old age, Mackenzie could reflect on the changes he had seen during the seventeenth century. Whereas he felt no remorse for his own past behaviour, he exposed the guilt of his class and how it had been negatively impacted by increasing luxury, describing in detail what he saw as the harmful effects of increasing consumerism. He had become well-versed in the arguments put forward by an impressive array of contemporary writers who, as McKendrick described them, 'saw the constructive and beneficial aspects of progressive levels of spending'.[7] However, whereas writers such as Nicholas Barbon and John Haughton endorsed 'what modern economics calls 'the Veblen effect' of emulative spending, the indulgence in fashionable consumption'. George Mackenzie was clearly unnerved by them and thought that they were harming moral behaviour and inducing selfishness, as he reasoned:[8]

> And thus luxury and Avarice offer not only Temptations, but furnish Excuses when they persuade us to yield to them, they tell us that Charity must begin at home, that we must prefer our selves to our friends, and that Necessity is exempted from Law.

[7] Ibid.
[8] Ibid. pp. 14-15.

As a profoundly religious man, Mackenzie saw it as God's will that having created the World 'enough for man to admire his Providence and Goodness', that it was 'unjust for any Family to hoard, or eat up the Portion of many others; and incredible, that he would suffer any of them to want', believing that 'We need little Meat and few Clothes and he [God] made all our Generous inclinations point outwards towards the sharing with Neighbours.'[9] The concept of sharing and fair distribution of money and resources was key for Mackenzie. He believed that 'even Prodigality and Luxury [were] useful to draw superfluous Riches from those who would not other ways have parted with them'. However, he also argued that they were not conducive to the equal distribution, which God and the people truly desired.

For Langford, 'A history of luxury and attitudes to luxury would come very close to being a history of the eighteenth century'.[10] However, as has been discussed, the Luxury/frugality debate was never purely a battle between the moral and fiscal benefits of spending versus saving. Instead, it was far more complex. As explored in this thesis, the indulgence in either one, was felt to have an impact not only on the wealth, but also on the health, respectability and social standing of individuals. Despite this, frugal writings have often been lumped together with other 'pessamists', who worried about the economic nemesis to come and who 'deplored the tranformation which economic change brought to traditional values, faiths and customs'.[11]

The long eighteenth century saw a battle of frugality between those that encouraged luxury, such as Nicholas Barbon, John Houghton and

[9] Mackenzie, *The Moral History of Frugality* (London,1691), p. 6.
[10] Langford, *Polite and Commercial People* (1989), p. 3.
[11] Ibid. p. 4.

Bernard Mandeville; who feared that mass frugality would slow both the production and consumption of goods by stifling emulation, and those, such as Thomas Tryon, John Sowter and Daniel Defoe; who recognised the power which frugality had to improve the wealth, health and status of those who chose to adopt it. However, whilst the likes of Barbon, Houghton and Mandeville enthusiastically endorsed the liberal spending of individuals' money on consumer goods, at no point did any of them make it requisite that people spent more than they earned. Neither were people encouraged to waste their money or their time at the expense and neglect of their families and businesses.[12]

As previously outlined, frugality was a tool used to achieve the Golden Mean, it was promoted as an agent of both accumulation and restraint and it was something which the population needed to become more aware of, as the numbers of economic opportunities and temptations started to increase. With the correct balance of frugality, the wealth of the nation would be equally distributed, with no one suffering by having too much and none by having too little. Mackenzie used a medical metaphor to explain this by stating that 'The Body Natural must perish, if the Blood does not circulate; so also the Riches of the Commonwealth become useless, or rather corrupted, when they stagnate, by being hoarded in the buried Treasury of private men'.[13] John Sowter, writing in 1716, used the same analogy by stating: 'A regular circulation of money is as necessary in the body politick as that of the blood in

[12] While Mandeville suggests that the 'greatest part of the poor should almost never be Idle, and yet continually spend what they get', he does not condone them spending more than they had. Bernard Mandeville *The Fable of The Bees, Or Private Vices, Publick Benefit* (London: 1714, Reprinted 1970), p. 209.
[13] Ibid. p.15.

the body natural; but an excess of flux or stagnation are alike dangerous to both'.[14] By linking the distribution of wealth with recent medical research such as William Harvey's discovery of circulation; modern science and religious law could work in unison to justify the same point. Porter observed that wealth was seen at the time as 'the lifeblood, the vital spirits' of the nation and that it, therefore, needed to flow.[15]

Whilst frugal writings endeavoured to encourage restraint in luxurious spending, they also conversely discussed how large amounts of calculated spending on projects and items were endorsed as being of social benefit. This detail is very often missed by academics. Even the money that was saved was intended to be spent at some point, either once enough investment capital had been raised, or when it was needed for old age or a rainy day. Nobody wanted cash mounting up into avaricious piles of lost national treasure; the key was controlled spending for the maximum gain of all and ultimately the sharing of wealth.[16]

Instead of frugality being seen as the enemy of luxury, it needs to be recognised that those who promoted luxury shared many of the same opinions as those who preached frugality. Indeed, as we have seen, writers such as Dudley, Lord North and John Graile, had no problem with the rich spending their money on luxuries. [17] What was feared however, was the negative consequences of uncontrolled and insatiable appetites, which would be the consequence of too much luxury and not enough frugality.

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[14] Sowter, *The Way to be Wise and Wealthy* (1716), p. 67.
[15] Porter, Consumption - disease of the consumer society, in Brewer and Porter (eds), *Consumption and The World of Goods* (London, 1994), pp. 58 - 81.
[16] These were the views of Thomas Tryon, Daniel Defoe, George Mackenzie, John Sowter.
[17] North, *Observations and Advices Oeconomical* (London 1669), p126. John Graile, *An Essay of Particualr Advice To The Young Gentry* (London, 1711).

Whilst frugal discourses were often used as a combatant to the newly emerging consumer culture, often they were realistic reactions that sought only to bring a sensible perspective to outlandish and unsupportable spending habits. Even the rich, who could afford to spend large amounts of money were criticised for not being frugal with their choices and depleting their fortunes on fancies which were neither 'useful, nor truly ornamental':

> Some of our Philosophers too can afford to lay out 20 or 30,000 Pounds in a collection of *Butterflies*; and many a fantastick Female gratify her Passion for *China Ware* with what might be a sufficient Portion for her, if she were not herself as frail as her *China*. But will that justify such an unreasonable Expence on things neither useful, nor truly ornamental in Life? [18]

Wasting their money on such worthless fripperies was seen as futile as 'they have but a short time to live; they come up and are cut down like a flower, flee as it were a Shadow and never continue in one stay.'[19] However, a more common concern was that because the rich had so many novelties and luxuries to spend their money on, they were no longer spending their money on charitable donations and socially responsible projects, which they had done in the past.

As we have seen in previous chapters, reminders were given as to how the wealthy should spend their money. This mindful spending was seen as being frugal. However, if the rich were to stop spending altogether and hoard too much wealth, stagnation of the economy was feared.[20] Therefore they were advised so spend on 'things which have a real Beauty and Durableness, in Buildings and Planting, the Pleasure of which Multitudes may enjoy as well

[18] *Hibernicus's letters* (London 1734). pp. 211-220.
[19] Jones, Luxury, *Pride and Vanity the Bane of the British Nation* (London, 1736), p. 8.
[20] Sowter, *The Way to be Wise and Wealthy* (1716), p. 67.

as the Owner, and not waste them in the momentary Gratifications of Appetite.'[21] Indeed, the overindulgence of luxury goods that were of no public benefit was seen as being unpatriotic, after all, the rich were perceived to have a social duty, which included providing employment and improving standards of living for their tenants. [22]

Most frugal writers, however accepted the luxurious spending of the rich: 'For tho the Example rises from the Great and the Rich, who cannot hurt themselves much either by Leisure or Expence'. Although, they were nevertheless concerned that this would spark emulation in the lower ranks. As expressed in a letter dated 1726:

> the Imitation generally runs thro' all Ranks of Men, till at last it reaches and corrupts those by whose Industry a Nation ought to Subsist. It is obvious to every Man's knowledge, that the meaner Sort of People are perpetually treading on the heels of those immediately above them, and aping the Manner of Life in fashion among Such as are called Persons of Distinction, which every Man is to Some or others of those who are below him.[23]

This frugal moralist felt the need to outline the dangers of fiscal and social equality, whilst reminding the rich of their duty by stating, 'he owes the Publick', which 'obliges him to live within his Fortune, that he may not give encouragement to general Waste, and become a Means of introducing universal Poverty and Misery'. He implored that they did not suffer the 'false Modesty of believing themselves too inconsiderable to be Leaders in the Ways of the World' for they had an important part to play in stopping 'the contagion' of luxury, preventing 'the infection from spreading' and maintaining

[21] *Hibernicus's letters* (London, 1734), p. 211-220.
[22] Ibid: 'the Duty we owe to our Country will constrain us to guard with our utmost Caution against the least Symptom of so dangerous a Disease.
[23] Ibid.

the balance between luxury and frugality. Duty and responsibility were held over the rich as they were called upon to set an example by 'mending before their own doors', rather than merely criticizing the wasteful behaviours of the lower orders. [24]

Frugality was deemed to be the responsibility of all classes and each class could reap the benefits of its many blessings. Though it was also possible for one class to benefit from the lack of frugality of another. Defoe declared that as a result of frugality not being the 'national virtue of England', that 'the working manufacturing people of England eat the fat, drink the sweet, line better, and fare better than the working poor of any other nation in Europe'.[25] Defoe argued that the fact that they 'make better wages of their work, and spend more of the money upon their backs and bellies, than in any other country', and that the consequences of them spending rather than saving meant increases in the rent and value of the lands, which then raised the value of gentleman's estates and increased employment opportunities thereby providing more employment.[26]

Defoe's comments highlight how frugality was preached specifically to different ranks, and those that were directed at the middling class, only considered the advancement of their own sort, with little consideration of the poor. In periods of economic growth, Defoe's theories proved correct, however, during the eighteenth century, the employment opportunities did not keep pace with the increase in rent or other living expenses. Workers were left without jobs, pauperism rose, and it was the same spendthrift labourers

[24] Ibid.
[25] Defoe, *The complete English tradesman* (London, 1745) p. 330.
[26] Ibid. p. 331.

who suffered, whilst the rich became richer. The Elite were seen as benefiting from the profligacy of the nation, and Tryon thought it ironic that they would make a point of criticising the morals and behaviour of the lower echelons of society, when it was clear that it was the poor who caused their increase in wealth in the first instance, as he stated:

> Their Fructifying Dews water every Man's Fields but their own, which do never fail to be made Barren by their mistaken Conduct. And we must say again, That Trade would be but of little value, were it not for these Luxurious Sparks.[27]

While Tryon recognised that the economy needed people to spend on luxury, he still called out the hypocrisy of the rich, who chastised the spending habits of those who were making them richer at their own expense.

Hence, conflict and confusion regarding the nature and impact of consumption is very common in the printed media of the time. For these conflicts to be fully understood, both sides of the argument need to be analysed, rather than merely teasing out the strands of rhetoric that can be conveniently used to justify the eventual outcome; one where luxury has been interpreted as replacing frugality. On the one hand, the reasons for being frugal were so undeniably justifiable that endorsers of frugality such as Percival Stockdale, were at a loss as to why sensible men allowed themselves to be consumed by the 'vices of a frivolous and abandoned age'.[28] On the other hand, the likes of Bernard Mandeville promoted luxurious spending as being of benefit to the nation and as a patriotic duty.[29]

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[27] Tryon, *A Brief History of Trade in England* (London, 1702), p. 118.
[28] Percival Stockdale, Three Discourses (London, 1773.), pp. 28-29.
[29] Bernard Mandeville, *The Fable of The Bees, Or Private Vices, Publick Benefits* (London: 1714, 1970).

This bewilderment and confusion surrounding the relationship between luxury and frugality is understandable, as the subject of luxury in the seventeenth and eighteenth centuries was often paradoxical. There were moral, religious, ethical, financial, social and health tensions to consider as well as inconsistencies in definitions and interpretations of what were considered acceptable behaviours between different classes.

The works of the Rev. John Trusler highlight this perceived paradox. He was a nonconformist preacher who vehemently lambasted luxurious spending in his book, *The Way to be Respectable.*[30] Then a few years later published a treatise entitled *Luxury No Political Evil, But Demonstratively Proved to be Necessary to the Preservation and Prosperity of States*.[31] Here, he expressed views that appear to contradict his previous intolerance of luxury. Trusler highlighted the battle between frugality and luxury as played out between the moralists and the newly emerging political economists and while he recognised that frugality was important, at the same time he deemed Luxury to be acceptable. Calling it a 'necessary resource' and stating that this fact needed to be well known so that the moralists would be unable to destroy the 'opulence of State and public welfare' which depended on it. [32]

This supposed endorsement of luxury by a man of the cloth was picked up on and condemned in print after its publication. An anonymous printed review of Trusler's book focused on the paradox that luxury could be in any way good and linked Trusler with Bernard Mandeville's infamous *Fable of The Bees* as shown in the following quote.

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[30] John Trusler, *The Way to be Rich and Respectable, Addressed To Men of Small Fortune* (London, c1776), p. 3.
[31] Ibid.
[32] Ibid. p. 2.

> That private vices are public benefits, is a political paradox that has long advanced; and when of late years it was found convenient to maintain that a bad private character was no disqualification for public employments, it was but a branch naturally growing from the same doctrinal stem. We have recently been taught that the national debt is no national grievance, that the colonies are but incumbrances, and now the old fable of the bees is revived, by undertaking to prove luxury necessary to the preservation and prosperity of the States![33]

For devout believers in frugality, luxury was, and always would be viewed as damaging, it was irrevocably linked to profligacy, indulgence and immorality. The emotive and controversial subject of luxury in the eighteenth century was both blatantly and publicly chastised by the frugal extremists as well as more tactfully challenged by those such as Trusler who preferred gentle persuasion and a more common-sense approach.

Trusler's more subtle appeals for frugality are not so easy to untangle from the other frugal outpourings of the time, even though their message was essentially the same. To expose them fully, it is import to read all works in which he commented on either luxury or frugality, in order to better understand his thought process and allegences. Otherwise, his writings could be easily misinterpreted, especially when read out of context. In fact, the meaning behind the messages in Trusler's book *Luxury No Political Evil*, which will be de-coded later in this chapter, is quite clear to those who read it, without allowing its title to predetermine it meaning. Historical inconsistencies such as these, need to be investigated fully before any conclusions are drawn, as there was rarely a simple switching of sides from endorsing frugality to supporting luxury as neither allegiances were so black or white. The

[33] Anon, Review - Luxury no Political Evil, but demonstratively proved to be necessary to the Preservation and Prosperity of States. Addresses to the British Senate*. The Monthly Review or Literary Journal Enlarged Vol 71* (1783*),* pp. 138-141.

frugality/luxury debate was not about the replacement of one with the other, but rather a quest to balance the two.

The Relationship between Luxury and Frugality

The symbiotic relationship between frugality and luxury is clearly laid out by Adam Smith, who considered both as vital components of a successful society. In the *Wealth of Nations,* he explained how 'the principle of frugality seems not only to predominate but to predominate very greatly' and that this allowed the nation (or rather the elite) to capitalise on the profligate spending of others.[34] With frugality irrevocably linked to luxury, both were locked into a literary battle of wits. The endorsers of frugality called for people to be careful with their spending, to save for their future, to be content with less and live healthy and happy lives. Those that endorsed luxury alternatively willed that enough nameless individuals spent all they could, so that production would continue to increase and the wheels of commerce would keep turning.

The economic ideal, according to Smith would be for both luxury and frugality to garner enough support so that the correct balance of each could be maintained and both the nation and the population would prosper. This would inevitably mean that those who were frugal made gains, while the profligate lost. In fact, neither frugality nor luxury were directly opposed to each other, as private frugality was considered by both camps as being important. Although those who endorsed luxury assumed that it would be money and more possessions rather than the blessings of frugality which

[34] Adam Smith, *The Wealth of Nations, Book I - III.* first published 1776 (London,1999), p. 441.

would result in everyone being happy. As Mandeville remarked that 'The great Art then to make a Nation happy, and what we call flourishing, consists in giving every body an Opportunity of being employ'd; which to compass, let a Governments first care be to promote as great a variety of Manufactures, Arts and Humanities, as Human Wit can invent.'[35]

Mandeville is often quoted by economic historians as an example of a writer who fully endorsed luxury and chastised frugality. However, the satirical nature of his *Fable of the Bees* may have been overlooked. It has been convincingly argued by Kyle Scott that, as his title suggests, Mandeville's controversial book was indeed written as a fable. A satirical social commentary on how society would need to be, should it wish to put economic prosperity and personal gain over its people leading virtuous and contented lives.[36]

There is no doubt that many writers, including Mandeville, were misinterpreted at the time of their publication by both the frugal and luxury camps and that reactions to these writings were used to legitimise their own ends or to spark controversy.[37] Scott stated that there are two types of Mandeville scholars. Firstly, 'the traditionalists who treat Mandeville as an advisor who supports the promotion of private vice to achieve economic prosperity', which is how he was viewed by the moralists of the time. Secondly, there were those who treated Mandeville as a satirist, who wrote to

[35] Mandeville, *The Fable of the Bees* (1714), Remark Q.
[36] Kyle Scott, Mandeville's Paradox as Satire: The Moral Consequences of Being a Good Citizen in a Commercial Society, *Politics & Policy,* 37:2 (2009), pp. 369 - 394.
[37] Ibid. p. 391. Scott suggests that to modern historians it should be clear that Mandeville did not support the promotion of vice, but because his contemporaries took his writings literally the controversy sparked and that Mandeville was forced to defend his work repeatedly as his critics misrepresented his position.

warn his readers that ‘if society were to follow the path of commerce, immorality would reign’.[38] Historians who believed Mandeville to have been a satirist such as Goldsmith, argue that Mandeville did not recommend the promotion of vice over virtue, or luxury over frugality, but merely warned of the consequences for societies that aspired to commercial success.[39]

Indeed, Mandeville’s extreme views may have been intended as a tongue-in-cheek satire to warn readers of the economic and human consequences of focusing on political over social policy. Mandeville concluded that it was not possible for a person to be both a good citizen and a good person, ie. spending enough to make the nation wealthy whilst at the same time being virtuous. However, as noted by Smith earlier in this chapter, the state of the nation very much depended on those virtuous good citizens and their frugality to steady the economy and stop its failure through excessive and uncontrolled prodigality.

Persuading all citizens to spend luxuriously was suggested by Mandeville as doing nothing more than encouraging their own natural passions and behaviours. He criticised the frugal moralists for trying to stifle men's passions, making them feel guilting for expressing who they really were. Mandeville argued that if the state would be rich, that people should embrace their profligate tendencies and do so knowing that they were helping their country, as if spending were a patriotic duty. He reasoned that ‘these Qualifications, which we all pretend to be asham’d of, are the great support of a flourishing Society.’[43]

[38] Ibid. p. 372.
[39] Ibid.
[43] Bernard Mandeville, *The Fable of the Bees* (1714), The Introduction.

Problems arose, however, when one faction started to overpower the other and the balance began to tip in luxury's favour. When, as Mandeville warned, luxury came to be seen as more innately human than the frugal perceived frugality to be. If Mandeville's views were satirical then his motivation was to provoke a debate. Indeed his opinions stirred a hornet's nest of controversy and caused a public outcry. Hence, the reaction to his writings would have done more to rectify the negative impacts of luxury on the nation than if he had simply spoken out against it as yet another moralist. Indeed, Mandeville's Fable was a 'gift horse' for those who argued so vehemently against it.[44]

Mandeville, however, was not the first to point out that men had these luxurious desires, this idea was well accepted before the luxury debate took hold. Robert Crofts in 1639, acknowledged these same passions by saying 'wee have bodies, as well as souls, which require due refreshments, recreations and pleasures, to which every man findeth in himself a natural appetite and desire, yea, necessity compels us thereunto, wee could not subsist nor live without these'.[45] He deemed it a natural and God-given right for a man to enjoy these felicities and earthly enjoyments 'within the bounds of Temperance and vertue'.[46]

For Crofts, our innate human passions were perfectly acceptable, however, they needed to be tempered by frugality through the application of

[44] Mandeville sparked a rush of commentary and books lambasting his views such as Hutchinson, *An Enquiry Whether a General Practice of Virtue tends to the Wealth of Poverty, Benefit or Disadvantage of a People - I which the pleas offered by the Author of the Fable of the Bees, or Private Vices Public Benefits, for the Usefulness of Vice and Roguery are Considered'* (London, 1725); Dennis, *Vice and Luxury Publick Mischiefs Or, Remarks on a Book Intituled the Fable of the Bees, Or, Private Vices Publick Benefits* (London,1724).
[45] Robert Crofts, *The Terrestrial Paradise, or, Happinesse on Earth* (London, 1639), pp. 33-34.
[46] Ibid. p. 35.

the Golden Mean. However, tolerant views such as these would have been quashed by the puritanism of the following years, to such a degree that they appeared revolutionary when suggested again by Mandeville. The liberalism of the eighteenth century saw a return to the idea of balance and the relationship between frugality and luxury in attaining the Golden Mean. Even so, some supporters of frugality, such as Sowter, Defoe and Stockdale, thought that frugality was the key to a better life and warned that luxury sparked emulation and uncontrolled spending in the lower ranks. Whereas others, such as Smith and Trusler, saw this same emulation for luxury as being key to motivating an individual's desire to better their position in life.

There were also promoters of frugality, such as Hannah More and Thomas Bernard, who wanted to encourage self-reliance and ambition in the lower classes, to improve their conditions of living. While at the same time others, such as Houghton, Barborn and Mandeville wished that the lower classes would spend all they earned in a vicious circle of meagre supply and greater demand. This was where the conflict lay, for both luxury and frugality provoked emulation, which encouraged people to both spend and save their money in order to afford the lifestyle and goods they desired. However, those who were frugal and saved, rather than spent in order to get what they desired, also expected to be able to raise themselves above their peers and enter a higher rank of society, which clearly didn't want them and did all it could to keep them down. Therefore, luxury was discouraged in the lower sorts, in order to keep them in their place and frugality was encouraged in the lower sorts in order to ensure they stayed in their place as comfortably as they could, considering the meagre wages they could earn.

The Rev. John Trusler, like Smith was an anomaly of the time, because he embraced the enlightened thinking of the age and the quest for improvement. He argued that the strict moralists who fought against luxury were not saving the souls of the poor, but instead they were in danger of stalling progress. He stated that 'they [the moralists] will not see that the modern improvements they condemn, are the natural consequence of perfection in the arts, and the progress of mind and taste.'[47] Trusler nevertheless, acknowledged their fears by admitting that there were 'certain species of Luxuries that may injure the morals of a community,' and that the law should be used to tackle these. However, he was adamant that 'this is no argument for condemning Luxuries in the gross, since it is by Luxury alone that the State can exist.'[48] From this statement, it appears that Trusler was firmly on the side of luxury. This is how his work has been interpreted by academics, with Christopher Berry citing Melon, on whose works Trusler based his arguments, as an example of the 'demoralisation' of luxury.[49] Raven highlighted Trusler as contributing to a debate that tried to search for legitimate standards of conduct, while discriminating between 'beneficial luxury and a pernicious luxury of excess'.[50]

Adam Smith also agreed that the desire for self-betterment was an important driver of the economy and that the quest for opulence maintained the march towards national progress and improvement. [51] However, as far as

[47] John Trusler, *Luxury No Political Evil* (c1781), p. 24.
[48] Ibid. p. 22.
[49] Christopher J Berry, (ed) *The Idea of Luxury* (Cambridge, 1994).
[50] James Raven, Defending Conduct and Property, The London Press and The Luxury Debate in John Brewer and Susan Staves (eds) *Early Modern Conceptions of Property* (London, 2014), p. 302.
[51] Adam Smith, *The Wealth of Nations* (London, 1999), p. 443.

Smith was concerned this quest involved frugality, hard work and the investment in new businesses and manufacturers, rather than the mindless spending of family fortunes. With regards to business investments, Smith wrote that 'the number of prudent and successful undertakings is everywhere much greater than that of injudicious and unsuccessful ones. Arguing that despite the complaints regarding the frequency of bankruptcies, that in fact, the number of 'unhappy men who fall into this misfortune' was actually very low and 'not much more perhaps than one in a thousand.'[52] However, even when an individual became bankrupt or overspent his fortune, the state would often continue to gain and the money would just be redistributed amongst the rich. As Trusler argued:

> One individual cannot injure his fortune, nor render himself reprehensible for his expenses, without enriching, or at least giving bread, by this means, to other individuals. We know that these expences, whatever they are, being entered into in society go, if I may so express myself, merely from the left-hand to the right, and do no injury to the body politic.[53]

Likewise, Smith, believed that for most men the ultimate threat of bankruptcy, which was seen as 'perhaps the greatest and most humiliating calamity which can befall an innocent man', would be enough to eventually reign in their expenditure.[54]

Rather than blaming profligate men for an economic failing of the nation, Smith instead blamed a weak government alongside mass private prodigality caused by luxury. However, he stressed that the saving grace, which would maintain balance and allow growth and improvement to continue,

[52] Ibid. p. 443.
[53] John Trusler, *Luxury No Political Evil* (c1781), p. 33.
[54] Ibid. p. 442.

was private frugality.[55] Highlighting that frugality was natural, and a cure for poor constitutions and the ills of those individuals and states overburdened by too much profligacy or avarice.

George Mackenzie, although writing a century before Smith, shared the same concerns over the lack of frugality by the population and the profligacy of the state. Mackenzie saw frugality as something far more constructive and fundamental to humanity and a regimen that should be followed by all. [56] For him, the overwhelming aim of an all-encompassing praxis of frugality was not only to achieve national economic success but also good human relations and a happy, co-operative and contented population. While both Mackenzie and Smith endorsed frugality as a way of improving the state of humanity, this was an outcome never contemplated by those in the luxury endorsing camp, who merely considered the wealth of the nation, and the population's ability to keep spending.

Balancing Frugality with Luxury: The Role of the State.

Whereas much of the academic emphasis on frugality has been placed on its opposition to spending by private individuals, the cultural media of frugality shows that there were also frugal expectations and criticisms of the state. Adam Smith stated 'Great nations are never impoverished by private, though

[55] Adam Smith, *The Wealth of Nations* (London,1999), pp. 442-443. This frugality and good conduct, however, is upon most occasions it appears from experience, sufficient to compensate, not only the private prodigality and misconduct of individuals, but the public extravagance of government. …...Like the unknown principle of animal life, it frequently restores health and vigour to the constitution, in spite, not only of the disease, but of the absurd prescriptions of the doctor.
[56] Mackenzie, *The Moral History of Frugality* (London,1691), p. 92.

they sometimes are by public prodigality and misconduct', and the balance of private prodigality would be maintained by the majority of individuals being frugal and attempting to 'better their condition' for most of their lives. However, if a state, (as in the Royal Court and Government) did not control its own prodigality and continued using its national resources 'in maintaining unproductive hands', then the balance would tip too far the other way. Smith was not referring specifically to the poor as being a drain on society, even though parliamentary debates of the day were very concerned by the economic strain that pauperism put on the wealth of the population through increasing poor law rates.[57] Rather, Smith identified the problem as being the state itself, which generously supported too many in highly paid splendid positions at court, and too many who were paid to be part of 'a great ecclesiastical establishment'.[58]

Smith also blamed the state for paying too many soldiers and sailors who, he accused, 'in the time of peace produce nothing, and in the time of war acquire nothing which can compensate the expense of maintaining them'. These publicly-funded individuals, warned Smith, would 'eventually consume so great a share of their whole revenue, and thereby oblige so great a number to encroach upon their capitals, upon the funds destined for the maintenance of productive labour, that all the frugality and good conduct of individuals may not be able to compensate for the waste and degradation of produce occasioned by this violent and forced encroachment'.[59]

[57] Himmelfarb, Gertrude, *The Idea of Poverty, England in The Early Industrial Age* (London, 1984).
[58] Smith, *The Wealth of Nations* (London, 1999), p.442.
[59] Ibid.

Smith concluded that it was these highly paid individuals who contributed nothing to economic growth, which caused the slow down in the economy, which in turn contributed to the lack of jobs for the labouring poor and therefore the rise of pauperism. Thereby, no matter how frugal individuals were, the nation could still be ruined by an uncontrollably profligate state. Smith also hinted at a possible reformation of society, whereby those who led it were the ones who directly contributed to it, rather than the landed gentry and sycophants of the state who merely lived off its profits.[60]

However, there was a flaw in this eighteenth century vision of a well-balanced nation, where public luxury and private frugality worked together to enable a stable upward growth in wealth and well-being. For foreigners, who were mostly merchants, temporarily made their home in England and did not behave like the British. At the start of the period of study, Henry Peacham, had noted that the business acumen and extreme frugality of foreigners, meant that there was no net gain to the nation from their residency.[61] The negative effects of these 'intruders' were further highlighted later in the period by Thomas Tryon in *A Brief History of Trade in England*.[62] For Tryon:

> But our Intruders …….are not guilty of the foregoing Extravagancies: Their Coach-Horses will never raise the Prices of Oats and Hay neither will their Delights of the Bottle pay the King any considerable Revenue; they are Enemies of the Government, in that they Spend or consume little or no Luxurious Commodities; and consequently avoid the paying of great Customs and Imports.[63]

[60] John T Pullinger, *Prophets of progress: Saint Simon, Comte & Spencer: pioneers of sociology* (Cambridge, 2015). These ideas could be credited with inspiring the socialist ideas of Henri de Saint-Simon (1760-825), who wished to take power from 'the idle rich'.
[61] Peacham, *The Worth of a Penny* (London, 1641), p. 4.
[62] Tryon, *A Brief History of Trade in England* (London, 1702).
[63] Ibid. pp. 118 -120.

Tryon continued by saying ‘They do, with all possible Industry, endeavour to shun and avoid the doing of any Universal Good; all their Charity centers in their own Circle; most of the Rich live as it were invisible; and when they have gotten Estates, they remit them into their own Countries, and follow after’.

These frugal foreigners continued throughout the eighteenth century to play the system and upset the national balance of wealth; for the nation was only prosperous as long as all the money stayed within it. Furthermore, the fair distribution of wealth amongst the population was not seen as important, as long as it was all contained. Indeed, the more it was weighted away from the lower orders, the more eager and willing workers they would become. Immigrants, however, worked against the system, which resulted in money being taken out of the national network and invested in their home nations instead. Their allegiances would always lie elsewhere and their nepotism, combined with their frugality meant a dangerous amount of national assets were taken out of the country to be invested abroad.[64] Thus, Tryon was one of the first to argue that in order to optimise the wealth of the state, the state itself needed to be selectively frugal with its own expenditure, foreigners were to be discouraged and sumptuary laws were needed to penalise foreign imports and promote the purchase of home-produced goods and the payment of appropriate taxes.

Mandeville however, had an opposing view, although as already discussed, it is still doubtful as to whether it was really his view at all, but irrespective of how deep his satire ran, he still garnered support at the time from early capitalists. For whereas Mandeville had no doubt that private

[64] Ibid. p. 142.

frugality was a positive trait for particular individuals who wished to progress in society and improve their situation, he did not think it advantageous for the nation to be frugal, declaring this way of thinking as an error. [65] Instead he argued that a strong nation was maintained by trade and that luxury and excessive spending was necessary in order to maintain this balance between personal and national prosperity.

Mandeville also stressed the importance of maintaining a supply of productive labour by saying 'it would be easier, where Property was well secured to live without Money than without Poor; for who would do the Work?.[66] Mandeville satirically suggested that the labouring classes were essentially lazy and needed to be kept in a perpetual state of want and to be paid 'nothing worth saving', in order that they are continuously motivated to work. This could be achieved either by restricting the money they received by their employers, which was often necessary in times of austerity, or by encouraging them to spend as much as they earned, so that they were constantly having to work for any wages in order to keep themselves and families afloat.

This eighteenth century interpretation of the worst aspects of capitalism, saw Mandeville group the lower classes together into one homogeneous workforce,[67] While Mandeville acknowledged that there would inevitably be some of the lowest class who by 'uncommon industry, and pinching his Belly' will 'lift himself above the condition he was brought him', and in this case 'no body ought to hinder them' as 'it is undeniably the wisest

[65] Mandeville, *The Fable of the Bees* (1714), p72, line 22, p. 199.
[66] Ibid. Remark Q, p. 207.
[67] Ibid. p. 72, line 22, p. 199.

course for every Person in Society to be frugal'. Mandeville also confirmed his anti mass-frugality stance by stating, 'it is in the interest of all rich Nations, that the greatest part of the poor should be almost never Idle, and yet continually spend what they get' believing that 'The only thing then that can render the labouring Man industrious, is a moderate quantity of Money; for as too little will, according as his Temper is, either make him Dispirit or make him Desperate, so too much will make him Insolent and Lazy'.[68] Thereby, Mandeville convinced his readers that working men were not capable of controlling their own finances and that it was up to society to drip-feed them a constant supply of the necessary amount of money and resources so that they would usefully survive, rather than successfully thrive. This level of dependence ensured the compliance of workers. Mandeville was cognisant of the latent potential within the labouring class and that their great numbers could easily overpower their masters should they wish to do so.

Conversely, for many endorsers of frugality, it was the development of self-control over these natural passions and behaviours, which was the ultimate aim. They wanted individuals to thrive by honing their capabilities through frugality and industry rather than being enforced to work though abstinence or want. John Sowter, who wrote *The Way to be Wise and Wealthy: Or, The Excellency of Industry and Frugality,* sought to wean the labouring poor away from their expectations of protectionism from the upper ranks. As a Merchant in Exeter, Sowter would have paid the ever-increasing poor rates and was aware of the rise and the consequences of pauperism.[69]

[68] Ibid. Paragraph Q (This paragraph following was added in 1723).
[69] Sowter, John, *The Way to be Wise and Wealthy* (Exeter,1716), p. 49.

Therefore, he took a very different view to Manderville both on frugality and on the treatment of the labouring classes. His philosophy endorsed industry alongside frugality and he felt that all should be frugal and that the poor should be made to work, rather than just being financially motivated to do so.

Sowter's economic theories could not have been more opposite to Manderville, although both were in agreement that the labouring classes needed to work. However, rather than economically stimulating the poor through the necessity to work and instilling them with the desire to spend more than they could afford, Sowter wanted the government to impose laws and punishments that would force all who were able, to work. For Sowter, it was the absence of these laws that explained why the lower orders lacked a decent work ethic and were uncontrollably profligate. As he declared in this quote, the poor should be compelled to work.

> Tis great pity that it should be in the least repugnant to the liberties of a free Government to constrain men, by force of law, to follow their work, and mind their business: That such who have nothing to live upon but their art and labour should not be compell'd (if able) to be industrious and diligent in their several vocations and callings.

The dangers of this social indoctrination of frugality and industry, However, was a workforce, who saved rather than spent and invested in their own businesses rather than being at the mercy of the newly emerging capitalists. However, it would also cause the poor to be a lesser burden on the public purse. As Sowter pointed out:

> Certain it is, that would our artificers either out of good conscience, or affection to their families, or love to their own quiet ease, or in default of these, out of fear of penalty, follow their proper work and business, and forbear needless and idle expences, while they are in the vigour and

> strength of their age, our poor-rate would not in the little time amount to a tythe of what it now does.[70]

Sowter predicted that without a culture of frugality, 'tis impossible to expect but that our poor will encrease, and so must our rates'.

These conflicting views of who should be frugal/luxurious and how frugal/luxurious they should be, caused the publishing culture around consumption to be a minefield of misinterpretation for both modern scholars and contemporaries alike. It appears that frugality and luxury, working in partnership and maintaining an appropriate balance should have been the perfect combination, which could have prevented damaging extremes of poverty. Indeed, this is what many of the frugal protagonists hoped for. However, in order for that to be the case, as Trusler pointed out,

> Certain assurances that everyone shall receive the price of his labour is so capital a condition, that, without it, emulation would die away: and the hope of obtaining by our labour sufficient to gratify our wishes, is another condition equally capital, without which there would scarce be any emulation at all.[71]

Meaning that in order for the poor to be frugal, they needed enough resources to be frugal with. In short, the poor needed to have resources enough to either taste luxury for themselves, or to be able to use frugality in order to capitalise its many benefits.

To a point, this was also the opinion of Mandeville, who, while he promoted a dependent and subservient labouring class, which would keep production high, he also stressed that they needed to be paid enough to be able to survive and consume products for themselves.

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[70] Ibid. pp. 87 - 89.
[71] John Trusler, *Luxury No Political Evil* (London, c1781), p. 3.

> For this reason the quantity of circulation Coin in a Country ought always to be proportion'd to the number of Hands that are employ'd; and the Wages of labourers to the price of Provisions.[72]

It was therefore, the state's duty to make sure that wealth was more fairly distributed, which meant a universal living wage, minimal taxation and investment in public services and social infrastructure.

Trusler, in his paper to the British Senate, *Luxury No Political Evil,* which declared luxury as being of great benefit to the nation, also made it clear that in order for that to be the case, the state had to play its part in making sure that the profits of trade were fairly distributed.[73]

> The legislature, then, after the most sacred assurances to the artificer, that he shall enjoy the whole fruits of his labour, ought to leave him full of scope of his abilities, and the consumer to the luxuriance of his fancy.[74]

In reality, the wages of workers were never enough, and the greed of the elite and market forces kept wages low. Sherman described the late eighteenth century as a period when there was 'perceptible shift from a 'moral economy', where traditional notions of the right to subsistence prevailed among both gentry and labourers, to a market economy, where labour was viewed as a commodity like all others'.[75] To compound the situation, Britain suffered from the effects of war and harvest shortfalls, which increased the price of food and caused depression in some industries, sparking mass unemployment.[76]

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[72] Mandeville, *The Fable of the Bees* (1714), Remark Q, p. 207
[73] The British Senate is taken to be The House of Lords, therefore hereditary peers and high ranking ecclesiastical members of the upper house.
[74] John Trusler, *Luxury No Political Evil* (London, c1781), p. 3.
[75] Sherman, *Imagining Poverty* (2001), p. 9.
[76] See: Daunton, *Progress and Poverty, An Economic and Social History of Britain 1700-1850* (Oxford, 1995); Gertrude Himmelfarb, *The Idea of Poverty* (London, 1984).

However, the low or absent wages of the poor did not lower their demand for necessities nor their desire for emulation.

John Trusler, like Mackenzie before him, hoped that if the labouring classes could return to the land and work in the production of food, this would then ensure enough resources for both themselves and the country to prosper.[77] Trusler also versed his own theories regarding population. For instance, when there was too much luxury, Trusler believed there would be a corresponding abundance of population. Then if no steps were taken to rectify the excess in population and reset the balance then 'every other interest, except that of obtaining a livelihood is silent'. This would result in 'all progress in the sciences, the fine arts, and even the more mechanical ones' stopping and everyone instead concentrating on survival, meaning that the nation would become 'exceedingly numerous, sordid, wretched, and low.'[78] This situation, he argued, should then be controlled by a combination of state intervention and frugality, which included abstaining from early marriage and producing too many children.

However, Trusler believed that any cases of overpopulation were, as in the animal kingdom, self-rectifying and that the population would naturally constrict to accommodate any lack. After judging that there were too many mouths to feed, God would intervene and a disaster or a war would cause a dip in the population and all would then carry on as before, with the balance between frugality and luxury temporarily at equilibrium.[79] Trusler's views were

[77] Trusler, *Luxury No Political Evil* (London, c1781), p. 7.
[78] Ibid. p. 41.
[79] Ibid. p. 42 :-'It is in this sense, only, that we can say with reason, that Luxury is dreadful: but here Providence steps in again, and frequently intersposes. May it not be owing to an interference of the Creator, that wars are kindled between neighbouring powers, as much to

mirrored later in the century by Malthus, whose book *An Essay on the Principle of Population,* published in 1798, offered the theory that in times of prosperity, the population would rise until food shortages and other forms of stress started to inflict a negative impact and cause a slowing down of growth. Therefore, because the lower classes were always increasing in numbers, they restricted their own potential prosperity and imposed the need for frugality upon themselves.[80]

Moreover, Trusler, like Adam Smith, overtly blamed the government for not encouraging a proper sense of public spirit by which frugality could be encouraged and rewarded. Thereby, proposing that it was not luxury itself that caused corruption, unvirtuous behaviour and increases in population, but instead, it was the competitive culture, which the state itself endorsed. This culture encouraged 'views of vanity, ambition, and fortune', for 'Where men are respected according to the appearance (they) make, they will endeavour to make the best appearance they can.'[81] Trusler described the inequality and unfairness of the state working in its embryonic capitalist form, and for him, it did not bode well.

> Spending of money, through mere ostentation, can never be general, but in a country where the laws bend under the powerful, and is strong only for the weak; where favour decides all; where we cannot hope to obtain any thing, through equity, merit, or reason solely; and where money chiefly opens gates to honours, to dignities, and to high offices.[82]

Trusler strongly insinuated that it was not luxurious goods that caused the problems which moralists were concerned with, but rather the way that the

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thin the number of the human species, as for other purposes? If so a long war may, in the end, benefit a state, which excess of population might otherwise ruin.'
[80] T R Malthus, *An Essay on the Principle of Population* (1798).
[81] Trusler, *Luxury No Political Evil* (c1781), p. 29.
[82] Ibid. p. 30.

establishment i.e, the government, the court and aristocracy worked. Not only was the state not ensuring the fair distribution of wealth throughout the population, but also it was blatantly encouraging extravagant and competitive spending.

The British Senate may have been lured to read Trusler's discourse *Luxury No Political Evil,* in order to justify their own luxurious lifestyles.[83] Instead, however, Trusler's deceptively titled volume clearly defined in print that without equality and a fair distribution of wealth, the people were forced to emulate their betters and take risks in order to advance in life. In essence, Trusler firmly told the British Senate, that the troubles that faced the nation, were caused not by luxury, but by the establishment itself and that the people were merely playing the game of life by the rules that had been set by their superiors, rather than through any fault of their own. Perhaps it was this accusation against the state which so angered the Tory and Whig moralists who rallied against Trusler and his so-called endorsement of luxury. For Trusler had twisted the blame away from inanimate objects of desire and those who were weak enough to be tempted by them and towards the government who allowed them to be so exalted, and the elite who profited from them.

These egalitarian ideas were not unique to Trusler. They were already being practised in other countries. Trusler, like Peacham and Mackenzie before him, exemplified Holland and Switzerland, by stating that nowhere in these more frugal countries was there 'that ridiculous extravagance, resulting

[83] The British Senate is taken to be The House of Lords, therefore hereditary peers and high ranking ecclesiastical members of the upper house.

from a sumptuous outside, with poverty and misery beneath it.', which was so often the case in Britain. Instead, he explained that in those countries, 'Expences there are more judiciously distributed.' and there was 'No degree of despotism … Offices are not venal. The rigor of the laws, and the determination of appointments are not in proportion there to credit, and the reputation of being rich. A man may become poor among them, without any danger to his safety or his advancement.'[84]

Trusler concluded by saying 'it would be idle to attempt a reformation of those manners, by the voice of exhortation, until a change took place in its political constitution'. Meaning that it was impossible to maintain the balance between luxury and frugality and achieve the desired golden mean of a wealthy, healthy and happy population, without the active support of both the state and the people.[85] Therefore, without state-endorsed public frugality and appropriate levels of government intervention, combined with the relinquishment of power and wealth by the elite, there would be little point in preaching frugality to the lower classes, as there would be little hope of them ever rectifying their poverty.

Truster could not have delivered his killer blow to the heart of the establishment via a moralistic or frugalistic tract. However, by changing his approach, and the title of his work, he was able to make his point and demonstrate the important role and responsibility which the state held in balancing capitalism, and in preventing the rich from taking advantage of the poor.

[84] Ibid. p. 29.
[85] Ibid. p. 31.

Summary

The luxury debate was viewed by Trusler, as being a distraction; an economic sleight of hand. For while everyone was tied up in discussing what should or should not be consumed, few were questioning where the money was going and who was accumulating the wealth and ultimately the power. However, those who promoted frugality were not anti-spending, anti-comfort or against anyone owning nice possessions; instead they promoted frugality as a balance between avarice and prodigality. They saw the unfettered acceptance of luxury as an endorsement of these vices, which inevitably led to the loss of economic control by the individual, as well as having a negative impact on his health and wellbeing. Whereas, on the contrary, the frugal were in full and conscious control of their spending, they were able to gauge how much they needed to spend and what and who they needed to spend it on. More importantly, they had the mindset to be content with, and appreciate what they had, rather than being compelled to acquire more.[86]

However, with great frugality also came great self-control and this could be used to either rebel against those who held the power, or to advance into their ranks. The frugal moralists who came out against Trusler and his critical analysis of the overly profligate state were, like those who came before them, part of the establishment who were loyal to the Crown and would have been reticent to blame the state for any of society's failures.[87] As John Sowter expressed, 'We Britons live under a most Excellent Government founded

[86] Mackenzie, *The Moral History of Frugality* (London,1691), p. 85. 'The Frugal Man not only chooses fit occasions on which to spend his mony, but persons worthy of his Employment.'
[87] Sowter, *The way to be Wise and Wealthy* (1716), The Preface.

upon good and righteous laws; and the present Administration of it is in the Hand of one of the Wisest and Best of Kings that ever wore the British Diadem'. For them, it was easier to continue to blame the luxurious goods themselves and the weak-willed, unvirtuous and unfrugal individuals who bought them. Whereas increasingly for others, like Trusler and Smith, it was becoming clear that the frugal actions of individuals were not enough to secure them a happy and healthy future and that poverty was indeed real.

The Conclusion: The Legacy of Frugality.

This thesis has laid out the notion of frugality, as it was seen in both its private and public aspects in the printed media of the long eighteenth century. It has analysed the reasons why it was championed and proselytized, as well as detailing the many perceived benefits of its adoption. This study has theorised that frugality was just as important as luxury in spurring economic and social change. That due to the constant drip-feeding of frugal preaching and teaching, the mindset of the population was sufficiently strong enough to resist the temptations of luxurious living, as well as inspiring an interest in health and wellbeing. Furthermore, it suggests that as a result of this frugal praxis, enough capital investment was available in the late seventeenth and early eighteenth century for the new machinery, buildings, merchandise, and labour which enabled industrialisation to take place. Frugality also advocated the self-disciplined and resilient work ethic which motivated the rise of the traders, professionals and entrepreneurs, who came to form the new middling classes.

Whereas Max Weber argued that capitalism was catalysed by the asceticism influenced by a Protestant ethic. This thesis proposes that it was caused by a fractious fight between the ethics of frugality and that of luxury, in which both sides played a vital part, but neither were supposed to win. However, as a consequence of luxury gaining the upper hand from the mid-eighteenth century, the Golden Mean between the two was upset, causing the

poor became too poor and unmanageable for an overly profligate government and society to cope with.

Frugal discourse helped to identify the different social classes according to their use of and dependency on it, and it was perceived and adopted differently by each social rank for a variety of purposes. These differences helped instil the attitudes, behaviours and expectations, which affected how each rank viewed themselves, as well as how they saw others. While early endorsers hoped that the elite could be implored into treating the labouring classes charitably and fairly. Instead, their frugal doctrines merely established their superiority and helped to justify their shameful commodification of the poor. These seemingly nameless and faceless workers, to whom they justified paying the lowest possible wages, became just another resource, which needed managing frugally. Whereas, for the middling sorts who traded goods and services, and who worked both between and on behalf of the upper and lower classes, frugality was also a method of accumulation. Although lacking the power and prestige of the elite, they were still able to use frugality to capitalise any advantage they did have and improve their lot in life.

The study of frugal texts also shows how frugality was an effective tool in maintaining the status quo and in counteracting some of the side-effects of consumerism, which were deemed undesirable by the elite. It was used to temper social anxieties by quelling the thirst for social emulation amongst the lower ranks and encouraged good behavioural patterns in the population by linking frugality to health, happiness and respectability. Latterly it was used as

a way of alleviating poverty and controlling the masses, by imposing frugal living and voluntary restraint as a social expectation for all those in need.

Karl Marx acknowledged this imbalance of power in the nineteenth century and identified the most important distinguishing factor between rich and poor as their frugality:

> In times long gone by there were two sorts of people; one, the diligent, intelligent, and, above all, frugal elite; the other, lazy rascals, spending their substance, and more, in riotous living…Thus it came to pass that the former sort accumulated wealth, and the latter sort had at last nothing to sell except their own skins.[1]

Marx stressed that the elite had always been frugal 'above all', and he noted that it was their frugality that originally allowed them to accumulate something from nothing, and that was how they continued to hold onto what they had.

While many of the authors examined in this thesis had genuine humanistic and socially idealistic reasons for preaching and teaching frugality. Nevertheless, their good intentions were contradicted and overruled by the selfish motivations of their readers, whose greed and hubris subverted their frugal messages into a doctrine of behaviours that would strive to maximise personal gain. The fair distribution of wealth and resources and the happy, contented and self-reliant population that many dreamt of, never came to pass. Instead, frugality became the only distinguishing factor between the 'haves' and the 'have nots'. Without frugality, those that had would lose and those that had nothing, could never gain more. Gradually, the one-sided frugality of those who had the resources to be frugal with, drained the life out of those who did not.

[1] Karl Marx, *Capital Vol1 and Vol 2* (London, 2013), p.501.

At this time, the relationship between the rich and the poor was under enormous pressure, and the problems of dealing with poverty became more exposed. As John Stuart Mill reflected in his *Principles of Political Economy* (1881), there were two theories regarding the aiding of the labouring classes, 'The one may be called the theory of dependence and protection, the other that of self-dependence'.[2] The first theory pre-supposed that the rich would willingly look after the welfare of the poor and supply them with all of their needs and a decent, moral and contented life. In return, the poor would compliantly provide their labour. As Mills explained:

> The rich should be loco parentis to the poor, guiding and restraining them like children. Of spontaneous action on their part there should be no need. They should be called on for nothing but to do their days work, and to be moral and religious. Their morality and religion should be provided for them by their superiors, who should see them properly taught it, and should do all that is necessary to ensure their being in return for labour and attachment, properly fed, clothed, housed, spiritually edified, and innocently amused……[3]

This theory, Mill stated, was seen by those in power as the ideal; it was the traditional patriarchal relationship, which the ruling classes associated with and favoured. However, as Mill pointed out, apart from isolated examples of rich individuals who acted with mercy towards the poor, generally all privileged and powerful classes, had used their power 'in the interest of their own selfishness, and have indulged their self-importance in despising, and not in loving and caring for, those who were, in their estimation degraded by being under the necessity of working for their benefit.'[4] Mill concluded that 'long before the superior classes could be sufficiently improved to govern in the

[2] John Stuart Mill, *Principles of Political Economy* (London, 1881, first published 1848), p. 55.
[3] Ibid. p. 456.
[4] Ibid. p. 456.

tutelary manner supposed, the inferior classes would be too much improved to be governed.'[5]

As a consequence of the rich not looking after the poor, they were encouraged to look after themselves. The frugal teaching of the poor, combined with a new spirit of philanthropy, developed ideas of self-reliance and self-improvement. Frugality was used to shift the blame of poverty onto the poor themselves, as well as attempt to alleviate their suffering. However, it also facilitated the transition from a badly managed system of dependence and protection by the rich to an alternative system of self-dependence by the poor. As Mill described:

> that the patriarchal or paternal system of government is one to which they will not again be subject. That question was decided, when they were taught to read, and allowed access to newspapers and political tracts, when dissenting preachers were suffered to go among them, and appeal to their faculties in opposition to the creeds professed and countenanced by their superiors, when they were brought together in numbers to work socially under the same roof; when railways enabled them to shift from place to place, and change their patrons and employers as easily as their coats.[6]

This inadvertent transfer of power, was in part, triggered by encouraging the poor to be frugal and self-reliant. This thesis shows how a working-class revolt was feared by the elite and while promoting frugality to the poor was thought to appease their rebelliousness, nevertheless, the level of self-sufficiency it instilled resulted in a chain reaction of free-thinking independence.

By the time Mill was writing in the early nineteenth century, there was no way of going back. Therefore, the greed and 'elite frugality' of the rich and their eagerness to be unburdened by problems of poverty lead to the

[5] Ibid. p. 456.
[6] Ibid. p. 457.

encouragement of frugality, which allowed self-reliance to develop within the poor. By the mid-nineteenth century the working classes had accumulated power, and as highlighted by Mill, they were starting to believe it:

> The poor have come out of leading-strings, and cannot any longer be governed or treated like children'. To their own qualities must now be commended the care of their destiny. Modern nations will have to learn the lesson, that the well-being of a people must exist by means of the justice and self-government… of individual citizens.[7]

This spirit of self-help is what Samuels Smiles sought to encourage in the working-classes, through his mid-nineteenth century writings. This thesis suggests that its origins lay within a frugal ethic that emerged in the early seventeenth century, as a way of the upper ranks retaining their dominion over the masses. Which, by the eighteenth century had been adapted and evolved to increase its reach and allowed the new middling classes to also have the frugal formula. Hence, while the long eighteenth century is celebrated by many academics as witnessing the birth and evolution of consumption. As Porter also pointed out: 'We must not think of the consumer society simply in terms of the licence to acquire more. It was, perhaps more critically, the development of new values which helped people to transcend that very license to acquire more.'[8]

Frugality empowered people with the ability to live well, to save for the future, to be healthy and independent. As Thomas Tryon, who can be considered the true champion of frugality for the people, succinctly expressed:

> Let not a little Trouble, thwarting your unruly Appetites, or fond Humours, depraved with ill Customs and Wantonness, divert you from getting your selves possest of this Jewel of *Temperance,* that true *Phylosophers-Stone,* which turns all into the *Golden Elixir* of *Health*,

[7] Ibid. p. 458.
[8] Porter, Consumption - disease of the consumer society, in Brewer and Porter (eds), *Consumption and The World of Goods* (London, 1994), p. 71.

> *Content* and *Serenity;* since we see none of the little perishing Goods of this World are to be had or obtained without Trouble and Difficulty.[9]

Like others, Tryon could see the loss of human potential by profligacy and hoped to convince as many as possible of the benefits of frugality, so that the balance of human progress could be maintained.

For most of the period of study, these frugal moralists were supporters of the establishment and their frugal enthusiasm aimed to keep the social strata intact. However, through a closer analysis of the texts and authors that endorsed frugality, it is possible to see how some had a different and more socialistic agenda. Tryon, Mackenzie, and later Trusler not only believed in frugality, but in an alternative way of living, one that also allowed hard-working people to enjoy the benefits of commerce and a share in the wealth of the nation. These champions of frugality had a well-developed social conscience, distrusted the concept of free trade and held the government and the elite responsible for maintaining a fair distribution of resources. In short, they realised that while frugality was important, that alone it was not enough and that it needed to be combined with equality in order for it to truly aid the population.

These idealists admitted that their heartfelt pleas would have little effect on the majority of their readers. Worldly temptations, were described by Mackenzie as being ‘stronger than that of the Stars’ ‘which draws mens attention’ and were too strong to resist’.[10] Hence, despite the many blessings and benefits of frugality, it has never been the natural state of man.

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[9] Tryon, *The Way to Health, Long Life and Happiness* (London,1683), p. 63.
[10] MacKenzie, *A Moral History of Frugality* (London 1691), p. 2.

Nevertheless, there were many identifiable merits t consistently preaching and teaching it to successive generations.

The quote at the start of the Preface, shows that this same conclusion was reached by Samuel Smiles. Smiles, like the many who came before him, recognised the significance of frugality and sought to pass this wisdom onto those in the nineteenth century who needed to reap its rewards. Although, just like many of the frugal endorsers who came before him, Smiles' overall aim was for more equality for the working classes. He regretted the self-centred way that his book *Self Help* was interpreted by his own contemporaries and how 'in one respect the title of the book, which is now too late to alter, has proved unfortunate…. As it has led some, who have judged it merely by its title, to suppose that it consists of a eulogy of selfishness: the very opposite of what it is'.[11] Socialists which came after him described Smiles as 'an arch philistine' and his books as 'the apotheosis of respectability, gigmanity and selfish grab'.[12]

Due to the unachievable frugal expectations placed on the poor, frugality has retained its associations with unfair patriarchal expectations, however, it is hoped that this thesis has proved that frugality could be used for great social benefit and gave agency to anyone, who could create the capacity to use it. As Smiles recognised, 'English biography abounds in illustrations of men who have glorified the lot of poverty by their labours and their genius.'[13] However, it is a different argument altogether as to whether all

[11] John Hunter, *The Spirit of Self-Help, A Life of Samuel Smiles* (London, 2017), p. 287.
[12] Ibid. p. 288.
[13] Samuel Smiles, *Self Help* (London, 1859), p.12.

should have sufficient income and resources with which to be frugal in the first place.

End

Appendix

A Chronological Bibliography of British Published Works Featuring Frugality from the 17th and 18th centuries.

In chronological order from their first edition.

1622

Title: The Compleat Gentleman fashioning him absolute in the most necessary & commendable qualities concerning minde or bodie that may be required in a noble gentleman.

Author: Henry Peacham.

Printed: at London by John Legat for Francis Constable and are to bee sold at his shop at the white lio(n) in Paules Churchyard.

Further editions:

1627 – Printed by G Wood for Francis Constable, and are to be sold at his shop in Pauls Church-yard, at the sign of the Crane.

1634 – Printed by John Legat for Francis Constable, and are to bee sold at his shoppe in Pauls Church-yard, at the signe of the Crane.

1661 – Printed by E.Tyler, for Richard Thrale, at the signe of the Cross-Keys at St Pauls Gate.

1622

Title: Thrifts equipage Viz. fiue diuine and morall meditations, of 1. Frugalitie. 2. Prouidence. 3. Diligence. 4. Labour and care. 5. Death.

Author: Aylett, Robert (1583 - 1655?).

Published: London : Printed [by G. Purslowe] for Iohn Teage, and are to be sold at his shop in Pauls Church-yard at the signe of the Ball, 1622.

1631

Title: Tom of all trades. Or the plaine pathway to preferment. preferment Being a discovery of a passage to promotion in all professions, trades, arts, and mysteries. Found out by al old traveller in the sea of experience, amongst the inchanted islands of ill fortune. Now published for the common good,
Author: Thomas Powell.

Published: London: Printed by B. Alsop and T. Fawcet, for Benjamin Fisher, and are to bee sold at his shop at the signe of the Talbot in Aldersgate - street, 1631.

1635

Title: The Art of Thriving. Or The Plaine path-way to Preferment. Together with The Mysterie and Misery of Lending and Borrowing. As also a Table of the Expence of Time and Money. Consider it seriously. Examine it judiciously. Remember it punctually. And thrive accordingly. Published for the common good of all sorts, &c.,

Author: Thomas Powell.

Published: London: Printed by T.H. for Benjamin Fisher, and are to be Sold at his Shop at the Signe of the Talbot in Aldersgate Street, 1635.

1641 (first licensed copy)

Title: The Worth of a Peny (sic): or, A Caution to keep Money. With the causes of the scarcity and misery of the want hereof in these hard and mercilesse Times: Also how to save it in our Diet, Apparell, Recreations, &c. And also what honest Courses men in want may take to live.

Author: Henry Peacham.

Published: London, Printed by R. Hearne

Further editions

1647 - London: no printer attributed.

Last edition with Peny - all future editions use Penny.

1664 – Printed by S. Griffin for William Lee, and are to be sold at the Turk's Head in Fleet-street, over against Fetter Lane.

1667 – London: Printed by S Griffin for William Lee

1669/70 – London: Printed by S Griffin, for William Lee, formerly living at the Turks head in Fleet-street: and now dwelling next to the Kings-head Tavern in Chancery –Lane, near Fleet-street.

1677 – London: Printed by S and B.G. for Thomas Lee

1687 – Licensed. August 31. 1686. Rob. Midgley., London: printed for Samuel Keble, at the Turks Head in Fleetstreet, over-against Fetter-Lane, 1687. (note-first chapter missed out)

1695 – London: Printed for Samuel Keble, 1695

1725 - Bury St Edmund's. Printed and sold by Tho. Baily and W. Thompson, at the Printing-Office in St. Edmund's Bury, Suffolk

1813 – Leeds: Reprinted by E Dewhurst, For Robson and Son, Reprint of 1667 edition.

1818 – Dublin: Reprinted for Graham and Son, 35, Capel-street, Reprint of 1664 Edition

1642

A Caution To Keepe Money: Shewing the Miserie of the want thereof. I. In a State or Kingdome, to Supply Warre. II. In Younger Brothers pawning their Lands to redeeme them. III. In Shopkeepers wanting Stock to Supply. IIII. In Handicraft-trades by negligence. V. In Handsome and honest Maidens, wanting Portions, Declaring their slight neglect and scorne in these hard and dangerous times.

Author: Henry Peacham (Unattributed)

Published: London, Printed for G. Lindsey, and are to be sold by F. Coules, I Wright, and T. Bates. 1642.

1642

Title: The art of living in London, or, A caution how gentlemen, countreymen and strangers, drawn by occasion of businesse, should dispose of themselves in the thriftiest way, not onely in the citie, but in all other populous places. As also, a direction to the poorersort that come thither to seeke their fortunes. By H. P.

Author: Henry Peacham.

Published: London: Printed for Iohn Gyles, and are to be sold by Samuel Rand at his shop at Barnards Inne in Holborne.

1654

Title: The poores advocate in 8 parts, Shewing, what an incomparable favour it is to be rich; that there are poor to accept of their charity, had they the wit to know it. Wherein is also made plain, that bounty and frugality is the best and surest way to plenty: with many other rational and strong inducements to make men liberal; were it but for their own ends. Being enough (with the blessings of God) to change Nabal into Zaccheus. By R Yonnge [sic], florilegus. Who most earnestly begs of all rich men especially, and that for the poors sake, for Christs and the Gospals sake, but most of all for their own (even if their bodies, names, estates, precious souls and posterities) sake; to lay to heart, what is herein pronounced to them out of Gods word, touching the poor: and certainly, they will neither spend so excessively, nor heap up wealth so unmeasurably as they do; when millions of their poor brethren (for whome God would become man and die to redeem) are in such want, that I want words to express it.

Author: Richard Younge.

1661

Title: A precious mithridate for the soule made up of those two poysons, covetousness and prodigity the one drawn from the fathers ill qualities: the other from the sons: for the curing of both extremes, and advancing frugality, the mean. Being foure chapters taken out of R. Junius his Christian library, and are so be sold by J. Crump stationer in little Bartolmes Well-yard, and H. Crips in Popeshead-alley.

Author: Richard Younge.

Published: Sold at James Crumps, a stationer, Little Bartholomews Well-yard and Henry Cripps his Shop in Popes-head-Alley.

Original: Folger Shakespeare Library.

1646 - 1674

Title: Wit bought at a dear rate. Being a Relation of the Misery one suffers by being too kind hearted: Wishing all people to beware of that undoing quality; and to be frugal and saving, that in aged years, their life may be as comfortable, as in youth it was pleasant and folly.

Author: Anon.

Published: [London] : Printed for F. Coles, in Vine-street, neer Hatten-Garden., [between 1646-1674]

To the Tune of, Turn Love, I prenthee love turn to me.

Ballard at British Library. Pepys Ballad Collection - dated c1670.

1669

Title: Observations And Advices Oeconomical,
Author: North, Dudley Lord.

Published: London. Printed by T. R. For John Martyn Printer to the Royal Society, at the sign of the Bell without Temple-Bar, 1669.

1671

Title: A cap of grey hairs for a green head, or, The fathers counsel to his son, an apprentice in London to which is added a discourse on the worth of a good name.

Author: Caleb Trenchfield.

Published: London : Printed by J.C. for Henry Eversden, 1671.

Original: British Library.

Further Editions:

The fathers counsel to his son, an apprentice in London Containingwholesome instructions for the management of a mans whole life. The second edition, a third part inlarged. By Caleb Trenchfield gent.London : printed for William Leach, at the Crown in Corn-hill, near the Stock Market, 1678.

The Fourth Edition, a Third Part Enlarged. London, Printed for Samuel Manship at the Black Bull in Cornhill.1688

A cap of gray hairs for a green head: or, The fathers counsel to his son, an apprentice in London Containing wholesome instructions for the management of a mans whole life. The fifth edition, a third part enlarged. By Caleb Trenchfield gent.Glasgow : printed by Robert Sanders, one of Their Majesties printers, 1692.

1673

Title: The Ready Way to get Riches or the Poor Man's Counsellor, teaching them how of poor and miserable, they may become wealthy and Happy: Very seasonable for these time: wherin all are poor, not pleased; or both when they need be neither.

Author: Matthew Killiray.

Published: London: Printed for W. Thackery at the Angel in Duck lane, 1673**.**

1673

Title: A Christian Directory, or, A sum of practical theologie and cases of conscience directing Christians how to use their knowledge and faith, how to improve all helps and means, and to perform all duties, how to overcome temptations, and to escape or mortifie every sin: in four parts,

Author: Richard Baxter.

Published: London, 1673.

1674

Title: The art of thriving or, the way to get and keep money: being, a seasonable caution to slothful drones and prodigal spend-thrifts: containing sundry excellant rules and observations for promoting good-husbandry, and banishing idleness and profuseness, the certain parents of poverty: principally intented for an admonition to youth, but necessary to be practices by all persons in these hard times; and to be set up in every family.

Author: Anon.

Published: London: printed for J Coniers, and are to be sold at the Entrance into Popes-head Alley, next Lombard-street, 1674.

Note - All editions contain uncited content taken from Henry Peacham's Worth of a Penny

Downloaded and printed from EEBO

Further Editions:

1700: The New art of thriving or, The Way to get and keep money being a seasonable caution against the extravagances of these times, containing sixteen excellent rules and observations for promoting good husbandry, and banishing idleness and profuseness, the certain parents of poverty, with a table of expences: principally intended for the admonition of youth, but necessary to be practiced by all persons in these hard times, and to be set up in any family.

Anon. **Published:** London. Printed by H. Bruges for J. Conyars at The Black Raven in Duck-Lane. . 1 Broadsheet. EEBO, Original: Sutro Library. 1700: Worcester (By S. Gamidge)

1706: Edinburgh: printed by the heirs and successors of Andrew Anderson, Printer to the Queen, most Excellent Majesty.

1678

Title: The Mystery of Mony-catching, or the Character of an Importunate Dunn: with The most approved means, for a persecuted Debtor, to avoid or pacify him.

Author: Anon.

Published: London - Printed for D.M. 1678

1683

Title: The way to health, long life and happiness: or, A discourse of temperance. and the particular nature of all things requisite for the life of man as all sorts of meats, drinks, air, exercise, &c. with special directions how to use each of them to the best advantage of the body and mind. Shewing from the true ground of nature, whence most diseases proceed, and how to prevent them. To which is added, a treatise of most sorts of English herbs, with several other remarkable and most useful observations, very necessary for all families. The whole treatise displaying the most hidden secrets of philosophy, and made easie and familiar to the meanest capacities, by various examples and demonstrances. The like never before published. Communicated to the world for a general good, by Thomas Tryon, student in physick.

Author: Thomas Tryon (1634 - 1703)

Published: London : Printed and sold by Andrew Sowle ..., 1683.

Further editions

1691 - London: Printed by H.C. for D Newman, at the King’s-Arms in the Poultry

1697 - London : Printed and are to be sold by most booksellers, 1697.

[Edition statement:] The third edition, to which is added a discourse of the philosophers stone, or universal medicine, discovering the cheats and abuses of those chymical pretenders. "A dialogue between an East-Indian brackmanny, or heathen philosopher, and a French gentleman, &c." on 24 p. at end

1684

Title: The Pleasant Art of Money - catching, newly and fully Discovered. Being the Second and last part of that very useful BOOK; Intitled THE COMPLEAT TRADESMAN.

Author: N. H.

Published: London, Printed for J Dunton over against the Stocks Market, 1684.

Note: Most of the content is that of Henry Peacham from his Worth of a Penny - unaccredited and accompanied by information on trading, banking,

Further Editions: Note later editions still use many extracts from Henry Peacham, but also contain poem by Thomas Randolph, information on banking, thriving, list of recipes by Thomas Tryon, which the author says was a known by him, also a list of proverbs and maxims, many of which appear in works of Benjamin Franklin - Theory - the 1714 edition was seen by Franklin as a young man, it was this which encouraged him to save money by adopting tryons recipes and becoming a vegetarian and he made noted of the many proverbs and advice for future reference in his books. From reading the books of Thomas Tryon, I don’t think Franklin read them in his early years, but the extract in the 1714 edition would explain his access to his recipes without the complete adoption of his ideas - Franklin was interested in how he could catch-money. Similarities with Franklin’s little piece - The Art of Making Money Plenty in Everyman’s Pocket.

1705: Copy in authors collection

1714**:** The pleasant art of money-catching: treating, I. Of the original and invention of money. II. Of the Misery of Wanting it, &c. III. How Persons in Straits for Money, may supply themselves with it. IV. A new Method for ordering of Expences. V. How to save Money in Diet, Apparel, and Recreations. VI. How a Man may always keep Money in his Pocket. Vii. How a Man may pay Debts without Money. Viii. How to Travel without Money. To which is added, the way how to turn a penny: or, The Art of Thriving. With several other Things, both Pleasant and Profitable.

London, printed for T Norris, at the Looking Glass, and A Bettesworth at the Red Lion, both on London-Bridge, 1714. The Third Edition, corrected and much enlarged.

1737: Printed for A. Bettesworth, and C Hitch, at the Red-Lyon in Pater-Noster-Row; R. Ware, at the Sun and Bible in Amen-Corner, and J. Hodges at the Looking-Glass on London Bridge. Fourth Edition, corrected and much enlarged.

1740: Author: Mr. Alex Montgomery. Published: Glasgow: Printed by James Duncan

1750: Glasgow: Printed by John M'Callum, and sold by the book-sellers. The fifth edition, corrected and much enlarged.

1765?: By Mr A. Montgomery: London: s.n. 1765?

1782: London: printed and sold by John Lever, at Little Moorgate, next to London Wall, near Moorfields, 1782. The third edition, corrected and much enlarged.

1793: Dublin: printed by T Mcdonnel, No. 50. Essex-Street, opposite the Old Custom-House, M,DCCC,XCIII (1793). The fourth edition, corrected and much enlarged.

1685

Title: The way to make all people rich: or, Wisdoms call to temperanae [sic] and frugality in a dialogue between Sophronio and Guloso, one a lover of sobriety, the other addicted to gluttony and excess. By Philotheos Physiologus, the author of the Way to health, The country-man's companion, The good house-wife made a doctor, &c.

Author: Philotheus Physiologus = Thomas Tryon.

Published: London : Printed and sold by Andrew Sowle, in Holloway-Lane, Shoreditch,

Tryon, T., & Behn, Aphra. (1685). *The way to make all people rich : Or, wisdoms call to temperance and frugality in a dialogue between Sophronio and Guloso, one a lover of sobriety, the other addicted to gluttony and excess*. London.

1686

Title: Twelve ingenious characters, or, Pleasant descriptions of the properties of sundry persons & things viz. an importunate-dunn, a serjeant or bailiff, a paun-broker, a prison, a tavern, a scold, a bad husband, a town-fop, a bawd, a fair and happy milk-maid, the quacks directory, a young enamourist.

Author: Unknown

Published: London : Printed for S. Norris, and are to be sold by most booksellers, 1686.

Original Held: Henry E. Huntington Library and Art Gallery

1690

Title: THE MORAL HISTORY OF FRUGALITY with its opposite VICES, Covetousness, Niggardliness, Prodigality and Luxury.

Author: The Honourable Sir George Mackenzie, Late Lord Advocate of Scotland

Published: Licensed: March 12 1690, Rob. Midgley

LONDON: Printed for J. Hindmarch, at the Golden Ball over the Royal Exchange in Cornhill. 1691

Published posthumously and dedicated to The University of Oxford.

1695

Title: The way to save wealth shewing how a man may live plentifully for two-pence a day. Likewise how to make a hundred noble dishes of meat, without either flesh, fish, or fowl. To make bread of roots, herbs, and leafs of trees. To brew good cheap liquor, without malt or hops. To make shoes last long. To make coals last long. To save soap in washing. To save cloth in cutting out a shirt. To make coffee of horse-beans To feed cattel well, without hay, grass, or corn. To save candles. To know any one's mind by signs; if there be twenty in company, they cannot apprehend it. To order bees aright. To settle your estate with Christian prudence. To know Scripture-weights and measures. Of dreams. To cure wounds by sympathy. The way to live long. To make spring-potage. To cure all sorts of cattle for 12 d. charge. To improve land, order and cure all deseases in singing birds. To kill vermin. To brew pale ales. To make wines, and all sorts of liquor, and an easy way to fine, and order them. With divers other curious matter

Author: Thomas Tryon

Published: London : printed, and are to be sold by G. Conyers at the Ring in Little Britain,

1700

Title: The Undoubted Art of Thriving; Wherein is shewed: 1. Trhat a Million L. Sterling Money, or more if need be may be raised for Propogating the Trade of the Nation, &c. Without any kind of predudice to the leiges, but on the Contrair to their great Utility and Advantage. 2. How the Indian and African Company may Propagat their Trade, and that Trade and manufactures of all sorts may be encouraged to the Honour,

Strength and Wealth if the Nation. 3. How everyone according to his quality, may Live Comfortably and Happily. Concluding with several thoughts tuching the Management of Publick Concerns.

Author: James Donaldson.

Published: Printed by John Reid, 1700.

1701

Title: The Unhappiness of England As to Its Trade by Sea and Land. Truly Stated: Also a lively Representation of the Miseries of the Poor, the pernicious consequences of wearing swords, and the ill Presidents Acted at the Two Theaters; with effectual means to redress these growing Evils and Several other remarkable Particulars. To which added, An essay of the Happiness of Men in Observing the Rules of Morality.

Author: Charles Povey.

Place Printed: London, printed for the Author, living near Execution-Dock, in Wapping, and to be sold by the Booksellers of London and Westminster.

1703

Title: ***The Surest and Safest Way of Thriving. Or, A Conviction of the Grand Mistake in many, That what is given to the Poor, is a loss to their estate; which is directly contrary as to the experiences of the Charitable; to the testimony of God's Spirit in divers places of Scriptures.*** **Printed for Publick Good and Promoting Charity.**

Author: Thomas Gouge.
Published: London, 1703.

1711

Title: An Essay of Particular Advide to the Young Gentry, For The overcoming the Difficulties and Temptations they may meet with, and the making an early and happy Improvement of the Advantages they enjoy beyond others.

Author: By the Author of Youths Convern (Attributed to John Graile)
Published: Printed for John Wyat, at the Rose in St. Paul's Church-Yard. 1711.

1713

Title: Essays upon several moral subjects, ... Viz. The Religious Stoic. Solitude preferr'd to Publick Employment. Moral Gallantry. The Moral History of Frugality: With its Opposite Vices. An Essay on Reason. By Sir George Mackenzie, Kt. To which is Prefix'd, Some Account of His Life and Writings. With an Index to the Whole.

Author: George Mackenzie

Published: London: printed for D. Brown, R.Sare, J. Churchill, J. Nicholson, B. Tooke, and G. Strahan

1716

Title: The WAY to be WISE and WEALTHY: OR, THE, EXCELLENCY OF *Industry* and *Frugality,* As the due and regular Exercise thereof is the necessary Means of procuring the Happiness of This Life, and preparing for that of a BETTER.Recommended in particular to The - GENTLEMAN, SCHOLAR, TRADER, SAILOR, ARTIFICER, HUSBANDMAN WITH A short PREFACE, pervvading all *Protestants* to lay aside Party-Prejudices, and to Unite and Love one another. By Mr J.S.

Author: John Sowter.

Published: EXON (Exeter) Printed by Philip Bishop, and sold by him at his shop, in *St. Peter's Church-Yard*, and by WILLIAM TAYLOR, at the *Ship*, in *Pater-noster-row*, London

Further editions

1724 - Dublin - Printed and sold by Sam Fuller at the Globe and Scales in Meath Street

Without original preface, John Sowter not acknowledged 40pp - Rewritten and abridged from 1716 John Sowter edition

1732 - John Sowter -LONDON - Printed and sold by J. Roberts, near the Oxford Arms in Warwick Lane.95pp - same as 1716 edition with dedication by John Sowter.

1733 - DUBLIN - Printed and sold by Sam Fuller at the Globe in Meath Street. Without original preface

1736 - LONDON -Printed and sold by J.Wilford, at the Three Flower-de-luce behind the Chapter House, in St Paul's Church Yard. 71 pp

Gale note (Although some passages are taken word for word from work with a similar name by John Sowter, this is essentially a different work)

1755 - LONDON -Printed by T Baldwin in Paternoster Row. Intro same as 1716 but without original preface and new title page. 63pp Price one shilling

1773 - BELFAST and LONDON - Printed by Daniel Blow - 59pp

1722

Title: The Royal Marriage. King Lemuel's lesson of 1. chastity, 2. temperance, 3. charity, 4. justice, 5. education, 6. industry, 7. Frugality, 8. religion, 9. marriage, &c. practically paraphras'd; with remarks, moral and religious, upon the virtues and vices of wedlock ... By Mr. Dyke's.

Author: Oswald Dykes

Published: London : The Author, 1722.
Original: British Library.

1724

Title: The fable of the bees: or, private vices, publick benefits. With An essay on charity and charity-schools. And A search into the nature of society. The third edition. To which is added A vindication of the book .

Author: Bernard Mandeville.

Published: London : printed for J. Tonson, 1724.

Further editions:1725:1729:1733:

1724

Title: Vice and Luxury publick mischiefs or, Remarks on a book intituled The fable of the bees, or, Private vices publick benefits [electronic resource]
Author: Dennis, John, 1657-1734.
Publisher Details: London : Printed for W. Mears ... 124 p

1726

Title: The Complete English Trade: in Familiar Letters; Directing Him in All the Several Parts and Progressions of Trade ... Calculated for the Instruction of Our Inland Tradesmen; and Especially of Young Beginners, Volume 1.

Author: Daniel Defoe.

Place Published: London, Printed for Charles Rivington.

1731

Title: A second letter from a hawker and pedlar in the country, to a Member of Parliament at London. In which The true yearly Revenue and Expence of a Nation is fairly Stated. The Encouragement of Frugality is recommended as the best Method to Increase the Nation's Revenue, and Diminish its Expence. All Monopolies proved to be an Encouragement to Idleness and Luxury. Every Restriction upon Trade a Step to Monopoly. The extravagant Profits taken formerly by the Toy-Shops. Our Improvement in that Trade owing to the Hawkers and Pedlars. Confederacies easily formed when any Branch of Trade is confined to a Particular Set of Men. An Account of the Yearly Expence of a London Shop-Keeper.

Authors: C-------l, James.

Place Published: London**:** printed by T. Reynolds, and sold by the booksellers of London and Westminster

1734

Title: Hibernicus's letters: or, a philosophical miscellany. Containing (among many others) essays on the following useful and entertaining subjects, viz. of happiness. of imaginary evils. Of Beauty. Of Castle-Building. Of false Contempt of the World. Of Witches and Apparitions. Of the Art of Printing. Of Laughter and Ridicule. Of False Taste. Of Useless Studies. Of Toleration. Of Solitude. Of Epistolary Writing. Of the Fable of the Bees. Of the Happiness of former Times compared with the present. Of National Frugality. Of Liberty. Of Gaming. Of Industry. Of Fashions. Of Women. Censure on Dr. Burnet's Reflections on Human Life. The Opinion of a Siamese on the Religion of Great Britain. Religion vindicated from the Character of Moroseness. The Vanity of Cicero and Montagne vindicated. The Usefulness of Modern Translations of Ancient Books. The Character of Anacreon, with a Specimen of his Writings. Remains of Archdeacon Parnel, &c. Interspersed with several Original Poems and Translations. Written by several eminent hands in Dublin. ...

Authors: Arbuckle, James.

Published: London : printed for J. Clark, T. Hatchet, E. Symon at the Royal Exchange; J. Gray, in the Poultry; C. Rivington, in St. Paul's Church-Yard; J. Osborne, in Pater-Noster-Row; W. Innys and R. Manby, in Ludgate-Street; A. Millar, against St. Clement's Church in the Strand; J. Jackson, H. James's; J. Brindley, in New Bond-Street; and O Payne, in Round-Court.

1736

Title: The charms of women: or, a mirrour for ladies. Wherein the accomplishments of the fair sex are impartially delineated. Under the following Heads, viz. Industry. Frugality. Chastity. Temperance. Charity. Justice. Education. Religion. Marriage. Recreations. With occasional

remarks upon the dress of ladies, their Tea-Table Conversation, and Modern Gallantry. By James Bland, M.D.

Authors: Bland, James, Professor of Physic.

Place Published: London: printed for E. Curll, at Pope's-Head, in Rose-Street, Covent-Garden

1736

Title: Luxury, pride and vanity, the bane of the British nation Shewing The Prodigality and Profuseness of all Ranks, and Conditions. The Transposition of the City to the Court, with the Tradesmen's expensive manner of Living. The Encrease of the Wine-Trade, the Decay of the Wealth, and Industry of the People. Town and Country over-run with false Splendor. Most of our modern Equipage compar'd to the Life of Man. Physicians, Surgeons, and even apothecaries under an absolute Necessity of keeping Equipages in support of their Characters and Families. An Account of a Lady, who unhappily lost her Life through the Avarice of her Man-Midwife's attending in a Hackney-Coach, instead of his own Chariot. A new piece of Frugality among Men of Quality, in keeping their Mistresses at their own Dwelling-Houses. More Wines and Provisions expended in the City of London and County of Middlesex, than in all the United Provinces of Holland. The Beggars of the several Parishes within the City and Suburbs of London, proved to eat more white Bread than the whole Kingdom of Scotland. The Pride, Insolence, and Extravagance of the Midling and Mechanick Part of Mankind: And of the Quality's marrying into Mercantile and City Families. The exorbitant Loans frequently demanded of rich Citizens by their Sons-in-Law on the Penalty of P-Xing their Daughters. The late horrible Instances of wilful and corrupt Perjury animadverted on; with some Account of Mr. Wreathock's Calves-Leather-Club: Together with a true Copy of the Highwayman's famous Bill formerly filed in the Court of Exchequer, by the said Wreathock. The usual Observation of the Lord's Day in the good Cities of London and Westminster, &c. &c.

Authors: Jones, Erasmus.

Place Published: [London]: Printed for J. Roberts near the Oxford-Arms in Warwick-Lane; and sold by Edward Withers, at the seven Stars over against Chancery-Lane, Fleetstreet; J. Joliffe in St. James's-Street; and the rest of the booksellers of London and Westminster

1740

Title: A present for an apprentice: or, a sure guide to gain both esteem and an estate. With rules for his conduct to his master, and in the world. Under the following Heads, Lying Dishonesty Fidelity Temperance Excess of all Kinds Government of the Tongue Other Peoples Quarrels Quarrels of one's own Affability Frugality Industry Value of Time

Company Friendship Bonds and Securities Recreations Gaming Company of Women Horse-Keeping Proper Persons to deal with Suspicion Resentment Complacency Tempers and Faces of Men Irresolution and Indolence Caution in Setting-up Great Rents Fine Shops Servants Choice of a Wife Happiness after Marriage Domestick Quarrels House-Keeping Education of Children Politicks Religion. By a late Lord Mayor of London. The second edition, with great variety of improvements. Taken from a correct copy found among the Author's Papers, since the Publication of the First.

Authors: Barnard, John, Sir.

Published: London: printed for T. Cooper at the Globe in Pater-Noster Row

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Further editions:

1743 - Printed for J. Hodges at the Looking-Glass, over against St Magnus Church, London Bridge; and sold also by T. Cooper, at the Globe in Pater-Noster-Row

1747- London: printed for J. Hodges at the Looking Glass, over against St Magnus Church, London Bridge; and sold also by M. Cooper, at the Globe in Pater-Noster-Row

1750 - London: Printed for James Fletcher, in St. Paul's Church-Yard; and Benjamin Collins, Bookseller, on the New Canal in Salisbury

1761 - Edinburgh: Printed for James Reid, bookseller in Leith

1771 - London - Printed by John Barker, Broad-Way, Blackfriars

c1740

Title: An Enquiry into the Melancholy Circumstances of Great Britain More particularly in regard to the oeconomy of private families and persons, Gentlemen, Clergy, Farmers, Merchants, Tradesmen, Mechanicks, &c. With observations of the New Methods of Living and Diversions in both City and Country, with some Remedies to prevent the Ruin of private Families; and Remarks upon our Trade in general, and especially so such Commodities as are imported for Luxury, or injurious to our Manufactures. Also some Hints to prevent the growing Poverty of these Nations.

Author: Anon.

Place Printed: London: printed for W. Bickerton in Fleet Street.

1746

Title: On Frugality

Author: Mercator.

Published: The Museum: or the Literary and Historical Register XIV Saturday September 27, 1746, pp. 5-8.

Reprinted unattributed in various periodicals in 1757, 1776, 1781.

1750

Title: A letter from a gentleman in town to his friend in the country, Recommending the Necessity of frugality.

Authors: Gentleman in town.

Published: London: printed for W. Webb near St. Paul's

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Further editions

1751: London - Published: printed for W. Webb near St. Paul's

Note: Makes reference to frugal behaviour of author's Grandfather who was a Royalist supporter of Charles II and changed his profligate ways in order to best help the King.

1755

Title: Essays, I. On the public debt. II. On paper-money, banking, &c. III. On frugality.

Authors(s): Anon.

Place Published: London

Publisher: [s.n.]

1756

Title: Frugality the support of charity. A sermon, preached at St. Nicholas's church in Newcastle, before the governors of the Infirmary, for the counties of Durham, Newcastle, and Northumberland, on Wednesday June 23.1756. Being their anniversary meeting. By Edmund Tew, D.D. Rector of Boldon, in the County of Durham. To which is annexed, A report of the state of the charity; and a list of the governors and subscribers. Preached and Published at the Request of the Governors.

Author: Edmund Tew.

Published: Newcastle: printed for the benefit of the Infirmary, by I. Thompson and Co. and sold by the booksellers in Newcastle, J. Richardson in Durham, C. Hitch in Pater-Noster-Row, and J. Clarke in the Royal Exchange, London

1757

Title: The ten plagues of England, of worse consequence than those of Egypt, Described Under the following Heads: I. Disregard to our own Productions. II. Luxury and Waste in great Families. III. Effeminacy. IV. Gaming. V. Love of Novelty. VI. Hypocrisy. Vii. Drunkenness. Viii. Avarice and Usury. IX. Pride. and, X. Idleness. The whole intended to shew, That whatever Crimes or Foibles infect the Minds of a People, are far more injurious to a Nation than bodily Plagues. By a well-wisher to Great-Britain.

Authors: Well-wisher to Great Britain

Published: London - Publisher: printed for R. Withy and Co. Book and Print-Sellers, at Hogarth's Head, opposite Salisbury-Court, Fleet-Street

1757

Title: An Estimate of the Manners and Principles of the Times

Author: John Brown.

Publisher; Printed for L. Davis and C. Reymers.

1758

Title: An ode to frugality. Designed for the author's birth-day. Magnum vectigal parsimonia. By Mr. Comber.

Author: Comber, Thomas (d. 1778).

Published: York **:** Printed by Cæsar Ward, in Coney-street, 1758.

1763

Title: Essays and letters on the following various and important subjects: viz. On religion in general. Of Happiness. Of Honesty. Of Affability and Complaisance. Of Envy. Of Idleness. Of Luxury and Extravagance, Temperance and Frugality. Of arbitrary Government by a single Person. Of the Pride of Men as a Species. With many others on very Interesting Subjects.

Authors: Anon.

Published: London: printed only for Thomas Hope, at the Bible and Anchor, opposite the North Gate of the Royal Exchange, Thread-Needle-Street.

1766

Title: Frugality and diligence, recommended and enforc'd from Scripture.

Author: Watkinson, Edward.

Publisher Details: York: printed by A. Ward, for the author

General Note: A version of 'An essay upon oeconomy .. '.

1766

Title: The duties of industry, frugality and sobriety. A sermon preached before a society of tradesmen and artificers, in the parish church of St. Chad, Salop, on Easter-Monday, 1766. Published at the Request and for the Benefit of the Society. By W. Adams, D. D. Minister of St. Chad's, Salop, and Chaplain to the Lord Bishop of St. Asaph.

Authors: Adams, William.

Published: Salop - printed by J. Cotton and J. Eddowes: and sold by J. Whiston and B. White, in Fleet street; and T. Longman, in Pater-Noster-Row, London

Further editions: 1777 - **Published:** Shrewsbury - printed by J. Eddowes; and sold by B. White, and T. Cadell in London; J. and J. Fletcher, and D. Prince, in Oxford; and J. Woodyer, in Cambridge. MDCCLXXVII. Printed first in the Year MDCCLXVI

1767

Title: Letters to the guardians of the infant poor to be appointed by the act of last session of Parliament [electronic resource] : also to the governors and overseers of the parish poor : recommending concord, frugality, cleanliness, and industry, with such a pious, humane, resolute, and judicious conduct in the execution of their office, as may effectually answer the good purposes for which they are chosen, and more particularly in the preservation of infants

Author: Hanway, Jonas, 1712-1786.

Published: London : Printed for A. Millar [and 3 others]

1767

Title: An inquiry into the management of the poor, and our usual polity respecting the common people; with Reasons Why they have not hitherto been attended with Success, and Such Alterations offered to the Consideration of the Legislature, as may probably introduce a more general Spirit of Industry and Order, and greatly lessen the Publick Expence.

Author: Anon.

Published: London - printed for Benjamin White, at Horace's Head, in Fleet-Street

1773

Title: Three discourses: two against luxury and dissipation. One on universal benevolence. By Percival Stockdale.

Author: Stockdale, Percival.

Published: London - printed for W. Flexney, opposite Gray's-Inn-Gate, Holborn

1774

Title: The economist. Shewing, in a variety of estimates, from fourscore pounds a year to upwards of 800l. how comfortably and genteely a family may live, with frugality, for little money. Together with the cheapest method of keeping horses and carriages. By a gentleman of experience.

Authors: Gentleman of experience.

Published: London - printed for the author: and sold by J. Bell, near Exeter-Exchange in the Strand

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Further editions:1781 - Published: London **-** printed for the author; and sold by J. Bell, near Exeter-Change in the Strand

1776

Title: THE WAY TO WEALTH, AS CLEARLY SHOWN IN THE PREFACE OF AN OLD PENNSYLVANIAN ALMANAC INTITLED 'Poor Richard improved' Written BY DR. BENJAMIN FRANKLIN

Author: Benjamin Franklin.

Published: West-Springfield: Printed by Richard Davison

Further editions: 1797 - Title: The way to wealth. Being a preliminary address prefixed to the Pennsylvania almanack for 1758, on oconomy and frugality. By Dr. Franklin. To which is added, Select thoughts. London: printed by J. Davenport, and sold by C. Sheppard, at his Book and Print Warehouse, No. 74, Little Britain

c1776

Title: The Way to Be Rich and Respectable. Addressed to Men of Small Fortune.The second Edition.

Author: John Trusler (1735 - 1820).

Place published: London. Sold by R. Baldwin, Paternoster Row; and all Booksellers in Town and Country. Price 1s. 6d.

c1781

Title: Luxury no Political Evil, but Demonstratively Proved to be Necessary to the Preservation and Prosperity of States. Addressed to The British Senate.

Author: John Trusler (1735 - 1820).

Place Published: London, Sold By R. Baldwin, Paternoster Row.

1785

Title: The principles of sound policy delineated and enforced: or, observations; I. On the great wisdom, Necessity, and Policy, of educating the poor, as the only sure Means to check their Depravity and Licentiousness; and operate as a strong Preventative against the present, general Increase of Poor-Rates and Assessments. II. Strictures on a Pamphlet entituled, `luxury no political Evil, but demonstratively proved to be necessary to the Preservation and Prosperity of States.' Intended as a Supplement to the preceding Observations. III. The following lectures adapted to the subject: 1. On an useful and virtuous education. 2. On the Necessity of Family-Worship. 3. On other Duties incumbent upon the Heads of Families. 4. On private Prayer. 5. On Cleanliness. 6. On internal Purity. 7. On Fornication. 8. On Industry. 9. On Frugality. 10. On Contentment under the Fatigues of Industry. 11. On Idleness. 12. On Decency. 13. The Conclusion. 14. Appendix. The whole is illustrated with various Annotations; particularly on the Excellency and Advantages which might result from the universal Institution of Sunday Schools; and on the Duty and Qualifications of Overseers of the Poor, and Masters of Work-Houses. By the Rev. J. Fawel, Wigan, Lancashire.

Author: J Fawel.

Published: Wigan - Printed by William Bancks.

1795

Title: The duty of frugality, and the sin of waste considered, with a view to recommend Christian benevolence and good works. By Basil Woodd, M. A. Minister of Bentinck Chapel, St. Mary-Lebone, Lecturer of St. Peter's, Cornhill, and Chaplain to the Right Hon. the Earl of Leicester.

Authors: Wood, Basil.

Published: London - printed and sold by C. Watt No 9, Queen-Street, Grosvenor-Square; and sold also by Rivingtons, Martin, Matthews, Priestly, Meredith, and Squie, Edgware-Road.

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1795

Title: The Cottage Cook or Mrs Jones's Cheap Dishes Showing The Way to Do Much with Little Money

Author: Hannah, More.
Published: London and Bath, 1795.

1795

Title: The Wife Reformed

Author: Hannah More.
Published: Dublin, c1795.

1795

Title: The Way to Plenty,

Author: Hannah More.
Published: London and Bath, 1795.

1797

Title: Seasonable hints to the poor, on the duties of frugality, piety, and loyalty. Being the substance of a sermon delivered in the Parish Church of St. Maryport, Bristol, To Two Benefit Societies, on Whit-Monday, June 5, 1797. By Thomas T. Biddulph, A.M.

Author: Thomas Treganna Biddulph.

Published: Bristol: Printed by W. Pine and Son; and sold by Messrs. Bulgin and Sheppard, in Wine-Street; and W. Browne, Tolzey: - Also by T. Chapman, Fleet-Street, London; and S. Hazard, Bath.

1797

Title: An account of a meat and soup charity, established in the Metropolis, in the year 1797, with observations relative to the situation of the poor, and On the Means of Bettering the Condition of the Labouring People with regard to Food: And of increasing their comforts in other respects, by a more frugal mode of living, particularly in the City of London, and its environs. By a magistrate.

Authors: Colquhoun, Patrick.

Published: [London] - Printed by H. Fry, Finsbury-Place.

Downloaded and printed out from Gale 15th Feb 2018.

1797

Title: The state of the poor: or, an history of the labouring classes in England, from the conquest to the present period; ... together with parochial reports ... With a large appendix; ... By Sir Frederic Morton Eden, Bart. In three volumes. ...

Author: Sir Frederick Morton Eden.

Published: London : printed by J. Davis, for B. & J. White; G. G. & J. Robinson; T. Payne; R. Faulder; T. Egerton; J. Debrett; and D. Bremner, 1797.

179?

Title - Friendly Advice to the Industrious Poor.

Author: s.n.

One page tract/handout - “Paste this up in your home, as you will find these receipts useful”Original at John Ryland Library - reproduced as an appendix - First Annual Report for the Society for Bettering the Conditions of the Poor. 1797.

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Anon. *Wit bought at a dear rate. Being a relation of the misery one suffers by being too kind hearted: wishing all people to beware of that undoing quality: and to be frugal and saving, that in ages years, their life may be as comfortable, as in youth it was pleasant and folly* (Printed ballad sheet (s.n., 1646-1674).

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Anon, *An Enquiry Whether A general Practice of Virtue tends to the Wealth or Poverty, Benefit or Disadvantage of a People? In which the Plans offered by the Author of the Fable of The Bees, or private Vices publick Benefits, for the Usefulness of Vice and Roguery are considered* (London, 1725)

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Anon, Review - Luxury no Political Evil, but demonstratively proved to be necessary to the Preservation and Prosperity of States. Addresses to the British Senate. *The Monthly Review or Literary Journal Enlarged Vol 71* (s.n., 1783), pp. 138-141.

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