

**FROM CHINA TO ENGLAND: THE DEVELOPMENT OF TEA RELATED VOCABULARY
IN ENGLAND DURING THE LATE 1600'S AND THE EARLY 1700'S
AS A BRITISH CULTURAL TRADITION**

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Introduction: The Early History of the Tea Trade and Cultural Contacts

Tea was discovered by the time of the Emperor Shen Nung of ancient China around AD 350, and by the end of the Tang dynasty (AD 618-907) tea drinking had spread throughout the empire among all classes of people. Unlike the case of England, however, the process of the spread of tea drinking in China is not something that we can now easily document.

We do know of Catherine of Braganza. Charles II, in spite of (or maybe even because of) his many mistresses, was highly satisfied with his marriage to Catherine of Braganza. She was not only beautiful but loyal to the king. She also brought a dowry to him, a dowry which included, along with a huge sum of money, trading rights with Portuguese territories in India, Indonesia, and China. Tangier on the coast of Morocco and Bombay in India were also a part of this dowry (Strickland, 1852). With the granting of a royal charter in 1660 that put the island of St. Helena under the control of the East India Company, the moving of East India Company headquarters from its trading post at Surat to the newly acquired English territory of Bombay in 1668, and the establishment in that same decade of British fortresses on the West African coast in what is now Gambia, Sierra Leone, and Ghana, the East India Company found itself in a position to compete on equal terms with the Dutch East India Company. This resulted in a long history of steadily increasing quantities of goods traded with Asian countries, including China, but not Japan. Trade with Japan remained a Dutch monopoly.

Although the territories received by virtue of the marriage of Charles II were important for Britain as a trading nation in Asia, the two territories were fated to affect England differently. Tangier theoretically commanded trade between the Atlantic and the Mediterranean, but it was also perceived by Moroccans as being Moroccan territory and foreigners were, therefore, under constant attack. It proved costly to defend and, being a constant drain on limited and hard to obtain financial resources, was eventually abandoned by Charles, though not until after the death of one of his sons, the earl of Plymouth. Bombay, on the other hand, having been rented out to the East India Company in 1668, already before the end of the reign of Charles II, had become a city of approximately 100,000 individuals (David, p. 410) as opposed to the somewhat more than 500,000 inhabitants of London (Emsley, Hitchcock and Shoemaker).

More important than territory was the right the British acquired to trade freely with Portuguese possessions in Asia. That allowed access to the Portuguese trading post of Macao in a Cantonese-speaking part of China, which, in turn, allowed the importing of tea directly from China instead of through the Netherlands as had hitherto been the case. The Netherlands, in turn, had obtained its tea from China through the domination of the island of Taiwan from 1624 to 1662, and a triangular trade between China and Japan through which they acted as middlemen. Significantly, they encouraged the immigration to the island of Taiwan of Chinese who spoke the dialect of Fukkien from the present-day province of Fujian (Fukkien). That policy meant that their contact with the Chinese language was primarily with

Fukkiense and not Mandarin or Cantonese. When the Dutch were expelled from the island by a Ming dynasty loyalist, Koxinga (Campbell, 1903) in 1662, the English were well positioned to take up the slack in the tea trade brought about by Dutch misfortune, something which continued for most of the 1660's, as the Dutch used considerable resources but were unsuccessful in repositioning themselves in the years 1664 to 1668. Ultimately they had to face complete failure. It was precisely during these years that the tea trade with China took off for the English.

It is important that various derivatives of the Fukkiense word for tea spread among those countries in Europe originally supplied with this commodity by the Dutch, including England, France, and Germany, whereas variations of a quite different word cha (deriving from Cantonese in the case of the Portuguese, but also the same word in Mandarin Chinese) spread through areas originally supplied by the Portuguese, including India and Portugal, itself. Interestingly, the Japanese word, too, is cha and also of Chinese origin, which would at least mean that the Japanese did not originally acquire tea through Fujian, but from some other part of China. In word borrowing we can trace trade routes, as with delft and denim and of course china crockery and morocco leather, damascene swords and more.

Tea was first imported to England from the Netherlands during the last years of the Commonwealth in 1657 by Thomas Garraway, a coffee shop owner (Ukers, 2007). Through his encouragement, it soon became established as an expensive medicine sold in coffee shops, either in pills or more commonly as a tisane, as a remedy for a wide range of ailments, including many one would now associate with alcohol abuse or middle-aged male metabolic syndrome. It became popular with those financially well off enough to be able to so abuse their bodies. It is, in fact, recorded as having been sold in the late 1650's for up to 10 pounds of money for one pound of tea. This needs to be put into perspective. Value in modern currency can be calculated in various ways, but if we calculate 10 English pounds of the year 1657 in terms of GDP per person for the year 2012 in the United Kingdom, we will find that it would represent £41,500.00. Even though a comparison of retail price indexes would produce a much lower value of only £1,330.00 in terms of goods which could be bought today by the same 10 pounds, tea would nevertheless have appeared frighteningly expensive to the average Englishman in 1657 even as a miraculous medicine. As the economy was male-dominated, by the time Catherine arrived in England in 1662, the drink was considered, along with coffee, to be in the domain of the rowdy and somewhat disreputable men of largely upper-class origin who frequented the coffee houses that began to spring up during the early years of the Restoration.

The Expansion of British Colonies during the Reign of Charles II

As has been mentioned, with Catherine of Braganza, England obtained not only a queen but also Tangier and other colonies, thus opening a new chapter in the imperial history of England. Both Tangiers and Mumbai (as we call Bombay today) had been possessions of the Portuguese, both as independent kingdoms and as dependencies of Spain, and yet again as independent nations. Both places were also perceived as being important spots on the trade route between England and Asia, though Tangier would have been perceived as being even more important for trade with the Mediterranean. As things developed, however, only the benefits to England's trade from the acquisition of Bombay were to be long-term and immense.

Before the marriage of Charles and Catherine, the British East India Company had their main offices in Surat on the coast of India, where they operated a trading post from 1608. The words surah and surat in English for certain textiles remind us that the French were also active in that area, the way calico recalls Calcutta. The assignment of Bombay to the management of the company in 1668 by the British Crown resulted in the relocation of the company to a territory where the British exercised full sovereignty. The company, in turn, founded the modern city of Bombay. Before the death of Charles II Bombay became the largest city in the British Empire after London. Think of madras and Bombay gin and curry, tiffin and verandah.

In the beginning the British showed a far greater interest in Tangier (which of course gave English tangerine), located on the Atlantic coast of Morocco at the western opening to the Mediterranean Sea, a town that had been an old trading port from Roman times, its very name suggesting the epicenter of the known world.. The Portuguese had acquired Tangier in 1471, and it became a center of European diplomatic and commercial rivalry in Morocco. Under foreign control, though, it ate up financial resources, whether Portuguese or British, as fast as they could be thrown at it. Charles, being more practical than his Portuguese (and Spanish) predecessors, eventually abandoned this possession, thus allowing the Moroccans to take re-control. In the 19th century all along the North African coast pirates were notorious and clashed with the navies of both Britain and the new United States. That explains “to the shores of Tripoli” in the US Marines’ hymn. All in all, however, the opening up of an English trading route to Asia complemented the growth of a colonial empire which had already begun to take shape in North America and the Caribbean.

Foreign Trade and Imported Goods

Though the East India Company had been trading with South Asia for many years, it was not until Catherine of Braganza came to England, that the East India Company thought to include tea among other rarities it presented to the king in 1664. The quantity it supplied was “2lbs. 2oz. of tea, a quantity which cost them 40 sillings per pound of tea” (Martin, 2007). This first importation of tea was accepted by the king and his royal household and was a factor in causing the tea trade to blossom. By 1666, when the Duchess of Newcastle described tea as a fashionable drink, the present of tea for the king by the Company had already risen to 22lbs. 3oz and was acquired at a cost 50 shillings a pound. In 1667, a first order importing 100lbs of tea was issued by the court and by 1690 the importation of tea was 60,000 lbs. per year at around 16 shillings per pound (Shillington, 1970). We see Catherine's responsibility for the expansion of this particular item of trade between England and China, with Bombay as a part of her dowry that enabled a more efficient connection with China via the Portuguese port of Macao.

Tea in the Reign of Charles II

Tea became not only fashionable, but also a lucrative source of tax revenue for the Crown. As a luxury it was taxed it as such, whether as tea leaves upon importation into the country or as a beverage sold at coffee houses. Transportation costs made it an already expensive commodity, and various taxes made it even more costly. At first it appears to have been drunk for pleasure only among those classes of individuals surrounding or directly influenced by the royal family, with family being more broadly

defined then than now to include not only the king and the queen but also their relatives and personal attendants.

After tea-drinking spread through the royal household it rapidly spread to a more general fashion into the upper-classes. Adoption by polite society did not affect its growing popularity in the coffee houses. By the end of the 17th century over 500 coffee houses were selling tea. Tea had become at least as popular as ale and brandy. In fact, the popular slang term for brandy at the time was cold tea.

Literature Reviews

The written evidence for Catherine's role is somewhat indirect but the fact is that the English began bypassing the Dutch to import their tea directly from Asia after her marriage to Charles II in the same year as the Dutch were first dislodged from Taiwan is suggestive. Moreover, she was strongly enough identified with the introduction of tea-drinking among her contemporaries that the English poet Edmund Waller (1606-1687) was inspired to write a poem that was published after his death in 1690 and suggests that drinking tea among the English was due to her. The concerned portion of the poem is as follows:

Pride was not made for Man: a conscious sense
Of Guilt, and Folly, and their consequence
Destroys the claim; and to beholders tells,
Here nothing, but the shape of manhood dwells.
Tea, commended by Her Majesty.
Venus Myrtle, Phoebus has his bays;
Tea both excels, which she vouchsafes to praise.
The best of Queens, and best of Herbs we owe,
To that bold Nation, which the way did shew
To the fair Region, where the Sun does rise;
Whose rich Productions we so justly prize.
The Muses Friend, Tea, does our fancy aid;
Repress those Vapours, which the head invade:
And keeps that Palace of The Soul serene,
Fit on her Birth-day to salute the Queen.

The Duchess of Newcastle

In addition, we have evidence from the Duchess of Newcastle (1623-1673) during the first years of Catherine's marriage to Charles II that, though she (the duchess) had not drunk tea it had become a fashionable thing to do. In her book *Observations upon experimental philosophy to which is added The description of a new blazing world*, (1666) she states:

And for Diet-drinks, I believe they are very good in some sorts of diseases; and so my Tea and Coffee, and the water of Birches, for any thing I know, for I never had any experience of them; but I observe; that these latter drinks, Tea, and Coffee, are now become mode-drinks, and their chief effects are to make good fellowship, rather than to perform great cures; for I can hardly believe, that such weak liquors, can have such strong effects.

As mode-drinks would have referred to a fashion among her own class, this can only be an indication of its popularity by the year 1666 among the polite society of the ladies of the court, of which the duchess would have been one, having been in her early years a maid of honor to the Queen Mother, Henrietta Maria. Furthermore, the earliest records of tea and tea-related items in British customs records indicate a close connection with the court.

Tea and Sugar

Although it is sometimes suggested that tea during the 17th century was drunk unsweetened, it would have been unlikely that this was the case with regard to Catherine. First of all, it was already known to Europeans that people in other countries were drinking tea sweet. In this regard, there is a Latin work concerning an expedition of Adam Olearius (1601-1671) for the Duke of Holstein to Russia and Persia in the years 1633 to 1639 that tea was consumed sweetened in Persia, a country with which Portugal had Indian Ocean trading interests. The English translation published in 1669 describes the situation as:

We said before, that the Persians are great frequenters of the Taverns or Tipling-Houses, which they call Tzai Chattai Chane, in regard there they may have The, or Cha, which the Vsbeques Tartars bring thither from Chattai. ... The Persians boyl it, til the water hath got a bitterish taste, and a blackish colour, and add thereto Fennel, Anniseed, or Cloves and Sugar.

Furthermore, a 1673 English translation of the account of a Dutch East India Company embassy to China by Johannes Nieuhof (1618-1672) gives evidence that it was not unknown for even 17th century Chinese to add sugar to their tea. The passage concerning this is:

But amongst all others, China is famous for an Herb call'd Thea or Cha, and whereof the Natives and other neighboring People make their Liquor call'd Thea or Cha, taking its Name from the Herb. ... but the Leaves they gather every day, and drying them in the shade, preserve them for their Drink, which they use in stead of Beer, not only at Tables, but upon all Visits and Entertainments; and which is more, whosoever has any thing to dispatch in the Palaces of the Grandees, is Presented as soon as he is seated with a Cup of this Liquor, which is always drunk, or rather supp'd off hot, according to the fashion of the ancient Romans, who esteem'd more of warm than cold Water. If at any time this Liquor proves bitter to the taste, they mingle a little Sugar with it, and drink it to drive away drowsiness: But such especially find the benefit thereof who have overcharg'd their Stomachs with eating, or discompos'd their Brains with too much strong Drink: for it is a very great drier of gross Humors, and dispels Vapors, occasioning sleep; it strengthens the Memory, but increases Gall, if drank in too great a quantity: In brief, they extol the Vertues of this Drink infinitely, and attribute their not having the Stone or Gout to this (as they term it) Most noble Drink; which we may believe the rather, because in all our Journey forward and backward, we met with none that were afflicted with these Distempers. ... but however prepar'd, it is not only drunk in China, and other Parts of India, but is much us'd likewise in divers other Countries; and the general consent of all People, that they find much good by it, enhances the Price, and makes the same be sold here at a very dear Rate.

There is also direct evidence that sweetening tea with sugar in England was known of by 1660, a date which is a good two years before Catherine's arrival, as is made clear in an advertisement for tea published in that year. The author of this short tract, Thomas Garraway, writes:

It is very good against the Stone and Gravel, cleansing the Kidneys and Vriters being drank with

Virgins Honey instead of Sugar.

Tea-related Source Materials and Methodology

Before discussing in detail the development and spread of new tea-related vocabulary in England, an explanation of the source material available for such a study is in order. Contemporary source material is abundant, both with regard to archival material archived in English and also material to be found in the published broadsides, pamphlets, and books of the period. For this study it was possible to consult archival material available online courtesy of the National Archive, thus allowing all registered wills and records relating to tea during the 1670-1707 period to be searched with regard to all social classes and geographic regions of England.

Another invaluable source of information is Early English Books Online (EEBO). This database has its origin in an American effort during World War II to preserve all Early English books and important manuscripts on microfilm lest they be lost in possible German air raids. With the advent of the internet almost all of the printed books in this collection were converted into text file documents and made available in one easily-searchable and downloadable comprehensive database down to the year 1700.

One other particularly useful online database for purposes of vocabulary, cultural and literary research in general complements EEBO very nicely. It is the LION (Literature Online), which is particularly good for searching works of 18th and 19th century literature and can sometimes add to what EEBO offers for the 17th century, though generally not for the 15th and 16th centuries.

Finally there is the very comprehensive book, *All About Tea* (Ukers, 2007). That documents things related to tea, including its discovery in China, its cultivation, its preparation, and its spread into Europe and other parts of the world. It is a particularly valuable secondary source that largely depends on primary sources to document what appears in the work.

The methodology was extremely simple. Searches in those online databases for examples of tea and tea-related vocabulary were made and recorded, and then compared with dated examples appearing in the *Oxford English Dictionary*.

Results

The Role of Catherine of Braganza

Catherine of Braganza (1638-1705) may be considered to have played a key role in the propagation of tea drinking among polite society in England due her preeminent position in the royal household. Therefore a bit more explanation of her background and her relationship to tea-drinking in England is in order.

By the adoption of the Cantonese word for tea into both Hindi and Portuguese, Portuguese traders are shown to have imported tea from China through their trading post in Macao (and possibly from Japan) before the Dutch occupied Taiwan in 1624 and acquired a trading post on Dejima in

Nagasaki (Japan) in 1641. Even though Portugal was ruled by the kings of Spain from 1580 to 1640, the Spanish word for tea, like the Dutch, derives from Fukkienese rather than Cantonese or Mandarin. This probably finds its explanation in the Spanish kingdom establishing a colony in Taiwan from 1626 to 1642 in competition with the Dutch and ostensibly to protect Macao from that nation. This would indicate that, regardless of their possessing a common king, Spain and Portugal initially obtained their tea from different parts of China and that tea would have first arrived in Spain, as it did in the Netherlands, through trade either originating in or transiting through Taiwan. That best explains the difference in what this item of commerce was called. One must assume that tea consumption on the Iberian Peninsula began, at least in the Spanish part of the peninsula, between 1626 and 1642. The time frame for the Portuguese part of the peninsula must also be roughly similar, as otherwise the Cantonese word would have spread to Spain or the Fukkienese word to Portugal. Catherine, having been born in 1638 would have never experienced a time when tea was not available in Portugal and can be expected to have been exposed to it from a very early age. It could not have ever been considered as an unfashionable drink in Portugal, otherwise it could never have been sold in at a price high enough to have justified its transportation costs to Portugal in quantities large enough to have turned it into a lexical item in the Spanish and Portuguese languages. If nothing else, the very costliness of tea would have given it a certain attractiveness among the aristocratic classes in which Catherine grew up.

Further strengthening the presumption that Catherine would have been familiar with tea sweetened by sugar can be found in the fact that Portugal, in Catherine's time, was a major trader in sugar, producing it in both its Atlantic island possession of Madeira from the 1450s and later in Brazil, the production of which antedated the birth of Catherine by many years. In fact, one part of Catherine's dowry was sugar. As a result, Catherine herself may be expected to have drunk her tea with sugar, if not in Portugal, at least after her arrival in England. In Britain today those who take a lot of sugar in their tea are not considered aristocratic spendthrifts but lower class. The more sugar consumed, the lower one's social ranking.

In the same year that we have mentioned tea being drunk sweet, there is a diary entry of Samuel Pepys for 25 September 1660 where he records he drank a cup of tea. Samuel Pepys (1633-1703) was a naval administrator and Member of Parliament. He wrote that he had been discussing foreign affairs with some friends, "and afterwards did send for a Cup of Tee (a China drink) of which I never drank before". Since Pepys was a member of the wealthy and fashionable London set that congregated in coffee houses, his failure to mention tea earlier suggests that it was still highly unusual in that year, possibly because it was not yet directly imported into England but came through the Netherlands, thus adding to its cost. The first document printed in English concerning tea, the same advertisement of Thomas Garraway which mentioned the sweetening of tea, suggests that even three years after his first importing the product from the Netherlands that, though the price was more reasonable than before, it was still rare and that its primary uses remained medicinal.

Concerning tea during the early 1660's there is also a frequently appearing, yet probably apocryphal story that, after the stormy crossing from Portugal to England, a completely exhausted Catherine asked for a cup of tea, but that this was so rare at the time that it was only possible to offer her a glass of ale instead, a drink which was the main drink at meals at the time for all classes of Englishmen and –women. Ale was made from the same ingredients as beer and processed like beer but without hops.

On the boat bearing Catherine from Portugal were also large amounts of sugar and chinaware, though this chinaware was unlikely to have contained tea cups, though the equivalents, both with and without handles, already existed in England. Chinaware, though out of the ordinary for England at that time, was soon to soon be used at the royal court in combination with tea. Catherine's chinaware probably contained bowls containing eight ounce servings of tea but called dishes. This is because for the rest of the 17th century after her arrival people in polite society no longer drank cups of tea, but rather drank dishes of tea. Even as late as the 19th century some Britons poured the tea from the cup into the saucer and drank it from that. Paintings of the time indicate that these dishes were much like certain bowls used even today in the tea ceremonies of modern Japan. It was not until the 18th century before English people reverted to drinking tea out of cups.

Thus, what Catherine would have done was to feminize a masculine drink and make it a part of polite, aristocratic society, by introducing chinaware, tea tables, tea pots, and porcelain bowls for drinking tea which the English called dishes. The fact that dish was used for something that looked like a small soup bowl might very well be evidence of Catherine's influence as, even today, the Portuguese word for dish, prato, is also used when referring to a soup bowl. It might very well be that Catherine's initially limited mastery of English, combined with her use of Chinese porcelain, would have resulted in a new meaning being given to an English word. In any case, as the dishes had no handles, more care had to be taken in drinking. Moreover, this was something which had to be done in radically more elegant settings than before, thus encouraging polite conversation laced with wit and repartée. In the process, new customs were developed and a new vocabulary was created, though, with the development of chinaware production in Europe at a level equal to that of China, tea cups with handles rather than dishes without came back into fashion in the 18th century.

The Development of Tea Related Vocabulary in England during the Late 1600's and the Beginning of the 1700's

You know that tea was established as an English word in the last years of the Commonwealth, just before the restoration of Charles II, though it did not become widely known until the reign of that king. In the beginning, however, it seems that cha was also occasionally in use. The first mention of tea in Europe was as chia by Giovanni Pietro Maffei in his *Historiarum Indicarum Libri XVI* (1588). There he describes the Chinese use of tea as follows:

Although they do not extract wine from the vines as we do, but have a custom of preserving the grapes as a kind of condiment for the winter, they yet press out of a certain herb, a liquor which is very healthy which is called *Chia*, and they drink it hot, as do the Japanese. And the use of this causes them not to know the meaning of phlegm, heaviness of the head, or running of the eyes, but they live a long and happy life, without pain, or infirmity of any sort.

Printed in Florence, the *Historiarum* was quickly reprinted and subsequently translated into Italian and French for wide distribution throughout Europe.

The first article referring to tea appeared in English was in 1615, when one tea agent wrote another requesting him to send "a pot of the best sort of chaw". It is notable that here, we have not tea,

but tcha or chaw. Samuel Pepys in his diary of 25 September, 1660 wrote that “That excellent and by all physicians, approved, China drink, called by the Chineans Tcha, by other nations Tay alias Tea, is sold at the Sultanness Head Coffee-house, in Sweetings Rents, by the ‘Royal Exchange, London’.” It is also recorded that in 1659: “Coffee, chocolate, and a kind of drink called tee, sold in almost every street.”

Tea as opposed to cha appears to have become predominant in English because this was the word which the Dutch used and, as tea was initially imported for use in the coffee shops, this is the word that became common there in the late 1650’s and very early 1660’s. Another perhaps more important reason was that, as a luxury item associated with a certain sense of sinfulness, like the sense of tobacco and alcohol in the 20th and 21st centuries, tea was subjected to heavy taxes, both when imported and when sold at coffee houses, and, as such, was to become an important source of royal revenue. It was only natural that the terminology already in common use in the coffee houses would be adopted in tax legislation to avoid confusion. In modern British slang cuppa cha is “cup of tea” and “my cup of tea” is “my preference.”

As a vocabulary item, tea incorporates various accidents of history. The Portuguese very early imported tea to Europe from their Chinese base in Macao, in a Cantonese speaking area. It was thus only natural that the Cantonese word for tea (*cha*) also became the Portuguese word for that product. This form also passed overland into Russia. *Tea*, on the other hand, appears among the English in the 1650’s with reference to Dutch imports and as *te* (*thé/tay/tea*) was brought to Europe by the Dutch and, more surprisingly, the Spanish who had for many decades shared a common king with the Portuguese, thus indicating that the word reflected the word for tea in the Amoy form of Fukienese (the form of Chinese also used in 17th century Dutch and Spanish controlled Formosa, modern day Taiwan). The original English pronunciation of the word seems to have been /te:/, a sound which is sometimes indicated in 17th century England by an occasional use of the spelling *tay*. For example, early in 1664, there is an article entitled *An exact description of the growth, quality, and vertues of the leaf tee, alias tay drawn up for satisfaction of persons of quality, and the good of the nation in general*, indicating that in the early 1660’s, the years in which the popularity of tea first began to spread in England, both *tay* and *tee* were considered as possible pronunciations. Nevertheless, the current pronunciation /ti:/ soon became predominant, even though the pronunciation /te:/ continues to be attested in rhymes down to 1762, and appears to have lingered in certain dialects even longer. Alexander Pope rhymed “obey” and “tea.”

Comparing with *OED* Tea-Related Vocabulary

Very soon after *tea* came into English language it combined with many English words such as *spoon*, *cup*, *table*, etc., to create compound nouns which survive with specific uses today. Another point which is notable is that *OED* mention of first uses is generally later than what appears in the previously mentioned online databases. With this in mind let us examine the following chart. It gives the earliest occurrence of various tea-related words to be found in the databases and shows a rapid development in the vocabulary building of these terms for the reign of Charles II (1660-1684) and his immediate successors, James II (1684-1689), Mary II (1689-1692), and William III (1689-1702).

Year	Vocabulary	Source	Content
1670 [cf. OED 1705]	<i>Teakettle</i>	NationalArchive: Anon	<i>BulmerwomaninHalsteadHouseofCorrectionforstealingtwosh eets, warmingpanlid, teakettle, brasspepper-box, box-ironandheatersetc.,e rhusbanddischarged becauseheenlisted(Q /SBb223/12)</i>
1675 [cf. OED 1675]	<i>tea-drinking</i>	EEBO: Wycherley	<i>Aseveryrawpeevis h, outof-humour'd, affected,dull, Tea-drinking, ArithmeticalFopsets upforawit, byrailingatmenofsen ce,sotheseforhonour , byrailingattheCourt, andLadiesofasgreat honour, asquality.</i>
1687 [cf. OED 1705]	<i>Teapot</i>	EEBO: deChaumont	<i>TeaPot.wos mall Cups withEars. TwoChocholate Cups. Fourseveral smallDi shestoburnIncenseaf tertheChinaandJapo nfashion.</i>
1687 [cf. OED 1675]	<i>Tealeaves</i>	EEBO: Madan	<i>Tothosetowhomit'soffe nsivetakenalone, mayaddthereunto some TealeavesorCatechu, toqualifiethingrateful nessthereof, andrenderitinoffensive takenPipewise.</i>

1688 [cf. OED 1703]	<i>tea-tables</i>	EEBO: Shadwell	<i>OurPoetbegsyouwh oadornthisSphere, ThisShiningCircle, willnotbesevere. HerenoChitchat, hereno[H] TeaTablesare.</i>
1689 [cf. OED 1689]	<i>tea-house</i>	EEBO: Millington	<i>LondonGaz. No. 2481/4, Cataloguesaregiven at..Mr. Mainwaring'sTea- house.</i>
1693 [cf. OED 1700]	<i>tea-cup</i>	EEBO: LaLoubère	<i>A little tea-cup</i>
1698 [cf. OED 1711]	<i>Teadish</i>	EEBO: King	<i>Tea. Hepre sentedmewith aRoman<-[H] TeaDish, andaChocolatePot, whichItaketobeabou tAugustus'stime, becauseitisveryRust y.</i>
1699 [cf. OED 1737]	<i>tea-drinkers</i>	EEBO: Ovington	<i>Tea-drinkers, aremoredisturb'dwit hthatDistemper, thansuchaplentifull ydrinkitdaily.</i>
1700 [cf. OED 1760]	<i>tea-tree</i>	EEBO: Tate	<i>THE Talein the First Cantoofthis Poem, was taken (asRomantickasitma yseem) from the Chinese History, and, with very modest Fiction, accommodated to my Subject; to make</i>

			<i>the Discovery and Production of the TEA-TREE more wonderful and surprising.</i>
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Discussion: Reasons for Cultural and therefore Language Development

Trade, class and social structure appear to be the key determinants of lexical growth in a stylized economic model of the development of the English language. In this model colonial expansion and the development of foreign trade are of great importance because through these mechanisms new items requiring new vocabulary are made available. Tea as a new and rare item in the British society after some initial variation quickly took the form tea. Moreover, this new coinage almost immediately began compounding with existing English words to create new words with specialized meanings.

As tea was highly taxed, it was first drunk only by a regular basis by the royal family, in the rather broader sense that term would have had in the 17th century. As can be seen by an advertisement of Garraways, a coffee house which began selling tea, tea's normal use was initially considered to be medicinal. The use of tea at the very top of English society for purposes of socialization soon stimulated the spread of tea and soon led to the creation of tea-related words.

Conclusion

To recapitulate, an examination of contemporary 17th century sources available in EEBO, LION, and the National Archive reveals that new words for tea-related items were coined relatively soon after the introduction of the custom of tea-drinking in England. In many cases, these vocabulary items appear some time before the earliest attested dates in the *OED*. The whole matter is geolinguistic, one commodity in trade and use demonstrates language in action and its connection to culture and commerce.

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