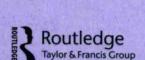
Women, Accounting, and Narrative

Keeping books in eighteenth-century England
Rebecca Elisabeth Connor



Women, Accounting, and Narrative

Keeping books in eighteenth-century England

Rebecca Elisabeth Connor



For my mother

First published 2004 by Routledge 711 Third Avenue, New York, NY 10017

Simultaneously published in the UK by Routledge

2 Park Square, Milton Park, Abingdon, Oxfordshire OX14 4RN

Routledge is an imprint of the Taylor & Francis Group

First issued in paperback 2011

© 2004 Rebecca Elisabeth Connor

Typeset in Sabon by Florence Production Ltd, Stoodleigh, Devon

All rights reserved. No part of this book may be reprinted or reproduced or utilized in any form or by any electronic, mechanical, or other means, now known or hereafter invented, including photocopying and recording, or in any information storage or retrieval system, without permission in writing from the publishers.

Library of Congress Cataloging in Publication Data A catalog record for this book has been requested

British Library Cataloguing in Publication Data A catalogue record for this book is available from the British Library

ISBN 978-0-415-17046-8 (hbk) ISBN 978-0-415-51363-0 (pbk)

Women, Accounting, and Narrative

In the early eighteenth century, the household accountant was traditionally female. However, just as women were seen as financial accountants, they were also deeply associated with the literary and narrative accounting inherent in letters and diaries. This book examines these socio-linguistic acts of feminized accounting alongside property, originality, and the development of the early novel.

The book begins with an investigation of the reconceptualization of value that occurred between the late seventeenth and early eighteenth centuries. While women were often denied inheritance of land, their fortunes were increasingly realized in moveable wealth: textiles, furniture, plate, jewelry, and money. The value of such items necessarily required documentation in the form of accounts, yet accounts did more than keep track of possessions. The author shows how numbers were used to record experience and create subjectivity, becoming a means of defining the self. The century's near-obsession with keeping books can be seen in women's almanac-diaries – where owners documented everything from sociability to thrift – and also extended to literature.

Two female-narrated novels – Aphra Behn's Fair Jilt and Daniel Defoe's Moll Flanders – are then examined, questioning the way in which the century's preoccupation with accounting manifested itself differently in novels of the time. The book concludes with an examination of the developing relationship between property, narrative, and "personality." The picaresque, an older form of narrative which charts the search for real property or land, is contrasted with the "novel of personality," which charts the search for personal property, or money.

The relationship of doubly accounting women to contemporary conceptions of selfhood, prosperity, and the developing novel, is the subject of this penetrating study.

This book will be essential reading for students and researchers of history, economic history, women's studies, and those interested in the early novel.

Rebecca Elisabeth Connor was born in England and received her Ph.D. from Stanford University. She is an Assistant Professor of English at Hunter College in New York City.

Routledge Research in Gender and History

- 1 The Women's Movement and Women's Employment in Nineteenth-Century Britain Ellen Jordan
- 2 Gender, Sexuality and Colonial Modernities Edited by Antoinette Burton
- 3 Women's Suffrage in the British Empire Citizenship, nation and race Edited by Ian Christopher Fletcher, Laura E. Nym Mayhall and Philippa Levine
- 4 Women, Educational Policy-Making and Administration in England Authoritative women since 1800 Edited by Joyce Goodman and Sylvia Harrop
- 5 Women, Gender and Labour Migration Historical and global perspectives Edited by Pamela Sharpe
- 6 Women, Accounting, and Narrative Keeping books in eighteenth-century England Rebecca Elisabeth Connor

Acknowledgments

This work on accounting has incurred many debts. I would like to thank Terry Castle for knowing what was interesting about this project when I didn't, for her sustaining encouragement, and for insisting that academic writing be lucid and accessible. John Bender's ambitions for me far exceeded my own; this is a more complicated and better reasoned piece of scholarship because of his high standards and close attention. My interest in the peculiarities of eighteenth-centry accounting began in Jay Fliegelman's class; I thank him for his provocative questions, his enormous intellectual generosity, and for emboldening my imagination. I would like to thank the University of Chicago, for use of their library facilities. I am also indebted to the anonymous readers at Studies in Eighteenth-Century Culture, for thoughtful comments on Chapter 3, and to their editorial board, for permission to reprint a section of that chapter. Robert Nathan's steadfastness helped me through the early stages of this project. Marianita Amodio's skill and perfectionism are responsible for many of the photographic images; I am also grateful to Myra Appleton and Donna Gregory for their thorough and intelligent editing. I would like to thank my father for his unwavering interest and enthusiasm. Finally, without the kindness, quick wit, and encouragement of Tony Gould, I would not have finished this book.

Contents

	List of illustrations Acknowledgments	vii ix
	Introduction	2
1	Diary of a not-so-mad housewife	5
	The consumer ethic – or ethical consumption 17 Accounting for women 19	
	Money as metaphor – and mind your own business 24 The power of portability 28 Accounting for accounting 29	
	Accounting for texts 33 From fiction to finance to faction 34	
	The me generation: memorandum, memory, memoir 40 Just what the doctor ordered 43	
	A no-good account 45 Accounts personified 4 Ladies do the math 51 Widow-take-all 57	
	Accentuate the mascuine eurninate the feminine 59 The mathematics of moratity 65	
	Woman as micromanager of The perils of lady in the dark 65	
2	Jack and The Fair Jilt: the value of Aphra Behn	67
	Demise of a specie 67	
	The bent of Behn 68 In for a pistole, in for a pound 75 All's fair/fair is all 76 A fair exchange 78	
	Coin of the realms 84 Giving The Fair Jilt a fair shake 89	

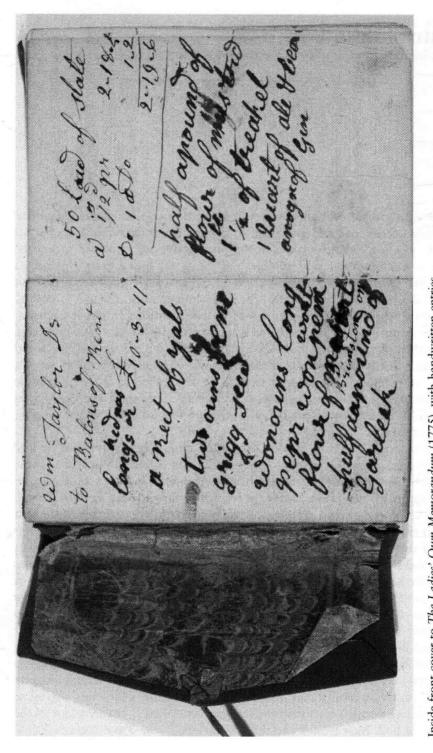
3	Birds of a different feather: going toe-to-toe with Defoe	91
	Jailbirds, but not together 92	
	The root of the root of all evil 93	
	The flip side of clipping 99	
	Social accounting: reading and writing arithmetick 101	
	You're nobody till somebody owes you 106	
	Now you see it/now you don't 107	
	You are what you count 108	
	Of haggling and the body prix fixe 111	
	Delivery à la carte 112	
	Moll of America 116	
	Friends of Flanders 116	
	The calico caper 119	
	Going broke and breaking back 120	
	Deconstructing Defoe 124	
4	He said/she said: from the picaresque to the pointedly	
	personal	127
	Pick a peck of picaresques 128	
	Land of the free(holders) 130	
	She's got personality 132	
	And she's got funds 134	
	She's got good and plenty 136	
	And she's got it all 137	
	The I of the narrator/the He of the well-born hunk 142	
	On an ego trip with the girls 145	
	Property rights and wrongs 149	
	The movers and the shirkers 150	
	Coming full-circle to the ladies who count 151	
	4.0	152
	Notes	153
	References	194
	Index	206

Illustrations

	front cover to The Ladies' Own Memorandum (1775), with	
	ritten entries. From the copy in the Rare Book Collection, Burke, Hamilton College. Reproduced here with permission.	1
1–7	Diary pages from <i>The Ladies'</i> Own Memorandum (1775). From the copy in the Rare Book Collection, Burke Library,	
	Hamilton College. Reproduced here with permission.	4–13
8	Printed page from <i>The Ladies' Own Memorandum</i> (1775). From the copy in The Rare Book Collection, Burke Library,	
	Hamilton College. Reproduced here with permission.	27
9	Exterior view of <i>The Ladies'</i> Own Memorandum (1775), with tie. From the copy in The Rare Book Collection, Burke	
	Library, Hamilton College. Reproduced here with permission.	28
10	Page from John Vernon's <i>The Compleat Comptinghouse</i> (1709 edition). By permission of the Goldsmiths' Library of Economic Literature, University of London Library.	38
	Economic Electature, University of London Elbrary.	30
11	From Charles Vyse's Young Ladies Accountant, and Best Accomplisher (1771). From the copy in the Historical Textbooks Collection, Monroe C. Gutman Library Special	
	Collections, Harvard Graduate School of Education. Reproduced here with permission.	52
12	Title page, Advice to the women and maidens of London (1708 edition). By permission of the University of Chicago	
	Library, Special Collections Research Center.	58
13–14	Sample accounts (including double-entry) from <i>Advice</i> to the women and maidens of London (1708 edition). By permission of the University of Chicago Library, Special	
	Collections Research Center.	60-1

	T11	
V111	Illustrations	

15	From Mathew Quin's <i>The Rudiments of Book-keeping</i> (1777). By permission of the Irish Pamphlet Collection, Rare Book Department, The Free Library of Philadelphia.	62
16	Aphra Behn, handwritten letters dated 1668 (PRO 29/170, no. 88; PRO 29/151, no. 126). By permission of the Public Record Office, Kew, England.	72
17	From Daniel Defoe's <i>Moll Flanders</i> , 1722 edition. By permission of the University of Chicago Library, Special Collections Research Center.	113
18	From Robert Chamberlain's <i>The Accomptants Guide</i> , or <i>Merchants Book-keeper</i> (1696). By permission of The Annenberg Rare Book and Manuscript Library, University of Pennsylvania.	115
19	Pages from Richard Latham's account book (1751).	1 1
	By permission of the County Archivist, Lancashire Record Office.	152



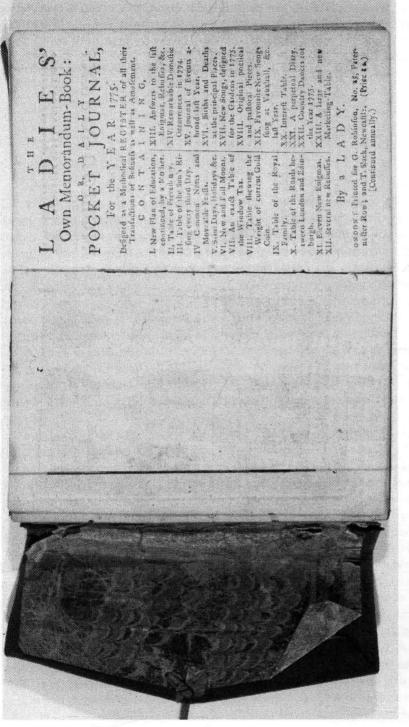
Source: From the copy in the Rare Book Collection, Burke Library, Hamilton College. Reproduced here with permission. Inside front cover to The Ladies' Own Memorandum (1775), with handwritten entries

Introduction

The words that recur in the literature of an age offer clues to contemporary fascinations and anxieties. In the eighteenth century, "account" is such a word, taking various forms and conveying multiple meanings. Account, accounting, accountable: the words are found everywhere from tutelary texts to novels, particularly – it turns out – in literature about and directed toward women. In eighteenth-century usage, "account" denoted supposedly true histories as well as fictitious chronicles, encompassed simple financial sums as well as complex double-entry bookkeeping, described Protestant debt–credit relationships to God as well as social ties exacting in their reciprocal economic responsibility. "Account" speaks, too, of memory – what is chosen to be remembered, and how people remember. What then, are the cultural and ideological preoccupations behind these literary references, and why are they so often associated with women?

This book explores works of fiction alongside the various ladies' almanacs and pocket books ubiquitous in the eighteenth century. These portable volumes often included blank "chapters" intended as diaries, to be kept by women primarily for the recording of financial accounts. Indeed, such volumes express a growing cultural expectation that women document what they had, what they owed, and what they were owed. I shall examine a pattern of behavior displayed not only by ordinary women diarists, but also by women characters in popular novels of the era, many of whom, like the heroines of Defoe and Richardson, seem to be fictional versions of the owners of such almanacs as The Ladies' Own Memorandum and The Ladies' Compleat Pocket Book. Equally revealing are those writers who resisted bookkeeping and all it implied. Thus the late-seventeenth-century Aphra Behn deliberately omits precise financial records; accounting in her stories symbolizes an encroaching, and corrupting, capitalist world. Novels written only a few decades later, however, are rife with women who eagerly "tell" not just money but also stories. These later characters articulate themselves through economic and textual ownership, shrewdly aware of the value of both their money and their narratives. In the diary pages of ladies'

pocket books as well as the early English novel, this twofold expectation of accounting, or "telling" – with its implications of female thrift, sociability, prudence, order, and self-control – began to be at once realized and idealized.



Source: From the copy in the Rare Book Collection, Burke Library, Hamilton College. Reproduced here with permission. Figure 1 Diary pages from The Ladies' Own Memorandum (1775)

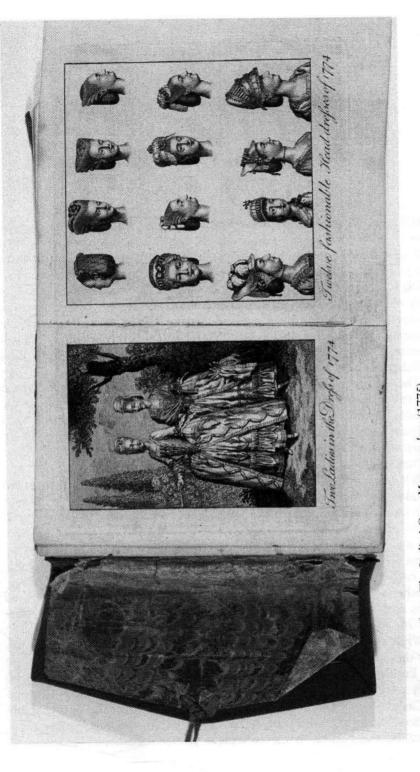
1 Diary of a not-so-mad housewife

The Ladies' Own Memorandum Book: or, Daily Pocket Journal for the year 1775 is typical of the many almanacs and manuals for women printed in England in the mid to late eighteenth century. Measuring barely three inches by five inches, it is a pocket book in the most literal sense. Just inside its cover is a fold-out page illustrating the latest fashion in hats. The table of contents further reveals its targeted readership to be middle-class, urbane women who are at once modish and pragmatic: "Remarkable Domestic Occurrences in 1774," "Useful Hints for Marketing," "New Country Dances," "Hackney Coach Fares" ("Piccadilly, the Golden Lion to Palsgrave-head court, Temple-bar: Price 1 Shilling").

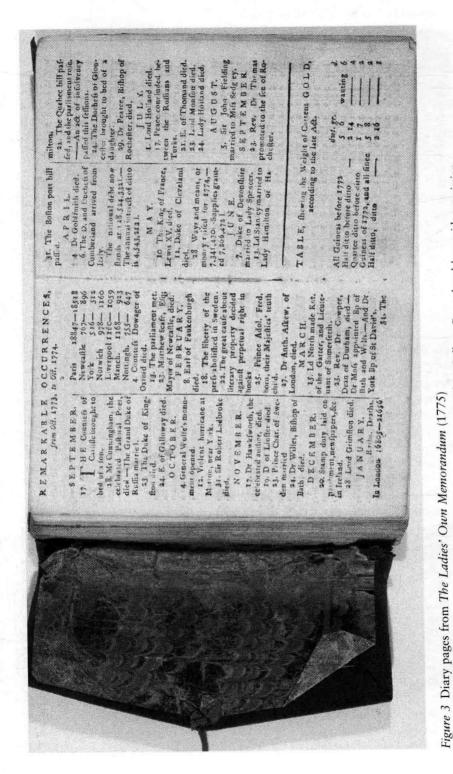
The volume also quantifies information in the form of various tables: "A Table of the Sun's Rising every third Day," "An Exact Table of the Window Tax," "A Table shewing the Weight of current Gold Coin." Such inclusive information was intended to keep the reader up-to-date – from dance-steps, to current affairs, to tax rates, to currency valuations. These women might do their own shopping, but they aren't matrons.

What is emphasized is the text's portability; the owner is encouraged to take this pocket book with her when she goes out, either on foot or by coach, either shopping or socializing, and to consult it when the need arises. Moreover, the "microcosmic aspects" of coach-fares and tax-rates are well-suited to the volume's small size: "the miniature book," writes Susan Stewart, "encapsulates the details of everyday life, fitting life inside the body rather than the body inside the expansive temporality of life." In other words, by containing the world of sunrises and marketing and taxes and coach fares, *The Ladies' Own Memorandum* assures its owner that life itself may be contained.

While the table of contents suggests that almanac information dominates this volume, fully three-quarters of the book is taken up by Chapter 21. Entitled "A Perpetual Diary," it devotes two partially ruled pages to every week in the year. The top of each left-hand page is labeled "Account of Cash." To the far right on the same page is a vertically lined column headed "Received," with subcolumns designated for pounds, shillings, and pence. At the bottom of the column is printed "Cash in Hand," where



Source: From the copy in the Rare Book Collection, Burke Library, Hamilton College. Reproduced here with permission. Figure 2 Diary pages from The Ladies' Own Memorandum (1775)



Source: From the copy in the Rare Book Collection, Burke Library, Hamilton College. Reproduced here with permission.