The First Pre-Printed Diaries: Origins, Development and Uses of an Information Genre, 1700-1850



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Short Abstract

This thesis examines the perceptions and practices of self-writing between 1700 and 1850 as products of the burgeoning information culture of the age. It demonstrates how priorities of information management and the shared, cultural valuing of knowledge shaped the way individuals wrote about themselves in an array of forms over the course of the period. In particular, it asserts that the arrival of the pre-structured diary in 1748 was a significant development because it confirmed and enacted the perception of self-writing as a factual, empirical pursuit. By requesting the entry of brief 'data' into an essentially scientific form, the table, it made writing about the self an empirical, forensic exercise. This thesis finds that the priorities enshrined in this printed genre were reflected in the way it, and other forms were perceived and used. Individuals 'logged' their existence in pre-ordained categories, and expressed their emotions through snippets of reproduced 'fact'. These habits signalled a broader shift in the way the 'self' was expressed in the late eighteenth and early nineteenth century.

This examination of self-writing provides new insights into the knowledge economy of the period. It argues that the eighteenth- and early nineteenth-century culture of knowledge was characterised by the categorisation and management of information. The reproduction of these management systems in individuals' self-writing, this study contends, is an invaluable indicator of the extent to which the culture of information permeated. Above all, these self-writing forms are testament not just to the popularisation of information in this period, but its personalisation: individuals drew on the models, forms, and classifying structures employed in more informational genres to shape the way they wrote about themselves.

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Long Abstract

This thesis examines perceptions and practices of self-writing between 1700 and 1850 as products of the burgeoning information culture of the age. It demonstrates how priorities of information management and the shared, cultural valuing of knowledge shaped the way individuals wrote about themselves over the course of the eighteenth and early nineteenth centuries. To do so, it examines an array of diaries, account books, almanacs and pocket books, paying attention to the form and structure of their content, to understand the way models drawn from informational writing and factual forms influenced individuals writing about their own experience.

This analysis uses the pre-printed diary in particular as a key point of contact between self-writing and information culture. An entirely new genre of print that first went on sale in 1748, it contained useful information and pre-structured pages for individuals to enter their daily 'memorandums', 'appointments', 'observations' and financial accounts for the year. No previous form had so explicitly promoted particular ideals of the practice of diarizing, nor directed the nature of its contents so closely. This study contends that, in its form and function, it confirmed and enacted the perception of self-writing as a factual, empirical pursuit, and the diary as a factual genre. Furthermore, the priorities enshrined in this printed form were manifest in the way they were used. The fact that individuals 'logged' their existence in pre-ordained categories, and expressed their emotions through snippets of reproduced 'fact', shows that they shared this perception of diarizing as a scientific exercise. The arrival and popularity of this genre in the mid-eighteenth century was therefore a significant development in the way perceptions and practices of self-writing changed over the course of this period. It reflected changes happening more broadly in the use of other forms, changes which

presented a contrast to the more extended, prose – and frequently spiritual – forms of diarizing seen to characterise the early modern period, and that also challenge historical understandings of the diary as a predominantly introspective and lengthy, prose form.

This study proposes a new approach to accessing and understanding the information culture of the eighteenth and early nineteenth century. It was an information age, one of reference works, encyclopaedias and dictionaries that catered to a popular appetite for knowledge. Existing historical scholarship has examined the popularisation of this taste for information through the print culture of the period, after the compendious projects of Diderot and D'Alembert, Samuel Johnson, Ephraim Chambers, and others. In addition, the way we understand the consumption of information has been heavily influenced by the Habermasian notion of a public sphere, in which the accumulation of knowledge was a shared, collective experience that took place in a social setting. Only a handful of studies, however, have examined self-writing forms in the context of this discussion. This thesis argues that the analysis of these forms is vital to understanding the spread of information: both for the access they provide to the personal experience of information culture, but also for what they reveal of the role of these less erudite, more ephemeral forms in the circulation of knowledge.

The conclusions posited in these pages are based upon analysis of a large body of source material. A group of 150 pre-printed diaries, dating from 1750 to 1850, constitute the principal body of sources. The group encompasses both male and female users, of different backgrounds and professions, as well as a variety of titles produced by an array of different publishers. Previous studies of this genre have tended to restrict their analysis to focus on one diary, or the diaries of one individual. The intentionally expansive scope of publishers, titles and users in this study, in contrast, provides an opportunity to identify broader patterns of use. Alongside these diaries, this dissertation draws on other primary material. An important feature of my approach is that I explore the practices of diary-keeping evident in pre-printed forms, in the context of broader perspectives on the topic. To do so I use other self-writing forms – account books, almanacs, pocket books and prose diaries, among others – and popular print like newspapers, periodicals, contemporary literature and satire. In a period when published autobiography was becoming an increasingly popular genre, and diarizing a

growing habit, comment on the practice features regularly in these print forms throughout the century, and provides invaluable context for the close study of its practice.

One major argument of this thesis is that the pre-printed diary enshrined in its structure and form an attitude to self-writing that had existed early in the eighteenth century, but developed in scope and intensity over its course. For this reason, the study is divided into two parts, and six chapters, arranged chronologically, which are devised to explore different phases in the way self-writing was written about and practiced as the period progressed. Part I examines attitudes towards and practices of self-writing that existed between 1700 and 1748. Chapter One examines the commentary on self-writing that appeared in print in this period. It reveals that in all its didactic, satirical, critical and laudatory forms, this commentary was prescriptive in its expectation of the practice. Brief, concise and pragmatic diarizing was preferable to reflective, introspective writing: self-writing should be practical and useful. It was promoted as both a symbol of self-organisation in this period, and a means of achieving it. The analysis in this chapter suggests that alongside financial accounting, new cultural models were beginning to be drawn on to explain the form and function of the diary.

Chapter Two explores the practice of self-writing in the same period. It draws on a variety of different self-writing forms – almanacs, pocket books, spiritual diaries and account books – to argue that there existed shared expectations of the content, purpose and form of self-writing in the early eighteenth century. It traces the way these forms were used; the manner in which they were organised and ordered; and the factual, informational nature of their content to demonstrate that the directives and perceptions of self-writing evident in print represented only a fraction of what were shared, multifaceted trends in practice in this period. It is argued here that these practices indicate a nascent perception of self-writing as informational, as well as a means of self-organisation.

In Part II of this study, continuities and changes in perceptions and practices of self-writing are traced after 1749, the year for which the first pre-printed diary went on sale. Chapter Three asserts that the prescriptive ideals of diarizing that existed in the first

half of the eighteenth century intensified in its second half. An analysis of evidence from periodicals, fiction, and other contemporary publications identifies strong links between the way diarizing and other informational forms, like encyclopaedias and reference works, were perceived and written about in this period. The diary was written about as both an organisational form, but also the function of an informational culture in which fact and knowledge were privileged. While extended reflective diarizing was acknowledged, and continued to be popular in this period, self-writing was increasingly perceived as a form of logging, or recording of information.

Chapter Four introduces the genre of the pre-printed diary, and explores its printed content. This chapter contends that this genre was a symptom of the broader culture of knowledge of the late eighteenth century, and enshrined many of the principles of form, content and structure promoted in print. The examination of this form follows two strands: the first explores the pre-printed diary as a means of self-management; the second examines the way it was designed as a reference work by its creators. The latter in particular is shown to have implications for the self-writing it encouraged in its users, and what it reveals of the broader information culture of the period: the way it changed, and the forms of information it promoted.

In Chapter Five, examination of the pre-printed diary form continues with a close analysis of the printed, tabulated structure that dictated the layout of diarists' weekly and daily entries. The table had overt connotations of scientific and statistical pursuits in the eighteenth century, and its use in these diaries, this chapter contends, places them firmly amongst these empirical, scientific forms. The second part of this chapter focuses on the way these diaries were used, and how individual diarists responded to the cultural messages of information management so ingrained in the form of the genre. Analysis in this chapter challenges existing understandings of the interaction of diary and diarist as a 'conflict' to show, instead, that it was more of a dialogue, in which individuals adapted the space in a way that indicated their participation in the information management enshrined in the diary form.

Chapter Six examines other forms of self-writing that were used in this period, to evaluate the extent to which the practices promoted in commentary and enshrined in

the pre-printed diary were enacted in other forms. A survey of the practices of 24 individuals reveals shared habits that reflected engagement with the culture of information, as well as the influence of the pre-printed diary itself. Four case studies at the end of the chapter enable a close, detailed examination of the practices of individuals who used a combination of pre-printed and free-structured forms. The findings from both parts of the chapter enable conclusions to be drawn about how self-writing as a whole had changed by the mid-nineteenth century, and the interaction of the factual model of diarizing with other, enduring forms. The conclusion to this thesis builds on these findings to assess what this analysis has revealed of the individual experience of information culture in this period, how the project might be expanded and developed, and, finally, a brief exploration of the enduring influence of the eighteenth-century model on the way we perceive and write about our selves.

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Abbreviations and Conventions

Abbreviations

BIA	Bishopsgate Institute Archives
BL	British Library
BM	British Museum
BOD	Bodleian Library
CBS	Centre for Buckinghamshire Studies
HFA	Hertfordshire Archives
HL	Henry E. Huntington Library
HRO	Hampshire Record Office
LA	Lincolnshire Archives
LMA	London Metropolitan Archives
LWL	Lewis Walpole Library
NA	Nottinghamshire Archives
NLS	National Library of Scotland
NLW	National Library of Wales
NRS	National Records of Scotland
OBP	*Old Bailey Proceedings* (*The Old Bailey Proceedings Online,* via www.oldbaileyonline.org)
ODNB	*Oxford Dictionary of National Biography* (via www.odnb.com)
OED	*Oxford English Dictionary* (via www.oed.com)
OUMNH	Oxford University Museum of Natural History
TNA	The National Archives
WIL	Wellcome Institute Library

Referencing Conventions

This † symbol at the end of a reference indicates an item accessed digitally. For the sake of clarity and space, website URLs are not provided in footnotes: †† indicates that a URL is provided in the Bibliography. For all material, the place of publication is London unless otherwise stated.

i. Printed Material

References to all printed material give the year of first publication, and the year of the edition used (where different).

ii. Manuscript Sources

All manuscript sources are referenced by repository, call number/shelf mark, owner, form, and year(s) of use. Foliations and page numbers are provided where known: in their absence other indicators of location are given where possible (i.e. date/month of diary entry).

iii. Pre-Printed Diaries

1) Citation

These diaries are both manuscript and printed sources. In Chapter 4 they are treated and cited as printed sources, as follows:

BOD, MS. Eng. misc. fol. 71, *Daily Journal, or the Gentleman's, Merchant's and Tradesman's Complete Annual Accompt- Book* (1763);

And subsequently

BOD, MS. Eng. misc. fol. 71, *Daily Journal* (1763).

In Chapter 5 and Chapter 6, they are referenced as manuscript, inscribed sources:

BOD, MS. Eng. misc. fol. 71, Diary of F. Boscawen (*The Daily Journal, or the Gentleman's, Merchant's and Tradesman's Complete Annual Accompt-Book,* 1763).

Where the owner of the diary is unknown, only the title of the diary is given. Further details of all pre-printed diaries are in the Appendix.

2) Pagination

Pagination/foliation is not consistent in these forms. In the absence of folio or page numbers, other indicators of location are provided (i.e. date/month of diary entry).

Introduction

I. Historiography: Self-Writing and the Age of Information

This thesis explores the impact of the information culture of the late eighteenth and early nineteenth centuries on the practice of self-writing. It aims to demonstrate how the invention and sale of one genre, the pre-printed diary, reflected and enacted broader changes in the way people wrote about themselves. This genre of diary has received little sustained attention in historical study. That has much to do with practical issues of categorisation. As forms printed to accommodate handwritten inscriptions, these diaries straddle the boundary between print and manuscript in a way that makes them difficult to classify. Some historians do view and analyse them as diaries; others, however, treat them exclusively as account books; [1] still others draw attention to their commercial origins[2] and focus upon their printed content – fashion advice, illustrated plates and instructive essays – rather than the personal inscriptions they contained.[3]

[1] R. E. Connor, *Women, Accounting and Narrative: Keeping Books in Eighteenth-Century England* (2004); B. Lemire, *The Business of Everyday Life: Gender, Practice and Social Politics in England, c.1600-1900* (Manchester, 2005), 208.

[2] J. Raven, *Publishing Business in Eighteenth-Century England* (Woodbridge, 2014), 204.

[3] J. Batchelor, 'Fashion and Frugality: Eighteenth-Century Pocket Books for Women', *Studies in Eighteenth-Century Culture,* 32 (2003), 1-18; A. Buck & H. Matthews, 'Pocket Guides to Fashion: Ladies' Pocket Books Published in England, 1760-1830', *Costume,* 18 (1984), 35-58; M. Hunt, *The Middling Sort: Commerce, Gender and the Family in England, 1680-1780* (Berkeley, 1996), 183; S. Jung, 'Thomas Stothard's Illustrations for the Royal Engagement Pocket Atlas 1779-1826', *The Library: The Transactions of the Bibliographical Society,* 12 (2011), 3-22 (for other articles by Jung on the same topic, see Bibliography); A. Leis, 'Displaying Art and Fashion: Ladies' Pocket-Book Imagery in the Paper Collections of Sarah Sophia Banks', *Konsthistorisk Tidskrift/Journal of Art History,* 82 (2013), 252-71.

The way this genre is treated in scholarship is not only the result of difficulties of material categorisation. It also relates to the way self-writing, and specifically diarizing, is perceived in historical study. Early but influential scholarship recognised it as an independent cultural phenomenon in its own right, and considered diarizing, particularly by the eighteenth and early nineteenth centuries, as the product and proponent of a 'culture of autobiography'.[4] Early diary scholars were reluctant to look beyond this to other cultural contexts which might have influenced the practice in this period: William Matthews wrote in 1950 that 'the form has no history in the most general sense.'[5] Felicity Nussbaum's later qualification in 1989, that diaries are 'relatively autonomous from the culture that they inhabit',[6] suggests that the perception of the diary form as somehow culturally independent, an ahistorical, self-contained phenomenon, persisted.[7] In turn, this emphasis on autobiography encouraged an understanding of the diary as a proto-literary form. Studies have asserted the proximity of diary and autobiography to the rise of the novel in the eighteenth century; either as a product of the same cultural attitudes, or as part of a linear development from introspective diary writing to public, consumable – autobiographical, and then fictional – literary work.[8] This perception is an

[4] See M. Mascuch, *Origins of the Individualist Self: Autobiography and Self-Identity in England, 1591-1791* (Cambridge, 1997); F. Nussbaum, *The Autobiographical Subject: Gender and Ideology in Eighteenth-Century England* (1989).

[5] W. Matthews, *British Diaries: An Annotated Bibliography of British Diaries Written Between 1442 and 1942* (Berkeley, 1950; this edn, 1967), ix.

[6] Nussbaum, *Autobiographical Subject,* 29. See also J. Sturrock, *The Language of Autobiography* (Cambridge, 1993) who treats the genre of spiritual diary in particular as an atemporal one.

[7] Amy Culley, writing as recently as 2015, warns that it is still 'important to avoid conceiving of life-writing as an abstract activity that takes place out of time and space' (A. Culley, 'Women's Life-Writing in the Long Eighteenth Century', *Literature Compass,* 12 (2015), 8).

[8] See R. Hogan, 'Engendered Autobiographies: The Diary as a Feminine Form', *Prose Studies: History, Theory, Criticism,* 14 (1991), 97; J. P. Hunter, *Before Novels: The Cultural Contexts of Eighteenth-Century English Fiction* (New York, 1990); E. McKay, 'The Diary Network in Sixteenth and Seventeenth-Century England', *Eras Journal* 2 (2001), unpaginated online edition; R. Langford, 'Revolutionary

enduring one, and has conditioned and shaped expectations of diary form and content[9] to be, as Jennifer Sinor has written, 'coherent, crafted and whole',[10] introspective, reflective forms in which the 'self' of the diarist is revealed to the historian. Late seventeenth and eighteenth-century diaries and autobiographies are approached as arenas of identity creation; identities that, as postmodern historical consensus has it, were ensembles, or constructs of contemporary social, political, and ideological models [11] that were expressed in richly descriptive and reflective ways.

Not every diarist was a Samuel Pepys, a James Boswell, or a Frances Burney, however. In fact, those early modern diaries that have been published - lengthy, written in full prose, and reflective – are exceptional, and selected for being 'aesthetically meritorious'[12] rather than fully representative of broader practice. They reinforce a prevalent definition of diarizing that does not accommodate

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Times: The Use of the Diary Form to Contest the French Third Republic in the *Jacques Vingtras* Trilogy by Jules Vallès', in R. Langford & R. West (eds), *Marginal Voices, Marginal Forms: Diaries in European Literature and History* (Amsterdam, 1999), 90-106; V. Quinn, 'Britain: Restoration and Eighteenth-Century Auto/Biography', in M. Jolly (ed.), *Encyclopedia of Life Writing: Autobiographical and Biographical Forms,* Vol. 1 (2 vols, 2001), 137; P. M. Spacks, *Imagining a Self: Autobiography and Novel in Eighteenth-Century England* (Cambridge, 1976).

[9] For comment on the persistence of this attitude see C. Condren, 'Specifying the Subject in Early Modern Autobiography', in R. Bedford, L. Davis & P. Kelly (eds), *Early Modern Autobiography: Theories, Genres, Practices* (Michigan, 2006), 35; L. McNeill, 'Teaching an Old Genre New Tricks: The Diary on the Internet', *Biography,* 2 (2005), 25; T. Webster, 'Writing to Redundancy: Approaches to Spiritual Journals and Early Modern Spirituality', *The Historical Journal,* 39 (1996), 34.

[10] J. Sinor, 'Reading the Ordinary Diary', *Rhetoric Review,* 21 (2002), 123.

[11] For early accounts of the diary as the location of the construction of the self from cultural and social models, see R. Fothergill, *Private Chronicles: A Study of English Diaries* (Oxford, 1974) and E. P. Thompson, 'Anthropology and the Discipline of Historical Context', *Midlands History,* 1 (1972), 41-55. For more recent accounts see R. Anselment, 'Elizabeth Freke's Remembrances: Reconstructing a Self', *Tulsa Studies in Women's Literature,* 16 (1997), 57-75; S. Greenblatt, *Renaissance Self-Fashioning: from More to Shakespeare* (Chicago, 1980; this edn, 2005); J. E. Howard, 'Textualizing an Urban Life: The Case of Isabella Whitney', in *Early Modern Autobiography,* 217; Mascuch, *Individualist Self,* 100; Nussbaum, *Autobiographical Subject,* xii; R. Porter, *Rewriting the Self: Histories from the Renaissance to the Present* (1997); M. Todd, 'Puritan Self-Fashioning: The Diary of Samuel Ward', *Journal of British Studies,* 31 (1992), 239.

[12] A-M. Millim, 'The Victorian Diary: Between the Public and the Private', *Literature Compass,* 7 (2010), 978.

forms like the pre-printed diary, in which information was logged and recorded, rather than explained and described. Nor is this mode of self-recording accommodated in the broader body of scholarship on so-called life-writing, that developed partly in reaction to the literary orientation of diary criticism and comment (and its narrow gender and social focus). Proponents of life-writing find that the self was expressed in an array of other, less canonical forms, like account books, commonplace books and others.[13] There is some irony in the fact that even as the definition of life-writing becomes more capacious, encompassing a growing range of forms of personal inscription, it still does not accommodate the shorter, logbook-style of self-writing.

The practice of logging experience therefore falls between these two frameworks of scholarly interpretation. This is problematic, for it means that this style of diarizing – whether it took place in the pre-printed form, or in log-style notes recorded elsewhere, in other forms - is measured against particular criteria of perceived 'diary' characteristics and analysed for what it does not do, rather than what it does.[14] For scholars used to the verbosity of self-expression associated with more literary diarizing, this late eighteenth and early nineteenth-century 'economy of words'[15] is inexplicable. Indeed, historians have written of how little they can glean from the 'unyielding' clipped content and 'difficult' brief entries of diaries from this period.[16] Some have even drawn a contrast between the

[13] L. Davis, 'Critical Debates and Early Modern Autobiography', in *Early Modern Autobiography,* 29.
[14] A. Smyth, 'Almanacs, Annotators and Life-Writing in Early Modern England', *English Literary Renaissance,* 38 (2008), 218.
[15] K. Carter, 'An Economy of Words: Emma Chadwick Stretch's Account Book Diary 1859-60', *Acadiensis,* 29 (1999), 43-56.
[16] L. T. Ulrich, *The Midwife's Tale: The Life of Martha Ballard, Based on her Diary, 1785-1812* (New York, 1990), 33.

'promise' of 'a complex rendering of daily life' and the 'disappointment' of a 'terse…spotty record of half-hearted entries.'[17]

This thesis questions this disappointment and challenges the assertions of those who find non-descriptive, brief journalising impenetrable and unyielding. It contests the monopoly of existing modes of interpretation by asserting the importance of brief, forensic self-recording as a widespread and culturally significant practice in the eighteenth and early nineteenth century. It does so in two ways. Firstly, it furthers the work of a handful of studies that use innovative ways of reading to recognise that self-expression occurred even in the most economical of entries. Subjectivity can be revealed in as little as the noting of an appointment or an 'artless', 'bare-boned' account of everyday facts.[18] These studies pay attention to paratextual elements, like structure and use of space, for what they reveal of diarist motivations and mentalities.

Secondly, this thesis looks beyond the limited contexts in which diarizing has been considered – and according to which it has been defined and measured – to consider the practice as a function of contexts other than the literary. Historians have recognised the development, by the nineteenth century, of a clipped,

[17] L. Z. Bloom, 'I Write for Myself and Strangers: Private Diaries as Public Documents', in S. L. Bunkers & C. A. Huff (eds), *Inscribing the Daily: Critical Essays on Women's Diaries* (Amherst, 1996), 25-6; R. J. & M. S. Zboray, 'Is it a Diary, Commonplace book, Scrapbook, or Whatchamacallit? Six Years of Exploration in New England's Manuscript Archives', *Libraries and the Cultural Record,* 44 (2009), 105.

[18] For studies of dailiness/brevity in diaries that show how much they can reveal, see L. Ambrose, 'Travel in Time: Local Travel Writing and Seventeenth-Century English Almanacs', *Journal of Medieval and Early Modern Studies,* 43 (2013), 419-33; Carter, 'Economy of Words'; K. Harvey, *The Little Republic: Masculinity and Domestic Authority in Eighteenth-Century Britain* (Oxford, 2012), 147; C. A. Huff, 'Textual Boundaries: Space in Nineteenth-Century Women's Manuscript Diaries', in *Inscribing the Daily*, 123-38; M. McCarthy, *The Accidental Diarist: A History of the Daily Planner in America* (Chicago, 2013); Millim, 'Victorian Diary,' 977-81; Sinor, 'Ordinary Diary', 130; C. Sjodblad, 'From Family Notes to Diary: the Development of a Genre', *Eighteenth-Century Studies,* 31 (1998), 517; R. Steinitz, *Time, Space and Gender in the Nineteenth Century British Diary* (Basingstoke, 2011).

concise and terse mode of diarizing that was less overtly, emotionally introspective[19] (of which the pre-printed diary is the archetypal example). It is a style that cannot be understood through the context of literary models; rather, it suggests the influence of other cultural forms. Yet, in existing historiography, little explanation has been offered for its development, or the factors that influenced it. This thesis proposes that the developing knowledge economy of the eighteenth century had a powerful influence over the practice of self-writing, and is vital to understanding the way it changed between 1700 and 1850. The scientific and knowledge projects of the period, and attendant practices of record-keeping and note-taking, provided a powerful and popular alternative to the example set by literary, published autobiographies. They provided an influential model of style and content that profoundly shaped the way people wrote about themselves.

Of those historians who have advocated examining self-writing in the context of cultures beyond the literary sphere,[20] some have gestured to the developing knowledge economy of the late eighteenth century as an influential arena to explore;[21] some have even briefly pointed to a connection between the pre-

[19] H. Blodgett, *Centuries of Female Days: Englishwomen's Private Diaries* (Gloucester, 1989); Carter, 'Economy of Words,' 44-9; K. Cook, 'Britain, C19th Diaries', in *Encyclopedia of Life Writing*, 143; M. Culley, 'Women's Diary Literature: Resources and Directions in the Field', *Legacy,* 1 (1984), 4; Millim, 'Victorian Diary,' 977-88.

[20] A. Cambers, 'Reading, The Godly and Self-Writing in England, circa 1580-1720', *Journal of British Studies,* 46 (2007), 796-825; K. Carter, 'The Cultural Work of Diaries in Mid-Century Victorian Britain,' *Victorian Review,* 23 (1997), 263-4; Culley, 'Women's Life-Writing', 7; Millim, 'Victorian Diary', 986; I. Paperno, 'What Can Be Done With Diaries?', *Russian Review,* 63 (2004), 569; S. Sherman, *Telling Time: Clocks, Diaries and English Diurnal Form 1660-1785* (1996), 171.

[21] A. Alaszewski, *Using Diaries for Social Research* (2006), 13; Paperno, 'What Can be Done With Diaries?', 564; A. Snider, 'Britain: Seventeenth-Century Life Writing', in *Encyclopedia of Life Writing,* 135.

printed diary and the trade in information in the period.[22] Beyond this gesturing it has received little sustained attention, but the little that has been done shows the potential of the approach to enrich our understanding of the way diarizing developed in the early modern period. Lotte Mulligan has considered Robert Hooke's late seventeenth-century diary in the context of his scientific work, to show the way he treated his diary as a work of forensic observation.[23] Similarly, both Mary Ellen Bellanca and James Kelly have considered the role of scientific models in shaping self-writing practices; Bellanca has drawn a connection between the pre-printed diary and the pre-formatted journals used by botanists and naturalists in the late eighteenth and early nineteenth centuries,[24] while Kelly has found that the early modern sea journal exhibits aspects of both scientific and literary models of autobiographical writing.[25] Stuart Sherman and J. Paul Hunter, meanwhile, have both drawn attention to the 'contemporaneity' of eighteenth-century culture, and its impact on the diary as a repository for detail as a result; part, Hunter asserts, of 'early modernism's commitment to systematization, quantification and the accumulation of data for analysis.'[26] Together these studies point to key aspects of the culture of knowledge that existed in the eighteenth and early nineteenth centuries and had an influence upon the way people wrote about themselves: the perception of the self as a scientific object, for example, and the role of organisation and systematization in

[22] James Raven includes the pre-printed diary in his discussion of the role of the publishing industry in the circulation and sale of information in the eighteenth century. His focus is predominantly commercial, however, and the genre is one of a variety of 'jobbing' forms discussed: he does not explore the way it was used (Raven, *Publishing Business,* 201-5).

[23] L. Mulligan, 'Self-Scrutiny and the Study of Nature: Robert Hooke's Diary as Natural History', *Journal of British Studies,* 35 (1996), 311-42.

[24] M. E. Bellanca, *Daybooks of Discovery: Nature Diaries in Britain, 1770-1870* (2007), 23.

[25] J. Kelly, 'Bordering on Fact in Early Eighteenth-Century Sea Journals', in D. Doll & J. Munns (eds), *Recording and Reordering: Essays on the Seventeenth and Eighteenth-Century Diary and Journal* (Lewisburg, 2006), 165.

[26] Hunter, *Before Novels,* 308.

the management of information. Yet their focus is very specific: on one particular diary, or one particular facet of the knowledge economy of the period. These studies do not give a sense of the breadth of its influence. Did Hooke use the scientific, empirical approach in his diary because of his scientific background, or can its influence be seen in the self-writing of non-specialists, and in later periods? Was botany the only form of popular science or knowledge in the late eighteenth and early nineteenth century whose influence can be seen in individuals' self-writing habits? How else did the impulse to systematize manifest itself in self-writing and upon what was it modelled?

The aim of this study is to provide a more comprehensive and cohesive view by exploring the influence of these facets of the 'information-rich society'[27] in the late eighteenth and early nineteenth centuries, upon a variety of self-writing forms. While the focus of this thesis is therefore more expansive, it is based on a specifically defined idea of what historians have identified variously as the 'knowledge economy' [28] or 'emergent information revolution' [29] that characterised this period. Its representation in historiography as a far-reaching, sweeping phenomenon[30] is an accommodating model but one that presents several problems. The first is one of chronology. The early modern information culture is understood to have developed in a series of stages: first, the

[27] P. Slack, *The Invention of Improvement: Information and Material Progress in Seventeenth-Century England* (Oxford, 2015), 2.
[28] A. Johns, 'The Identity Engine: Printing and Publishing at the Beginning of the Knowledge Economy', in P. Dear, L. Roberts & S. Schaffer (eds), *The Mindful Hand: Inquiry and Invention from the Late Renaissance to Early Industrialization* (Amsterdam, 2007), 403.
[29] D. Wahrman, *Mr Collier's Letter Racks: A Tale of Art and Illusion at the Threshold of the Modern Information Age* (Oxford, 2012), 22.
[30] D. Headrick, *When Information Came of Age: Technologies of Knowledge in the Age of Reason and Revolution, 1700-1850* (Oxford, 2000), 7.

revolutions in science and experimental methodologies of the seventeenth and early eighteenth centuries; then the statistical pursuits of governments and the philosophical and intellectual fallout of the Enlightenment in the eighteenth; and finally the emphasis on morally improving, 'useful' knowledge – and popular science - in the nineteenth. Often in this interpretation, the eighteenth century is something of a 'trough' after the scientific innovation of the seventeenth century and its consolidation in the nineteenth; an extension of what came before it, and a precursor to what came later.[31] It is presented as the period in which practices established in the seventeenth century – and earlier - were tried and tested;[32] or as an era in which knowledge was perpetually 'emerging',[33] described by one historian as a 'grab bag'[34] of interesting facts and figures before the streamlining and organisation processes of the nineteenth century. The impact of the Enlightenment, too, on states of knowledge is eroded by studies that find precedent for it in, and claim its innovations for, previous centuries,[35] or merely extrapolate backwards from the nineteenth century.[36]

The focus of this thesis on the later eighteenth century and early nineteenth aims to counteract this imbalance. It builds on the approach of several studies which

[31] T. Broman, 'The Habermasian Public Sphere and 'Science "in" the Enlightenment'', *History of Science,* 36 (1998), 123; R. Porter, 'Introduction', in R. Porter (ed.), *The Cambridge History of Science, Vol. 4* (7 vols, Cambridge, 2002-2013; this vol., 2003), 1-2.
[32] A. Rusnock, *Vital Accounts: Quantifying Health and Population in Eighteenth-Century England and France* (Cambridge, 2002), 1; B. Shapiro, *A Culture of Fact: England, 1550-1720* (2000), 206; Slack, *The Invention Of Improvement*, 252.
[33] E. Rosenhaft, 'Hands and Minds: Clerical Work in the First Information Society,' *International Review of Social History,* 48 (2003), 13-43; Shapiro, *Culture of Fact,* 206.
[34] Rauch, *Useful Knowledge: The Victorians, Morality and the March of Intellect* (2001), 14.
[35] N. Rhodes, 'Articulate Networks: The Self, the Book and the World', in N. Rhodes & J. Sawday (eds), *The Renaissance Computer: Knowledge Technology in the First Age of Print* (2000), 188; R. Yeo, *Encyclopaedic Visions: Scientific Dictionaries and Enlightenment Culture* (Cambridge, 2001), xii.
[36] J. Golinski, 'Utility and Audience in Eighteenth-Century Chemistry: Case Studies of William Cullen and Joseph Priestley', *British Journal for the History of Science,* 21 (1988), 30.

have explored distinctive changes and developments that took place, to assert that the late eighteenth and early nineteenth century was a period with its own distinctive culture of information separate from, but related to, what came before and after.[37] To do so, this analysis focuses, firstly, on the form of fact and information, as well as its content. As several key studies have shown, the organisation and classification of information was one of the defining features of the knowledge culture of the eighteenth century, manifest in the spatial structures and visual, physical forms in which information was arranged and appeared.[38] These methods of organising, and the prioritization of categorisation, were widely applicable and applied; examining the ways they were used in a variety of contexts thus has the potential to reveal much of the manner in which information was perceived and used.

This analysis also operates on a more flexible, less rigidly stadial approach to cultures of knowledge over the course of this period. Certainly the intellectual environment of the late seventeenth and early eighteenth century was dominated by changes in methods and discoveries in science; yet it was also the period in which statistics were first compiled and used. The nineteenth century is understood to be the period in which the much-disparaged 'popular' forms of science, like botany, reached their zenith; yet as we will see, they were already established in the late eighteenth century. Nor were these categories of

[37] Bellanca, *Daybooks,* 6; Headrick, *When Information Came of Age,* 9; J. L. Heilbron, 'Introductory Essay', in T. Frangsmyr, J. L. Heilbron & R. E. Rider (eds), *The Quantifying Spirit in the Eighteenth Century* (Oxford, 1990) 3; C. Withers, 'Geography, Natural History and the Eighteenth-Century Enlightenment: Putting the World in Place', *History Workshop Journal,* 37 (1994), 137-64.

[38] M. Foucault, *The Order of Things: An Archaeology of the Human Sciences* (Paris, 1966; this edn, London, 2002), 143; Headrick, *When Information Came of Age,* 9; B. Stafford, 'Presuming Images and Consuming Words: The Visualization of Knowledge from the Enlightenment to Post-Modernism', in J. Brewer & R. Porter (eds), *Consumption and the World of Goods* (1993), 426.

knowledge isolated and independent; at the heart of this thesis lies the understanding that different forms of information in this period interacted, and were mutually influential. It builds on the work of historians engaged in addressing what Geoffrey Cantor once termed the 'eighteenth-century problem', that of identifying the relationship between different forms of knowledge.[39] Historians of science, for example, have asserted its interaction with other cultural fields:[40] scientific developments in empirical observation and optics shaped realism in painting, as well as the content and form of eighteenth-century fiction.[41] Similarly, encyclopaedic forms and methods, like lists, indexes and tables were used to manage other, non-reference works; [42] rhetorical developments in language and literature related closely to developments in statistical writing and observational studies. Being alert to the way these different forms of information could and did interact makes analysis in this thesis more open to the array of different ways these cultures might have shaped the practice of self-writing.

The aim of this thesis is thus not only to better understand the practice of diarizing and the way it was informed by broad cultural movements; but also to examine the spread of the cultural valuing of knowledge and information in the

[39] G. N. Cantor, 'The Historiography of 'Georgian' Optics', *History of Science,* xvi (1978), 1-21; cited in J. Golinski, 'Science *in* the Enlightenment, Revisited,' *History of Science,* 49 (2011), 217.

[40] See A. Daum, 'Varieties of Popular Science and the Transformations of Public Knowledge: Some Historical Reflections,' *Isis,* 100 (2009), 322; M. Freddi, B. Korte & J. Schmied, 'Developments and Trends in the Rhetoric of Science', *European Journal of English Studies,* 17 (2013), 221; Golinski, 'Science *in* the Enlightenment', 224.

[41] Barchas, *Graphic Design, Print Culture and the Eighteenth-Century Novel* (Cambridge, 2003), 176-9; Wahrman, *Mr Collier's Letter Racks,* 104.

[42] L. Daston, 'Super-Vision: Weather Watching and Table Reading in the Early Modern Royal Society and Academie Royale des Sciences', *Huntington Library Quarterly,* 78 (2015), 194; K. Johanisson, 'Society in Numbers: The Debate Over Quantification in Eighteenth-Century Political Economy', in *Quantifying Spirit,* 345; P. F. Lazarsfeld, 'Notes on the History of Quantification in Sociology: Trends, Sources and Problems,' *Isis,* 52 (1961), 292.

late eighteenth and early nineteenth centuries. Doing so through the prism of self-writing offers a unique perspective. By the early nineteenth century, information is understood to have become increasingly popularised.[43] Historians agree about the mechanisms by which individuals gained access to it: through institutions like museums,[44] subscription libraries, reading societies,[45] public lectures[46] and universities,[47] and in the more informal setting of the coffee house or the exchange of letters.[48] It was facilitated by the proliferation of printed material, from periodicals and newspapers to fiction, encyclopaedias, household manuals and useful compendiums.[49] Studies of all of these forms of popularisation have at their root the Habermasian concept of the public sphere in the eighteenth century, in which social interaction, fuelled by the proliferation of print, was fundamental in facilitating discussion and learning; in which knowledge was gathered and disseminated principally in communication with others in a social setting.[50]

[43] 'Popularization' is a contentious term in this context for its implications of a gulf existing between elite and popular knowledge: see R. Cooter & S. Pumfrey, 'Separate Spheres and Public Places: Reflections on the History of Science Popularization and Science in Popular Culture', *History of Science,* 32 (1994), 237-67; Daum, 'Varieties of Popular Science', 331. I have used the term here to indicate the spread of information, rather than to imply a change in the nature of knowledge itself when consumed by a non-specialist, 'popular' audience.

[44] P. Burke, *A Social History of Knowledge: From Gutenberg to Diderot* (Cambridge, 2000), 106-9; Withers, 'Geography, Natural History', 148.

[45] R. Bowd, 'Useful Knowledge or Polite Learning? A Reappraisal of Approaches to Subscription Library History,' *Library and Information History* 29 (2013), 182; Rauch, *Useful Knowledge,* 14.

[46] P. Elliott, 'The Origins of the 'Creative Class': Provincial Urban Society, Scientific Culture and Socio-Political Marginality in Britain in the Eighteenth and Nineteenth Centuries', *Social History* 28 (2003), 361-87.

[47] Burke, *Social History of Knowledge,* 32-52.

[48] A. Cook, 'Botanical Exchanges: Jean-Jacques Rousseau and the Duchess of Portland', *History of European Ideas,* 33 (2007), 142-56.

[49] Rauch, *Useful Knowledge,* 2.

[50] J. Habermas, *The Structural Transformation of the Public Sphere* (Cambridge, Mass., 1989). See also Golinski, 'Science *in* the Enlightenment', 220; Rosenhaft, 'Hands and Minds', 15.

This thesis proposes to go a significant step further, to demonstrate that the experience of acquiring information, or knowing, was an individual, personal pursuit, as well as a social, collective one. It argues for the *personalisation* of the culture of information, not just its popularisation. The classic notion of a print-based public sphere encourages the idea of the assimilation of the individual in the face of a larger, knowledge-based association.[51] It prioritizes, too, the individual as a consumer, rather than producer of information. Instead, exploring the spread of knowledge and information as it occurred through self-writing, offers a perspective on the role of the individual: specifically, their participation in the knowledge economy as producers of fact (about themselves, in this context), and the aspects of the informational culture that they valued and adopted in their own writing. Personal is not the same as private: independent consumption and production of knowledge, even in the diary, did not preclude popular sharing or the influence of shared ideas of useful information. The aim here is not to challenge the notion of a public sphere by focusing upon its opposite; rather, it is to nuance existing emphasis on social interactions and collective experiences of knowledge to demonstrate its personal application on an individual level. This focus on the individual and their personal writing is also, somewhat paradoxically, more inclusive. It is a well-established critique of Habermas' original theory that it excluded particular groups – specifically

[51] B. Harris, 'Historians, Public Opinion and the Public Sphere', *Journal of Early Modern History,* 1 (1997), 377; S. Sherman, 'Printed Communities: Domestic Management Texts in the Eighteenth Century', *Journal for Early Modern Critical Studies,* 3 (2003), 42. Joel Mokyr has written that this is as it should be; with reference to the eighteenth century knowledge economy, he writes 'in the end, what each individual knows is less important than what society as a whole knows and can do' (J. Mokyr, *The Gifts of Athena: Historical Origins of the Knowledge Economy* (Princeton, 2002), 7).

women - and particular forms of knowledge, especially science.[52] The presence of an array of users and an array of different types of knowledge in this study of self-writing is a crucial step towards addressing these omissions.

II. Sources, Approaches and Methodology

The pre-printed diary first went on sale in 1748 for use in 1749. Starting my analysis in 1700 is a means of putting this body of source material, as well as the other, later eighteenth- and nineteenth-century diaries and self-writing forms analysed here, in the context of earlier practices. Pre-printed diaries were not the first pre-structured form available to individuals; almanacs, for example, from which these diaries inherited several characteristics, were an exceedingly popular form in the late seventeenth and early eighteenth centuries. Exploring the parallels and differences between these genres and others sheds more light on changes and continuities in perceptions and practices of self-writing. My analysis stops in 1850: this enables an impression of the development of the practice, from the spiritual self-accounting of the late seventeenth century to the 'unyielding' brevity that has been seen to characterize that of the nineteenth. It also allows for a sense of the way attitudes to knowledge and information changed and, crucially, facilitates analysis of the first 100 years of the pre-printed diary, between 1749 and 1850.

[52] Elliott, 'Origins of the 'Creative Class'', 366; M. P. Ryan, 'Gender and Public Access: Women's Politics in Nineteenth-Century America', in C. Calhoun (ed.), *Habermas and the Public Sphere* (1992), 260.

The year in which the first pre-printed diary went on sale, 1748,[53] is the chronological point at which the two parts of this thesis are divided. Part I, Chapters 1 & 2, examines practices and perceptions of self-writing between 1700 and 1748. Part II, Chapters 3-6, examines self-writing and attitudes towards it between 1749 and 1850. The choice of this date was a pragmatic one; it is intended to mark the arrival of the pre-printed diary and to break analysis down into more manageable sections. It should not be taken to denote radical change. The invention and sale of the pre-printed diary was significant but, as we will see, it did not signify an all-encompassing shift in practices of self-writing; more traditional modes of writing continued. This analysis is as much about identifying continuities in practices, attitudes and cultural contexts as it is about finding evidence of change.

This thesis is a survey study based on a broad range of self-writing forms kept by an array of individuals. This intentionally expansive group is intended to counter the impact of studies that focus on the diaries of one individual, or on one diary. The numerous, and undoubtedly rich studies that do so[54] use their subjects as a 'guidebook', [55] a means of accessing the individual diarist-subject's social, cultural, and economic context. Yet the diary itself provides access to and is simultaneously isolated from these contexts. This close focus also implies that

[53] 1749 was the first year for which Robert Dodsley's *New Memorandum Book* was printed but, as with all subsequent pocket books (and as was the case for almanacs too) they went on sale in the final months of the preceding year; so in this case, 1748.

[54] Among the most notable examples of edited volumes of early modern diarists and those used here are M. Kadane, *The Watchful Clothier: The Life of an Eighteenth-Century Protestant Capitalist* (New Haven, 2013); R. C. Latham & W. Matthews (eds), *The Diary of Samuel Pepys* (10 vols, 1970-83); A. Macfarlane (ed.), *The Diary of Ralph Josselin, 1616-1683* (1976); P. Seaver, *Wallington's World* (1985); Ulrich, *The Midwife's Tale*; D. Vaisey (ed.), *The Diary of Thomas Turner* (Oxford, 1984).

[55] M. Dawson, 'Histories & Texts: Refiguring the Diary of Samuel Pepys', *Historical Journal,* 43 (2000), 409; A. Kugler, 'Constructing Wifely Identity: Prescription and Practice in the Life of Lady Sarah Cowper', *Journal of British Studies,* 40 (2001), 299.

the diarist is unique, no matter how representative of their environment and age they are intended to be. David Vaisey asserts, for example, that Thomas Turner's diary represents the 'everyday business' of 'ordinary people' in the eighteenth century;[56] aside from the fact that Turner himself was not representative of other country shopkeepers in so thoroughly chronicling his daily affairs, the very act of selecting him for particular focus makes Turner an anomaly. Paul Seaver perfectly captures this tension in his description of seventeenth-century diarist Nehemiah Wallington as 'obscure' and 'ordinary',[57] but also 'exceptional.'[58] In addition, the close analysis of one form of diarizing is unrepresentative of the array of forms available to self-write, and the variety of ways in which people did so. Close study does have its benefits: this thesis uses four case studies at the end of its final chapter, and, indeed, is structured around particular analysis of one genre of diary; but it is only by coupling both of these more focused approaches with analysis of large groups of other forms that it is possible to identify patterns of change on a larger scale.

As a result of these considerations, I have selected three deliberately large and diverse bodies of source material to form the basis of this study. They are outlined here in order of the size and significance of each corpus, rather than the order in which they appear in the thesis. The largest is the selection of 150 pre-printed diaries that forms the basis of analysis in Chapters 4 and 5.[59] Selection of these diaries was minimally directed: the two criteria in the initial selection

[56] Vaisey, *Thomas Turner*, xviii.
[57] Seaver, *Wallington's World*, vii-viii,
[58] Ibid. 1.
[59] For a full list of titles with information on their publishers and owners, see the Appendix (pp.305-22).

stage were, firstly attaining geographical breadth – that is, finding those published and used both in and outside London; and secondly, as with any survey study, achieving a sample size which strikes a balance between being large and representative enough to generate substantive conclusions about broader practices, and allowing for closer, in-depth analysis of the characteristics of each form and the way it was used. Precise numbers of surviving diaries are hard to come by, but the 150 explored here represent approximately a third of the number that a preliminary search reveals has survived from this period.[60]

This lack of stringent selection criteria was partly of practical necessity, due to the difficulty of finding this genre in archives. 'Diary' and 'journal' are broad terms used liberally in archive catalogues,[61] and few cataloguing sources give any indication of the features of the form that they list, let alone, in the case of specifically pre-printed forms, the fact that the item might contain printed content as well. It was also a methodological decision. Discriminating by user, or ways of using, in the initial selection stage would have biased the sample of a body of source material about which little is known. Existing scholarly understandings of the profile of those who diarized and the nature of self-writing – how gendered, or socially inclusive it was, for example - do not necessarily provide applicable criteria in the selection of a genre that was, in many ways,

[60] In conjunction with my own discoveries in archive collections, a National Archives online search, using combinations of keywords that appear most frequently in these diaries' titles and descriptions - 'memorandum', 'daily', 'diary', 'accompt-book', 'pocket' – revealed over 500 surviving diaries. However, given the variety of brands and titles of these diaries available, and the fact that their printed content is frequently not indicated in archive catalogue descriptions, these results are more illustrative of the large numbers that have survived, than exhaustive: it is likely that that total number is higher.

[61] Zboray & Zboray, 'Is it a Diary, Commonplace Book, Scrapbook, or Whatchamacallit?', 101-23.

significantly different. Unbiased sampling mitigates the risk of being compensatory in the selection of sources from particular groups, or which exhibit certain ways of using.

Exploring the characteristics of the sample in comparison to existing interpretations of broader practices of self-writing is constructive *after* these sources have been selected. It is a means of situating this particular form of log-style diarizing in the context of others, and better understanding how they were similar, and different. It is also a means of evaluating the utility or relevance of the interpretations themselves. The patterns exhibited in this group of pre-printed diaries – and their non-printed counterparts - relate to key strands of interpretation in diary historiography. The first relates to the influence of gender on ways of using. Diarizing in the early modern period was practised by both men and women, but particular facets of it have been understood by some to be distinctly gendered.[62] The same historians who find the development of clipped style and 'fragmented narrative forms'[63] towards the nineteenth century equally find it to be a distinctly feminine trait,[64] a uniquely gendered way of expressing interiority. However, this is not reflected in this body of source material. Both

[62] Hogan, 'Engendered Autobiographies', 95-107; C. Huff, '"That Profoundly Female, and Feminist Genre: The Diary as Feminist Practice', *Women's Studies Quarterly,* 17 (1989), 6-14. For disagreement with this interpretation, see E. McKay, 'English Diarists: Gender, Geography and Occupation, 1500-1700', *History* 90 (2005), 191-212. McKay emphasizes the parallels in male and female diarizing practice in the early modern period.
[63] Culley, 'Women's Life-Writing', 1.
[64] E. Hampsten, *Read This Only to Yourself: the Private Writings of Midwestern Women, 1880-1910* (Bloomington, 1982); Hogan, 'Engendered Autobiographies', 100-101; Sinor, 'Ordinary Diary', 132.

male and female diarists use a combination of clipped writing and more extensive expression.[65]

Similarly, this sample also challenges strands of thought in scholarship about the way social class and background influenced diary form and function. The functional, utilitarian writing promoted in these forms has been perceived as a characteristic of working class self-writing, in contrast to the 'bourgeois subjectivity' of autobiography traditionally perceived to be the preserve of the middling and upper sort.[66] The failure of a similar form of pre-structured diary that was marketed to elite American society in a similar period to this one, would appear to support this view.[67] Yet this body of source material defies this assertion: all of the known diarists here were of the professional, middling and upper echelons of society, and only a small minority wrote in anything approaching a literary manner.

As we will see, any susceptibility to or rejection of the model proposed in the pre-printed form appears to have been motivated more by the individual tastes of the diarist, and the purposes for which they used their diary, than their gender or background. The challenges posed by the diaries in this sample – both pre-printed, and not - to these accepted ideas of who self-wrote, and how they did so, highlight the clear limitations of attempting to assign behaviours according to diarists' shared characteristics. They are broad categories that risk eliding

[65] Molly McCarthy has found the same to be true in her study of a similar genre of pre-printed diaries used in Philadelphia towards the end of the eighteenth century: there was little difference in men's and women's ways of using them (*The Accidental Diarist*, 89).
[66] R. Gagnier, 'The Literary Standard, Working Class Life Writing, and Gender', *Textual Practice,* 3 (1989), 41-2.
[67] McCarthy, *The Accidental Diarist,* 87.

differences; social classifications of 'middle' and 'upper', for example, mask the spectrum of professions and social backgrounds of diarists here, from rural, country doctors to members of the nobility, and from merchants to rural clergymen.

In order to accommodate, rather than overlook these differences, the approach employed in this thesis builds on that of diary scholars like Philip Lejeune, who have consciously not discriminated on the basis of gender or other characteristics in their analyses of the practice of self-writing.[68] It is akin to that used by Ben Heller in his own diary-based study of leisure in London.[69] His 'agent-centred' approach to understanding diarist behaviours uses as its starting point the assumption that individuals acted independently as a result of their own motivations. This approach may appear incongruous applied in a survey study like this one, in which finding patterns in behaviour and defining them according to a cultural model is the principal aim. However, starting with the assumption that individuals acted of their own accord allows for a truer sense of the extent to which changing cultural models of diarizing were influential. Furthermore, the cultural model being tested for here is a flexible, multi-faceted one, rather than a rigid structure to be obeyed. In this study, individual agency and broader cultural models are compatible and cooperative forces, rather than adversarial ones.

[68] P. Lejeune, *On Diary* (Honolulu, 2009).
[69] B. Heller, 'Leisure and Pleasure in London Society, 1760-1820: An Agent-Centred Approach' (University of Oxford DPhil. Thesis, 2009).

As Heller has written, not all diaries can answer the same questions.[70] With that in mind, analysis of the printed content of these diaries in Chapter 4 is based on the entire corpus of 150; analysis in the second half of Chapter 5, on ways of using, draws on the larger body for context but focuses specifically on around 50 diaries in particular.[71] It is a more manageable group which allows for sustained focus on individual practices. In selecting this smaller sample, care was taken to reflect the patterns in form and use evident in the larger group, as far as possible. The necessity of putting together a group of diaries that spanned the entire time period skewed some of these proportions. However, as others have written of their sampling techniques of similarly personal forms, bias in selection and interpretation is, to a certain degree, inescapable;[72] the steps taken here have been an attempt to mitigate this bias as far as possible.

Alongside these pre-printed diaries, the next-largest body of source material is the large selection of other forms of self-writing – almanacs, account books, commonplace books, spiritual journals, pocket books, diaries and log books – that form the basis of analysis in Chapters 2 and 6. Analysis in these chapters is intended to reflect the array of other self-writing forms available to individuals throughout the eighteenth and early nineteenth centuries. Again, as with the pre-printed diaries, selection was made less according to the identity of the user and more according to the nature of the form, in some cases to reflect known patterns of use in particular periods. For example, in Chapter 2, a study of early eighteenth-century self-writing practices, almanacs constitute a significant

[70] Ibid. 40.
[71] Indicated in bold in the Appendix (pp.305-22).
[72] S. Whyman, *The Pen and the People: English Letter Writers, 1660-1800* (Oxford, 2009), 235.

portion of the body of material explored because, in the late seventeenth and early eighteenth century, they were widely used.[73] The principles that guided the selection of sources used there and in Chapter 6 are explained in those chapters; it is sufficient to state here that those in Chapter 6, which focuses on practices after 1749, were selected to indicate the existence of continuities in practice from earlier in the century, as well as change. The chapter therefore includes almanacs and spiritual journals, for example, as well as log books.

Working with the self-writing forms in these two bodies of source material requires an awareness of particular interpretive pitfalls. There is general historical agreement on the fluidity of self-writing genres in the early modern period, and the difficulty of maintaining hard and fast distinctions between different forms.[74] Diaries were used as commonplace books; commonplace books as account books; almanacs as spiritual journals; and so on. Robert Fothergill wrote frustratedly in 1974 of the 'continual sliding away' of format on 'all sides into…many kindred forms'.[75] The solution used by diary scholars to deal with this slippage is to use larger, all-embracing categories: autobiography, as we have seen; self-writing;[76] egodocuments;[77] and life-writing.[78]

[73] B. Capp, *Astrology and the Popular Press: English Almanacs 1500-1800* (1979), 263.
[74] Alaszewski, *Using Diaries for Social Research,* 2; Bellanca, *Daybooks*, 23; Cambers, 'Reading, The Godly and Self-Writing', 802; Carter, 'Economy of Words', 50; Hogan, 'Engendered Autobiographies', 97; Jolly, 'Editor's Note', in *Encyclopedia of Life Writing,* ix; Paperno, 'What Can Be Done With Diaries?', 562; K. Von Greyerz, 'Ego-Documents: The Last Word?' *German History,* 28 (2010), 281.
[75] Fothergill, *Private Chronicles,* 3.
[76] See, for example, Cambers, 'Reading, The Godly and Self-Writing'; S. Sherman, 'Diary and Autobiography', in J. Richetti (ed.), *The Cambridge History of English Literature, 1660-1780* (Cambridge, 2005), 664.
[77] For a comprehensive account of the origins, definition and use of 'egodocument' see R. Dekker, 'Introduction', in R. Dekker (ed.), *Egodocuments and History: Autobiographical Writing in its Social Context Since the Middle Ages* (Hilversum, 2002), 7-20.
[78] See, for example, Smyth, 'Almanacs, Annotators', 200-44; Jolly, *Encyclopedia of Life Writing.*

This thesis follows the example set by the majority of scholarship. It employs 'self-writing' as an all-encompassing term that accommodates the array of commonplace books, diaries, almanacs and account books examined here. This thesis also uses some terms, specifically diary and journal, interchangeably, in accordance with established scholarly practice.[79] Using diary and journal as equivalent terms in this way also reflects an eighteenth-century lack of distinction, even confusion, between the two. Some, like Samuel Johnson's *Dictionary* in 1755, described 'diary' and 'journal' as equivalent terms.[80] One record from the Old Bailey suggests that distinctions between self-writing forms were not standardized, and were instead subject to individual preference. In the case from 1794, the prosecutor, a Mr Garrow, is forced to clarify the distinction between different forms of self-accounting book owned by the individual testifying: 'Q. Is your day book the same thing as a journal? Or an antecedent book to the journal? A. We keep only the memorandum book, journal and ledger, the articles are posted from this day book into the ledger.'[81]

However, this study adheres to the fluidity of forms thesis only up to a point. Recent studies have questioned its utility, and the applicability of over-arching,

[79] For early examples see Fothergill, *Private Chronicles,* 3; Matthews, *English Diaries,* xv. For more recent examples see Hogan, 'Engendered Autobiography,' 97; J. Munn, 'Accounting for Providence: Contemporary Descriptions of the Restoration of Charles II', in *Recording and Reordering,* 98; McKay, 'Diary Networks'; Sherman, *Telling Time,* 160. Attempts to distinguish between the two terms indicate that it is a difficult, and ultimately not very constructive, task; Felicity Nussbaum finds the only difference between the two terms and forms being the 'informality' of the journal (*Autobiographical Subjects,* 230).

[80] S. Johnson, *Dictionary of the English Language* (1755). Similarly, the definition of 'diary' in the *Encyclopedia Britannica* explains that it is 'a term sometimes used for a journal or day-book' (*The Encyclopedia Britannica* Vol. 4 (20 vols, Dublin, 1790-8), 10); in *Clarendon's Pocket Dictionary* 'journal' is defined as 'a diary, book, newspaper' (T. Clarendon, *Clarendon's Pocket Dictionary* (1795), 98).

[81] OBP, Case of George Pitt, 15 Jan. 1794.†

umbrella terms.[82] There was undoubtedly a blurring of categories of self-writing in the early modern period; recognising it encourages historians to observe parallels in the way different forms were used, and not to stick too rigidly to inaccurate distinctions. It is also more accommodating of different forms, and a wider range of self-writers. However, it has its drawbacks. Principally, because it is an approach predicated on the *practice* of self-writing, it overlooks distinctions that existed in perception and were manifest in form. Differences were perceived to exist between different types of self-writing in this period; in the early eighteenth century, for example, Daniel Defoe distinguished between, compared and passed judgement on the 'useful heads' of brief record-keeping and more minute, prose diary-keeping.[83]

The notion of one amalgamated corpus of self-writing also means that the very form of the books in which it took place – and the intentions with which they were produced, sold, and in many cases bought – are overlooked as factors which influenced the way they were used. This oversight is surprising, especially given the popularity of material text approaches, and the growing emphasis on paratexts in historical and literary study.[84] Form was intended to, and did, shape use. It is especially pronounced in an overtly-structured genre like the pre-printed diary, but it is also evident elsewhere: books intended for accounting, for

[82] Culley, 'Women's Life-Writing', 8; Von Greyerz,'Ego-Documents: The Last Word?', 281.
[83] Sherman, *Telling Time,* 159-60.
[84] R. Anderson, 'The Rhetoric of Paratext in Early Printed Books', in J. Barnard, M. Bell & F. McKenzie (eds), *The Cambridge History of the Book in Britain, Vol. 4: 1557-1695* (6 vols, Cambridge, 2002), 636; K. Claes, 'Supplements and Paratext: The Rhetoric of Space', *Victorian Periodicals Review,* 43 (2010), 200; G. Genette, *Paratexts: Thresholds of Intepretation,* trans. J.E. Lewin (Cambridge, 1997), 2; P. Robinson, 'Ma(r)king the Electronic Text: How, Why and For Whom?', in J. Bray, M. Handley & A. C. Henry (eds), *Ma(r)king the Text: The Presentation of Meaning on the Literary Page* (Aldershot, 2000), 312; M. De Grazia & P. Stallybrass, 'The Materiality of the Shakespearean Text', *Shakespeare Quarterly,* 44 (1993), 255-83.

example, looked different to those intended for commonplacing, however they ended up being used. The essential aim of this thesis is to identify how cultures of knowledge manifested themselves in the self-writing practices of late eighteenth- and early-nineteenth century individuals; that includes material form and physical appearance too. This study will therefore combine the use of the term 'self-writing' with more specific references to book form. It aims to heed the warnings of those wary of imposing 'pragmatic', retrospective categories,[85] and follow the approach used by Andrew Cambers in his analysis of spiritual self-writing in the late seventeenth century; genres should be treated as autonomous rather than interchangeable,[86] in a way that recognises their interrelatedness but does not assume it.

The third and final body of source material explored in addition to these two groups of self-writing forms is a large sample of published material. It is used specifically in Chapters 1 and 3 as a means of accessing perceptions of self-writing that were in popular circulation over the course of the eighteenth and early nineteenth centuries. It is a deliberately large body of material which encompasses popular periodicals, over thirty sermons or religious didactic texts, more than fifty instructive and entertaining secular publications, along with assorted novels, satirical prints, poetry garlands and broadsides. These sources were selected for their popularity (in the majority of cases, indicated by the number of editions listed on the English Short Title Catalogue and other online databases), and in the case of serial publications, like periodicals, the length of

[85] R. Gagnier, *Subjectivities: A History of Self-Representation in Britain, 1832-1920* (Oxford, 1991), 5; Zboray & Zboray, 'Is it a Diary, Commonplace book, Scrapbook, or Whatchamacallit?', 115.
[86] Cambers, 'Reading, The Godly and Self-Writing,' 804.

their print runs, as well as the overall diversity of the corpus. As I will explain in Chapters 1 and 3, I have examined spiritual and secular publications together to reflect both the integrated culture of the eighteenth and early nineteenth century, and the interrelationship of spiritual and secular diary-keeping practices. As I will also explain in Chapter 1, I have carried out detailed sampling through the use of key-word searches and contextual reading, in order to survey as comprehensively as possible. This thesis uses a combination of different approaches when analysing this source material. It combines broader analysis of trends of perception in a large body of popular print forms, with closer case studies and readings of the material form and content of self-writing genres. These macro- and micro- level modes of analysis complement each other, allowing for an examination of the relationship between printed words and practice.

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This thesis identifies an informational, factual approach to self-writing that developed in scope and intensity over the course of the eighteenth and early nineteenth centuries. Its two sections and six chapters trace the way self-writing was perceived and practised as the centuries progressed. Part I examines the attitudes towards and practices of self-writing that existed between 1700 and 1748. Chapter One explores instructive and entertaining print in this period and finds much contemporary comment on the practice of diarizing. It is the first study to compare and identify commonalities in the prescriptive ideas of diarizing that were propagated in spiritual and secular texts in this period. They

encouraged brevity and conciseness, and criticized reflective diarizing as a self-indulgence. This chapter asserts the significance of these strands of thought as components of a more nuanced understanding of the way diary-keeping was perceived in this period: as a means of pragmatic self-management and as a useful form, rather than simply a means of introspection and self-reflection.

Chapter Two examines practices of self-writing in the same period. It analyses the use of several genres and argues that emphasis in popular print on self-writing as a pragmatic and functional pursuit was echoed in individual practice. It investigates the way principles of method, order and facticity guided the way individuals used each genre. These priorities were characteristic of a nascent perception of self-writing as informational, a process of compilation and construction of a systematic reference work of individual experience, as much as a means of self-organisation.

Part II of this thesis examines the way these attitudes and practices developed after 1749, the year for which the first pre-printed diary went on sale. Chapter Three uses evidence from periodicals, fiction and other contemporary publications to identify continuities and changes in the perception and theory of self-writing from earlier in the century. It challenges existing historical understandings of perceptions of the practice in this period. It proposes that a connection was made in the eighteenth- and early nineteenth-century mind between diarizing and knowledge gathering, or encyclopaedizing. It finds parallels between prescriptive ideas of the form, content and style of the diary, and of the principles that guided the compilation of reference works. In doing so,

it explicitly makes the case for the link between the perception of diarizing, and the information culture of the late eighteenth and early nineteenth centuries.

In Chapter Four the pre-printed diary is introduced and its printed content is explored. In contrast to existing studies of the genre, this chapter establishes its significance as a symptom of the broader culture of knowledge that existed in the late eighteenth century. The analysis in this chapter is composed of two strands: the first explores the way the diary promoted and enshrined ideas of diarizing as a form of self-management; the second examines its conception as a reference work by its creators, and the implications of this both for the manner of self-writing it encouraged in its users, and the nature of broader cultures of knowledge in the period.

Chapter Five continues this discussion of the pre-printed diary form by focusing specifically on the printed, tabulated structure that dictated the layout of diarists' entries. Analysis here examines this page layout in the context of scientific pursuits and methods of the later eighteenth century, and finds that the parallels place the genre firmly amongst scientific and objective, empirical forms of the period. The second part of this chapter explores the way individual diarists responded to the cultural messages enshrined in these diaries' content and form. It rejects existing interpretations of the interaction of diarist and diary as a 'conflict' to prove, instead, that it was more of a dialogue, a negotiation in which individuals adapted the space to participate in the information compilation and organisation that were enshrined in the diary form. It establishes a new

interpretation of diarizing in this period in which, by logging their lives and their selves, individuals participated in a culture of fact.

Chapter Six tests the extent to which the ideas of information gathering and pragmatic usage that characterized the pre-printed diary were deployed in, and influenced other self-writing practices. A survey of the practices of 24 individuals who used an array of different forms reveals the influence of the culture of fact, and finds individual habits that were directly influenced by the pre-printed form itself. In the second half of the chapter, four case studies enable a close examination of the self-writing practices of four individuals who used a combination of pre-printed and free-structured forms. The findings from both parts of the chapter are used to, firstly, draw conclusions about the influence of the pre-printed genre; but more broadly, to identify the way self-writing as a whole had changed by the mid-nineteenth century, and the way the factual model of diarizing interacted with other, enduring forms. The conclusion to the thesis examines the significance of these findings and briefly explores self-writing habits since then, to show the pervasive influence of dictates of style, content and form promoted by the model set in the eighteenth century.

This thesis makes a case for the diary as a cultural artefact rather than an ahistorical phenomenon. It uses a previously overlooked genre of diary to do so, one that documented changing perceptions of knowledge, fact and the very practice of self-writing, in both its inscribed content and printed form. Exploring self-writing in the context of an entirely new set of ideas, as this thesis does, is a departure from traditional interpretations of the practice and the period; but it is

one that promises new insights into the nature of individual habits and understandings of the self, on the cusp of the modern age.

PART I

SELF-WRITING, 1700-1748

Chapter 1

Attitudes

This chapter examines the rich body of commentary on self-writing that appeared in print in the first half of the eighteenth century. Few studies of diarizing in the early modern period explore the practice in the context of the ideas and commentary that might have shaped it. Some explicitly deny the influence of outside forms on writing practice,[1] to maintain that it was highly individualized and in some way immune from contemporary social and cultural pressures. Others do urge historians to pay attention to different contexts, commentary and contemporary guidance:[2] Jessica Munns encourages us 'not to underestimate the effects of genre' on early modern self-writing forms;[3] Douglas Bruster urges that 'we need to read widely in a broader range of texts'.[4] However, many such studies are restricted in scope. They focus largely on late seventeenth- and early eighteenth-century manuals and published autobiographies that provided instruction in two forms in particular: the keeping of financial accounts,[5] and the role of self-observation in godly living.[6]

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[1] David Booy, for example, writes that in the seventeenth century 'there [was] no prescribed form to which the diarist should be adhering' (D. Booy, *Personal Disclosures: An Anthology of Writings from the Seventeenth Century* (Aldershot, 2001), 3).

[2] R. Bedford, L. Davis & P. Kelly, 'Introduction,' in R. Bedford, L. Davis & P. Kelly (eds), *Early Modern Autobiography: Theories, Genres, Practices* (Michigan, 2006), 1; D. Doll & J. Munns, 'Introduction,' in D. Doll & J. Munns (eds), *Recording and Reordering: Essays on the Seventeenth and Eighteenth-Century Journal* (Lewisburg, 2006), 16; A. Macfarlane, *The Family Life of Ralph Josselin* (Cambridge, 1970), 8; S. Sherman, *Telling Time: Clocks, Diaries and English Diurnal Form 1660-1785* (1996).

[3] J. Munns, 'Accounting for Providence: Contemporary Descriptions of the Restoration of Charles II,' in *Recording and Reordering*, 74.

[4] D. Bruster, 'Critical Subjects', *Interactive Early Modern Literary Studies,* 2 (1999), unpaginated online edition.

[5] R. E. Connor, *Women, Accounting and Narrative: Keeping Books in Eighteenth-Century England* (2004), 54; N. Glaisyer, *The Culture of Commerce in England* (Woodbridge, 2006), esp. Chapter 3, 'The Complete Comptinghouse: Manuals for Merchants', 100-142; M. Hunt, *The Middling Sort: Commerce, Gender and the Family in England 1680-1780* (Berkeley, 1996), 60; C. Wiskin, 'Accounting for

Yet, as the analysis in this chapter will show, self-writing did not take place in a vacuum. An understanding of the way individuals self-wrote in this period is incomplete if it excludes analysis of the ideas in public circulation that might have influenced them. While analyzing perceptions reveals little of practice itself, it provides insights into the way commentators 'thought their contemporaries should behave, and sometimes how they thought they were behaving.'[7] Diaries were as culturally contingent as the selves written in them.[8] Furthermore, it is not only in explicitly didactic texts that prescriptive ideas of diarizing can be found: they were also manifest in more entertaining, even critical and satirical representations published in print. All reveal a particular perception of diarizing; all are founded on an idea of the best way of pursuing the practice. This chapter explores a variety of these didactic and entertaining forms side by side in order to establish the models of self-writing that were available to individuals in the early eighteenth century, and to understand the role of print in their construction.

Business: Financial Management in the Eighteenth Century' in A. Laurence, J. Maltby & J. Rutterford (eds), *Women and Their Money, 1700-1950* (2009), 74.

[6] A. Cambers, 'Reading, the Godly and Self-Writing in England circa 1580-1720', *Journal of British Studies,* 46 (2007), 798-9; W. Haller, *The Rise of Puritanism* (New York, 1957), 96; D. B. Hindmarsh, *Evangelical Conversion Narrative: Spiritual Autobiography in Early Modern England* (Oxford, 2005), 92-4; E. McKay, 'The Diary Network in Sixteenth and Seventeenth Century England,' *Eras* 2 (2001), unpaginated online edition; A. Smyth, 'Diaries', in A. Hadfield (ed.), *The Oxford Handbook of English Prose, 1500-1640* (Oxford, 2013), 438-9; M. Todd, 'Puritan Self-Fashioning: The Diary of Samuel Ward', *Journal of British Studies,* 31 (1992), 246; T. Webster, 'Writing to Redundancy: Approaches to Spiritual Journals and Early Modern Spirituality', *The Historical Journal,* 39 (1996), 40.

[7] F. A. Childs, 'Prescriptions for Manners in English Courtesy Literature, 1690-1760, and Their Social Implications' (University of Oxford DPhil. Thesis, 1984), 5.

[8] For self-construction in the diary, see D. Ebner, *Autobiography in Seventeenth Century England* (The Hague, 1971), 11; F. Nussbaum, *The Autobiographical Subject: Gender and Ideology in Eighteenth-Century England* (1989); A. Smyth, *Autobiography in Early Modern England* (Cambridge, 2010), 130.

I. Sources and Methodology

In order to identify shared models of diarizing that existed in popular and didactic print in the late seventeenth and early eighteenth centuries, this analysis draws on an array of spiritual and secular, instructive and entertaining printed material. The body of didactic material used here includes the accounting manuals and godly living guides that were produced, and reproduced, throughout the period. Both forms were popular,[9] and their explicit prescriptions for effective financial accounting and appropriate self-exploration provide invaluable insights into the way particular models of self-writing persisted from the seventeenth into the eighteenth century. In contrast to the approach employed in much scholarship, they will not be considered in isolation. Other didactic forms explored here include sermons – a very profitable sector of the eighteenth-century publishing trade[10] – and children's literature, which, in its instructive capacity,[11] is a rich source of evidence of the models of behaviour and conduct perceived to be important to growing up. All of this instructive literature has been selected based on its popularity, measured by the number of editions printed.

These genres are examined alongside other printed material. Periodicals and other more ephemeral forms – poetry miscellanies and garlands, broadsides and satire – are described here as 'popular print' for their comparative appeal and

[9] Numerous late seventeenth century 'godly living' handbooks regularly ran to around twenty editions; for discussion of the popularity of these forms see I. Green, *Print and Protestantism* (Oxford, 2000), 351. For the popularity of accounting manuals see P. Gauci, *The Politics of Trade: The Overseas Merchant in State and Society* (Oxford, 2001), 163-73; Glaisyer, *Culture of Commerce,* 20.
[10] J. Raven, *Publishing Business in Eighteenth-Century England* (Woodbridge, 2014), 244.
[11] M. O. Grenby, *The Child Reader, 1700-1840* (Cambridge, 2011), 122.

accessibility to a broader audience. The practices being explored feature rarely in 'newsy' content and more regularly in the discursive pieces to be found in periodicals, and so they are used to a greater extent than newspapers. Those examined include the *Tatler* (1709-11), the *Spectator* (1711-12), *The Gentleman's Magazine* (1731-1868), *The London Magazine* (1732-46), *The Female Tatler* (1709-10), and *The Universal Spectator and Weekly Journal* (1728-46). All were selected either for length of print run or popularity and readership. Early eighteenth-century novels and fiction have also been used here. Fiction interacts with its context and functions as a historical source in complex ways.[12] Care has been taken here to avoid treating it in a manner that is either reductive, or assumes its status as a mirror of contemporary context. It is used alongside and in communication with other forms.

For all of these print forms several sampling methods were used. A significant proportion of these printed forms was read digitally. Much has been written about the limitations of digital research, in particular the scope for error, oversight and decontextualisation arising from the ability to search directly for particular keywords and phrases.[13] To counter these effects, I have used keyword searches in combination with reading whole texts or issues sampled at regular intervals between 1700 and 1748. To further mitigate the impact of these limitations, a variety of terms were used in the digital text search; for

[12] For a discussion of the difficulties that can arise using fiction as a historical source, see N. Tadmor, ''Family' and 'Friend' in "Pamela": A Case-Study in the History of the Family in Eighteenth-Century England', *Social History,* 14 (1989), 289-306.

[13] A. Bingham, 'The Digitization of Newspaper Archives', *Twentieth Century British History,* 21 (2010), 225-231; P. Bullard, 'Digital Humanities and Electronic Resources in the Long Eighteenth Century', *Literature Compass,* 10 (2013), 748-60; E. Hampshire & V. Johnson, 'The Digital World and the Future of Historical Research', *Twentieth Century British History,* 20 (2009), 396-414.

example, references to diaries were found by searching with the keywords 'diary', 'journal', 'almanac', 'pocket book' and 'account'. All were used with an awareness of multiplicity of meaning, variations in spelling and sensitivity to contemporary usage.

In this chapter religious and secular texts are considered side-by-side. This approach allows for a better sense of how widespread particular dictates of self-writing were in this period. It is also intended to reflect the coexistence of secular and religious cultural influences in the early eighteenth century, in line with studies that nuance the idea of stark 'secularisation' in this period in favour of collaboration between religious and secular culture, and the 'privatisation' of piety, rather than its usurpation.[14] In the study of self-writing in particular, some work has already been done by scholars who have highlighted the interaction of spiritual and secular forms and approaches in a number of ways. They have drawn attention to the overlap of vocabulary from the fields of financial accounting, and spiritual self-accounting;[15] contemporary analogies that were drawn between spiritual and secular practices;[16] the coexistence, frequently in spiritual autobiographies of the period, of 'secular' calendar time (daily and hourly rhythms) and 'Godly' time (existence as movement towards spiritual

[14] C. J. Sommerville writes that 'religion moved from being a way of thinking, to something that was being thought about' ('The Secularization Puzzle', *History Today,* 44 (1994), 14-19, a summary of his longer study *The Secularization of Early Modern England* (Oxford, 1992)). On the collaborative, rather than adversarial relationship between science, the Enlightenment and religion see S. Gaukroger, *The Emergence of a Scientific Culture: Science and the Shaping of Modernity 1210-1685* (Oxford, 2006), 27. For the privatization of piety, and the countervailing trends to secularization in the period, see K. von Greyerz, *Religion and Culture in Early Modern Europe, 1500-1800* (Oxford, 2007), 187-197.

[15] J. P. Hunter, *Before Novels: The Cultural Contexts of Eighteenth-Century English Fiction* (1990), 305; A. Mitchell, 'William Dampier's Unaccepted Life', in *Early Modern Autobiography,* 268; A. Shepard, *Accounting for Oneself: Worth, Status and the Social Order in Early Modern England* (Oxford, 2015); Sherman, *Telling Time,* 49; Smyth, *Autobiography,* 71; Webster, 'Writing to Redundancy,' 38.

[16] Hindmarsh, *Evangelical Conversion Narrative,* 93.

fulfilment);[17] and the concurrence, on the diary page, of commercial and financial affairs and religious self-examination in diaries even later in the century.[18] The analysis in this chapter will develop this approach by probing the models of self-accounting that existed in spiritual and secular commentary together. This will allow us to better understand where they converged, and how they interacted.

My analysis of these models of self-writing will begin with an examination of the way in which diarizing was written about over the course of the early eighteenth century; the frequency with which it was referred to, the tone with which it was described, and whether it was encouraged or discouraged.

II. Diary-Keeping in Spiritual and Secular Print: Attitude and Tone

The presentation of self-writing in spiritual and in secular print in the early eighteenth century differed considerably in frequency and tone. In the first place, in the 'many spirituall books'[19] that were available to provide guidance in the early modern period, clear encouragement was given to readers of a variety of religious backgrounds[20] to keep a diary. Tom Webster has argued that while the

[17] R. Bedford, L. Davis & P. Kelly, *Early Modern English Lives: Autobiography and Self-Representation 1500-1660* (Aldershot, 2007), 34.
[18] B. Lemire, *The Business of Everyday Life: Gender, Practice and Social Politics in England c.1600-1900* (Manchester, 2005), 197. Amongst others, Samuel Pepys' late seventeenth-century diary is understood to show the influence of both financial accounting, and an almost automatic, spiritual piety (see W. Matthews, 'Diary as Literature', in R.C. Latham & W. Matthews (eds), *The Diary of Samuel Pepys,* Vol. 1 (10 vols, 1971; this edn, 1995), xcvii; Sherman, *Telling Time,* 49).
[19] N. Caussin, *The Christian Diary* (1648; this edn, 1652), ii.
[20] Spiritual diarizing is most frequently associated with more fervent Protestant sects in the early modern period, but it was a practice encouraged across denominations, from Puritan nonconformists to Anglicans, and Catholics (see Hindmarsh, *Evangelical Conversion Narrative,* 94). It was encouraged

act of self-accounting had long been encouraged as a spiritual duty, it was only in the second half of the seventeenth century that written reflection was explicitly encouraged.[21] Encouraged it certainly was, and with quite specific directions as to the means and modes of doing so. In his 1652 treatise, *Media: The Middle Things,* ex-Anglican Presbyterian Isaac Ambrose recalled the example of the 'many Ancients that were accustomed to keep Diaries or Day-books of their actions.' [22] He urged his readers to undertake both a 'daily register' as well as a more 'general view' on a monthly or yearly basis in order to see 'wherein we are better or worse'.[23] He himself spent his evenings, he explained, 'on the Duty of self-tryall…perusing [his] diary for the last year.'[24] Similarly, in his reprinted 1646 treatise, royal chaplain John Featley wrote that he would keep an 'account' on a daily basis, and 'examine myself how I have spent the day.'[25] Both Ambrose and Featley led by example, describing their own efforts at self-examination as an inducement and suggesting that it was a well-established practice with a long history. Nonconformist preacher Thomas Brooks also employed this approach, similarly describing 'ancients [who] used to keep in a little book, a memoriam of what they did in the day…a diary of God's mercies.'[26] It was not only in didactic literature that these exhortations appeared. Readings made on several occasions

in Jesuit circles, for example; see J. Constable, *Practical Methods of Performing the Ordinary Actions of Religious Life with Fervour of Spirit* (1718).

[21] Webster, 'Writing to Redundancy', 38. His argument qualifies the more widely-held interpretation that self-accounting was always a written practice; see, for example, Munns, 'Accounting for Providence', in *Recording and Reordering,* 98.

[22] I. Ambrose, *Media: The Middle Things* (1649; this edn, 1652), 72.

[23] Ibid. 72.

[24] Ibid. 73.

[25] J. Featley, *Fountain of Tears* (1646; this edn, 1683), 74. All information on the number of editions and reprints of works that follows is drawn from the English Short Title Catalogue.

[26] T. Brooks, *Heaven on Earth* (1667; this edn, 1728), 109.

by the Chaplain at the execution site at Tyburn urged the crowds that gathered to 'keep as punctual a diary of your provocations against the Lord as you can.'[27]

The numerous republications and enduring popularity of this type of instructive tract in the early eighteenth century – Samuel Johnson could remember being confined at home by his mother to read them[28] – suggest that they would have reached a broad audience, including those outside exclusively nonconformist and religious circles. Isaac Ambrose's tract – reprinted as late as 1780 – is representative of the large body of seventeenth-century tracts encouraging spiritual self-accounting that were reprinted throughout the eighteenth. In the eighth edition of *The Young Man's Calling* in 1725, Church of England clergyman Samuel Crossman's recommendation to self-account was quite explicitly advocated in his use of examples of pious individuals who all kept some form of self-record.[29] In 1739, the thirteenth edition of William de Britaine's *Human Prudence* explicitly encouraged individuals to 'keep an exact diary of all [their] actions, and of the most memorable passages you hear or meet with.'[30]

It is significant that alongside these reprints were texts, newly published in the eighteenth century, which gave similar advice. J.P. Hunter has written of a proliferation of spiritual autobiographies published in the late seventeenth century and early decades of the eighteenth.[31] These and more didactic

[27] OBP, Ordinary's Accounts, 13 Apr. 1687 and 21 Dec. 1692.†
[28] Green, *Print and Protestantism,* 353.
[29] S. Crossman, *The Young Man's Calling; or the Whole Duty of Youth* (1678; this edn, 1737): see in particular the 'Life of the Young Lord Harrington', 298-394.
[30] W. De Britaine, *Human Prudence: Or, The Art by which a Man May Raise Himself and his Fortune to Grandeur* (1680; this edn, 1717), 169.
[31] Hunter, *Before Novels,* 315-21.

instructive handbooks continued to promote a model of pious living in which the keeping of a spiritual diary was an important part. The editor of *Practical Religion Exemplify'd* (1712) told the story of the conversion of a Miss Clissould, drawn from a 'short diary' she had been taught to keep 'immediately upon her conversion.'[32] In 1718, Jesuit Rector John Constable found one of the *Practical Methods of Performing the Ordinary Actions of Religious Life* to be the keeping of a diary.[33] In the much-cited and much-reprinted[34] *An Account of the Life and Death of Mrs Elizabeth Bury* (1720) the editor wrote admiringly that his subject 'would often that were it not for her diary, she should neither know what she was, or what she did, or what she had.'[35] Church of England minister Thomas Fuller's *Directions, Counsels and Cautions* (1725) advised individuals to 'keep a diary of all thy considerable actions; and of the most memorable passages thou hearest, and meetest with,'[36] a phrase that repeatedly appears in other works of the seventeenth and eighteenth century.[37] In *The Christian Oratory* (1725), which ran to at least 7 editions,[38] Presbyterian minister Benjamin Bennet similarly encouraged his readers to 'write down the more remarkable Hints and useful passages in the sermons of the day' and to 'add to these a diary (or the account you keep of the state of your own souls).'[39] The editor of the sermons of John Abernethy, a Presbyterian minister, wrote admiringly in 1748 of the diary Abernethy left behind. It was an 'amazing work' in which 'the temper of his mind

[32] T. Reynolds, *Practical Religion Exemplify'd in the Lives of Mrs Clissold and Mrs Mary Terry* (1712), 26.
[33] Constable, *Practical Methods*, 287.
[34] At least 4 reprints between 1721 and 1743; it was also cited in numerous works (see, for example, I. Watts, *Reliquae Juveniles* (1752)).
[35] S. Bury (ed.), *An Account of the Life and Death of Mrs Elizabeth Bury* (Bristol, 1720), 13.
[36] T. Fuller, *Directions, Counsels and Cautions* (1725), 41.
[37] It also appears in *The Universal Monitor, Or a General Dictionary of Moral and Divine Precepts* (1702), 133; De Britaine, *Human Prudence,* 169.
[38] At least 7 reprints between 1725 and 1776.
[39] B. Bennet, *The Christian Oratory* (1725; this edn, 1732), 13.

[was] represented with much exactness; the various events he met with, his reflections upon them, and his improvements of them.'[40]

The practice of diarizing was thus explicitly encouraged as a component part of religious observance and spiritual living across various denominations over the first half of the eighteenth century. However, the enthusiasm with which it was encouraged in this body of writing is not reflected in more secular, non-didactic literature. It is in part a result of the nature of the material. As Paul Delany has written of seventeenth-century religious culture, 'the pulpit offered a supply of commonly accepted images and suggested an appropriate tone'[41] to private religious observance. There was a canon of appropriate language and models of behaviour that didactic texts drew on, as repetition of particular phrases in previous examples illustrates. By contrast, no such models existed in popular print. Secular didactic texts that did instruct on diary-keeping were limited in impact and audience in comparison to their spiritual counterparts; indeed, there is little explicit encouragement to be found in print at all.[42]

This sparse presence in didactic literature is in itself telling of the peripheral role reflective diary-keeping was perceived to play in secular life, in contrast to spiritual. It is to other genres of popular print that we must look to find more extensive commentary on the practice of self-writing. It is immediately clear

[40] J. Abernethy, *Sermons on Various Subjects* (1748), ix.
[41] P. Delaney, *British Autobiography in the Seventeenth Century* (1969), 107.
[42] Advice from prolific author Roger North, for example, on the value of keeping a 'life journal' remained unpublished until 1984 (see P. Millard (ed.), *General Preface and Life of Dr John North* (Toronto, 1984), 78), and I have been able to find only one other encouragement to diarizing in didactic literature in an essay written in 1739, on the practice of diary-keeping as a means of combatting idleness: see 'Of Idleness' in *Essays on Various Subjects* (1739), 156.

from the way it is presented that it was not perceived as a positive pastime. An essay in the fourth issue of *The Female Tatler* from 1709 is fairly representative of the tone of broader commentary on the practice. The first page of the issue featured an account of a diary kept by 'Nick Dainty-Boy', the cousin of the narrator's maid.[43] The entries in it were recounted as follows:

> *'this morning at 17 minutes past 8 I rose; and having read two chapters in Job, I sat down upon the squab, and ran the heels of my cinnamon colour stockings; having call'd my man Roger, whom for his laziness I intend to turn away when his year's up, I began to dress … at the Rainbow I call'd for a dish of Milk Bohee, which being not sweet enough, they brought me some more sugar…in Chancery Lane a Dray-man's horse splash'd me all over, which I set down as a Memorandum, never go thro' Chancery Lane again. … Having walk'd about the room half an hour to digest my supper, I wrote Day's Journal, and went to bed.'*[44]

Paradoxically, the practice of keeping a diary is portrayed as valuable; it is a 'good design' which the woman's ridiculous nephew is described as 'burlesquing' in order to 'finish his character'. Yet the fact that it is kept by an individual 'as empty a coxcomb as ever whistled for want of thought' makes it worse. Evidently when practised by those with 'remarkable passages' in their lives, it was acceptable, yet as the pastime of other less remarkable individuals it was a mark of arrogance, the behaviour of an individual 'opinionated of his own merit'.[45]

This impression is echoed elsewhere. Historians have pointed to Joseph Addison's instructions in a 1712 issue of his *Spectator* as evidence of a positive view of diary-keeping in the early eighteenth century.[46] In it, he recommended to his readers

[43] *The Female Tatler*, 13-15 Jul. 1709, 1.
[44] Ibid. 1.
[45] Ibid. 1.
[46] Sherman, *Telling Time,* 155.

> *'the keeping a Journal of their lives for one week, and setting down punctually their whole series of employments during that space of time. This kind of self-examination would give them a true state of themselves, and would incline them to consider seriously what they are about.'*[47]

Here the keeping of a retrospective journal was encouraged as a means of truly understanding oneself. It mirrors the language and reasoning of spiritual handbooks and godly living autobiographies in promoting self-examination. However, Addison's introductory advice is deceptive: the same article of the *Spectator* went on to treat the practice of self-writing with ridicule. It contained an extract from the journal of an individual who was 'of greater consequence in his own thoughts than in the Eye of the World' (Fig. 1). Again, such diary-keeping was presented as the product of arrogance and a sense of self-importance.

MONDAY, *Eight a Clock.* I put on my Cloaths and walked into the Parlour.
Nine a Clock, ditto. Tied my Knee-ſtrings, and waſhed my Hands.
Hours Ten, Eleven and Twelve. Smoaked three Pipes of *Virginia.* Read the *Supplement* and *Daily Courant.* Things go ill in the North. Mr. *Nisby*'s Opinion thereupon.
One a Clock in the Afternoon. Chid *Ralph* for miſlaying my Tobacco-Box.
Two a Clock. Sat down to Dinner. *Mem.* Too many Plumbs, and no Sewet.
From Three to Four. Took my Afternoon's Nap.
From Four to Six. Walked into the Fields. Wind, S. S. E.
From Six to Ten. At the Club. Mr. *Nisby*'s Opinion about the Peace.
Ten a Clock. Went to Bed, ſlept ſound.

Fig. 1. Extract from *The Spectator* satirizing the needless level of detail and circumstantial description encouraged by the diary format (*The Spectator,* 4 Mar. 1712).

In contrast to the encouragement that peppered didactic spiritual manuals, the practice and its practitioners were mocked in contemporaneous popular print.

[47] *The Spectator,* 4 Mar. 1712.

However, while poles apart in the level of encouragement they provide, both sets of commentary were similar in that they were founded on more complex and specific models of diarizing. The enthusiasm with which the practice was encouraged in religious literature was founded on a particular and quite prescriptive idea of 'correct' and 'incorrect' diary form and use; similarly, the scathing comment in secular literature was based on criticism of particular aspects of diarizing, and an inherent confirmation of others. In fact, analysing these bodies of source material more closely reveals commonalities in the form, structure, and purpose of self-writing perceived to be appropriate, and a shared, narrowly prescriptive definition of effective diary-keeping in the early eighteenth century. The next section will explore these common prescriptive models more closely, beginning with perceptions of diary purpose.

III. The Purpose of Diarizing: Managing the Self, Money and Time

Historical study of self-writing in the early eighteenth century has mainly found the practice to be one of self-reflection. It was not, however, the only purpose for which individuals diarized in the early eighteenth century; nor, as we have seen, was introspective self-study always positively represented in popular print. Satirical comment represented self-reflective writing as a waste of time – in one of a selection of entertaining and instructive essays, 'Of Idleness', a young spark's self-reflection extends only as far as a meditation on the size and comparative

brilliance of the shoe buckles of his rival.[48] Even in religious, didactic writing Richard Baxter warned that those who study 'nothing but themselves…lose even the knowledge of themselves.'[49]

In the same tract, Baxter also advised that the self-knowledge afforded by the diary should not 'be merely speculative, but also practical.'[50] In fact, both time and money were perceived to be precious resources in this period, and something to be managed in the personal writing of individuals. Considerable encouragement was given in late seventeenth- and early eighteenth-century print to managing finances via personal accounting,[51] as many studies of the period have identified. Less studied is the parallel strand that existed in both secular and spiritual commentary, which advocated self-writing as a way of managing time. Yet it is important for the insight it provides into the multifaceted purpose that self-writing was perceived to have. A distinction was drawn between 'practical' diarizing and reflective self-writing which suggests not only a recognition that the diary had a variety of forms and functions, but a preference for its more practical, utilitarian purpose.

[48] 'Of Idleness', 158.
[49] R. Baxter, *The Mischiefs of Self-Ignorance; and the Benefits of Self-Acquaintance* (1662), 159.
[50] Ibid. 55.
[51] See, for example, R. Colinson, *Idea Rationaria* (1683); D. Defoe, *The Complete English Tradesman* (1726); J. Locke, *Some Thoughts Concerning Education* (1693; this edn, 1712); R. North, *The Gentleman Accomptant* (1714); R. Steele, *The Tradesman's Calling* (1684). It also appeared in less didactic, popular print; see for example 'The Deceitful Draper', in *The Melancholy Virgin's Garland* (1710).

Popular writing, visual print and didactic literature in the early eighteenth century placed great value on time, and keeping track of it.[52] In his *Family Instructor* in 1715, Daniel Defoe recommended to his readers that if another family member's time 'is employ'd out of your business, you ought to exact an account of it from him, how it has been dispos'd of.'[53] In his children's instructive text, *Historiae Pueriles,* Robert Wharton advised his young reader to be 'frugal' in the disposal of 'two precious things…his time and his revenue.'[54] In his *Industry and Idleness* series (1747), William Hogarth depicted the management of time as a crucial ingredient of individual accomplishment (Fig. 2): the year's almanac



Fig. 2. Plate 4 of *Industry and Idleness,* 'The Industrious Prentice a Favourite, and Entrusted by His Master' by William Hogarth (1747). The apprentice's management of time and money has enabled his success.

[52] See T. Brooks, *Apples of Gold for Young Men and Women* (1672), 7; *The Gentleman's Library* (1715; this edn, 1744), 186; M. Cooper & T. Cooper, *The Child's New Plaything* (1743), 59; W. Owen, *Youth's Entertaining and Instructive Calendar for 1750* (1749), 13.
[53] D. Defoe, *The Family Instructor,* Vol. 1 (2 vols, 1715), 242.
[54] R. Wharton, *Historiae Pueriles* (1734), 27.

pinned to the bureau in the bottom right of the image demonstrates that the industrious apprentice's success is attributable not only to his responsible management of money – represented in the 'Day Book' he holds – but also his awareness of time.

As Stuart Sherman and others have demonstrated, British society in the late seventeenth and early eighteenth century was increasingly preoccupied with time. It was a preoccupation facilitated by the portable time-keeping of pocket watches and reflected in contemporary literature, as the more precisely-defined and consciously-tracked 'merchant's' time usurped more traditional temporal structures and rhythms.[55] In this context the diary was perceived to play a practical, functional role, like a clock or pocket-watch, in its ability to track the passing of time and provide – and crucially represent – temporal structure. Indeed, this was an association drawn and capitalised upon in advertising efforts of early eighteenth-century almanac vendors. The introduction to *An Almanack; or Diary Astronomical* for 1720 compared the almanac to a clock; that is, a time-keeping device that enabled active temporal management and organisation.[56] In this context self-writing was promoted as a practical pursuit, and the diary – in this case almanac – as a useful form.

[55] Bedford, Davis & Kelly, *Early Modern English Lives,* 45; A. A. Chapman, 'Marking Time: Astrology, Almanacs, and English Protestantism', *Renaissance Quarterly,* 60 (2007), unpaginated online edition; G. Dohrn Van-Rossum, *The History of the Hour: Clocks and Modern Temporal Orders* (1996), 13; R. Poole, '"Give us Our Eleven Days!" Calendar Reform in Eighteenth-Century England,' *Past & Present,* 149 (1995), 95; Sherman, *Telling Time,* 27; M. Tomalin, 'The Intriguing Complications of Pocket Watches in the Literature of the Long Eighteenth Century', *Review of English Studies,* 66 (2014), 301.

[56] J. Knapp, 'Preface, To the Reader', in *An Almanack: or Diary Astronomical, Meteorological, Astrological for the Year 1720* (Dublin, 1719).

In popular print, diarizing was presented favourably as a means of managing time in a number of ways. It could be used to plan future actions: in *The Universal Spectator* for April 1734, fictional narrator Henry Stonecastle describes snooping around his friend's library and discovering 'a sort of memorandum or diary of some part of his life.'[57] It contains memorandums that, when they were written, acted as reminders for events in the future: 'March – 1734. To breakfast at Lady Fanny Scandal's at Eleven. –Miss Tattle to be there.'[58] It was a practice recognised elsewhere. In *The Merry Medley* (1750) a fictional diary entry in one 'Humorous Dialogue' contained Memorandums for future reference. For Monday 16th, for example, the diarist made a note to himself that '*Memorand.* His Excellency easier of Access than his Officer'.[59]

Elsewhere there are more subtle indications of the value to be gained by planning the future, and the role of the diary in doing so. In an entertaining eighteenth-century broadside, the diary extracts of two women, one from 'Q. Elizabeth's Time', the other a 'modern fine lady' were compared side-by-side.[60] The Elizabethan uses her journal to write reminders for the coming days. She writes, for example, 'Mem. To send to London by the first opportunity, for a jar of raisins, and a new Bible;' 'Mem. To carry two shillings from Mama to Dick the shoemakers wife.'[61] Her entries clearly show planning for the days ahead; 'nine o'clock. Clear starch linen for next week.' The impression is that her time is

[57] *The Universal Spectator and Weekly Journal,* 6 Apr. 1734.
[58] Ibid.
[59] 'C.F.', *The Merry Medley, or a Christmass-Box for Gay Gallants and Good Companions* (1750), 214. Similar use of memorandums in fictional, entertaining diary entries can be found in J. Smedley, *Gulliveriana* (1728), 116.
[60] LWL, 'A Country Lady's Journal' Broadside (eighteenth century; date unknown), 1.
[61] Ibid. 1.

better organised as a result of such notes. In contrast, the memorandums noted by the 'modern lady' are frivolous and do not seem to have a bearing on future actions; 'Mem. Shall be miserable until [new dresses] are sent home'.

The same broadside asserted the role of the diary – but crucially only the well-kept diary – as a symbol of temporal regularity and effective self-management, as well as a tool of it. Across popular literature, mismanagement and irregularity of hours kept was invoked as a sign of dissolute living. An extract from *The Universal Spectator* in 1728 disapprovingly described an individual for whom 'all Regularity and Order are made subservient to Appointments: at Noon she rises; she dines at Supper-time; and often comes to Bed by Day-light.'[62] A poorly-kept, excessively detailed diary was, as we have seen from previous extracts, a symbol of this dissolute living: in *The Spectator* it took Freeport's friend an hour to tie his knee-strings and wash his hands;[63] the idle young spark wakes only at eleven and takes until 2pm to get dressed.[64] The broadside of the two women's diaries captures the contrast perceived to exist between the well-kept and poorly-kept diaries as symbols – and tools – of self-management. The diary of the Tudor woman spans from her prayers at 5am to her bedtime at 8pm, and records a day of tribulations, selflessness and very worthy behaviour. Her activities are well structured and her day is kept to a very regular schedule. In contrast, the diary of the modern woman starts at 2pm. She keeps irregular hours, indulging her tastes and appetites regardless of time of day.

[62] *The Universal Spectator and Weekly Journal,* 26 Oct. 1728.
[63] *The Spectator,* 4 Mar. 1712.
[64] 'Of Idleness', 158.

A considerable part of the distinction made between these two diaries rests on their stylistic differences. Prescriptive ideas of form and structure will be discussed later in this chapter; it is sufficient to state here that the journal of the Tudor woman is shorter and considerably more concise, despite the fact that she has had a busy day. She prays in the morning, administers medicine to the poor, teaches her siblings, cooks and visits the poor in the afternoon. In contrast, the young woman starts her day mid-afternoon with a visit to a milliner, spends time eating, napping, socializing, and preparing herself for evenings trying to impress an 'infamous sharper' she plans to elope with. The short entries for the thoughtful, apparently self-aware individual of the first extract are in direct contrast to the rambling detail provided in the second, and in the entries cited in other popular print. Noting her time down in excessive detail has neither helped to structure the modern woman's day, nor encouraged her to reflect on how her time might be better spent. The relationship between self-management and detail in the journal was here portrayed as inversely proportional. Reflection did not depend on a minute-by-minute account of daily activity in this extract; rather, shorter entries reflected a better-managed life.

As well as enabling effective management of time and self, the well-kept diary was also a symbol of it. The practical function of the diary as a time-keeping device was invoked in more spiritual literature too. As part of the slow transition from traditional temporal structures to mercantile time, the time structures being noted and recorded in spiritual diaries in the early modern period belonged to dual time frames; in the words of Ronald Bedford, Lloyd Davis and Philippa Kelly, the 'chronos' of watches, clocks and calendars, and the 'kairos' of

Godly, spiritual time.[65] In spiritual literature and autobiography from the period, diaries were represented as important tools in the management of both temporal forms: they functioned both as a temporal measure of mortality and sin as well as a tool for marking the material facts of daily observance and occurrences. In other words, diarizing was perceived to be as functional and organizational in spiritual, temporal commentary as it was in secular literature in this period. The management of dual time frames is evident in the published memoirs of Mrs Mary Terry, for example, in which the editor explained that her writings contained 'some instances of her Ordinary and Week-Days Experiences, but more especially those she met with on Lords-Days and Sacrament Days…She calls them, a brief account of the workings of her Heart towards God in duty.'[66] In other cases, the diary was used specifically for the management of theological time, which shaped standard diurnal organisation. Elizabeth Bury kept a diary that was organised on a more specific level by day, which she then rearranged under spiritual headings; 'Self-Examinations', 'Sabbath Frames and Services' and 'Answers to Prayers'.[67]

Just as secular self-writing forms were likened to clocks for their utility to their users, so the same comparison was drawn in spiritual instruction. In his *Christian Diary* (1652), Nicolas Caussin wrote 'I present you with this short treatise: carry it in your hand, as the clock which a great prince wore in a ring: it striketh every hour of the day, and agreeth with reason, as true Dials with the

[65] Bedford, Davis & Kelly, *Early Modern English Lives,* 34.
[66] Reynolds, *Practical Religion Exemplify'd,* 26.
[67] Bury, *The Life and Death of Mrs Elizabeth Bury,* 69.

sun.'[68] The same author emphasised the importance of 'well-ordering every action of the day';[69] other spiritual literature explicitly advocated the role of the diary in doing so. The diary represented effective temporal self-management, but also constituted a part of that temporal regularity, a function of daily routine. William de Britaine suggested that observations and remarks should 'be committed to writing every night before you sleep';[70] in *Practical Religion Exemplify'd* Thomas Reynolds advised 'daily observations'.[71]

In both spiritual and secular writing, the diary was therefore both a part of effective daily routine, and a tool in the management of it. Stuart Sherman and J.P. Hunter have written of a love of contemporaneity, or 'a large cultural embracing of the present moment' that occurred in the eighteenth century.[72] Recording 'in the moment' is a theme in all these writings. From didactic texts to discursive articles, individuals were encouraged to note sermons as they heard them,[73] money as it was exchanged[74] and 'witty sayings' as they were spoken.[75] Yet the role of the diary was more than merely a record of occurrences in the present moment. It was promoted as both a tool and a symptom of a well-managed life. Self-reflection was not the only reason why individuals were encouraged to keep a diary; indeed, secular writing at the time presented quite a contrast between the benefits of excessive self-reflection and the advantages of effective planning.

[68] Caussin, *The Christian Diary,* ii.
[69] Ibid. 1.
[70] De Britaine, *Human Prudence,* 169.
[71] Reynolds, *Practical Religion Exemplify'd,* 26.
[72] J. P. Hunter, '"News, and New Things": Contemporaneity and the Early English Novel', *Critical Inquiry,* 14 (1988), 495; Sherman, *Telling Time,* 172.
[73] Bennet, *Christian Oratory,* 13.
[74] W. Webster, *An Essay On Book-Keeping* (1721), title page.
[75] 'Verses sent to a Lady, with a Pocket Book' in *The Gentleman's Magazine,* Jan. 1753.

Recognising this is important for two reasons: firstly, because it challenges the notion that the early modern diary was primarily a deliberate, ruminative form; and secondly, because what this evidence reveals of the diary as a functional form goes some way to explaining the prescriptive ideals of diary form and content, which are the subject of the next section of this chapter.

IV. Fact and Structure

Diarizing in the early eighteenth century was understood to be a truth-telling exercise. The purpose of spiritual self-writing was to keep track, retrospectively, of Godly intervention in daily life and to produce a record of good and bad behaviour that could be returned to and reflected upon. It was expected to be absolutely honest, to the point of being an unpleasant read. As early as 1662 Richard Baxter wrote that the point of self-writing was to 'take the true measure of our capacities' and record 'true, practical, saving knowledge.'[76] Years later Benjamin Bennett wrote of the diary as a handmaiden to conscience, and felt 'admonished' by both.[77] Similarly, in his 1748 poem *Night Thoughts*, Rev. Edward Young compared his conscience to a 'dread diary' filled with 'horror.'[78] The 'truth' expected in the spiritual diary was matched by the 'fact' demanded in commentary on its secular counterpart; even in satire, the keeping of an 'exact',

[76] Baxter, *Mischiefs,* 151-52.
[77] Bennett, *Christian Oratory,* 523.
[78] E. Young, 'Night Thoughts', in *Important Directions How to Spend Every Day* (1748), 139. For a similar sentiment see also J. Beadle, *Journal or Diary of a Thankful Christian* (1656). For further encouragements of truth in spiritual instruction, see references to the 'exactness' of John Abernethy's journal in Abernethy, *Sermons,* x.

'faithful' account was paramount,[79] and the representation of the diary was clearly predicated upon the understanding that it contained 'truth.'

The notion of the diary as a repository for truth and fact was a well-established one. The fact that it was also expected of other forms of personal writing in the period[80] suggests that there was a broader cultural valuing of useful knowledge. In fact, historians have identified a trend towards increasing interest in 'factual precision [and] detailed data'[81] at the beginning of the eighteenth century, citing the growing importance of the collection, management and organisation of information.[82] This attitude is clearly reflected in the prescriptive ideals of factual diary content and form in spiritual and secular literature, as well as in the particularities of the language used to describe it. Alongside references to exact accounts, spiritual and secular commentators used language drawn from science[83] to describe the action of keeping a diary in this period. In the diary published after his death in 1716, Matthew Henry employed a language of 'experiments' and 'observations'; diarizing was an exercise in 'faithfully

[79] 'Of Idleness,' 159. For diaries as a 'faithful account' see Smedley, *Gulliveriana*, 114. That diaries should reflect the 'true state' of individuals is declared in *The Spectator,* 4 Mar. 1712. For reference to the 'exactness of a diary' see T. Birch (ed.), *A Complete Collection of the Historical, Political and Miscellaneous Works of John Milton* Vol. 1 (2 vols, 1738), 434.

[80] ''Nothing is so capable of giving a true Account of Story, as Letters are: which describe Actions while they are alive and breathing; wherein all other Relations are of Actions past and dead.' Jonathan Swift.,' in A. Pope, *New Letters of Mr Alexander Pope* (1737), 4.

[81] Hunter, *Before Novels,* 308.

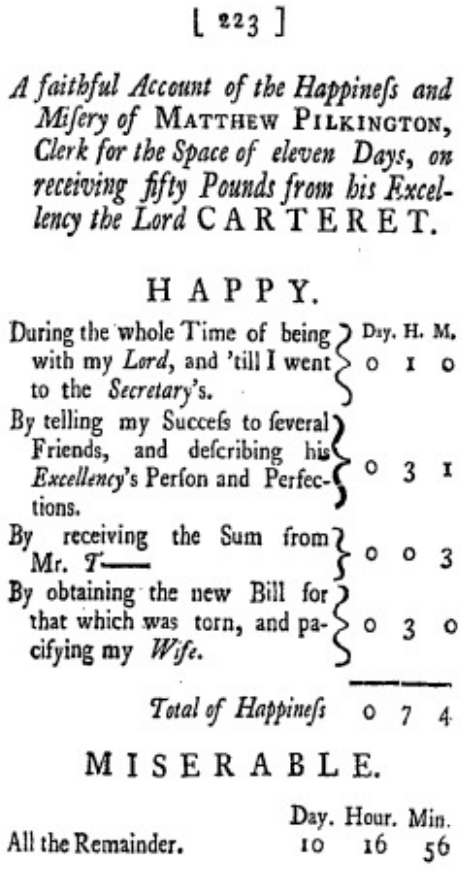
[82] See M. Macovski, 'Imagining Hegel: Bookish Forms and the Romantic Synopticon' in I. Ferris & P. Keen (eds), *Bookish Histories: Books, Literature and Commercial Modernity 1700-1900* (Basingstoke, 2009), 196. See also A. Blair, 'Reading Strategies for Coping with Information Overload 1550-1700', *Journal of the History of Ideas,* 64 (2003), 11-28.

[83] As Mary Fissell and Roger Cooter have pointed out, the word 'scientist' did not exist in the early eighteenth century, and they find the term 'science' an 'anachronistic and misleading category' (M. Fissell & R. Cooter, 'Exploring Natural Knowledge: Science and the Popular', in R. Porter (ed.), *The Cambridge History of Science, Vol. 4* (7 vols, Cambridge, 2002-2013; this vol., 2003), 130). Here it is used to refer to the branches of inquiry into natural knowledge, mechanics, chemistry, and physics that developed in the late seventeenth and early eighteenth centuries, and the processes of experiment, invention and observation that were central to these pursuits.

recording' observations about himself, as an impartial observer.[84] Historians have noted objectivity as a recurring theme running through spiritual diarizing in the early modern period:[85] an attempt to write from a Godly perspective, which resulted in a self-imposed distance between the diarist as author, and the diarist as subject. The forensic, empirical separation of author and subject, and the language of detached examination is evident in secular writing on diarizing too.[86] The work of natural philosophers, chemists and physicists like Robert Boyle, Robert Hooke, and Isaac Newton as well as political arithmeticians,[87] and the publications of the Royal Society – all printed and reprinted well into the eighteenth century – offered an alternative vocabulary of 'experiments', 'observations' and, indeed, 'accounts.'[88] This language, therefore, was not without associations or semiotic significance; its employment in commentary on self-writing drew connections between the writing of the individual diarist and the experimental, scientific pursuits of the time.

[84] 'W. T.', *An Account of the Life and Death of Mr Matthew Henry* (1716), 84.
[85] See P. Seaver, *Wallington's World: A Puritan Artisan in Seventeenth-Century London* (1985), 182-3; Todd, 'Samuel Ward,' 251; Webster, 'Writing to Redundancy,' 50.
[86] J. Locke, 'An Essay Concerning Human Understanding', in J. Le Clerc, *An Account of the Life and Writings of John Locke Esq.* Vol. 1 (2 vols, 1713; this edn, 1714), 32. See also L. Mulligan, 'Self-Scrutiny and the Study of Nature: Robert Hooke's Diary as Natural History', *Journal of British Studies,* 35 (1996), 312.
[87] P. Slack, 'Government and Information in Seventeenth-Century England,' *Past & Present,* 184 (2004), 35.
[88] See R. Boyle, *The Works of the Honourable Robert Boyle,* Vol. 1 (5 vols, 1744); R. Hooke, *The Posthumous Works of Robert Hooke* (1705); I. Newton, *The Mathematical Principles of Natural Philosophy,* trans. Andrew Motte, Vol. 1 (2 vols, 1729); Royal Society, *Miscellanea Curiosa: Being a Collection of Some of the Principal Phenomena in Nature,* Vol. 1 (3 vols, 1705-7). Samuel Pepys also notes visiting 'experiments' at the Royal Society (see Matthews & Latham (eds), *The Diary of Samuel Pepys* Vol. 4, 36-7; Mulligan, 'Robert Hooke's Diary', 319).

A convincing body of select evidence indicates that models of financial accounting and scientific observation shaped not only the language used to describe self-writing, but also the form that it was expected to take. A 'humorous dialogue' from an entertaining text of 1750 is a particularly good example (Fig. 3). Following a retrospective prose diary in which he describes the experience of having money, 'Matthew Pilkington' condenses it to fit the format of a financial account in which he enters days, hours and minutes like pounds, shillings and pence. Pilkington explains that this 'exact calculation' or 'just balance' has been made 'the more fully to convince' his readers.[89] Yet it is also a comment upon



[223]

A faithful Account of the Happineſs and Miſery of MATTHEW PILKINGTON, *Clerk for the Space of eleven Days, on receiving fifty Pounds from his Excellency the Lord* CARTERET.

HAPPY.

	Day.	H.	M.
During the whole Time of being with my *Lord*, and 'till I went to the *Secretary*'s.	0	1	0
By telling my Succeſs to ſeveral Friends, and deſcribing his *Excellency*'s Perſon and Perfections.	0	3	1
By receiving the Sum from Mr. *T*——	0	0	3
By obtaining the new Bill for that which was torn, and pacifying my *Wife*.	0	3	0
Total of Happineſs	0	7	4

MISERABLE.

	Day.	Hour.	Min.
All the Remainder.	10	16	56

Fig. 3. Extract from a 'Humorous Dialogue' ('C.F.', *The Merry Medley* (1750)). This account summarizes a longer journal.

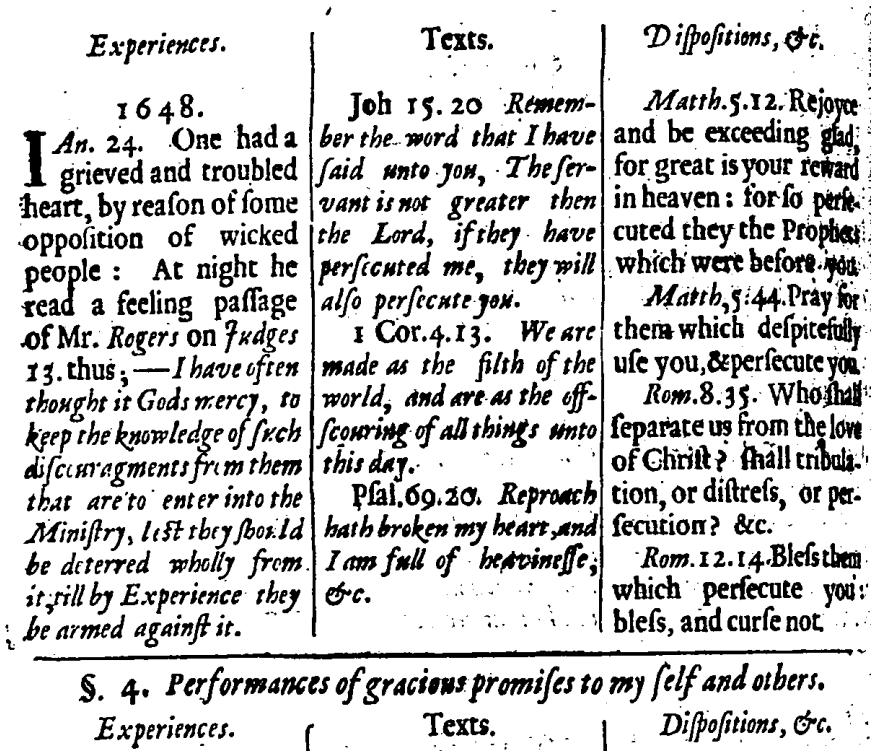
[89] *The Merry Medley,* 222.

diary-keeping practices. The alternative retrospective diary upon which this is based is longer and more detailed, yet has been deemed 'less convincing' than this reduced, brief, and succinct version. The format of the account book is transformative, condensing and organising rambling prose into factually, numerically accurate data. It was a device used in other forms of popular writing in the early eighteenth century: Defoe's protagonist Robinson Crusoe draws up an account of himself in two columns, 'like Debtor and Creditor', to weigh up the advantages and disadvantages of his situation.[90]

As well as using the columnar format of the account book to organise personal writing, other structures of varying formality were advocated in spiritual texts. In his account of *The Life and Death of Sir Matthew Hale* in 1705, Gilbert Burnet drew attention to the 'scheme [Hale] drew for a diary' which involved the structuring of segments of the day according to particular spiritual actions.[91] The key structuring factor here is time; in line with previous discussion of the notion of the diary as a pragmatic, functional form, this was a structure intended to render the diary even more useful as an organisational tool. More pronounced, and more spatially prescriptive was the model proposed by Isaac Ambrose for structuring a spiritual diary in his popular tract, *Media: The Middle Things* (Fig. 4, overleaf). In it, he recommended 'casting our Experiences under several heads' in a tabulated format, and provided an example.[92] Events or occurrences of the day were arranged alongside relevant 'Texts' from the Bible and 'Dispositions

[90] D. Defoe, *The Life and Strange Surprizing Adventures of Robinson Crusoe, of York, Mariner* (1719), 62-3. See also D. Marshall, 'Autobiographical Acts in Robinson Crusoe', *English Literary History Journal,* 71 (2004), 899-900.
[91] G. Burnet, *The Life and Death of Sir Matthew Hale* (1705), 3.
[92] Ambrose, *Media,* 181-9.

required in this Case'; that is, appropriate responses lifted from Bible verse. The advantage of the tabulated form, Ambrose wrote, was that it made the component parts 'face one another and answer to one another.'[93] Akin to the columnar format preferred by Pilkington and Crusoe, this table permitted the organisation of information, as if its contents were fact, or data, to be sorted.



Experiences. | Texts. | *Diſpoſitions, &c.*

1648.

An. 24. One had a grieved and troubled heart, by reaſon of ſome oppoſition of wicked people: At night he read a feeling paſſage of Mr. *Rogers* on *Judges* 13. thus; —*I have often thought it Gods mercy, to keep the knowledge of ſuch diſcouragments from them that are to enter into the Miniſtry, leſt they ſhould be deterred wholly from it; till by Experience they be armed againſt it.*

Joh 15. 20 *Remember the word that I have ſaid unto you, The ſervant is not greater then the Lord, if they have perſecuted me, they will alſo perſecute you.*

1 Cor. 4. 13. *We are made as the filth of the world, and are as the offſcouring of all things unto this day.*

Pſal. 69. 20. *Reproach hath broken my heart, and I am full of heavineſſe, &c.*

Matth. 5. 12. Rejoyce and be exceeding glad, for great is your reward in heaven: for ſo perſecuted they the Prophets which were before you.

Matth. 5. 44. Pray for them which deſpitefully uſe you, & perſecute you.

Rom. 8. 35. Who ſhall ſeparate us from the love of Chriſt? ſhall tribulation, or diſtreſs, or perſecution? &c.

Rom. 12. 14. Bleſs them which perſecute you: bleſs, and curſe not.

§. 4. *Performances of gracious promiſes to my ſelf and others.*

Experiences. | Texts. | *Diſpoſitions, &c.*

Fig. 4. Extract from Isaac Ambrose's *Media: The Middle Things* (1649; this edn, 1652) in which he advised the reader to use a tabulated structure to organise their spiritual diary.

The use of the table to display information is most frequently discussed in historical study in the context of early modern scientific and statistical developments. In the late seventeenth century the efforts of William Petty and John Graunt in political arithmetic centred on the use of tables of numerical data to yield statistical information;[94] the government used tabular forms to organise

[93] Ibid.

[94] I. Cohen, *The Triumph of Numbers: How Counting Shaped Modern Life* (2006), 53.

the vast amounts of data it collected on population, ship movements, prices, tax returns, military manpower and others;[95] Robert Hooke even used a tabulated form to structure his diary, which Lotte Mulligan has compared to a laboratory book.[96] Yet it was not a commonly used form outside political and scientific circles. As the examples here show, its use and the use of any spatial structure for a diary was rarely advocated. However, the appearance of these spatial structures in commentary is significant because it reiterates the association of the diary with fact, and reinforces the exhortations to truth and 'exactness' at work in prescriptive commentary. It not only suggests that the diary was perceived as organisational, pragmatic tool; but also that it was subject to the expectations of factual accuracy and data collection that were beginning to develop in other political and cultural spheres.

This discussion has drawn attention to previously overlooked elements of self-writing commentary. It has shown that considering them together, rather than as scattered, anomalous features, or as the idiosyncrasies of particular authors and works, reveals broader trends in the way self-writing was regarded in the early eighteenth century. The subtle connection made here between fact and personal writing was not new to the early eighteenth century. As Terry Reilly has pointed out, in the sixteenth century Michel de Montaigne asserted that in travel journalizing the 'truth' told by 'a plain ignorant fellow' was preferable to the inevitable alterations, inventions and additions of the better educated.[97] What the evidence cited here does show, however, are the ways in which this taste for

[95] J. Brewer, *The Sinews of Power: War, Money and the English State 1688-1783* (1989), 222.
[96] L. Mulligan, 'Self-Scrutiny and the Study of Nature,' 332.
[97] M. de Montaigne, cited in M. McKeon, *The Origins of the English Novel 1600-1740* (Baltimore, 1987), 104.

truth and fact were expected in diarizing, not just other intentionally observational and factual forms; and that they shaped prescriptions of both content and structure. The final section of this chapter will explore a final, recurring theme in prescriptive ideas of diarizing that supported its perceived organisational and factual function in the early eighteenth century.

V. Form: Detail and Conciseness

In the late seventeenth century, the Royal Society issued directives to those writing travel and voyage journals. They encouraged the use of a clear, plain style, the foregoing of moral judgements, and 'scientifically objective narrative histories.'[98] These maxims are called on in studies of the travel journal in the early modern period and their factual, objective content is explored.[99] It was not just the travel journal that was seen to be subject to these prescriptions. The evidence presented here suggests that the 'clear plain style' requested by the Society was echoed in expectations of other forms of diarizing after 1700. In particular, the precision expected of travel writing was perceived as a desirable characteristic in other self-writing forms.

A recurring feature of commentary and satire on self-writing in early eighteenth-century print is the excessive, minute detail recorded by the diarists. We have seen the detail with which *The Female Tatler*'s 'Nick Dainty-Boy' notes the time –

[98] T. Reilly, 'Arthur Young's Travels in France: Historicity and the Use of Literary Forms', in *Recording and Reordering,* 123. See also the references to the role of the travel journal in recording 'observation' in F. Bacon, 'On Travel', *The Essays* (1701), 46.
[99] Hindmarsh, *Evangelical Conversion Narrative,* 95-6.

'at 17 minutes past 8 I rose' – and his activities – 'I sat down upon the Squab.' It is much like the *Spectator* extract in its caricature of the detail expected in a reflective diary. The implication in both is that the greater amount of – inevitably mundane – detail provided, the less likely it was that the diarist was able, or capable, of self-reflection. The diary becomes almost as much a waste of time as the trivialities that fill the remainder of the day.



Fig. 5. 'Peter Plumb's Diary' by Thomas Rowlandson (hand-coloured etching, 1810). The caption at the bottom is lifted directly out of the *Spectator* article of 1712 that satirizes the practice of keeping a diary.

It is a criticism that is apparent in an array of early eighteenth-century print, and captured visually in a satire by Thomas Rowlandson (Fig. 5, above). Dating from 1810, it took as its caption and subject the extract from the *Spectator* article that appears in Fig. 1. The detail and apparent activity recorded in the diary of 'Peter Plumb' are in direct contrast with his laziness and inertia. He spends his time

doing little more than eating, drinking and sleeping, as the plaque above the fireplace suggests.

These themes are repeatedly reinforced in later editions of *The Spectator.* Following a call by Addison for readers to practise keeping a journal for a week and submitting it to the publication, excerpts from the journal of 'Clarinda' were printed in the following week's edition.[100] After a week's worth of accounts of eating bread and butter, memorandums to herself that she looks best in blue, and dreams that she 'pouted' to 'Mr Froth', Clarinda writes 'Upon looking back into this my journal, I find that I am at a loss to know whether I pass my time well or ill.'[101] Other commentary on the practice of diarizing similarly criticized the habit of recording what Daniel Defoe termed 'many dull things.'[102] In an essay 'Of Idleness' in 1739 the diary kept by a 'young spark' recorded the day in almost hourly detail:

> *'Thursday. Got up at eleven and drank tea, read the Atlantis for half an hour, finish'd dressing by two, went to the coffee house, from thence to dinner; at four to the coffee house again; nothing remarkable but three or four men talking of virtue, vice, sincerity, the beauty of it and such stuff … Memorandum, Nick Modish's Buckles bigger and handsomer than mine'.*[103]

These satires are a criticism of the individuals keeping the diaries as much as of the diaries themselves, but the implicit message is that the excessive detail of retrospective diary-keeping is a waste of time. More explicit discouragement of verbosity can be found in contemporary commentary. 'Verses Sent to a Lady, with a Pocket Book' printed in *The Gentleman's Magazine* in 1753, anticipated the nonsense – 'scandal, dress, or china ware' – written by a woman in her diary.

[100] *The Spectator,* 11 Mar. 1712.
[101] Ibid.
[102] Defoe, *Robinson Crusoe*, 80.
[103] 'Of Idleness', 158.

It commented savagely that there are 'too few pages to display/the tattle of a single day' and encouraged, instead, brevity and selection in writing: 'If true merit you should minute…There's room enough, I speak my mind/for all that in a year you'll find.'[104] It recommended more concise entries of better quality, rather than excessive detail.

Satire of the period not only levelled accusations of verbosity and excessive detail at idle ladies and young gentlemen, but also portrayed them as distinct and defining characteristics of religious self-writing. Diarizing was recognised and satirized as a component part of personal, spiritual observation. In 1739, an edition of the popular *Universal Spectator* featured an imagined dialogue between Charon, Mercury and some ghosts on the river Styx.[105] The ghost that features in this particular instalment is that of a Methodist. Mercury asks the individual to lay aside all 'worldly concerns', including 'the manuscript paper book' the ghost is clutching. The ghost refuses, saying he would not destroy it 'for the universe' because it is so valuable. On being asked why, the ghost replies:

> *'It's the journal of my life –of when I sung psalms, when I pray'd, when I was sick, when I was well, when I went, when I came, when I eat, when I drank, when I slept- what I saw, and who I saw, and when I saw –what I said, and he said, and she said, and they said –and ten million other important instructive Actions of Life, worthy of Publication for the Emolument and Reformation of the rest of my Fellow Creatures.'*

Mercury responds with vitriol, accusing the Methodist of 'folly and vanity' in assuming that such an 'historical rhapsody is worth publication.' Using Mercury as a mouthpiece, the periodical targets the publication of such texts but also the level of detail that is habitually found in them. 'Will declaring the minute

[104] 'Verses sent to a Lady, with a Pocket Book', *The Gentleman's Magazine,* Jan. 1753.
[105] *The Universal Spectator and Weekly Journal,* 8 Sept. 1739.

circumstances of your life reform that of others?' Mercury asks, incensed. 'No – it is abominable, enthusiastic vanity…Come sir, away with your *Folly, Vanity* and *Journal* together.'[106] The fact that the very mode of diary-keeping was used as a topic of satire indicates its perceived currency. Methodists and their practices were the subject of much ridicule and derision in the eighteenth century, especially in later decades.[107] Here, it is the detailed diary that is used as a recognisable accessory with the power to draw as much scorn as the figure of the Methodist himself; indeed, it is the diary that attracts ridicule in the first place.

Although exaggerated, this satirical impression of the Methodist diary as a long, minutely-detailed account is accurate in some ways, in that it is representative of the tone of much religious literature on spiritual diarizing from the late seventeenth and early eighteenth century. In these works, emphasis on a full rendering of the days' religious and spiritual activity went hand in hand with an expectation that the diary would be very detailed and comprehensive. In 1662, Richard Baxter sternly wrote 'think not that a few, seldom, hasty thoughts will bring and keep you in acquaintance with yourself. It must be diligent observation, and serious consideration.' [108] The editor of the memoirs of Presbyterian minister Thomas Halyburton in 1714 clearly shared Baxter's view. He commented frustratedly that in comparison to the detailed manuscript Halyburton kept that described the first three periods of his life, 'all we could

[106] Ibid.
[107] M. Anderson, *Imagining Methodism in Eighteenth Century Britain* (2012), 1. See also M. Anderson, 'Unholy Laughter', *Eighteenth-Century Fiction,* 26 (2014), 731-55; J. Engell, 'Satiric Spirits of the Later Eighteenth Century: Johnson to Crabbe', and J. I. Marsden, 'Dramatic Satire in the Restoration and Eighteenth Century', in R. Quintero (ed.), *A Companion to Satire: Ancient and Modern* (Chichester, 2011), unpaginated online edition; B.C. McInelly, *Textual Warfare and the Making of Methodism* (Oxford, 2014), 37.
[108] Baxter, *Mischiefs,* 53.

have of the fourth period of his life is only some gleanings from the imperfect short hints of things in his Diary, which he had never digested nor enlarged, which is certainly a very considerable loss.'[109] This sense of disappointment and mild, post-mortem chastisement of Halyburton suggests an expectation that the diaries of religious men should be very thorough. The journal left by John Abernethy thirty years later was deemed 'amazing' precisely because 'it makes for six large volumes in quarto, very small writing, and very close.'[110] These pressures were clearly felt by diarists themselves in the late seventeenth and early eighteenth century; Paul Seaver writes of the 'desperate urgency' with which Puritan artisan and diarist Nehemiah Wallington self-wrote: 'each mercy must be noted, examined, analysed and understood.'[111]

However, the impression given in the Methodist satire is a deliberate misrepresentation of what one historian has described as a desire for precision, or exactness,[112] in keeping with previous discussion of the expectation of fact and truth, rather than detail. Indeed, there existed a strand of spiritual and secular writing around the second quarter of the eighteenth century which indicated that lengthy diarizing was not to be encouraged, and instead advocated greater brevity in self-writing. Tom Webster has referred to such warnings against prolixity in early modern spiritual guides as 'cautious notes' and occasional 'counsels of moderation',[113] but the following examples suggest that it was a significant strand of instruction provided to those keeping a record of their

[109] 'To the Reader' in *Memoirs of the Life of the Reverend Mr Thomas Halyburton* (Edinburgh, 1714), ii.
[110] Abernethy, *Sermons,* ix.
[111] P. Seaver, *Wallington's World,* 8.
[112] Hindmarsh, *Evangelical Conversion Narrative,* 93.
[113] Webster, 'Writing to Redundancy,' 39.

religious activity. In his *Parentator: Memoirs of…Dr Increase Mather* (1724) Puritan Minister Cotton Mather described his father's practice of keeping a diary as follows:

> *'the main thing in it, was an Hint in two or three words how he spent his time; and being of the opinion that large records of that matter would be but a mispence of time, he would not ordinarily employ more than two or three words on it.'* [114]

The author deems this useful instruction 'unto any with whom the way of keeping a diary may be a matter of some enquiry.'[115] A case tried in the Old Bailey underlines that it was a perception shared by others. In 1723, a highwayman was tried and convicted for violent theft during a highway robbery. He had made a mistake while being interrogated about the timing of another robbery, and explained that

> *had he his Pocket Book he could have been very punctual, but he had the misfortune to lose it, for in that he had entr'd down a particular account of all the robberies he had committed. Being ask'd by the Court what was his design for keeping a journal, whether it was upon the perusal of his Robberies, he might the more particularly repent of them? he reply'd no, but it was for his own safety, that he might be the more exact when he should have the Opportunity to save himself, by becoming an Evidence.*[116]

The Court clearly entertained the notion that his simple account of robberies committed might have been noted to serve a spiritual purpose. Evidently, self-exploration and reflection on spiritual well-being were not necessarily required to take the form of an extended, prose reflection. Rather, a brief note of timing and previous actions was perceived to be sufficient to constitute a reminder for spiritual self-exploration at a later date. In a similar vein, the editor of *An Account of the Life and Death of Mr Matthew Henry,* drawn from Henry's diary,

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[114] C. Mather, *Parentator* (Boston, 1724), 36.
[115] Ibid. 36.
[116] OBP, Case of Humphry Anger, 28 Aug. 1723.†

wrote approvingly of the 'short hints' and 'plain, grave, easie, proper and methodical' approach Henry took to spiritual diarizing[117]in a tone reminiscent of the Royal Society's directives for travellers, decades before. Similarly, Edward Barnard, the editor of *Experimental Christianity of Eternal Advantage* (1741) gave a definition of 'diary' in a footnote in order to clarify the nature of the document from which he drew material for his 'Life' of Miss Lydia Allen. 'By diary', he wrote, 'I mean only sometimes Daily Remarks, at other times, more seldom.'[118] There was little expectation here of entries kept regularly every day, and no indication of required length or detail.

In his study of commonplacing in the early modern period, Adam Smyth has written that its practice, the method of picking sentences that encapsulated much in a few words, reveals that there existed an interest in the early modern period 'in the capacity of small forms, and more particularly, a sense of an inverse correlation between size and potential: the smallest might carry most.'[119] The encouragement to concise forms and brief statements in the spiritual and secular texts explored here indicates that this continued to be a prevalent attitude in the first half of the eighteenth century; brevity was as valid as – and in some cases preferable to – verbose and excessive accounts in diary-keeping, just as it was in commonplacing and the keeping of travel journals. That it was seen to apply to this array of forms in itself is significant, for it suggests a shared culture, a marker, perhaps, of a more significant, common, cultural ethos. This emphasis on brevity in the diary form in particular supports perceptions of its

[117] *Life and Death of Mr Matthew Henry,* 9.
[118] E. Barnard, *Experimental Christianity* (1751), 4.
[119] A. Smyth, '"The Whole Globe of the Earth": Almanacs and Their Readers', in J. Singh (ed.), *A Companion to the Global Renaissance* (Oxford, 2009), 295.

purpose. Just as, in Smyth's words, more meaning might be contained in less, so brevity of self-expression supports the inverse correlation perceived between the amount of detail contained in the diary and the time-management abilities of the diarist. The encouragement of this stylistic aspect also supports the argument in favour of self-writing being a factual, informational form. Other studies of different forms of personal writing – the keeping of scientific notebooks, for example, as well as travel journals – and data collection in the early modern period have demonstrated the link that existed in the early modern mind between minuteness of record and its factual accuracy.[120]In the context of scientific experiment or observations on environment, brevity lent information an air of authority and accuracy. In the context of the diary, then, the briefer the entry, the more trustworthy, or 'true', it may have been perceived to be.

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In his study of spiritual self-writing in the seventeenth century, Tom Webster wrote of the advantage of the horizontal, rather than vertical approach to diaries and their context.[121] By this he meant exploring the self-writing of individuals in the context of the other forms that were available – and possibly influential – at the time, rather than simply exploring self-writing 'vertically' in the context of itself. This chapter has used a horizontal approach to explore the models of and commentary on self-writing that existed in the early eighteenth century. It has

[120] M-N. Bourguet, 'A Portable World: The Notebooks of European Travellers', *Intellectual History Review,* 20 (2010), 378; L. Daston, 'Perché i fatti sono brevi?' *Quaderni Storici,* 108 (2001), 745-70.
[121] Webster, 'Writing to Redundancy,' 35.

revealed a rich and diverse body of commentary that was, in all its didactic, satirical, critical and laudatory forms, prescriptive in its expectation of the practice.

The effective diary in the early eighteenth century was the functional one, brief in expression and honest in account. Analysis here has shown the component parts of this prescriptive ideal: that detail in self-writing was assumed in both spiritual and secular commentary, but brevity and conciseness were actively encouraged; that fact, truth and honesty were expected, revealed both in the language with which diarizing was described, and the format that some instructions encouraged; and that self-writing was encouraged as a pragmatic, practical exercise in self-management – indeed, was the symbol of a well-organised life – not just a form of introspection and self-evaluation. These observations are a significant contribution to a body of scholarship on diarizing that, in its 'vertical' focus on practice, has overlooked the prescriptive models that influenced it. They are also significant for other reasons. Firstly, the fact that these prescriptive ideals were common to both spiritual and secular texts reveals an area of cultural interrelatedness between religious and secular instruction beyond just linguistic overlap; they were evidently subject to the same cultural pressures and shifts. Secondly, and closely related, this analysis has revealed new models that influenced the language with which diarizing was written, and the approach to it that was encouraged. Historians have long identified the link between financial accounting and diaristic self-writing. The use of a language of observation, fact, and experiment suggests that other cultural models were starting to be drawn on; and that so too, were their

systems of spatial organisation. What exactly those models and systems were, and what they meant for the practice of self-writing, will be explored in the next chapter.

Chapter 2

Practices

Self-writing in the early eighteenth century was a widespread and varied practice. Advertisements for 'shop books, copy books, pocket books and journal books'[1], and 'ledgers…cash, waste and letter books [and] memorandum books'[2] indicate the array of forms that were available to the early eighteenth-century individual to keep account of their money, keep track of their time, and observe their selves in the process. This chapter will explore the way individuals used some of these genres. Discussion in the previous chapter identified key features of the commentary on self-writing in the late seventeenth and early eighteenth century: emphasis on brevity, the recording of fact, and encouragement to use the diary as a practical, organisational tool recurred in popularly available and didactic print forms. Analysis here will explore if, and how, these attitudes had an impact upon practice.

It will also allow for a better understanding of the nature of the relationship between perception and practice. Did those attitudes towards self-writing evident in the print forms of the period shape its practice, or simply reflect it? Can the relationship between the two be so neatly organised? How were prescriptive ideas transmitted? Historians have drawn attention to the difficulties of identifying and understanding this interaction.[3] There is justifiably

[1] BM, Heal, 17.114, Trade card of J. Osborne, Stationer (1720).†

[2] BOD, John Johnson Collection, Advertisement of M. Allison, Bookseller (1750).†

[3] S. Colclough, *Consuming Texts: Readers and Reading Communities 1695-1870* (Basingstoke, 2007), 25; N. Glaisyer & S. Pennell, 'Introduction', in N. Glaisyer & S. Pennell (eds), *Didactic Literature in*

scepticism about the influence of prescriptive ideas on the individual; men and women did not, as Amanda Vickery has evocatively written, 'mindlessly absorb a particular didactic lesson like so many pieces of blotting paper.'[4] Discussion in this chapter builds on a more constructive approach in historical interpretation that asserts the influence of popular opinion and prescriptive ideas on individual habits, while recognising that their impact was mitigated by other factors. Firstly, as historians of reading practice have established, the meaning of texts were constructed as much by reader, as by author:[5] even apparently rigid models were malleable and open to subjective manipulation.[6] In addition, individuals were subject to influences beyond the popular opinion enshrined in print. Scholars of letter-writing in this period, for example, an analogous form of personal writing, have found the absence in early modern letters of the 'explicit formulae' promoted in epistolary manuals[7] to be an indication of other influences – of the role of practice in reifying a particular technique, and the influence of parents and family members' letters as models, for example.[8] A similar mode of transmission of practice has been identified in the context of self-writing. Elaine McKay has identified the existence of 'diary networks' in the

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England 1500-1800: Expertise Constructed (Aldershot, 2003), 8; S. Sherman, 'Printed Communities: Domestic Management Texts in the Eighteenth Century', *Journal for Early Modern Cultural Studies,* 3 (2003), 37-8.

[4] A. Vickery, 'Preface' to 'Part 1: Early Women's Journals c1700-1832', on *Women Advising Women: Advice Books, Manuals and Journals for Women 1450-1847.*††

[5] Colclough, *Consuming Texts,* 5. For more on where meaning is constructed – between author, text and reader - see M. De Certeau, *The Practice of Everyday Life* (1984); R. Chartier, *The Cultural Uses of Print in Early Modern France* (New Jersey, 1987). See also K. Harvey, *The Little Republic: Masculinity and Domestic Authority in Eighteenth-Century Britain* (Oxford, 2012), 24.

[6] F. Dabhoiwala, 'The Construction of Honour, Reputation and Status in Late-Seventeenth and Early Eighteenth-Century England', *Transactions of the Royal Historical Society,* 6 (1996), 202; Glaisyer & Pennell, 'Introduction,' *Didactic Literature,* 15; A. Kugler, 'Constructing Wifely Identity: Prescription and Practice in the Life of Lady Sarah Cowper', *Journal of British Studies,* 40 (2001), 292.

[7] G. Rutten & M. Van Der Wal, 'The Practice of Letter-Writing: Skills, Models, and Early Modern Dutch Manuals', *Language and History,* 56 (2013), 30; S. Whyman, *The Pen and the People: English Letter Writers 1660-1800* (Oxford, 2009), 21-8.

[8] Rutten & Van Der Wal, 'Practice of Letter-Writing,' 30; Whyman, *The Pen and the People,* 162.

early modern period, in which the practice of diary writing and the particular habits and ideals that guided it were transmitted between friends and other supportive networks.[9] This is a useful model as it accounts for shared patterns of use, as well as for individual variation and adaptation. Developments in perceptions and practice could be correlative, rather than interactive; this is just as revealing of shared cultures and a common ethos in the early eighteenth century. This chapter will start with an analysis of the source material and methodology upon which the study is based, and will then move on to explore ways of using, in particular, diary purpose, factual content and structure.

I. Sources and Methodology

As illustrated in Fig. 1 (overleaf), the sample of primary material used here comprises 34 items in total, kept by 28 individuals: twelve pocket books, nine account books, nine almanacs,[10] and four extended, prose diaries. This source material was selected on the basis of genre; that is, the form of the book and the intention with which it was sold, and purchased.

[9] E. McKay, 'The Diary Network in Sixteenth and Seventeenth Century England', *Eras,* 2 (2001), unpaginated online edition.

[10] This number includes Rev. George W. Harris' long series of over twenty almanacs, counted here as one. (HRO, 9M73/G35-55 (1733-52). Almanacs bound together in collectors' volumes, without blank pages for inscription (e.g. BOD, Douce A. 600 (1) and 603 (1) below) have not been included in this total.

Name	*Birth-Death*	*Occupation/Background*	*Form of Self-Writing*	*Years Covered by Self-Writing*
Martin Lister	c.1639 - 1712	Medical student	Pocket Book	1663-65
William Bulkeley	*Unknown*	Landowner (?)	Account Book	1680-94
Norris Purslow	b.1673	Clothier	Astrological Diary	1690-1737
Joseph Cope	died c.1710	Tailor	Pocket Book	1693-1710
Thomas Lake	*Unknown*	*Unknown*	Pocket Book	1696
Anne Brockman	d.1742	Gentlewoman	Account Book	1700-1704
Sarah Cowper	1644-1720	Gentlewoman	Diary†	1700-1716
George Worth[11]	*Unknown*	Farmer (?)	Almanac	1701
Jonathan Swift	1667-1745	Writer, Dean of St Patrick's Cathedral, Dublin	Account Books[12]	1702-35
John Townesend	c.1648-1728	Stonemason & Builder	Pocket Book; 2 Account Books	1704-7; 1722-27
William Woodman	*Unknown*	Wigmaker	2 Spiritual Diaries (with Accounts)[13]	1706-7; 1707-9
Edmund Herbert	d. 1769	Marines Pay Office Clerk	Accounts	1708-34
Anthony Ashley Cooper	1671-1713	3rd Earl of Shaftesbury	Pocket Book; 2 Almanacs	1711-12
William Nicolson	1655-1727	Bishop of Carlisle & Lord High Almoner to George I	Almanac	1716
Frances Digby	1684-1729	Viscountess Scudamore	Account Book	1717-29
John Paffatt	*Unknown*	Gentleman(?)	Pocket Book	1720-21
William Townesend[14]	1676-1739	Stonemason	Pocket Book	1722-27
Thomas Hartshorne	Died c.1733	Gentleman	Pocket Book	1725
Thomas Sheppard	*Unknown*	*Unknown*	Pocket Book	1728-9
Joshua Wakefield	*Unknown*	Clergyman	Almanac	1731-36
Thomas Randolph	1701-83	President of Corpus Christi College, Oxford	2 Account Books	1731-41; 1749-54
Henry Brydges	1708-71	2nd Duke of Chandos	Pocket Book	1732
George Harris	1714-77	Clergyman	Almanacs	1733-52
John Gatehouse	1683-1761	Gentleman, Landowner	Pocket Book	1738
Anon.	*Unknown*	*Unknown*	Almanac	1739
William More	*Unknown*	Farmer, small landowner (?)	Almanac	1746
Jacob Hagen	c.1735-1818	Merchant	Almanac	1752
Jane Johnson	1706-59	Author of short stories; wife of clergyman	Pocket Book	n.d. (early eighteenth century)

Fig. 1. Table of diarists and self-writing forms, organised chronologically by the year the form was used, or started being used. 'Occupation/Background' is at the time of self-writing. A (?) symbol next to occupation indicates a deduction made from the contents of the journal, and extant records.

[11] A note of a deal witnessed 'by me, Geo. Worth' is written faintly at the end of this almanac.

[12] D. J. Thompson & P. V. Thompson (eds), *The Account Books of Jonathan Swift* (London, 1984).

[13] In *Unpublished London Diaries* (2003) Heather Creaton states that these two spiritual diaries (BOD, MS. Rawl.d.1334 and MS. Rawl.c.861) were kept by an anonymous female and an anonymous male wigmaker, respectively (they are catalogued thus). However, the similarities in handwriting and tone/content strongly suggest that they were owned by the same person, likely the cockney wigmaker and 'active churchgoer' William Woodman that Jerry White describes (*London in the Eighteenth Century: A Great and Monstrous Thing* (2013), 491), and are treated as such here.

[14] Son of John Townesend; apprentice and continued his masonry work (see M. Neeley, 'The Archive of the Townesend Family', *Bodleian Library Archives and Manuscripts Online Catalogues*††).

The definition of self-writing continues to expand to accommodate many different forms of personal writing; yet, as a handful of diary scholars have noted,[15] that should not mean that categories within that broad field should be dissolved. It is certainly the case that individuals rarely ended up streamlining their accounts according to the type of book they wrote in,[16] but focusing on the intention with which they were originally bought provides a means of, firstly, maintaining distinctions between different forms, and also, significantly, contextualising how they were then actually used. A blank pocket book intended for occasional memorandums, but then meticulously lined and used by its owner for accounts, for example, reveals the priorities of the individual and might point to the influence of broader attitudes.

A common pitfall of studies that explore advisory text alongside lived experience is that they are anecdotal, recounting the odd, isolated example of individual responses rather than a sustained and substantial analysis of a broader selection of experience.[17] The sources used in this chapter were therefore selected to provide a survey, and represent as broad a temporal and typological range as possible. Analysis of categories of self-writing forms is supplemented in this chapter by evidence from other primary material, namely, the personal writings of contemporaries;[18] Old Bailey records; and advertisements for lost and stolen

[15] A. Culley, 'Women's Life-Writing in the Long 18th Century: A Critical Survey', *Literature Compass,* 12 (2015), 7; M. Piggott, 'Towards A History of Australian Diary Keeping', *Archivaria,* 1 (2006), 153; K. Von Greyerz, 'Ego-Documents: The Last Word?', *German History,* 28 (2010), 281.

[16] A Smyth, 'Commonplace Book Culture: A List of Sixteen Traits,' in P. Hardman & A. Lawrence-Mathers (eds), *Women and Writing c.1340-1650: The Domestication of Print Culture* (York, 2010), 93.

[17] For the difficulty of exploring perception and practice together see A. Kugler, 'Constructing Wifely Identity', 299.

[18] Drawn principally from the *British and Irish Women's Letters and Diaries* online database. References to this material will give the printed volume from which it was taken.

pocket books, almanacs and others from two London newspapers (the *Daily Courant* (1702-35) and the *London Gazette* (1666-1792)). The detailed descriptions of content in these advertisements makes them a valuable resource for such a survey.

While these self-writing sources were selected according to their genre, they will be analysed thematically; that is, they will be considered alongside each other in relation to common aspects of their form and structure. This presents another methodological departure from existing historiographical studies which, while advocating and demonstrating the blurring of self-writing forms within genres, still tend to analyse the genres themselves separately, or focus exclusively on one volume or writer. Exploring several different forms in tandem allows for the identification of shared ways of using and broader patterns of use that took place across self-writing as a whole. The themes according to which this manuscript material will be explored are those prescribed in contemporary print, and discussed in Chapter One relating to purpose, form, and content. These are used only as starting points for debate rather than restrictive categories of discussion. Analysis will start with an examination of the purpose these self-writing forms were used for, in relation to the dictates of function and utility evident in popular print. How useful was self-writing in this period? What function did it serve?

II. The Functions of Self-Writing

Self-writing as a form of practical self-management in the early modern period has received little attention in historical study. Its different forms have been explored with the expectation that they be coherent and crafted; even if they are not that, they continue to be read as, and shaped by that reading into, narratives of the self.[19] This oversight perhaps has something to do with problems of identification. Characteristics that might indicate that a diary was used as a practical tool for organisation are not clear-cut. Brief entries that might point to pragmatism on the part of the diarist, can still be self-reflective, as studies of late nineteenth-century diarists' habits of parataxis have shown;[20] nor are dailiness or immediacy in writing any more indicative of an organisational than an introspective habit. Furthermore, it is easy to go too far the other way, reading scribbled notes as evidence of diarists' pragmatism, without realising that the 'self' that makes a diary a diary, is absent. When does a diary full of memorandums simply become a notebook filled with scribbles?

The almanacs and smaller, portable pocket self-writing forms that were popular in the period tread this fine line. As others have asserted, their size, portability and handiness made them useful as scrap paper,[21] to 'jot down names and

[19] See for example L. T. Ulrich, *A Midwife's Tale: The Life of Martha Ballard, Based on Her Diary, 1785-1812* (New York, 1990). Notable exceptions - studies that recognize organization and self-management in this period as key functions of self-writing - include S. Sherman, *Telling Time: Clocks, Diaries and English Diurnal Form* (1996); also A. Smyth, 'Diaries', in A. Hadfield (ed.), *The Oxford Handbook of English Prose, 1500-1640* (Oxford, 2013), 434-50.

[20] K. Carter, 'An Economy of Words: Emma Chadwick Stretch's Account Book Diary 1859-1860', *Acadiensis,* 29 (1999), 43-56; J . Sinor, 'Reading the Ordinary Diary', *Rhetoric Review,* 21 (2002), 147.

[21] M. Eamon, '"Don't Speak to Me, but Write on This": The Childhood Almanacs of Mary and Katherine Byles,' *The New England Quarterly,* 85 (2012), 348.

addresses, gardening and farming notes, financial transactions and personal memoranda'.[22] Indeed, from their material form and features, the self-writing that occurred in the books examined here was evidently expected to be ad hoc and pragmatic, rather than reflective and retrospective. The introduction to physician Martin Lister's pocket book for 1661 reiterates this; the information printed at its start – beyond almanacs, an unusual feature[23] in pocket books – was intended for practical use, and the blanks intended as a place to note 'memorandums.'[24] Pocket books were known as memorandum books in this period,[25] suggesting utility, rather than extensive prose reflection. The frequent inclusion of a pencil or stylus in their spine –now missing in the majority – indicates the expectation of peripatetic usage, in environments in which copious writing would not be feasible. Accordingly, individuals in the sample of material here clearly used theirs for convenience: gentleman John Paffatt's scrawled handwriting at a lopsided angle in his 1721 pocket book, and evidence of him practising his signature, for example, suggests it was most useful as the closest piece of writable paper.[26]

Yet these were more than simply notebooks. What distinguished them were the self-organisational structures they offered to their owners, and the way their owners used them. Many of the pocket volumes in this sample functioned as

[22] B. Capp, 'The Potter Almanacs', *Electronic British Library Journal,* Article 4 (2004)*,* 3.
[23] Martin Lister's is the only one in the sample of pocket books explored here to contain pre-printed, introductory information, although evidence suggests that other, earlier titles did (see the reference to Robert Triplet's *Writing Tables with a Kalender for xxiiii Yeeres* (1604), which contained printed instructions, in J. Soll, 'From Note-Taking to Data Banks: Personal and Institutional Information Management in Early Modern Europe', *Intellectual History Review,* 20 (2010), 366).
[24] BOD, MS. Lister 19, Pocket Book of M. Lister, 1663-5 (*Every Man's Companion,* 1661), f. 11v.
[25] OBP, Ordinary's Account, 26 Jul. 1731: 'we took from him a silver Tobacco-Box, a silver hilted Sword, and a lace Hatt and some Silver, with a Memorandum Book.'
[26] HRO, 5M50/2112, Pocket Book of J. Paffatt (1720-21), inside front cover.

time-keeping devices. It was common practice to insert a sheet almanac – a printed calendar – or the pages of a bound one into a pocket book in this period. An advertisement for a lost pocket book that appeared in the *London Gazette* in December 1710 explained that it contained 'a sheet almanac by Partridge;'[27] one pocket book in this sample contains one pasted and folded into its front blank pages.[28] Individuals who used their pocket books to temporally organise themselves did so to make brief retrospective records,[29] and plan their future actions. In his, principally used for financial accounts, Oxford stonemason John Townesend noted 'memorands' of money due to clients in the future.[30] Similarly, in the pocket book he kept in 1738, farmer John Gatehouse noted 'to meet…people at ten a Clock munday ye 2d of April 1738.'[31]

Other pocket volumes provided a slightly different temporal function, which reiterated their status as useful organisational forms. The material aspects of pocket books in the period suggest that the notes written there were not permanent, but simply kept on a temporary basis. In contrast to the temporal specificity of the calendars used above, the almanac printed in Martin Lister's 1661 pocket book, and the one stuck in the front pages of London tailor Joseph Cope's early eighteenth century volume, are perpetual and 'everlasting'; in Lister's, the table of the moon's age is 'forever.'[32] These were intended to be used again and again, and the notes in them written, used and erased, rather

[27] *London Gazette,* 5-7 Dec. 1710.
[28] TNA, C111/194, Pocket Book of T. Sheppard (1728-9).
[29] HL, ST 108 v.1, Pocket Book Diary of H. Brydges (1732).
[30] BOD, MS. Don.e.216, Pocket Account Book of J. Townesend (1704-7), f. 21v.
[31] HRO, 2M37/606, Farming Journal and Pocket Account Book of J. Gatehouse (1738), entries for March, 1738.
[32] TNA, C104/197/4, Pocket Book of J. Cope (1693-1710); BOD, MS. Lister 19, Pocket book of M. Lister, (1663-5), f. 11v.

than recorded and remembered. This is particularly evident from one specific feature that appeared in some pocket books. Both Lister and Cope's pocket books, and that of Anthony Ashley Cooper[33] contain wipe-clean pages, so the imprints left by a stylus or pencil could be removed – with bread, the introduction to Lister's advised – and the page reused. This erasability reinforces a sense of what Henry Woudhuysen has called the 'intermediary' status of the pocket book in the gathering of material for writing up.[34] These were useful, temporary, forms for self-organisation rather than reflective, permanent ones.

In contrast, the almanac provided a more explicit, fixed temporal structure. A popular genre,[35] almanacs were pocket-sized, and contained printed information and a 12-month, 12-page calendar with, after 1565,[36] blank pages interleaved between calendar pages. It is commonly agreed, with reference to these blanks, that almanacs explicitly and implicitly encouraged reader annotations.[37] Certainly, the space allowed for handwritten entries; yet as their owners' ways of using show, it certainly did not accommodate it. For those wishing to use the almanac for anything more than brief notes, the format was neither practical nor user-friendly. Indeed, in order to make the blank pages useful for the management of time, all of the almanac users in the sample here employed their own structure. Their active effort in doing so suggests the importance of temporal self-organisation and a desire to make the most of the limited space of

[33] TNA, PRO/30/24/46a/83, Memorandum Book of A. A. Cooper (1711-12).
[34] H.R. Woudhuysen, 'Writing Tables and Table-Books', *Electronic British Library Journal,* Article 3 (2004), 1-11.
[35] J. Raven, *Publishing Business in Eighteenth-Century England* (Woodbridge, 2014), 201.
[36] L.W. Ambrose, 'Travel in Time: Local Travel Writing and Seventeenth-Century English Almanacs', *Journal of Medieval and Early Modern Studies,* 43 (2013), 423.
[37] Eamon, '"Don't Speak to Me"', 340; A. Smyth, *Autobiography in Early Modern England* (Cambridge, 2010), 19.

the calendar. Many simply organised their entries on the blank page so that they sat parallel to the printed date in the calendar. Space was left between entries written consecutively, to indicate the passing of time.[38] Most, however, supplemented this with further methods of organisation, which varied in complexity. Some used systems of asterisks and symbols.[39] Others developed more complicated means of taking advantage of temporal structure, while making the most of limited space. In the series of volumes of *The Ladies' Diary, or, Woman's Almanack* he used between 1733 and 1752, Rev. George Harris would stick a note over the description of weather at the bottom of the calendar page, which allowed him to write a lengthier account of a day's activities in prose without obstructing the view –and structure –of the calendar proper.[40] From around 1739, his system became more consistent. He wrote entries in the margins of the calendar, directly next to the day for which he was writing. This form of spatial organisation was dictated both by time, and by topic: the notes made in the calendar margins generally referred to travel, 'one of the greatest preoccupations of early modern almanac users,'[41] and those on the blank page, other affairs (Fig. 2, overleaf). It was a spatial system structured around recording time retrospectively.

[38] See entries in TNA, C107/176, Almanac of J. Wakefield (*Rider's British Merlin,* 1731-36). Both A. Smyth (*Autobiography)* and L. Ambrose ('Travel in Time') have noted this as a habit of other almanac users.

[39] See OBP, Case of John Wigley, 30 Aug. 1721: there 'appeared to be a Cross made in the margent of an almanack, against the seventh of August, and at the bottom of the page was writ eight bushels of salt.'

[40] For an example of this habit, see HRO, 9M73/G37, *Ladies Diary* of G.W. Harris (1735), calendar page for October.

[41] Ambrose, 'Travel in Time', 420.

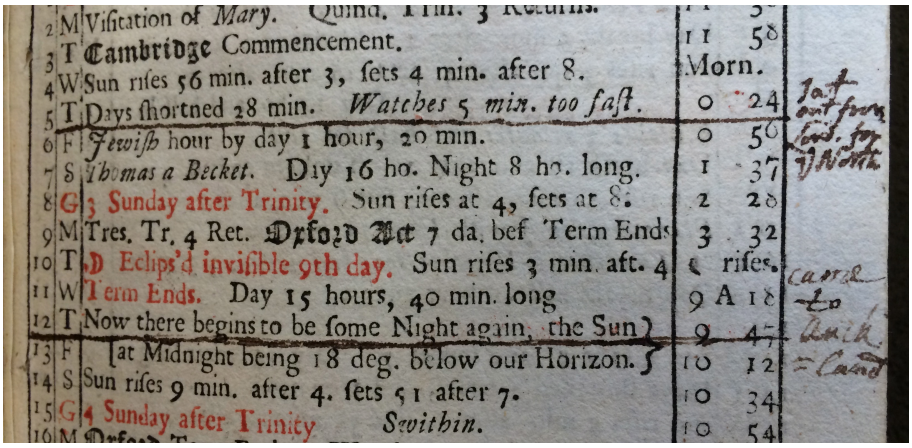


Fig. 2. Rev. George William Harris kept a note of his travels in the margins of the almanac calendar (HRO, 9M73/G41, *Ladies Diary* for 1739, calendar page for July).

Methods imposed by other users allowed for the planning of future time too. The Duke of Chandos, Henry Brydges, and merchant Jacob Hagen, used similar means of organising space. Brydges employed a grid form in the blank pages of his pocket book to accommodate six days' worth of records per double page.[42] Similarly, Hagen lined the two blank pages that accompanied each month of his *Rider's British Merlin* almanac into a table, thus accommodating eight days' worth of activities per page (Fig. 3, overleaf). He used the tabulated blanks to record plans for the future, as well as notes for the past. In some cases, two entries referred to the same event from different temporal perspectives: 'to go with J Paris to Vauxhall at 12'; 'did go.'[43] Brian Maidment has written of nineteenth-century almanac forms that they 'see both remembrance and the urgencies of day-to-day current activities as necessary to each other';[44] evidently Hagen did too.

[42] HL, ST 108 v.1, Pocket Book Diary of H. Brydges (1732); see, for example, entries for first week of April.
[43] BOD, MS. Eng.misc.f.77, *Rider's British Merlin* of J. Hagen (1752), f. 10v.
[44] B. Maidment, 'Rearranging the Year', in A. Jenkins & J. John (eds), *Rethinking Victorian Culture* (Basingstoke, 2000), 95.

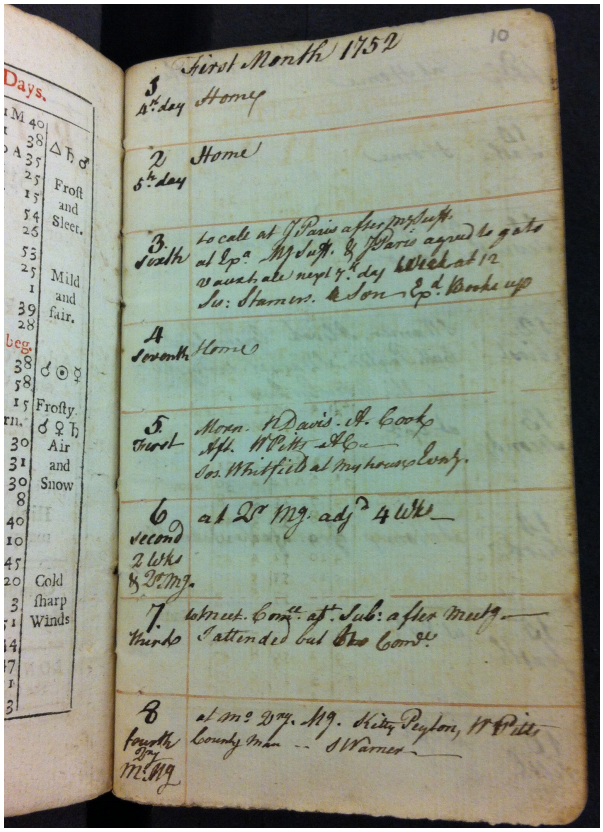


Fig. 3. The tabulated form imposed by Jacob Hagen on the blank page of his *British Merlin* for 1752 (BOD, MS. Eng. Misc. f. 77, f. 10r).

Jacob Hagen used and imposed this structure in his almanac after 1748, strictly outside the time period explored here; however, exploring his methods provides a useful indication of continuities of practice and shared means of organisation. In all of these examples individuals employed their almanacs and pocket books as a means of temporal organisation and self-management, whether in the recording of previous events or future activities. Rather than determinedly reading the 'self' in the non-narrative entries of early modern almanacs or focusing on their reflective content, this analysis furthers the work of those scholars[45] who have focused on the less-than-narrative, more-than-notebook middle ground in self-writing to find that what took place in these forms is better

[45] See, for example, Ambrose, 'Travel in Time.'

understood as record-keeping, or self-recording: a way of managing one's time by managing the page.

Given the difference in purpose and form between these smaller genres like almanacs and pocket books, and the longer, prose diaristic forms which continued to be popular and widely-kept in this period, it is striking that there exist many parallels in the methods of managing used by individuals. In her extensive, early-century diary, baronet's wife and prolific diarist Sarah Cowper occasionally wrote 'note,' 'memorand.' in the margin against information to be remembered in the future.[46] The centrality of temporal regularity and routine is also revealed in another of the longer diaries in this sample, the spiritual journal kept by wigmaker William Woodman between 1706 and 1707. Entries are continuous, with little punctuation; but notations of the hours of the day work like full stops, marking each new activity, or each new meditation (Fig. 4, overleaf). This is not just dailiness, this is hourliness, a symptom of both the early eighteenth-century taste for contemporaneity and the models of constant self-observation promoted in spiritual diarizing. The uniformity of the handwriting would suggest that the days' entries were all written at the same time; the hours provide a retrospectively imposed structure, rather than any consistently imposed plan. Yet the imposition of this structure even after the fact suggests an awareness of the pervasive perception of the well-kept, temporally structured diary as both a symbol and an instrument of well-regulated living, even if it was not quite achieved in practice.

[46] HFA, D/EP F30, Diary of S. Cowper, Vol 2 (1703-5), 132.†

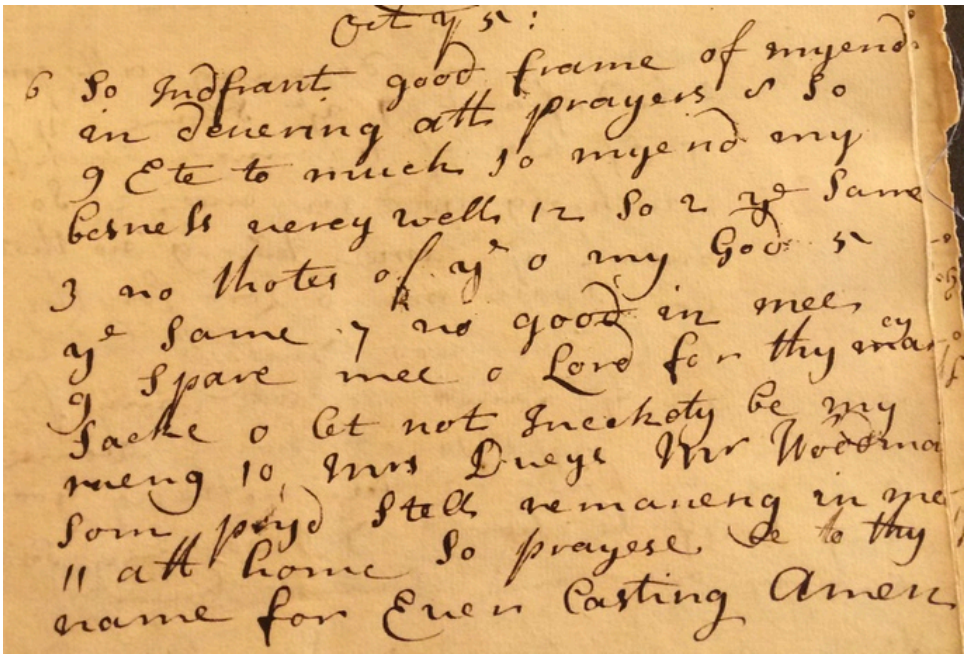


Fig. 4. The days in penitent – but frequently sinful – wigmaker William Woodman's spiritual diary from 1706 are broken down by time (BOD, MS. Rawl.d.1334, f. 2r).

Just as the role of self-writing in self-organisation can be measured in individual structuring of time, so it can be observed in the management of money. Discussion in the next section will explore the financial management afforded by account books and the significance of their numerical data; what is significant to note here is the role played by accounting and specifically financial memorandums in other forms. In line with perceptions in popular print and satire,[47] it was for financial accounting that pocket books – including those in this sample – were most frequently used. While only two of them here are lined for accounts, all contain some form of calculation, or accounting record. Noting money paid and received, loaned and anticipated, was a priority for their owners.[48] It is reflected in their material uses too; both those with and without

[47] See, for example. B. Mandeville, *The Fable of the Bees* (1714; this edn, 1806), 146; Anon. (after John Collett), 'Deceitful Kisses, or the Pretty Plunderers,' (1781), mezzotint, 352x252 mm.

[48] This is reinforced by evidence from newspaper advertisements: of 72 advertisements for lost books in the *Daily Courant* and the *London Gazette* between 1700-1750, 66 explicitly mention that they contain financial papers –bills of exchange, shares, bank and interest notes, notes with endorsements,

pockets in their front or back covers were used as physical stores for financial paperwork. The way Joseph Cope used his between 1693 and 1710 is a good example (Fig. 5). The papers he tucked into his pocket book are bills, receipts, and promissory notes; so many of them that they have warped the book's binding.



Fig. 5. The pocket book of Joseph Cope (1693-1710), who tucked numerous bills, receipts and paperwork into it (TNA, C111/125).

That accounting also appeared in longer, retrospective prose diaries indicates its perceived importance to their writers. For some, as we will see, financial self-accounting had its own dedicated space, or column, or even consumed whole segments of the book. In others it took the form of hastily jotted financial memorandums. In the heavy astrological diary he kept around the turn of the eighteenth century, Wapping clothier and Quaker Norris Purslow often added untidy notes of financial dealings on any available blank space on the page. In 1704, for example, he wrote 'my promissory note to R. Claridge pd it £8.15 ye 19 3 1704', in the margin above the astrological diagram that took up the majority of each page.[49] These were quick notes, pragmatically taken.

notes of hand and promissory notes, receipts, bonds and lottery tickets. One individual advertised the loss of a pocket book containing thirty-five separate items as well as 'a few papers of accounts.' See *London Gazette,* 13-16 Jul., 1745.

[49] WIL, MS. 4021, Diary of N. Purslow (1690-1737).

As the first chapter demonstrated, popular and didactic print in the early eighteenth century advocated the importance of using self-writing to organise oneself. Models of diarizing as a form of self-management in such print were detailed and prescriptive, involving the notation of 'Memorandums' alongside retrospective entries, and advocating a temporal structure that was even and well regulated. None of the forms considered here lives up to this prescriptive ideal. Yet, in all of them, self-management, whether temporal or financial, plays a key role. These pocket books, almanacs, spiritual diaries and astrological ruminations were all forms that were practically used by their owners. Only one of those described above attempted to turn their pocket book into anything resembling a diary;[50] at the other end of the spectrum, even longer, more reflective diaries showed evidence of pragmatic temporal and financial self-management on the part of their owners. All such practices highlight the fact that self-writing in the early eighteenth century was used as a tool of, if not a well-managed, certainly a managed life.

These prescriptive ideals of purpose in the popular print of the early eighteenth century went hand in hand with specific directives of both content and form. To what extent and how did practice align with the instructive recommendations of 'facticity' and 'truth' that recurred in popular commentary?

[50] HL, ST 108 v.1, Pocket Book Diary of H. Brydges (1732).

III. Truth, Fact and Information

According to the popular and didactic print of the early eighteenth century, truth and honesty – expressed in some commentary in factual, empirical terms – were expected components of both spiritual and secular self-writing. Whether spiritual truth or secular fact, the diary, pocket book, almanac and account book were expected to be repositories of trustworthy and reliable information. These perceptions were echoed in practice, and were manifest in several key ways. Firstly, the presence of financial data in many of these self-writing forms is a strong indicator of a belief in the importance of factual honesty. Much work has been done on the role of financial accounting in supporting – and in some cases constituting – self-fashioning, good character and trustworthiness in the early modern period.[51] The work of Craig Muldrew, in particular, has shown that keeping track of finances was an integral part of the early modern habit of 'keeping account' of oneself.[52] However, money was not just money.[53] The perceived authority of financial information stemmed not just from the inherent link perceived to exist between credit and character; but also the factual status it was understood to possess as a numerical form. In the early modern period, number was synonymous with fact.[54] Andrea Rusnock has identified from the

[51] M. Finn, *The Character of Credit* (Cambridge, 2003), 19; J. Hoppit, 'Attitudes to Credit in Britain 1680-1790', *The Historical Journal,* 33 (1990), 305-22; C. Ingrassia, *Authorship, Commerce and Gender in Early Eighteenth-Century England: A Culture of Paper Credit* (Cambridge, 1998); J. Smail, 'Credit, Risk and Honour in Eighteenth-Century Commerce', *The Journal of British Studies,* 44 (2005), 439-56; D. Valenze, *The Social Life of Money in the English Past* (Cambridge, 2006), 87.
[52] C. Muldrew, *The Economy of Obligation: The Culture of Credit and Social Relations in Early Modern England* (Basingstoke, 1998).
[53] Smyth, *Autobiography,* 111.
[54] See B. Lemire, *The Business of Everyday Life* (Manchester, 2005), 190; M. Poovey, *A History of the Modern Fact* (Chicago, 1998), xii.

1660s onwards an 'emerging desire for numbers';[55] Samuel Pepys commented on the 'men of numbers' who populated parliament and government in the late seventeenth century.[56]

The perceived status of financial accounts as both truthful accounts of self-worth and as fundamentally factual forms of information is evident in the way they appear, and were used, in some of the self-writing practices examined here. Keeping a diary and accounts together in the same volume was a common habit in this period; 'numbered accounts offered a different measure of life' in a society increasingly dedicated to the quantification of experience.[57] Among others, Ralph Josselin noted the price of commodities, debts, loans, and estate accounts in his diary, and reviewed the value of his estate at the beginning of every year.[58] Samuel Pepys put together a balance sheet at the end of every month and every year, as well as regularly beginning his diary entries by noting down his personal worth.[59] Thomas Turner kept a note of the odd expenditure, and wins and losses at cards, alongside his daily entries.[60]

In this sample, several account-book diaries kept at the beginning of the eighteenth century give a complete account of the individual in both textual and

[55] A. Rusnock, *Vital Accounts: Quantifying Health and Population in Eighteenth Century England and France* (Cambridge, 2002), 1.
[56] S. Pepys cited in Rusnock, *Vital Accounts,* 163.
[57] Lemire, *Everyday Life,* 193.
[58] A McFarlane (ed.), *The Diary of Ralph Josselin* (1976), xxv. See entry for 6 April, 1654 (p.320), 'reckon'd with Wm Webb and paid him all I owed him, he now oweth me 5l and also 10l and 1s 6d he is presently to pay mee'; 24 Mar. 1654 (p.320), 'my estate is advanced this yeare about 69 li one way and other.' Josselin reviewed his estate at the beginning of every year.
[59] W. Matthews, 'The Diary as Literature', in R. Latham & W. Matthews (eds), *The Diary of Samuel Pepys,* Vol. 1 (10 vols, 1971; this edn, 1995), cvi.
[60] D. Vaisey (ed.), *The Diary of Thomas Turner 1754-1765* (Oxford, 1984). See entry for 24 April, 1758 (p.147): 'In the even went down to the vestry where there was Mr Porter, Mr Piper, Joseph Durrant, Tho. Fuller, Mr French and myself. We spent 6½d. each and came home sober.'

numerical form. In the astrological diary he kept between 1690 and 1737, clothier Norris Purslow noted significant financial information alongside other entries, as well as the odd, hastily written financial memorandum.[61] In William Woodman's first spiritual diary for 1706, spiritual truth sits alongside numerical fact.[62] The noting of accounts begins around a month after the diary itself starts. The two forms of self-accounting, while interacting physically and spatially on the page, do not seem to directly correlate with each other. The days' entries are spiritual in content; the account of money spent is rarely given an explanation beyond 'spent', or 'to the pore' (see Fig. 11). In this sense then they offer accounts of different experiences, but these provide a more complete picture of the diarist-accountant.

In Woodman's later diary for 1707, however, the role of the accounts entered there has changed. The retrospective entries and accounts of money expended, in particular, are mutually informing. Accounts of expenditure provide proof of events guiltily recounted, and repented for, in the diary entries. In the entry for 3rd January, for example, the wigmaker chastised himself for excessive drink: 'No a count lacking of this day saving in morning sober and well inclyend but in the evening a light myend…so much drink with Mr Richison O! The…effects of this lepersy'.[63] The right-hand column is incriminating: it reveals an account of the amount spent on alcohol 'att Heath's 0-0-6'. The next day is full of repentant sentiments and invocations to God. In this diary-account book, there is the sense that giving a total or complete account – however shameful –is important. Its

[61] WIL, MS. 4021, Diary of N. Purslow (1690-1737).
[62] BOD, MS. Rawl.d.1334, Spiritual Diary of W. Woodman (1706-7).
[63] BOD, MS. Rawl.c.861, Spiritual Diary of W. Woodman (1707-9), f. 11r.

owner writes regretfully of 'a neglect of the day's account' alongside an incomplete entry.[64]

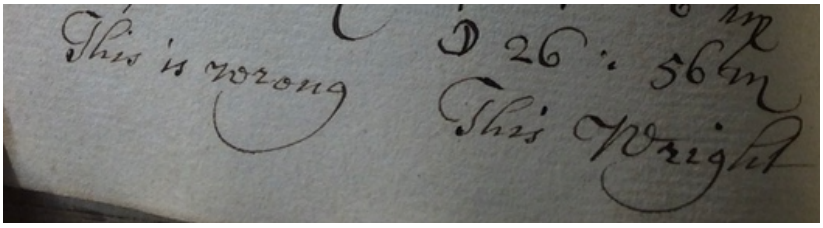


Fig. 6. Norris Purslow retrospectively annotated his own entries in his astrological diary (1690-1737) when he made an error; comments like this act as signposts for potential readers (WIL, MS. 4021).

This taste for a complete factual account, 'exact' in both its numerical and textual data, is evident not only in the inclusion of numerical information but in the expectations individuals had of their non-numerical, textual entries. In those longer diaries, corrections made after writing such as that in Norris Purslow's diary at the turn of the century – 'this is wrong; this wright' – (Fig. 6) are indicative of the value placed on accuracy and truth.[65] Similarly, writers of ostensibly spiritual journals employed the language of observation also used in popular print. In the index she compiled for the first volume of her diary, Sarah Cowper noted 34 entries under 'O', for 'Observe' to symbolize both religious observance and her own commentary; at the end of the same volume she wrote 'I must be content to recount things as they have happened.'[66]

Individuals also used their diaries, pocket books and account books to note lists and compilations of non-personal information. Often the storing of useful information was encouraged in the very form of the books they were using.

[64] Ibid. f. 2r.
[65] WIL, MS. 4021, Diary of N. Purslow (1690-1737).
[66] HFA, D/EP F29, Diary of S. Cowper, Vol 1 (1700-2), final page.†

Almanacs in particular were, as several historians have identified, encyclopaedic,[67] aiming for a 'kind of totality of coverage'[68] in which every piece of information that could possibly be useful or instructive to the individual was included. The title page of *Rider's British Merlin* for 1739 was typical in its promotion of the 'useful verities' and 'notes…and tables for many necessary uses' to be found inside.[69] The same utility of information was lauded in other titles. The *Astrologus Britannicus* in 1708, for example, encouraged 'wise men in the pursuit of Knowledge'. [70] Certainly, this 'pursuit' was presented in an entertaining, humorous and often mocking way; entertaining or not, however, chronicles of remarkable events in history, times of high water, recipes, the occasional instructive – or vitriolic – essay, and tables of interest, expenses and wages appeared every year, in every title without fail.

It was not just almanacs; pocket books, too, were promoted as 'nodes of access'[71] to broader fields of useful knowledge, and used as such. The introduction to Martin Lister's pocket book advertised itself as 'an useful pocket book' containing 'useful things.'[72] It echoes other contemporaneous forms of printed pocket-sized directories of useful information, 'designed for the use, benefit and convenience of all sorts of persons',[73] and anticipated the pre-printed diary in

[67] P. Burke, 'Reflections on the History of Information in Early Modern Europe,' *Scientiarum Historia,* 17 (1991), 70; D. D. Denker, 'American Almanacs in the Eighteenth Century', *Journal of the Rutgers University Libraries,* 18 (2012), 14.
[68] A. Smyth, '"The Whole Globe of the Earth": Almanacs and Their Readers', in J. Singh (ed.), *A Companion to the Global Renaissance* (Oxford, 2009), 297.
[69] BOD, Johnson.Alm.20, *Rider's British Merlin* (1739), Title Page.
[70] BOD, Douce A. 600 (1), *Astrologus Britannicus* (1708), Preface.
[71] C. Wheatley, 'The Pocket Books of Early Modern History', in H.S. Turner (ed.), *The Culture of Capital: Property, Cities and Knowledge in Early Modern England* (2002), 185.
[72] BOD, MS. Lister 19, Pocket book of M. Lister (1663-5), f. 8r.
[73] *The Universal Pocket Book, Being the Most Comprehensive, Useful and Compleat Book of the Kind Ever Published* (1740), 1.

this respect. For blank pocket books without introductions like the majority of the sample explored here, directories of useful information were printed separately, to be inserted in the blank form for the utility of their owners.[74] One advertisement in the *Daily Courant* for pocket book-sized tables of interest, in 1733, asserted that while the 'exceeding usefulness' of the tables needed no explanation, 'the long narrow form in which those tables are printed was thought the most convenient as being the best adapted for carriage in a letter case, or pocket book.'[75] Such tables reiterate the function of the pocket book as the location of predominantly financial self-writing; but they also indicate that they were perceived to be an ideal repository for information that might be useful or entertaining. Indeed, the use that many of these pocket books and almanacs were put to reflected the message enshrined in their content. For many of their users here, almanacs served as a place to record useful information to be remembered and revisited for personal use. Newspaper advertisements for mislaid almanacs reveal that they were used to note 'the names of several persons of quality',[76] to keep 'annotations on many towns and places, and observations on noblemen's seats',[77] or were 'full of writing where to find all sorts of workmen belonging to Haberdashers.'[78]

However, the sort of information recorded by many of these users cannot be explained only as the result of a perception of the pocket book, almanac or diary as a 'useful' form. Rather, in many cases, individuals recorded factual information

[74] See an advertisement for a 'mapp of the West of England…fitted for travellers to carry in a pocket book without damage' in the *London Gazette,* 6 -10 Dec. 1688.
[75] *Daily Courant,* 22 Mar. 1733.
[76] *London Gazette,* 23-26 Jul. 1677.
[77] Ibid. 12-15 Jan. 1702.
[78] Ibid. 21 Aug. 1712.

for its own sake in a way that transformed their diaries into something more akin to a commonplace book or personal anthology. For Sarah Cowper, this was precisely the function of her early-century diary: as her biographer has explained, it was an amalgam of commonplace book and devotional journal.[79] 'Like an errant plagiary', Cowper herself wrote in one volume, 'I cull from books and elsewhere that pleases my fancy.'[80] These culls included poetry, news, and spiritual directives, among other things.[81] It was a widespread practice across a variety of the forms explored here. In the almanacs he kept between 1733 and 1752, Rev. George William Harris used almost all the available blank space alongside his daily entries for academic notes, Greek and Latin inscriptions, extracts of famous letters and discourses, and institutional histories and glossaries of terms.[82] For Anthony Ashley Cooper, 3rd Earl of Shaftesbury, his 1711 almanac was full of observations on classical art to be added to his writings on the subject.[83] Similarly in his Italian almanac, the *Calendario Lunario* for 1712 (at this point he was residing in Naples) are lists entitled 'Tablature of Prodicus', 'Tablature of Cebes.'[84] He used his pocket books in a similar way, noting extracts from 'Characteristicks, second edition' and keeping a series of notes entitled 'Painting History' in its wipeable, blank pages.[85] That these are still legible on pages useful precisely because of their reusability, suggests that Cooper viewed these records as permanent, rather than temporary.

[79] Kugler, 'Constructing Wifely Identity', 294.
[80] See A. Kugler, *Errant Plagiary: The Life of Lady Sarah Cowper 1644-1720* (Stanford, 2002), 3.
[81] See, for example, HFA, D/EP F30, Diary of S. Cowper, Vol 2 (1703-5) in which she copies 'inimitable verses' from John Milton, a song, and a poem by her grandson.†
[82] HRO, 9M73/G35-55, Series of the *Ladies Diary or the Women's Almanack* of G.W. Harris (1733-52).
[83] TNA, PRO 30/24/24/13, Almanac of A. A. Cooper (*Rider's British Merlin,* 1711), see ff. 1r-11v.
[84] TNA, PRO 30/24/24/14, Almanac of A. A. Cooper (*Calendario Lunario,* 1712), ff. 1v-2r.
[85] TNA, PRO/30/24/46a/83, Memorandum Book of A.A.Cooper (1711-12), f. 8v.

Other users put their pocket books to similar use. Martin Lister used his during his time in Montpellier, in France, in the later seventeenth century to list titles of medical texts (as well as a record of his own correspondence);[86] one owned by Joseph Cope was used – likely borrowed, from the difference in handwriting – to write a meticulous world history, and to pen tables of European geography in considerable detail.[87] In her pocket book, Jane Johnson copied prayers and moral lessons.[88] In their letters, others commented on keeping different forms of information and observations in their pocket volumes. In a letter from Turkey in 1717, Lady Mary Wortley Montagu told her friend that she used her pocket book to note inscriptions she found on obelisks in Constantinople;[89] several years later, Elizabeth Robinson Montagu described one gentleman 'always making mathematical scratches in his pocket book' at social events in Tunbridge.[90]

The form of writing that took place in these diaries was as informational as it was organisational, and as observational as it was autobiographical. The emphasis on truth and fact in popular commentary, discussed in the first chapter, in reality only provides a hint of the factual and informational purposes that self-writing forms were put to in the early eighteenth century. Undoubtedly these ways of using had much to do with the portability and convenience of some of these forms; indeed, this evidence more than anything suggests the proximity of these forms to notebooks, 'devices meant to store information and make it

[86] BOD, MS. Lister 19, Pocket book of M. Lister (1663-5), f. 46r.
[87] TNA, C111/125, Pocket Book of J. Cope (1693-1710).
[88] BOD, MS. Don.e.193, Pocket Book of J. Johnson (n.d.; early eighteenth century).
[89] Letter from Lady Mary Wortley Montagu to Elizabeth Hervey, c.1717, in J. A. Wharncliffe (ed.), *The Letters and Works of Lady Mary Wortley Montagu,* Vol. 1 (3 vols, 1837), 40.†
[90] Letter from Elizabeth Robinson Montagu to the Duchess of Portland, 4 Sept. 1736 in M. Montagu (ed.), *The Letters of Mrs E. Montagu, With Some of the Letters of Her Correspondence,* Vol. 1 (4 vols, 1809), 25.†

manageable and mobile'.[91] Richard Yeo has explained that in this period notebooks were beginning to be viewed not as memory aids, but as external sources from which information could be retrieved, much like these diaries were.[92] As we have seen, not only more portable self-writing forms were used in this notebook-like way; longer diaries also exhibited the same features and ways of using.

As discussion in the next section will show, these forms were, in many cases, organised and structured in a way that made them more akin to commonplace books and reference works than simple notebooks. They were rudimentary, personalised systems of information management rather than solely collections of 'raw' information.[93] In the study of personal information systems, the commonplace book is upheld as the archetypal early modern information genre, the key manifestation of a growing taste in the seventeenth century (and before) for digestible, easily referable fact – as well as a place for the construction of the self and the expression of a worldview.[94] However, analysis here has shown that the commonplace book did not have a monopoly on the collection of information in this period. These diaries and self-writing forms demonstrate that the gathering of information took place in genres not specifically intended for the purpose. Considerations of fact, information and truth influenced both the

[91] M-N. Bourguet, 'A Portable World: The Notebooks of European Travellers (Eighteenth to Nineteenth Centuries),' *Intellectual History Review,* 20 (2010), 378.
[92] See R. Yeo, 'Notebooks as Memory Aids: Precepts and Practices in Early Modern England', *Memory Studies,* 1 (2008), 115-36. See also, by the same author, 'Loose Notes and Capacious Memory: Robert Boyle's Note-Taking and its Rationale', *Intellectual History Review,* 20 (2010), 336.
[93] Soll, 'From Note-Taking to Data Banks', 356.
[94] See R. Darnton, 'Extraordinary Commonplaces', *New York Review of Books,* 47 (2000), 82-7. For a summary of the state of commonplace book scholarship, including study of the commonplace book as autobiography, see V. E. Burke, 'Recent Studies in Commonplace Books', *English Literary Renaissance,* 43 (2013), 162.

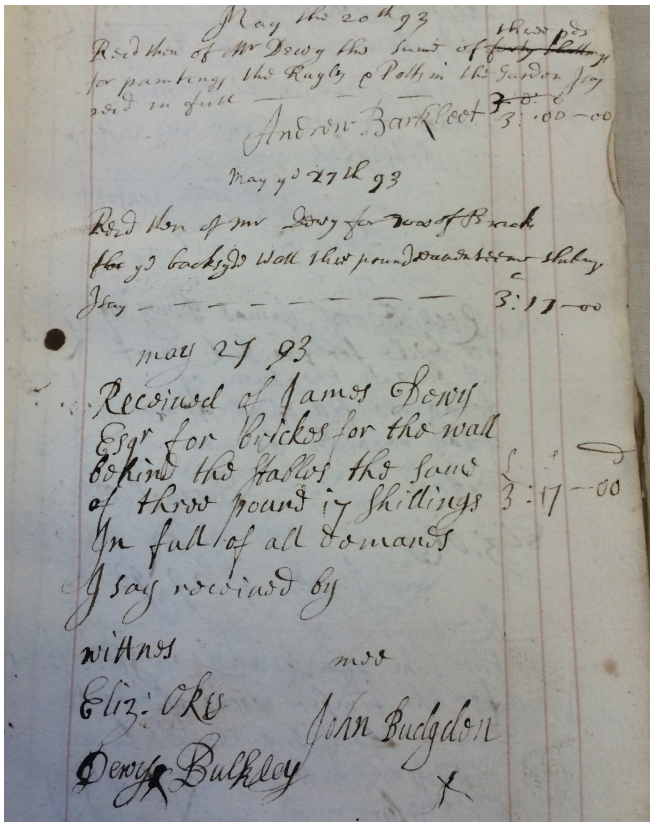
entries individuals made about themselves – and the way they did so – and the sort of entries and information they stored in their self-writing. As the next section will show, these priorities also influenced the structures and methods used to organise them.

IV. Structure and Form

The evidence from this body of source material suggests that the imposition of method and structure was enthusiastically enacted in individual accounting and self-recording efforts in the early eighteenth century. It took a variety of forms. The most notable were systems of spatial organisation, particularly in financial accounting. Account books, of course, are identifiable from the way their pages are structured. Whether single or double-entry, the system of columns that structure the page to accommodate amounts paid and received, and the date and description of those amounts, can be observed in each of the account books considered here. Anthropologist Tim Ingold has questioned the 'sterility and single track logic' that the line is seen to represent in modern thought.[95] These lines and the way they were used, far from being 'sterile', reveal much about the way individuals went about keeping their accounts. In this sample it is striking that those using pre-lined books adhered, to varying degrees, to the dictates of the format. In the larger account books this is particularly evident.[96] In the late seventeenth-century account book of William Bulkeley, for example (Fig. 7)

[95] T. Ingold, *Lines: A Brief History* (2007), 2-3.
[96] See BL, Add. MS. 45208, Account Book of A. Brockman (1700-04); TNA, C115/114, Account Book of F. Digby (1717-29).

despite the format of the page being largely ignored, the accounts columns were still used to note amounts paid to each individual, when they would have been no less clear simply noted below the paragraph of prose.


May the 20th 93
Rec'd then of Mr Dewy the Sume of
for pauting the Ruyle & Posts in the Garden &c
and in full
Andrew Barkfoot 3:00-00

May y^e 27th 93
Rec'd then of mr Dewy for two of Brick
for y^e backside Wall three pound
Jsay 3:11-00

may 27 93
Received of James Dewy
Esqr for bricks for the wall
behind the stables the Sume
of three pound 17 shillings 3:17-00
in full of all Demands
Jsay received by
witness
Eliz: Oke
Dewy Bulkley
mrs
John Budgdon

Fig. 7. The use of the format in William Bulkeley's seventeenth-century ledger (HRO, 1M53/1371, entry for 27 May, 1693).

It is to be expected: these were the books that contained the final copy after a process of writing up, rather than acting as repositories for rough notes. Yet even in the smaller volumes where entries are chaotic and haphazard, individuals abided by the format of the book. All of the forms considered here were steps in a process of information management and refinement; even those volumes used at the beginning of the process demonstrated their owners' awareness of the importance of structure and organisation. For example, Oxford stonemason John

Townesend relined his pocket book himself to enter wages, and then reverted to the original format and overwrote his own efforts (Fig. 8).

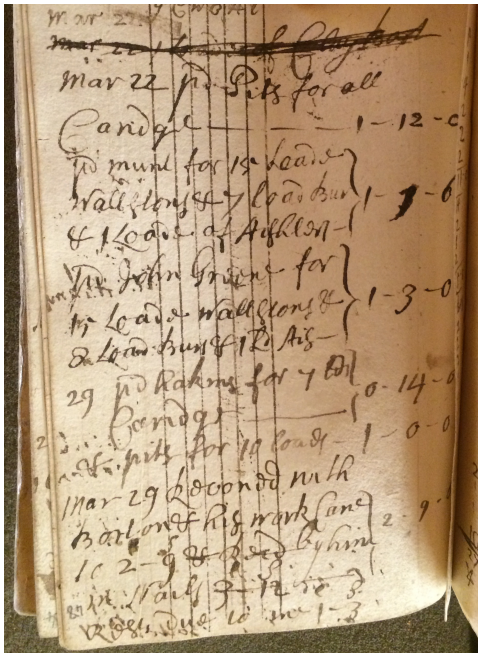


Fig. 8. Between 1711 and 1713, John Townesend ruled his own columns and then over-wrote his own efforts in favour of the printed format (BOD, MS. Don.e.218, f. 48r).

Similarly, several years later, farmer John Gatehouse ignored much of the page layout of his small account book, yet still used the format provided by the columns for recording pounds, shillings and pence (Fig. 9, overleaf). That these early eighteenth-century individuals used the printed structure of their books indicates an almost automatic adherence to the format; unsurprising, perhaps, given contemporary emphasis on the importance of accounting and the sheer number of advisory texts that provided instruction. However, it also indicates the way organisation and structure were seen as intrinsic to accounting practice. It is especially notable in books that were lined by their owners. Stonemason John Townesend formatted the pages of several of his account books himself and they all follow the standard, tabulated structure; in one book, used to record

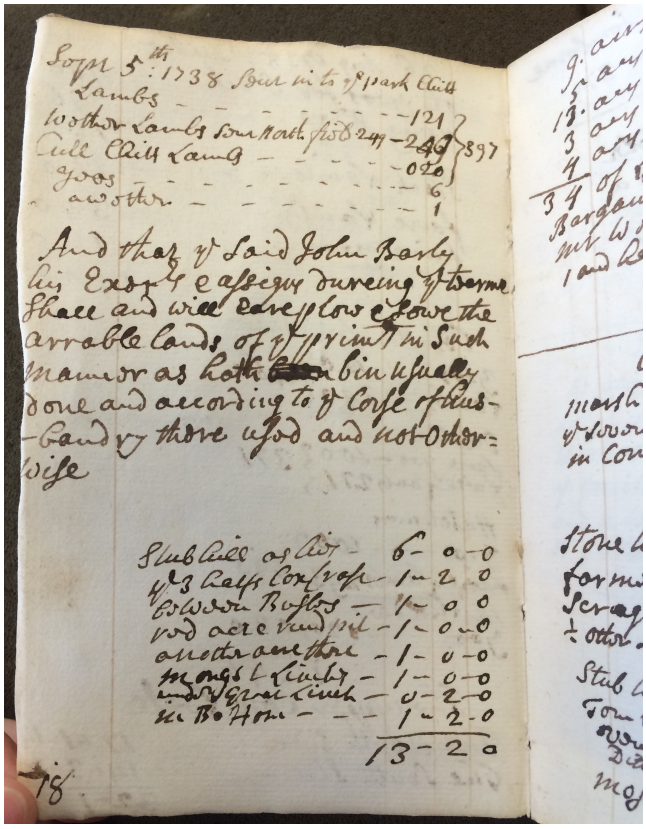


Fig. 9. Farmer John Gatehouse relied on the faintly-printed columns of his pocket account book in 1738 (HRO, SM37/606).

wages rather than income and expenditure, the folds Townesend made in the page to guide his drawing of columns are still visible.[97] Adam Smyth has written that 'even annotations that appear chaotic are often the product of a system.'[98] Most individuals in this sample failed to fulfil the high standards of organisation set by accounting manuals, but that does not mean their accounts were lacking in structure or method. This is particularly true of the accounting habits of Edmund Herbert, a clerk in the Marines' Pay Office in the early eighteenth century. Between 1708 and 1734 he kept track of his finances assiduously on long, thin strips of paper and tied them together at the end of the year. Although busy, and

[97] See, for example, BOD, MS. Don.e.217, Ledger of J. Townesend (1706-7), f. 26.
[98] A. Smyth, *Autobiography,* 46; Soll, 'Note-Taking to Data Banks', 369.

at first glance chaotic, they are methodical. They progress chronologically, and are consistently structured according to a columnar format (Fig. 10).



Fig. 10. Edmund Herbert's seemingly chaotic accounting habits still abided by a columnar, tabulated format (HL, HE 100 (1), accounts for Nov. 1708).

In addition to the standard columnar structure, individuals imposed other, personal systems of organisation on their accounts. Many categorised their account books by recipient, or type of expenditure. Academic and theologian Thomas Randolph organised his account book with separate pages for 'My mother', 'Aunt Stokes', and 'Mrs Fletcher Bookseller', among others.[99] In order to demarcate different categories, several individuals used the strategy of physically turning their account book upside down, and starting a different

[99] BOD, Dep.e.173, Personal Account Book of T. Randolph (1731-41); see, for example, the pages dedicated to his transactions with his mother, ff. 7r-8r.

group of accounts from the back. Among others,[100] Jonathan Swift noted wins and losses at cards and a chronological account of personal expenses at the front of his accounts books, and then started accounts from his parishes and professional expenses at the back.[101] Frances Digby, Viscountess Scudamore used her account book between 1717 and 1729 for personal accounts from the beginning and at the back, accounts of charity, and money 'laid out for Fanny', her daughter.[102]

The imposition of a strict structure, or system, is repeatedly emphasised in the accounting manuals of the early eighteenth century. While they acknowledged that individuals would have their own 'peculiar ways',[103] they highlighted the absolute necessity of 'order and method'. [104] Systematic organisation is particularly evident in books where financial accounting took place alongside other forms of self-writing, or self-recording. In this sample, the smaller pocket account books also contain non-numerical, non-financial content. William Townesend used his to sketch plans for his masonry projects,[105] while his father John Townesend used a blank page in his 1722 ledger to draft a letter to the 'Society of Masons in the City of Oxon.'[106] John Gatehouse dedicated a few pages of his account book to planning the location of his haystacks.[107] However, it is important to recognise that this intermingling of different forms of account in the

[100] HRO, 1M53/1371, Ledger of W. Bulkeley (1680-94); BOD, MS. Don.e.217, Ledger of J. Townesend (1706-7); BOD, Dep.e.174, Ledger of T. Randolph (1749-54).
[101] Thompson & Thompson, *Account Books*.
[102] TNA, C115/114, Account book of F. Digby (1717-29).
[103] R. North, *The Gentleman Accomptant* (1714), 117. See also J. Drummond, *The Accomptant's Pocket Companion* (1718), 2.
[104] North, *Gentleman Accomptant,* 76.
[105] BOD, MS. Don.e.232, Pocket Account Book of W. Townesend (1722-27), f. 24v, ff. 36v-39v.
[106] BOD, MS. Don.e.220, Ledger of J. Townesend (1722-25), f. 34v.
[107] HRO, 2M37/606, Farming Journal and Pocket Account Book of J. Gatehouse (1738).

same place did not mean that they were disorganised; blurred categories of self-writing do not necessarily mean messy ones. Contemporaries recognised the value of keeping organised accounts, and keeping different forms of information distinct and separate. Jonathan Swift, for example, advised his friend Thomas Sheridan in 1735 that he should 'keep regular accounts in large books and a fair hand', unlike himself who, he wrote regretfully, 'to save paper confuses everything.'[108] Individuals in this sample structured their books and used various methods to distinguish between different forms, and organise different accounts on the page.

This effort at organisation is overt in combined diary and account books, in which two forms of self-writing were kept side-by-side on the page. In the two diaries kept by William Woodman at the beginning of the eighteenth century, the pages are organised so that diary entries and financial notes sit alongside each other in columns (Fig. 11, overleaf). This formatting became more formal between the first diary and the second. In the earlier diary, the account of money expended regularly collided with the diary entries on the page. In the later diary, the wigmaker lined his pages in pencil, to create a table with three columns: the narrower ones on the left and right were for accounts of money received, and money 'paid away dayly', and the central column was for retrospective diary entries. It is significant to note the way that the page structure gets more defined from the first to the second volume: it suggests that Woodman increasingly valued a more overtly defined, organised layout.

[108] Letter from J. Swift to T. Sheridan, 15 Jun. 1735, cited in Thompson & Thompson, *Account Books*, vii.

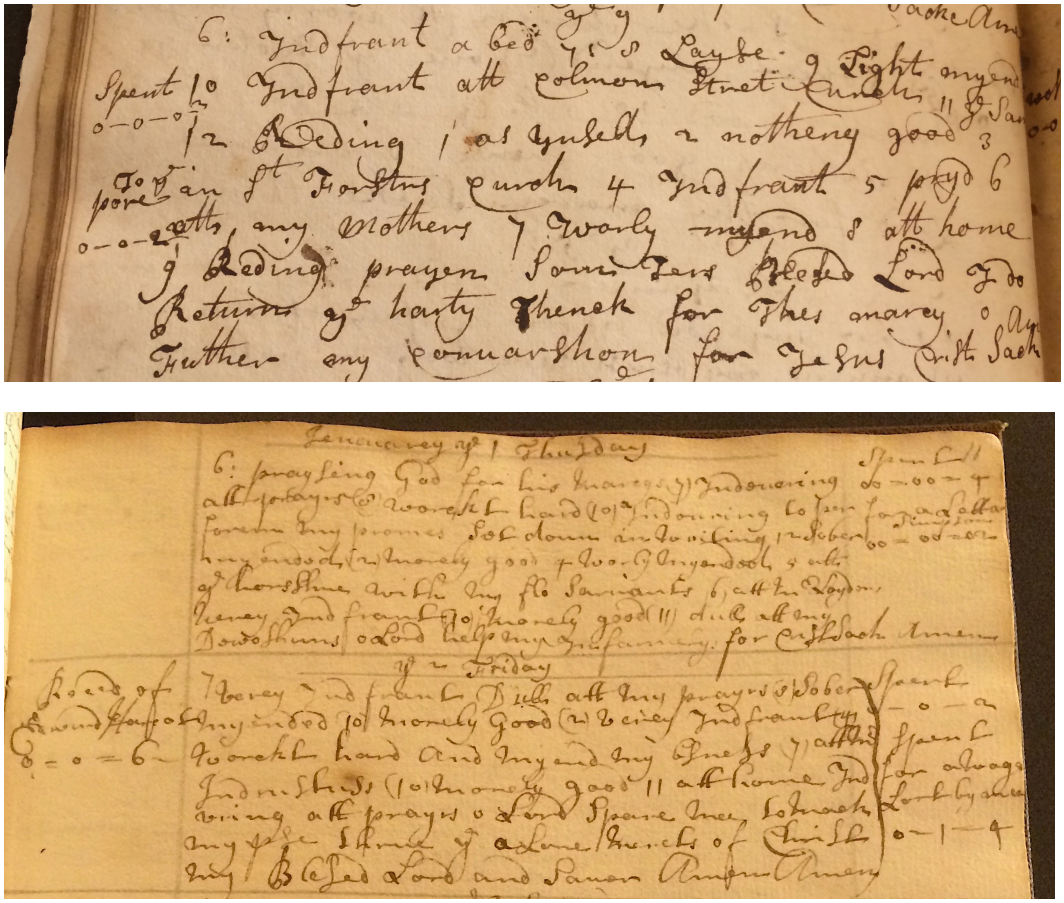


Fig. 11. In his 1706 diary (above; BOD, MS. Rawl.d.1334, f. 22v) and that for 1707 (below: BOD, MS. Rawl.c.861, f. 11r) William Woodman structured his pages in an increasingly formal, rigid way, to distinguish accounts from diary entries.

Similar organisation of space is evident in other forms. The introduction to *The Ladies Diary* in 1718 lauded the 'serious and methodical way of thinking'[109] that the almanac form and content encouraged. Much the same as in the prose diary-account books, these almanacs were used to structure time and money. Individuals often kept the two separate: the owner of one *Rider's British Merlin* for 1701 used the blanks at the front and back to record accounts, and the blanks between the calendar pages for recording time; others did the same.[110] The same user in 1701 systematically structured the accounts he kept. Each page was titled

[109]BOD, Douce A. 603 (1), *The Ladies Diary, or the Woman's Almanack* (1718), 1.

[110] BOD, Johnson.alm.13, Almanac of G. Worth (*Rider's British Merlin,*1701); BOD, Johnson.alm.16, Almanac of W. Nicolson (*Rider's British Merlin,* 1716); HRO, 89M97/1, Almanac of W. More (*Vox Stellarum,* 1746).

'my reckonings with', or 'my accounts with' a different acquaintance or tradesman.[111] Users of blank pocket books also structured their space to keep different forms of account and forms of self-writing separate. Some lined their pages to accommodate dates and entries, as we have seen;[112] others used techniques similar to those who structured their account books. Martin Lister turned his pocket book over and began from the back to denote a change of topic.[113] In his pocket book in 1725, tradesman Thomas Hartshorne noted accounts, unsurprisingly, but organised them alphabetically by individual, in tabulated form.[114] Accounts were noted according to recipient/debtor, rather than date. The form of the entries vary; the use of pencil and variations in the neatness of handwriting suggest that this was a format used on the move, of practical utility to its owner at the moment of writing.

The importance of systems of spatial organisation in all of these forms has clear implications for both the content they contained, and the way we understand it. Firstly, commentary from instructive and entertaining texts of the early eighteenth century, as we have seen, encouraged the imposition of spatial structures on self-writing as a means of organising it, and organising their owners. Secondly, as discussion in the first chapter also indicated, there was a close link between fact and information, and its organisation. Daniel Headrick is one of several historians who have written of the connection between these forms: that is, the importance, in the eighteenth century, of organization systems

[111] BOD, Johnson.alm.13, Almanac of G. Worth (*Rider's British Merlin,* 1701), front pages.
[112] HL, ST 108 v.1, Pocket Book Diary of H. Brydges (1732).
[113] BOD, MS. Lister 19, Pocket Book of M. Lister (1663-5).
[114] TNA, C111/206, Pocket Book of T. Hartshorne (1725).

that made knowledge manageable.[115] This is precisely how the tabulated structure and spatial organisation in these forms functioned. In her study of early modern 'information overload', Ann Blair has identified 'four S's' of information management, two of which are 'sorting' and 'summarizing.'[116] It is these impulses that are at work here. That individuals applied these techniques to information written by and about themselves suggests that they classified the self-writing exercise as one of information gathering, rather than, or as well as, introspection and reflection; even those who kept longer diaries, as we have seen, imposed a spatial system. This sort of arrangement and order made self-writing an empirical pursuit; indeed, Roger North drew on this language of empirical data collection and organisation in his instruction on financial accounting. He wrote in his *Gentleman's Accomptant* that the 'method' of organizing entries into columns of Debtor and Creditor 'is so comprehensive and perfect, as makes it worthy to be put among the sciences.'[117]

These tabulated structures had implications for the form of the entries they organised. In many cases, they were limiting; the wigmaker in 1708 used a large book for his diary, but the layout he imposed on his own writing provided minimal space for reflection.[118] Notes for the day are brief; each page

[115] D. Headrick, *When Information Came of Age: Technologies of Knowledge in the Age of Reason and Revolution, 1700-1850* (Oxford, 2000), 9. See also N. Rhodes, 'Articulate Networks: The Self, the Book and the World', in N. Rhodes & J. Sawday (eds), *The Renaissance Computer: Knowledge Technology in the First Age of Print* (2000), 189. The relationship between information and organization on the page is also explored in L. Dacome, 'Noting the Mind: Commonplace Books and the Pursuit of the Self in Eighteenth-Century Britain', *Journal of the History of Ideas,* 65 (2004), 602-35; R. Yeo, 'A Solution to the Multitude of Books: Ephraim Chambers' *Cyclopaedia* (1728) as "the Best Book in the World,"' *Journal of the History of Ideas,* 64 (2003), 61-72.

[116] A. M. Blair, *Too Much To Know: Managing Scholarly Information before the Modern Age* (New Haven, 2010), 3.

[117] North, *Gentleman Accomptant,* iii.

[118] BOD, MS. Rawl.c.861, Spiritual Diary of W. Woodman (1707-9).

accommodates around four or five days, and each entry is approximately six lines long. It is a self-imposed structure that enforces succinctness and selectivity. Elsewhere, the tabulated form imposed in Henry Brydges' pocket book, and Jacob Hagen's 1752 *Merlin* compartmentalised what little space existed on the blank page into even smaller blank spaces, restricting entries to only a few words.[119] Similarly, Anthony Ashley Cooper structured his notes into columns, forcing tiny handwriting to allow for detailed description.[120]

In her study of the use of almanacs as a form of travel journal, Laura Ambrose describes individuals noting their movements 'through placement and plotting rather than through subjectivity.'[121] In the same way, individuals 'plotted' their movements and actions in these forms, rather than describing and reacting to them. Jennifer Sinor and Rebecca Hogan have written of the tendency towards parataxis – placing together words and phrases with minimal grammatical structure and detail – in later diaries and journals of the nineteenth century.[122] In this approach, brevity and succinctness were enacted in the process of writing. Yet here, brevity was enforced by structures the diarist imposed on their writing, before it had even started. The spatial organisation of the page was deliberately intended to accommodate brief statements of activity, but little more than that.

As well as imposing these restrictive spatial systems on their work, individuals also drew on models widely used in printed works. In his study of what he calls

[119] BOD, MS. Eng.misc.f.77, Almanac of J. Hagen (*Rider's British Merlin,* 1752).
[120] TNA, PRO 30/24/24/13, Almanac of A. A. Cooper (*Rider's British Merlin,* 1711).
[121] Ambrose, 'Travel in Time', 42.
[122] Sinor, 'Reading the Ordinary Diary', 132; R. Hogan, 'Engendered Autobiographies: The Diary as a Feminine Form', *Prose Studies,* 14 (1991), 100.

'the early modern search engine', Thomas Corns describes particular features of early modern printed books as 'reader interfaces', hypertextual structures that facilitate ease of reference and non-linear reading.[123] These could be indexes, lists, contents pages or pointers and summaries within the text itself; anything that made the reading experience easier or more straightforward, and facilitated quick and easy reference. Across all of these self-writing forms individuals used particular modes of interface to make the reading and reference experience more efficient. Financial accounts, lists of information, plans for future time and notes of retrospective actions were all subject to systems of organisation or markers that directed reading in a particular way. Many made use of simple titles and notes: early in the century, John Townesend occasionally titled the entries in his account book 'Memmorandum', in order to set them apart from the rest of the content.[124] In her account book for 1703, Anne Brockman wrote in full sentences alongside different accounts: 'the following account takes place from my going from home Apr. 15 1703'; 'here closes the account at my return home July 23 1703'; 'so the account is balanced to my going to London November ye 9 1703.'[125] They are likely little more than markers for herself –or, perhaps, for her husband, checking her finances[126] –but they act as flags, structuring the financial accounts for the year and explaining entries at each stage. Frances Digby, Viscountess Scudamore did the same: she wrote 'brought from y^{e} other end of y^{e}

[123] T. N. Corns, 'The Early Modern Search Engine: Indices, Title Pages, Marginalia and Contents', in N. Rhodes & J. Sawday (eds), *The Renaissance Computer: Knowledge Technology in the First Age of Print* (2000), 95-105.
[124] BOD, MS. Don.e.216, Pocket Account Book of J. Townesend (1704-7), f. 68r.
[125] BL, Add. MS. 45208, Account Book of A. Brockman (1700-04).
[126] See. A. Vickery, 'His and Hers: Gender, Consumption and Household Accounting in Eighteenth-Century England', *Past & Present,* Suppl. 1 (2006), 12-38; C. Wiskin, 'Accounting for Business: Financial Management in the Eighteenth Century', in A. Laurence, J. Maltby & J. Rutterford (eds), *Women and Their Money, 1700-1950* (2009), 79.

book'[127] when she brought two different categories of accounts –personal ones from the beginning, sums relating to her daughter and charity at the end – together.

Awareness of 'interface' is evident in other forms. Thomas Lake, in 1696, employed a comparatively advanced structure to organise the content of his pocket books.[128] The pages of the book at first glance, look a mess; they are haphazardly organised, with sections messily crossed out. However, reading through the crossing out, Lake has written directions for reading alongside particular entries. He writes 'vide page 27', 'entred in my book p 86' and even 'vide my other pocket book fol.41.' These notes organise the information in this book, as well as in others he's kept, into a particular order of reference. In some cases, reading directives and pointers took the form of hand-drawn manicules, a tool for reference and textual organisation that was also used by both producers and readers of printed texts in the early modern period.[129] Sarah Cowper and Anthony Ashley Cooper both used this form. Cowper's functioned as a highlighting tool, to draw attention to particular passages;[130] Cooper used them to link particular days with financial records noted on a later page (Fig. 12, overleaf), accompanied by an explanation of where those records might be found; 'money, turn over.'

[127] TNA, C115/114, Account book of F. Digby (1717-29), 16.
[128] TNA, C104/197/3, Pocket Book of T. Lake (1696).
[129] W. H. Sherman, *Used Books: Marking Readers in Renaissance England* (Philadelphia, 2008), 29. See also H. Williams, 'Sterne's Manicules: Hands, Handwriting and Authorial Property in *Tristram Shandy*', *Journal for Eighteenth-Century Studies,* 36 (2013), 210-11.
[130] Sarah Cowper used them throughout her journals; see, for example, HFA, D/EP F32, Diary of S. Cowper, Vol. 4 (1706-9), 7.†

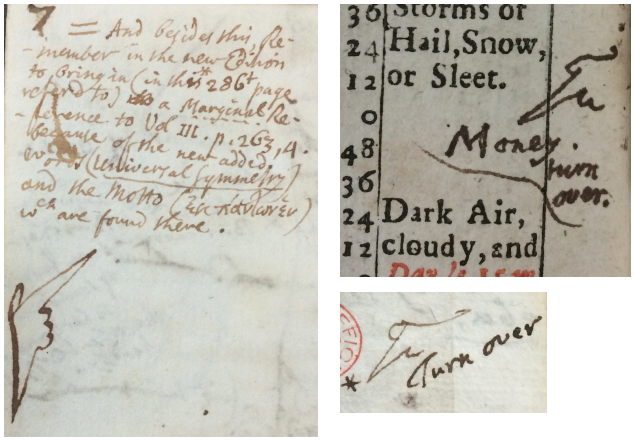


Fig. 12. The manicules used by Anthony Ashley Cooper to guide the reading of his almanacs (larger images from his almanac for 1711 (TNA, PRO 30/24/24/13, ff. 5v, 50v); smaller image from 1712 (TNA, PRO 30/24/24/14, f. 21r)).

Cooper's almanac itself also functioned as a reference point to direct the reading of his other works, much like an index. His notes on classical artistic devices are interspersed with instructions to refer elsewhere; 'the first reference must be p.252, the second p.286, &c.' and 'remember in the new edition to bring in a marginal reference to Vol III p.263…'.[131] Other diarists directed use in a similar way: Sarah Cowper clearly revisited each of her diaries, noting in the margin where an entry might be cross-referenced with one in a later volume.[132] This organising impulse is equally evident in the personal account books of Thomas Lake and Thomas Randolph. Like Cowper, both compiled indexes in the front page of their self-writing books: Lake in his pocket book, noting certain subjects 'hudson bay stock', 'stock bought' – and the page number they can be found on;[133] and Randolph in the front page of his account book, to enable easy reference to particular accounts, arranged by recipient. It is a method recommended in contemporary accounting literature: Roger North advised keeping a 'complete index' in a ledger of all accounts entered elsewhere.[134] The

[131] TNA, PRO 30/24/24/13, Almanac of A.A.Cooper (*Rider's British Merlin,* 1711).

[132] See for example, HFA, D/EP F30, Diary of S. Cowper, Vol. 2 (1703-5), 53.†

[133] TNA, C104/197/3 of 3, Pocket Book of T. Lake (1696), f. 2r.

[134] North, *Gentleman Accomptant,* 36.

way the index provided structure and enabled easy reference in these forms recalls the commonplace book. All were informational; all were structured and arranged to facilitate the extraction of knowledge.

Discussion in this section has demonstrated the power of analysing spatial and paratextual elements of self-writing in revealing the priorities of the diarist. Spatial structures and interface mechanisms functioned in two ways. Firstly, by organising the diary, they organised the diarist. They played into the 'well-kept diary, well-kept life' idea promoted in contemporary print. Secondly, they arranged the diary as if it were an information form, enabling the comparison and juxtaposition of the entries made by the diarist. We have seen the link between self-writing and fact in contemporary commentary, yet the commentary gives little indication of the extent to which such organisation methods and structures were clearly and consistently used. That individuals subjected information about themselves to these forms of organisation – in a way that anticipated that they would be referred to or consulted – suggests that both published commentary and private practice were conditioned by broader changes in perceptions and priorities, in which information and pragmatic self-management were key.

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Martin Lyons has referred to 'unspoken formulas' that guided individual letter-writing practice in the early eighteenth century:[135] an inherent understanding and tacit agreement that existed in the early modern period about what should be included in a letter and the form it should take. In the historiography of self-writing, there is a similar, although less well-defined notion. In the words of Elaine McKay, 'the habit of diary-keeping tended to beget other diaries;'[136] in other words, the practice, and prescriptive ideas or individual idiosyncrasies, were tacitly transmitted. This study of the self-writing practices of an array of individuals in an array of forms provides firm evidence of this: that there existed shared expectations of particular facets of the content, purpose and form of self-writing that were enacted across a variety of different forms; that it could and should be functional as much as reflective; that it should be well-structured and well-organised; that it should contain brief, honest and factual content.

The identification in this study of these common expectations and sense of a shared ethos sheds light on the way the practices of different users related to each other. It provides an important picture of broader change for the work of other historians who have identified similar patterns and ways of using, in isolated examples of the self-writing of particular individuals in this period.[137] Crucially, this analysis also sheds light on how these practices as a whole related to commentary in the popular print of the time. There are strong parallels

[135] M. Lyons, 'New Directions in the History of Written Culture', *Culture and History Digital Journal,* 1 (2012), unpaginated online version. See also Whyman, *Pen and the People,* 76.
[136] Mckay, 'Diary Networks'.
[137] See John Money's case study of John Cannon in the early eighteenth century, whose personal papers contained a 'carefully referenced and cross referenced' collection of general knowledge (J. Money, 'Teaching in the Market Place, or, 'Caesar Adsum Jam Forte: Pompey Aderat': The Retailing of Knowledge in Provincial England During the Eighteenth Century', in J. Brewer & R. Porter (eds), *Consumption and the World of Goods* (1993), 335-77).

between print and practice; in measuring individual habits against the trends identified in contemporary print, this is clear. Yet the directives discussed in Chapter One that appeared in print only touch on what this chapter has shown were broad, identifiable and multifaceted trends in self-writing practices in the period. In print, diarists were encouraged to enter truthful factual accounts of themselves; in practice, the taste for fact was manifest not only in truthful self-writing but in the collection of information and knowledge. In print, commentary implicitly – and occasionally explicitly – encouraged method and order; in practice, individuals employed an array of spatial and textual methods to structure their writing and make it readable and referable. This dynamic demonstrates that both print and practice were the product of the beginnings of broader cultural change occurring in the eighteenth century.

PART II

SELF-WRITING IN THE AGE OF THE PRE-PRINTED DIARY

1749-1850

Chapter 3

Theories of Self-Writing after 1749

There was a marked increase in the volume of commentary on diary-keeping printed in, and after, the second half of the eighteenth century. This comment was provoked, in part, by the high number of journals and autobiographies that were published in the period.[1] Despite their popularity, the practice of individual, personal self-writing still divided opinion. Some perceived it to be essential. William Cobbett energetically encouraged 'every young man' to keep a journal 'to produce regularity in the conducting of affairs'.[2] Much instructive literature found the keeping of a diary an important part of quotidian routine, whether in the running of a household,[3] or while travelling.[4] For others, however, it was a waste of time. Attitudes familiar from earlier in the century persisted; diary-keeping was the practice of 'old women and fanatics',[5] one article in the *Critical Review* complained in 1777 and, the same periodical grumbled years later, rarely encouraged anything more substantial than 'mere effusions of self-important insignificance.'[6]

Both comment and criticism were rooted in prescriptive ideas of the practice. In their ways, both proponents and critics were championing their own, ideal

[1] A. Macfarlane, *The Family Life of Ralph Josselin* (Cambridge, 1970), 5; F. Nussbaum, *The Autobiographical Subject: Gender and Ideology in Eighteenth-Century England* (1989), 25.
[2] W. Cobbett, *Advice to Young Men and (incidentally) to Young Women* (1829), 74.
[3] M. Johnson, *Madam Johnson's Present; or, Every Young Woman's Companion* (1754; this edn, 1759), 11.
[4] D. Jefferies, *A Journal from London to Rome* (1755), cited in S. Lamb, *Bringing Travel Home to England: Tourism, Gender and Imaginative Literature in the Eighteenth Century* (Newark, 2009), 73.
[5] *The Critical Review,* Mar. 1777.
[6] *The Critical Review,* Mar. 1816.

model of self-writing.[7] The journal that William Cobbett encouraged 'every young man' to keep was one that should be used for a particular purpose, in a particular way, with specified frequency. Equally, the article in *The Critical Review* that expressed abhorrence at diaristic 'effusions' referred predominantly to one aspect of diary style and content, rather than discounting the practice as a whole. Some historians do draw attention to specific aspects of these prescriptive models, finding, for example, that a key seam in eighteenth-century criticism of diaries was that they should remain private,[8] no doubt a reaction to the proliferation of published 'lives'. Yet few studies look more substantively at the particulars of style and content being promoted when, in fact, analysis of these particulars has the potential to reveal much about common perceptions of the purpose and practice of diary-keeping, and the cultural environment that shaped them.

Accordingly, this chapter explores the prescriptive ideals of form, content and style in diarizing that appeared in print in the later eighteenth and early nineteenth centuries. It argues that the diary was promoted as a practical, useful form, and that the brevity, selectivity and factual accuracy first encouraged earlier in the century persisted and intensified in its second half. What this means for our understanding of the diary in this period, and the cultural ethos it represented and enacted, is the central focus of this chapter. Analysis will focus, firstly, on the way self-writing was promoted as a useful practice; and secondly, on the dictates of form and content that recurred in popular print.

[7] F. A. Childs, 'Prescriptions for Manners in English Courtesy Literature, 1690-1760, and their Social Implications' (University of Oxford DPhil. Thesis, 1984), 3.
[8] J. P. Hunter, *Before Novels: The Cultural Contexts of Eighteenth-Century English Fiction* (1990), 316; Nussbaum, *Autobiographical Subject,* 24.

I. Sources and Methodology

The principal focus of my analysis here is the way that the *personal* habit of diary-keeping was represented in print. The published diaries, autobiographies and memoirs that filled booksellers' shelves in the later eighteenth and early nineteenth centuries provide an invaluable and voluminous source base, but they do present something of a challenge in this regard. While undoubtedly useful indicators of shared perceptions of 'good' diarizing, the form and content of both published autobiography, and commentary on it, were inevitably influenced by the requirements and anticipated interests of the reading public. In 1750 Samuel Johnson wrote of published biography and autobiography that it should be 'delightful and useful';[9] as we have seen in previous analysis, however, the former criterion directly contradicts much advice on private diarizing. Similarly, as others have commented, structural narrative devices like turning points, significant life-changing events and foreshadowing were employed in published autobiography well into the second half of the eighteenth century.[10] Thus they are treated here as print forms that might have shaped individual practice, but not as evidence or representative examples of that practice. The impact of the demands of writing for a readership, and the presence of an editor[11] have been taken into account, and they are examined in the context of other forms of printed material.

[9] S. Johnson in *The Rambler,* 13 Oct. 1750.
[10] F. V. Bogel, 'Crisis and Character in Autobiography: The Later Eighteenth Century', *Studies in English Literature 1500-1900,* 21 (1981), 502.
[11] For a discussion of the role of editors in changing the content and significance of a diary see S. Bunkers, 'Whose Diary Is It Anyway? Issues of Agency, Authority, Ownership', *Auto/Biography Studies,* 17 (2001), 14-15.

The selection of printed forms used here resembles the body of primary material employed in Chapter One, including: sermons, instructive religious texts and the popular genre of religious 'lives'; instructive literature; periodicals; and entertaining publications, including miscellanies and satire. Amongst the periodicals examined are *The Critical Review, or Annals of Literature* (1756-1817), *The Universal Magazine* (1747-1814), and *The Gentleman's Magazine* (1731-1868). These were selected for their longevity, popularity, and range of material. As in Chapter One, secular and religious texts will be considered together and their content compared: the late eighteenth century saw the persistence, and in some evangelical sects the intensification of religious belief, and, as the next chapter will show, individuals continued to journalize for spiritual reasons, as well as secular ones.

All material has been read according to the sampling techniques outlined in Chapter One (consisting of key word searches and reading of whole issues). In consulting this material, semantic breadth and the interchangeability of terms have been accommodated. 'Diary' and 'journal' are treated and used as synonymous terms, and discussion here will be guided by the deliberately loose definition of both diary and journal as accounts of daily activity. As such, it will include 'journals' written in letters, although similar to published forms, the impact of the recipient on their form and content will be borne in mind. This examination of late eighteenth- and early nineteenth-century prescriptive models of self-writing starts with an analysis of the idea of method and the role of the diary in self-organisation, that continued from earlier in the century.

II. Method, Order and Self-Organisation in Diarizing

Historical studies give conflicting interpretations of the role of order and form in the practice of self-writing in the eighteenth century. On one hand, some historians have found that 'the flotsam and jetsam of everyday detail was rarely sorted',[12] and accounts that highlight the mutability of, and blurred distinctions between self-writing forms similarly give the impression that diaries were kept with little sense of method or organisation. On the other hand, studies like Stuart Sherman's give the sense of the existence of a diurnal 'system', and suggest that diaries were organised with temporal precision, and a strong sense of structure.[13] As we saw in Chapter Two, early eighteenth-century individuals imposed their own systems of organisation on their accounts, pocket books and diaries in a way that suggest that structure and method were important.

Shifting our focus from practice to perception, representations of diarizing in late eighteenth- and early nineteenth-century print reveal a strong sense that the diary should be well-ordered and methodically organized. In contrast to the subtlety with which it was implied in – a select body of – print earlier in the century, the link made between the journal and 'order' was a recurrent one after 1749. Advertisements for and references to diaries in popular print alluded to the 'method' according to which they are and should be organised. For Mary Johnson, in her instruction manual to young women in 1759, insight into the

[12] Hunter, *Before Novels*, 323; A. Smyth, 'Commonplace Book Culture: A List of Sixteen Traits', in P. Hardman & A. Lawrence-Mathers (eds), *Women and Writing c.1340-c.1650: The Domestication of Print Culture* (York, 2010), 93.

[13] S. Sherman, *Telling Time: Clocks, Diaries and English Diurnal Form 1660-1785* (1996), 93. See also L. Dacome, 'Noting the Mind: Commonplace Books and the Pursuit of the Self in Eighteenth-Century Britain', *Journal of the History of Ideas,* 65 (2004), 603-25.

'method of keeping a proper diary' was vital.[14] The *Ladies Own Memorandum Book* was advertised as a 'methodical register';[15] in a letter, clergyman James Hervey expressed a desire to imitate the 'method of keeping a diary' used by Dr Doddridge in his published diary.[16]

These 'methods' varied. They included encouragement to spatially organise entries on the page, reminiscent of advice given earlier in the century. Invoking John Locke's advice on commonplacing,[17] in 1758 John Angell advised in his *Stenography, or Short-Hand Improved* that what he called a memorandum book should be structured into three columns, the first for 'a Memorandum of our own personal Conduct', the second, as 'an entry of common Occurrences,' and the third for 'curious extracts' and 'such Words as he might not so readily write with ease' for the 'learner's improvement.'[18] This structure imposed brevity and succinctness on its owners' self-writing (shorthand was useful for writing memorandums, Angell asserted, for precisely this reason); it also perpetuated the notion of the information gathered in self-writing as something to be classified and organised.

It was the use of time as an organisational tool that commentators most frequently recommended. Temporal structure was always what had defined a diary, as a diary, but the structural advantages of time were reiterated in the late eighteenth century to a degree unparalleled in earlier periods. Samuel Johnson

[14] Johnson, *Madam Johnson's Present,* 11.
[15] Advertisement for the *Ladies Own Memorandum Book* in *The London Chronicle,* 16-19 Nov. 1782.
[16] J. Hervey, *The Works of James Hervey MA, Late Rector of Weston Favell in Northamptonshire*, Vol. 7 (7 vols, 1797), 85.
[17] J. Locke, *A New Method of Making Common-Place-Books* (1706).
[18] J. Angell, *Stenography; or, Short-hand Improved* (1758), xxvii.

encouraged his friend Hester Thrale to be 'punctual in annexing the dates' in her *Thraliana;*[19] 'if it is a book regularly kept', a prosecutor admonished a witness with sloppy records in a criminal trial towards the end of the century, 'the first thing you do in the morning is, you write down the day, because the transactions of that day are to follow.'[20] In spiritual diarizing too, earthly calendar time seemed increasingly to usurp the spiritual, temporal 'kairos', part, some historians have said, of the breakdown of the latter and the 'emergence of a single mode of temporal experience' in this period.[21] For example, an account kept by religious writer and Anglican clergyman Rev. Thomas Adam and published in 1786, is described only as a 'kind-of' diary because he failed to observe 'any particular order or method' and 'seldom prefixed a date.'[22]

These methods are symptomatic of the persistence of what Lucia Dacome has termed a 'ubiquitous notion' of order and methodizing one's thoughts that existed in the period.[23] The role played by time in particular is an important indicator of perceptions of the diary's organized form, and organisational function. As in commentary from earlier in the eighteenth century, organised and well-structured self-writing was crucially perceived as a means of *enacting* effective self-organisation, as well as reflecting it. Being temporally methodical in diary-keeping would also enable the individual to be a lot more methodical and

[19] K. C. Balderstone, 'Introduction,' in K. C. Balderstone (ed.), *Thraliana: The Diary of Mrs Hester Lynch Thrale, Vol. 1 1776-1784* (Oxford, 1942; this edn, 1951), xii.

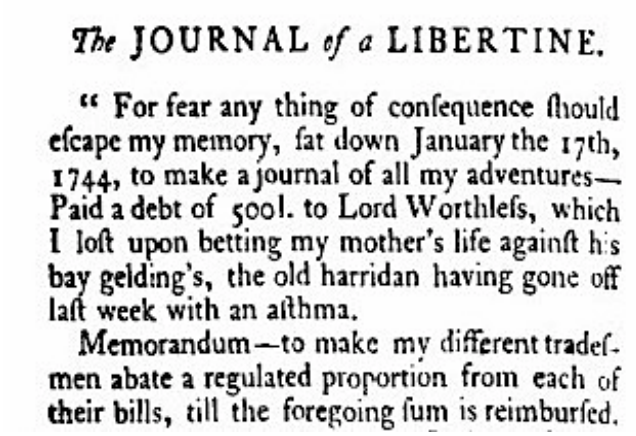
[20] OBP, Case of Samuel Shelley, 22 Feb. 1781.†

[21] Bogel, 'Crisis and Character,' 505-11.

[22] J. Stillingfleet, 'Life of the Author', in *The Posthumous Works of the Rev. Thomas Adam, Late Rector of Wintringham* Vol. 1 (3 vols, York, 1786), lii.

[23] Dacome, 'Noting the Mind,' 615. Fanny Burney writes of the value of the diary for putting one's ideas in order in her novel, *Evelina, or the History of a Young Lady's Entrance into the World,* Vol. 2 (3 vols, 1794), 79.

organised in the management of day-to-day affairs.[24] Continuities from earlier in the century can be found not only in the persistence of this attitude, but in the metaphors used to advocate it. Diaries continued to be compared to clocks and timepieces, for the regularity and temporal structure they afforded. The author of *Every Man his own Letter-Writer* (1782), stated that '…a wise man will keep as it were his time-piece or diary, adapting particular pursuits to particular periods.' Accordingly, the same publication explained, the King of Prussia 'divided the twenty-four hours and allotted due and precise proportions to the purposes of study, society, relaxation and rest.'[25]



The JOURNAL of a LIBERTINE.

" For fear any thing of conſequence ſhould eſcape my memory, ſat down January the 17th, 1744, to make a journal of all my adventures— Paid a debt of 500l. to Lord Worthleſs, which I loſt upon betting my mother's life againſt his bay gelding's, the old harridan having gone off laſt week with an aſthma.

Memorandum—to make my different tradeſmen abate a regulated proportion from each of their bills, till the foregoing ſum is reimburſed.

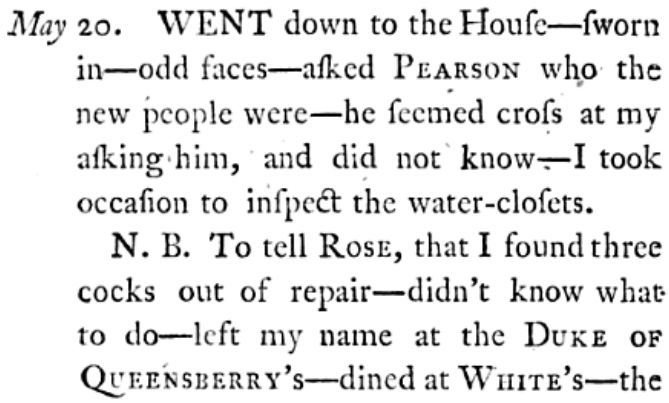
Fig. 1. Extract from 'The Journal of a Libertine', taken from H. Kelly, *The Babler* (1770).

The King's method of planning for future time was a lesson that recurred frequently in print of the period. Such planning was often represented by the noting of memorandums for future action. As Fig. 1 demonstrates, these memorandums were particularly recurrent in satirical takes on the diary-

[24] The association between the diary and temporal self-management also included timetabling diarizing into the daily routine. Writer, philosopher and radical social commentator Harriet Martineau advised in 1838 that a diary should be kept with 'regularity', 'in the interval when the task is pleasantest'; H. Martineau, *How to Observe: Morals and Manners* (1838), 235.

[25] J.D.D. Wallace, *Every Man His Own Letter-Writer: Or The New and Complete Art of Letter-Writing Made Plain and Familiar to Every Capacity* (1782), 114.

keeping practices of libertines and individuals of leisure. In Fig. 1 the fictional libertine uses his diary for retrospective notes and prospective memorandums. Similarly, a day taken from the journal of a 'modern, fine gentleman' printed in the *London Magazine* in 1777 contained the following: 'Tuesday. Curate's daughter cried all night –hate whining –Must bribe Strawby –must get Blaze to bastinado Brazen –the villain called me curd-cheeks at Ranelagh.'[26] 'Lord Graham's Diary' printed in *The Rolliad* exhibited the same practice (Fig. 2).



May 20. WENT down to the Houſe—ſworn in—odd faces—aſked PEARSON who the new people were—he ſeemed croſs at my aſking him, and did not know—I took occaſion to inſpect the water-cloſets.

N. B. To tell ROSE, that I found three cocks out of repair—didn't know what to do—left my name at the DUKE OF QUEENSBERRY's—dined at WHITE's—the

Fig. 2. Extract taken from 'Lord Graham's Diary', *The Rolliad* (1795); like the 'Libertine' above, both retrospective and prospective entries are kept in this diary.

Although in these extracts, planning for future time served a humorous purpose along with the rest of the fictional 'diary' entries, its presence in these examples suggests that it was viewed as a recognised and expected aspect of diary-keeping in the second half of the eighteenth century. It was put into practice; in his London journal, kept between 1762 and 1763, James Boswell wrote memorandums to himself – 'prepare like father. Mark this and keep in pocket' – that instructed his future self on what to eat and wear; indeed, he wrote his own

[26] *The London Magazine,* Jan. 1777.

'Scheme of Living' on moving to London in which he planned how he would pass his time – and budget his money – there.[27]

In more religious writing from the same period, references to the diary-keeping practices of individuals also draw particular attention to this habit of planning for the future. A posthumous sermon given in 1754 lauded the habit of the deceased of keeping memorandums as a reminder to 'abate of legal demands, and [his] just fees, in case of poverty', among other matters.[28] Similarly the 'kind-of' diary of Thomas Adam includes spiritual memorandums he wrote for himself as reminders for his future actions.[29] In Hannah More's allegorical tale *The Pilgrims,* taken from her *Cheap Repository Tracts* (1799), the narrator disapprovingly notes of the eponymous pilgrims that 'I observed that these pilgrims instead of…even making memorandums of what they would be likely to want, spent most of their time in crowds, either in the way of business or diversions.'[30] In all of these extracts, secular, satirical and religious, the anticipation of future actions, and future wants and needs is an expected part of diaristic self-accounting.

Thus diaries and journals were understood to be methodical, ordered forms that encouraged the self-organisation of their owners. There is continuity here between the message in early eighteenth-century print and later. However, the intensity with which the idea of order and management was communicated, and

[27] F. A. Pottle, 'Introduction', in F. A. Pottle (ed.), *Boswell's London Journal, 1762-1763* (1950), 45. For Boswell's 'Scheme of Living,' see Appendix I of Pottle's volume.
[28] T. Hunter, *The Good Man: A Sermon Occasion'd by the Death of William Stratford, Esq.* (1754), 18.
[29] Adam, *Posthumous Works,* 218-9.
[30] H. More, *Cheap Repository Tracts* (1799), 391.

the volume of comment that was produced remarking on it, distinguishes later eighteenth- and early nineteenth-century commentary from its earlier counterpart. The emphasis upon time as an organisational device, and upon the value of organising time itself, reiterates the utility and functional purpose that diarizing was perceived to possess in this period. It also served to promote a model of diarizing, and an idea of its purpose, that was markedly different to that enshrined in popular autobiography and published forms. The encouragement to use time as a structural device – particularly in incremental, daily intervals – was to promote a balanced, methodical account in which events were multiple, indistinguishable and equal, rather than prose accounts structured according to the retrospectively-assigned 'turning points' in the life of an individual. Contemporary commentary, in other words, encouraged a register of events and a practical record of past and future activities, rather than a literary introspective reflection; it moved private diarizing even further away from more literary forms of autobiography.

Other cultural models and ideas were used by commentators to describe the practice of diarizing. As we will see, the emphasis on diaristic structure and method was not solely the result of a growing perception of the diary as a pragmatic, useful tool. Analysis in Chapter One demonstrated that a subtle connection between factual genres and personal writing was developing in the early eighteenth century and before; the next section will explore the way this connection was reified in later eighteenth- and early nineteenth-century commentary, and the significance of that consolidation.

III. Diaristic Content: 'Fact' and 'Truth'

Just as they had been earlier in the century, later print forms were prescriptive not only about method and style in diary-keeping, but also about their content. As discussion in Chapter One indicated, the association between fact and the diary or journal was not new to this period, nor to this century; but it is a frequently recurring one, and particularly overt, after 1749. The link between diurnal forms and 'truth' was deemed to be a commercially beneficial one by editors and booksellers. The title page of the *Ladies Chronologer* for 1754 advertised that it was 'For the sake of fair truth, [that] the Chronologer's made.'[31] Similarly, the 1796 tale *Love's Pilgrimage* is described as 'a story founded on facts. Compiled from the journal of a deceased friend.' [32] Many similar publications perpetuated this assumption that diaries and journals were repositories of factual information. In a review of *An Apology for the Life of George Anne Bellamy* in 1785, the commentator remarked that

> *'As a reciter of facts, we think she means to be faithful; yet as she appears to have written hastily, from memory, she sometimes seems inaccurate as to time and place…we do not find that she kept any diary, or journal of the events which have furnished the materials of this Apology.'*[33]

The message here is clear: had Bellamy kept a diary, she would have been able to recite 'facts' more faithfully. Similarly, in a work published only a few years later, *The Memoirs of Mrs Sophia Baddley* (1787) written by her friend, the 'truth' provided in a 'simple diary of proceedings' was deemed preferable to 'a fabulous account of things that have no existence but in fancy.'[34] The association of self-

[31] *The Ladies Chronologer* (1754), Title Page.
[32] *Love's Pilgrimage: A Story Founded on Facts* (1796).
[33] G. A. Bellamy, *An Apology for the Life of George Anne Bellamy* (1785), 176.
[34] E. Steele, *The Memoirs of Mrs Sophia Baddley, Late of Drury Lane Theatre,* Vol. 2 (3 vols, 1787), 145.

writing forms with fact and truth also functioned as a literary device; in Jane Austen's *Pride and Prejudice,* for example, it is from her pocket book that Jane Bennett extracts the letter that reveals her younger sister's scandalous elopement.[35]

The writing of contemporary diarists suggests that there was a standard of fact to be attained in personal journalizing. In 1779, Fanny Burney wrote to her friend in a letter that 'I never mix truth and fiction: all that I relate in journalising is strictly, nay plainly fact. I never, in all my life, have been a sayer of the thing that is not.'[36] This effort to recount absolute truth is evident throughout Burney's writings, in both her letters and her diary.[37] She seemed to be constantly aware of its importance, even if she was less than enthusiastic about it. She wrote in 1777, for example, in her diary, 'in the meantime, I must descend into plain, vulgar, matter of fact, from which I have I know not *how* –nor will you easily find *why*, that long digressed.'[38] Here then, anything other than a truthful account is a digression. Other diarists demonstrate a similarly earnest sense of the importance of truth in diarizing; James Boswell wrote in 1762 that 'truth shall ever be observed and these things that require the gloss of falsehood shall be passed by in silence.'[39] Others shared a similar, although slightly less intense sense of responsibility: Elizabeth Robinson Montagu rather morosely recognised

[35] J. Austen, *Pride and Prejudice* (1813; this edn, 1844), 126.
[36] Letter from Fanny Burney D'Arblay to S. Crisp, Dec. 1779, in C.F. Barrett (ed.), *Diary and Letters of Madame D'Arblay Vol. 1: 1778-1780* (1842), 290.†
[37] On several occasions she writes pointedly 'this is a fact' (see, for example, Diary entry for Oct. 1778, *Diary and Letters of Madame D'Arblay,* 125).†
[38] Diary of Fanny Burney D'Arblay, July 1777, in A.R. Ellis (ed.), *The Early Diary of Frances Burney 1768-1778* (1889), 201.†
[39] Diary entry for 15 Nov. 1762, *London Journal*, 40.

the purpose of the 'mere journal writer' to 'repeat matter of fact and the event of the day.'[40]

Elsewhere, in more didactic literature, *A Letter from a Father to his Daughter at Boarding School* (1774), the father encouraged the noting of 'remarkable facts' in a journal of daily occurrences.[41] Similar encouragement persisted well into the nineteenth century. As part of their mission to educate and spread information, the Society for the Diffusion of Useful Knowledge recognised and perpetuated the connection between self-writing and factual information. They produced a *British Almanac* which, rather than continuing the 'superstitions, prejudices and indecencies' that characterized the almanac form up to that point, instead promoted 'sound and practical information' and the 'growth of sound knowledge.'[42]

The emphasis in these forms on recounting truth – and the role of the diary in housing it – is symptomatic of the currency that fact and information enjoyed in the eighteenth and early nineteenth century. I have discussed in previous chapters the way that this culture of information began to develop before 1750, encouraged by advances in science and its popularisation in the latter half of the seventeenth century. By the middle of the eighteenth, England had become what Paul Slack has termed an 'information-rich society'[43] in which facts were linked

[40] Letter from Elizabeth Robinson Montagu to Lord George Lyttleton, 7 Aug. 1760, in M. Montagu (ed.), *The Letters of Mrs E. Montagu, With Some of the Letters of Her Correspondence,* Vol. 4 (4 vols, 1809), 274.[†]
[41] *A Letter from A Father to his Daughter at a Boarding School* (1774), 24.
[42] *The British Almanac of the Society for the Diffusion of Useful Knowledge* (1829). 3.
[43] P. Slack, *The Invention of Improvement: Information and Material Progress in Seventeenth-Century England* (Oxford, 2014), 2. See also A. Rusnock, *Vital Accounts: Quantifying Health and Population in*

to improvement and 'progress', and the 'empirical pursuit of useful knowledge was common ground.'[44] The acquisition of knowledge was understood to have moral benefits, but it was also, as Alan Rauch has asserted, 'fetishized for its own sake'.[45] Contemporaries expounded its advantages. As a sermon given in 1788 explained, 'knowledge of every kind is agreeable and useful: and those who have ability and opportunity should be encouraged in the pursuit of it.'[46] In 1827, founder of the Society for the Diffusion of Useful Knowledge Sir Henry Brougham agreed, writing 'there is something positively agreeable to all men…in gaining knowledge for its own sake.'[47]

Much recent scholarship has drawn attention to the mechanisms by which knowledge was popularized between the late eighteenth and early nineteenth centuries. They challenge interpretations that find the pursuit of information to be limited to politics and state bureaucracy,[48] and question the notion that the knowledge gained from scientific endeavour in particular was 'quarantined' from broader culture.[49] The appetite for knowledge and information was voracious in this period, indicated by the number of forms that catered to it: periodicals promised an almost encyclopaedic array of useful information –updated on a

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Eighteenth-Century England and France (Cambridge, 2002), 2; T. Frangsmyr, J. L. Heilbron & R. E. Rider, (eds), *The Quantifying Spirit in the Eighteenth Century* (Oxford, 1990).

[44] Slack, *The Invention of Improvement,* 252.

[45] A. Rauch, *Useful Knowledge: The Victorians, Morality, and the March of Intellect* (2001), 3. See, for example, D. Fenning, *The Young Man's Book of Knowledge* (1774).

[46] A. Rees, *Advantages of Knowledge, Illustrated and Recommended in a Sermon* (1788), 4.

[47] H. Brougham, *A Discourse of the Objects, Advantages and Pleasures of Science* (1827), 5.

[48] See J. Brewer, *The Sinews of Power: War, Money and the English State 1688-1783* (1989); E. Rosenhaft, 'Hands and Minds: Clerical Work in the First "Information Society"', *International Review of Social History,* Suppl., 48 (2003), 13-43.

[49] R. Cooter & S. Pumfrey, 'Separate Spheres and Public Places: Reflections on the History of Science Popularization and Science in Popular Culture', *History of Science,* 32 (1994), 237-67; M. Freddi, B. Korte & J. Schmied, 'Developments and Trends in the Rhetoric of Science', *European Journal of English Studies,* 17 (2013), 3.

regular basis –while encyclopaedias themselves, dictionaries, directories and compendiums of specialised or specific knowledge promised 'complete and correct'[50] lists of fact. This was the period in which encyclopaedic projects gained momentum, arguably reaching their zenith with the production of the *Encyclopédie* between 1751 and 1772, inspired by the earlier efforts of Ephraim Chambers in his *Cyclopaedia*. By the turn of the nineteenth century, popular exposure to scientific information, too, took place through the popular practice of botany, attendance at scientific lectures and in print culture,[51] as well as the formation of societies specifically designed for the purpose.[52]

This taste for information was reflected not only in the plethora of factual genres being produced, but also 'ostensibly factual'[53] ones. Facts, observation and realism were lauded in fiction[54] and appear in the titles of numerous eighteenth-century publications of a variety of different genres that were not, necessarily, fact-based. Tales, adventures, poems and instructive religious 'lives' were

[50] *The London Calendar, or Court and City Register* (1788), Title Page.

[51] A. Cook, 'Botanical Exchanges: Jean-Jacques Rousseau and the Duchess of Portland', *History of European Ideas,* 33 (2012) 142-56; P. Elliott, 'Towards a Geography of English Scientific Culture, 1750-1850', *Urban History,* 32 (2005), 391-412; Freddi, Korte & Schmied, 'Developments and Trends,' 226; D. Headrick, *When Information Came of Age: Technologies of Knowledge in the Age of Reason and Revolution 1700-1850* (Oxford, 2000), 143; J. Mokyr, *The Gifts of Athena: Historical Origins of the Knowledge Economy* (Oxford, 2002), 44; J. Money, 'Teaching in the Market Place, or, 'Caesar Adsum Jam Forte: Pompey Aderat': The Retailing of Knowledge in Provincial England During the Eighteenth Century', in J. Brewer & R. Porter (eds), *Consumption and the World of Goods* (1993), 343; J. Plumb, 'The Acceptance of Modernity', in J. Brewer, N. McKendrick & J. H. Plumb, *The Birth of a Consumer Society: The Commercialization of Eighteenth-Century England* (1982), 317; N. Rhodes & J. Sawday (eds), *Renaissance Computer: Knowledge Technologies in the First Age of Print* (2000); L. Stewart, 'The Selling of Newton: Science and Technology in Early Eighteenth-Century England', *Journal of British Studies,* 25 (1986), 181; C. W. J. Withers, 'Geography, Natural History and the Eighteenth-Century Enlightenment: Putting the World in Place', *History Workshop Journal,* 39 (1995), 136-63.

[52] As well as the SDUK, the Society for the Encouragement of Arts, Manufacture and Commerce perceived the diffusion and popularization of knowledge as an important aspect of its role. See M. Paskins, 'Sentimental Industry: The Society of Arts and the Encouragement of Public Useful Knowledge, 1754-1848', (University College London, PhD thesis, 2014).

[53] B. J. Shapiro, *A Culture of Fact: England 1550-1720* (2000), 199.

[54] See J. Austen, *Emma* (1815; this edn, 1841), 61-8; T. Smollett, *The Expedition of Humphry Clinker* (1771; this edn, 1808), 299.

frequently described to be 'founded on' or 'taken from' facts,[55] while facts 'curious',[56] 'entertaining'[57] and 'authentic'[58] coloured narratives of adventure and descriptions of expeditions. In both these travel journals and works of fiction, as Lennard Davis and Linda Colley, among others, have explained, the boundaries between truth and fiction were manipulated.[59] Yet whether sincere or not, their claims of veracity reveal the currency that fact had in a culture obsessed with the improving effects of information.

In this context, the emphasis placed by individuals and popular print on the importance of fact in journals and diaries in the later eighteenth century can be explained, and is significant for several reasons. Firstly, it challenges the accepted chronology of the development of this information culture, providing firm evidence of its existence between the often-cited scientific revolution of the seventeenth century, and the discourses of improving information, and the popularisation of science, in the later nineteenth.[60] It suggests that the period from the late eighteenth to the early nineteenth century should be understood on its own terms as a period in which information was valued and shared, rather

[55] See, for example, M. Edgeworth, *Castle Rackrent: An Hibernian Tale, Taken From Facts* (1800).
[56] J. Adair, *Curious Facts and Anecdotes, Not Contained in the Memoirs of Philip Thicknesse Esq.* (1790).
[57] J. Adams, *Modern Voyages: Containing a Variety of Useful and Entertaining Facts* (1790).
[58] *The Adventures of Melinda: a Lady of Distinction Now Living, Founded on Real, Authentic Facts* (1749).
[59] L. Colley, *Captives: Britain, Empire and the World 1600-1850* (2002), 90-3; L. J. Davis, *Factual Fictions: The Origins of the English Novel* (New York, 1983), 197. See also A. Johns, 'Print and Public Science' in R. Porter (ed.), *The Cambridge History of Science,* Vol. 4 (7 vols, Cambridge, 2002-2013; this vol., 2003), 547.
[60] With specific reference to scientific knowledge, Roy Porter points to the common historical perception that there existed a 'trough' in the eighteenth century between the end of the seventeenth and beginning of the nineteenth; R. Porter, 'Introduction', in *Cambridge History of Science,* 2. Andreas Daum notes similar issues of chronology in his 'Varieties of Popular Science and the Transformations of Public Knowledge: Some Historical Reflections', *Isis,* 100 (2009), 322.

than extrapolating backwards from the later developments,[61] or forwards from the late seventeenth. As we will see, there were links and shared characteristics, but developments in this period constituted their own distinctive information culture. More significantly, that private diarizing was viewed as subject to these expectations indicates the degree to which the shared cultural emphasis upon fact and truth penetrated in this period. In existing scholarship, the public are portrayed as recipients of measured and quantified fact: its consumers, rather than its producers. However, representations of the diary as a repository of factual information suggest that individuals were increasingly being seen as agents of quantification, rather than simply its subjects.

Understanding diaries in the context of this wider purpose of fact-collecting also shifts our perception away from the link commonly made in historical interpretation between the diary and literary forms. Certainly, there was common ground; both self-writing and fiction writing were subject to and shaped by the same external forces, namely the demand for realism and facticity, a form of authenticity which placed emphasis on the 'truths' of everyday experience. [62] Yet this period also saw a divergence in the perceived function and form of each. The diary was both a tool for self-organisation, and a means by which individuals could participate in the broader culture of 'useful knowledge' and the quantification of objective fact. Indeed, the two purposes were interconnected: individuals were encouraged to record 'facts' about themselves and their activities in order to revisit them and organise their affairs at a later

[61] J. Golinski, 'Utility and Audience in Eighteenth-Century Chemistry: Case Studies of William Cullen and Joseph Priestley', *The British Journal for the History of Science,* 21 (1988), 30.
[62] F. Dabhoiwala, *The Origins of Sex: A History of the First Sexual Revolution* (2012), 331.

date. The diary was perceived as a register, or factual index of events ordered by time. As William Cobbett put it in 1829,

> *'…how often does it happen that we cannot make a statement of facts, sometimes very interesting to ourselves and our friends, for want of a record of the places where we were, and of the things that occurred on such and such a day!*[63]

Viewing diaries in the context of the taste for knowledge in this period also makes sense of other modes of structure and systematization. Structure and classification were crucial features of information culture in the late eighteenth and early nineteenth centuries.[64] They were seen to have moral, social and practical advantages[65] as they rendered information 'useful' and enabled self-improvement. In his *Cyclopedia* in 1728, Ephraim Chambers wrote of the importance of organising materials in a way that suggested the arrangement of content was just as important as the content itself. He explained that

> *'The difficulty lay in the form and economy of it, so to dispose such a multitude of materials as not to make a confused heap of incoherent parts, but one consistent whole.'*[66]

From the compendious projects of Chambers, Samuel Johnson, and the *Encyclopédistes*, to the botanical classification efforts of Charles Linnaeus, and from eighteenth-century fiction to individual commonplacing efforts, the model set by these large, reference works instilled an approach to learning and reading that valued the arrangement and cataloguing of knowledge. One historian has

[63] Cobbett, *Advice to Young Men,* 74.
[64] See J. Barchas, *Graphic Design, Print Culture and the Eighteenth-Century Novel* (Cambridge, 2003), 186; A. Blair, 'Reading Strategies for Coping with Information Overload, ca. 1550-1700', *Journal of the History of Ideas,* 64 (2003), 11-28.
[65] Dacome, 'Noting the Mind', 615.
[66] E. Chambers, *Cyclopaedia; or an Universal Dictionary of Arts and Sciences,* Vol. 1 (5 vols, 1728; this edn, 1786-8), i.

referred to a culture of 'index learning'[67] existing in the eighteenth century. In literature, indexes or lists were used to imitate the 'transparency, shape, and the promise of meaning and order' [68] evident in reference texts. Similarly, commonplace books were compiled frequently with an index at their beginning. Even if, as Adam Smyth has asserted, they ended up being messy and disorderly, they were undertaken with a desire for order and arrangement. [69]

That structure was perceived to be so central to diarizing, therefore – whether the intervals of time that Johnson advocated, or Angell's spatial organisation on the page – further emphasises that the diary was classified alongside these other forms as a factual, informational pursuit. Indeed, it was not just informational, but scientific, according to Henry Brougham's definition of 'science' in 1827:

> *'Science…in its most comprehensive sense only means Knowledge, and in its ordinary sense means Knowledge reduced to a System; that is arranged in a regular order, so as to be conveniently taught, easily remembered, and readily applied.'*[70]

Historians of science have asserted that little gap existed between scientific and other forms of cultural expression before the nineteenth century; [71] this proximity is evident in the language that continued to be used to describe journalising. The diary Mr John Newton kept and then published in the late eighteenth century provided 'repeated proofs' of his discretions,[72] just as Jane Bennett's pocket book provided proof of an event; it is 'observations' on herself

[67] R.D. Lund, 'The Eel of Science: Index Learning, Scriblerian Satire, and the Rise of Information Culture', *Eighteenth-Century Life,* 22 (1998), 18-42.
[68] Barchas, *Graphic Design,* 177-9.
[69] Smyth, 'Commonplace Book Culture', 91.
[70] Brougham, *Objects, Advantages and Pleasures,* 6.
[71] Freddi, Korte & Schmied, 'Developments and Trends,' 224.
[72] J. Newton, *An Authentic Narrative of Some Remarkable and Interesting Particulars in the Life of Mr Newton* (Philadelphia, 1795), 95.

and her surroundings that Samuel Johnson encouraged Hester Thrale to keep in her journal.[73] That these diaries were held to such standards had implications for other aspects of the content and style of self-writing prescribed in the late eighteenth century. The first chapter demonstrated that fact, and brevity and conciseness of expression were perceived to be linked in the early eighteenth century. The next section will explore the manner in which this interaction developed after 1750, and what more it reveals of the diary as a factual form.

IV. Style: Brevity and Selectivity

In the eighteenth century, brevity and succinctness were recommended as important considerations in writing. Plain prose was lauded in the *Spectator* and hailed by other writers.[74] 'Conciseness…is one of Aristotle's admirable precepts',[75] wrote one author, and it was seen as a quality applicable to many different forms. Poetry,[76] sermons,[77] letter-writing,[78] story-telling[79] and even speaking[80] were all deemed to benefit from economy of expression. 'If the world be promiscuously described,' wrote Samuel Johnson in 1750, 'I cannot see of

[73] Pottle, *Thraliana*, 1.
[74] C. McIntosh, *The Evolution of English Prose, 1700-1800* (Cambridge, 1998), 2.
[75] R. Bage, *Barham Downs* (1784), 222.
[76] *The Beauties of Poetry Display'd, Containing Observations on the Different Species of Poetry,* Vol. 1 (2 vols, 1757), v.
[77] J. Claude, *An Essay on the Composition of a Sermon* (1788), 28.
[78] Letter to *The Rambler,* Nov. 1750 in *Moore's British Classics, Vol. 1: Containing Dr Johnson's Rambler, and Lord Littleton's Persian Letters* (Dublin, 1793), 163.
[79] Maria Edgeworth wrote that 'a plain unvarnished tale is preferable to the most highly ornamented narrative' (*Castle Rackrent*, v).
[80] *The History of Man: Displaying various Powers, Faculties, Capacities, Virtues, Vices…,* Vol. 1 (2 vols, 1746), 201.

what use it can be to read the account.'[81] Benjamin Franklin agreed; 'nothing should be expressed in two words that can be expressed in one.'[82]

Private diary-keeping was no exception. The popularity of the long, reflective prose journal may have continued – encouraged by the form of many published autobiographies – but alongside what J. Paul Hunter has termed a 'triumph' of 'detailed circumstantiality',[83] an emphasis on brevity developed as a parallel critique in popular print. Nascent ideas of brevity in journal-keeping from the early eighteenth century developed and multiplied by its second half. Instruction and comment on the keeping of a diary, and writing that satirised the practice, recommended conciseness and careful selection of content. Some were very explicit in communicating their belief that long, involved self-accounting was simply a waste of time. In his essay on 'Diaries', Isaac D'Israeli warned his readers of falling into the same trap as those who 'would write when they had nothing to write'. 'To write everything', he asserted in 1817, 'may end in something like nothing.'[84] This perception was shared by reviewers of published diaries in several periodicals throughout the later eighteenth and early nineteenth centuries. At *The Critical Review,* a favourite criticism of published diaries or journals – including travel journals – was their 'unnecessary minuteness',[85] a phrase also used in reviews in other papers.[86] It also appeared

[81] S. Johnson in *The Rambler,* 31 Oct. 1750.
[82] B. Franklin, cited in C. Lupton, 'Sincere Performances: Franklin, Tillotson and Steel on the Plain Style', *Eighteenth-Century Studies,* 40 (2007), 177. Stuart Sherman also notes the opprobrium to excessive detail that existed in this period (*Telling Time,* 160).
[83] Hunter, *Before Novels,* 311.
[84] I. D'Israeli, 'Diaries: Moral, Historical and Critical', in *Curiosities of Literature,* Vol. 3 (1817), unpaginated online edition.
[85] See, for example, Review of 'Young's Travels in the Years 1787, 88, 89', in *The Critical Review,* Aug. 1792; Review of 'The Memoirs of Dr Priestley', in *The Critical Review,* Feb. 1807.

as a common criticism in *The Universal Magazine* in the same period. One article published in May, 1800 described the diary of Elias Ashmole, 'a few minutes from which will probably entertain our readers, and show what consequence great men may affix to little things.'[87]

The most common form of commentary was the continuation of satire that poked fun at diary keeping. The persistent influence of the *Spectator*'s satirical takes on the journalizing efforts of 'Clarinda' and 'the young spark' from the beginning of the century is clear. In the later eighteenth century and into the nineteenth, both diarist and diary were subjects of derision, the diarist inevitably fashionable and vacuous, and the diary rambling and filled with 'monotonous habits'[88] recounted in excessive detail. There are numerous examples; in 1748 *The Important Triflers: A Satire* took the form of a journal 'of pastime a-la-mode' detailing the daily activity of 'young people of fashion' in hourly detail.[89] In 1753, *Letters to a Gentleman of Fortune* contained a seven-day diary kept by a woman of high fashion, deliberately dull, circumstantial and full of banal detail.[90] Seven years later the 'Diary of a Cit on Sunday' appeared in *The Connoisseur*, similarly composed of inane observations.[91] 'The Journal of a Libertine' appeared in *The Babbler* in 1770,[92] and extracts from the journal of a 'modern fine gentleman' in

[86] See, for example, Review of G. Vancouver's 'Voyage of Discovery to the North Pacific Ocean', in *The Oracle,* 28 Sept. 1798.
[87] *The Universal Magazine,* May 1800.
[88] D'Israeli, 'Diaries.'
[89] T. Brecknock, *The Important Triflers: A Satire* (1748), 5.
[90] L. Vane, *Letters to a Gentleman of Fortune* (1753), 32-7.
[91] G. Colman, *The Connoisseur. By Mr Town, Critic and Censor General,* Vol. 1 (2 vols, 1755-6), 153-54.
[92] H. Kelly, *The Babler. Consisting of Original Essays, on the Most Interesting and Familiar Topics,* Vol. 1 (2 vols, Dublin, 1770), 216-19.

The London Magazine in 1777.[93] 'Lord G-----'s Journal,' a 'specimen of the new mode of Miscellaneous Memoir' was printed in one issue of the *Critical Review* in 1785,[94] and a 'Journal of two days in the life of a lady of Paris' in the *Universal Magazine* in 1802.[95]

Criticism in these satires targeted the content of these diaries as much as the 'fine gentlemen', ladies of 'high fashion', cits, sparks, fops and libertines who kept them. All of the journal entries in the examples above are characterised by inane detail and excessive circumstantiality; the precise opposite of the plain, unadorned style so lauded in popular print and commentary. In the 'Diary of a Cit on Sunday', for instance, the eponymous cit notes 'Sunday –Overslept myself –Did not rise till nine –Was a full hour in pulling on my new double-channel'd pumps…'.[96] In such examples, excessive detail is inversely proportional to the productivity, organisation and management skills of the individual writing it. Implicit in these extracts is the notion that a more organised, productive individual would write briefer and more succinct entries –and, indeed, that a better-organised and more concisely constructed diary might encourage a more productive and better-managed lifestyle. In both spiritual and secular writing, the practice was portrayed as being unproductive, symptomatic of badly organised time, and a distraction from the experience of living. In a collection of the biographies of pious individuals, *Biographical Collections* (1766), the

[93] 'Extracts from the Journal of a Modern Fine Gentleman, Found in the Pocket-Book of Thomas Willimot Spangle, Esq.', *London Magazine,* Jan. 1777.
[94] *The Critical Review,* Dec. 1785.
[95] *The Universal Magazine,* Oct. 1802.
[96] Colman, *The Connoisseur,* 153.

spiritual self-accounting habits of Mrs Elizabeth Baker are recounted as follows, with advice to the reader about their own efforts:

> *'Her diary records her trouble when causelessly she had neglected any ordinance; or was hindered by rain, or small occasions: or if she had overslept herself, and lost a morning exercise in London, or came too late, or if she were distracted in a secret duty[…]. Though all ought not to spend so much time in writing down their failings, yet all should watch and renew repentance.'*[97]

Self-accounting is encouraged, but excessive detail and time spent doing so are not. The onus here is particularly on noting individual failings, but noting life events more generally in too much detail was also criticised. Over forty years later, in 1809, evangelical writer Hannah More discouraged extensive reliance on a diary in a similar tone. While diary-keeping was 'useful to many pious Christians', the subject of her story, a lady, 'spent so much time in weighing the offences of one day against those of another that before the scruple was settled, the time for action was past.' It brought the woman 'into perplexity', More wrote, 'that her difficulties were augmented by the very means she had employed to remove them.'[98] Here, extensive diary-writing and excessive detail is the undoing of More's subject, who chose to spend more time at her diary than having experiences for herself.

More was not the only writer to encourage her readers to spend a minimal amount of time keeping a diary. In order to counter the temptation to over-write, many writers offered solutions. James Boswell resolved: 'I should not live more than I can record, as one should not have more corn growing than one can get

[97] R. Baxter, *Biographical Collections: or Lives and Characters* (1766), 13.
[98] H. More, *Coelebs in Search of a Wife* (1809); this edn, in *The Works of Hannah More,* Vol. 7 (1853), 115.

in.'[99] Others, rather less drastically, set an explicit limit on the amount of time to be spent, or the regularity with which an individual should journalise. In *Letters from a Parent on the Education of Children* (1800), the author 'Mr Langridge' advised young people on the utility of a diary but cautioned them to pace themselves (with my emphasis):

> *'I would have you use a kind of diary or journal, to which no-one may have access but yourself: **if you only write in this once a week**, it will be useful to preserve everything which particularly affects your mind, especially of a religious nature…**I would not have you fill these blank books too soon**…but at any rate let no week pass without adding something to your remarks, if it be only six lines; tho' I certainly wish you not to oppress yourself.'*[100]

Do not limit yourself, he writes; but at the same time, do not feel the need to write excessively, or too frequently. Several years later, William Cobbett took it even further, and actively encouraged self-accounting in a minute. In his *Advice to Young Men* he described one of the attractions of journalising being that it demanded 'not more than a minute in twenty-four hours.'[101]

For others, the way of avoiding excessive minuteness was not minimising the length of time spent at the diary, but being selective about what was written in it. Echoing Boswell's solution, an article in the *London Magazine* in 1783 explained:

> *'It is a work of very great labour and difficulty to keep a journal of life. […] I do not think it possible to do it unless one has a peculiar talent for abridging. A man should not live more than he can record…the important events and larger circumstances may be daily committed to writing. But he must not stop to examine the springs, or point out the detail.'*[102]

The author here explicitly advocates 'abridging' and encourages his readers not to waste time on the 'springs' and 'detail', but focus instead on only significant

[99] J. Wain (ed.), *The Journals of James Boswell 1761-95* (1992), ix.
[100] Mr Langridge, *Letters from a Parent on the Education of Children* (1800), 42.
[101] Cobbett, *Advice to Young Men,* 74.
[102] *The London Magazine,* Mar. 1783.

events and circumstances. Similar advice was given in other, more instructive literature. Extracts from *A Letter from a Father to his Daughter at Boarding School* appear in numerous periodicals and publications in the final quarter of the eighteenth century, and the nineteenth.[103] Reminiscent of Lord Chesterfield's *Advice to his Son*, one of many kernels of wisdom offered by the father to his daughter is that she keep a diary, but should be discerning about what she 'rejects' and 'retains' there; 'nothing which is trifling may be allowed a place in your collection.'[104] This has echoes of the 'Verses sent to a Lady, with a Pocket Book' from *The Gentleman's Magazine* earlier in the century;[105] both sources promote diaries as repositories of useful, valuable and 'remarkable' information, rather than tattle and idle gossip. Diarists were expected to be discerning and concise. Discerning selection of content was not just applicable to self-accounting of a diaristic sort, either; in his letters, Lord Chesterfield advised against keeping 'an account of the shillings and half-crowns which you may spend in chair-hire, opera &c.' and to leave such 'minutiae to dull, penny-wise fellows.'[106]

These were not J. Paul Hunter's collections of 'flotsam and jetsam', therefore, but important records of useful information, the recording of which should be an important and skilled – if brief – part of regular activity. Much of this was to do with routine: a regularly, succinctly kept diary was the symbol, and a tool, of a well-organised life, as it was in the early eighteenth century. It was also a reaction to the over-long, rambling autobiographies published in this period. Yet

[103] See, for example, 'A Widow', *The Marriage Offering* (Rotherham, 1847), 46-7.
[104] *Letter from A Father*, 24.
[105] 'Verses sent to a Lady, with a Pocket Book', in *The Gentleman's Magazine: and Historical Chronicle,* Jan. 1753.
[106] Earl of Chesterfield, *Lord Chesterfield's Advice to his Son, on Men and Manners* (1777), 28.

the brevity encouraged here was also a symptom of the perception of the diary as a factual, informational and even scientific form. I pointed, in Chapter One, to the implicit links that were understood to exist between factual forms and concise expression. In commentary in the later eighteenth century – both that which related to diarizing, and which related more broadly to other forms – the connection was explicit. There was a sense that plain speech was synonymous with truth in this period, while the rhetoric commonly associated with politeness constituted a 'form of insincerity' and hypocrisy.[107] In his *Lectures on Rhetoric and Belles Lettres,* dating from around 1763, Adam Smith explicitly stated the link between concise writing and more factual pursuits. He advocated short sentences and concise expression, but warned that really 'concise expressions and short turned periods are proper only for historians who narrate facts barely as they are.'[108]

In science, too, the association was made between brevity and knowledge of a scientific or numerical form. In 1827, Henry Brougham's praise of the 'plain language' of science [109] echoed Thomas Sprat's commendation of the 'mathematical plainness' of language encouraged by the Royal Society, 150 years before.[110] For both, brevity signified precision and accuracy of measurement. It was in instructions for travel journals that the models promoted reached new

[107] Lupton, 'Sincere Performances', 179-82; See also B. Kafka, 'Paperwork: The State of the Discipline', *Book History,* 12 (2009), 340-53; Shapiro, *A Culture of Fact,* 200. Shapiro writes predominantly of seventeenth-century print forms, but the same is true of later eighteenth-century instructions and commentary on diary-keeping.
[108] J. C. Bryce (ed.), *The Glasgow Edition of the Works and Correspondence of Adam Smith, Vol. 4, Lectures on Rhetoric and Belles Lettres* (6 vols, Oxford, 1983; this edn, 2014), 5.
[109] Brougham, *Objects, Advantages and Pleasures,* 46.
[110] T. Sprat, *The History of the Royal Society of London, For the Improving of Natural Knowledge* (1667), 113.

heights of forensic precision and conciseness; travel, as Jacob Soll has written, became synonymous with empirical observation.[111] The advice given to travellers betrays the enduring influence of the guidelines for voyagers produced by the Royal Society in the late seventeenth century and encountered in Chapter One, which commanded concise, abbreviated records of every conceivable form.[112] In the introduction to the *Journal…Made on a Trip from Aleppo to Bussora* (1789) the author Henry Abbott remarked disgruntledly that 'as now every branch of knowledge is brought to such a height of perfection' there was no longer any room for sacrificing 'veracity' for 'amusement'.[113]One edition of the *Critical Review* in 1812, a review of J.E. Smith's translation of Linnaeus' *A Tour in Lapland,* explained that

> *'the most valuable documents in this line of writing are the diaries of intelligent travellers, written in the fresh moments of observation, before the rhetorician or the logician has usurped the office of the observer of nature and faithful recorder of facts.'*[114]

Such guidelines placed rhetorical excesses in opposition to the faithful recording of facts. A sermon given in 1796 also stated it explicitly. It explained that missionaries sent to South Sea Islands had been instructed not to provide 'specious accounts…but simple narratives of facts and observations.'[115] Advice literature later in the nineteenth century agreed, encouraging only the recording of 'facts and impressions', and advising individuals to be 'cautious' and control their minds' 'unconquerable theorizing tendency.'[116] The Royal Society itself was

[111] J. Soll, 'From Note-Taking to Data Banks: Personal and Institutional Information Management in Early Modern Europe', *Intellectual History Review,* 20 (2010), 363.
[112] 'Directions for Observations and Experiments to be made by Masters of Ships, Pilots and other Fit Persons in their Sea Voyages', *Philosophical Transactions of the Royal Society* (1667).
[113] H. Abbott, *A Journal…made on a trip from Aleppo to Bussora* (Calcutta, 1789), 5.
[114] *Critical Review,* Jul. 1812.
[115] *A Sermon and Charge delivered at Sion-Chapel, London, July 28 1796* (1796), 68.
[116] Martineau, *How to Observe,* 234.

not immune from criticism in this area either; as Palmira Da Costa has pointed out, eighteenth-century satires of the Society drew on the 'overuse of circumstantial detail and its close association with triviality' seen to characterise its publications.[117] Selectivity therefore distinguished the pointed analysis of the scientific observer from the unfocused curiosity of the mere amateur.[118] Thus the advice given in the *London Magazine* in 1783 to ignore the 'springs' and 'detail' of life when diarizing was closer to that given in scientific pursuits, not to get mired in minutiae, than it was to the example set by more literary autobiography, which privileged specifics and particularities.

The strands of thought identified in the early eighteenth century that advocated discernment in self-accounting, and brevity and succinctness in record-keeping, persisted to 1850. Through the form of published diaries, the commentary that accompanied them, articles that critically reviewed them, and satires that poked fun at the practice, aspiring and existing diarists were encouraged to be concise and comprehensive in their self-accounting practices. That is not to say that they were encouraged to skip it altogether; as one Anglican minister wrote in 1798, 'there should be no break in our time, no blank in our diary.'[119] However, it does challenge the perception that this period was one in which the detailed account 'triumphed'. Certainly, published journals were popular, but a parallel narrative instructed individuals to exercise discrimination and selectivity when writing

[117] P. F. Da Costa, 'The Making of Extraordinary Facts: Authentication of Singularities of Nature at the Royal Society of London in the First Half of the Eighteenth Century', *Studies in History and Philosophy of Science,* 33 (2002), 284.
[118] M-N. Bourguet, 'A Portable World: The Notebooks of European Travellers (Eighteenth to Nineteenth Centuries)', *Intellectual History Review,* 20 (2010), 382; L. Daston, 'The Empire of Observation, 1600-1800', in L. Daston & E. Lunbeck (eds), *Histories of Scientific Observation* (Chicago, 2011), 100.
[119] T. Neve, *Seventeen Sermons on Various Subjects* (Oxford, 1798), 263.

their own. In fact, it almost advocated against using those published as a model for their own journalising. Diary-keeping should be a constructive, rather than an obstructive activity, and conciseness and selectivity were promoted as ways of achieving that. Above all, diaries were understood to be a factual form in this period, and coupled with the brevity, succinctness and methodical organisation lauded at the same time, they were an almost scientific one. Brevity and method were stylistic accessories to the factual content encouraged in individual journalizing; together, they enabled individuals to organise themselves efficiently.

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The subtly communicated, prescriptive ideals of diarizing that characterised early eighteenth-century satire and instruction were more explicitly advocated after 1749. The model promoted was a prescriptive one, based on very particular ideals of style and content. Writing should be brief, concise and well-selected; content should be rooted in fact. All of it should be managed and temporally ordered. More than that, contemporary sources offered a model not only of the form and content of the diary, but of the process of keeping it too: how frequently, how long for, and on how regular a basis. It was a holistic ideal to be carried out with skill and precision, which would serve the diarist in the organisation of their affairs.

The diary was not only perceived to serve this practical, organisational purpose; it was treated as a reference work, subject to the same expectations as printed

works, to be maintained and updated by its owner. The brief, factual, and at times forensic method of journalising encouraged in late eighteenth- and early nineteenth-century print defies the traditional, historiographical idea – and popular impression – of the diary as a proto-literary form. Instead it was scientific; an index or encyclopaedia which enabled the individual to review the facts of their life and plan accordingly. It was the function of an informational culture in which fact and knowledge were privileged, as well as their use and practical value. The promotion of the diary as an organisational form links the practice of self-writing to broader, Enlightenment values of utility and functionality. Historians have pointed to the emphasis given in the eighteenth century, particularly in science and knowledge projects, to the translation of theoretical knowledge into practical benefit.[120] In a similar way, in printed commentary, self-writing became of practical use. Indeed, given that in many of its features, this model of diarizing is an embodiment of the rationalism and pared-down systematisation that was seen to be characteristic of Enlightenment thought, its persistence into the early years of the nineteenth century is significant. In a period typically associated with Romanticism, the continued association of forms of self-writing with standards of conciseness, method and fact acted as a common thread that linked the two; Enlightenment rationale was applied to the archetypally Romantic, individualistic and introspective practice of self-writing.

[120] Golinski, 'Utility and Audience', 12; L. Stewart, *The Rise of Public Science: Rhetoric, Technology and Natural Philosophy in Newtonian Britain, 1660-1750* (Cambridge, 1992), xxxi-xxxii. For the role of the idea of utility in other Enlightenment pursuits see J. Gascoigne, *Joseph Banks and the English Enlightenment: Useful Knowledge and Polite Culture* (Cambridge, 1994), 30. For the debates over the utility of philosophical ideas see J. Israel, *Enlightenment Contested: Philosophy, Modernity and the Emancipation of Man 1670-1752* (Oxford, 2006), 734.

The strands of commentary explored here did not represent an all-encompassing shift in the way self-writing was perceived and practised in this period. The literary autobiographical works that continued to be published and, as we will see, the practices of individual diarists, reveal that lengthy, reflective diarizing persisted. Indeed, Stuart Sherman has challenged the idea that these two forms – the precise, concise 'logging' of information on one hand, and the extended, narrative prose account on the other – were so cleanly separated, arguing instead for their interaction.[121] Subsequent chapters will explore the way they – and the motives behind them – functioned together in the habits of individual diarists.

It is undoubtedly the case, however, that commentary promoting diarizing as the logging and recording of information had gained momentum by the late eighteenth century. John Brewer has written that in this period, facts were gathered with an end in mind.[122] He was referring to projects of fact collecting on a national scale, but it was true on an individual level too. A new genre of diary went on sale in 1748 for use in 1749, which enshrined this perception of the diary as a non-literary form and accommodated and encouraged ideals of self-organisation, brevity and fact in diary-keeping that were so lauded in the print of the period. The next chapter will look at this form more closely, to identify precisely what 'ends' the diary encouraged its owner to reach, and which features of this information culture it drew on to do so.

[121] Sherman, *Telling Time,* 160.
[122] Brewer, *Sinews of Power*, 222.

Chapter 4

Models of Self-Writing in the Pre-Printed Diary

On the 15th of December 1748, London bookseller Robert Dodsley placed an advertisement for his 'New Memorandum Book' in the *London Evening Post.*[1] 'Consisting of fifty-two double pages, one for every week in the year', it presented the diarist with a tabulated form to enter daily 'Engagements, Expences and Occasional Business.' These pages were sandwiched between two hundred additional pages of useful information – hackney coach times, tables of interest, lists of members of parliament – and instructive essays. This advertisement marked the advent of an entirely new print form. Dodsley's *Memorandum Book* was the first of what would become a long-lived and avidly-used genre.

This chapter argues that the printed form of this genre of diary promoted the late eighteenth- and early nineteenth-century appetite for knowledge, and reflected the processes of its popularisation that developed in this period. This diary encouraged the practice of diarizing as a form of information gathering, and self-writing as a practical, functional pursuit. To a greater extent than the lined pages of an account book, or the temporal order of an almanac's calendar, the printed content of the commercial diary was overtly prescriptive about the entries made there. It combined recognisable aspects of earlier self-writing

[1] Advertisement for R. Dodsley's 'New Memorandum Book', *London Evening Post,* 15-17 Dec. 1748.

books, like almanacs, with innovations in content and structure to promote a method of diary-keeping unlike any other that had gone before it.

Analysis in this chapter is based on an understanding of the potential of the printed form of these diaries to enshrine and communicate a shared cultural ethos and promote particular values. The power of the printed form of other genres, especially books, to reflect 'collective consent' on particular modes of behaviour is well-established.[2] However, its role in this genre has often been overlooked. It is partly to do with difficulties of classification: these diaries are rarely explored in their entirety, as *both* printed ephemera and manuscript diary. Historians of self-writing prioritize their diaristic content, while historians of eighteenth-century print culture pay only passing attention to the fact that these are diaries as much as printed works. An early analysis of the genre by Anne Buck and Harry Matthews, published in 1984, conceptualised ladies' pocket books as 'printed fashion guides,'[3] and set the parameters of discussion in an unhelpful way: many studies continue to bypass the unique opportunity offered by the genre to consider perceptions and practices of self-writing side-by-side.[4] This study contributes to a lively, growing field of inquiry that considers the impact of printed form on the personal inscriptions these diaries contained.[5]

[2] A. Johns, *The Nature of the Book: Print and Knowledge in the Making* (Chicago, 1998), 3.

[3] A. Buck & H. Matthews, 'Pocket Guides to Fashion: Ladies' Pocket Books Published in England, 1760-1830', *Costume,* 18 (1984), 35-58.

[4] See J. Batchelor, 'Fashion and Frugality: Eighteenth-Century Pocket Books for Women', *Studies in Eighteenth-Century Culture,* 32 (2003), 3-4; S. Jung, 'Thomas Stothard's Illustrations for the Royal Engagement Pocket Atlas, 1779-1826', *The Library,* 12 (2011), 3-22; S. Jung, 'Illustrated Pocket Diaries and the Commodification of Culture', *Eighteenth-Century Life,* 37 (2013), 53-84; A. Leis, 'Displaying Art and Fashion: Ladies Pocket-Book Imagery in the Paper Collections of Sarah Sophia Banks', *Journal of Art History,* 82 (2013), 252-71.

[5] Existing studies in this growing field provide an invaluable guide to the genre: see C. Huff, 'Textual Boundaries: Space in Nineteenth Century Women's Manuscript Diaries', in S. L. Bunkers & C. Huff (eds), *Inscribing the Daily: Critical Essays on Women's Diaries* (Amherst, 1996), 123-138; M. McCarthy,

The idea of diarizing as both a practical tool and an empirical, scientific exercise in knowledge acquisition was promoted in these diaries in a variety of ways. The first section of this chapter will examine the source material upon which analysis here is based. Subsequent sections will then look more closely at the two models of diarizing that the form encouraged. By analysing printed form here and written content in the next chapter, I am not attempting to perpetuate or emulate the unhelpful division between print and manuscript that has characterized much scholarship on this genre. Rather, the intention is to understand the models of behaviour promoted in these forms, in order to better grasp the way individuals responded when they encountered them.

I. Sources and Methodology

Contemporary commentary suggests that as a genre, these pocket books were numerous in title and widely used in the late eighteenth century and the early nineteenth. A letter to the printer of *Lloyd's Evening Post* in 1761 reeled off the 'bewildering' range of 'almanacks, ephemerides, palladiums, diaries, court and city registers, &c. &c. &c.'[6] Similarly, an advert printed in the *London Magazine* for the 'Literary Pocket Book' in 1821 expressed the publisher's hesitation at 'swelling the catalogues' of 'previous animals of this class.'[7] As 'jobbing' stock

The Accidental Diarist: A History of the Daily Planner in America (Chicago, 2013). For an especially thorough and engaging exploration of the issues surrounding the interaction of print and handwritten entries in this genre of diary, see R. Steinitz, *Time, Space and Gender in the Nineteenth Century British Diary* (Basingstoke, 2011).

[6] *Lloyd's Evening Post,* 16-18 Dec. 1761.

[7] Advertisement for 'The Literary Pocket Book,' *The London Magazine,* Jan. 1821.

vital to publishers' trade,[8] they were a lucrative choice for purveyors of high-brow literature, stationers, the members of the so-called 'Paternoster Tribe'[9] in London, as well as for sellers in other regions. These diaries were regionally-specific and became increasingly specialised, tailored to particular audiences. One company had particular success in producing specialized titles: Lett's sold their first diary in 1812; by 1836 they were selling 28 different titles; and by 1862 had developed 55.[10]

The sample of 150 pre-printed diaries upon which analysis here is based reflects the size, scope and variety that characterised this facet of the late eighteenth-century publishing and bookselling trade. The principles which guided their selection were described in full in the Introduction: what follows is an outline of the key characteristics of this body of source material. The diaries in this sample span a one-hundred year period: the earliest dates from 1750, and the latest from 1850. Their popularity and commercial success is represented in the fact that, within this sample alone, there are at least 68 different booksellers and publishers[11] listed as the vendors of over 40 different titles;[12] the title pages of several simply state, 'sold by all booksellers.'[13] The sale and availability of regional titles is reflected in the geographical variety of those consulted here:

[8] J. Raven, *Publishing Business in Eighteenth-Century England* (Woodbridge, 2014), 204.
[9] Phrase coined in H. Dell's poem, *The Booksellers* (1766).
[10] Steinitz, *Time, Space and Gender,* 3.
[11] This number is based on the total number of vendors named on the title pages of these diaries. If anything it is a conservative estimate: references to other sellers 'in town and country' suggest that they were sold by more than those who were named. As far as possible, this number takes into account changing business partnerships between booksellers, counting individual vendors operating on their own and in partnership with others as two separate entities.
[12] As far as possible, this number does not take semantic changes in these titles into account; so, for example, *The Ladies Most Elegant and Convenient Pocket Book* and *The Ladies Most Elegant and Useful Lottery Pocket Book* were the same publication.
[13] HL, ST 118 v.7, *The Regent* (1834).

those produced in London were also sold in Southampton, Norwich, Exeter, Birmingham, and Salisbury. In addition, this group of sources contains region-specific volumes printed for Liverpool, Newcastle, Exeter, Kent, Birmingham, Yorkshire, Hampshire and Norwich. These were also on sale in London and other areas; the *New Birmingham Directory,* for example, was also sold in Coventry.[14] Alongside generic categories of 'gentlemen, merchants and tradesmen' and 'ladies' in this sample are also those aimed at naturalists, farmers, graziers, students, 'young gentlemen,' Christians, clergymen, and hop-planters.

The "&c. &c. &c.'[15] in the letter to *Lloyd's Evening Post* in 1761 suggests that contemporaries treated the genre of the commercial diary as one unitary category, perceiving little distinction between particular titles. It is important to recognise that there were some differences; the *Farmer's Complete Accompt Book,* for example, provided space intended specifically for noting money spent on hay and livestock, which the rather more refined *Royal Engagement Pocket Atlas* did not. Similarly, *Peacock's Polite Repository* was one of several titles that provided decorative plates and separated the space for accounts from that for engagements, in a way that *Baldwin's Daily Journal* did not. However, these diaries were characterised as much by similarity as they were by difference. All the titles considered here, whether printed in 1750 or 1840, for a London or West-Country audience, for a 'lady' or 'tradesman', shared certain essentials

[14] BOD, Gough Warwicks. 15(2), *New Birmingham Directory* (1774).† The trade in these diaries between London and other areas confirms what John Feather has called the 'interdependence' of the London and country vendors, a relationship evident in other aspects of the production process of these diaries: the printers of Robert Dodsley's *Memorandum Book,* Simmons and Kirkby, were based in Canterbury. See J. Feather, *The Provincial Book Trade in Eighteenth-Century England* (Cambridge, 1985), 10.

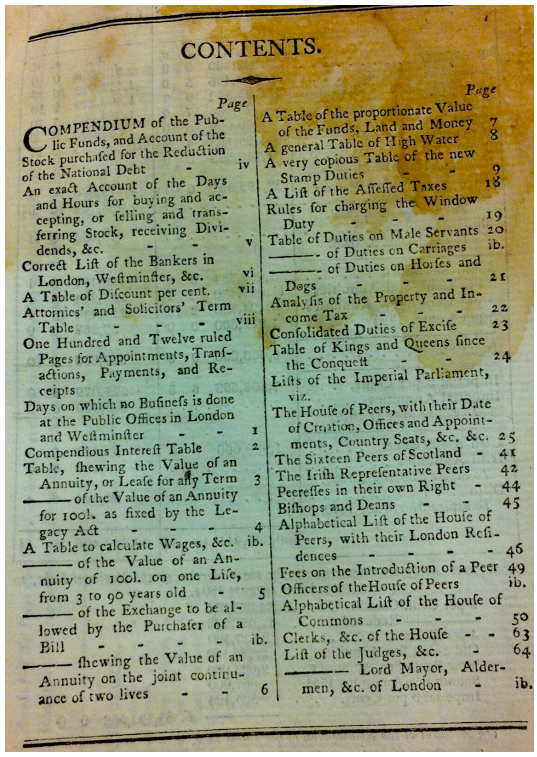
[15] *Lloyd's Evening Post,* 16-18 Dec. 1761.

when it came to content. All provided useful information; all provided a space for the notation of memorandums, appointments and financial accounts; almost all, at some stage in their development, gave their users instructions on the purpose and best use of the product; all were advertised in ways that emphasised their utility, and capacity to amuse.

Analysis here will therefore explore the aspects of the printed content of the commercial diary that were common to the majority of titles, while also allowing for, and where relevant, acknowledging, variation. Principal among the particular aspects considered here is the 'Preface', 'Introduction' or 'Explanation' printed after the title and contents page. These varied –some exhorted the value of keeping an account of time and money;[16] others provided a helpful demonstration of how to fill the diary out.[17] All were intended to promote the diaries' use and value. They appear most commonly, and most consistently, in Baldwin's *Daily Journals*, although it is J. Johnson's *The Country Gentleman's Companion* for 1795[18] that is the last of any of the titles in my sample to include this sort of explanatory preface. The fact that it was dropped after this date suggests that publishers assumed their customers were familiar with the format, another indicator of their popularity.

[16] BL, RB.23.a.26479, *The Daily Journal; or the Gentleman's and Tradesman's Methodical Account Book for the Pocket* (1752), ii.†
[17] BL, 10349.e.15, *The Liverpool Memorandum Book; or Gentleman's, Merchant's and Tradesman's Daily Pocket Journal* (1753), Preface.†
[18] BL, RB.23.a.8946, *The Country Gentleman's Companion* (1795).

The next aspect considered here is the 'useful information', or 'useful particulars'[19] printed before and after the diary section. Every diary in my sample, even the most decorative, was printed with a directory of such information (Fig. 1). As we will see, the content varied between titles.



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Fig.1. Contents page taken from the *Daily Journal* for 1805 (LA, DIXON/7/4/6).

Lastly, the prose essays included in these diaries constitute the final area of examination. They were not as common as the useful information, and varied in content. Up to and including Baldwin's *Daily Journal* for 1798, their content was both informative and instructive: from 'Rules for Bad Horsemen'[20] and 'How to Walk…In Frosty Weather'[21] to 'An Infallible Cure for Hard Times.'[22] In the

[19] HL, 319699 v.1, *The Daily Journal; Or the Gentleman's, Merchant's and Tradesman's Complete Annual Accompt-Book* (1772), Title Page.
[20] BOD, MS. Eng.misc.fol.71, *The Daily Journal; or the Gentleman's and Tradesman's Complete Annual Accompt-Book* (1763), 90-2.
[21] LA, DIXON/7/4/2, *The Daily Journal; Or the Gentleman's, Merchant's and Tradesman's Complete Annual Accompt-Book* (1788), 28.
[22] Ibid. 16.

diaries after 1798, however, they were exclusively informational, limited to scientific observations, historical events and political news from the preceding year. In the manner of reference texts of the period,[23] much of this content – both instructive and informational - was borrowed from contemporary literature. This borrowing suggests that the diaries were intended by their publishers to reflect current trends, and perhaps shaped them in turn.

The analysis that follows will be organized thematically. The first two sections will consider the utility of this diary format in organizing time and money. The final section will consider the idea of the pre-printed diary as a reference work; the dictates of style and organisation that accompanied it, and its implications for the diarist and the practice of diarizing.

II. Pre-Printed Diaries and the Utility of Diarizing: Managing Time

'The great art in writing advertisements,' Joseph Addison wrote in the *Tatler* in 1710, 'is the finding out a proper method to catch the reader's eye'.[24] For the vendors and publishers of these diaries, this method was promoting the utility of the genre as its unique selling point. An advert for Baldwin's *Daily Journal* in 1752 described the diary as a 'useful book';[25] three years later it and others were

[23] See N. E. Osselton, 'Alphabet Fatigue and Compiling Consistency in Early English Dictionaries', in J. Considine & G. Iamartino (eds), *Words and Dictionaries from the British Isles in Historical Perspective* (Cambridge, 2007), 85; P. Tankard, 'Reference Point: Samuel Johnson and the Encyclopaedias', *Eighteenth Century Life,* 33 (2009), 45.
[24] J. Addison, 'On Advertisements', *Tatler,* 14 Sept. 1710.
[25] Advertisement for 'Books Printed for and Sold by R. Baldwin', 1751.

described as containing 'useful particulars.'[26] Several years after that, *The Ladies Annual Journal* was advertised as 'an useful Register.'[27]

According to these advertisements, this 'utility' derived from numerous aspects of the diary content – its suitability for 'all sorts of business',[28] its 'methodical'[29] format – but principal among its virtues was the diary's capacity to plan time. As we saw in Chapter Three, time was the method by which individuals were expected to structure their own diaries in the eighteenth century and earlier, and it was the method imposed in this pre-formatted genre. Pages were organised to record a weeks' worth of memorandums, observations, appointments and financial accounts, broken down by day. That the diary was arranged by daily unit was a frequently reinforced aspect of its organisation. The *Daily Journal* for 1763 emphasised that its contents were organised 'in the order of TIME throughout the YEAR' and reiterated that it accommodated notes for 'every day in the year'.[30] In his study of clocks and diurnal form in the early modern period, Stuart Sherman compares the daily form of the early modern diary with the 'minute on the clock' as they are both 'the smallest integers of definition within their respective systems'.[31] Just as the temporal precision of the – literally minute – measurements of the clock exerted pressure on individuals to 'self-reckon' with more precision, on a more regular basis, the same can be said of this genre's daily form. The day was a small temporal denominator, which demanded

[26] Advertisement for R. Baldwin's 'Daily Journal'*, The London Advertiser,* 12 Feb. 1755; advertisement for G. Kearsley's 'Pocket Ledger*,' The Whitehall Evening Post,* 23-25 Nov. 1769.
[27] Advertisement for E. Stevens' 'The Ladies Annual Journal,' *The Public Advertiser,* 9 Jan. 1773.
[28] Advertisement for R. Dodsley's 'New Memorandum Book,' *The Whitehall Evening Post,* 19-21 Nov. 1754.
[29] Advertisement for R. Cooper's 'Daily Journal,' *The Whitehall Evening Post,* 14-17 Apr. 1750.
[30] BOD, MS. Eng.misc.fol.71, *The Daily Journal* (1763), Title Page.
[31] S. Sherman, *Telling Time: Clocks, Diaries and English Diurnal Form, 1660-1785* (1996), 93.

a comprehensive account from its owner on a very regular basis.[32] The inclusion of a pencil tucked into the binding of many of these diaries reiterated this message; with both something to write with and something to write on, there was no excuse for not self-accounting frequently and regularly.

The function of these diaries to account for time was also laboured in essays and introductions that highlighted their value. Alongside the 'Addresses from Old Time' that repeatedly appeared in the *Daily Journal* in the second half of the eighteenth century, were printed essays that promoted the same message. One, 'On the Little Regard we Pay to Our Time', pitched its worth in financial terms, a rhetorical device familiar from earlier commentary on the subject:

> *'We are all of us passionately fond of life, yet few of us think of husbanding it with frugality. Tis our chiefest treasure, yet tis the treasure of which we are most regardless; and while we are tremblingly solicitous about the preservation of our money, we squander away our existence with the most prodigal hand.'*[33]

That time should be 'spent' as sparingly and as economically as money was a fitting analogy, given that both forms of self-accounting were accommodated in this genre of diary. The *Daily Journal* for 1769 reiterated the message in a poem 'On the Use and Abuse of Time';[34] in the volume for 1776 was printed an 'Essay on the Employment of Time' which drew the same financial parallels. Just as one should 'take care of the pence, for the pounds will look after themselves', so the diary recommended its user 'to take care of minutes, for hours will take care of

[32] The equivalent form in the American colonies provided an even more precise measurement of the day, with an extra column noting the hour of sunrise and sunset (McCarthy, *The Accidental Diarist,* 75).
[33] BL, RB.23.a.32190, *The Daily Journal, or the Gentleman's and Tradesman's Complete Annual Accompt-Book* (1768), 1.
[34] BL, P.P.2490.d, *The Daily Journal, or the Gentleman's and Tradesman's Complete Annual Accompt-Book* (1769), 1.†

themselves.'[35] Other content –a 'Chronological History of the World from the Creation'[36] in 1750, 'Remarkable Instances of Longevity' in 1785[37] –more subtly reinforced the same message.

The emphasis on time as a precious resource served two purposes. Firstly, it was intended to encourage diary owners to take notice of the way they spent their days and record it; these diaries were, after all, 'the annals of a man's life'[38] and should therefore be as complete – and as 'daily' – as possible. Secondly, and contrary to retrospective prose forms of diary-keeping, it served to emphasise the utility of this genre in planning ahead. Time was important, and should be used effectively; a crucial part of that was planning the future. An important selling point for the *Exeter Pocket Journal,* for example, was that it contained conveniently-formatted space for 'memorandums of business done and appointments of what IS TO BE DONE.' It provided a means by which the 'future may in many instances be regulated.'[39] The printed content of many of these diaries reiterated the importance of effective forward planning, and alluded – not very subtly – to the fact that they provided an ideal format with which to do so. They explained the negative consequences of poor planning; the *Kentish Companion* for 1773 warned that for men it ordinarily ended in 'mistakes in

[35] HRO, 29M65/1, *The Daily Journal; or the Gentleman's, Merchant's and Tradesman's Complete Annual Accompt-Book* (1776), Preface.
[36] NLS, AB.1.76.119, *A Daily Journal* (1750), front printed matter.
[37] NA, DD/P/6/7/2/35, *The Complete Pocket Book, or Gentleman's and Tradesman's Daily Journal* (1785), back printed matter.
[38] BL, RB.23.a.31718, *The Daily Journal* (1767), Preface.
[39] BL, RB.8.a.12, *The Exeter Pocket Journal or West-Country Gentleman and Tradesman's Memorandum Book* (1755), Preface.†

matters of business.'[40] Alternatively, for women, it was pitched as a matter of social etiquette. Newbery's *Ladies Compleat Pocket Book* for 1753 explained that 'there cannot be a greater Affront given to a friend or Neighbour than to fail in our promises, or neglect meeting them at certain places previously agreed on.'[41] An article in *The Gentleman's Magazine* on the value of the ladies' pocket book agreed. The social implications of failing to organise engagements were disastrous:

> *With regard to engagements, it is very well known what embarrassments, jealousies and quarrels have arisen from an erroneous management in that most essential part of female transactions, the paying and receiving of visits…Hence it frequently happens that the body of amity is dissolved, and perpetual variance created between families….These lamentable mistakes are effectually guarded against by the Use of the MEMORANDUM-BOOK...*[42]

Female sociability, therefore, depended on the proper use of these memorandum books for future planning of engagements and appointments. The perceived difference in consequences for men and women is telling of broader, contemporary ideas of gendered fields of activity, and priorities. However, it also confirms that for whatever purpose, and in whatever way the temporal structure of the diary might be used by its owners, future planning was perceived and intended to be a key purpose of this diary form.

These diaries therefore reified in their form the ideas of useful, practical diarizing that were appearing in contemporary print. Their utility rested not only in their capacity to record previous activity, and create the structured record of a life, but also in the opportunity they afforded their owner to record in

[40] BL, RB.573.a.35, *The Kentish Companion or Useful Memorandum and Accompt-Book* (1773), Preface 'To the Public'.
[41] BL, C.136.bb.30, *The Ladies Compleat Pocket-Book* (1753), Preface.
[42] 'Of Memorandum Books', *The Gentleman's Magazine,* 23 Jan. 1753.

the present for the future. These diaries enshrined the idea of retrospectively and prospectively accounting for time in the same place that, as previous chapters have demonstrated, appeared so frequently in popular print, and was practised. Furthermore, the utility of these diaries lay not only in the opportunity they afforded to plan time, but also in the way they encouraged the organisation of money and personal accounting. The next section will explore this aspect of their purpose, and the rhetoric used to encourage it.

III. Financial Self-Management: Money and the Pre-Printed Diary

The utility of purpose that was stressed in advertisements for these diaries was also highlighted within the diaries themselves. Titles indicated that they were 'of universal use to all persons'[43] and 'disposed in a method more useful and convenient for all sorts of business.'[44] Introductions explained how the 'utility of pocket books is so universally known.'[45] A key aspect of this utility was the accommodation of financial accounting in the printed structure of the diary page. As analysis in Chapter Two showed, the combination of financial and diaristic record-keeping in the same place, or side-by-side, was not a novelty in private practice in the late eighteenth century, but this genre of diary was the first form to acknowledge and accommodate the practice in print. Current scholarship foregrounds the link between self-writing and self-accounting, and highlights the

[43] HL, ST 109 v. 1, *The Gentleman's and Tradesman's Pocket Assistant* (1751), Title Page.

[44] BL, P.P.2490.cc, *The New Memorandum Book Improv'd* (1753), Title Page.†

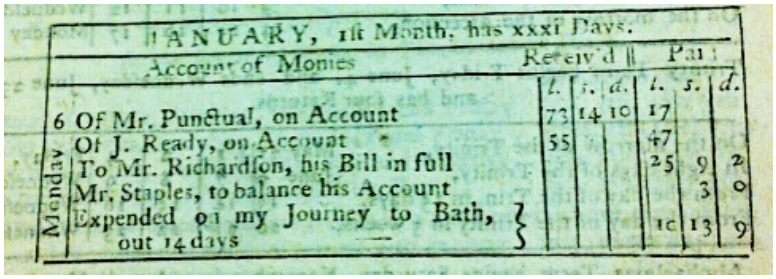
[45] NRS, GD 477/473/3, *The Ladies Most Elegant and Useful Lottery Pocket Book* (1777), Preface. See also the Preface 'To the Public' of *The Kentish Companion* for 1773 *(*BL, RB.573.a.35) for a reference to the 'great utility' of the genre.

origins of diary-keeping in financial record-keeping.[46] The integration of both forms on one page in this genre demonstrates that contemporaries recognised and enacted this interaction.

That financial accounting was promoted as a vital part of what made these diaries both 'novel' and 'useful' is evident as early as the title page in many of these volumes. Titles would describe what followed as both a journal and an 'accompt-book',[47] 'ledger'[48] or 'pocket book'.[49] In the description of content below that, the 'fifty-two pages for receipts and expenses' were often listed first,[50] above the fifty-two pages for noting memorandums and appointments. Introductory prefaces similarly lauded that aspect above other contents: the preface to the 1773 *Kentish Companion*, for example, described the pages contained within as a 'compleat pocket cash book for the whole year.'[51] Introductions to other titles laboured the benefits of accounting regularly and responsibly. Two versions of these diaries by different publishers, and over thirty years apart, featured the simple exhortation: 'O MAN! KEEP THY ACCOMPTS.'[52] Other prefaces were marginally more subtle. 'Old Time' introduced Baldwin's *Daily Journal* for 1752 and, repeating a widely-used phrase, explained sagely, 'he that keeps his accounts will keep his family, but he that

[46] M. Finn, *The Character of Credit: Personal Debt in English Culture 1740-1914* (Cambridge 2003), 64; C. Muldrew, *The Economy of Obligation: The Culture of Credit and Social Relations in Early Modern England* (Basingstoke, 1998), 64; Sherman, *Telling Time,* 49.
[47] For example, *The Daily Journal, or the Gentleman's, Merchant's and Tradesman's Complete Annual Accompt-Book*; *The Country Gentleman's Companion, or the Farmer's Complete Annual Accompt-Book; The Kentish Companion, or Useful Memorandum and Accompt-Book.*
[48] For example, *Kearsley's Gentleman's and Tradesman's Pocket Ledger.*
[49] For example, *The Complete Pocket Book, or Gentleman's and Tradesman's Daily Journal; Marshall's Gentleman's Pocket Book.*
[50] BIA, GDP/125, *The New Memorandum Book Improv'd* (1754), Title Page.
[51] BL, RB.573.a.35, *The Kentish Companion* (1773), Preface 'To the Public'.
[52] NLS, AB.1.76.119, *A Daily Journal* (1750), Preface; NRS, GD 477/473/5, *The Daily Journal; or, the Gentleman's, Merchant's and Tradesman's Complete Annual Accompt-Book* (1781), iii.

keeps no account, will be kept by the parish.'[53] Several introductions featured an example (Fig. 2) of how to fill out the accounts – notably, only the accounts – pages of the diary section. For this model diarist, money received far outweighed money spent.



JANUARY, 1st Month, has xxxi Days.

	Account of Monies	Receiv'd l.	s.	d.	Paid l.	s.	d.
Monday	6 Of Mr. Punctual, on Account	73	14	10	17		
	Of J. Ready, on Account	55			47		
	To Mr. Richardson, his Bill in full				25	9	2
	Mr. Staples, to balance his Account					3	0
	Expended on my Journey to Bath, out 14 days				10	13	9

Fig. 2. The example provided in the introduction to the *Daily Journal* for 1779, which reinforces a message of good financial management (LA, DIXON/7/4/1).

In their opening matter, therefore, these diaries were promoted as a unique, novel way of accounting responsibly, and in turn promoted financial accounting as an integrated, crucial aspect of diary-keeping. At first glance, the lack of similar emphasis in comparable content in women's diaries suggests that self-management was perceived as a principally 'male' pursuit. Where men's diaries were accompt-books and ledgers, women's were 'museums', 'annual journals', 'toilet assistants', 'tablets of memory' and 'cabinets of fashion'; even those with more financially-oriented titles, like 'pocket-' or 'memorandum-book', were 'elegant', 'convenient', 'polite' and 'picturesque'. The printed information in diaries intended for men was heavy with tables and lists that encouraged and aided individual self-management; tables of insurance, opening and closing times of banks and insurance companies, and hackney coach rates. In contrast,

[53] BL, RB.23.a.26479, T*he Daily Journal* (1752).† This saying features in other instructive literature of the period, for example: C. Smart, *An Index to Mankind: Or Maxims Selected from the Wits of All Nations* (1751), 47; L. Gulliver, *The Lilliputian Library, or Gulliver's Museum in Ten Volumes,* Vol. 2 (10 vols, 1782), 64.

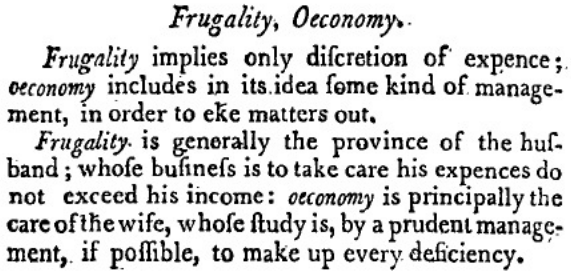
Russell's *Ladies Annual Journal* for 1779 and Baldwin's *Ladies Memorandum Book* for 1794, for example, replaced information about political events and hunting technique with expositions on female dress, marriage, poetry, dance instructions, song lyrics, and advice against late hours for young ladies.[54]

However, there are parallels between this printed content which suggest that the idea of the diary as a useful tool for self-management applied equally to men and women. In women's diaries, information familiar from men's – tables of stock exchanges, interest, marketing and rent, and lists of the rates of coachmen, chairmen and watermen –precedes information on more frivolous pursuits. The *Memorandum Book* for 1765 explains that these tables and lists were included to make the management of domestic affairs easier,[55] but these tables also assume a degree of financial independence on the part of their female user. In tandem with the emphasis on female sociability encouraged in discussions of planning time, they suggest that the woman who used these diaries might have need of information that allowed her to manage her affairs independently. As Rebecca Connor has demonstrated, with close reference to this genre of diary, the features of these diaries reflect the changing image of the female consumer over the course of the eighteenth century, from careless and profligate to shrewd, capable and prudent in her affairs.[56]

[54] BL, RB.23.a.30884, *The Ladies Annual Journal* (1779)†; BL, C.194.a.837, *Ladies Memorandum Book* (1794).
[55] BL, RB.23.a.9263, *The Ladies New Memorandum Book* (1765), Preface.
[56] R. E. Connor, *Women, Accounting and Narrative: Keeping Books in Eighteenth-Century England* (2004). See in particular the first chapter, 'Diary of a Not-So-Mad-Housewife', for close analysis of the pre-printed diary as an account book.

Particularly in earlier titles, this role of the diary as a tool for financial self-management was especially pronounced. Essays provided helpful advice on a whole range of topics – removing stains from linen, dealing with canine madness – as well as instructive lessons in behaviour and improvement. Of those, essays relating to responsible financing highlighted the importance of good 'oeconomy'. It was one of the few topics – aside from the formulaic compendium of useful information – that occurred more than once in the essays contained in the diaries in this sample; evidently the message was deemed important and relevant enough to be repeated.

In the eighteenth and early nineteenth centuries, 'oeconomy' meant the effective management of household and personal resources, both financial and material. In 1783, John Trusler defined oeconomy and frugality in *The Distinction Between Words Esteemed Synonymous in the English Language* (Fig. 3).



Frugality, Oeconomy.

Frugality implies only diſcretion of expence; *oeconomy* includes in its idea ſome kind of management, in order to eke matters out.

Frugality is generally the province of the huſband; whoſe buſineſs is to take care his expences do not exceed his income: *oeconomy* is principally the care of the wife, whoſe ſtudy is, by a prudent management, if poſſible, to make up every deficiency.

Fig. 3. Definitions of frugality and oeconomy from John Trusler's *The Distinction Between Words Esteemed Synonymous in the English Language* (1766; this edn, 1783), 124.

His definition suggests that the responsibility of 'prudently managing' the household fell to 'the wife', yet as Karen Harvey's recent study of languages of domestic consumption has indicated, and as these diaries reiterate, 'oeconomy'

was seen to be equally advisable behaviour for both men and women.[57] The message varied in subtlety according to its audience; nonetheless, examples of such advice are numerous in the final quarter of the eighteenth century. It occurred earliest in *The Ladies Museum* for 1774, in which a cautionary tale entitled 'The Exemplary Life' told the happy end of Mr and Mrs Thompson, who learned to be 'wealthy without arrogance, oeconomists without avarice, and liberal without profusion.'[58] A *Ladies Annual Journal* from a few years later encouraged 'proper indulgencies' and its essay 'On Happiness', explained that it 'consists in the moderation of our desires.'[59]

The advice in diaries intended for male users was more explicit. Borrowing from Lord Chesterfield's *Advice to His Son,* an essay 'On Oeconomy' in Baldwin's *Daily Journal* for 1776 warned that:

> *'A fool squanders away without credit or advantage to himself, more than a man of sense spends with both. The latter employs his money as he does his time, and never spends a shilling of the one, nor a minute of the other, but in something that is either useful or rationally pleasing to himself or others. The former buys whatever he does not want and does not pay for what he does want…'*[60]

Instructions on precisely how to enact oeconomy followed. The diarist was advised to 'keep an account, in a book, of all that you receive and all that you pay; for no man, who knows what he receives and what he pays, ever runs out.' An essay printed in the *Daily Journal* ten years later was equally prescriptive. 'It is oeconomy that preserves the balance of power between extravagancy and covetousness', it explained, before instructing:

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[57] K. Harvey, *The Little Republic: Masculinity and Domestic Authority in Eighteenth-Century Britain* (Oxford, 2012).
[58] BL, C115.N68, *The Ladies Museum, or Complete Pocket Memorandum Book* (1774), 151.
[59] BL, RB.23a.30884, *The Ladies Annual Journal* (1779), back printed matter.†
[60] HRO, 29M65/1, *The Daily Journal* (1776), back printed matter.

> *'An oeconomist never makes a contract beyond his power of performing, and never takes the goods of another, but with the honest design of making due satisfaction for them; he is never mean because he gives according to his station; he is never either dirt or a fop, for he dresses according to his character; he has always a strict regard to truth […].'*[61]

It is explained as a way of life, and one that essays in other diaries described as being of national significance. Individual oeconomy would guarantee the 'vessel' of the nation being 'steady', prevent the 'cankers' of venality and corruption spreading, and ensure 'triumph over Hard Times.'[62]

With their advice on good 'oeconomic' behaviour, the compilers of these diaries were drawing on a flexible and widely-used concept in the later eighteenth and early nineteenth centuries. 'Oeconomy' and its related behaviours, frugality and propriety, were invoked in an array of print forms that cautioned against the temptations perceived to come hand-in-hand with commercial society. Oeconomy was seen as being diametrically opposed, and therefore the antidote, to luxury. In her *Cheap Repository Tracts* at the end of the century, Hannah More advocated 'frugal' behaviour and attention to 'petty expencies'.[63] Oeconomy was an 'important art', she asserted,[64] and others agreed; William Wilberforce and writer Elizabeth Hamilton both stressed its importance at the turn of the nineteenth century, as did moral reformer Joseph Livesey several years later.[65] It was not just the refrain of social reformers; articles in newspapers commented

[61] HRO, 44M69/E11/130, *The Daily Journal; or Gentleman's, Merchant's and Tradesman's Complete Annual Accompt-Book* (1786), back printed matter.
[62] Ibid.
[63] H. More, 'The Shepherd of Salisbury Plain', *Cheap Repository Tracts* (1795), 15.
[64] H. More, 'A Cure for Melancholy' (1795) in H. More, *The Works of Hannah More,* Vol. 4 (8 vols, 1801), 330.
[65] E. Hamilton, *Letters on Education* (1796; this edn, Dublin, 1801), 249; W. Wilberforce, *A Practical View of the Prevailing Religious System of Professed Christians* (1797), 125. For Livesey's encouragement of 'domestic economy' see his periodical *The Moral Reformer,* 1 Feb., 1832.

on its importance at every social level and institution. Indeed, its perceived absence from government policy and the comportment of the ruling classes was criticised in satirical print,[66] and parodied in broadsides.[67]

By drawing on this well-known idea, the publishers of these diaries were presenting their product as a tool invaluable to the individual consuming in contemporary commercial society. Several editions of the pre-printed diaries, both men's and women's, made this link an explicit one. An advertisement for Johnson's *Young Gentleman's Pocket Book* for 1764 described a plate it contained depicting 'Oeconomy presenting the Pocket Book to a young gentleman.'[68] The diary was literally, here, a gift from Oeconomy, to be used in its name. Other diaries alluded to the same relationship; as Jennie Batchelor has identified, Harris's *Complete Ladies Pocket Book* for 1792 explained its purpose as 'all of fashion and dress/With oeconomy's dictates…to express.'[69] Batchelor suggests that it is something of a paradox that responsible consumption was promoted in an item which was itself a fashionable object to be consumed, and which laboured the importance of 'fashion and dress'.[70] Yet the idea of oeconomic behaviour did not preclude the consumption of fashion; it simply prescribed doing so responsibly, and in this case, with a pocket diary in hand.

[66] See *The Assembly of the Grinders* (1773), etching, 225x249mm; J. Nixon, *Magisterial Oeconomy* (1779), etching, 253x357mm.
[67] See J. Burd, *Excise a-la-Mode; or, Sawney's Oeconomy* (1763); *Domestic Economy* (c.1845).
[68] Advertisement for *The Young Gentleman's Pocket Book for…1764*, in NLS, RB.s.2633, *The Complete Pocket-Book, or Gentleman's and Tradesman's Daily Journal* (1764).†
[69] *Harris's British Ladies Complete Pocket Memorandum Book for the Year 1792,* cited in Batchelor, 'Fashion and Frugality', 2.
[70] Ibid. 2.

The inclusion of financial accounting as a component part of the keeping of a journal was a novelty. Individuals might have done so independently, but these pocket books were the first to put in print the idea that the two practices, accounting for time, and accounting for money, belonged side by side. In doing so, the form enshrined ideas of 'useful' journalizing that were appearing in contemporary print. The function of these diaries connected the individual, personal practice of journalising to a shared public idea – in this case, the importance of self-management – and did so in the pages of the diary itself. In accommodating financial accounts, these diaries cast their diarists in the role of consumers, needing to keep track of every penny and shilling in a vastly expanding commercial society. However, it was not only the consumption of goods that these diaries encouraged; they promoted the consumption of information too. As the next section will demonstrate, the role these diaries played in the knowledge economy of the late eighteenth and early nineteenth centuries points to a striking reconceptualization of the form and function of the diary itself.

IV. The Diary as a Reference Work

As we saw in Chapter 3, there existed a thriving culture of information in the late eighteenth and early nineteenth centuries, in which knowledge and 'useful' information had considerable social and cultural currency, and appeared in a

variety of popular sites and formats.[71] Previous discussion has highlighted how this language of information and fact was drawn on in commentary advising informational self-writing. Existing studies of some forms of personal writing have demonstrated that there is a powerful case to be made for a link existing in practice, too, between other self-writing forms and methods of collecting information. Richard Yeo, for example, has convincingly demonstrated the parallels between the commonplace book and the encyclopaedia in the eighteenth century. Both involved gathering information, or 'summaries of knowledge'; both involved compiling them in a systematic way. Indeed, in the late eighteenth century, as Yeo has shown, some encyclopaedic works were advertised and sold as 'universal commonplace books.'[72] Peter Burke has drawn similar links between encyclopaedias and another popular form, almanacs,[73] while Marie-Noelle Bourguet has shown the important role played by the humble notebook in the construction of knowledge amongst travellers in the eighteenth and nineteenth centuries.[74] Exploring diarizing is the logical next step in the context of lively historical discussion of the extent to which knowledge was

[71] A. W. Daum, 'Popular Science and the Transformations of Public Knowledge: Some Historical Reflections', *Isis,* 100 (2009), 321.
[72] R. Yeo, *Encyclopaedic Visions: Scientific Dictionaries and Enlightenment Culture* (Cambridge, 2001), 107.
[73] P. Burke, 'Reflections on the History of Information in Early Modern Europe', *Scientiarum Historia,* 17 (1991), 70. See also J. C. Mori, 'Popular Science in Eighteenth-Century Almanacs: The Editorial Career of Henry Andrews of Royston', *History of Science,* 54 (2016), 19-44, for a more recent exploration of the role played by a form similar to the pre-printed diary in the popularization of science.
[74] M-N. Bourguet, 'A Portable World: The Notebooks of European Travellers (Eighteenth to Nineteenth Centuries)', *Intellectual History Review,* 20 (2010), 378. For an exemplary discussion of the use of notebooks for the recording of 'fact', albeit in a later period, see W. Greenslade, 'Critical Introduction', in W. Greenslade (ed.), *Thomas Hardy's 'Facts' Notebook* (Aldershot, 2004), xv-xxix. For an overview of the practice of note-taking as a form of individual information management, see J. Soll, 'From Note-Taking to Data Banks: Personal and Institutional Information Management in Early Modern Europe', *Intellectual History Review,* 20 (2010), 355-75.

'popularized' in this period, what such popularisation meant, what sorts of information were shared, and when and how such information was shared.

The eighteenth-century 'culture of information' is particularly overt in the genre of the pre-printed diary. These daily journals, memorandum books and pocket ledgers were as much reference works or compilations of fact, as they were diaries. The titles themselves – 'museum', 'repository' and 'cabinet' – suggest that they were physical stores of surprising, entertaining and enlightening information; indeed, fittingly, the pockets that regularly featured in their front and back covers (Fig. 4) provided a physical repository for information to be stored.



Fig. 4. Pocket in the front cover of *Marshall's Cabinet of Fashion* for 1830 (HL, ST 118 v.3).

These titles alone are enough to reinforce the extent to which information was commoditized in this period. Facts were profitable for their vendors,[75] as their

[75] A. Johns, 'Print and Public Science', in R. Porter (ed.), *The Cambridge History of Science,* Vol. 4 (7 vols, Cambridge, 2002-2013; this vol., 2003), 547.

advertisement here, and the endorsement of it in all sorts of titles – both actually factual, and factual fiction – suggests. The *Vade Mecum* that Peacock advertised in the title of his *Pocket Journal* literally means 'a book or manual suitable for carrying about with one for ready reference; a handbook or guidebook.'[76] This provided, according to one contemporary commentator, 'an inexhaustible store of matter'[77] to be consumed by the diarist. It was hammered home in the description of contents that appeared on the front page. 'Curious observations', 'useful, ornamental and instructive articles', 'useful knowledge', 'compendious tables', 'useful particulars', 'useful tables and interesting articles', 'a useful register', 'useful information', and 'serviceable particulars'; all were clearly signposted to leave the owner in little doubt of the diary's content and its useful, informative, serviceable, instructive or entertaining nature.

Inside, as we have already seen, tables of insurance, interest, hackney coachmen and watermen's fares, and lists of peers, MPs, stamp duties, postage costs and turnpike distances were common fare, in both men's and women's journals. Margaret Hunt has found such information to be 'a ubiquitous reminder of the centrality of commerce,' promoting a middle-class ideal of commercial, municipal identity.[78] Yet it did more than that; the variety of additional topics included in this form, and the way it changed over the course of the period, placed these diaries firmly in the 'culture of specialization and expertise'[79] that characterised the later eighteenth- and early nineteenth centuries. They reflect

[76] HL, ST 110 v.1, *Peacock's Complete Pocket Journal and Annual Vade Mecum* (1807); OED, 'vade mecum'.†
[77] 'Of Memorandum Books', *The Gentleman's Magazine,* 23 Jan. 1753.
[78] M. Hunt, *The Middling Sort* (Berkeley, 1996), 185.
[79] R. Bowd, 'Useful Knowledge or Polite Learning? A Reappraisal of Approaches to Subscription Library History', *Library and Information History,* 29 (2013), 182.

the way this culture developed. Particularly around 1800, the printed matter provided went from being instructive to increasingly informative. Significantly, in many cases it was distinctly scientific in nature, drawn from texts 'just published' which made scientific experiments and natural history available to a non-expert audience. Various titles after 1795 contained, for example, a 'Table of the Planets' from John Payne's *System of Universal Geography;*[80] essays on Chinese industry;[81] an 'Experiment on the Properties of Colors in Imbibing the Rays of the Sun'; 'Curious Descriptions in Natural History'; 'Philosophical Experiments'; 'On the Movements of the Tremella', taken from Jacques Ozanam's *Recreations in Mathematics and Natural Philosophy* (translated into English in 1803); 'On the Circulation of Blood'; 'On the Apparent Holes in the Leaves of Some Plants', also from Ozanam's *Recreations*; and 'A Table of the different degrees of heat at which different matters begin to melt, freeze or enter into ebullition' (also from *Recreations*), among others.[82]

This popular science appeared in other forms too. A fashionable and popular pastime for both men and women,[83] from the later eighteenth century onwards botany was a symptom and instrument of a popular embracing of the 'facticity' of

[80] It appeared in two consecutive issues of J. Johnson's *Complete Pocket Book* for 1794 and 1795 (NA, DD/P/6/7/2/42-3, back printed matter). Payne's *System of Universal Geography* was first published in 1791; in both the 1794 and 1795 diary it is described as 'just published.'

[81] LA, DIXON/7/4/5, *The Daily Journal; or, the Gentleman's, Merchant's and Tradesman's Complete Annual Accompt-Book* (1798), 1-4.

[82] BL, Add. MS. 59705, *Kearsley's Gentleman's and Tradesman's Pocket Ledger* (1807), back printed matter.

[83] A. Cook, 'Botanical Exchanges: Jean-Jacques Rousseau and the Duchess of Portland', *History of European Ideas,* 33 (2007), 145; Daum, 'Popular Science,' 324; P. Elliott, 'The Origins of the Creative Class: Provincial Urban Society, Scientific Culture and Socio-Political Marginality in Britain in the Eighteenth and Nineteenth Centuries', *Social History,* 28 (2003), 362; J. Gascoigne, *Joseph Banks and the English Enlightenment: Useful Knowledge and Polite Culture* (Cambridge, 1994), 108; D. Headrick, *When Information Came of Age: Technologies of Knowledge in the age of Reason and Revolution, 1700-1850* (Oxford, 2000), 25; A.B. Shteir, 'Botanical Dialogues: Maria Jacson and Women's Popular Science Writing in England', *Eighteenth-Century Studies,* 23 (1990), 301.

things.[84] Nowhere is this more pronounced than in G. Kearsley's *Naturalist's Pocket Book* for 1796 (Fig. 5).

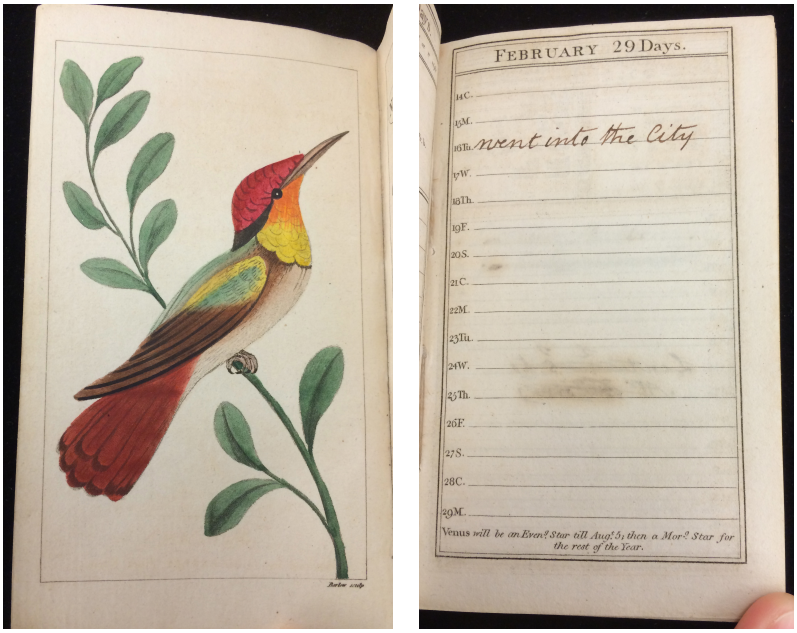


Fig. 5. Example of an illustrated plate and memorandums page taken from *The Naturalist's Journal* for 1796 (HL, 109907).

Here self-accounting met scientific observation: individuals should keep track of their time and money, as they would in any other pocket book, as well as noting 'occurrences, observations relative to gardening, &c.'[85] Pages for accounts were interleaved with illustrations of birds and insects; individuals should account for themselves and their environment in the same place. It is reminiscent of early modern herbals – containing the names and descriptions of the properties of plants – some of which, as Lorraine Daston has explained, had blank pages bound into them for the botanist to note observations on the spot.[86] In a similar way, these diaries were works of natural history, in which the diarist was a specimen to be observed, alongside birds and various types of plant.

[84] M. E. Bellanca, *Daybooks of Discovery: Nature Diaries in Britain 1770-1870* (2007), 6.
[85] HL, 109907, *The Naturalist's Pocket Book* (1796), Title Page.
[86] L. Daston, 'Taking Note(s)', *Isis,* 95 (2004), 445.

The notion that science 'went public'[87] in the late eighteenth and particularly the nineteenth century was and is a contentious one – both for contemporaries, and in current historiographical debate – as it implies a distinction between elite science and the science consumed by the public, as well as implying a transformative element in the rendering of the elite, 'popular'.[88] The status of botany in particular was debated, as it was perceived by many to be more of a fashionable pastime – amateur 'botanomania' [89] encouraged by pleasant pictures,[90] rather than sober scientific endeavour. Yet, while it is certainly true that much differentiates the *Naturalist's Pocket Book* from Linnaeus' *Systema Naturae*, for example, the presence of knowledge and information derived from scientific pursuits in these diaries indicates that there was an appetite for what was perceived to be science, however diluted or simplified it was. Indeed, Jeffrey Wigelsworth has asserted that the divide between natural philosopher and coffee house patron at this time was not so great.[91] If, as Andreas Daum has stated, and others have reiterated, science was 'the nucleus, and perhaps even the trendsetter, of a broader…endeavour'[92] of publicizing knowledge in this

[87] T. Broman, 'The Habermasian Public Sphere and 'Science *in* the Enlightenment"', *History of Science,* 36 (1998), 125.

[88] R. Cooter & S. Pumfrey, 'Separate Spheres and Public Places: Reflections on the History of Science Popularization and Science in Popular Culture', *History of Science,* 32 (1994), 237-67; Daum, 'Popular Science', 320; D. Atkinson, 'The Philosophical Transactions of the Royal Society of London, 1675-1975: A Sociohistorical Discourse Analysis', *Language in Society,* 25 (1996), 364.

[89] Shteir, 'Botanical Dialogues', 303. John Gascoigne describes mathematicians sneering at the scientific worth of natural history in *Joseph Banks,* 63. For a more positive view of contemporary attitudes to botany, see A. Secord, 'Botany on a Plate: Pleasure and the Power of Pictures in Promoting Early Nineteenth-Century Scientific Knowledge', *Isis,* 93 (2002), 28; Secord explains that botany was seen as a form of encouragement to individuals to participate in science.

[90] Disagreement over the use of images and 'pleasant' visual representations in the communication of knowledge (particularly botany) amongst eighteenth-century scientists is summarized in Secord, 'Botany on a Plate', 30-57.

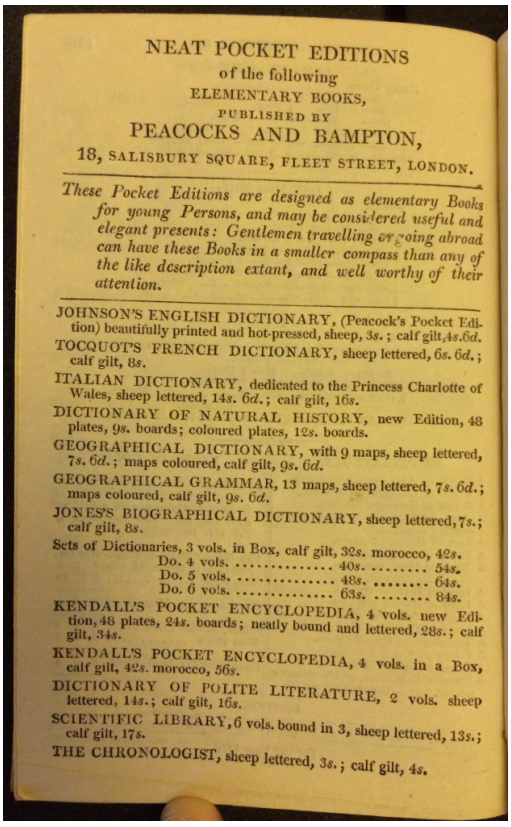
[91] J. Wigelsworth, *Selling Science in the Age of Newton; Advertising and the Commoditization of Knowledge* (Farnham, 2010), 177.

[92] Daum, 'Popular Science', 320; Elliot, 'Creative Class', 362; J. Golinski, 'Science in the Enlightenment, Revisited', *History of Science,* 49 (2011), 218.

period, the presence of the scientific information in these diaries is a positive indicator of the extent to which knowledge was enjoyed for its own sake by a wide audience.

These diaries represent not only changes in the consumption of science in this period, but a broader taste for different forms of knowledge and mechanisms of reference. The information printed in these diaries, whether scientific or not, served little practical purpose and was included principally for the enjoyment of the pocket book's owner. Paul Tankard has written that 'it is not for wisdom that one goes to an encyclopaedia, but for information';[93] as its content changed from instructive texts to informational essays towards the turn of the nineteenth century, the diary moved closer to encyclopaedic, referential forms. In some diaries this was a link explicitly stated; this advertisement placed in the back pages of the 1816 edition of *Peacock's Polite Repository* (Fig. 6, overleaf), for books sold by the same publisher, was for reference works, dictionaries and encyclopaedias.[94] These advertisements acted in many ways as a suggested reading list and were indicative of the way these diaries were classified, and perceived, by their publishers.

[93] Tankard, 'Reference Point', 59.
[94] See also HL, ST 118 v. 8, Diary of M. Grenville (title page missing; 1835), in which is printed an advertisement for *The Botanic Garden; or Magazine of Flowering Plants*.



NEAT POCKET EDITIONS
of the following
ELEMENTARY BOOKS,
PUBLISHED BY
PEACOCKS AND BAMPTON,
18, SALISBURY SQUARE, FLEET STREET, LONDON.

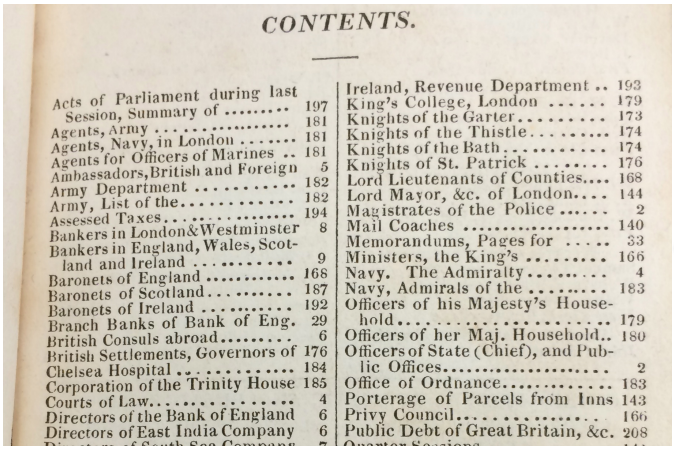
These Pocket Editions are designed as elementary Books for young Persons, and may be considered useful and elegant presents: Gentlemen travelling or going abroad can have these Books in a smaller compass than any of the like description extant, and well worthy of their attention.

JOHNSON'S ENGLISH DICTIONARY, (Peacock's Pocket Edition) beautifully printed and hot-pressed, sheep, 3*s.*; calf gilt, 4*s.*6*d.*
TOCQUOT'S FRENCH DICTIONARY, sheep lettered, 6*s.* 6*d.*; calf gilt, 8*s.*
ITALIAN DICTIONARY, dedicated to the Princess Charlotte of Wales, sheep lettered, 14*s.* 6*d.*; calf gilt, 16*s.*
DICTIONARY OF NATURAL HISTORY, new Edition, 48 plates, 9*s.* boards; coloured plates, 12*s.* boards.
GEOGRAPHICAL DICTIONARY, with 9 maps, sheep lettered, 7*s.* 6*d.*; maps coloured, calf gilt, 9*s.* 6*d.*
GEOGRAPHICAL GRAMMAR, 13 maps, sheep lettered, 7*s.* 6*d.*; maps coloured, calf gilt, 9*s.* 6*d.*
JONES'S BIOGRAPHICAL DICTIONARY, sheep lettered, 7*s.*; calf gilt, 8*s.*
Sets of Dictionaries, 3 vols. in Box, calf gilt, 32*s.* morocco, 42*s.*
Do. 4 vols. ..... 40*s.* ..... 54*s.*
Do. 5 vols. ..... 48*s.* ..... 64*s.*
Do. 6 vols. ..... 63*s.* ..... 84*s.*
KENDALL'S POCKET ENCYCLOPEDIA, 4 vols. new Edition, 48 plates, 24*s.* boards; neatly bound and lettered, 28*s.*; calf gilt, 34*s.*
KENDALL'S POCKET ENCYCLOPEDIA, 4 vols. in a Box, calf gilt, 42*s.* morocco, 56*s.*
DICTIONARY OF POLITE LITERATURE, 2 vols. sheep lettered, 14*s.*; calf gilt, 16*s.*
SCIENTIFIC LIBRARY, 6 vols. bound in 3, sheep lettered, 13*s.*; calf gilt, 17*s.*
THE CHRONOLOGIST, sheep lettered, 3*s.*; calf gilt, 4*s.*

Fig. 6. Advertisement for reference works in the back of *Peacock's Polite Repository* for 1816 (BL, Add. MS. 88942/5/1/5).

The similarities between these and more formal, encyclopaedic knowledge forms went further than the printed information; they extended to the diary itself. Even in those diaries not so specifically scientifically oriented, the organisation of their content promoted a method of self-writing that was more akin to systematically recording and organising fact, and assembling a catalogue of knowledge, than it was to any more 'literary' or reflective prose journal. For example, the section for the diary proper – the pages for recording appointments, memorandums and finance – was almost always compiled between pages of useful information. In the Contents page it was frequently listed amongst other items, with little attempt at separation or the prioritisation of this aspect over the others. It is evident in Contents pages organised according to the order in which the information was compiled, as well as those in later titles, which were arranged in

alphabetical order. It is particularly telling in the latter (Fig. 7). Organisation by alphabet had become the norm in reference works by the mid-eighteenth century, as practicality, accessibility and ease of reference became priorities for their compilers.[95] Not only that, but as several historians have identified, the alphabet possessed symbolic value: it is 'egalitarian, reducing all subjects to the same level'[96] and assuming the equal importance of every piece of information. Its use in this genre therefore made the diary section one element in a compendium of useful knowledge, located after 'Mail Coaches' and before a list of 'The King's Ministers,' and equivalent to both.



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Agents, Navy, in London 181
Agents for Officers of Marines .. 181
Ambassadors, British and Foreign 5
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Bankers in England, Wales, Scotland and Ireland 9
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Branch Banks of Bank of Eng. 29
British Consuls abroad..... 6
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Officers of her Maj. Household.. 180
Officers of State (Chief), and Public Offices..... 2
Office of Ordnance..... 183
Porterage of Parcels from Inns 143
Privy Council..... 166
Public Debt of Great Britain, &c. 208

Fig. 7. Alphabetical organisation of the Contents page of *Marshall's Gentleman's Pocket Book for 1836* (HL, FB 20). 'Memorandums, Pages for' are listed as equivalent to the other contents.

The model of diary-keeping promoted here had implications for the behaviour these diaries demanded from their users, and the way we understand it. Firstly, the daily detail expected from the diarist can be understood not only as a tool for

[95] Headrick, *When Information Came of Age,* 162-4. It was used in other fields too in this period – for the use of the alphabet as an ordering mechanism in chemistry, see U. Klein & W. Lefevre, *Materials in Eighteenth-Century Science: A Historical Ontology* (Cambridge, Mass., 2007), 76.

[96] Yeo, *Encyclopaedic Visions,* 25. See also Headrick, *When Information Came of Age,* 163; T. McArthur, *Worlds of Reference* (Cambridge, 1986), 108.

self-management, but as a function of the same desire for exhaustive knowledge that guided the compilation of encyclopaedias, dictionaries and other compendiums in this period. 'Detail becomes a mode of reassurance, codifying established knowledge':[97] demanding daily detail was a means of collecting a comprehensive account of the facts of the daily life of the individual. Similarly, encouragement to account for money can be understood in the same way, as another facet of individual experience to be recorded and catalogued in these forms, to contribute to a comprehensive knowledge of the individual diarist, or compiler.

Secondly, the style and form encouraged in diarists' inscriptions reinforced the parallels between the printed information and the diary section. Some encouraged brevity and selectivity while filling it out, for example. Baldwin's *Daily Journal* suggested 'a single word, a figure, cross, or even the least mark by the meanest scribe.'[98] Similarly, *The Student's Journal* for 1817 explained that brevity in writing was one principle that guided the format of the journal:

> *It is evident…that in so small a compass nothing could be introduced but very small notes; and some persons may object to this as an inconvenience. But to this objection it is replied, that longer notes would be inconsistent with the design of the Student's Journal, which is intended to contain no anecdotes, no arguments…Its province is Action, not Speculation.'*[99]

Brief notes and succinct writing would make them easily referable, echoing the concise tables of information or short, descriptive passages printed in the diary content. We have seen the emphasis on brevity in factual forms that existed in popular print in this period; it is a characteristic shared with other informational

[97] S. Sherman, 'Printed Communities: Domestic Management Texts in the Eighteenth Century', *Journal for Early Modern Cultural Studies,* 3 (2003), 41.
[98] Advertisement for 'The Daily Journal*', St James Chronicle,* 26-28 Dec. 1769.
[99] BOD, MS. Eng.misc.e.88, *The Student's Journal* (1817)*,* iv.

works of the same time. Compilers of dictionaries, for example, developed strategies to keep entries brief and the work as a whole, shorter.[100]

Of the 'useful particulars' printed in the diary, numerical information was the briefest of all. Peter Burke has written about the 'increasing tendency' to present information in numerical form from the seventeenth century onwards.[101] Mary Poovey, in her study of the modern 'fact', agrees, asserting that numbers were perceived to have an impartial, noninterpretive authority that text did not.[102] She identifies the role of book-keeping and accounting in the early modern period as instrumental in establishing this authority.[103] These diaries reinforce this view. The inclusion of accounting here as a form of self-writing was not only about the ability to self-organise, and gain a comprehensive picture; it was also about the perceived trustworthiness of information provided. Numbers tell a truth that written records, perhaps, would not. A diarist can excuse their expenditure by explaining it away textually, but numbers betray the fact of the matter.

Three factors make reference works – encyclopaedias, compendiums, registers and directories – reference works: the existence of an order or organisational method; the presence of 'fact' in concise portions; and the act of being referred to. All three were encouraged and accommodated in these journals. The advantages of method and organisation were repeatedly laboured. *The Daily*

[100] Osselton, 'Alphabet Fatigue', 90.
[101] Burke, 'Reflections', 67.
[102] M. Poovey, *A History of the Modern Fact: Problems of Knowledge in the Sciences of Wealth and Society* (Chicago, 1998), xii. See also B. Lemire, *The Business of Everyday Life: Gender, Practice and Social Politics in England c.1600-1900* (Manchester, 2005), 190.
[103] Poovey, *Modern Fact*. See especially Chapter 2, 'Accommodating Merchants: Double Entry Book-Keeping, Mercantile Expertise, and the Effect of Accuracy.'

Journal for 1772 explained that 'order is the necessary assistant of diligence', and the message was repeated in the same title nine years later: 'order constitutes the chief happiness and beauty not only of the earth we inhabit, but of the numberless worlds shining round us.'[104] Diaries both contained and were written about as if they were indexes to information. The *Students Journal* contained an empty index to enter a list of books read over the course of the year, for example.[105] Elsewhere, the temporal organisation of the content was described as a form of index: 'you have only to turn to the month, and therein you have the week and day already set down.'[106] The month is an easy reference point by which to find the day you want to write a memorandum for, or, indeed, refer back to at a later stage. Time, therefore, was important for use and utility, and also as an index, an organiser in this personal compendium of knowledge.

The idea of referring back to the diary is reiterated in the prefaces of many of these journals. The *Liverpool Memorandum Book* in 1753 explained the advantage of the format, that

> *'…by an easy retrospection, any business transacted may be seen and remembered at any distant time. […] It is often very useful, as well as agreeable, to be able to look back and know where we were engaged and how we were employ'd on such or such a day, for several years past.'*[107]

Similarly, the *Kentish Companion* for 1773 explained that 'these books may be considered the annals of a man's life and may be of use even after his decease.'[108] Baldwin's journals agreed; 'Old Time' recommended 'not to throw away this

[104] HL, 319699 v.1, *The Daily Journal* (1772), Preface; NRS, GD 477/474/2, *The Daily Journal* (1781), Preface.
[105] BOD, MS. Eng.misc.e.88, *The Student's Journal* (1817), 135-46.
[106] Advertisement for R. Baldwin's 'Daily Journal,' *St James Chronicle,* 26-28 Dec. 1769.
[107] BL, 10349.e.15, *The Liverpool Memorandum Book* (1753), Preface.†
[108] BL, RB.573.a.35, *The Kentish Companion* (1773), Preface 'To the Public'.

faithful companion at the end of the year…but let him be constantly preserved to have recourse to.'[109] Like an encyclopaedia, then, preserving these diaries would create a many-volumed reference work, to be consulted or browsed when desired. In fact, these diaries offered an advantage that other reference works did not. Unlike an encyclopaedia, which could not easily be updated, these diaries offered the opportunity to update information – both printed and inscribed – every year.

These exhortations to the reader to return and refer back to the diary assume that all entries were unassailable 'proof' or 'truth', of the same indisputable quality as the useful information printed around them. Just as truth was a 'cornerstone' for the encyclopaedia[110] and, more broadly, a symptom of the empirical approach towards knowledge that characterised the Enlightenment,[111] so it was expected here. The introductions to Baldwin's *Daily Journals* for 1767 and 1772 alerted the diarist to the opportunity they afforded to 'consult or prove any receipt or payment, memorandum or accompt, time or occurrence.'[112] Similarly, the *Kentish Companion* for 1773 'ought…to be reserved as an evidence upon many occasions to prove a receipt or disbursement.'[113] The entries made by diarists, these introductions suggested, should be objective fact rather than subjective rambling.

[109] HRO, 29M65/1, *The Daily Journal* (1776), Preface.
[110] A. Rauch, *Useful Knowledge: The Victorians, Morality, and the March of Intellect* (2001), 30.
[111] B. Shapiro, ''Beyond Reasonable Doubt': The Neglected Eighteenth-Century Context', *Law and Humanities,* 8 (2014), 35. For the legacy of Newton's experimental method see P. H. Reill, 'The Legacy of the Scientific Revolution: Science and the Enlightenment', in *The Cambridge History of Science*, 27.
[112] BL, RB.23.a.31718, *The Daily Journal* (1767); HL, 319699 v.1, *The Daily Journal* (1772).
[113] BL, RB.573.a.35, *The Kentish Companion* (1773).

Such exhortations were based on the same assumptions about the limitations of memory that characterised the efforts of compilers of encyclopaedias. By the eighteenth century, the possession of encyclopaedic knowledge by an individual was acknowledged as unattainable, and compendiums were designed to keep as complete a record as possible of everything that an individual could not retain, rather than remind individuals of everything they should. The language employed in these journals to describe their use recognises the same weakness: the *Newcastle Memorandum Book* explained in 1755 that it was 'an artificial memory [that would] afford both pleasure and profit, on a review of our past actions.'[114] Similarly, an advertisement for Baldwin's *Daily Journal* in 1769 explained that 'much may be retained by a good memory, but still tis no memorandum or record, and is so liable to mistake...'.[115]The facts of previous behaviour, in other words, were too numerous to be remembered without the aid of a pocket book. As the author of one nineteenth-century conduct manual wrote of the practice of diarizing as a whole, 'it is a matter of serious consideration what [the diarist] will insert, and what trust to his memory.'[116]

Not only should they be referred back to, but these diaries should be used in communication with other forms: they should be cross-referenced, and information transferred and transposed. Much like other compendiums, and akin to commonplace books, the facts that individuals entered in these diaries were encouraged to be brief precisely because they acted as summaries, or short accounts of information to be expanded elsewhere. One journal explained

[114] BL, C.142.dd.28, *The Newcastle Memorandum Book* (1755), Preface.
[115] Advertisement for R. Baldwin's 'Daily Journal,' *St James Chronicle,* 26-28 Dec. 1769.
[116] H. Martineau, *How to Observe: Morals and Manners* (1838), 233.

> *'Here we can insert brief hints and memorandums of business, or receipts and payments, which may afterwards be posted off in larger books, as occasion shall require.'*[117]

In the same way, Baldwin's 1769 advertisement explained that 'memorandums or short entries are the basis or foundation of all accounts, writings and records whatever.' [118] They were like encyclopaedia entries that were meant to summarise, but not replace, the detail to be found in other forms; and, indeed, form the factual, evidentiary basis for these longer accounts. As Joel Mokyr has written of reference works in this period, 'once the reader knew what was known, he or she could look for details elsewhere.'[119] In their brevity they imitated the printed material that surrounded them; and in the behaviours they enshrined they reinforced the perception of self-writing as an empirical exercise.

Alan Rauch has pointed to the 'exponential growth' of the *Encyclopaedia Britannica* in this period as evidence that the 'encyclopaedic spirit' was well-entrenched in England by the early nineteenth century.[120] These diaries are more convincing of that development. Not only did they share the same emphasis on 'fact', 'arrangement' and 'knowledge' as the encyclopaedic tomes being produced, but they popularised the enjoyment of knowledge by making it an interactive process. By noting daily occurrences and the state of their finances in a printed directory, individuals participated in the compilation of information, making their personal entries in a catalogue of 'facts.' The recording of time and the recording of money accommodated in these forms therefore are not just

[117] BL, RB.8.a.12, *The Exeter Pocket Journal* (1755), Preface.†
[118] Advertisement for R. Baldwin's 'Daily Journal', *St James Chronicle,* 26-28 Dec. 1769.
[119] J. Mokyr, *The Gifts of Athena: Historical Origins of the Knowledge Economy* (Oxford, 2002), 69.
[120] Rauch, *Useful Knowledge,* 27.

functions of their utility and purpose (although this was certainly part of it); they are also part of an idea of these diaries as the comprehensive 'directory' of an individual, a 'complete and correct' register, or vade mecum, of the facts of their existence, both temporal and financial.

***

Historians of the publishing trade in the eighteenth century explain the origins of the pre-printed diary as a tactical move by particular publishers, attempting to get round the Stationers' Company monopoly on almanacs by slightly altering their format.[121] This account does not do justice, however, to the significance or inventiveness of the form. Betty Schellenberg has described bookseller Robert Dodsley as 'self-directed and experimental.'[122] This is reflected in the genre of diary he invented. In it, he and the booksellers who followed him enacted the practice and purpose of diary-keeping envisaged in the print of the later eighteenth century. Not only did this genre promote journalising as a useful activity, it combined the ideas and trends evident in popular print to reveal a new conception of the diary as a compendium, and diary-keeping as an exercise in knowledge collection and organisation. These diaries reflect several features of the print culture and knowledge economy of the information age, as well as the way it developed in this period. Between their covers, they exhibit many of the same principles that guided the compilation of dictionaries and

[121] McCarthy, *The Accidental Diarist,* 59; Raven, *Publishing Business,* 204; H. Solomon, *The Rise of Robert Dodsley: Creating the New Age of Print* (Carbondale, 1996), 131.
[122] B. Schellenberg, 'The Second Coming of the Book, 1740-1770', in P. Rogers & L. L. Runge (eds), *Producing the Eighteenth-Century Book: Writers and Publishers in England, 1650-1800* (New Jersey, 2009), 40.

encyclopaedias, as well as scientific and useful knowledge drawn from a variety of contemporaneous sources.

The arrangement of time and money played its part in this reconceptualization too. The temporal structure of the diary acted as a form of index in the organisation of the facts of the individual; similarly, the accommodation of financial management encouraged a comprehensive view of the diarist in the noting of numerical facts, comparable to those in the tables of insurance and stock that sat alongside the diary proper. In this sense the use of these diaries was two-fold, permitting self-management, but also promoting an interactive form of knowledge compilation. The two functions were not mutually exclusive, but complimentary: understanding and using the diary as a reference work was seen to aid its use to the individual.

In this 'culture of knowledge' the arrangement of information was as important as its collection. The next chapter will examine the printed form of these diaries to understand how information entered by the diarist was organised. It will also consider use. Margaret Hunt has written that 'historians tend to be fairly optimistic about the impact of printed matter in the early modern period.'[123] Exploring practice will reveal how individuals responded to, shared and rejected the ideas enshrined in these diaries. It will also allow for a discussion of the implications of this reimagining of the purpose and form of the diary on our own understanding of the practice. For the model of diary-keeping proposed in this genre challenges existing historical conceptions about the nature of self-writing

[123] Hunt, *The Middling Sort,* 182.

in this period. It raises questions of the place and role of the 'self' in this new model of self-writing. How introspective did this form allow individuals to be? The next chapter will address these questions.

Chapter 5

Diarists and their Diaries: Printed Form and Diary Use

Literary scholars and historians of the book are in no doubt about the role of paratextual and non-textual elements in shaping the way a text is understood. The work of Gérard Genette on the 'privileged place'[1] of paratexts has proved influential in drawing attention to the 'threshold' elements of the material book – the title page, contents, indexes, bullet points, spacing and format of the page – and their power over meaning.[2] The analysis of these elements has taken place in relation to predominantly literary works, but more recent historical scholarship has demonstrated that the material properties of documents can reveal much about their historical context and the conditions of their creation. Miles Ogborn, for example, has found that 'close examination of forms of writing…opens a way into the intellectual and political histories of early modern trade and empire';[3] Lisa Gitelman has highlighted the role of blanks in job-printed documents in 'structuring knowledge and instantiating culture' in late nineteenth-century America.[4]

[1] G. Genette, *Paratexts: Thresholds of Intepretation,* trans. J.E. Lewin (Cambridge, 1997), 2.
[2] R. Anderson, 'The Rhetoric of Paratext in Early Printed Books', in J. Barnard, M. Bell & F. McKenzie (eds), *The Cambridge History of the Book in Britain, Vol. 4: 1557-1695* (Cambridge, 2002), 636; K. Claes, 'Supplements and Paratext: The Rhetoric of Space', *Victorian Periodicals Review,* 43 (2010), 200; P. Robinson, 'Ma(r)king the Electronic Text: How, Why and For Whom?', in J. Bray, M. Handley & A. C. Henry (eds), *Ma(r)king the Text: The Presentation of Meaning on the Literary Page* (Aldershot, 2000), 312.
[3] M. Ogborn, *Indian Ink: Script and Print in the Making of the English East India Company* (Chicago, 2007), xxiii.
[4] L. Gitelman, *Paper Knowledge: Toward a Media History of Documents* (Durham, NC, 2014), 24.

There is a strong case to be made for treating these extra-textual, material and spatial properties of the page as an essential part of the analysis of practices of self-writing too. Work on the spatial and material characteristics of commonplace books has shown the potential of this approach. Ann Moss finds that the structure of the Renaissance-era commonplace book has the power to reveal 'the mind-set of educated Western Europeans'.[5] Similarly, Cynthia Nixon has found the commonplace book of one early nineteenth-century woman to be a 'textual model' of the female body.[6] It is in light of this scholarship that the page format and spatial arrangement of the pre-printed diary deserves examination, as a manifestation of the changing information culture of the late eighteenth and early nineteenth centuries.

Like the commonplace book, the structure of the pre-printed diary page was central to its function; unlike the commonplace book, and any other self-writing form before it, it was pre-printed for the diarist to fill out. These diaries used space in a way that other self-writing forms did not. The ready-formatted structure of each of the weekly double-page spreads specified the information to be recorded by the diarist, and arranged it on the page in a tabulated form. Close analysis of this form – of the models it drew on, the information it demanded and the way it was arranged – reveals late eighteenth-century understandings of the purpose of self-writing as both informational and useful. In turn, the way individuals used it and responded to the suggestions of its structure is equally

[5] A. Moss, *Printed Commonplace Books and the Structuring of Renaissance Thought* (Oxford, 1996), vi.
[6] C. Nixon, 'Ann Radcliffe's Commonplace Book: Assembling the Female Body and the Material Text', *Women's Writing,* 22 (2015), 355.

telling: the diary was a unique arena in which received ideas of self-writing met its practice.

Several studies have taken the format of these diaries into consideration. Their focus is on gender, and the role of form in the diary-keeping habits of women in this period.[7] The majority of these studies explore the structure of the diary as it was in the nineteenth century, after it had been in existence for over fifty years. Starting this examination of the genre at an earlier stage, however, as aspects were added and removed, reveals the means and methods of diary-keeping deemed important by its creators. It allows for a sense of the evolution of the form, and the broader cultural movement it represented. Following a discussion of methodology and approach, this chapter will firstly, examine the printed form of the diary page; and secondly, consider diarists' ways of using.

I. Sources and Methodology

The first part of this chapter, an analysis of diary form, draws on the same body of 150 pre-printed diaries used in Chapter Four. As explained in the Introduction, discussion of use in the second half focuses on a smaller sample of 50, to enable closer analysis of practice. Just as the different titles in the sample contained a variety of content, so there was some variation in their page

[7] K. Carter, 'An Economy of Words: Emma Chadwick Stretch's Account Book Diary, 1859-1860', *Acadiensis,* 29 (1999), 43-56; R. E. Connor, *Women, Accounting and Narrative: Keeping Books in Eighteenth-Century England* (2004); C. Huff, 'Textual Boundaries: Space in Nineteenth-Century Women's Manuscript Diaries', in S. L. Bunkers & C. A. Huff (eds), *Inscribing the Daily: Critical Essays on Women's Diaries* (Amherst, Mass., 1996), 123-38; R. Steinitz, *Time, Space and Gender in the Nineteenth-Century British Diary* (Basingstoke, 2011).

structure too. The page format of Baldwin's *Daily Journal* (Fig. 1), for example, is very different to that of the *Royal Engagement Pocket Atlas* (Fig. 2). Equally, within the same title there were changes; Robert Dodsley's *New Memorandum Book Improv'd* changed format between 1753 and 1757, and, as we will see, there were further additions and omissions in other versions throughout the second half of the eighteenth century, and the early nineteenth.

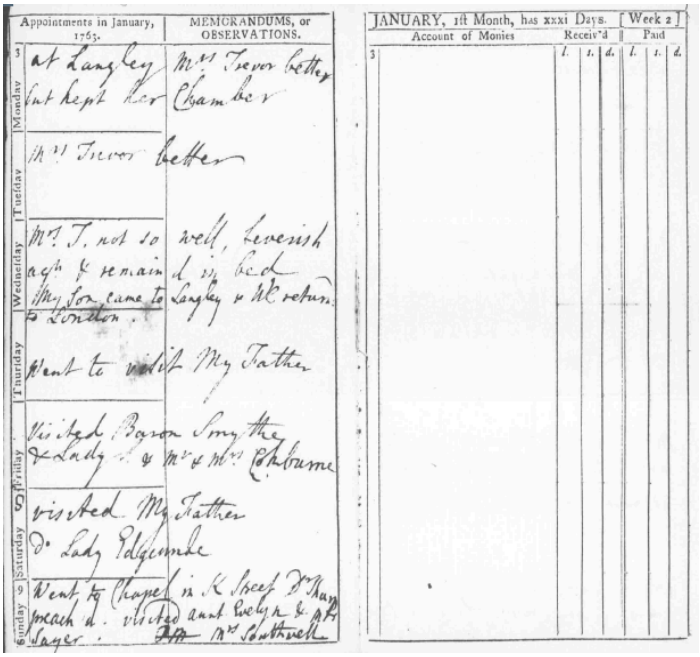


Fig. 1. Standard layout of diary space. Taken from the *Daily Journal* for 1763 (BOD, MS. Eng.misc.fol.71).

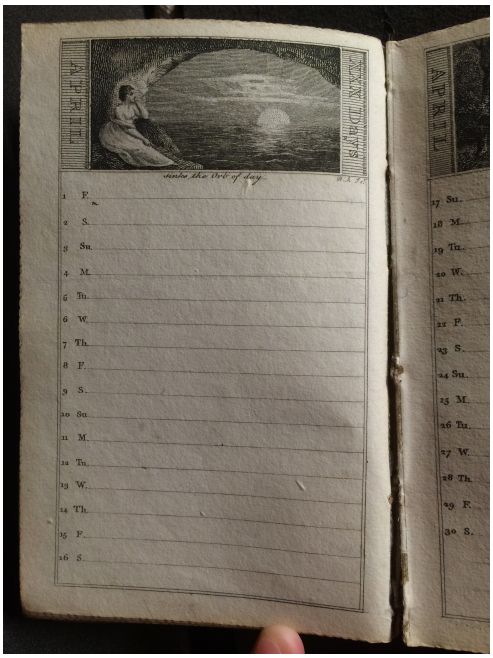


Fig. 2. Layout of diary space taken from the *Royal Engagement Pocket Atlas* for 1808 (BOD, Johnson. Alm.143).

This chapter focuses principally on the form depicted in Fig. 1. Other and earlier formats will also be examined; all are revealing of particular perceptions of use and of diary-keeping in general. However, the structure above left became the standardized format after 1760, and the majority of titles in this sample use it, or some variation of it. Its widespread use suggests that there was consensus about the model of diarizing it endorsed. The structure is self-explanatory. Each week was accorded a double-page spread, with the left page intended for

memorandums, observations and appointments, and the right an account of monies 'Receiv'd' and 'Paid'. Some diaries provided an extra full-page box for 'Memorandums' or 'Resolutions' at the beginning and end of the year; others provided extra pages at the front or the back to tally up monthly and yearly expenditure.

In these diaries, print and manuscript are situated side-by-side on the page. Deciding how to approach their interaction required positioning my methodology relative to existing historical debate on the nature of print, the nature of manuscript, and the relationship between the two. In early studies, print was deemed to be a fixed and immutable form[8] and in some way inherently 'opposite' to, and more authoritative than, manuscript. However, more recent scholarship has emphasised, firstly, the mutability of print[9] and secondly, the interaction and reciprocal influence of the two forms of text.[10] The evidence from these printed diaries supports the latter assertions. Their printed content was as fluid and 'liable to readjustment'[11] as the manuscript entries were. The introduction to several diaries explained how their content had been adapted 'at the request of our customers'.[12] One from 1763 explained that its pages

[8] See E. Eisenstein, *The Printing Press as an Agent of Change* (Cambridge, 1980).
[9] See Claes, 'Supplements and Paratext', 199; D. McKitterick, *Print, Manuscript and the Search for Order, 1450-1830* (Cambridge, 2003).
[10] See E. Bannett, 'Printed Epistolary Manuals and the Transatlantic Rescripting of Manuscript Culture', *Studies in Eighteenth Century Culture,* 36 (2007), 13-32; M. Barrett & P. Stallybrass, 'Printing, Writing and a Family Archive: Recording the First World War', *History Workshop Journal,* 75 (2013), 1-32; J. Raven, *Publishing Business in Eighteenth-Century England* (Woodbridge, 2014), 5; H. R. Woudhuysen, *Sir Philip Sidney and the Circulation of Manuscripts 1558-1640* (Oxford, 1996), 20-22.
[11] McKitterick, *Print,* 3.
[12] BL, P.P.2490.d, *The Daily Journal, or the Gentleman's and Tradesman's Complete Annual Accompt-Book* (1769), ii.[†]

> *…us'd to be divided into seven spaces, one for every day of the week; but now, at the request of a number of our friends, is left open without any division, which undoubtedly will be found much more useful, and less confin'd…'*[13]

Patterns of use shaped printed content as much as they did handwritten entries, and publishers recognised this interaction. One journal in the early nineteenth century left a blank for dates because 'everyone may not commence his journal at the same time':[14] here the diarist had a role to play in the very structuring of their diary. Several of these diaries recognized the fact that their users would adapt the space:

> *So this page forms a complete pocket cash book, as well as a memorandum book of receipts and disbursements of every kind; while the opposite page on the left answers for all appointments and occasional memorandums; and will also serve for a supply, when room is wanted in the other, for receipts or payments, &c.*[15]

Analysis here is therefore founded on the understanding that print and manuscript are interactive forms, rather than adversarial or oppositional. This was not the struggle that, as we will see, some historians have found it to be. Nonetheless, this analysis will start by considering the two forms as distinct and separate, because they were: printed diary format asserted particular idea(l)s of use to which individuals then responded. Existing studies of the pre-printed diary note the 'tightly determined spatial format' and 'strictures' of the page,[16] yet expend little space on exploring them in depth. The page structure is described in the context of what was written in it rather than what it alone can reveal of contemporary attitudes. 'On blank forms, manuscript comes after: it is

[13] BOD, MS. Eng.misc.fol.71, Diary of F. Boscawen (*The Daily Journal, or the Gentleman's and Tradesman's Complete Annual Accompt-Book,* 1763), ii.
[14] BOD, MS. Eng.misc.e.88, Diary of M. Davenport Hill (*The Student's Journal,* 1817), 3.
[15] BL, RB.23a.31718, *The Daily Journal, or the Gentleman's and Tradesman's Complete Annual Accompt-Book* (1767), Preface.
[16] Huff, 'Textual Boundaries', 125.

the technology of the future, not of the past';[17] exploring what came first gives an opportunity to better understand what came later.

II. Form

We have encountered, in previous chapters, the work done by individuals like Ephraim Chambers, Diderot and D'Alembert 'to parse, categorize and preserve'[18] and the taste for order that characterised scientific and other intellectual pursuits from the middle of the eighteenth century to the early nineteenth. It is overt in the pre-printed diary, and most notably in the tabulated page structure employed by publishers to regulate diarists' entries. Its use is revealing. It aligned the diary with other, contemporaneous documents that were formatted in a similar way, with similar limitations and dictates of space. These documents had particular connotations of method, fact and veracity which suggest not only that diary-keeping was intended to facilitate the collection, order and arrangement of knowledge; but also that the diary was – or was printed with the intention of being – an 'informational' form.

While the use of the table or grid as an organisational structure in print was not new to the late eighteenth century, as we saw in Chapter One, the widespread and varied uses it was put to in this period were. In the late seventeenth and early eighteenth centuries, the tabulated form was a means of organising

[17] Barrett & Stallybrass, 'Printing, Writing and a Family Archive', 5.
[18] J. Barchas, *Graphic Design, Print Culture and the Eighteenth-Century Novel* (Cambridge, 2003), 186; D. Headrick, *When Information Came of Age: Technologies of Knowledge in the Age of Reason and Revolution, 1700-1850* (Oxford, 2000), 8.

predominantly quantitative and statistical information, associated almost exclusively with the collation and comparison of data for political, socioeconomic and scientific purposes.[19] By the second half of the century, however, the visualisation of information and its spatial representation was a crucial part of information management.[20] Tables were employed in a much wider variety of contexts, to organise an array of different forms of information. Their value was lauded in late eighteenth-century commentary; writers advocated the tabular form as a method available to anyone who had any information they wanted to arrange and understand. In *Directions for the Use of a Scientific Table, for the Collection and Application of Knowledge* (1796), the table was promoted as a manifestation of the natural order; its compilation is of practical advantage, as well as being enjoyable. 'There is nothing so delightful', the anonymous author wrote, 'as the filling up of a system, or the reduction of disorder into harmony and method.' With the use of the table, 'every moment of our lives may be busily employed in examining, describing and recording.'[21] Tables were advertised in all manner of eighteenth-century texts and used in print to arrange anything from the 'relative digestibility of foods' to 'proper names in the Old and New

[19] See J. Brewer, *The Sinews of Power: War, Money and the English State 1688-1783* (1989), 222-4; I. B. Cohen, *The Triumph of Numbers: How Counting Shaped Modern Life* (2006); L. Daston, 'Super-Vision: Weather Watching and Table Reading in the Early Modern Royal Society and Académie Royal des Sciences', *Huntington Library Quarterly,* 78 (2015), 187-215; L. Jardine, *Francis Bacon: Discovery and the Art of Discourse* (1974), 88; K. Johanisson, 'Society in Numbers: The Debate of Quantification in Eighteenth-Century Political Economy', in T. Frangsmyr, J. L. Heilbron & R. E. Rider (eds), *The Quantifying Spirit in the Eighteenth Century* (Oxford, 1990), 345; M. Poovey, *A History of the Modern Fact* (Chicago, 1998); A. Rusnock, *Vital Accounts: Quantifying Health and Population in Eighteenth-Century England and France* (Cambridge, 2002), 6. For an eighteenth-century example of the use of the tabulated form in state/statistical pursuits see *An Abridgement of the Statutes in Force Relating to his Majesty's Excise, With a Table of the Titles of the Acts Abridged* (Edinburgh, 1728).

[20] J. Mokyr, *The Gifts of Athena: Historical Origins of the Knowledge Economy* (Oxford, 2002), 61; B. Stafford, 'Presuming Images and Consuming Words: The Visualization of Knowledge from the Enlightenment to Post-Modernism', in J. Brewer & R. Porter (eds), *Consumption and the World of Goods* (1993; this edn, 1994), 462.

[21] *Directions for the Use of a Scientific Table, for the Collection and Application of Knowledge* (1796), 3.

Testament'.[22] Consulting these tables reveals that they are often little more than glorified lists. They were also used in personal writing; in their correspondence late in the eighteenth century, Sir Joseph Banks and his correspondents employed hand-drawn tables in their letters to summarize the names and qualities of botanical samples they had sourced.[23]

The perceived advantage of the tabulated structure was two-fold. For one, it had implications of fact, accuracy and veracity as a result of its early usage as a form for organising statistical, predominantly numerical data. As the introduction to one early almanac explained, 'persons take tables upon trust without trying them.'[24] Second were its connotations of 'harmony and method', acknowledged even by its detractors. In the early nineteenth century, Thomas Carlyle dismissed tables as 'abstractions', holding 'no conclusion'; he could not deny though that they were 'beautifully reticulated [and] orderly to look upon'.[25]

It is significant in light of these associations that the table was used in the pre-printed diary from the mid-eighteenth century; indeed, it was advertised in some titles as their selling point. An article in the *Gentleman's Magazine* in 1753 lauded the 'distinct columns' around which the diary pages of the *Ladies Memorandum Book* were structured,[26] and many of the diaries themselves advertised the

[22] See for example, J. M. Adair, *Medical Cautions for the Consideration of Invalids…Containing a Table of the Relative Digestibility of Foods* (Bath, 1786); *Apocrypha, with Notes; To Which is Added, an Alphabetical Table of Proper Names in the Old and New Testament* (1776); A. Young, *A Tour in Ireland* (1780).
[23] N. Chambers (ed.), *The Indian and Pacific Correspondence of Sir Joseph Banks,* Vol. 3 (8 vols, 2008), 87-91, 184. Images of the original tables are reproduced in the centre of this volume.
[24] BOD, 8 R 78(1) Art, *Vade Mecum, or the Necessary Companion* (1679), Preface.
[25] T. Carlyle, 'Statistics', *Chartism* (1840), 8.
[26] *The Gentleman's Magazine and Historical Chronicle*, Jan. 1753.

tabulated aspect of their form in particular. The *Newcastle Memorandum Book* drew attention to the 'printed schemes for daily occurrences' that it provided,[27] while the introduction to the *Exeter Pocket Journal* for the same year celebrated its 'proper heads', 'convenient partitions' and 'convenient columns.'[28] Even the more decorative and less overtly tabulated *Royal Engagement Pocket Atlas* in 1786 boasted of its 'Three Hundred and Sixty-Five Engraved Columns for Engagements throughout the Year'.[29] Drawing attention to the format in this manner indicates that order and method were key attributes to be valued and prioritized in diary keeping; and, indeed, that it was viewed as subject to the same principles of organisation that guided other forms.

The table did not just invoke abstract notions of 'fact' and 'order'; it actively encouraged them. This is particularly evident in the information that was requested of the diarist. As Lisa Gitelman has observed in her study of blank documents,[30] drawing on Foucauldian ideas of the effects of classification, the very act of requesting particular information of an individual dehumanizes and objectifies them. In other words, in the context of the pre-printed diary, making room for some aspects of daily experience, not others, objectified the diarist-subject – or encouraged them to objectify themselves – by reducing them to their perceived 'essentials'. Mary Bellanca has written of the similarly-structured naturalist's journals of the late eighteenth century that their 'factuality is selective –structured, if not determined, by culturally specific beliefs about what

[27] BL, C.142.dd.28, Diary of T. Slack (*The Newcastle Memorandum Book,* 1755), Preface.
[28] BL, RB.8.a.12, *The Exeter Pocket Journal* (1755), Title Page.†
[29] HL, ST 109 v. 3, Diary of J. Brydges (*Royal Engagement Pocket Atlas,* 1786), Contents Page.
[30] Gitelman, *Paper Knowledge,* 31.

it is important to know.'[31] In the same way, the selectivity of the tabulated form in these journals suggested that certain aspects of individual experience were superfluous. In the layout of the pages in Fig. 1, for example, the aspects of experience deemed most useful to record are the appointments, memorandums, observations and financial transactions of the individual on a day-to-day basis. The introduction to one early journal explained the importance of dismissing redundant information:

> '*Most of the memorandum books hitherto published have either but one column for receipts and payments…or else have too much contracted them, in order to make room for some superfluities which we have here retrench'd.'*[32]

The column headers – and therefore the information that the diarist's entries were compartmentalised into – varied between different titles. What united all of them was the factual nature of the information that they requested, and the emphasis they placed on its utility. Memorandums, financial accounts, appointments and engagements were all statements of fact. Requests for this information, rather than for introspective musings or reflections, suggests that the latter was seen as superfluous to the process of diarizing. The closest any of these forms of diary got to accommodating the more introspective aspect of journalizing was the final box printed in several volumes entitled 'Memorandums and Resolutions' for the following year.[33] Even then, it has a forensic, scientific feel. The juxtaposition of table and prose was akin to the combination employed in contemporaneous scientific and observational studies, that paired tabulated data with interpretive text. As Frans De Bruyn has identified, Arthur Young used this combination of 'observed particulars' and

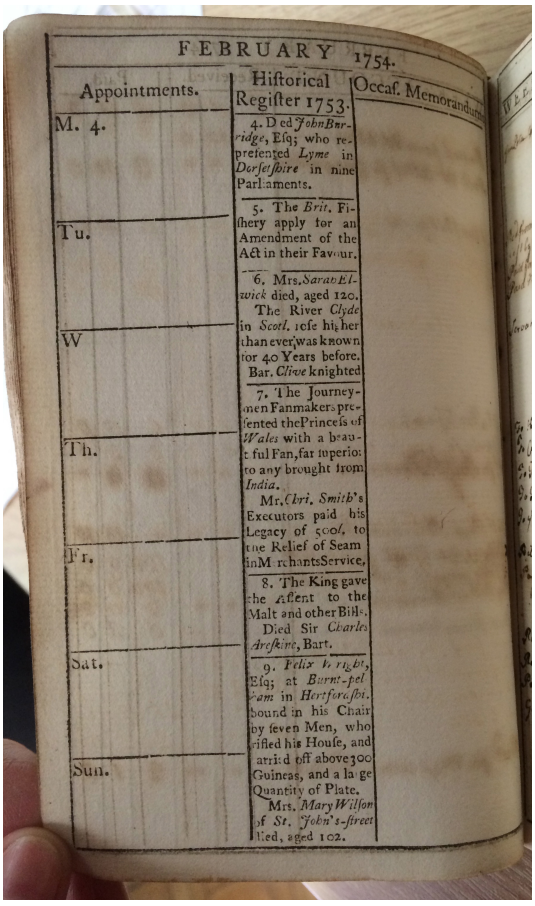
[31] M. E. Bellanca, *Daybooks of Discovery: Nature Diaries in Britain, 1770-1870* (2007), 57-8.
[32] BL, RB.8.a.12, *The Exeter Pocket Journal* (1755), Preface.†
[33] See, for example, BL, RB.23.a.31718, *The Daily Journal, or the Gentleman's and Tradesman's Complete Annual Accompt-Book* (1767).

broader discursive context, numerical figures and systematic understanding in his studies in the late eighteenth century.[34] Data is gathered for a particular entity – in these diaries, the individual and the year – and then assessed or analysed in prose at its end. In purely scientific terms, then, this diary encouraged both observation of fact – in the table – and its analysis – in its blank pages.

This is reinforced in the way these diaries were written. They were impersonal; a lack of personal pronouns and references to the diarist – columns were titled 'Memorandums' rather than 'My Memorandums', 'Money Paid' rather than 'Money I Paid' – discouraged introspection and encouraged entries to be written with what Lorraine Daston has termed 'aperspectival objectivity.'[35] Although an approach associated more with moral philosophy than science in the eighteenth century – this would change in the nineteenth[36] – the disembodied, impartial observer was becoming more of a feature of published scientific writing of the time. For example, the 'I' of the scientist gradually dwindled in use in the accounts of experiments in the *Philosophical Transactions* towards the end of the eighteenth century, and at the beginning of the nineteenth.[37] Just as the focus in scientific writing was increasingly on what was being observed, than the

[34] F. De Bruyn, 'From Georgic Poetry to Statistics and Graphs: Eighteenth-Century Representations and the "State" of British Society,' *Yale Journal of Criticism,* 17 (2004), 119-125. Arthur Young used this combination of statistics and commentary in his *Six Months' Tour through the North of England* (1771) although as Joel Mokyr has written, occasionally his conclusions did not agree with what his data actually indicated (*Gifts of Athena,* 71).
[35] L. Daston, 'Objectivity and the Escape from Perspective', *Social Studies of Science,* 22 (1992), 597. See also P. Becker & W. Clark, 'Introduction', in P. Becker & W. Clark (eds), *Little Tools of Knowledge: Historical Essays on Academic and Bureaucratic Practices* (Michigan, 2001), 1-35.
[36] Daston, 'Objectivity,' 601.
[37] D. Atkinson, 'The *Philosophical Transactions of the Royal Society of London,* 1675-1975: A Sociohistorical Discourse Analysis,' *Language in Society,* 25 (1996), 339-40.

observer, so these diaries gave the impression of a disembodied diarist, and agentless notations.


FEBRUARY 1754.

Appointments.	Historical Register 1753.	Occas. Memorandums.
M. 4.	4. Died *John Burridge*, Esq; who represented *Lyme* in *Dorsetshire* in nine Parliaments.	
Tu.	5. The *Brit.* Fishery apply for an Amendment of the Act in their Favour.	
W	6. Mrs. *Sarah Elwick* died, aged 120. The River *Clyde* in *Scotl.* rose higher than ever was known for 40 Years before. Bar. *Clive* knighted	
Th.	7. The Journeymen Fanmakers presented the Princess of *Wales* with a beautiful Fan, far superior to any brought from *India*. Mr. *Chri. Smith*'s Executors paid his Legacy of 500*l.* to the Relief of Seamen in Merchants Service,	
Fr.	8. The King gave the Assent to the Malt and other Bills. Died Sir *Charles Areskine*, Bart.	
Sat.	9. *Felix Wright*, Esq; at *Burnt-pel Lam* in *Hertfordshi.* bound in his Chair by seven Men, who rifled his House, and carried off above 300 Guineas, and a large Quantity of Plate. Mrs. *Mary Wilson* of *St. John's-street* died, aged 102.	
Sun.		

Fig. 3. The 'Historical Register' that featured in early editions of the *New Memorandum Book Improv'd* (this edn, 1754, BIA, GDP/125).

The emphasis on the recording of impartial fact is highlighted in other aspects of printed content. The pages of useful information that flanked the central pages of these journals featured in the previous chapter. Some publishers formatted this information into the diary pages themselves. As Fig. 3 indicates, early volumes of Robert Dodsley's *New Memorandum Book Improv'd* included an 'Historical Register' that ran down the middle of the page for memorandums and observations.[38] Similarly, several volumes of Suttaby and Co.'s *The Sovereign*

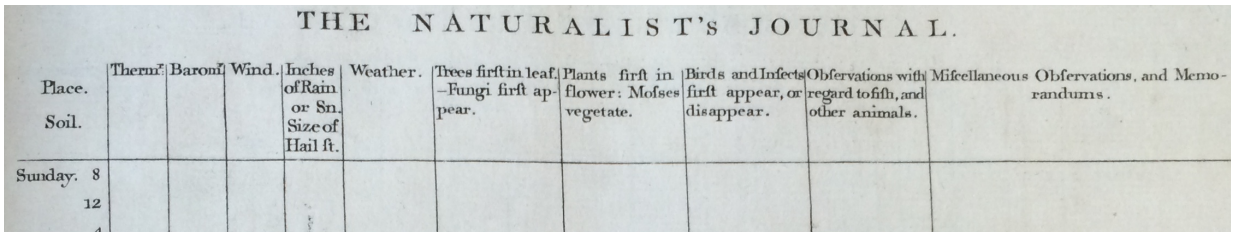
[38] See BL, P.P.2490.cc, *The New Memorandum Book Improv'd* (1753)[†]; BIA, GDP/125, Diary of N. Cholmeley (*The New Memorandum Book Improv'd,* 1754).

pocket diary in the early nineteenth century prefaced each day with notable historical events.[39] In both cases, entries made by the diarist about their own life sat alongside momentous events in (usually British) history. It was intended, the introduction to Dodsley's diary explained, to remind the diarist of their own 'uselessness and insignificance',[40] by juxtaposing the facts of the diarist's life with those of national history. History provided a model for the entries made by the diarist in other ways too. In contrast to the tolerance, and even 'active employment' of fictional elements in history in the late seventeenth and early eighteenth centuries,[41] it was viewed as a purely factual pursuit in this period. As Adam Smith explained in 1763, historians 'narrate facts barely as they are',[42] and Samuel Johnson expressed a similar sentiment in the same year: a historian 'has facts ready to his hand, so he has no exercise of invention. Imagination is not required in any high degree.'[43] The sequence of unrelated snippets of historical fact in these pages therefore reflect the behaviour expected from the diarist. The same principle can be found in later publications. In *The Christian's Pocket Book* for 1794, each day commenced with a pertinent quote from the Bible, presumably intended to influence the daily activity of the diarist[44] and remind them of the perspective from which they should be writing.

[39] See, for example, HL, FB 19, Diary of F. Beaufort (*The Sovereign,* 1835).
[40] BL, P.P.2490.cc, *The New Memorandum Book Improv'd* (1753).†
[41] P. F. Da Costa, 'The Making of Extraordinary Facts: Authentication and Singularities of Nature at the Royal Society of London in the First Half of the Eighteenth Century', *Studies in History and Philosophy of Science,* 33 (2002), 269).
[42] J. C. Bryce (ed.), *The Glasgow Edition of the Works and Correspondence of Adam Smith, Vol. 4, Lectures on Rhetoric and Belles Lettres* (6 vols, Oxford, 1983; this edn, 2014), 7. P. H. Reill writes that the 'ideal expository form' of the new science of facts and observation was historical narrative, in 'The Legacy of the Scientific Revolution: Science and the Enlightenment', in R. Porter (ed.), *The Cambridge History of Science, Vol. 4* (7 vols, Cambridge, 2002-2013; this vol., 2003), 31.
[43] S. Johnson, quoted by James Boswell in F. A. Pottle (ed.), *Boswell's London Journal, 1762-1763* (1950), 293.
[44] TNA, C.112/71, *The Christian's Pocket Book* (1794).

Thus far, we have seen how the tabulated form essentialized, or objectified the diarist, and how it promoted impartial fact in the recounting of experience. In these components it reflected the knowledge economy of the late eighteenth and early nineteenth centuries. It also reflected contemporaneous changes in scientific processes of the period. A recurring column heading in these diaries was 'Memorandums and/or Observations' or 'Memorandums, Observations and Appointments' (See Figs. 9 & 10). This heading, 'Observations', was a staple both in the pages laid out for weekly entries, and in the full-page boxes that frequently began and ended the year. It appeared in other, similarly interactive forms. Daines Barrington's *Naturalist's Journal* first appeared in the second half of the eighteenth century, as a tool for aspiring botanists and naturalists to record seasonal changes in their gardens and environment. One column of Barrington's table, (Fig. 4, overleaf), was titled 'Miscellaneous Observations and Memorandums'.[45] Equally, in naval logbooks (Fig. 5, overleaf), 'Remarkable Observations and Accidents' were a key aspect of the record expected to be kept on board vessels, both in the hand-lined and post-1800 printed versions.[46] Finally, 'Observations' was also one of several columns that populated statistical tables, as the extract from *Political Geography: Introduction to the Statistical Tables of the Principal Empires, Kingdoms and States in Europe* (1789) below shows (Fig. 6).

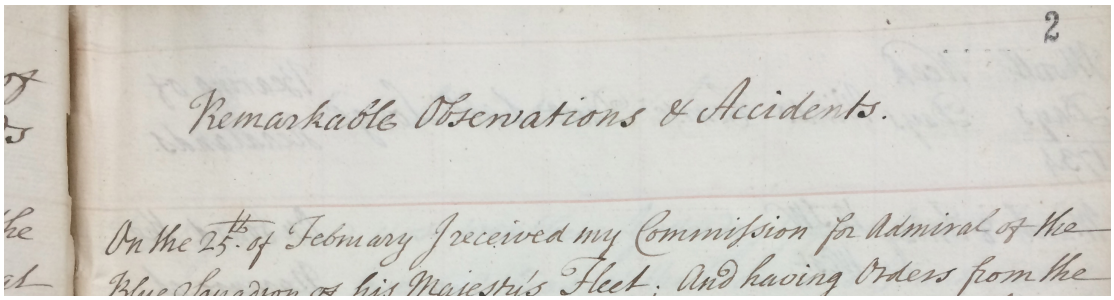
[45] D. Barrington, *The Naturalist's Journal* (1767).
[46] See TNA, ADM 50/28, Log Book for the 'Namure', the 'Dreadnought' and the 'Princess Amelia' (1702-36).



THE NATURALIST'S JOURNAL.

Place. Soil.	Therm.	Barom.	Wind.	Inches of Rain or Sn. Size of Hail ft.	Weather.	Trees first in leaf. —Fungi first appear.	Plants first in flower: Mosses vegetate.	Birds and Insects first appear, or disappear.	Observations with regard to fish, and other animals.	Miscellaneous Observations, and Memorandums.
Sunday. 8										
12										

Fig. 4. Column headings of *The Naturalist's Journal* (1767).

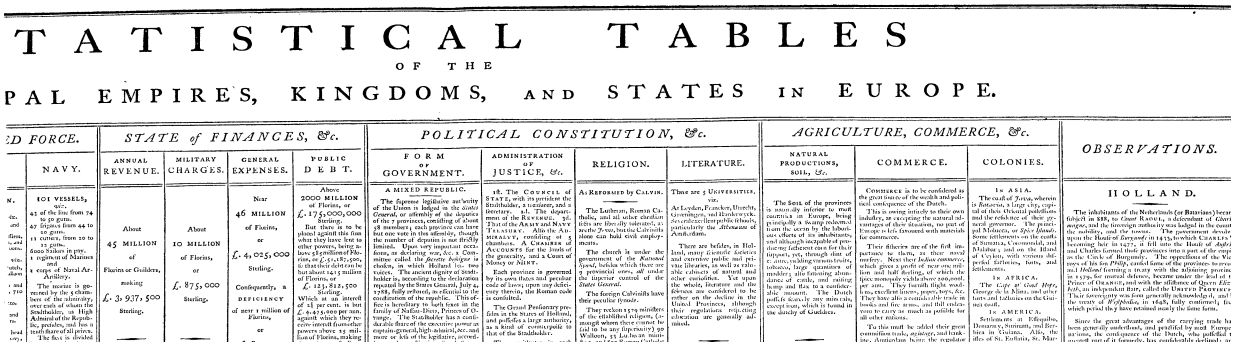


2

Remarkable Observations & Accidents.

On the 25th of February I received my Commission for Admiral of the Blue Squadron of his Majesties Fleet: And having Orders from the

Fig. 5. 'Remarkable Observations and Accidents' were requested in naval logbooks along with information on 'Winds', 'Course', 'Latitude' and 'Longitude' (this example from 1734, TNA, ADM 50/28, f. 2r).



TATISTICAL TABLES
OF THE
PAL EMPIRES, KINGDOMS, AND STATES IN EUROPE.

D FORCE. NAVY.	STATE of FINANCES, &c. ANNUAL REVENUE.	MILITARY CHARGES.	GENERAL EXPENSES.	PUBLIC DEBT.	POLITICAL CONSTITUTION, &c. FORM OF GOVERNMENT.	ADMINISTRATION OF JUSTICE, &c.	RELIGION.	LITERATURE.	AGRICULTURE, COMMERCE, &c. NATURAL PRODUCTIONS, SOIL, &c.	COMMERCE.	COLONIES.	OBSERVATIONS.
101 VESSELS, &c.	About 45 MILLION of Florins or Guilders, making L. 3,937,500 Sterling.	About 10 MILLION of Florins, or L. 875,000 Sterling.	Near 46 MILLION of Florins, or L. 4,025,000 Sterling. Consequently, a DEFICIENCY of near 1 million of Florins, or	Above 2000 MILLION of Florins, or L. 175,000,000 Sterling.	A MIXED REPUBLIC.	18. The COUNCIL of STATE, with its president the Stadtholder, a treasurer, and a secretary. 21. The department of the REVENUE, 30. That of the ARMY and NAVY TREASURY. Also the ADMIRALTY, consisting of 5 chambers. 17. CHAMBER of ACCOUNTS, for the limits of Guelderland, and a Court of Money or Mint.	AS REFORMED by CALVIN.	Three are 5 UNIVERSITIES, viz.	The SOIL of the provinces is much the inferior to most countries in Europe, being principally a swampy morass.	COMMERCE is to be considered as the great source of the wealth and political consequence of the Dutch.	IN ASIA.	HOLLAND.

Fig. 6. Extract of half of the double-page tables of statistics in *Political Geography* (1789), including the column for 'Observations' (far right).

At first there appears to be little to connect these forms. The observations made by a country parson in his *Daily Journal* would differ significantly from those of a naval officer, aspiring botanist, or statistician. Yet 'observation' was at the heart of the 'new science' of the century[47] and was encouraged in popular scientific pursuits. One historian has described it as the 'enlightened way of seeing,'[48] and another 'a peculiar economy of attention cultivated by the Enlightenment.'[49]

[47] L. Daston & E. Lunbeck, 'Introduction', in L. Daston & E. Lunbeck (eds), *Histories of Scientific Observation* (Chicago, 2011), 13; Reill, 'The Legacy of the Scientific Revolution', 31.

[48] Reill, 'The Legacy of the Scientific Revolution', 145.

[49] L. Daston, 'The Empire of Observation, 1600-1800', in *Histories of Scientific Observation*, 99. Observation as the most reliable source of information was widely recognized; for example, Miss

While not explicitly scientific in all cases, the request for observations in these forms betrays its scientific roots. All of the observations to be made in the above forms are empirical: notes made should be rooted in something seen, whether scientific or not. The space allocated for them in the diary therefore reiterated the role of the diarist as an active observer (and observed), and encouraged the individual to pay attention to themselves as a scientist would an experiment, or a naturalist would their garden.

The changing structures of all of these forms, including the diary, reflected changes in the nature of scientific observation that took place over the course of the eighteenth century. Observation should be repetitive. Rather than one observation of a remarkable, unusual occurrence, an approach that had characterised seventeenth-century scientific pursuits, information should be gathered over the course of repeated, continuous surveillance.[50] The diary encouraged a sustained attention to the self at regular intervals. Its 'dailiness' also encouraged a more comprehensive collection of the facts of day-to-day life. Structuring the diary around smaller intervals of time – or at least, seeming to remove from the diarist the option of skipping or eliding days – demanded greater, and more frequent detail, while avoiding the pitfalls of the 'minute' accounts so witheringly condemned in popular print. In other words, breaking things down by day encouraged a level of detail seen to be intrinsic to the writing of fact.

Tilney explains, on the subject of history, that observations are more reliable than received facts in J. Austen, *Northanger Abbey* (1817; this edn, 1848), 87.

[50] Daston 'Empire of Observation', 93.

Other aspects of the diary format are functions of the same expectation of comprehensive information. Variations on the standard, tabulated form of these diaries throughout the period presented the diarist with an even more itemized, compartmentalised structure with which to record their daily affairs. M. Cooper's *Daily Journal* for 1750 provided the diarist with eight columns – rather than the standard five or six – with which to organise their journalizing. The format included a separate column for 'Where/With Whom', and one that distinguished 'Money Paid and To Whom' from 'Money Expended or Laid Out'.[51] The same 'With Whom' column appeared in Baldwin's *Daily Journal* for 1752.[52] These particularities were not just a symptom of early forms: they persisted into the nineteenth century. However, while the detail expected from the diarist did not change over time, the nature of that detail did: diaries around the turn of the century were formatted to collate and itemise expenditure in particular. The *Country Gentleman's Companion* in 1795 provided a ready-formatted and itemised accounting space, ready-filled with specific farming goods: 'wheat, barley, vetches, sheep or lambs, pigs, butter', among others.[53] *The Gentleman's, Tradesman's and Farmer's Complete Pocket Companion* for 1804 contained pages specifically for the entry of tax.[54] Early nineteenth century versions of Baldwin's *Daily Journal*[55] – as well as some of the more decorative pocket books[56] –offered pages of tables for the individual to calculate 'monthly abstracts of cash', based

[51] NLS, AB.1.76.119, *A Daily Journal for the Year 1750* (1750).
[52] BL, RB.23.a.26479, *The Daily Journal, or Gentleman's and Tradesman's Methodical Accompt-Book* (1752).†
[53] BL, RB.23.a.8946, *The Country Gentleman's Companion, or the Farmer's Complete Accompt-Book* (1795).
[54] BOD, (Alm) 22871 f.65, *The Gentleman's, Tradesman's and Farmer's Complete Pocket Companion* (1804).
[55] See NRS, GD 477/474/3, Diary of H. Jenkinson (*The Daily Journal, or Gentleman's, Merchant's and Tradesman's Complete Annual Accompt Book,* 1810); HRO, 11M70/D2, Diary of J. Lampard (*The Daily Journal, or Gentleman's, Merchant's and Tradesman's Complete Annual Accompt Book,* 1812).
[56] See HL, ST 118 v.3, Diary of M. Grenville (*Marshall's Cabinet of Fashion,* 1830).

on the weekly totals of expenditure recorded throughout the year. In effect, these were tables that summarized tables, condensing previously recorded financial information, to re-tabulate it according to different categories of time. The same could be said of the 'Memorandums and Observations' boxes that frequently bookended the year's diary: 'observations on observations'[57], they encouraged referring back to the memorandums and observations made throughout the year to then select, collate and condense them in these summary boxes.

The redactive power of the table to condition the entries made in it was the subject of some contention amongst statisticians in the late eighteenth century. They were concerned that their colleagues would only favour topics which lent themselves to numerical presentation because they 'took less space'.[58] In contrast, the effects of limited space are actively promoted in these diaries. They laud the fact that entries must be made in a 'concise and plain manner.'[59] The limitations of space were, of course, not new with the pre-printed diary. Almanacs and similar forms encouraged record-keeping on a pocket-sized scale, their size and structure preventing 'information overload' and encouraging what Peter Stallybrass and his colleagues have called 'epitomizing.'[60] We have seen, too, that individuals also imposed spatially restrictive structures themselves. However, the use of the tabulated form in these diaries delimited this space even more by organising it into rows and columns. There was little room for

[57] Daston, 'Empire of Observation', in *Histories of Scientific Observation,* 101.
[58] P. F. Lazarsfeld, 'Notes on the History of Quantification in Sociology: Trends, Sources, and Problems', *Isis,* 52 (1961), 292. See also De Bruyn, 'From Georgic Poetry to Statistics and Graphs,' 127. For the role of the table in redactive general observation see A. Mendelsohn, 'The World on a Page: Making a General Observation in the Eighteenth Century', in *Histories of Scientific Observation,* 420.
[59] BOD, MS. Eng.misc.fol.71, Diary of F. Boscawen (*Daily Journal,* 1763), ii.
[60] R. Chartier, J. F. Mowery, P. Stallybrass & H. Wolfe, 'Hamlet's Tables and the Technologies of Writing in Renaissance England', *Shakespeare Quarterly,* 55 (2004), 412.

description; memorandums could be a few words, but not full sentences. The development of one brand of diary effectively demonstrates that this emphasis on brevity intensified in the late eighteenth century. Baldwin's *Daily Journal* for 1752 provided four pages per week: the first page for 'Appointments' and 'With Whom'; the second, money received and paid; the third, a 'Daily Remembrancer'; and the fourth, memorandums and observations.[61] Within only a few years those four pages per week had been halved to two, yet only one column –'With Whom' –had been removed.[62] This format enshrined contemporary modes of thought that connected brevity and 'formal minimalism'[63] of expression with objective fact; the more precise, concise and brief the expression, the more 'factual' the information. There was no room for the rhetoric that, as the previous chapter showed, was so disparaged by commentators.

Rebecca Hogan has written that selection and structure are intrinsic characteristics of diary-writing.[64] However, the selection and structure provided in this genre made it very different from traditional models of diary-keeping. The form of the pre-printed diary promoted notions of brevity, selectivity and detail associated with 'fact' in the late eighteenth century. It was one of a growing array of standardized print forms available in this period;[65] the product of a contemporary attitude that prioritised the collection and organisation of information, and redefined processes of observation and experience, and the role

[61] BL, RB.23.a.26479, *The Daily Journal* (1752).[†]
[62] CBS, D/DR/10/23/1, *The Daily Journal, or Gentleman's and Tradesman's Complete Annual Pocket Book* (1756).
[63] Barchas, *Graphic Design,* 193.
[64] R. Hogan, 'Engendered Autobiographies: The Diary as a Feminine Form', *Prose Studies: History, Theory, Criticism,* 14 (1991), 104.
[65] Raven, *Publishing Business,* 266.

of the individual within it. That is not to say that the diary was suddenly perceived to be on a par with encyclopaedias and other reference and scientific works; rather, its form enshrined changing ideas of diary-keeping that were also the product of these ways of thinking. John Guillory has written that 'informational writing…makes formatting as visible as possible;'[66] sure enough, the version of self-writing enshrined in this tabulated form prioritized its 'informational' purpose over anything else. The genre was not completely 'dehumanizing'; it made some concessions to more traditional conceptions of the practice of journalizing. In no way, however, was it a genre conflicted about its purpose. The otherwise strictly structured space overwhelmingly promoted utility, precision and clarity over reflection and introspection. It still permitted, as any diary did, an opportunity to view the 'whole' of individual experience. Unlike other self-writing forms, however, the tabulated structure meant that this whole was built, methodically and rationally, from cells containing discrete facts.

However, as Judith Barchas has written, such systems, lists and collections 'promised the eighteenth century order but did not guarantee it.'[67] It is tempting to imbue print with the power to dictate use when examining it in isolation. It is hard to resist thinking of the tabulated forms of these diaries as rigid structures to be 'obeyed' and 'disobeyed'; this has its own consequences, as discussion in the next section will explain. It is therefore only by looking at use that it is possible to gauge the way that individuals responded to the form and the ideas enshrined in it, and the extent to which they shared or rejected them.

[66] J. Guillory, 'The Memo and Modernity', *Critical Inquiry,* 31 (2004), 128.
[67] Barchas, *Graphic Design,* 186.

III. Use

As discussion of the source material in the Introduction demonstrated, the pre-printed diaries in the sample used here were owned by a variety of diarists of both genders, and of a range of professions and social backgrounds. Given this variety, the commonalities that exist in ways of using are remarkable. They suggest shared attitudes about the form and function of the pre-printed diary.

That said, some habits were evidently inherited from earlier in the century. Much as their predecessors had in the early modern period, throughout the late eighteenth and early nineteenth centuries, individuals in this sample used their pre-printed diaries as places to compile, almost to commonplace, snippets of fact or useful knowledge. The nature of this 'knowledge' varied between diarists: individuals would list items or facts, copy extracts from elsewhere, or 'inventory' particular subjects. In some cases, these subjects were personal. In his 1777 *Daily Journal,* country curate Richard Ford listed 'an account of my linnen' on its first blank page, and in 1778 in the same place, 'bottles due to me from my brother.'[68] Around the turn of the century, Hester Thrale's husband Gabriel Piozzi used the first blank page of his *Daily Journal* to note 'Wages at X per annum', and the last blank pages for a list of almost seventy names entitled 'visits at Bath'.[69] A few years later, diplomat George Chad kept laundry lists, book lists, and an inventory of 'cloathes taken to town' in his Kearsley's *Pocket Ledgers*

[68] HRO, 29M65/2-3, Diaries of R. Ford (*Daily Journals,* 1777-1778).
[69] NLW, MS 11097A, Diary of G. Piozzi (*The Daily Journal, or Gentleman's, Merchant's and Tradesman's Complete Annual Accompt-Book*, 1801).[†]

when he was a student.[70] In many cases, such lists were sketchy or rushed, made on the move rather than deliberate, time-consuming indexes; yet even this demonstrates the status of these books as a useful 'cabinet' of knowledge for their owners, and a 'go-to' for information useful in their everyday affairs.

Lists, as historian of science James Delbourgo has written, 'simultaneously inventoried and organized the accumulated world.'[71] They are inherently useful, and also methodical, organising forms, with both an epistemic and practical function. Those compiled by diarists regularly echoed the format and nature of those printed in the pages either side of the central diary section, in a way that suggested a certain unity of 'useful information.' The anonymous owner of the *Yorkshire Memorandum Book* for 1785 listed several legal terms in Latin in its back pages: 'indebitatus assumpsit: for debt in sum certain.'[72] Diarist Tristram Jervoise used his 1786 diary to note chaotic lists of 'the national debt' and 'the state of the navy', both examples of information characteristic of that to be found printed in these volumes.[73] In 1815, geologist and surveyor William Smith used the back of his diary to index, by reference number, the copies sold of his map of England and Wales.[74]

[70] See BL, Add. MS. 59705-6, Diaries of G. W. Chad (*Kearsley's Gentleman's and Tradesman's Pocket Ledger,* 1807; *Peacock's Complete Pocket Journal and Annual Vade Mecum,* 1808). All are recorded in the blank pages at the front of these diaries, except the list of 'cloathes taken to town', which is written in the pages for the final week of January, 1807.
[71] J. Delbourgo, 'Listmania: How Lists Can Open Up Fresh Possibilities in the History of Science', *Isis,* 103 (2012), 713. For the role of lists in the creation of knowledge see also I. Charmantier & S. Muller-Wille, 'Lists as Research Technologies', *Isis,* 103 (2012), 743-52.
[72] BL, RB.23.a.31077, *The Yorkshire Memorandum Book* (1785).
[73] HRO, 44M69/E11/130, Diary of T. H. Jervoise (*The Daily Journal, or the Gentleman's, Merchant's and Tradesman's Complete Annual Accompt-Book,* 1786), double page for the first week of January.
[74] OUMNH, WS/B/014, Diary of W. Smith (1815).

The information inscribed in these diaries did not just appear in list form. It was an eclectic mix. Recipes or 'receipts' for cooking and medical remedies were handwritten by their owners into blank pages at the front and back, and across the printed diary pages themselves.[75] For example, Henry Brydges, the second Duke of Chandos, copied into his Dodsley's *New Memorandum Book* for 1756 a recipe for mixing laudanum with a 'pint of wine'.[76] Nine years later the anonymous user of a *Ladies New Memorandum Book* copied a recipe for 'ginger pills' into the pages of her diary, alongside one for raspberry wine, and instructions 'to preserve plums.'[77] Other diarists in this sample also copied poetry[78] and more literary excerpts into their diaries, as well as sketches. Young gentlewoman Frances Fanshawe noted churchyard epitaphs and Italian poems in her diaries for 1776 and 1782, as well as a watercolour copy of a 'fashionable headdress' in the 'Memorandums and Resolutions' box of her diary for 1776.[79] Joshua Reynolds used his Dodsley's *Memorandum Books* to draft his 'Notes' on the nature of art.[80]

This emphasis on lists, facts and excerpts is not to say these were not personal forms of information. Rather, it is to emphasize how the conception of diarizing

[75] See the recipe to cure 'stomachick for wind and gout' in LA, DIXON/7/4/3, Diary of W. Dixon (*The Daily Journal, or the Gentleman's, Merchant's and Tradesman's Complete Annual Accompt Book,* 1790), blank page opposite the title page; and the recipes for gingerbread and cauliflower noted in the central diary pages in BOD, G.A. Northumb.16A 1, Anon., *The Newcastle Memorandum Book, or A Methodical Journal* (1808).
[76] HL, ST 108 v.2, Diary of H. Brydges (*New Memorandum Book Improv'd,* 1756), accounts page for the first week of January.
[77] BL, RB.23.a.9263, *The Ladies New Memorandum Book* (1765), accounts page for the first week of January.
[78] BL, C.115.n.68, *Lane's Ladies Museum* (1792), see page for 'Observations at the Beginning of the Year'; double pages of diary for late January and early February.
[79] NRS, GD 477/473/2, Diary of F. Fanshawe (*The Ladies Most Elegant and Convenient Pocket Book,* 1776).
[80] H. Solomon, *The Rise of Robert Dodsley: Creating the New Age of Print* (Carbondale, 1996), 131.

was different in this form, so the 'personal' in these diaries was often expressed in the snippets of information copied into them. Marie-Noëlle Bourguet is one of several historians who have demonstrated what she calls the 'variety of cognitive and memory patterns'[81] that can be enshrined in an apparently unrevealing inscription, or even blank space.[82] A recipe for gout that was copied into William Dixon's journal, for example, might suggest something of the state of his health at the time he was writing. The fact that London gentleman Charles de Coetlogon copied the same extract about financial good management into the diaries in which he kept meticulous financial records suggests that he was preoccupied with, or at least prioritized, his own money management. On two consecutive weeks of Mary Grenville, Duchess of Buckingham and Chandos' diary in the early nineteenth century are copied excerpts from newspapers about the divorce proceedings of 'Parratt. Vs. Parratt';[83] little more than a note of sensational information, perhaps, but writing on subsequent pages reveals that these excerpts documented the divorce proceedings of her husband's mistress, following discovery of their affair. These snippets of apparently raw fact were nonetheless personal.

In many instances, these snippets were material. As in earlier pocket books, the pockets regularly bound into the front and back covers of the diary encouraged individuals to use their diaries as repositories of physical 'information', as well as textual. Nathaniel Cholmeley in 1754 was one of several who tucked a note into

[81] M-N. Bourguet, 'A Portable World: The Notebooks of European Travellers (Eighteenth to Nineteenth Centuries)', *Intellectual History Review,* 20 (2010), 391.
[82] Huff, 'Textual Boundaries', 123-138.
[83] HL, ST 118 v.19, Diary of M. Grenville (*Marshall's Ladies Elegant Pocket Souvenir,* 1849), diary page for final week of May.

the front pocket of his *New Memorandum Book;*[84] others did the same with letters, receipts, bills and newspaper cuttings. These items were placed between diary pages too: in 1786, Tristram Jervoise tucked his own, handmade account book between the pages of his *Daily Journal*,[85] and almost forty years later, William Dixon did the same.[86] Even the more unusual items (Fig. 7) might still have served some form of referential function.

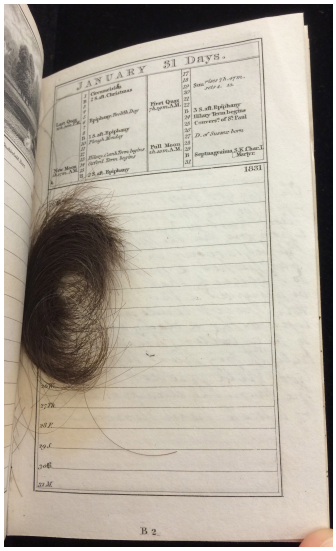


Fig. 7. Lock of hair enclosed in Anna Eliza Grenville's *Polite Repository* for 1831 (HL, ST 110 v. 8).

These material uses of the pre-printed diary rendered it a scrapbook as well as a commonplace book, where information of all forms could be collected and compiled. In many ways, the evidence of this habit of collection, compilation and arrangement alone, so reminiscent of earlier practices, does little to separate these pre-printed forms from commonplace books or, in fact, any blank book. Lists and information can be jotted anywhere, flowers tucked between the pages of any text or notebook, and in all cases are autobiographical wherever they are

[84] BIA, GDP/125, Diary of N. Cholmeley (*The New Memorandum Book Improv'd*, 1754).
[85] HRO, 44M69/E11/130, Diary of T. H. Jervoise (*Daily Journal*, 1786).
[86] LA, DIXON/7/4/9, Diary of W. Dixon (*The Daily Journal, or the Gentleman's, Merchant's and Tradesman's Complete Annual Accompt-Book,* 1824).

written or collected. What distinguishes these, however, is the way that the characteristics of and motivations behind these compilations of information were paralleled in the actual diary-keeping practices of the same individuals. The dictates of factual content, brevity and succinctness that shaped these lists and indexes, and were encouraged in the form of the diary, can be found in the entries, memorandums, retrospective accounts and financial notes of diarists throughout the late eighteenth and early nineteenth centuries.

Ways of Using: Diary Content

That these diaries were considered useful and factually accurate by their owners is evident from the nature of their entries. The majority of diarists kept principally retrospective accounts, occasionally with plans for future time. Brevity and conciseness are common characteristics of their writing. Many of the diarists write in clipped phrases, with little description. This is to be expected from those who used their diaries to note appointments; the brevity of painter George Romney's notes of portrait sittings – 'Mr Pitt at 2', 'at 2 a lady' – are unsurprising.[87] Equally, concise notes regarding work are to be expected; the farmer who owned *The Daily Journal* for 1762 writes simply 'shourn our lambs', or 'shourn our ewes.'[88] Yet this conciseness also applies to those who wrote more descriptive entries. The anonymous owner of *The Ladies Museum* for 1774 described a storm while she was at sea in short, staccato phrases; 'blew very

[87] BL, Add. MS. 38081, Diary of G. Romney (*The Complete Pocket Book,* 1776).
[88] HRO, 44M69/E19/18, Diary of Anon. tenant of Jervoise Family (*Daily Journal,* 1762), diary pages for June.

hard, in great danger'; 'blow'd very hard.'[89] Others used abbreviations where possible: in her diary in 1763, Frances Boscawen's entries provide minimal explanation and little punctuation; 'went to Wimbledon', 'pm visited Sir Sydney.'[90] In his *Daily Journal* for 1801, Gabriel Piozzi wrote 'We arrived at Bath no 3 Laura Place lodging at six guineas per week' and in another entry, 'Lady Colebrooke a small party.'[91] This minimalism from these and other diarists who wasted few words were a response to the limitations of space in the pre-printed form; but even when given the opportunity, and space, for fuller entries, few took it. In many cases the full-page 'Memorandums and Resolutions' box printed in these diaries have been left blank. Those filled tended to be used for notes (Fig. 8, overleaf), or were similar to that of Richard Ford who, in his 1777 diary, wrote only one resolution, to 'keep but little company and dine from home but seldom.'[92]

For many, brevity of expression went hand-in-hand with the keeping of factual observations. Most diarists abandoned descriptive accounts altogether, focusing solely on recounting the events of the day with little embellishment. In some cases, otherwise quite remarkable occasions passed with little description or response. For example, in 1763, Frances Boscawen described the facts of a visit to her father – 'went to wait on my father. He made my daughters a present of 5

[89] BL, C.115.n.68, *Lane's Ladies Museum* (1774), diary pages for months of February & March. Similar to these are William Henry Fox Talbot's entries in his *Polite Repository* in 1816: 'Left Town', 'Thunderstorm. Fine afterwards', 'Rode to York. Saw the Castle' (BL, Add. MS. 88942/5/1/5, see pages for months of July & August).
[90] BOD, MS. Eng.misc.fol.71, Diary of F. Boscawen (*Daily Journal,* 1763), entry for 11 Apr.
[91] NLW, MS 11097A, Diary of G. Piozzi (*Daily Journal,* 1801), entries for 26 Jan., 9 Mar.†
[92] HRO, 29M65/2, Diary of R. Ford (*Daily Journal,* 1777), page for 'Memorandums & Resolutions' at the end of the year.

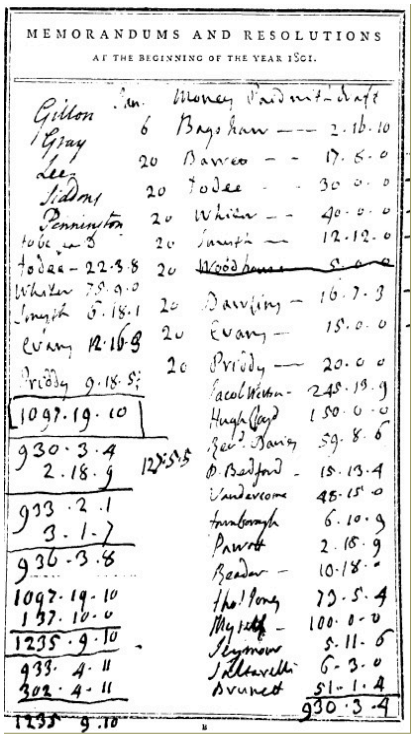

MEMORANDUMS AND RESOLUTIONS
AT THE BEGINNING OF THE YEAR 1801.

Fig. 8. Gabriel Piozzi's appropriation of the 'Memorandums and Resolutions' space of his *Daily Journal* for 1801 (NLW, MS 11097A†).

guineas for a suit of lace'[93] –with the same minimal description with which she recounted meeting the Queen –'was presented to the Queen with my daughter.'[94] On the rare occasion that Boscawen reflected on an event, those reflections were minimal. She comments on an acquaintance's collection being 'the finest I ever saw'[95], and later writes that she 'had an accident but by God's providence was not hurt.' [96] Indeed, few individuals allowed themselves to enter into introspective reflection, speculation or emotion beyond the odd 'God willing' and 'thanks to God' for a particular piece of good fortune.[97]

[93] BOD, MS. Eng.misc.fol.71, Diary of F. Boscawen (*Daily Journal,* 1763), entry for 1 Jan.
[94] Ibid. entry for 24 Feb.
[95] Ibid. entry for 2 Mar.
[96] Ibid. entry for 28 May.
[97] BL, RB.23a.10115, *The Complete Pocket Book* (1775), entry for 12 Jan.

This facticity applied not only to personal experience but the recounting of larger, current events. Several diarists interspersed factual accounts of events in their own lives with news; in his university diary, for example, George Chad wrote 'siege of Copenhagen by British forces under Lord Cathcart.'[98] Such entries are reminiscent of the chronologies printed in the earlier diaries. The content in other diaries too was overtly 'factual' and recounted almost forensically. Many of the diarists in this sample regularly noted the weather;[99] it was a daily observation that became a permanent feature of their weekly self-accounting. The naval background of one diarist, Francis Beaufort, is evident from his habit of noting the weather in terms of thermometer readings.[100]

These diaries were also used by some as a chronicle of their health and medical ailments. Historians have noted the prevalence of the idea of 'self-care' and management of individual health by individuals in the late eighteenth century;[101] diarizing medical experiences was perhaps one such method of managing and monitoring it.[102] It is striking though that in these entries the objective description of symptoms always came first. In his *Daily Journal* for 1801, Piozzi described going to bed with gout on several occasions, but the only indication of discomfort is his uncharacteristically big, laboured, and detached handwriting at

[98] BL, Add. MS. 59705, Diary of G. W. Chad (*Kearsley's Gentleman's and Tradesman's Pocket Ledger*, 1807), diary pages for August.
[99] See TNA C112/71 v.6, *Daily Journal* (1775); BOD, MS. Eng.misc.fol.71, Diary of F. Boscawen (*Daily Journal,* 1763).
[100] HL, FB 22, Diary of F. Beaufort (*Poole's Gentleman's Pocket Memorandum Book,* 1838).
[101] See G. Smith, 'Prescribing the Rules of Health: Self-help and Advice in the Late Eighteenth Century', in R. Porter (ed.), *Patients and Practitioners: Lay Perceptions of Medicine in Pre-Industrial Society* (Cambridge, 1985), 278; R. Porter, 'Lay Medical Knowledge in the Eighteenth Century: the Evidence of the Gentleman's Magazine', *Medical History,* 29 (1985), 138-68.
[102] A. Alaszewski, 'Diaries as a Source of Suffering Narrative: A Critical Commentary,' *Health, Risk and Society,* 8 (2006), 43.

those times.[103] George Chad wrote of his own health in 1811 that he had 'a frequent inclination to pass urine'; the following day he noted 'scum but no sediment', and subsequently 'scum and sediment.'[104] Similarly, as the years passed and his collection of diaries grew, Frances Beaufort paid close attention to his health and the health of his family, entering observations on a daily basis and developing a way of structuring the page to do so. In 1852, he described the 'gangrenous sloughs' of the sore on his wife's leg over the course of several months,[105] and noted his bowel and bladder movements on an almost daily basis for several years. Indeed, both he and an earlier nineteenth century diarist wrote about the facts of their declining health to within days of their death.[106] In all of these instances the formulation of an accurate, very detailed chronicle of ailments is a priority; only occasionally are such observations interjected with reflections or comment. It suggests a morbid fascination with health, certainly; but it also suggests a shared tendency towards objective observation, even if the subject in question was the diarist's own body. In these entries more than any other, the relationship between the diarist as subject to be observed, and the diary as a form of log-book for recording those observations, is pronounced.

The titles of these diaries emphasised the importance of a whole, complete account: these were daily journals, and pocket 'atlases.' Adam Smyth has written that in the introductions to their commonplace books, compilers often 'framed

[103] NLW, MS 11097A, Diary of G. Piozzi (*Daily Journal,* 1801).†

[104] BL, Add. MS. 59707, Diary of G. W. Chad (*Kearsley's Gentleman's and Tradesman's Pocket Ledger,* 1811), diary pages for April.

[105] HL, FB 36, Diary of F. Beaufort (*Poole's Gentleman's Pocket Memorandum Book,* 1852), see for example, entry for 17 Feb.: 'slough came off and no more forming.'

[106] See HL, FB 41, Diary of F. Beaufort (*Poole's Gentleman's Pocket Memorandum Book*, 1857); HRO, 31M57, Diary of W. J. Chute (*The Daily Journal, or the Gentleman's, Merchant's and Tradesman's Complete Annual Accompt-Book,* 1824).

their efforts in failed attempts at something total.'[107] These attempts at 'something total' apply to users of these pre-printed diaries too, and go some way to explaining the way information is collected and arranged there. In some cases, the blank or incomplete day appears to have exerted pressure on the diarist. In 1817, Matthew Hill recorded in his diary, 'filled up my journal for the last five days'; seven days later, he wrote 'filled up my journal for the last three days.'[108] In the same way, those who kept their diaries throughout protracted illnesses could be said to be subject to the same compulsion. Several diarists abided by the dictates of the format so completely that they recounted the same event in pages for both appointments and finance. Richard Ford, for example, noted 'the horse I hir'd died' and then on the opposite page, 'Dead horse…0.3.6.'[109] A complete diary was a complete record; the more thorough and consistent the entries, the more useful it was as a register to be referred to.

This desire for what Ephraim Chambers called 'a consistent whole'[110] is particularly notable in these diarists' financial accounting habits. Financial accounting records are the most thoroughly and consistently kept record across all of these diaries. It is more common, in this sample, that a diary should contain financial records and little or no appointments or memorandums, than the other way round. Several diarists kept exhaustive records of their finances on the daily and weekly basis recommended by their diaries. The late eighteenth- and early nineteenth-century diaries of Charles De Coetlogon and diplomat George Chad

[107] A. Smyth, 'Commonplace Book Culture: A List of Sixteen Traits,' in P. Hardman & A. Lawrence-Mathers (eds), *Women and Writing c.1340-1650: The Domestication of Print Culture* (York, 2010),104.
[108] BOD, MS. Eng.misc.e.88, Diary of M. D. Hill (*Student's Journal,* 1817), entries for 16 Apr. & 23 Apr.
[109] HRO, 29M65/1, Diary of R. Ford (*Daily Journal,* 1776), diary entry & accounts for 25 Sept.
[110] E. Chambers, *Cyclopaedia; or an Universal Dictionary of Arts and Sciences,* Vol. 1 (5 vols, 1728; this edn, 1786-8), i.

are prime examples. Both used their diaries to keep thorough, and in De Coetlogon's case, meticulous, accounts of their expenditure and financial status, in a way that suggests that it was as important to them to compile a financial register, as a chronicle of experiences. Even those diarists who were less rigorous or less consistent, prioritized keeping as full a record as possible of financial transactions. Several noted their finances and consistently 'brought over' their accounts, despite the fact that they did not change from week to week, or even month to month.[111] Those who used their diaries only for a brief period – or even years after the year the diary was intended for – did so to record their finances for that time. It is in these practices of financial record-keeping that the compilation of a complete account encouraged in the diary format can be directly linked to improvement, trustworthiness and individual 'credit.' The thorough financial information gathered in these diaries provided the 'proof' of creditworthiness and quality of character.

All of these examples suggest that diarists absorbed the model of brief, selective, accurate, factual and 'complete' diarizing enshrined in the form of the diary. The principles of the compilation of information and the value of factual observation promoted in the printed content and structure of the diary are echoed in the content and structure of individual entries. Fact and expression of the 'self' were not mutually exclusive, however. We have seen how seemingly impartial entries possess emotional significance; similarly, although the printed format excised 'I' and other personal pronouns, individual diarists continued to insert themselves

[111] NLS, L.C.3343(4), *Harris' Original British Ladies Complete Pocket Memorandum Book* (1780); BOD, MS. Eng.e.3767, Diary of M. Crespigny (*The Ladies Pocket Journal, or Toilet Assistant,* 1791).

– or their selves – into their own accounts of experience. Equally, it would be misleading to suggest that all the individuals in the sample used their diaries in one particular way. As Marilyn Morris has written, individual subjectivities should not be overlooked or manipulated for the sake of constructing a historical model.[112] Not all entries were brief and clipped; they were not all selective about what they wrote about, nor as subsequent discussion will indicate, did they adhere to the limitations of the space. That these diaries barely gave room for joined up sentences, let alone extended commentaries, did not stop some individuals. Several diarists used these diaries for longer accounts written in full sentences with emotive reflections. Yet even in these longer, more reflective entries, many individuals used or adapted the printed space in a way that suggested they valued the method of diarizing promoted in this form, and the broader culture of information it represented. The next section will explore these spatial uses more closely.

Spatial Form

Existing studies of the interaction of print and manuscript, specifically pre-printed diary and diarist, have found the relationship to be an adversarial one. They assert the 'wilful resistance'[113] and 'strategies' of those who 'refused to acquiesce to the commercially-imposed dimensions'[114] of the form. The interaction is presented as a conflict, which is unhelpful. Not only does it make

[112] M. Morris, 'Domesticity and Self-Justification in the Writings of Samuel Kevan, Journeyman, Later Master Slater (1764-1829)', *Journal of Family History,* 41 (2016), 15.
[113] Steinitz, *Time, Space and Gender,* 61.
[114] M. McCarthy, *The Accidental Diarist: A History of the Daily Planner in America* (Chicago, 2013), 78-9.

assumptions about the extent to which individuals consciously 'strategized' to resist the structure printed on the page, but it overlooks the occasions on which individuals might have adhered to the printed format. Individualism is not only asserted through resistance to and 'subversion' of cultural ideas, but also through adherence to them. It is more constructive to understand the interaction of diary and diarist as a dialogue, taking into account both divergence from and acquiescence to the printed content of the diary on the part of the diarist.

In these diaries, adaptation of space generally meant that individuals wanted either to enter information not specified in the headings of the columns, or write more in their diaries than the tabulated space accommodated. In both cases, amendments to and adaptations of the existing format –their 'dialogue', rather than 'conflict' with it –indicate that these diarists continued to value the layout of their diaries. Those who used them for extended, fuller accounts frequently relined the page to maintain the tabulated structure. The diary of William Smith is a good example; his entries overran the limitations of the columns, so he extended the length of the rows in his diary, still more or less maintaining the tabulated structure (Fig. 9).

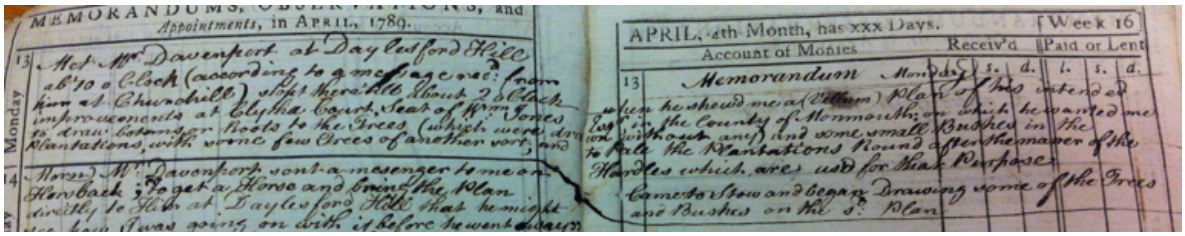


Fig. 9. William Smith's use of space in his *Daily Journal* for 1789 (OUMNH, WS/B/001).

Evidently these diarists found the overt 'informational' structure of their diaries useful; their adaptations maintain, and even further restrict and structure the pre-printed page. Those who wished to add different – not necessarily more – information to their journals did so whilst still making use of the tabulated form. Most frequently, this meant simply retitling the columns of their diary. The owner of the *Daily Journal* for 1752, for example, retitled the columns and added his own; instead of appointments he wrote people's names; and he used the 'Money Rec'd' column to describe money paid.[115] In her ladies' pocket books for 1775-7, Frances Fanshawe retitled the columns in the left-hand page 'morning', and those in the right hand 'evening',[116] whilst continuing to conform to the limitations of the space. In the 'morning', she continued to use the left hand column for appointments and the right for description, and replicated this format in the opposite page. It was her own system, but one that relied on the printed structure. Equally, George Chad adapted some of the accounting pages of his 1807 diary to read 'quarto, octavo and duodecimo' rather than pounds, shillings and pence; he used the pages for booklists, rather than financial accounting.[117] Frances Boscawen took this one step further and added columns to the pages of her diary, to accommodate letters sent and received (Fig. 10, overleaf); evidently, she found the tabulated form to be an effective system of organisation, even if the printed version did not quite accommodate the information that she wanted to record.

[115] BL, RB.23.a.26479, *The Daily Journal* (1752).[†]
[116] NRS, GD 477/473/1-3, Diary of F. Fanshawe (*The Ladies New and Polite Pocket Memorandum Book,* 1775).
[117] BL, Add. MS. 59705, Diary of G. W. Chad (*Kearsley's Gentleman's and Tradesman's Pocket Ledger,* 1807).

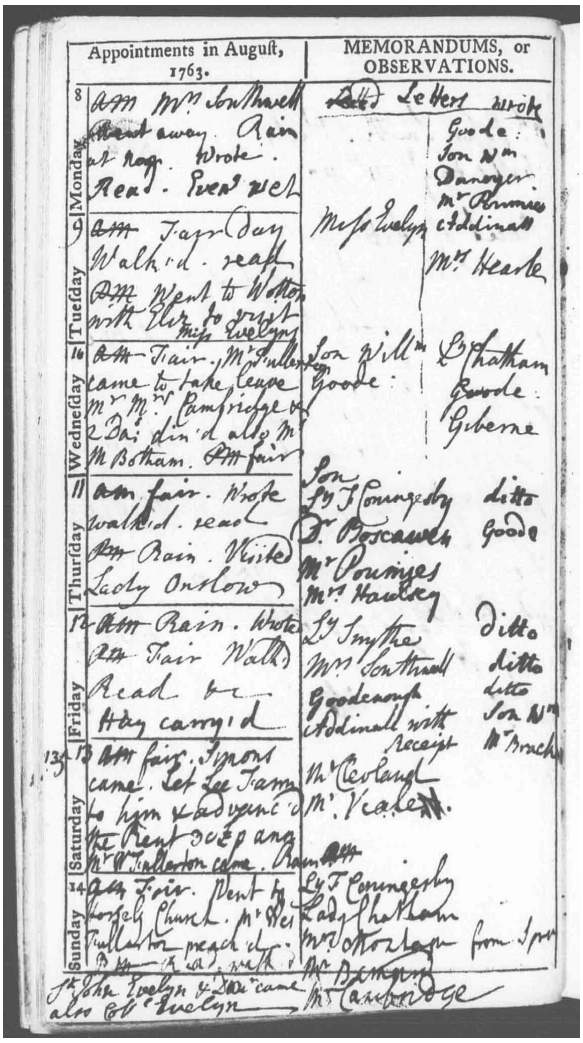


Fig. 10. Frances Boscawen added an extra column for letters 'Recd' and 'Wrote' in her *Daily Journal* for 1763 (BOD, MS. Eng.misc.fol.71).

In each of these cases, individuals valued the informational arrangement of the table, and simply adapted it to their own ends. Its value to these diarists is even more overt in instances where individuals imitated it elsewhere in the diary. Bookseller Thomas Slack drew up a table in the back of his diary, with columns entitled 'Account of Logic', the names of his clients, and then 'No.', to record book orders with different sellers. In addition, he added a column to a printed table of turnpike distances.[118] The owner of the *Ladies Museum* for 1774 reformatted a

[118] BL, C.142.dd.28, Diary of T. Slack (*Newcastle Memorandum Book,* 1755). See his annotations of the 'Table of the Two Great Roads from Newcastle and Carlisle to London', back printed matter.

blank page at the end of her diary into a table with two rows, and three columns entitled 'Expences', 'Rec'd', and 'Cloths.'[119]

The spatial organisation of these entries indicates the extent to which factual observation, brevity and accuracy guided the efforts of these diarists; and the extent to which individuals valued the tabulated format. It did not seem to restrict their expression; those who wished to write more simply relined the pages in order to do so. The tabulated form permitted comparison and easy reference. The next section will consider the idea of the diary as a reference work in more detail. The spatial organisation and other ways of using evident in these diaries suggest that these were intended by their owners to be repositories of information that were revisited and referred to.

The Diary as a Reference Work: Organising for Future Reading

Martin Lyons has written that in the study of diarizing, and other personal written forms, there should be no division drawn between reading and writing: 'readers were writers and writers were readers.'[120] The way diarists used, and expected to use their pre-printed diaries suggests the same. As the previous chapter indicated, the introductions to these diaries intended that they should be 'the annals of a man's life', to be revisited when 'proof' was needed or occasion required. Several diarists appear to have shared this view. One explicitly

[119] BL, C.115.n.68, *Lane's Ladies Museum* (1774).
[120] M. Lyons, 'New Directions in the History of Written Culture', *Culture and History Digital Journal,* 1 (2012), unpaginated online edition.

expressed it. In 1817, student Matthew Hill wrote in – and of – his *Student's Journal* that

> *'The principal use of this book is to enable myself and her who is more than a second self to me to ascertain what were my habits and manners, modes of life, opinions and avocations at a distant period.'*[121]

This mission statement suggests that his diary was written with himself as a future reader in mind. Not only that, but he imagines this diary as a reference work that is in some way public, in that it is not only for his eyes in the future, but those of his then fiancée. Few other diarists were as explicit in their expectation of an audience, although in some cases it was evidently assumed. Later in the nineteenth century, hydrographer Francis Beaufort wrote in his *Gentleman's Pocket Memorandum Book* that he had spent 'all day reading my dear wife's journal…[and] cut out all the pages which hereafter might do harm either about [illegible] or about other people some alive some gone…'.[122] His editing assumes the existence of a third-party reader that is neither he nor the original diarist, his wife. Perhaps it is caution, particularly considering the fact that he would shortly be remarrying; yet even then the assumption that it would be read, or at least revisited, suggests a public dimension to the diary. Indeed, the fact that he is rereading it in the first place confirms the diary as something to be referred to –in this case, as long as fifteen years later.

The content of the diaries of other individuals and the way they are written show, in less overt ways, a similar awareness and intention. They never specify an audience, but their writing gives the impression that they expect to return to

[121] BOD, MS. Eng.misc.e.88, Diary of M. D. Hill (*Student's Journal,* 1817), 122.
[122] HL, FB 22, Diary of F. Beaufort (*Poole's Gentleman's Pocket Memorandum Book,* 1838), accounts pages for third week of October.

it and re-read it. This is evident in subtle ways. Several diarists add an explanation of the identity of individuals mentioned. The owner of an anonymous *Daily Journal* for 1777 noted an amount he gave 'to my son Thomas',[123] and Francis Beaufort similarly clarified the identity of his sister, writing in 1846 'Harriet (sister) had come the last night.'[124] Other diarists explain the events or notes in their diary. Richard Ford provided explanatory prefaces to his expenditure,[125] while George Chad felt the need to explain missing information. In 1811, following a list of accounts, he wrote that 'I have not set down our housekeeping expenses'; similarly, in 1812, he clarified that 'this will not be reckoned in accounts for the year.'[126] More strikingly, one individual a few years later annotated the diary of his brother, who had died before the end of the year. He added explanatory content to entries that his brother had originally made. For example, on Friday 30th July, the original entry read 'to London to consult Dr Brodie, inflammation of mucus membrane' to which his brother added '*terminated in death Dec. 13th 1824. Lost for want of Eden.'* Similarly, on the 15th of October, the original diarist wrote in deteriorating handwriting, 'Got cold…' to which his brother added '*RELAPSE –from this he never recovered, worse and worse, which terminated in death Dec. 13.'*[127] On that date, he noted his brother's death, and a few days later his funeral. He became the narrator of his brother's life, returning to the diary and, with the entries he added, fitting the notes made by the deceased into a narrative arc that led to his

[123] HL, 319699 v. 2, *Daily Journal* (1777), accounts pages for final week of April.
[124] HL, FB 30, Diary of F. Beaufort (*Marshall's Gentleman's Pocket Book*, 1846), entry for 1 Jan.
[125] HRO, 29M65/1, Diary of R. Ford (*Daily Journal,* 1776).
[126] BL, Add. MS. 59707-8, Diaries of G. W. Chad (*Kearsley's Gentleman's and Tradesman's Pocket Ledger,* 1811; *Norfolk and Norwich…Complete Memorandum Book,* 1812), accounts for first week of May, 1811; page for 'Occasional Memorandums' at the end of the diary, 1812.
[127] HRO, 31M57, Diary of W. J. Chute, with additions by T.V. Chute (*Daily Journal,* 1824).

death. Whether for his own reference or the eyes of another it is uncertain; and whether influenced by the literary narrative of published autobiography or the 'underlying pattern'[128] to be found in the tabulated form, is unclear; but this compulsion to note and annotate in this way shows at the very least a desire to keep a permanent record of what happened.

As well as providing explanations, these efforts to clarify diary content also included organising the text and its structure. This took several forms; where diarists made errors, or muddled the days, for example, they explained it. In 1751, the Duke of Chandos James Brydges wrote one week, 'N.B. Ever since Tuesday I have muddled the days.'[129] Equally, Frances Fanshawe in 1779 explained in the space for one day that 'what is wrote in the next section should have been in this.'[130] As well as pointing to an expectation that the diaries should be revisited after the end of the year, these examples also point to a desire for correctness and factual accuracy. Both diarists alert their imagined interlocutors – their future selves – to errors and, in Fanshawe's case, indicate the correct arrangement. The same desire for accuracy – and utility – can be observed in the habits of those who corrected the printed information at the front and the back of the diary. Bookseller Thomas Slack amended turnpike distances in his *Newcastle Memorandum Book* for 1755;[131] diarist Tristram Jervoise amended the list of peers in his 1786 diary by noting who had died, or, in his words, was

[128] De Bruyn, 'From Georgic Poetry to Statistics and Graphs', 120.
[129] HL, ST 109 v.1, Diary of J. Brydges (*The Gentleman's and Tradesman's Pocket Assistant,* 1751), entry for 28 May (written in diary pages for second week of May).
[130] NRS, GD 477/474/1, Diary of F. Fanshawe (*The Ladies Most Elegant and Useful Lottery Pocket Book,* 1777), entry for 11 Jan.
[131] BL, C.142.dd.28, Diary of T. Slack (*Newcastle Memorandum Book,* 1755).

'extinct.'[132] William Dixon annotated the same list in his diary in a similar way, sixteen years later.[133] These efforts suggest that this printed information was useful and referred to; in one case, marks made against the printed names of lawyers and advocates by the woman pursuing a divorce from her errant husband suggest that the information was useful and used.[134] Even if it was not, and was simply the product of a desire to keep the information current, that is equally telling; the impulse to correct suggests that an accurate record was important to those who did so.

Others imposed and explained systems of reference in their diaries. Frances Fanshawe, who used a code in her diary to signify who she was with, explained it: 'when by myself, I shall put quite alone, when my sister is with me, alone, when mama stays at home, nothing, when my aunt is out and mama at home [snowflake symbol]…' and so it continued.[135] Francis Beaufort went so far as to index his diary in its back cover. It was a list of the medicine that he took over the year, and the dates it could be found on (Fig. 11, overleaf).

As well as allowing easy consultation, it worked on the same principle as the tables printed in some diaries to summarize monthly and yearly expenditure at the end of the year, in that it acted as a summary or compilation of information previously noted. In addition, Beaufort's material uses of the diary also

[132] HRO, 44M69/E11/130, Diary of T. H. Jervoise (*Daily Journal,* 1786), back printed matter.
[133] LA, DIXON/7/4/1, Diary of W. Dixon (*Daily Journal,* 1779), back printed matter.
[134] HL, ST 118 v. 18, Diary of M. Grenville (*Peacock's Polite Repository or Pocket Companion,* 1847), back printed matter. Grenville also marked the list of peers in her 1842 diary (HL, ST 118 v. 13, p.83) in a similar manner, perhaps indicating those she had met or was acquainted with.
[135] NRS, GD 477/473/2, Diary of F. Fanshawe (*The Ladies Most Elegant and Convenient Pocket Book,* 1776), diary pages for late March.

facilitated easy reference; he clipped the corners of the pages of the printed information to allow easy access to the diary section, and used bright colours, heavily inked lines and changes in writing style to guide the eye.

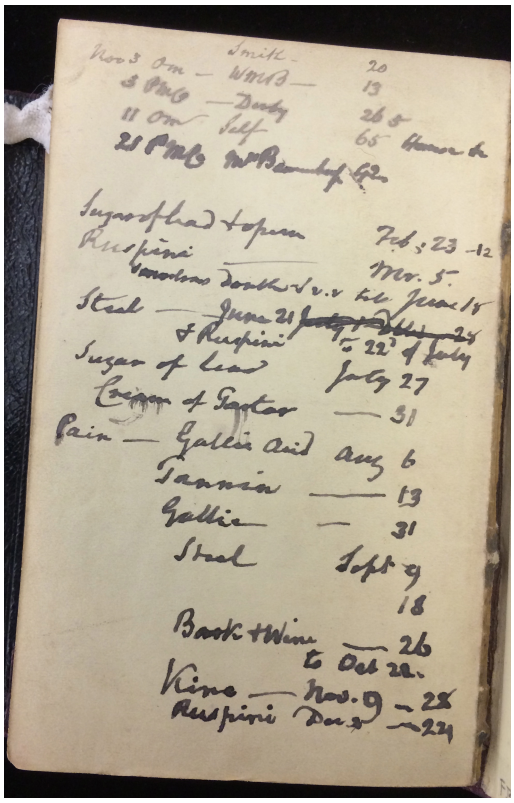


Fig. 11. Francis Beaufort kept an index of medication and the days he took it in the back of his *Pocket Memorandum Book* for 1855 (HL, FB 39).

Some directed readers to other books or sources of information. There are occasions of individuals writing a clarifying 'paid and entered'[136] or 'ent'd in bill book'[137] alongside their expenses, and others used a system of marks or symbols. William Dixon wrote double ticks at the end of accounts,[138] and William Smith circled accounts of money paid[139] to indicate that accounts had been entered elsewhere. Charles de Coetlogon wrote in a blank page at the back of his diary for

[136] NA, DD/P/6/7/2/36, Diary of W. Gould (*The Complete Pocket Book,* 1786).
[137] HRO, 11M70/D3, Diary of J. Lampard (*Daily Journal,* 1813).
[138] LA, DIXON/7/4/8, Diary of W. Dixon (*Daily Journal,* 1817).
[139] OUMNH, WS/B/001, Diary of W. Smith (*Daily Journal,* 1789).

1823, 'for further particulars, refer to my cash account, with Maude & Co. who are my agents and bankers.'[140] All of these pointers enable corroboration and allow the reader to refer to multiple texts, or repositories of information, to double-check facts found in the diary. As has been well established in scholarship on self-writing, individuals used an array of life-writing texts in this and earlier periods;[141] that they should be cross-referenced with each other indicates the extent to which information about the individual was spread across multiple forms.

The question of who diarists were writing for, and the relative 'openness' of their writing, has long exercised diary scholars.[142] In the early modern period diaries were often a public form: spiritual diaries kept by individuals were shared with and amongst family and friends.[143] This continued into the eighteenth century in some forms of self-accounting; male heads of household checked the accounts kept by their wives, for example, as has been well documented.[144] As we have seen, some eighteenth- and nineteenth-century diaries were compiled with an eye on publication, so were perhaps written with a public audience in mind, or

[140] LMA, ACC/268/4, Diary of C. F. de Coetlogon (*Daily Journal,* 1823), final blank page.
[141] A. Smyth, *Autobiography in Early Modern England* (Cambridge, 2010), 2.
[142] See L. Z. Bloom, 'I Write for Myself and Strangers: Private Diaries as Public Documents', in *Inscribing the Daily,* 23; S. L. Bunkers, 'Whose Diary Is It, Anyway? Issues of Agency, Authority, Ownership,' *Auto-Biography Studies,* 17 (2001), 11-27; A. Cambers, 'Reading, the Godly and Self-Writing in England, c.1580-1720', *The Journal of British Studies,* 46 (2007), 796-825; A. Hassam, 'Reading Other People's Diaries', *University of Toronto Quarterly,* 56 (1987), 435-42; S. Sherman, 'Diary and Autobiography', in J. Richetti (ed.), *The Cambridge History of English Literature* (Cambridge, 2005), 664.
[143] Cambers, 'Reading, the Godly and Self-Writing', 801.
[144] See A. Vickery, 'His and Hers: Gender, Consumption and Household Accounting in Eighteenth-Century England', *Past & Present,* Suppl. 1 (2006), 20.

with the expectation that they would be written up into another form.[145] Yet in many of these diaries, that does not seem to be the case. Certainly, Beaufort's excising of his wife's diary suggests that they were not entirely private forms, yet in few of these forms is there the sense that they were written with the intention of forming a cohesive narrative that might interest a wider audience. The format of these diaries alone, and the way individuals used it, is not conducive to the creation of a unified, descriptive narrative. Furthermore, several of the diarists described above, who used these referential methods and explained their entries, also used shorthand or a personalised code, which rendered their diaries completely private and impenetrable to an outside eye.[146] Perhaps diarists imagined an interlocutor, which shaped the way they wrote; that is, they wrote as if they were writing *to* someone, as a way of structuring ideas and clearly organising their thoughts. Yet this is not enough to explain some of the more extreme, referential behaviour, such as indexing medication, or narrating the decline and death of one's brother. Rather, the way these diaries were compiled, edited, indexed, explained and clarified by their owners suggests they were thought of as personal encyclopaedias, to be returned to and referred to by themselves at a later date; intended to be read, or rather, consulted, as much as written in.

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[145] Adam Smyth describes almanacs as 'a temporary storehouse for records which are then passed on' in 'Almanacs, Annotators and Life-Writing in Early Modern England', *English Literary Renaissance,* 38 (2008), 222.

[146] See, for example, BOD, MS. Eng.e.3767, Diary of M. Crespigny (*The Ladies Pocket Journal,* 1791), who used a personalized shorthand in her diary, as did William Smith, Francis Beaufort & William Henry Fox Talbot.

Amongst the earliest advocates of the study of the material text, Margreta de Grazia and Peter Stallybrass asserted in their work that material idiosyncrasies of a text 'insist on being looked at, not seen through.'[147] This chapter has argued that the printed form of the diary did just that. It promoted a concept of diary-keeping that prioritized fact and observation, and presented the diary as an 'informational' genre; one that encouraged and structured knowledge, over reflection and emotional introspection. It reflected habits developing in popular science as well as enlightened ways of managing and organising information. The way that diarists responded suggests that they shared, or at least adapted to, that view: they took advantage of the tabulated form to order and organise information about themselves, and to best arrange it for future reference.

The emphasis here on the entry and arrangement of information and factual knowledge should not eclipse the central function of these diaries, as diaries. These lists, indexes, entries and spatial arrangements were still personal and autobiographical; they simply prioritised aspects of the practice of keeping a diary in a way that differed from other forms. Rather than being the preserve of state bureaucrats and political arithmeticians, the collection and arrangement of fact and knowledge became pertinent to the individual, influencing the way they wrote about and observed themselves. It was not a barrier to introspection. Individuals found ways to adapt the form to accommodate extended writing when they wanted to; or they expressed their reactions to events through observations and objective retelling.

[147] M. DeGrazia & P. Stallybrass, 'The Materiality of the Shakespearean Text', *Shakespeare Quarterly,* 44 (1993), 257.

In her writing on the visualisation of science in the late eighteenth century, Anne Secord has written that the aim of using images in botanical and natural history pursuits was to train an audience in the particular observational skills necessary for looking at plants and other objects.[148] There are parallels between this and the invention and printing of the tabulated structure of the diary. It was intended to encourage – or train – its users in a particular mode of diarizing, prioritizing certain aspects of experience over others and promoting specific spatial formats. The test of how successful this 'training' was lies in the way individuals used the other self-writing forms available to them. That is the focus of the next chapter, which will examine the way individuals used these other forms in tandem with, and sometimes as an alternative to, the pre-printed diary, in order to understand the influence of this model of self-writing.

[148] A. Secord, 'Botany on a Plate: Pleasure and the Power of Pictures in Promoting Early Nineteenth-Century Scientific Knowledge', *Isis,* 93 (2002), 32.

Chapter 6

The Pre-Printed Diary in the Context of Other Forms

The pre-printed diary was one addition to the variety of forms available for self-writing in the second half of the eighteenth century. Individuals continued to use the almanacs, blank books, journals, ledgers and pocket books, among others, that were popular earlier in the century, and before. Hampshire clergyman George Harris, for example, continued to use the series of almanacs he had started in 1735 well into the second half of the century;[1] others, like Thomas Turner and 'watchful clothier' Joseph Ryder used only blank-paged, larger volumes for their journalising.[2] The early modern habit of keeping a 'dense network'[3] of self-writing forms persisted; many used pre-printed diaries alongside other genres, as their introductions advised.[4] As well as being one of a number of forms kept simultaneously, the pre-printed diary also became, for several individuals, one of a series of stages in the process of self-writing.[5] Refinement and editing were established steps in the diarizing process by the late eighteenth century. In the seventeenth century, Ralph Josselin wrote his diary up from his 'notes, almanack &c.';[6] Pepys' diary is widely accepted to be the

[1] HRO, 9M73/G35-64, Almanacs of G.W. Harris (*The Ladies Diary,* 1733-77).
[2] D. Vaisey (ed.), *The Diary of Thomas Turner 1754-1765* (Oxford, 1984); M. Kadane, *The Watchful Clothier: The Life of an Eighteenth-Century Protestant Capitalist* (2013).
[3] A. Smyth, *Autobiography in Early Modern England* (Cambridge, 2010), 2.
[4] See BL, RB.8.a.12, *The Exeter Pocket Journal* (1755), Preface.†
[5] See, for example, the combination of pre-printed diaries and blank pocket books kept by Charles F. De Coetlogon in the early nineteenth century: LMA, ACC/0268/001-011, Diaries of C. F. De Coetlogon (1817-35).
[6] A. Macfarlane (ed.), *The Diary of Ralph Josselin 1616-1683* (1976), xix.

fair version of a process of composition and refinement of up to five stages;[7] John Evelyn's diary had, to borrow the phrase of its editor, the 'regularity of a fair copy.'[8]

Despite this breadth of practice, scholarship on pre-printed diaries largely treats them in isolation, separate from these other forms. Existing studies touch on their popularity in material terms,[9] but reveal little of their cultural impact. Yet the pre-printed diary asserted a unique model and mode of diarizing, and its influence, or, indeed, the extent to which it represented a wider change in practices, cannot be gauged by exploring it simply as a stand-alone genre. This chapter examines the influence of the model of self-writing as an empirical, objective pursuit on other forms. It explores the extent to which the arrival of the pre-structured genre marked a watershed, or itself precipitated change in this period. Longer, prose journalising continued to be popular, as the journals of James Boswell, Fanny Burney, and others testify: did this mode of journalising simply coexist with the briefer, informational logging promoted in the pre-printed diary, or were they mutually influencing forms?

Previous chapters have revealed a growing focus on facticity and an objective, empirical approach to diarising developing over the course of the eighteenth century, manifest in particular continuities of habit. It is with these continuities of practice that analysis must start; only then will it be possible to understand

[7] W. Matthews, 'The Diary as Literature', in R. Latham & W. Matthews (eds), *The Diary of Samuel Pepys,* Vol. 1 (10 vols, 1971; this edn, 1995), xcvii-ciii.
[8] E. S. DeBeer (ed.), *The Diary of John Evelyn, Vol. I: Introduction and De Vita Propria* (1955), 45.
[9] See for example C. Blagden, 'Thomas Carnan and the Almanack Monopoly', *Studies in Bibliography,* 14 (1961), 23. See also R. Steinitz, *Time, Space and Gender in the Nineteenth-Century British Diary* (Basingstoke, 2011), for a discussion of the commercial popularity of the genre.

how the model established in the pre-printed diary and the methods it prescribed fit with these other indicators of facticity.

I. Sources and Methodology

The self-writing habits of twenty-four individuals form the basis of analysis in this chapter (see Fig. 1, overleaf). They were selected with the intention of creating a group of source material which represented, firstly, the array of self-writing forms that individuals used, and could use, in the later eighteenth and early nineteenth centuries; secondly, the array of people who used them; and thirdly, the variety of backgrounds and contexts in which these forms were used. With the prime criterion of selection here being 'variety', the possibility of putting together a group of slightly random and unrepresentative sources was high. This has been managed in several ways. Firstly, while this group does not totally exclude forms kept for only one, or a couple of years, primacy in selection was given to those diarists who kept single or multiple diaries, journals, and/or account books over the course of several years. This step mitigates the potentially unrepresentative impression given by simply drawing out relevant aspects of one, stand-alone pocket book kept for a matter of months. A diary that exhibits the spatial organisation of an account book, for example, can be made sense of, placed in the context of the account books kept by the same individual. Similarly, one form used for a sustained period allows for a sense of the development of individual habits and practices.

Name	*Birth-Death*	*Occupation/Background*	*Form of Self-Writing*	*Years Covered by Self-Writing*
Henry Brydges	**1708-71**	**2nd Duke of Chandos**	**Diaries***	**1720, 1732-71**
Joseph Ryder	1695-1768	Clothier	Diaries (spiritual)	1733-68
George W. Harris	1714-77	Clergyman	Almanacs	1733-77
Thomas Turner	1729-93	Shopkeeper	Diaries	1754-65
Caroline Powys	1738-1817	Gentlewoman	Diaries & Travel Journals	1757-94
Gervase Leveland	*Unknown*	Gentleman	Diaries	1764-65
Anna Larpent	1758-1832	Gentlewoman	Diaries	1773-95
Hester Lynch Thrale	1741-1821	Writer	Commonplace Book/Diary	1776-1809
Daniel A. Beaufort	1739-1821	Clergyman	Diaries & Travel Journals	1776-1821
Charles Rivington	1754-1831	Publisher	Diary	1778-82
William Dixon	**d.1824**	**Landowner**	**Diaries*, Commonplace Books, & Notebooks**	**1779-1824**
Jacob Hagen	c.1735-1818	Merchant	Log Book Diary & Accounts	1780-90
Henry White	1733-88	Clergyman	Log Book	1781-4
William Gould	1735-95	Estate Manager	Diaries* & Account Books	1785-95
William Smith	**1769-1839**	**Land Surveyor & Engineer**	**Almanacs & Diaries***	**1789-1821**
Francis Beaufort	1774-1857	Naval Hydrographer	Diaries*, Account Books & Commonplace Books	1791-1850
Louise Capper	*Unknown*	Gentlewoman	Diary	1792-5
Jabez Stutterd	1762-1827	Various: book-keeper, weaver, Baptist minister	Diaries*	1792-1820
Thomas Stutterd	1752-1815	Various: schoolmaster, wool-buyer, lay Baptist preacher	Diary	1804-7
Elizabeth Peck	*Unknown*	*Unknown*	Spiritual Journal	1804-11
William L. Kidd	1784-1851	Naval Surgeon	Diaries	1806-9
W.A. Johnson	*Unknown*	Soldier	Diary	1811-12
Charles F. De Coetlogon	**1770-1836**	**Gentleman, rentier**	**Diaries* & Travel Journals**	**1817-35**
Samuel Kevan	1764-1836(?)	Journeyman	Diary/Memoir	Written 1826-7; covers 1798-1827

Fig. 1. Diarists and self-writing forms, organised chronologically by the year they commenced self-writing. Bold emphasis indicates those used as case studies at the end of the chapter; asterisks indicate that they used pre-printed diaries too.

Secondly, the body of source material as a whole was selected to include longer prose journals as well as much shorter log-style forms. This study is concerned with understanding the way log-style diarizing in particular was enacted in this period, but also how it related to and interacted with other forms. For some, the notion and use of the diary as a form of reference work was an end in itself; for others, it was a flexible model to be applied to more traditional, and recognisably journalistic, forms of diarizing. How compatible for example, was the desire to keep a spiritual journal, with the aim of objective forensic recounting that developed in the mid eighteenth century? This study is as much about identifying continuities in diarizing practice, as it is about exploring change.

Given the large numbers of diaries, journals and other self-writing forms that survive in archives, it would have been easy to use a much bigger sample yet, as Susan Whyman has rightly written, a large sample becomes unmanageable very quickly and can result in a kaleidoscopic[10] analysis in which there is little sense of the source material being used, beyond useful and relevant fragments. Alongside limiting the overall body of source material used here to that of 24 individuals, the habits of four diarists (highlighted above in bold) are closely scrutinized in case studies at the end of this chapter. They were selected on the basis of their use of several different forms in tandem; in particular, they all used pre-printed diaries. Focusing on the habits of these individuals therefore allows for a closer examination of the direct influence of the particularities of the pre-printed genre. The page format of the diary was its most distinctive and explicit advocation of diarizing as an empirical, factual and forensic practice; similar

[10] S. Whyman, *The Pen and the People: English Letter Writers 1660-1800* (Oxford, 2009), 234.

organisation and categorization of experience in other forms is a further, telling indication of the extent to which the printed form in particular had an impact.

The aim of this chapter is to establish a sense of the extent to which objectivity and empiricism became guiding principles across self-writing practices in the late eighteenth and early nineteenth centuries. This analysis will start with a discussion of these themes in relation to the content of individuals' self-writing in the period.

II. Continuity and Change in Diary Content

Many of the practices evident in this array of journals, gardening books, account books and almanacs that point to the existence of a shared knowledge project in the second half of the eighteenth century and early nineteenth, have a precedent in habits that developed earlier in the century. The practice of storing facts and useful knowledge – both textually and physically – in self-writing forms was a common one before 1750, as Chapter Two explained. Chapter Five demonstrated how it continued, with individuals participating in the compilation of knowledge contained in their *Daily Journals* and *Memorandum Books*.

In the second half of the century diaries, almanacs and other genres continued to be what Matthew Kadane has termed 'composite works',[11] in which a variety of information was gathered and stored. Hester Thrale's diary, for example, grew

[11] Kadane, *Watchful Clothier*, 52.

out of her commonplace book; the *Thraliana* slowly metamorphosed from a collection of unrelated observations, to ones structured by date and time.[12] The series of almanacs clergyman George Harris used between 1733 and 1777 were primarily useful to him as repositories of information. He crammed the front and back pockets of his *Ladies Diary* for 1752 with printed puzzles and riddles cut from the almanac, newspaper articles, a note of a 'curious invention' and, reminiscent of the information provided in the printed diary, rates for hackney coachmen and chairmen cut from another source. He also used the front and back pages to commonplace an equally eclectic array of information: French history, instructions for using turpentine to clean cloth, and a biography of the Bishop of Gloucester.[13] Others did the same: in his diary for 1764-5, gentleman, traveller and drapers' son Gervase Leveland noted poems and riddles.[14] Alongside bills and receipts, Lincolnshire landowner William Dixon was one of several individuals[15] who commonplaced religious matter: he tucked cuttings of divine songs and prayers into the financial account book he kept at the turn of the nineteenth century.[16] In the pocket diary he kept between 1795 and 1800, sometime Baptist minister Jabez Stutterd kept a note of proper and improper fractions, the definition of 'numerator' and 'denominator', and an estimation of 'the population of the known world' in between daily diary entries.[17] One of his other entries gave some explanation why: 'knowledge is of real value only as it

[12] K. C. Balderstone, 'Introduction', in K. C. Balderstone (ed.), *Thraliana: The Diary of Hester Lynch Thrale, Vol. 1 1776-1784* (Oxford, 1942; this edn, 1951), xiv. The transition from commonplace book to diary is particularly noticeable in the third volume of the original diary (in Vol. 1 of the published edition).
[13] HRO, 9M73/G54, *The Ladies Diary or Woman's Almanack* of Rev. G.W. Harris (1752).
[14] BL, Add. MS. 19211, Journal of G. Leveland (1764-5).
[15] See also BOD, MS. Don.e.199, Diary of W.A. Johnson (1811-12); BL, Add. MS. 42556, Memoir and Diary of S. Kevan (1826-7).
[16] LA, DIXON/4/3, Account Book of W. Dixon (1784-1824).
[17] HL, SFP 839, Diary of J. Stutterd (1795-1800).

renders us more wise', Stutterd wrote, '& in becoming so more happy or more useful than we could otherwise be.'[18]

A focus on factual information – whether recorded self-consciously for self-improvement, for practical use, or simply for interest – also characterizes the entries that individuals made in their diaries, account books and almanacs in the later eighteenth century. In her journal for 1757-94, upper class diarist Caroline Powys made use of lists within her entries to note things she had seen; the order of a royal procession in 1760, for example, and paintings and curiosities at Strawberry Hill.[19] Similarly in the final decade of the century young diarist Louise Capper listed the books she had read in her diary; indeed, her very diary entries imitated a list, a register of activity with little reflection or opinion.[20] Janine Barchas has identified the use of lists in eighteenth-century novels as an 'imprint' of the 'culture of collecting.'[21] It had an informational purpose too; lists organise knowledge, providing a form of classification and structure, even if at first glance they seem improvised, or ad hoc.[22] This is evident here: Powys' listing evokes a catalogue in its objective relaying of things observed; Capper's list of her activities makes a compendium out of her experience. A key facet of this objective recounting – and listing – was the brevity with which it was written. Succinctness guided the practices of many of these diarists. Merchant Jacob Hagen[23] and geologist William Smith[24] allowed only one line for each day

[18] Ibid. opposite entry for 9 Oct., 1795.
[19] BL, Add. MS. 42160 v. 1, Diary of C. Powys (1757-94), ff. 11r-12r, f. 100r.
[20] BOD, MS. Eng.misc.f.657, Journal of L. Capper (1792-5).
[21] J. Barchas, *Graphic Design, Print Culture and the Eighteenth-Century Novel* (Cambridge, 2003); see Chapter 7, 'The List and Index: A Culture of Collecting Imprints Upon the Novel.'
[22] I. Charmantier & S. Muller-Wille, 'Lists as Research Technologies', *Isis,* 103 (2012), 752.
[23] BOD, MS. Eng.misc.c.250, Log Book Diary and Accounts of J. Hagen (1780-90).

in their books, which explains, particularly in Hagen's case, his staccato, abbreviated entries. Similarly, prolific diarist Anna Larpent retrospectively commented on the 'extremely concise' journalistic notes in her early diaries.[25]

Objectivity and the prioritisation of factual content can be identified in diaries before this period; as we have observed, it was not new to the late eighteenth century. Pepys' writing in his diary has been characterised as 'objective reporting'[26] by its editors, and the diary of Nehemiah Wallington has been described in similar terms.[27] In her study of the diary that scientist Robert Hooke kept towards the end of the seventeenth century, Lotte Mulligan asserts its resemblance to an impartial, objective laboratory record in both form and content.[28] We have seen, too, the facticity of the content of early eighteenth-century self-writing. Yet there are crucial differences that set this late-century self-writing apart, in its objectivity and content, from these earlier practices. In the case of seventeenth-century diarists the model upon which individuals based their diary and their motives for keeping it provide important context for understanding their objectivity. In Wallington's, and to a lesser extent Ralph Josselin's, diarizing, the sense of 'standing outside even their author's deepest feelings' was linked to the role of a diary as a spiritual record, written from the perspective of God.[29] In these it is a religious, spiritual objectivity, rather than the forensic, empirical one that characterised later eighteenth-century efforts. For

[24] OUMNH, WS/B/008-10, Diaries of W. Smith (1809, 1810, 1811).
[25] HL, HM 31201 v. 1, Diary of A. Larpent (1790-5).
[26] Matthews, 'The Diary as Literature', in *Diary of Samuel Pepys,* cx.
[27] DeBeer, *The Diary of John Evelyn,* 84; P. S. Seaver, *Wallington's World: A Puritan Artisan in Seventeenth-Century London* (1985), 183.
[28] L. Mulligan, 'Self-Scrutiny and the Study of Nature: Robert Hooke's Diary as Natural History', *Journal of British Studies,* 35 (1996), 311-42.
[29] Seaver, *Wallington's World*, 183.

both Pepys and Hooke, their objectivity was rooted in models of self-accounting closer to that which guided late eighteenth-century practices. Matthews and Latham have noted the resemblance between Pepys' diaries and account books, and observe that his diaries exhibit the neatness and precision of an individual who delighted in book-keeping.[30] In Hooke's case, his scientific background makes sense of the objectivity and mechanical nature of the entries in his diary; in fact, as Mulligan points out, his published instructions for how to keep laboratory notes bore a clear resemblance to the nature of his diary entries.[31] What is notable about similar practices from later in the eighteenth century, however, is that it is individuals from a non-scientific background, like those described above, who approached their self-writing empirically. It was a shared practice, not limited to those, like Hooke, who were guided by an approach borrowed from their profession.

Second, this method was a conscious, deliberate practice by the time these diarists were writing in the late eighteenth and early nineteenth centuries. Certainly, studies – including this one – have identified almost scientific objectivity and experiment in earlier diaries,[32] but here it was deliberate. Some acknowledged their approach explicitly, describing their own practice of diarizing as an almost forensic exercise in the observation of factual occurrences. Anna Larpent used precisely these terms; in the introductory passage to her 1773-86 journal she wrote that 'my method from fifteen years of age was, to write down every evening what persons I had seen, books read, sentiments

[30] Matthews 'The Diary as Literature', *Diary of Samuel Pepys,* cvi.
[31] Mulligan, 'Self-Scrutiny', 330-1.
[32] T. Webster, 'Writing to Redundancy: Approaches to Spiritual Journals and Early Modern Spirituality,' *The Historical Journal,* 39 (1996), 51.

heard in the day, and I observed much…'.[33] That her diaries contain her 'observations' on all manner of things from books, to 'the enlightened society' she lived in, is repeatedly emphasised. More significantly, however, she used the same language to refer to her own self-reflection. Writing on July 11th 1779, she noted 'This day, I made some observations on myself. What a very imperfect creature I am!'[34] These observations are reminiscent of those requested in the pre-printed diary: here though, they are entered, unprompted. By the early eighteenth century, observation was a scientific art,[35] and Larpent's diarizing is scientific: she 'observes' herself in the way one might watch an experiment, and logs her results in her diary. Mulligan finds that it is the lack of personal pronouns in Hooke's diary in the seventeenth century that makes its approach so notably scientific,[36] and the same is true in the pre-printed form. Yet it works both ways: in the case of Larpent and others, it is precisely the juxtaposition of the scientific process – observation –with the personal subject – 'myself' – that is a striking reminder that scientific observer and the observed are the same.

Others acknowledged the facticity of the records they kept in different ways, but with similar awareness. In a retrospective on the year he had just documented in his diary, publisher Charles Rivington wrote in 1781 that 'what I have written is a faithful account of the amusements and diversions I have partaken of.'[37] Similarly, in a short introduction he wrote to his own diary, Scottish émigré to London Samuel Kevan wrote in the early nineteenth century that 'the things

[33] HL, HM 31201 v. 17, Diary of A. Larpent (1773-1786), f. 4r.
[34] Ibid. f. 135v.
[35] L. Daston, 'On Scientific Observation', *Isis,* 99 (2008), 102. See also L. Daston & E. Lunbeck, 'Introduction', in L. Daston & E. Lunbeck (eds), *Histories of Scientific Observation* (Chicago, 2011), 13.
[36] Mulligan, 'Self-Scrutiny', 319.
[37] BOD, MS. Eng.misc.e.957, Diary of C. Rivington (1778-82), 187.

recorded are simple facts, as passed through in the life of a journeyman slater.'[38] There is a self-consciousness of observation and an awareness of the centrality of fact here that can be found in the self-writing of others. In the diaries he kept while a naval surgeon in the early nineteenth century, William Kidd made annotations intended to correct information previously recorded in his diary. He notified his reader of misinformation, writing retrospectively about previous entries – 'untrue', 'false', 'true' (Fig. 2).

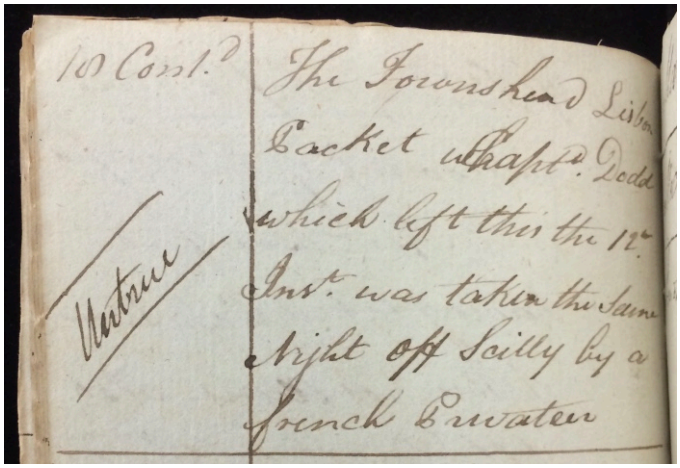


Fig. 2. William Kidd annotated the entries in his journal - 'untrue', 'true', 'false' in a way that implies he expected them to be read (HL, HM 46983 v. 1, 1806).

This practice suggests that Kidd saw his diary as a chronicle of factual information, and believed that his entries should be subject to correction and amendment in the same way that an error made in other, more formal records would be. Kidd's assumption was not unreasonable: following Royal Society 'Directions' in 1666, there was a well-established expectation that sea journals should be documents 'serviceable for science.'[39] It is striking, however, that this habit of retrospective correction is evident in the practices of others, whose

[38] BL, Add. MS. 42556, Memoir and Diary of S. Kevan (1826-7), f. 2v.

[39] J. Kelly, 'Bordering on Fact in Eighteenth-Century Sea Journals', in D. Doll & J. Munns (eds), *Recording and Reordering: Essays on the Seventeenth- and Eighteenth-Century Diary and Journal* (Lewisburg, 2006), 164.

journals were written with no such formal expectation. The diary of Lancashire minister Jabez Stutterd, kept at the end of the eighteenth century, is a prime example. He used his diaries to document his own activities and spiritual observations, as well as events in his local community.

As with any small town in this period death was a fairly regular occurrence,[40] but on several occasions Stutterd had to amend the notes of deaths he had recorded, on account of receiving misinformation and the individuals actually surviving (Fig. 3). The shared language of both Kidd and Stutterd – 'true', 'false' – reveals common expectations they had of the facticity of their diaries' content, regardless of whether a future reader was known or assumed.

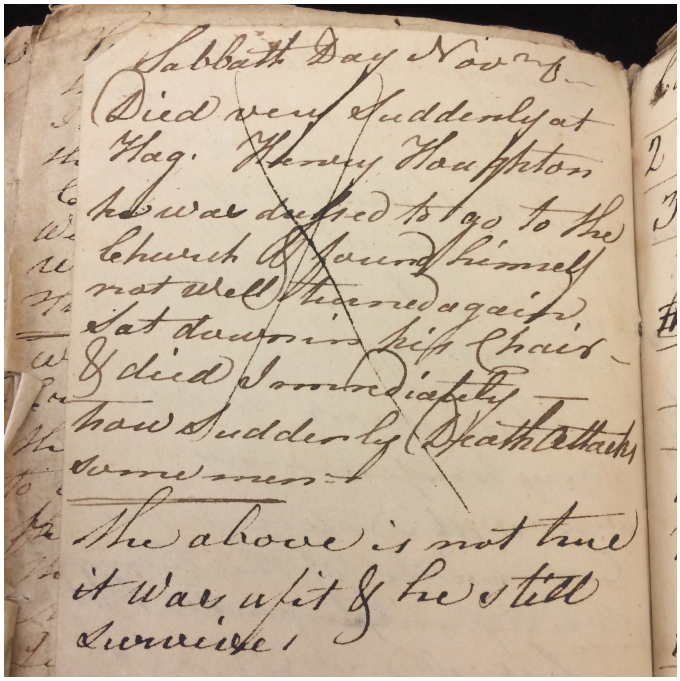

Sabbath Day Nov 8
Died very Suddenly at
Hag. Henry Houghton
he was desired to go to the
Church & found himself
not well & went again
sat down in his Chair
& died Immediately
how Suddenly Death attacks
some men
The above is not true
it was a fit & he still
survive

Fig. 3. Jabez Stutterd noted in Nov. 1814 'the above is not true' after asserting that local man Henry Houghton had died suddenly in his chair (HL, SFP 842).

[40] See Kadane, *The Watchful Clothier,* 137; Vaisey, 'Introduction', *The Diary of Thomas Turner,* xxxv.

The extent of this conscious scientific approach to self-writing is evident in other shared practices. For many, factual 'observations' on themselves and their daily activities did constitute one aspect of a broader scientific record. The diary of London merchant Jacob Hagen, kept between 1780 and 1790, is a prime example.[41] Much like the practices encouraged in the contemporaneous, pre-structured *Naturalist's Journals,* Hagen combined scientific and botanical observations about his environment with one-line, daily diary entries. He organised the information he recorded into columns entitled 'Day', 'Barometer', 'Thermometer', 'Wind and Weather' and 'Garden Memorandums' on the left hand page, and 'Occurrences' on the right (Fig. 4). This latter section contained short notes on his own activities. An introduction Hagen wrote at the top of the first page of this diary explained that it contained 'some observations on the Weather, my Gardaning &c.'. Evidently, the botanical and natural observations were more significant than the record of his own daily activity, which fell under the '&c.' at the end of this explanation. Indeed, it is the barometer and thermometer readings that Hagen recorded most consistently; more so, in fact, than accounts of his own activity.

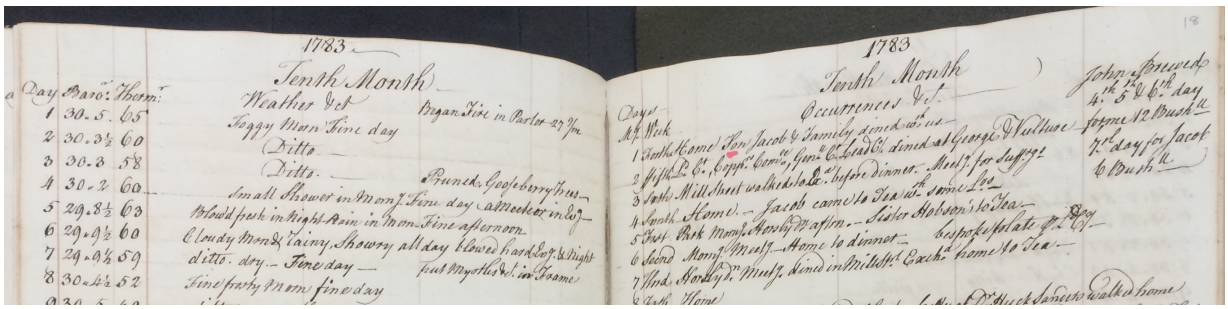


Fig. 4. Extract from Jacob Hagen's Log Book Diary (1783) showing his use of columns to categorise botanical and personal information (BOD, MS.Eng.misc.c.250, ff. 17v-18r).

[41] BOD, MS. Eng.misc.c.250, Log Book Diary and Accounts of J. Hagen (1780-90).

The amateur gathering of instrument-read data, especially as it related to meteorology, had a long history[42] and was a recurring feature in eighteenth- and early nineteenth-century journals. Hagen is one of two diarists in my sample who record the weather in instrument readings, and many others commented on it on a regular, often daily, basis.[43] Historians have also found multiple examples of individuals tracking and recording weather patterns meticulously in this period, in specifically-designed journals.[44] It was a long tradition, a practice explicitly encouraged by the Royal Society in the late seventeenth and early eighteenth centuries[45] and actively promoted in subsequent years; one of several sciences that relied upon collectives of amateur observers to gather and verify its data.[46]

Amateur meteorology has been cited as evidence of the popularisation of science in the late eighteenth and early nineteenth centuries.[47] Its inclusion here, in these diaristic forms, however, suggests more than that. It points to the

[42] As Jan Golinski writes, weather was noted by Evelyn, Josselin and Pepys in their diaries; J. Golinsksi, ''Exquisite Atmography': Theories of the World and Experiences of the Weather in a Diary of 1703', *British Journal for the History of Science,* 34 (2001), 165.

[43] See for example BOD, MS. Eng.misc.f.657, Journal of L. Capper (1792-5); LMA, ACC/0268/001-011, Diaries of C. F. De Coetlogon (1817-35); BOD, MS. Don.e.199, Diary of W.A. Johnson (1811-12). Weather measurements are one of the most regularly kept aspects of Johnson's diary. Joseph Ryder also noted the weather in his diary to read its providential significance (see Kadane, *Watchful Clothier,* 78).

[44] See L. Daston, 'Super-Vision: Weather Watching and Table Reading in the Early Modern Royal Society and Académie Royal des Sciences', *Huntington Library Quarterly,* 78 (2015), 187-215; V. Jankovic, *Reading the Skies: A Cultural History of English Weather, 1650-1820* (Manchester, 2000); D. Wheeler, 'The Weather Diary of Margaret MacKenzie of Delvine (Perthshire) 1780-1805', *Scottish Geographical Magazine,* 110 (1994), 177.

[45] Daston, 'Super-Vision', 198.

[46] For data-gathering in science as a collective practice in this period see Daston, 'Scientific Observation', 102; E. Rosenhaft, 'Hands and Minds: Clerical Work in the First Information Society', *International Review of Social History,* 48 (2003), 18; A. Rusnock, 'Correspondence Networks and the Royal Society, 1700-1750', *British Journal for the History of Science,* 32 (1999), 155-69; S. Schaffer & S. Shapin, *Leviathan and the Air Pump: Hobbes, Boyle and the Experimental Life* (Princeton, 1985), 60. For the role of independent, corresponding observers in weather observation in particular see Golinski, ''Exquisite Atmography'', 161-2.

[47] M. Bellanca, *Daybooks of Discovery: Nature Diaries in Britain, 1770-1870* (2007), 24; C. Withers, 'Geography, Natural History and the Eighteenth-Century Enlightenment: Putting the World in Place,' *History Workshop Journal,* 37 (1994), 145.

personalisation of science, rather than simply its popularisation. In his study of a weather journal kept in 1703, Jan Golinski notes that ordinarily in such records the personal aspect was suppressed, and subjective experience was kept out of the narrative.[48] However, what distinguishes the weather recording habits of Hagen is the effect of such precise information upon other aspects of his self-writing. Rather than being an incidental comment, or noted in a weather journal specifically intended for the purpose, in Hagen's diary the information is combined and assigned equal space; instrument readings and comments on natural occurrences sit alongside accounts of his daily activity. The fact that this data was gathered and stored in a diaristic form as it was here indicates that Hagen saw a resonance between these different forms of information. This was the right place for such data to be recorded. Perhaps he perceived parallels: just as faithfully recording weather might reveal patterns, so chronicling his own behaviour might yield observable trends.

What is even more distinctive about Hagen's use of data is the impact it had on his self-writing. His diary entries reflect the staccato, factual observations on his environment on the opposite page. For example, the same day that the tulips were in 'full blow', Hagen was 'att home indoors'.[49] The day there were 'small showers mg. fair afternn', he was at 'Park morng. Horslydn Aftern.'.[50] On a 'wett misling day', he was 'Home on Acct. my foot. John came last evg from Brockwlhall.' [51] Observations on his own activities are as bare as his 'observations on weather glasses' on the opposite page; no extraneous

[48] Golinski, ''Exquisite Atmography'', 170.
[49] BOD, MS. Eng.misc.c.250, Log Book Diary and Accounts of J. Hagen (1780-90), f. 3r.
[50] Ibid. ff. 4v-5r.
[51] Ibid, f. 6r.

information, simply an account of the facts. He imposed the objectivity of meteorological records on his accounts of himself.

This impact of scientific information on the nature of others' self-writing is unmistakeable. Just as Hagen faithfully recorded instrument readings on a daily basis, others logged location and distance travelled in their diaries.[52] In particular, the entries made by William Kidd in the personal journals he kept at sea, often described his locations in compass bearings, and recounted the events of the day with minimalist, factual precision.[53] Writing on the relationship between ship's log and sailor's journal, and sailor's journal and published voyage literature in the eighteenth century, James Kelly has observed that it was the presence of superfluities like narrative that signified the slow mutation from log to journal.[54] Yet Kidd's journal is utilitarian in its recounting of events and occurrences. It is punctuated with occasional opinions, and relieved comments on surviving adverse weather; but fact was evidently an essential component in Kidd's writing. His journal is closer to log than travel narrative; more objective record, than subjective account.

These diaries were approached technically and with a desire for accurate information. Providing readings from instruments to indicate location, weather, and distance travelled, as these diarists do, is a lot more precise than attempting to describe it in prose. This practice also suggests a desire to compile a complete and thorough account. Anna Larpent summarized the contents of her diary

[52] See BL, Add. MS. 42164, Oxford-Blenheim Diary of C. Powys (1759), f. 25r; BOD, MS. Don.e.199, Diary of W. A. Johnson (1811-12), f. 64r.
[53] See especially HL, HM 46983 v. 5, Journal of W.L. Kidd (1808-9).
[54] Kelly, 'Bordering on Fact,' 161.

under different headings, as Jonathan Swift and others did with their financial accounts earlier in the century; 'List of all the persons I lived with'; 'list of all the sermons I attended', 'list of all the books,' 'list of excursions.'[55] Several years' diaries are categorised into these different activities, with a list of dates underneath detailing the specifics of each occasion recorded. This method ensured that information was neither unclear, nor omitted.

The compulsion to render the diary a 'complete' account of oneself also goes some way to explain the presence of another form of numerical data - financial accounts - in many of these and other late eighteenth-century diaries. The pre-printed diary formalized in print the practice of noting financial accounts alongside notes of activities and reflection. The habit of conflating the two, evident earlier in the century, continued in self-structured journals kept by individuals in the later eighteenth century and early nineteenth. Few in this sample followed the discipline with which the pre-printed diary recommended such accounting should take place, but in many cases individual financial status constituted a component part of the factual, complete record of themselves that diarists recorded. The 'self' that Hagan recorded in his gardening book, alongside botanical and meteorological observations, was one composed of objectively recounted actions and events, and regularly kept financial records; not together, but separately, with accounts written at his journal's end.[56] For others, notes of expenditure and outgoing were embedded in daily entries. Thomas Turner kept a fairly constant note of petty expenditure throughout his journal; others

[55] HL, HM 31201 v. 17, Diary of A. Larpent (1773-86); see 'lists' made for 1773.
[56] BOD, MS. Eng.misc.c.250, Log Book Diary and Accounts of J. Hagen (1780-90).

commenced their journal for the new year with a concerned note about the state of their finances. In the diary he kept between 1811 and 1812, Wallis Johnson noted 'I feel very poor large bills and little money – economy must be the order of the day.'[57] The case study of London gentleman and ex-naval storekeeper Charles De Coetlogon later in this chapter will examine this compulsion for financial record-keeping more closely. At this stage however, these examples indicate that the concern for oeconomy and sense of facticity and completeness that guided journalising, led to the same end. These were not mutually exclusive motivations; they were interlinked. The facticity and idea of a complete record, or compendium of the self, encouraged the recording of individual financial information; in turn, this facilitated the enacting of good oeconomy and effective self-management. In other words, the record the diary provided of everyday activity and financial expenditure could be consulted and referred to, for clarification on patterns of self-management and evaluation of the 'facts' of expenditure.

Lotte Mulligan has written that Robert Hooke was distinctive in the factuality he imposed on his own diary-keeping in the seventeenth century.[58] The approach and principles that rendered Hooke distinctive at the end of the seventeenth century, however, were common practice by the end of the eighteenth. Forensic, objective analysis of one's own life was, by the early nineteenth century, a facet of the practice of diarizing recognised even amongst those of a non-scientific background. These diarists objectified themselves as the subject of study, and

[57] BOD, MS. Don.e.199, Diary of W.A. Johnson (1811-12), f. 1r.
[58] Mulligan, 'Self-Scrutiny', 314.

crucially were self-aware in doing so. Charting the change and development of these habits demonstrates that the introduction of the pre-printed diary, rather than an anomaly in otherwise unchanging habits of diarizing, was symptomatic of a wider change in attitudes and practices that took place in the second half of the eighteenth century, in which the keeping of comprehensive, brief and factual accounts was seen to be a characteristic applicable to self-writing. This allows us, in turn, to 'place' the pre-printed diary: in the late eighteenth century the practices it encouraged were some of several habits through which this encyclopaedic attitude was enacted. Log-style diarizing like that of Jacob Hagen and William Kidd coexisted with longer, prose journalising. Yet, as the analysis here of longer journals, like those of Caroline Powys, Charles Rivington, Samuel Kevan and Anna Larpent indicate, the model of 'logging' activity was a flexible one: the priorities that encouraged the rigorous forensic recording of information for some, were simply drawn on by others to guide writing motivated by other concerns. Not all those who 'observed' kept log-style diaries; but that does not detract from the pervasiveness or influence of this model. In fact, it merely serves to highlight the flexibility and widespread applicability of the broader cultural ideas behind it.

This discussion of self-writing has focused principally on content; but how were form, and the very method of diarizing affected by this shift in perception? Did the structures that individuals used in their own self-writing change, or did habits from earlier in the century simply persist, with little regard for the model offered by the pre-printed diary? To what extent was longer journalising affected by the spatial rubric of this model of logging?

III. Method, Structure and Spatial System

In 1773, Anna Larpent entitled her diary 'A Methodized Journal.'[59] 'Method' recurs in her self-writing; she explained her system of writing in her introduction, and evidence from later entries indicates that she sought advice from others on the 'method of writing a journal.'[60] She was not the first, or the only individual for whom system and organisation in self-writing were important. In his diary for 1666 Samuel Pepys wrote that he was going to 'draw out fair and methodically' his reports of events, rather like an accountant would his financial ledger.[61] In contrast, for Larpent and her contemporaries, 'order' in self-writing resembled the example set by reference works and compendiums, rather than ledgers and account books.

Principles of method and order were manifest in these late eighteenth- and early nineteenth-century account books, diaries and journals, most notably in the systems and structures that individuals imposed on the page. There is continuity in these practices from earlier in the century. The use of recognisable systems like indexes, manicules and instructions for reading populate these forms, as late eighteenth-century individuals, like their earlier counterparts, drew on the model provided in printed books. These methods varied in sophistication. Daniel Beaufort was one of several who adapted the space of his diary to enable easy reference. In his journal for 1796, he included a column on the right-hand side of the right-hand page, which contained brief notes intended to summarize the key

[59] HL, HM 31201 v. 17, Diary of A. Larpent (1773-1786), f. 1r.
[60] HL, HM 31201 v. 1, Diary of A. Larpent (1790-95), f. 1v.
[61] Matthews, 'The Diary as Literature', in *Diary of Samuel Pepys,* xcvii.

events or notable individuals described in the adjacent main diary entries. For example, as Fig. 5 shows, 'will' is entered in this narrower column, flagging the main event of that day, the reading of the will of an acquaintance. Another day he wrote 'Frank' to indicate he had received a letter from him. It is a system of summarizing familiar from printed books of the same period, that anticipated and facilitated a non-linear reading. William Smith, several years later, used the same method to pinpoint where he was on particular days;[62] Caroline Powys used a similar column formatted in her own diary to flag up interesting locations and activities.[63]

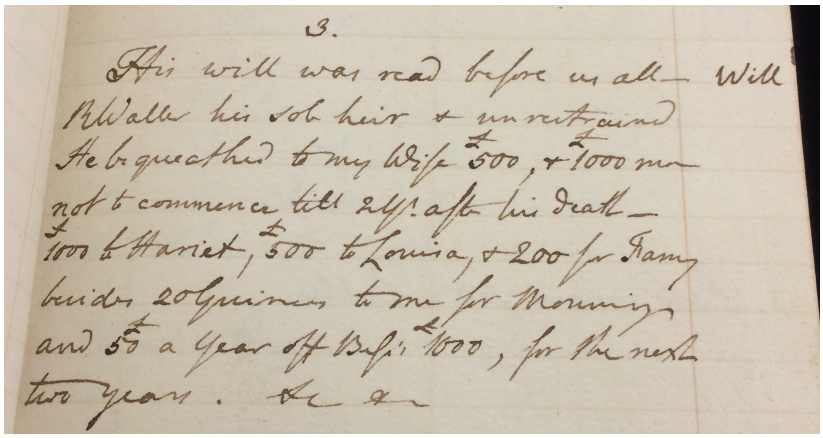


Fig. 5. The right-hand column used by Daniel Beaufort in his diary for 1796, to enable easy reference to his diary entries (HL, FB 5, f. 50r).

Others used more formal methods of reference, indexing their self-writing in order to provide a guide, almost a table of contents, that could be consulted without having to open, or read the rest of the text. It was common practice in the keeping of a commonplace book – a close relative of encyclopaedias and other reference works – and its application in other genres suggests that individuals perceived similarities in their form and purpose. In her diary for

[62] OUMNH, WS/B/005, Diary of W. Smith (1805).
[63] BL, Add. MS. 42160 v. 1, Diary of C. Powys (1757-94).

1790, Anna Larpent compiled an index, entitled 'entries of interest according to dates.' [64] In the early nineteenth century, Sir Francis Beaufort indexed his account book in the same way that he did his commonplace book.[65] Peter Burke has written that the organisation of encyclopaedias in the eighteenth century showed that they were intended to be consulted, rather than read.[66] The presence of indexes in these diaries suggests the same. They anticipate future consultation and direct it. Not only that, but as Janine Barchas has explained, the index had connotations of gravitas in this period.[67] Her focus is on the use of the index in eighteenth-century literature, but there are parallels with its role in that genre, and its implications for diarizing. The index was 'ennobling',[68] as its presence suggested that, rather than being ephemeral, the weight and significance of the contents of these diaries required a formal system of organisation.

Many directed these future readers to later pages using directives written on the page. In his account book for 1790, estate manager William Gould pointed readers 'to page 22, 23' for a continuation of his accounts.[69] Several used manicules to direct attention.[70] Others annotated their entries for clarification, justifying blank space and explaining errors. To defend a several-month silence in his diary, Daniel Beaufort wrote in 1778, 'this book was mislaid & no regular

[64] HL, HM 31201 v. 1, Diary of A. Larpent (1790-95), f. 1v.
[65] HL, FB 55, Account Book of F. Beaufort (1824); HL, FB 54, Commonplace Book of F. Beaufort (1806-25).
[66] P. Burke, *A Social History of Knowledge: from Gutenberg to Diderot* (Cambridge, 2000), 186.
[67] Barchas, *Graphic Design,* 213.
[68] Ibid. 213.
[69] NA, DDP6/7/2/44, Account Book of W. Gould (1790); throughout.
[70] See HL, FB 4, Travel Diary of D.A. Beaufort (1792-5), f. 40v; HL, FB 54, Commonplace Book of F. Beaufort (1806-25), f. 16v; BL, Add MS 42556, Memoir and Diary of S. Kevan (1826-7), f. 36r.

account kept from my leaving Allenton to Sept 26th when I got it.'[71] Similarly, in the diary he kept twenty years later, he explained 'much omitted in this month.'[72] Caroline Powys felt compelled to explain the stub of a page that had been cut out of her diary, writing 'the same by mistake over again', and 'same mistake still' (Fig. 6).

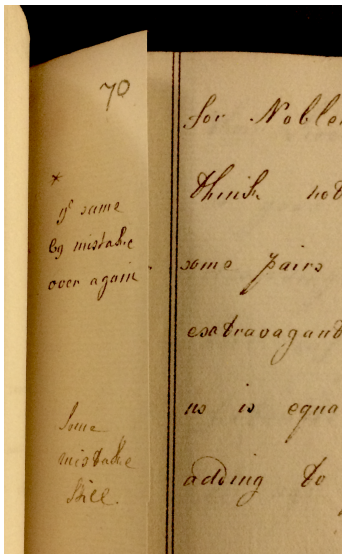


Fig. 6. Caroline Powys' explanatory notes after cutting out a page of her journal (BL, Add. MS. 42160 v. 1, f. 70r).

Such evidence in these diaries, journals, ledgers and gardening books indicates that they were consulted and referred to. Rather than wading through long entries to find a particular piece of information, these were flags which provided a shortcut and enabled easy consultation. The purpose of this consultation varied between diarists. For some, the referential, informational aspects of the diary were its end, its principal purpose. They envisaged a wider audience visiting the diary out of interest. Samuel Kevan expected his family to be his diary's future readers but doubted his sons would be interested; instead,

[71] HL, FB 2, Diary of D.A. Beaufort (1776-81), f. 103r.
[72] HL, FB 5, Diary of D.A. Beaufort (1796-8), f. 161v (of original foliation).

'perhaps my grandsons or daughters may esteem it more.'[73] Rural shopkeeper and thorough diarist Thomas Turner alluded to potential future readings, stating 'if any person should by accident or curiosity peruse my several memorandums…' and 'for the future reference of anyone who may happen to see my memoirs…'.[74] For Turner this purpose was explicitly referential.

For others, these mechanisms of reference facilitated re-reading for personal improvement, both of the diarist and others. In his prose journal in the final quarter of the eighteenth century, Charles Rivington wrote in his summary of 1780 that he 'read his own account' and was ashamed by it.[75] In the introduction to her journal in 1773, Anna Larpent envisaged her sons as its future readers: 'My boys may get hints from those observations often guided by the enlightened society I lived with in the early part of life.'[76] 'Observations' implies the same level of distance, and almost sterile objectivity, as the entries one might find in a reference work, but the purpose here of these observations is instructive as well as informational; her sons might learn from her records.

It is important too, to note the presence of the imagined, or actual future reader shaping many forms of diarizing, including the longer, prose, reflective diaries and extended spiritual journals that individuals continued to keep into the nineteenth century. Matthew Kadane has noted that the way clothier Joseph Ryder crossed things out in his spiritual diary reveals an expectation that it might be read in future; a simple line through an entry suggests an error, or first

[73] BL, Add. MS. 42556, Memoir and Diary of S. Kevan (1826-7), f. 2v.
[74] Vaisey, *Diary of Thomas Turner*, 83; see also the entry for 11 Dec. 1761.
[75] BOD, MS. Eng.misc.e.957, Diary of C. Rivington (1778-82), 175.
[76] HL, HM 31201 v.17, Diary of A. Larpent (1773-86), f. 5r.

draft, but not one that the diarist minded being read. Ryder also, in Kadane's words, 'fretted when [entries] were lacklustre.'[77] In the extensive spiritual diary kept by Elizabeth Peck in the early nineteenth century, the contents of almost an entire page have been scribbled out with the note 'the following Reflection ought to be expunged.'[78] The fact that these diaries, kept principally for spiritual self-accounting rather than secular, compendious self-logging contained these referential aspects demonstrates, crucially, that the two models were compatible. As the popular published spiritual biographies available in the seventeenth and early eighteenth centuries provided a model for diarizing, so these spiritual diaries were written as spiritual reference works, with hints for ways of reading – either by the diarist, or someone else – that made the model they contained even clearer, and more accessible.

The discussion thus far has focused upon many habits that can be traced back to practices evident earlier in the eighteenth century, and before. Pepys prioritized method; Nehemiah Wallington handmade a table of contents for his extensive journal.[79] Yet the self-writing habits of those from later in the eighteenth century differed significantly in the priorities that guided their compilation and execution. This is evident in several ways. Firstly, while the habit of writing an introduction to one's journal was not new to the late eighteenth century, those of the late eighteenth and early nineteenth centuries are particularly notable as a statement of intent and method that resembled the preface to a printed book or, in the case of these diarists, the outline of a scientific experiment. Several diarists

[77] Kadane, *Watchful Clothier*, 68-9.
[78] BOD, MS. Eng.th.e.183, Religious Journal of E. Peck (1804-11), f. 85r.
[79] Seaver, *Wallington's World*, 196.

used their introductions as Anna Larpent did, to explicitly outline the approach they had used, or would employ, in compiling their diaries. In the late eighteenth century, Caroline Powys explained the content included in her journal, and supplementary travel notebooks, in prefaces to them;[80] in botanist-diarist Jacob Hagen's record, begun a few years later, he too outlined his method of data collection and system of record-keeping in an introductory, explanatory preamble. He wrote

> *'I have fixed my Barometer & Thermometer in the Hall...and as I shall fix my observations on the forwardness of one particular plant this year on the 1st of [each month?] it will pretty well determine the forwardness or backwardness of the spring. –Observations on Weather Glasses abt. 7 or 8 o'clock A.M.'*[81]

Those who kept less data-oriented records did the same. Samuel Kevan wrote an introduction to his memoir-diary in the early nineteenth century in which he explained the process by which he had compiled it:

> *'The following memorandums I began to record when I was about twenty years of age –a simple untaught youth –have written them over again to 1798 May and though I have had time, I do not consider it worth writing over again any farther…'*[82]

These introductions betray the influence of the example set by published diaries in the period, the prefaces to which justified the inclusion of particular information, its publication, and defended their authors from accusations of hubris. They were the equivalent of the pre-printed diary's introductory preface, which, in explaining and justifying the information recorded, the way it was organised on the page, and the purpose of its collection, presented self-writing as an empirical, forensic procedure. More than that, the introductions in these non-

[80] BL, Add. MS. 42160 v. 1, Diary of C. Powys (1757-94); Add. MS. 42164-5, 'Oxford Blenheim' Diary (1759) and Plymouth Diary (1760) of C. Powys.
[81] BOD, MS. Eng.misc.c.250, Log Book Diary and Accounts of J. Hagen (1780-90), f. 3v.
[82] BL, Add. MS. 42556, Memoir and Diary of S. Kevan (1826-7), f. 2v.

published diaries present the practice as a science. They set out the approach used in the diary in the same way that scientific observers might theorize or justify their practices. Lorraine Daston described early modern scientists writing extensively on 'why to observe, what to observe, and who should observe.'[83] Similarly, Frans De Bruyn describes the compilers of statistical surveys doing the same: 'before descending to the minutiae of their subject, they often present a preliminary overview that comprehends the whole.'[84] Here, these diarists do exactly the same.

What these prefaces also draw attention to is the very process by which this self-writing was enacted. The more prose-like journals kept by individuals in this sample were the product of a process of refinement and selection of information. The diary of Caroline Powys, describing her activities between 1757 and 1794, is a prime example. Neatly written and consistently formatted, it is a summary of accounts drawn from other journals, written up and presented as a continuous narrative. References back to the original source function like footnotes, indicating where to look for more detail.[85] Powys' supplementary journals[86] are equally polished, but, written closer to the event than the later diary, they provide description and detail that she could then either select for inclusion in her longer chronicle, or discard as she wished. Evidence from contemporaneous

[83] Daston, 'Scientific Observation', 97.
[84] F. De Bruyn, 'From Georgic Poetry to Statistics and Graphs: Eighteenth-Century Representations and the "State" of British Society', *The Yale Journal of Criticism,* 17 (2004), 116.
[85] BL, Add. MS. 42160 v. 1, Diary of C. Powys (1757-94); see, for example, f. 46r, 'In July went with Sr. Charles & Lady Price to Stowe. See my journal for 1775'.
[86] BL, Add. MS. 42164-8, Travel Diaries of C. Powys (1759-76).

diaries suggests that a similar process was used by other diarists.[87] Samuel Kevan's extensive book of self-writing is both autobiographical memoir, and diary. As the above excerpt demonstrated, he explained in his introduction how the content of the memoir was compiled and 'written over', and how he decided what should go into it, and what should be left out –namely the 'many great breaches and crimes which would have been improper particularly to record.'[88]

In these cases this process of selection and refinement of information functioned in the same way as the pre-printed form of the diary, in that both required the disposal of information and a decision about the aspects of experience that were superfluous, or not worth recording. In this sense then, even the more fluent, finished narrative of the prose diary was a 'log' of sorts, with inclusion in it subject to criteria known only to the diarist. As the introduction to this chapter explained, the process of writing one's diary up from rough notes was not new to this period; yet in conjunction with these other behaviours, the refinement of diary contents can be understood to be a function of this culture of facticity.

Finally, it is in the way these diarists and self-accountants used, managed and 'methodiz'd' space in their record-keeping that is the most convincing evidence of a departure, in the late eighteenth century, from traditional models of diarizing and growing emphasis on objective recording. As in the pre-printed

[87] See HL, FB 2, Diary of D. A. Beaufort (1776-81); BOD, MS. Eng.misc.c.250, Log Book Diary and Accounts of J. Hagen (1780-90).

[88] BL, Add. MS. 42556, Memoir and Diary of S. Kevan (1826-7), f. 2v. Marilyn Morris suggests that the 'great breaches and crimes' Kevan refers to in his introduction might relate to an incestuous relationship he had with his granddaughter: see M. Morris, 'Domesticity and Self-Justification in the Writings of Samuel Kevan, Journeyman, Later Master Slater (1764-1829)', *Journal of Family History,* 41 (2016), 5.

diary, the organisation of the page was a key function of these principles that appears across the array of forms in this sample. A spectrum exists in the degree and formality of spatial organisation enacted by these individuals. As we have seen, Jacob Hagen used a strict system of columns to organise the botanical and personal entries, and instrument readings contained in his diary for 1780-90, as well as the almanac he used in 1752.[89] Daniel Beaufort, an Irish clergyman, kept a diary between 1776 and 1821.[90] His system of organisation varied little between its volumes. As Fig. 7 shows, he used columns to arrange what he wrote.

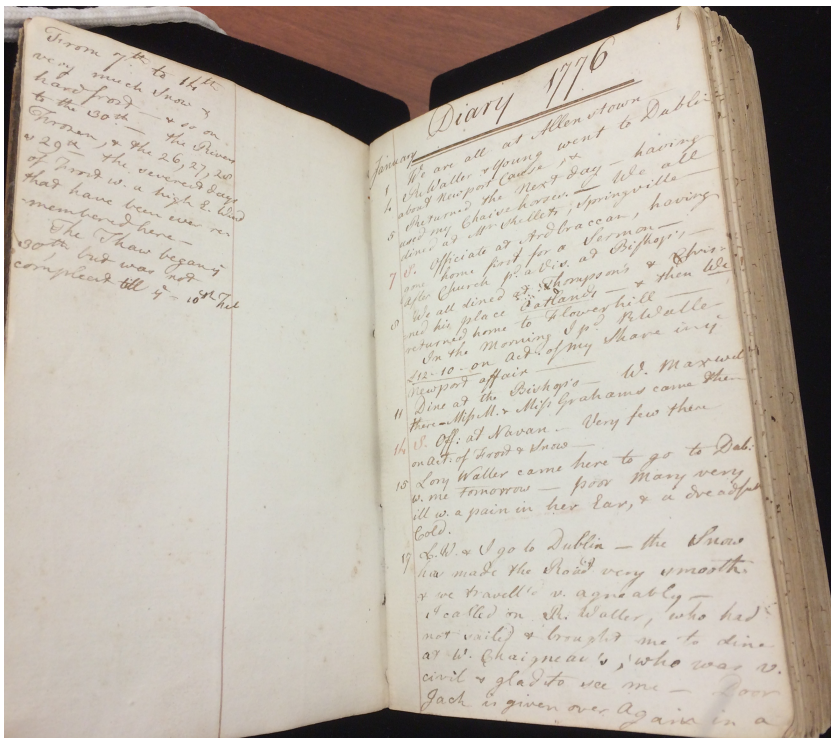


Fig. 7. Extract from Daniel Beaufort's 1776 diary, showing the way he organised the information he entered there (HL, FB 2, f. 1r).

In 1776 they contained, on the left, miscellaneous observations (including notes on the deaths of friends and acquaintances) and notes of money owed, and on the right, dates and the day's events. In the diary he kept twenty years later, the

[89] See Chapter 2, 82-3.
[90] HL, FB 2-9, Diaries of D.A. Beaufort (1776-1821).

system had little changed; if anything, it had become more particular.[91] The columns on the left-hand page contained miscellaneous observations on current events and those of more personal significance, with an additional column for weather notes; on the right hand page, was space for the main diary entries and brief notes.

Others used more overtly tabulated forms. In the journals he kept at the end of the eighteenth century, Rev. Henry White, brother of the better-known naturalist, Gilbert White, made use of a tabulated structure to organise his daily entries. Each vast, double-page spread of his 34.5x49cm diaries for 1781, 1782 and 1783[92] was divided up into 24 segments, with six columns (for the days Monday to Saturday) and four rows: one for the days of the week, the second for a record of his own activities and observations, the third for a note of the work done by his 'Team', and the fourth, at the bottom, for barometer and thermometer readings, and a note of the wind direction (Fig. 8, overleaf).

Lorraine Daston and others have written about a desire in the early modern period to see everything 'at one view', which made the table a popular format.[93] There is the sense in White's journal that this is what he aspired to, even if, in reality, it was rather cumbersome: a form that, in one glance, could tell everything about, and reveal patterns in, day-to-day occurrences. It appears at first to be a timetable of work to be done, and work completed; this is reinforced

[91] HL, FB 5, Diary of D.A Beaufort (1796-8).
[92] BL, Add. MS. 43814-16, Diaries of Rev. H. White (1781-3).
[93] Daston, 'Super-Vision', 189; De Bruyn, 'From Georgic Poetry to Statistics and Graphs,' 128; A. Mendelsohn, 'The World on a Page: Making a General Observation in the Eighteenth Century', in *Histories of Scientific Observation,* 397; J. Sheehan & D. Wahrman, *Invisible Hands: Self-Organization and the Eighteenth-Century* (Chicago, 2015), 60.

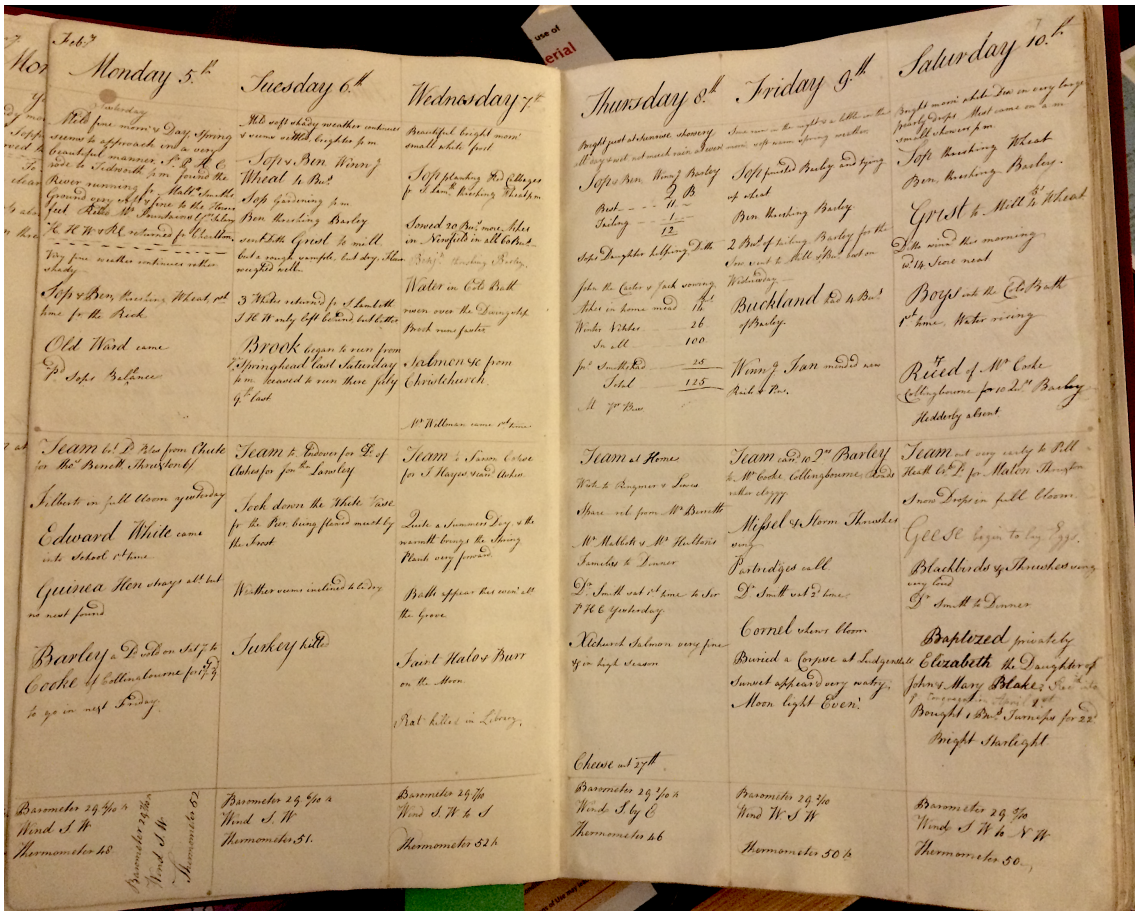


Fig. 8. Extract from Rev. Henry White's journal for 1781 in which each double-page, and the information it contained, was categorized into 24 separate cells (BL, Add. MS. 43814, ff. 6v-7r).

by the lack of space allocated for Sunday, with events that day instead recounted on Monday under the title 'Yesterday'. Yet entries are as personal as they are practical. In 1781, between notes of who threshed which oats, on the 2nd of February he has written in different coloured ink, and neater handwriting, 'Edward born.'[94] The tabulated form as it was used by White was as democratising as it was comprehensive. He had to use these other visual means – like colour and writing style – to distinguish particular entries, in a form that placed all information on a level and rendered it equally comparable, and referable.

[94] BL, Add. MS. 43814, Diary of Rev. H. White (1781), f. 6r.

Others inserted the tabulated form into their diaries, much as a statistical study of the same period featured both tabulated statistics and prose analysis. In her *Thraliana,* inspired by tables she encountered in her reading,[95] Hester Thrale drew up tables and ranked her friends in them, giving them each a mark out of twenty in some or all of the following categories or columns: 'Religion, Morality, Scholarship, General Knowledge, Person and Voice, Manner, Wit, Humor and Good Humor, Worth of Heart, Conversation Powers, Person Mien and Manner, Useful Knowledge and Ornamental Knowledge.'[96] Samuel Johnson scored an impressive 20 for 'General Knowledge;' David Garrick a lowly 3 for 'Scholarship', but a laudable 18 for 'Person and Voice;' Frances Boscawen, whose diary we encountered in Chapter Five, an impressive 18 for 'Conversation Powers' but a distinctly average 10 for 'Person Mien and Manner.' Thrale calls it a 'foolish amusement', but this is evidence of the manner in which formats encountered in reading influenced private practice and had an impact on content. Here individuals are reduced to statistics, confirming the worst fears of critics of the tabulated form who feared its ability to condition the information it contained into shorter forms that would fit. Incidentally, it is notable too that Thrale included three categories of knowledge in her table.

The influence of one tabulated form in particular, the naval logbook, on the diarizing practices of naval surgeon William Kidd, is evident from the way he structured his journals. The cover of his 1808 journal is made from an old medical supplies receipts form (Fig. 9, overleaf), which gives an indication of the

[95] Specifically Joseph Spence, *Crito, or a Dialogue on Beauty* (1752), in which, Thrale explains, 'beauties were classed under these three Heads – Colour, Grace & Expression, and 20 settled as the perfect Number' (Balderstone, *Thraliana,* 329).
[96] Balderstone, *Thraliana*, 329-31.

ubiquity of the form in his professional career, and the likely scope of its influence on his own practices. In his diaries, each page is tabulated to contain the date, an account of the events of the day and, later, location. Further reminiscent of the printed form, too, are the double lines hand-ruled by Kidd to define the start of a new month. These also appear in the printed supplies form to indicate distinct sections of the table. The fact that his diary shows the influence of an official form used to facilitate the efficient recording and referencing of factual entries, suggests that Kidd saw a resemblance between the two types of record, or the nature of the information that they might contain.

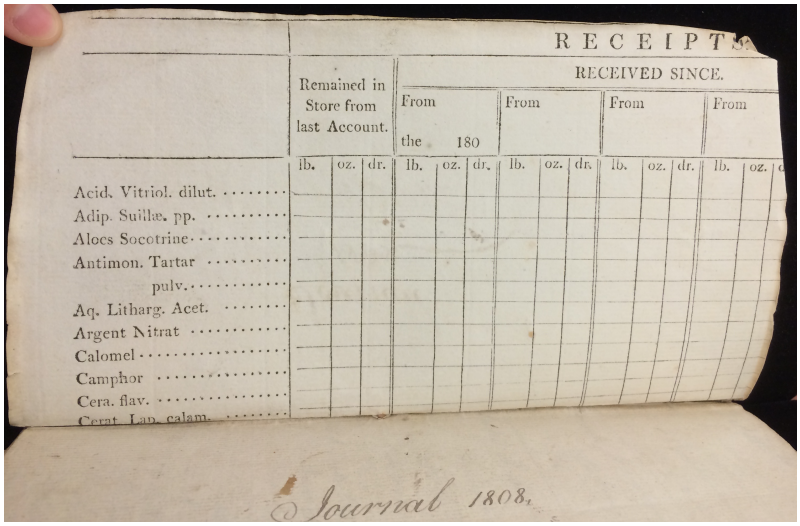


Fig. 9. The covers of William Kidd's naval journal for 1808 were made out of medical supply receipt forms (HL, HM 46983 v. 3).

From columns, to grids, to tabulated pages, these spatial systems illustrate the fact that in the later eighteenth and early nineteenth centuries diarizing was as much about the selection, organisation and categorization of information as it was about reflection and introspection. Daniel Headrick has written of eighteenth-century systems of organising knowledge that 'classification avoided

the issue of explanation.'[97] In the same way, so these diarists' systems of classification made the entries that they contained, data. By the end of the eighteenth century, method in self-writing – as it meant both organisation on the page and the process by which diaries were compiled – combined both continuities in practice and markedly different habits to show the unmistakeable influence of a perception of diarizing as a form of knowledge compilation. Habits from earlier in the century became more scientific in approach and intention; categorisation and classification manifested themselves in myriad ways. These developments were not incompatible with other, well-established forms of diarizing; as analysis has shown, the keeping of a prose, spiritual journal did not preclude the enactment of these more encyclopaedic methods. Indeed, their presence in these other forms confirms even more convincingly that it was a shared culture of facticity that was applicable to multiple different forms of self-writing, carried out for many different purposes. Diarists used particular methods borrowed from informational writing; but that did not mean, in turn, that their own writing was purely informational in either content or purpose. The final section of this chapter will look more closely at the habits of four individuals who each kept a variety of self-writing forms – in tandem, and in sequence – in the late eighteenth and early nineteenth centuries.

[97] D. Headrick, *When Information Came of Age: Technologies of Knowledge in the Age of Reason and Revolution, 1700-1850* (Oxford, 2000), 49.

IV. Case Studies: Self-Writing Across Different Forms

The following case studies enable a closer look at the way the shared culture of facticity that existed after 1750 influenced the self-writing habits of four individuals. They each used a variety of different forms – including pre-printed diaries – across which they moved and shared information. These studies allow an examination of the extent to which broader ideas of diarizing as a scientific, encyclopaedic pursuit shaped individual habits, and to gauge how the models specifically enshrined in the pre-printed form, were themselves influential. The pre-printed diary, and in particular, its arrangement of space, was in many ways the paradigm of empirical, factual self-writing in the later eighteenth century; its imitation or influence is compelling evidence of the popularity of the models it enshrined.

i. Henry Brydges (1708-71; diaries kept 1720-71)

The 2nd Duke of Chandos, Henry Brydges' diarizing habits started when he was a child. An early diary from 1720, when he was twelve, describes a trip around England visiting 'mighty pretty' sights and 'fine' cities and houses;[98] an educational exercise, perhaps, as some earlier childrens' diaries appear to have been.[99] Containing an abundance of detailed description and opinions, this early

[98] HL, HM 30301, Diary of H. Brydges (1720).

[99] The diary kept by 14-year-old Thomas Isham between 1671-3 – and written in Latin – was undertaken at the request of his father, who encouraged him to 'go on with a line or two most days.' This request foreshadows the advice from *A Letter from a Father to his Daughter* encountered in Chapter Three which suggests that diarizing, like letter-writing, was used as a pedagogic exercise for children in this period (see G. Isham (ed.), *The Diary of Thomas Isham of Lamport,* trans. N. Marlow (Farnborough, 1971). For letter-writing as an instructive exercise for children, see E. C. Bruce, '"Each

diary presents a contrast to those he kept in later life, through a political career of fluctuating fortunes. The diary he kept twelve years later in 1732 contains short, retrospective accounts of appointments kept and events attended, often at court, or in waiting to the king.[100] The book is smaller, pocket-sized, and Brydges formatted it to accommodate three days per page, with margins ruled for the date and title on each page. In this journal many of his later habits are evident; concise writing, a developing sense of structure, and the prioritization of brief, factual accounts.

It is in the diaries Brydges kept later in his life that these habits are most starkly evident. They are especially pronounced in his diary from 1756, which he kept in a pre-printed *New Memorandum Book Improv'd*.[101] In the short entries he made about his visitors, dining habits and daily events, he followed the restrictions of the printed, tabulated structure in a way that suggests a preference for the categorisation of information and brevity it encouraged. In addition, Brydges adapted the diary, extending printed lines to further restrict the space in the 'Occasional Memorandums' column, making it more tabulated, and more classified (Fig 10, overleaf). Not only that, but a short index he wrote into the front blank page of this pocket book provided a referencing aid to enable quick consultation of relevant information later in the diary.

Word Shows How You Love Me": The Social Literacy Practice of Children's Letter Writing', *Paedagogica Historica,* 50 (2014), 247-64).

[100] HL, ST 108 v. 1, Diary of H. Brydges (1732).

[101] HL, ST 108 v. 2, Diary of H. Brydges (*New Memorandum Book Improv'd,* 1756).

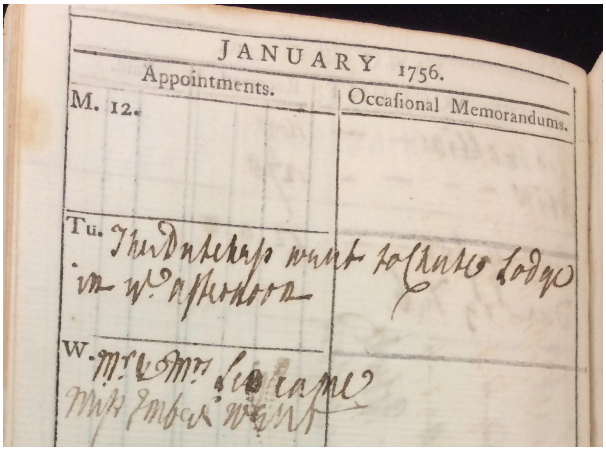

JANUARY 1756.
Appointments.
Occasional Memorandums.
M. 12.
Tu.
W.

Fig. 10. Henry Brydges further adapted the space of his *New Memorandum Book* for 1756 (HL, ST 108 v. 2).

It is significant that aspects of the form of the pre-printed diary appear in the larger, hand-lined journals that Brydges later used. The series of diaries he kept between 1759 and 1771[102] share many of the features of the pre-printed version he used in 1756. There are several similarities: all of the diaries Brydges used employed a tabulated structure in their layout which accommodated three days per page. More specifically, the diaries for 1759, 1763 and 1764[103] – the first of his blank forms after the pre-printed version – borrowed both the column headings printed in the *New Memorandum Book*, and their order on the page. From left to right, in each of these diaries, were columns ruled for 'Appointments', 'Memorandums' and 'Payments' (Fig. 11, overleaf).

The diaries he kept after 1764 slightly adapted these headings – changing to 'memorandums, appointments &c.'[104] and later just 'memorandums'[105] – but even this evolution shows the persistent influence of the pre-printed form and

[102] HL, ST 108 vols 3-10, Diaries of H. Brydges (1759-71).
[103] HL, ST 108 vols 3-5, Diaries of H. Brydges (1759-64).
[104] See HL, ST 108 v. 6, Diary of H. Brydges (1765).



Fig. 11. Henry Brydges' diary for 1759, emulating the tabulated form and column headings of his pre-printed diary (HL, ST 108, v. 3).

the values it enshrined. The difference in handwriting between the page titles and the content of the entries suggest that this was formatted by another – the stationer who sold the book, perhaps, or a secretary in Brydges' employment – but the fact that it was sustained across each volume is significant. It shows not only that the classification offered by the pre-printed form appealed to Brydges, but that he, like the producers of the pre-printed diary, felt that particular aspects of his experience deserved to be recorded more than others. He imposed pragmatic, informational and reductive categories on the record of his own life.

The fact that Brydges annotated incorrect or misplaced diary entries reinforces the extent to which he treated diarizing as a form of accurate and factual self-recording. Writing 'wrong plac'd'[106] next to the entry for one day and 'the above day…inserted wrong by mistake'[107] below another, indicates that he expected his diary to be referred to after writing. He wrote some entries in code, yet that does not undermine this assessment (Fig. 12, overleaf). Like clothier Joseph Ryder, whose manner of crossing out portions of his diary did not make the excised

[105] See HL, ST 108 vols 7-8, Diaries of H. Brydges (1767, 1769).
[106] HL, ST 108 v. 3, Diary of H. Brydges (1759), entry for 4 Jan.
[107] Ibid. entry for 20 Jan.

entries any less legible, the backwards handwriting Brydges used is not difficult for an outside eye to decipher. At the very least it suggests that the future reader he anticipated was himself; and that consultation was a key part of his diary-as-reference work.

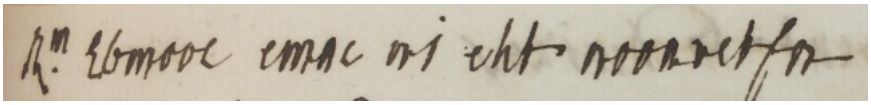


Fig. 12. An example of the code that Henry Brydges used in his diaries; this entry reads 'Mr Coombe came in the afternoon' (HL, ST 108 v. 4, entry for 20 Feb.).

Ultimately, the use and subsequent imitation of the model enshrined in the pre-printed diary, and Brydges' own additional ways of using, reiterate his treatment of diarizing as an empirical, almost scientific activity. Above all, the imitation of the pre-printed form in his diaries crucially emphasises the central role played by spatial organisation and management in personal writing by the later eighteenth century.

ii. William Smith (1769-1839; diaries kept 1789-1821)

The creator of the first geological map of England and Wales, land surveyor and engineer William Smith used the 20 diaries he kept between 1789 and 1821 to document his personal experiences and professional pursuits.[108] Of those, three were pre-printed – Baldwin's *Daily Journal* for 1789, and Lett's *Diary* for both 1815 and 1816[109] – and the rest were blank. Of those blank books, three (for

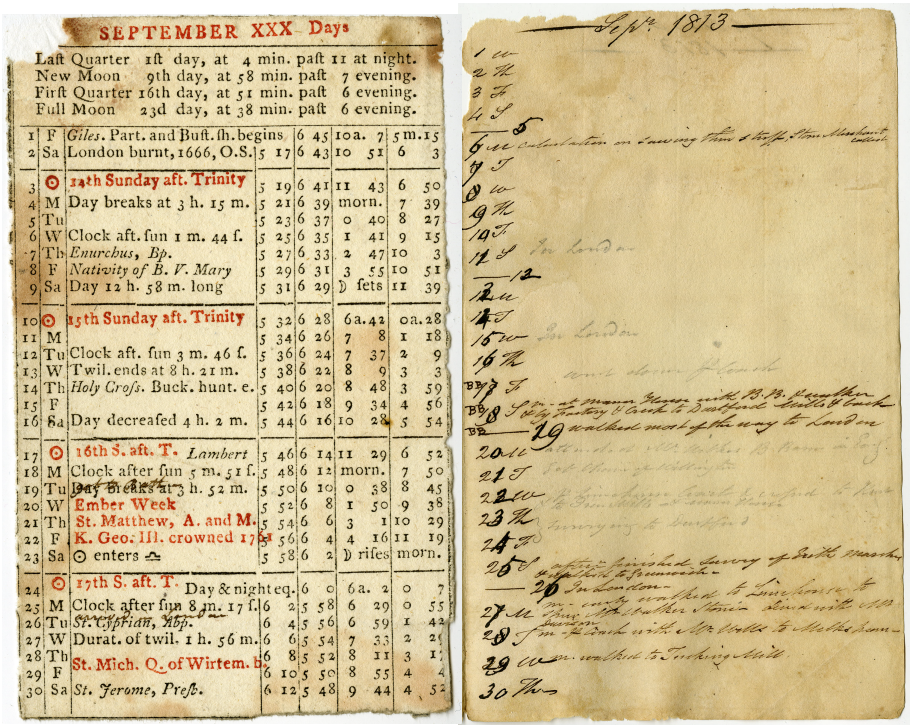
[108] OUMNH, WS/B/001-20, Diaries of W. Smith (1789-1820).
[109] OUMNH, WS/B/001, *Daily Journal* of W. Smith (1789); WS/B/014-15, Lett's *Diaries* of W. Smith (1815, 1816).

1809, 1810 and 1811)[110] contained monthly calendars cut from almanacs, that he pasted between and into the diaries' blank pages.

The blank diaries show the development of a systematic method of self-writing. In Smith's early diaries, like that for 1802, entries are extensive and page-per-day.[111] Over the next few years he imposed a system, as a close analysis of one diary from 1813 reveals.[112] With some variation, he allocated each month four sections: in the first page, he outlined several key events of the month, and the days they occurred on; the central two contained two identical lists of the days of the month, one to note prospective plans and the second to note retrospective accounts of activity; and in the final section, he left several pages blank to allow for longer entries of particular events. This system varied slightly over the course of the diaries – some years Smith included additional pages for accounts, for example, and in others he only formatted the central calendar pages – but in all of its variations it shows an approach to journalising that prioritised comprehensive factual observation and brief entries.

Crucially, Smith's method combined structures borrowed from the pre-printed diaries and almanacs that he also used. The side-by-side comparison of an almanac page and the format of Smith's monthly calendar (taken from two separate diaries) demonstrates the similarities that existed between the two (Fig. 13, overleaf).

[110] OUMNH, WS/B/008-10, Diaries of W. Smith with almanac inserts (1809, 1810, 1811).
[111] OUMNH, WS/B/002, Diary of W. Smith (1802).
[112] OUMNH, WS/B/012, Diary of W. Smith (1813).



SEPTEMBER XXX Days

Laſt Quarter 1ſt day, at 4 min. paſt 11 at night.
New Moon 9th day, at 58 min. paſt 7 evening.
Firſt Quarter 16th day, at 51 min. paſt 6 evening.
Full Moon 23d day, at 38 min. paſt 6 evening.

1	F	*Giles.* Part. and Buſt. ſh. begins	5	17	6	45	10a.	7	5m.	15
2	Sa	London burnt, 1666, O.S.	5	17	6	43	10	51	6	3
3	☉	14th Sunday aft. Trinity	5	19	6	41	11	43	6	50
4	M	Day breaks at 3 h. 15 m.	5	21	6	39	morn.		7	39
5	Tu		5	23	6	37	0	40	8	27
6	W	Clock aft. ſun 1 m. 44 ſ.	5	25	6	35	1	41	9	15
7	Th	*Enurchus, Bp.*	5	27	6	33	2	47	10	3
8	F	*Nativity of B. V. Mary*	5	29	6	31	3	55	10	51
9	Sa	Day 12 h. 58 m. long	5	31	6	29	☽ ſets		11	39
10	☉	15th Sunday aft. Trinity	5	32	6	28	6a.	42	0a.	28
11	M		5	34	6	26	7	8	1	18
12	Tu	Clock aft. ſun 3 m. 46 ſ.	5	36	6	24	7	37	2	9
13	W	Twil. ends at 8 h. 21 m.	5	38	6	22	8	9	3	3
14	Th	*Holy Croſs.* Buck. hunt. e.	5	40	6	20	8	48	3	59
15	F		5	42	6	18	9	34	4	56
16	Sa	Day decreaſed 4 h. 2 m.	5	44	6	16	10	28	5	54
17	☉	16th S. aft. T. *Lambert*	5	46	6	14	11	29	6	52
18	M	Clock after ſun 5 m. 51 ſ.	5	48	6	12	morn.		7	50
19	Tu	Day breaks at 3 h. 52 m.	5	50	6	10	0	38	8	45
20	W	Ember Week	5	52	6	8	1	50	9	38
21	Th	St. Matthew, A. and M.	5	54	6	6	3	1	10	29
22	F	K. Geo. III. crowned 17	5	56	6	4	4	16	11	19
23	Sa	☉ enters ♎	5	58	6	2	☽ riſes		morn.	
24	☉	17th S. aft. T. Day & night eq.	6	0	6	0	6a.	2	0	7
25	M	Clock after ſun 8 m. 17 ſ.	6	2	5	58	6	29	0	55
26	Tu	*St. Cyprian, Bbp.*	6	4	5	56	6	59	1	42
27	W	Durat. of twil. 1 h. 56 m.	6	6	5	54	7	33	2	29
28	Th	St. Mich. Q. of Wirtem.	6	8	5	52	8	11	3	17
29	F		6	10	5	50	8	55	4	4
30	Sa	*St. Jerome, Preſt.*	6	12	5	48	9	44	4	52

Fig. 13. There are strong similarities between the format of the almanac page (taken from Smith's 1809 diary (OUMNH, WS/B/008)) and his system of formatting (from his 1813 diary (WS/B/012)) in which each line denotes a Sunday, and the end of one week and the beginning of the next.

As the handwritten page from 1813 shows, this page layout was employed even in those diaries without almanac excerpts, which indicates the value Smith placed on it as a means of structuring his self-writing. Indeed, other diarists also used this system.[113] It restricted entries to one or two very brief lines which, while not problematic when recording prospective plans, imposed a strict rule of brevity and conciseness on retrospective accounts.

As well as being influenced by almanac forms, Smith frequently formatted the blank pages he left for longer entries, according to the example set by his pre-

[113] See, for example, HL, SFP 857, Diary of T. Stutterd (1804-7). The almanac format also informed the way Martha Ballard structured her diaries (L. T. Ulrich, *A Midwife's Tale: The Life of Martha Ballard, Based on her Diary, 1785-1812* (New York, 1990), 50).

printed Lett's *Diaries* (Fig. 14). He adapted the model to accommodate a greater number of days – and therefore shorter entries – on the page.

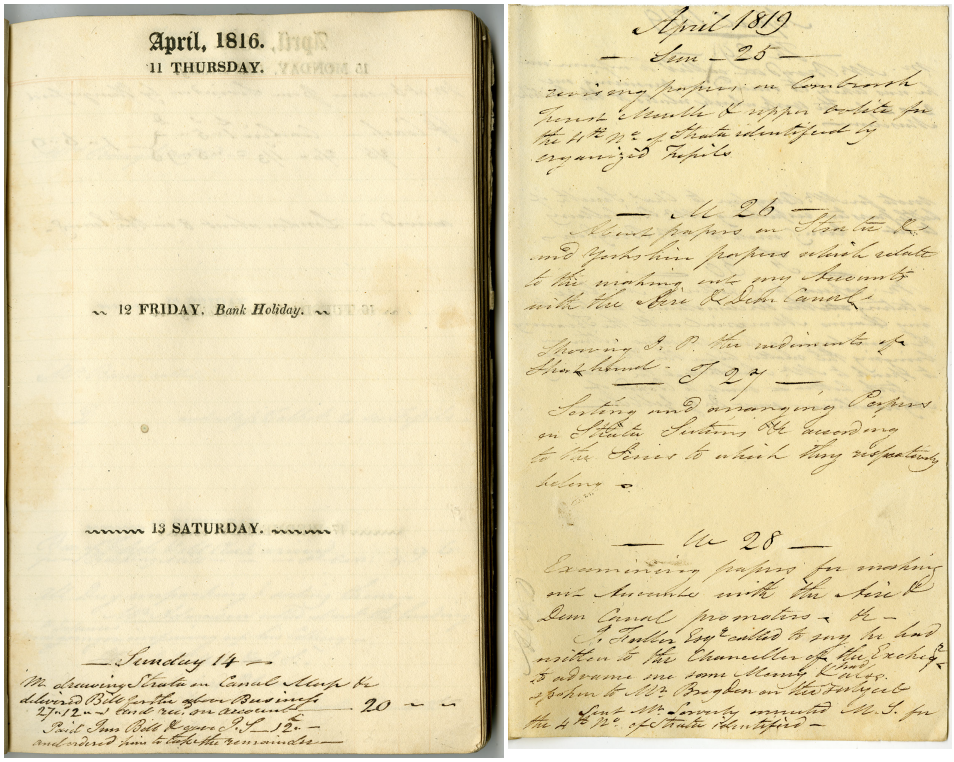


Fig. 14. This comparison of the printed page of his 1816 Lett's *Diary* (WS/B/015) and self-structured diary from 1819 (WS/B/018) demonstrate how Smith borrowed and adapted the structure of the pre-printed version.

These two borrowed systems of organisation therefore worked in tandem to create an account of daily activities that, while brief, was exceedingly thorough. Every day was accounted for in the almanac-style monthly summary; and the details of key events that might have required more space were afforded it, in pages formatted like his pre-printed diaries. The almanac-style account of his month therefore functioned like an index to these later pages, to consult and use to find longer, more detailed entries on important subjects. Indeed, from 1803 onwards Smith entitled these monthly summaries 'Indexes.'[114] Add to this the

[114] OUMNH, WS/B/003, Diary of W. Smith (1803).

front page of each month which outlined principal events and the dates they occurred, and Smith provided three layers of reference for each month; three different iterations, or categorisations of the same set of information about himself.

In addition to indexing each month of the year by day, Smith indexed his diaries by location.[115] This categorisation and re-categorisation suggests a desire for complete, easily accessible information. It shaped the way he used his Lett's pre-printed diaries too; as Fig. 14 shows, he added a title and entries for Sunday each week without fail, in diary pages that only provided space for Monday to Saturday. This indexing and other aspects of his journalizing practice assumed that these diaries would be returned to. He encouraged consultation of other forms, writing 'see also Goldsmith's almanack and leather bound book' on the cover of his 1803 journal,[116] and clarified his abbreviations: 'Li stands for Lindfield, to mark the committee meetings of the Ouze navigation of that place.'[117]

Smith's diary-keeping habits demonstrate a guiding perception of diarizing as an encyclopaedic, informational pursuit. The format of his pre-printed diaries – and other printed forms – evidently had an influence; yet it was not just in imitating them that Smith's attitude to diarizing was evident. Indeed, the ways that he amended his pre-printed diaries indicate that he had his own ideas about the form and function of self-writing, that were more prescriptive than those

[115] OUMNH, WS/B/003-6, Diaries of W. Smith (1803-6).
[116] OUMNH, WS/B/003, Diary of W. Smith (1803).
[117] OUMNH, WS/B/008, Diary of W. Smith (1809).

enshrined in the printed format. It also reflects his professional background; his work in land surveying and cartography suggest a familiarity with the visualisation of knowledge, and would explain a tendency towards it. These diaries constituted a multi-volume, referable compendium of his life, to which his exhaustive methods of referencing and indexing provided access points. The system imposed here was Smith's own unique hybrid, formed of practices that aligned it firmly with encyclopaedic genres.

iii. William Dixon (d.1824; diaries kept 1779-1824)

Lincolnshire landowner William Dixon kept an extensive selection of private writings of various forms; hand-bound journals, miscellaneous notebooks and ledgers, and pre-printed diaries. Discussion here is based on examination of the nine pre-printed diaries he kept between 1779 and 1824;[118] two hand-made journals from 1805 and 1806;[119] a 'Shepherd's Callendar' from 1810;[120] two miscellaneous notebooks (1801-24)[121] and two accounts ledgers for 1818 and 1784-1824.[122]

There are common behaviours traceable across all of the self-writing forms that Dixon used, which suggest something of his priorities and purposes in diarizing. The importance of information and fact in his record-keeping is the most

[118] LA, DIXON/7/4/1-9, Diaries of W. Dixon (1779-1824); all Baldwin's *Daily Journals* except 7/4/9, which is a Kearsley's *Pocket Ledger for 1824*.
[119] LA, DIXON/7/1/1, Journal of W. Dixon (Jan. – Apr. 1805); DIXON/7/1/3, Journal of W. Dixon (Mar. – Aug. 1806).
[120] LA, DIXON/7/6/9, 'Shepherd's Callendar' or Farm Work Journal of W. Dixon (1810).
[121] LA, DIXON/7/3/9-10, Misc. Notebooks of W. Dixon (1801-24).
[122] LA, DIXON/4/3, 5, Accounts Ledgers of W. Dixon (1784-1824, 1818).

striking, unifying aspect. The way he used his pre-printed diaries is a strong indicator of this priority. He ripped the diary pages out of seven of the nine that he used between 1779 and 1824, leaving the directory of printed information in each one. On one hand, this behaviour suggests a desire to keep the contents of the diary private; where they survive, the remaining page stubs do indicate that the diary portion was used. On the other, however, it suggests that these diaries were useful to him for their printed information. As well as annotating the information provided, he used the blank pages at the front of his *Daily Journal* for 1790 to record a recipe for 'Stomachick for Wind and Gout';[123] compiled a list of the year's religious festivals and holidays in the blanks in his 1805 and 1815 diaries;[124] and kept sermon notes and sayings in the front of his diary for 1818.[125] The survival of the actual diary section in the volume for 1818 also gives some idea of the way he used the diary pages, which indicate that the pragmatic recording of information was a priority. Dixon's entries are brief and minimal, recording religious celebrations, financial accounts, the weather – 'wet' – and the odd note on the day's events: 'began to set potatoes', 'mason began at the house'. Only on occasions is there a hint of introspection: 'too many of us understand not our civil duties',[126] 'contemplate on the great importance of the priest's office particularly the national priesthood.'[127]

The hand-made journals Dixon used alongside these forms reveal that similar priorities guided their compilation too. They are more expansive in their

[123] LA, DIXON/7/4/3, *Daily Journal* of W. Dixon (1790).
[124] LA, DIXON/7/4/6-7, *Daily Journals* of W. Dixon (1805, 1815).
[125] LA, DIXON/7/4/8, *Daily Journal* of W. Dixon (1818).
[126] Ibid. 'Memorandums and Resolutions' page preceding diary.
[127] Ibid. entry for 16 Dec.

contents, containing miscellaneous collections of extracts copied from the Bible, musings on religious themes, and reflections on the provision of social welfare, all fitting for the founding member of the local Friendly Society. More than the pre-printed diaries, however, they are a revealing hybrid of diary and commonplace book. The entries in the journals for 1805 and 1806 are arranged under consecutive date headings, like a diary, but combine diaristic content with borrowed extracts.[128] These diaristic and commonplaced extracts are then indexed, as in a commonplace book, under alphabetical headings at the beginning, but with references to dates rather than page numbers (Fig. 15). That Dixon combined these two forms suggests he perceived parallels existing between the content and purpose of each genre; that the content of each was compatible with shared methods of organisation.

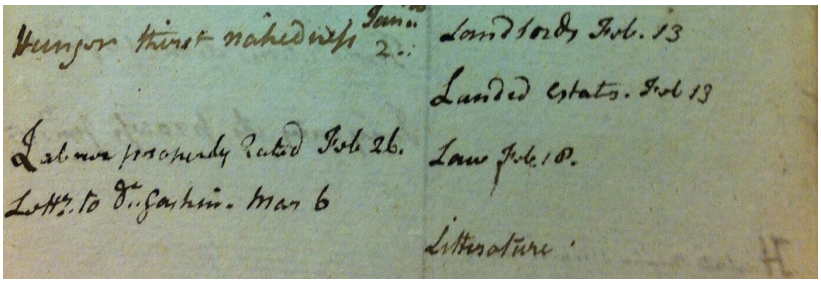


Fig. 15. An example of Dixon's index to his 1805 journal; like that of a commonplace book but with dates, rather than page numbers (LA, DIXON/7/1/1).

The system of spatial organisation developed by Dixon in the pages of his 1805 journal give a clear indication that he viewed his journals as informational forms (Fig. 16, overleaf). A diary of both 'spiritual and secular employ', Dixon allocated each day a double-page spread. With the hours written down the side of the page, he divided the left-hand page into four narrow columns entitled 'Secular

[128] LA, DIXON/7/1/1, Journal of W. Dixon (Jan. - Apr. 1805); DIXON/7/1/3, Journal of W. Dixon (Mar. – Aug. 1806).

Duty to Self', 'Spiritual', 'Public Employ' and 'Remarks', with the right hand page left open and entitled 'journal.'

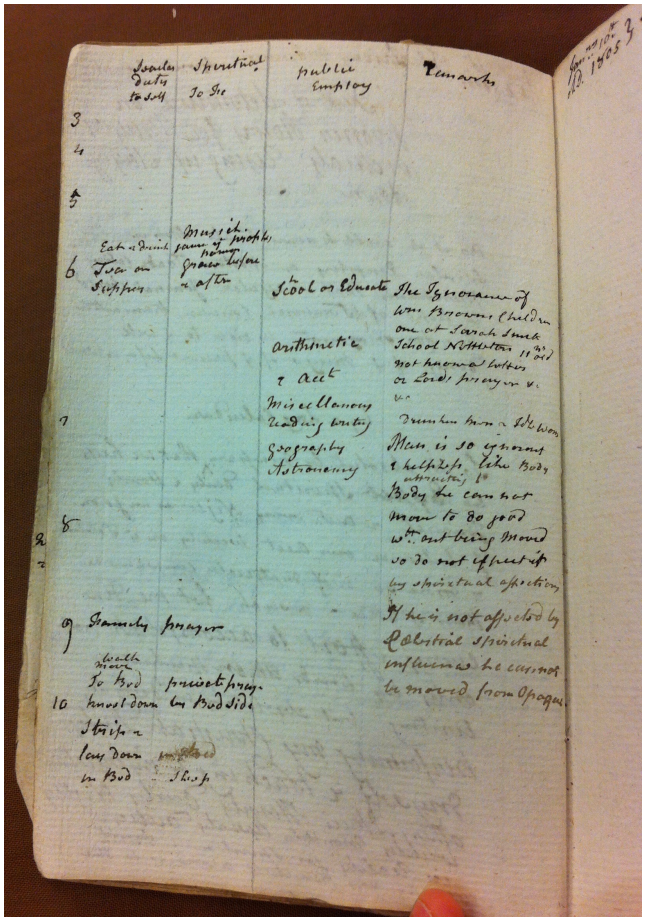


Fig. 16. The format Dixon applied to his 1805 diary (LA, DIXON/7/1/1).

The rigour with which Dixon employed this format varied considerably – some days the pages simply accommodated 'secular employ' and 'spiritual'; on others, he ignored the format completely. However, its imposition here demonstrates the same principles of brevity, thoroughness, categorisation, and almost scientific classification that guided the format of the pre-printed diaries. Indeed, perhaps he emulated the form and content of the tabulated pages of the pre-printed diaries and adapted it to better accommodate his own priorities: hours, rather than days; secular and spiritual duty instead of 'appointments and

memorandums'; remarks rather than 'observations.' In the 'Memorandums' box of his pre-printed diary for 1818, several years later, Dixon wrote that 'every man…ought to keep a daily journal where he can regulate his accounts in a profitable manner…which reminds him of his two important duties, civil and ecclesiastical.'[129] This remark explains the structure he imposed. Where the printed form of the diary failed to accommodate the information he deemed important, Dixon developed his own, adapted version that did.

This version combined aspects of both the pre-printed diary, and earlier models of spiritual diarizing. As we saw in Chapter One, in the mid seventeenth century, Isaac Ambrose recommended a grid structure for the spiritual diary, containing columns for 'Experiences', 'Texts' and 'Dispositions, &c.'[130] The grid used by Dixon suggests that his desired model for self-writing was rooted more in the experiences and actions accommodated in the pre-printed diary, than the scripture reading and introspection encouraged in Ambrose's model; yet these adaptations and this combination crucially highlight that spiritual diarizing and self-writing as a more secular, informational pursuit were not irreconcilable forms in this period. It was not the case, by the early nineteenth century, that one model of diarizing universally superseded another; rather, they combined and interacted to create a personalised, and in this case, spiritual, compendium.

Systems of reference and tools for non-linear reading that Dixon employed in this and other forms underline the models of record-keeping that guided his

[129] LA, DIXON/7/4/8, *Daily Journal* of W. Dixon (1818), 'Memorandums and Resolutions' page preceding diary.
[130] I. Ambrose, *Media: The Middle Things* (1649; this edn, 1752), 164-71.

work. Alongside indexes he compiled for each of his hand-made journals, were those for his account book for 1784-1824 [131] and a later miscellaneous notebook.[132] He used other methods of reference too; the pages of his journals in particular are dotted with manicules,[133] and he prefaced one notebook with an introduction that explained its contents and structure in a manner reminiscent of Anna Larpent and Jacob Hagen: 'A Shepherd's Callendar containing not only particular works every day, week and month in the year but also a general description of works.' [134] Striking in his use of all of these methods of organisation and structure is the disparity between their formality, and the efficiency they suggest, and the frequently ad hoc nature of the actual content they organised. The 'Shepherd's Callendar', for example, contains few records of 'particular works' and the structure implied by Dixon's introduction to it is, in reality, no more sophisticated than the allocation of a month per two pages. There is a contrast between the organisation suggested by the presence of an index in one notebook, and the fact that the book itself was made out of old handbills; Dixon's entries are squashed between and around the printed content (Fig. 17, overleaf).

Similarly, the indexed account book implies a methodically organised, neat set of financial records, but they are chaotic, written on the back of, and in some cases, between the handwritten lines of old letters.[135] Even the tabulated structure Dixon employed in his spiritual journal was dropped after a few pages. Yet this

[131] LA, DIXON/4/3, Account Ledger of W. Dixon (1784-1824).
[132] LA, DIXON/7/3/9, Misc. Notebook of W. Dixon (1815-24), f. 1r.
[133] See, for example, LA, DIXON/7/1/1, Journal of W. Dixon (Jan. – Apr. 1805).
[134] LA, DIXON/7/6/9, 'Shepherd's Callendar' or Farm Work Journal of W. Dixon (1810).
[135] See LA, DIXON/4/3, Account Ledger of W. Dixon (1784-1824).



Fig. 17. William Dixon recycled old handbills and used them, bound, as diaries (LA, DIXON/7/3/9, f. 12r).

disconnect between text and paratext, ideal and practice, does not undermine the fact that Dixon perceived the purpose and content of self-writing in particular ways. As Amy Culley has written, individuals experimented in the ways they self-examined and self-regulated; [136] Dixon's experimentation indicates an awareness of the forms and styles of the informational model of diarizing that existed in the late eighteenth and early nineteenth centuries, even if they were not entirely accomplished.

iv. Charles Frederick de Coetlogon (1770-1836; diaries kept 1817-35)

Over the course of eighteen years, from around the age of 37 or 38, ex-naval storekeeper, clergyman's son and London gentleman Charles De Coetlogon kept eleven diaries. Nine are pre-printed diaries, and two are blank pocket-books kept as travel journals. De Coetlogon used each volume to document his daily activities and daily, weekly, monthly and yearly expenditure in impressive detail.

[136] A. Culley, 'Women's Life Writing in the Long Eighteenth Century: A Critical Survey', *Literature Compass,* 12 (2015), 8.

The financial records kept here are of quotidian expenditures: servants' wages, domestic groceries and entertainment. Diary entries record the weather and daily activities, with occasional mention of wider, national events.

De Coetlogon's diaries are significant for two reasons. First is the extent to which financial accounting features as a central part of his self-writing. By the early nineteenth century, financial status was a key part of the complete record of themselves that individuals recorded. For De Coetlogon, a constant and meticulously kept record of his financial status was a vital part of the multi-volume compendium of his life that he kept in his diaries. Along with his daughter's choice of husband, his finances were a constant source of concern, and even torment; yet he managed them by drawing on models of order and method, and practices of self-writing that reflect the principles of encyclopaedic self-recording, and logging, that developed in the later eighteenth century. It is most obviously apparent from the way he used his pre-printed diaries. In 1823, de Coetlogon copied a homily from Hugh Blair's 1777 *Sermons* into the front page of his diary in his neat, slanted copperplate. It read

> *'Introduce order into the management of your fortune: whatever it be, let the administration of it proceed with method and economy, from time to time examine your situation, and proportion your expence, to your growing or diminishing revenue…In a word, pursue such a plan of living as you find that your circumstances will fairly admit, and adhere to it invariably, against any temptation to improper excesses.'*[137]

These self-imposed exhortations to 'order' and 'plan' in his self-management are reminiscent of the 'method' with which we have seen other diarists conduct their

[137] LMA, ACC/0268/004, Diary of C. F. De Coetlogon (*Marshall's Commercial Pocket Book*, 1823), blank page preceding title page; H. Blair, *Sermons* (Edinburgh, 1777).

self-writing. That De Coetlogon acted on this encouragement is manifest in his reliance on his pre-printed diaries and full use of their format and organisation. Fig. 18 exemplifies how, across their eight volumes, few pages of these diaries are blank, and almost every iteration of accounts that they accommodate – both received and paid on a daily, weekly, monthly, and then yearly basis – have been filled in by an individual concerned at his lack of oeconomy, and anxious to keep a full record of his expenditure.

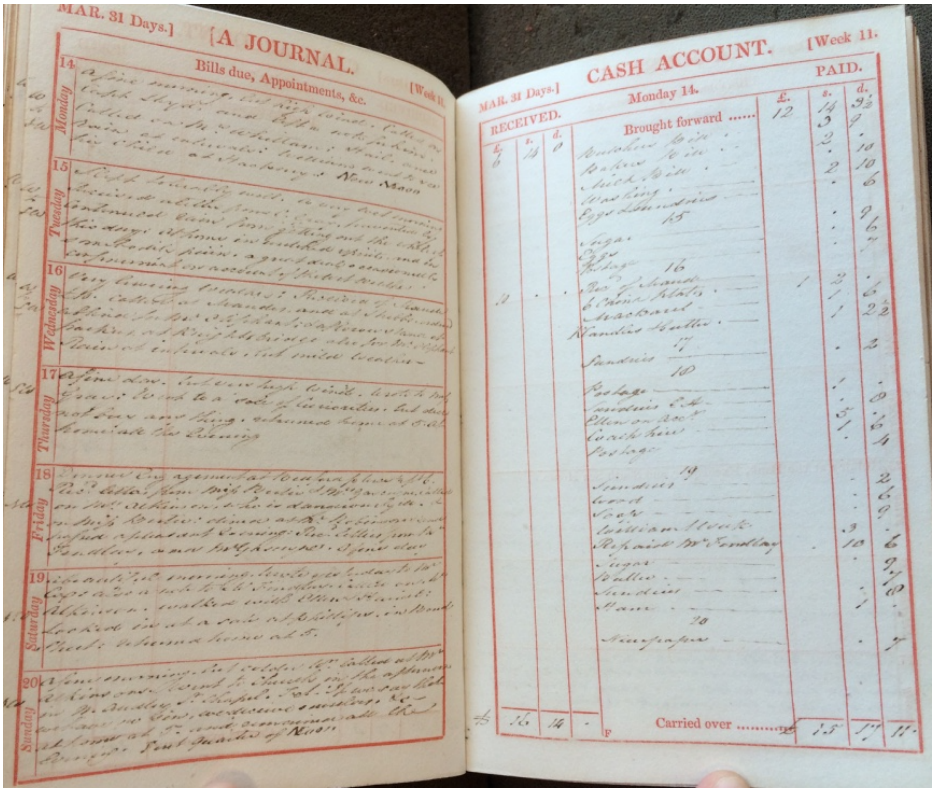


Fig. 18. This extract from De Coetlogon's diary for 1831 is typical of his diarizing as a whole in its neatness, precision and thoroughness (LMA, ACC/0268/008).

These priorities of order and method can be seen not just in De Coetlogon's use of pre-printed diaries. They are evident in the way he used other forms alongside them; and the way the format and spatial organisation of the pre-structured

genre influenced these other forms. Reference to his 'Bankers Book' in 1830[138] indicates that De Coetlogon's financial record was spread across several different books. As previous discussion indicates, he was not unusual in keeping multiple different forms alongside each other and in sequence. However, a closer look at the interaction of one of his blank travel journals and the pre-printed form, both for 1831, reveals the particularities of this diarist's methods, and priorities.

In 1831, he left his home in London and went on travels around England – principally to Bath and Bristol – in the summer months and in winter. Rather than take his pre-printed diary, he took a smaller blank book with him in which he could continue his journal.[139] He then, as occasional notes throughout the travel journal indicate, wrote up the contents of the journal into his pre-printed diary when he returned home. The opportunity for less structured, freer notes which this travel journal accommodated was not one that De Coetlogon took. He kept meticulous accounts of finance as well as daily activity, which indicates his compulsion to keep a disciplined, complete log of himself in both financial and non-financial terms. What is more significant however is the format that he used; excepting the absence of a column for money received, the free-style diaries are almost identical in spatial arrangement to their pre-printed counterparts. The model of spatial structure offered by the pre-printed diary was used by De Coetlogon to discipline his own financial record; and allowed for easy transferral between different books.

[138] LMA, ACC/0268/008, Diary of C. F. De Coetlogon (*Marshall's Commercial Pocket Book*, 1831), 'Bills Due, Appointments &c.' page preceding diary.
[139] LMA, ACC/0268/010, Travel Journal of C. F. De Coetlogon (1831-4).

De Coetlogon's process of diarizing is interesting and significant for another reason too; specifically, what it reveals about his priorities in self-recording. To start with, it challenges the suggestion that printed forms like these were always an early step in the process of diarizing; a rough draft of a more polished version to follow.[140] For De Coetlogon, his pre-printed diary was the final version. He wrote up into it, rather than transferring its contents to another, more finished book. This had implications for the information he was transferring. Rather than using his final, written-up diary to expand and embellish on brief notes, De Coetlogon did the opposite: he condensed the notes he kept in his travel journal when he wrote them up into the pre-printed diary. Descriptive passages became data to be entered into its table. Fig. 19 (overleaf) shows this process of transfer; while still writing in prose sentences in the pre-printed diary, extraneous detail has been lost and only the salient points remain. De Coetlogon's habits show the selectivity of the pre-printed diary's tables, in action. Extraneous detail is jettisoned in favour of only the most relevant information. It is a function of the amount of space allocated for each day, as much as any instruction in the printed table headings about what should be entered there; yet they have the same effect in prompting a process of selection and classification on the part of the diarist.

In his self-writing therefore Charles De Coetlogon employed habits reminiscent of other more factual, empirical writing. His self-recording encompassed the collection of both financial data and brief accounts of his experiences, managed and structured in ways that suggest he was guided, certainly by his fear of

[140] A. Smyth, 'Almanacs, Annotators and Life-Writing in Early Modern England', *English Literary Renaissance,* 38 (2008), 222.

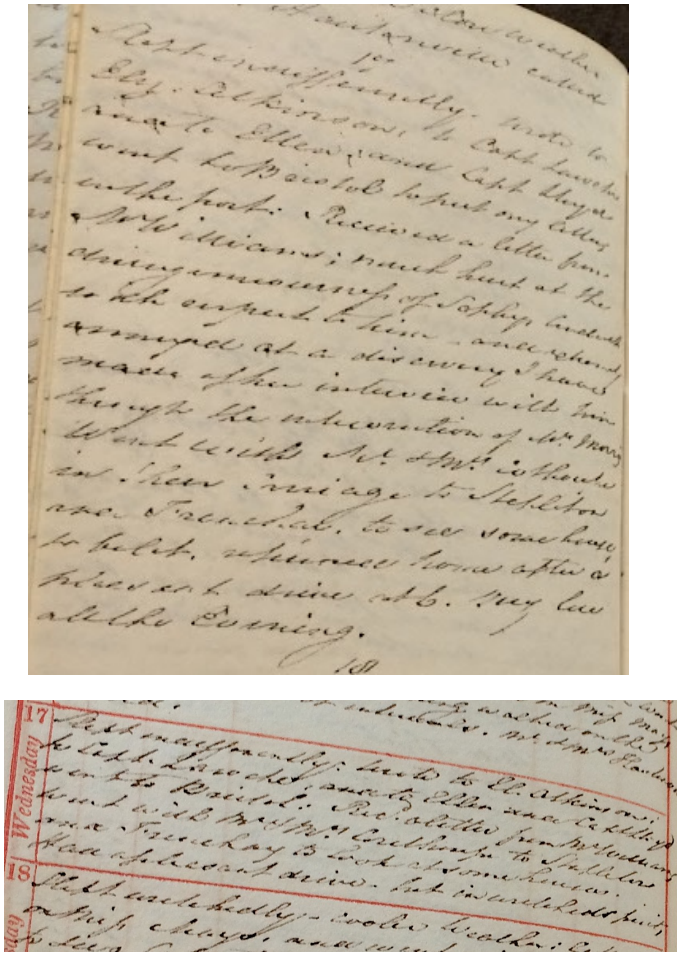


Fig. 19. Entries for 17 August 1831 in his travel journal (top, LMA, ACC/0268/010) and pre-printed diary (bottom, LMA, ACC/0268/008) show how De Coetlogon shortened his entries to be written up into the pre-structured form. In the shorter, written-up entry he has cut a description of the contents of a letter he received, the details of his drive, and dinner; and describes his mood not just as 'low', but 'wretched.'

financial mismanagement, but also by a desire to keep a complete – while simultaneously succinct, and precise – account of his experiences. Just as William Dixon used the structures and methods of factual self-accounting to arrange his spiritual diarizing, so Charles De Coetlogon in the early nineteenth century employed them in his rigorous financial accounting. Like Dixon, his diaries had something of a spiritual aspect too; fears of being 'worldly-minded' and

'relapsing in…devotion to God' recur in his writing.[141] This behaviour shows not only that the pre-printed diary was an effective means of managing and organising these other concerns, whether religious or financial; but, in turn, that the principles it embodied, of diarizing as a empirical, factual pursuit, complemented and aided these aims. These aims and methods in self-writing were therefore compatible and, indeed, mutually supportive.

***

The practices outlined in this chapter demonstrate that multiple forms of self-writing were perceived and treated as knowledge texts by the middle of the nineteenth century. Individuals like Brydges, Smith, Dixon and De Coetlogon used the pre-printed diary – the epitome of encyclopaedic, referential self-writing – as a model for their own practices. They drew tables, categorised their self-information and imposed limitations of style and space that encouraged brevity and succinctness. Yet they developed their own systems of organisation, style and reference too, which reveal just as explicitly the values of facticity and knowledge compilation that guided their practices. Individuals indexed their work, adapted and borrowed aspects of other forms, and imposed systems of organisation in ways that demonstrate that the pre-printed diary was not the only manifestation of this 'encyclopaedizing' spirit. Rather, it was a marker of it; a symbol of the way in which the objective recounting of facts and the scientific, empirical approach to recounting one's life had become an inherent part of

[141] See, for example LMA, ACC/0268/006, Diary of C. F. De Coetlogon (*Marshall's Commercial Pocket Book,* 1827), 'Memorandums, Observations & Appointments' page following diary.

diarizing by the later eighteenth century; of the extent to which perceptions *and* practices had changed over the course of the century. For they *had* changed. By the nineteenth century these diarists and self-accountants were organising space, outlining their methodology and explicitly explaining their intention to write objective fact in a way that they had not earlier in the century.

By the early nineteenth century then, encyclopaedias and reference works were influencing self-writing as account books and published spiritual diaries had earlier in the century. The compendium of knowledge had become one in a canon of models available over the course of the century to which individuals could refer, and which they could emulate in their self-writing. Certainly self-writing in this period continued to be influenced and modelled on these older, enduring forms; it was not that these forms were entirely replaced with the development of this new understanding of self-writing as a factual pursuit. Rather, they coexisted with, and were shaped by it. It was a flexible model that could be deployed to structure diaries kept for other purposes. Keeping a spiritual record, for example, did not preclude objectively and methodically recounting one's experiences, as Dixon's diaries have shown; equally, financial accounting was as much about recording a complete account of oneself as it was to enable the tracking of expenditure. As Lotte Mulligan has written, 'no-one keeps a diary for one purpose alone';[142] these were not incompatible motives for and means of self-writing. However, analysis here has shown that by 1800 the reference work, compendium and encyclopaedia were powerful models that

[142] Mulligan, 'Self-Scrutiny', 319.

shaped a widespread and flexible approach to journalising, in which compiling a record, or keeping a log, was central.

Conclusion

This thesis has aimed to demonstrate that self-writing practices between 1700 and 1850 were profoundly influenced by the forms and features that characterised the information culture of the age. It has also aimed to show how examining this culture through the prism of self-writing provides invaluable insights into the way the cultural valuing of information and knowledge was experienced, its characteristics, and how it developed over the course of this one hundred and fifty-year period. In substantiating these aims, this study has made several key contributions to the cultural history of the eighteenth and early nineteenth centuries. First and foremost, it has demonstrated that self-writing was a culturally embedded practice, subject to comment and criticism, and shaped by the broader cultural ethos. Secondly, by exploring self-writing in the context of the information systems of the age, this thesis has offered a new model to be added to the canon of forms – like spiritual writing and financial accounting – that are understood to have shaped the way people wrote about themselves in this period.

The accumulation of knowledge was not only a collective, 'communal'[1] experience, it was also an individual one. My focus on the personal writings of a variety of individuals has aimed to retrieve personal experience and demonstrate the ways in which those men and women applied, adapted and rejected the forms of information available to them. It has also aimed to restore

[1] J. Mokyr, *The Gifts of Athena*: *Historical Origins of the Knowledge Economy* (Princeton, 2002), 43. Mokyr writes that useful knowledge is 'always communal.'

some degree of agency. The study of the gathering and management of information on a collective basis inevitably necessitates grappling with the association between knowledge, surveillance and power.[2] The focus here on the way aspects of this culture were used by diarists to structure their own writing and experience challenges the relationship between the individual and externally-imposed control, and emphasises independent choice and subjective engagement. It also recasts individuals as producers, rather than simply passive consumers of knowledge in this period. Diarists drew on the structures available to them in popular print to generate their own reference works, constructed from (personal) information gathered through their own experience.

This analysis has also proposed new ways of thinking about the *way* this culture of information was experienced by the individual. It asks interesting and important questions about the impact of this culture on the expression of the self. We have seen how facticity, brevity and conciseness were not barriers to the expression of subjectivity in these diaries. Individuals' imposition of spatial and textual organisational structures and classifying categories on their own self-expression asks further questions about how the self was perceived and written about. With particular reference to the natural history pursuits of the eighteenth century, Michel Foucault wrote about the essentializing impact of imposing a structure which reduces the subject to 'a system of variables', obliterating some

[2] See J. Raven, *Publishing Business in Eighteenth-Century England* (2014), 13; R. Porter, 'Introduction', in R. Porter (ed.), *The Cambridge History of Science, Vol. 4* (7 vols, Cambridge, 2002-2013; this vol., 2003), 9. For an effective study of the use of information by early modern government that challenges this assessment – demonstrating the difficulties of dealing with and streamlining such information, see P. Slack, 'Government and Information in Seventeenth-Century England', *Past & Present,* 184 (2004), 33-68.

characteristics and allowing others to emerge.[3] Crucially, classification renders the subject being organised, finite.[4] Foucault wrote about externally imposed systems of organisation; that is, those imposed on plants by naturalists, for example. Yet what does it say of the way the self was understood, or the way individuals wanted to understand it, when such structures and systems were self-imposed? Buying the pre-printed diary, or even spatially organising the page of your own blank book, suggests that there existed a desire for this essentializing effect, even if in many cases it was not entirely achieved. It suggests a willingness to simplify experience: reducing the self to a series of categories quantifies it and makes it easier to see 'at one view.' Imposing organising structures reveals both a desire to make the self knowable, and the assumption that it could be, using the forms and methods being popularised in print. It is striking that this desire persisted. These were fundamentally rational, Enlightenment forms that seem to stand in direct contrast to Romantic ideals of individualism and uniqueness of experience in the early nineteenth century. The pre-printed diaries aimed to standardize their users to some extent, by virtue of asking for the same information from each of them. The continued popularity and widespread use – and imitation – of these forms in the early nineteenth century is therefore a key seam that links two apparently very different cultural attitudes.

This study has rehabilitated particular methodologies of diary analysis, and drawn on new ones. It has used an approach rarely encountered beyond

[3] M. Foucault, *The Order of Things: An Archaeology of the Human Sciences* (Paris, 1966; this edn, London, 2002), 150.
[4] Ibid. 148.

bibliographic works on self-writing forms: the survey of a wide selection of diaries and diarists. Some have cautioned against broad sampling in diary scholarship,[5] yet the analysis undertaken here has hopefully gone some way to demonstrate the advantages of balancing in-depth analysis of individual practices with a broader focus on multiple diarists and genres. In conjunction with this approach, this study has drawn on newer methods of analysis that focus on paratext and form. As one of the defining features of the information age of the eighteenth and early nineteenth centuries, paying attention to individuals' use of space, and classifying and categorising techniques has revealed much of the external influences that shaped their practice.

This thesis has also aimed to make new contributions to old questions in the field of diary scholarship. The focus here on the reading and consultation of diaries, not just the act of writing, has questioned the utility of ideas of 'public' and 'private' to describe self-writing. This study has shown these to be unhelpful categories. Joanna Gill has written that 'where the gaze is invited there is neither privacy nor invasion.'[6] The diaries considered here were not private forms; in many cases, they were written to be, or with the expectation that they would be, read. A readership other than the author was therefore not just a feature of seventeenth century spiritual diarizing and published autobiography – two forms commonly invoked in this debate – but a significant feature of logging and self-writing throughout the eighteenth and early nineteenth centuries.

[5] S. Sherman, *Telling Time: Clocks, Diaries, and English Diurnal Form, 1660-1785* (Chicago, 1996), 14.
[6] J. Gill cited in L. McNeill, 'Teaching an Old Genre New Tricks: The Diary on the Internet', *Biography,* 26 (2003), 33.

Just as this study has offered new interpretations, it has also raised five significant areas of further enquiry. The first relates to the 'supply side' of the culture of information, and the role of the pre-printed diary within it. In the same manner that the pre-structured genre has been used here as a key point of contact between self-writing practices and broader information culture, so it could be the starting point of a study that takes a fresh look at the forms and genres of print that promoted the trade in fact in the eighteenth century. The production and sale of books, newspapers and periodicals has been thoroughly explored as a factor that facilitated the Enlightenment dissemination of information and knowledge. The role of more ephemeral, 'jobbing' forms of print, like the pre-printed diaries in this study, has not. James Raven has written that jobbing work like this was vital to the Enlightenment because it was a substantial source of income for booksellers and publishers, who could then afford to publish the books and more substantive tomes of contemporary, enlightened thought.[7] Yet, as this study has demonstrated, pre-printed diaries and other such forms of stationery – including the blank books and ledgers in which people self-wrote – were important to the knowledge projects of the period as more than simply a reliable source of income. They promoted the consumption of knowledge in their very form and content. The history of Enlightenment, thus far, has been the history of the book, yet this study would indicate that it should be the history of more ephemeral forms too.

Second, a closer focus on the work of publishers and booksellers has the potential to open up new avenues of exploration in the history of print and the

[7] Raven, *Publishing History,* 261.

trade in fact. It would, for example, enable a closer look at the role of booksellers themselves in the formation and sale of genres like the pre-printed diary, and more broadly, in the knowledge economy of the period. As J. W. Saunders wrote as early as 1964, publishing congers – trading groups made up of several booksellers and publishers – were more effective as a patronage system than the 'Society for the Encouragement of Learning' in the eighteenth century.[8] An especially good starting point for such a study would be with the life and trade of the inventor of the first pre-printed diary, Robert Dodsley. A footman-turned-bookseller, playwright and author, friend of Samuel Johnson's and publisher of his *Dictionary*, Dodsley is hailed in publishing scholarship as the 'doyen'[9] of eighteenth-century London publishers, and the 'most important' bookseller of his age.[10] However, as a result of an enduring scholarly focus on his connections with notable writers and literary figures, his innovation of the diary genre and its place in his publishing oeuvre have been largely overlooked, aside from references to the genre's popularity and the 'phenomenal profit' it generated.[11] Exploring Dodsley's innovation of this genre more closely would reveal the inspiration and aims behind its creation, beyond the oft-cited[12] desire to get round the Stationers' Company's monopoly on almanacs. A preliminary exploration gives a few clues, which suggest his motivations aligned with the themes explored here. The subjects and types of works Dodsley published broadened significantly in the 1740s (around the time of his invention of the pre-

[8] J. W. Saunders, *The Profession of English Letters* (1964), 122.
[9] R. Wendorf, 'Robert Dodsley as Editor', *Studies in Bibliography,* 31 (1978), 235.
[10] H. Solomon, *The Rise of Robert Dodsley: Creating the New Age of Print* (Carbondale, 1996), 5.
[11] For brief references to popularity and profit, see J. Tierney, 'Introduction', in J. Tierney (ed.), *The Correspondence of Robert Dodsley, 1733-64* (Cambridge, 1988), 48, and Solomon, *The Rise of Robert Dodsley*, 130 respectively.
[12] See Chapter 4, 184.

printed diary) to include a range of factual publications as well as literary ones, in the fields of science, mathematics and antiquarianism, among others;[13] he was a member of the 'Society for the Encouragement of Arts, Manufactures and Commerce'; he is even credited with having recommended the idea of the *Dictionary* to Samuel Johnson.[14] Further analysis of these facets of Dodsley's life and trade, via the voluminous collections of his letters and personal papers that have survived, has the potential to reveal more about the reasons behind the innovation of this diary genre, and the role, more broadly, of the form in the publishing trade as a whole.

Thirdly, this thesis has shown the significance of the tabulated form to methods of self-writing, and more broadly information gathering, in the eighteenth and early nineteenth century. With a few notable exceptions, the use and significance of tables has received little sustained attention in historical study, yet as we have seen, the format was used – and misleadingly advertised – in an array of forms to organise a variety of different types of information. Exploring its use in these other forms could reveal much of the attitudes with which particular information was compiled and presented. There are other ways in which this body of source material can be expanded. Commonplace books were a deliberate omission in this thesis, partly due to its focus on more explicitly autobiographical forms, and partly as a result of the considerable attention the genre has already received. However, their inclusion would be a clear next step in the development of the

[13] J. McAuley, 'Robert Dodsley, 1703-64', in *Literature Online Biography* (Cambridge, 2005)††; ODNB, 'Robert Dodsley', J. Tierney.††

[14] Entry for 'Dodsley, Robert', in D. Birch & K. Hooper (eds), *The Concise Oxford Companion to English Literature* (Oxford, 2013), unpaginated online edition.

project. We have seen the way individuals treated their diaries as commonplace books throughout the period; can commonplacing be considered a 'bridge' between reference works and diarizing? What was the relationship between these forms? Can, and should, any rigid distinction be made between them?

Fourthly, there is also scope for geographical expansion. Were pre-printed diaries used elsewhere in this period, and if so, how? Were those used in Britain the first? Did self-writing in pre-printed diaries and other forms reflect a similar attitude to fact and information in other places? A transatlantic focus is the obvious starting point for such a comparison, and Molly McCarthy's recent study of the daily planner in America provides compelling preliminary insights. McCarthy's study reveals that while pre-printed diaries were also available to American consumers in the final quarter of the eighteenth century, they were not immediately successful. She gives several reasons for consumers' resistance to this new product: an attachment to earlier forms like the almanac; a reluctance to 'submit to a calculated regimen';[15] a less experimental attitude;[16] and a lack of the 'sophisticated kind of literacy that allowed one to blur the lines between script and print', to insert oneself in a printed form[17] in the way that the pre-structured diary expected. Significantly, McCarthy does not discuss these diaries in the context of other informational forms, or the broader consumption of knowledge. Exploring the divergence of experience between these two locations in this context might, firstly, provide further insights into the fact that it was only later, in America, that these forms were used; and secondly, give more of an idea

[15] M. McCarthy, *The Accidental Diarist: A History of the Daily Planner in America* (Chicago, 2013), 56.
[16] Ibid. 70.
[17] Ibid. 72-3.

of the extent to which the developments in Britain point to a unique cultural climate, or a more experimental attitude towards the interaction of fact and self-writing. McCarthy's study and others show that there is scope to build a project similar in other ways to the structure and focus of this one. Brief, economically-written diaries were a feature of late eighteenth- and nineteenth-century self-writing in America as much as they were in Britain – Martha Ballard's diary is an excellent example[18] – and would provide a rich resource in a comparative study.

Finally, McCarthy's findings regarding the reception of the pre-printed form in America raise one final area of inquiry; that of resistance to, and rejection of the information culture of the period. The view this study has presented of the way individuals responded to the forms and features of the knowledge economy has been a largely positive one, but it had its detractors. We have seen Thomas Carlyle's objections to the abstraction of the tabulated form; one commentator in the early nineteenth century referred disapprovingly to its use in diaries in particular, advising its readers that the way journals – specifically travel journals – are kept 'ought not to depend on the stationer's rule, but on the nature of the traveller's mind.'[19] Furthermore, there was some resistance to, or at least scepticism about, the spread of information and its implications in the nineteenth century. The 'March of Intellect' was used by satirists and writers to refer to, and mock the enthusiasm for technological advances and innovation after 1800. That this scepticism was not manifest in the practice of and

[18] L. T. Ulrich, *A Midwife's Tale: The Life of Martha Ballard, Based on Her Diary, 1785-1812* (New York, 1990).
[19] H. Martineau, *How To Observe: Morals and Manners* (1838), 233.

commentary upon self-writing examined here is interesting in itself, and would be a compelling starting point for further study.

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The success that the pre-printed diary genre enjoyed in its first hundred years continued after 1850. Lett's diaries, for example, gained in popularity and variety over the course of the nineteenth and early twentieth centuries, and numerous other companies joined what was an enduring and lucrative market in pre-structured self-writing forms.[20] The diaries that went on sale closely resembled their eighteenth- and early nineteenth-century predecessors, and encouraged the same priorities in self-writing: an advertisement for the *Office Diary and Almanac* in 1889 drew attention to its 'great mass of well-condensed information' and 'money column for each day' as well as, significantly, a 'margin-lettered index.'[21] The 1939 edition of Boots the chemist's *Scribbling Diary* (first on sale in 1896) advertised 'three days on a page' and also contained accounting columns. The Filofax, now a by-word for self-organisation, became standard issue at Sandhurst during the Second World War, and was even known as a 'vade mecum',[22] reminiscent of its eighteenth-century predecessors.

Even now, the self-writing forms we use to manage ourselves in this information age have inherited many of those features that were so new and distinctive in the

[20] For example, see advertisements for *The Photographer's Daily Companion* (*The Glasgow Herald,* 7 Dec. 1889); *The Mechanical World Pocket Diary and Year Book* (*Birmingham Daily Post,* 30 Jan. 1891); *Bussey's Pocket Diary and Companion* (*The Ipswich Journal,* Apr. 1893); *"Guide to Health" Pocket Diary* (*The Standard,* 24 Nov. 1900).
[21] *The Glasgow Herald,* 7 Dec. 1889.
[22] 'Filofax: A Visual History', Filofax website.[††]

mid-eighteenth century. The advent of the electronic diary and calendar has not marked a sudden departure from the forms and expectations enshrined in the pre-printed genre. This is an information age via a different medium, certainly, but we can find many of the features that characterised the culture of knowledge of the eighteenth and early nineteenth centuries in that of the twenty-first: an abundance of information; widespread use of forms of reader interface like lists, classifying categories, indexes and others, to facilitate easy consultation; a shared understanding of the value of having knowledge 'at our fingertips', or 'as occasion shall require'.[23] We diarize online, blog, and vlog with a public in mind, and still associate the business-like terseness of the log book with unemotional fact.[24] Our electronic calendars encourage self-organisation but discourage verbosity; we are categorised, and can categorise, our experience into different columns, colours and tags and adjust to see everything 'at one view'. As it was in the late eighteenth and early nineteenth centuries, it is a dialogue: while we do not necessarily adhere to these structures, our selection of them in the first place is a telling indication of the enduring impact of the mid-eighteenth-century reconceptualization of the practice.

The stationery company Lett's, producer of pre-structured diaries since the early nineteenth century, recently featured on their website '4 Steps to Choosing A Diary.'[25] Firstly, size: 'will it be a beautiful desk bound diary, full of useful facts and pages of maps, or…something lighter, and more compact?' Next was format: 'two pages to a day will offer you loads of space for appointments, notes and

[23] [23] BL, RB.8.a.12[†], *The Exeter Pocket Journal* (1755), Preface.
[24] '#559: Captain's Log', *This American Life* (Podcast), first aired 26 Jun. 2015.[††]
[25] Advertisement, Lett's website.[††]

journal entries, but clocking in at over 700 pages, that can add up to a heavy beast.' The advice then moves on to considerations of style and cost. Enshrined here are the questions of form, structure and intent that have been at the heart of this study into the interaction of diary and information culture between 1700 and 1850: the extent to which the individual 'entered' a book pre-structured for them, or structured their own; the variety of options for ways of using, from self-organisation and planning, to extended journalising; and above all, the place and influence of 'useful facts' in the diary. If Lett's advice is anything to go by, the conclusions reached in this thesis on the clear impact of information culture on self-writing, and the value of self-writing as a means of accessing broader cultural movements, continue to be pertinent.

Appendix: Sample of Pre-Printed Diaries

This Appendix is intended to supplement the outline of the sample of pre-printed diaries provided in the Introduction and Chapter 4. It is also intended to provide a clearer overview of the sample as a whole, as one group, rather than as the two separate groups of print and manuscript sources analysed in Chapter 4 and Chapter 5 (and the individual items listed by archive and collection in the Bibliography).

This sample combines both single, stand-alone diaries and longer series kept by individuals over this 150-year period. Those who used these forms over the course of several years generally stuck to the same or similar titles. While the particularly long sequences of Francis Beaufort's and Mary Grenville's diaries between c.1835 and 1850 have slightly skewed the spread of the sample (in that they reduce the number of individuals and variety of diary titles explored in this later period), their inclusion provided important insights into the way individuals' ways of using developed over a substantial period of time. Any impact they might have on the conclusions drawn here is mitigated by an awareness of the variety of other titles available in this period, and of the potential impact of the background and interests of their owners. As is also evident from the table, the upper limit of 1850 has been marginally exceeded in order to trace later ways of using, and continuities of use in the series of diaries kept by Francis Beaufort.

Thus the following table lists each of the pre-printed diaries used in this study in chronological order, and provides their title, principal publisher/vendor, the name and occupation (at the time of writing) of their owner, and their repository/call. no. The year given is the one that the diary was printed for, not when it was actually used; where these differ, it will be indicated. While the majority of these titles were sold by more than one bookseller and in both 'town and country', [1] only the principal sellers are provided here, for clarity. All vendors were based in London, unless otherwise stated. 'Anon.' indicates diaries used by an unknown owner; in the case of unused, empty diaries, 'Owner' and 'Profession/Background' are left blank. Those entries highlighted in bold are the smaller, representative sample of fifty diaries used in the closer analysis of ways of using in Chapter 5.

[1] For example, William Dixon's *Daily Journal* for 1815 was 'printed for R. Baldwin, J. Walker, G. Wilkie, Scatcherd & Letterman, M. Hinckesman, J. Richardson, and W. Suttaby and Co,; and Brodie and Dowding, Salisbury. *And sold by them, and all Booksellers and Stationers in Town and Country*.' For discussion of the number of titles and publishers in this sample, and the popularity of the genre more generally, see Chapter 4, 150-52.

Year	*Title*	*Bookseller*	*Owner*	*Profession/Background*	*Repository & Call No.*
1750	*A Daily Journal for the Year, or the Gentleman's and Tradesman's Concise Accompt-Book for the Pocket*	M. Cooper			NLS, AB.1.76.119
1751	***The Gentleman's and Tradesman's Pocket Assistant, or Daily Remembrancer***	**M. Sheepey**	**James Brydges**	**Marquess of Carnarvon (later Duke of Chandos (1771))**	**HL, ST 109 v. 1**
1752	***The Daily Journal, or the Gentleman's and Tradesman's Methodical Accompt-Book for the Pocket***	**R. Baldwin[2]**	***Anon.***	***Unknown***	**BL, RB.23.a.26479†**
1753	*The Liverpool Memorandum Book, or Gentleman's, Merchant's and Tradesman's Daily Pocket Journal*	C. Hitch & L. Hawes	*Anon.*	*Unknown*	BL, 10349.e.15†
	The New Memorandum Book Improv'd, or the Gentleman's and Tradesman's Daily Pocket Journal	R. Dodsley[3]	*Anon.*	*Unknown*	BL, P.P.2490.cc†

[2] R. Baldwin's *Daily Journals* are the most numerous of any publisher's diary in this sample, and span the greatest time period. Richard Baldwin (Jr) (1724-70) operated from the Rose at Paternoster Row; *The Gentleman's and Tradesman's Daily Journal* is registered in the Stationers' Register on 29 November 1749 to 'Richard Baldwin in Pater Noster Row'. Richard's cousin Robert took over the business when Richard died in 1770, but the imprint 'R. Baldwin' remained the same and did not mark the transition (C. Y. Ferdinand, 'Richard Baldwin Junior, Bookseller', *Studies in Bibliography,* 42 (1989), 254-64). The Baldwin family continued to trade under the imprint 'R. Baldwin' well into the nineteenth century; their name appears on pocket diaries in this sample as late as 1835.

[3] Robert Dodsley invented and sold the first pre-printed diary for 1749. In 1757, the imprint of the business became 'R. & J. Dodsley', with his brother James, who then took over the business in 1759 (see the imprint for the 1765 *Ladies New Memorandum Book* (below)).

Year	*Title*	*Bookseller*	*Owner*	*Profession/Background*	*Repository & Call No.*
1753	*The Ladies' Compleat Pocket Book*	J. Newbery	*Anon.*	*Unknown*	BL, C.136.bb.30
1754	***The New Memorandum Book Improv'd***	**R. Dodsley**	**Nathaniel Cholmeley**	**Gentry**	**BIA, GDP/125**
1755	***The Newcastle Memorandum Book, or A Methodical Pocket Journal***	**T. Slack [Newcastle]**	**Thomas Slack**	**Bookseller, Newspaper Proprietor[4]**	**BL, C.142.dd.28**
	The Exeter Pocket Journal, or West-Country Gentleman and Tradesman's Memorandum Book	B. Thorne [Exeter]	*Anon.*	*Unknown*	BL, RB.8.a.12†
1756	***The New Memorandum Book Improv'd***	**R. Dodsley**	**Henry Brydges**	**2nd Duke of Chandos**	**HL, ST 108 v. 2**
1762	***The Daily Journal, or the Gentleman's and Tradesman's Complete Annual Accompt-Book***	**R. Baldwin**	***Anon.***	**Possible tenant of the Jervoise family[5]**	**HRO, 44M69/E19/18**
1763	***The Daily Journal, or the Gentleman's and Tradesman's Complete Annual Accompt-Book***	**R. Baldwin**	**Frances Boscawen**	**Gentry, Bluestocking**	**BOD, MS. Eng.misc.fol.71**
1764	*The Complete Pocket Book, or Gentleman and Tradesman's Daily Journal*	J. Johnson	*Anon.*	Relative/employee of James Duff, Earl of Fife[6]	NLS, RB.s.2633
1765	***The Ladies New Memorandum Book***	**J. Dodsley**	***Anon.***	***Unknown***	**BL, RB.23.a.9263**

[4] As well as being a bookseller and newspaper proprietor, Slack was also a printer and author (ODNB, 'Thomas Slack', P. Isaac††). The fact that he produced these diaries and used one of them adds an interesting dimension to his ways of using: the amendments he made to some of the printed content, for example (see discussion in Chapter 5, esp. 223, 227) might suggest that he read the contents of his diary as both diarist and editor.

[5] See diary of T.H. Jervoise for 1786 (below).

[6] See item description in the National Library of Scotland online catalogue.

Year	*Title*	*Bookseller*	*Owner*	*Profession/Background*	*Repository & Call No.*
1767	*The Daily Journal, or the Gentleman's and Tradesman's Complete Annual Accompt-Book*	R. Baldwin	*Anon.*	*Unknown*	BL, RB.23.a.31718
1768	*The Daily Journal, or the Gentleman's and Tradesman's Complete Annual Accompt-Book*	R. Baldwin	*Anon.*	*Unknown*	BL, RB.23.a.32190
1769	*The Daily Journal, or the Gentleman's and Tradesman's Complete Annual Accompt-Book*	R. Baldwin			BL, P.P.2490.d†
1772	*Harris's Pocket Journal for Town and Country, or the Gentleman's Memorandum Book*	W. Harris	*Anon.*	*Unknown*	BOD, Johnson.Alm.70
	The Daily Journal, or the Gentleman's, Merchant's and Tradesman's Complete Annual Accompt-Book	R. Baldwin	*Anon.*	*Unknown*[7]	HL, 319699 v. 1
1773	*The Kentish Companion, or Useful Memorandum and Accompt-Book*	J. Simmons & G. Kirkby [Canterbury]			BL, RB.573.a.35
1774	*The New Birmingham Directory, and Gentleman and Tradesman's Compleat Memorandum Book*	M. Swinney [Birmingham]			BOD, Gough Warwicks. 15(2)†
	The Ladies Museum, or Complete Pocket Memorandum Book	**W. Lane**	***Anon.***	***Unknown***	**BL, C115.N68**

[7] Similarities in handwriting suggest that the anonymous owner of this *Daily Journal* for 1772 is the same as that for 1777. Handwritten inscriptions on farming concerns and payment of employees, suggest that the diarist was a landowner.

Year	*Title*	*Bookseller*	*Owner*	*Profession/Background*	*Repository & Call No.*
1775	***The Complete Pocket Book, or Gentleman and Tradesman's Daily Journal***	**J. Johnson**	***Anon.***	**Deputy Serjeant-at-Arms, House of Commons[8]**	**BL, RB.23.a.10115**
	The Ladies New and Polite Pocket Memorandum Book	**J. Johnson**	**Frances Fanshawe**	**Gentry**	**NRS, GD 477/473/1**
	The Daily Journal, or the Gentleman's, Merchant's and Tradesman's Complete Annual Accompt-Book	**R. Baldwin**	***Anon.***	***Unknown***	**TNA, C112/71 v. 6**
1776	***The Complete Pocket Book, or Gentleman and Tradesman's Daily Journal***	**J. Johnson**	**George Romney**	**Painter**	**BL, Add. MS. 38081**
	The Ladies Most Elegant and Convenient Pocket Book	**J. Wheble**	**Frances Fanshawe**	**Gentry**	**NRS, GD 477/473/2**
	The Daily Journal, or the Gentleman's, Merchant's and Tradesman's Complete Annual Accompt-Book	**R. Baldwin**	**Richard Ford**	**Clergyman**	**HRO, 29M65/1**
1777	*The Complete Pocket Book, or Gentleman's and Tradesman's Daily Journal*	J. Johnson	George Romney	Painter	BL, Add. MS. 38081
	The Ladies Most Elegant and Useful Lottery Pocket Book	**G. Pearce**	**Frances Fanshawe**	**Gentry**	**NRS, GD 477/473/3**
	The Daily Journal, or the Gentleman's, Merchant's and Tradesman's Complete Annual Accompt-Book	**R. Baldwin**	**Richard Ford**	**Clergyman**	**HRO, 29M65/2**

[8] See item description on ESTC.

Year	*Title*	*Bookseller*	*Owner*	*Profession/Background*	*Repository & Call No.*
1777	***The Daily Journal, or the Gentleman's, Merchant's and Tradesman's Complete Annual Accompt-Book***	**R. Baldwin**	***Anon.***	***Unknown***	**HL, 319699 v. 2**
	The Kentish Companion, or Useful Memorandum and Accompt-Book	J. Simmons & G. Kirkby [Canterbury]			BL, 578.a.35
1778	***The Daily Journal, or the Gentleman's, Merchant's and Tradesman's Complete Annual Accompt-Book***	**R. Baldwin**	**Richard Ford**	**Clergyman**	**HRO, 29M65/3**
	The Kentish Companion, or Useful Memorandum and Accompt-Book	J. Simmons & G. Kirkby [Canterbury]	*Anon.*	*Unknown*	BL, RB.23.a.9586†
	The Ladies Most Elegant, Useful and Convenient Lottery Pocket Book	G. Pearce	Frances Fanshawe	Gentry	NRS, GD 477/473/4
1779	*The Ladies Annual Journal, or a Complete Pocket Book*	J. Russel	*Anon.*	*Unknown*	BL, RB.23.a.30884†
	The Daily Journal, or the Gentleman's, Merchant's and Tradesman's Complete Annual Accompt-Book	R. Baldwin	Frances Fanshawe	Gentry	NRS, GD 477/474/1
	The Daily Journal, or the Gentleman's, Merchant's and Tradesman's Complete Annual Accompt-Book	**R. Baldwin**	**William Dixon**	**Landowner**	**LA, DIXON 7/4/1**
1780	***Harris's Original British Ladies Complete Pocket Memorandum Book***	**A. Hogg**	***Anon.***	***Unknown***	**NLS, L.C.3343(4)**
	The Ladies New and Polite Pocket Memorandum Book	J. Johnson	Frances Fanshawe	Gentry	NRS, GD 477/473/5

Year	*Title*	*Bookseller*	*Owner*	*Profession/Background*	*Repository & Call No.*
1781	*The Daily Journal, or the Gentleman's, Merchant's and Tradesman's Complete Annual Accompt-Book*	R. Baldwin	Frances Fanshawe	Gentry	NRS, GD 477/474/2
1782	*Harris's Original British Ladies Complete Pocket Memorandum Book*	J. Scatchard & I. Whitaker			BL, RB.23.a.7291
	Fielding's Ladies Pocket Book	J. Fielding	Frances Fanshawe	Gentry	NRS, GD 477/473/6
	The Royal Engagement Pocket Atlas	T. Baker [Southampton]; W. Marsh	James Brydges	3rd Duke of Chandos	HL, ST 109 v. 2
1785	***The Yorkshire Memorandum Book***	**W. Richardson & L. Urquhart[9]**	***Anon.***	***Unknown***	**BL, RB.23.a.31077**
	The Complete Pocket Book, or Gentleman's and Tradesman's Daily Journal	J. Johnson	William Gould	Estate Keeper to 3rd Duke of Portland	NA, DD/P/6/7/2/35
1786	***The Daily Journal, or the Gentleman's, Merchant's and Tradesman's Complete Annual Accompt-Book***	**R. Baldwin**	**Tristram H. Jervoise**	**Gentry**	**HRO, 44M69/E11/130**
	The Complete Pocket Book, or Gentleman and Tradesman's Daily Journal	**J. Johnson**	**William Gould**	**Estate Keeper to 3rd Duke of Portland**	**NA, DD/P/6/7/2/37**
	The Royal Engagement Pocket Atlas	T. Baker [Southampton]; W. Marsh	James Brydges	3rd Duke of Chandos	HL, ST 109 v. 3
1787	*The Complete Pocket Book, or Gentleman's and Tradesman's Daily Journal*	J. Johnson	William Gould	Estate Keeper to 3rd Duke of Portland	NA, DD/P/6/7/2/37

[9] While the booksellers were based in London, this title was printed by W. Blanchard & Co in York.

Year	*Title*	*Bookseller*	*Owner*	*Profession/Background*	*Repository & Call No.*
1788	*The Daily Journal, or the Gentleman's, Merchant's and Tradesman's Complete Annual Accompt-Book*	R. Baldwin	William Dixon	Landowner	LA, DIXON 7/4/2
	The Hampshire Pocket Companion, or Pocket Ledger for Cash and Time	A. Cunningham	James Brydges	3rd Duke of Chandos	HL, ST 109 v. 4
1789	*The Complete Pocket Book, or Gentleman's and Tradesman's Daily Journal*	J. Johnson	William Gould	Estate Keeper to 3rd Duke of Portland	NA, DD/P/6/7/2/38
	The Daily Journal, or the Gentleman's, Merchant's and Tradesman's Complete Annual Accompt-Book	**R. Baldwin**	**William Smith**	**Land Surveyor, Engineer**	**OUMNH, WS/B/001**
1790	***The Daily Journal, or the Gentleman's, Merchant's and Tradesman's Complete Annual Accompt-Book***	**R. Baldwin**	**William Dixon**	**Landowner**	**LA, DIXON 7/4/3**
	The Complete Pocket Book, or Gentleman's and Tradesman's Daily Journal	J. Johnson	William Gould	Estate Keeper to 3rd Duke of Portland	NA, DD/P/6/7/2/39
1791	***The Ladies Pocket Journal, or Toilet Assistant***	**S. Bladon**	**Mary Crespigny**	**Gentry**	**BOD, MS.Eng.e.3767**
1792	*Harris's British Ladies Complete Pocket Memorandum Book*	J. Scatcherd & I. Whitaker[10]	Ann Heading	*Unknown*[11]	BL, P.P.2472.oa†

[10] Also sold by booksellers in Norwich and Exeter.

[11] From her handwriting, and the writing exercises in the diary, Ann Heading was likely quite young at the time of writing.

Year	*Title*	*Bookseller*	*Owner*	*Profession/Background*	*Repository & Call No.*
1792	***Lane's Ladies Museum, or Complete Pocket Memorandum Book***	**W. Lane**	***Anon.***[12]	***Unknown***	**BL, C.115.n.68†**
	The Daily Journal, or the Gentleman's, Merchant's and Tradesman's Complete Annual Accompt-Book	R. Baldwin	Jabez Stutterd[13]	Various: Book-keeper, Weaver, Baptist minister	HL, SFP 837
	The Complete Pocket Book, or Gentleman's and Tradesman's Daily Journal	J. Johnson	William Gould	Estate Keeper to 3rd Duke of Portland	NA, DD/P/6/7/2/40
1793	*The Daily Journal, or the Gentleman's, Merchant's and Tradesman's Complete Annual Accompt-Book*	R. Baldwin	William Dixon	Landowner	LA, DIXON 7/4/4
	The Complete Pocket Book, or Gentleman's and Tradesman's Daily Journal	J. Johnson	William Gould	Estate Keeper to 3rd Duke of Portland	NA, DD/P/6/7/2/41
1794	***The Christian's Pocket Book***	**J. S. Jordan**	***Anon.***	***Unknown***	**TNA, C.112/71 v. 23**
	The Complete Pocket Book, or Gentleman's and Tradesman's Daily Journal	J. Johnson	William Gould	Estate Keeper to 3rd Duke of Portland	NA, DD/P/6/7/2/42
	The Daily Journal, or the Gentleman's, Merchant's and Tradesman's Complete Annual Accompt-Book	R. Baldwin	Edward Jenner	Doctor & Surgeon	WIL, MS 3021

[12] The only indication of the identity of this diarist is the signature, 'Mary Ashworth', practiced in the pages of the diary.
[13] Includes some entries by his brother Thomas.

Year	*Title*	*Bookseller*	*Owner*	*Profession/Background*	*Repository & Call No.*
1795	*The Country Gentleman's Companion, or the Farmer's Complete Accoompt-Book*	J. Johnson[14]			BL, RB.23.a.8946
	The Complete Pocket Book, or Gentleman's and Tradesman's Daily Journal	J. Johnson	William Gould	Estate Keeper to 3rd Duke of Portland	NA, DD/P/6/7/2/43
1796	*The Royal Repository, or Polite Pocket Diary*	J. Evance & W. Richardson			BL, RB.23.a.6889
	The Royal Engagement Pocket Atlas	T. Baker [Southampton]; W. March; T. & R. Davidson	*Anon.*	*Unknown*	BOD, Johnson.Alm.142
	The Naturalist's Pocket Book	G. Kearsley	*Anon.*	*Unknown*	HL, 109907
1797	*The Daily Journal, or the Gentleman's, Merchant's and Tradesman's Complete Annual Accompt-Book*	R. Baldwin	Gabriel Piozzi	Music Master; 2nd husband of Hester Thrale	NLW, MS 11096A†
	The Newcastle Memorandum Book, or a Methodical Pocket Journal	S. Hodgson[15] [Newcastle]			BL, 1607/3528
1798	*The Daily Journal, or the Gentleman's, Merchant's and Tradesman's Complete Annual Accompt-Book*	R. Baldwin	William Dixon	Landowner	LA, DIXON 7/4/5
1800	*The Daily Journal, or the Gentleman's, Merchant's and Tradesman's Complete Annual Accompt-Book*	R. Baldwin	*Anon.*	*Unknown*	BOD, Johnson.Alm.86

[14] Also sold by booksellers in Bath.

[15] Solomon Hodgson; apprenticed to and subsequently successor to the publishing and newspaper business of Thomas Slack (See V. E. M. Gardner, *The Business of News in England, 1760-1820* (Basingstoke, 2015), 101, 200).

Year	*Title*	*Bookseller*	*Owner*	*Profession/Background*	*Repository & Call No.*
1801	***The Daily Journal, or the Gentleman's, Merchant's and Tradesman's Complete Annual Accompt-Book***	**R. Baldwin**	**Gabriel Piozzi**	**Music master; 2nd husband of Hester Thrale**	**NLW, MS 11097†**
1802	*Gedge's Town and Country Ladies Own Memorandum Book*	P. Gedge	*Anon.*[16]	*Unknown*	HL, 471556
1803	*The Daily Journal, or the Gentleman's, Merchant's and Tradesman's Complete Annual Accompt-Book*	R. Baldwin	*Anon.*	*Unknown*	CBS, D/DR/10/23/3
1804	*The Gentleman's, Tradesman's and Farmer's Complete Pocket Companion and Annual Acccount Book*	J. Knott & R. Lloyd [Birmingham]	*Anon.*	*Unknown*	BOD, (Alm) 22871.f.65
	Court and Royal Ladies Pocket Book	Minerva Press[17]	Lady Georgiana North	Gentry	BOD, MS. North.adds.e.8
1805	*The Daily Journal, or the Gentleman's, Merchant's and Tradesman's Complete Annual Accompt-Book*	R. Baldwin	William Dixon	Landowner	LA, DIXON 7/4/6
1807	***Kearsley's Gentleman's and Tradesman's Pocket Ledger***	**G. Kearsley**	**George W. Chad**	**Student (later diplomat; see diaries for 1808, 1811, 1812, 1827, 1828, 1830 below)**	**BL, Add. MS. 59705**
	Peacock's Complete Pocket Journal and Annual Vade Mecum	W., J. & J. Richardson	Anne Eliza Grenville	Lady Kinloss (later became Marchioness (1813) and Duchess (1822))	HL, ST 110 v. 1

[16] Inscriptions made over fifty years after the diary went on sale; they record births, deaths and life events for members of the Waller family, which might give some indication of the identity of the diarist.

[17] The firm of William Lane.

Year	*Title*	*Bookseller*	*Owner*	*Profession/Background*	*Repository & Call No.*
1808	***Peacock's Complete Pocket Journal and Annual Vade Mecum***	**W., J. & J. Richardson**	**George W. Chad**	**Student**	**BL, Add. MS. 59706**
	The Newcastle Memorandum Book; or a Methodical Journal	**S. Hodgson**	***Anon.***	***Unknown***	**BOD, G. A. Northumb.16A 1**
1810	*The Daily Journal, or the Gentleman's, Merchant's and Tradesman's Complete Annual Accompt-Book*	R. Baldwin	H. Jenkinson	Captain[18]	NRS, GD 477/474/3
	The Royal Repository, or Picturesque Pocket Diary	W., J. & J. Richardson	Anne Eliza Grenville	Lady Kinloss	HL, ST 110 v. 2
1811	***Kearsley's Gentleman's and Tradesman's Pocket Ledger***	**G. Kearsley**	**George W. Chad**	**Student**	**BL, Add. MS. 59707**
	Peacock's Polite Repository or Pocket Companion	Peacock's & Bampton[19]	Anne Eliza Grenville	Lady Kinloss	HL, ST 110 v. 3
1812	*Norfolk and Norwich Gentleman's, Merchant's, Tradesman's, Farmer's and Graziers Complete Memorandum Book*	Stevenson, Matchett and Stevenson[20] [Norfolk]	George W. Chad	Student	BL, Add. MS. 59708
	The Daily Journal, or the Gentleman's, Merchant's and Tradesman's Complete Annual Accompt-Book	R. Baldwin	James Lampard	Solicitor	HRO, 11M70/D2
	The Royal Repository, or Picturesque Pocket Diary	Evance, Suttaby & Fox[21]	Anne Eliza Grenville	Lady Kinloss	HL, ST 110 v. 4

[18] Husband of Frances Fanshawe (see her diaries for 1775-82). Her diaries chart their meeting, courting and marriage, but reveal little about Jenkinson's background or profession other than that he is a 'Captain' in the military; whether the army or the navy is unclear.
[19] Stationers firm of F. Peacock. By 1831 (see *Marshall's Cabinet of Fashion for 1831*, below) he was trading under his name alone, and by 1836, as Peacock & Mansfield.
[20] Publishing firm of William Stevenson, William Matchett, & Stevenson's son Henry (See Gardner, *The Business of News in England*, 202).
[21] Publishing/printing firm of William Suttaby, John Evance & William Fox; partnership dissolved in 1824 (*The London Gazette,* 24 Jun. 1824).

Year	*Title*	*Bookseller*	*Owner*	*Profession/Background*	*Repository & Call No.*
1813	***The Daily Journal, or the Gentleman's, Merchant's and Tradesman's Complete Annual Accompt-Book***	**R. Baldwin**	**James Lampard**	**Solicitor**	**HRO, 11M70/D3**
	Peacock's Polite Repository or Pocket Companion	Peacock's & Bampton	Anne Eliza Grenville	Marchioness of Buckingham	HL, ST 110 v. 5
1815	*The Daily Journal, or the Gentleman's, Merchant's and Tradesman's Complete Annual Accompt-Book*	R. Baldwin[22]	William Dixon	Landowner	LA, DIXON 7/4/7
1816	***Peacock's Polite Repository, or Pocket Companion***	**Peacock's & Bampton**	**William Henry Fox Talbot**	**Scientist & Inventor**	**BL, Add. MS. 88942/5/1/5**
1817	*The Ladies New Engagement*	C. Whittingham & R. Rowland	Charles F. De Coetlogon	Gentleman, Rentier	LMA, ACC/0268/001
	The Student's Journal	**J. Taylor & J. A. Hessey**	**Matthew Davenport Hill**	**Teacher[23]**	**BOD, MS. Eng.misc.e.88**
	The Daily Journal, or the Gentleman's, Merchant's and Tradesman's Complete Annual Accompt-Book	**R. Baldwin**	**William Dixon**	**Landowner**	**LA, DIXON 7/4/8**
1818	*The Daily Journal, or the Gentleman's, Merchant's and Tradesman's Complete Annual Accompt-Book*	R. Baldwin	Charles F. De Coetlogon	Gentleman, Rentier	LMA, ACC/0268/002
	Marshall's New Pocket Book for 1818	W. Marshall			NLS, 5.2901
1819	*Peacock's Polite Repository, or Pocket Companion*	Peacock's & Bampton	Anne Eliza Grenville	Marchioness of Buckingham	HL, ST 110 v. 6

[22] Also sold by Brodie & Dowding, in Salisbury.

[23] Future Lawyer & Penal Reformer (ODNB, 'Matthew Davenport Hill', P. W. J. Bartrip).

Year	***Title***	***Bookseller***	***Owner***	***Profession/Background***	***Repository & Call No.***
1821	*Peacock's Polite Repository, or Pocket Companion*	Peacock's & Bampton	Anne Eliza Grenville	Marchioness of Buckingham	HL, ST 110 v. 7
1822	*The Daily Journal, or the Gentleman's, Merchant's and Tradesman's Complete Annual Accompt-Book*	R. Baldwin	Charles F. De Coetlogon	Gentleman, Rentier	LMA, ACC/0268/003
1823	***The Daily Journal, or the Gentleman's, Merchant's and Tradesman's Complete Annual Accompt-Book***	**R. Baldwin**	**Charles F. De Coetlogon**	**Gentleman, Rentier**	**LMA, ACC/0268/004**
1824	***The Daily Journal, or the Gentleman's, Merchant's and Tradesman's Complete Annual Accompt-Book***	**R. Baldwin**	**William J. Chute[24]**	**Gentry**	**HRO, 31M57**
	The Daily Journal, or the Gentleman's, Merchant's and Tradesman's Complete Annual Accompt-Book	**R. Baldwin**	**William Dixon**	**Landowner**	**LA, DIXON 7/4/9**
1826	*The Daily Journal, or the Gentleman's, Merchant's and Tradesman's Complete Annual Accompt-Book*	R. Baldwin	Charles F. De Coetlogon	Gentleman, Rentier	LMA, ACC/0268/005
1827	*The Daily Journal, or the Gentleman's, Merchant's and Tradesman's Complete Annual Accompt-Book*	R. Baldwin	Charles F. De Coetlogon	Gentleman, Rentier	LMA, ACC/0268/006
	Marshall's Commercial Pocket Book	W. Marshall	George W. Chad	Diplomat	BL, Add. MS. 59720
1828	*The Daily Journal, or the Gentleman's, Merchant's and Tradesman's Complete Annual Accompt-Book*	R. Baldwin	Charles F. De Coetlogon	Gentleman, Rentier	LMA, ACC/0268/007

[24] With additions by his brother, Thomas Vere Chute, after William's death.

Year	*Title*	*Bookseller*	*Owner*	*Profession/Background*	*Repository & Call No.*
	Kearsley's Gentleman's and Tradesman's Pocket Ledger	G. Kearsley	George W. Chad	Diplomat	BL, Add. MS. 59721
1830	*Kearsley's Gentleman's and Tradesman's Pocket Ledger*	G. Kearsley	George W. Chad	Diplomat	BL, Add. MS. 59722
	Marshall's Cabinet of Fashion	W. Marshall	Mary Grenville	Marchioness of Chandos (later Duchess (1839))	HL, ST 118 v. 3
1831	***Peacock's Polite Repository***	**F. Peacock**	**Anne Eliza Grenville**	**Duchess of Buckingham & Chandos**	**HL, ST 110 v. 8**
1832	*The Regent, or Royal Tablet of Memory*	Suttaby & Co.[25]	Mary Grenville	Marchioness of Chandos	HL, ST 118 v. 5
1834	*The Regent, or Royal Tablet of Memory*	Suttaby & Co.	Mary Grenville	Marchioness of Chandos	HL, ST 118 v. 7
	Peacock's Polite Repository or Pocket Companion	F. Peacock	Anne Eliza Grenville	Duchess of Buckingham & Chandos	Hl, ST 110 v. 9
1835	***The Daily Journal, or the Gentleman's, Merchant's and Tradesman's Annual Accompt-Book***	**R. Baldwin**	**Charles F. De Coetlogon**	**Gentleman, Rentier**	**LMA, ACC/0268/011**
	The Sovereign	Suttaby & Co.	Francis Beaufort	Rear-Admiral, Hydrographer	HL, FB 19
	The Regent (? Title page missing)	--	Mary Grenville	Marchioness of Chandos	HL, ST 118 v. 8
1836	*Marshall's Gentleman's Pocket Book*	Suttaby & Co.	Francis Beaufort	Rear-Admiral, Hydrographer	HL, FB 20
	Peacock's Polite Repository	Peacock & Mansfield	Mary Grenville	Marchioness of Chandos	HL, ST 118 v. 9

[25] Firm of William Suttaby.

Year	*Title*	*Bookseller*	*Owner*	*Profession/Background*	*Repository & Call No.*
1837	*The Gentleman's Pocket Memorandum Book*	Suttaby & Co.	Francis Beaufort	Rear-Admiral, Hydrographer	HL, FB 21
1838	***Poole's Gentleman's Pocket Memorandum Book***	**Suttaby & Co.**	**Francis Beaufort**	**Rear-Admiral, Hydrographer**	**HL, FB 22**
	Peacock's Polite Repository, or Pocket Companion	Peacock & Mansfield	Mary Grenville	Marchioness of Chandos	HL, ST 118 v. 10
1839	*Poole's Gentleman's Pocket Memorandum Book*	Suttaby & Co.	Francis Beaufort	Rear-Admiral, Hydrographer	HL, FB 23
	Peacock's Polite Repository, or Pocket Companion	Peacock & Mansfield	Mary Grenville	Duchess of Buckingham and Chandos	HL, ST 118 v. 11
1840	*Marshall's Gentleman's Pocket Book*	Suttaby & Co.	Francis Beaufort	Rear-Admiral, Hydrographer	HL, FB 24
	The Sovereign	Suttaby & Co.	Mary Grenville	Duchess of Buckingham and Chandos	HL, ST 118 v. 12 (a&b)
1841	*Marshall's Gentleman's Pocket Book*	Suttaby & Co.	Francis Beaufort	Rear-Admiral, Hydrographer	HL, FB 25
1842	*Marshall's Gentleman's Pocket Book*	Suttaby & Co.	Francis Beaufort	Rear-Admiral, Hydrographer	HL, FB 26
	The Regent, or Royal Tablet of Memory	**Suttaby & Co.**	**Mary Grenville**	**Duchess of Buckingham and Chandos**	**HL, ST 118 v. 13**
1843	*The Complete Pocket Book, or Gentleman and Tradesman's Daily Journal*	Suttaby & Co.			BL, P.P.2490.f
	Marshall's Gentleman's Pocket Book	Suttaby & Co.	Francis Beaufort	Rear-Admiral, Hydrographer	HL, FB 27
1844	*Marshall's Gentleman's Pocket Book*	Suttaby & Co.	Francis Beaufort	Rear-Admiral, Hydrographer	HL, FB 28

Year	*Title*	*Bookseller*	*Owner*	*Profession/Background*	*Repository & Call No.*
1845	*Marshall's Gentleman's Pocket Book*	Suttaby & Co.	Francis Beaufort	Rear-Admiral, Hydrographer	HL, FB 29
	Peacock's Polite Repository, or Pocket Companion	Peacock & Mansfield	Mary Grenville	Duchess of Buckingham and Chandos	HL, ST 118 v. 16
1846	***Marshall's Gentleman's Pocket Book***	**Suttaby & Co.**	**Francis Beaufort**	**Rear-Admiral, Hydrographer**	**HL, FB 30**
	Peacock's Polite Repository, or Pocket Companion	Peacock & Mansfield	Mary Grenville	Duchess of Buckingham and Chandos	HL, ST 118 v. 17
1847	*Marshall's Gentleman's Pocket Book*	R. & A. Suttaby	Francis Beaufort	Rear-Admiral, Hydrographer	HL, FB 31
	Peacock's Polite Repository, or Pocket Companion	**Peacock & Mansfield**	**Mary Grenville**	**Duchess of Buckingham and Chandos**	**HL, ST 118 v. 18**
1848	*Poole's Gentleman's Pocket Memorandum Book*	R. & A. Suttaby	Francis Beaufort	Rear-Admiral, Hydrographer	HL, FB 32
1849	*Poole's Gentleman's Pocket Memorandum Book*	R. & A. Suttaby	Francis Beaufort	Rear-Admiral, Hydrographer	HL, FB 33
	Marshall's Ladies Elegant Pocket Souvenir	**R. & A. Suttaby**	**Mary Grenville**	**Duchess of Buckingham and Chandos**	**HL, ST 118 v. 19**
1850	*Poole's Gentleman's Pocket Memorandum Book*	R. & A. Suttaby	Francis Beaufort	Rear-Admiral, Hydrographer	HL, FB 34
1852	***Poole's Gentleman's Pocket Memorandum Book***	**R. & A. Suttaby**	**Francis Beaufort**	**Rear-Admiral, Hydrographer**	**HL, FB 36**
1855	***Poole's Gentleman's Pocket Memorandum Book***	**R. & A. Suttaby**	**Francis Beaufort**	**Rear-Admiral, Hydrographer**	**HL, FB 39**
1857	***Poole's Gentleman's Pocket Memorandum Book***	**R. & A. Suttaby**	**Francis Beaufort**	**Rear-Admiral, Hydrographer**	**HL, FB 41**

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