Print Culture, Life-Writing, and the Development of the Eighteenth-Century Pocket Memorandum Book

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Abstract

This thesis is the first comprehensive study of the pocket memorandum book. Pocket memorandum books proliferated in the second half of the eighteenth century, but their contemporary popularity has not been reflected in modern scholarship. These annual publications combined a range of printed material, such as interest tables, road distances and guides to country dances, with structured space for consumers to record their daily engagements and expenses. Drawing on over 200 extant copies and situating them alongside newspaper advertisements, periodicals, prints and more, I interrogate the production, use, and cultural status of the genre from the mid-eighteenth to early nineteenth centuries.

Throughout, I analyse the pocket memorandum book both as a print commodity and form of life-writing which fed into a range of social and cultural practices. This thesis offers significant new information on the mechanics of the memorandum book trade, such as the circulation figures, estimated survival rates, and the value of the books as a print commodity. It challenges the narrative that memorandum books emerged simply to circumvent the Stationers' Company monopoly on publishing almanacs and provides a case study of provincial competition in eighteenth-century Newcastle. It also explores how the books were designed as a tool for record, time, and self-management, emerging as part of broader shifts in temporal thinking. In practice, consumers put the books to use in a myriad of ways. The way consumers drew on the material format of the page to structure life-writing is interrogated, as well as the role of memorandum book in underpinning other textual and social practices, such as gift-giving. Finally, this thesis turns to the most iconic image of the Bluestockings and its initial appearance as a print in a ladies' memorandum book, to show the potential subversiveness of their gendered content, and how memorandum books have the power to challenge some of our most well-established histories of the eighteenth century.

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Undertaking this PhD during the Covid-19 pandemic has made me ever more appreciative of networks of colleagues and friends. The Centre for Eighteenth-Century Studies at the University of York is one of the most supportive academic communities I’ve encountered, and I am so grateful to have been part of it. At a time when I could not visit the university or conduct archival research, the palaeography club I ran from 2020-22 (virtually and then, wonderfully, in person) kept my love of academia alive and I’m appreciative to everyone who took part with such enthusiasm and creativity.

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Finally, I owe an immense debt of gratitude to my parents, Glynis and Larry Day, who instilled a love of history and learning from an early age and always encouraged me to keep asking questions.

Author's Declaration

I declare that this thesis is a presentation of original work and I am the sole author. This work has not previously been presented for an award at this, or any other, university. All sources are acknowledged as references.

Sections from Chapter Four: Record, Time and Self-Management appear in the forthcoming article '"Memorandums, of no Use to any but the Owner": Finding Value in Eighteenth-Century Pocket Memorandum Books', *KNOW: A Journal on the Formation of Knowledge* (Spring 2023).

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Introduction



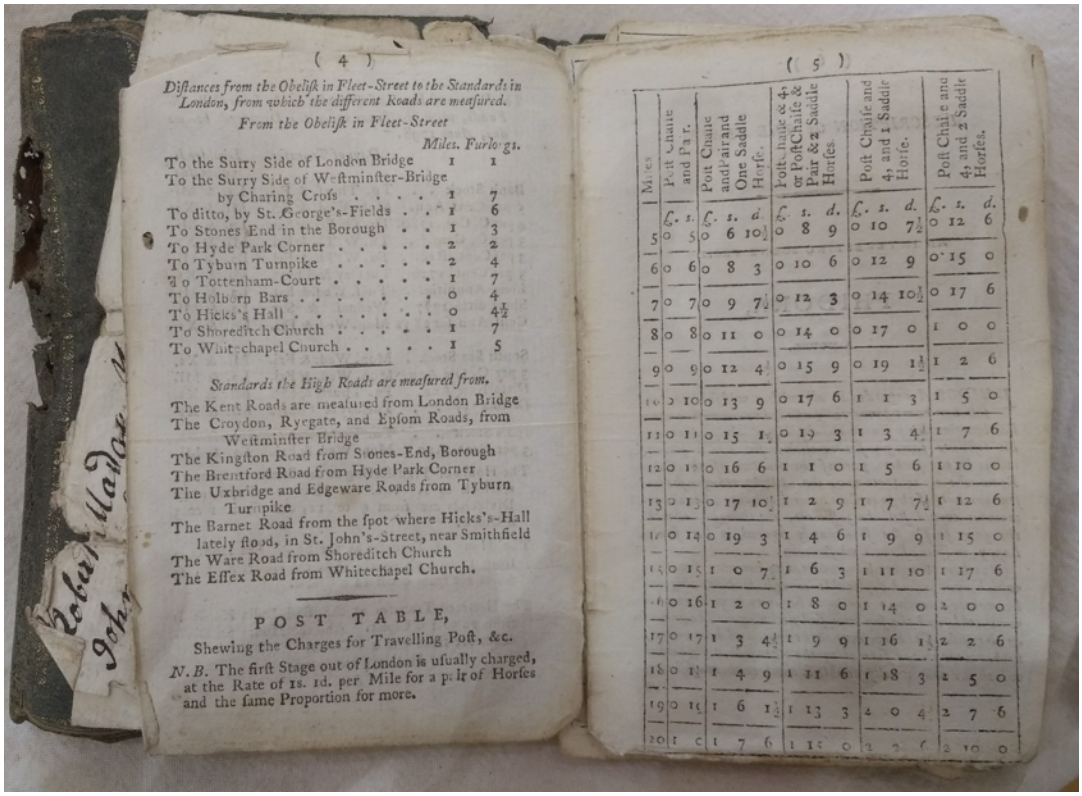
Figure 1. Diary of Mary Madge of Exeter, 1798.

This project originated from an archival accident. During a research trip to the Devon Heritage Centre in 2018, I ordered what I assumed would be a straightforward manuscript document: the 'Diary of Mary Madge of Exeter, 1798.'[1] What I received was unexpected: a pocket-sized book that contained a miscellaneous array of printed content, including guides to road distances and the cost of postage, poems, new songs sung at Vauxhall Gardens, as well as pages explicitly structured for the owner to write in (Figs 1, 2 & 3). It had also been put to use in a myriad of ways. As can be seen in Fig 3., Mary Madge had recorded her daily activities in the book, such as drinking tea at friends, the cost of washing, and even when the day had consisted of 'Nothing particular.'[2] She had used the flyleaves to jot down her genealogical history, and stored a recipe for strawberry wine in the pocket of the book. Missing pages from the book only heightened the mystery: what was this object?[3]

[1] The catalogue description indicated some degree of the complexity of this document, describing it as a 'printed book of poems, with manuscript genealogical notes on the Madge family': "Diary of Mary Madge of Exeter, 1798," Exeter, Devon Heritage Centre, 1791M/F/2.

[2] "Diary of Mary Madge of Exeter, 1798," Exeter, Devon Heritage Centre, 1791M/F/2.

[3] The copy is missing a plate depicting a scene from the novel *Phidora*, the title page, the contents page, and many of the pages for manuscript recording. The book's title is unidentified, though it is likely a copy of the *Court and Royal Ladies Pocket Book* for 1798 published by the Minerva Press based on internal similarities with other editions of this title.



(4)

Distances from the Obelisk in Fleet-Street to the Standards in London, from which the different Roads are measured.

From the Obelisk in Fleet-Street

	Miles.	Furlongs.
To the Surry Side of London Bridge	1	1
To the Surry Side of Weſtminſter-Bridge by Charing Croſs	1	7
To ditto, by St. George's-Fields	1	6
To Stones End in the Borough	1	3
To Hyde Park Corner	2	2
To Tyburn Turnpike	2	4
To Tottenham-Court	1	7
To Holborn Bars	0	4
To Hicks's Hall	0	4½
To Shoreditch Church	1	7
To Whitechapel Church	1	5

Standards the High Roads are meaſured from.

The Kent Roads are meaſured from London Bridge
The Croydon, Ryegate, and Epſom Roads, from Weſtminſter Bridge
The Kingſton Road from Stones-End, Borough
The Brentford Road from Hyde Park Corner
The Uxbridge and Edgeware Roads from Tyburn Turnpike
The Barnet Road from the ſpot where Hicks's-Hall lately ſtood, in St. John's-Street, near Smithfield
The Ware Road from Shoreditch Church
The Eſſex Road from Whitechapel Church.

POST TABLE,

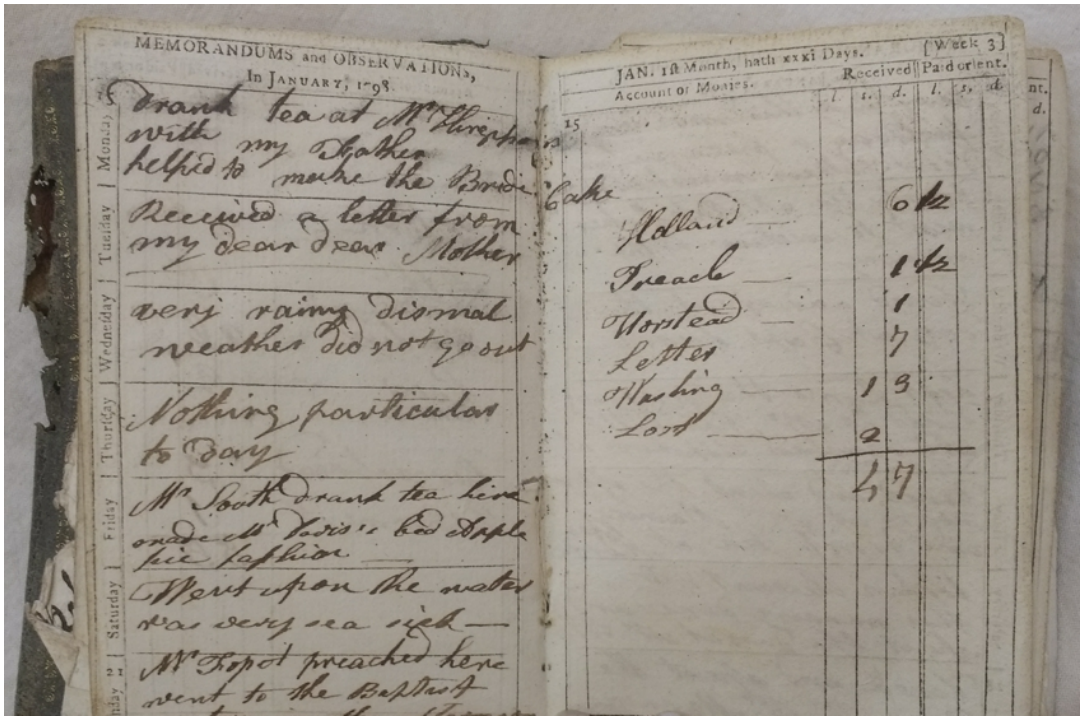
Shewing the Charges for Travelling Poſt, &c.

N. B. The firſt Stage out of London is uſually charged, at the Rate of 1s. 1d. per Mile for a pair of Horſes and the ſame Proportion for more.

(5)

Miles	Poſt Chaiſe and Pair.	Poſt Chaiſe and Pair and One Saddle Horſe.	Poſt Chaiſe & 4, or Poſt Chaiſe & Pair & 2 Saddle Horſes.	Poſt Chaiſe and 4, and 1 Saddle Horſe.	Poſt Chaiſe and 4, and 2 Saddle Horſes.
	£. s.	£. s. d.	£. s. d.	£. s. d.	£. s. d.
5	0 5	0 6 10½	0 8 9	0 10 7½	0 12 6
6	0 6	0 8 3	0 10 6	0 12 9	0 15 0
7	0 7	0 9 7½	0 12 3	0 14 10½	0 17 6
8	0 8	0 11 0	0 14 0	0 17 0	1 0 0
9	0 9	0 12 4½	0 15 9	0 19 1½	1 2 6
10	0 10	0 13 9	0 17 6	1 1 3	1 5 0
11	0 11	0 15 1½	0 19 3	1 3 4½	1 7 6
12	0 12	0 16 6	1 1 0	1 5 6	1 10 0
13	0 13	0 17 10½	1 2 9	1 7 7½	1 12 6
14	0 14	0 19 3	1 4 6	1 9 9	1 15 0
15	0 15	1 0 7½	1 6 3	1 11 10½	1 17 6
16	0 16	1 2 0	1 8 0	1 14 0	2 0 0
17	0 17	1 3 4½	1 9 9	1 16 1½	2 2 6
18	0 18	1 4 9	1 11 6	1 18 3	2 5 0
19	0 19	1 6 1½	1 13 3	2 0 4½	2 7 6
20	1 0	1 7 6	1 15 0	2 2 6	2 10 0

Figure 2. Diary of Mary Madge of Exeter, 1798.



MEMORANDUMS and OBSERVATIONS,
In JANUARY, 1798.

Monday — Drank tea at Mr Thurgood's with my Father helped to make the Bride Cake
Tuesday — Received a letter from my dear dear Mother
Wednesday — very rainy dismal weather did not go out
Thursday — Nothing particular to Day
Friday — Mr Scott drank tea here made Mrs Davis's Bed Apple pie fashion —
Saturday — Went upon the water was very sea sick —
[illegible] Mr Topsot preached here went to the Baptist

JAN. 1st Month, hath xxxi Days. (Week 3)
Account of Monies. Received Paid or lent.

	l.	s.	d.	l.	s.	d.
15						
Holland					6	½
Treacle					1	½
Worsted					1	
Letter						7
Washing				1	3	
Lord					2	
				4	7	

Figure 3. Diary of Mary Madge of Exeter, 1798.

As I would soon learn, what I had encountered was a pocket memorandum book, part of a wider publishing phenomenon in eighteenth-century Britain. These annual publications

combined useful printed material with a tabulated space for recording one's daily "Engagements" or "Appointments", "Memorandums and Observations" and "Account of Monies" for every day in the year: they were therefore printed books designed *primarily* for the purposes of manuscript record-keeping (Fig. 4). The contemporary definition of "memorandum" was 'a minute or short note made or taken of any thing to perpetuate the remembrance of it, and to prevent mistakes and forgetfulness.'[4] Thus a pocket memorandum book was an aid to memory, enabling users to keep track of different facets of their daily lives. Effectively, these pocket-sized publications were the precursor to the modern-day Filofax or diary-planner, used to jot down reminders for the future as well as retrospective entries. Memorandum books were fundamentally conceptualised as a form of prospective record-keeping, but through the continuous act of recording enabled the user to compile a storehouse of records about their life. Memorandum books thus constituted a form of life-writing, broadly-conceived as 'a general term for writing that takes a life, one's own or another's, as its subject.'[5]

[4] Thomas Dyche, *New general English dictionary; Peculiarly calculated for the use and improvement of such as are unacquainted with the learned languages… Fifth Edition* (London: Printed for Richard Ware, at the Bible and Sun on Ludgate-Hill, 1748), 509.

[5] Sidonie Smith, and Julia Watson, *Reading Autobiography: A Guide for Interpreting Life Narratives* (Minneapolis: University of Minnesota Press, 2001), 4. As outlined in the historiographical introduction to this thesis, forms of eighteenth-century life-writing which are printed, narrative and descriptive continue to be studied over and above those sources which remain in manuscript form, and which are fragmented and terse. See, for example, one of the most recent publications on eighteenth-century life-writing: Tanya Caldwell, *Writing Lives in the Eighteenth Century* (Lewisburg: Bucknell University Press, 2020).

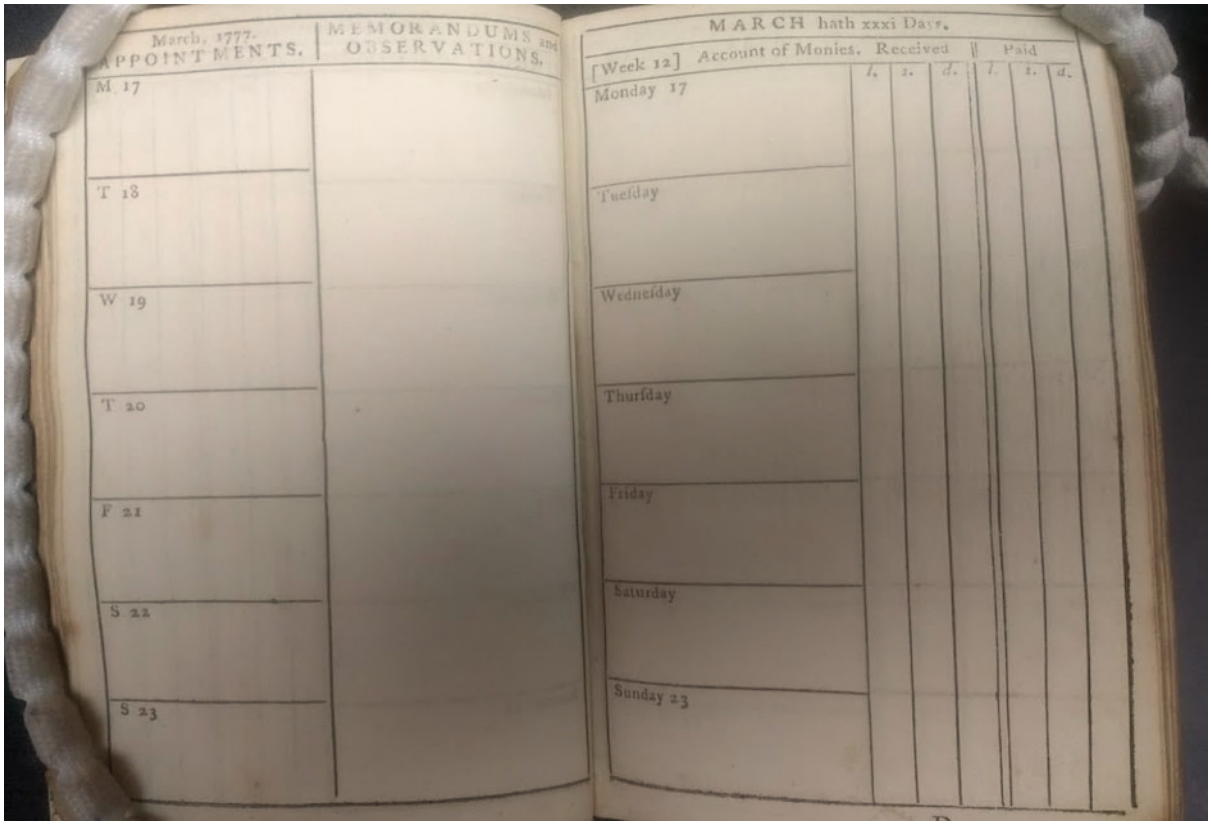


Figure 4. Layout of a memorandum book's printed space for manuscript recording: The Ladies New and Polite Pocket Memorandum-Book, for the Year of Our Lord 1777.

Despite their immense contemporary popularity, these publications have, on the whole, slipped through the cracks of scholarship. Following my trip to the Devon Heritage Centre, I was able to source information to answer the question of "what is this object?" in basic terms, but very little else: I had no sense of the publication's scale, production, or cultural significance. Yet these books did not disappear overnight. In his introduction to the first edition of the literary annual, *The Keepsake*, for 1828, Leigh Hunt charted the evolution from simple 'Almanacks, Calendars, Ephemerides' and tablets of ancient times, to eighteenth-century 'Pocket-books,' 'Souvenirs and Pocket Remembrancers', and, finally, to the nineteenth-century literary annual.[6] Each technological development was depicted as building upon and eclipsing the last. According to Hunt's account, almanacs – annual publications which contained calendrical and meteorological information such as lists of saints days and tide tables – were brought together with tablets – blank spaces for writing,

[6] Leigh Hunt, "Pocket-Books and Keepsakes," *The Keepsake for 1828* (London: Printed by Thomas Davison, Whitefriars, 1828), 1-18.

originally made of ivory and slate but later formed from paper – to create the pocket memorandum book of his grandmother's era. The pocket souvenirs and remembrancers that emerged at the end of the century, as Hunt described, took advantage of developments in typeface to fit more information into such publications, enabling all the features of an almanac, tablet and pocket-book to fit within 'a Lilliputian book no thicker than a penny's worth of gingerbread.'[7] Finally the literary annual capitalised on the growing taste for popular literature, and brought together elements of all these kinds of publications to create an annual publication suitable for gifting, that presented select works of original literature, but omitted the space for writing which Hunt described as the 'blank or barren part'.[8]

Hunt's narrative of the inevitable march of progress is, of course, a misleadingly teleological one designed to puff up the literary annual as the pinnacle of progress. In fact, almanacs continued to be used alongside eighteenth-century pocket books and both continued to be kept alongside the nineteenth-century literary annuals. Each technological development described in Hunt's account did not simply supplant the last, nor is this the only possible trajectory that can be drawn for each type of publication. Nonetheless, his account does provide a rough rubric to changes in print culture from the early modern period to the nineteenth century. Each genre described was a staple publication of its day, as Hunt hoped the literary annual would prove to be. In historical and literary scholarship, the almanac is seen as a defining genre of the early modern period; the literary annual is regarded as representative of the romantic print culture of the nineteenth century.[9] But the genre that Hunt considered to lie between almanacs and annuals, the genre he saw as so characteristic of his grandmother's era, the genre he titled his essay after – the pocket-book – has not been accorded the same status in eighteenth-century studies, nor indeed, in our histories more generally. It has not been included in wider historical and literary narratives of the

[7] Ibid, 8.
[8] Ibid, 11.
[9] The almanac, for example, has been described as one of the "Elizabethan Top Ten" forms of print. Adam Smyth, "Almanacs and Ideas of Popularity," in Andy Kesson & Emma Smith, eds., *The Elizabethan Top Ten: Defining Print Popularity in Early Modern England* (London: Routledge, 2016), 125-134. Both the almanac and the literary annual have both received book-length studies, for example: Bernard S. Capp, *Astrology and the Popular Press: English Almanacs, 1500-1800* (London: Faber & Faber, 1979); Katherine D. Harris, *Forget Me Not: The Rise of the British Literary Annual, 1823–1835* (Athens: Ohio University Press, 2015).

eighteenth century, such as the development and spread of the book trade, the rise of the diary, the development of the modern self, or even more recent work about the porous boundaries between print and manuscript.[10] While there have been a few recent articles, there has certainly been no book-length treatment of it, as there has been of almanacs and literary annuals, or of comparable eighteenth-century genres such as chapbooks, commonplace books, letters, newspapers, periodicals, recipe books, satirical prints and travel diaries.[11] We do not even have a standard way to refer to these books in our archival categorisations and in our historical accounts. To refer to the memorandum book as a distinctive genre is an assertion in itself, one which may be contentious but an argument this thesis forcefully makes.

This thesis therefore provides the first comprehensive study of the pocket memorandum book. Drawing on over 200 extant copies and situating them alongside newspaper advertisements, periodicals, prints and more, it interrogates the production, use, and cultural status of the genre from the mid-eighteenth to early nineteenth centuries. In doing so, it restores the memorandum book to our wider historical narratives, including our histories of the print trade, life-writing, time and gender. Throughout, this thesis demonstrates the necessity, and value, of taking an interdisciplinary approach to reach a full appreciation of the genre and its significance.

First, it will be helpful to provide some of key information about the features of the genre and its development, as well as establish reasons for its neglect. This introduction will then

[10] Work complicating the print-manuscript divide bears obvious relevance for the study of memorandum books, see: Eve Tanor Bannet, *The Empire of Letters: Letter Manuals and Transatlantic Correspondence, 1680–1820* (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 2005); Melanie Bigold, *Women of Letters, Manuscript Circulation, and Print Afterlives in the Eighteenth Century: Elizabeth Rowe, Catharine Cockburn and Elizabeth Carter* (London: Palgrave Macmillan, 2013); Rachael Scarborough King, *Writing to the World: Letters and the Origins of Modern Print Genres* (Baltimore: John Hopkins University Press, 2018); Rachael Scarborough King, ed., *After Print: Eighteenth-century Manuscript Cultures* (Charlottesville: University of Virginia Press, 2020).
[11] Most notably, recent articles addressing pocket memorandum books include: Jennie Batchelor, "Fashion and Frugality: Eighteenth-Century Pocket Books for Women," *Studies in Eighteenth-Century Culture* 32 (2003): 1-18; Stephen Colclough, "Pocket Books and Portable Writing: The Pocket Memorandum Book in Eighteenth-Century England and Wales," *The Yearbook of English Studies,* 45, The History of the Book (2015): 159-177; Amanda Vickery, "A Self off the Shelf: The Rise of the Pocket Diary in Eighteenth-Century England," *Eighteenth-Century Studies,* 54, no. 3 (Spring 2021): 667-686.

survey relevant historiographical trends before setting out the structure and aims of the chapters which follow.

Outline of the Genre

The earliest publication was Robert Dodsley's *A New Memorandum Book* in 1748, which he later defended as 'the First' and so 'Best, Book of the Kind.'[12] It addressed the 'Man of Business' and recommended that use of the book could inculcate the virtues of 'Regularity and Punctuality' so essential to the smooth course of business.[13] Meanwhile it supplied a variety of printed tables of information pertinent to the mercantile man. The 1752 edition, for example, included a 'Table of Expences by the Day, Week, or Year'; a guide to 'the Value of any Number of Portugal Pieces in English Money'; a list of the 'Times of the Dividends and Transfer Days at the Bank, India and South-Sea Houses'; and a list of the 'Holidays kept at all the Publick Offices.'[14]

Very quickly, Dodsley faced fierce competition as an increasing number of London and provincial printers published rival memorandum books.[15] Although many were titularly-aimed at gentlemen and tradesmen, from an early date women were also presumed to be part of consumer base.[16] Following the publication of John Newbery's *Ladies Compleat Pocket-Book* in 1750, ladies' editions of memorandum books also proliferated.[17] These

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[12] The earliest advertisement for *A New Memorandum Book* was in the *General Advertiser,* 30 Nov. 1748. A later advertisement for another memorandum book brand after Dodsley's death also attributed Dodsley as the inventor of the genre: *Public Advertiser* – 29th Nov. 1769. For Dodsley's description of his memorandum book as the 'First' and so 'Best, Book of the Kind', see: *London Evening Post*, 11-14 Jan. 1752.

[13] *A New Memorandum Book* (London: Printed for R. Dodsley in Pall-Mall, MDCCXLIX [1749]). Copy consulted: "Hesketh Yarburgh: A New Memorandum Book (1749)," York, Borthwick Institute, YM/MB/8/b.

[14] *The New Memorandum Book Improv'd: Or the Gentleman and Tradesman's Daily Pocket Journal for the Year 1752* (London: Printed for R. Dodsley in *Pall-Mall*). Copy consulted: "Vol. I. Nathaniel Hone, painter, memorandum-books 1752-1754," London, British Library, Add MS 44024.

[15] Early rival titles published in London included *The Daily Journal, or the Gentleman's and Tradesman's Methodical Accompt-Book for the Pocket* (published by Richard Baldwin, junior); *The Pocket Assistant; or, Daily Journal* (published by Marshall Sheepey)*;* and *The Gentleman and Lady's Universal Memorandum Book* (published by John Fuller, junior)*.* Early provincial titles included *The Liverpool Memorandum Book; Or, Gentleman's, Merchant's and Tradesman's Daily Pocket-Journal* (published by Robert Williamson); and *The Manchester Memorandum Book* (published by Joseph Harrop).

[16] Robert Dodsley's *A New Memorandum Book* was made available 'In Two Sizes (a smaller Size now being printed for the Convenience of several Ladies and Gentlemen who have desir'd it).' *Whitehall Evening Post,* 12 -14 Jan. 1749. Dodsley brought out his own ladies' memorandum book title in 1752, for use in 1753.

[17] For an early advertisement for the *Ladies Compleat Pocket-Book,* see: *General Advertiser,* 11 Jan. 1749. Other early ladies' editions included *The Ladies New Memorandum Book* (published by Robert Dodsley)*; The*

offered the identical structured pages for self-recording and some of the same tables of useful information, but with more entertaining and moralising printed content suitable for the fairer sex in the form of bills of fare, fashion plates, poetry, essays, and enigma puzzle competitions.

The books themselves were intended to be portable, easily slipped into a pocket and referenced to while on the move. Thus they were typically published in duodecimo format.[18] Gentlemen's editions were slightly larger, measuring approximately 180cm by 115cm, while ladies' editions were more minute at approximately 122cm by 75cm.[19] This size difference was reflected in their comparative price: Gentlemen's editions were approximately 1*s.* 6*d* – 1*s.* 8*d.* bound, while ladies' editions were 1*s.* bound. The books were therefore relatively affordable to the middling sorts whom they primarily targeted..[20] While the majority of publications in eighteenth-century Britain were sold in sheets, memorandum books were sold ready-bound, like bibles, school books and other steady

Ladies New Memorandum-Book: or, Pocket Journal (printed for B. Bourn S. Crowder and H. Woodgate) and *The Ladies New and Polite Pocket Memorandum-Book* (published by Joseph Johnson).

[18] Duodecimo was at the smaller end of books formats in the eighteenth century, which progressively increased from duodecimo, to octavo, to quarto, to folio, and thus would have been small enough to fit in a pocket. These categories give an indication of relative size, but there were no fixed measurements for each format of book since their size depended on the size of paper being folded. Duodecimo meant that each sheet printed on was folded to create a gathering of twelve leaves and hence twenty-four pages. Occasionally men's memorandum books were also offered in Octavo, meaning that each sheet was folded to create a gathering of eight leaves and hence sixteen pages. Siân Echard, "The Middle Ages and the Renaissance," in Zachary Lesser, ed., *The Book in Britain: A Historical Introduction* (Chichester: Wilely-Blackwell, 2019), 23; Daniel A. Brewer, "The Interregnum and the Long Eighteenth Century," in Zachary Lesser, ed., *The Book in Britain: A Historical Introduction* (Chichester: Wilely-Blackwell, 2019), 144; 23.

[19] The measurements given here are based on *The Complete Pocket Book* for 1775 (London: J. Johnson). Copy consulted: British Library, London, RB.23.a.10115; *The Ladies' Complete Pocket-Book* for 1761 (London: J. Newbery). Copy consulted: British Library, London, RB.23.a.38154. Mid eighteenth-century products were often made on a smaller scale for female consumers, such as writing tables and desks, equating femininity with daintiness. See: Amanda Vickery, "Fashioning Difference in Georgian England: Furniture For Him and For Her," in Paula Findlen, ed., *Early Modern Things: Objects and their Histories, 1500-1800* (Abingdon: Routledge, 2021), 417.

[20] Men's duodecimo memorandum books were first advertised at 1*s*. 6*d*. bound, a pricing which continued until the 1770s, at which point they generally rose to 1*s*. 8*d*., which continued until 1800, when they generally rose to 2*s*. Women's duodecimo memorandum books were first advertised at 1*s*. bound but did not rise in price in the eighteenth century. There were, of course, deviations from the norm: Joseph Johnson's *Complete Pocket Book*, which boasted printing on 'large Post Paper', was normally priced two pence above the general curve for men's memorandum books in this period, while other competitors occasionally tried to undercut the market with a gentleman's memorandum book priced at only one shilling. On the whole, however, the pricing of memorandum books was remarkably consistent between one title and another.

sellers.[21] Typically they were bound in leather with a tongue which could tuck in, or a metal clasp, and contained internal pockets, transforming the book into a receptacle for other items.[22] They were used store a myriad of things that owners wanted to keep close or on hand, like Mary Madge's recipe for strawberry wine.[23]

As will be explored, these books were issued by some of the leading publishers of their day, including Robert Dodsley, John Newbery and Joseph Johnson. Hundreds of titles were published from the mid- to late-eighteenth century, set in a fierce competition with advertisements crowding newspaper pages in the run up to the new year. They were used by some of the most canonical figures of the period, across all spheres of society. This includes such famous members of the literati as Samuel Johnson, Thomas Gray, and Percy Shelley; prominent Bluestockings such as Hester Thrale, Frances Boscawen, Frances Burney, Catherine Talbot and the dramatist Elizabeth Inchbald; leading artists such as Joshua Reynolds, Nathaniel Hone and Thomas Bewick; influential men of science and medicine such as Dr. Edward Jenner and industrialist Matthew Boulton; even the first American president, George Washington, ordered memorandum books from Britain.[30] Given such a remarkable

[21] Nicholas Pickwoad, "Bookbinding in the eighteenth century," in Michael F. Suarez, SJ & Michael L. Turner, eds., *The Cambridge History of the Book in Britain*, Volume 5: 1695–1830 (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 2009), 268; David Pearson, *English Bookbinding Styles, 1450-1800: A Handbook* (London & Newcastle: The British Library & Oak Knoll Press, 2005), 8.

[22] Rebecca Connor, *Women, Accounting, and Narrative: Keeping Books in Eighteenth-Century England* (London: Routledge, 2004), 26.

[23] Some of the many items found inside include newspaper clippings, bills, trade cards, tickets, locks of hair, engravings, paper dolls, foundling ticket receipts, and pieces of fabric. For examples of foundling tokens and tickets, see: Maria Zytaruk, "Caught in the archive: Unruly Objects at the Foundling Hospital," *Studies in Romanticism* 57, no. 1 (2018): 58-9; Sarah, Lloyd, "The Religious And Social Significance Of Methodist Tickets, And Associated Practices Of Collecting And Recollecting, 1741–2017," *The Historical Journal* 63, no. 2 (2020): 380.

[30] Samuel Johnson's memorandum book is in the Bodleian Library, Oxford, MS. Don. f. 6; Thomas Gray's memorandum books are in Pembroke College, Cambridge, GRA/2/1-2; Percy Shelley's memorandum book is in the New York Public Library, New York, *Pforz 557R 13; for more on Hester Thrale's memorandum books, see James L. Clifford, "The Daily Diaries of Hester Lynch Piozzi," *Columbia Library Columns* 22, no. 3 (1978): 10–17; Frances Boscawen's memorandum book is in the Bodleian Library, Oxford, MS Eng.misc.f.71; Frances Burney's memorandum book are at the New York Public Library, New York, Berg Coll MSS Arblay; Catherine Talbot's use of the genre is evidenced by her correspondence, see Chapter Four of this thesis; for a transcription of Elizabeth Inchbald's memorandum books, see Ben P. Robertson, ed., *The Diaries of Elizabeth Inchbald*, vols. 1-3 (Abingdon: Routledge, 2016); Nathaniel Hone's memorandum books are in the British Library, London, Add MS 44024; Thomas Bewick's memorandum book is in the Newcastle City Library, Newcastle, 446; for information on Edward Jenner's use of the genre, see John Kirkup, "Edward Jenner's 1794 Accompt-Book for the Pocket or Desk," *Medical History* 40 (1996): 487-498; Matthew Boulton's memorandum books are in the Birmingham Archives and Heritage Service, Birmingham, MS 3782/12/107; for evidence of George Washington ordering Dodsley's memorandum book, see "Enclosure: Invoices to Robert Cary & Company, 15 November

list both of publishers and users, it is incredible that the genre's ubiquity has gone unrecognised, but the publication and use of memorandum books has rarely been acknowledged even in individual studies of these famous figures. Yet more important than its celebrity appeal is how widespread memorandum books were in Britain across the social strata: alum workers, plumbers, land agents, widows, sailors, farmers, lawyers, gentry landowners, and leading authors – all used the genre. As a popular and profitable eighteenth-century print commodity, memorandum books played a key role in the development of the book trade. As a product which promoted and structured daily manuscript recording, memorandum books played a vital role in the spread of self-recording practices in the eighteenth century. We do not need to buy into Hunt's teleological account to see that by omitting memorandum books from our historical narratives, we are missing a fundamental shift in print and life-writing technologies from the early modern period to the modern era.

To study pocket memorandum books, then, is to study a double phenomenon: we must consider them both as a print commodity and as an object that was put to use in a myriad of ways. It is in part because of their 'hybrid' nature that these books have been neglected. As Jennie Bachelor describes, these books suffer from a 'taxonomical indeterminacy' which resists straightforward categorisation.[31] Though recent scholarship has worked to complicate the print-manuscript divide, archives and libraries still typically catalogue and house their collections as either printed books or manuscript records. This poses practical challenges for our study of the genre, for where we locate a pocket memorandum book has important consequences for our understanding of its use and purpose. The easiest copies to identify are those memorandum books included in rare book collections, since they are then typically catalogued under the title of their publication. But, as is particularly evident in the British Library, "clean copies" have been historically prioritised for acquisition in rare book collections. Meanwhile digitisation projects by ECCO and Google Books, which have often drawn on rare book collections, often leave out the pages for self-recording in

1762," Founders Online, National Archives, accessible online: https://founders.archives.gov/documents/Washington/02-07-02-0103-0002 [Last Accessed 22/02/2023].

[31] Jennie Batchelor, "Fashion and Frugality: Eighteenth-Century Pocket Books for Women," *Studies in Eighteenth-Century Culture* 32 (2003): 4.

memorandum books altogether, with no indication of their original presence or significance.[32] In this way the digitisation process reifies the memorandum book's status as a printed book, to the exclusion of our understanding its fundamental purpose for manuscript record-keeping. A reliance on the British Library's rare book collection in the small number of studies which have examined memorandum books has therefore led to the common misnomer that copies that survive were, on the whole, left blank, unused by their owners.[33] This is not borne out when we expand our remit to include copies within manuscript collections in local archives. Memorandum books in such collections are far trickier to locate, since there is no single accepted term with which to label the genre, as we saw with the example of the memorandum book owned by Mary Madge.[34] The book's printed format is frequently ignored in such catalogues. Instead, wide range of terminology is employed to categorise the books, including "diary," "engagement diary," "journal," "almanac," "account book," "commonplace book," and "pocketbook."[35] Without an established convention for referring to the genre, it has been absorbed into and split across more well-known categories of record-keeping. As such, the genre's "taxonomical indeterminacy" obscures both its remarkably large presence in local archives and the numerous extant copies which are replete with manuscript entries.

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[32] See for example: *The new Birmingham directory, and gentleman and tradesman's Compleat Memorandum Book: containing, a brief description of the town of Birmingham; with an account of its situation Extent, Manufactories, Churches, Schools, &c. A concise Account of that celebrated Manufactory, the Soho. An Alphabetical List of the Names, Trades, and Places of Abode, of the principal Inhabitants in Birmingham, together with a List of the Pawnbrokers. An Alphabetical List of all the Stage Waggons that come into, and go out of, Birmingham; the Places where they come from, and go to; the Names of their Owners; the Inns from whence they set out; and the Days on which they arrive and return. Fifty-Two ruled Leaves for Accounts of Receipts and Payments, Bills due, Appointments, and Occasional Memorandums, for every Week in the Year, and every Day in the Week. Table of Income, or Wages; and other useful Tables, &c. Embellished with A North East view of the Soho, neatly engraved on Copper* (Birmingham: printed by and for M. Swinney, at No. 76, in High Street), *Eighteenth Century Collections Online*. https://link.gale.com/apps/doc/CW0107646762/ECCO?u=uniyork&sid=bookmark-ECCO&xid=c2c1fe2c&pg=2 [Last accessed: January 18, 2023]; *The Liverpool Memorandum-Book; or Gentleman's, Merchant's, and Tradesman's Daily Pocket Book for ... 1753* (Liverpool: Printed for R. Williamson), London, British Library, Digital Store 10349.e.15.(1.). Accessible at http://access.bl.uk/item/viewer/ark:/81055/vdc_100023779834.0x000001 [Last accessed: April 11, 2020].

[33] Two of the most significant works to date both rely primarily on the British Library collections: Jennie Batchelor, "Fashion and Frugality: Eighteenth-Century Pocket Books for Women," *Studies in Eighteenth-Century Culture* 32 (2003): 13; Stephen Colclough, "Pocket Books and Portable Writing: The Pocket Memorandum Book in Eighteenth-Century England and Wales," *The Yearbook of English Studies,* 45, The History of the Book (2015): 175.

[34] "Diary of Mary Madge of Exeter, 1798," Exeter, Devon Heritage Centre, 1791M/F/2.

[35] As some of the sources cited throughout this thesis evidence.

However, cataloguing issues alone cannot fully account for the genre's neglect in scholarship. A number of scholarly fields have referenced memorandum books, but not many have examined them as a distinctive form of print culture. For instance, the memorandum book has often been treated in passing as a form of almanac, and yet curiously enough it has never been considered to constitute an almanac enough to be incorporated into any studies of the genre.[36] Generic expectations and disciplinary divisions have thus played a significant role in side-lining memorandum book. Although memorandum books still do not have much cultural cachet amongst eighteenth-century scholars, a number of works over the past forty years have approached the genre from different perspectives, which I now turn to discuss.



Figure 5. Fashion plates from The Ladies' Own Memorandum-Book for the Year 1770

[36] For example, Maureen Perkins' book on the evolution of the almanac in the eighteenth century straightforwardly references memorandum book titles as examples of almanacs, but otherwise excludes them from her wider arguments, as they fail to fulfil the criterion she sets out: 'an almanac will be any publication whose title included the work 'almanac' or 'almanack.' Maureen Perkins, *Visions of the Future: Almanacs, Time and Cultural Change 1775-1870* (Oxford: Oxford University Press, 1996), 43; Ibid, 22.

Historiographical Overview

The earliest scholarship to address memorandum books came in the 1980s from two very different fields: the history of dress and the history of diaries. Historians of dress have had a particular interest in memorandum books, because ladies' editions contained the earliest form of fashion plate. Such fashion plates have their own iconographic style which makes them immediately recognisable, even when they have been cut out of the books by owners and pasted into scrapbooks: typically the books featured a full-length image of a "Lady in the Dress of the Year" and a fold-out image depicting different fashions of women's head-dresses (Fig. 5). Notably, Ann Buck and Harry Matthews conducted the first survey of ladies' memorandum books, describing some of their key features in order to scope out the 'possible influence of the pocket books and their illustrations' on eighteenth-century dress.[37] Studies that have followed Buck and Matthews have endeavoured to say more about the impact of these images beyond sartorial changes, such as Timothy Campbell's book *Historical Style: Fashion and the New Mode of History, 1740-1830*.[38] Campbell draws on the fashion plates of ladies' memorandum books to argue that developing consumer cycles of fashion contributed to a new sense of history in the eighteenth century. Meanwhile, Arlene Leis and Serena Dyer have conducted case studies of eighteenth-century women's collections of fashion plates to show how they could play important roles in the ways women accounted for themselves and the world around them.[39]

Where dress historians found value in the illustrations of ladies' memorandum books, diary theorists were the first to acknowledge memorandum books for the manuscript records they may contain. Literature on the diary initially emerged out of the history of

[37]A significant contribution of their work was the identification of 46 titles of ladies' memorandum books published in the late eighteenth and early nineteenth centuries, along with their publishers, and locations of some extant copies. Ann Buck & Harry Matthews, "Pocket Guides to Fashion: Ladies' Pocket Books Published in England 1760-1830," *Costume* 18, no. 1 (1984): 35-58; ibid, 36.

[38] Timothy Campbell, *Historical Style: Fashion and the New Mode of History, 1740-1830* (Philadelphia: University of Pennsylvania, 2016).

[39] Arlene Leis has studied the collecting practices of Sarah Sophia Banks (1744-1818), who amassed over 400 fashion plates from memorandum books, while Serena Dyer has studied the fashion album of Barbara Johnson (1738-1825), which placed plates alongside scraps of sample fabrics. Arlene Leis, "Displaying Art and Fashion: Ladies' Pocket-Book Imagery in the Paper Collections of Sarah Sophia Banks," *Konsthistorisk tidskrift/Journal of Art History* 82, no. 3 (2013): 252; Serena Dyer, "Barbara Johnson's Album: Material Literacy and Consumer Practice, 1746-1823," *Journal for Eighteenth-Century Studies* 42, no. 3 (September, 2019): 263-282.

autobiography. Influential critics such as Roy Pascal and Philippe Lejeune characterised autobiography as a decidedly inward-looking pursuit, in which the author grappled with their own individual experience and unique character, as a "self" set apart from the world. Autobiography, on this account, should take the form of 'a retrospective prose narrative produced by a real person concerning his own existence, focusing on his individual life, in particular on the development of his personality.'[40] Diaries often failed to fulfil such aesthetic criterion and, in the 1980s, feminist scholarship highlighted diaries as a marginalised form to demonstrate the critical literary bias against autobiographical forms commonly employed by women, and sought to recover the both the historical and modern-day diary as a site and source of women's self-expression.[41] Frequently, they posited that women's autobiographical writing fundamentally differed from men's, arguing that women's writing was fragmentary and discursive, and situated the author not as a solitary self, set apart from the word, but instead expressed their identity as relational and communal.[42] Thus, one of the key aims of feminist autobiographical criticism was to challenge 'the masculine aesthetics implicit in existing autobiographical criticism,' and to open up the literary canon of autobiographical writing by drawing on new theories of identity and aesthetics.[43]

This led to landmark collections and survey of women's diaries such as Harriet Blodgett's British study *Centuries of Female Days* and Margo Culley's American collection *A Day at a Time.*[44] Meanwhile Felicity Nussbaum's seminal study *The Autobiographical Subject: Gender and Ideology In Eighteenth-Century England* extended attention to neglected forms such as the spiritual autobiography, scandalous memoirs and family accounts.[45] Yet in the desire to

[40] Roy Pascal, *Design and Truth in Autobiography* (Abingdon: Routledge, 2016); Philippe Lejeune, "The Autobiographical Pact," in Paul John Eakin ed., *On Autobiography* (Minneapolis: University of Minnesota Press, 1989), 14.
[41] Linda S. Coleman, ed., *Women's Life-Writing: Finding Voice/Building Community* (Bowling Green: Bowling Green State University Popular Press, 1997), 2.
[42] Amy Culley, "Women's Life Writing in the Long 18th Century: A Critical Survey," *Literature Compass* 12, no. 1 (2015): 1-6.
[43] Introduction to "Selves and Others," in Linda R. Anderson & Trev Lynn Broughton, eds., *Women's Lives/women's Times* (New York: State University of New York Press, 1997), 97.
[44] Harriet Blodgett, *Centuries of Female Days: Englishwomen's Private Diaries* (Gloucester: Alan Sutton, 1989); Margo Culley*, A Day at a Time: The Diary Literature of American Women from 1764 to the Present* (New York: The Feminist Press at the City University of New York, 1985).
[45] Felicity Nussbaum, *The Autobiographical Subject: Gender and Ideology in Eighteenth-Century England* (Baltimore: Johns Hopkins University Press, 1989).

carve out a literary canon of women's diaries, and life-writing forms, with identifiable features, distinct development, and aesthetic value, scholars emphasised similarities over differences in women's writing. As such, scholars often disregarded the material form of diaries: Margo Culley leaves out any mention that the diary of Mary Holyoke was in fact written in blank leaves interspersed in almanacs, while Blodgett assumes that printed and manuscript diaries will lead us to essentially the same conclusions.[46] When the material form was acknowledged, in the case of memorandum books, it was seen as a potential limitation on women's self-expression. Harriet Blodgett's diary survey, for example, includes a brief discussion of women's memorandum books, but Blodgett assumes that they simply functioned as preparatory material for more expanded diaries or annual reflections, giving no consideration as to how their form may have shaped different modes of record-keeping in-and-of themselves. Given the limitations on space for writing which the memorandum book's printed structure imposed, she even wistfully concludes: 'posterity may have reason to regret the memo book custom.'[47] Meanwhile, Cynthia Huff regards the spatial constrictions of the memorandum book as disruptive of this 'free flow' of women's writing, based on a case study of the diaries of Lady Brougham, some of which were kept in memorandum books. She therefore views the genre as an example of historical constrictions on women's writing, against which women struggled to record their individual voice.[48] It is telling that when Huff describes her case study diarist, Lady Brougham, shifting from using memorandum books to blank notebooks to keep her records, Huff regards this as a potential defiance of the patriarchal printed structure.[49] No sooner was the memorandum book acknowledged by these scholars than it was rejected as a lesser form of diary, something that fits uncomfortably with the vision of women's autobiographical and diary writing as one in which 'women render their subjectivity concrete by allowing for the

[46] This is also a criticism picked up by Rebecca Steinitz, "Social Spaces for the Self: Organizing Experience in the Nineteenth-Century British Printed Diary," *a/b: Auto/Biography Studies* 16, no. 2 (2001), 162.
[47] Harriet Blodgett, *Centuries of Female Days: Englishwomen's Private Diaries* (Gloucester: Alan Sutton, 1989), 26.
[48]Cynthia Huff, "Textual Boundaries: Space in Nineteenth-Century Women's Manuscript Diaries," in Suzanne L. Bunkers & Cynthia A. Huff, eds., *Inscribing the Daily: Critical Essays on Women's Diaries* (Amherst: University of Massachusetts Press, 1996), 125.
[49] Ibid, 127.

free flow between inner and outer, between the psyche of the writer and the dailyness of her life as she explores connections.'[50]

Building on Nussbaum's legacy, eighteenth-century scholars have continued to examine intertextual connections between genres and the ways in which gender and class shaped models of life-writing, and to expand our understanding of the multitude of ways in which women, in particular, documented their lives.[51] To represent this broadened approach, the term "life writing" is frequently employed as it is more detached from generic expectations.[52] Indeed, it is one I make use of throughout this thesis, along with "self-recording," to signal a move away from some of the expectations that are laden in the term "diary." Yet the literary framework which continues to dominate much of this scholarship has led to a heavy imbalance in the kinds of autobiographical practices that have been interrogated: accounts which are published, narrative and descriptive are studied over and above those eighteenth-century sources which remain in manuscript form, and which are fragmented and terse. As such, the attempt to establish alternative canons still comes with its own implicit literary and aesthetic criteria, which memorandum books fail to fulfil, and they have therefore not been integrated into our newer canons of life-writing.

In sum, it was dress historians and diary scholars who first identified the memorandum book as an eighteenth-century source worthy of study, for what these books can tell us about women's fashion and fashionable imagery, and women's life-writing practices. Yet the combined legacy of these fields has shaped subsequent scholarship to follow along gendered lines: for consequently, memorandum books have frequently been understood as a fundamentally female genre. In the late 1990s, and early 2000s, a new interest in ladies' memorandum books arose as scholars grappled with women's role in consumption history, and challenged a "separate spheres" ideology which posited that women were increasing relegated to domesticity and the home in the eighteenth century, away from the public

[50] Cynthia Huff, ""That Profoundly Female and Feminist Genre": The Diary as Feminist Practice," *Women's Studies Quarterly* 17, no. 3/4, Women's Nontraditional Literature (Fall-Winter, 1989): 10.
[51] For example, see: Julie A. Eckerle, and Michelle Dowd, eds., *Genre and Women's Life Writing in Early Modern England* (Aldershot: Routledge, 2016); Amy Culley, *British Women's Life Writing, 1760-1840: Friendship, Community, and Collaboration* (Basingstoke: Palgrave Macmillan, 2014); Amy Culley and Daniel Cook, eds, *Women's Life Writing, 1760-1840* (Basingstoke: Palgrave Macmillan, 2014).
[52] Nussbaum, *Autobiographical Subject*, 4.

realm of men. Most notable was Amanda Vickery's landmark book *The Gentleman's Daughter*, which examined genteel women's lives in the eighteenth century. Vickery made use of a range of women's personal manuscript records, including those kept in memorandum books, in order to map out women's daily lives.[53] By exploring the virtues valued by genteel society, Vickery demonstrated how the bounds of propriety enabled a more expansive role for women that previously acknowledged.[54] Significantly for our study, she identified house keys along with the 'less familiar' ladies' memorandum book as emblematic of the importance of prudent economy to Georgian gentlewoman, for these books 'functioned as a set of personal reference manuals on the mechanics of keeping house.'[55]

Following Vickery's work, scholars began to take seriously the financial literacy of women in this period; to make visible their accounting practices and to explore cultural expectations of women's consumption habits. Vickery's work was briefly picked up and reflected upon by accounting historians.[56] Rebecca Connor published a book on women's accounting practices in the eighteenth century, which included study of ladies' memorandum books.[57] Connor situates the ladies' memorandum book within a wider range of literature which 'guide the reader towards an unexpected primary "ideal" [….] and that ideal is woman-as-accountant.'[58] Meanwhile Jennie Batchelor's article 'Fashion and Frugality: Eighteenth-Century Pocket Books for 'Women' describes the ethos of the genre with a particular focus on its shaping of female consumption and accounting. Ultimately, Batchelor's interest lies in the commodity as a site of contesting eighteenth-century ideals of femininity.[59] She views the central space for self-recording as imbibing women with the virtues of domestic management and frugal oeconomy, at odds with the conspicuous consumption promoted by the book's fashion plates. Thus, she concludes, ladies' memorandum books:

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[53] Amanda Vickery, *The Gentleman's Daughter: Women's Lives in Georgian England* (New Haven: Yale University Press, 1998).
[54] Ibid, 294.
[55] Ibid, 133.
[56] Linda M. Kirkham & Anne Loft, "The Lady and the Accounts: Missing From Accounting History?," *The Accounting Historians Journal* 28, no. 1 (June 2001): 67-90.
[57] Rebecca Connor, *Women, Accounting, and Narrative: Keeping Books in Eighteenth-Century England* (London: Routledge, 2004).
[58] Ibid, 15.
[59] Batchelor, "Fashion and Frugality," 4.

> presented their readers with two potentially divergent value systems […] but provided a literal and metaphorical space in which their readers could choose to embrace or reject these systems: the memorandum table[60]

Thus unlike Huff, who considered that the female user would be 'controlled in her self-expression by the tightly determined spatial format' of the memorandum book, later scholars such as Vickery and Batchelor recognised the potential for finding female agency in the records kept in ladies' memorandum books. Batchelor in particular highlighted the 'models of negotiable reading' which mean the books could be filled in a myriad of ways according to individual value systems.[61]

Batchelor's article remains the most cited work on memorandum books: it has become the primary reference work for any scholar wishing to understand what they are working with when they encounter an eighteenth-century memorandum book. Yet while Batchelor's contribution is undoubtedly an important one for our knowledge of the genre, the primary citing of Batchelor's work perpetuates the notion of memorandum books as a fundamentally female print product. This skew is important to emphasise, because studying ladies' memorandum books to the exclusion of men's not only limits our comprehension of the genre as a whole, but also undermines our understanding of how these books were gendered, in construction and use. Batchelor acknowledges the existence of men's editions, but describes the difference simply as follows: 'Ladies pocket books distinguished themselves from gentleman's pocket books […] by their attention to fashion.'[62] She also considers the textual components of ladies' memorandum books to be essentially conservative conduct literature. This thesis works to unpick and complicate the way in which we understand memorandum books to have been gendered commodities, and more fundamentally, challenges Batchelor's assertion, and other scholars' implicit assumption, there was 'little to distinguish one pocket book from another.'[63]

[60] Ibid, 13.
[61] Huff, "Textual Boundaries," 125; Batchelor, "Fashion and Frugality," 13.
[62] Ibid, 2.
[63] Ibid, 4.

What much of the work on memorandum books fails to acknowledge is that as a genre, memorandum books have a history in themselves. Pocket memorandum book titles certainly overlapped in content, as did periodicals and newspapers in this period. However, they were issued by a range of publishers who competed on their publication's content and form, and whose intentions in publishing memorandum books ranged widely. Some memorandum book titles were published continuously for over a hundred years. We would not expect the history of periodicals, or newspapers to be treated as unchanging over the course of a century, nor should we for memorandum books.

For a publication history of memorandum books, we may look to a different field of studies: the history of the book and the print trade. And yet, this is the field that is the most conspicuously quiet on the topic of memorandum books. This omission is particularly surprising given the number of high profile publishers who issued pocket memorandum books, and the extent to which they crowded newspapers in the primary publishing season for memorandum books: the run up to the new year (Fig. 6) It is illuminating, however, how differently print culture historians view memorandum books to scholars of life-writing and women's studies when they do encounter these publications. James Raven, for example, has identified memorandum books as part of the booming strand of informative and instructional literature intended to supply merchants and traders with skills demanded by the developing needs of business.[64] Meanwhile, Cyprian Blagden has briefly examined the emergence of memorandum books as part of his influential study on the almanac monopoly.[65] Blagden saw memorandum books as part of a broader challenge to the Stationer's Company monopoly, particularly given that the man who spearheaded the legal campaign against the monopoly, Thomas Carnan, was a publisher of the popular memorandum book, *The Ladies' Complete Pocket-Book.*[66] Blagden's work has had an important legacy in shaping attitudes towards memorandum books in print culture studies,

[64] James Raven, *Publishing Business in Eighteenth-Century England* (Woodbridge: Boydell Press, 2014), 201-205.
[65] Cyprian Blagden, "Thomas Carnan and the Almanack Monopoly," *Studies in Bibliography* 14 (1961): 23-43.
[66] He took over publication of the memorandum book from his step-father, John Newbery. For an example of the book being published by Thomas Carnan, see: *The Ladies' Complete Pocket-Book, for the Year of Our Lord 1787* (London: Printed for T. Carnan, in St. Paul's Church-Yard), London, British Library, c.194.a.1391.

for subsequent print history scholars have framed them primarily as an 'attempt to evade the Company's monopoly' by producing what might otherwise be classed as almanacs but 'interleaved with blank pages to serve as diaries.'[67] This thesis challenges any such simple narrative of the memorandum books emergence, arguing that memorandum books were an identifiable category of print, distinct from almanacs, with their own publication history.

[67] Robin Myers, "The Stationers' Company and the almanack Trade," in Michael F. Suarez, S. J, & Michael L. Turner, eds., *The Cambridge History of the Book in Britain*, vol. 5: 1695-1830 (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 2009), 773.



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Sixty-fourth	—	312	10 0

The Tickets and Shares of Tickets, the Chances of Tickets, and Shares of Chances, examined gratis.

Pleafe to take notice, that whofoever bought a Share of a Ticket in the laft State Lottery, at thefe Offices, may fee the original Ticket of which they did buy a Share, at any time, on demand. Though Meff. Slade and Co. are fenfible this is no more than their duty to do, yet they humbly hope this fair method, calculated to give the neceffary fatisfaction, will recommend them to the favour and confidence of the Public, to ferve them in this Lottery, in any refpect or mode they may pleafe to adventure.

Country correfpondents favouring us with their orders, remitting good bills on fight or of fhort date, will be duly attended to, and as faithfully executed, as though they were prefent.—Tickets infured to any amount during the Drawing.

Printed by W. JACKSON and J. LISTER, in the *High-Street*, OXFORD: Where may be had, all Sorts of Blank Warrants, Orders of Removal, Certificates, &c. &c.
All Letters to the Printers are defired to be fent Poft Paid; and our Correfpondents are particularly requefted to communicate nothing but Facts.

Image © THE BRITISH LIBRARY BOARD. ALL RIGHT

Figure 6. Example of a single newspaper page with nine separate advertisements for pocket memorandum books (underlined in red). Oxford Journal, 18 Nov. 1775.

Nonetheless, there are a couple of works that broadly come from the perspective of print-culture studies which make more directly relevant contributions. Sandro Jung has published several articles examining what Hunt termed the "pocket souvenirs," and what Jung refers to as the "illustrated pocket diary-cum-Almanac": more upmarket versions of pocket memorandum books that emerged in late eighteenth century, replete with lavish illustrations.[68] Jung concentrates on the history of these illustrations, which did not feature dress but rather depicted 'literary classics, scenes from history, or architectural monuments of national importance.''[69] Yet his work also unintentionally underlines the importance of establishing a history of the eighteenth-century pocket book, for some of his claims do not hold water when placed in a longer publication context: developments he describes as occurring in the 1830s as part of a new 'democratising impulse' can be found as features in earlier eighteenth-century pocket memorandum books.[70] Stephen Colclough's article 'Pocket Books and Portable Writing: The Pocket Memorandum Book in Eighteenth-Century England and Wales' offers the most useful general work published to date on the pocket memorandum book.[71] Colclough's approach is not really from the history of the book trade, per se, but from the history of reading: he outlines generic features of the books and examines some examples of use in order to argue that memorandum books were not fixed forms, but rather 'owners frequently improvised, reworking the material form to suit their own ends'.[72] As a historian of reading, Colclough is alert to the book's status as printed commodity as well as its manuscript annotations, leading him to conclude that 'the memorandum book deserves to be taken seriously as a unique form of autobiographical writing, that is quite distinct from other forms of commercial ego document, such as the diary and the retrospective autobiography.'[73]

[68] Sandro Jung, "Illustrated Pocket Diaries and the Commodification of Culture," *Eighteenth-Century Life* 37, no. 2 (Spring 2013): 53-84; Sandro Jung, "The Illustrated Pocket Diary: Generic Continuity and Innovation, 1820–40," *Victorian Periodicals Review* 45, no. 1 (Spring 2012): 23-48.
[69] Jung, "Illustrated Pocket Diaries and the Commodification of Culture," 54. Some of these illustrations have also been of interest to garden historians, see: Nigel Temple, "Humphry Repton, Illustrator, and William Peacock's "Polite Repository" 1790-1811*," Garden History* 16, no. 2 (Autumn, 1988): 161-173.
[70] Jung, 'The Illustrated Pocket Diary," 33.
[71] Stephen Colclough, "Pocket Books and Portable Writing: The Pocket Memorandum Book in Eighteenth-Century England and Wales," *The Yearbook of English Studies,* 45, The History of the Book (2015): 159-177.
[72] Ibid, 177.
[73] Ibid, 176.

Yet in the past few years, memorandum books have more generally begun to attract attention, from a range of disciplinary perspectives. Since 2019, contributions have included an article by Linsey Eckert exploring Priscilla Wordsworth's use of memorandum books in the nineteenth century, which considered the space for self-recording as a kind of media interface; a chapter by Laura Engel on Elizabeth Inchbald's use of memorandum books which 'uses contemporary theories of tourism, visual culture, and performance to contextualize Elizabeth Inchbald's pocket diary as a kind of tourist site'; a chapter by Helen Williams on the role Newcastle author Ann Fisher played in the book trade, particularly in her production and editorship of the *Ladies' Own Memorandum Book,* and work by Serena Dyer on the ways fashion plates of memorandum books fed into broader material accounting practices.[74] Despite seeming quite disparate in intention and focus, what is evident is that all of these broadly stem from a renewed interest in women's history: they explore the production and use of these books in order to uncover female forms of agency in the eighteenth and nineteenth centuries. Thus whilst this recent scholarship is a welcome addition, it continues the perpetuation of considering this genre as a fundamentally female genre. A notable exception is a recent contribution by Amanda Vickery, in which Vickery offers up her reflections on these books more generally, and argues against seeing these as a form of self-representation or interiority, but instead as revealing 'a broad acceptance of categorization, especially of a flattering kind, and of system.'[75]

Although memorandum books are still left out of our larger narratives of the eighteenth-century, I think we can now reasonably talk of a small body of scholarship which addresses memorandum books and which, given the recent uptick, we could even describe as an emerging field of studies. Yet if it is indeed an identifiable body of scholarship, it is one which is not fully cognisant of itself. The works I cite here are rarely in discussion with one

[74] Lindsey Eckert, "Priscilla Wordsworth's Pocketbook Diaries and Interfaces of Subjectivity," *The Review of English Studies* (October 2019): 1-20; Chapter One in Laura Engel*, Women, Performance and the Material of Memory: The Archival Tourist, 1780–1915* (London: Palgrave Macmillan, 2019), 28; Helen Williams, "Printing, Publishing, and Pocket Book Compiling: Ann Fisher's Hidden Labour in the Newcastle Book Trade," in Rachel Stenner, Kaley Kramer & Adam James Smith, eds., *Print Culture, Agency and Regionality in the Hand Press Period* (Cham: Palgrave Macmillan, 2022): 93-116; Serena Dyer, "Barbara Johnson's Album: Material Literacy and Consumer Practice, 1746-1823," *Journal for Eighteenth-Century Studies* 42, no. 3 (September, 2019): 263-282.

[75] Amanda Vickery, "A Self off the Shelf: The Rise of the Pocket Diary in Eighteenth-Century England," *Eighteenth-Century Studies,* 54, no. 3 (Spring 2021): 669.

another.[76] They approach the memorandum book from completely different disciplines and analytical frameworks. They rarely build upon one another's findings. Since that the memorandum book is itself is a "hybrid genre," it not surprising that it holds cross-disciplinary appeal: the few works since 2019 alone cited here encompass scholars of print culture studies, material cultures studies, performance studies, and romantic studies, who each address different features of memorandum book production or use. Yet as a result, the memorandum book continues to gets mired in pockets of scholarship, without establishing the necessary multidisciplinary connections to enable a more general history of the genre, and relate it to our wider narratives. Nonetheless, this historiographical survey has demonstrated that there is a more wide-ranging interest in memorandum books than is first evident, and underlines the necessity of making multi-disciplinary connections in order to reach a fuller and more substantive knowledge of the genre. Indeed, my research engages with scholarly fields beyond those surveyed above – including the of history information management, copyright history, bluestocking and literary coterie studies, and the history of time. To take the memorandum book seriously as a 'hybrid genre' requires a hybrid approach, and that is what this thesis offers.

Thesis Aims and Outline

This thesis argues that the pocket memorandum book was a distinctive and significant genre in Georgian Britain, one which played a key role in the print trade, carved out new methods of record, time, and by extension, self-management, and had wider cultural ramifications. It would be possible to write multiple full-length studies about memorandum books without exhausting all of their features; I have therefore focused on the ways these books offers new perspectives on, and challenge, conventional narratives about the nature of the early modern print trade, time, gender, and life-writing practices. Drawing on over 200 extant copies of memorandum books primarily sourced from archives in the United Kingdom and United States, and situating them alongside newspaper advertisements, periodicals, prints

[76] For example, in her recent article Vickery suggests that '[c]urrent knowledge is entirely the fruit of individual research by Anne Buck, Jennie Batchelor, and myself on the scatter of pocket books in local archives, libraries, or advertised in local papers.' While Buck, Batchelor and Vickery have all made notable contributions, as this historiography has shown, there have also been important contributions from other disciplines. Vickery, "A Self off the Shelf," 669.

and more, this thesis interrogates the production, use, and cultural status of the genre from the mid-eighteenth to early nineteenth centuries.

The first part of this thesis addresses the print history of the memorandum book. It demonstrates that large numbers of memorandum book titles were published in Britain, and plugs the enormous gap in our knowledge of the genre's history as a print commodity. Chapter One provides the first ever bibliographic study of the pocket memorandum book, analysing changes over time, and considering the book's status and value as a print commodity. Chapter Two interrogates the relationship between memorandum books and the Stationers' Company, troubling straightforward narratives that see the emergence of the memorandum book simply as an attempt to circumvent the monopoly held by the Company on publishing almanacs. Chapter Three offers up a case study of competition in the Newcastle memorandum book trade to argue they played a vital role in helping provincial publishers establish themselves as regional authorities. Together, these chapters restore memorandum books to our histories of the rapid expansion of print culture in the eighteenth century.

The second part of this thesis turns to the cultural history of the genre. Chapter Four explores the memorandum book's role as a tool for record, time, and self-management, showing what the genre offered to consumers at the moment of its emergence in mid-eighteenth century Britain. Chapter Five examines in greater depth the myriad of ways in which consumers put the book to use, exploring how users adapted their books in often unanticipated ways, but that nonetheless drew on the power of the bibliographic layout of the memorandum book to generate meaning. Chapter Six shows how memorandum books were embedded in practices of gift-exchange, paying particular attention to the rich culture of poetical inscriptions that developed, and which attempted to shape the life-writing they contained. Finally, Chapter Seven centres on the most iconic image of the Bluestockings – The Nine Living Muses of Great Britain – which first appeared as a print in a ladies' memorandum book, to show the potential subversiveness of their gendered content, and how memorandum books have the power to challenge some of our most well-established histories of the eighteenth century. It is my hope that any future researcher encountering a pocket memorandum book in the archive will no longer need to look far to answer the

question, “what is this object?” Instead, my project lays the foundations for a more sophisticated understanding of memorandum books, shifting our discussion to the significant role they played in eighteenth-century Britain.

Part I. Print History

Chapter One. Selling the Memorandum Book: Bibliographic Trends and the Mechanics of the Trade

Introduction

Memorandum books were big business in eighteenth-century Britain. Issued by a wide range of publishers, including leading members of the print trade, they were one of the most popular publications of their day. Fierce competition erupted between publishers, not least because bestselling titles could secure remarkable longevity: several were published continuously for over a century, well into the late nineteenth century. With at least 146 titles published between 1748-1799, and print runs estimated in the thousands, their sale figures outstripped genres better known to modern scholarship, such as popular novels, periodicals, pamphlets and prints. Taken together, the evidence of this chapter demonstrates that memorandum book publication was a significant and sophisticated branch of the print trade.

Their absence from major studies of the print trade is therefore a remarkable oversight.[1] Prior to this project, there has been little information on the scale or mechanics of the memorandum book trade: as Amanda Vickery recently remarked, we have no 'register of these publications, of their titles, print runs and editions.'[2] The paucity of bibliographic information has limited what can be said definitively about the pocket memorandum book as a genre. Scholars such as Colclough and Vickery have only been able to speculate on the memorandum book's 'wide distribution' based on its sizeable presence in archives.[3] It has also led scholars to treat the genre as fairly static, with 'little to distinguish one pocket book

[1] For example ,memorandum books are only mentioned in passing in *The Cambridge History of the Book in Britain*, Volume 5: 1695–1830, as part of a discussion of the almanac monopoly. The relation of memorandum books to the almanac monopoly will be explored in this thesis in chapter two. Robin Myers, "The Stationers' Company and the almanack trade," in Michael F. Suarez, SJ & Michael L. Turner, eds., *The Cambridge History of the Book in Britain,* Vol. 5: 1695-1830 (Cambridge, Cambridge University Press, 2009), 733.
[2] Amanda Vickery, "A Self off the Shelf: The Rise of the Pocket Diary in Eighteenth-Century England," *Eighteenth-Century Studies,* 54, no. 3 (Spring 2021): 669.
[3] Ibid, 669.

from another' – an assumption this thesis works as a whole to challenge.[4] In fact, as we will see, memorandum books have a survival rate below 0.5%, so their archival presence provides only a glimpse of their popularity.

This chapter fills an enormous gap in our knowledge, offering the first ever account of the memorandum book trade in Britain, laying the groundwork both for my own study and for future scholarship. Section one sets out key bibliographic trends and analyses change over time, such as the number of titles published, their average print spans, and print runs. In doing so, it enables us to bring memorandum books into comparison with other forms of eighteenth-century publications, and underlines their significance in the print trade. Section two explores the business of selling memorandum books, answering a wide range of essential questions about the mechanics of the trade. It examines the value of these publications as a commodity; who published them and authored their content; and what advertising strategies were employed by publishers. Like newspapers, novels, periodicals, and prints, memorandum books have a long history worthy of interrogation. In establishing the fundamental features of the business of selling memorandum books, then, this chapter restores these publications to our wider narratives of the print trade.

I. Bibliographic Trends

Titles and Print Spans

A remarkable number and range of memorandum books were published in eighteenth-century Britain. I have identified 146 individual titles published between 1748-1799, drawing on evidence from newspaper advertisements and extant copies.[7] Information about the construction of my dataset is provided in the appendix of this thesis. By title, I am referring both to the name of the book physically printed on the title page and, more intangibly, to the publication's continued identity. Memorandum books were published on

[4] Jennie Batchelor, "Fashion and Frugality: Eighteenth-Century Pocket Books for Women," *Studies in Eighteenth-Century Culture* 32 (2003): 13.

[7] The time period of 1748-1799 used in this study was chosen to enable a decade-by-decade analysis, from the first publication of a memorandum book in 1748, up to and including the 1790s. The calculations which follow are all based on my dataset of titles published between 1748-1799. This dataset has not been included with the thesis, but interested parties are welcome to contact me for further information.

an annual basis and like other serial publications could be published for any number of years. For example, the particularly successful title, the *Ladies Complete Pocket-Book,* ran for 127 years.[8] A complication in quantifying memorandum book publication is the question of publication dates. The books normally included their intended year of use in the title (e.g., *The Ladies Complete Pocket-Book, for the Year of our Lord, 1758*) but were likely published in the autumn of the year prior.[9] Here I categorise memorandum book titles according to their intended year of use, since this better reflects how they functioned as a consumer product. It is important to stress that that there were likely more titles in operation than I have located, and that some titles were probably published for longer than I have been able to trace. Therefore, the calculations offered in this chapter represent the *lower* bounds of the spread and longevity of the genre;.

The earliest titles advertised their utility to 'all Sorts of People,' but soon memorandum book publishers began targeting gendered and regional markets. Many were aimed at gentlemen and tradesmen, with titles such as Richard Baldwin's *The Daily Journal, for the Year of Our Lord, 1751; or, the Gentleman's and Tradesman's Methodical Accompt-Book for the Pocket.*[10] As Hannah Barker has described, publications like memorandum books often used the term 'tradesman' as a broad descriptor to include both retailers and small manufacturers.[11] This was a social group which fell below those classified as 'merchants', who traded on a larger scale, often abroad.[12] The social status of merchants sometimes led them to style themselves as 'gentlemen.'[13] Thus, men's memorandum books were targeting a wide range of individuals whose business needs would be served by keeping track of their

[8] Sometimes publishers would alter the title of their publication: Robert Dodsley's *A New Memorandum Book* became *The New Memorandum Book Improv'd: Or, the Gentleman's and Tradesman's Daily Pocket Journal* in 1752. Where this appears to be a continuation of the same publication, I have not counted these alterations as distinctive titles.

[9] Unlike most print books in this period, the imprint of memorandum books did not reliably include their date of publication.

[10] *A New Memorandum Book* (London: Printed for R. Dodsley in Pall-Mall, MDCCXLIX [1749]). Copy consulted: "Hesketh Yarburgh: A New Memorandum Book (1749)," York, Borthwick Institute, YM/MB/8/b; *The Daily Journal, For the Year of Our Lord, 1751; Or, The Gentleman's and Tradesman's Methodical Accompt-Book for the Pocket* (London: Printed for R. Baldwin, in Pater-Noster-Row). Copy consulted: "Diary of Sir Roger Newdigate, 1751," Warwick, Warwickshire Record Office, CRO136/A582.

[11] Hannah Barker, *Family and Business During the Industrial Revolution* (Oxford: Oxford University Press, 2017), 9-10.

[12] Ibid, 8.

[13] Ibid, 10.

appointments and accounts. This was reflected in their printed content, which supplied tables of information useful to have close to hand in the course of business, such as lists of 'Offices of Insurance and their Terms,' an 'Account of Foreign Money and its Value Sterling,' and 'Tables of Interest.'[14] In practice, their consumer base was the middling sorts, broadly conceived as 'a group of both wealthy farmers and lesser gentry families together with the wealthier urban tradesmen and merchants.'[15]

There also emerged a strong market for female-oriented publications, such as *The Ladies' Own Memorandum-Book.* I have found that approximately 40% of titles in this period included the term 'Lady's' or 'Ladies.' These publications included more entertaining material such as guides to country dances, poetry, and enigma puzzle competitions. Although not explicitly intended for recording business, they were were designed for women to keep track of social engagements and financial transactions.[16] Most memorandum books would have been relatively affordable to the middling sorts: gentlemen's titles were priced at approximately 1*s.* 6*d* – 1*s.* 8*d.* bound, while ladies' titles were 1*s.* bound.[17]

The majority of titles were the works of London publishers, but approximately 36% were published outside of London over this period, either in English provincial towns such as Newcastle or Birmingham, or in Scotland and Ireland. The proportion of provincial titles, then, is slightly higher than we might expect of printed books more generally in this period:

[14] Example content taken from *The Daily Journal* for 1753. See: *The Daily Journal, For the Year of Our Lord, 1753; Or, The Gentleman's and Tradesman's Methodical Accompt-Book for the Pocket* (London: Printed for R. Baldwin, at the Rose in Pater-Noster-Row). Copy consulted: "Diary of Sir Roger Newdigate, 1753," Warwick, Warwickshire Record Office, CRO136/A584.

[15] Craig Muldrew, "The 'Middling Sort': An Emergent Cultural Identity," in Keith Wrightson, ed., A Social History of England, 1500–1750 (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 2017), 306.

[16] Early copies of ladies' memorandum books provided information that would be practically useful to the oeconomical housewife, such as bills of fare, but over time they shifted to focus on fashionable and entertaining content, such as poetry and enigma puzzles.

[17] Men's duodecimo memorandum books were first advertised at 1*s*. 6*d*. bound, a pricing which continued until the 1770s, at which point they generally rose to 1*s*. 8*d*., which continued until 1800, when they generally rose to 2*s*. Women's duodecimo memorandum books were first advertised at 1*s*. bound but did not rise in price in the eighteenth century. There were, of course, deviations from the norm: Joseph Johnson's *Complete Pocket Book*, which boasted printing on 'large Post Paper', was normally priced two pence above the general curve for men's memorandum books in this period, while other competitors occasionally tried to undercut the market with a gentleman's memorandum book priced at only one shilling. On the whole, however, the pricing of memorandum books was remarkably consistent between one title and another.

as Suarez describes 'imprints from London and the surrounding area […] fluctuate between a high of around 82[%] and a low of around 69[%].'[18] The greater number of provincial titles is not surprising given the possibility of tailoring memorandum books to a local audience, as we see with titles such as the *Newcastle Memorandum Book*.[19] There was a noticeable peak in titles published outside of London in the 1780s which tallies up with a more widespread increase of provincial publications, but can also be accounted for by the large output of two particularly ambitious publishers, John Rackham in Bury-St-Edmunds, Suffolk and Thomas Pearson in Birmingham.

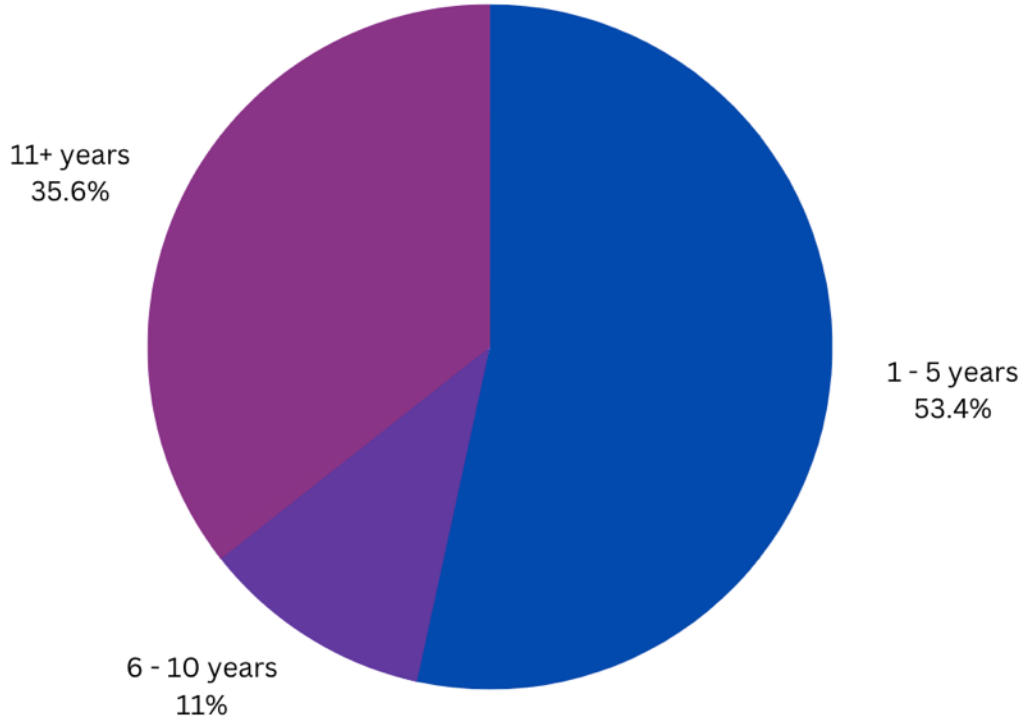


Figure 8. Longevity of Memorandum Book Titles, 1748-1799.

Many new titles were fleeting. As can be seen in Fig. 8, over half of all titles in this period are estimated to have lasted for 5 years or fewer. There was little guarantee of success, then, for publishers who wished to break into this market. In fact some publishers made

[18] Suarez, S. J, "Towards a bibliometric analysis of the surviving record, 1701–1800," 51.
[19] The *Newcastle Memorandum Book* is explored in Chapter Three of this thesis.

multiple attempts to break into the market, as exemplified by the remarkable persistence of the Cheapside bookseller and stationer John Fuller, Jr, whose publishing career almost exactly maps onto the dates in question, as he gained his freedom in 1748 and was still publishing in 1799. Fuller was an early competitor, immediately attempting to cash in on Dodsley's invention by launching a misleadingly similar title, *The New Pocket, or Memorandum Book* in 1749, in collaboration with the engraver George Bickham Jr., followed swiftly by *A New Memorandum Book for every day throughout the year* for 1750.[20] Soon after, *A New Daily Journal; Or, Gentleman and Ladies' Diary* for 1756 advertised Fuller as a primary publisher along with the London-based publishers J. Jefferies, J. Marshall, and T. Field. *The Complete Memorandum Book* for 1757 shows Fuller striking out on his own again, and soon thereafter appeared *Fuller's Memorandum Book: or, Complete Pocket Ledger* for 1761.[21] Finally he published *The Gentleman's Compleat Memorandum Book, and British Register* for 1779.[22] All apparently lasted for fewer than 5 years: *The Complete Memorandum Book* ran for 4 years and the remainder of these endeavours do not seem to have lasted beyond 2 years. It is difficult to tell whether they collapsed entirely, or whether he was relaunching the same publication under different names, but neither possibility indicates that his endeavours were paying off. His persistence suggests just how promisingly lucrative the memorandum book market was.

Those titles which survived tended to survive for significantly longer: 35.6% of titles lasted for ten years or more, and 10.2% lasted for fifty years or more. When titles of longer durability ceased publication, it was often precipitated by the death of the publisher; Robert Dodsley's pioneering gentleman's and ladies' memorandum books, for example, were continued for only a few years after his death by his brother James Dodsley. Nonetheless, we know that many titles outlived their original publishers and were either sold or passed down to future generations of the book trade, and displayed remarkable longevity. At least six titles were published for more than a hundred years: *The Newcastle Memorandum Book*; *The Ladies Complete Pocket-Book*; *The Norwich Memorandum-Book for Gentlemen and*

[20] *General Advertiser*, 27 Jan. 1749; *General Advertiser*, 25 Dec. 1749.
[21] *Leeds Intelligencer*, 25 Nov. 1755; T*he General Evening Post,* 25-27 Nov. 1756; *The General Evening Post,* 25-27 Nov. 1756.
[22] *Derby Mercury*, 20 Nov. 1778.

Tradesmen; *The Daily Journal, or the Gentleman's and Tradesman's Methodical Accompt-Book for the Pocket*; *The Exeter Pocket-Journal* and *Kearsly's Gentleman and Tradesman's Pocket Ledger.* The longest and latest-running of these was *The Newcastle Memorandum Book* printed by Thomas Slack*,* the subject of Chapter Three, which had a print span of 140 years: its first issue was for the year 1755, and the last for the year 1894.[23] Little surprise, then, that so many publishers were eager to craft their own bestseller, one that could attain the remarkable popularity and staying power of other memorandum book titles.

The total number of memorandum book titles in operation steadily rose throughout the eighteenth century. Fig. 9 breaks this down by decade: in the 1750s there were thirty-three titles in operation; in the 1760s there were forty-three; in the 1770s there were forty-six; in the 1780s there were fifty-eight; in the 1790s there were sixty-five. Note that the figures represent the *total* number of titles known to be operating for any number of years within each decade. This does not mean there were, for example, forty-three titles running simultaneously for each year in the 1760s; simply that forty-three titles were known to be available at some point in the 1760s. Since start and end dates in my dataset are approximate, this was thought to provide the more meaningful statistic, since there was likely more overlap than is currently accounted for. What we find is that the total number of memorandum books available to consumers swelled to almost double the mid-century figure by the end of the century.

While the total number of memorandum book titles in operation rose over the period, the number of *new* titles being published was relatively stable. Memorandum books thus complicate one of our central truisms of the eighteenth-century book trade: that the number of printed books increased from the mid-1750s before an explosion of print in the 1790s.[27] As can be seen in Fig. 9, the greatest number of new memorandum book titles actually came around the emergence of the genre, with thirty-two new titles in the 1750s.

[23] Those with immense longevity typically joined the market early on, such as Baldwin's *Daily Journal,* first published for 1750 and running for 120 years, and John Newbery's *Ladies Complete Pocket Book,* first published for 1750 and running for 127 years.
[27] Michael F. Suarez, S. J, "Towards a bibliometric analysis of the surviving record, 1701–1800," in Michael F. Suarez, S. J, & Michael L. Turner, eds., *The Cambridge History of the Book in Britain*, vol. 5: 1695-1830 (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 2009), 39-65.

In the decades which followed, the number of new titles typically hovered around the high twenties. In fact, there was a slight decline towards the end of the century.

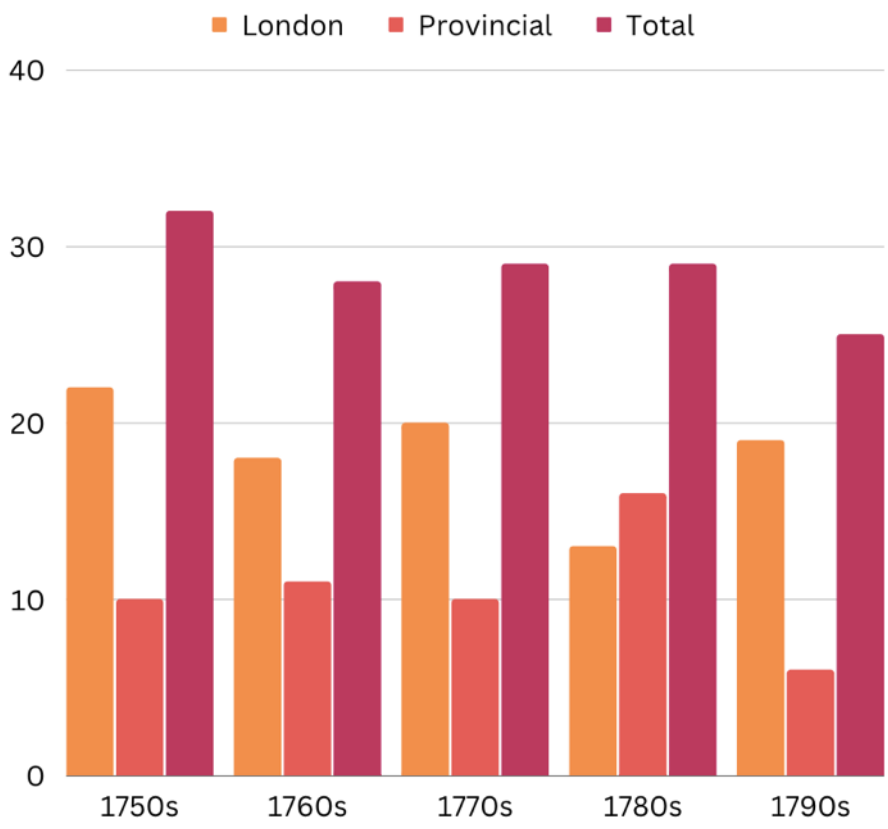


Figure 8. Number of New Memorandum Book Titles, Per Decade

The general upward trend of number in titles in operation can instead be accounted for by a declining rate of abortive attempts, as can be seen in Figs. 9 and 10. The number of new memorandum book titles with a print span of five years or fewer dropped from twenty-three in the 1750s, to seventeen in the 1760s, to fifteen in the 1770s, to twelve in the 1780s, and finally to nine in the 1790s. In other words, as the century progressed, new titles were more likely to last beyond five years. Fewer publishers launched new titles as the market became more saturated, but when they did, they were more likely to be successful. This had a cumulative effect: the majority of titles published towards the end of the century had begun life in earlier decades.



Figure 9. Number of Memorandum Book Titles with a Print Span of 5 years or Fewer, Per Decade

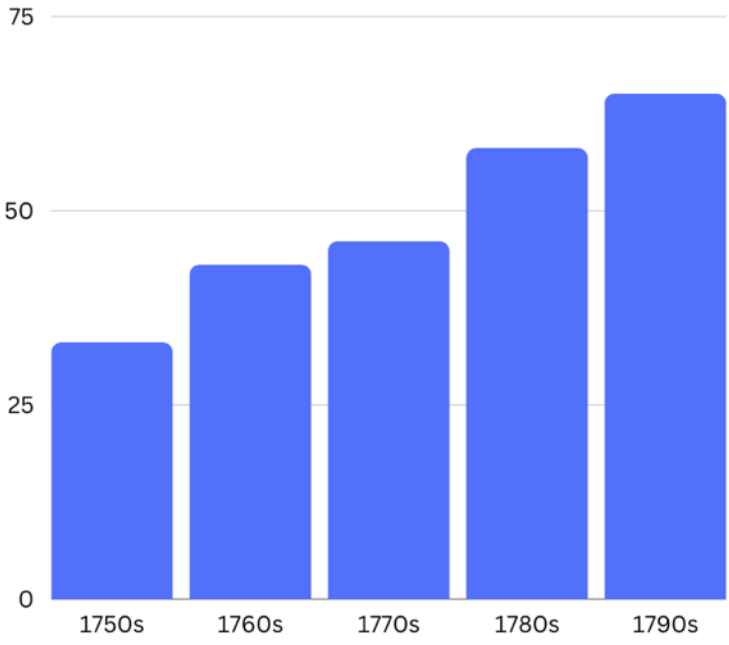


Figure 10. Total Number of Memorandum Book Titles in Operation, Per Decade

I suggest that publishers became more innovative in their attempts to break into the market. Fewer publishers launched new titles as the market became more saturated, but

when they did, they more often attempted to specialise rather than simply imitate (and hope to be confused for) better-known titles. The flurry of new titles in the 1750s was mainly an attempt to capitalise on the initial success of Robert Dodsley, and Richard Baldwin, Jr., one of his earliest competitors, through sheer imitation. There appeared a range of suspiciously similar-sounding publications that seem to have lasted only a year, including: *A Daily Journal for the Year, or the Gentleman's and Tradesman's Concise Accompt-Book for the Pocket* for 1750; *The Gentleman and Tradesman's Daily Pocket-Companion, or Newest Memorandum-Book* for 1757; and *The Gentleman's, Merchant's, and Tradesman's Compleat Pocket Daily Journal* for 1759.'[31] It was a frequent complaint in newspaper advertisements throughout this period that a title was being mistaken for a similar publication of an inferior kind. Often, the only way new titles attempted to distinguish themselves was by conveniently appending some kind of other publication or feature that would usefully pair with the memorandum book, such as a 'concise Gardener's calander', the 'Travellers Director thro' Great Britain' or 'a map of London and Directors of East India Company List'.[32] Without offering anything genuinely new, however, such imitations struggled to supplant better-known titles.

Yet as the century progressed, there was a greater drive for novelty and specialisation in the trade. This is exemplified by titles such as two rival lottery publications in the 1770s, *Pearce's Lady's Lottery Pocket Book* and *Johnson's Ladies Lottery Pocket-Book*, the purchase of which functioned as a ticket for the state lottery; *The Man of Pleasure's Pocket Book: or, the Bon Vivant's Vade Mecum* printed for Samuel Bladon in the 1780s and purportedly

[31] *A Daily Journal for the Year, or the Gentleman's and Tradesman's Concise Accompt-Book for the Pocket* for 1750, published by Mary Cooper in Paternoster Row; *The Gentleman and Tradesman's Daily Pocket-Companion, or Newest Memorandum-Book* for 1757, printed for Thomas Harris in Paternoster Row; and *The Gentleman's, Merchant's, and Tradesman's Compleat Pocket Daily Journal* for 1759 which was printed 'for R. Withy, in Cornhill; J. Gretton in New-Bond-Street; J. Wilkie in St. Paul's Church-yard; J. Pottinger in Great-Turnstile, Holborn; W. Cooke in Queen street, May-Fair; J. Pridden in Fleet-street, and T. Hope behind the Royal-Exchange. *The London Chronicle: or, Universal Evening Post*, 11-13 Jan. 1759.

[32] These were The *Gentleman and Ladies Memorandum Almanack; or, A Compleat Pocket Diary* for 1754 (London: by Tycho Foresight, Esq. Sold by J. Marshall, at the Unicorn, in St. Clement's Church; and on the Strand; and at all the Booksellers in London and Westminster); *The Gentleman and Tradesman's Daily Pocket-Companion, or Newest Memorandum-Book* for 1757 (London: Printed for Thomas Harris in Pater-Noster Row); and *The Gentleman's, Merchant's, and Tradesman's Compleat Pocket Daily Journal* for 1759 (London, Printed for R. Withy, in Cornhill; J. Gretton in New-Bond-Street; J. Wilkie in St. Paul's Church-yard; J. Pottinger in Great-Turnstile, Holborn; W. Cooke in Queen street, May-Fair; J. Pridden in Fleet-street, and T. Hope behind the Royal-Exchange). See advertisements in: *London Evening Post*, 3 Jan 1754; *The General Evening Post,* 18 Nov. 1756; *The London Chronicle,* 21-23 Nov. 1758.

authored 'By a member of the CLUB of Savoir-vivres', which was the only attempt at a satirical memorandum book; and *The Military Pocket Book, or, Soldiers Assistant* published by William Lane in the 1790s when the French Revolutionary Wars were underway, which contained illustrations of army drill routines.[36] Moreover, whilst provincial memorandum books had appeared as early as the 1750s, from the 1760s onwards there began to emerge multiple competitors within the same provincial networks. Where the earliest provincial memorandum book – such as the *Liverpool Memorandum Book* for 1753 – essentially lifted material directly from Dodsley, by later decades provincial publishers competed on the basis of who could best tailor their publication to local consumers.[37] Such specialization likely played a role in the lower number of abortive attempts.

Print Runs and Survival Rates

How many memorandum books were sold? The evidence of titles published would lead use to expect that a larger number of memorandum books were purchased in 1799 than at mid-century. Yet it is frustratingly difficult to find information on circulation figures, an obstacle frequently faced by book history scholars. No booksellers' ledger survive for any of the leading memorandum book publishers such as Robert Dodsley, John Newbery, and Joseph Johnson, nor does their surviving correspondence provide us with any clues.[38] The loss of the bulk of their personal and business records places a large constraint on what we can say definitively about the business of publishing memorandum books. Nonetheless, my research has pieced together disparate evidence from newspaper advertisements and internal evidence from the books to provide ballpark figures on circulation figures. By

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[36] *Manchester Mercury,* 22 Dec. 1778; *Derby Mercury,* 31 Oct. 1777; *Derby Mercury,* 10 Nov. 1780; "Military Pocket Book or soldier's assistant (NB illustrations of soldiers doing drill; list of Generals in the Army) (marked LXXXIV)," Bedford, Bedfordshire Archives, OR2201/1.

[37] The material of provincial memorandum books will be examined in greater detail in Chapter Three of this thesis. In eighteenth-century Britain, there was little legal protection against copying material from serial publications. As Will Slauter has shown, this practice could nonetheless be perceived as an act of piracy. Will Slauter, "Upright Piracy: Understanding the Lack of Copyright for Journalism in Eighteenth-Century Britain," *Book History* 16 (2013): 34-61.

[38] James E. Tierney, ed., *The Correspondence of Robert Dodsley, 1733-1764* (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 1988); John W. Bugg, ed., *The Joseph Johnson Letterbook* (Oxford: Oxford University Press, 2016); Charles Welsh, *A Bookseller of the last Century: Being some account of the life of John Newbery and of the Books he published, with a Notice of the later Newberys* (Printed for Griffith, Farran, Okeden & Welsh at the sign of the Bible and Sun, West Corner of St Paul's Churchyard, London; and F. P. Dutton & Co., New York, 1885).

bringing this evidence into dialogue with my dataset of memorandum book titles we can, for the first time, consider average print runs of titles, estimate survival rates of titles, and even build up a picture of the number of memorandum books in circulation in eighteenth-century Britain: we can write memorandum books back into the publishing landscape.

Print runs and circulation figures are two types of evidence used by book trade scholars that have a subtle but important distinction: the print run refers to the number of physical copies produced for one edition, while the circulation figure refer is how many people were thought to access copies, normally on the basis of sales. Studies of eighteenth-century print culture have placed great stress on the fact that sales figures often do not represent the total number of individuals who read a print product (or heard it being read). As James Raven has remarked of newspapers 'a single copy might enjoy a large and unpredictable tavern or coffee-house circulation.'[39] Abigail Williams meanwhile has described how the sharing of newspapers obscures 'the real scale of readership', and documented how novels were often intended to be read aloud to a wider audience in eighteenth-century households.[40] It is possible that that memorandum books also benefited from more social forms of reading, and certainly there is evidence to suggest that the enigma puzzles in ladies' editions were shared amongst friends and that their engravings were removed and used in albums. Yet there is no evidence to suggest that the printed content of memorandum books was read in coffee-houses or taverns, that they were borrowable in circulating libraries, or that they were read aloud to friends or family. Given the hybrid nature of memorandum books, the possible sharing of books also raises questions of privacy regarding personal record-keeping and in some instances books were shared not to circulate the printed content but the manuscript text.[41] There is no meaningful way to estimate how memorandum books may have circulated beyond their primary user, so we will assume that figures for memorandum books more closely reflect circulation numbers in this period.

[39] James Raven, *Publishing Business in Eighteenth-Century England* (Woodbridge: Boydell Press, 2014), 121.
[40] Abigail Williams, *The Social Life of Books: Reading Together in the Eighteenth-Century Home,* (New Haven: Yale University Press, 2017), 101.
[41] Rebecca E. Connor, *Women, Accounting, and Narrative: Keeping Books in Eighteenth-Century England* (London: Routledge, 2004), 22.

The main source of sales figures comes from the publishers of memorandum books, who sometimes provided these figures in the early years of publication as testament of a title's immediate popularity. In its second year of publication, Marshall Sheepey's *The Gentleman's and Tradesman's Pocket Assistant; or Daily Remembrancer, for the Year 1751* did not appear until the 27th of December 1750, 'which was but five Days before the Entrance of the New-Years, and the Public were partly supply'd with other Sorts.'[42] Despite the delay, its publishers were keen to stress that in this limited time the book had already sold 2000 copies, which they cited as evidence of 'the Preference, that it has gain'd to all others.'[43] Meanwhile, the preface of the 1754 edition of Richard Baldwin's *The Daily Journal* was addressed 'To our *Friends* and to our *Enemies*' and boasted that 'upwards of five Thousand of this Book are annually subscribed for'.[44] The following year, Baldwin claimed that the 'unjustifiable Clamour and Opposition' made by his enemies had boosted the sales of his own publication, so 'that instead of *five Thousand,* the Number heretofore printed, we are now, by this undesigned Favour of yours, obliged to print almost *Seven Thousand,* to answer the Demands of our Customers.'[45] It is probable that this early figure was improved upon, as *The Daily Journal* became one of the leading brands and was published for a remarkable 120 years. We cannot know for certain, however, since Baldwin appears to have shaken off his 'enemies' and made no more addresses to them. His prefaces provide a tantalising clue that some memorandum books may have been printed on a subscription basis. Meanwhile, when the *New Memorandum Book Improv'd* for 1763 began being published in America by the leading New York publisher, Hugh Gaine, he declared:

> No Person that follows any Kind of Business ought to be without the above Book, as it may save them many Pounds yearly; and indeed, its Utility is so obvious to the

[42] *General Advertiser*, 8 Jan. 1750.
[43] Ibid.
[44] *The Daily Journal, for the Year of Our Lord, 1754* (London: Printed for R. Baldwin, at the Rose in Pater-noster Row). Part of series "Diaries of Sir Roger Newdigate. 56 yearly volumes," Warwick, Warwickshire County Record Office, CRO136/A585.
[45] *The Daily Journal, for the Year of Our Lord, 1755* (London: Printed for R. Baldwin, at the Rose in Pater-noster Row). Part of series "Diaries of Sir Roger Newdigate. 56 yearly volumes," Warwick, Warwickshire County Record Office, CRO136/A586

> People of England, &c., that upwards of 10,000 of them are sold in the City of London alone, every Season[46]

One presumes that Gaine's publication was an imitation of Dodsley's work rather than published in collaboration with him. Nonetheless, considering the remarkable spread of Dodsley's *New Memorandum Book Improv'd*, if the figure of 10,000 annually sold in London is accurate then the total number sold across Britain would have been significantly higher still. By the late 1770s, a notice placed in *Gazetteer and New Daily Advertiser* informed readers that although some may have been disappointed to find that copies of the 'Ladies Polite Lottery Pocket Book for 1780' had sold out, 'another new edition of ten thousand' was ready for delivery, suggestive of a total print run in the tens of thousands.[47]

On the whole, these examples show a general upward trend over time, indicative of a steady increase in the genre's popularity in the decades following its first publication. Even so, it is clear that some titles sold better than others. Provincially-published memorandum books, for example, publicized smaller but not insignificant sales numbers: in an advertisement for J. White and T. Saint's *The Universal Cash Book,* published in Newcastle from 1767, it was given as 'Proof of the Merit of the Performance' that in the first six months of sales the book had sold 1,500 copies.[48] Some London publications also likely sold in the low thousands. The short-lived *London Ledger; or, Gentleman's and Tradesman's Daily Register, for Town and Country* claimed in January 1772 that of its edition for that year, 'only the first year of its publication, several Thousands have already been sold'.[49] The fact that it folded within a year suggests that either this figure was a generous estimate, or that the vague figure of 'several Thousands' was not sufficient to compete in a highly crowded market. Yet even if the figure was a plausible fiction, it is notable that it was claiming a much lower sales figure than Gaine was in 1763, or the *Ladies Polite Lottery*

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[46] *New-York Mercury*, 3 Jan. 1763. Readex: America's Historical Newspapers. https://infoweb-newsbank-com.myaccess.library.utoronto.ca/apps/readex/doc?p=EANX&docref=image/v2%3A10DBEB948F3572A8%40EANX-10DEF1FFD2E68040%402364985-10DEF1FFE8432CB8%400-10DEF200AEF7C9D8%40Advertisement [Last Accessed 03/03/2022].

[47] Memorandum books could run into multiple editions, as this example suggests. We also find, for example, Baldwin's *Daily Journal* for 1755 running into a third edition in one year. *Gazetteer and New Daily Advertiser*, 10 Nov. 1779; *Whitehall Evening Post,* 8 April 1755.

[48] *Newcastle Courant,* 26th Dec. 1767.

[49] *The London Chronicle*, 7-9 Jan. 1772.

Pocket Book was only seven years later. The *London Ledger* probably could not hope to sell in the order of tens of thousands.

Sales numbers cited in prefaces and newspapers were, of course, part of the puffery of advertising and should be treated with a degree of caution. Publishers were unlikely to publicize unflattering sales figures. Given that over half of known titles failed within five years, it is likely that some titles failed to sell many copies at all, prompting their collapse. Some figures may simply be fictitious. Did Hugh Gaine, for example, really know how many of Dodsley's memorandum books were annually sold in London? Nonetheless, even if these numbers were not precisely truthful, collectively they reveal *expected* print runs; about what would be considered a successful sales season. Moreover, the evidence paints a fairly consistent image, with a healthy circulation figure for new London-issued memorandum books starting in the low thousands, and surpassing 10,000 for more mainstay publications; while in the provinces memorandum books were expected to generate a circulation figure of 1,000 or more.

Two further sources of information lend weight to these estimates. They concern print runs, not circulation figures, so it is worth bearing in mind that publishers may have printed more than could be sold. One regards John Newbery's *The Ladies Complete Pocket-Book,* the earliest and longest-running ladies' memorandum book with a print span of 120 years. A nineteenth-century autobiographical account of John Newbery's life and works informs us that 12,500 copies of the *Ladies Complete Pocket-Book* were printed in 1772. This figure is likely to be accurate: the author, Charles Welsh, was working with records now lost to us, including a trove of Newbery family papers and the ledger of the Salisbury bookseller Benjamin Collins, which revealed that he owned a part-share in the publication.[50] Certainly, the *Ladies Complete Pocket Book* was one of the most prolific and successful ladies' editions of the eighteenth century, and 12,500 therefore functions as a useful benchmark for expected print runs of popular eighteenth-century titles. The second piece of evidence

[50] Charles Welsh, *A Bookseller of the last Century: Being some account of the life of John Newbery and of the Books he published, with a Notice of the later Newberys* (Printed for Griffith, Farran, Okeden & Welsh at the sign of the Bible and Sun, West Corner of St Paul's Churchyard, London; and F. P. Dutton & Co., New York, 1885), 286.

comes from the famous landscape gardener Humphry Repton, who collaborated with the publisher William Peacock to provide lavish illustrations for *The Polite Repository*, a more upmarket style of memorandum book which was printed for at least 93 years.[51] Repton reports in his artistic treatise, *An Enquiry into the Changes of Taste in Landscape Gardening* (1806) that he contributed designs 'to an annual work' – generally accepted to be the *Polite Repository* – 'of which I am informed 7000 impressions have been made' annually.[52] Repton's images appeared from the 1790 edition until the first decade of the nineteenth century, and so here we have a figure that indicates print runs of a successful brand around the turn of the century. Despite its longevity and popularity, the *Polite Repository*'s print run may have actually been slightly lower than other popular memorandum book titles at this time: priced at 4 shillings, it was quadruple the cost of the average ladies' memorandum book in this period. Claiming it garnered 'an extensive circle of patronage among the Nobility and Gentry of the kingdom,' Peacock was happy to price out a sizeable number of consumers in an attempt to market the book as a genteel publication.[53]

Taken together, this evidence suggests that provincial memorandum books, or those with less brand recognition, had a print run in the low thousands, while London-published memorandum books, particularly as the century progressed, probably each sold tens of thousands a year. More upmarket titles with a higher retail price which appeared from the 1770s onwards, such as Peacock's *Polite Repository*, Thomas Baker's *Royal Engagement Pocket Atlas*, and Thomas Pearson's *The Tablet, and Polite Memorandum Book,* likely had an annual circulation figure somewhere between five and ten thousand each.

The number of extant copies of memorandum books therefore only provide a hint of the ubiquity of memorandum books in circulation in eighteenth-century Britain. Let us take the example of the *Ladies Complete Pocket-Book,* which we know to have had a print run of

[51] The first edition was for 1781; the latest for 1873. See: Sandro Jung, "Illustrated Pocket Diaries and the Commodification of Culture," *Eighteenth-Century Life* 37, no. 2 (Spring 2013): 53.
[52] Humphry Repton, *An Enquiry into the Changes of Taste in Landscape Gardening. To Which are Added, Some Observations on its Theory and Practice, Including A Defence of the Art.* (London: Printed for J. Taylor, 59, High Holborn, 1806), 121.
[53] Quote from the 1837 edition. *Peacock's Polite Repository, or Polite Companion* for 1837 (London: Printed for Peacock & Mansfield, Salisbury Square, Fleet Street). Available online at: https://www.google.co.uk/books/edition/Peacock_s_Polite_Repository_Or_Pocket_Co/F-M9AAAAcAAJ?hl=en&gbpv=0 [Last Accessed: 11/09/2022].

12,500 in 1772. If we assume this was representative of the title's print output across the decade, then 125,000 copies were printed in the 1770s. I have located a total of 24 extant copies from the publication's inception to the end of the eighteenth century using every available means: Worldcat, the ESTC, British Library, Bodleian, and National Archives catalogues, coupled with my own research in local archives. Five were for the 1770s. This would put the survival rate of the *Ladies Complete Pocket-Book* at a mere 0.004%. Secondly, let us take the example of the *Polite Repository* which had an annual print run of 7000 during the years of Humphry Repton's collaboration. Since we know Repton contributed to the publication throughout the 1790s, we will use this decade as our benchmark. Assuming a print run of 7000 per year, 70,000 copies were produced for the 1790s. I have located thirty-two extant copies for this decade using the same methods outlined above, coupled with Sandro Jung's research on the title.[54] This puts the survival rate of the *Polite Repository* at 0.04%.

There are two main takeaways from these calculations. Firstly, it is notable that a larger percentage of copies survive for the *Polite Repository* than the *Ladies' Complete Pocket Book,* by a factor of ten. One important factor may help us to account for this difference: the target market. The *Polite Repository* explicitly targeted customers from aristocratic and genteel families, whose records have historically been more likely to be preserved. It is notable, for example, that extant copies for the *Polite Repository* survive in the National Trust collections, yet no copies of the *Ladies Complete Pocket Book* are listed in their catalogue.[55] Secondly, and most significantly, is how strikingly low the survival rate of memorandum books is. Despite the disparities in survival, and even if we assume that I have only located a tenth of the number of extant copies each title, this places the survival rate for the examined memorandum book titles at less than 0.5%. The loss of material is utterly enormous. Given that copies of memorandum books survive in nearly every local archive across the country, we are only gaining a glimpse of what must have been an incredibly commonplace and widespread publication of this period.

[54] See: Sandro Jung, "Illustrated Pocket Diaries and the Commodification of Culture," *Eighteenth-Century Life* 37, no. 2 (Spring 2013): 53-84.
[55] For example, "The polite repository, or pocket companion: containing an almanack, ... and various other articles of useful information: ornamented with elegant engravings, ... To be continued annually" (1791), National Trust Collections, Ham House, Surrey, NT 3126682.

Putting the Figures into Context

How do these figures compare to other eighteenth-century publications? An obvious point of comparison would be almanacs, as another calendrical publication. Against the great corpus of almanacs published by the Stationers' Company in early modern England, the presence of memorandum books in the eighteenth century print market may at first appear paltry. It is undeniable that memorandum books never commanded the circulation that almanacs achieved. During their peak in the seventeenth century almanacs sold 'about 400,000 copies annually, a figure which suggests that roughly one family in three bought an almanac each year.'[56] Famously, almanac sales were comparable only to the Bible, making the almanac an early-modern bestseller.[57] However, we must be careful about how we frame comparisons between memorandum books and almanacs. When discussing the high sales of early modern almanacs, typically the number cited by scholars is based on the *total* sales of all (legitimate) almanacs.[58] Of significant benefit to researchers of the almanac trade is an understanding that, due to the monopoly on almanac publishing held by the Stationers' Company until 1774, a record was kept of the sales of almanacs. Sales figures for different titles are therefore both easy to access and easy to treat as a whole. This is not the case for memorandum books which, as we have seen, were published by a wide array of publishers across Britain whose records have rarely survived. To compare individual memorandum book titles with the overall sales of almanacs is, therefore, not to compare like with like.

When we compare our estimated print runs with individual sales of almanac titles, however, we begin to see how memorandum books had runs comparable to some almanacs. The rules of the game had changed when it came to publishing almanacs in the eighteenth

[56] Bernard Capp, *English Almanacs, 1500–1800: Astrology and the Popular Press* (London: Faber & Faber, 1979), 23.
[57] The almanac, for example, has been described as one of the "Elizabethan Top Ten" forms of print. Adam Smyth, "Almanacs and Ideas of Popularity," in Andy Kesson & Emma Smith, eds., *The Elizabethan Top Ten: Defining Print Popularity in Early Modern England* (London: Routledge, 2016), 125-134.
[58] See, for example: Louise Curth, "The Commercialisation of Medicine in the Popular Press: English Almanacs 1640–1700," *The Seventeenth Century* 17, no. 1 (2002): 48; Imogen Peck, "'A chronology of some Memorable Accidents': the representation of the recent past in English almanacs, 1648-60," *Historical Research* 92, no. 255 (February 2019): 99.

century. During the seventeenth century, twenty or thirty popular almanac brands vied for eminence, each with slight variations that gave them their distinct character. By the eighteenth century, sales were no longer evenly distributed between brands, and instead a few single titles stormed ahead. As Bernard Capp has described, Moore's *Vox Stellarum,* one of the few remaining astrological almanacs, only gained in popularity as the century progressed. In 1768, it sold 107,000 copies a year; by 1802, that number had leapt to 365,000. The blinding success of a handful of brands kept the overall sales figures of almanacs high during the eighteenth century, but obscured the sales figures of other almanac brands that are still known to us today. Capp supplies us with the figures for a range of almanacs in 1761: *Poor Robin,* the scathingly satirical almanac, and the subject of lengthy academic study, sold approximately 11,000 copies a year; the astrological almanacs *Partridge* and *Wing* sold respectively 8,000 and 7,000 copies; while others like *Coley* and *Gadbury* sold around 2,500-3000 copies.[59] Against this publishing landscape, Baldwin's boast to have sold nearly 7,000 copies early on in the brand's history seems rather more impressive. It is also important to bear in mind that the Stationers' Company monopoly restricted the number of possible almanac titles, whereas any enterprising publisher in London or the provinces could try their hand at publishing memorandum books: individually, regional publications like J. White and T. Saint's *The Universal Cash Book* may not have been in the same league as the popular Stationers' Company almanacs, but they formed part of a larger patchwork of memorandum books being published up and down the country.

Likewise, memorandum book sales are high in comparison with general publication figures of this period. Stephen Colclough estimates a typical print run for a print book in the eighteenth century to have been between 500 and 2000 copies, with a run of 750 copies representing the average, and any book that commanded a print run of 2,000 copies to be a 'steady seller.'[60] As Colclough describes, the speed of operating a hand press was a constraining factor on print runs, as publishers would only risk spending long enough on

[59] Capp, *English Almanacs,* 247. For more on the success of *Poor Robin*, see: Benjamin Wardhaugh, *Poor Robin's Prophecies: A Curious Almanac, and the Everyday Mathematics of Georgian Britain* (Oxford: Oxford University Press, 2012).
[60] Stephen Colclough, "From the Nineteenth Century to the Modern Age," in Zachary Lesser, ed., *The Book in Britain: A Historical Introduction* (Chichester: Wiley Blackwell, 2019), 229; Ibid, 239.

production for more than 2000 copies if they were guaranteed of commercial success.[61] This was less of a constraint on memorandum books, which consisted of fewer sheets.[62] Nonetheless, the price of a novel and a memorandum book in this period was comparable. In the first couple of decades of publication, the standard price for a gentleman's memorandum book was 1*s.*6*d.* In 1752 this could buy you copy of Dodsley's *New Memorandum Book*, Baldwin's *Daily Journal* or Sheepey's *Pocket Assistant*. Looking at Robert Dodsley's bookseller's catalogue for the same year shows us that the price of memorandum books fell within the lower range of what might be expected for a novel, essay, or collection of poems in this period.[63] While some of his multi-volume collections could sell for as high as 2*l.* 2*s.,* as was the case for the 12-volume *A Collection of Old Plays*, many single volume items sold between 1 to 3 shillings. This placed the memorandum book on the same continuum as Dodsley's exceedingly popular treatise *The Oeconomy of Human Life,* first published in 1750 and now running into multiple editions, priced at 1*s.* or 2*s.* bound; children's literature such as *The Travels of Tom Thumb*, priced 1*s.* 6*d*.; and a collection of *Odes on Several Subjects* by famous poet Mark Akenside, priced 1*s.* 6*d.* When viewed within this wider context, we can see that a memorandum book selling in the thousands would have been considered a commercial success, and that if a publisher could reliably issue their memorandum book year in and year out, Colclough's descriptor of a 'steady seller' seems apt.

If we compare memorandum book sales with other, more ephemeral forms of print, which could be reeled off at greater speed than a novel, their sales figures still hold strong. Prominent London newspapers such as the *Public Advertiser* and *Daily* advertiser 'sold well over three thousand copies per day' in the 1770s, while evening newspapers such as the

[61] Ibid, 240.
[62] An indication of the number of sheets used in a memorandum book comes from an advertisement for *The Ladies Complete Pocket-Book* for 1773, which complained that their competitor's memorandum book 'does not contain so much matter by a sheet and a half, or 36 pages, which is above one-fifth part of the work.' This suggests that memorandum books consisted of approximately 7-8 sheets in total. As a point of comparison, Jonathan Swift's *Gulliver's Travels* (1726) 'required 44 sheets of paper per copy.' *Morning Chronicle,* 30 Nov. 1772; Shef Rogers, "Exploring the bibliographic limits of *Gulliver's Travels*," in Paddy Bullard and James McLaverty, eds., *Jonathan Swift and the Eighteenth-Century Book* (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 2013), 139.
[63] Robert Dodsley, *Books printed for R. Dodsley. S.n.,* [1752?]. Eighteenth Century Collections Online, link.gale.com/apps/doc/CW0101958320/ECCO?u=uniyork&sid=bookmark-ECCO&xid=82da9447&pg=14. [Last Accessed: 14 Jan. 2022]

General Evening Post were 'issued in editions of up to 6000 copies between the 1730s and 1780s.'[64] Outside London, the *York Chronicle* is frequently pointed to as an example of a successful provincial paper with a sales figure of over 2000 copies a week.[65] Successful periodicals could expect slightly lower circulation rates. Richard Wendorf has recently described how the eminent *Gentleman's Magazine* had a print run of 3,500 copies per month, which made it 'a highly influential publication.'[66] Meanwhile, Richard Dodsley's periodical, *The World,* launched in 1753 as an attempt to revive the culture of the earlier *Spectator*, achieved immediate success, enabling it to have a print run of 2500 copies per issue – which as Harry Soloman has pointed out, was 'five times the circulation of Johnson's *Rambler.'*[67] Review periodicals such as *The Monthly Review or Literary Journal* were a notable eighteenth-century invention which extracted other works for appraisal; the *Monthly Review* had a print run of 3500 in 1776.[68] Single-sheet prints, including satirical prints – so iconic for our understanding of eighteenth-century culture – 'were usually produced in print runs of a few hundred copies.'[69] An extraordinarily large print run can be found in the example of Hogarth's popular caricature of John Wilkes in 1763, which was advertised as having 4000 impressions made.[70] For pamphlets, as John Brewer describes: 'a standard edition was 500, the more successful writings sold between 1500 and 3000 copies and, if a work was a spectacular success, it might even run to a sale of 5000.'[71] Note that these figures are all for successful publications – each type of publication also had their fair share of flops.

The print genres and titles surveyed above will almost certainly be familiar to the eighteenth-century scholar. Satirical prints, political pamphlets, essay and review

[64] James Raven, *Publishing Business in Eighteenth-Century England* (Woodbridge, the Boydell Press, 2014), 132.
[65] Raven, *Publishing Business*, 132.
[66] Richard Wendorf, *Printing History and Cultural Change: Fashioning the Modern English Text in Eighteenth-Century Britain* (Oxford: University of Oxford Press, 2022), 77.
[67] Harry M. Solomon, *The Rise of Robert Dodsley: Creating the New Age of Print* (Carbondale: Southern Illinois University Press, 1996), 153.
[68] Williams, *The Social Life of Books,* 101.
[69] Cindy McCreery, *The Satirical Gaze: Prints of Women in Late Eighteenth-century England* (Oxford: Oxford University Press, 2014), 29.
[70] Eirwen E. C. Nicholson, "Consumers and Spectators: The Public of the Political Print in Eighteenth-Century England," *History* 81, no. 261 (January 1996): 9; Douglas Fordham & Adrienne Albright, "The Eighteenth-Century Print: Tracing the Contours of a Field," *Literature Compass* 9, no. 8 (2012): 516.
[71] John Brewer, *Party Ideology and Popular Politics at the Accession of George III* (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 1981), 146.

periodicals, and newspapers are all cornerstones in our narratives of the developments in eighteenth-century culture and for our understanding of a nation in which the consumption of texts was multiplying and diversifying and ideological contests were being battled out in the press. This is necessary to emphasise because, armed for the first time with a sense of print runs of popular memorandum books, we can see that publications such as the *Ladies' Complete Pocket Book* and *The Polite Repository* outstripped many of the best-known titles in eighteenth-century Britain. Placed in the context of the sheer number of titles that steadily proliferated in the second half of the century, the memorandum book's circulation amongst the general population warrants consideration as one of the most characteristic genres of this period.

This has far-reaching implications, not just for our understanding of the genre but of eighteenth-century print culture more broadly conceived. As a hybrid genre, memorandum books encompassed a medley of different media forms. In ladies' editions content usually included one or two engravings, original and extracted moral essays and poetry, enigma puzzle competitions and – as the century progressed and the Minerva Press began publishing memorandum books – extracts of recent novels.[72] Abigail Williams has made the point that '[n]umerous books would have had a much wider circulation in the extracted form of review essays that they ever did as entire works.'[73] Yet some of these novels would have had even wider circulation still in the ladies' memorandum books. The original poetical enigmas which appeared in ladies' memorandum books, composed not by prominent authors but by amateur, pseudonymous women and men across the country, were more read than the average novel. The book's engravings of fashion, royalty, popular venues, topical events and literature probably did more to shape the visual culture of the eighteenth-century than satirical prints. Memorandum books are thus vital for our understanding of popular consumption of print culture, *as it was experienced.* And this experience was different from the ways other media forms were consumed. Like newspapers and periodicals, memorandum books invited repeat consumption, but not of

[72] For more on the history of the Minerva Press, see: Dorothy Blakey, *The Minerva Press, 1790–1820* (London: Bibliographical Society, 1939); Elizabeth Neiman and Christina Morin, eds., *Romantic Textualities: Literature and Print Culture, 1780–1840,* special issue on "The Minerva Press and the Literary Marketplace," no. 23 (Summer 2020).
[73] Williams, *Social Life of Books,* 101.

the frequency of daily, weekly, or monthly publications. One memorandum book was intended to last the consumer an entire year, and so could never accommodate the rapidity of the news cycle. As it has been pointed out, the genre's promotions of the latest fashions were already out of date by the time the books were intended to be used.[74] It embodied a different temporality: one which still emphasised novelty and change year on year, but could not respond as quickly to changes in the public sphere. Furthermore it bears reiterating that memorandum books expected repeat readerly engagement, since they were intended to be filled in with manuscript writing. Considering the remarkably low survival rates of memorandum books, studies of diarising in this period are only scratching the surface of what must have been an explosion of life-writing over this period.

II. Mechanics of the Memorandum Book Trade

The wide range of titles published; the incredible longevity of successful titles; and the comparatively high print runs of memorandum books all underline the necessity of bringing these publications to the forefront of our print culture studies. Having established for the first time a sense of the scale and diversity of the trade, this chapter now turns to explore the mechanics of the trade. It answers fundamental questions about the nature of publication and authorship, the value of the books as a print commodity, and how publishers marketed the books. Fundamentally it argues that memorandum books should be recognised as major business ventures, seriously invested in by leading members of the eighteenth-century London and provincial book trade.

Publishers and Copyright Shares

Publishers involved in the trade range from some of the most established and significant of the period such as Robert Dodsley, who owned 'one of the most distinguished bookshops of the century,' as well as John Newbery, and Joseph Johnson, to some of the more obscure publishers of which little is known, such as Charles Stalker in London or James Turner in

[74] Jennie Batchelor, "Fashion and Frugality: Eighteenth-Century Pocket Books for Women," *Studies in Eighteenth-Century Culture* 32 (2003): 11.

Ludlow.[75] They encompassed all the main bookselling districts in London: Paternoster Row, St. Paul's Churchyard, Pall Mall, Corn-hill, Stationers' Court, Cheapside, Covent Garden, and Fleet Street, despite the fact each district usually catered for different bookselling specialisms.[76] Outside of London there was a strong provincial trade which, as Chapter Three will show, often overlapped with newspaper proprietorship. For most of the publishers discussed in this thesis, regardless of their status in book history scholarship, this is the first time they have ever been linked to the memorandum book trade.

The numerous advertisements which crowded newspapers in November and December paint a picture of fierce competition, but there was also a large amount of cooperation between publishers. Although their imprints do not always divulge this, it is clear that throughout the history of their publication, memorandum book brands were often jointly owned. Book imprints can appear straightforward – a typical formulation might be along the lines of "Printed for X, and sold by Y and Z " – but the minutiae of the imprint formulation can reveal significant information about publishing arrangements.[77] The ordering of the names of booksellers in an imprint normally indicated who had made the largest contribution, running from most important to least.[78] But imprints can also be misleading: sometimes all the publishers and booksellers with stakes were listed, but sometimes a publication that was attributed to one publisher alone, was in fact owned by several behind the scenes. Things become even more complex for, as James Raven informs us, these shares

[75] James Raven, *The Business of Books: Booksellers and the English Book Trade 1450-1850* (New Haven: Yale University Press, 2007), 187. For more on Dodsley, Newbery and Johnson, see: Harry M. Solomon, *The Rise of Robert Dodsley: Creating the New Age of Print* (Carbondale: Southern Illinois University Press, 1996); Charles Welsh, *A Bookseller of the last Century: Being some account of the life of John Newbery and of the Books he published, with a Notice of the later Newberys* (Printed for Griffith, Farran, Okeden & Welsh at the sign of the Bible and Sun, West Corner of St Paul's Churchyard, London; and F. P. Dutton & Co., New York, 1885); Gerald P. Tyson, *Joseph Johnson: A Liberal Publisher* (Iowa City: University of Iowa Press, 1797); Helen Braithwaite, *Romanticism, Publishing and Dissent: Joseph Johnson and the Cause of Liberty* (Basingstoke: Palgrave Macmillan, 2003).

[76] James Raven has described how, for example, Cornhill and the exchange offered financial news and guidebooks; Covent Garden and Fleet Street offered novels, magazines and fashionable titles, Paternoster Row sold 'antient books in all languages', Cheapside concentrated on jobbing print and stationery, while St Paul's Churchyard offered books on divinity and classics. James Raven, *Bookscape: Geographies of Printing and Publishing in London before 1800* (London: The British Library, 2014), 30-1; Raven, *Business of Books*, 157-8.

[77] For more on this, see: Michael Treadwell, "On False and Misleading Imprints in the London Book Trade, 1660-1750" in Robin Myers and Michael Harris, eds., *Fakes and Frauds: Varieties of Deception in Print and Manuscript* (Winchester: St Paul's Bibliographies, 1989), 29-46.

[78] The ordering of book imprints is discussed in: Clare Brant & George Rousseau, *Fame and Fortune: Sir John Hill and London Life in the 1750s* (London: Palgrave Macmillan, 2018), 285.

in ownership were a tradeable asset.[79] Shares in memorandum books were divvied up, sold privately or at auction, or left as inheritance.[80] For example, when *The Ladies New Memorandum Book* was first launched, its publication was listed as solely for Robert Dodsley; by the 1758 edition the number of publishers involved had ballooned to: 'R. and J. Dodsley, C. Hitch and L. Hawes, J. and J. Rivington and J. Fletcher, S. Crowder and H. Woodgate.' [81] Likely, some combination of these players had been responsible from the outset, but had initially decided to present Dodsley as the sole publisher on the imprint, as the famous face of his already successful gentleman's memorandum book.

The ledgers of Benjamin Collins, a successful Salisbury bookseller, shed some light on this otherwise murky practice. The original ledgers are now missing, but sections were copied and thus preserved, notably in Charles Welsh's *Bookseller of the Last Century.*[82] It is only from Collins's records that we know that Baldwin's *Daily Journal* was actually owned by a collective of several leading publishers and booksellers. Collins originally owned one-third along with Sir James Hodges and John Newbery. In fact, Collins claims that it was "My own scheme." Baldwin does not even enter the ledger until the second of July 1768, when Collins records that he:

> Sold one-twelfth share of this copy to Mr R. Baldwin and Mr Stanley Crowder, at the rate of £660, the whole which came to £55; so now I have only one-fourth, and Sir James Hodges, Messrs Newbery & Carnan, and R. Baldwin and S. Crowder the other three-fourths, viz:–
>
> Sir James Hodges, one-fourth.
> Messrs Newbery & Carnan, one-fourth.

[79] James Raven, *Business of Books: Booksellers and the English Book Trade 1450-1850* (New Haven: Yale University Press, 2007), 128.
[80] For example, on Benjamin Collins death in 1808, his copyright in the *Daily Journal* was one of many shares bequeathed to his son Benjamin Charles, who took over the operation of his book business in Salisbury. See: Christine Y. Ferdinand, *Benjamin Collins and the Provincial Newspaper Trade in the Eighteenth Century* (Oxford: Claredon Press, 1997), 41.
[81] The *Ladies New Memorandum Book, Serving as a Complete Register of their Transactions for the Year 1758* (London: Printed for R. and J. Dodsley, C. Hitch and L. Hawes, J. and J. Rivington and J. Fletcher, S. Crowder and H. Woodgate). Copy consulted: Los Angeles, UCLA, William Andrews Clark Memorial Library, MS.2008.002.
[82] Welsh, *Bookseller of the Last Century,* Appendix VII.

Baldwin & Crowder, one-fourth.

Benjamin Collins, one-fourth.[83]

This remarkable record turns our understanding of the title on its head. Baldwin's *Daily Journal* was often referred to as exactly that – "Baldwin's *Daily Journal*" – in newspaper advertisements. Baldwin had actually entered the memorandum book into the Stationer's Company Register on the 29th November 1749 for copyright in whole under his name.[84] Baldwin's was the only name appearing in the imprint for most of the century, with the formulation:

Printed only for R. BALDWIN, at the *Rose* in *Pater-noster Row*.[85]

Even after his death in 1770 the imprint remained the same, since his cousin, Robert Baldwin, took over the business and made no attempt to distinguish himself.[86] There is nothing in the official paper trail to indicate that it was anything other than Baldwin's scheme. It was not until the 1797 edition that the collective interests were represented in the imprint: henceforth listed as being printed for: 'R. Baldwin, G. G. and J. Robinson, G. and T. Wilkie, B. C. Collins, T. Scatcherd and Co., T. Wills, and W. March.'[87] Clearly some of the shares had been sold or passed on to other parties by this point.

So how can we make sense of this perplexing arrangement? It is unlikely that Richard Baldwin was acting as a trade publisher – that is, acting as a kind of front for the works of other publishers – since he was entering publications for copyright under his own name.[88]

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[83] Cited in Welsh, *A Bookseller of the Last Century,* 400.

[84] C. Y. Ferdinand, "Richard Baldwin Junior, Bookseller," *Studies in Bibliography* 42 (1989): 259; "Register of entries of copies. 1746-1773," London, Stationers' Company Archives, TSC/1/E/06/09.

[85] The "only" was added in 1755, around the same time as J. Fuller et. al published their similarly-titled, *A New Daily Journal*.

[86] In other words, his cousin continued publishing as "R. Baldwin." See: Ferdinand, "Richard Baldwin Junior, Bookseller," 260.

[87] *The Daily Journal; or, Gentleman's, Merchant's, and Tradesman's Complete Annual Accompt-Book : for the Pocket or Desk, for ... 1797* (London : Printed for R. Baldwin, G. G. and J. Robinson G. and T. Wilkie, B. C. Collins, T. Scatcherd and Co. and two others in London And sold by them and all booksellers and stationers in town and country). Copy consulted: Aberystwyth, National Library of Wales, NLW MS 11096A.

[88] Unlike his forebearers, the revolutionary Whigs Richard and Anne Baldwin, who were prominent trade publishers in the late seventeenth century. Michael Treadwell, "London Trade Publishers 1675-1750," *The Library* 4, Sixth Series, no. 2 (June 1982): 108-110.

We can begin to unravel the mystery when we learn that Richard Baldwin had been apprenticed to the Salisbury printer Benjamin Collins in 1740, and gained his freedom by patrimony in 1747. *The Daily Journal* was a very early endeavour of the young Richard Baldwin attempting to set up shop on his own in London, having already faced major setbacks as his shop on Cornhill was destroyed in the famous fire of 1748.[89] Collins and Baldwin kept a good working relationship, with Baldwin acting as an agent for Collins' publications in London. Meanwhile, the other listed owners also had strong business links. John Newbery was a close collaborator of Collins, and also acted as a London agent for his *Salisbury Journal.*[90] James Hodges was a London bookseller whose apprentice, Stanley Crowder, would go on to be Baldwin's business partner for a time. It appears then, that this scheme may have indeed been of Collins's making, but that he helped to finance and handed the running of it over to his former apprentice, Baldwin. At some point, we can deduce that Newbery and Hodges must have sold one-fourth of their respective shares to Baldwin & Crowder, before Collins then likewise sold one-fourth of his share (and hence, one-twelfth of the overall shares) to Baldwin & Crowder in 1768, finally making them all equal partners.

The ledger of Benjamin Collins thus evidences that, behind the scenes, there could be a great deal of cooperation between publishers involved in the trade. This is particularly highlighted by John Newbery's involvement in the scheme. John Newbery was the publisher of the first ladies' memorandum book: *The Ladies Complete Pocket-Book.* The shared interests of Baldwin and Newbery helps to explain why each stuck to their respective specialisms in gentlemen's and ladies' memorandum book editions. In fact, it is probable that the same collective of publishers had stakes in Newbery's *Ladies Complete Pocket Book* as well. Like Baldwin's *Daily Journal,* early imprints of the *Ladies Complete* give no indication that it was published for anyone other than John Newbery. On his death in 1767 the business was taken over by his son Francis Newbery and step-son Thomas Carnan, who then

[89] Ferdinand, "Richard Baldwin Junior, Bookseller," 258.
[90] C. Y. Ferdinand, *Benjamin Collins and the Provincial Newspaper Trade in the Eighteenth Century* (Oxford: Claredon Press, 1997), 85.

appeared on the imprint.[91] From at least the 1777 edition, however, we find the imprint had changed to include some familiar names:

> 'Printed for T. Carnan and F. Newbery; jun. at No. 65, in St Paul's Church-Yard; S. Crowder and R. Baldwin, in Paternoster Row, and B. Collins in Salisbury.'[92]

Two of the leading brands of memorandum books, some of the first contenders in mid-eighteenth century London, seeming rivals in the marketplace, were in fact owned by an overlapping collective of publishers – likely from the start.

The appearance of multiple publishers in memorandum book imprints as the century progressed may misleadingly give the impression that there was a trend towards collective publication by the turn of the nineteenth century. Yet the above examples caution us against interpreting memorandum book publishing in this way. Instead, it appears that what we are seeing is an increasing trend to *represent* collective interests on the title page imprints, but that such interests had an earlier, more shadowy existence. It also demonstrates the complex set of business entanglements involved in producing memorandum books, that were not based on profitability alone but driven by the interests of forming and maintaining longer-term business relations. The use of Baldwin's name on the *Daily Journal* brand appears to be an act of generosity from former master to apprentice, helping to establish him as a well-known bookseller before Baldwin was allowed to buy some shares from the original investors and become an equal partner. It was also, in turn, an investment in the young bookseller that Collins expected would pay off: Baldwin was a useful connection for him to have in London. The tying together of their interests was to strengthen them both.

The Collins ledger also provides us with crucial information about the value of memorandum books as a print commodity. Significantly, the cost of shares recorded by

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[91] For more on Carnan, see Chapter Two of this thesis.

[92] *The Ladies Complete Pocket-Book for the Year of Our Lord 1777* (London: Printed for T. Carnan and F. Newbery, jun. at No. 65, in St. Paul's Church-Yard; S. Crowder and R. Baldwin, in Paternoster Row, and B. Collins, in Salisbury). Copy consulted: "Wixford or Bidford: Diary of a Schoolgirl (1797)," Warwick, Warwickshire Record Office, CR1704.

Benjamin Collins are testament to just how profitable these publications were. When selling his share in 1768, Collins valued *The Daily Journal* at the overall price of £660. Moreover, he valued the *Ladies Complete Pocket-Book* at £660 that same year.[93] This is far from a paltry sum. According to Terry Belanger, in this period 'copyrights worth in excess of £400 were substantial properties, far above the average.'[94] By drawing on auction catalogues, one of the primary ways in which bookseller shares were sold, Belanger provides us with a rough sense of the value of mid-eighteenth-century copyrights. He informs us that in the 1767 Tonson sale, around eighty-five percent of the copyright of Dryden's collected plays sold for an approximate total of £100, while the copyright Addison's *Cato* together with his *Miscellanies* and *Travels* sold for about £300.[95] James Raven also records that a sixth share in Samuel Richardson's *Pamela* sold for £20 in 1760.[96] The names of Dryden, Addison and Richardson will be familiar to any eighteenth-century scholar as some of the most widely-read authors of the period, and yet their works were valued less than Baldwin's *Daily Journal* or Newbery's *Ladies Complete Pocket-Book* the following year.

Rather than such better-known poems or plays, Belanger identifies dictionaries and religious texts as being some of the most valuable publications in the first half of the eighteenth-century due to their large physical size, which would fetch a higher retail price, and their likelihood of being reprinted many times.[97] Certainly, the slim duodecimo memorandum books did not fulfil the former criteria but they did meet the latter: their consumers would expect them to be published every year. The benefits of annual publication were surely a factor in the incredible commercial viability of memorandum books. As Belanger concludes: 'the books published in the eighteenth century which are most widely read in the twentieth century were by no means the most valuable part of the London book trade's daily business.'[98] This remains true of the twenty-first century.

[93] Welsh, *Bookseller of the Last Century,* 286.
[94] Terry Belanger, "Publishers and writers in eighteenth-century England," in Isabel Rivers, ed., *Books and their Readers in Eighteenth-Century England* (New York: St. Martin's Press, 1982), 17.
[95] Ibid, 18.
[96] James Raven, "The Publication of Fiction in Britain and Ireland, 1750-70," *Publishing History* 24 (Jan 1988): 42.
[97] Ibid, 16.
[98] Ibid, 18.

Therefore, successful memorandum book titles had the potential to be a highly valuable print commodity. Just as their sales figures outstripped many better-known eighteenth-century texts, so too did the value of their copyright. A study of the mechanics of the trade reveals that they were major business ventures, seriously invested in by leading members of the print trade, who often worked together to create best-selling titles.

Editorial Control and Authorship

While collective ownership points to the high value of memorandum books, it also raises questions about editorial control and authorship. If multiple parties were involved in the production of memorandum books, who actually wrote and edited the content of these publications? This section considers the role of publishers in organizing the material of memorandum books, and the potential benefits of stylizing themselves as editors, before exploring the knotty question of authorship. I argue that the book's content came from a range of sources: some publishers wrote the content of their books, but this cannot account for all of the material we find: content was also sourced from members of the public, lifted from other publications, or was penned by anonymous hack writers.

What role did publishers play in organizing the material of their memorandum books? As we have seen, even when memorandum books were owned by a partnership of publishers they were often presented as the work of a single publisher. This is reflected in the common convention of shortening memorandum book titles with reference to the publisher's name. For example, *The London Magazine* for 1762 included in its list of annual publications: 'Baldwin's Daily Journal', 'Dodsley's Gentleman's Memorandum Book', '[Dodsley's] Ladies Ditto', 'Newbery's Ladies Pocket Book' and 'Sheepey's Daily Journal.'[99] By presenting a memorandum book as the product of a single publisher, the implication appears to be that this particular publisher was singularly responsible for its contents.

There are several reasons why this may be the image that involved parties wished to convey. Most straightforwardly, it probably *was* the case that the named publisher often had central responsibility for the compilation and publication of memorandum books, with

[99] *The London Magazine; or Gentleman's Monthly Intelligence,* Vol. XXXI (London, 1762), 632.

other publishers simply helping to finance the scheme. Indeed, some publishers explicitly styled themselves as "editors" of their memorandum book. For example, *The Gentleman's and Tradesman's Pocket Assistant: or Daily Remembrancer* was published by a small collective of publishers, visible in book imprints and advertisements, but the formulae typically began: 'Printed for the Editor, M. Sheepey'. Marshall Sheepey, a bookseller in Stationers' Court, was presented as being responsible for the book's compilation. Within the book itself, the editorial hand was mostly invisible – with one exception. Sheepey's *Pocket Assistant,* unusually, was dedicated to public figures such as Stephen Theodore Janssen, Alderman and MP for the City of London, and Marshe Dickinson, Lord-Mayor of London; such inscriptions were signed off by 'His most obedient Servant, The EDITOR.'[100] Looking at the English Short Title Catalogue, we can see that Sheepey appears to have been active from approximately 1750, the same year in which he published his first memorandum book with a dedication to Janssen. By styling himself as editor, Sheepey was projecting an image of himself as well. His dedications positioned both himself and the *Pocket Assistant* as part of a newer wave of publishing, directed firmly towards civic utility: he did not seek approval from those traditional dedicatees, royalty, but to the men who made the city of London and its business tick. The selection of dedicatees was also intended to highlight the importance of trade guilds in building up the City's fortunes, and perhaps, aspirationally, link Sheepey to such positions of power: Janssen had formerly been a paper-dealer and master of the Stationers' Company, of which Sheepey was a newly-minted member.[101] Having an editor was likely both a fact of the book's production, and a useful device to establish Sheepey's reputation and help position the book within its target market: urban tradesmen and merchants.

By the 1770s, ladies' editions of memorandum books began to more explicitly draw on the voice of 'the editor,' a figure who advised her female readers in fashion, morality, and the

[100] *The Gentleman's and Tradesman's Pocket Assistant: Or, Daily Remembrancer, for the Year MDCCLI* [1751] (London: Printed for and Sold by M. Sheepey, under the Royal Exchange, Cornhill). Copy consulted: "Brydges, James, 3rd Duke of Chandos, ST 109 [Diaries 4vo1s] [1st volume – the diary for 1751," Stowe papers, 1175-1919 (bulk 1600-1900), San Marino, Huntington Library, mssST 109.

[101] Marshall Sheepey was admitted to the Stationers' Company on the 4th July 1749: "Call of the Livery, Volume 1, 27 Jun 1606 - 5 Nov 1765," London, The Stationers' Company Archives, TSC/1/C/01/06/01; Ian Gadd, "The Stationers' Company," in Peter Sabor & Betty Schellenberg, eds., *Samuel Richardson in Context* (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 2017), 88.

arts. This was in stark contrast to men's memorandum books, which throughout this period rarely used the label editor – Sheepey was an exception, not the rule. We find that the content of men's memorandum books was presented as a matter of fact, rather than of taste: their printed pages were dominated with tables and lists rather than prose and poetry. The differing presentation of ladies' memorandum books likely reflected their increasing overlap with periodical culture, which was increasingly targeting female audiences.[102] It is not surprising that the first ladies' memorandum book to begin addressing readers from 'the editor' was *The Ladies' Own Memorandum Book*, part-owned by the publishing firm Robinson & Roberts who would soon go on to publish the seminal periodical, *The Ladies Magazine* (1770-1832).[103] Both periodicals and ladies' memorandum books consciously created a community of female readers through the use of correspondents, who were invited to contribute poetry and enigma puzzles. The conversable nature of these ladies' publications therefore required the appearance of an editorial figure, someone readers could correspond with and trust to dispense advice and good taste.

The construction of an editor in memorandum books never stretched to the fully-fleshed out fictional character, known as an 'eidolon,' of the kind that populated early eighteenth-century periodicals or almanacs.[104] Instead, ladies' memorandum books took a less playful tone, endeavouring to speak familiarly and knowledgeably from the broadly-construed role of 'A Lady' or 'The Editor.' Mostly, these editorial figures were anonymous though we can reasonably suppose they were guises for individuals either listed on the title-page imprints, or closely linked to them. We know, for example, that the *Ladies' Own Memorandum-Book* was the work of Ann Fisher, wife of its publisher Thomas Slack (as will be explored in Chapter Three), and it is assumed she wrote its educational prefaces.[105] Like editors of

[102] Jennie Batchelor & Manushag N. Powell, "Introduction: Women and the Birth of Periodical Culture," in Jennie Batchelor, & Manushag N. Powell, eds., *Women's Periodicals and Print Culture in Britain, 1690s-1820s* (Edinburgh: Edinburgh University Press, 2018), 5.
[103] See: Jennie Batchelor, *The Lady's Magazine (1770-1832) and the Making of Literary History* (Edinburgh: Edinburgh University Press, 2023.
[104] For more on eidolons, see Chapter One of Manushag N. Powell, *Performing Authorship in 18th-Century English Periodicals* (Lanham: Bucknell University Press, 2014).
[105] Karen Cajka, "Ann Fisher: Reforming Education for "the mere English Scholar," *European Romantic Review* 22, no. 5 (September 2011): 591; Helen Williams, "Printing, Publishing, and Pocket Book Compiling: Ann Fisher's Hidden Labour in the Newcastle Book Trade," in Rachel Stenner, Kaley Kramer & Adam James Smith, eds. *Print Culture, Agency and Regionality in the Hand Press Period* (Cham: Palgrave Macmillan, 2022), 107.

periodicals, such men and women of the trade did not really have the genteel status which they projected, so although they were never fully-realised characters there was an element of fictionalisation involved.[106]

Yet a glaring question remains: who actually wrote the content of memorandum books? Did Marshall Sheepey's self-proclaimed role as editor of the *Pocket Assistant* involve actually writing any of the material, or simply require him to solicit and marshal its contents? What evidence do we have of authorship?

Certainly, we know that some of the material of memorandum books was submitted by members of the public, at the request of the editor. The enigma puzzle competitions, an enduring feature of ladies' memorandum books, required readers to send in puzzles and solutions for the chances of winning copies of next year's editions.[111] Poems, engimas and their solutions were normally submitted under playful pseudonymous names, as will be further explored in Chapter Three. While this gave amateur poets the opportunity to see their work in print, there is evidence to suggest that up-and-coming professional poets used ladies' memorandum books as a vehicle for garnering interest in their poetry ahead of publication. In the *Ladies' Own Memorandum Book* for 1771, for example, an 'S. Bentley' of Uttoxeter contributed the 'The Staffordshire Fox Chace', a lively recitative which would eventually be put to music. Underneath was the italicised notice: 'The Author of the above, purposes publishing a Volume of Poems. Proposals for which will be shortly advertised.'[112] Indeed, in 1774 a Samuel Bentley of Uxoter published his *Poems on Various Occasions,*

[106] Jennie Batchelor & Manushag N. Powell, "Introduction: Women and the Birth of Periodical Culture," in Jennie Batchelor, & Manushag N. Powell, eds., *Women's Periodicals and Print Culture in Britain, 1690s-1820s* (Edinburgh, 2018), 15.

[111] For example, the *Ladies' Own Memorandum-Book* offered 'the best poetical Solutions to the foregoing Enigmas &c […] a Chance, by Lot, of six, four, and two Ladies Own Memorandum Books.' *The Ladies' Own Memorandum-Book: or, Daily Pocket Journal, for the Year 1794* (London: Printed for G. G. and J. Robinson, No. 25 Paternoster-Row; and S. Hodgson, Newcastle). Copy consulted: London, British Library, RB.8.a.215(1). For more on the popularity of riddles in this period, see Mary Chadwick, "The Most Dangerous Talent': Riddles as Feminine Pastime," in Tiffany Potter, ed., *Women, Popular Culture, and the Eighteenth Century* (Toronto: University of Toronto Press, 2012), 185-201.

[112] *The Ladies' Own Memorandum-Book; Or, Daily Pocket Journal, for the Year 1771* (London: Printed for Robinson and Roberts, No. 25, Paternoster-row; and T. Slack, at Newcastle). Copy consulted: "Diary written in 'The Ladies Own Memorandum Book: or Daily Pocket Journal," Diaries of Ann Prest - 1769-1776, Birmingham, Cadbury Library, MS52/2.

which included in its subscriber list Thomas and Ann Slack, who were responsible for publishing the *Ladies' Own Memorandum Book*.[113]

Moreover, some content was simply lifted from other publications. This cut and paste approach was a normal practice in eighteenth-century periodical print, while nonetheless proving irksome to those on the receiving end of it. The copying of paragraphs and extracts had little legal protection in this period, but publishers could still perceive such actions as plagiarism or piracy. The publishers of Newbery's *Ladies' Complete Pocket-Book,* for example, complained about this practice by their rivals:

> As some of the people concerned in the 'Ladies' New and Polite Pocket Memorandum Book' had not time to purloin the account of the Duke of Bridgewater's aqueduct from this pocket-book to enrich their own, they have ungenerously thrust it (without any acknowledgement) into a bungled-up magazine ; for which the public will undoubtedly despise both them and their performance.[114]

Such frustrations, however, could only extend so far. As Will Slauter cynically surmises: '[n]o printer or editor would have dreamed of prohibiting the copying of paragraphs, because that would have made it much harder to fill his own columns.'[115]

Since the bulk of original material in memorandum books was published anonymously, the only possible attribution was the publisher themselves. Men of the pen like Robert Dodsley, whose high-flying bookselling career was built off the back of his own literary endeavours, certainly might have written the content of their memorandum books; scholars assume that the Anne Slack was not only printing and editing the *Ladies' Own Memorandum Book* but also writing its educational prefaces.[116] As we will see in Chapter Three, it certainly appears that Thomas Slack authored content for the *Newcastle Memorandum Book.* However, for other publishers such an arrangement seems very unlikely. Ultimately, many memorandum

[113] Samuel Bentley, *Poems on Various Occasions: Consisting of Original Pieces and Translations* (London: Printed for the author, by J. D. Cornish; and sold by Elizabeth Stevens, Stationers Hall, 1774), xi.
[114] As cited in Welsh, *Bookseller of the Last Century,* 115.
[115] Slauter, "Upright Piracy," 55.
[116] Cajka, "Ann Fisher," 591; Williams, "Printing, Publishing, and Pocket Book Compiling," 107.

books were likely written, in true eighteenth-century tradition, by a number of anonymous hack-writers employed by the publisher. And unlike periodicals, their contributors were rarely even acknowledged by a pen-name, making the likelihood of our knowing who contributed to them very slim indeed.[117]

Yet there is one instance in which a pen-name was used for a memorandum book essay, pointing us towards a potential identification of the author. The *Ladies Complete Pocket Book* for 1762 featured an essay on 'The Manner of Dressing in the Year 1761, with some Directions relating thereto'.[118] It was written by a 'Lady of Fashion' and signed off with the name 'Caroline Stanhope'. The essay began by plainly outlining the recent trends for tippets, French beads and Italian gauze, before eschewing the strict dictates of fashion to advise that readers should dress in whatever best suited their form, regardless of whether or not the item was in season. The essay advised to keep the methods of dressing subtle, for the 'men for whom we principally dress [...] see and are charmed with the beauty and variety of the machinery, but are ignorant of the methods by which the machines are put in motion.'[119] It then turned to mock the 'ridiculous' recent fashion for tête de mouton ("sheeps-head") head dresses: 'some ladies, who intended to be particularly fine dressed *en tote de mouton* [...] and what was the consequence? The ladies, of whom I am speaking, looked like so many ghosts.'[120] While presenting some genuine advice on fashion of the previous year, then, it simultaneously engaged in some light ridicule of the vagaries of fashion. 'Caroline Stanhope' was a pseudonym, but one which the publisher John Newbery might reasonably expect to be known to his readers. For 'Caroline A. Stanhope' was the pseudonymous editor of one the most popular female-oriented periodicals at this time, *The Lady's Magazine* (1759-1763).[121]

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[117] For more on the pseudonymous culture of periodicals, see Chapter Four, "Authors, Readers, Writing Cultures in Jennie Batchelor, *The Lady's Magazine (1770-1832) and the Making of Literary History* (Edinburgh: Edinburgh University Press, 2023).

[118] *The Ladies Complete Pocket-Book, for the Year of our Lord 1762* (London: Printed only for John Newbery, in St. Paul's Church Yard). Copy consulted: "Memorandum and account book of Mrs Helyar. 1762," Taunton, Somerset Heritage Centre, A/BYI/1.

[119] Ibid.

[120] Ibid.

[121] Ros Ballaster, Margaret Beetham, Elizabeth Frazer & Sandra Hebron, *Women's Worlds: Ideology, Femininity, and the Woman's Magazine* (Basingstoke: Macmillan, 1993), 64.

At the very least, signing off the memorandum book essay with the same pen-name was intended to give greater authority to the advice it imparted by drawing on the prestige of *The Lady's Magazine*. Clearly an overlap in readership was anticipated, once again demonstrating the close relationship between different types of ladies' publications emerging in this period. Yet it also seems plausible that this pen-name points to the same author at work. It is now well established that during 1760 and 1761, the dramatist Oliver Goldsmith was most likely responsible for editing *The Lady's Magazine* and writing its addresses under the pseudonym of Mrs. Caroline A. Stanhope.[122] In 1761, when the *Ladies Complete Pocket Book* for the following year was published, we know that Goldsmith was also working as a hack-writer for John Newbery. Theirs was no typical working relationship, as Newbery soon began taking control of elements of Goldsmith's life in order to steer him towards industriousness; sometime between around 1763, Newbery even organised for Goldsmith to move into rooms in Canonbury House and paid his rent in return for literary work. Newbery was in these years Goldsmith's most significant patron.[123] It seems plausible, then, that Oliver Goldsmith was redeploying his pen-name for a small contribution to Newbery's memorandum book. Both Caroline A. Stanhope, the editor, and Caroline Stanhope, the Lady of Fashion, purported to advise their female readers of changing sartorial style, but with a similarly tongue-in-cheek approach.

To a modern reader, it might seem fanciful to suggest that prominent eighteenth-century authors might have contributed piecemeal work to memorandum books, but it is consistent with our knowledge the mechanisms of publishing in this era. This was a time in which authors were not always well-renumerated even for their most fêted works. Leading writers like Goldsmith frequently sought work as hack-writers to supplement their income. Periodical studies have done much to uncover their pseudonymous contributions to various periodicals, magazines and reviews essays that were issued by a familiar rote-list of

[122] George Sherburn & Donald F. Bond, *The Restoration and Eighteenth Century (1660-1789)* (London: Routledge and Kegan Paul Ltd., 1967), 1054; Jennie Batchelor, "'[T]o Cherish Female Ingenuity, and to Conduce to Female Improvement': The Birth of the Women's Magazine," in Jennie Batchelor & Manushag N. Powell, eds., *Women's Periodicals and Print Culture in Britain, 1690-1820s* (Edinburgh: Edinburgh University Press, 2018), 382.
[123] Chris Mounsey, "Oliver Goldsmith and John Newbery," *Eighteenth-Century Ireland / Iris an dá chultúr* 13 (1998): 149-158.

publishers, such as Joseph Johnson.[124] It seems likely that hack-writers also contributed the short essays, poetry, and stories that appeared in these publishers' respective ladies' memorandum books, and that some of these would have been figures familiar to us today. For example, during the years that Joseph Johnson employed Mary Wollstonecraft on his various publications to help her get back on her feet, it would be logical for her duties to extend to contributions for his annual *Ladies New and Polite Pocket-Memorandum Book.* The sudden inclusion of anonymously-penned oriental stories in the front matter of the book in the 1789 and 1790 editions presents a tantalising possible connection to Wollstonecraft, coinciding both with her time as Johnson's hack-writer and with her attempt to write an oriental tale entitled *The Cave of Fancy,* which she later discarded.[125] Without in-depth linguistic analysis, such tentative links are difficult to prove. But I think we have good reason to suspect that, were we able to unmask the anonymous contributors to memorandum books, we would recognise some of the names involved and see that memorandum books were thoroughly embedded in the literary culture of the period.

As we have seen, memorandum books may have been presented as the work of a single publisher, but were in fact the product of a number of individuals: they were often issued by a collective of publishers, some of whom took editorial control and others who helped to finance the publication. Content was variously supplied by the publishers themselves, written by anonymous hack-writers, solicited from the consuming public, and copied from other sources. In the final section, we will see how the titling of memorandum books formed part of the wider promotional strategies of memorandum book publishers.

Marketing Strategies and Brand Recognition

[124] See, for example literature on contributors to Joseph Johnson's *Analytical Review*: Sally N. Stewart, "Mary Wollstonecraft's Contributions to the Analytical Review," *Essays in Literature,* 11 (Fall 1984): 187-199; Walter Brouwer, "Joshua Toulmin in the Analytical Review," *Notes and Queries* 30 (June 1983): 209-212; Walter Brouwer, "Mary Imlay, Analytical Reviewer," *Notes and Queries* 29 (June 1982): 204-206.

[125] See: Gerald P. Tyson, *Joseph Johnson: A Liberal Publisher* (Iowa City: University of Iowa Press, 1797), 67. It is also the case that Orientalism was of popular interest in contemporary ladies' periodicals, such as *The Lady's Magazine,* for more on this see: James Robert Wood, "Periodicals and the Problem of Women's Learning," in Jennie Batchelor, & Manushag N. Powell, eds., *Women's Periodicals and Print Culture in Britain, 1690s-1820s* (Edinburgh: Edinburgh University Press, 2018), 36.

How were memorandum books promoted? In the run up to the new year, advertisements for memorandum books crowded newspapers. As can be seen in Fig. 11, the *Oxford Journal* in November 1775 crammed in nine separate advertisements for memorandum books on one page alone. It was not an outlier. The structure of these advertisements followed a pattern familiar to the book trade more generally. They deployed 'the most common heading in eighteenth-century advertisements for books': 'This Day is Published.'[126] This statement should not be taken literally, but instead was intended to emphasise the newness of the production, no matter how long it had been on the market.

[126] Siv Gøril Brandtzæg, "Mercury as Merchant: The Advertisement of Novels in Eighteenth-Century Provincial English Newspapers," in Siv Gøril Brandtzæg, Paul Goring, & Christine Watson, eds., *Travelling Chronicles: News and Newspapers from the Early Modern Period to the Eighteenth Century* (Leiden: Brill, 2018), 274.



Advertisements.

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(Six Days a Week to and from London)

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R WHITEN and Co.'s OXFORD FLY ★ is removed from the New Inn, in the Old Bailey, to the Golden Cross, at Charing-Cross, and the Oxford Arms, in Warwick-Lane, near St. Paul's, London; from whence it continues going every morning at seven, to the Star Inn, Oxford, and returns from thence the same mornings. For the better accommodating passengers, a book is kept at the Denmark Head, in the Old Bailey, where parcels and luggage will be taken in, and carefully booked.—The Fare to Oxford 10s. Wheatley 9s. Tetsworth 8s. Stoken-Church 7s. Wycomb 5s. Beaconsfield 4s. Uxbridge 3s.

Performed by
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C. GREENTREE, Uxbridge,
R. WHITEN, Oxford.

This day was published, Price 1s.

Neatly bound in Red, with Pockets for Notes, &c. to be continued annually,

(Embellished with two Ladies in the Full-Dress of 1775, and 12 of the most fashionable Head-Dresses,)

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By a LADY.

London: Printed for G. Robinson, No. 25, Paternoster-Row; and T. Slack, Newcastle; and sold by W. Jackson and J. Lister, in Oxford; and by the Oxford Newsmen.

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This Day is published, Price 1s.

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V. Ode to Shakespear, on his Female Characters.
VI. Elegy on the Death of a Clergyman's Wife.
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IX. An Account of the Improvements made in Drury-Lane Theatre.
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XI. Receipts in Cookery, Confectionary, &c.
XII. New Songs sung in the Public Gardens, in 1775
XIII. The Holidays and Remarkable Days in 1776.
XIV. Tables of the Sun and Moon for 1776.
XV. A Table for the more easy reckoning of Salaries and Wages.
XVI. Rules respecting Hackney Coachmen, &c.
XVII. Marketing Tables.
XVIII. Rates of Watermen.
XIX. Table of Interest at 5 per Cent. from 1l. to 1000l.

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*** It would be needless to comment here on the superior Merit of this Publication; its Reputation being sufficiently established by the Decision of the Court of Chancery in Favour of the Publisher, against the Proprietors of Dr. Hawkesworth's Voyages, by the Encomiums bestowed on it by the Lord Chancellor and other respectable Characters of London, and by the Account given of it in the London Review for June and September.

N. B. Both the above Works may be had in Weekly Numbers, Price 6d. each.

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IV. List of Bankers.
V. A valuable Table, explaining the collateral Value of landed and monied Property, Interest Tables, &c.
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I. This Work is printed in large Folio, on a fine Paper, compriled in Seventy-two Pages properly ruled; also Fifty-two Pages, ruled for entering all Appointments, Memorandums, Observations, or Engagements.

II. It contains the Old and New Testament, very distinctly printed on a beautiful Letter; so as to be in itself a large and elegant Edition of the Bible.

III. After the Text, upon each Page, follows a Commentary, explaining difficult Paffages, removing Objections, and vindicating the facred Scriptures. With practical Improvements, in the Manner of Mr. Doddridge.

IV. This elaborate Commentary will, for the Convenience of the Purchaser, be republished in Weekly Numbers, ftitched in blue Paper, at the Price of Sixpence No. I. will be published on Saturday Dec. 2, 1775.

N. B. The whole Work being completed, may be seen at the Publisher's.

London: Printed for R. Davis, L. Davis, T. Carnan and F. Newbery, jun. and sold by W. Goldsmith, at No. 8, in Paternoster-Row, where Propofals at large giving a particular Account of the Work, may be had and Subscriptions taken in; also by all other Booksellers in Great Britain and Ireland.

STATE LOTTERY, 1775.

THE Tickets, and Shares of Tickets, Chances of Tickets, and Shares of Chances, are now filling in halves, quarters, eighths, fixteenths, thirty-feconds and fixty-fourths, at SLADE and Co.'s Old State Lottery Office, No. 508, Oxford-ftreet, one door from Bond-ftreet at their Office, No. 333, Oxford-ftreet, near Argyle-buildings, facing John-ftreet, Oxford-market; at their Office No. 49, Brook-ftreet, Grofvenor-fquare; and at their Dwelling-houfe, No. 69, Bond-ftreet, London.

Correct Numerical and Regifter Books will be kept of this Lottery; where adventurers regifering the Numbers of their Tickets, are sure of having the moft fpeedy account of their fuccefs fent to any part of the world; and all buſineſs in the Lottery way tranſacted with the greateſt care and punctuality.

SCHEME of the LOTTERY.

No. of Prizes.		Value of each.		Total Value.
2	of	£. 20,000	are	£. 40,000
4	—	10,000	—	40,000
8	—	5,000	—	40,000
18	—	2,000	—	36,000
36	—	1,000	—	36,000
60	—	500	—	30,000
200	—	100	—	20,000
870	—	50	—	43,500
18,700	—	15	—	280,500
20,000 Prizes				£. 596,000
The first drawn Ticket for the first three days, 1,000l. each.				3,000
The laft drawn Ticket				1,000
40,000 Blanks				
60,000 Tickets.				£. 600,000

Only Two Blanks to a Prize.——The Prizes in this Lottery will be paid their full value in money, at the Bank of England, or at the above Offices, agreeable to Act of Parliament.

PRICES of TICKETS and SHARES.

Ticket				may gain	£. 20,000	0	0
Half	£. 6	12	0	——	10,000	0	0
Quarter	3	6	6	——	5,000	0	0
Eighth	1	13	6	——	2,500	0	0
Sixteenth	0	17	0	——	1,250	0	0
Thirty-fecond	0	9	0	——	625	0	0
Sixty-fourth	0	4	6	——	312	10	0

The undermentioned Capital Prizes are in this Lottery more than were in the laft Lottery, as it will appear by the following fpecification, viz.

2	of	£. 10,000	is	£. 20,000
3	——	5,000	——	15,000
8	——	2,000	——	16,000
16	——	1,000	——	16,000
20	——	500	——	10,000
120	——	100	——	12,000
270	——	50	——	13,500
——	——	——	——	——
439				102,500

The Lottery begins drawing the 13th of November.

As a fifteen pound Prize being effeemed by many adventurers too trifial to engage their notice, Meff. SLADE and Co. for the more convenient accommodation of those who chufe to become purchafers on that principle, formed a plan for felling Chances of Tickets, and Shares of Chances at a much fmaller expence than Tickets and Shares of Tickets, which gives the purchafers the benefit of all Prizes above fifteen pounds.

Prices of Chances of Tickets, and Shares of Chances.

Whole Chance	——	may gain	£. 20,000	0	0
Half	——	——	10,000	0	0
Quarter	——	——	5,000	0	0
Eighth	——	——	2,500	0	0
Sixteenth	——	——	1,250	0	0
Thirty-fecond	——	——	625	0	0
Sixty-fourth	——	——	312	10	0

The Tickets and Shares of Tickets, the Chances of Tickets, and Shares of Chances, examined gratis.

Please to take notice, that whofoever bought a share of a Ticket in the laft State Lottery, at their Offices, may for the original Ticket of which they did buy a share, at any time, on demand. Though Meff. Slade and Co. are fenfible this is no more than their duty to do, yet they humbly hope this fair method, calculated to give the neceffary fatisfaction, will recommend them to the favour and confidence of the Public, to ferve them in this Lottery, in any refpect or mode they may please to adventure.

Country correfpondents favouring us with their orders, remitting good bills on fight or of fhort date, will be duly attended to, and as faithfully executed, as though they were prefent.——Tickets infured to any amount during the Drawing.

Printed by W. JACKSON and J. LISTER, in the *High-Street*, OXFORD: Where may be had, all Sorts of Blank Warrants, Orders of Removal, Certificates, &c. &c.
All Letters to the Printers are defired to be fent Poft Paid; and our Correfpondents are particularly requefted to communicate nothing but Facts.

Image © THE BRITISH LIBRARY BOARD. ALL RIGHT

Figure 11. Example of a single newspaper page with nine separate advertisements for pocket memorandum books (underlined in red). Oxford Journal, 18 Nov. 1775.

Meanwhile, as can be seen, newspaper advertisements for memorandum books often replicated word-for-word the contents of their title page, with little extraneous spiel to persuade customers of the benefits of purchasing their publication. Extra copies of the title page were also printed to be sent out to shops, to help customers decide whether to order the books or not.[127] The title page itself thus functioned as advertisement, as was typical of printed books at this time.[128]

It may therefore seem that advertising strategies for memorandum books were rudimentary, yet publishers memorandum books also drew on more subtle and sophisticated approaches to promote their wares. As previously noted, in magazine and periodical advertisements memorandum books were frequently listed with reference to the publisher's name. Returning to *The London Magazine* for 1762, we can see this in action: it advertised 'Baldwin's Daily Journal', 'Dodsley's Gentleman's Memorandum Book', '[Dodsley's] Ladies Ditto', 'Newbery's Ladies Pocket Book' and 'Sheepy's Daily Journal.'[129] With a proliferation of titles that sounded bewilderingly similar, one of the only real tools at a publisher's disposal for quickly distinguishing their title from others was their own imprint.[130] Many advertisements throughout this period concluded with a request to order the book by reference to its publisher, to ensure that the unwitting consumer was purchasing *their* title and not another. As we saw in the example of Marshall Sheepey, memorandum book titles could work to promote both publication and publisher simultaneously. The marketing of memorandum books bears similarities with the medicinal trade so closely allied to the book trade in this period, since medicines were typically named after their owner or 'the supposed inventor of the medicine's name.'[131] Like medicines, the naming of memorandum books after a single publisher helped to build up brand

[127] More on this in Chapter Six of this thesis.
[128] Rodney M. Baine, "The Evidence From Defoe's Title Pages," *Studies in Bibliography* 25 (1972): 185-6; Nicholas Brownlees, ""Just Published": Advertising Books of Instruction, Misfortune, South Sea Affairs, and Entertainment in The Post Boy (1721)," *English Studies,* 102, no. 7 (2021): 906.
[129] *The London Magazine; or Gentleman's Monthly Intelligence,* Vol. XXXI (London, 1762), 632.
[130] Similar to the medicine trade, as Jennifer Basford has described: 'protecting the brand name was of the utmost importance […] the descriptions supplied in adverts often warned consumers of 'spurious Preparations' and advised them how best to recognise an 'authentic' from a copy.' Jennifer Louise Basford, "'A commodity of good names': the branding of products, c.1650-1900," *Unpublished PhD Thesis* (University of York, 2012), 40.
[131] Alan Mackintosh, *The Patents Medicine Industry in Georgian England: Constructing the Market by the Potency of Print* (Cham: Palgrave Macmillan, 2018), 244.

recognition. As a strategy, it was remarkably effective: we can still find a "Baldwin's Daily Journal" being advertised in 1871.[132]

To talk of brand recognition might seem anachronistic in the context of eighteenth-century print products. Branding is usually seen as a hallmark of the age of mass-production, when products acquired distinctive packaging to differentiate them in the nineteenth and twentieth centuries. By contrast, eighteenth-century memorandum books were manufactured on hand-presses and there was little to externally distinguish one title of memorandum book from another. Yet as John Styles in his article on product innovation in early modern London has shown, the marketing and branding of products has a long history that stretches back to at least the seventeenth century, and one which played an important role in the consumer revolution of the eighteenth century.[133] As he argues, the consumer revolution is often explained in terms of a general increase of goods and a greater range of categories of goods, but such largely quantitative studies can obscure the importance of product differentiation in this period – that is, the increased variation within each given category of goods.[134]

Developing a brand identity was one method of product differentiation, but merchants could also emphasise the difference between the old and the new, as part of cycles of fashion, and design objects be parts of sets that matched other items.[135] We find that memorandum book publishers adopted these approaches. Firstly, memorandum books placed a great emphasis on being new and up-to-date, as being continually improved upon. When Robert Dodsley launched his memorandum book in 1748, he emphasised the novelty of the product as compared to older styles of record-keeping by titling it *A New Memorandum Book*, and soon after, in the face of competition, *The New Memorandum Book Improv'd* by the 1753 edition. Over the eighteenth century at least thirty-two different memorandum books featured the word 'new' in their titles; the appearance of novelty was

[132] *Middlesex County Times*, 4 Feb. 1871.
[133] John Styles, "Product Innovation in Early Modern London," *Past & Present* 168, issue 1. (August 2000): 124-169; Also see James Raven, "The Book as Commodity," in Michael F. Suarez, SJ & Michael L. Turner, eds., *The Cambridge History of the Book in Britain,* Vol. 5: 1695-1830 (Cambridge, Cambridge University Press, 2009), 85-117.
[134] Styles, "Product Innovation," 158.
[135] Ibid.

one of the key grounds on which they competed.[136] Within the books themselves, the almost immediate shift from leaving the dates of the memorandum books blank to printing the dates of the year helped to establish a form of built-in obsolescence, intended to create consumer habits not unlike the cycles of fashion. Each year, the last memorandum book would fall into obsolescence and a new one would need to be purchased with the correct dates and with the latest tables of information. A consumer's record-keeping, in theory at least, would be constrained by the printed and dated format.[137] Publishers also encouraged consumers to treat their memorandum books as part of a set, so they would purchase the same title year on year. Kearsley's *Gentleman and Tradesman's Pocket Ledger* for 1781, for example, concluded with room to note down a 'Sum total of Payments for the Year 1781, carried to the POCKET LEDGER for 1782.'[138] Baldwin's *Daily Journal*, meanwhile, initially numbered each year's issue at the top of the title page, as 'No. I', 'No. II', and so on, thereby encouraging consumers to treat the *Daily Journal* – and the construction of their own life writing – as they would a multi-volume set. The printed format of the memorandum book itself encouraged repeat purchases, for it offered the potential for manuscript record-keeping to be standardized across the years.

Finally, the books also formed part of wider marketing strategies by eighteenth-century publishers. Memorandum books could function as a vehicle for advertising a publisher's other products, and not just their print products.[144] More straightforwardly, memorandum books included at least one advertisement either just after the title page, or at the end of the volume, usually another recent publication which might appeal. Dodsley's *New Memorandum Book* for 1754, for example, contained an advertisement for *The General Shop Book: Or, The Tradesman's Universal Director*, which provided a range of relevant mercantile information for those engaged in retail, as well as a 'MAP of the ROADS, a PLAN

[136] See my dataset of memorandum book titles published between 1748-1799.
[137] Although as we shall see in Chapter Five of this thesis, consumers often repurposed memorandum books to use for later years.
[138] *Kearsly's Gentleman and Tradesman's Pocket Ledger, for the Year* 1782 (London: Printed for G. Kearsly, at No. 46, in Fleet-street). Copy consulted: "Donisthorpe family papers 1762-1819," Taunton, Somerset Heritage Centre, DD/MR/69.
[144] In part, such marketing strategies emerged because advertising in newspapers was expensive, see: Raven, "The Book as Commodity," 85-117.

of London, [and] a CHART of the Sea Coast.'[145] It is not difficult to see why this book might be thought to be relevant to the tradesmen Dodsley envisioned using the memorandum book.

Yet advertising was also woven through memorandum books in more subtle ways. To conclude, we will look at one example which shows just how sophisticated such advertising strategies could be. It concerns Baldwin's *Daily Journal,* and builds upon the earlier work of this chapter in establishing the complex business relationships behind the publication.

Some early memorandum book brands included a historical chronicle that ran down the centre of the page, recounting significant events that had occurred on each day in previous years.[146] In Baldwin's *Daily Journal* for 1751, we find that one entry considerably outstripped all others in length. In May the reader was informed that:

> This Month died of a malignant Fever, Sir Samuel Penant, Knt. Lord Mayor of the City of London, Sir Daniel Lambert, Knt. And Alderman, the Hom. Charles Clark, Esq; one of the Barons of the Exchequer, Sir Tho. Abney, one of the Judges of the Com. Pleas, Counsellor Baird, Couns. Otwa, Dep. Hunt, Mr. Mallett, Linen-draper, Mr. Taddy, Apothecary, Mr. Cox, the Und. Sheriff, and Mr. Sharpless, Clerk of the Papers ; all of which, it was remarked, were at the last Sessions at the Old Baily, where, t'was generally believed, they caught a malignant Fever, which carried 'em off. It was also particularly remark'd, and worthy Record, that not one Person, who contracted the Infection at this Sessions, and took Dr. James's Fever Powder, but recovered 1750.[147]

The emphasis placed on this particular historical event as compared to the births and deaths of monarchs, or significant battles, initially appears as unaccountably odd. The 1750

[145] *The New Memorandum Book Improv'd: Or, The Gentleman and Tradesman's Daily Pocket Journal for the Year 1754* (London: Printed for R. Dodsley, in Pall-mall). Copy consulted: "Pocket Journals," Farming, estate and personal diaries of William Poole, Brighton, East Sussex and Brighton and Hove Record Office, HOOK 16/6.
[146] For more on historical chronicles in memorandum books, see Chapter Four of this thesis.
[147] *The Daily Journal, For the Year of Our Lord, 1751; Or, The Gentleman's and Tradesman's Methodical Accompt-Book for the Pocket* (London: Printed for R. Baldwin, in Pater-Noster-Row). Copy consulted: "Diary of Sir Roger Newdigate, 1751," Warwick, Warwickshire Record Office, CRO136/A582.

epidemic it describes, known as "Jail Fever" was certainly a famous event, but fame was seemingly the general inclusion criteria for events in the historical register.

It is only armed with our knowledge of the operations behind the scene that we can begin to unravel the rationale behind this entry in the historical register. As we established earlier, Baldwin's *Daily Journal* was part-owned by the publisher John Newbery, yet his involvement in the publication was completely invisible on the title page for most of the eighteenth century. The shared interests of Baldwin and Newbery in their respective memorandum books led to cooperation between the publishers: Baldwin did not attempt to launch a rival ladies' memorandum book brand, and Newbery did not attempt to launch a rival gentleman's one. They even advertised one another's books within their own, and placed notices in the newspapers which jointly recommended them. In the eighteenth century, the book trade and the medical trade were closely allied, and it was not uncommon for booksellers to also be vendors of medicines. John Newbery was the sole vendor of the period's most successful medicine: Dr. James's Fever Powder.[148]

Thus the pieces fall into place: the report of the epidemic of Jail Fever functioned not only as an entry in the historical chronicle, but also as a pointed advertisement for Dr. James's Fever Powder, on behalf of Newbery, who had shares in Baldwin's *Daily Journal*. This subtle form of advertising is in-keeping with strategies that medical historians have identified in newspapers of this period: Kevin Siena has described how an advertisement masquerading as a news bulletin appeared only days after the event in the *Whitehall Evening Post* in 1750, informing the public of the efficacy of St. James's Fever Powder in curbing the deaths of fever-stricken patients.[149] Indeed, the entry in Baldwin's *Daily Journal* employed suspiciously similar wording.

Not only were memorandum books big business in the eighteenth-century print trade, then, they also displayed innovative approaches to marketing in ways that have gone completely unappreciated. This thesis has more to say about the marketing strategies of publishers:

[148] Mackintosh, *Patents Medicine Industry*, 2.
[149] Kevin Siena, *Rotten Bodies: Class and Contagion in Eighteenth-Century Britain,* (New Haven: Yale University Press, 2019), 107.

Chapter Three explores how provincial publishers promoted memorandum books across different publishing platforms, while Chapter Seven touches on how the advertising within memorandum books could serve a publisher's ideological agenda. This section has laid the groundwork for such analysis: it has shown that these publications were not just a valuable commodity in themselves, but should be investigated for what they can tell us about the mechanics of eighteenth-century publication more generally.

Conclusion

This chapter has demonstrated that the business of selling memorandum books was a significant part of the eighteenth-century print trade. Memorandum books demand the same level of investigation as other staple genres of the period: they were a popular print product, with the potential for large print runs and incredible longevity. The widespread nature of memorandum books points to the necessity of integrating them into our print histories; their prevalence also complicates our understanding of how consumers most commonly encountered and consumed media forms in the eighteenth century. Furthermore, this chapter has sought to establish fundamental features of the trade, demonstrating the complex arrangements behind the scenes. Memorandum books were major business ventures, seriously invested in by leading members of the eighteenth-century London and provincial book trade. Titles were often joint initiatives by collectives of publishers, who were willing to pay high sums for copyright shares. Memorandum books were not just a valuable commodity in themselves; published also used memorandum book publication to establish trade links and to feed into broader promotional strategies. A better understanding of the mechanics of the memorandum book trade is therefore imperative for our understanding of the print trade as a whole.

Chapter Two. Memorandum Books and the Stationers' Company Monopoly on Almanacs

Introduction

As we have seen, memorandum books were valuable commodities in the eighteenth-century print trade. Their neglect in our print histories is a stark omission. Yet in part, this neglect stems from the assumption that memorandum books were almanacs in all but name. Rather than being treated as a genre in themselves, with complex history worth investigating, they have been subsumed into the more well-established history of almanac publication. Framed in this way, memorandum books are considered to have emerged primarily to circumvent the Stationers' Company monopoly on publishing almanacs. Drawing on the records of the Stationers' Company, and situating them for the first time alongside evidence of memorandum book publication, this chapter challenges simplistic narratives of the memorandum book's emergence, and builds up a more complex account of the relationship between almanac and memorandum book publication in eighteenth-century Britain.

Challenging the Monopoly on Almanacs?

The Worshipful Company of Stationers was one of the several London trade guilds, and it represented and regulated the activities of booksellers, bookbinders, stationers and printers.[1] They had the sole right to publish what was termed the "English Stock" – whole categories of publications, including ABC books, psalms, primers, and almanacs and prognostications – as granted to them in a patent by James I in 1603. The latter category proved the most profitable for the Company. As touched upon earlier, almanacs were an early-modern bestseller: during their peak in the seventeenth century, they sold 'about 400,000 copies annually, a figure which suggests that roughly one family in three bought an

[1] Ian Gadd, "The Stationers' Company," in Peter Sabor and Betty Schellenberg, eds., *Samuel Richardson in context* (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 2017), 81-2.

almanac each year.'[2] Almanacs offered consumers a multitude of printed calendrical information.[3] As Timothy Feist describes:

> Almost all contained weather predictions; dates for the terms (Michaelmas, Lady's Day, etc.); a regal table listing English monarchs and the dates of their reigns; instructions for astrological farming, tide tables, and a historical chronology; detailed information on comets and eclipses; and rising and setting times for the sun, moon, and major constellations.[4]

They were published either as single-sheet broadsheets or as ready-bound books, and the latter could be interleaved with blank pages for owners to make notes on.[5]
The accepted narrative amongst scholars is that the publication of *A New Memorandum Book* by Robert Dodsley was a means of getting round the monopoly, by inserting memorandum pages in what would otherwise be classed as an almanac. Robin Myers in his work on the almanac trade suggests that in an 'attempt to evade the Company's monopoly, both men [Robert Dodsley and Richard Baldwin] produced the memorandum books interleaved with blank pages to serve as diaries.'[6] Bernard Capp describes the mid-century rise of 'Diaries, Journals, Memorandum Books' as a trespass 'on Company property.'[7] Meanwhile, Molly McCarthy has outlined Dodsley's 'obvious' strategy:

> Under the copyright the Stationers' Company held, only a handful of booksellers were permitted to publish the annual almanacs. Dodsley was not among the chosen few, meaning he missed out each year on a persistently lucrative corner of the

[2] Bernard Capp, *English Almanacs, 1500–1800: Astrology and the Popular Press* (London: Faber & Faber, 1979), 23.
[3] Phebe Jensen, *Astrology, Almanacs, and the Early Modern Calendar* (London: Routledge, 2021), 130.
[4] Timothy Feist, "The Stationers' Voice: The English Almanac Trade in the Early Eighteenth Century," *Transactions of the American Philosophical Society,* new Series 95, no. 4 (2005): 16.
[5] Those interleaved with blank pages were known as "blanks," those without were known as "Sorts." Adam Smyth, "Almanacs, Annotators, and Life-Writing in Early Modern England," *English Literary Renaissance* 38, no. 2 (2008): 204.
[6] Robin Myers, "The Stationers' Company and the almanack trade," in Michael F. Suarez, SJ & Michael L. Turner, eds., *The Cambridge History of the Book in Britain,* Vol. 5: 1695-1830 (Cambridge, Cambridge University Press, 2009), 773.
[7] Bernard Capp, *English Almanacs, 1500–1800: Astrology and the Popular Press* (Ithaca: Cornell University Press, 1979), 241.

> English publishing market [...] Dodsley found a chink in the armor of the Stationers' Company monopoly, for the copyright said nothing explicitly about the publication of pocket books, which shared some almanac features but offered an additional diary section for recording memoranda and accounts.[8]

Since Robert Dodsley was not a member of the Stationers' Company and had no right to publish the lucrative almanacs, so the story goes, he found a legal loophole.[9] Almanacs had often been interleaved by their customers with blank pages for writing notes; Dodsley took this one step further and included memorandum pages for recording notes at the binding stage and selling his books ready bound. This sparked a trend, as it allowed publishers to skirt round the monopoly. It also enabled them to publish without paying the stamp duty requisite for almanacs. In scholarship, therefore, memorandum books are typically treated as almanacs in all but name.[10]

There are several problems with this narrative. There is an assumption that the pages for recording memorandums and accounts were incidental inclusions – Myers even describes them as 'blank pages,' which minimises the difference between an almanac interleaved with blank pages, and memorandum book's tabulated printed format for self-recording. Moreover, it implies that the sole motivation for publishers was to be able to legally sell almanac-style printed matter. It also sets up the publication of memorandum books as something that happened in opposition to the Stationers' Company, and something that was obviously an attempt to encroach on their monopoly. As this chapter will show, the reality is more complex. This chapter will address the relationship between the Stationers' Company, the monopoly on almanacs, and the publication of memorandum books. Overall

[8] Molly McCarthy, *The Accidental Diarist: A History of the Daily Planner in America* (Chicago: University of Chicago Press, 2013), 59.

[9] It should be noted that it was not the specific printers or publishers of Company almanacs that profited, for their wages were in fact relatively slim. Rather the profits of almanac sales instead went to the Stationers' Company itself and being a member of the Stationers' Company entitled you to purchase shares in the English stock, and hence benefits from the almanac monopoly.

[10] See for example, Maureen Perkins' book on the evolution of the almanac in the eighteenth century, which straightforwardly references memorandum book titles as examples of almanacs, but otherwise excludes them from her wider arguments, as they fail to fulfil the criterion she sets out: 'an almanac will be any publication whose title included the work 'almanac' or 'almanack.' Maureen Perkins, *Visions of the Future: Almanacs, Time and Cultural Change 1775-1870* (Oxford: Oxford University Press, 1996), 43.

it will show memorandum books were not, and were not understood by contemporaries to be, simply almanacs in all but name but nonetheless they were viewed by the Company as a potential threat to the monopoly.

Memorandum Book Publishers and The Stationers' Company

It should first be noted that some publishers of memorandum books were, in fact, members of the Stationers' Company. They were not necessarily interested in radically undermining the Company's monopoly, for they profited by it and some of them were high-ranking members. The Company had a strict formal hierarchy, in which members started out as Freemen (or 'yeoman') of the Company, and could progress to become Liverymen, and then to Assistants, from whose ranks the Master and Wardens of the Stationers' Company were chosen. It was at the level of Liveryman that members began to hold any sway in the meetings of the Company, but there was a financial barrier to appointment in the form of a £20 fee. Therefore, only the well-established and fairly well-off members could reach this stage. From there, only select Liverymen progressed to be Assistants, which formed a small, elite body. As Timothy Feist describes it: 'If the yeomanry comprised the Company's House of Commons, the livery and assistants were its Lords and Cabinet.'[11] All members could purchase shares in the English Stock and thereby benefit from the almanac monopoly, but the higher you moved up this hierarchy the larger share you were entitled to.[12]

Robert Dodsley was not a member of the Company, but it is difficult to conclude that he was acting totally against their interests either. When Dodsley published his *Ladies Memorandum Book* for 1758 he did so with a range of collaborators, all of whom were members of the Stationers.[13] Indeed in this consortium was Charles Hitch who in the following year was made Master of the Company.[14] Moreover, a significant number of

[11] Feist, "The Stationers' Voice," 7.
[12] James Raven, *Business of Books: Booksellers and the English Book Trade 1450-1850* (New Haven: Yale University Press, 2007), 202
[13] *The Ladies New Memorandum Book, Serving as a Compleat Register of all their Transactions for the Year 1758* (London: Printed for R. and J. Dodsley, C. Hitch and L. Hawes, J. and J. Rivington and J. Fletcher, S. Crowder and H. Woodgate). Copy consulted: Los Angeles, UCLA, William Andrews Clark Memorial Library, MS.2008.002.
[14] John Nichols, *Literary Anecdotes of the Eighteenth Century,* vol. 3 (London: Printed by Nichols, Son, and Bentley, at Cicero's Head, Red Lion Passage, Fleet-Street, 1812), 390.

publishers who followed in Dodsley's wake were Liverymen of the company: Richard Baldwin Jr, who published *The Daily Journal*; Stanley Crowder, who held shares in the same; Richard Manby, who published *The Daily Memorandum Book: or, The Gentleman's Pocket Companion* and became Master of the Company; John Fuller who, as we previously saw, made several attempts at establishing a best-selling brand; and Marshall Sheepey, who published *The Gentleman's and Tradesman's Pocket Assistant: or Daily Remembrancer* and dedicated it to the Lord Mayor, Stephen Theodore Janssen, a Master of the Stationers' Company from 1749-51.[15] We therefore cannot easily pit the interests of the memorandum book publishers against the interests of the members of the company, for they were often one in the same, and moreover, were some of the most prominent members of the Company.

Secondly, memorandum books were occasionally registered for copyright with the Stationers' Company. The Register of Entries of Copies, maintained by the Company, enabled the first kind of copyright protection. Publishers recorded the titles of new publications, whether they owned the whole "copy" or whether the copy was shared, and were required to submit nine physical copies of the publication to the Company. After the lapse of the licensing act in 1695, registering copyright at the Stationer's Company became more of a formality than a legal necessity and as such fewer publications were entered into the Register. Many publishers who were not part of the Company maintained a less formal record of publications at the Chapter Coffee House near the cluster of bookshops on Paternoster Row.[16] Nonetheless, the Register remained important for proving ownership of copies in piracy disputes, particularly within the Company's own court system. Robert Dodsley did not enter his memorandum book into the Register, which is unsurprising as he rarely registered his publications. But other publishers occasionally did. On the 29th November 1749, Richard Baldwin Junior, Liveryman, entered 'The Gentleman's and Tradesmans Daily Journal for the Year 1750' into the Stationers Company's Register for copyright protection and submitted nine copies as required.[17] He advertised this fact in

[15] "Livery lists, 1721-1799," London, Stationers' Company Archives, TSC/1/C/01/01/01/01.
[16] Raven, *Business of Books*, 128. For more on the mechanics of the Chapter Coffee House, see: Richard B. Sher, "Corporatism and Consensus in the Late Eighteenth-Century Book Trade: The Edinburgh Booksellers' Society in Comparative Perspective," *Book History* 1 (1998): 76.
[17] "Register of entries of copies, 1774-1786," London, Stationers' Company Archives, TSC/1/E/06/10.

newspaper advertisements for that year's edition, in order to ward off imitators. In November 1770, partners Francis Newbery and Thomas Carnan entered the *Ladies Complete Pocket Book* in the Register for copyright in 1770 and would do so again in 1776 and 1777.[18] In 1762 Thomas Slack, the Newcastle publisher examined in the next chapter, claimed in advertisements to have registered his *Newcastle Memorandum Book* for copyright in Stationers' Hall when involved in a copyright dispute, as will be explored in Chapter Three of this thesis.[19] While there is no record of Slack actually doing so, it shows that some memorandum book publishers actually drew on the perceived legitimation and authority of the Stationers' Company to protect their memorandum books against potential piracy.

So the emergence of the memorandum book trade was hardly a sly evasion of the monopoly. Members of the Stationers' Company directly participated in the trade, or owned copyright shares in it, and brands like *The Daily Journal* were legitimised by their formal registration for copyright. Dodsley himself worked with members of the Stationers' Company to produce his ladies' memorandum books. When memorandum books first appeared, and for the first twenty years of their publication, the Stationers' Company did nothing to oppose them – though, as we shall see, they later chose to take action. Of course it was entirely possible for those working in or on behalf of the Stationers' Company to act in a way that undermined the English Stock. Much of the early modern piracy of almanacs came from printers who were officially engaged by the Company to print almanacs, but made extra copies to sell on the side – for who else was best placed to commit these acts of piracy?[20] Such printers and compilers, however, were paid poorly for their production of almanacs and their salary was a source of frequent complaint. The Company itself reaped the immense rewards and paid out dividends to its members. In the case of memorandum book publishers, they were members of some importance, reaching high ranks within the Company, and who most likely held shares in the English Stock and could profit significantly from it. Clearly they felt that it was possible to both publish memorandum books and continue to benefit from the almanac monopoly and its profits.

[18] Ibid.
[19] *Newcastle Courant,* 30 Oct. 1762.
[20] Feist, "The Stationers' Voice," 38.

Why then has the emergence of the memorandum book typically been seen as a means of evading the monopoly, or even an outright attack on it? The assertion can be traced to Cyprian Blagden's 1961 article on "Thomas Carnan and the Almanack Monopoly."[21] Blagden explores in detail a series of legal challenges to the monopoly on almanacs that famously brought it tumbling down in 1775, spearheaded by one publisher, Thomas Carnan. That name should be familiar: Thomas Carnan (1737-1788) was the step-son of John Newbery, and one of the publishers who issued the popular *Ladies Complete Pocket Book.* As we have just seen, he registered it for copyright on multiple occasions. And that is how memorandum books enter the picture. For Blagden identifies two threats to the almanac monopoly in the mid eighteenth century: pirated copies and 'pocket books designed to 'serve instead of Almanacks' – what we call Diaries.'[22] As Blagden describes:

> On the basis, however, of evidence which I realize may be proved to be shaky, I believe that, while there was a certain amount of surreptitious piracy of Almanacks – mostly in the provinces – reputable London booksellers were exploring the market for Diaries; and that only when the Company grew anxious and threatened publishers of the latter, was a full attack, headed by Carnan, launched on the Almanack monopoly.[23]

Blagden's supposition is mostly sound but, as I will show, the story of invention of the memorandum book has been misleadingly shaped in scholarship by the later legal battle between Thomas Carnan and the Stationers' Company. Moreover, significant errors have entered the picture and been amplified in other scholarship, muddying the role played by memorandum books in these events. Let us first review the early facts of the Thomas Carnan case, and then discuss what this tells us about the relationship between memorandum books and the almanac monopoly.

[21] Cyprian Blagden, "Thomas Carnan and the Almanack Monopoly," *Studies in Bibliography* 14 (1961): 23-43.
[22] Ibid, 25.
[23] Ibid, 27.

The Beginnings of the Dispute

On 16th November 1770, partners Thomas Carnan and Francis Newbery entered *The Ladies Complete Pocket Book* for 1771 into the Register. This is seen by Robin Myers as the pivotal turning point that sparked off Thomas Carnan's long battle against the Stationers' Company. As Myers describes:

> Dodsley and Baldwin revealed the direction of things to come. Nonetheless, the Company ignored such infringement until 1770 when Thomas Carnan and Francis Newberry entered *The ladies complete pocket book* in the Stationers' Register. A rogue bookseller who had been refused entry to the Company in 1755, Carnan subsequently took out an injunction against the Company on the grounds that James I had no power to grant a perpetual monopoly in almanacks.[24]

Why did Carnan and Newbery register the *Ladies' Complete Pocket Book* for copyright protection over 20 years after the first publication of the memorandum book in 1749? Placed in the context of the legal battle to come, it is understandable that scholars like Myers interpret it as an initial ramping up of Carnan's efforts to challenge the monopoly. However, viewed in the context of Carnan and Newbery's business dealings at this time, the sudden need for copyright protection appears related to a dispute of a much more domestic matter.

At this time Carnan was working for his step-father, the legendary father of children's literature, John Newbery. In 1767 John Newbery died, entrusting his business in St. Paul's Churchyard to his son Francis Newbery and step-son Thomas Carnan. John Newbery's nephew, also called Francis Newbery, meanwhile set up a rival bookshop on the other side of the Churchyard, and relations between the rival Newbery bookshops were acrimonious at best. When Francis Newbery, the nephew, established his rival bookshop, he also began publishing rival publications with similar titles to Newbery and Carnan. In 1770, he launched a ladies' pocket book, first titled *The Ladies Pocket Book; or Daily Register* and then more

[24] Myers, "Almanack trade," 733.

audaciously, *Newbery's Ladies Pocket Book*. The first advertisement I have found for this rival memorandum book appears on 10th November 1770; the following week, on 16th November, Carnan and Newbery registered their memorandum book for copyright protection. Their dispute was still raging on the following two years, with charges of piracy being slung back and forth in newspaper notices. As Carnan and Newbery protested:

> Mr F. Newbery at the corner of St. Paul's church yard, having had the honesty to pirate the whole Memorandum book […] has also the modesty to assert, that there is not the most distant similitude between the above title and "Newbery's Ladies Pocket Book," tho' he knows the latter […] was the title by which this book was enquired for and sold almost twenty years[25]

Frances Newbery, the nephew, in turn described the 'well known Malignity of Mr T. Carnan's natural Disposition, and his professed Inveteracy to me' and argued that any assertions 'that I have endeavoured to obtrude my Pocket-book on the Public as his Publication, is an impudent Falsehood, and is clearly refuted by the Title of my book'.[26] Carnan and Newbery even accused him of pilfering some of the printed matter of their older editions. The coinciding of Newbery and Carnan's registering of the *Ladies Complete Pocket-Book* for copyright protection with the launch of a rival Newbery ladies' pocket book points to this act being genuinely taken for protection against piracy, and shows Carnan and Newbery actually turning to the Stationers' Company for legal protection.

Nonetheless, their registering of the memorandum book for copyright appears to have triggered a response from the Stationers' Company. In the autumn of 1771, the Stationers' Company began to investigate whether 'the publishing of Annual Memorandum or Pocket Books' was encroaching on the almanac monopoly.[27] Legal counsel was sought to find out whether the Company had a case to pursue publishers of memorandum books. Eleven example books published for the year 1771 were sent to George Hill, Esq, at Lincoln's Inn,

[25] *Morning Chronicle,* 26 Nov. 1772.
[26] *Public Advertiser,* 27 Nov. 1772.
[27] "Costs to the English Stock, 1761-1776," London, Stationers' Company Archives, TSC/1/E/English Stock/E/10/17.

and he was asked to inspect them and establish 'how far & upon what Principles all or any of them may or may not be considered to infringe upon the exclusive right of the Company.'[28] Hill's opinion was that the Company *did* have a case against nine of the eleven publishers for infringement of the almanac monopoly, and he advised that the Company could pursue prosecution, but that the better course of action would be to issue warnings. This is the course of action the Company adopted, particularly owing to the timing, since by the time they had received Hill's legal advice many of the publishers of memorandum books had already undertaken the expence of publishing this year's books.[29] In a meeting of the Master Wardens and Stockkeepers in March 1772, they decided that 'if any Publications shall appear for the next Year the Publishers should be prosecuted.'[30]

The Stationers' Company clearly viewed memorandum books as a threat to the almanac monopoly at this stage. Indeed, court minutes record that the Company regarded these publications as 'in some Measure' answering 'the Purpose of an Almanack' and that 'this Matter hath been often occasionally under Consideration' but only now was it being legally pursued.[31] It is difficult to know what exactly initiated the response the Company of Stationers in 1771. It is probable that internal politics were at play. Several of the original proprietors of the early memorandum books were now deceased. Outside the Company but widely respected was Robert Dodsley (d. 1764) and John Newbery (d. 1767), while inside the company were Charles Hitch (d. 1764) and Richard Baldwin Jr (d.1770). the publication of memorandum books had now largely moved on to another generation, and it may be that they did not hold the same sway as their predecessors.

What can be determined is *why* the Stationers' Company took action against memorandum books at all. No academic work I am aware of has explored the justifications given for this action, nor looked into which publishers were given notice to adapt or cease publication of their memorandum books. Blagden simply states that in 1772 'the Court was sufficiently worried' to take legal advice on the matters, and 'on the strength of the advice given, it was

[28] "Memorandum books: Liber A," London, Stationers' Company Archives, TSC/1/A/05.
[29] "Costs to the English Stock, 1791-1776," London, Stationers' Company Archive, TSC/1/E/English Stock/E/10/17.
[30] "Court Book M," 4 Oct 1763 - 24 Dec 1776, London, Stationers' Company Archive, TSC/1/B/01/10.
[31] Ibid.

decided to warn publishers of such imitations that next time they would be prosecuted.'[32] Yet for our purposes, these documents prove immensely useful for understanding how the Stationers' Company felt that memorandum books were encroaching on the almanac monopoly.

The Stationers' Company's Warnings to Memorandum Book Publishers

The lawyer, George Hill, determined that there were two key points for consideration: whether the patent granted to the Stationers' Company by King James I for publishing almanacs was valid, and whether any of the memorandum book publishers were 'guilty of a Breach of the Priviledge granted to the Company by the Patent.'[33] He felt that there were sufficient legal precedents to make the Company secure in the first point: the patent was valid (of course, he was soon to be proven overly confident in that regard). This second point is of particular interest to us, as George Hill discussed the eleven memorandum books in question, how they might trespass on the Company's monopoly, and articulated legal distinctions between almanacs and other calendrical publications.

The eleven publishers in question were not listed here, but we find them jotted down in the margin of the Company's *Liber A* book and they can help us to make sense of Hill's findings. The eleven books were numbered for reference and listed by their publishers names. In Table 1 I have provided the information recorded in the *Liber A* book in the first two columns, while the other columns provide additional information regarding these publishers and the likely publication in question based on my dataset of memorandum book titles and the BBTI.

Table 1. Publishers thought to have encroached on the Almanac Monopoly

[32] Blagden, "Thomas Carnan," 27.
[33] "Opinions of the company's counsel 1771-1775," London, Stationers' Company Archive, TSC/1/E/English Stock/E/10/03.

No.	Publisher	Full Name & Location	Member of the Company?	Likely Memorandum Book in Question
1.	Harris	William Harris (St. Paul's Churchyard)	No	Either (i) *British Ladies Pocket Memorandum Book* or (ii) *Harris's Pocket Journal for Town or Country: or the Gentleman's Memorandum Book*
2.	Johnson & Payne	Joseph Johnson and John Payne (St. Paul's Churchyard)	Johnson, no; Payne, yes	Either (i) *The Ladies New & Polite Pocket Memorandum-Book* or (ii) *The Complete Pocket Book; or Gentleman's and Tradesman's Daily Journal*
3.	F. Newbery	Francis Newbery (St. Paul's Churchyard)	Yes	*Newbery's Ladies Pocket Book*
4.	Wheble	John Wheble (Ave-Maria Lane)	Yes	*The Ladies Most Elegant and Convenient Pocket Book*
5.	Stevens & Taylor	Elizabeth Stevens; and Isaac Taylor (Stationers Court; Chancery Lane)	Stevens, widow of member; Taylor, no	*The Ladies Annual Journal; or, Complete Pocket Book*
6.	Robinson & Roberts	George Robison I and John Roberts (Paternoster Row)	No	*The Ladies' Own Memorandum-Book; or, Daily Pocket Journal*
7.	Carnan & Newbery	Thomas Carnan and Francis Newbery (St. Paul's Churchyard)	No	*The Ladies Complete Pocket-Book*

8.	Baldwin	Robert Baldwin (Paternoster Row)	Yes	*The Daily Journal; Or, The Gentleman's, Merchant's, and Tradesman's Complete Annual Accompt-Book for the Pocket or Desk*
9.	Brown	John Brown (Cheapside)	No	*The Ladies Miscellany, or New, Useful, and Entertaining Companion*
10.	Kearsly	George Kearsley I (Ludgate-Street)	Yes	*Gentleman and Tradesman's Pocket Ledger*
11.	Johnson & Payne	Joseph Johnson and John Payne (St. Paul's Churchyard)	Johnson, no; Payne, yes	Either (i) *The Ladies New & Polite Pocket Memorandum-Book* or (ii) *The Complete Pocket Book; or Gentleman's and Tradesman's Daily Journal*

We should also add Thomas Slack from Newcastle to this list because he was also served notice; surely because *The Ladies' Own Memorandum Book* was published jointly by Robinson & Roberts, and Slack. This list involves all the major publishers and titles in the London memorandum book trade at this time. Clearly, the Stationers' Company were uninterested in pursuing the good number of provincial titles being published as well, such as *Shave's Suffolk Memorandum Book,* perhaps because provincial publishing was harder to police. Of the publishers listed, about a third were members of the Stationers' Company, or in the case of Elizabeth Stevens, a widow of a member of the Company whose business was run in Stationers' Hall. Although women could not be a member of the Stationers Company, she likely owned shares in the English Stock. This list shows that at this stage the Company were willing to pursue their own for the publication of memorandum books.

Hill believed that all the publications in question excepting numbers 9 and 11 were 'infringements on the Right of the Company.'[34] He referenced the Calendar Act of 1750 to show that the present calendar contained 'not only an Account of the Days Weeks & Months of which the Year consists but also of such Fasts of the Law takes notice of, by distinguishing on what particular Days the immoveable Feasts fall & giving general Rules or Tables for finding those that are moveable with the Addition of some Ecclesiastical Matter.'[35] The offending memorandum books did not contain the ecclesiastical matter, but since many almanacs likewise omitted them, this was deemed not to be an essential feature.'[36] They did however contain an account of the immoveable Feasts, or rules and tables for finding them. Note that Hill was treating the almanac proper as primarily a form of calendar. This may surprise anyone who perceives prognostications to be a key feature of early modern almanacs, but prognostications were separately protected under the patent. Hill raised the issue that memorandum books contained other material that would not appear in an almanac, but deemed that 'the Publication of what is lawful will not justify the Publishing what is not so; & therefore I incline to think that these Additions will not alter the Case.'[37] For the two memorandum books that he did not consider to violate the monopoly, at least not in a straightforward manner, the distinguishing feature was their *lack* of information on the Feast Days:

> for there is no Account of the Feasts as is usual in Almanacks; & as such Account seems to be an essential Part of an Almanack, & what distinguishes it from a Diary or Ephemeris, I rather incline to think the Publication of these two Books may not be unlawful [...][38]

He felt these two examples therefore fell under the category of a "Diary or Ephemeris" rather than an almanac. These were therefore deemed legal, though Hill admitted that the

[34] "Opinions of the company's counsel 1771-1775," London, Stationers' Company Archive, TSC/1/E/English Stock/E/10/03.
[35] Ibid.
[36] Ibid.
[37] Ibid.
[38] Ibid.

terms were often used synonymously, and if the Company successfully pursued the other publishers in question, they could deem it appropriate to take action here as well.

He was finally asked to comment on whether the publishers in question should be prosecuted, and their books seized, or whether they should instead issue 'a written notice to those Publishers before the Time of Publication for the next year, as a Caution Generally ag^{t} inserting any Thing in which this Company claim any exclusive Right.'[39] Hill felt that, of the nine books deemed to be violating the monopoly, such legal action could only be pursued against those publishers who were members of the Stationers' Company, but *not* against any of the other publishers. Presumably this was because the members of the Company were bound by the Company's own by-laws, but it seems to indicate a slightly shaky legal ground beyond the Company's own regulations. He recommended against seizing the books. Instead, he advised issuing written notices and 'proceeding by Bill in Equity' in order to try and recuperate some of the losses sustained by the Company by the publication of these memorandum books.

There's a lot to unpack here. For this study, the most significant aspect is the definitional distinctions between an almanac and a "Diary" or "Ephemeris". Note that a "Diary" in this context did not mean a daily journal, but was being used here to describe a type of astrological calendar. If we look at an English dictionary for 1770, we find that an Ephemeris was defined as 'a Diary or Daily Register of the Motion of Planets, and other Circumstances relating thereto.'[40] Presumably in the case of memorandum books, the regular fixture of tables of the sun's rising and setting, phases of the moon, and the times of eclipses qualified them in that respect as an "ephemeris." Of course, many of the official almanacs issued by the Stationers' Company at this time were titled Diaries or Ephemerides, so the distinction was slippery at best. What legally distinguished an ephemeris from an almanac, in Hill's opinion, was the inclusion of printed information on the Feast Days. This he deemed an essential element of an almanacs, and would enable the Stationers' Company to claim the nine offending memorandum books were encroaching on their almanac monopoly. As was

[39] Ibid.
[40] Nathan Bailey, *An Universal Etymological English dictionary… The twenty-first edition* (London: Printed for R. Ware, W. Innys and J. Richardson, J. and P. Knapton, T. and T. Longman et al., 1770), 312.

recorded in the Court Minutes, these memorandum books were 'supposed in some Measure to answer the Purpose of an Almanack.'[41] Therefore it was not the memorandum book *as a whole*, but the combination of an account of the days with this particular element that made them a potential violation of the monopoly. And when the publishers were warned, they were not warned against publishing memorandum books whatsoever, but against 'inserting any Thing in which this Company claim any exclusive Right' and informed that 'they may alter their Books in this Respect if they shall think fit.'[42]

As a proportion of the books, the amount of printed matter that the Stationers' Company legally deemed a violation was rather slight – though it may be that these were a weighty element in their success. Sadly, not many copies of the books in question survive from 1771, meaning that we are unable to compare the memorandum books that were classed as illegal versus those two – John Brown's *Ladies Miscellany, or New, Useful, and Entertaining Companion,* and either Joseph Johnson and John Payne's *Ladies New & Polite Pocket Memorandum-Book* or their *The Complete Pocket-Book* – that were found not to be in legal violation of the monopoly. However, copies of the *Ladies' Own Memorandum-Book* for 1771, and for 1773, show the impact of the warnings that were issued against their publishers. The *Ladies' Own Memorandum Book* for 1771 would have been the edition consulted by George Hill and the Stationers' Company, found to be in violation of the monopoly. It contained a large amount of calendrical information. Potential offending features include: 'Common Notes and moveable Feasts', 'Saints Days, Holidays &.' And 'A perpetual Diary.'[43] The perpetual diary was a table that enabled the user to see from the Dominical Letters of each given year which days of the week corresponded with which days of the month. These features seem to me to be the material which Hill was referring to as providing the Saints Days and an account of the days. Now remember that George Hill's opinion was only received in the autumn of 1771, and so the Stationers' Company

[41] "Court Book M," 4 Oct 1763 - 24 Dec 1776, London, Stationers' Company Archive, TSC/1/B/01/10
[42] "Opinions of the company's counsel 1771-1775," London, Stationers' Company Archive, TSC/1/E/English Stock/E/10/03; "Court Book M," 4 Oct 1763 - 24 Dec 1776, London, Stationers' Company Archive, TSC/1/B/01/10.
[43] *The Ladies' Own Memorandum-Book; Or, Daily Pocket Journal, for the Year 1771* (London: Printed for Robinson and Roberts, No. 25, Paternoster-row; and T. Slack, at Newcastle). Copy consulted: "Diary written in 'The Ladies Own Memorandum Book: or Daily Pocket Journal," Diaries of Ann Prest - 1769-1776, Birmingham, Cadbury Library, MS52/2.

concluded that it was too late to legally pursue memorandum book publishers because they would have already incurred the costs of publishing their memorandum books that year. Those published in the autumn of 1771 would have been the copies for 1772, so they would not have had time to change the contents of these copies. The notices that were sent out warned them against including such material when they went to publish in the autumn of 1772 their editions for 1773, so that is when we should expect any alterations to be made. In an advertisement for the *Ladies' Own Memorandum Book* for 1772, we still find it listing 'Common Feasts' as part of its contents.[44] But in the edition of the *Ladies' Own Memorandum Book* for 1773, this material has all vanished.[45] No lists of common Feasts, no list of Saints Days and Holidays, no perpetual diary; even the lists of the suns risings and settings, and phases of the moon were omitted. Clearly, the warning of the Stationers' Company had been taken on board by the publishers George Robinson, John Roberts and Thomas Slack and their memorandum book edited in accordance with the warning.

While it may appear apparent, I think it is important to point out that memorandum books could not have been almanacs in all but name and have the almanac sections removed without ceasing to exist. And yet they persisted. In the example of the two editions of the *Ladies' Own Memorandum Book*, many features remained the same: 52 double pages for recording memorandum and accounts; a plan of education; a list of 'Remarkable Occurrences' that happened in the previous year; a list of dates relating to the Royal Family, a table of the window tax; enigmas; country dances; interest and marketing tables. In the edition for 1773, the publishers substituted the missing features with new ones, mainly focused on entertainment: a table for calculating the chances at Whist, the rules for Quadrille and Piquet, and a new type of puzzle titled 'A Collection of Beasts.'[46] These features would not be out of place to find in an earlier ladies' memorandum book, and would not have appeared like odd additions. It is difficult to determine how much of an impact the loss of these almanac-type features would have had on the sale of memorandum

[44] *Kentish Gazette,* 19 November 1771.
[45] *The Ladies' Own Memorandum-Book; Or, Daily Pocket Journal, for the Year 1773* (London: Printed for G. Robinson, No. 25, Paternoster-row; and T. Slack, at Newcastle). Copy consulted: "Daily Journals," Thrale-Piozzi Manuscripts, Manchester, John Rylands Library, GB 133 Eng MS 616.
[46] Ibid.

books, but it is fair to say that memorandum books were not *dependent* upon these particular calendrical features.

Interestingly, the Stationers' Company never took the case much further beyond issuing warnings. In early 1772 they reviewed the memorandum books published for that year and sent out further notices to their publishers to amend the material for 1773. Financial records show that the Company was once again investigating 10 memorandum books published in 1774 in order to seek legal counsel whether they were encroaching on the almanac monopoly. However, a note underneath informs us that this was interrupted by something much more pressing: by this point, the suit with Thomas Carnan was underway.[47]

Thomas Carnan versus the Stationers' Company

The legal battles of Thomas Carnan with the Stationers' Company are now the stuff of bookselling history. Thomas Carnan flagrantly defied the Stationers' Company and began publishing his own almanacs; he was quickly met with prosecution from the Company. Charles Knight tells us that Carnan always kept a clean shirt in his pocket ready for his numerous arrests and appearances in court (though this is a story Blagden finds doubtful).[48] But Carnan fought back and continued publishing almanacs, and when he eventually defeated the Stationers' Company in court, bringing an end to the almanac monopoly in 1775, William West recalls that he triumphantly drove around the bookselling quarters of St. Paul's Churchyard and Paternoster Row on a phaeton pulled by two horses.[49] Carnan wore this victory like a badge of pride: advertisements for his almanacs many years later carried a notice that the publisher had 'dispossessed the Stationers' Company of their pretended exclusive Privilege of Printing Almanacks, which they had usurped for two Centuries; a convincing proof that no unjust Monopoly will ever stand the Test of an English Court of Justice.'[50]

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[47] "Costs to the English Stock," 1791-1776, London, Stationers' Company Archives, TSC/1/E/English Stock/E/10/17.
[48] Charles Knight, *Shadows of the Old Booksellers* (London: Bell and Daldy, 186, Fleet Street, 1865), 245.
[49] William West, *Fifty years' recollections of an old bookseller* (London: Printed by and for the Author, 1837), 21.
[50] *Newcastle Courant,* 17 Nov. 1770.

Carnan's first foray into publishing almanacs was in the autumn of 1773 when he published an almanac entitled *A Diary for the Year of Our Lord 1774.* It was edited by Reuben Burrows, who had been an assistant-astronomer at the Royal Observatory and was now a teacher of mathematics. This set into motion the events that would bring down the monopoly. The Stationers' Company took immediate action, filed a bill in Chancery and requested an injunction against Carnan.[51] The injunction was granted, blocking Carnan from continuing publication of his almanac. When Carnan responded to the bill in 1774, he did not deny publishing almanacs but instead argued that the Stationers' Company had no right to a monopoly on almanacs. In 1775, the Lord Chancellor sent the matter of the monopoly to be considered in the Court of Common Pleas, who in May 1775 ruled in Carnan's favour: the Stationers' Company had no right to a perpetual monopoly on almanacs. They determined that the patent granted by James I only applied to specific almanacs (those that had been licensed by the Archbishop of Canterbury or the Bishop of London), not to all almanacs, and that the Crown did not have power to grant exclusive rights. Thus, this momentous ruling immediately felled the Stationers' Company monopoly.

Following the ruling, the Court dissolved the injunction against Carnan and in turn he ramped up his almanac production; that year, in collaboration with the publisher George Robinson, Carnan issued eleven almanacs. By 1777 he was single-handedly publishing thirty-one almanacs. He even began entering them in the Stationers' Company Register for copyright, a move that seems as much motivated by a keen sense of irony, for the long list of "Carnan's almanacs" for each year dominated pages of the register at a time. This was not the end of the battle, however, for in 1779 Lord North, who at the time was both Chancellor of Oxford University and Prime Minister, introduced the "Almanack Bill" to the House of Commons. This bill attempted to vest the privilege of printing almanacs solely in the Company and the Universities of Oxford and Cambridge. Thomas Carnan penned a petition against the bill which was presented to the House and supported in speeches by lawyers Mr. Davenport and Thomas Erskine, helping to defeat the bill by 45 votes.[52]

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[51] Blagden, "Thomas Carnan," 27.

[52] Ibid, 35; T. C. Hansard, *The Parliamentary History of England from the Earliest Period to the Year 1803,* vol. 20 (London: Printed for Longman, Hurst, Rees, Orme, & Brown; J. Richardson; Black, Parry, & Co,; J. Hatchard; J. Ridgway; E. Jeffery; J. Booker; J. Rodwell; Cradock & Joy; R. H. Evans; Budd and Calkin; J. Booth; and T. C. Hansard, 1814), 602-621.

Any hope that the monopoly would be reinstated was squashed. The House did, however, in 1781 support Lord North's proposal to increase the stamp duty on sheet almanacs, which paved the way for regular stamp duty increases and ensured that this was not a field open to any competitor.[53] The high costs of stamp duty was then only absorbable by the Stationers' Company and Thomas Carnan, who had been happy to take down the monopoly even at great personal expense. Despite this effort to curb the competition, Carnan's almanacs were having a marked impact on the Stationers' Company own sale of almanacs, now at an all-time low. As Blagden reports, where in 1775 sales of almanacs had been 544,000, in 1787 sales were 'well under 350,000.'[54] There were no more legal routes for them to pursue, but fortunately for the Company, in 1788 Thomas Carnan died. The Stationers' Company then made a deal with his executors to purchase all of his almanac titles, which they began to successfully publish themselves. Now owning the rights to all the popular almanac brands, coupled with the high stamp duty, the Stationers' Company once again dominated the market for almanacs in the nineteenth century.

What role, then, did memorandum books play in the legal battles between Carnan and the Company? The title of the Carnan almanac that set the legal proceedings in motion has introduced some confusion into modern retellings of the events because it was called a "Diary." This confusion has arisen partly because Blagden elided any differences between an almanac "Diary" like this and memorandum books, and other scholars followed suit, and has been compounded by the modern connotations of the term "Diary." As an early reviewer of Blagden surmised:

> Robert Dodsley was the first to develop the market for Diaries, though since it cannot always have been easy to distinguish between a Diary and an Almanack, this was a covert attack on the monopoly. Carnan followed his example, and on 13 November 1773 he published Reuben Burrow's *A Diary for... 1774*[55]

[53] Blagden, "Thomas Carnan," 36.
[54] Ibid, 33.
[55] D. G. Neill, Review of "Studies in Bibliography: *Papers of the Bibliographical Society of the University of Virginia* 14, Edited by Fredson Bowers (1961)" in *The Book Collector 10,* no. 4 (Winter, 1961), 477.

More recently David Atkinson and Steve Roud have written a similar account:

> the first serious challenge to the Stationers' Company's monopoly came in 1748 with the publication of Robert Dodsley's *The New Memorandum Book,* the forerunner of the modern diary, designed to serve instead of almanacs and which could be legally printed and sold. This quickly gave rise to many competing titles, to which the Stationers' Company responded with *The Ladies' Diary* and *The Gentleman's Diary.* The mid-1770s then saw the beginnings of the challenge by Thomas Carnan and others to the Stationers' Company monopoly on traditional almanacs.[56]

But the terming of memorandum books as "diaries" is a modern labelling; eighteenth century memorandum books did not use the word diary anywhere in their titles.[57] As we have already seen, the term "diary" in this context referred not to the recording of a manuscript journal, but to the printed matter of astrological calendrical information.

Titles like *The Ladies' Diary* and Carnan's *A Diary for the Year of Our Lord 1774* were understood as almanacs and included no space for manuscript recording – in fact, Carnan's offending *Diary for the Year of Our Lord 1774* was a sheet-almanac which could be pinned up on the wall or folded up and slipped inside a pocket-book.[58] Besides which, *The Ladies' Diary* (1704-1841) and *The Gentleman's Diary* (1741-1840) had been published by the Stationers' Company before Dodsley even issued his first memorandum book. It may seem like splitting hairs to establish this distinction, but it is significant for it shows how memorandum books have been misleadingly tangled into the story, and a direct line incorrectly drawn from the actions of Robert Dodsley to those of Thomas Carnan. The evidence we have seen shows that the Stationers' Company did perceive a threat from

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[56] David Atkinson & Steve Roud, *Street Literature of the Long Nineteenth Century: Producers, Sellers, Consumers* (Newcastle-Upon-Tyne: Cambridge Scholars Publishing, 2017), 89.

[57] The word "diary" began to be used in memorandum book titles, in the modern sense of the word, around the turn of the nineteenth century. *MDCCXCVI* [1796]. *The Royal Repository, or Polite Pocket Diary* (London: Printed for J. Evance, Queen Street, Cheapside; and W. Richardson, under the Royal Exchange). Copy consulted: London, British Library, RB.23.a.6889.

[58] "Specimens of Carnan almanacs," 13 Nov 1773 – 1781, London, Stationer's Company Archives, TSC/1/E/English Stock/E/10/01.

memorandum books, but that they were cautious in how they proceeded and were advised not to prosecute the publishers. When Carnan published his *A Diary for the Year of Our Lord 1774,* he was not attempting to evade the almanac monopoly by styling it as a diary in the modern sense: he was publishing an almanac, deliberately, in protest at the Stationers' Company's monopoly.

It appears to have been the prosecution of memorandum book publishers that motivated Carnan to break the monopoly. The timeline also points to this being the case. As I have shown, Thomas Carnan appears to have taken no action to purposefully undermine the Stationers' Company monopoly before the publication of *A Diary for the Year of Our Lord 1774*, and he had never attempted to publish an almanac prior to this. The registering of *The Ladies' Complete Pocket-Book* for copyright in 1770 seems sincere rather than subversive. In 1771 and 1772 he received warnings from the Company that his memorandum book was an encroachment on the almanac monopoly and was threatened with prosecution if he persisted. The following year, 1773, he launched his rival almanac and attempted to bring down the monopoly. Moreover, Carnan likely was not acting alone in his battle with the Company, as he published many of his almanacs with George Robinson, a large and important wholesale bookseller in Paternoster Row, and in advertisements they declared that they had brought down the monopoly together. Carnan and Robinson soon had a falling out and Carnan ploughed on in publishing the almanacs by himself, but as part of this dispute Robinson claimed that it was himself rather than Carnan who had had the first idea to challenge the Stationers' Company monopoly.[59] I am inclined to think they likely did act together for, if we examine the table of publishers who were suspected by the Stationers' Company to have encroached on the monopoly, we can see that both Carnan and Robinson were listed as some of the publishers sent warnings about their memorandum books. In fact, their respective publications were the two most popular ladies' editions of their day: *The Ladies Complete Pocket Book* and *The Ladies' Own Memorandum-Book* were sold nationwide. It appears that these publishers of memorandum books clubbed together to take down a monopoly that they felt had unjustly persecuted them. Finally, we find this argument echoed in the later legal proceedings: in the Court of Common Pleas in May 1779,

[59] Blagden, "Thomas Carnan," 29.

arguing on behalf of Carnan, the lawyer Davenport described how the monopoly had operated as a form of oppressive litigation, meaning that 'a man could not publish a memorandum or pocket book, giving an account of time, of the changes of the moon, and other things useful for people to know, but instantly the Stationers Company called it an almanack and prosecuted the publisher.'[60] This seems to be a clear reference to the warning sent by the Stationers' Company to the publishers of memorandum books, and to the material they told them to purge from their books or face prosecution.

Memorandum book publishers were buoyed by Carnan's efforts against the Company. While the case was in consideration in the Court of Common Pleas, we find that in the *Ladies' Own Memorandum-Book* for 1774, the 'perpetual diary, 'common notes and moveable feasts' and tables of the sun and moon had all returned as part of its printed content.[61] Meanwhile, Joseph Johnson, one of the publishers who had been previously issued with a warning, published his *Complete Pocket-Book* for 1775 with a lavishly engraved 'perpetual almanac' at the front, in place of a frontispiece. We might think that memorandum books would begin to merge their content with almanacs following the collapse of the monopoly. Yet even after the almanac monopoly was brought down, the distinction between memorandum books and almanacs remained. Established memorandum books did not change their content following the rulings of 1775 or 1779 to incorporate any almanac-style material beyond such material they had previously printed. By this point, memorandum books were enough of a recognisable commodity in their own right and they were not required to pay stamp duty.[62] Only Carnan deliberately muddied this distinction following the defeat of the almanac bill in 1779. That year he published *An Almanack Memorandum Book* and *An Almanack Journal* for 1780 which he dedicated to Lord North in what must surely be a tongue-in-cheek inscription, but sadly no copies

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[60] T. C. Hansard, *The Parliamentary History of England from the Earliest Period to the Year 1803,* Volume 20 (London: Printed for Longman, Hurst, Rees, Orme, & Brown; J. Richardson; Black, Parry, & Co,; J. Hatchard; J. Ridgway; E. Jeffery; J. Booker; J. Rodwell; Cradock & Joy; R. H. Evans; Budd and Calkin; J. Booth; and T. C. Hansard, 1814), 610.

[61] *The Ladies' Own Memorandum-Book: or Daily Pocket Journal, For the Year 1774* (London: Printed for G. Robinson, No. 25, Pater-noster-Row; and T. Slack, Newcastle). Thanks to Helen Williams for this reference, based on a copy in Sion, Switzerland, Médiathèque Valais, BCV RZ 427.

[62] Only one memorandum book brand I have found carries proof of stamp duty: William Peacock's *The Polite Repository, or Pocket Companion*. The type of almanac-style material was no different to that found in other memorandum books, so it appears to have been a deliberate choice rather than a necessity. See for example: *MDCCLXXXIX. The Polite Repository, or Pocket Companion…* (London: Printed for William Peacock, Salisbury Court, Fleet Street). Copy consulted: London, British Library, C.129.a.9.

survive.[63] Generally, though, Carnan separated out his publications into almanacs and 'the annual memorandum books &c'.[64] Memorandum books were understood to be separate commodities.

Following the collapse of their almanac monopoly, the Stationers' Company briefly considered the possibility of publishing their own memorandum books. In 1785, Richard Snagg, a London bookseller and stockholder in the Company, recommended that the Company take one of two options in order to curb the 'great losses' sustained 'from the Annual Publication of Pocket Journals'.[65] Either the Company should issue their own or they should attempt to get a stamp duty imposed on the publication of memorandum books. The latter option was not only intended to make sure that memorandum books were on a level playing field with almanacks, which were required by law to carry such stamp duties, but presumably also to push the costs of publishing memorandum books out of the reach of smaller publishers.

Yet now, the feeling towards memorandum books had clearly changed within the Company. The Company determined that neither action proposed by Snagg was preferable to allowing the publication of memorandum books to continued unperturbed. With regards to the first option, they determined that:

> [T]hese Publications were originally set on foot by persons of reputation in the Trade, whose representatives still continue to print them; however they may have been infringed upon by individuals the Stockkeepers apprehend it will be thought unbecoming the Company of Stationers to interfere with their inventions.[66]

In other words, to print memorandum books would be to risk the ire of major London publishers and to further risk the reputation of the Company. As James Raven has remarked, the embarrassment of the Company's defeat in their case against Carnan was only

[63] *Reading Mercury,* 29 Nov. 1779.
[64] *Newcastle Courant,* 25 Nov. 1780.
[65] "Report on the proposal that the Company should print pocket journals," 2 Mar 1785, London, Stationers' Company Archives, TSC/1/E/English Stock/E/09/18.
[66] Ibid.

surpassed by the humiliating reveal that they had tried to pay off Carnan. Given the damage to their reputation, the Company seems to have been more keen to keep the peace with independent publishers.[67] Moreover, there was not any agreement amongst the stockholders that memorandum books *were* in fact affecting the sale of almanacs. This represents a significant shift in opinion and power. Just over a decade earlier, the Stationers' Company had pursued publishers with the intent of filing a Bill of Equity, so that they could recuperate some of the losses they believed were sustained from the publication of memorandum books. Now, their position was that memorandum books had little-to-no impact on the almanac trade and should not be interfered with by the Company.

With regards to the second option, the possibility of imposing a stamp duty on memorandum books, the Company feared it would have the adverse effect of incentivizing publishers to simply turn their memorandum books into almanacks – why not, if they were having to pay the stamp duty anyway? In which case, the publication of memorandum books might *actually* have a detrimental impact on the Stationers' Company's sales of almanacs. Richard Snagg's proposal was dismissed and from this point onwards, the Stationers' Company took no action against memorandum book publishers.

Conclusion

This chapter has challenged and nuanced our understanding of one of the most significant events in eighteenth-century bookselling history. It demonstrates the importance of disentangling the print history of memorandum books from almanacs, because confusion between the two has led scholars to present memorandum books as a more aggressive attack on the monopoly than they really were, and to minimize the extent to which memorandum books were recognized as a separate commodity. As this chapter argues, memorandum books were not seen as simply almanacs in all but name. When Thomas Carnan published his *A Diary for the Year of Our Lord 1774,* it was resolutely an almanac, not a memorandum book. Nonetheless, certain material within the memorandum books was perceived to be an encroachment on the monopoly. As my study reveals, these publications

[67] Raven, *Business of Books*, 202.

played a key role in setting the legal battles between Carnan and the Company and his eventual victory in motion, for it was this act of 'oppressive litigation' against the memorandum book trade that prompted publishers Thomas Carnan and George Robinson to take action to bring down the entire almanac monopoly.[68] This chapter has therefore demonstrated the value of recognising memorandum books as a separate commodity for our print history narratives, showing how distinguishing the history of memorandum books from almanacs is to enhance our understanding of both.

[68] T. C. Hansard, *The Parliamentary History of England from the Earliest Period to the Year 1803,* Volume 20 (London: Printed for Longman, Hurst, Rees, Orme, & Brown; J. Richardson; Black, Parry, & Co,; J. Hatchard; J. Ridgway; E. Jeffery; J. Booker; J. Rodwell; Cradock & Joy; R. H. Evans; Budd and Calkin; J. Booth; and T. C. Hansard, 1814), 610.

Chapter Three. Regional Rivalry in the Newcastle Print Trade: A Case Study of Provincial Publishing

Introduction

In December 1754, the *Newcastle Journal* ran an advertisement for the *Newcastle Memorandum Book: or, A Methodical Pocket-Journal* for 1755.[1] 'Calculated to answer the immediate purposes of all persons in the Northern parts of Great Britain, respecting their daily Transactions and Occasional Business,' this provincially-published memorandum book boasted a range of paratextual material including regular staples of the genre such as interest tables and lists of moveable feasts, as well as regional-specific information such as local fairs and the postal carriers that passed through the northern counties.[2] It eventually spanned an incredible one-hundred and thirty nine years of publication, earning the book a place in the local lore of Newcastle's history.[3] The longevity of this memorandum book not only makes it the most successful provincial publication of the period, but distinguishes it as *the* longest running memorandum book published anywhere in eighteenth-century Britain.

This seemingly innocuous contribution to the local book market would spawn a fierce rivalry amongst Newcastle publishers, with the publication of two other Newcastle memorandum books, as well as counterpart ladies' memorandum books. As Barbara Crosbie has described, a locally-tailored book would have to generate considerable interest in order for it to be a 'viable venture for a printer in Newcastle.'[4] So to have three rival memorandum books emerge in eighteenth-century Newcastle, vying for the same market, and coexisting for many years, suggests that these provincial publications were not just circulated in low

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[1] It was advertised as available from booksellers across Newcastle and the adjacent counties. *Newcastle Journal*, 9-16 Nov. 1754.
[2] *Newcastle Courant,* 28 Dec. 1754.
[3] The *Newcastle Memorandum Book* and the Slack's publishing house generated antiquarian interest in the late nineteenth and early twentieth century, featuring in publications such as *The Monthly Chronicle of North-Country Lore and Legend*.
[4] Barbara Crosbie, "Provincial Purveyors of Culture: The Print Trade in Eighteenth-Century Newcastle upon Tyne" in Adrian Green and Barbara Crosbie, eds., *Economy and Culture in North-East England, 1500-1800* (Woodbridge: Boydell & Brewer, 2018): 225.

numbers for a niche audience. Rather, as this chapter explores, provincially-produced and titled memorandum books became an increasingly competitive market in this period. This chapter draws on a case study of Newcastle in order to demonstrate the significance of memorandum books to the provincial print trade. As I show, the fierce rivalry which developed in Newcastle was part of a longer battle between publishers to stake their claim as an authority on local and trade knowledge. Key to the incredible success of the *Newcastle Memorandum Book* was the way its publishers crafted a sense of community across their publications. In doing so, this chapter challenges the idea that memorandum book titles offered 'little to distinguish one […] from another.'[5] In fact, their regionally-tailored content was no mere window dressing: for publishers, it formed part of their wider, sophisticated publishing strategies, while for consumers it helped to structure their record-keeping, and offered a tangible connection to their local community.

The Newcastle Print Trade

A wealth of scholarship has sought to highlight the originality and importance of the provincial book trade and unpick the assumption that 'provincial printers […] were left with little more than the scraps from the London table.'[7] Newcastle in particular has occupied a prominent place in such studies, for over the course of the eighteenth century the city became a booming centre for the print trade. When the entrepreneurial printer John White moved from York to set up shop in Newcastle in 1708 and establish his newspaper the *Newcastle Courant* in 1711 he faced little competition, but by the end of the century Newcastle was the most prolific printing centre after London, Oxford, and Cambridge, with around twenty printers alongside a thriving number of booksellers, bookbinders and engravers.[8] This owed in part to the broader economic success of the city, particularly due to its dominance in the coal trade, and the concomitant boon in population, creating an increased demand for print to serve the needs of commerce as well as to cater to

[5] Ibid, 4.
[7] Peter Isaac, "BSA Annual Address: The English Provincial Book Trade: A Northern Mosaic," *The Papers of the Bibliographical Society of America* 95, no. 4 (December 2001): 140.
[8] Barbara Crosbie, "Provincial Purveyors of Culture: The Print Trade in Eighteenth-Century Newcastle upon Tyne" in Adrian Green and Barbara Crosbie, eds., *Economy and Culture in North-East England, 1500-1800* (Woodbridge: Boydell & Brewer, 2018): 208; John Brewer, *Pleasures of the Imagination: English Culture in the Eighteenth Century* (London: Harper Collins, 1997): 504.

Newcastle's developing cultural tastes. Although the city slid from third to seventh largest provincial town in England over the course of the century, the population doubled from around 14,000 to around 28,000.[9] The growth of the city accommodated an unusually high number of newspaper presses, with three titles that had significant success and longevity: the *Newcastle Courant*, established by John White in 1711, and continued after his death in 1769 by his partner Thomas Saint; the *Newcastle Journal*, run by Isaac Thompson from 1739, and purchased on the market after his death in 1776 by Thomas Robson (and discontinued around 1788); and the *Newcastle Chronicle*, set up by Thomas Slack in 1764, a year after leaving Thompson's firm and setting up his own printing press, and passed down the family line in 1784 to his daughter Sarah and her husband Solomon Hodgson.[10] The number of printers and booksellers also enabled a degree of specialization in their outputs with, for example, White and Saint focusing on primarily children's and popular literature, and Thomas Slack and his wife Ann Fisher writing and publishing educational works and business guides.[11]

Newcastle therefore has been a particular focus for historians studying the eighteenth-century book trade outside of London. Notably, Hannah Barker has used the example of Newcastle to argue that provincial newspapers were not merely paltry imitators of the London papers but could in fact generate a high level of profit for their publishers and possessed a distinct local identity, often reflecting the political leanings of the proprietors and the audience they were attempting to attract.[12] The three major Newcastle newspapers had distinct political leanings: the *Newcastle Courant* had a reputation for high church Toryism; the *Newcastle Journal* reflected the moderate Whig views of its Quaker proprietor; while the *Newcastle Chronicle* was more politically radical under Slack, before developing

[9] Barbara Crosbie, "Provincial Purveyors of Culture," 207; James Raven, *Publishing Business in Eighteenth-Century England* (Woodbridge: Boydell Press, 2013): 36.
[10] Richard Welford, "Early Newcastle Typography, 1639-1800," *Archaeologia Aeliana or Miscellaneous Tracts Relating to Antiquity* 3, 3rd Series (1907): 36.
[11] Peter Isaac, "Thomas Slack, 1723?-1784," *Quadrat* 7 (June 1998): 20.
[12] Hannah Barker, "Catering for Provincial Tastes: Newspapers, Readership and Profit in Late Eighteenth-Century England," *Historical Research* 69, no. 168 (February 1996): 59; Hannah Barker, *Newspapers, Politics, and English Society, 1695-1855* (Oxford: Oxford University Press, 1998).

into the 'leading organ of Whig politics in the North of England' under the Hodgsons.[13] In particular, the *Newcastle Courant* and the *Newcastle Chronicle* were deeply divided over issues such as John Wilkes and the reform movement, the French revolution, and American independence and these debates raged on in their papers.[14] Helen Berry has also shown the ways in which the Newcastle newspapers helped to promote national sensibilities of taste in distinctly local terms.[15] More recently, Barbara Crosbie's study of the print trade in Newcastle has elided simplistic divisions between regionality and the nation, by demonstrating that the viability of provincially printed books was often fostered by the growth of the London book trade, while strengthening notions of the "nation" could bolster regional identities rather than undermine them.[16]

However, much of this critical attention has been directed at newspaper production or at the success of nationally-targeted publications. Newcastle has been noted for its remarkably high output of chapbooks, but scholars have generally neglected to examine the ways in which provincial identities were promoted in other localised titles, and the possible prestige and profitability they could bring.[17] Despite its stunning success, the *Newcastle Memorandum Book* has received scant attention from historians of the book trade. Provincial memorandum books are rarely mentioned in the output of provincial printers, and when they do crop up in passing, are often treated interchangeably, leaving little space for our understanding of how they were tailored to and targeted local audiences. The only work that discusses in any depth provincially-published memorandum books is Helen Williams's recent chapter on Ann Fisher, the wife of Thomas Slack. Williams has highlighted the significant role Fisher played in their printing business, including in their publication of a

[13] Kathleen Wilson, *The Sense of the People: Politics, Culture and Imperialism in England, 1715-1765* (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 1995): 32; Hannah Barker, *Newspapers, Politics, and English Society, 1695-1855* (Oxford: Oxford University Press, 2000): 189; Welford, "Early Newcastle Typography," 46.
[14] Hannah Barker, *Newspapers, Politics, and English Society*, 153; Ibid, 66.
[15] Helen Berry, "Promoting Taste in the Provincial Press: National and Local Culture in Eighteenth-Century Newcastle upon Tyne," *British Journal for Eighteenth-Century Studies,* vol. 25 (2002), 13.
[16] Barbara Crosbie, "Provincial Purveyors of Culture: The Print Trade in Eighteenth-Century Newcastle upon Tyne" in Adrian Green and Barbara Crosbie, eds., *Economy and Culture in North-East England, 1500-1800* (Woodbridge: Boydell & Brewer, 2018): 206.
[17] For chapbooks, see: Peter Wood, "The Newcastle Song Chapbooks" in David Atkinson and Steve Roud, eds., *Street Ballads in Nineteenth-Century Britain, Ireland, and North America: The Interface between Print and Oral Tradition* (London: Ashgate Publishing, 2014): 59-76.

ladies' memorandum book, for which Ann was editor.[18] But for provincially-targeted memorandum books we are still left with John Feather's brief but skewed assessment of the *Newcastle Memorandum Book* as evidence of the control London maintained over the national book-trade.[19] In a survey of four London papers and five provincial papers from January 1780, Feather showed that the *Newcastle Memorandum Book* was not widely advertised since it only appeared in one paper: the *York Courant*. The study was skewed for a number of reasons – not least because it overlooks the fact that memorandum books were an annual publication with an identifiable publishing season: the November and December of each year. Only a handful of memorandum book advertisements continued into the January of the next year, whether the product of London or provincial publishers. Feather swiftly dismissed, 'It was an almanac and diary, of which there were many equivalents in London.'[20] In the forty years since Feather's publication, understanding of the mechanics of the memorandum book trade and its significance to provincial printing has not progressed considerably.

Building upon scholarship on the Newcastle print trade, this chapter demonstrates the value and significance of memorandum books to provincial publishers. Throughout I address the question: what was at stake in the rivalry which emerged in eighteenth-century Newcastle? To answer this, I firstly look at the initial publication of the *Newcastle Memorandum Book,* and show that this was not simply an imitation of London memorandum books, but a serious attempt to cater to local audiences and carve out a name for its author, Thomas Slack. I survey the escalating tensions as two rival Newcastle memorandum books entered the scene, and argue that this formed part of a longer battle between publishers to stake their claim as an authority on local and trade knowledge. In this way, Newcastle offers a microcosm of wider trends in the memorandum book market, particularly its close relationship with the provincial press.

[18] Helen Williams, "Printing, Publishing, and Pocket Book Compiling: Ann Fisher's Hidden Labour in the Newcastle Book Trade," in Rachel Stenner, Kaley Kramer & Adam James Smith, eds. *Print Culture, Agency and Regionality in the Hand Press Period* (Cham: Palgrave Macmillan, 2022), 93-116.
[19] John Feather, *The Provincial Book Trade in Eighteenth-Century England* (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 1985).
[20] Ibid, 49.

The "Original" Newcastle Memorandum Book

The *Newcastle Memorandum Book* was one of Thomas Slack's first publishing ventures. Initially, the book was printed for him by I. Thompson and Co., whilst he was working under Isaac Thompson at his printing office, Burnt House Entry, which later relocated to the New Printing Office.[23] His was one of the earliest provincial contributions to the memorandum book trade in England, preceded only by Robert Williamson's *Liverpool Memorandum Book* for 1753 and Joseph Harrop's *Manchester Memorandum-Book* for 1754, and launched contemporaneously with Barnabas Thorne's *Exeter Pocket-Journal; or, West-Country Gentleman and Tradesman's Memorandum-Book* for 1755. Until this point, the burgeoning market had been dominated by London publishers and their gentlemen's and ladies' memorandum-books were made available in the provinces at the stores of prominent booksellers such as William Charnley in Newcastle. Provincial publishers quickly realised that they could offer alternatives better suited to their customers, by tailoring the book's content to the local market.

So what did the *Newcastle Memorandum Book* offer to consumers that distinguished it from its London counterparts? Alongside the pages for memorandums and accounts and typical printed fare such as a list of the moveable feasts, the contents of the 1755 edition included a deluge of regional practical information: 'The *Post Days* in *Newcastle*, with the Times the Packets commonly come in from, or go out to *London* and *Edinburgh*'; '*Brokers* and *Wharfingers* in *Newcastle*, by whom Goods and Parcels of all Kinds coming by Sea, from *London* or elsewhere, are duly forwarded to any Part of the Country'; 'Form of the Recommendatory Letter to the Governors of the Infirmary at *Newcastle*, with a Patient'; 'A Table of the two great Roads from *Newcastle* and *Carlisle* to *London*, and from each Place to *Edinburgh*, shewing the Miles between one Town and another'; and 'A New List of the Fairs, moveable and immoveable, in the Counties of Yorkshire, Durham, Northumberland, Cumberland, Westmoreland and Lancashire'.[26]

[23] Isaac, "Thomas Slack," 18.
[26] *The Newcastle Memorandum Book; Or, Methodical Pocket-Journal for the Year 1755* (Newcastle: Printed by I. Thompson & Co. for T. Slack). Copy consulted: London, British Library, C.142.dd.28

Whilst it displayed a focus on Newcastle, then, the memorandum book was intended to supply information more broadly relevant to consumers living in the northern counties. This was reflected in the book's early distribution across Newcastle, 'Durham, Sunderland, Stockton, Darlington, North-allerton, York, Kendal, Penrith, Whitehaven, Cockermouth, Wigton, Carlisle, Dumfries, Berwick, Alnwick, and Morpeth.'[27] Its distribution network mainly utilised the main trading routes up to Edinburgh, but as Barbara Crosbie has noted, the numerous trade links established in the North-West were likely because both Slack and his wife ann originated from Cumbria.[28]

Yet Slack's alterations were not limited to tailoring his publication to a Northern consumer-base; he also expanded and improved the mercantile information, particularly the tables for calculation. As he promoted in his preface for the 1756 edition, new additions included:

> The Estimation of foreign Coins and a Table of the Par of Exchange between this and most of the European Nations. The Coins, the real and imaginary being separated, he has calculated all a-new with much Care and Exactness as he was master of; yet, tho' he has corrected the Mistakes of Several Writers on the Subject, who have only copied from one another without examining the several Valuations, possibly some Errors may have escaped him […] The Observations on, and Laws relating to promissory Notes, Bills and Bonds, with the Tables of the Agreement which the Weights and Measures, wet and dry, of the principal places in Europe […][29]

Thus Slack was also attempting to improve on what he saw as defects in the calculations being supplied in other gentlemen's memorandum books, and in doing so underline his own authority on mercantile matters. As he emphasised in later advertisements, this was a work 'calculated to facilitate Business' 'at first hand'.[30] His emphasis on commercial calculations formed part of Slack's larger authorial ambitions, for under the pseudonym S. Thomas,

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[27] *Newcastle Courant,* 27 Dec. 1755.
[28] Barbara Crosbie, "Provincial Purveyors of Culture," 216.
[29] *The Newcastle Memorandum Book: Or, a Methodical Pocket-Journal for the Year 1756* (Newcastle: Printed by I. Thompson & Co for T. Slack). Copy consulted: "Newcastle Memorandum Book belonging to Nicholas Piper," Newcastle, Tyne & Wear Archives, DX1222/1.
[30] *Leeds Intelligencer*, 6 Dec. 1768.

'Merchant', he went on to author several merchant handbooks that were published in London, including *The British Negociator: Or, Foreign Exchanges Made Perfectly Easy* (1759) and *The Banker's Sure Guide: Or, Monied Man's Assistant* (1762), and which he often advertised in tandem with his memorandum book.[31] In short, this was not an attempt to pirate or pass off London imitations in a regional guise, but a contribution to the memorandum book market that took seriously the potential profit to be found in the growing demand for works that served provincial merchant communities.

In the earliest newspaper advertisements Slack's name was absent, but swiftly the book was being advertised as being printed 'by I. Thompson for T. Slack' and soon thereafter simply 'Printed for Thomas Slack.'[32] It is nonetheless telling that from the outset, within the book itself, Thomas Slack's name was stamped in large letters across the title page, with no reference to its printing by his employer Isaac Thompson.[33] Notably, this is also the only preface I have found which made reference to the 'author' of a memorandum book, here explicitly understood to be Thomas Slack. As one of his first publications, Slack was particularly eager to stake out his authorial ownership over the memorandum book and establish his reputation as a purveyor of local and mercantile information. Despite such assertions of ownership, however, Slack's right to publish the 'original' Newcastle memorandum book would soon come under challenge.

The 1762 Thompson-Slack Dispute

In 1762, a rift erupted between Thomas Slack and Isaac Thompson. The latter placed an advertisement in the *Newcastle Journal* on the 28th of August informing the public that Thomas Slack was no longer in his employ at the New Printing Office.[34] It is unclear what initially caused their disagreement, but both Slack and his wife Ann Fisher left Thompson's

[31] Peter Isaac, "Thomas Slack," 20.
[32] *Newcastle Journal*, 9-16 Nov. 1754.
[33] For an eighteenth-century book imprint, it was remarkably scant on details, merely reading: 'NEWCASTLE-UPON-TYNE: Printed for THOMAS SLACK'. *The Newcastle Memorandum Book; Or, Methodical Pocket-Journal for the Year 1755* (Newcastle: Printed by I. Thompson & Co. for T. Slack). Copy consulted: London, British Library, General Reference Collection, C.142.dd.28.
[34] *Newcastle Journal,* 28 Aug-4 Sept. 1762.

establishment and took the copyright to her then quite profitable publications with them.[35] Later that year, however, the spat between Thompson and Slack was reignited in the public forum of the pages of the *Newcastle Journal* and the *Newcastle Courant* – and at its crux lay a dispute over the copyright to the *Newcastle Memorandum Book*.[36] It is revealing on a number of fronts, particularly about how the publishers each asserted their authority to publish this regional title. Ultimately, I argue that Thomas Slack was not only defending what he saw as ownership over his own work, but his status as an authority of regional information.

The spat was sparked by a notice placed conspicuously at the top of the advertisements for Isaac Thompson's *Newcastle Journal* for October 30th:

> In the Press, and Speedily Will be Published (Printed for I. Thompson, Esq; and Company), The Newcastle Pocket-Book; Or, Gentleman and Lady's Complete Journal for the Year 1763. The Particulars of which, will be advertised in our Next.[37]

Slack took to the columns of the rival newspaper, the *Newcastle Courant,* to air his grievances. Presumably catching wind of Thompson's intentions, he first scrambled to have an advertisement for the *Newcastle Memorandum Book* placed in the 30th October issue of the *Newcastle Courant*. It emphasised that this was the "NINTH YEAR" of publication and made the pointed comment that 'no OTHER [memorandum book], Out of London, has lived above a single Year.'[38] He also claimed that the plan of his book had been 'noticed and approved by Several Merchants in London' and was now 'taken under the Protection of the trade' and registered at Stationers' Hall to protect it from piracy.[39] When Slack felt

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[35] Karen Cajka, "Ann Fisher: Reforming Education for "the mere English Scholar," *European Romantic Review* 22, no. 5 (September 2011): 583.
[36] The details of this spat were first outlined in: John Oxberry, "Thomas Slack, Newcastle Printer," *Proceedings of the Society of Antiquaries of Newcastle upon Tyne,* 3rd ser., 9, no. 13 (1920): 179-82.
[37] *Newcastle Journal,* 30 Oct.–6 Nov. 1762.
[38] Slack's claims about the longevity of other provincial publications were not strictly true – the *Liverpool Memorandum Book*, for example, had been published for at least 1753-1756, and Dublin was home to *Watson's Compleat Memorandum-Book* which had begun publication for 1759 – but in essence, Slack was correct that his publication displayed an unusual staying power that made it the most successful provincial memorandum book attempted since the genre's inception.
[39] *Newcastle Courant,* 30 Oct. 1762.

threatened, it is telling that he sought, or claimed to seek, protection from the London book trade. This was not simply a matter of securing legal protection, but an assertion of its worthiness: it had been 'noticed and approved by Several Merchants in London', as he described. His letter underlines the difficulties in asserting authority as a provincial publisher: Slack wished to prove his independence from the London press, claiming that his publication was the only one to have survived outside of London, but at the same time felt he needed the weight of the London book trade and mercantile community behind him to legitimise his publication.[41]

The following issue of the *Courant* featured a lengthier notice from Slack, dated 2nd November 1762 and addressed from London. He complained of the unjust actions of Thompson, not only over the publication of a rival Newcastle memorandum book, but also for the suppression of an advertisement for his own publication from the previous issue of the *Newcastle Journal*.[42]

Thompson fired off a barrage of criticisms in return in the November 6th issue of the *Newcastle Journal*. This vitriolic letter accused Slack foremostly of fabricating his whereabouts 'by making Use of a fictitous Date […] to be foisted upon the Public as coming from London.'[43]It otherwise gave little response to the charges of piracy and advertisement suppression, for Thompson deemed that such an 'ill-natur'd and futile attack' was not worthy of a response – though not without first casting aspersions on Slack's character as a 'foolish […] Scribbler' who 'told fibs'. Underneath, he inserted the first full advertisement for the *Newcastle Pocket-Book; or, Gentleman and Lady's Complete Journal* for 1763, priced the same as the *Newcastle Memorandum Book* at 1*s.* 6*d*, and available from 'W. Charnley, J. Fleming, and R. Akenhead, and the rest of the Booksellers in Town and Country.'[45]

[41] For more on the difficulties surrounding authorial copyright in this period, see: Mark Rose, *Authors and Owners: The Invention of Copyright* (Cambridge: Harvard University Press, 1993).
[42] *Newcastle Courant,* 6 Nov. 1762.
[43] *Newcastle Journal,* 6–13 Nov.
[45] This imprint suggests a limited distribution at this early but crucial stage, with the only named stockists being the major booksellers in Newcastle: Ibid.

Finally, Slack issued a rebuttal to Thompson. He cited Thompson's own words to demonstrate the incivility of his behaviour, suggesting that Thompson was acting from the 'Principle of *bullying* the *injured* for *daring* to complain.'[46] Here, he explicitly charged Thompson with piracy of his *Newcastle Memorandum Book*:

> [I]s he sure that the World has not PHILOSOPHY enough to discern, that his *gigantic* Evasion is a Consequence, not a first Cause? And that there had been no Occasion to have insisted on it at all, had not the advertisement been first refused, and that because it was the Memorandum book. A noble Reason, indeed! For, certainly, if we wanted to suppress his hasten'd Production, he had still less Reason to suppress ours, as being far prior, and could not possibly either be *pirated* from, *or set up in Opposition* to it; and his being now published, let him try to convince the World that it is not BOTH: (See an Act of the 8th of Queen Anne)[47]

This dispute is therefore revealing on how each publisher viewed the rights to publish this regional title, and how they attempted to assert their authority. As we can see, Slack directed Thompson, and by extension, the reader to the Statute of Anne (1711). This statute conferred copyright ownership onto the *author* of a book, rather than the publisher or printer, for a term of 14 years. In doing so, Slack was declaring his right as author to the copyright of the *Newcastle Memorandum Book*, instead of Thompson who had printed it on his behalf. Despite Slack's insistence that his book was copyrighted, the Act of the 8th of Queen Anne only applied if the book was registered at Stationer's hall with the requisite fee and deposited copies of the book. Yet there is no entry for the *Newcastle Memorandum Book* in the Stationers' Company register of entries of copies: Slack's claim to have registered for copyright was a lie.[48]

Clearly Slack felt this was a useful fiction. On one level, it was indicative of the little recourse he had as a provincial publisher to protect his publication compared to his metropolitan counterparts, who often worked within publishing congers to minimise the risks of piracy.

[46] *Newcastle Courant,* 27 Nov. 1762.
[47] *Newcastle Courant,* 27 Nov. 1762.
[48] "Register of entries of copies, 1746-1773," London, Stationers' Company Archives, TSC/1/E/06/09.

Yet his claim to copyright protection also enabled Slack to articulate how he felt *The Newcastle Memorandum Book* constituted a form of intellectual property:

> The Plan of a Book of this Sort being the chief Identity it can possess, other Tables, Lists, &c. necessarily changing with the Year, like an Almanac; and yet *Poor Robin* has still the best Right to his own.[49]

As he noted, much of the book's content could not considered copyrightable material since it was annually updated, such as the lists of the members of the Houses of Parliament or the lists of Brokers and Wharfingers operating in Newcastle. Instead, Slack made recourse to the 'Plan of a Book' in order to explain the fundamental identity of the *Newcastle Memorandum Book*. By this, Slack appears to have been referring to the intended use of the book – to serve as a memorandum book for merchants in Newcastle and the surrounding counties – as well as the form and order of its material.

Thompson's *Newcastle Pocket-Book* mimicked the form of Slack's memorandum book, implicitly laying claim to the right to publish *the* Newcastle memorandum book originally established under his helm. In doing so, it appears that Thompson was not just trying to compete but to replace Slack's version, laying claim to the right to publish the authoritative Newcastle pocket memorandum book. One of the only alterations Thompson made only bolsters this claim: he used a print of the town's arms as an identifying image for his pocket book.[50] Both publishers were therefore vying over which was the more official of the Newcastle memorandum books in publication. By competing to print *the* foremost Newcastle pocket memorandum book, these printers were also jostling to distinguish themselves as the authority on the regional information it offered.

Rivalry in the Newcastle Memorandum Book Trade

Although this particular public spat had come to an end, the competition between Thompson and Slack was set to intensify. In April 1763, Thomas Slack and Ann Fisher set up

[49] Ibid.
[50] *Newcastle Journal*, 12 Nov. 1763.

shop for themselves, opening "The Printing Press" at the Head of Middle Street, opposite High Bridge.[62] As a publishing team, Welford suggests that 'she catered for the schools, he for the counting house.'[63] Yet their complementary business model also extended to the publishing of memorandum books. In November of 1763, alongside adverts for the 'original' Newcastle memorandum book, the Slacks also ran the first advertisements for *The Ladies' Own Memorandum Book* for 1764, penned "by a Lady" – in fact, under the editorship of Ann Fisher.[64] It was an extraordinarily successful publication. Initially printed by the Slacks for another Newcastle publisher, James Fleming, along with Samuel Hooper in the Strand, by the 1767 edition it was being published by the Slacks themselves in collaboration with leading London publishers G. Robinson and J. Roberts in Pater-Noster-Row.[65] Peter Isaac has suggested that the printing of the *Ladies' Own Memorandum Book* was divided between the publishers, such that the 'Slacks printed the letterpress matter, and the Robinsons dealt with the calendar and ruled matter.'[66] Like the *Newcastle Memorandum Book*, then, the *Ladies' Own Memorandum-Book* displayed incredible longevity, with its 87 year publication span earning it a place as the second-longest running ladies' memorandum book of the eighteenth century. [70]

Taken within the context of the dispute, it seems likely that the Slack's launching of a counterpart ladies' memorandum book was also part of the escalating rivalries between the Slacks and Thompson, especially given that the latter had explicitly identified 'the ladies' in the title of his memorandum book as part of the target market. Finally, in the following

[62] Peter Isaac, "Thomas Slack," 19.
[63] Welford, "Early Newcastle Typography, 1639-1800," 36.
[64] The first edition was initially called "The Ladies New Memorandum Book", but was corrected to the "Ladies' Own Memorandum Book" with an addendum in the paper. *Newcastle Courant,* 3 Dec. 1763.
[65] Williams, "Printing, Publishing, and Pocket Book Compiling," 101.
[66] Isaac, "Thomas Slack," 18.
[70] It has sometimes been assumed that the publication terminated when partner company Robinson and Roberts folded in 1805, following a fire at their print-shop, However, I have found evidence of the book's continuation up until an 1850 edition. It is clear that the Robinsons sold their copyright to the publication, as too must have the Slacks' descendants, the Hodgsons, but that it was the same publication continued. We can make a direct connection between the eighteenth-century *Ladies' Own Memorandum-Book* and the nineteenth-century title, for imprint of the 1837 edition shows that it was: 'Printed by assignment of G. Robinson, for Suttaby and Co. Stationers' Court; and J. and J.M. Richardson, Royal Exchange. *The Ladies' Own Memorandum-Book, Or Daily Pocket Journal for the Year 1837* (London: Printed by assignment of G. Robinson for Suttaby and Co. Stationers' Court; and J. and J.M. Richardson, Royal Exchange, 1836). Copy consulted: Oxford, Bodleian Library, Vet. A6 g.205. For the advertised 1850 edition, see: *Derbyshire Advertiser and Journal,* 30 Nov. 1849.

Spring, March 1764, the Slacks launched a rival newspaper, *The Newcastle Chronicle.* In the opening issue, they alluded to the disagreement with Thompson, suggesting that they were 'in the course of the trade unwilling necessitated' to begin their own paper, and asserting that as a general advertiser, they would not 'from sinister or selfish motives, refuse any fair and warrantable advertisement.'[74] This did not prevent them, however, from placing the advertisements for the *Newcastle Memorandum Book* and the *Ladies' Own Memorandum Book* in prime position of the newspaper every year, frequently a page or two ahead of similar publications.

Beyond the rivalry between Slack and Thompson, the number of provincially-published memorandum books was generally on the rise and it was not long until Slack faced further competition.[75] In 1767, the *Newcastle Memorandum Book* and the *Newcastle Pocket-Book* were joined by a third rival publication: *The Universal Cash Book, and Newcastle Pocket Diary* for 1768*,* established by John White and Thomas Saint, the proprietors of the *Newcastle Courant* and continued by Saint alone after White's death in 1769. Unlike Thompson's memorandum book however, which had attempted to mimic the *Newcastle Memorandum Book* in title, content, and plan – perhaps in the hope that it could convincingly replace the *Newcastle Memorandum Book* – the *Universal Cash Book* attempted to distinguish itself on all accounts, altering the plan of the memorandum pages and attempting, initially, to dramatically undercut the market by reducing the number of articles, claiming that the publishers did not 'wish to swell this CASH BOOK with any useless articles.'[76] It is clear that the *Universal Cash Book* was positioning itself as a rival regional memorandum book, but also hoping to directly compete with the London alternatives by placing foremost its claim to universality.

Despite a promising start in which White and Saint boasted of 1500 sales within the first six months of publication alone and the acclaim the *Universal Cash Book* claimed it had received for its plan, it does not seem to have achieved the status of a mainstay publication

[74] *Newcastle Chronicle*, 24 March 1764.
[75] James Raven, *Publishing Business in England*, 204.
[76] It was offered at the price of '9d. stitched in Marble Covers for Letter Cases, or 1s. bound in Red' – a price in line with ladies' rather than gentlemen's memorandum books in this period. *Newcastle Courant,* 26 Dec. 1767.

like the *Newcastle Memorandum Book*. Its initial attempts to undercut the market were short-lived, for the 1770 edition was being advertised at 1*s.*6*d* bound in red, now the same price as its rivals*.* In November 1777, alongside the advertisement for the newest edition, we find that Saint was attempting to sell off old copies of the *Universal Cash Book* from 1774 and 1776. The intention behind 'offering the few remaining Copies' was supposedly to offer customers a cheaper access to some of the articles contained within them, but it suggests that sales may were flagging.[78] Nevertheless, the *Universal Cash Book* continued publication even after Saint's death in 1788, whereafter it was printed by his apprentice John Hall and Joseph Elliot, who likewise continued publication of the *Courant,* until Hall's death in 1795. Meanwhile, from 1777 Thomas Saint began printing the *Ladies' Complete Pocket-Book; Or, Memorandum Repository* for local bookseller and stationer duo, Joseph Whitfield and Marshall Vesey.

The emergence of three rival provincially-titled memorandum books in eighteenth-century Newcastle, vying for the same market, and coexisting for many years, is remarkable. Newcastle may have been a booming centre for the print centre, but even so, this pushes our conventional understanding of the value of regional identity in print. As Barbara Crosbie has described, a locally-tailored book would have to generate considerable interest in order for it to be a 'viable venture for a printer in Newcastle.'[79] The intense level of competition in the Newcastle memorandum book trade therefore shows that these publications were not just circulated in low numbers for a niche audience but were a significant asset to provincial publishers.

All three tapped into a broader northern identity and were distributed beyond Northumbria, drawing on their publisher's different trade connections. By 1763, the *Newcastle Pocket-Book* had established a wider distribution network, and boasted of its availability in Durham, Sunderland, Darlington, Stock-Wilson, York, Lonsdale, Cockermouth, Whitehaven, Appleby, Carlisle, Hexham, Alnwick, and Berwick, in part reflective of Isaac Thompson's connections with fellow Quaker Communities.[80] The *Universal Cash Book* for

[78] *Newcastle Courant,* 22 Nov. 1777.
[79] Crosbie, '"Provincial Purveyors of Culture," 225.
[80] Barbara Crosbie, "Provincial Purveyors of Culture," 216.

1775 was meanwhile sold by booksellers in Leeds, Wakefield, Rochdale, Bradford, Halifax and York, perhaps drawing on pre-established family connections that John White, Thomas Saint's precursor and mentor at the *Newcastle Courant*, had with Yorkshire. Unfortunately, when Thomas Slack began to produce the *Newcastle Memorandum Book* outside of Thompson's establishment, and advertising it in the *Newcastle Chronicle*, he no longer included full lists of retailers but the reader was instead informed that the book was 'sold by all the Booksellers in Town and the adjacent Counties, and may be had of the News-Carriers.'[81] It is difficult, therefore, to ascertain precisely how much the three Newcastle memorandum-book distribution networks overlapped. Nonetheless Figs. 12, 13, and 14 use the data we *do* have available to map out the comparative distribution networks of these three publications. From this, we can see that it is clear these three publications were servicing broadly the same area.

Moreover, Slack's claim of the wide distribution of the *Newcastle Memorandum Book* does not appear to have been empty rhetoric. In surviving correspondence with other booksellers and in their own business records, the *Newcastle Memorandum Book* crops up as a particularly marketable publication distributed across Northern England and into Scotland. Victoria Gardner notes its popularity with the customers of John Ware, a bookseller in Whitehaven and the proprietor of the *Cumberland Pacquet,* who had good working relations with Sarah Hodgson.[82] Meanwhile, Slack's correspondence with Charles Elliot, a bookseller and publisher in Edinburgh, is demonstrative of the assumed success of these annual volumes: Peter Isaac notes that Charles Elliot regularly purchased both the *Newcastle Memorandum Book* and the *Ladies' Own Memorandum Book* in bulk.[83] He annually purchased one hundred copies of the *Newcastle Memorandum Book*, while in 1776 he bought fifty copies of the *Ladies' Own Memorandum Book* but suggested that if he were made the sole outlet in Scotland, he could easily sell 100 or 200 copies. It seems however that his demands for a monopoly on the books were frequently frustrated and we can find

[81] *Newcastle Chronicle,* 24 Nov. 1764.
[82] Victoria Gardner, "The Communications Broker and the Public Sphere," *Cultural and Social History* 10, no. 4 (2013): 542.
[83] Peter Isaac, "Charles Elliot and the Provincial Trade" in Peter Isaac & Barry McKay, eds., *The Human Face of the Book Trade: Print Culture and its Creator* (Winchester: Oak Knoll Press, 1999): 104.

the memorandum books being sold elsewhere in Scotland.[84] This exchange indicates to us the high print runs these provincial publications reached.

As discussed in the previous chapter, Thomas Saint's boast that 1500 copies of the *Universal Cash Book* were sold within the first six months may need to be treated with caution, but such figures were not beyond the realms of plausibility for memorandum book sales. It seems likely that the *Newcastle Memorandum Book* alone sold in the high hundreds or even low thousands each year. Bearing in mind that three rival Newcastle memorandum books were being sold across northern England simultaneously, it is suggestive of a high demand for this type of print. In fact, as we can see in Figs. 12, 13, and 14 all three publications were being distributed at least as far south as York, so when a *Yorkshire Memorandum Book* was established in 1781 (for use in 1782) the competition must have been heightened even further.[85] They were also in competition with titles published in London but sold up and down the country, such as Dodsley's *Gentleman's New Memorandum Book* and Baldwin's *Daily Journal.*

[84] Newspaper advertisements show both the *Ladies' Own Memorandum Book* and *Newcastle Memorandum Book* being sold by C. Elliot and Mr Creech in Edinburgh, and Mr Wilson in Dumbfries, and the *Ladies' Own Memorandum Book* being sold by William Coke in Leith*: Caledonian Mercury*, 27 Dec. 1779; *Caledonian Mercury,* 27 May 1775.

[85] Although Thompson's *Newcastle Pocket-Book* was no longer in publication by this point.

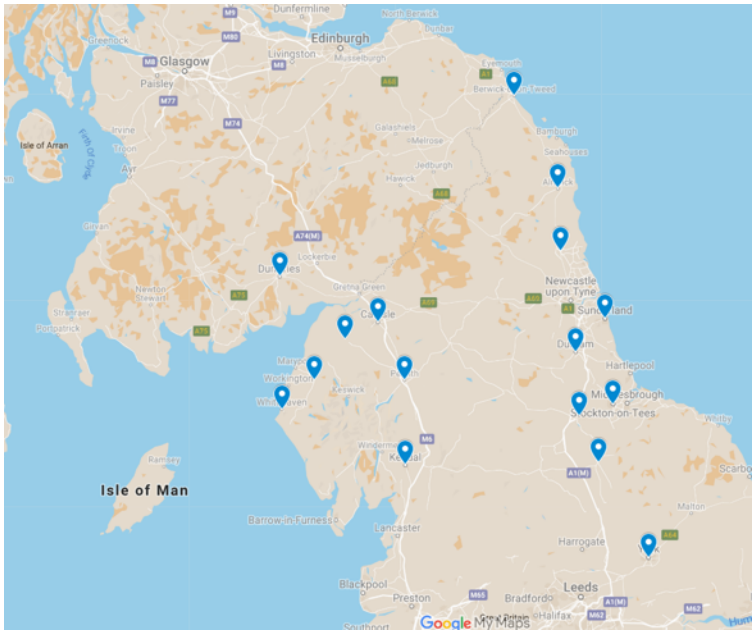


Figure 10. Distribution of the Newcastle Memorandum Book for 1756 [Printed by Isaac Thompson for Thomas Slack]

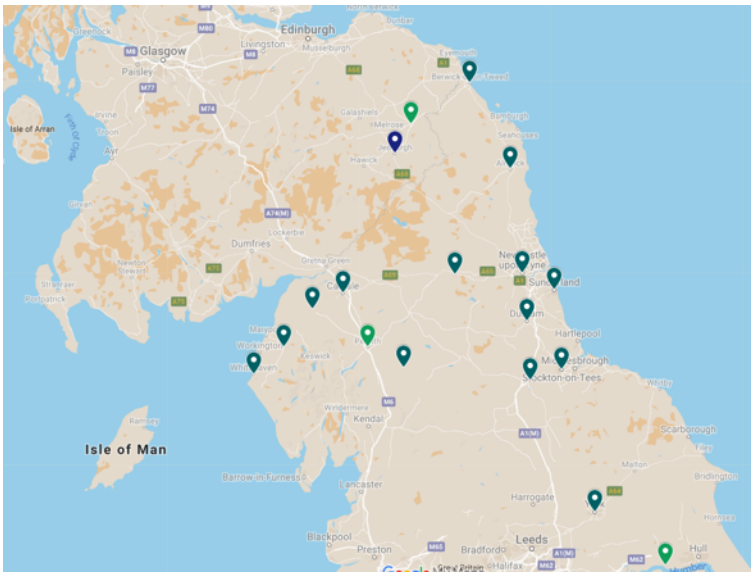


Figure 11. Distribution of the Newcastle Pocket-Book for 1764 [Printed by and for Isaac Thompson]

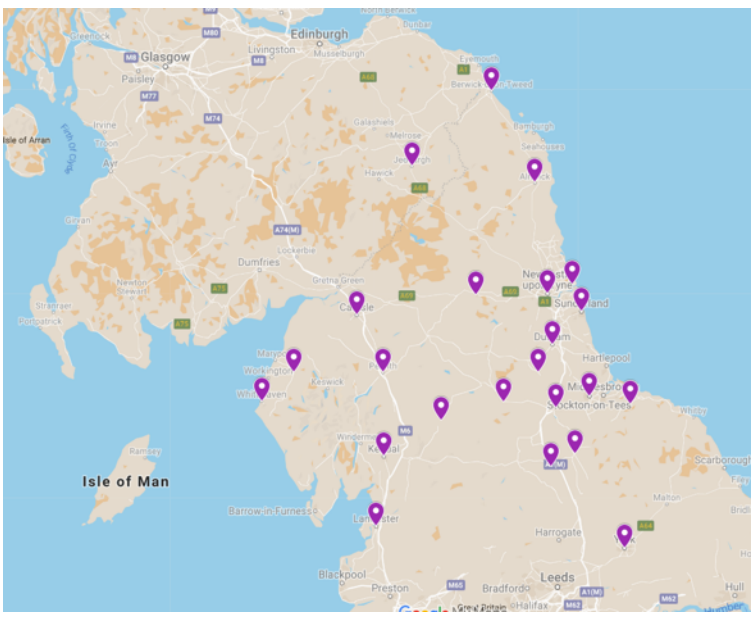


Figure 12. Distribution of the Universal Cash Book for 1769 [Printed by Thomas Saint]

This surviving correspondence with Charles Elliot also elucidates one of the key advantages for provincial printers in establishing their own memorandum book brands, rather than simply acting as wholesalers for other titles. Books published in London were typically sold to country booksellers at approximately 70% of their retail price, and the country booksellers retained the price difference as profit. In this way, wholesaling provided a meagre but steady income.[87] This correspondence shows that memorandum books were sold to country booksellers in a similar way. We know that the retail price of the *Ladies' Own Memorandum-Book* was 1*s.* but Charles Elliot purchased 50 copies of the *Ladies' Own Memorandum Book* at 9*d*. per copy, making the wholesale price was about 75% of the retail price. The Slacks also threw in an extra copy for free per "Quarto" – i.e., with every twenty-five copies purchased.[88] So for every copy of the memorandum book sold, Elliot was making just over 3*d.* in profit. It is easy to see why, from the country bookseller's perspective, the idea of publishing an original memorandum book would be so appealing compared to the small profits of wholesaling. Yet I argue that the fierce rivalry that erupted over the right and ability to publish the definitive Newcastle memorandum book speaks to a motivation that runs deeper than immediate profit alone: it speaks to the status such publications could bring.

[87] Feather, *Provincial Book Trade*, 57.
[88] Peter Isaac, "Charles Elliot and the English Provincial Book Trade," in Peter Isaac and Barry McKay, eds., *The Human Face of the Book Trade* (Delaware: Oak Knoll Press, 1999), 104.

Table 2. List of the Provincially-Titled Memorandum Books published in Newcastle, and their Respective Publishers

Title	Earliest Known Edition	Latest Known Edition	Publisher(s)	Publisher's Newspaper Proprietorship
The Newcastle Memorandum Book; Or, a Methodical Pocket-Journal	1755	1894	Thomas Slack	Proprietor of the *Newcastle Chronicle* (1764-1784)
The Newcastle Pocket-Book; Or, Gentleman and Lady's Complete Journal	1763	1774	Isaac Thompson	Proprietor of the *Newcastle Journal* (1739-1776)
The Universal Cash Book, and Newcastle Pocket Diary	1768	1796	John White and Thomas Saint	Proprietors of the *Newcastle Courant* White: (1711-1769) Saint: (1761-1788)

Table 3. List of the Ladies Memorandum Books published in Newcastle, and their Respective Publishers

Title	Earliest Known Edition	Latest Known Edition	Publisher(s)	Publisher's Newspaper Proprietorship
The Ladies' Own Memorandum-Book; Or, Daily Pocket Journal	1764	1850	Under the editorship of Anne Slack (née Fisher) Published initially Thomas Slack with George Robinson and James Roberts in London	Slack: Proprietor of the *Newcastle Chronicle*
The Ladies' Complete Pocket-Book; Or, Memorandum Repository	1778	1796	Printed by Thomas Saint for Marshall Vesey and Joseph Whitfield	Thomas Saint: Proprietor of the *Newcastle Courant* Vesey and Whitfield, none.

Crafting a Regional Identity in Print

The fierce rivalry which developed in Newcastle was part of a longer battle between publishers to stake their claim as an authority on local and trade knowledge. It is no coincidence that each of the rival Newcastle memorandum books were headed up by each of the major newspaper proprietors in Newcastle: White and Saint; Thomas Slack; and Isaac Thompson, respective proprietors of the *Newcastle Courant, Newcastle Chronicle* and *Newcastle Journal* (Table 2). The political stances which separated the three rival Newcastle newspapers and their readership do not appear to have generally influenced the content in their respective Newcastle memorandum books, which presented themselves as neutral repositories of information. However, there are hints of their leanings: the radical Slacks ensured that their readers were kept informed of the events of the American War of Independence, with the inclusion of a 'Journal of the American War' in both the *Newcastle Memorandum Book* and the *Ladies' Own Memorandum Book* each year, while the loyalist Thomas Saint opted instead to include in his 1776 edition of the *Universal Cash Book* a 'Table of the distances of the principal towns, forts, &c. in America, and an account of our Trade to the Colonies, by which the Politician may be able to judge of the propriety, or otherwise of the Present War,' thereby drawing on the trade identity of his readers to foster opposition to Revolution.[89]

Memorandum books were not an extension of their publishers' political views, but they did feed into their broader publishing strategies. The overlap between memorandum book 132publication and newspaper proprietorship speaks to the types of publishers involved in the trade. As Victoria Gardner has described of provincial newspaper proprietors in this period, they functioned as "community brokers," – that is to say, they acted as intermediaries between personal communities and institutions, both within the pages of their newspapers and in their daily trading connections and interactions.[90] Provincial memorandum books were another important way in which publishers could position

[89] James E. Bradley, *Religion, Revolution and English Radicalism: Non-conformity in Eighteenth-Century Politics and Society* (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 1990), 379.
[90] Gardner, *The Business of News*, 12.

themselves as regional authorities, since these publications provided consumers with the necessary tables, lists, and trade intel to structure their lives, in print and in practice.

An examination of extant copies helps to build up a clearer picture of how such regional information was targeted at, and used by, its consumer base. Unlike Thompson's and Saint's rival Newcastle memorandum books which have a low rate of survival, several copies survive for each decade of publication of the *Newcastle Memorandum Book* in the eighteenth century, and a handful survive from the nineteenth century, providing some insight into the variety of people who used the books. For a list of users, their location, and occupation where known, see Table 4 at the end of this chapter.

The extant copies provide confirmation of the wide geographical dispersal of the memorandum book across northern England, with users across Cumberland, Northumberland and Yorkshire. The *Newcastle Memorandum Book* appears to have continued to service Yorkshire inhabitants even after the publication of a *Yorkshire Memorandum Book* from 1782. As such, the use of the memorandum book appears to fulfil Thomas Slack's early hopes that the book would be found useful 'to all Persons living in the northern Parts of Great Britain.'[91] Notably, the majority of the owners were actively engaged in trade or the management of land or estates, with a real need to keep track of their financial affairs. They represent quite a diverse social mix, from wool merchants and stable keepers, to merchant navy captains and lawyers, to coal mine owners and the landed gentry, with a large number engaged in agriculture. Nonetheless, they all fall under the capacious category of 'Gentlemen and Tradesmen' which the *Newcastle Memorandum Book* marked out as its target audience.[92] An exception was a recent widow in Newcastle using a copy for 1797 for 1798 – our only surviving example of a woman using the *Newcastle Memorandum Book,* whose use perhaps reflected the greater need to keep track of financial and social affairs in the precariousness of widowhood.[93]

[91] *The Newcastle memorandum-book: or, A methodical pocket-journal for the year MDCCLV*.[1755] Copy consulted was used by Thomas Slack: London, British Library, General Reference Collection C.142.dd.28.
[92] 'Calculated to answer the Immediate Purposes of Gentlemen and Tradesmen', for example, see the advertisement for the 1765 edition of the *Newcastle Memorandum Book*.. *Newcastle Chronicle*, 29 Dec. 1764.
[93] *The Newcastle Memorandum-Book; or, a Methodical Pocket Journal for the Year MDCCXCVII* [1797]. Copy consulted: Newcastle, Newcastle Central Library, L059/6525.

To what extent was this social mélange catered for and reflected in the pages of the *Newcastle Memorandum Book?* One way of reconstructing the anticipated consumer is to look at the exemplars of use inserted above the memorandum and accounts pages. Despite Thomas Slack's prefatorial claim in the 1755 edition that the plan of the book was 'so very obvious and intelligible, that to give an Explanation thereof […] would be putting an Indignity on the Judgements of all Persons the least acquainted with Business, and aiming a downright Affront at the Capacities of others,' later editions of the *Newcastle Memorandum Book* included example entries to guide the user. These were not only intended to exemplify the method of using the book, but were carefully crafted representations of the lives of the ideal users of the memorandum book. From these, we can see that the memorandum book anticipated an active businessman with a high cash flow, for whom use of the memorandum book aided their memory of various appointments, but also helped them to achieve financial harmony, with the sample week ending in a perfectly balanced account in which £471.1.0 was received and £471.1.0 paid out. The sample week provided is from the previous December, conveniently allowing for 'a New Memorandum Book' to be listed as in the outgoing expenses, a self-reflexive move that doubly functioned as a reminder to purchase a memorandum book the following December. Other payments included to booksellers, for household furniture, house rent, and for bonds, together illustrating that no payment big or small is to be excluded. The user was expected to have plenty of appointments to keep, and was intimated to be positioned as a trusted and respected figure within their community, responsible for more than just their own financial affairs. Example appointments included: 'To protest Mr. A. W's Bill for 50*l* on C. G. who refuses to pay it for Want of Effects in Hand' and 'To speak to Mr. T in favour of Mr W.', as well as more general activities such as trips to the Custom-House, to the drapers, to church and to a coffee-house.[94] Moreover, the exemplars both promoted Newcastle institutions as part of the lifestyle of the ideal gentleman as well as assuming the reader's recognition of them, with mention of prominent local institutions such as 'Katy's Coffee-House' and 'The Queen's Head.'[95] Such institutions were also crucial for local businessmen – Katy's Coffee-House, for

[94] *The Newcastle Memorandum-Book or, a Methodical Pocket-Journal, for the Year MDCCLXIX* [1769] (Newcastle: Printed and Sold by T. Slack). Copy consulted: York, Borthwick Institute, Raymond Burton Yorkshire Collection 4.13.

[95] For more information on Katy's Coffee-House, see: J. R. Boyle, "Katy's Coffee House, Newcastle," *Monthly chronicle of north-country lore and legend* 3, no. 30 (Aug 1889): 369-370. The Queen's Head was another

example, was the site of auctions of property and shares in trading vessels and where subscription lists would be placed.[96] In this way, the *Newcastle Memorandum Book* asserted its own version of respectability, one which was very much rooted in an active trade identity and with a bustling Newcastle at its centre.

The selection of material within the memorandum book also shows an awareness of the types of trade its readership were likely engaged in. Its tables and lists catered to a range of middling occupations that correspond with our evidence of ownership, such as: an 'Attorney's Tables of Terms and Returns'; the 'Specimen of a Country Gentleman's Steward's Account of the Work done on his Master's Estate each Day in the Week,' which could aid the work of land stewards or be used by country gentlemen to improve the management of their estates; and the 'accurate new Tables for the Coal Trade, shewing the real Value, with the usual Allowances,' which could provide a useful reference both for collier viewers and coal mine owners or investors.[97] Abstracts of important acts passed through parliament were selectively included, primarily those laws that impinged on the interests of trade or employers. Meanwhile the book's regular lists of local wharfingers, coal vendors, and postal carriers acted as a kind of directory that also promoted the business of local traders. We can see therefore how the memorandum book connected together individuals with the wider institutional structure of Newcastle.

A number of manuscript annotations show engagement with these printed tables and lists to help inform their record-keeping and practices. Nicholas Piper, a ship owner, merchant navy captain and early user of the *Newcastle Memorandum Book* made corrections to the

institution in Newcastle, and both Katy's Coffee House and the Queen's Head can be found mentioned together in a historical legal account of Newcastle in the 1770s: *The Law Times: The Journal and Record of the Law and the Lawyers,* Volume. XI (London: 1865), 630.

[96] Its use for auctions is evidenced by newspaper advertisements. See, for example: *Newcastle Courant* - Saturday 06 September 1755; *Newcastle Courant*, 12 Jan. 1760; *Newcastle Courant*, 3 April 1762. For the coffee house's use for subscription lists, see: Helen Berry, "Creating a Polite Space: The Organisation and Social Function of the Newcastle Assembly Rooms," in Helen Berry & Jeremy Gregory, eds., *Creating and Consuming Culture in North-East England, 1660–1830* (London: Routledge, 2004), 128.

[97] *The Newcastle Memorandum-Book; or, a Methodical Pocket-Journal, for the year MDCCLXXXVII* [1787] (Newcastle: Printed and sold by S. Hodgson). Copy consulted: Newcastle, Newcastle City Library, L059/222679A; *The Newcastle Memorandum-Book; Or, a Methodical Pocket-Journal, for the year MDCCLXXV* [1775] (Newcastle: Printed and Sold by T. Slack). Copy consulted: York, York Explore Library, Y595.2; Advert for 1765 edition of the *Newcastle Memorandum Book*: *Newcastle Chronicle,* 29 Dec. 1764.

'List of the Ships of War in Commission, shewing the Captain's Names, the Number of Guns each carries, and where station'd' to keep it up-to-date. This was not a list common to all memorandum books of the period, instead reflecting Newcastle's port connections. In fact, from cross-referencing his annotations to the printed table with his memorandum entries, we can see that Piper also made reference to the list in order to accurately note the ship and captain when on the 9th March he 'arrived at Helvoetslyys' and one of his crew was press-ganged 'on board of ye Queenborough Capn Pettigrew.'[98] Other users also made corrections or amendments to the information provided in order to make the memorandum book a more personal compendium of information. One user, for example, added in a summary of the days and times of the postal service in Newcastle underneath the list of carriers, while another marked out each of the Sundays after Trinity, and the Sundays in Advent, in the list of 'Holidays, Birth-days of the Royal Family, &c', presumably because these dates corresponded with payment dates.[99] Others replicated the format of the printed pages in manuscript form by adding extra, locally-relevant information in the memorandum and accounts pages, such as the user who wrote out a list of distances from Yeaton on the first accounts page.[100] In this way, the *Newcastle Memorandum Book* was adapted by its users to create a compendium of reference material further tailored to their own lives.

Far from being interchangeable with their London counterparts, then, Newcastle memorandum books carefully targeted their local consumer base, connecting individuals with the information needed to navigate their daily lives. The fierce rivalry that emerged thus speaks to their publishers desire to assert themselves as regional authorities. As we will

[98] MS. Notations by Nicholas Piper in *The Newcastle Memorandum-Book: or, a Methodical Pocket Journal for the Year MDCCLVI* [1756] (Newcastle: Printed for Thomas Slack). Copy consulted: "Newcastle Memorandum Book belonging to Nicholas Piper," Newcastle, Tyne & Wear Archives, DX1222/1.
[99] MS. Notations by an unknown person in *The Newcastle Memorandum Book: or, a Methodical Pocket Journal for the MDCCLXIII* [1763] (London: Printed for T. Slack, in Newcastle). Copy consulted: Newcastle, Newcastle City Library, L059/6635; MS. Notations by an unknown person in *The Newcastle Memorandum Book: or, a Methodical Pocket Journal for the Year MDCCLXXVIII* [1788] (Newcastle: Printed and sold by S. Hodgson). Copy consulted: Newcastle, Newcastle City Library, L059/6637.
[100] MS. Notations by an unknown person in *The Newcastle Memorandum-Book; or, a Methodical Pocket-Journal, for the year MDCCLXXXVII* [1787] (Newcastle: Printed and sold by S. Hodgson). Copy consulted: Newcastle, Newcastle City Library, L059/222679A.

now see, the Slacks were most capable of tapping into a regional identity of print, likely contributing to their incredible success in the memorandum book trade.

Competing as Regional Authorities

Since the Newcastle memorandum books were all published by the main newspaper proprietors of the city, they were able to employ a number of strategies within their newspapers to promote their memorandum books above their rivals. One conspicuous approach was to place their own advertisements on the front pages of their newspaper, and relegate other advertisements to the back. Beyond the newspaper spat with Slack, Thompson seems to have made surprisingly little attempt to promote his book, merely attaching the standard by-line in memorandum-book advertisements that implored customers to ensure they purchased the pocket book with his signature image, rather than any others.

Other publishers employed more sophisticated methods of promotion. Thomas Saint utilised the layout of his newspaper, the *Newcastle Courant*, to further induce his readers to purchase the *Universal Cash Book*. Most notably, and not particularly subtly, Saint often placed his advertisement for the *Universal Cash Book* immediately underneath the lists of bankruptcies, underlining the imperative to keep one's accounts in order and the dire consequences of failing to do so. Meanwhile, the Slacks elegantly wove together their different publications, using each of their publications as a platform to publicize another. By doing so, the Slacks capitalised on crafting a community of users, and tapping into their regional identity.

At the simplest level, the Slacks devoted most of the advertising space of both the *Newcastle Memorandum Book* and the *Ladies' Own Memorandum Book* to promoting Ann Fisher's grammatical and educational works - which perhaps was a less obvious marketing ploy if we are to believe Ann Fisher's remark that 'from ye prodigious number of Ladies' Books that are sold, one half of the purchasers […] cannot possibly even suspect ye editors

of ye two books to be ye same person.'[101] Early editions of the *Ladies' Own Memorandum Book* also referenced the *Newcastle Memorandum Book,* drawing on its success as a means to promote both in kind; the preface in the 1766 edition of the *Ladies' Own Memorandum Book* expressed the editor's hopes that:

> the book in general will be found as useful and entertaining as any of the kind; and must be allowed preferable to them all in the plan, being (with the leave of the author) ruled out the same way with the Newcastle and London New Memorandum-books.[102]

But a key reason for the Slacks' success is the way they fostered an imagined community of readers in their memorandum books and in the *Newcastle Chronicle.* As Helen Williams has recently shown, the community established in the *Ladies' Own Memorandum Book* was one which was both 'distinctly northern and national,' for although the *Ladies' Own Memorandum Book* was nationally advertised, it overwhelmingly cultivated a community of contributors from northern England, and patronised prominent literary figures such as the pastoral poet, John Cunningham, to contribute to its pages.[103] These connections may have been built up through their shop, later relocated to Union Street, which also acted as a social club, hosting gatherings of local authors, actors, artists, and politicians.[104] This community was manifested in the enigma puzzle pages of the *Ladies' Own Memorandum Book*, in which readers sent in their own enigmas, rebusses and charades, and were invited to send in answers for those puzzles published, in competition for prizes of next year's editions of the *Ladies' Own Memorandum Book*.[105] By including such puzzles the *Ladies'*

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[101] Excerpt of a letter from Ann Slack to John Cunningham on 24th November, 1769, cited in: James Hodgson, "John Cunningham, Pastoral Poet, 1729-1773: Recollections and some Original Letters," *Archaeologia Aeliana* 18, 3rd Series (1921): 90.
[102] *The Ladies' Own Memorandum-Book; Or Daily Pocket Journal for the Year 1766* (London: Printed for G. Robinson and J. Roberts, in Pater-noster-Row; and S. Hooper in the Strand). Copy consulted: New York, Columbia University Rare Book and Manuscript Library, Ms Montgomery 156.
[103] Williams, "Printing, Publishing, and Pocket Book Compiling," 104.
[104] "The "Newcastle Chronicle"," *Monthly Chronicle of North-Country Lore and Legend* 4, no. 39 (1890): 224.
[105] In fact, the *Ladies' Own Memorandum Book* appears to be the first memorandum book to include enigma puzzle pages.

Own Memorandum Book was drawing inspiration from magazines such as the *Lady's Diary*, which had regularly included puzzles, often of a mathematical nature.[106]

Though many of the memorandum book contributors used playful pseudonyms, some of which evinced their provincial identity through names such as "Northumbrienses," such literary playfulness aided in the construction of the creation of an imagined community of readers. Regular participants became familiar names within the reading community, as can be seen in a poem sent in by "Gemini of Morpeth" in the *Ladies' Own Memorandum Book* for 1780, in answer to the enigmas set in the previous year's edition. When setting out the answers in the form of a poem, as was customary, Gemini references the other regular contributors (here underlined):

> A *Garden*, and *Nonsense* can Vaughan delight,
> Cumbriensis evinces his *Pen* can well write,
> Will Swift his regard for a *Hat* doth express,
> And Common is pleas'd with a lady's *Head-Dress.*[107]

This playfulness and self-reflexivity was encouraged by the book itself, as it frequently included enigmas whose answers related to the features of the memorandum book (so in the same issue, 'Hexameters, Ladies', and 'Headdresses' were all answers), and on one occasion, the 'Ladies Own Mem. Book' itself was the answer, described as 'very well known, and respected by most/And a very distinguishing title can boast.'[108]

The Slacks also utilised the platform of the *Newcastle Chronicle* in order to solicit contributions as well as advertise their memorandum books in more surreptitious ways. Like

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[106] Shelley Costa, "The "Ladies' Diary": Gender, Mathematics, and Civil Society in Early-Eighteenth-Century England," *Osiris* 17, 2nd Series, Science and Civil Society (2002): 49-73.
[107] *The Ladies' Own Memorandum-Book; or, Daily Pocket Journal, for the Rear 1780* (London: Printed for G. Robinson, No. 25, Pater-noster-Row; and T. Slack, Newcastle). Copy consulted: London, British Library, RB.23.a.6836.
[108] The answer appeared in *The Ladies Own Memorandum Book* for 1771, in answer to the enigmas in the 1770 edition. *The Ladies' Own Memorandum-Book; Or, Daily Pocket Journal, for the Year 1771* (London: Printed for Robinson and Roberts, No. 25, Paternoster-row; and T. Slack, at Newcastle). Copy consulted: "Diary written in 'The Ladies Own Memorandum Book: or Daily Pocket Journal," Diaries of Ann Prest - 1769-1776, Birmingham, Cadbury Library, MS52/2.

the *Ladies' Own Memorandum Book,* the *Newcastle Chronicle* was more 'self consciously 'literary'' than its peers[109] and dedicated greater space to poems and songs sent in by its readers as well as those extracted from recent publications. In November and December, the *Newcastle Chronicle* extracted some of the best poems or songs from the *Ladies' Own Memorandum Book* edition currently on sale. This marketing ploy both provided fresh material for the literary articles of the *Newcastle Chronicle*, while serving to advertise the memorandum book which was recently printed for the following year. It does not seem coincidental that the poems extracted were typically from local contributors, even if it is not immediately apparent because of the use of pseudonyms and initials: in 1768 the *Chronicle* excerpted 'The Bear and the Gardener. A Fable' by "J. R."; in 1770 it excerpted 'Nan: A Song' by "Primrose", and in 1773 it included a composition by the recently deceased Newcastle-based John Cunningham, of whom Ann Slack was a frequent patron. The regular extracts of Cunningham's poetry therefore also functioned to promote Cunningham's poetry collection, also published by the Slacks. "J.R." were the initials of James Robertson, 'a bad poet, a bad dramatist, and a doubtless mediocre actor-manager' attached to various theatres in the North,[110] while "Primrose" was a pseudonym, it is believed, either for P. Hodgson from Newcastle or Robert Carr, a foreman in the *Newcastle Chronicle*.[111] Primrose also penned the song "Jessamond Mill" which made its first appearance in the *Ladies' Own Memorandum Book,* and would make its way into North country lore and into popular song-books of the nineteenth-century.[112] The Slacks therefore seemed to consciously embed the *Ladies' Own Memorandum Book* in a regional context through the platform of the *Newcastle Chronicle.*

Their publications were intended to work in a complementary fashion, so that when the *Ladies' Own Memorandum Book* started including enigma puzzles, the *Chronicle* stopped accepting any for its literary columns and instead directed them to the *Ladies' Own*

[109] Helen Berry, "Promoting taste in the provincial press," 4.
[110] Betrand H. Bronson, "James Robertson, Poet and Playwright," *Modern Language Notes* 49, no. 8 (Dec., 1934): 509-511.
[111] Tyneside [pseud.], "Jessamond Mill," *Monthly Chronicle of North-Country Lore and Legend* 5, no. 53 (July 1891): 330; James Hodgson, "James Cunningham, Pastoral Poet, 1729-1773: Recollections and Some Original Letters," *Archaeologia Aeliana* 18, 3rd Series, (1921): 88.
[112] Tyneside, "Jessamond Mill",' 330.

Memorandum Book. Thus we find that in an issue of 3rd May, 1766, the *Chronicle* addressed its readers to inform them that since:

> Several Rebusses and Enigmas are lately come to Hand, but looking upon them as Articles unfit for the Paper, after inserting one already promised, we shall take the Liberty to reserve any ingenious ones we have been favoured with for *the Ladies Memorandum Book*, which we publish annually.[113]

Likewise, on the 18th July 1767, there was a notice to thank 'J. W. of Hexham for his excellent AEnigma; and [W?]M--- of Darlington for his rebusses', which the *Chronicle* requested to reserve for that year's edition of the *Ladies' Own Memorandum Book.*[114]

What is less apparent is that the *Newcastle Memorandum Book* also accepted articles from contributors. Unlike the *Ladies' Own Memorandum Book,* the *Newcastle Memorandum Book* did not include any names or acknowledgements, but the columns of the *Newcastle Chronicle* reveal that Slack sourced some of his material from local contributors. Advertisements occasionally made reference to anonymous gentlemen in-the-know who ensured the reliability of information within the memorandum book, such as with the list of northern fairs that was 'corrected by a gentleman who frequents many of them' and the list of London Merchants which 'was carefully corrected by one of the Principal Clerks in a Public Office' – though, of course, it is possible that these particular claims may have been mere rhetorical devices.[115] Yet in an issue of the *Newcastle Chronicle* for 1781, a short note of apology reads: 'R. Todd's general Phoenomena of the Solar Eclipse in April next, came too late to be inserted in the Newcastle Memorandum Book for the ensuing year.'[116] More tellingly, on Saturday 27th August 1768, Slack inserted a problem in the news columns 'to oblige a correspondent,' that challenged its readers to calculate the diameter of the cylinder and pumps of a fire engine.[117] After collecting numerous responses, the *Newcastle Chronicle* for the 17th September conveniently selected a solution 'by J.B. of Kyo, near Chester-le-

[113] *Newcastle Chronicle,* 3 May 1766.
[114] *Newcastle Chronicle*, 18 July 1767.
[115] *Newcastle Chronicle,* 7 Dec. 1771.
[116] *Newcastle Chronicle,* 17th Nov 1781.
[117] *Newcastle Chronicle,* 27 Aug. 1768.

Street, Author of the Treatise on the Powers, &c. of the Fire-Engine, now publishing annually in the Newcastle Memorandum-Book', which utilised rules both given in previous editions of the memorandum book, and to be featured in the next.[118] What the exact nature of the relationship between Slack and his contributors was is still unclear, particularly regarding whether the contributors received any financial renumeration for their part. But Slack's soliciting of contributions does suggest that although the book may not have tried as overtly to foster the same sense of intimacy or imagined community as its ladies' counterpart, Slack still recognised the value of community in constructing his memorandum book. For, the *Newcastle Memorandum Book* acted in part as a compendium of regional information, and by securing local contributions Slack was able to keep his memorandum book fresh, accurate, and relevant to its consumer-base.

As Barbara Crosbie has shown, the Slacks' success as newspaper proprietors would quickly go on to outstrip Thompson's *Newcastle Journal,* building up a wider distribution network and circulating a larger number of copies. In fact, Crosbie suggests, it was the *Newcastle Journal's* fundamentally metropolitan outlook as opposed to the *Newcastle Chronicle's* more regional focus that would prove its undoing; during the 1774 parliamentary election campaign, both Thompson and Slack supported the same candidate, but the *Newcastle Chronicle* generated greater attention by appealing to a sense of local pride while acting as a platform for regional debate and commentary, while the *Journal* went into decline.[119] It is clear that from an early date, Slack perceived the commercial viability of channelling a regional identity in his publications. Although Thompson's *Newcastle Pocket-Book* attempted to cash in on this market by imitating Slack's success, the Slacks more capably crafted a sense of community across in their publications, which benefited not only their position as newspaper proprietors but their ability to compete successfully in the memorandum book market.

The way the *Newcastle Memorandum Book* tapped into the provincial identity of its consumers appears to have been key to its long success. In the later years of publication the

[118] *Newcastle Chronicle,* 28 Nov. 1772.
[119] Barbara Crosbie, "Provincial Purveyors of Culture," 227-229.

Newcastle Memorandum Book also began to memorialise the city of Newcastle and the memorandum book itself, inviting readers to imagine the now-distant Newcastle the book inhabited when it was first brought out, and to admire the city's progress. It incorporated illustrated fold-out frontispieces providing historic maps or depicting the civic improvement of the city. In the preface of the 1874 edition, the book proudly described itself as the 'popular Hand-Book of a succession of generations, their friend and companion at home and […] now one of the oldest of the English annuals' which 'has been aptly described as the "Old Parr of the Pocket Books.'[134] Its hopes to commemorate the future progress of Newcastle 'when another half-century has gone by' were not to be realised, as the *Newcastle Memorandum Book* ceased publication in 1893.[135] The book's efforts at self-memorialisation were not without effect, however. Extant copies of the 1874, 1875 and 1876 editions, bound together, bear the inscription of James Clephan, a journalist in nineteenth century Newcastle and a prominent member of the Society of Antiquities in Newcastle-upon-Tyne.[136] He was clearly primarily interested in the books for their printed content, only binding together the illustrations, title pages, and lengthy descriptions of Newcastle's history. Through Clephan, the *Newcastle Memorandum Book* entered into the printing history of Newcastle in the columns of "north-country lore and legend," as Clephan paraphrased the book's own preface to describe 'the now ancient annual […] known in the wide circle of its friends as "The Old Parr of the Pocket Books."'[137]

Conclusion: The Wider Picture

When Slack first launched his *Newcastle Memorandum Book,* he boasted that it was the only publication of the kind to survive outside of London. Yet while the *Newcastle Memorandum Book* was a peculiarly successful title, and Newcastle's memorandum book

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[134] A reference to the Englishman "Old Tom Parr" who was reputed to live for 152 years, see: Keith Thomas, "Parr, Thomas [*called* old Parr]," *ODNB* (01 September 2017). [Accessible at: https://doi.org/10.1093/ref:odnb/21403]; *The Newcastle memorandum book and register of the Northern Counties for the year 1874* (Newcastle: Printed and Published by M. and M. W. Lambert). Copy consulted: Newcastle, Newcastle University Special Collections, Clarke 346 [Bound with the 1875 and 1877 editions].
[135] *The Newcastle memorandum book and register of the Northern Counties for the year 1874* (Newcastle: Printed and Published by M. and M. W. Lambert). Copy consulted: Newcastle, Newcastle University Special Collections, Clarke 346 [Bound with the 1875 and 1877 editions].
[136] Ibid.
[137] James Clephan, "Early Printers on the Tyne," *Monthly Chronicle of North-Country Lore and Legend*. 1, no. 7 (September 1887): 317.

competition particularly fierce, this case study features as part of a broader trend of the publication of memorandum books by provincial printers in the later eighteenth century. Outside of Newcastle, provincial printers attempted to rival London booksellers and carve out a niche in the market by tapping into a local or regional identity through their memorandum books. As we saw earlier, provincial publication formed a significant portion of the trade, with approximately 36% of memorandum book titles published outside of London in the eighteenth century.

As the century progressed, other provincial memorandum books also displayed great longevity, such as the *Exeter Pocket-Journal; or, West-Country Gentleman and Tradesman's Memorandum-Book* which ran for 128 years, from 1755 to at least 1882, published initially by Barnabas Thorn and later continued by Trewman and Co., and the *Yorkshire Memorandum Book* which ran for a respectable 52 years all under the helm of William Blanchard from 1782 to 1834. Such local and long-running titles could come to represent a regular fixture of people's lives, as when Henry Crabb Robinson recounted in 1867 of his continued use of *The Suffolk, Norfolk, Essex, and Cambridgeshire Gentleman's Pocket-Book*:

> In December, last year, I sent to purchase the old Ipswich pocket-book, which, with scarcely an interruption, I have kept since the last century. I was told that the publisher was dead, and the periodical has ceased. There was something melancholy in this breaking up of the oldest custom I was conscious of.[138]

Even when spending significant periods of his life in London, or abroad in Germany and Italy, Crabb Robinson continued his habit of purchasing and using *The Suffolk, Norfolk, Essex and Cambridgeshire* pocket-book. As the example of Crabb Robinson suggests, individuals could build up a particular loyalty to local memorandum books, potentially more so than could be fostered by national brands. Provincial memorandum books provided a snapshot of communities which would have been personally recognisable to users in a way that London-centric memorandum books were not.

[138] Thomas Sadler, ed., *Diary, Reminiscences, and Correspondence of Henry Crabb Robinson, Barrister-At-Law,* vol. 3 (London: Macmillan & Co., 1869): 521-22.

This invocation of a close-knit community is particularly evident in the memorandum books produced in East Anglia, where John Rackham's assortment of ladies' memorandum books were in fierce competition against Peter Gedge's *Suffolk and Norfolk Ladies Own Memorandum Book; or, Fashionable Companion* from the 1780s onwards. They vied to conjure up a sense of familiarity between themselves as publishers and the community for whom they published, sometimes including themselves as contributors to the poetry.[139] The illustrations to Gedge's *Suffolk and Norfolk Ladies Own Memorandum Book* for 1787, for example, were 'Portraits of Two well-known and much distinguished SUFFOLK LADIES, in the most favourite and fashionable dresses of the year', 'a beautiful and truly picturesque View of WESTWICK-HALL in Norfolk, the seat of John Berney Petre, Esq.' Its poetry and music sections were contributed to by local named figures, such as 'the late Mrs. Francis of Norwich', 'Verses on the power of Music, by Mrs. Jagger of Norwich,' and 'Mr. Shillito of Colchester.'[140] The typical formulation of "New Songs sung at Vauxhall," common to all ladies' books, here had the addition: 'and Norwich Theatre.'[141] Meanwhile Rackham's *Suffolk Ladies Memorandum-Book* for the same year was illustrated with 'an interesting scene from Cecilia; likewise Six of the most fashionable Ladies Head-dresses, designed by the ingenious Mr. Burney.'[142] The illustrations were more regionally relevant than they first appear, for the novel *Cecilia* was the work of Norfolk-born but nationally-successful author Frances Burney, whilst her cousin Edward Francis Burney was responsible for illustrating the novel for the memorandum book. Frances Burney herself used a copy of the *Suffolk Ladies Memorandum Book* replete with her novel's illustration to keep her own records, which is now held in the New York Public library.[143] These memorandum books celebrated the cultural achievements of local celebrities and brought institutions such as the Norwich theatre and the seats of prominent local gentry figures into the broader rhetoric of polite society, a space where the Norwich Theatre could be seen as culturally on a par with

[139] See Chapter Six in this thesis for analysis of one of Gedge's poems.
[140] *Ipswich Journal,* 11th Nov 1786.
[141] Ibid.
[142] Ibid; David Chandler, "Mrs. Barbauld's School and its Poetic Staff," *Notes and Queries* 44, no. 2 (June 1997): 226.
[143] Catherine M. Parisian, *Frances Burney's* Cecilia*: A Publishing History* (London: Routeledge, 2016), 98. Frances Burney's copy of the memorandum book is part of the Frances Burney d'Arblay collection of papers 1653-1894 [bulk 1775-1839], The Henry W. and Albert A. Berg Collection of English and American Literature, The New York Public Library, Berg Coll MSS Arblay.

Vauxhall. Where nationally-targeted ladies' memorandum books offered illustrations of prominent fashionable women of the bon ton, these provincial memorandum books offered something more tangible with their illustrations of local women of note: a fashionable society that was in reach, and one which was distinctly provincial. The individuals who sent in stories, poetical contributions, and enigmas, who featured in illustrations, who created them, and the publishers themselves were all people whom the reader might realistically imagine to be part of the same world which they inhabited.

Moreover, just as the provincial newspapers were made available through London agents, provincial memorandum books were also available to buy in London. The *Yorkshire Memorandum Book*, for example, was advertised as being printed 'For the booksellers of York' but was also sold 'by Richardson and Urquhart, under the Royal Exchange.'[144] As Victoria Gardner has argued, 'the local newspaper created a sense of continued proximity to the community' even when the reader was situated elsewhere.[145] The sale of provincial memorandum books in the metropolis suggests that they played a similar role in helping people foster a continued connection to their regional identity, but indeed, a more active one; for an individual's personal life-writing could be framed by their regional community as structured by print, even when the events they recorded themselves took place elsewhere. The use of a local memorandum book not only could help individuals feel more connected to the rhythm and events of their local community, but it was also an assertion of the continued relevance of that community to the unfolding of their own life. If we recall Feather's dismissal of the *Newcastle Memorandum Book* – '[i]t was an almanac and diary, of which there were many equivalents in London' – we now see the extent to which this statement wrongfully elides the importance of regional identities for users of memorandum books.[146] The local content in provincial memorandum books was not merely window dressing, but had the ability to connect with users in a more personal way than their London counterparts.

[144] *Leeds Intelligencer,* 20 Nov. 1781.
[145] Victoria Gardner, "Communications Broker," 549.
[146] John Feather, *The Provincial Book Trade in Eighteenth-Century England* (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 1985), 49.

Study of the development of a memorandum book trade in late eighteenth-century Newcastle has revealed the real stakes placed on the publication of regional titles, and the role memorandum books could play in bolstering publisher's claims to be the authoritative local and regional community brokers. Outside of Newcastle, the overlap between provincial memorandum book publishers and newspaper proprietorship also bears out. Table 5 lists the names of provincial memorandum book titles, their publishers and whether they were also newspaper proprietors. The biographic information for this table was sourced from the British Book Trade Index and Victoria Gardner's *Business of News*.[147] Of the twenty-three publishers or publishing partnerships which issued provincially-titled, seventeen were or would soon become proprietors of prominent provincial newspapers – and of the six that were yet to acquire or establish a newspaper, they were, like Slack, apprenticed with other newspaper publishers when they launched their memorandum book, or in-between newspapers. The remaining titles were published by a bookseller in Colchester, another in King's Lynn whose memorandum book was printed for him by the proprietors of the *Stamford Mercury,* and the final two by John Rackham, a bookseller and proprietor of a circulating library in Bury St Edmunds.

The correlation between local memorandum books and newspaper proprietorship is suggestive firstly of the need of an extensive local distribution network in order to make the venture feasible. But it also speaks to the character of their publishers; entrepreneurial provincial printers and booksellers who positioned themselves as trusted members of their community and knowledgeable sources of local information, anticipating the needs of the burgeoning middling classes. As Victoria Gardner has suggested, these "community brokers" acted as intermediaries between personal communities and institutions, both within the pages of their newspapers and in their daily trading connections and interactions.[148] Provincial memorandum books represented an important means for publishers to establish themselves as local authorities, by providing a wide consumer base with the necessary tables, lists, and trade intel to quite literally help to structure their lives. Yet they add a degree of complication into Gardner's account, which posits the separation of the

[147] Victoria Gardner, *The Business of News, 1760-1820* (Basingstoke: Palgrave Macmillan, 2016).
[148] Gardner, *Business of News*, 12.

newspaper trade from bookselling over the eighteenth-century: as our study has shown, it was newspaper proprietors who were best positioned to enter into the rapidly growing memorandum book market in the late eighteenth-century and to successfully tap into a distinctly provincial identity.[149] The success of publishing powerhouse couple, the Slacks, lay in the way they wove together their various platforms and publications to build themselves up as regional authorities and cultivate a community of users. In this way, the stories of the development of provincial memorandum books and the provincial press are intertwined.

[149] Victoria Gardner, *The Business of News*, 56

Table 4. Users of Extant Copies of the Newcastle Memorandum Book

Edition Used	Name	Location	Occupation	Source
1755	Thomas Slack	Newcastle-upon-Tyne	Publisher of the *Newcastle Memorandum Book*	British Library, General Reference Collection, C.142.dd.28
1756	Nicholas Piper	Pickering, N. Yorkshire	Ship Owner and Merchant Navy Captain	Tyne & Wear Archives, DX1222
1756	Isaac Fletcher	Underwood, Cumbria	Quaker Yeoman and Lawyer	*The Diary of Isaac Fletcher of Underwood, Cumberland, 1756-1781*
1759	Isaac Fletcher	Underwood, Cumbria	Quaker Yeoman and Lawyer	*The Diary of Isaac Fletcher of Underwood, Cumberland, 1756-1781*
1760	William Ord	Fenham, Newcastle-upon-Tyne	Coal Mine and Land Owner, and High Sheriff for Northumberland	Northumberland Archives, NRO 00342/A/16
1763	William Ord	Fenham, Newcastle-upon-Tyne	Coal Mine and Land Owner, and High Sheriff for Northumberland	Northumberland Archives, NRO 00324/A/16
1763	Unknown	Newcastle-upon-Tyne	Unknown	Newcastle Central Library, L059/6635
1763	Charles Yarburgh [misidentified	York	Landed Gentry, Owner of Heslington Hall and Estates	Borthwick Institute, YM/MB/8/f

	as Hesketh Yarburgh]			
1769	John Readhead	Loftus, N. Yorkshire	Manager of Alum Works	Borthwick Institute, Raymond Burton Yorkshire Collection 4.13
1775	Ralph Hodgson	Darlington, Durham	Unknown; Emigrated with family to New York in 1792	University of Pennsylvania, Ms. Co.. 189
1775	John Dawson[?]	Unknown	Yeoman, Small Land Owner	York Explore Library, Y595.2
1776	Robert Blanchard	Yorkshire	Small land owner	Newcastle Central Library, L059/6636
1778	Joseph Hodgson	Kirkoswold, Cumbria	Brother of Solomon Hodgson, who was successor to Thomas Slack	Tyne & Wear Archives, Acc 13. 13/1
1780	John Dawson[?]	Unknown	Yeoman, Small Land Owner	York Explore Library, Y595.2
1787	Unknown	Yeaton, Shropshire	Unknown, possibly member of the Society of Friends	Newcastle Central Library, L059/222679A.
1788	Francis Howson	Giggleswick, N. Yorkshire	Yeoman	Newcastle Central Library, L059/6637
1789	Joshua Sagar	Horbury, W. Yorkshire	Wool Merchant	Karen Harvey, *The Little Republic,* 145; West Yorkshire Archive, C1039
1797	John Jones	Clare College, Cambridge, and Dolgelly and Bala, Wales	Student; curate in Tremeirchion	Jesus College, Oxford, JC:P142/MS1/2

1797	Unknown	Newcastle-upon-Tyne	Widow	Newcastle Central Library, L059/6525
1798	Unknown	Unknown	Unknown	University of Arizona Special Collections, AY750.N49
1799	Paul Greathead	Gibside, between County Durham and Northumberland	Stable Keeper for the Earl of Strathmore	Durham County Archives, D/X 872/1-2
1799	William Stobart	Pelaw, Northumberland	Colliery Viewer	Durham County Archives, D/X 495/3
1801	Pattison Family	Bishop Auckland, Durham	Farmers	Richard Ford Books, Printed Ephemera and Manuscripts. "[Pattison family of farmers in the Bishop Auckland area of County Durham.] Manuscript diary and accounts, in 'The Newcastle Memorandum-book Or, a Methodical Pocket-journal"
1805	Joseph Snowball	Newcastle-upon-Tyne	Wharfinger	National Archives, E 219/356
1824	William Stobart	Pelaw, Northumberland	Colliery Viewer	Durham County Archives, D/X 495/4
1838	Philip Holmes Stanton	Newcastle-upon-Tyne	Solicitor	Tyne & Wear Archives, DX1217/1
1857	Philip Holmes Stanton	Newcastle-upon-Tyne	Solicitor	Tyne & Wear Archives, DX1217/1

1874	James Clephan	Newcastle-upon-Tyne	Journalist and Member of the Society of Antiquaries of Newcastle-upon-Tyne	Newcastle University Special Collections, Clarke 346

Table 5. Provincially-Titled Memorandum Books

TITLE	EARLIEST KNOWN DATE	PUBLISHER	NEWSPAPER PROPRIETORSHIP
Liverpool Memorandum Book	1753	Robert Williamson	*Liverpool Advertiser* (1756-67)
Manchester Memorandum-Book	1754	Joseph Harrop	*Manchester Mercury* (1752-88)
Exeter Pocket-Journal; or, West-Country Gentleman and Tradesman's Memorandum-Book	1755	(i) Barnabas Thorne (ii) Trewman and Co	(i) *Brice's Exeter Journal* (1766-85) (ii) *Trewman's Exeter Flying Post* (1763-1816)
Newcastle Memorandum Book	1755	(i) Thomas Slack (ii) Solomon and Sarah Hodgson (iii) Thomas and James Hodgson	*Newcastle Chronicle* (i) Thomas Slack (1764-1784) (ii) Solomon Hodgson (1784-1800); Sarah Hodgson (1800-1822) (iii) Thomas and James Hodgson (1822-1850)
The New Birmingham Directory, and Gentleman and Tradesman's Compleat Memorandum Book	1755	Miles Swinney	*Birmingham Chronicle* (1769-1812)
The Norwich Memorandum-Book for Gentlemen and Tradesmen [Variant Titles include: *Crouse's Memorandum Book peculiarly useful to the Gentlemen and Tradesmen of Norwich and Norfolk; Crouse's Norfolk and Norwich*	1762	(i) John Crouse (ii) John Crouse and Stevenson (iii) Crouse, Stevenson and Matchett (iv) Stevenson and Matchett (v) Stevenson, Matchett, and Stevenson	(i) *Norwich Gazette* (1761-?) (All) *Norfolk Chronicle* (1769-1821)

Compleat Memorandum-Book]			
The Norwich Memorandum-Book for Ladies	1762	John Crouse	*Norwich Gazette* (1761-?) *Norfolk Chronicle* (1769-1786)
The Newcastle Pocket-Book	1763	Isaac Thompson	*Newcastle Journal*
The Bristol and Country New Memorandum-Book; Or, Daily Journal	1764	William Pine	*Bristol Chronicle* (1760-61) *Bristol Gazette* (1767-70)
The Cambridge Memorandum Book	1764	Thomas Fletcher and Francis Hodson	*Cambridge Chronicle* (1762-1778)
The Norwich Memorandum Book, for Gentlemen and Tradesmen	1766	William Chase	*Norwich Mercury* (1750-81)
The Universal Cash Book and Newcastle Pocket Diary	1767	Thomas Saint	*Newcastle Courant*
Keymer's Essex Memorandum-Book	1767	William Keymer	-none-
Shave's Suffolk Memorandum-Book	1768	John Shave	*Ipswich Journal* (1777-98)
The Kentish Companion: Or, Useful Memorandum and Accompt Book	1773	Simmons and Kirkby	*Kentish Gazette* James Simmons: (1741-1807) George Kirkby Senior (1768-1803)
The Ladies Kentish Journal	1774	T. Fisher, and Simmons and Kirkby	*Kentish Gazette* James Simmons: (1741-1807) George Kirkby Senior (1768-1803) T. Fisher: -none-
Jackson's Chelmsford and Essex Memorandum-Book	1774	Stephen Jackson	*Ipswich Journal* (1777-1818)
The Yorkshire Memorandum-Book; Or, New Daily Journal	1782	William Blanchard	*York Chronicle* (1777-1836)

The Sussex and Kent Ladies Polite Pocket Journal: Or Companion	1783	Jasper Sprange	-none-
The Warwickshire, Staffordshire, Worcestershire, and Shropshire Complete Pocket Companion and Annual Accompt Book	1784	Pearson and Rollason	*Ari's Birmingham Gazette* Ann Pearson: (1768-79) James Rollason: (1775-89)
The Suffolk Ladies Memorandum Book	1785	J. Rackham	-none-
The Essex Ladies Memorandum Book	1785	J. Rackham	-none-
Marshall's Lynn and Lincolnshire Memorandum-Book	1785	R. Marshall	-none-
The Norfolk Ladies' Memorandum Book; Or, Polite Pocket Repository [Variant titles:] *The Norfolk Ladies' Memorandum Book; Or, Polite Pocket Museum*	1785	J. Rackham	-none-
The Suffolk and Norfolk Ladies Own Memorandum Book; Or, Fashionable Companion *[Variant Title] The Suffolk, Norfolk, Essex and Cambridgeshire Ladies Memorandum Book; Or, Fashionable Repository*	1786	P. Gedge and Punchard and Jermyn	*Bury Post* (1782-1818)
The Hampshire Pocket-Book: Or, Complete Ledger for Cash and Time	1787	Alexander Cunningham	-none-
The Stockton Diary, or British Ladies	1791	Christopher Heltus	-none-

Complete Memorandum-Book			
Cambridgeshire, Lincolnshire, Huntingdonshire, Northamptonshire, Bedfordshire, and Rutlandshire Ladies Memorandum Book; Or, Fashionable Pocket Repository	1791	J. Rackham	-none-

Part II. Cultural History

Chapter Four. Record, Time and Self-Management

Introduction

Why did the pocket memorandum book emerge in mid-eighteenth-century Britain and what did it offer to consumers? Having explored the memorandum book as print commodity, we now turn in Part Two of this thesis to interrogate the publication's intended purpose, use, and cultural significance. Drawing on extant copies of memorandum books from the first two decades of the genre's publication, this chapter examines how memorandum books were intended to structure manuscript record-keeping practices. This chapter is divided into two sections which examine distinct but related aspects of the emergence of the memorandum book. The first section of this chapter focuses on the ways these books were intended to aid record-management, and shows that they sat at the heart of a web of intertextual practices. The second section explores how the publication of memorandum books coincided with a broader shift in the conception of time in mid-eighteenth-century Britain, which brought human action to the forefront of the calendar. Together, they show that the memorandum book emerged as a tool for record- and time-management, and by extension, self-management.

I. Record Management

The self-proclaimed inventor of the pocket memorandum book was Robert Dodsley (1703-1764), a former footman who become one of the leading booksellers and publishers of his day.[1] Although Dodsley is best remembered for publishing the *A Collection of Poems, In Six Volumes by Several Hands* (1748), *The Oeconomy of Human Life* (1750), influential periodicals including the *Annual Register,* and for suggesting the compiling of Samuel Johnson's *Dictionary* (1755), his bookshop also operated as a stationers and he issued a range of publications geared more towards utility than literary fame.[2] As we have seen,

[1] Harry M. Solomon, *The Rise of Robert Dodsley: creating the new age of print* (Carbondale: Southern Illinois University Press 1996), 131. A later advertisement for another memorandum book brand after Dodsley's death also attributed Dodsley as the inventor of the genre: *Public Advertiser* – 29th Nov. 1769.

[2] The *Collection of Poems* was one of the most influential poetry collections of the period, while the *Oeconomy of Human Life* was one of the most widely-republished books of the century. Ibid, 112; ibid, 189-92; ibid, 130;

Dodsley never became a member of the Stationers' Company; instead he has been characterised as 'an outsider' who was 'relatively self-directed and independent as an entrepreneur.'[3] When Dodsley first published his *A New Memorandum Book* in 1748, he was already well-established as a leading London publisher based at the Tully's Head in Pall-Mall. His first advertisement described the publication as following:

> A NEW MEMORANDUM BOOK; consisting of 52 double Pages, one for every Week in the Year, engraved on Copper-Plates, and superfine Writing-Paper. So contrived as to be useful and convenient for all Sorts of Persons; particularly with regard to their Engagements, Expences, and Occasional Business.[4]

It was originally sold in two sizes: Octavo, at 2*s.*, and Duodecimo at 1*s*.6*d*., and was advertised as available with or without an 'almanack.'[5] The earliest advertisements do not disclose what the almanack portion of the book comprised of, but advertisements for the 1751 edition show it offered:

> 'beside the Book for Use […] a printed Sheet of the Rates of Coaches, Chairs, Carmen and Watermen, A List of the Publick Offices, the Places where they are kept, and the Holidays they observe. A Regal Table. A Table to compute the lncome of Annual Salaries, by the Month, Week, or Day. A Table of the Value of Money, or Estates in Reversion. A Table, with Directions for the Calculation of Annuities on Lives. An Account of the General and Penny Post, and many other useful Matters.'[6]

Donald D. Eddy, "Dodsley's "Oeconomy of Human Life," 1750-1751," *Modern Philology* 85, no. 4, From Restoration to Revision: Essays in Honor of Gwin J. Kolb and Edward W. Rosenheim (May, 1988): 460. For examples of his useful publications, see: *The Preceptor: Containing a General Course of Education Wherein the First Principles of Polite Learning are Laid Down in a Way Most Suitable for Trying the Genius, and Advancing the Instruction of Youth* (London: Printed for R.Dodsley, at Tully's Head in Pall Mall, 1748); *A New and Accurate Description of the Present Great Roads and the Principal Cross Roads of England and Wales* (London: Printed for R. and J. Dodsley in Pall-Mall, 1756).

[3] Betty A. Schellenberg, *Literary Coteries and the Making of Modern Print Culture, 1740-1790* (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 2016), 115.

[4] *General Advertiser,* 30 Nov. 1748.

[5] *London Evening Post,* 14 January 1749.

[6] *Whitehall Evening Post*, 18-20 December 1750.

Such printed matter reflected the growing trend for printed reference works aimed at the middling sorts in the mid-eighteenth-century, such as directories, timetables, maps, and guidebooks.[7] The inclusion of printed 'almanack' material in Dodsley's *A New Memorandum Book* may seem to lend credence to the narrative that memorandum books emerged primarily as a means of circumventing the Stationers' Company monopoly on almanacs. As we saw in Chapter Two, memorandum books were indeed considered a credible threat to the monopoly partly because they offered calendrical information in a similarly portable form. Yet my research once again shows that Dodsley's intervention went beyond repackaging the almanac enough to legally distinguish it. I have located some of the earliest extant copies of memorandum books, never previously studied.[8] In particular, I have examined the second edition of Dodsley's *A New Memorandum Book*, published in 1749. The owner, Hesketh Yarburgh (1714-1754) chose to purchase a copy of the 1749 edition without the 'almanack' material. There was therefore no printed material beyond preface, specimen of use, and memorandum pages for recording.[9] Meanwhile, one of Dodsley's earliest competitors, George Bickham junior's *The New Pocket, or Memorandum Book,* was offered without any further tables of information, as we can see in an early surviving copy kept by the architect Sanderson Miller (1716-1780).[10] We find that Yarburgh and Miller were purchasing their memorandum books *entirely* for the purposes of manuscript record-keeping.

So what were memorandum books offering to consumers? The title of Dodsley's *A New Memorandum Book* was indicative on the one hand, that consumers were expected to

[7] Penelope J. Corfield & Serena Kelly, "Giving Directions to the Town": The Early Town Directories," *Urban History Yearbook* (1984): 22-34: James Raven, Publishing Business in Eighteenth-Century England (Woodbridge, 2014), 189.

[8] The earliest title examined by Jennie Batchelor, Stephen Colclough, and Amanda Vickery was an edition for 1753; they instead mostly focus on memorandum books published in the 1760s and 70s. They thus miss out on a lot of the early experimentation in form: Jennie Batchelor, "Fashion and Frugality: Eighteenth-Century Pocket Books for Women," *Studies in Eighteenth-Century Culture* 32 (2003): 1-18; Stephen Colclough, "Pocket Books and Portable Writing: The Pocket Memorandum Book in Eighteenth-Century England and Wales," *The Yearbook of English Studies,* 45, The History of the Book (2015): 159-177; Amanda Vickery, "A Self off the Shelf: The Rise of the Pocket Diary in Eighteenth-Century England," *Eighteenth-Century Studies,* 54, no. 3 (Spring 2021): 667-686.

[9] "Hesketh Yarburgh: A New Memorandum Book (1749)," York, Borthwick Institute, YM/MB/8/b.

[10] *General Advertiser,* 25 Jan. 1749; *The New Pocket, or Memorandum-Book* (London: Engraved on Copper-Plates, by G. Bickham, and sold in May's Buildings, Covent-Garden, n.d. [1749?]). Copy consulted: "Diary of Sanderson Miller, 1 Oct 1749-29 Sep 1750," Warwick, Warwickshire Record Office, CR1382/1.

understand what was meant by a "memorandum book," while on the other, that Dodsley was offering something novel to consumers. The contemporary definition of "memorandum" was 'a minute or short note made or taken of any thing to perpetuate the remembrance of it, and to prevent mistakes and forgetfulness.'[11] Thus a memorandum book was more generally understood as a record kept as an aid to memory. In the context of bookkeeping in particular, merchants had long been recommended to keep multiple types of notebooks to track their accounts: 'the inventory; the memorandum (*Memoriale*); the journal (*Giornale*); and the ledger (*Quaderno*).'[12] As Jacob Soll has described, the memorandum book was seen as 'the first step in good accounting': merchants should use it to note down 'all his transactions, small or big, as they take place, day by day, hour by hour.'[13] Dodsley's publication drew upon the tradition of mercantile bookkeeping, but attempted to reimagine record-keeping practices for 'all Sorts of Persons.'[14]

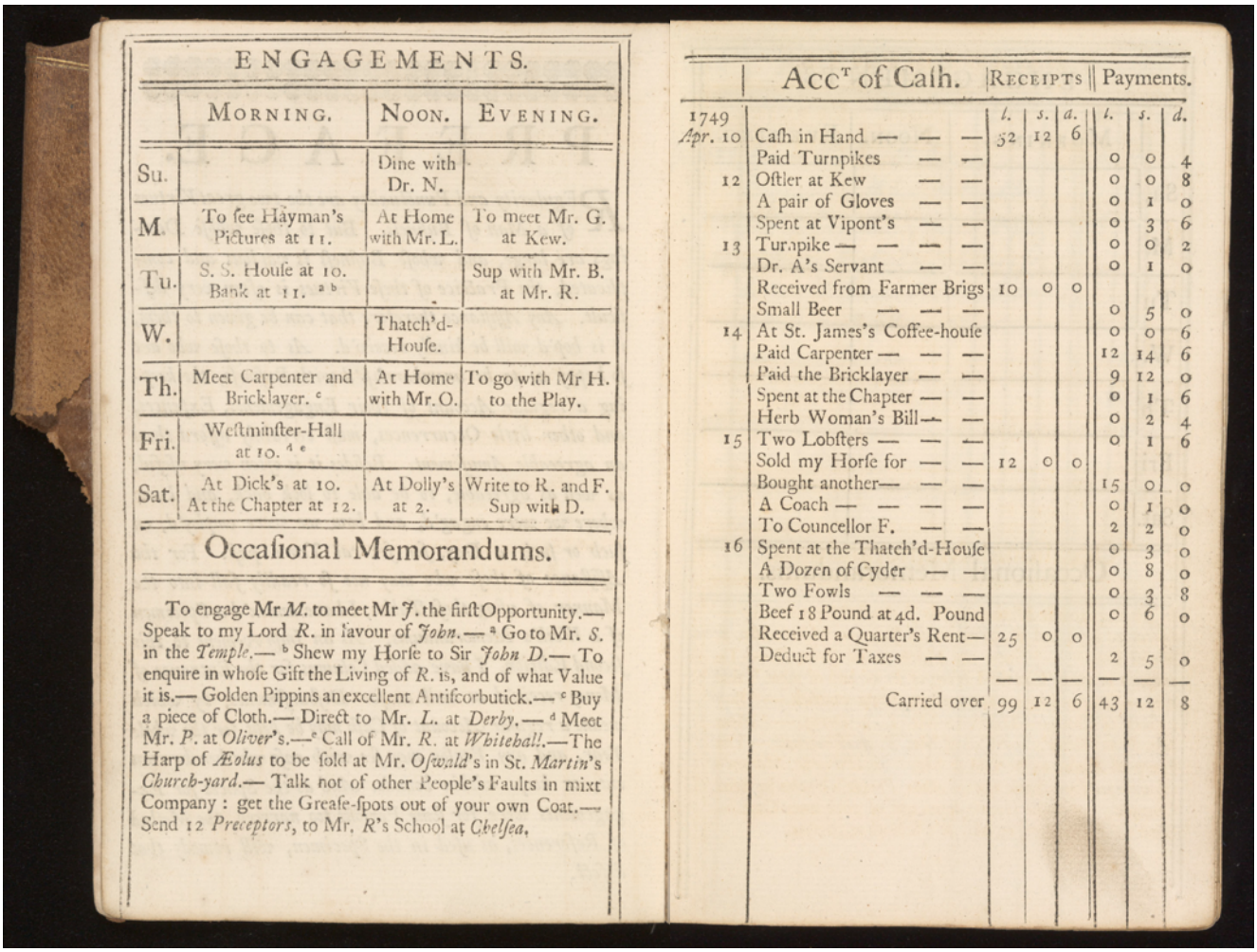
'Regularity and Punctuality are the two great Virtues of a Man of Business,' declared the preface to Dodsley's *A New Memorandum Book*, 'But to those whose Dealings are large, and whose Business is various and complicated, the practice of these Virtues is often very difficult.'[15] His publication therefore promoted itself as assisting in the development of these virtues, by enabling owners to keep 'a regular Account of their Engagements, Expences, and other little Occurrences.'[16] While the preface was directed at the 'Man of Business,' as we have seen, advertisements promoted the book as useful for 'all Sorts of Persons,' and female consumers were also targeted from an early date.[17] This early edition had a different presentation to the more standardized layout of later publications.[18] Each

[11] Thomas Dyche, *New general English dictionary; Peculiarly calculated for the use and improvement of such as are unacquainted with the learned languages… Fifth Edition* (London: Printed for Richard Ware, at the Bible and Sun on Ludgate-Hill, 1748), 509.
[12] Jacob Soll, "From Note-Taking to Data Banks: Personal and Institutional Information Management in Early Modern Europe," *Intellectual History Review* 20, no. 3 (2010): 367.
[13] Here, Soll is quoting the influential work on bookkeeping by the fifteenth-century Florentine, Luca Pacioli. Ibid, 367.
[14] *General Advertiser,* 30 Nov. 1748. Dodsley's memorandum book was swiftly advertised as available 'In Two Sizes (a smaller Size now being printed for the Convenience of several Ladies and Gentlemen who have desir'd it).' *Whitehall Evening Post,* 12 -14 Jan. 1749.
[15] *A New Memorandum Book* (London: Printed for R. Dodsley in Pall-Mall, MDCCXLIX [1749]). Copy consulted: "Hesketh Yarburgh: A New Memorandum Book (1749)," York, Borthwick Institute, YM/MB/8/b.
[16] Ibid.
[17] *General Advertiser,* 30 Nov. 1748.
[18] See Fig. 4 in the introduction for an example of the more standard layout of memorandum books from the 1750s onwards.

week of the year was laid out on a double spread, with a printed table for entering engagements, 'Occasional Memorandums', and columns for tracking accounts of cash received and paid. However, engagements were split into "Morning," "Noon," and "Evening," with the space for making memorandums situated at the bottom of the page.[19]

Most remarkably for our purposes, the book contained a detailed specimen of use, providing a window into early expectations of the genre (Fig. 15). The sample entries illustrated the book's intended purpose as an agenda of appointments for both business and pleasure, helping users to track their engagements and payments. The imagined schedule was hectic: entries included visits to the bank, the South Sea Company ("S. S. House" referencing the headquarters of the company), chapter meetings, the playhouse, and a whole host of social engagements. Dodsley's *New Memorandum Book* was therefore fundamentally conceptualised as a form prospective record-keeping: sample engagements and memorandums were written in the future tense. Nonetheless, through this continuous act of recording the user could 'know where we were engag'd, or how we were employ'd, on such or such a Day, for Several Years past,' enabling the user to compile a storehouse of records about their life.[21] Memorandum books thus constituted a form of life-writing, broadly-conceived as 'a general term for writing that takes a life, one's own or another's, as its subject.'[22]

[19] *A New Memorandum Book* (London: Printed for R. Dodsley in Pall-Mall, MDCCXLIX [1749]). Copy consulted: "Hesketh Yarburgh: A New Memorandum Book (1749)," York, Borthwick Institute, YM/MB/8/b.
[21] Ibid.
[22] Sidonie Smith, and Julia Watson, *Reading Autobiography: A Guide for Interpreting Life Narratives* (Minneapolis: University of Minnesota Press, 2001), 4. As outlined in the historiographical introduction to this thesis, forms of eighteenth-century life-writing which are printed, narrative and descriptive continue to be studied over and above those sources which remain in manuscript form, and which are fragmented and terse. See, for example, one of the most recent publications on eighteenth-century life-writing: Tanya Caldwell, *Writing Lives in the Eighteenth Century* (Lewisburg: Bucknell University Press, 2020).



ENGAGEMENTS.

	Morning.	Noon.	Evening.
Su.		Dine with Dr. N.	
M.	To see Hayman's Pictures at 11.	At Home with Mr. L.	To meet Mr. G. at Kew.
Tu.	S. S. House at 10. Bank at 11. [a b]		Sup with Mr. B. at Mr. R.
W.		Thatch'd-House.	
Th.	Meet Carpenter and Bricklayer. [c]	At Home with Mr. O.	To go with Mr H. to the Play.
Fri.	Westminster-Hall at 10. [d e]		
Sat.	At Dick's at 10. At the Chapter at 12.	At Dolly's at 2.	Write to R. and F. Sup with D.

Occasional Memorandums.

To engage Mr *M.* to meet Mr *J.* the first Opportunity.— Speak to my Lord *R.* in favour of *John.*— [a] Go to Mr. *S.* in the *Temple.*— [b] Shew my Horse to Sir *John D.*— To enquire in whose Gift the Living of *R.* is, and of what Value it is.— Golden Pippins an excellent Antiscorbutick.— [c] Buy a piece of Cloth.— Direct to Mr. *L.* at *Derby.*— [d] Meet Mr. *P.* at *Oliver's.*— [e] Call of Mr. *R.* at *Whitehall.*—The Harp of *Æolus* to be sold at Mr. *Oswald's* in St. *Martin's Church-yard.*— Talk not of other People's Faults in mixt Company: get the Grease-spots out of your own Coat.— Send 12 *Preceptors*, to Mr. *R's* School at *Chelsea.*

Acc[T] of Cash.

		Receipts			Payments.		
1749		*l.*	*s.*	*d.*	*l.*	*s.*	*d.*
Apr. 10	Cash in Hand — — —	52	12	6			
	Paid Turnpikes — —				0	0	4
12	Ostler at Kew — —				0	0	8
	A pair of Gloves — —				0	1	0
	Spent at Vipont's — —				0	3	6
13	Turnpike — — — —				0	0	2
	Dr. A's Servant — —				0	1	0
	Received from Farmer Brigs	10	0	0			
	Small Beer — — —				0	5	0
14	At St. James's Coffee-house				0	0	6
	Paid Carpenter — — —				12	14	6
	Paid the Bricklayer — —				9	12	0
	Spent at the Chapter — —				0	1	6
	Herb Woman's Bill — —				0	2	4
15	Two Lobsters — — —				0	1	6
	Sold my Horse for — —	12	0	0			
	Bought another— — —				15	0	0
	A Coach — — — —				0	1	0
	To Councellor F. — —				2	2	0
16	Spent at the Thatch'd-House				0	3	0
	A Dozen of Cyder — —				0	8	0
	Two Fowls — — —				0	3	8
	Beef 18 Pound at 4d. Pound				0	6	0
	Received a Quarter's Rent—	25	0	0			
	Deduct for Taxes — —				2	5	0
	Carried over	99	12	6	43	12	8

Figure 13. Specimen of use in Dodsley's A New Memorandum Book [1749]

Intriguingly, Dodsley offered himself up as the imagined user of the genre. The entries showcased his active business life and controlled expenditure, with outgoing payments totalling less than half his incoming payments for the week. He records visiting a large number of coffee-houses and taverns across London, such as the Chapter Coffee-House, 'a literary place of resort in Paternoster Row,' where booksellers kept an unofficial copyright register of publications.[23] His entries highlight his cultural tastes and social capital in speaking on behalf of other's credit – 'Speak to my Lord *R.* in favour of *John*.'[24] They documented his efforts at self-improvement, making memorandums such as 'Talk not of other People's Faults in mix'd company: get the Grease-spots out of your Coat.'[25] In doing so, Dodsley positioned himself as an exemplar of social mobility that users may wish to emulate: a demonstration of how the virtues of 'Regularity and Punctuality,' could lead to commercial success.[26]

Dodsley also used the specimen of use to weave himself into cultural landscape it depicted. The reminder to 'Send 12 *Preceptors*, to Mr *R*'s school at Chelsea,' doubly functioned as an advertisement for Dodsley's recent publication, *The Preceptor* (1748) and its usefulness in educational settings.[27] More subtly, his entry for Monday 'to see Hayman's Pictures at 11,' was a reference to the large-scale scenery paintings that adorned the supper-boxes at the Vauxhall Gardens by the artist Francis Hayman.[28] This exhibition in Vauxhall was one of the first times that British artists' works were made available to the public, and the scene paintings patriotically celebrated prominent British literary works. One of the exhibited paintings depicted the play *The King and the Miller of Mansfield* (1737), authored by Robert Dodsley.[29] Dodsley thus deftly painted himself both as ideal user of the memorandum book and as cultural producer, catering to the lifestyle and tastes of his consumer base.

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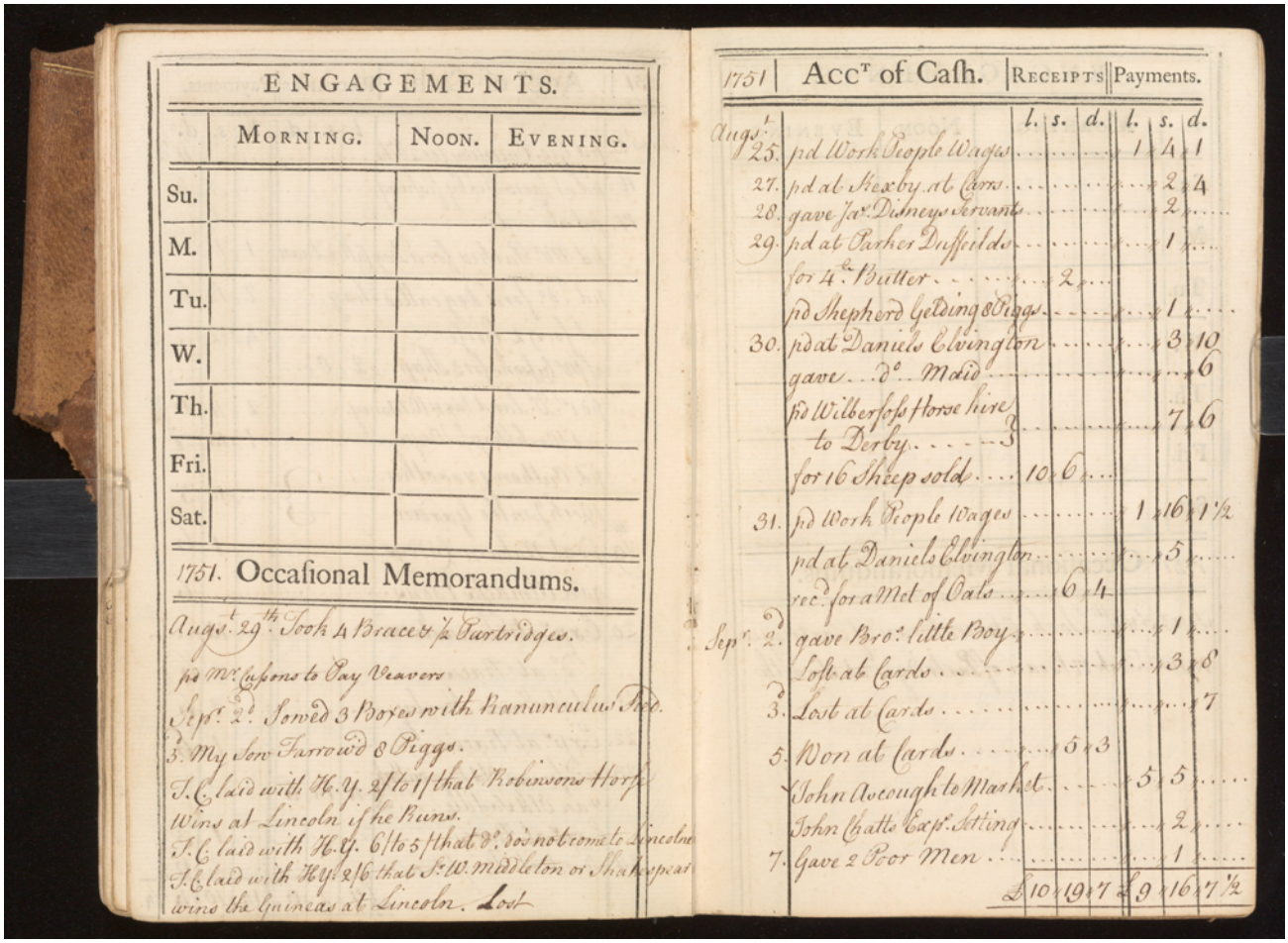
[23] John Timbs, *Club Life of London,* vol. 2 (London: Richard Bentley, New Burlington Street, 1886), 89.
[24] *A New Memorandum Book* (London: Printed for R. Dodsley in Pall-Mall, MDCCXLIX [1749]). Copy consulted: "Hesketh Yarburgh: A New Memorandum Book (1749)," York, Borthwick Institute, YM/MB/8/b.
[25] Ibid.
[26] Ibid.
[27] Solomon, *Robert Dodsley,* 125.
[28] Lawrence Gowing, "Hogarth, Hayman, and the Vauxhall Decorations," *The Burlington Magazine* 95, no. 598 (Jan. 1953): 4-19.
[29] Ibid; Solomon, *Robert Dodsley,* 53. It is also worth noting that Dodsley employed Hayman to illustrate his publications: James E. Tierney, ed., *The Correspondence of Robert Dodsley, 1733-1764* (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 1988), 48.

Moreover, the specimen of use reveals how *A New Memorandum Book* was an effort to forge a new kind of self-recording practice. Some of the entries in memorandum books might be recognisable from earlier forms of record-keeping, including the manuscript notations made on the blank interleaved pages of almanacs.[30] Yet the tabulated format for each week brought together and structured different types of records that might otherwise be disparate or jumbled together in manuscript form – prospective appointments, occasional memorandums, and financial accounting – and even attempt to cross reference them against one another. As can be seen in Fig. 15, Dodsley employed an alphabetical indexing system. For example, on Friday when Dodsley was supposed to be at Westminster-hall at 10, this was cross-referenced with reminders to 'Meet Mr. P at Oliver's' – a coffee-house at the entrance to Westminster Hall – and 'to Call of Mr. *R* at Whitehall.'[31] The use of cross-referencing systems has been discussed as part of growing information-management culture in the early modern period, particularly within the context of commonplace books and scholastic works, but has not been examined within the context of life-writing practices.[32] By regulating recording practices, the book offered the means of regulating the user's daily life. Dodsley's *New Memorandum Book* was a concerted attempt to carve out a genre that would cater to the rapidly expanding mercantile middle classes and systematise their efforts at self-improvement. Through use of the book, individuals could develop the virtues of regularity and punctuality. Thus record-management was, by extension, a form of self-management, helping to shape the character of the book's user.

[30] For more on record-keeping in almanacs, see: Brodie Waddell, "Writing History from Below: Chronicling and Record-Keeping in Early Modern England," *History Workshop Journal* 85, (Spring 2018): 239-264; Adam Smyth, "Almanacs, Annotators, and Life-Writing in Early Modern England," *English Literary Renaissance* 38, no. 2 (2008): 200-44.

[31] The reference on the location of Oliver's Coffee Shop was taken from: Alasdair McGregor, *A Forger's Progress: The Life of Francis Greenway* (Sydney: University of New South Wales, 2015), 17; "Hesketh Yarburgh: A New Memorandum Book (1749)," York, Borthwick Institute, YM/MB/8/b.

[32] Ann Blair, *Too Much to Know: Managing Scholarly Information before the Modern Age* (New Haven: University of Yale Press, 2010), 68; Ann Blair, "Annotating and Indexing Natural Philosophy," in Nicholas Jardine and Marina Frasca-Spada, ed., *Books and the Sciences in History* (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 2000), 69-89; Alan Walker, "Indexing Commonplace Books: Early Modern Methods," *Indexer* 34, no. 1 (2016): 2-11.


ENGAGEMENTS.

	Morning.	Noon.	Evening.
Su.			
M.			
Tu.			
W.			
Th.			
Fri.			
Sat.			

1751. Occasional Memorandums.

Augst. 29th Took A Brace & ½ Partridges.
pd Mr Lupons to Pay Weavers
Sept. 2d Sowed 3 Boxes with Ranunculus Roots.
3. My Son Farrowd 8 Piggs.
T. C laid with H.Y. 2/ to 1/ that Robinsons Horse
Wins at Lincoln if he Runs.
T. C laid with H.Y. 6/ to 5/ that D.o does not come to Lincoln
T. C laid with H.Y. 2/6 that Jn.o Middleton or Shakespear
wins the Guineas at Lincoln. Lost

1751 | Acct of Cash. | Receipts | Payments.

		l.	s.	d.	l.	s.	d.
Augst. 25.	pd Work People Wages				1	4	1
27.	pd at Sheexby at Cards					2	4
28.	gave Jn.o Disneys Servant					2	
29.	pd at Barker Duffields for 4 lb. Butter		2				
	pd Shepherd Gelding & Piggs					1	
30.	pd at Daniels Elvington					3	10
	gave D.o Maid						6
	pd Wilberfoss Horse hire to Derby		3			7	6
	for 16 Sheep sold		10	6			
31.	pd Work People Wages				1	16	1½
	pd at Daniels Elvington					5	
	rec.d for a Mel of Oats		6	4			
Sept. 2.	gave Bro.s little Boy					1	
	Lost at Cards					3	8
3.	Lost at Cards						7
5.	Won at Cards		5	3			
	John Acrough to Market					5	5
	John Chatto Exp.s Setting					2	
7.	Gave 2 Poor Men					1	
		£	10	19	7	£ 9	16	7½

Figure 14. Entries by Hesketh Yarburgh in Dodsley's A New Memorandum Book [1749]

Memorandum books were clearly constructed with particular kinds of record-keepers and record-keeping in mind, but this is not to suggest that users uniformly followed the form or guidance. Firstly, it is clear that memorandum books were not only used by mercantile men of middling sorts, who Dodsley envisioned as his primary target market. While my research has turned up a range of memorandum book users, including alum workers, plumbers, land agents, widows, sailors, farmers and lawyers, there is a notable skew in the extant copies I have examined towards genteel users – this is likely a reflection of the higher survival rates of the papers of elite families. Jan Fergus's work on the circulating library and bookshop run by Samuel Clay in Warwick from 1770-1772 helps to paint a more representative spread of consumers of the genre.[34] Fergus's article includes information on purchases of 'Almanacks,

[34] Jan Fergus, "Eighteenth-Century Readers in Provincial England: The Customers of Samuel Clay's Circulating Library and Bookshop in Warwick, 1770-72," *The Papers of the Bibliographical Society of America* 78, no. 2 (1984): 155-213.

Pocket Journals, etc' during this time, listing eighteen individuals who purchased a memorandum book.[35] On the whole these consumers appear to fall under the capacious category of 'Gentlemen and Tradesmen' envisioned by memorandum book publishers. Of those individuals classified as being of the gentry class, several were nonetheless engaged in a career. Mr Wheeler was a schoolmaster, likewise Mr Roberts was located at 'Kineton at the College', while Mr Cornwell was a clerk. The tradesmen recorded were engaged in a range of pursuits: Mr Barnett worked at a toy shop, Mr Hickman was a sadler, Mr Parkers was a baker, Mr Fulke Weale was a printer, and Mr Latimer was a butcher.[36] On the whole, memorandum books were used by a wide variety of men and women who wished to keep track of their finances and appointments.

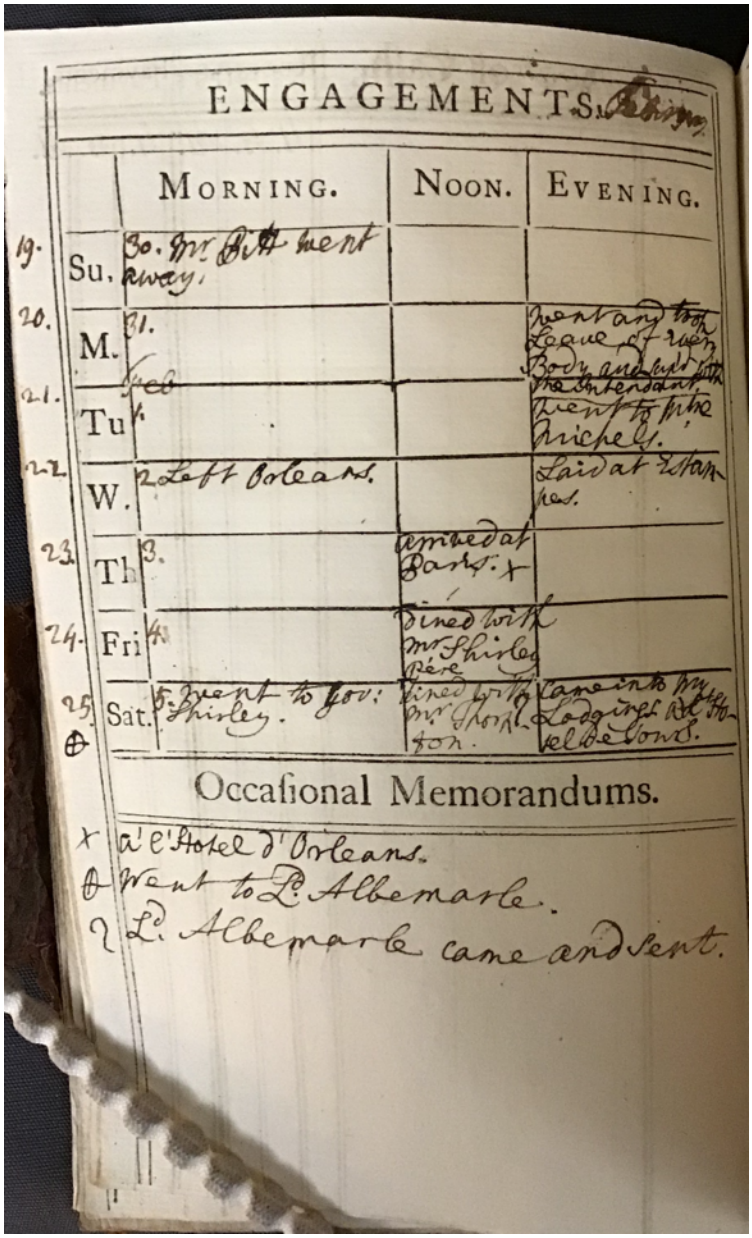
Hesketh Yarburgh who owned the 1749 copy of *A New Memorandum Book* was a baronet and the owner of Heslington Hall in York. He used the book to keep track of servants hired and fired, the payment of wages, agreements made, parcels sent, card games won and lost, and the state of his livestock and crop (Fig. 16). Yarburgh mostly disregarded the engagements table, but was a vociferous recorder of memorandums and accounts. Echoing the models created by Dodsley at the front of the book, Yarburgh used his memorandum book to set prospective reminders, noting down that he should 'Write to Mr. Williams Mr. Wilson Mr. Abbot & Mr. Browning of Bristol the first Opportunity' and that if his newly hired servant 'behave well & deserve more am to give him Ten Shillings.'[37] He set bets with his friends and neighbours about the quality of the cucumbers he was growing and the outcome of the horse races, returning to note that he had 'Lost/ and recording the expenditure in his accounts.[38]

He did not, however, employ Dodsley's suggested cross-referencing system, and in fact, this system did not appear to gain much traction by memorandum book users.[39] I have only found one example of an individual using the cross-referencing system as suggested: James Brydges (1731-1789), the Marquess of Carnarvon and later third Duke of Chandos, who kept

[35] Ibid, 204.
[36] Ibid, 204.
[37] "Hesketh Yarburgh: A New Memorandum Book (1749)," York, Borthwick Institute, YM/MB/8/b.
[38] Ibid.
[39] Later editions of Dodsley's memorandum book no longer suggest users employ a cross-referencing system.

a copy of Dodsley's memorandum book for 1752.[40] As can be seen in Fig. 17, Brydges used symbols to connect his engagements with additional useful information in the occasional memorandums section. In February, for example, he recorded the engagement, 'Mr Stanhope dined – Company Supp'd,' which was then linked to a note in the memorandums section listing the names of all the company present.[41] When Dodsley revamped his publication for the 1753 edition – retitled *The New Memorandum Book Improv'd: or, the Gentleman and Trademan's Daily Pocket Journal* – he altered the layout for self-recording.[42] Spaces for engagements and memorandums now ran in parallel columns down the page, dispensing of the need for a cross-referencing system since individuals could simply record memorandums alongside their engagements.[43] Fig. 18 shows the layout of Dodsley's memorandum book for 1756. Its intuitiveness secured it as the standard format of the genre, since from the mid-1750s onwards we find that most memorandum books were laid out with columns for "Appointments" or "Engagements," "Occasional Memorandums," and money received and paid. The layout for self-recording was identical in gentleman's editions and the numerous ladies' editions which proliferated following the publication of John Newbery's *Ladies Compleat Pocket-Book* in 1750.[44]

[40] *A New Memorandum Book* (London: Printed for R. Dodsley in Pall-Mall [1751]). Copy consulted: "Vol IX Memorandum Book of James Brydges, Marquess of Canarvon and later third Duke of Chandos, 1752," London, British Library, Add MS 70964.
[41] Ibid.
[42] *The New Memorandum Book Improv'd: or, The Gentleman and Tradesman's Daily Pocket Journal for the Year 1753* (London: Printed for R. Dodsley, in Pall-mall). Copy consulted: "Vol. I. Nathaniel Hone, painter, memorandum-books 1752-1754," London, British Library, Add MS 44024.
[43] As will be explored in part two of this chapter, the 1753 and 1754 edition featured a historical chronicle that ran down the centre of the page, but was absent from the 1755 edition onwards.
[44] Though it should be noted that ladies' editions were often smaller in size. For an early advertisement for the *Ladies Compleat Pocket-Book,* see: *General Advertiser,* 11 Jan. 1749. Other early ladies' editions included *The Ladies New Memorandum Book* (published by Robert Dodsley)*; The Ladies New Memorandum-Book: or, Pocket Journal* (printed for B. Bourn S. Crowder and H. Woodgate) and *The Ladies New and Polite Pocket Memorandum-Book* (published by Joseph Johnson).



ENGAGEMENTS.

		Morning.	Noon.	Evening.
19.	Su.	30. Mr Pitt went away.		
20.	M.	31.		Went any thro Leaue of ye Body and dyd with the Intendant Went to Mr Michel.
21.	Tu.	Feb 1.		
22.	W.	2 Left Orleans.		Laid at Estampes.
23.	Th.	3.	arrived at Paris. †	
24.	Fri.	4	Dined with Mr Shirley Père	
25. ⊕	Sat.	5 Went to Gov: Shirley.	Dined by ye Mr Shirley ton.	Came into my Lodgings at Hotel de Londres.

Occasional Memorandums.

× a l'Hotel d'Orleans.
⊖ Went to L^d. Albemarle.
? L^d. Albemarle came and sent.

Figure 15. Entries by James Brydges in A New Memorandum Book [1751]

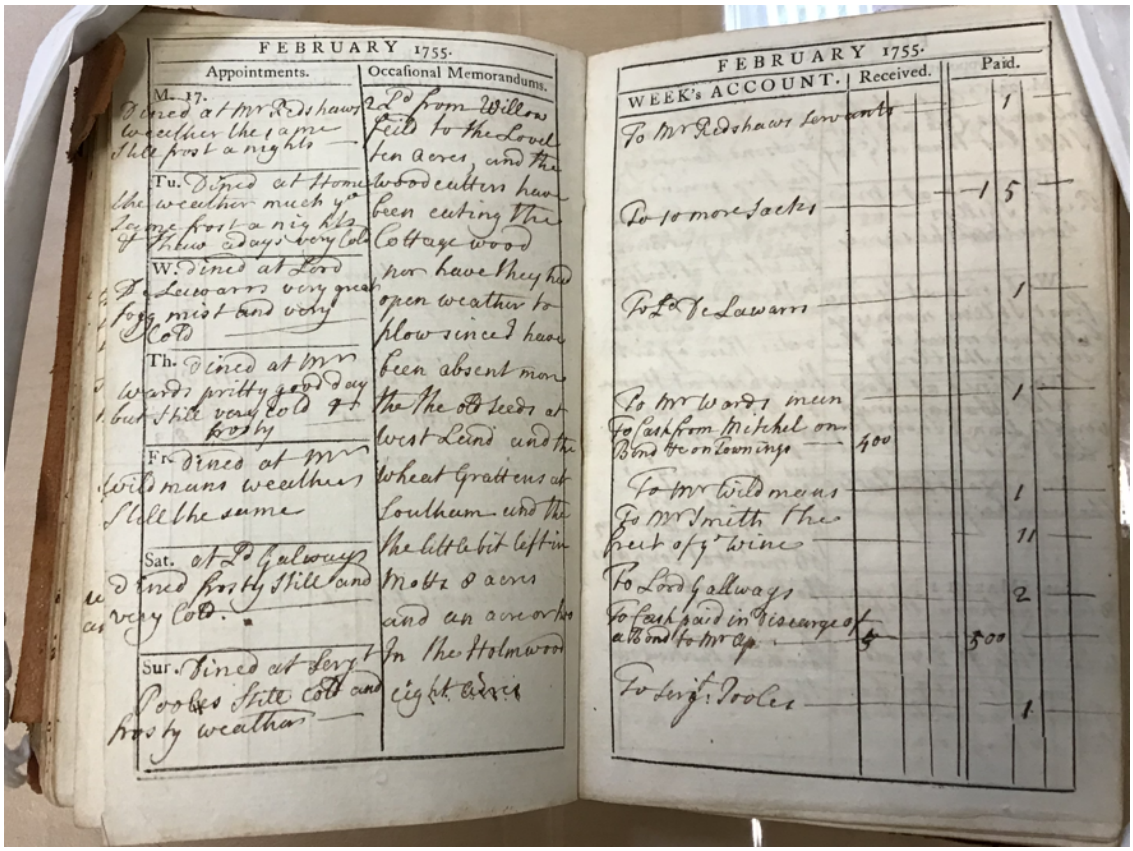


Figure 16. Entries by William Poole in The New Memorandum Book Improv'd for 1753

Yarburgh's prospective style of entry echoed Dodsley's model, but many other users of pocket books used the engagement pages for retrospective notes. The entries the Sussex landowner William Poole of the Hook (1696-1779) kept in his memorandum books from 1754-1779 are characteristic of this style.[45] In 1761, for example, he recorded on January 3rd: 'Set out for Chichester a very drivering fog on the Downs went to Houghton lay there Work the same at home carrying Letter from Commons to different Closes'.[46] In other extant memorandum books, it can be difficult to distinguish between prospective and retrospective record-keeping: cryptically brief entries such as 'Uncle Ned' could denote a social engagement to come or one just passed.[47] The ubiquitous practice of recording retrospectively suggests that users placed most value in the genre's potential to construct a record of their past actions, events, and expenditure, one that could be referred back to. Indeed, while the annual nature of pocket memorandum books might seem to suggest that their usefulness had an expiry date, as both Stephen Colclough and Lindsey Eckert have pointed out, the genre placed great emphasis on the importance of preserving the books. Dodsley's *A New Memorandum Book* simply suggested that it would be:

> useful as well as agreeable, to be able to look back, and know where we were engag'd, and how we were employ'd, on such or such a Day, for several Years past[48]

Meanwhile Baldwin's *Daily Journal* for 1752 characterised the books as constituting the 'Annals of a Man's Life,' which should therefore 'be preserved to have recourse to when Occasion requires to consult any past Memorandum, Accompt, Time, or Occurence.'[49]

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[45] "Pocket Journals (1754-1758)," Brighton, East Sussex and Brighton and Hove Record Office, HOOK 16/6-10; "Pocket Journals (1760-1779)," Brighton, East Sussex and Brighton and Hove Record Office, HOOK 16/12-29.
[46] "Pocket Journals (1760-1779)," Brighton, East Sussex Record Office, HOOK 16/13.
[47] MS. Notations by Frances Sneyd in *The Ladies' Own Memorandum-Book; or, Daily Pocket Journal, for the Year 1767* (London: Printed for G. Robinson and J. Roberts; and T. Slack). Copy consulted: "Diary of Frances Sneyd, 1767," Warwick, Warwickshire Record Office, CR136/a554.
[48] *A New Memorandum Book* (London: Printed for R. Dodsley in Pall-Mall, MDCCXLIX [1749]). Copy consulted: "Hesketh Yarburgh: A New Memorandum Book (1749)," York, Borthwick Institute, YM/MB/8/b.
[49] *The Daily Journal for the Year of our Lord 1752; or the Gentleman's and Tradesman's Methodical Accompt-Book for the Pocket* (London: Printed only for R. Baldwin, in Paternoster Row). Copy consulted: "Diaries of Sir Roger Newdigate," Warwick, Warwickshire Record Office, CRO136/A583

Thus although memorandum book prefaces placed emphasis on the importance of being able to refer back to engagements, memorandums and cash transactions at 'any distant Time,' it was always not clear what occasions might necessitate an individual to have recourse to their memorandum book after the year was over.[50] However, the preface to Baldwin's *Daily Journal* for 1781 supplies us with more concrete reasons why someone may wish to preserve his or her memorandum books: for the pleasure of looking back, and to serve as a 'laudable model for his descendants', and for their usefulness if called upon at a trial.[51] Meanwhile the *Kentish Companion* for 1773 echoed Baldwin in the records as forming the 'annals of a man's life,' while suggesting they may 'be of use even after his decease.'[52] Certainly, these all do seem to have been real motivations for users to refer back to past memorandum books. A prolific keeper of memorandum books, the dramatist Elizabeth Inchbald (1753-1821) on more than one occasion records spending an evening reading back over her 'old Pocket Books', presumably for the pleasure of recollecting past events and occurrences.[53] Being able to prove how one was employed on any given day could also be of immense value, not just when one was witness in trials. Isaac Fletcher, a quaker yeoman and lawyer from Cumberland, who kept pocket memorandum books from 1756-1781, and referred back to a previous year's memorandum book to find out details of an ongoing legal dispute when he could not find any of other his papers regarding the affair. On the 14th August 1762 he records that he was: 'Preparing for Carlise. Examining my memoranda books & find that on the 19th day of July 1759 Robert Wilkinson & self met at Henry Brag's and examined the evidences in the cause depending between said Brag & Matthew Christopherson about some rent in arrear &c. [...]' [54] From the records of his actions in his memorandum books, he was able to reconstruct the facts of the case and the stance he had taken.

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[50] Quoted from *The Liverpool Memorandum-Book; or, Gentleman's, Merchant's and Tradesman's Daily Pocket Journal, for the Year MDCCLIII* [1753] (London: Printed for R. Williamson). Copy consulted: London, British Library, 10349.e.15.(1.).

[51] *The Daily Journal; or, the Gentleman's, Merchant's and Tradesman's Complete annual Accompt-Book, for the Year of our Lord 1781* (London: Printed only for R. Baldwin, at No. 47, in Pater-noster-Row). Copy consulted: "Memorandum and Account Book of William Helyar - 1781," Taunton, Somerset Heritage Centre, A/BYI/17.

[52] *The Kentish Companion: or, Useful Memorandum and Accompt Book, for the Pocket or Desk, for the Year of our Lord One Thousand Seven Hundred and Seventy-Three* (Canterbury: Printed and Sold by Simmons and Kirkby, and T. Fisher, at Rochester). Copy consulted: London, British Library, 578.a.35.

[53] Ben P. Robertson, ed., *The Diaries of Elizabeth Inchbald,* vol. 2 (Abingdon: Routledge, 2016), 195; ibid, 185.

[54] Isaac Fletcher in Angus, Winchester, ed., *The Diary of Isaac Fletcher of Underwood, Cumberland, 1756-1781* (Kendal: Cumberland and Westmorland Antiquarian and Archaeological Society, 1994), 126.

One of the clearest indicators that these books were indeed referred to throughout a person's life was the common habit of inscribing the year of use on the cover or spine of the book (Fig. 19).[57] The majority of the memorandum books I have seen have been labelled in this fashion, even when only a single volume used by an individual survives – a tantalising indication that they may have originally kept further volumes. This practice suggests, firstly, that the books have not survived by accident alone but rather were intentionally preserved by their owner, and secondly, that they were likely stored together, the label enabling the owner to pull out and refer to a memorandum book of any given year with ease. The alignment of such labels when the books are stacked together, as can be seen in Fig. 19, suggests the desire to treat the memorandum books as a set, akin to multi-volume printed books.

Despite their association with the pocket, and the portability that entailed, the material evidence of extant copies therefore suggests that the books formed part of long term record-keeping, to be used even after the owner's demise. Following his death in 1808, the personal papers of the Salisbury bookseller Benjamin Charles Collins were examined. As we learn from his will, the examiners found:

> a Memorandum Book purporting to be the daily journal for the year 1801 containing different Memorandums of the said deceased was found by the said Samuel Emly locked up in the said deceaseds Bureau situate in the Dining Parlour[58]

Benjamin Charles Collins, like his father Benjamin Collins before him, was in fact part of the collective of publishers who issued the *Daily Journal.* Here, we find that not only did he publish the memorandum book but also used it for his own record-keeping – and in particular, to write a codicil to his will, which was then upheld by the executors of the will.[59] We learn that Collins kept the memorandum book in the dining parlour at his bureau, and it seems likely this was where he used it as well. It was not unusual to find a bureau in the

[57] "Pocket Journals," Brighton, East Sussex Brighton and Hove Record Office, HOOK 16/12-17.
[58] C. Y. Ferdinand, *Benjamin Collins and the Provincial Newspaper Trade in the Eighteenth Century* (Oxford: Claredon Press, 1997), 224.
[59] Ibid.

dining parlour, as Eleanor John's study of inventories of eighteenth-century middling houses has shown.[60] While it is possible that memorandum books were kept on bookshelves, the sporadic evidence of advertisements, trials, and wills, all point to the greater likelihood that memorandum books were kept in desks and drawers. Ownership of desks boomed from the mid- to late-eighteenth century, meaning that for the first time, a significant number of men and women had dedicated spaces for writing and record-keeping in their homes.[61] This mid-century development is subtly indicated in the shifting title of Baldwin's *Daily Journal*, the full title of which altered from *The Daily Journal: or, the Gentleman's and Tradesman's Complete Annual Accompt-Book for the Pocket*, to *…for the Pocket or Desk* from the 1755 edition onwards. Desks thus doubly functioned as a place for writing in memorandum books, and a place for keeping them secure. The proliferation of desks in the late-eighteenth century reflected a greater demand for the tools and props of manuscript practices, but also delimited greater spaces of privacy which could extend to the pocket memorandum book stored inside.

[60] As John describes: '[p]arlours and dining rooms with their dining tables, sideboards and desks are more clearly engaged with the functions of daily life.' Eleanor John, 'Drawing Rooms, Dining Rooms and Parlours in the Homes of London's Middling Sorts 1740–1810', *Regional Furniture: The Journal of the Regional Furniture Society,* vol. 27 (2013), p. 151.
[61] XXXXXX



Figure 17. William Poole's memorandum books, labelled with the year on the spine

The role of memorandum books as tool for wider record-management was reflected in their design. While the majority of publications in eighteenth-century Britain were sold in sheets, with bookbinding offered at the point of sale, memorandum books were offered ready-bound, like bibles, school books and other steady sellers.[62] Advertisements typically listed the price of memorandum books 'bound in Red', a broad descriptor that was likely intentionally-suggestive of quality Morocco red leather but which actually encompassed a range of possible leathers and styles, such as calf, sheep or goatskin. When bound in leather, the cover wrapped around the foredge of the book with either a tongue which could tuck in, string to tie it together, or a metal clasp to secure it shut. As Rebecca Connor has noted, this transformed them into a secure receptacle for other items.[63] Endleaves were inserted both for protection of the printed content and for consumers to make notes on, since by the eighteenth century endleaves were typically made from 'good quality writing paper, suited to manuscript inscriptions.'[64] Internal pockets were included inside the covers, advertised as useful for storing bills, notes and letters.[65] In practice these pockets and the pages of the books were used to store a myriad of items that owners wanted to keep close or on hand: newspaper clippings, receipts, recipes, trade cards, Methodist tickets, locks of hair, engravings, paper dolls, foundling ticket receipts, pieces of fabric include some of the many items to have been found inside their pockets.[66] In this way, the books themselves acted as ever-shifting repositories of information that was shuffled in and out. As Leigh Hunt reminisced, the eighteenth-century pocket book grew 'corpulent' with all the scraps it was

[62] Nicholas Pickwoad, "Bookbinding in the eighteenth century," in by Michael F. Suarez, SJ & and Michael L. Turner, eds., *The Cambridge History of the Book in Britain,* Volume 5: 1695–1830 (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 2009), 268; David Pearson, *English Bookbinding Styles, 1450-1800: A Handbook* (London & Newcastle: The British Library & Oak Knoll Press, 2005), 8.

[63] Rebecca Connor, *Women, Accounting, and Narrative: Keeping Books in Eighteenth-Century England* (London: Routledge, 2004), 26.

[64] Nicholas Pickwoad, "Bookbinding in the eighteenth century," in by Michael F. Suarez, SJ & and Michael L. Turner, eds., *The Cambridge History of the Book in Britain,* Volume 5: 1695–1830 (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 2009), 274.

[65] For example, *Kearsly's Gentleman and Tradesman's Pocket Ledger* for 1768 was offered 'neatly printed, and bound in red Leather, with Pockets for Letters, Notes &c.' See: *Bath Chronicle and Weekly Gazette*, 19 Nov. 1767.

[66] For examples of foundling tokens and tickets, see: Maria Zytaruk, "Caught in the archive: Unruly Objects at the Foundling Hospital," *Studies in Romanticism* 57.1 (2018): 58-9; Sarah Lloyd, "The Religious And Social Significance Of Methodist Tickets, And Associated Practices Of Collecting And Recollecting, 1741–2017," *The Historical Journal* 63.2 (2020): 380; for pieces of fabric, see: Catherine Wood's use of *The ladies' annual journal, or, Complete pocket-book, for the year 1820* (London : Printed for Scatcherd and Letterman : J. and J.M. Richardson : J. Poole : Suttaby, Evance, and Fox). Copy consulted: Chapel Hill, Wilson Library, CT788.W83 A3 1820.

fed.[67] Surviving clasps with multiple hooks suggest that consumers anticipated this potential expansion, ensuring the book could be secured shut no matter how full it was (Fig. 20). Extant copies in archives thus provide only a snapshot of what the books looked like at any one point in time.



Figure 18. Binding of Baxter's Sussex Pocket Book, or, Gentleman's County Remembrancer for 1810

The importance of the material features of memorandum books is brought into sharp relief when faced with copies which were rebound in the nineteenth or twentieth centuries. In the British Library there are examples of multiple copies of memorandum books which have been bound into one volume with a hardcover binding and a title printed on the spine.[68] The

[67] Leigh Hunt, *The Keepsake for 1828* (London: Printed by Thomas Davison, Whitefriars, 1828), 7.
[68] See for example the following memorandum books, which have all been bound into one volume, with many pages missing from each. *The Ladies Mirror, or Mental companion for the year 1786 (1789, 1815)* (London: Printed for S. Chapple, Royal Exchange); *The Ladies Pocket Journal; or, Toilet assistant: for the year 1787* (London: Printed for S. Bladon, No. 13, in Pater-noster-Row); *The Ladies Daily Companion: or, Useful and*

memorandum pages and some of the printed content has been removed in order to bind them together. Since the size of eighteenth-century paper was not standardized, the bottoms of the pages have been trimmed to fit, and the rounded spine of the new binding means that the pages no longer open flat. In essence such rebinding remediates the book: it transforms it into a volume for reading, for shelving, for looking at, and thus effaces its original purpose for active use, for writing in, for information and objects to flow in and out of.[69]

The publication's active role was encapsulated in frontispieces to later editions of Dodsley's memorandum book, which portrayed the imagined user. Dodsley's *Gentleman's New Memorandum Book Improv'd* for 1760, 1761, and 1763 included a frontispiece depicting an elegantly attired merchant in banyan and turban, in the midst of conducting business (Fig. 21). Pocket memorandum book in hand, he has turned away from writing at his desk to deliver instructions or pass on a message to a footman. Particularly striking is that the image does not depict the merchant in the act of *writing* in the memorandum book, but instead *referring* to the records it contains to inform other activities. The ideal user is not caught in the act of recording but the act of remembrance. Meanwhile, the setting showcases the highly-developed organisational system of the merchant's office, with multiple forms of storage: the merchant's writing desk with numerous drawers, a wall of pigeon holes displaying a multitude of ledgers and bundles of paper, and pouches hanging on the wall for receiving bills of lade and letters.[70] Right at the centre of it all is the small memorandum book, held open by the merchant in reference to it. The message is not that the memorandum book eliminates the need for other forms of record-keeping, but rather that it is a device that will bring order to them, and by implication, bring prosperity to the user.

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entertaining pocket book, for the year of Our Lord 1786, etc (Printed and sold by T. Fisher, Rochester); *Annual Present for the Ladies: or, a New and fashionable ladies pocket-book, for the year 1788, etc* (Printed by L. Wayland; and sold by T. Wills, Stationers-court); *The Ladies Miscellany, or, New, useful and entertaining companion, for the year 1789, etc.* (London: Printed for J. Brown, Cheapside), London, British Library, PP.2469.ch.

[69] In this regard, they show a continuance of some aspects of the early modern textual cultures described by Adam Smyth, which he characterised as consisting of 'shifting, evolving, various forms' and intertextuality. Adam Smyth, *Autobiography in Early Modern England* (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 2010), 2.

[70] For more on these different forms of record-keeping, see: Heather Wolfe & Peter Stallybrass, "The Material Culture of Record Keeping in Early Modern England," in Liesbeth Corens, Kate Peters, and Alexandra Walsham, eds., *Archives and Information in the Early Modern World* (Oxford: Oxford University Press, 2018), 180-208.

The memorandum book is depicted as the point of connection that enables the user to draw together all the relevant information he needs to actively employ in his day-to-day life. "Order" was the central mantra of the pocket memorandum book.[71]



Figure 19. Frontispiece to Dodsley's New Memorandum Book for 1760

Memorandum books therefore sat at the centre of a web of record-keeping and played an important but now unappreciated role in other eighteenth-century reading and writing practices. Individuals often noted down in their memorandum books the dates upon which

[71] As was later expounded upon in Baldwin's *Daily Journal* for 1781: *The Daily Journal; or, the Gentleman's, Merchant's and Tradesman's Complete annual Accompt-Book, for the Year of our Lord 1781* (London: Printed only for R. Baldwin, at No. 47, in Pater-noster-Row). Copy consulted: "Memorandum and Account Book of William Helyar - 1781," Taunton, Somerset Heritage Centre, A/BYI/17.

letters were received and sent, and used the records kept in their memorandum books in turn to aid letter-writing.[72] The prolific bluestocking woman-of-letters Catherine Talbot, for example, turned to her memorandum book - which she affectionately termed her "Dodsley" – in order to remember events she wished to recount to her friend Elizabeth Carter in their epistolary exchanges. As she wrote on the 10th December, 1758, 'I have looked in Dodsley, to see if any events had happened between your leaving town and this time worth mentioning.'[73] Catherine Talbot also *modelled* letters on the format of her memorandum book, devising to send 'instead of a Letter...somewhat like a Dodsley's Memorandum Book.'[74] By writing at least a line a day she hoped to motivate her letter-writing and prevent time-wasting, a method which she described as 'a device to catch myself in, the trap of my own idleness.'[75]

Others were inspired by their use of memorandum books to keep more detailed journals, or to keep both in tandem. For example, the composer John Marsh (1752-1828) left to posterity 39 vellum bound journals narrating his life, now held at the Huntington Library. Yet he disclosed how this "History of My Private Life", begun in 1796, was built on a life-long habit of keeping pocket-books: 'At the beginning of this year (1765) I bought a pocket book & began keeping a diary which [...] I have continued ever since so that in future I can be more particular as to dates etc. & shall probably recover serval circumstances w'ch otherwise wo'd have been totally forgotten.'[76] The underlying demands of the memorandum book for accountability were in this way absorbed into other forms of

[72] Both the abolitionist cleric John Newton and the bluestocking Frances Boscawen used the column for recording memorandums in their books to record letters received and sent, see: "NEWTON PAPERS," London, Lambeth Palace Library, MS2941; "Diary of Frances, widow of Admiral Edward Boscawen, 1763, in The daily journal," Oxford, Bodleian Library, MS Eng.misc.f.71.

[73] Letter from Catherine Talbot to Elizabeth Carter, Dec. 10, 1758. *A series of letters between Mrs. Elizabeth Carter and Miss Catherine Talbot, from the year 1741 to 1770: to which are added, Letters from Mrs. Elizabeth Carter to Mrs. Vesey, between the years 1763 and 1787 : published from the original manuscripts in the possession of the Rev. Montagu Pennington,* vol. 2. (London: Printed for F. C. & J. Rivington, no. 62, St. Paul's Church-yard, 1809), 270.

[74] Letter from Catherine Talbot to Elizabeth Carter, Nov. 20, 1765. *A series of letters between Mrs. Elizabeth Carter and Miss Catherine Talbot, from the year 1741 to 1770,* 123.

[75] Ibid, 125. Catherine Talbot was someone who was particularly fixated on making good use of time, see: Soile Ylivuori, "Time Management and Autonomous Subjectivity: Catherine Talbot, Politeness, and Self-Discipline as a Practice of Freedom," *Journal of Early Modern Studies* 6 (2017): 113-132.

[76] Brian Robbins, ed., *The John Marsh Journals: The Life and Times of a Gentleman Composer (1752-1828)* (Stuyvesant, NY: Pendragon Press, 1998), 31. Also see John Brewer, *The Pleasures of the Imagination: English Culture in the Eighteenth Century* (London: Harper Collins, 1997), 541.

manuscript culture, and show that the books played an important role in shaping other life-writing practices in the eighteenth-century.

While the preservation of memorandum books has been noted by other scholars, there has previously been little understanding of the ways in which these books were actively put to use. Lindsey Eckert, for example, has suggested that the emphasis on preserving one's memorandum books positioned them towards a future reader, whether that be the individual owner themselves or perhaps a family member or future descendant. Eckert consequently suggests that they were likely viewed as 'keepsakes that might be read by others.'[77] Yet by recording their appointments, engagements, accounts, and memorandums in their pocket memorandum books each year, individuals built up a storehouse of personal knowledge that would be practically useful throughout their lives and which structured other social and textual practices. As we have seen, this information was employed in a myriad of ways: in reconstructing life events, in accounting for one's actions on any given day, in epistolary construction and more.

II. Time Management

Memorandum books attempted to bring order to individual's record-keeping practices. In doing so, they also sought to regulate their use of time. Most straightforwardly, publishers envisioned the books being used for the purposes of prospective planning, aiding individuals in being punctual with their social and business engagements. Yet, as I show, they were also bound up with broader shifts in temporal thinking, particularly about how to organise time in a way that was most rational for an increasingly mercantile Great Britain.

This section specifically addresses the emergence of the genre at a particular cultural moment: calendar reform in Great Britain. It examines early experimentation with the form of calendrical information to show how the genre attempted to reformulate the individual's relationship with time. It argues that such experimentations reveal an attempt to bring

[77] Lindsey Eckert, "Priscilla Wordsworth's Pocketbook Diaries and Interfaces of Subjectivity," *The Review of English Studies* (October 2019): 13.

human action to the forefront of the calendar, supporting arguments about the development of homogenous, empty time in the eighteenth century.

Publishers of memorandum books were interested in the process of making time useful according to a middling and mercantile world-view.[79] Revealingly, they emerged on the cusp of calendar reform in Great Britain. The Calendar Act of 1750 determined that the Julian calendar would be replaced by the Gregorian calendar, presently in use throughout Europe but previously resisted by Britain due to its Catholic associations. [80] The Act came into effect in 1752, shifting the dates to be in line with the Gregorian calendar by omitting eleven days from the calendar year – in essence, proceeding straight from the 2nd to the 14th of September. Nearly all public and private calendrical events, including holidays such as Christmas, were to keep their nominal date but be moved in line with the new calendar.[81] There had been earlier rumblings of calendar reform in Britain after other protestant countries adopted the Gregorian calendar in 1700; debates heated up in the 1740s and rumours emerged that it would be considered in Parliament in 1747.[82] We find then that memorandum books emerged almost exactly around the time the debate came to the fore and the bill began to be drafted.

Proponents of calendar reform regarded it as important for the expansion of British trade to move the country in line with the rest of Europe.[83] The differences in dating systems could have financial ramifications. Confusion or disputes arose as to when money was owed and could be expected, thus interfering with the course of business. Such confusion resulted not only from the different dating systems – for by this point the Julian calendar was running eleven days behind the Gregorian calendar – but also from the disparity in when the official

[79] For a brief discussion of memorandum books in the context of new forms of timekeeping, see: Stuart Sherman, *Telling Time: Clocks, Diaries and English Diurnal Form, 1660-1785* (Chicago: University of Chicago, 1996), 171-2. Sherman links memorandum books to the increasing use of precise watch-time, but he overstates the degree to which users who recorded in conjunction with clock time.
[80] Ironically for dating the Calendar Act, it was passed in 1750 according to the Old Stile, and in 1751 according to the New Stile. Robert Poole, *Time's Alteration: Calendar Reform in Early Modern England* (London: UCL Press, 1998), 112.
[81] Exceptions to this were fairs and property rights, which were allowed to remain on the same day, meaning their nominal date was shifted by eleven days: Poole, *Time's Alteration,* 112-3.
[82] Poole, *Time's Alteration*, 112.
[83] Kevin Birth, "Calendars: Representational homogeneity and heterogeneous time," *Time & Society* 22, no. 2 (2013): 222.

start of the year was recognised. Countries which employed the Gregorian calendar regarded the start of the year as January 1st, whereas in England, the official start of the year was March 25th. While in practice many celebrated January 1st as New Year's Day, in both legal and financial terms it was March 25th, otherwise known as Lady Day. To add to the confusion, Scotland employed the Julian calendar but recognised January 1st as the legal start of the year, meaning that divergences in dating systems arose within Britain itself.[84] It is easy to see how this could lead to conflicting expectations, say, if a bill was due to be paid 'by the end of the year' and the issues it could cause to convert both currency and calendar when trading abroad.[85] The Act therefore was intended to rectify such 'confusion and disorder,' by ensuring the same calendar and dating system was in use within Britain, and in line with the Continent.[86]

As Robert Poole argues, the successful bid to reform the calendar required a significant change in cultural mindset. He contends that the calendar increasingly came to be viewed in astronomical terms by the educated classes, separated from its religious and astrological associations.[87] This was connoted by the semantic shift from describing the whole apparatus as a "calendar" – a term laden with cultural baggage – to referring simply to the "style" – i.e., its formal arrangement, something that was more innocuous and palatable to change.[88] Previous objections to the calendar on the grounds of its catholic associations were turned upside down, as proponents of the bill presented their opponents as popish, 'stubborn and irrational' for continuing to resist what was so logical in scientific and legal terms.[89]

Memorandum books were operating on the same ideological continuum as calendar reform. Indeed, the inventor of the genre, Robert Dodsley, was also publisher and friend of the man who drafted and pushed the Calendar Reform through parliament, Lord Chesterfield.[94] We find support for calendar reform articulated within the pages of

[84] Poole, *Time's Alteration*, 114.
[85] Birth, "Calendars," 222-3.
[86] Lord Macclesfield described the 'confusion and disorder' wrought by the discrepancies in calendars when he argued on behalf of the Calendar Act in parliament: Poole, *Time's Alteration,* 114.
[87] Poole, *Time's Alteration*, 104.
[88] Ibid, 113.
[89] Ibid, 160-1.
[94] 'Chesterfield felt a personal tie to Dodsley both through their shared friendship with Pope and their political sympathies.' Solomon, *Rise of Robert Dodsley*, 50; ibid, 121.

memorandum books. Published in 1750 just before the bill went before parliament, Baldwin's *Daily Journal* for 1751 lamented that the calendar did not universally begin on January 1: 'Would all Countries in the World distinguish the Year after this Manner, infinitely less Perplexity and Confusion wou'd arise both in public and private Affairs.'[95] In doing so, it drew on the same argument that would soon be deployed in parliament on behalf of the bill. Lord Macclesfield, speaking in favour of the bill, emphasised the chaos wrought by the discrepancy in the legal start of the year between England and Scotland: 'That, in one Part of this united Kingdom, the legal Commencement of the Year should differ, by the Space of near three Months [...] is so glaring an Absurdity, and the Parent of so much Confusion and Disorder.'[96] If the mantra of the memorandum book was "order", a well-regulated calendar was the necessary base for individual and societal order. Once the act had passed, Baldwin prefaced his memorandum book for 1752 with an address from "Old Time" that poked fun at opponents of calendar reform, while at the same time reminding readers to be conscious of the fact that the march of time was still inexorable. The indignant character of Old Time rebuked the reader for imposing 'your Jargon on the credulous World as my genuine Records, without having the least Knowledge of me, observing any of my Motions or seeing one Step that I take.'[97] On the surface, the address was adopting in a mocking tone the oppositional view that "natural time" was being artificially tampered with through calendar reform. It was also taking the more serious stance that man is often ignorant of time's passage.

In a particularly irony-laden section, Old Time rants:

> So much the better for you Sirrah, the Rent of your Garret won't come round so fast; besides, Impertinence, have not I who hold in my Hand the Minutes and Hours, the Days and the Weeks, the Months and the Years, a Right to dispose of them as I

[95] *The Daily Journal, for the Year of Our Lord, 1751; or, the Gentleman's and Tradesman's Methodical Accompt-Book for the Pocket* (London: Printed for R. Baldwin, in Pater-Noster-Row). Copy consulted: "Diaries of Sir Roger Newdigate," Warwick, Warwickshire Record Office, CRO136/A582.
[96] *The Earl of Macclesfield's Speech in the House of Peers on Monday the 18th Day of March 1750: At the Second Reading of the Bill for Regulating the Commencement of the Year, &c* (Dublin: Printed by George Faulkner, 1751), 6-7
[97] *The Daily Journal for the Year of our Lord 1752; or the Gentleman's and Tradesman's Methodical Accompt-Book for the Pocket* (London: Printed only for R. Baldwin, in Paternoster Row). Copy consulted: "Diaries of Sir Roger Newdigate," Warwick, Warwickshire Record Office, CRO136/A583

> please? Shall I who am Time himself be taught Wisdom and directed in my own Affairs by Booksellers, Bundlers, the Atoms and Embryos, the Fops and Flies of my Offspring, Oh the insufferable Insolence of Man![98]

This passage emphasised the puny insignificance of the people driving and benefitting from calendar reform – for example, by referring to the reader with the dismissive term of address "Sirrah", and implying their lowliness through the disparaging comment about renting a "garret", which was a meagre type of accommodation typically resided in by servants (and, incidentally, writers). The humour, however, is subversive; the reader is intended to take glee in the ways that lowly man has exerted control over time itself. Note that the list of impertinent things that are attempting to 'direct' the 'Affairs' of Old Time begins with booksellers and bundlers – Baldwin is essentially crediting himself as playing a part in this paradigm shift. Booksellers are allied with science itself, with the facts of 'Atoms and Embryos', in promoting the cause of reason.

Nonetheless, the address simultaneously cautions the reader against believing that they can ever attain full control over time or that man need pay no heed to its dictates. For, as Old Time complains, people are constantly requesting favours of him:

> The young Rake of nineteenth prays me to take two Years at a Stride, that he may jump into his Mother's Jointure, while his poor Father beckons me to run back for half a Century. The Girl of fifteen longs to be older, and belyes me for not making more Speed, but when five an twenty are come, and not married, she growles at every Step I take, bemoans her own Folly for out-running me so fast, and takes large Gulps of Forgetfulness to bring me back again. [99]

Men may be able to bring order to the calendar, to convert "Old Time" to the "new style", but they ultimately remain at time's mercy, unable to control the passage of their own life, constrained by the hours, days and years. The only remedy and the only means to ensure

[98] Ibid.
[99] Ibid.

their happiness is to 'keep an honest Account with me', as Old Time recommends. And here the memorandum book itself is proffered as the mechanism of keeping an account with time:

> in order to remove every unjust Surmise of Partiality I here publish my Account for next Journey Debtor and Creditor [....] this Book, which I have suited to everyone's Pocket, both in size and price, which I intend to publish yearly for their use.[100]

The address moved into an explanation of the book's layout and intended use, followed by an extract of the Calendar Act. The memorandum book thus sold itself as part of the cultural movement driving calendar reform, applying order to clear up heedless confusion in public and private life. The fact that time itself could never be fully mastered created an even greater imperative to order in one's own use of time, money, and affairs in a rational and productive way. The memorandum book was therefore driven by the same impetus as calendar reform to organise time in a way that was most rational for an increasingly mercantile Great Britain.

Nonetheless, Poole overstates the extent to which the calendar came to be seen in purely astronomical terms, separated from its religious and astrological associations. Robert Poole situates calendar reform within a broader secularizing trend in the first half of the eighteenth century, considering that the calendar came to be seen as a socially determined construct, to be trusted to the 'scientists and the statesmen, not clergymen and polemicists.'[101] Yet the ways in which eighteenth-century individuals viewed the calendar, and the organization of time, were not set in fundamental opposition to religion. Secularization narratives such as Poole's have come under fire in recent years, not least for the assumption that a new-found desire and ability to regulate and track time in the late seventeenth and eighteenth centuries – fuelled by the proliferation of time-keeping devices such as pocket watches and represented in the rise of diurnal forms such as diaries and

[100] *The Daily Journal for the Year of our Lord 1752; or the Gentleman's and Tradesman's Methodical Accompt-Book for the Pocket* (London: Printed only for R. Baldwin, in Paternoster Row). Copy consulted: "Diaries of Sir Roger Newdigate," Warwick, Warwickshire Record Office, CRO136/A583.
[101] Poole, *Time's Alteration,* 113.

newspapers – removed conceptions of time from the sacred to the secular realm.[102] As the forthcoming publication *Faith in the Town* argues, a sense of time-discipline was in no way inimical to Protestant belief:

> To waste time was sinful, to be punctual and to mark certain times of the week or year was a religious duty, and the management of time was a tool to increase piety, with all understandings of time ultimately derived from a sense of mortality and impending divine judgement.[103]

This is similarly articulated by Alexandra Walsham in her arguments against secularization narratives:'[i]f some Protestants were preoccupied with regulating and regimenting time, this was a by-product of their impulse to sacralize everyday life.'[104] Changes in attitudes towards the calendar, then, did not require time to be stripped of all spiritual meaning. Instead, as this scholarship suggests, religion ultimately continued to underpin the imperative to organize time rationally and productively.

Thus the memorandum book's role in organising the time of its users can also be understood within the wider context of Protestant time-discipline. Baldwin's *Daily Journal* for 1758 made explicit the connection between the genre's organisation of time and religious duty. Its poetic address to the readers concluded with a reminder of their own mortality:

> 'Think every Day may be thy last,
> And let the Present check the past :
> So when (if Heav'n thy Life extend)
> The circling Months the Year shall end

[102] The rise of clock technology in the late seventeenth and early eighteenth centuries has been referred to as the 'horological revolution.' Alexandra Walsham, *Generations: Age, Ancestry, and Memory in the English Reformations* (Oxford: Oxford University Press, 2023), 382-4; Gerhard Dohrn-van Rossum, "Time" in Hamish Scott, ed., *The Oxford Handbook of Early Modern European History, 1350-1750: Volume I: Peoples and Place* (Oxford: Oxford University Press, 2015), 155. For more on the arguments against secularization narratives, see:
[103] Hannah Barker, Carys Brown, Kate Gibson and Jeremy Gregory, *Faith in the Town* (forthcoming). Many thanks to Hannah Barker for letting me see an advance copy.
[104] Although Walsham's focus is on the sixteenth and seventeenth centuries, her argument is framed around the concept of the 'long Reformation' and is directed more broadly at proponents of secularization narratives. Walsham, *Generations*, 384.

You here may view the Paths you've trod ;
Content YOURSELF, and please your God.[105]

As the authors of *Faith in the Town* argue, memorandum books could therefore 'act as prompts to piety.'[106] Certainly, we can see this play out in practice in Chapter Five and Six of this thesis, as individuals meditated on the deaths of loved ones and penned poems in their books on the spiritual importance of using time wisely. Moreover, from the 1790s onwards, a number of memorandum book titles emerged geared specifically towards the user's religious identity, such as *The Christian Lady's Pocket Book* and *The Methodist Pocket Book.*[107] For example, the Methodist archives holds '31 such pocket books and diaries covering the years 1793-1831.'[108] These were more clearly objects of religious worship, weaving printed extracts of scripture into the spaces for self-recording and providing information such as lists of chapel and meeting-houses. Not just regarding time-management in itself as virtuous, these books considered that *all* actions recorded in the books should serve pious ends. Thus the preface to *The Christian Lady's Pocket-Book* for 1792 explicitly distinguished itself from its peers:

> 'how differently may the blank alloted for *occasional memorandums* be filled up ! Not with "the lye of the day, topics of scandal, names and abodes of milliners, descriptions of new fashions, and a hundred other circumstances of equal importance" but with an account of those blessed seasons, when the writer was privileged with some sweet visits from a gracious GOD, either in his public ordinances, in private religious duties or in the course of the past day or, perhaps, profitable opportunities, spent with religious friends and acquaintance […][109]

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[105] The Daily Journal: Or, the Gentleman's and Tradesman's Complete Annual Accompt-Book for the Pocket, or Desk. For the Year of our Lord 1758 (London: Printed only for R. Baldwin, at the Rose, in Pater-noster-Row). Copy consulted: "The Manuel Family of Exploits Diary (MF-385)" (1760-1840), St. John's, Canada, Memorial University of Newfoundland, COLL-206; MF-385. Digitised at: https://collections.mun.ca/digital/collection/archives/id/3011 [Last accessed: 06/07.2020].
[106] Hannah Barker, Carys Brown, Kate Gibson and Jeremy Gregory, *Faith in the Town* (forthcoming).
[107] Ibid.
[108] John P. Tuck, "Some Pocket Books in the Methodist Archives", *Proceedings of the Wesley Historical Society* 46, no. 2 (1987), 32.
[109] *The Christian-Lady's Pocket Book for the Year 1792* (London: Printed for the Proprietors and Sold by J. s. Jordan, 166, Fleet Street & G. Terry, 54, Pater-noster Row). Copy consulted: London, British Library, General Reference Collection 1606/200.

While we must be careful not to present memorandum books as part of a simplistic secularisation narrative, it is also important to note that the emergence of religiously-titled memorandum books came at a very different cultural moment to the one in which the genre first emerged. These religious titles came at the peak of Methodist membership in Britain – between 1780-1830 – when Methodism also had the effect of 'reinvigorat[ing] both Dissent and Anglicanism in the last third of the century.'[110]

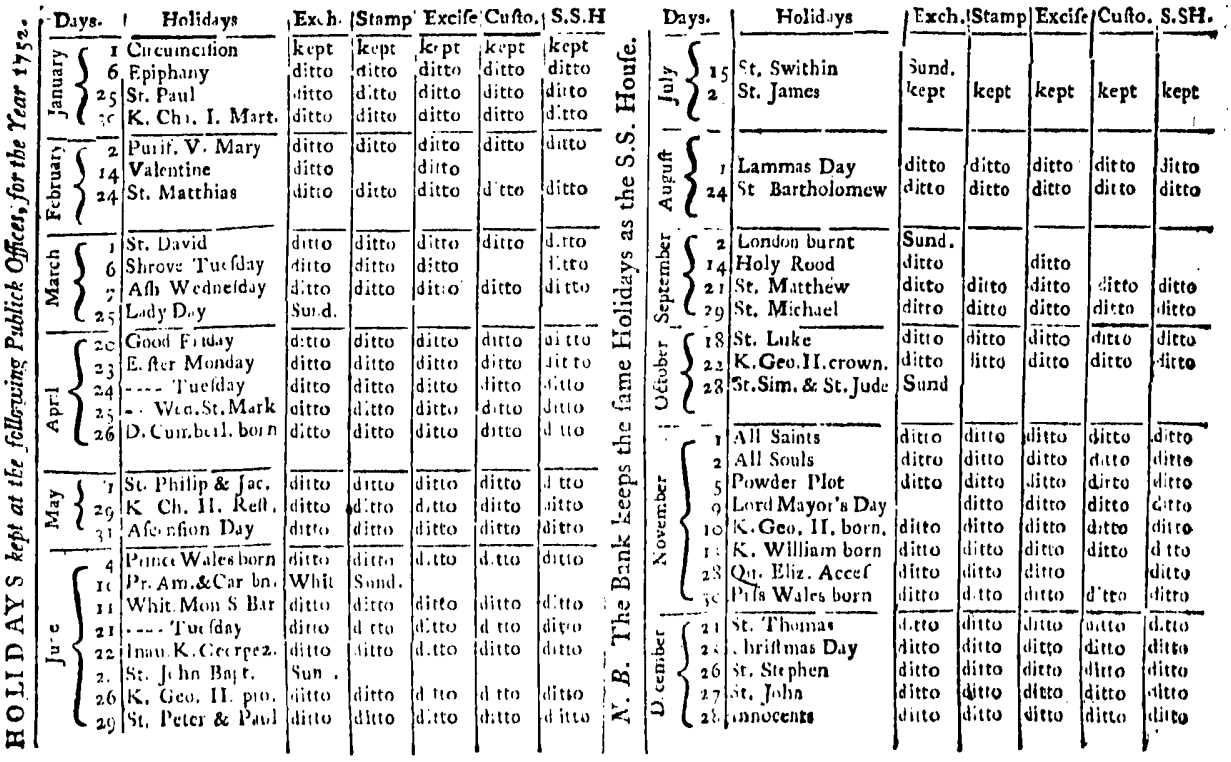
This chapter contends that at the moment of the genre's emergence, religious imperatives underpinned the book's demands for time-management, but religion was made less visible in the organisation of the calendar; human action instead was brought to the forefront. This can be seen not least in the ways memorandum books presented the days of the year. Their central pages embedded Sundays and holy days into the week with nothing to set them apart, instead presenting them as a standardized blank space which could be filled in whatever way the user so chose. My findings therefore support the arguments of Stuart Sherman, who has identified memorandum books as part-and-parcel of developing notions of "homogeneous, empty time" which is often taken to characterise the modern age. As Sherman argues, in the late seventeenth and early eighteenth centuries the 'new emptiness of time creates a need, a means, and a structure for fullness in text.'[111] Yet as Sherman also suggests, this was a middle period in which traditional and emergent conceptions of time were still being played out. I suggest that memorandum books were one arena in which we can witness this in action.

This is particularly evident when we compare memorandum books to almanacs. Sherman considers that the memorandum book was 'more open to the immediate need and impulses of its readers' than its forebearer, the almanac.[112] In the remainder of this chapter I bring memorandum books into dialogue with almanacs, examining two ways in which

[110] David Hempton, *The Religion of the People: Methodism and Popular Religion c. 1750-1900* (London: Routledge, 2011), 9; Shani D'Cruze, *Our Time in God's hands: Religion and the Middling Sort in Eighteenth Century Colchester* (Chelmsford: The Essex Record Office, 1989), 3.
[111] Sherman, *Telling Time*, 24.
[112] Ibid, 171.

memorandum books attempted to repackage and reimagine calendrical information: the presentation of feast days and historical chronologies.

Despite the Stationers' Company's concerns over the inclusion of feast days in memorandum books as an encroachment on the almanac monopoly, the inventor of the genre, Robert Dodsley, never included a list of feast days in any of his memorandum book editions.[116] Dodsley instead offered up his readers a list of 'Holidays kept at the Exchequer, Stamp Office, Excise-Office, Custom-House, Bank, East-India and South-Sea House', separate to the memorandum pages (Fig. 22). His approach reveals a great deal about the memorandum book's early attempts to reconfigure the calendar. The list of public holidays provided a guide to which offices were closed for trading due to public festivities. The more cynical reader might question whether this was simply a canny repackaging of the feast days, presenting them in a manner plausibly (and legally) distinct from their appearance in almanacs. Yet careful analysis shows this not to be the case. For the information presented in almanac calendars and Dodsley's list of public holidays was not identical.



HOLIDAYS *kept at the following Publick Offices, for the Year 1752.*

	Days.	Holidays	Exch.	Stamp	Excise	Custo.	S.S.H
January	1	Circumcision	kept	kept	kept	kept	kept
	6	Epiphany	ditto	ditto	ditto	ditto	ditto
	25	St. Paul	ditto	ditto	ditto	ditto	ditto
	30	K. Ch. I. Mart.	ditto	ditto	ditto	ditto	ditto
February	2	Purif. V. Mary	ditto	ditto	ditto	ditto	ditto
	14	Valentine	ditto		ditto		
	24	St. Matthias	ditto	ditto	ditto	ditto	ditto
March	1	St. David	ditto	ditto	ditto	ditto	ditto
	6	Shrove Tuesday	ditto	ditto	ditto		ditto
	7	Ash Wednesday	ditto	ditto	ditto	ditto	ditto
	25	Lady Day	Sund.				
April	20	Good Friday	ditto	ditto	ditto	ditto	ditto
	23	Easter Monday	ditto	ditto	ditto	ditto	ditto
	24	---- Tuesday	ditto	ditto	ditto	ditto	ditto
	25	-- Wed. St. Mark	ditto	ditto	ditto	ditto	ditto
	26	D. Cumberl. born	ditto	ditto	ditto	ditto	ditto
May	1	St. Philip & Jac.	ditto	ditto	ditto	ditto	ditto
	29	K. Ch. II. Rest.	ditto	ditto	ditto	ditto	ditto
	31	Ascension Day	ditto	ditto	ditto	ditto	ditto
June	4	Prince Wales born	ditto	ditto	ditto	ditto	ditto
	10	Pr. Am. & Car bn.	Whit	Sund.			
	11	Whit Mon S Bar	ditto	ditto	ditto	ditto	ditto
	21	---- Tuesday	ditto	ditto	ditto	ditto	ditto
	22	Inau. K. George 2.	ditto	ditto	ditto	ditto	ditto
	25	St. John Bapt.	Sun.				
	26	K. Geo. II. pro.	ditto	ditto	ditto	ditto	ditto
	29	St. Peter & Paul	ditto	ditto	ditto	ditto	ditto

N. B. The Bank keeps the same Holidays as the S.S. House.

	Days.	Holidays	Exch.	Stamp	Excise	Custo.	S.SH.
July	15	St. Swithin	Sund.				
	25	St. James	kept	kept	kept	kept	kept
August	1	Lammas Day	ditto	ditto	ditto	ditto	ditto
	24	St Bartholomew	ditto	ditto	ditto	ditto	ditto
September	2	London burnt	Sund.				
	14	Holy Rood	ditto		ditto		
	21	St. Matthew	ditto	ditto	ditto	ditto	ditto
	29	St. Michael	ditto	ditto	ditto	ditto	ditto
October	18	St. Luke	ditto	ditto	ditto	ditto	ditto
	22	K. Geo. II. crown.	ditto	ditto	ditto	ditto	ditto
	28	St. Sim. & St. Jude	Sund				
November	1	All Saints	ditto	ditto	ditto	ditto	ditto
	2	All Souls	ditto	ditto	ditto	ditto	ditto
	5	Powder Plot	ditto	ditto	ditto	ditto	ditto
	9	Lord Mayor's Day		ditto	ditto	ditto	ditto
	10	K. Geo. II. born.	ditto	ditto	ditto	ditto	ditto
	15	K. William born	ditto	ditto	ditto	ditto	ditto
	28	Qu. Eliz. Accef	ditto	ditto	ditto		ditto
	30	Prs Wales born	ditto	ditto	ditto	ditto	ditto
December	21	St. Thomas	ditto	ditto	ditto	ditto	ditto
	25	Christmas Day	ditto	ditto	ditto	ditto	ditto
	26	St. Stephen	ditto	ditto	ditto	ditto	ditto
	27	St. John	ditto	ditto	ditto	ditto	ditto
	28	Innocents	ditto	ditto	ditto	ditto	ditto

[116] For more on this, see Chapter Two of this thesis.

A significant number of holidays that appeared in lists of feast days for the same year were absent in Dodsley's list of public holidays. Notably, all of the holidays as they would have fallen according to the Julian calendar, such as "Old Christmas" and "Old Lady Day" continued to be included in almanacs, but since they had no legal recognition they did not affect the trading hours of public institutions and thus did not appear in Dodsley's memorandum book. Also missing from Dodsley's list were the equinoxes, the term dates, and any holidays that fell on a Sunday, such as Palm Sunday and Easter Sunday: none of these had any bearing on the ability to conduct business. Yet Dodsley's list of public offices was not simply a stripped down version of the feast days, either: his list included secular celebrations we do *not* find in contemporary almanacs such as the accension of Queen Elizabeth and the Lord Mayor's Day. By framing the holidays in this way, Dodsley's memorandum book separated the holidays from their religious context, and instead vested importance in the ways they could effect and interrupt the course of business.

Figure 20. 'Holidays kept at the following Publick Offices, for the Year 1752' in Dodsley's New Memorandum Book Improv'd for 1752

While Dodsley's memorandum books never featured feast days, by the mid-1750s the majority of other memorandum book brands began to include explicit information on feast days as a separate list in the front or back matter. The first which included a list of feast days was John Newbery's *Ladies' Complete Pocket Book* for 1753, and swiftly brands like Baldwin's *Daily Journal* followed suit.[117] It shows that the saints days still were useful to individuals across the social scale for knowing the rhythms of liturgical and civic events and it seems that although the earliest memorandum books attempted to dispense of them, they were soon obliged to introduce them into their publications. What we find, then, is that memorandum books did not represent a sharp break with what came before, but reveal a work-in-progress, an attempt to reimagine the printed calendar according to what publishers felt would best serve the needs of their customers. Saints days were still relevant, but memorandum books minimised their significance in governing individual daily life. The list of saints days was merely one of many printed tables in the compendium of useful reference material.

[117] *The Ladies' Compleat Pocket-Book for the Year of Our Lord, 1753* (London: Printed for J. Newbery, Bookseller, in St. Paul's Church-Yard). Copy consulted: London, British Library, General Reference Collection C.136.bb.30.

Thus what memorandum books were attempting to accomplish as a form of print media was radically different from their predecessor the almanac. Almanacs presented different types of calendrical information in a single view: the numerical days of the month, alongside their dominical letters; the "red-letter'd" saints days; statistical information on the positions of the sun and moon; predictions based on astrological changes; information on patterns in the weather; lists of kings and queens from the time of the Norman Conquest; and chronologies of significant historical events.[118] Scholars have often emphasised the multiple, sometimes seemingly competing, frameworks of time running alongside each other in almanacs, and how adept early modern Britain was in navigating the different annual rhythms they depicted: agricultural, liturgical, historical, lunar, civic and commercial. Though the different types of information that jostled alongside one another in the almanac calendar may appear disjointed and unintelligible to the modern reader, they coalesced around an astrological belief in the inherent significance of particular fixtures in time and space. As Poole describes: 'Almanac Time was point time rather than period time': days were not depicted as a 'steady stream' but rather as distinct moments with different positive and negative qualities to them.[119] All the busy calendrical information wove together to provide a rubric for living: which days to conduct business, which days to go to market, which days to blood-let, which days to celebrate and which days to avoid marriage.[120] As the seventeenth-century compiler of *A Christian Almanacke*, John Monipennie, described:

> Who is there that maketh not great account of his almanac to observe both days, times, and seasons to follow his affairs for his best profit and use.[121]

[118] Timothy Feist, "The Stationers' Voice: The English Almanac Trade in the Early Eighteenth Century," *Transactions of the American Philosophical Society,* new Series 95, no. 4 (2005): 16.
[119] Ibid*,* 21.
[120] Keith Thomas, *Religion and the Decline of Magic: Studies in Popular Beliefs in Sixteenth and Seventeenth Century England* (London: Weidenfeld and Nicholson, 1973), 295
[121] John Monipennie, *A Christian Almanacke, needefull and true for all Countreys, Persons and Times. Faithfully calculated ... not onely for this present yeere 1612, but also for many yeeres to come* (London: Printed by W. Stansby for Iohn Budge, 1612).

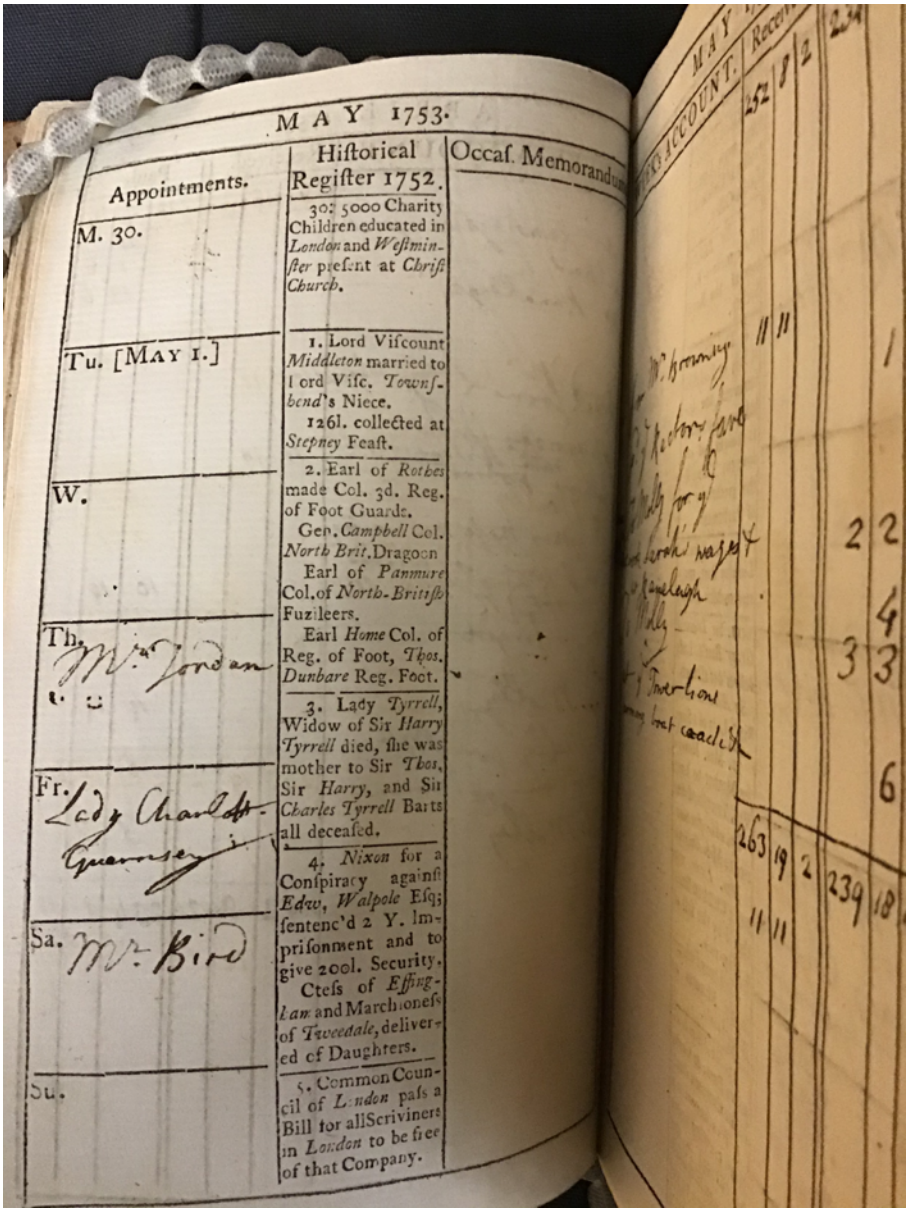
If almanacs were intended to be consulted to "observe days" for "profit and use", by enabling users to accord their actions with the heavenly movements, memorandum books instead presented a 'steady stream' of days which foregrounded the importance of observing one's own actions to generate profit.[122] Where almanacs framed the value of a day as inherent, the memorandum book instead posited each day as having unwritten potential, contingent on an individual's actions. Memorandum books still presented multiple forms of calendrical information, some of which overlapped with almanac content – such as lists of the reigns of Kings and Queens and tables of the sun's rising and setting – but these were now typically relegated to the front and back printed matter, separated out from the central calendar. This information was still regarded as useful reference material, but was divided into distinct components, each to be consulted on its own terms. Just as the educated classes had recast the "style" in astronomical terms, Dodsley's memorandum book attempted to present calendrical information stripped of its cultural and astrological baggage. And rather than having interleaved pages for writing on as an implied addition to the main body of the calendar, the individual's records were now centre stage.[123] The effect was to cleave the individual's self-recording from such calendrical information, breaking the implied link between annual religious rhythms and the individual's use of time.

Nonetheless, early memorandum books grappled with the question of what could replace the almanac's printed tables of information in order to scaffold the written record. As we have seen, almanacs were packed with various forms of calendrical printed information that busily operated alongside one another, and although memorandum book publishers purged the central calendar of most of this information, they clearly perceived a need to fill the void they left behind. This was why in some of initial experimentation with form, memorandum book publishers incorporated a printed historical chronicle in their memorandum pages (Fig. 23). In two memorandum book brands, Baldwin's *Daily Journal* and Cooper's *Daily Journal*, this historical chronicle was included from the outset of publication, in the form of a column that ran between the spaces for recording appointments and for memorandums. Dodsley

[122] Quote from Poole, *Time's Alteration,* 21.
[123] For more on interleaved almanacs for record-keeping, see: Brodie Waddell, "Writing History from Below: Chronicling and Record-Keeping in Early Modern England," *History Workshop Journal* 85, (Spring 2018): 239-264; Adam Smyth, "Almanacs, Annotators, and Life-Writing in Early Modern England," *English Literary Renaissance* 38, no. 2 (2008): 200-44.

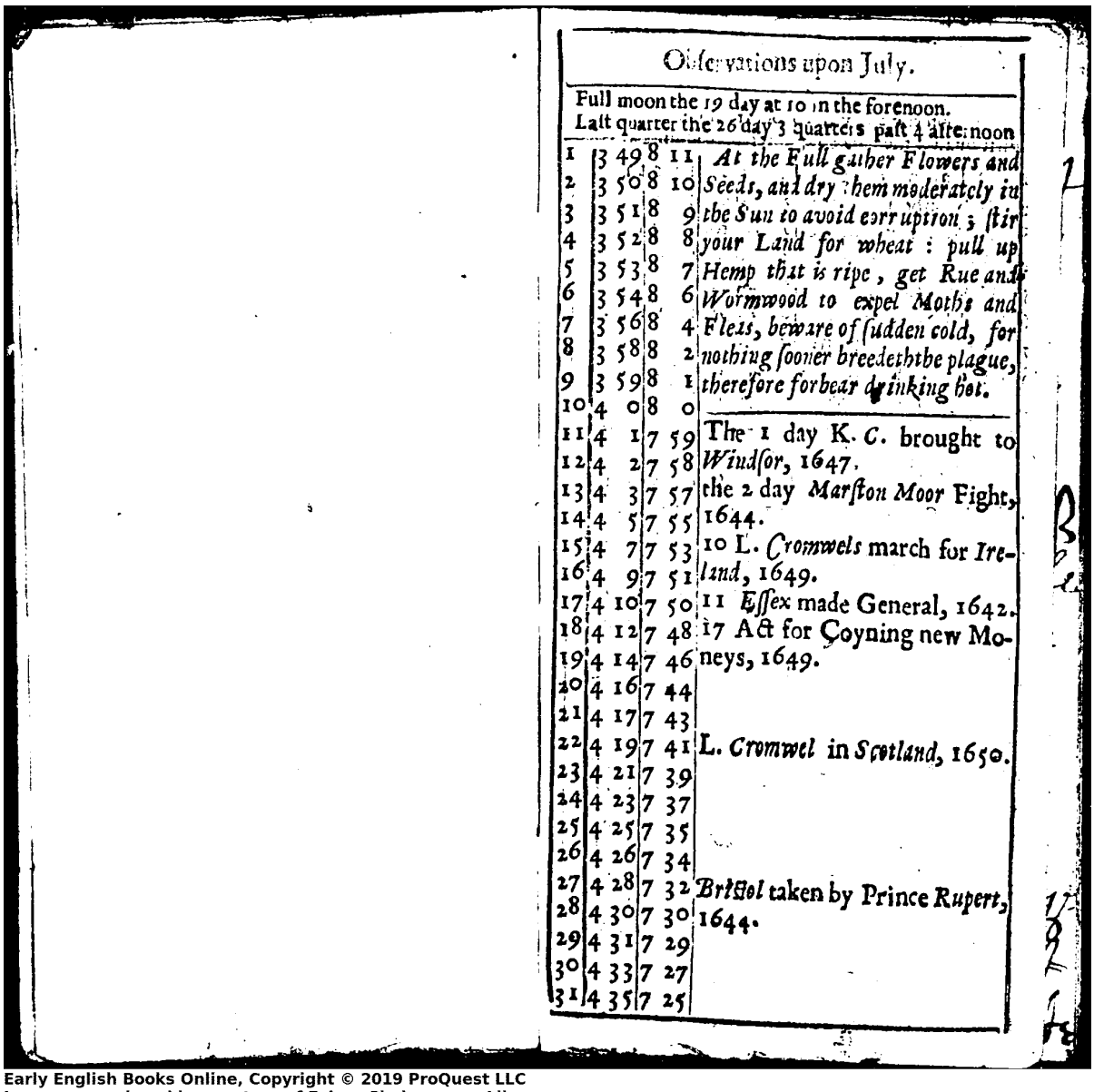
only introduced the historical chronicle to his *New Memorandum Book* when he overhauled its entire format in its 1752 edition, but likewise featured it as a column between the space for appointments and memorandums. The purpose of the historical chronicle was to inform the reader of events that had happened on that particular date in history. It was a short-lived trend; both Dodsley and Baldwin had dropped this feature or relegated it to a separate section in the back matter by their 1755 editions.[142] Since previous studies of memorandum books have rarely examined early examples from the late 1740s and early 1750s, this phenomenon has gone unremarked upon. But it speak volumes about the ways in which the genre was positioning the individual's relationship to the calendar, and reimagining record-keeping within the new world of eighteenth-century print media.

[142] Mary Cooper was no longer publishing her memorandum book by this point.


MAY 1753.

Appointments.	Historical Register 1752.	Occas. Memorandum
M. 30.	30. 5000 Charity Children educated in *London* and *Westminster* present at *Christ Church*.	
Tu. [MAY 1.]	1. Lord Viscount *Middleton* married to Lord Visc. *Townshend*'s Niece. 126l. collected at *Stepney* Feast.	
W.	2. Earl of *Rothes* made Col. 3d. Reg. of Foot Guards. Gen. *Campbell* Col. *North Brit.* Dragoon. Earl of *Panmure* Col. of *North-British* Fuzileers.	
Th.	Earl *Home* Col. of Reg. of Foot, *Thos. Dunbare* Reg. Foot.	
Fr.	3. Lady *Tyrrell*, Widow of Sir *Harry Tyrrell* died, she was mother to Sir *Thos.* Sir *Harry*, and Sir *Charles Tyrrell* Barts all deceased.	
Sa.	4. *Nixon* for a Conspiracy against *Edw. Walpole* Esq; sentenc'd 2 Y. Imprisonment and to give 200l. Security. Ctess of *Effingham* and Marchioness of *Tweedale*, delivered of Daughters.	
Su.	5. Common Council of *London* pass a Bill for all Scriviners in *London* to be free of that Company.	

Figure 22. Historical events listed in Dodsley's New Memorandum Book Improv'd for 1753



Observations upon July.

Full moon the 19 day at 10 in the forenoon.
Last quarter the 26 day 3 quarters past 4 afternoon

1	3 49	8	11	*At the Full gather Flowers and*
2	3 50	8	10	*Seeds, and dry them moderately in*
3	3 51	8	9	*the Sun to avoid corruption; stir*
4	3 52	8	8	*your Land for wheat: pull up*
5	3 53	8	7	*Hemp that is ripe, get Rue and*
6	3 54	8	6	*Wormwood to expel Moths and*
7	3 56	8	4	*Fleas, beware of sudden cold, for*
8	3 58	8	2	*nothing sooner breedeth the plague,*
9	3 59	8	1	*therefore forbear drinking hot.*
10	4 0	8	0	
11	4 1	7	59	The 1 day K. *C.* brought to
12	4 2	7	58	*Windsor*, 1647.
13	4 3	7	57	the 2 day *Marston Moor* Fight,
14	4 5	7	55	1644.
15	4 7	7	53	10 L. *Cromwels* march for *Ire-*
16	4 9	7	51	*land*, 1649.
17	4 10	7	50	11 *Essex* made General, 1642.
18	4 12	7	48	17 Act for Coyning new Mo-
19	4 14	7	46	neys, 1649.
20	4 16	7	44	
21	4 17	7	43	
22	4 19	7	41	L. *Cromwel* in *Scotland*, 1650.
23	4 21	7	39	
24	4 23	7	37	
25	4 25	7	35	
26	4 26	7	34	
27	4 28	7	32	*Bristol* taken by Prince *Rupert*,
28	4 30	7	30	1644.
29	4 31	7	29	
30	4 33	7	27	
31	4 35	7	25	

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Figure 23. Events listed in Cardanus Rider, 1654. Merlinus, Cambro-britannus. Or The Brittish Merlin

When early memorandum books included a chronology of historical events, they once again showed their indebtedness to almanacs. Chronologies were a common feature of seventeenth and eighteenth-century almanacs, appearing in two guises: as a separate list of events that noted the 'number of years that had elapsed since various notable incidents occurred', typically beginning with the act of Creation itself, or as a running list of historical events inserted into the main almanac calendar, next to the corresponding date upon which

they occurred (Fig 24).[143] The former was far more common, at least up until the 1750s, but it is from the latter that memorandum books took inspiration.[144] As we can see in Figs. 23 and 24, memorandum book chronologies similarly inserted the historical events alongside the dates upon which they occurred, but unlike in almanacs, the chronology formed the only substantial printed text on the page, with the rest of the space on the pages left blank for record-keeping. By contrast, in almanacs such chronologies were accompanied with other printed matter that helped to frame the historical events – notably, astrological data, that could transform historical events from mere recollections into confirmations of their predictive powers. Yet the historical events in memorandum books featured without such interpretative schema, and instead were presented as a record of human action.

As scholarship by Imogen Peck has shown, however, almanac chronologies were not simply intended to show the powers of astrological prediction. Peck has explored how seventeenth-century almanac chronologies played an important role in constructing public memory, helping to construct historical narratives following the political upheavals of the 1640s and 1650s. Peck describes how after the civil wars, almanac chronologies began to include far more events from the recent past, particularly prominent battles and executions, as can be seen in Fig 24.[145] Far from neutral accounts of the past, almanacs with royalist or revolutionary leanings presented events in line with their political beliefs. Peck argues that almanacs therefore responded to a popular demand for material that would help people to remember, interpret and commemorate a hotly-contested past. Recent events were situated in a broader sweep of history that included biblical events such as the Creation and England's conversion to Christianity, and which like other histories of this period helped to create 'a master narrative [...] demonstrating the providential ordering of history.'[146] As

[143] Imogen Peck, "'A chronology of some Memorable Accidents': the representation of the recent past in English almanacs, 1648-60," *Historical Research* 92, no. 255 (February 2019): 102.
[144] Margaret C. Jacob, *The Secular Enlightenment* (Princeton: University of Princeton Press, 2019), 41.
[145] Peck, "Memorable Accidents," 104; Cardanus Riders, *1654. Merlinus, Cambro-britannus. Or The Brittish Merlin…* (London: printed by John Field).
[146] Robert Markley, *Fallen Languages: Crises of Representation in Newtonian England, 1660–1740* (Ithica: Cornell University Press, 1993), 92; Ryan J. Stark, "The decline of astrology in the Jonathan Dove Almanac Series," *Renaissance and Reformation/Renaissance et Réforme* 30, no. 2 (Spring 2006): 45; Linda Colley, *Britons: Forging the Nation 1707-1837* (New Haven: Yale University Press, 2005), 22.

Linda Colley has suggested, these chronologies therefore helped to show that such dramatic turmoil formed part of the necessary trials for the salvation of Protestant Britain.[147]

Memorandum book chronicles also displayed an overwhelming focus on the recent past. Dodsley's gentleman's memorandum book initially included events from throughout history in its 1752 editions, but later the book confined itself to presenting events from the previous year. Baldwin's *Daily Journal* selected events from throughout history but was explicit about its focus on the recent past, describing the chronicle as 'A Remembrancer for every Day in the Year, containing a great Number of remarkable Events, Foreign and Domestic, especially such as have happened in the *preceding Year* [emphasis own].'[148] If we examine the events listed in Baldwin's *Daily Journal*, we find that not only was there a large number of events listed for the previous year but that there was a skew towards the eighteenth century in general. For example, in the 1751 edition of Baldwin's *Daily Journal*, the month of July included forty-one historical events in the chronicle.[149] Of these, thirty dated from the eighteenth century, twenty had occurred within the past decade, and nine were from the previous year of 1750. Dates recorded that stretched further back in time were typically momentous events in the monarchical and political history of the country: the death of King Edward I in 1307, the proclamation of Lady Jane Grey as Queen of England in 1553, the Battle at Aghrim in Ireland in 1691, and so on.[150] By contrast, more recent events were varied in nature and included events that were not necessarily events expected to endure in the annals of history but were instead geared towards what appealed to current public interest. These included notable appointments to high offices, deaths of significant public figures such as bishops and authors, suspicious deaths, executions for crimes such as mutiny, important victories and peace treaties in Europe and a significant fire that had proved costly to the city of Newcastle. As Baldwin's *Daily Journal* described it: 'Here is seen on what Day, and in what Year, such a General was promoted or removed, such a Favourite

[147] Colley, *Britons: Forging the Nation,* 28-9.
[148] *The Daily Journal, for the Year of Our Lord, 1751; or, the Gentleman's and Tradesman's Methodical Accompt-Book for the Pocket* (London: Printed for R. Baldwin, in Pater-Noster-Row). Copy consulted: "Diaries of Sir Roger Newdigate," Warwick, Warwickshire Record Office, CRO136/A582.
[149] Ibid.
[150] Ibid.

advanced or disgraced, such an Army victorious or defeated; with a great many other remarkable Particulars'.[151]

The construction of the recent past, therefore, was markedly different to the histories formed by almanac chronologies. For many of these events, the determining factor for inclusion seems to have been the media attention they garnered. For example, the historical register listed that on July 5th 1749: 'The Body of Mr. Carter a Wine Merchant, who was lost on his Wedding Night, found in the Thames.' This was not an event of the scale or historical import of the rise and fall of British monarch or a decisive military victory; Mr. Carter was not famed for anything more than his mysterious disappearance. The event had, however, caused quite the media sensation due to the initial assumption that his disappearance was a case of murder. The *Gazette* had advertised an £100 reward and promise of pardon if any accomplice to his murder came forward. However, when Mr. Carter's body was retrieved from the Thames it was concluded that the man, still dressed in his finest wedding clothes, had committed suicide, for his pockets were still lined with money and his shoes filled with stone buckles.[152] Few of these details were encapsulated in the short reference to the event made in the historical register, but that was because the reader was expected to already know of it. It was, like a memorandum to self, a reminder of what had recently passed.

What we find, then, is that memorandum book publishers expected their users to be fully immersed in the culture of the news. Indeed, the historical chronicle was likely compiled from events taken verbatim from the newspapers - we find many of the events pilfered in the same way by periodicals such as *The Gentleman's Magazine*.[153] Even the phrase 'remarkable events' was a common descriptor used by eighteenth-century newspaper to

[151] *The Daily Journal, for the Year of Our Lord, 1751; or, the Gentleman's and Tradesman's Methodical Accompt-Book for the Pocket* (London: Printed for R. Baldwin, in Pater-Noster-Row). Copy consulted: "Diaries of Sir Roger Newdigate," Warwick, Warwickshire Record Office, CRO136/A582.
[152] John Byrom, *The Private Journal and Literary Remains of John Byrom,* vol. 2, part 2, (Manchester: Printed by Charles Simms and Co. for the Chetham Society, 1857), 494.
[153] This also reflects a growing trend from the late-seventeenth century onwards for 'news reports in many cases turning into verbatim fodder for their historical accounts.' Daniel Woolf, "News, history and the construction of the present in early modern England" in Brendan Dooley and Sabrina A. Baron, eds., *The Politics of Information in Early Modern Europe* (London: Routledge, 2001), 108.

describe their contents.[154] There was little attempt to provide an interpretive framework of these events. Indeed, one of the only entries which implied a particular stance regarded calendar reform: Baldwin's *Daily Journal* for 1754 listed in its chronicle the celebration of Old Christmas Day in 1753, which was 'obstinately observed by an abundance of country people, in different parts of the kingdom, and who had paid no regard to the new.'[155] Like similar newspaper stories from this time, it implied the 'absurdity of popular superstition.'[156] But on the whole memorandum book chronologies did not offer interpretation but simply followed their own advice: pay regard to the new. They therefore reflected the rise of what Dror Wahrman has characterised as a new media regime ,"Print 2.0," wherein the explosion of cheap mass print and the proliferation of newspapers in the late seventeenth and early eighteenth centuries led to an 'urgent desire to create records of the immediate and the transient.'[157]

This was not an attempt to construct a 'providential ordering of history' as we find in almanac chronologies. Instead, memorandum book chronologies fostered a sense of contemporaneity: a sense that people all shared experience of the same events, whether they happened to them personally or not.[158] Unlike early-modern almanacs which, as Colley describes, often 'constituted the only history lessons the majority of Britons received', the mid-eighteenth century memorandum book recognised that its educated, mercantile consumer base was expected to be well-versed not just in British history but in the events of contemporary society.[159] It was attempting to cater to a very new media landscape, one for which the almanac was no longer primed to help the user navigate.

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[154] Charles E. Clark, *The Public Prints: The Newspaper in Anglo-American Culture, 1665-1740,* (Oxford: Oxford University Press, 1994), 239.
[155] *The Daily Journal, for the Year of Our Lord, 1754, or, the Gentleman's and Tradesman's Methodical Accompt-Book for the Pocket* (London: Printed for R. Baldwin, at the Rose in Pater-noster Row). Copy consulted: "Pocket diary & Account book (of Zachariah Edwards) 1754" Taunton, Somerset Heritage Centre, DD/CHG/67/5.
[156] Poole, *Time's Alteration,* 153.
[157] Dror Wahrman, *Mr Collier's Letter Racks: A Tale of Art and Illusion at the Threshold* (Oxford: Oxford University Press, 2012), 20; ibid, 41.
[158] Brendan Dooley, "Preface," in Brendan Dooley, ed., *The Dissemination of News and the Emergence of Contemporaneity in Early Modern Europe* (Ashgate: Ashgate Publishing Limited, 2010), xiii-xiv.
[159] Colley, *Britons Forging the Nation*, 22.

As Baldwin's *Daily Journal* explained, the historical chronicle would 'daily afford fresh Matter of Entertainment or Instruction, and serve as Subjects for Conversation.'[160] The chronicle was intended to inform the reader and underpin sociability, to create the shared sense in its readers that they were aware of the same events happening across the country. Baldwin's preface gives us reasons for the presence of the chronicle in memorandum books more generally, but does little to explain why the chronicles featured so prominently through the centre of the user's own records. Potentially, on a superficial level, it may be simply that doing so saved on paper costs. But this does not seem particularly convincing when we consider how much other calendrical information was relegated to the front and back matter. Instead, the central inclusion of the historical chronicles seem to have been underpinned by ideological motivations.

We find a more substantial explanation of the rationale behind integrating the contemporaneity of the news cycle into the personal record in Dodsley's *A New Memorandum Book Improv'd* for 1753:

> By this means the Journal which a Man may keep of his own particular Transactions, will be always accompany'd with the contemporary Occurrences which happen around him, and with which his own Affairs are in some measure connected.[161]

Significantly, Dodsley is suggesting that the personal, individual record fed into the culture of contemporaneity in mid-eighteenth century Britain. Appointments, memorandums, accounts – all were intended to be written and read within the context of a wider public history. Almanac chronologies may have helped individuals see that they were part of larger, providential history of Britain, but memorandum book chronologies fostered a sense that the individual's actions were directly linked to progress of the nation in the here and now. As Dodsley continued:

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[160] *The Daily Journal, for the Year of Our Lord, 1751; or, the Gentleman's and Tradesman's Methodical Accompt-Book for the Pocket* (London: Printed for R. Baldwin, in Pater-Noster-Row). Copy consulted: "Diaries of Sir Roger Newdigate," Warwick, Warwickshire Record Office, CRO136/A582.

[161] *The New Memorandum Book Improv'd: or, the Gentleman and Tradesman's Daily Pocket Journal for the Year 1753* (London: Printed for R. Dodsley, in Pall-Mall). Copy consulted: "Hesketh Yarburgh: The New Memorandum Book Improv'd, 1753," York, Borthwick Institute, YM/MB/8/c.

> And if it should happen, on a review of his Conduct, that any Person shall be struct with the mortifying Consideration of his own uselessness and insignificance to the Public for the Year past, (and I am afraid it might happen to a terrible Number should they fairly [make the] experiment) I hope it will excite in him a generous Emulation to become more worthy in himself, and more useful to others, that he may hold for the future a more conspicuous rank in that Community to which he belongs.[162]

Users of the memorandum book were thus invited to consider their actions, as they recorded them in the memorandum book, as forming part of a public record. We find this echoed in the preface to the *Ladies Compleat Pocket-Book* for 1753, which recommended that keeping track of one's financial and social events in the memorandum book was a means of 'keeping your Credit with all Mankind.'[163]

The inclusion of the chronology was an impetus to action, to encourage Dodsley's users to make an active contribution to social progress. Memorandum books sought to make time useful, but they also exhorted their users to make good use of time. The users of memorandum were indeed often men striving to achieve the more 'conspicuous rank' that Dodsley describes. Some of them found themselves successful enough in this task to be listed in the historical chronologies. Roger Newdigate (1719-1806), for example, recorded on the 31st January 1751 in his Baldwin's *Daily Journal* that he had been elected by 167 votes as MP for the University of Oxford.[164] The following years' edition of Baldwin's *Daily Journal* listed in its chronology: 'Sir Roger Newdigate chosen Member of Parliament for the University of Oxford in the room of Lord Cornbury 1751'.[165] Newdigate, who owned a copy of that edition, would have seen himself inscribed into the memorandum book before he even put pen to paper.

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[162] Ibid.
[163] *The Ladies Compleat Pocket-Book, for the Year of our Lord, 1753* (London: Printed for John Newbery, Bookseller, in St. Paul's Church-Yard). Copy consulted: London, British Library, C.136.bb.30.
[164] "Diaries of Sir Roger Newdigate," Warwick, Warwickshire Record Office, CRO136/A582.
[165] *The Daily Journal for the Year of Our Lord 1752, or, the Gentleman's and Tradesman's Methodical Accompt-Book for the Pocket* (London: Printed only for R. Baldwin, in Paternoster Row). Copy consulted: "Diaries of Sir Roger Newdigate," Warwick, Warwickshire Record Office, CRO136/A583.

Of course, not all of the records included in the chronicles were intended for emulation – such as records of executions and high profile murder cases. This type of news had a longer history: as Paul Hunter has described, during the seventeenth century journalism increasingly turned its attention towards 'more private and personal events', accommodating a growing interest in 'acts of individual behaviour that seemed to threaten the public peace or the public fabric.'[166] By the mid-eighteenth century there was a hearty appetite for such kinds of disruptive new stories. Hunter's description of actions that 'seemed to threaten the public peace of the public fabric' seems particularly apt when we consider the types of dramatic events that appeared in memorandum book chronicles that had garnered a large degree of media attention.

To return to the example of the missing wine merchant in 1749, the interest in the case rested not only in the mysterious disappearance itself, but in the grasping for the reason *why* it had occurred. As one contemporary recorded: 'It is quite an unaccountable affair, [Mr. Carter] being in good circumstances, his wife a very pretty, agreeable woman with £3,500 ready money, he vastly fond of her, and behaving beyond all suspicion [...]'[167] It was only when the body was found, and it emerged that the man had requested help from his mother for some monetary issues prior to his death, which she had denied, that the public could make sense of the fact that this was indeed a suicide and not a murder. The entry in the historical chronicle that the 'Body of Mr. Carter' had been 'found in the Thames' thus pointed the reader towards the resolution: that the mystery of his disappearance was solved in both practical and moral terms. A wine merchant committing suicide on his wedding day defied reason, but a wine merchant who had run into financial straits could be made sense of.[168] News events like these, collated in the memorandum book chronicles, reinforced the social order because they reminder their users – who might be men not unlike Mr. Carter the wine-merchant – that such order was maintained by individuals

[166] J. Paul Hunter, *Before Novels: The Cultural Contexts of Eighteenth-Century English Fiction* (London: W. W. Norton & Company, 1990), 181.
[167] Byrom, *Private Journal*, 494.
[168] As Michael Macdonald and Terence R. Murphy's study of the representation of suicide in newspapers has shown, suicide in this period was increasingly reported with a 'secular and sympathetic attitude,' and displayed a particular sympathy for the suicide of debtors. Michael MacDonald & Terence R. Murphy, *Sleepless Souls: Suicide in Early Modern England* (Oxford: Oxford University Press, 2002), 301; ibid, 320.

keeping an honest account with themselves. It was therefore a message in line with the broader ethos of memorandum book self-recording and self-management.

The trend for including historical chronicles was short-lived, but it is revealing. As we have seen, memorandum books presented days as having unwritten potential, their meaning contingent on an individual's actions. By cleaving the written record from other types of calendrical information, memorandum books brought human action to the forefront of the calendar. Historical chronicles were an exception to this, intruding on the individual's record-keeping, but in fact made explicit an underlying principle of the genre: that in organising time, the memorandum book was also exhorting users to make good use of time.

Conclusion

This chapter has shown that memorandum books emerged in mid-century Britain as a new means of record- and time-management, and thus by extension, as a means of self-management. Examination of early copies has revealed some of the ways in which these books attempted to intervene in a new media landscape. It has shown that memorandum books promoted themselves as a device which would bring order to the consumer's life, both by systematising their manuscript records in the pages of the books, and by feeding into a range of wider record-keeping practices. Emerging on the cusp of calendar reform in Britain, these books also reflected shifts in temporal thinking, encapsulating century impulse to organise time in a rational and productive way for an increasingly mercantile society.

The prescriptiveness of this genre should not be overstated, however. This chapter has shown that early memorandum books reveal a great deal of experimentation: they were one arena in which changing ideas about time were being played out. Moreover, as we now turn to examine in Chapter Five, memorandum books may have presented a 'steady stream' of days, but in practice users still attempted to demarcate some days as more significant than others.[169]

[169] Poole, *Time's Alteration*, 21.

Chapter Five. Using the Memorandum Book: The Material Form of Life-Writing

Introduction

In a published transcription of the memorandum books kept by the northern Quaker lawyer, Isaac Fletcher, the editor describes that:

> The aim of this edition is to make available a readable and readily used version of the text of Fletcher's diary. Only the diary entries are included in this edition: the cash accounts entered in the same volumes have been excluded […][1]

We know that Fletcher's records were originally kept in pre-printed pocket memorandum books: the editor details the layout of the various brands of memorandum book Fletcher used, including how certain brands included a separate column for 'Memorandums and Observations.'[2] Yet reading the transcription, there is little trace of the memorandum book format. In his aims for a 'readable and readily used version of the text,' the editor preserves no distinctions between entries logged as engagements as opposed to those logged as memorandums. A historic record which was originally fragmented across different columns – engagements, memorandums, and cash accounts – is here artificially condensed and shaped into a form of prose.[3]

This editorial approach is, in part, intended to maximise the transcription's ability to be mined for useful historic data. Yet it also speaks to underlying generic expectations of life-writing. As Michael Masuch has noted of other autobiographical forms: 'In preparing such materials for later audiences, modern editors have tended to boil the these complex soups down to a simple residue, the autonomous "diary" or "autobiography" text representing an

[1] Angus J. L. Winchester, ed., *The Diary of Isaac Fletcher* (Kendal: Cumberland and Westmorland Antiquarian and Archaeological Society, 1994), xxxv.
[2] Ibid, xxxv.
[3] Such as the entry for the 28th August 1757: 'At Meeting in the morning. Wrote a letter for John Robinson to Samuel Sandwith. Mercury 28.3.' Ibid, 33.

individual "life."'[4] Accordingly, memorandum books are often treated as straightforward examples of diaries, and in the case of transcriptions, the editorial approach then attempts to mould the written record to fit readerly expectations.[5] It certainly makes for a more compactified and scannable text – but consequently loses the essence of the *kind* of document compiled. Instead, this approach reifies the literary conventions of diarising as free-flowing prose. In doing so, it elides the important interactions between printed layout and manuscript text in the construction of meaning.

It is to these interactions we now turn. This chapter considers in depth the ways in which individuals wrote in their memorandum books. Despite recent interest in complicating the print-manuscript divide, the impact of the rapidly developing print culture of this period on life-writing practices has been treated in limited ways: typically, scholars have explored how published works such as biographies and novels provided models for diary-keeping and memoirs.[6] This chapter makes a key contribution to scholarship by considering: how did the printed structure of the page shape the manuscript life-writing inside memorandum books? Building on work by Lindsey Eckert, it argues that we should not see the printed structure simply as a disciplining force which users either conformed to or rebelled against. Instead, as case studies will show, users adapted the bibliographic format to generate new possibilities for life-writing, and in particular, to mark out days of personal significance. Overall, it contends that we cannot treat records like Fletcher's as a 'text' that can be stripped of their material dimensions; the interactions of print and manuscript are fundamental to understanding life-writing within memorandum books.

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[4] Michael Masuch, *Origins of the Individualist Self: Autobiography and Self-Identity in England, 1591-1791* (Oxford: Polity Press, 1997), 86.

[5] See for example: Susan C. Djabri, ed., *The Diaries of Sarah Hurst 1759-1762: Life and Love in Eighteenth Century Horsham* (Stroud: Amberley Publishing Limited, 2009); William Hawkes, ed., *The Diaries of Sanderson Miller of Radway, together with his Memoir of James Menteath* (Stratford-upon-Avon, Dugdale Society in association with the Shakespeare Birthplace Trust, 2005).

[6] See for example: Michael Masuch, *Origins of the Individualist Self: Autobiography and Self-Identity in England, 1591-1791* (Oxford: Polity Press, 1997). For work complicating the print-manuscript divide, see: Eve Tanor Bannet, *The Empire of Letters: Letter Manuals and Transatlantic Correspondence, 1680–1820* (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 2005); Melanie Bigold, *Women of Letters, Manuscript Circulation, and Print Afterlives in the Eighteenth Century: Elizabeth Rowe, Catharine Cockburn and Elizabeth Carter* (London: Palgrave Macmillan, 2013); Rachael Scarborough King, *Writing to the World: Letters and the Origins of Modern Print Genres* (Baltimore: John Hopkins University Press, 2018); Rachael Scarborough King, ed., *After Print: Eighteenth-century Manuscript Cultures* (Charlottesville: University of Virginia Press, 2020).

The Bibliographic Format

As outlined earlier, the hybrid nature of memorandum books – their combination of print and manuscript – partially accounts for their relative neglect in life-writing studies. Eighteenth-century individuals, however, were much more comfortable navigating hybrid texts. As marginalia studies has shown, 'to write in the margins [of printed books] or to bind together manuscript and print was natural' for readers in this period.[13] Moreover, the emergence of memorandum books can be contextualised as part of a larger proliferation of printed "blanks" in the eighteenth-century; a boon in 'bills of exchange, remittance, retail vouchers, mortgage and share certificates, insurance policies, receipts of deposit and credit.' [14] In other words, documents printed in order to be filled by manuscript text. As James Raven argues, the material layout of such documents was not 'passive and inert' but rather 'the design and adaption of the forms […] effected the practices they were intended to serve'.[15] Meanwhile, as Lisa Gitelman has argued more broadly of blank books, they were intended to establish 'the parameters or the rules for entries to be made,' and it was the rules governing their use that 'made one class of blank book distinguished from another.'[16] Memorandum books were no exception: they laid out their rules of use not only through printed apparatus such as preface and exemplar of use, but also implicitly in their printed structure. This structure was intended not only to contain but to shape the written record in particular ways.

Histories of paperwork have shown how printed forms exerted a disciplining force, with the aim to 'simplify and standardize, to make things plain and terse.'[17] The printed layouts of

[13] Stephen Colclough, *Consuming texts: Readers and reading communities, 1695-1870* (Basingstoke: Springer, 2007), 80; H. J. Jackson, *Marginalia: Readers Writing in Books* (London: Yale University Press, 2001). Writing in the margins of printed texts has a much longer history, see for example: Nina Adamova, "Rural Readings of Sacred History: The Nuremberg Chronicle and Its Lancashire Readers" in Rosamund Oates and Jessica G. Purdy, eds, *Communities of Print: Books and their Readers in Early Modern Europe* (Leiden: Brill, 2021), 157-177; Kathleen M. Ashley, "Creating Family Identity in Books of Hours," *Journal of Medieval and Early Modern Studies* 32, no. 1 (2002): 145-165.
[14] James Raven, *Publishing Business in Eighteenth-Century England* (Woodbridge: Boydell Press, 2014, 5.
[15] Ibid, 5.
[16] Lisa Gitelman, *Paper Knowledge: Towards a Media History of Documents* (Durham: Duke University Press, 2014) 22.
[17] Patrick Joyce, *The State of Freedom: A Social History of the British State since 1800* (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 2013), 196.

memorandum books similarly conditioned entries to be brief, clear, factual, and regular. First and foremost, memorandum books divided the daily record into discrete categories such as "memorandums" and "appointments" and "accounts," discouraging the user from writing in continuous prose or narrative. The confines of the tabulated layout functioned to dissuade the owner from engaging in long and reflective descriptions, to the extent to that the personal pronoun "I" is missing from many records in memorandum books. Since the tabulated structure presented a 'steady stream' of days, each allocated the same amount of space, this could have a flattening effect: events of personal significance were given no more room than more mundane ones.[18] We can see this exemplified in the entries of Ann Prest (b. 1748) in her copies of the *Ladies' Own Memorandum Book*, who recorded her wedding day and move up to York in 1776 amidst all the day's other activities in the following prosaic fashion:

> Mr Williamson Mrs Price &C breakfasted with us married in the morning left Bedale soon after Dined at Boroughbridge got to York about 7 o clock[19]

This sparse writing style was in part due to limitations on space in the memorandum books, but it also reflected the principles of financial accounting on which the genre was built, in which 'a move towards brevity' was perceived to be a move towards truthfulness, and every transaction, no matter how big or small, was recorded.[20] Every day was to be accounted for in memorandum books, which explains why users sometimes felt compelled to fill the page if only to write 'Nothing Particular Today.'[21] Rebecca Connor has suggested that in memorandum books 'the ruled pages become a kind of metaphor for the owner-author's self-control.'[22] If the memorandum book's mantra was "Order," the tabulated structure assisted in ordering both the written record and the owner's mind.

[18] Quote from Robert Poole, *Time's Alteration: Calendar Reform in Early Modern England* (London: UCL Press, 1998), 21.
[19] "Diaries of Ann Prest," Birmingham, Cadbury Research Library, MS52/4.
[20] Adam Smyth, *Autobiography in Early Modern England* (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 2010), 91.
[21] "Diary of Mary Madge of Exeter, 1798," Exeter, Devon Heritage Centre, 1791M/F/2.
[22] Rebecca Connor, *Women, Accounting, and Narrative: Keeping Books in Eighteenth-Century England* (London: Routledge, 2004), 24.

Rebellious Users?

Despite the standardized spaces for writing, there was no single standardized way that they were put to use. As scholars such as Jennie Batchelor, Stephen Colclough, and Amanda Vickery have noted, most memorandum book owners were not model users of the genre.[23] It is rare to find an extant book which has been filled out entirely as intended – that is, on a daily basis, with entries in each column, for the explicit purposes laid out in the headings. Commonly individuals completed those columns they found pertinent to their purposes and left the others blank, and recorded inconsistently throughout the year, such as the anonymous user of *The Ladies Annual Journal* for 1777 used it solely for the purposes of financial record-keeping. [24] Memorandum books also feature many of the multitudinous marginalia that we more generally find in early modern printed books, like ownership marks, doodles and pen trials.[25] Occasionally, the books were completely put to use for other kinds of manuscript annotations, such as a copy of *The Ladies' Own Memorandum-Book* for 1784 kept by Sarah Langley, who primarily used it to commonplace literary extracts and sketch portraits heads (Fig 25).[26]

[23] Jennie Batchelor, "Fashion and Frugality: Eighteenth-Century Pocket Books for Women," *Studies in Eighteenth-Century Culture* 32 (2003): 13; Stephen Colclough, "Pocket Books and Portable Writing: The Pocket Memorandum Book in Eighteenth-Century England and Wales," *The Yearbook of English Studies,* 45, The History of the Book (2015): 177; Amanda Vickery, "A Self off the Shelf: The Rise of the Pocket Diary in Eighteenth-Century England," *Eighteenth-Century Studies,* 54, no. 3 (Spring 2021): 669.

[24] As Colcough remarks, the ubiquity of such adaptions 'suggests it was an acceptable practice.' Colclough, "Pocket Books and Portable Writing," 173; The *Ladies Annual Journal; or, Complete Pocket Book, for the Year 1777* (London: Printed for Ann Jefferies, Successor to Mrs. Stevens, No. 2. Stationers-Court, Ludgate-Street; and I. Taylor, near the Top of Chancery-Lane, Holborn), Copy consulted: part of the "Papers of E. Woodward Jepherett of Wenalls, Alcester (d. 1969)," Warwick, Warwickshire Record Office, CR1868.

[25] Such manuscript marks have also been framed as "graffiti." William H. Sherman, *Marking Readers in Renaissance England* (Philadelphia: University of Pennsylvania Press, 2008), 16; Ibid, 23; Jason Warren-Scott, "Reading Graffiti in the Early Modern Book," *Huntington Library Quarterly* 73, no. 3 (2010): 363-381.

[26] MS. Notations by Sarah Langley in *The Ladies' Own Memorandum-Book; or, Daily Pocket Journal, for the Year 1784* (London: Printed for G. Robinson, No. 25, Pater-noster Row; and T. Slack, Newcastle). Copy consulted: Toronto, Thomas Fisher Library, Rare Book Collection B-12 09666. Also see: Lindsey Eckert, "Romantic Authorship and the Failures of Familiarity," *Unpublished PhD Thesis* (University of Toronto, 2013), 211-12.



Figure 24. Sarah Langley's sketches in The Ladies' Own Memorandum-Book for 1784.

Although the books were intended for a particular year of use, many extant copies contain annotations added at a later date. Often the books were simply recycled for another user's record-keeping with owners seemingly unperturbed by the incongruity of the calendar dates listed and those for which they were being used. Thomas Hebbes (c.1733-1766), for example, documented his time as an undergraduate student at Cambridge in an old copy of Robert Dodsley's *Ladies' New Memorandum Book* for 1753, by amending the years on each page to 1755 or 1756 accordingly.[27] Already, Thomas Hebbes was using an older copy that may have originally belonged to a female relative, but we find there are also entries in another hand. A later relative seems to have regarded the blank spaces left by Thomas as an invitation to leave her own mark for posterity (as well as to practice pen trials):

[27] MS. Notations by Thomas Hebbes and others in [The Ladies New Memorandum Book for the Year of Our Lord 1753 (London: Printed for Robert Dodsley, in Pall-Mall). Title page missing; attribution of title my own based on newspaper advertisements from this period. Copy consulted: "Diary and account book belonging to Thomas Hebbes," Cambridge, Trinity College Library, Add. MS a/615.

> Ellen Hebbes is my name England is my nation & Salt Hill is my Dwelling place and Christ is my Salvation When I am Dead and in My Grave and all my bones are [rotton] take up this book and think of me before I am quite forgotton[28]

Memorandum books were also preserved by family members in order to commemorate the original owner, and their annotations function as part of an archiving impulse. In the memorandum book of Harriet Orlebar from 1785, we find the presence of two further hands: a contemporary annotation by her sister Anne, cheekily adding a memorandum that 'Miss Ann Orlebar is a very pritty young Lady', and another by a nineteenth-century descendent, Frederica St John, who clarifies in pencil alongside that 'This is in Anne Orlebar's writing, Harriet's sister.'[29] Memorandum books thus formed part of the wider middle class pursuit of 'preserving family history and arranging and annotating inherited family papers.'[30]

Meanwhile, users themselves sometimes invited other individuals to write in their books, typically to confirm receipt of payment as authenticated by their signature. The Norfolk widow Frances Thornhill, for example, scrupulously ensured her payments were confirmed by those she owed money to, including landlords, washerwomen, and even her cook to acknowledge reimbursement for the week's food shopping.[31] Meanwhile the portability of the books made them a useful space for hosting letters of recommendation, such as one written by the Newcastle bookseller Marshall Vesey for the eminent engraver Thomas Bewick for his travels in Yorkshire, in the latter's memorandum book. Written in Vesey's hand, it was addressed to the Star Inn in Stonegate and recommended Bewick as a 'clever Man, who is now upon a Tour for his Observations & Improvement as an Engraver settled in good' and informing that 'any Favour shewn him will be looked upon, as a Favour done to

[28] Other entries in the same hand suggest that they written around 1815. The forget-me-not verse employed is one that appears to have been in common usage in the eighteenth and nineteenth centuries. "Diary and account book belonging to Thomas Hebbes," Trinity College Library, Cambridge, Add. MS a/615; Kevin J. Hayes, *Folklore and Book Culture* (Eugene: University of Tennessee Press, 1997), 100.
[29] MS. Notations by Harriet Orlebar, Anne Orlebar and Frederica St. John Orlebar in unknown memorandum book brand. "Diary (marked LXV)," Bedford, Bedfordshire Archives, OR2220/1.
[30] Imogen Peck, ''Of no sort of use'? Manuscripts, Memory, and the Family Archive in Eighteenth Century England,' *Cultural and Social History,* 20, no. 2 (2023): 190.
[31] "Ladies' Pocket Book," Norwich, Norfolk Record Office, FEL 964, 557x4.

M: Vesey.'[32] Thus whilst multiple hands are evident in some surviving books, typically they featured as an extension of the financial and self-accounting practices of the owner, rather than evidencing continuous, collaborative record-keeping.

Such multitudinous uses for memorandum books have been viewed by scholars in subtly differing ways. Batchelor considers that, like other eighteenth-century publications such as periodicals, memorandum books evidence 'negotiable reading, of compliance and resistance to the publication's ideological agenda.'[33] She characterises the pages for self-recording as a space to reject or embrace the messages promoted by the printed content of the book, which Batchelor views as its conflicting demands for frugal accounting and conspicuous consumption.[34] As Colclough has pointed out, 'Batchelor almost certainly overplays the disciplining elements of the books and the rebelliousness of contemporary readers' responses.'[35] Instead, he sees extant copies as evidencing individuals reorganizing the material form in relation to their needs, which he proposes should be seen as a form of 'reading as poaching.'[36] He borrows the concept from Michel de Certeau, but describes that where de Certeau 'conceives of resistance to the passive consumption of print, the success of the memorandum books suggests that such patterns of use were actively encouraged within an emerging culture of the book.'[37] Meanwhile, Vickery has described that 'disregard for the diary format was not uncommon,' and that 'in practice we see compliance, rebellion, repurposing, blithe disregard and boredom in the practices of diary keepers.'[38]

Both Batchelor and Colclough fundamentally approach memorandum books from the perspective of the history of reading, and thus frame use of memorandum books as a response to text, rather than bibliographic format. Consequently, they consider only a

[32] Ms. Notations by Thomas Bewick and others in *The Ladies' Complete Pocket-Book; or, Memorandum Repository, for the Year 1778* (Newcastle upon Tyne: Printed by T. Saint for M. Vesey and J. Whitfield). Copy consulted: "The Ladies' Complete Pocket-Book. Thomas Bewick's Copy, with MS. entries in the Diary, 12mo, calf, 1778," Newcastle, Newcastle City Library, 446.
[33] Batchelor, "Fashion and Frugality," 13.
[34] Ibid, 13. For further discussion of the messages promoted by ladies' memorandum books, see Chapters Six and Seven of this thesis.
[35] Colclough, "Pocket Books and Portable Writing," 177.
[36] Ibid, 177.
[37] Ibid, 177. Also see Chapter Seven of Michel de Certeau, *The Practice of Everyday Life* (Berkely, University of California Press, 1984).
[38] Vickery, "Self off a Shelf,"

limited number of the myriad of ways in which these books could be put to use – Colclough, for example, suggests that adaptions to the form could be 'to use the book only for memoranda or only for accounts, or to ignore its prescriptions entirely and use it solely as a container of other texts.'[39] Vickery considers a slightly more expansive range of responses, looking at the memorandum books of the Lancashire gentlewoman, Elizabeth Shackleton, as an example of how users could adapt the page to create their own individual self-recording systems.[40] As Vickery describes, Shackleton repurposes the columns of her memorandum books in the 1770s for three categories: (i) Letters to Friends & Upon Business; (ii) Remarkable Occurrences; and (iii) Ordinary Occurrences, Memorandums & Accounts.[41] Though this repurposing scheme is unique to Shackleton, we find similar adaptations by other memorandum book users. Both the abolitionist cleric John Newton and the bluestocking Frances Boscawen adapted the memorandums column in their books to become a record of letters received and sent.[42] Rather than being a complete repurposing of the memorandum book format, such adaptations extended the genre's demands for planning and recording social and business engagements in ways unanticipated by the format.[43]

[39] Colclough, "Pocket Books and Portable Writing," 176.
[40] Vickery, "A Self off the Shelf," 676.
[41] Amanda Vickery, "A Self off the Shelf: The Rise of the Pocket Diary in Eighteenth-Century England," *Eighteenth-Century Studies,* 54, no. 3 (Spring 2021): 676. The memorandum books of Elizabeth Shackleton were also examined in Vickery's earlier work: Amanda Vickery, *The Gentleman's Daughter: Women's Lives in Georgian England* (New Haven: Yale University Press, 1998).
[42] "NEWTON PAPERS," London, Lambeth Palace Library, MS2941; "Diary of Frances, widow of Admiral Edward Boscawen, 1763, in The daily journal," Oxford, Bodleian Library, MS Eng.misc.f.71.
[43] It also shows practice running ahead of publication, pre-empting the emergence of books later in the century which were published specifically for the purpose of simultaneously tracking social visits with correspondence. *The Ladies' Complete Visiting Guide* (1800), for example, provided a tabulated structure similar to that of the memorandum book with columns for recording "No. of cards deliv," "No. of cards rec'd," "Letters rec'd," and "Letters answ." As discussed by Burman and Fennetaux: Barbara Burman and Ariane Fennetaux, *The Pocket: A Hidden History of Women's Lives, 1660-1900* (New Haven: Yale University Press 2020), 150; *The Ladies' Complete Visiting Guide, containing directions for footmen and porters, being calculated for the purpose of receiving and delivering visiting cards, and answering Letters, with Dispatch & Punctuality* (London: printed and sold by P. Boyle, At his Court-Guide and General Printing-Office, No. 14, Vine Street, Piccadilly. and by Mr. Stockdale, Piccadilly, and may be had of all the Booksellers, [1800]). *Eighteenth Century Collections Online*, https://link.gale.com/apps/doc/CW0101225183/ECCO?u=uniyork&sid=primo&xid=ec58447f&pg=14 [Last Accessed: 03/01/2023].

The most valuable treatment of user engagement comes from Lindsey Eckert in her recent case study of Priscilla Wordsworth's diaries.[44] Lindsey Eckert conceptualises the memorandum book as a media interface, which structured writing with various "affordances" and "constraints."[45] Eckert draws the term "interface" from media scholars such as Johanna Drucker, borrowing Drucker's definition of interface as 'a mediating structure that supports behaviors and tasks.'[46] Constraints can be understood as the limits imposed by the bibliographic format, like how 'the size of a page limits how much one can write on it,' while affordances are the ways users are prompted and shaped to write, though they offer expansive possibilities for action.[47] As Eckert suggests, interfaces have long played a role in 'structuring of human experience and its recording', but this has rarely been historicised.[48] As she illustrates with the example of Priscilla Wordsworth, *where* she recorded was as significant as *what* she recorded: 'exceptional event[s]' such as her brother-in-law's sudden death at sea, lead Wordsworth to deviate from her normal method of recording in memorandum books, by shifting the records onto the accounting pages she usually left blank.[49]

Moving beyond framing users in dichotomous terms of conformity or rebellion enables us to recognise the ways in which users adapted their books in often unanticipated ways, but that nonetheless drew on the power of the bibliographic layout of the memorandum book to generate meaning. My research therefore endorses Eckert's approach and builds upon it. In what follows, I look at two key ways in which users adapted their memorandum books, showing how individuals utilised the interaction of print and manuscript to aid the construction of their life-writing. Firstly, I argue that the genre contained more affordances than has typically been acknowledged. By focusing on an overlooked feature of the books – the blank pages for making "Memorandums and Observations" at the beginning and end of each year – I show how this paratextual space enabled individuals to contextualise the

[44] Priscilla Wordsworth's diaries were kept in pocket memorandum books. Lindsey Eckert, "Priscilla Wordsworth's Pocketbook Diaries and Interfaces of Subjectivity," *The Review of English Studies* (October 2019): 1-20.
[45] Ibid, 5.
[46] Johanna Drucker, *Graphesis: Visual Forms of Knowledge Production* (Cambridge: Harvard University Press, 2014), 138.
[47] Eckert, "Priscilla Wordsworth's Pocketbook Diaries and Interfaces of Subjectivity," 5.
[48] Eckert, "Priscilla Wordsworth's Pocketbook Diaries," 5.
[49] Ibid, 15-16.

records kept within their memorandum books. As such, I show how emotions could be expressed through an individual's selection of where to write. Secondly, I consider how individuals employed a range of textual strategies, such as codes, script-switching, and writing in the margins, to rubricate the records of their lives. Together, these examples show that while the tabulated format may have attempted to standardize the written record, in practice it also enabled users to utilise the mise-en-page to highlight certain days as more personally meaningful than others. This chapter therefore shows how eighteenth-century life-writing practices both were shaped by, and drew on, forms of print culture in ways that have been unappreciated.

Making Memorandums

One of the affordances of the genre which has been paid little regard, surprisingly, is the space for making memorandums. The columns for writing engagements or appointments were divided into days, but when the books contained an additional column for writing memorandum or remarks this was often left free from divisions, permitting more free-ranging possibilities. Generally, it is difficult to discern the 'the parameters or the rules for entries to be made' in this space, seemingly because eighteenth-century publishers took it for granted that customers already understood how to put it to use and provided little guidance on how to fill it in.[50]

The contemporary definition of "memorandum" was 'a minute or short note made or taken of any thing to perpetuate the remembrance of it, and to prevent mistakes and forgetfulness.'[51] As we saw in Chapter Five, the publisher Robert Dodsley envisioned his consumers using the space for memorandums to record reminders for the future, such as 'Talk not of other People's Faults in mix'd company: get the Grease-spots out of your Coat.'[52] It seems, then, that the space for "Memorandums or Observations" was intended to

[50] This points to making memorandums as being a wider social practice in this period. Quote from Gitelman, *Paper Knowledge*, 22.
[51] Thomas Dyche, *New general English dictionary; Peculiarly calculated for the use and improvement of such as are unacquainted with the learned languages… Fifth Edition* (London: Printed for Richard Ware, at the Bible and Sun on Ludgate-Hill, 1748), 509.
[52] *A New Memorandum Book* (London: Printed for R. Dodsley in Pall-Mall, MDCCXLIX [1749]). Copy consulted: "Hesketh Yarburgh: A New Memorandum Book (1749)," York, Borthwick Institute, YM/MB/8/b.

support the book's purpose as a tool for self-improvement. Nonetheless, the invitation to make memorandums was relatively open-ended, and suggests that the tabulated format was not intended to exert a totally disciplining effect on its users.

In practice, some individuals simply used the column as space for list-making or as additional room for writing about their daily engagements. Others used it to set practical reminders and to pass observation on events in their life. This is exemplified by the young Bedfordshire gentlewoman Mary Orlebar, who used a copy of the above *Ladies Complete Pocket Book* for 1757. Her memorandums were part practical reminders for the future, part sardonic commentary. For example, in April she recorded that she was 'somewhat ashamd of the ragged Elbow chair […] mem: to endeavour to get it new coverd. After a presumably dull social engagement at a neighbours she noted 'mem: Squirrels should not be allowed to engross too large a topic of the Conversation', and on another bitterly complained that she 'Lost two Pools at Commerce. Unfashionable People who will not cheat a little have small chance.'[53]

Even when memorandum book users seemed to be repurposing this column for other forms of record-keeping, on closer inspection we can find them adapting the tabulated format in ways consistent with its underlying principles. Sir Roger Newdigate, MP for Oxford University, was a vociferous memorandum book user.[54] In his 1751 copy of the *Daily Journal* Newdigate primarily used the memorandums column to enter literary commonplaces from authors such as Horace, Milton, Warburton, and Pliny. Yet for the scholarly Newdigate, commonplacing *was* a means of passing observation on his own life. For example, when he recorded his appointment as MP to Oxford University on the 31st January, he also commonplaced a quote by Horace in the memorandums: 'sapienter idem contrahes vento

[53] MS. Notations by Mary Orlebar in *The Ladies Complete Pocket Book For the Year of Our Lord, 1757 (London:* Printed for John Newberry, Bookseller, in St. Paul's Church-Yard). Copy consulted: Photocopy in the 'Archive of manuscripts relating to the Orlebar family of Hinwick House in Bedfordshire,' London, British Library, RP 9583.
[54] His earliest was a memorandum book for 1751 and he bought them annually until his death, totalling 56 volumes across his lifetime. Anthony C. Wood, "The Diaries of Sir Roger Newdigate, 1751-1806," in Vivian Ridler, ed., *Essays in Honour of Philip B. Chatwin: Prepared by the Birmingham Archaeological Society in Collaboration with the Dugdale Society* (Oxford: Oxford University Press, 1762), 40-50.

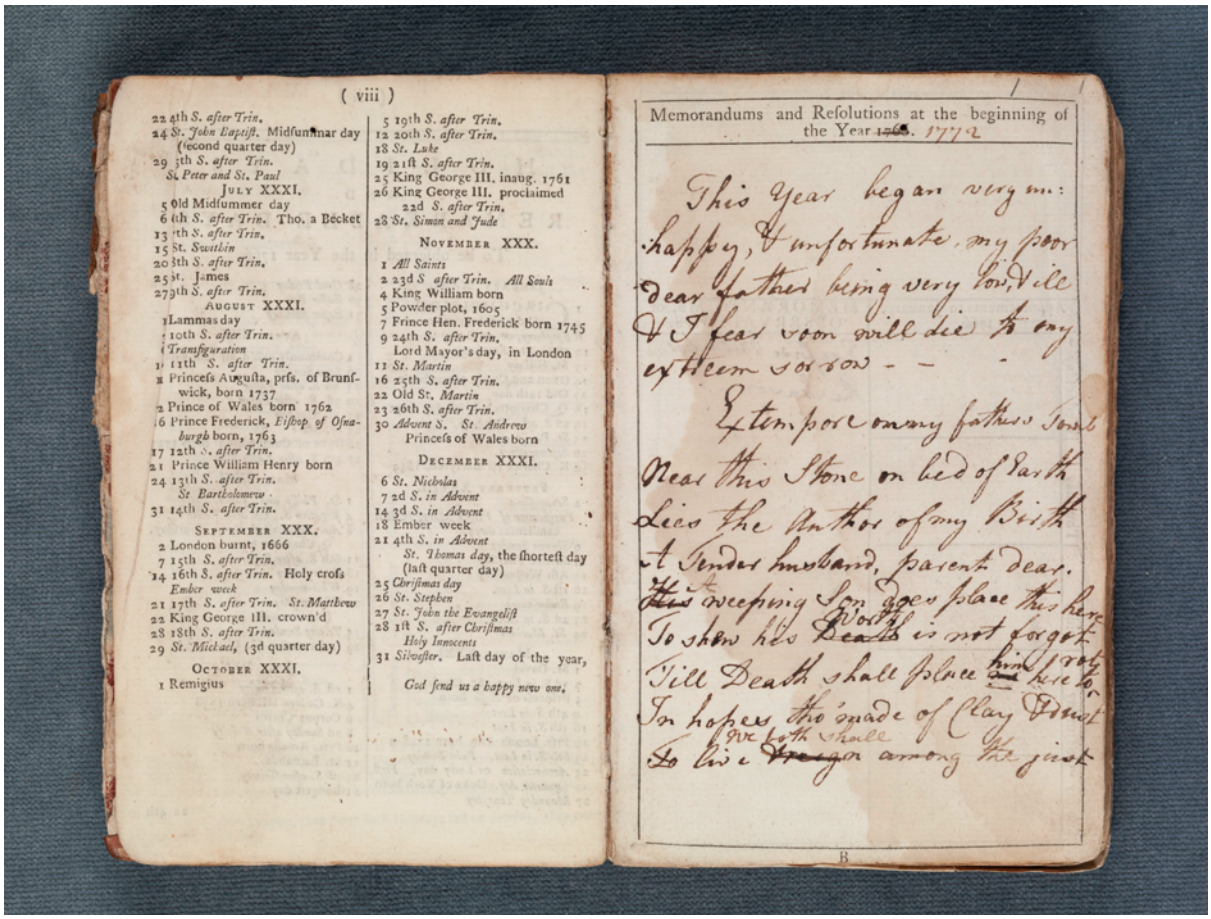
nimium secundo Turgida vela.'[55] Roughly, this translates to: 'lessen your sails, when swelled with a too fortunate gale of prosperity.'[56] In context, this reads as a cautionary self-rebuff to keep his ego in check in the face of his success.

Many brands of memorandum books also incorporated pages for noting down memorandums at the beginning and end of each year, bookending the central records (Fig 26). Little attention has been paid to these pages in earlier work on memorandum books: Batchelor, Connor and Vickery overlook them altogether, while Colclough references them only in passing.[57] They were typically titled 'Memorandums and Observations at the Beginning of the Year' and 'at the End of the Year.' Baldwin's *Daily Journal* for 1752 appears to have been the first brand which included them, and they quickly became a staple of the genre. Such pages were intended to help users seamlessly move from one volume to another, as the user could transfer any important information from the previous year across and make a note of information to be extracted for the next. Kearsley's *Gentleman and Tradesman's Pocket Ledger* for 1781 made explicit this expectation by including space for recording the 'Sum total of Payments for the Year 1781, carried to the POCKET LEDGER for 1782.'[58] As well as being a not-so-subtle hint to go out and buy the next year's edition, it was simply good record-keeping to ensure that any financial balance was carried over along with any important memorandums such as bills to be paid or meetings to attend.

Yet these pages for memorandums also fed into a broader ethos of spiritual stocktaking, encouraging users to reflect on the year ahead and the year that had passed.[59] As a tool for self-improvement, the memorandum book's benefits came not only from instilling the habit

[55] MS. Notations by Roger Newdigate in *The Daily Journal, for the Year of Our Lord, 1751; or, the Gentleman's and Tradesman's Methodical Accompt-Book for the Pocket* (London: Printed for R. Baldwin, in Pater-Noster-Row). Copy consulted: "Diaries of Sir Roger Newdigate," Warwick, Warwickshire Record Office, CRO136/A582.
[56] Anon, *A New Dictionary of Quotations from the Greek, Latin and Modern Languages. Translated into English and Occasionally Accompanied with Illustrations, Historical, Poetical and Anecdotal* (London: John Farquhar Shaw, 27 Southampton Row and 48 Paternoster Row, 1858), 395.
[57] , "Pocket Books and Portable Writing," 174.
[58] *Kearsly's Gentleman and Tradesman's Pocket Ledger, for the Year* 1782 (London: Printed for G. Kearsly, at No. 46, in Fleet-street). Copy consulted: "Donisthorpe family papers 1762-1819," Taunton, Somerset Heritage Centre, DD/MR/69.
[59] For more on spiritual diarising, see: Effie Botonaki, "Seventeenth-Century Englishwomen's Spiritual Diaries: Self-Examination, Covenanting, and Account Keeping," *The Sixteenth Century Journal* 30, no. 1 (Spring, 1999): 3-21.

of self-recording, but from the ability to regularly review one's own records and identifying where one was in debit, financially, socially, and by extension, morally. By including pages for making memorandums and observations at the beginning and end of the year, the genre explicitly encouraged users to annually make such a review.


(viii)

22 4th S. after Trin.
24 St. John Baptiſt. Midſummar day (ſecond quarter day)
29 5th S. after Trin.
St. Peter and St. Paul

JULY XXXI.

5 Old Midſummer day
6 6th S. after Trin. Tho. a Becket
13 7th S. after Trin.
15 St. Swithin
20 8th S. after Trin.
25 St. James
27 9th S. after Trin.

AUGUST XXXI.

1 Lammas day
3 10th S. after Trin.
6 Tranſfiguration
11 11th S. after Trin.
11 Princeſs Auguſta, prſs. of Brunſwick, born 1737
12 Prince of Wales born 1762
16 Prince Frederick, Biſhop of Oſnaburgh born, 1763
17 12th S. after Trin.
21 Prince William Henry born
24 13th S. after Trin.
St Bartholomew
31 14th S. after Trin.

SEPTEMBER XXX.

2 London burnt, 1666
7 15th S. after Trin.
14 16th S. after Trin. Holy croſs
Ember week
21 17th S. after Trin. St. Matthew
22 King George III. crown'd
28 18th S. after Trin.
29 St. Michael, (3d quarter day)

OCTOBER XXXI.

1 Remigius
5 19th S. after Trin.
12 20th S. after Trin.
18 St. Luke
19 21ſt S. after Trin.
25 King George III. inaug. 1761
26 King George III. proclaimed
22d S. after Trin.
28 St. Simon and Jude

NOVEMBER XXX.

1 All Saints
2 23d S after Trin. All Souls
4 King William born
5 Powder plot, 1605
7 Prince Hen. Frederick born 1745
9 24th S. after Trin.
Lord Mayor's day, in London
11 St. Martin
16 25th S. after Trin.
22 Old St. Martin
23 26th S. after Trin.
30 Advent S. St. Andrew
Princeſs of Wales born

DECEMBER XXXI.

6 St. Nicholas
7 2d S. in Advent
14 3d S. in Advent
18 Ember week
21 4th S. in Advent
St. Thomas day, the ſhorteſt day (laſt quarter day)
25 Chriſtmas day
26 St. Stephen
27 St. John the Evangeliſt
28 1ſt S. after Chriſtmas
Holy Innocents
31 Silveſter. Laſt day of the year,

God ſend us a happy new one.

Memorandums and Reſolutions at the beginning of the Year ~~1768~~. 1772

This Year began very much happy, & unfortunate, my poor dear father being very low, ill & I fear soon will die to my extream sorrow - - -

Extempore on my father's Tomb

Near this Stone on bed of Earth
Lies the Author of my Birth
A Tender husband, parent dear.
His weeping Son does place this here
To show his Worth is not forgot
Till Death shall place him here to rot
In hopes tho' made of Clay & dust
We both shall
To live ~~Tho~~ again among the just

B

Figure 25. Unknown diarist using Baldwin's Daily Journal for 1766

We find this intention articulated in the language used by Baldwin's *Daily Journal* from the 1768 edition onwards: 'Memorandums and Resolutions at the Beginning of the Year' and ditto 'at the End of the Year'.[60] The term "resolutions" invokes the language of self-examination inherited from spiritual diarising, for the making of resolutions was a practice routinely encouraged by seventeenth-century protestant devotional manuals.[62] However, despite there being some expectation on the part of publishers that customers may record

[60] *The Daily journal, or the gentleman's and tradesman's complete annual accompt-book for the pocket or desk, for the year of our Lord 1766* (London: Printed only for R. Baldwin, at the Rose, in Pater-noster-Row). Copy consulted: "Pocket Journals," Brighton, East Sussex and Brighton and Hove Record Office, HOOK 16/19.
[62] Effie Botonaki, "Seventeenth-Century Englishwomen's Spiritual Diaries: Self-Examination, Covenanting, and Account Keeping," *The Sixteenth Century Journal* 30, no. 1 (Spring, 1999), 18.

resolutions and take stock at the beginning and end of each year, this expectation was rarely satisfied in practice.

Curiously few individuals took up the invitation to write and reflect, and typically the pages for memorandums and observations at the beginning and end of the year were simply left blank. Of the users who did utilise these pages, the most common uses were to record financial memos, draw up reading lists, and note down agreements made – or simply to use the memorandum pages at the end of the year to continue on their record-keeping until they acquired a new memorandum book. Because these memos are decontextualised from the rest of the book, their meaning and relevance can be difficult for the historian to decipher. One of the strangest examples comes from the thirteen-year old Catherine Wood, who made a memorandum at the beginning of the year that 'From numbers and & arts Never with fame departs.'[66] At first glance, this appears to be one of many commonplaced verse that found their way into memorandum book pages. In fact, it is a mnemonic for remembering the solution to the algebraic puzzle, the Josephus problem. As formulated in *Mr Wingate's Arithmetick* (1720), the problem was this: fifteen Christians and fifteen Turks were travelling by boat in a storm, when it was determined that half the members on board must be thrown overboard in order to save the lives of the others. They decided to stand in a circle and count out every ninth person as a man to be sacrificed, until they reached their total of fifteen. How could the Christians arrange themselves to ensure that only the Turks were thrown overboard? The answer to this could be remembered through the mnemonic above, in which every vowel had a corresponding number, which indicated how many Christians should be placed together, in order, to ensure they did not get chosen.[67] Presumably the young Catherine was learning this as part of her education in arithmetic, for it is difficult (one hopes) to imagine her anticipating a situation that would necessitate the application of the mnemonic. The memorandums at the beginning and end of the year could therefore become simply a kind of catch-all for things that needed to be remembered,

[66] MS. Notations by Catherine Wood in *The Ladies Complete Pocket-Book, for the Year of our Lord 1787* (London: Printed for T. Carnan, in St. Paul's Church-Yard). Copy consulted: Chapel Hill, Wilson Library, University of North Carolina, CT788.W83 A3 1787.
[67] George Shelley, *Mr. Wingate's Arithmetick: Containing a Plain and Familiar Method for Attaining the Knowledge and Practice of Common Arithmetick* (London: Printed for J. Philips, 1720), 365-6.

but had no allocated space in more formal kinds of record-keeping or the tabulated structure of the central memorandum pages.

Nonetheless, though rare there were users who filled the space with more reflective entries. The Devonshire surgeon Charles Palk Collyns (1793-1864) relished the opportunity to comment on each year that had passed. He was a prolific diarist, who begun keeping memorandum books in 1815, shortly after setting up his own practice as a surgeon in Dulverton, Devon and just before his marriage to Anne (née Moor) of Spreydon House, Broadclyst in 1816, and carried on using them until his death in 1864. As a young man in his twenties and early thirties, he regularly drew on the opening and closing memorandum pages to write upon on the state of the year for himself individually, for his county of Devonshire, and for society at large. Typically he recounted the effect of weather upon the crops and their prices, totalled up the financial balance of his surgeon's practice at the end of each year and described events of such national significance as the death of Princess Charlotte in 1817 and subsequent suicide of her physician Sir Richard Croft in 1818, and the Peterloo massacre in 1819, drawing lines to roughly divide each topic.[68] Essentially, these entries took the pulse of the country and its economy. Yet seemingly disparate elements were more interconnected than they may first appear: as Collyns wrote in 1822, '[t]hese are most distressing times for the agricultural interest and as on that the business of a medical man in this place depends I find great difficulty in getting in my accounts which fall short of what should have been received.'[69] The weather, meanwhile, had a significant impact on his ability to see his patients: following a severe winter in 1820 he recorded how the snow had made it 'impossible to see to one's patients on horseback' and sometimes having to walk

[68] MS. Notations by Charles Palk Collyns in *The Exeter Pocket Journal; Or, West-Country Gentleman's and Tradesman's Memorandum-Book, for the Year of our Lord, 1817* (Exeter, Printed and Sold by Trewman and Co.). Copy consulted: "Diaries of Charles Palk Collyns. 1815-1825," Taunton, Somerset Heritage Centre, DD/COL/1/2; MS. Notations by Charles Palk Collyns in *The Exeter Pocket Journal; or, West-Country Gentleman's and Tradesman's Memorandum Book, for the Year of our Lord, 1818* (Exeter: Printed and Sold by Trewman and Co.), Copy consulted: Taunton, Somerset Heritage Centre, DD/COL/1/3; MS. Notations in *The Exeter Pocket Journal; or, West-Country Gentleman's and Tradesman's Memorandum Book, for the Year of our Lord, 1819* (Exeter: Printed and Sold by Trewman and Co.) Copy consulted: Diaries of Charles Palk Collyns. 1815-1825,"Taunton, Somerset Heritage Centre, DD/COL/1/4.

[69] MS. Notations by Charles Palk Collyns in *The Exeter Pocket Journal; or, West-Country Gentleman's and Tradesman's Memorandum Book, for the Year of our Lord, 1822* (Exeter: Printed and Sold by Trewman and Co.) Copy consulted: "Diaries of Charles Palk Collyns. 1815-1825," Taunton, Somerset Heritage Centre, DD/COL/1/7.

'up to my middle in snow.'[70] And like most of the country, he was distressed by the death of Princess Charlotte, considering that:

> had she lived to have governed those by whom she was beloved no doubt can remain from the opinions she was known to possess but that we should have had somewhat like the days of good Kween Bess restord to a People – now almost worn out with taxes; and those kept up now in a time of peace, only to satisfy to extravigancy of the Regent & his Ministers.[71]

Although Collyns marked out significant dates in his own life in these pages – for example in 1817 recording 'June 16th this year my deare Anne presented me with a little boy', far more space was given over to his rather gloomy social commentary.[72] It was a space in which Collyns could weave himself into the narrative of the nation, rallying against the failings of politicians and declaring his own opinions about how disaster could be averted, if at all. For as he wrote at the beginning of his memorandum book for 1822:

> I know not if I have before expressed my opinion on the state of this Nation but I am fully convinced England has seen her highest pitch, and that she will retrogate, never for centuries to see those days which belonged to the later part of the reign of George the third & the beginning of Geo: the fourth in which she was the pride and boast of the whole world.[73]

[70] MS. Notations by Charles Palk Collyns in *The Exeter Pocket Journal; Or, West-Country Gentleman's and Tradesman's Memorandum Book, for the Year of our Lord, 1820* (Exeter: Printed and Sold by Trewman and Co.). Copy consulted: "Diaries of Charles Palk Collyns. 1815-1825," Taunton, Somerset Heritage Centre, DD/COL/1/5.
[71] MS. Notations by Charles Palk Collyns in *The Exeter Pocket Journal; Or, West-Country Gentleman's and Tradesman's Memorandum-Book, for the Year of our Lord, 1817* (Exeter, Printed and Sold by Trewman and Co.). Copy consulted: "Diaries of Charles Palk Collyns. 1815-1825," Taunton, Somerset Heritage Centre, DD/COL/1/2.
[72] Ibid.
[73] MS. Notations by Charles Palk Collyns in *The Exeter Pocket Journal; or, West-Country Gentleman's and Tradesman's Memorandum Book, for the Year of our Lord, 1822* (Exeter: Printed and Sold by Trewman and Co.) Copy consulted: "Diaries of Charles Palk Collyns. 1815-1825," Taunton, Somerset Heritage Centre, DD/COL/1/7.

Charles Palk Collyns is the only individual I have encountered who recorded a regular stock-take of each year. Nevertheless, such summaries may still have occurred, *outside* the bounds of the memorandum book. Memorandum books operated in a web of interconnected record-keeping practices, and the precepts of the genre could reverberate in other forms of diarising. As Harriet Blodgett has suggested '[w]henever a diary appears with summaries one may well suspect memo book antecedents or the like.'[74] Thus it may not be that users entirely rejected the invitation to reflect on the year ahead and year passed, but that the space given to this in memorandum books was not sufficient – even Charles Palk Collyn's annual entries spilled over onto the volume's flyleaves.[75]

Yet when facing great uncertainty and emotional turmoil, in particular the illness and death of loved ones, memorandum book users suddenly found recourse to these pages to record more reflective and evaluative entries about the events of their own lives. Such examples take on a recognisable formula and tenor, referring to 'the year' itself and describing how it unfolded in tandem with their own hopes and emotions. We find several such instances in the Orlebar family diaries, partly because a later descendant, Frederica St John Orlebar, embarked on a project to chronicle her family history and seems to have taken special pains to preserve records which documented significant life events such as deaths. In her memorandum book for 1776, Mary Orlebar recorded that her sister-in-law, Elizabeth (née Cuthbert), had suffered a fall in June which occasioned a miscarriage.[78] From this point onwards, Mary's record-keeping in her memorandum book for that year changed focus to track the progress of Elizabeth's health in the engagements and observations columns. Having made no entry in the page for memorandums at the beginning of the book, she now felt compelled to make a closing one: 'a melancholy conclusion of the Year to us, on account of the very hopeless situation of my poor Sister Orlebar'.[79] Sadly, she was correct in her assessment that the situation was 'hopeless': her sister-in-law would die in January 1777,

[74] Harriet Blodgett, *Centuries of Female Days: Englishwomen's Private Diaries* (Gloucester: Alan Sutton, 1989), 30.
[75] Similarly, Sarah Hurst used the front flyleaves of her *Ladies Complete Pocket-Book* for 1759 to write brief "histories," which may have been based on earlier memorandum books. See: Djabri, ed., *The Diaries of Sarah Hurst 1759-1762*), 62-5.
[78] MS. Notations by Mary Orlebar in *The Ladies Annual Journal; or, Complete Pocket Book, for the Year 1776* (London: Printed for Elizabeth Stevens, No. 2. Stationers-Court, Ludgate-Street; and I. Taylor, near the Top of Chancery-Lane, Holborn). Copy consulted: "Diary (marked LXIII)," Bedford, Bedfordshire Archives, OR2156.
[79] Ibid.

shortly after this entry.[80] In 1810, Mary once again faced the distressing situation of a dying loved one. Mary had been inseparably close with her two sisters, Constantia and Elizabeth, and the three lived together in a small cottage in Ecton after their brother's first marriage in 1767. Constantia passed away in 1808; now Elizabeth, whom Mary had described as 'My second self, Partner in ev'ry Joy', was ailing.[81] On the first accounts page of her memorandum book for 1810 she wrote: 'This Year comes in heavily with me; my Dear last Sister, Elizabeth being in a state of hopeless decline.'[82] Now aged eighty, Mary Orlebar had suffered much loss in her lifetime. But it is notable how dramatically her methods of record-keeping shifted in response to the ailments of loved ones: the personal became subsumed into the narrative of the sickbed. Here, she neglected the column for recording engagements and memorandums and instead recorded updates on Elizabeth's health in a large hand in the centre of the accounts pages, such as 'Much as the former Week my Dear Sister suffering much pain in her limbs.'[83] One entry in 1810, many weeks into Elizabeth's illness, summed up how anguish had shaped her attitudes to self-recording: 'My feelings too much absorbed to regard Memorandums of trifling import.'[84]

Her disuse of the column for entering engagements and memorandums was, in part, reflective of Mary's absorption in the role of primary carer. For months she had laid all other matters to one side as she battled to keep her loved ones comfortable in their 'state of hopeless decline.' But it was also a symbolic gesture of how little the everyday rhythms of life seemed to matter in the face of suffering and death. Mary felt compelled to continue recording, but the structure of the page became a tool by which she could express her shifting priorities. An entry she made two weeks after Elizabeth's death shows this in subtle force (Fig 27). The words stretch out to fill the entirety of the page in a laconic fashion, as if to simultaneously emphasise the extent to which her sister's loss dominates her experiences, and yet how empty and amorphous such experiences now feel. It was only

[80] James Collett-White, "My Choice: A Poem written in 1751 by Mary Orlebar," *Bedfordshire Historical Miscellany: essays in Honour of Patricia Bell* 72 (1993): 139.
[81] "Poems by Mrs. Mary Orlebar. 1762 to 1821," ORLEBAR FAMILY. Archive of manuscripts relating to the Orlebar family of Hinwick House in Bedfordshire (now Northamptonshire), London, British Library, RP 9583.
[82] MS. Notations by Mary Orlebar in a composite memorandum book (1808-1818), "Extracts from Pocket book (marked LXXXVII)," Bedford, Bedfordshire archives, OR2158.
[83] Ibid.
[84] Ibid.

several weeks after Elizabeth's death in March that Mary became a subject of her own entries once more and resumed writing in the engagements and memorandum column, writing entries such as: 'Sorry to be kept from Church by a very cold Wind so heard an excellent sermon read by Mrs O.'[85]

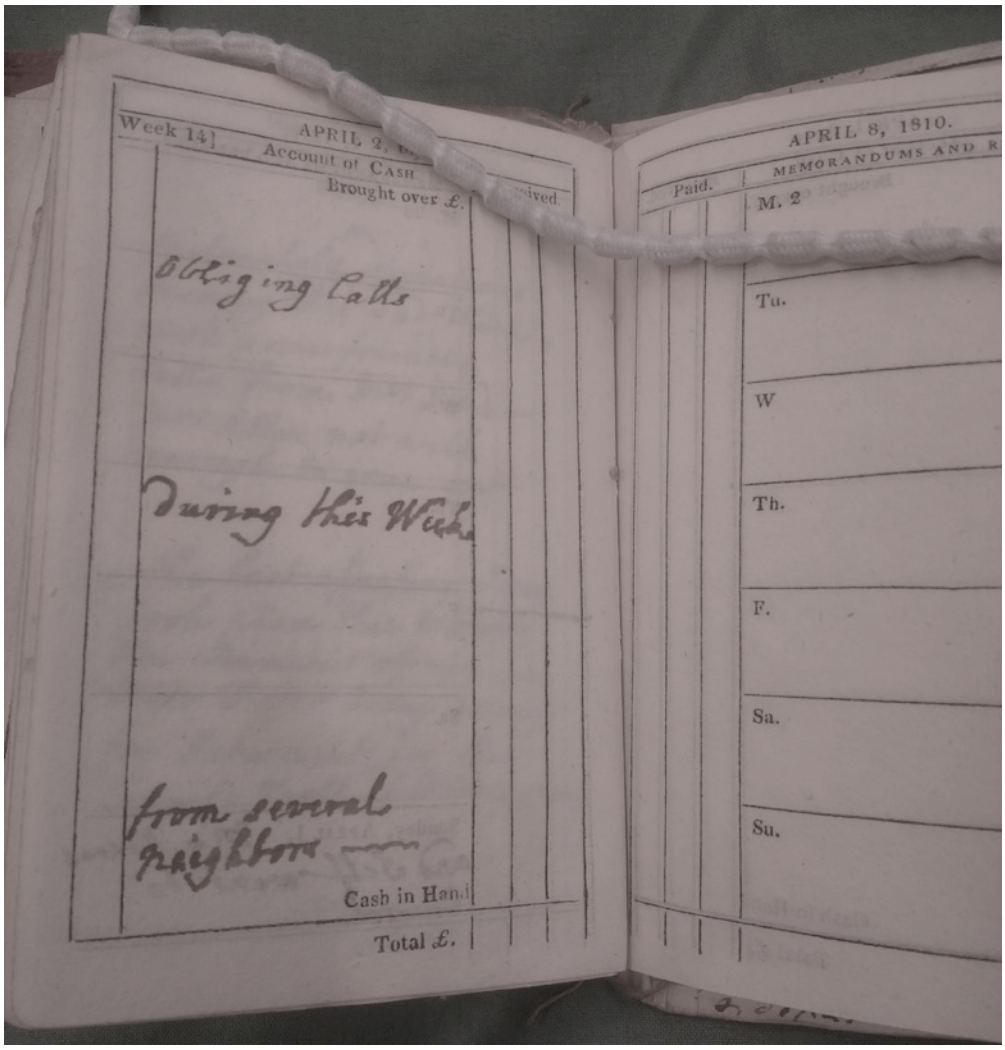


Figure 26. Entry by Mary Orlebar on her sister Elizabeth's death in 1810

Around the same time that the elderly Mary Orlebar was dealing with the deaths of her sisters Constantia and Elizabeth, the Suffolk teenage student John Barber Scott also faced an emotional rupture. He kept memorandum books for 1807, 1808, and 1809 and in the first two volumes he used the memorandum pages at the beginning and end of the year for more practical forms of record-keeping. This included noting down the names and dates of

[85] Ibid.

friends who had sailed abroad and their ages when they departed, that he had lent his mother two pounds, and that he had found the *Method of Study* by the sixteenth-century mathematician Joachimus Fortius Ringelbergius 'partly, absurd – partly, animating – all very curious.'[86] Yet in 1809 his mother suddenly died from Scarlet Fever; consumed with grief, he made the following memorandum at the end of the year:

> It is finished: – the year that began with comforts – proceeded with growing delights and pleasure till the fatal 8th. – Then drew on a tedious wretched length of accumulated woe. How dreadful – how tremendous ! – Never surely can mortal suffer more misery than JBS. has been fatally inured to, since the day in which he lost
> his inestimable
> his beloved
> <u>Mother</u> ![87]

John Barber Scott had spent the early part of the year throwing himself into student life with abandon, skipping out on classes in favour of his new love of dancing and flirting.[88] Such jovialities were temporarily waylaid due to a period of ill-health on his part, and whilst he was in the midst of recovery came the shock of his mother's illness and death. Like Mary, grief warped the ways in which he recorded. He ceased keeping track of his petty expenses, a practice which had been 'instituted' at the 'pleasure' of his mother; in its place he used the accounts pages instead to make longer, more narrative entries documenting his own

[86] MS. Notations by John Barber Scott in *The Daily Journal: or, Gentleman's, Merchant's, and Tradesman's Complete Annual Accompt-Book, for the Pocket or Desk. For the Year of Our Lord 1807* (London: Printed for R. Baldwin, J. Walker, G. Wilkie and J. Robinson, W. March, Scarcherd and Letterman, M. Hinckesman; and B.C. Collins, Salisbury). Copy consulted: "The daily journal or gentlemen's merchants' and tradesmen's complete annual account book," Lowestoft, Suffolk Record Office, 185/1/2; MS. Notations by John Barber Scott in *The Suffolk Gentleman's Pocket Book, or Merchant's, Farmer's, and Tradesman's Complete Annual Account Book, for 1808* (Ipswich: Printed and Sold by J. Raw). Copy consulted: "The Suffolk gentleman's pocket book," Lowestoft, Suffolk Record Office, 185/1/3.

[87] *The Norfolk and Norwich Gentleman's, Merchant's, Tradesman's, Farmer's and Grazier's, Complete Memorandum-Book, for the Year of Our Lord 1809* (Norwich: Printed and Sold by Stevenson, Matchett & Stevenson). Copy consulted: "The Norfolk and Norwich gentleman's complete memorandum book," Lowestoft, Suffolk Record Office, 185/1/4.

[88] Ethel Mann, ed., *An Englishman at Home and Abroad, 1792-1828: Extracts from the diaries of John Barber Scott of Bungay* (Bungay: Morrow & Co.,1988), 35.

struggles and the difficulties in burdening his father's sorrow as well (Fig 28). For example, he recorded on an accounts page in December:

> Sunday Evening. Mare's
> More hours of this week have been busily employed: i.e. in writing letters – in settling accounts – in reading Watts on the mind &c. – Occupation is I fear almost the only method of setting the mind at ease : then indeed we are unconscious of ease: but otherwise my thoughts are ever dwelling on the painful subject. – Stay – there is even in this subject a more plenteous source of joy – of rapture there in any meditation whatsoever or any earthly pleasure. To think on those we love – to hope for coming unfading joys – is both to recall and to antedate pleasure: I bless thee O my God! Thou thinkest of mercy even in thine anger! — Father writes about leaving home, I answer expressing hope of mutual benefit from our being together –. Christmas Eve.[89]

[89] MS. Notations by John Barber Scott in *The Norfolk and Norwich Gentleman's, Merchant's, Tradesman's, Farmer's and Grazier's, Complete Memorandum-Book, for the Year of Our Lord 1809* (Norwich: Printed and Sold by Stevenson, Matchett & Stevenson). Copy consulted: "The Norfolk and Norwich gentleman's complete memorandum book," Lowestoft, Suffolk Record Office, 185/1/4.



Figure 27. Entry by John Barber Scott in his memorandum book for 1809

It is notable that both Mary Orlebar and John Barber Scott drew on their accounts page for more narrative entries when emotions were heightened by illness and loss, corroborating Eckert's findings in her case study of Priscilla Wordsworth's diaries.[90] As will be explored further in the next chapter, John Barber Scott came to see financial accounting within his memorandum book as symbolic of his former state of childhood, which had now come to an end. Ceasing financial recording signalled this loss of parental guidance, and expressed an newfound attitude of indifference towards worldly, material matters. But significantly, Orlebar and Barber Scott did not simply disregard the accounts pages altogether, but instead employed a different form of accounting within them. It shows the role religion continued to play in self-recording practices. Cash accounting played a role in monitoring one's standing in God's grace. By tracking the physical state of loved ones or their own emotional states, Orlebar and Barber Scott grappled with their own relationship with Providence. The language used reveals the parallel between their narratives of illness and financial accounting. As Olivia Weisser has described of early modern diaries which, though

[90] Eckert, "Priscilla Wordsworth's Pocketbook Diaries," 15-16.

ostensibly concerned with business, also documented illness: 'Quantifiable accounts of illness reflect the intentions and conventions of this type of writing.'[91] As Mary Orlebar recorded: 'My good Sister had now entirely kept her Bed above a Week' and added underneath: 'Providence is most kind in sustaining my spirits under this trial'.[92] Accordingly, Barber Scott's entries, headed with the time of day and location in which they were written, both exhibit a greater specificity and show that they were always carried out on a Sunday Evening, a traditional time for stock-keeping and reflection.

Instead of tracking physical illness, Barber's entries monitored the progress of his own emotional state. In the example cited above, the activities he recounted fit with this tradition – settling accounts, and reading a self-improvement work published by the theologian Isaac Watts – and he quickly pivoted to reflect on God and his mercy. We can see how Orlebar and Barber Scott's respective uses of the memorandum pages at the beginning and end of the year operated on the same continuum as their adaptation of the accounts pages, manifesting an impulse to record more reflectively and narratively, and to draw on the language and structure of spiritual diarising, when facing illness and death. Death and illness motivated memorandum book users to place a greater emphasis on time-specificity and on the goodness of providence. Indeed, the primary way that clock time entered memorandum book records was when users recorded a time of death, once again revealing the spiritual underpinnings of tracking time. As Alexandra Walsham has described: 'The precision with which contemporaries recorded the timing of the births and deaths of their children and relatives not merely testifies to the spread of 'clock time' in early modern England; it also highlights the astrological and spiritual significance people attached to recording the particular month, day, and hour at which their loved ones arrived and departed from this earth.'[93]

[91] Olivia Weisser, *Ill Composed: Sickness, Gender, and Belief in Early Modern England* (New Haven: Yale University Press, 2015), 64.
[92] MS. Notations by Mary Orlebar in a composite memorandum book (1808-1818). "Extracts from Pocket book (marked LXXXVII)," Bedford, Bedfordshire archives, OR2158.
[93] Alexandra Walsham, *Generations: Age, Ancestry, and Memory in the English Reformations* (Oxford: Oxford University Press, 2023), 388.

Finally, we turn to the example of a young man, just coming of age, who repurposed a blank volume of Baldwin's *Daily Journal* for 1766 for use in 1772. It seems likely that he picked up the book as an outlet for his sorrow, for on the page for recording memorandums at the beginning of the year he wrote the following:

> 'This Year began very unhappy, & unfortunate, my poor dear father being very low, & ill & I fear soon will die to my extreem sorrow – – –
>
> Extempore on my fathers Tomb
> Near this Stone on bed of Earth Lies the Author of my Birth
> A Tender husband, parent dear.
> A weeping Son does place this here
> To shew his Worth is not forgot
> till Death shall place him here to rot
> In hopes tho' made of Clay & dust
> We both shall live among the just[94]

We can see that the young man used the memorandums page firstly to describe his emotional state on the entrance of the new year and then returned to the page after his father's passing to add the above verses, which provide an unhappy conclusion to his fears. The records within the memorandum book show that his father died on the 12th February 1772, as he recorded in the appointments column: 'This Day I lost the best father, & friend on Earth' and added in the memorandums column: 'I am an Orphan ~~if not fatherless.~~ I intend to have a Ring for to perpetuate his dear Memory.'[95] His memorandum book may have been another means of perpetuating the memory of his father, but it was primarily a means of memorializing his own grief. Just as in the case of John Barber Scott, the pages for memorandums at the beginning of the year enabled the diarist to mark out the year as extraordinary one, to defy the naturalness of losing a parent by narrativizing the unique

[94] MS. Notations by unknown person in *The Daily journal, or the gentleman's and tradesman's complete annual accompt-book for the pocket or desk, for the year of our Lord 1766* (London: Printed only for R. Baldwin, at the Rose, in Pater-noster-Row). Copy consulted: Farmington, Lewis Walpole Library, 145 D132. Digitised at: https://hdl.handle.net/10079/digcoll/5246437 [Last accessed 31.08.2022].
[95] Ibid.

depths of his suffering. Where John Barber Scott declared that 'Never surely can mortal suffer more misery than JBS', and recorded of the death of 'the best of mothers', the anonymous young man described his father as the 'best […] on Earth' and his sorrow as 'extreem'.[96] The opening line of the young man's extempore reveals this impulse for self-narrativization: in describing his father as 'the Author of my Birth', he traces back the origin of his suffering. Written as an extempore – that is, without preparation – the verses emphasise the immediacy of his grief, an immediacy accentuated by visible alterations and insertions to the text. By placing them on the memorandum page at the beginning of the year instead of within the main space for self-recording, the diarist attempted to detach his grief from temporality of daily life and instead immortalise it as a defining experience that gave shape to the whole year.

The memorandum pages at the beginning and end of the year thus afforded a paratextual space in which users could inscribe in an interpretative framework for the events recorded within. When experiencing great emotional distress, memorandum book users sometimes felt compelled to draw on these pages, and the power of the mise-en-page, in order to transform the entire book into a testament of their sorrow, so that every event recorded, big or small, was overshadowed and defined by the loss experienced.

Textual Strategies for Rubrication

There were other methods by which users could mark out events of personal significance in their life-writing. We now turn to examine textual strategies which, though anticipated by publishers of the genre, drew on the materiality of writing and the layout of the page to generate meaning. In particular, by looking at the examples of codes and script-switching, this section shows how users worked with the affordances of the page to rubricate the records of their lives.

[96] MS. Notations by John Barber Scott in *The Norfolk and Norwich Gentleman's, Merchant's, Tradesman's, Farmer's and Grazier's, Complete Memorandum-Book, for the Year of Our Lord 1809* (Norwich: Printed and Sold by Stevenson, Matchett & Stevenson). Copy consulted: "The Norfolk and Norwich gentleman's complete memorandum book," Lowestoft, Suffolk Record Office, 185/1/4; MS. Notations by unknown person in *The Daily Journal* for 1766 (London: Printed for R. Baldwin), Lewis Walpole Library, 145 D132. Digitised at: https://hdl.handle.net/10079/digcoll/5246437 [Last accessed 31.08.2022].

Despite the genre's attempts to shape the written record to be plain and clear, and thus primed for review, memorandum book users sometimes concealed their entries by employing acronyms, codes, or foreign languages to write of their affairs. The most simple method of concealment was to use acronyms and abbreviations to refer to people, places and actions – a method which remains particularly effective in obscuring content for the modern reader, being so far removed from the context of the world the author inhabited. Acronyms and abbreviations were endemic features of memorandum books. The small space afforded by the structure of the memorandum pages encouraged the shortening of words, so it is not immediately apparent whether acronyms were being employed as a space-saving mechanism or as a means of maintaining privacy. Yet other strategies were more clearly intended to obscure content.

One unusual example can be found in the memorandum books of Zachariah Edwards, a young attorney from Somerset. Most of his entries in his 1766 and 1767 copies of Baldwin's *Daily Journal* were typical of the genre; he noted down attendance at local assizes, the settling of business accounts at his Uncle's law practice, money expended on malt and barley, and so on. However, these more mundane jottings were interspersed with entries in mirror-writing that recorded his courtship of a Miss Wheadon from a nearby village. No trace of Miss Wheadon exists in his book prior to an entry on June 3rd 1766, when he recorded purchasing her and her friends tickets to a ball, and added that he 'Danced with Miss Wheadon.'[97] Two days later he made her an offer of marriage: this entry is the first instance written in mirror form. Thus the mirror writing began when he pursued Miss Wheadon's hand in marriage and their formal courtship ensued. Typically, he simply noted that he was 'with B.W." and it seems that some of their meetings had a clandestine quality, for he frequently added whether her father was at home or was away. She formally accepted his marriage proposal on Sunday 14th September 1766 after he had discussed the dowry settlement with her father: 'with B. W. promised to marry me' (Fig. 29).[98] Even after their marriage had been agreed, Zachariah continued to record their encounters in mirror

[97] MS. Notations by Zachariah Edwards in *The Daily Journal: or, the Gentleman's and Tradesman's Complete Annual Accompt-Book for the Pocket, or Desk. For the Year of Our Lord 1766* (London: Printed only for R. Baldwin, at the Rose, in Pater-Noster-Row). Copy consulted: "Pocket diary and account book inscribed 'Zach. Edwards, Chard, Somerset'. 1766," Taunton, Somerset Heritage Centre, DD/CHG/67/11.
[98] Ibid.

form, now making note of the various gifts he presented to her. These small items were typical of Georgian love tokens, small trifles that included 'a pair of Stone Shoe Buckles', 'an Almanac', and '2 Pinns for head dress.'[99] Tragically their marriage never came to fruition, for Zachariah Edwards died in early May 1767. He ceased recording in his memorandum book a couple of weeks before the date of his burial, suggestive of a short, sudden illness that cut their courtship short.

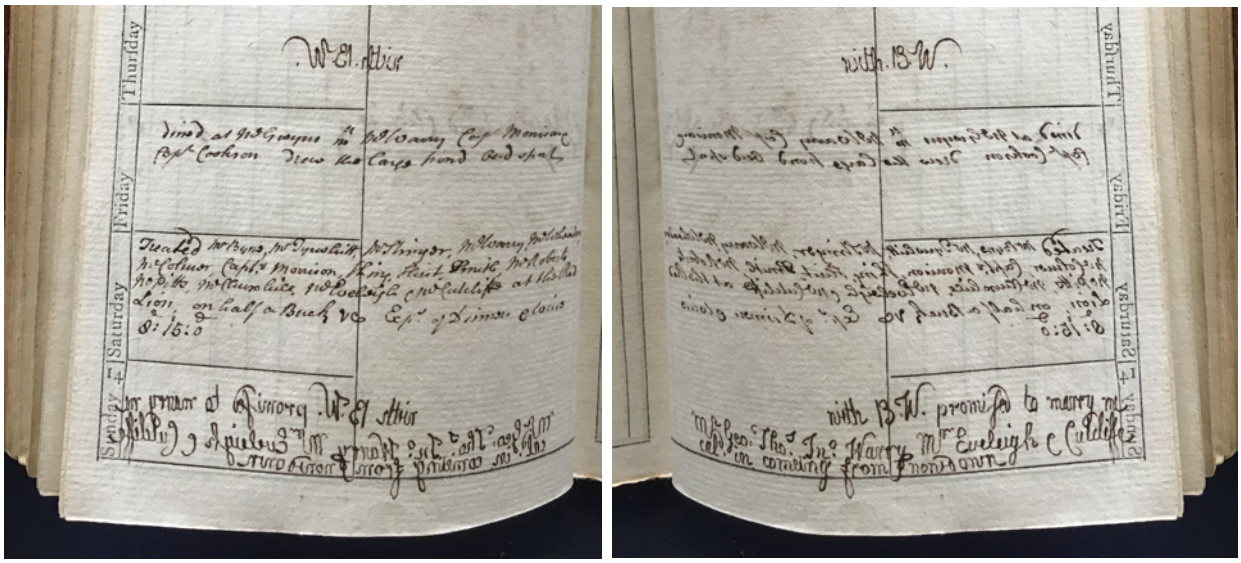


Figure 28. Page from Zachariah Edward's memorandum book for 1766 with entries in mirror writing; same image mirrored.

As is often the case with codes and ciphers, strategies such as mirror writing drew attention to what they attempted to conceal.[100] It seems that Zachariah Edwards was more concerned with enhancing the excitement of courtship than sincerely disguising any evidence of it. The fact that the mirror writing continued long after his engagement was formalized points to this act as being part of the 'Game of Love' that Sally Holloway has described, a ritual played out through meetings for tea and at balls, through the love tokens he sent her, and through the act of recording their encounters in his memorandum book. Indeed, he recorded purchasing "B.W." a pair of earrings in mirror format on the 8th February 1767, but then straightforwardly entered into the recto accounts page: 'Gave Miss Wheadon to pay for pair

[99] Ibid; MS. Notations by Zachariah Edwards in *The Daily Journal; or, the Gentleman's and Tradesman's Complete Annual Accompt-Book for the Pocket, or Desk. For the Year of Our Lord 1767* (London: Printed only for R. Baldwin, at the Rose, in Pater-Noster-Row). Copy consulted: "Pocket diary and account book inscribed 'Z. Edwards, Chard'. 1767," Taunton, Somerset Heritage Centre, DD/CHG/67/12.

[100] Leonieke Vermeer, "Tiny Symbols Tell Big Stories: Naming and Concealing Masturbation in Diaries (1650–1940)," *European Journal of Life Writing* 6 (2017): 114.

of Paste Earrings – 2.12.6.'[101] A courtship supposedly concealed in the memorandum pages was dutifully accounted for in his expenditure. Moreover, the material qualities of his mirror writing actually drew greater attention to the entries relating to Miss Wheadon. As we can see in Fig 29., Edwards's small, sloping scrawl was transformed into a large, rounded hand when he wrote in reverse. His mirrored entries occupied the centre of the page, setting them apart from his regular entries such that they first caught the eye when the page was turned. The overall effect was to emphasise his encounters with "B. W." within the records of his life. His mirrored writing can therefore be understood as a form of rubrication, highlighting particular types of records in his memorandum book – those related to romance – over and above the entries relating to day-to-day life.

More common was the deployment of foreign languages to disguise entries. This strategy may have been more sincerely intended to limit the number of possible readers for, as Sally Holloway suggests, it would have prevented any possible snooping from servants uneducated in foreign languages.[102] Foreign languages seem to have been used to demarcate delicate matters, including romantic encounters but also health issues. The ever-sickly poet Thomas Gray recorded his long health complaints in Latin, describing on the 8th June 1755 that he was suffering from restless sleep, diarrhoea, numbness in his legs and dryness on the soles of his feet.[103] Meanwhile, John Readhead, manager of an alum estate in Loftus, North Yorkshire, used a mixture of French and Greek to obscure entries in his copy of the *Newcastle Memorandum Book* for 1769. His memorandum book shows him to have been continuously plagued by poor health, and continuously in pursuit of women. It seems that the former attribute won out, as his memorandum book entries cease after mid-August following yet another bout of poor health in which he experienced 'Pain in my Back & Thigh

[101] MS. Notations by Zachariah Edwards in *The Daily Journal; or, the Gentleman's and Tradesman's Complete Annual Accompt-Book for the Pocket, or Desk. For the Year of Our Lord 1767* (London: Printed only for R. Baldwin, at the Rose, in Pater-Noster-Row). Copy consulted: "Pocket diary and account book inscribed 'Z. Edwards, Chard'. 1767," Taunton, Somerset Heritage Centre, DD/CHG/67/12.
[102] Sally Holloway, "'You know I am all on fire:' Writing the adulterous affair in England, c.1740–1830," *Historical Research* 89, no. 244 (May 2016): 325.
[103] MS. Notations by Thomas Gray in *The Gentleman's and Tradesman's Pocket Assistant: or Daily Remembrancer, for the Year MDCLV* [1755] (London: Printed for the Editor, M. Sheepey, in London-street, Fenchurch-street; P. Stevens, facing Stationers-Hall; Mess. Crowder and Woodgate, at the Golden-Ball, in Paster-Noster-Row). Copy consulted: "'The Gentleman's and Tradesman's Pocket Assistant: or Daily Remembrancer for the Year MDCCLV. A New and Compleat Memorandum Book, Of General Use to all Persons', 1755-01-01 - 1755-12-31," Cambridge, Pembroke College, GRA/2/1.

– Vomitted every Thing I took' and was bled with leeches.[104] It seems likely that Readhead died sometime around the end of August or early September, for an entry in another hand recorded expenses concerning 'proven the will' on the 29th September.[105]

Using Greek letters, Readhead recorded regular trysts with a woman only identified as "Laissa." These encounters took place in various nearby fields and the Church nave, and Redhead kept track of the number of hours they had spent together – such as, 'about 1 ½ hours' – and when they next planned to meet. Meanwhile, on the 12th January 1769 he wrote in his accounts page that he had 'Alone some time with Anna *qui je baisai.*' This snippet of French has two possible meanings: 'who I kissed', or 'who I fucked.' Clearly either way, John Readhead was rather satisfied with his conquest and the use of French here seems to have been in order to heighten the erotic thrill. As Sally Holloway has described, French was a language often used in adulterous correspondence because of its association with romance and flirtation.[106] The entries may have been obscured in this way to discourage prying eyes, perhaps the workers on his Loftus estate, but just like the mirrored writing of Zachariah Edwards, there was clearly more at play. Like Zachariah Edwards, he was inconsistent in applying his code, often recording his meetings with Laissa in plain English. Moreover, his entry about his encounter with Anna was also written in the margins, in a distinctively different hand: he printed the letters instead of writing them in cursive (Fig. 30).

[104] MS. Notations by John Readhead in *The Newcastle memorandum-book : or, a methodical pocket-journal, for the year MDCCLXIX* [1769] (Newcastle: Printed and Sold by T. Slack). Copy consulted: York, Borthwick Institute, Rare Books 4.13.

[105] John Readhead was manager of the Loftus estate between 1766-1769: Kevin Quinn, "Some early examples of plant development and process control in the chemical industry," *Unpublished PhD Thesis* (University of Durham, 1977), 43. There is also a record of a 'John son of John Readhead' who was buried at Loftus on the 5th September 1769: Record Transcription: Yorkshire Burials, Teesside Archives, Findmypast citing archive reference PRLO 1/1. https://www.findmypast.co.uk/transcript?id=GBPRS%2FYORKSHIRE%2FBUR%2F2763436 [Last Accessed 08/08/2022].

[106] Sally Holloway, "Writing the adulterous affair in England, c.1740–1830," *Historical Research* 89, No. 244 (May 2016), 325.

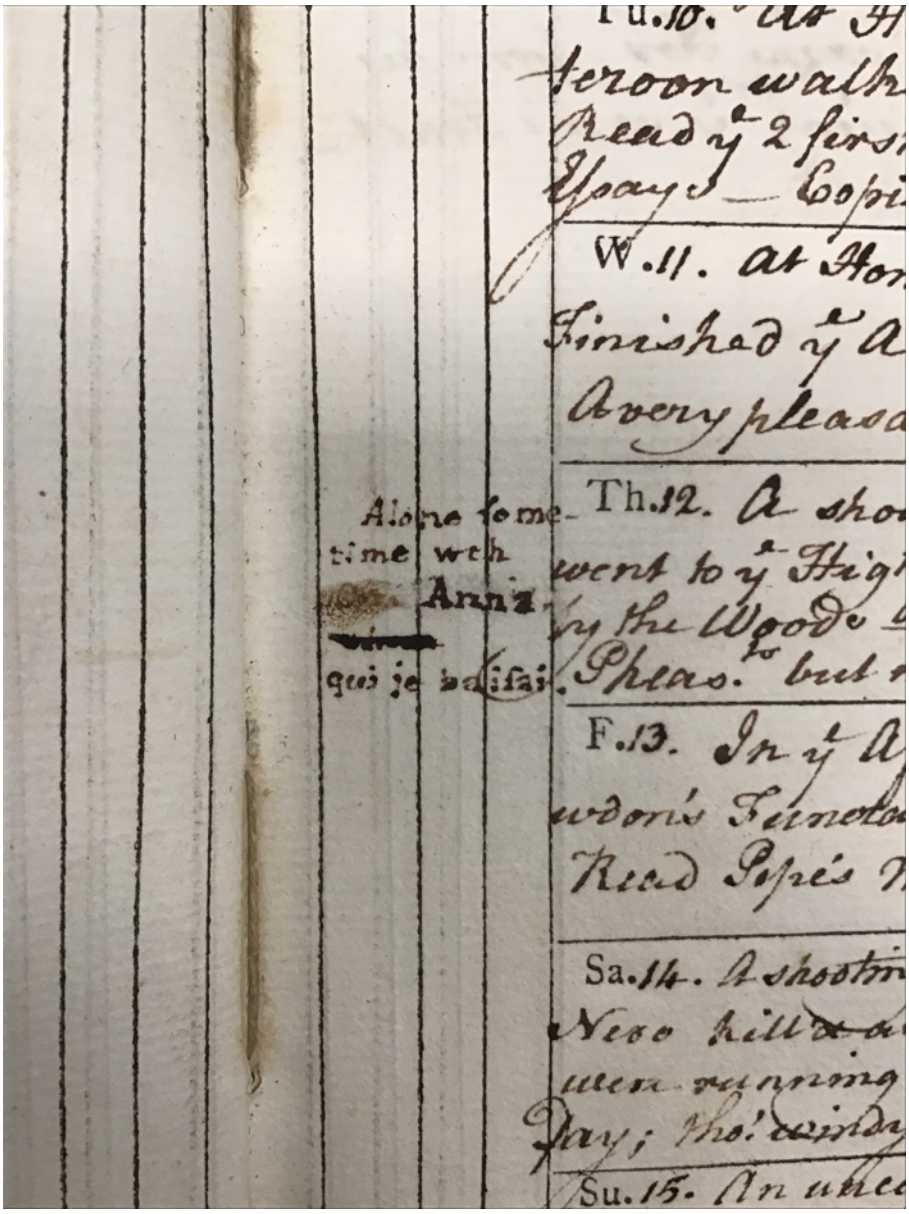


Figure 29. Entry by John Readhead in his memorandum book describing his encounter with Anna, in Roman hand.

This was a strategy of 'script-switching,' in which individuals changed the type of writing as a 'means of visual highlighting.'[107] The adoption of a roman hand was also intended to imitate print in manuscript form. As a strategy, the use of roman hand has been noted in passing, but remarkably little consideration has been given to this as a widespread practice in eighteenth-century Britain. We find "Roman Print" promoted in eighteenth-century copybooks such as Bickham's *Universal Penman* (1741) as one of the main forms of

[107] Samuli Kaislaniemi, 'Code-switching, script-switching, and typeface-switching in Early Modern English manuscript letters and printed tracts,' in Matti Peikola, Aleksi Mäkilähde, Hanna Salmi, Mari-Liisa Varila, and Janne Skaffari , eds, *Verbal and visual communication in Early English texts* (Turnhout: Brepols, 2017), 176.

handwriting, though its use was less common than other hands. *A General Introduction to Trade and Business* described how round hand and Italian hand were for 'immediate use', employed in matters of business, while 'Old English, Roman and Italick Prints, and the German Text' were 'used for Ornament.'[108] Examples abound of eighteenth-century individuals imitating print in manuscript, especially to bestow on homemade literary works the clout of a published product. For example, Rachel Scarborough King has described how Jane Johnson, mother to Barbara Johnson whose scrapbook-album is studied in Chapter Seven of this thesis, created a manuscript fiction which drew on the paratextual features of print. 'Johnson mimicked a printed title page by placing the title of the story in the middle of a line' and wrote out the play's dialogue 'in different "fonts", writing the characters' names in Roman type and the text in her usual italic handwriting.'[109] We can see how print culture shaped the conventions of manuscript practices in this era as paratextual features – such as a title page, and roman type – became a means by which individuals could signal their participation in eighteenth-century literary culture.

Yet the use of roman hand in personal life-writing suggests that print culture influenced manuscript practices in other, more subtle ways. John Readhead used it to mark out significant events in his life, not only his tryst with Anna but also when important people visited or he experienced something out of the norm. For example, on Wednesday 19th July he wrote in his regular italic hand: 'At Mr Seilburn's in ye Morning & also in ye Afternoon sometime –' and added in roman hand: 'Mr. Brooke lett me Blood. The first Operation of the Kind I ever underwent'.[110] When he went fox hunting in January, he not only wrote the entire entry in roman hand but also added two asterisks alongside in the margin to give it added emphasis.[111] Immediately, the reader's eye is drawn to the change in stylistic

[108] William Markham, *A General Introduction to Trade and Business: Or, the Young Merchant's and Tradesman's Magazine* (London: Printed for A. Bettesworth and C. Hitch at the Red Lion in Paternoster-Row, and J. Hodges at the Looking-Glass on London-Bridge, 1739), 53.
[109] Rachel Scarborough King, *Letters and the Origins of Modern Print Genres* (Baltimore: John Hopkins University Press, 2018), 98.
[110] Ms. Notations by John Readhead in *The Newcastle memorandum-book : or, a methodical pocket-journal, for the year MDCCLXIX* [1769] (Newcastle: Printed and Sold by T. Slack). Copy consulted: York, Borthwick Institute, Rare Books 4.13.
[111] The use of asterisks to mark out passages of importance is part of a longer history of marginalia. One seventeenth century book on oratory advised: 'it is useful to indicate the most worthy Precepts or *Sententiae*, particularly those upon which something is added at the end of the work, with some sign, such as an Asterisk * or a Hand ☞ standing out in the margin.' Charles Butler, *Orotoriae Libri Duo* (Oxford: William Turner, 1633) as

convention: like the example of mirror-writing, it was a strategy intended to elicit attention. As Patricia Constance Kidd has described of printed advertisements in the eighteenth century, the legibility of the roman hand made it useful for highlighting 'certain pieces of information over others.'[112] Practically speaking, script-switching to a roman hand likely made it easier to scan through the memorandum book and pick out important entries at a later date. But it also speaks to the 'authoritative aura of print.[113] Amalia E. Gnanadesikan has described how early-modern print 'exuded rigidity and changelessness', while Susan Stabile has suggested that by the early nineteenth century print 'signified concealment or anonymity' compared to manuscript, which denoted the corporeality of the writer.[114] In the context of memorandum books, using the roman hand was a means of channelling the authority of print, using it to demarcate certain events as more significant than others, and to elevate such entries above the realms of the personal and every day.

Examples of the roman hand are dotted across memorandum books, indicative of a culturally accepted standard in manuscript record-keeping. Writing almost fifty years after John Readhead, the Ipswich teenager John Barber Scott used a roman hand at various points in his memorandum book for 1807. On the page for 'Memorandums and Resolutions At the Beginning of the Year 1807' he recorded the travels of various friends abroad: 'My friend Mr G. Norman sailed for the East Indias in April 1806.' Alongside, he added his friends' ages, in a distinct roman hand: 'Aged 19'.[115] He did the same when recording the ages of family members on their birthdays and on their deaths. Moreover, he recorded significant battles taking place in the Napoleonic Wars in a roman hand, such as his entry for January 1st: 'Island of Curacao taken by ye English' or his entry for January 22nd:

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quoted in William H. Sherman, *Marking Readers in Renaissance England* (Philadelphia: University of Pennsylvannia Press, 2008), 44.

[112] Patricia Constance Kidd, "Aspects of Eighteenth Century Advertising in Britain: London Trade Cards 1660-1770," *Unpublished MA Thesis* (University of Victoria, 1981), 82; ibid, 114.

[113] Amalia E. Gnanadesikan, *The Writing Revolution: Cuneiform to the Internet* (Chichester: Wiley-Blackwell, 2009), 255.

[114] Ibid, 225; Susan M. Stabile, *Memory's Daughters: The Material Culture of Remembrance in Eighteenth-Century America* (New York: Cornell University Press, 2004), 121-2.

[115] MS. Notations by John Barber Scott in *The Daily Journal: or, Gentleman's, Merchant's, and Tradesman's Complete Annual Accompt-Book, for the Pocket or Desk. For the Year of Our Lord 1807* (London: Printed for R. Baldwin, J. Walker, G. Wilkie and J. Robinson, W. March, Scarcherd and Letterman, M. Hinckesman; and B.C. Collins, Salisbury). Copy consulted: "The daily journal or gentlemen's merchants' and tradesmen's complete annual account book," Lowestoft, Suffolk Record Office, 185/1/2.

'Intellegence received of y^e recapture of Buenos Ayres to the Spaniards' (Fig 30).[116] The fact that military events were all in a lighter ink suggests that he went back and added them in at a later date. Battles were recorded not when *he* heard of the events, but on the dates they actually happened or were made public knowledge: Barber Scott was not attempting to document his own personal experience of the war, but record the referenceable facts of it. It draws on the authority of print, and removes himself from the equation.

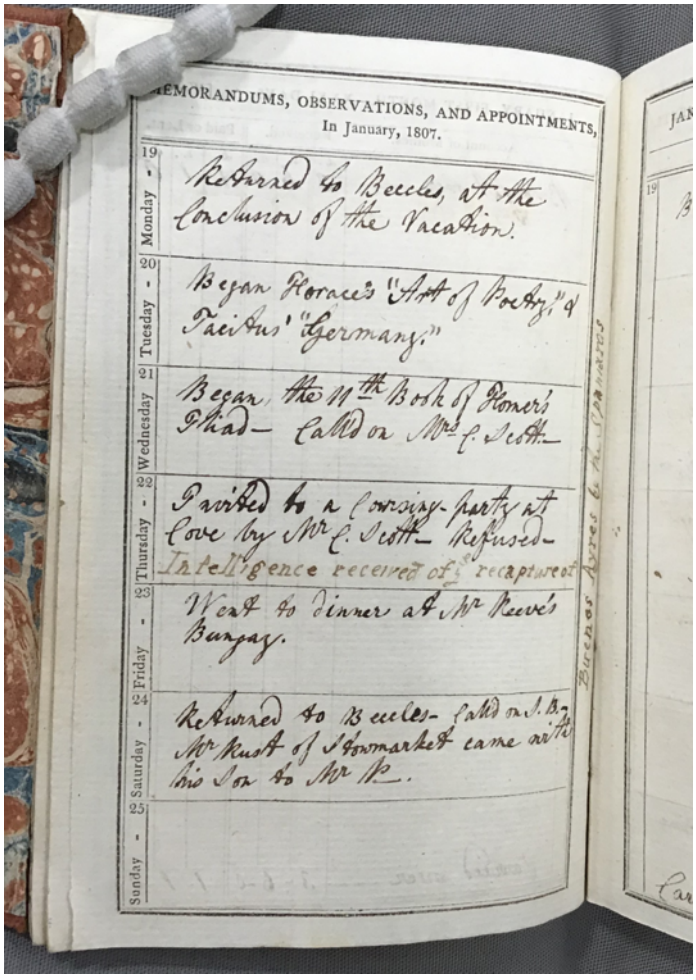


Figure 30. Entries in Roman hand by John Barber Scott in his memorandum book for 1807

It almost appears as if he is lifting such entries straight from newspaper headlines – which was, perhaps, exactly the point. John Barber Scott, son of a wealthy tanner, was a self-styled gentleman who was proud to have his finger on the pulse. As we find documented in his later long-form manuscript diaries, it was a noteworthy event when he turned fifteen and

[116] Ibid.

was first 'allowed to read the Newspapers this Autumn at the Subscription Rooms.'[117] Accordingly, in 1809, he received a letter written by Matthias Kerrison to his father, informing of Kerrison's safety after the battle of Corunna. Barber Scott recounted: 'I was charged to convey the news to his Ipswich friends, which made me of much importance in theirs and my own eyes.'[118] He was a man cognizant of the dramatic times he was living through and someone who derived a sense of status from being well-informed. Indeed, the small degree of fame which Barber Scott has earned in history comes from his first-hand testimony of meeting Napoleon in 1814 while on a continental tour, including a supposedly verbatim exchange between the two of them.[119] By employing a roman hand in his memorandum books, Barber Scott distinguished events of national import from the ebb and flow of his own life – but, conversely, by 'convey[ing] the news', he asserted his own importance and embeddedness in a wider historical narrative. We can see exemplified in the language used to describe the capture of Buenos Aires: 'Intelligence received'. It is a phrase that would have been familiar from newspaper reports, but here it functions to blur the lines of his own involvement; to position himself as authoritative source of information. Perhaps he always believed he was recording for posterity.

Finally, we see this same tendency in the memorandum books of James Curtis Fownes (1807-1876) who used a roman hand to note events such as the anniversary of Waterloo, and the death of his brother on March 21st 1828.[120] His entry for that day recorded that 'Dearest William this morning 1/2 past 2am breathed his last' (Fig. 32). A thick box was drawn around the day itself, tracing over the printed lines, and alongside, in the margin, he wrote in a bold roman print: '+W. H. F ETAT 22+'.[121] It was not uncommon for memorandum book users to write along the lefthand margin in this fashion, drawing on the affordances of the printed page in unanticipated ways. It was used to provide a summary reference of what users were doing that week or where they would be, such as attending county fairs or travelling up to London. The margins could also be used to mark out deaths, as Sommerville

[117] Mann, ed., *An Englishman at Home and Abroad,* 32.
[118] Mann, ed., *An Englishman at Home and Abroad,* 36.
[119] Ibid, 98.
[120] MS. Notations by James Curtis Fownes in *Marshall's Commercial Pocket-Book for 1828* (London: Published by W. Marshall, 1, Holborn Bars). Copy consulted: "Diary of James Curtis Fownes [Later Somervile]," Taunton, Somerset Heritage Centre, DD/SVL/5/8/8.
[121] Ibid.

does here, or to simply record a week summed up by 'Misery', as John Barber Scott did after the death of his mother. Making marginal notes was a relatively common reading strategy in this period, used to 'identify valuable material for future reading.' [122] Here we see that memorandum book users applied such strategies to their own life-writing.[123] The position of these marginal entries made them easy to find when leafing through the pages of the book, reinforcing the memorandum book's role as an indexical genre, one which users anticipated reading and re-reading.

Yet the use of Latin to describe the age of his brother on his death also suggests Curtis Fownes was intentionally imitating the formula of monumentary inscriptions, which were overwhelmingly carved in a roman print in this period. The use of roman print on monumentary inscriptions was in itself a stylistic rather than practical choice, likely chosen to evoke 'stability and timelessness.'[124] We can see here how such typographic associations fed into the ways in which death was recorded in life-writing, and how the printed layout of the memorandum book was utilised to mark out the date of death.

[122] M. O. Grenby, *The Child Reader, 1700-1840* (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 2011), 227. Also see: Colclough, *Consuming texts,* 80.
[123] The use of marginal annotations in life-writing has been mostly overlooked, but Alistair Mutch has briefly discussed the role of the marginal notes as 'guides to retrieval and indicators of importance' in eighteenth-century Scottish diaries. See: Alistair Mutch, "Marginal importance: Scottish accountability and English watchfulness," *Church History and Religious Culture* 96, Nos. 1-2 (2016), 158.
[124] Sarah Anne Essex Hoile, "Death, Time and Commerce: innovation and conservatism in styles of funerary material culture in 18th-19th century London," *Unpublished PhD Thesis* (UCL, 2020), 201; Ibid, 203.

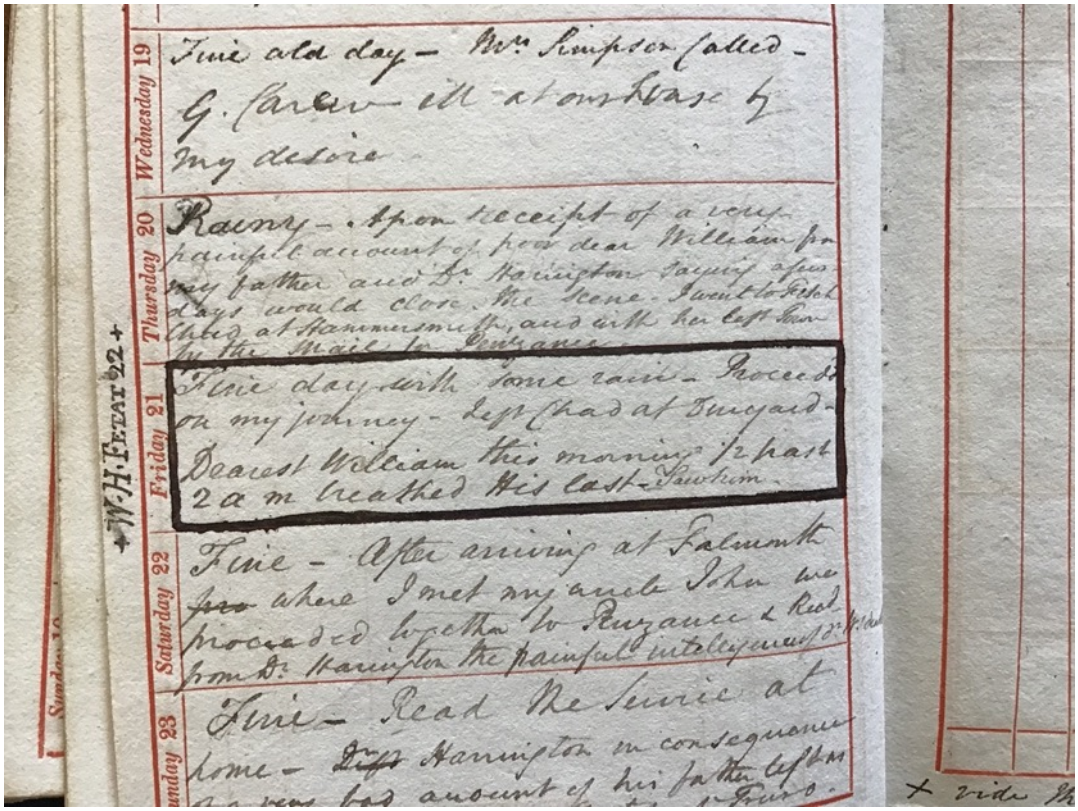


Figure 31. Entry by James Curtis Fownes employing Roman hand in Marshall's Commercial Pocket-Book for 1828

In all three examples – John Readhead, John Barber Scott, and James Sommerville Fownes – script-switching was used as a form of monumentalization. Whether it was the first time undergoing an operation, the date of a significant battle, or the death of a loved one, the roman hand marked each event out as significant, imparting the fixity and authority of 'the aura of print' to these momentous occasions.[125] John Barber Scott's memorandum exemplify how manuscript practices in this period did not just draw on published literary works as a model for writing, but other kinds of print products, such as newspapers, while James Curtis Fownes drew on the style of monumentary inscriptions to imbue his entry with a degree of formality and finality. Roman print filtered across different media forms, such that even in manuscript form it carried with it a sense of the monumental. Thus the use of codes, foreign languages, and script-switching, particularly when set in the tabulated structure of the memorandum book, worked to demarcate certain entries as being of particular significance for the writer.

[125] Gnanadesikan, *Writing Revolution,* 255.

Conclusion

This chapter has highlighted the myriad of ways in which memorandum books were put to use by their owners. It has shown how the printed structure of the memorandum book acted as an interface which enabled users to prioritise certain forms of record-keeping over others, to emphasise some days as more meaningful than others, and to rubricate the records of their life. The memorandum book as a genre may have attempted to standardize the written record, or even exert a disciplinary influence on consumers, but the adaptability of its structure made it easier than ever to mark out days of *personal* significance. Consumers drew on the affordances of the page in the construction of their life-writing, generating meaning not just through the content of their records but through the visual arrangement of them as well. Rather than simply seeing such adaptations as rebellion against the printed format of the memorandum book, then, these examples demonstrate the value individuals could find in the mise-en-page. The interface between print and manuscript which characterised the genre was what made such adaptations possible.

Chapter Six. The Memorandum Book as Gift: Practice and Poetics

Introduction

Having explored the ways in which consumers wrote in their memorandum books, this chapter now considers the rich culture of gift-exchange associated with memorandum books. First, it looks at the diverse ways in which memorandum books were gifted: as a training tool for children, as a token of friendship, and as part of the rituals of courtship. It then investigates the popular practice of writing verse inscriptions on the flyleaves of memorandum books. Whether penned by a gift giver, or by the owner themselves, verse inscriptions were attempted to shape the records written inside. Marginalia, typically understood as a response to printed text or as an autobiographical act in itself, here could play an important role in attempting to shape manuscript life-writing in this period.[1] Taken together, these examples are revealing of the values eighteenth-century individuals imagined the genre could impart.

This chapter therefore aims to open up a wider spectrum of meanings associated with owning and using the books. To borrow from Jason Scott-Warren, studying books as gifts enables us to understand them 'not as static receptacles of meaning, but as dynamic, transacted, and above all *material* objects.'[2] In this chapter, we see memorandum books set in motion, as they fed into an array of social and intertextual practices: the education of children, the sociable construction of puzzles, the exchange and storage of love tokens, and the use of flyleaf inscriptions to set out hopes and expectations for the future. This evidence shows that the books were not only understood as a practical tool for tracking accounts and appointments but had a range of cultural connotations, most notably as an instrument of moral improvement.

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[1] Jason Scott-Warren, for example, describes printed books as 'vehicles for many kinds of life-writing': Jason Warren-Scott, "Reading Graffiti in the Early Modern Book," *Huntington Library Quarterly* 73, no. 3 (2010), 380. Also see: Katherine Acheson, ed., *Early Modern English Marginalia* (London: Routledge, 2018).

[2] Jason Scott-Warren, *Sir John Harington and the Book as Gift* (Oxford: Oxford University Press, 2001), 2.

Gift-exchange is an inherently gendered act; the study of memorandum book as gift also enables us to explore the role of the memorandum book as gendered object. As a genre, memorandum books have received the most sustained interest over time for what they can tell us about women's agency in the eighteenth century.[3] In particular, Jennie Batchelor has described the printed content of ladies' memorandum books as conduct literature in another guise, intended to inculcate 'conservative' values about women's role in society, while Cynthia Huff has viewed the printed form of memorandum books – as well as their gifting – as a means of reinforcing women's 'place within the social order.'[4] This, and the following chapter, offers arguments against such reductive readings, showing that memorandum books could play a more expansive role in women's textual and social lives.

The Memorandum Book as Gift

As scholars such as Stephen Colclough, Molly McCarthy, and Amanda Vickery have noted, the personal and memorializing nature of memorandum books made them ideal presents for birthdays, Christmas or New Year's day.[5] The blank memorandum pages encapsulated the promise of the year to come, ready to be filled with inscription and thus action by the owner. Along with their timely publication in mid-November, the annual format of memorandum books made them particularly well suited as New Year's gifts, ready to be used for the following year. It was also a form of built-in obsolescence: the memorandum book was a present which had to be purchased every year. Publishers of memorandum

[3] See for example: Harriet Blodgett, *Centuries of Female Days: Englishwomen's Private Diaries* (Gloucester: Alan Sutton, 1989), 24-6; Cynthia Huff, "Textual Boundaries: Space in Nineteenth-Century Women's Manuscript Diaries," in Suzanne L. Bunkers & Cynthia A . Huff, eds., *Inscribing the Daily: Critical Essays on Women's Daires* (Amherst: University of Massachusetts Press, 1996), 123-138; Amanda Vickery, *The Gentlmena's Daughter: Women's Lives in Georgian England* (New Haven: Yale University Press, 1998); Linda M. Kirkham & Anne Loft, "The Lady and the Accounts: Missing from Accounting History?" *The Accounting Historians Journal* 28, no. 1 (June 2001): 67-90; Jennie Batchelor, "Fashion and Frugality: Eighteenth-Century Pocket Books for Women," *Studies in Eighteenth-Century Culture* 32 (2003): 1-18; Rebecca Connor, *Women, Accounting, and Narrative: Keeping Books in Eighteenth-Century England* (London: Routledge, 2004); Serena Dyer, "Barbara Johnson's Album: Material Literacy and Consumer Practice, 1746-1823," *Journal for Eighteenth-Century Studies* 42, no. 3 (September 2019): 263-282.

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[5] Stephen Colclough, "Pocket Books and Portable Writing: The Pocket Memorandum Book in Eighteenth-Century England and Wales," *The Yearbook of English Studies* 45, The History of the Book (2015): 164;, Amanda Vickery, "A Self off the Shelf: The Rise of the Pocket Diary in Eighteenth-Century England," *Eighteenth-Century Studies,* 54, no. 3 (Spring 2021): 674; Molly McCarthy, "A Pocketful of Days: Pocket Diaries and Daily Record Keeping among Nineteenth-Century New England Women" *The New England Quarterly* 73, no. 2 (2000): 278.

books therefore pre-dated the culture of gift-exchange embedded in the Romantic-era albums and annuals, which directly drew attention to their gift-giving potential through titles such as *Friendship's Offering* and *Forget Me Not; a Christmas and New Year's Present.*[6] The eighteenth-century memorandum book was less explicit about its status as a gift-commodity but nonetheless encouraged a culture of gift exchange through its printed content, one which we can see evidenced in manuscript practice.[7]

Through various advertising strategies, publishers encouraged the distribution of memorandum books amongst family members. The *Ladies' Own Memorandum Book* regularly supplied an exemplar of use. In it, the example expenditure included copies of the *Ladies' Own Memorandum Book* itself. Notably, the imagined diarist recorded purchasing *two* copies each year, one each 'for self and daughter.'[8] The ideal user was concerned not just with her own oeconomy, but will impart the book's good precepts to her child. Likewise, in a surreptitious advertisement for *Pearce's Lady's Lottery Pocket-Book*, a happy customer wrote to the *Northampton Mercury* to inform the readers that he had 'four Daughters, to each of whom I yearly present a Pocket-Book' – and that upon seeing that *Pearce's* came with a chance to win a monetary prize, 'they prevailed on me to buy it of your Man for them'.[9] Clearly, memorandum book publishers hoped and expected that parents would buy copies for their children, and thereby inculcate the habit of self-recording in memorandum books in the next generation.

It seems likely that many users of memorandum books did indeed start a life-long habit with a gift from a relative at an early age. Harriet Grove, aged 18, inscribed on the front flyleaf of her *New Ladies Memorandum Book* for 1809: 'Harriet Grove Given her by her Dear Mother

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[6] For more on the gift-economy of Romantic literary annuals, see: Lindsey Eckert, "Romantic Authorship and the Failures of Familiarity," *Unpublished PhD thesis* (University of Toronto, 2013), 178-9.
[7] Towards the end of the eighteenth century, memorandum book brands appeared with titles that brought more explicit attention to their gift-status, for example, the *Annual Present for the Ladies; Or, A New and Fashionable Ladies Pocket-Book for the Year 1788* (London: Printed by L. Wayland). In doing so, they paved the way for the Romantic gift-annual.
[8] *The Ladies' Own Memorandum Book; or, Daily Pocket Journal for the Year 1769* (London: Printed for Robinson and Roberts, No. 25, Paternoster-Row; and T. Slack, at Newcastle). Copy consulted "Board' wages and domestic accounts," Norwich, Norfolk Record Office, FEL 964, 557x4.
[9] *Northampton Mercury*, 4 Nov. 1776.

as a New Years Gift Jan^{y} 1st 1809.'[10] This kind of inscription was not uncommon; Vickery has found several examples of memorandum books described as the "gift of my dear Mama."[11] Scholars such as Serena Dyer and Mary O'Dowd have also commented on the cultural phenomenon of parents giving children memorandum books as part of their early education.[12] In the case of Harriet Grove, her mother's efforts to encourage memorandum book usage seems to have been successful: the following year Grove's mother presented her again with a memorandum book for 1810, but at the end of the year Grove recorded that she 'went to Church being Christmas day . . . . Bought pocket Book for next year.'[13]

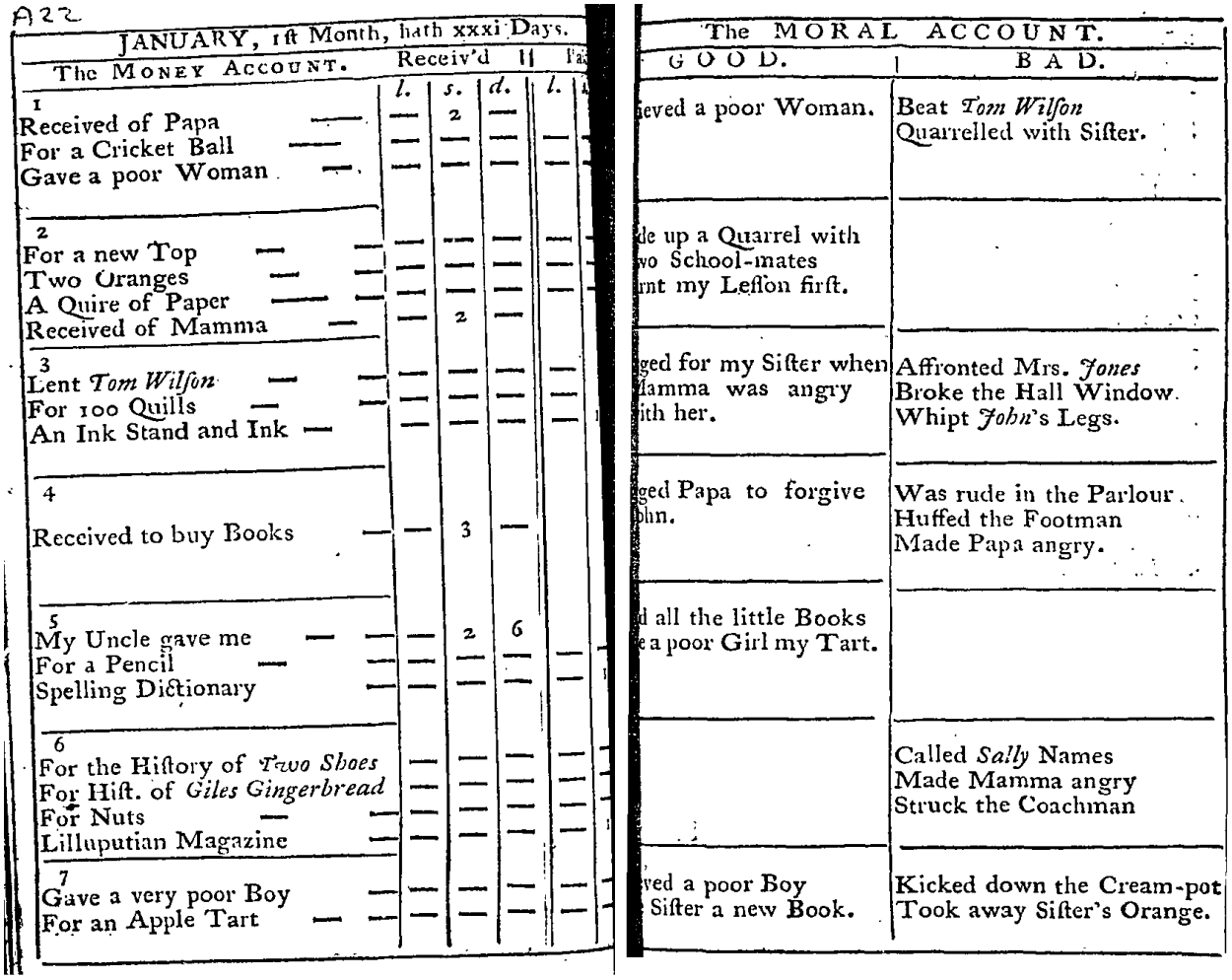
Publishers fostered the idea that memorandum books should be given to children as part of their transition to adulthood.[15] The first memorandum book that targeted a young audience was Joseph Johnson's *The Young Gentleman's Pocket Book* for 1764, illustrated with a frontispiece of 'Oeconomy presenting the Pocket-book to a young Gentleman.'[16] Sadly this book and its accompanying print have not been located, but newspaper advertisements show its content to have been more akin to ladies' editions: the book contained a second print of 'a young Gentleman in the present Fashion' – the only fashion print I've found aimed at a male audience – as well as various entries in prose and verse intended to 'please the Fancy, convey Instruction and direct the Conduct.' [17] At one shilling, it was the same price as Johnson's ladies' memorandum book and far cheaper than his gentleman's edition at 1*s.*8*d.* The cheaper price may have helped the "Young Gentleman" afford the memorandum book, but the advertised content was as much intended to speak to relatives who might purchase it on his behalf. In particular, the illustration of 'Oeconomy presenting

[10] MS. Notations in *The New Ladies Memorandum Book for 1809* (London: Printed for R. Baldwin, 47, Paternoster Row). Copy consulted: "The New Ladies Memorandum Book, for 1809, with the manuscript entries of Harriet Grove," Carl H. Pforzheimer Collection of Shelley and His Circle, New York, New York Public Library, Pforz MS (S'ANA 0027). Accessible online: https://digitalcollections.nypl.org/items/67c35240-43ec-0130-0e0a-58d385a7bbd0 [Last Accessed: 11/07/2022].
[11] Vickery, "Self off a Shelf," 674.
[12] Serena Dyer, "Trained to Consume: Dress and the Female Consumer in England, 1720-1820," *Unpublished PhD Thesis* (University of Warwick, 2016), 128; Mary O'Dowd, "Adolescent Girlhood in Eighteenth-Century Ireland," in Mary O'Dowd and June Purvis, eds., *A History of the Girl: Formation, Education and Identity* (London: Palgrave Macmillan, 2018), 65.
[13] Blodgett, *Centuries of Female Days:*, 25
[15] Dyer, "Trained to Consume," 128.
[16] *Newcastle Courant,* 19 Nov. 1763.
[17] Ibid.

the Pocket-book' depicted the imagined reader as a recipient of the memorandum book, and by extension, a recipient of the virtues it could instil.

Another attempt to crack the younger market was *The Important Pocket Book, or Valentine's Ledger,* published by the "Father of Children's Literature" John Newbery, sometime in the mid-1760s. It was a memorandum book with a twist: instead of recording appointments and memorandums, children were encouraged to keep track of their "Good" and "Bad" actions alongside their weekly accounts (Fig. 33).[18] The moral imperative to record and review one's own actions, a principle underpinning memorandum books, was here made explicit. At a glance, a child – and their parents – could see whether they had committed more good or bad acts each week, and over time could weigh up whether they had improved over the course of the memorandum book. *The Important Pocket Book* therefore sold itself as a training tool for children that would equip them with the self-accounting skills they would need throughout their lives. It also promoted itself as the type of book that any responsible parents would purchase for their own child. This message was reinforced through a printed story at the front of the volume which, in classic Newbery style, mainly served as a prolonged advertisement to the parents who might buy their children the book. The story featured the fictional Mr. Meanwell who buys copies of the *Important Pocket Book* for his two children. An onlooker, the respectable Countess, speaks for the reader when she exclaims: 'I have a great opinion of Mr. *Meanwell*'s abilities, whatever Books he puts into the hands of his Children I should like to give my own.'[19] Publishers encouraged parents to see gifting memorandum books as part of their children's education, helping to shape them into morally and fiscally responsible adults.

[18] *The Important Pocket Book, or the Valentine's Ledger* (London: Printed for J. Newbery [1765?]. Copy consulted: *Eighteenth Century Collections Online*, link.gale.com/apps/doc/CW0122855799/ECCO?u=uniyork&sid=bookmark-ECCO&xid=b45020ed&pg=1 [Last Accessed 30/08/2022].
[19] Ibid.



JANUARY, 1ſt Month, hath xxxi Days.

The MONEY ACCOUNT.	Receiv'd l.	s.	d.	Pa l.	
1					
Received of Papa —	—	2	—		
For a Cricket Ball —	—	—	—		
Gave a poor Woman —	—	—	—		
2					
For a new Top —	—	—	—		
Two Oranges —	—	—	—		
A Quire of Paper —	—	—	—		
Received of Mamma —	—	2	—		
3					
Lent *Tom Wilſon* —	—	—	—		
For 100 Quills —	—	—	—		
An Ink Stand and Ink —	—	—	—		
4					
Received to buy Books —	—	3	—		
5					
My Uncle gave me —	—	—	2	6	
For a Pencil —	—	—	—		
Spelling Dictionary —	—	—	—		
6					
For the Hiſtory of *Two Shoes*	—	—	—		
For Hiſt. of *Giles Gingerbread*	—	—	—		
For Nuts —	—	—	—		
Lilliputian Magazine —	—	—	—		
7					
Gave a very poor Boy	—	—	—		
For an Apple Tart —	—	—	—		

The MORAL ACCOUNT.	
GOOD.	BAD.
ieved a poor Woman.	Beat *Tom Wilſon* Quarrelled with Siſter.
de up a Quarrel with vo School-mates nt my Leſſon firſt.	
ged for my Siſter when Mamma was angry ith her.	Affronted Mrs. *Jones* Broke the Hall Window. Whipt *John*'s Legs.
ged Papa to forgive hn.	Was rude in the Parlour. Huffed the Footman Made Papa angry.
d all the little Books e a poor Girl my Tart.	
	Called *Sally* Names Made Mamma angry Struck the Coachman
ved a poor Boy Siſter a new Book.	Kicked down the Cream-pot Took away Siſter's Orange.

Figure 32. The Important Pocket Book; or Valentine's Ledger [1765?]

As Vickery has recently pointed out, memorandum books appear to have been more frequently given to young girls than boys. She suggests that because middling and upper class girls were likely to be educated at home, while their brothers went to school, the memorandum book played a greater role in training girls in lieu of formal education.[20] This skew towards young girls may help to explain why Johnson's *Young Gentleman's Pocket-Book* was a short-lived publication. Because home education was typically carried out by female relatives, Vickery considers that young girls were gifted memorandum books as part of their 'instruments of socialization'.[21] The memorandum book acted as a broader training tool: not only did it inculcate self-recording habits in children, but it helped to establish

[20] Vickery, "Self off a Shelf," 674.
[21] Ibid, 674.

family dynamics in which older female relatives helped to nurture the development of younger relatives.

More polemically, Cynthia Huff has argued that the gifting of memorandum books functioned to reinforce what she terms the 'patriarchal social order' in which women were relegated to the domestic sphere, in order to play the role of oeconomic housewives and 'preserve the social fabric of the family.'[22] In her study of the diaries of Lady Marianne Brougham (1785-1865), Huff describes how at the end of each year, Lady Brougham's husband would present her and the children with new memorandum books while they, in turn, gifted memorandum books to the servants.[23] Huff views this as a means of controlling the cultural values imparted down the social hierarchy. The ladies' memorandum book trained Lady Brougham to be oeconomical in tracking household expenditure, shaping her into an ideal housewife, while the printed bounds of the page restricted her freedom of expression. As Huff describes, the 'spatial orderings of her printed volume teach Lady Brougham her proper place within the social order.'[24] It is not just the printed matter of the memorandum book, but the form of self-recording it promoted, that makes this genre a tool of patriarchal control, on Huff's account. Like the 'tightly controlled spatial format' of the memorandum book, the gifting of memorandum is seen as helping to reinforce the tightly controlled structure of the household.[25]

Huff's view of memorandum books is remarkably restrictive: it does not acknowledge a wider spectrum of meanings associated with the book itself or the act of gifting one. Her account also subscribes to what Amanda Vickery has described as an 'Angel-in-the-House model of Victorian ladyhood', which has come under intense criticism in the intervening

[22] Huff has discussed the memorandum books of Lady Marianne Brougham in both the following articles: Cynthia Huff, '"That Profoundly Female, and Feminist Genre": The Diary as Feminist Practice', *Women's Studies Quarterly* 17, no. 3/4, Women's Nontraditional Literature (Fall - Winter, 1989), 6; Cynthia A. Huff, "Textual Boundaries: Space in Nineteenth-Century Women's Manuscript Diaries" in Suzanne L. Bunkers & Cynthia A. Huff, eds., *Inscribing the Daily: Critical Essays on Women's Diaries* (Amherst: University of Massachusetts Press, 1996), 126.
[23] Huff, "Textual Boundaries," 126.
[24] Ibid, 126.
[25] Ibid, 137.

years.[26] It is not my intention to retread over this ground. Instead, in this chapter I engage critically with Huff's work as it pertains to her depiction of memorandum books, since she remains one of the only scholars to consider how memorandum books were culturally codified as gifts.

Her work emerged as part of feminist historiography's efforts to establish literary canons of women's writing in the 1980s. The diary form in particular became a locum of attention, since it was considered to be inherently suited to women's self-expression. Yet memorandum books sit uncomfortably with a vision of women's diarising as a 'free flow' between women's psyche and their daily experience, since they impose printed restrictions on women's writing.[28] It is telling that when Huff describes Lady Brougham as shifting from using memorandum books to blank notebooks to keep her records, Huff regards this as a potential defiance of the restrictions of the printed structure. Yet If memorandum books were intended to restrict women's self-expression, it naturally follows, on Huff's account, that their gifting was a means of upholding the bounds of both the printed columns and the social order. This is a view that can only be sustained if we disregard the swathes of gentlemen's memorandum books and the great number of men who used them, which featured identical 'spatial orderings' for recording their appointments, memorandums and accounts, and complicate any straightforward reading of memorandum books as inherently repressive of women's self-expression.

Even when given to children and young adults, it is reductive to view them purely through the lens of patriarchal control. There was a whole culture of gift-exchange involving the eighteenth-century memorandum book that has previously gone unacknowledged. The personalisable nature of memorandum books made them an intimate gift, connoting friendship and affection or courtship. To give one example, an anonymous young girl in London proudly wrote in her copy of *The Ladies Daily Companion* for 1789 that it had been

[26] Amanda Vickery, "Golden age to separate spheres? A review of the categories and chronology of English women's history," *The Historical Journal* 36, no. 2 (1993), 389.
[28] Cynthia Huff, ""That Profoundly Female and Feminist Genre": The Diary as Feminist Practice," *Women's Studies Quarterly* 17, no. 3/4, Women's Nontraditional Literature (Fall-Winter, 1989): 10.

'Given me by the Hon^{ble} Col: Cosmo Gordon. Margate, Nov. y^{e}. 21st 1788'.[29] As Katherine Acheson has described, such ownership inscriptions 'mark positions within familial and community networks.'[30] Cosmo Gordon seems to have been a close family friend, for entries in the memorandum book show that he made regular morning house calls to the diarist's family.[31] Gordon was a colonel who had fought in the American War of Independence, renowned for having killed a fellow lieutenant in a duel and having been acquitted for murder at the Old Bailey only a few years prior.[32] In fact, he was one of a litany of prominent late eighteenth-century figures that made visits to the diarist's family, including Horace Walpole, the Chevalier D'Eon and Anna Seward.[33] The young girl was steeped in the artistic and literary life of eighteenth-century London, a world she was encouraged to directly participate in.[34]

This memorandum book may have been part of this young girl's broader training for adulthood, but it is not apparent that such training was meant to simply restrict her to her 'proper place in the social order.'[35] The memorandum book she was gifted contained an assortment of printed matter that jumbled together different cultural messages: advice on the latest fashions, a cautionary story entitled 'Flirtilla', which warned about the negative impact coquetry could have on marriageability, an extract taken from the gothic novel *The Recess* and an accompanying plate (now missing), an essay on 'Female Importance, Exemplified,' enigma puzzles, and a number of poems by prominent writers.[36] These poems included a 'Sonnet on an Air Balloon' by Hester Thrale Piozzi, a sonnet by Charlotte Smith, and an 'Ode to Love' by Miss Kemble.[37] Moreover, the latter was likely known personally by

[29] Anonymous notations in *The Ladies Daily Companion* for 1789 (Canterbury: Printed and Sold by Simmons and Kirkby). Copy consulted: Farmington, Lewis Walpole Library, LWL Mss Vol. 3.
[30] Katherine Acheson, "The Occupation of the Margins: Writing, Space, and Early Modern Women," in Katherine Acheson, ed., *Early Modern English Marginalia* (London: Routledge, 2018), 74.
[31] Ibid.
[32] Frederick William Hamilton, *The Origin and History of the First Or Grenadier Guards From Documents in the State Paper Office, War Office, Horse Guards, Contemporary History, Regimental Records, Etc*, vol. 2 (London: John Murray, Albemarle Street, 1874), 262.
[33] Anonymous notations in *The Ladies Daily Companion* for 1789 (Canterbury: Printed and Sold by Simmons and Kirkby). Copy consulted: Farmington, Lewis Walpole Library, LWL Mss Vol. 3.
[34] For example, she recorded visiting the newly-opened Shakespeare Gallery and Haymarket theatre 'to Dreaw with Papa.' Ibid.
[35] Huff, "Textual Boundaries," 126.
[36] *The Ladies Daily Companion* for 1789 (Canterbury: Printed and Sold by Simmons and Kirkby). Copy consulted: Farmington, Lewis Walpole Library, LWL Mss Vol. 3.
[37] Ibid.

the young girl, as their families were close.[38] Stories like 'Flirtilla' effectively functioned as conduct literature, moulding expectations of wifely duties by discouraging wanton behaviour, but the poetry, stories, enigmas and prints further immersed the young girl in the literary world she inhabited and made visible the contributions of women. The space for memorandums and appointments encouraged her, in turn, to pick up the pen to create records of her own life; to learn how to write as she had learned how 'to Dreaw.'[39] The memorandum book, therefore, could expand a young woman's cultural horizons instead of limiting them solely to the roles of wife and mother.

As a gift-commodity, memorandum books were as much intended for friends and lovers as they were for younger relatives.[40] They were a popular gift amongst friends – for instance, in 1785 *The Ipswich Journal* featured a 'Caution to the Purchasers of Memorandum Books', signed by 'A Christian'[41]. It discouraged readers from buying *The Suffolk and Norfolk Ladies Own Memorandum Book* for 1786 on the grounds that the book included an offensive burlesque of the Athanasian Creed. In describing the potential damage wrought by the book, the author of the advertisement described with alarm that:

> many young ladies making presents of the books to their young friends and acquaintances often without having an opportunity of seeing the books before they buy them, and frequently determined in their choice by the prints or tables of contents […] [42]

Responding a week later, the publisher delighted at his antagonist's description of the book as widely purchased by young ladies for their friends on the strength of its prints and table

[38] She frequently records social engagements with members of the Kemble family in her memorandum book. Anonymous notations in *The Ladies Daily Companion* for 1789 (Canterbury: Printed and Sold by Simmons and Kirkby). Copy consulted: Farmington, Lewis Walpole Library, LWL Mss Vol. 3.
[39] Ibid.
[40] Flyleaf inscriptions also reveal examples of friendly gift-exchange, such as a memorandum book which contained the note 'Mary Harrison, This gift of her friend'. MS. Notation by an unknown person in *The Ladies' Own Memorandum-Book, or Daily Pocket Journal, for the Year 1819* (London: Printed by assignment of G. Robinson for Suttaby, Evance and Fox, Stationers' Court; J. Poole, Fetter Lane, Scatcherd and Letterman, Ave-Maria-Lane, and J. and J. H. Richardson, Royal Exchange). Copy consulted: "The Ladies' Own Memorandum Book, belonging to Mary Harrison (1819)," Hull, Hull History Centre, U DDEV/x1/61/3.
[41] *Ipswich Journal,* 26 Nov. 1785.
[42] Ibid.

of contents.[43] Though brief, this newspaper exchange gives us a sliver of insight into shopping habits that would otherwise be obscure, It informs us that the 'table of contents', i.e., copies of the book's title page, were sent out to provincial shops to help customers select which brand to order. The title page thus functioned as advertisement, as was typical of printed books at this time.[44] The newspaper notice reveals that customers examined these table of contents not just for themselves, but in order to select presents for friends as well and that the engravings that appeared in ladies' editions could be a weighty influence in their decision. The anonymous correspondent particularly emphasised the youth of the customers in order to underline the corrupting influence of this burlesque, so the focus on "young ladies" as the main customer base should perhaps be read with a degree of scepticism, but the process of shopping is informative. Memorandum books were understood by publishers and consumers alike as ideal presents for friends.

Indeed, publishers employed a range of marketing strategies to encourage the distribution of memorandum books amongst friends. Most notable was the enigma puzzle competitions in ladies' editions. First appearing as a feature in the *Ladies' Own Memorandum Book* for 1768, enigma puzzle competitions quickly became a staple of the genre. As explored in Chapter Three, these competitions invited customers to send in their answers to the enigmas, rebuses, charades and paradoxes posed in that year's edition of the memorandum book, and to devise their own puzzles to be submitted for the next. With the contributors writing under playful pseudonyms, the enigma puzzle competitions helped to create an imaginary community of women and men using the books up and down the country. The typical prize for correctly answering one of the enigmas – multiple copies of the following years' editions – clearly anticipated that the winner could distribute his or her winnings amongst a network of friends.[45] In this way, publishers hoped that the imagined community fostered by the enigma puzzle competitions could tap into real life social networks. At a basic level, the distribution of prizes helped to promote the brand of ladies' memorandum

[43] *Ipswich Journal,* 3 Dec. 1785.
[44] Rodney M. Baine, "The Evidence From Defoe's Title Pages," *Studies in Bibliography* 25 (1972): 185-6.
[45] For example, the *Ladies' Own Memorandum-Book* offered 'the best poetical Solutions to the foregoing Enigmas &c […] a Chance, by Lot, of six, four, and two Ladies Own Memorandum Books.' *The Ladies' Own Memorandum-Book: or, Daily Pocket Journal, for the Year 1794* (London: Printed for G. G. and J. Robinson, No. 25 Paternoster-Row; and S. Hodgson, Newcastle). Copy consulted: London, British Library, RB.8.a.215(1).

books to new customers. But in addition, if a group of friends all shared the same brand of ladies' memorandum book, they might be inclined to collectively answer the riddles and enigmas, to compete, and to construct their own riddles for submission.[46] We see this in action in the "Riddles Book" kept by the Bedfordshire gentlewoman, Mary Orlebar (Fig. 34). Mary copied out and composed enigma puzzles that she sent and received from friends. This was a habit fostered by her use of memorandum books: she regularly removed the enigma puzzles from the books, and stored them in her riddles book.[47] Its suggestive that she circulated these extracts amongst her friends and that the memorandum book genre fed into other forms of sociability.

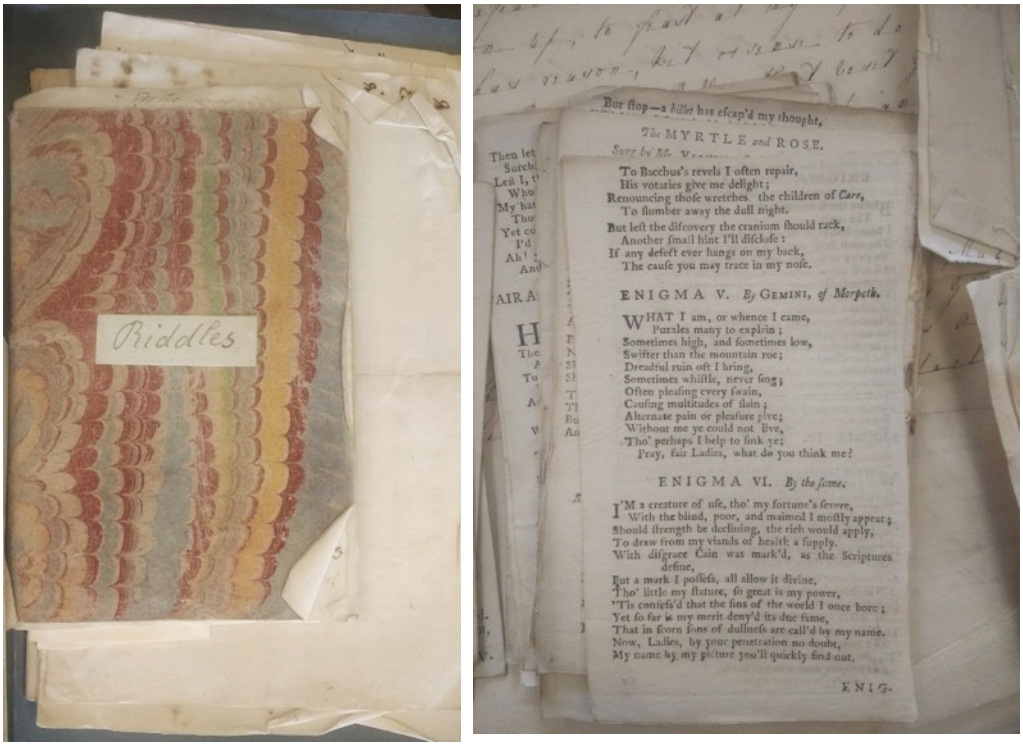


Figure 33. Mary Orlebar's Riddles Book

The pocket memorandum book was also popularly associated with courtship, because of its material qualities and symbolic meaning. The fact that the book could be secured with either a clasp or tie endowed it with a degree of privacy, which was reinforced if the book was in turn locked away inside a drawer or carried around discreetly within a pocket. The security offered by the memorandum book helped to keep written the records inside safe

[46] For more on the popularity of riddles in this period, see Mary Chadwick, "The Most Dangerous Talent': Riddles as Feminine Pastime," in Tiffany Potter, ed., *Women, Popular Culture, and the Eighteenth Century* (Toronto: University of Toronto Press, 2012), 185-201.
[47] "Bundle of Riddles (mainly poems) by Mary Orlebar," Bedford, Bedfordshire Archives, OR2182.

from prying eyes, as well as any objects that were slipped inside. Pockets within the cover of the book itself were used to store an array of love tokens such as letters, miniatures, and locks of hair. Probably the most famous instance comes from Jane Austen's *Sense and Sensibility*: when courting Marianne, Willoughby 'took up her scissors and cut off a long lock of her hair […] and he kissed it, and folded it up in a piece of white paper; and put it into his pocket-book.'[48] Even though Willoughby has never actually stated his desire to marry her, this is interpreted by Marianne as a clear act of courtship, one which confirms their intentions towards one another. When Willoughby instead marries Miss Grey, his rejection of Marianne is marked by the return of her hair and all other mementos stored in his pocket-book.[49] Even though Marianne is proven to have misinterpreted Willoughby's actions as representing serious romantic attachment, it is clear that the hair-as-memento, and the pocket book that stored it, were objects that widely connoted the rituals of courtship.[50] Austen's description reflected real-life practice: we find a similar situation playing out in the memorandum books of Percy Shelley and his cousin Harriet Grove, with whom he had a romantic entanglement in his teenage years. As we have seen, Harriet Grove's memorandum books were gifts from her mother, presumably intended to help train her for adulthood.[51] But in practice, her books became a record of her budding romance with Shelley. Though her entries display the brevity typical to memorandum books, it is clear that they nonetheless recorded and engendered intense emotion, for when the relationship turned sour she systematically scribbled out all references to their romance.[52] Around this time Shelley also kept a memorandum book that evidences their courtship. In the front pocket of his copy of *Baxter's Sussex Pocket Book* for 1810 was a lock of hair curled around a wax seal with a rebus that read 'I expect a return' (Fig. 35).[53] Like the fictional

[48] Jane Austen, *Sense and Sensibility; Edited by Edward Copeland* (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 2006), 71.
[49] Ibid, 414.
[50] Sally Holloway, *The Game of Love in Georgian England: Courtship, Emotions, and Material Culture* (Oxford: Oxford University Press, 2019), 81.
[51] MS. Notations in *The New Ladies Memorandum Book for 1809* (London: Printed for R. Baldwin, 47, Paternoster Row). Copy consulted: "The New Ladies Memorandum Book, for 1809, with the manuscript entries of Harriet Grove," Carl H. Pforzheimer Collection of Shelley and His Circle, New York, New York Public Library, Pforz MS (S'ANA 0027). Accessible online: https://digitalcollections.nypl.org/items/67c35240-43ec-0130-0e0a-58d385a7bbd0 [Last Accessed: 11/07/2022].
[52] Ibid.
[53] Percy Shelley's manuscript notations in *Baxter's Sussex Pocket Book, or, Gentleman's County Remembrancer* for 1810 (Lewes: Printed and published by J. Baxter). Copy consulted: "Holograph entries in Baxter's Sussex

example of Marianne's hair, this lock of hair was folded up into a small piece of white paper and placed inside the memorandum book, to be carried on Shelley's person. The hair is assumed to be Harriet Grove's, with her name initialled on the front of the paper. These many layers of concealment – hair placed inside the enfolding paper – in the internal pocket of the memorandum book – within the pocket – emphasised the personal nature of what was stored inside, something known to the lovers alone.

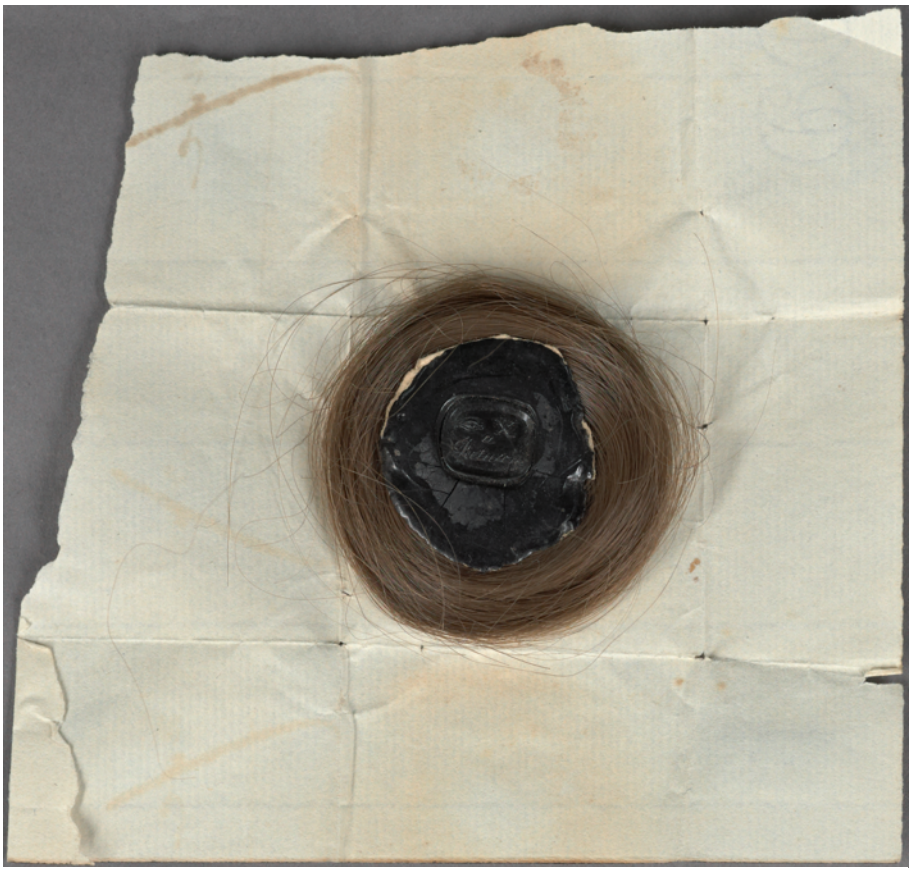


Figure 34. Lock of Hair in Percy Shelley's copy of Baxter's Sussex Pocket Book for 1810

There was an intimacy to carrying the memorandum book in one's pocket, close to the body, but hidden from view. Because the pocket 'occupied a liminal position' between layers of clothes, between what was visibly displayed and what was hidden, Ariane Fennetaux writes, 'pockets suggested and bordered intimacy.'[54] Particularly for women, it represented one of the only private spaces available to them, sometimes even placed under

Pocket Book for 1810," New York, New York Public Library, *Pforz 557R 13. Digitised at: https://digitalcollections.nypl.org/items/c44456ff-e0e9-f7fc-e040-e00a18067500 [Last Accessed 31/03/2021].

[54] Ariane Fennetaux, "Women's Pockets and the Construction of Privacy in the Long Eighteenth Century," *Eighteenth Century Fiction* 20, no. 3 (Spring 2008): 321.

the pillow at night to ensure its privacy was not violated.[55] Because the pocket was understood as an intimate space, connoting privacy and physical proximity, it was therefore interpreted as an act of returned affection to take an item from a potential suitor and place it in one's pocket. In an episode recounted by Burman and Fennetaux, the young tailor's daughter, Sarah Hurst, lost her pocket containing her *Ladies Complete Pocket Book* for 1759.[56] She was distraught: in it she had been recording her clandestine courtship to Captain Henry Smith, whom she would later marry in secret, and storing miniature silhouette portraits of the two of them. By carrying his portrait on her person, nestled in her pocket-book, she was able to look often longingly upon it. Yet this episode shows how the intimacy associated with the memorandum book was due not only to its material qualities, which enabled it to be carried close and act as receptacle for other items, but because of the records that could be written inside. Though her memorandum book was recovered and returned to her intact, Hurst expressed her 'dreadfull anxiety fearing what hands this book might fall into, for tho' there is nothing criminal my whole heart is laid open.'[57] For Hurst, her memorandum book was an incredibly revealing document, chronicling her courtship with Captain Smith but also encapsulating her daily thoughts, feelings and actions. Prospective suitors who sent the books as gifts hoped for precisely this: that the recipient might, as Hurst had done, inscribe their unfolding romance into the pages of the book, transforming the memorandum book into an 'emblem of my heart.'[58]

Thus the memorandum book quickly became one of the many "trifles" that an eighteenth-century lover could send. The Rev. Samuel Bishop, headmaster of the Merchant Taylor's school, made a habit of sending love tokens to his wife Mary (née Palmer) on her birthday, the same day as their wedding anniversary.[59] His present of 'a Pocket-Book' was one of a multitude of objects he sent to her accompanied with a poem – including 'a Knife', 'a Ring',

[55] Ibid, 323.
[56] Barbara Burman and Ariane Fennetaux, *The Pocket: A Hidden History of Women's Lives, 1660-1900* (New Haven: Yale University Press, 2020), 197-9.
[57] Sarah Hurst, *The Diaries of Sarah Hurst 1759-1762: Life and Love in Eighteenth Century Horsham,* edited by Edited by Susan C. Djabri (Stroud: Amberley Publishing Limited, 2009), 115.
[58] Quoted from the poem "To a Lady, With a red Morroco Pocket-Book with blue Silk Strings and Figures of two Ladies on the Frontispiece," in George Huddesford, *The Wiccamical Chaplet, a Selection Of Original Poetry* (London: Printed for Leigh, Sotheby and Son, York-Street, Covent-Garden, 1804), 208.
[59] *Merchant Taylors School ... Corrected Up to December, 1861. (Excerpta E Fastis)* (London: S. Bateman, Printer, 95, Leadenhall Street, 1862), 66.

an 'Orange-Bergamot Snuff-Box', 'a very small Almanack', 'Pickled Oysters', an 'Ivory Tooth-pick Case, of French Manufacture', and 'the Author's Profile in Shadow.'[60] As Sally Holloway has established, eighteenth-century love tokens typically fell into four broad categories: food, textiles, items related to the body or intended to adorn it (such as jewellery and miniature portraits), and items used for reading and writing.[61] Bishop's gifts were characteristic of the era, and typify the miniaturised nature of love tokens. Excepting consumables like the oysters, most of Bishop's gifts were small, inexpensive items that could be kept on-person and used in everyday life, providing a regular memento of the giver. As small items for writing and reading that could be carried close to the body, memorandum books made natural love tokens.

'This little Book, Your Silent Friend' and 'An Annual Gift all Lovers Send': *Flyleaf Verse inscriptions*

As the example of Bishop suggests, memorandum books were often sent with accompanying verses, typically written on the flyleaf. The flyleaf was an important imagined space in eighteenth-century poetry. Heather Jackson briefly discusses the trend of "verse inscription" – poems purporting to be 'written on a blank leaf' of a book – which rapidly increased in popularity throughout the eighteenth and nineteenth centuries.[62] As Jackson notes, the majority of these poems invoked gift-exchange.[63] The front flyleaf of a book, prefacing the reader's entry into the main body of the text, was traditionally a space for personalization. By filling the page with their personal poetry, the giver marked their intimacy with the recipient and attempted to frame the recipient's interpretation of the text that followed.

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[60] The poems were published posthumously, after his death in 1795: Rev. Samuel Bishop, *Poems on Various Subjects*, vol. 2 (London: Printed for Cadell and Davies in the Strand; Robson, New Bond Street [et al], 1800), iii-iv.

[61] Sally Holloway, "Romantic Love in Words and Objects during Courtship and Adultery c. 1730 to 1830," *Unpublished PhD Thesis* (Royal Holloway, 2013), 51.

[62] H. J. Jackson, *Marginalia: Readers Writing in Books* (London: Yale University Press, 2001), 66-67

[63] Such poems include Aaron Hill's 'Sent to Lord Chesterfield; writ on a blank Leaf of a Poem, called, The Religion of Reason' and James Thomson's 'Stanzas… on the Blank Leaf of a Copy of his 'Seasons' Sent to him by Mr Lyttleton, Soon After the Death of His Wife.' Jackson, *Marginalia,* 67; ibid, 76-77

The popular practice of writing poetry on the flyleaves of memorandum books has passed by completely unnoticed in scholarship. The accompanying verse was, on one level, simply an appeal to the recipient to 'prize the Trifle, for the Giver's sake.'[64] The minuteness of the book was often emphasised in order to juxtapose the strength of feelings of the giver: 'Small is the present, but sincere the friend.'[65] Yet unlike print books, snuff-boxes, rings, ivory tooth-pick cases, and other small mementos, the memorandum book offered a space for the recipient to respond by writing the friend or suitor into the records of their life, just as Sarah Hurst did. Whatever message the gift was intended to convey might be documented for posterity. And this is what makes memorandum book verse inscriptions of unique interest: where flyleaf verse inscription usually framed the recipient's interpretation of a text, in memorandum books it attempted to shape the recipient's *own life-writing*. We therefore find it adopted an overwhelmingly prescriptive tone, not just imploring the recipient to accept and treasure the gift, but directing them how to record, and by extension live, their lives. Individuals also wrote verses on the flyleaves of their own memorandum books to similarly attempt to shape their own record-keeping for the year ahead.

By studying these verses, we can extract rich insights into the role these books played in gift-exchange and courtship, the records eighteenth-century writers imagined would fill them, and the ways in which memorandum books were culturally codified. I have collected examples of fifty-five verses that were written either on the flyleaves of memorandum books, or written to accompany them as gifts, between 1750-1840. The majority of these were published: some by pseudonymous contributors to magazines, periodicals and newspapers, and others by named authors as part of their poetry collections. Such verses may never have actually found their way onto a flyleaf of a memorandum book, but they do indicate that the practice had a great deal of cultural currency in this era. I located these primarily through key word searches of relevant digital databases: Eighteenth Century

[64] "Verses sent to a Lady, with a Pocket-Book. An Imitation of Cowley," *The Westminster Magazine* (London, March 1778), p. 162.
[65] N [pseud.], *The poetical magazine: or, The muses monthly companion,* vol. 1 (London: printed by Dryden Leach, for J. Coote; and sold by all booksellers, 1764), 124. Eighteenth Century Collections Online, link.gale.com/apps/doc/CB0129883263/ECCO?u=uniyork&sid=bookmark-ECCO&xid=5359dfa8&pg=126. [Last Accessed: 10 July 2022].

Collections Online; the Bodleian's Digital Miscellanies Index; Proquest; and the British Newspaper Archive. Other examples were never published in their day, but I know of only because of their later publication by historians and literary scholars.[66] Meanwhile, the examples of Mary Orlebar were found in archival collections and remain unpublished. Locating manuscript examples is a tricky task given the paucity of detailed information in archive catalogues; I suspect there are many more to find. As we will see, there was a noticeable difference in the way published verses portrayed memorandum books and their purpose, compared to verses which would have circulated in manuscript form.

Firstly, what is notable about this dataset of verse, compared to the flyleaf examples Heather Jackson enumerates, is how much of it related to romance.[68] These verses reinforce that memorandum book was an object thoroughly embedded in the Georgian culture of courtship. Such verses were typically titularly-addressed 'To a Lady', and sent 'with a Pocket-Book' or purportedly written on a blank leaf in it, given as a small token of the author's affection. By the early nineteenth century the practice was so well-established that one poem self-reflexively opened with a description of a pocket-book as 'An "annual gift" all lovers send/To prove themselves "the ladies' friend".'[69]

While a "pocket-book" could generically refer to any small notebook or purse carried in the pocket, many of the verses explicitly referenced the format of the printed pocket memorandum book, such as 'To a Lady, Who Filled up the Spaces in her Pocket Book, Usually Alloted to Memorandums and Observations, with Extracts from the Poets and Moral Writers' (1790), and 'To a Lady, with a red Morroco Pocket-Book, with blue Silk Strings and Figures of two Ladies on the Frontispiece' (1804).[70] One of the earliest examples even

[66] I am particularly indebted to the work of Timothy Whelan in his work on Non-Conformist Women Writers, and Josephine Teakle's work on Mary Birkett Card's poetry: Timothy Whelan, ed., *Nonconformist Women Writers, 1720-1840,* vols. 1-8 (London: Pickering & Chatto, 2011); Josephine Teakle, "The Works of Mary Birkett Card, 1774-1817," *Unpublished PhD Thesis* (University of Gloucestershire, 2004).
[68] Approximately 42% of the verses I have identified were addressed, romantically, "to a Lady", either in the title or in the body of text.
[69]John Gale Jones, *Galerio and Nerissa: Including Original Correspondence, the History of an English Nobleman and Lady, Several Poetical Effusions, and a Few Domestic Anecdotes* (London: Printed for the Author, and sold by Messrs. Jordan and Maxwell, 1804), 114-15.
[70] Rev. Samuel Hoole, *Poems: Consisting of Modern Manners, Aurelia, The Curate and Other Pieces Never Before Published,* vol. 2 (London: Printed for J. Dodsley, 1790), 192-4; Huddesford, *The Wiccamical Chaplet,* 208.

specified a brand: in the *London Magazine* in January 1756, the poem was variously titled 'to a Lady, with a Dodsley's Memorandum Book' and 'To a very beautiful Young Lady, with a Ladies Memorandum Book, for the Year 1756.'[71] This anonymous poem extolled the beauty and virtues of a young lady, Sally, and described how she would put the book to use: 'Tis yours the moments wisely to improve/And mark each day for virtue or for love'.[72] Indeed, this may have been a surreptitious advertisement for Dodsley's *Ladies Memorandum Book,* now entering its third year of publication. It seemed concerned not only with highlighting Sally's virtues, but also the publication's: the line, 'In this small book behold the present year/Completely fitted for the British fair,' has a particularly advertorial feel to it. Featuring in the January edition of the *London Magazine*, the poem appeared at the tail end of the advertising season, meaning that Dodsley's ladies' memorandum book would have still been available to purchase for use in the upcoming year. One suspects that this was an early attempt to consciously weave the memorandum book genre into the rituals of courtship, to market the book as a gift that conveyed romantic affection. If so it was a successful endeavour, as attested to by the numerous verses on memorandum books that followed in its wake.

These courtship poems were intended to shape the recipient into the paradigm of feminine virtue. This is exemplified in the poem sent to Sally with a Dodsley's Memorandum Book, which described how she would improve through use of the book. Flattery functioned as a prescriptive tool in such poems, deployed to dictate proper use of the book and by extension, mould the conduct of the female recipient. Compared to 'modish ladies' who 'paint a vicious age' and fill their memorandum pages with records of gambling debts, the poet describes how the admirable Sally uses the 'moments wisely to improve/And mark each day for virtue or for love' and 'all our praise command.'[73] Indeed, the poet imagines the book providing a lasting testament of her virtues and acting as an exemplar to their future children:

[71] *The London Magazine. Or, Gentleman's Monthly Intelligencer for January 1756* (London: Printed for R. Baldwin, 1756), 39-40.
[72] Ibid, 39.
[73] *The London Magazine. Or, Gentleman's Monthly Intelligencer for January 1756* (London: Printed for R. Baldwin, 1756), 39-40.

Then too when length of time shall still improve
Your modest virtue, and reward your love,
Haply, this little hist'ry may remain,
With some past joy to sooth a moment's pain:
Your babes may read it too, and fondly strive,
To write like Mamma – and like her to live.

A similar sentiment is expressed in F. N. C. Munday's 'Verses Written in a Lady's Pocket-Book, 1761' which described how his lady's 'actions mark'd on every page/Shall teach employment to a future age.'[74] In these poems, the memorandum book is envisioned as a semi-public document, conforming to a wider tradition of women's record-keeping in this era: women acting as the chroniclers of their family history in order to provide instruction to their descendants. The memorandum book was imagined as simultaneously refining the woman into a paradigm of feminine virtue and modelling her exemplary virtues for future generations.

Nonetheless, these didactic poems betray an anxiety that, left to their own devices, women might degenerate into documenting – and thus embodying – frivolity and vice. For example, Samuel Hoole's 'To a Lady, Who filled up the Spaces in her Pocket Book, Usually Alloted to Memorandums and Observations, with Extracts from the Poets and Moral Writers' (1790), exhibits concern about the free-ranging possibilities of women making memorandums. The column for "memorandums and observations" in memorandum books allowed for more open-ended entries than the columns for engagements and accounts, and invited the user to pass observation on herself and the world around her. It is clear that this space was a particularly fraught one. Hoole imagines the recipient eschewing making observations of her own:

While trifling minds their weekly pages load
With learned strictures on the varying mode;

[74] *The Poetical Register, and repository, for 1806-1807* (London: Printed for F. C. and J. Rivington, No. 62, St. Paul's Church Yard; by Law and Gilbert, St. John's Square, Clerkenwell, 1811), 409.

Or note what coxcombs wear, what witlings say,
What fop to-morrow comes, what fool to-day;
Serena bids her little volume shine
With the full period, or the tuneful line
And where we look for folly, charms the eye
With nervous prose, or lays that never die.[75]

Commonplacing worthy literary extracts in the space for "memorandums and observations", the virtuous Serena avoids the problem of women's writing altogether. By drawing on her store of didactic literature, in place of her own reflections, she is able to:

Disarm resentment, hush domestic strife,
And dissipate the gloom of human life[76]

Hoole's mocking lines describing how others might put the volume to use is, on one level, standard fare about the frivolity of fashionable society. Yet implicit here is a more deep-seated worry: it is not really that women might note down what 'coxcombs wear' but that they might make observations which actually heighten domestic strife – that feed into any simmering resentment or dissatisfaction with their lot in life – that they may shape *themselves* into something other than the ideal wife and mother. Better, then, that any trace of vice and dissatisfaction be entirely absent from the pages of their lover's memorandum books. As John Gale Jones implored in his verses to Nerissa: 'If o'er each page you turn with care/nor blue with vice your tablet', then Nerissa's entries will not give her cause to blush, nor 'raise a sigh or tear.'[77] Meanwhile the Rev. Mr Sowdon in 'An Impromptu, Wrote in a young Lady's Pocket Journal' (1784) expressed his hope that: 'Replete with bliss, may these bright Annals shine/Nor here be found one melancholy line'.[78]

[75] Hoole, *Poems: Consisting of Modern Manners,* 193.
[76] Ibid, 193.
[77] Jones, *Galerio and Nerissa*, 114-5.
[78] *Calcutta Gazette; or, Oriental Advertiser*, 6 May 1784.

Sent as love tokens, memorandum books symbolised the suitor's hopes for a shared future, one in which the lady in question 'mark[ed] each day for virtue or for love.' But it is clear that our myriad of love poems typically support Cynthia Huff's view that the memorandum-book-as-gift was a means of reinforcing a 'patriarchal social order'. They attempted to shape their recipients into ideal wives and mothers, sometimes by restricting their ability to record altogether. Suitors may have even viewed the ladies' memorandum book's reputation as a training tool for marriage as part of their suitability as a romantic gift. But a stark distinction emerges between those verses that were intended for print publication and those that circulated in manuscript form. Those appearing in eighteenth-century periodicals, magazines and published poetry collections were overwhelmingly written as love poems: 71.5% were addressed "to a Lady" or written as love poems. Moreover, prior to the 1790s, all published examples I have found were courtship poems. Yet none of the poems we know to have actually been inscribed in the flyleaves of memorandum books were addressed from a suitor. Instead, manuscript flyleaf poetry evidences a much wider range social meanings associated with gifting pocket-books, and writing poems within them, which once again destabilise any straightforward reading of the memorandum book as solely or primarily a means of reinforcing restrictive gender norms.

Whether appearing in publication or not, verses sent with memorandum books as a gift were typically addressed to women. Yet the relationships between the giver and the recipients were strikingly different in manuscript or printed form. Of the twenty-eight verses that appeared in periodicals, magazines and poetry volumes in this period, there were only five that were not addressed "To a Lady": these include Anna Seward's 'Consolation, Addressed to Mr. Thos. H—D, April 1801, With a Pocket-Book' and Mary Lamb's 'Written in the First Leaf of a Child's Memorandum-Book', as well as the anonymous 'Lines, Written in a blank page of an Almanack Pocket-book, addressed to the Author's Sister' (1797); 'Lines for the First Leaf of My Memorandum-Book for 1809 by "J. C." (1809); and 'Lines written on the first page of an Annual Pocket Book' by "Senilius" (1816).[79] By contrast, those in manuscript were **all** either originally written by the author at the beginning or end of their own

[79] The attribution of 'Written in the First Leaf of a Child's Memorandum-Book' to Mary Lamb is not certain. Anna Seward, *The poetical works of Anna Seward; with extracts from her literary correspondence* (New York: AMS Press, 1974), 351-6.

memorandum book, or sent as part of gift-exchange between family members and friends. While nearly all of the printed verses were authored by men – with the notable exceptions of Anna Seward and Mary Lamb, whose poems prove outliers in in their addressees as well – the manuscript verses I have found were mainly written by female authors.[80]

Genteel pastimes for women included turning one's hand to sociable poetry, penning verses on the occasions of friend's and family's birthdays, weddings, deaths and so on.[81] The fact that memorandum books were a recurring topic in women's manuscript poetry is in itself worth highlighting. It demonstrates that the books were significant objects to the women themselves and within women's rituals of gift-exchange, beyond the bounds of courtship. Yet, we should not mistake our manuscript examples as being un-literary in their aspirations: most of these poems survive because they were copied out into manuscript poetry volumes compiled by their authors, forming part of a life-long literary enterprise.[82] For women like Marianna Attwater, Jane Ransome Biddell, Mary Birkett Card, and Mary Orlebar their poems rarely, if ever, made their way to print. Attwater's sole publication was a religious poem in *Bristol Hymns* (1769); Jane Ransome Biddell's poems were occasionally published in newspapers; of the 200 poems Mary Birkett is known to have written, only two were printed, though her "A Poem on the African Slave Trade" (1792) was significant for involving more women in the anti-abolitionist movement; Mary Orlebar was never published.[83] One suspects that these women made ideal contributors to the pseudonymous poetry and enigma features in ladies' memorandum books and were perhaps published more frequently than we are now aware. Yet for many of the authors examined here, to call poetry a pastime would be a disservice to the important role poetry played in their textual lives. Mary Orlebar's voluminous poetry, for example, versified her life experiences both big and small with equal fervour: from her thoughts on the French Revolution and Thomas

[80] It should be noted this gender balance is skewed so heavily in this direction partly because multiple poems in my survey were penned by the same women: Mary Orlebar (1730-1821), Mary Birkett Card (1774–1817), and Marianna Attwater (1742?-1832).
[81] For more on poetry as genteel pastime, see: Kathleen Keown, "Eighteenth-Century Women's Poetry and the Feminine Accomplishment," *The Review of English Studies, New Series* 73, no. 308 (2021): 78–99.
[82] For more on the practice of making manuscript verse miscellanies, see: Betty A. Schellenberg, "Eighteenth-Century Manuscript Verse Miscellanies and the Print–Manuscript Interface," *Huntington Library Quarterly* 84, No. 1 (Spring 2021): 151-164.
[83] Leonore Davidoff and Catherine Hall, *Family Fortunes: Men and Women of the English Middle Class 1780-1850* (London: Routledge, 2002), 292.

Paine's *Rights of Man*, to humorous reflections on the death of a pet parrot, to her experiences of deep personal loss and aging, and the effects of her ailing eyesight on her ability to write. Such poetry should be read as an autobiographical act, in which women wrote their daily lives into literary significance. Though the bulk of their poetry may have never commanded public recognition in their lifetime, the women studied here were self-stylised writers whose work was circulated extensively amongst family and friends, and whose poetry provides a unique window into women's lives and experiences in the eighteenth century. As Andrew Winckles describes of this period: 'the choice of manuscript circulation indicated not apprehension about entering public space but the embrace of a different type of public.'[84] The public for our manuscript poets consisted of local networks of friends and family members; sociable poetry helped our manuscript authors to position themselves within their communities and solidify the bonds of these relationships, as well as earning themselves a local reputation for their writing skills. They were thus participating in a very different kind of literary performance, but a literary performance nonetheless, one which aimed to evoke a sense of authentic connection with their recipients.

These verses provide a more expansive view of who memorandum books were sent to, the connotations of sending and receiving them, and their value to their female owners. Mary Steele wrote a poem for her half-sister Martha on the first day of the year in her memorandum book for 1787; Mary Birkett Card penned poems both on receiving and giving memorandum books to her friends; Jane Ransome Biddell wrote poems within her and her daughter's memorandum books; and Mary Orlebar sent books as gifts to her nieces and young family friends, as well as writing reflective poetry in the pages of her own books. The two male-authored examples also communicated sentiments beyond models of hierarchical or patriarchal control. Inverting Cynthia Huff's top-down conception of memorandum book gifting, the young poet Chauncey Hare Townsend as a child sent a poem 'To my Mother, with the present of a pocket book' (1810) and she penned a poem in response.[85] Meanwhile the Scottish poet and newspaper proprietor James Montgomery wrote a poem in a memorandum book which he gave to Barbara Hofland (née Hoole) as a New Year's Gift in

[84] Andrew O. Winckles, *Eighteenth-Century Women's Writing and the Methodist Media Revolution* (Liverpool: Liverpool University Press, 2019), 57.
[85] Nos. 125 & 126, Portfolio VII, Townshend Manuscript Collection, Wisbech & Fenland Museum.

1803; a token of friendship from a man who helped to nurture Hoole's writing career, and would go on to publish her first volume of poetry at his Sheffield printing office.[86] We can see the divergence between print and manuscript depictions of the gifting of memorandum books illustrated in the example of the poet Chauncey Hare Townshend. Townshend's poem to his mother has never been published, but his later love poem 'Lines, Written in the first leaf of a pocket book for the year,' appeared in his poetry collection in 1821.[87] It is perhaps unsurprising that a juvenile attempt was not regarded as worthy of insertion in his printed poetry collection, but it shows the way in which literary conventions privileged the romantic over the domestic and thus, for the modern reader, obscure the sheer variety of *historical* practices bound up with memorandum books. The phenomenon of verse inscriptions therefore looks very different in print than it does in manuscript culture.

Within the manuscript examples, it is striking the extent to which memorandum books signified friendship and affection rather than love and courtship. This is likely more representative of how memorandum books were more commonly conveyed as gifts, but also reflects a central concern of women's manuscript poetry in this period, with friendship being one of the most common themes.[88] Moreover, the manuscript verses bolster the view that memorandum books were gifts particularly suitable for young relatives and friends. Mary Birkett Card's three poems on pocket-books illustrate this dynamic at play. As a young girl aged around 13 or 14, she wrote two poems in response to receiving memorandum books: 'On being presented with a pocket book by J. Lancashire' (1787) and 'A Poem to S Forbes on being presented with a Pocket Book by her' (1788).[89] Neither individual addressed has been identified with certainty, but Josephine Teakle believes J. Lancashire to have been a travelling minister or elder visiting Ireland at the time he presented Birkett with a pocket-book, while S. Forbes was likely Sarah Forbes (1756-1790), sister of Birkett's

[86] John Holland and James Everett, *Memoirs of the Life and Writings of James Montgomery, Including Selections from his correspondence, Remains in Prose and Verse, and Conversations of Various Subjects* (London: Longman, Brown, Green, and Longmans, 1855) 68; Stephen C. Behrendt, "Barbara Hofland and Romantic-Era Provincial Poetry by Women," *Women's Writing* 20, no. 4 (2013): 426-8.
[87] Chauncy Hare Townshend, *Poems* (London: Printed for the Thomas Boys, No. 7, Ludgate Hill, 1821), 214.
[88] See Chapter Five of Paula R. Backscheider, *Eighteenth-Century Women Poets and Their Poetry: Inventing Agency, Inventing Genre* (Baltimore: John Hopkins University Press, 2005).
[89] Josephine Teakle, ed., "The Works of Mary Birkett Card 1774-1817," vol. 2, *Unpublished PhD Thesis* (2004, University of Gloucestershire), 44-5; ibid, 52.

childhood friend Hannah Wilson Forbes.[90] Mary was barely a teenager when she received the gifts, while the senders were adults who were friendly to the family. It appears that J. Lancashire sent a poem with the pocket-book, for she praises him as too 'favor'd by the generous muse', and apologises for the quality of her own writing.[91] Humility is a persistent theme in both of these poems, as Mary is keen to stress her great appreciation for the gifts and how little she deserves them. Exemplifying the poetics of gift-exchange, both examples open with Mary formally accepting the gift and offering up her verse in return, desiring her recipient to 'accept this grateful lay.'[92] The transactional nature of such gift-exchange is underscored with the line: 'What's due to friendship I to friendship pay.'[93] But it is clear that the obligations of friendship looked very different for each party: J. Lancashire and Sarah Forbes invested in Mary's personal development, while Mary strove to live up to their expectations of her. The memorandum book, with its blank pages ready to be filled, was a gift which symbolised the recipient's own potential waiting to be fulfilled.

By contrast, the third poem was composed when Mary was older, and in a position to send a book of her own. 'A Pocket-book to E.A.' was composed around 1804, and as Teakle surmises, "E.A" was probably Elizabeth Alexander (1784-1824), a younger friend of Birkett's.[94] In fact, there was an age difference of about a decade between the two, so that at the time of writing Mary would have been in her late twenties and Elizabeth would have been approximately nineteen years old and just on the cusp of adulthood. The tone is much more strident, and it playfully addresses Elizabeth from the perspective of the pocket-book itself to highlight the similarities between the gift and the giftee:

> Tis not alone that neatest care
> Thy form & mine arrays
> Nor do our hidden stores appear
> To every casual gaze

[90] Ibid, 491; Ibid, 489.
[91] Ibid, 46.
[92] Ibid, 52.
[93] Ibid, 52.
[94] Ibid, 425-6; Ibid, 486.

This comparison is not just used for humour and flattery, but drives towards a more fundamental didactic message:

> Nay more, dear girl, we both contain
> A monitor within
> A faithful glass – where every stain
> And every spot is seen

The brightness of the page, which attracts 'no dimness', should be a constant reminder to Elizabeth to similarly expose all of her actions to the light of her internal monitor. Mary's gifting of the memorandum book is intended to provide moral edification to her younger friend, echoing her own earlier experiences in receiving one.

Like the courtship poetry, such verse inscriptions attempted to shape the character of their recipient by prescribing how the memorandum book would be put to use. This is particularly evident in Mary Orlebar's poems 'To Miss Anne Orlebar at the close of the Old Century 1799 – with a memorandum book for the new One, 1800' and 'With a Ladies Memorandum Book – To Miss Williams at the Close of the Year – 1804', which addressed her niece and young friend, respectively, with some rather practical advice.[95] 'Prudence be your plan', she counselled Anne Orlebar, describing how:

> This little Book, your silent Friend,
> Will answer ev'ry useful end:
> And keep Accompts all clear;
> Receipts, plac'd 'gainst expenditure,
> Your real comfort will insure,
> And round, with joy; each year.

[95] Mary Orlebar, "Poems of Mrs Mary Orlebar, mainly of a domestic nature and mostly addressed to family members (1762-1821)" in the collection "Archive of manuscripts relating to the Orlebar family of Hinwick House in Bedfordshire," London, British Library, RP 9583.

Miss Williams received similar exhortations to pay heed to her expenses, sprinkled with a little flattery:

> The page that calculates Expence,
> May draw prudential Maxims, then,
> To keep the balance of the Year
> Clear; as is your own Complexion's Clear!

Mary continues by describing how each of the features of the ladies' memorandum book might benefit benefit her young friend: 'Charades may exercise the Mind', Enigmas tempt 'the mystic Sense t'explore!' while Country Dances help to dance 'From affectations, error free' and improve one's health. The central advantage, however, is the ability to record one's actions within the memorandum pages:

> --- By noting How each Day is past;
> Each is a comment on the last!
> Affording Hint, the next, t'employ
> So that reflection may yeild joy!

This theme of self-improvement, though pervasive in all the pocket-book poetry, takes on a different tenor in the manuscript examples. Mary's poems display a greater concern for securing her young friends' happiness, than moulding them into ideal wives and mothers. The memorandum book was intended to convey 'the wish from pure Friendship flows' that 'the new year, now rising to our view/Bring Health, Content and Cheerfulness, to you!'. Addressing Anne on the brink of 'Sweet Independence', she made no assumption that her niece would pursue the path of marriage. She advised:

> If Hymen woos you to his Shrine,
> Then, Independence to resign
> May add to Happiness!
> But may the man approv'd by you,
> Good Temper, Honor, Sense, endue:

Those; more than Wealth will bless!

Mary, who had turned down an offer of marriage by her wealthy neighbour Andrew Livesay, was well aware that marriage was a choice, not an inevitability.[96] Mary and her two sisters Constantia and Elizabeth remained unwed throughout their lives and upon their brother's marriage in in 1767 they moved into a small cottage in Ecton and supported one another throughout their long lives. And indeed, Anne Orlebar followed in her aunt's example and was never 'woo[ed]' to Hymen's shrine.

Together, Mary Birkett's and Mary Orlebar's poems exemplify how the memorandum book functioned not only as a practical gift to the younger friend, designed to 'answer ev'ry useful end', but as a stand-in for the pastoral role the older women played in their young friends' lives. Like the rituals of courtship, the dynamics of friendly gift-exchange had its own customs and the guidance offered was to some extent performative, especially given it likely circulated beyond the directly-intended recipient. In fact we are able to compare the poetical advice dished out by Mary with how both she and her young niece Anne Orlebar put their memorandum books to use. The memorandum books the verses were originally written in have not survived, but we do have extant copies kept by Anne Orlebar for 1785, 1827, 1828, and 1829, as well as the memorandum books of Mary Orlebar. Ironically, despite the great emphasis Mary places on financial recording in her prescriptive poetry, she herself overwhelmingly disregarded the accounts page in her own memorandum books. In the three memorandum books that survive, Mary only recorded expenses for one month, February 1757.[97] Meanwhile, her recipient Anne Orlebar dutifully recorded her petty expenses as a young girl of 12 years old in her memorandum book for 1785, but as a middle aged-woman only sporadically entered her expenditure in her memorandum books for 1827, 1828 and 1829.[98] This was perhaps because her more juvenile efforts were checked

[96] James Collett-White, "*My Choice:* a poem written in 1751 by Mary Orlebar," *Bedfordshire Historical Miscellany: Essays in Honour of Patricia Bell* (Bedford: Bedfordshire Historical Record Society, 1993): 138.
[97] Mary Orlebar, *The Ladies Complete Pocket-Book* for 1757 (London: Printed for J. Newbery). Consulted a scanned copy in the collection: "Archive of manuscripts relating to the Orlebar family of Hinwick House in Bedfordshire" London, British Library, RP 9583.
[98] MS. Notations by Anne Orlebar in unknown memorandum book brand. "Diary (marked LXV)," Bedford, Bedfordshire Archives, OR2220/1; MS. Notations by Anne Orlebar in *The Ladies' Complete Pocket Book, for the Year of Our Lord 1827* (Buckingham: Printed by J. Seeley, Buckingham, for Suttaby, Fox, and Suttaby, No. 2 Stationers-Court, Ludgate Street). Copy consulted: "Diary (marked CVIII)," Bedford, Bedfordshire Archives,

by a parent or guardian. Yet later memorandum books show that Anne absorbed an alternative model of use from Mary: penning lengthy entries for 'engagements and appointments' which snaked their way across each of the columns, with boxes drawn round to connect them all together. It was not the case that Anne simply disregarded her Aunt's precepts, but rather that these poems epitomize an *idealised* use that was not necessarily put into practice, and that other, more personal models of use could be passed down alongside such precepts. Just as it was a hallmark of courtship poetry to recount the recipient's unassailable virtues, such guidance to young relatives and friends was a routine means of demonstrating the giver's investment in the wellbeing of their recipient.

The emphasIs placed on self-improvement was not necessarily because it prepared one for motherhood and marriage, but because virtue was vital to securing one's own happiness, in this life and the next. It is notable that manuscript poems more explicitly referenced the spiritual purposes of self-recording. In her poem to her niece Anne, Mary Orlebar drew parallels between the records of the memorandum book, and the moral account kept with God:

> the Days, months and years as they arise,
> Their Record bear, beyond the Skies!
> Borne up, on Conscience' wings.[99]

Meanwhile, in 1834 the Ipswich farmer's wife Jane Ransom Biddell (b. 1782) penned a poem in the memorandum book of her fifteen year old daughter. Leonore Davidoff and Catherine Hall cited verses of Biddell's poem in their book *Family Fortunes:*

> The Memorandum, brief yet clear
> The record of each hour so dear

OR2220/2; MS. Notations by Anne Orlebar in *The Ladies' Complete Pocket Book, for the Year of Our Lord 1828* (Buckingham: Printed by J. Seeley, Buckingham; by Assignment of the Administrators of the late T. Carnan, for Suttaby, Fox, and Suttaby, No. 2, Stationers-Court, Ludgate-Street, London), "Diary (marked CIX)," Bedford, Bedfordshire Archives, OR2220/3.

[99] Mary Orlebar, "Poems of Mrs Mary Orlebar, mainly of a domestic nature and mostly addressed to family members (1762-1821)," London, British Library, RP 9583.

Spent as the conscience best can tell
On which remembrance loves to dwell
That the ensuring year may tell
That thou has spent the period well
[…]
If true improvement marks each year
And fits us for a nobler sphere [100]

We find a similar message conveyed by Maria Grace Saffery in her poem 'For a Ladies Pocket Book', written sometime between 1790 and 1833:

May time to thee auspicious records bring,
For those fair hands a sweet employment find,
And with a plume from joys unruffled wing,
Inscribe the nobler tablet of the mind.[101]

Birkett, Orlebar, Biddell, and Saffrey all envisioned memorandum books as externalising one's inner monitor. There are echoes here of Newbery's memorandum book for children, *The Important Pocket Book, or Valentine's Ledger* with its columns for recording a 'moral account' alongside the financial account.[102] When addressing their young friends and relatives, the authors strove to make explicit the moral dimension of memorandum books, and the genre's role as a training tool for instilling strong Christian ethics.

Manuscript poems were also written by memorandum book users on their own flyleaves. The books prompted consideration of whether their 'Time has been past well, or ill' and offered a space to express their hopes for the future.[103] We see this exemplified by the

[100] Quoted in Davidoff & Hall, *Family Fortunes*, 88.
[101] Maria Grace Saffery, in Timothy Whelan (ed.), *Nonconformist Women Writers,* vol. 5: Poetry of Maria Grace Saffery (London: Routledge, 2011), 84.
[102] *The Important Pocket Book, or the Valentine's Ledger* (London: Printed for J. Newbery [1765?]), *Eighteenth Century Collections Online*, link.gale.com/apps/doc/CW0122855799/ECCO?u=uniyork&sid=bookmark-ECCO&xid=b45020ed&pg=1. [Last Accessed 30 Aug. 2022].
[103] Marianna Attwater, "At the End of a Pockett Book for the Year 1768," in Timothy Whelan, ed., *Nonconformist Women Writers, 1720-1840,* vol. 4 (London: Pickering & Chatto, 2011), 167.

young Salisbury woman Marianna Attwater, who wrote the poems 'At the End of a Pockett Book for the Year 1768' and 'Wrote in the Beginning of a Pockett Book for 1769'.[104] In the first, she reviews her memorandum book records for 1768, claiming that she does so not only for amusement but also for self-improvement–- 'I would wish for improvement in whate're I read!' – but finds that her records are filled with such 'nonsense and trifling' matter that she is 'greatly ashamed.' Nonetheless, she concludes that this is preferable to a book filled 'With Dressing, Coquetting, in Bustle and Noise' which 'can bestow no substantial joys.' Following on from this, in her poem for 1768, she complains that her previous year's records had been dedicated 'Oh Dullness, awfull Queen to you.' Playfully invoking the genre's association with courtship, she ascribes this dullness to a lack of romantic attachment:

> No Love Affair to write about!
> And what's a Pockett Book without
> No sprightly Strephon then to meet,
> No Damon's Letters soft and sweet,
> No Thyrsis sighing at my Feet.

She imagines a more exciting life riddled with contemporary literary tropes, such as 'Errant Knights' 'Rival Mothers, cruel Sires', 'close confinement', and 'Lover banish'd to the Wars.' Attwater declares that she will no longer address her records to the 'Queen of Dullness' but to 'Cupid or Apollo' or 'any kind good-natured Muse.' But if they decline to favour her, she concludes she 'must dispense/With ev'ry thing but – Common Sense.' Despite the ironic inflection of Attwater's poems, they are a testament of how much she prizes her common sense and her hopes that it will help her achieve more 'substantial joys.'

Mary Orlebar's memorandum books similarly prompted reflections. Orlebar regularly penned poems on the new year, an especially poignant time for her since her birthday was

[104] Timothy Whelan, ed., *Nonconformist Women Writers, 1720-1840,* vol. 4 (London: Pickering & Chatto, 2011), 167-8; Ibid, 168-9.

on the 29th December. On the opening flyleaf of her memorandum book for 1807, she wrote a poem that reflected on her advancing age and the promise of the new year (Fig. 36).[105]

> That I behold this New Years Day,
> With many Blessings crownd;
> Claims from my Heart: the pious Lay
> Of Gratitude profound !

Blessed with 'Health and Comfort' in her seventy-seventh year, Mary gives her 'grateful Praise to Heaven'. She concludes by declaring how she should put her remaining time to use:

> And what of Life, shall yet remain,
> As Providence may grant
> Be it spent to soften Others pain,
> Beneath oppressive Want

Positioned at the front of her memorandum book, the poem reads as a reminder to self about what kinds of records should fill its pages. Like the verse epistle written on the flyleaf of a gifted book, which sought to shape the character of its recipient, Mary writes on her own flyleaf in an attempt to shape herself into a paradigm of Christian charity. While the manuscript poems envisioned the memorandum book as having a refining function, the virtues they prioritised were different to those by the printed courtship poems.

[105] MS. Notations by Mary Orlebar in a composite memorandum book (1808-1818). "Extracts from Pocket book (marked LXXXVII)," Bedfordshire archives, OR2158.

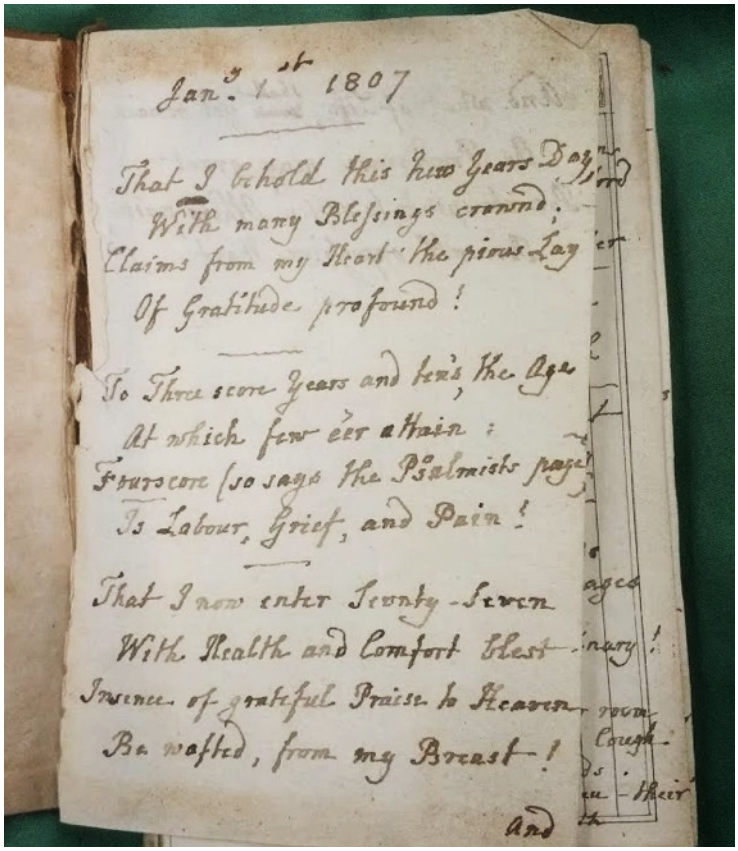


Figure 35. Manuscript flyleaf poem by Mary Orlebar in 'Extracts from Pocket book (marked LXXXVII),' 1807

Another factor may help to explain the less conservative and more overtly religious character of the manuscript examples: the prevalence of nonconformists amongst our manuscript poets. Jane Ransome Biddell was the Quaker daughter of an Ipswich manufacturer who married an Anglican farmer; Mary Birkett Card was the daughter of a soap and candle maker whose family was integral to the Dublin Quaker community; James Montgomery, the Scottish poet, belonged to the Moravian church; Mary Steele came from a wealthy timber manufacturing family who were part of the Baptist community in Broughton; Marianna Attwater was a member of the Baptist community in Salisbury and would go on to marry a clothier in Bradford-Upon-Avon; and Maria Grace Saffery (1772-1858) was raised Anglican but also became part of the Baptist community in Salisbury and went on to marry her pastor.[106] In the examples I've found, only Mary Orlebar and

[106] Davidoff & Hall, *Family Fortunes,* p. 292; Teakle, "The Works of Mary Birkett Card, 1774-1817," 3; Whelan, *Nonconformist Women Writers*, vol. 4, 151; Edmund Frow & Ruth Frow, "James Montgomery: Radical, abolitionist and poet," *Journal of Ethnic and Migration Studies* 10, no. 2 (2010): 279.

Chauncey Hare Townshend were Anglicans. In fact, Steele, Attwater, and Saffery were all part of the same literary coterie of nonconformist women writers, the recovery of which has been the subject of a significant project undertaken by Timothy Whelan.[107]

Eighteenth-century nonconformist groups typically held a more liberal view of women's roles in society. As Whelan has described, nonconformist women like Steele and Attwater had 'imbibed from their families the belief that literary talents should be encouraged in women even at the expense of domestic duties.'[108] Since our examples skew so heavily towards nonconformists, it is perhaps less surprising that such a large proportion of our manuscript examples were written by women and that they promoted memorandum books as a means of instilling virtues beyond women's potential domestic role as wives and mothers. Yet it also speaks to the cultural status of memorandum books amongst nonconformist groups, and the important role they played for women striving to shape their own character, something that would be worth exploring in future research. As Timothy Whelan has described more broadly of diarising practices: 'for nonconformist women writers, keeping a diary as a meditative practice was as reflexive as it was constructive, and the clash between the two often formed the core of their spiritual introspection.'[109] The manuscript verses thus fed into a wider nonconformist literary tradition in which contemplation of the use of time was a popular topic, particularly prompted by the marking of the new year.[110] The printed format of the annual memorandum book made this process of reflection and construction easier. 'The Memorandum, brief yet clear', as Jane Biddell described, was primed for review.

Conclusion

As we have seen, manuscript poetry evidences a wide range of meanings associated with memorandum books, showing that the books were embedded in a rich culture of gift-giving

[107] See: Timothy Whelan, ed., *Nonconformist Women Writers, 1720-1840,* vols. 1-8 (London: Pickering & Chatto, 2011). The manuscript poems Whelan published were sourced from the Steele Collection, Reeves Collection, and Attwater Papers, angus Library, Regent's Park College, Oxford.
[108] Timothy Whelan, *Other British Voices : Women, Poetry, and Religion, 1766-1840* (New York: Palgrave Macmillan, 2015), 12.
[109] Ibid, 19.
[110] Ibid, 143.

beyond courtship, and that women might put their books to use in ways strikingly divergent from the use envisioned by suitors. Nonetheless, it is worth briefly reflecting upon the fact that the evidence in this chapter overwhelmingly points to memorandum books as gifts sent to women, and rarely if ever sent to men.

Courtship, as Sally Holloway has argued, was 'a decidedly masculine pursuit.'[111] Men wooed; women were pursued. It was a common practice for male suitors to write original poems for women they were courting as a means of 'showcasing their education and refinement.'[112] Even though women did send love tokens as part of the "Game of Love", their presents were considered a less weighty indication of the couple's commitment to each other, holding less legal status in evidencing a couple's intention to be married.[113] This helps us to understand why courtship poems were solely addressed to women, but does not explain why our manuscript verses were also exclusively sent to women even in the context of friendship and family relationships. We know that men were a large part of the consumer base of memorandum books, so why were memorandum books *so* strongly codified as gifts for women?

The evidence of this chapter – of flyleaf inscriptions, of advertisements describing the distribution of gifts amongst female friends, of verse inscriptions – does not lead us to the conclusion that memorandum books themselves were *necessarily* seen as fundamentally feminine objects but rather that the rituals of gift-exchange were heavily gendered. Gifting established reciprocal obligations, but these obligations were not established equally, as the example of the legality of love tokens suggests. But there are glimpses of evidence that memorandum books may have indeed been part of a more muted gift-exchange with men. For example, a letter written by the merchant Richard Bartram on July 4th 1788 thanked his friend, the Rev. William Gunn, for the present of a 'Norwich Memorandum Book' which he found 'both entertaining & useful.'[114] Bartram was based in Civita Vecchia, a port city near

[111] Holloway, *The Game of Love,* 41.
[112] Ibid, 41.
[113] Sally Holloway, "Romantic Love in Words and Objects during Courtship and Adultery c. 1730 to 1830," *Unpublished PhD Thesis* (Royal Holloway, 2013), 32.
[114] Batram was based in Italy at the time. "4 Jul 1788, Letter from Richard Bartram, Leghorn, to William Gunn," Norwich, Norfolk Record Office, WGN 1/2/48.

Rome, and had likely struck up a friendship with Gunn during the latter's travels to Rome for antiquarian research. Gunn was a Norfolk based vicar, and the letter shows that Batram was keen to establish trading links with Norwich merchants known to Gunn – something a Norwich memorandum book with its lists of local bankers, and mail coaches and carriers to from Norwich might help to facilitate.[115]

Like Vickery, I have found no explicit examples of memorandum books gifted to young boys by their parents, but I have found some indications that memorandum books may have been presented to boys as part of their education. When the Suffolk teenager John Barber Scott (1792-1826) lost his mother to Scarlet fever in 1809 he was consumed by grief and his accounts pages were transformed into a testimony of his suffering. Over two pages in October he wrote that:

> It was at the proposal of the best of the Mothers that the allowance of £40 per ann. for Cloathes, pocket-money &c. was granted and this account regularly kept, – for reasons part prudent, and benevolent.– With what pleasure was the book½2 yearly submitted to her inspection! Oh days of zeal by that can never return! Now that she for whose pleasure it was instituted is taken to a happier world, this juvenile summary of my smaller expences is at an end.[116]

And, true to his word, Barber Scott stopped recording in memorandum books in subsequent years, though he did turn to keeping long-form manuscript diaries later in life.[117] There is nothing else in his memorandum books from 1807, 1808, and 1809 to indicate that they were gifted to him – no inscription or poem on the front flyleaf – but it is clear that he used them at the behest of his mother so that she could monitor his outgoing expenses and ensure that he was making economical use of his annual allowance. When she died, the

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[115] "4 Jul 1788, Letter from Richard Bartram, Leghorn, to William Gunn," Norwich, Norfolk Record Office, WGN 1/2/48. Content listed from an advertisement for *Crouse's Norwich and Norfolk Complete Memorandum Book* for 1786, see: *Norfolk Chronicle,* 17 Dec. 1785.

[116] MS. Notations by John Barber Scott in *The Norfolk and Norwich Gentleman's, Merchant's, Tradesman's, Farmer's and Grazier's, Complete Memorandum-Book, for the Year of Our Lord 1809* (Norwich: Printed and Sold by Stevenson, Matchett & Stevenson). Copy consulted: "The Norfolk and Norwich gentleman's complete memorandum book," Lowestoft, Suffolk Record Office, 185/1/4.

[117] See: Ethel Mann, ed., *An Englishman at Home and Abroad, 1792-1828: Extracts from the diaries of John Barber Scott of Bungay* (Bungay: Morrow & Co.,1988).

memorandum book became a painful reminder of parental love. He ceased keeping this 'juvenile summary' in a gesture that symbolically marked that his childhood, too, had come to an end. The evidence of the merchant Richard Bartram and the young John Barber Scott thus indicate that there may be a wider culture of gifting memorandum books than this chapter otherwise evidences.

In sum, memorandum books were a popular gift in eighteenth-century Britain, sent by suitors as love tokens, given to children as training tools, and shared by friends as part of sociable pastimes like enigma puzzles. They fed into a wider range of social and intertextual practices, with the flyleaves of the books an inviting space for personalization, particularly in the form of verse inscriptions. Together, the verses provide strong evidence that memorandum books were viewed not just as a space for tracking accounts and appointments but that, at least in their ideal use, they were viewed as a tool for self-improvement which enabled the owner to 'review ev'ry Page' and 'see if the Time has been past well, or ill.''[118] Most of all, this chapter has demonstrated the wide spectrum of meanings associated with owning and gifting memorandum books. It has shown that ladies' memorandum books in particular could be an enriching not just restricting feature of women's textual and social lives – as we turn to explore in greater depth in the final chapter.

[118] Marianna Attwater, "At the End of a Pockett Book for the Year 1768," in Timothy Whelan, ed., *Nonconformist Women Writers, 1720-1840,* vol. 4 (London: Pickering & Chatto, 2011), 167.

Chapter Seven. Memorandums of the Muses: Gender and the Visual Culture of Ladies' Memorandum Books



Figure 36. Engraving of "The Nine Living Muses of Great Britain" in Joseph Johnson's Ladies New and Polite Pocket Memorandum-Book for the year of our Lord 1778.

Introduction

In the autumn of 1777, Joseph Johnson published his *Ladies' New and Polite Pocket Memorandum Book* for 1778.[1] It was '[e]mbellished with a capital Engraving of the Nine Living Muses of Great Britain, from a Drawing executed with great Taste and in a masterly Style', alongside the more standard offering of an illustration of ladies in the dress of the year.[2] The engraving celebrated leading intellectual women of the day, casting them as the nine muses of antiquity at the temple of Apollo (Fig. 37). The figures depicted are: Elizabeth Griffith (1727-1793), Elizabeth Montagu (1720-1800) and Catherine Macaulay (1731-1791),

[1] *The Ladies New and Polite Pocket Memorandum-book, for the year of our Lord 1778* (London: Printed for J. Johnson). Copy at the Folger Shakespeare Library, Washington, 193- 495q. Some pages accessible online: https://luna.folger.edu/luna/servlet/view/search/what/The+Ladies+new+and+polite+pocket+memorandum-book%E2%80%A6?q=ladies+memorandum&sort=call_number%2Cmpsortorder1%2Ccd_title%2Cimprint [Last Accessed: 13/02/2023].

[2] *Manchester Mercury*, 11 Nov. 1777.

seated together on the stone steps; Charlotte Lennox (c.1729-1804) and Hannah More (1745-1833) standing behind them; Elizabeth Sheridan (1754-1792) at the centre, playing a lyre; Angelica Kauffman (1741-1807) at the easel; and Anna Letitia Barbauld (1743-1825) and Elizabeth Carter (1717-1806) in conversation behind her. It was accordingly titled 'The Nine Living Muses of Great Britain' and the women were identified at the bottom of the print. Unusually, the engraving's design was based on a painting that had not yet been completed: Richard Samuel's *Portraits in the Characters of the Muses in the Temple of Apollo,* a large neo-classical painting measuring 52 by 61 inches, which would not be exhibited at the Royal Academy until 1779 (Fig. 41).[3] It is suspected that the engraving for Johnson's memorandum book was based on a preparatory sketch.[4] Both the engraving and the painting survive, and the "Nine Living Muses" has become an iconic image of the bluestocking circle.

This popular engraving and its appearance in a ladies' memorandum book form the central focus of this chapter.[5] That an image now celebrated as a landmark moment in women's history first appeared in a ladies' pocket memorandum book – a genre which Jennie Batchelor has characterised as espousing 'essentially conservative social and domestic values'[6] – warrants investigation. The "Nine Living Muses" has typically been examined as a free-standing image, with the accompanying engraving, textual description of the bluestocking women, and other contents of the memorandum book mostly disregarded. This chapter interrogates both supposed conservativeness of the genre and the acclaimed radicalness of the print to gain a more nuanced understanding of how gender operated in

[3] Richard Samuel, *Portraits in the Characters of the Muses in the Temple of Apollo,* 1778, oil on canvas, 52 in. x 61 in., National Portrait Gallery, London. Accessible online at: https://www.npg.org.uk/collections/search/portrait/mw00328/Portraits-in-the-Characters-of-the-Muses-in-the-Temple-of-Apollo [Last Accessed: 13/02/2023]. Little is known about Samuel: L. H. Cust, revised by Tina Fiske, "Samuel, Richard (d. 1787), *Oxford Dictionary of National Biography.* Accessible online: https://doi-org.libproxy.york.ac.uk/10.1093/ref:odnb/24605 [Last Accessed: 20/02/2023].

[4] See, for example: Sylvia Harcstark Myers, *The Bluestocking Circle: Women, Friendship, and the Life of the Mind in Eighteenth-Century England* (Oxford: Oxford University Press, 1990), 279.

[5] As far as I am aware, the image did not feature as an engraving in other publications.

[6] Values, which are 'necessarily redefined and problematised by the presence of fashion plates.' Jennie Batchelor, "Fashion and Frugality: Eighteenth-Century Pocket Books for Women," *Studies in Eighteenth-Century Culture* 32 (2003): 11.

ladies' memorandum books. By recontextualising the image back within the publication in which it first appeared, this chapter aims to enhance our understanding of both.

The first section shows how most scholarship has interpreted the visual culture of ladies' memorandum books through the lens of fashion history, and argues that this has made the genre appear more 'conservative' and thus the "Nine Living Muses" a greater outlier than it really was. The second section analyses the appearance of the "Nine Living Muses" in Joseph Johnson's *Ladies New and Polite Pocket Memorandum Book* for 1778 to show how the engraving actually was more radical in its promotion of women's achievements than has been recognised. The third section shows how Joseph Johnson returned to this theme in his *Ladies New and Polite Pocket Memorandum Book* for 1794, with an engraving entitled 'The Three Living Graces and the Nine Living Muses of Great-Britain' – a development previously unnoted in scholarship. Ultimately this chapter demonstrates how memorandum books are not only significant in their own right, but have the power to reshape some of most entrenched narratives about eighteenth century culture.

Historiography and the Primacy of the Fashion Plate

Of all the features of eighteenth-century pocket memorandum books, the fashion plates in ladies' editions have attracted the most sustained academic and curatorial attention. John Newbery started the trend for fashion plates in memorandum books by including a print of a "Lady in the Dress of 1754" in his *Ladies Compleat Pocket-Book* for 1755. Fashion plates quickly established themselves as a popular feature of the genre, and served as the basis of many well-known satirical fashion prints.[7] The plates were placed verso to the title page and typically depicted a woman modelling a genteel dress, in front of elegant gardens, parks or lavish interiors, and captioned with the year at the bottom. Since memorandum books were printed in the autumn of the year before the one they were intended to be used, the pictured dress was from the *previous* year, but the inclusion of fashion plates in

[7] *London Evening Post,* 30 Nov.–3 Dec. 1754. Examples of satirical prints based on the visual culture of memorandum books include Matthew Darly's print *The Extravaganza, or The Mountain Head Dress of 1776*, published 10 April 1776. On this, see: Caitlin Blackwell, "'The Feather'd Fair in a Fright': The Emblem of the Feather in Graphic Satire of 1776," *Journal for Eighteenth-Century Studies* 36, no. 3 (2013): 362-64.

memorandum books represented the earliest systematic form of visual fashion news available in Britain.[8] Paradoxically, the historic removal of these plates from the books has heightened their visibility: plates were frequently cut out and preserved by their owners or used in scrapbooks, and these collections have been used by fashion historians to study the depiction and development of dress. Despite being separated from the books, the distinctive design and size of such fashion plates, along with the common practice of printing the brand of memorandum book along the top of the plate from the 1770s onwards, make attribution of their origin fairly straightforward.

Two prominent examples of eighteenth-century fashion plate collections are the albums of Sarah Sophia Banks (1744–1818) and the fashion album of Barbara Johnson (1738-1825).[9] Both women began collecting memorandum book plates in their teenage years and continued this habit throughout their lives. Their collections show an explicit engagement with the sartorial qualities of the plates. Sarah Sophia Banks, sister to the botanist Sir Joseph Banks and prolific collector of ephemera in her own right, maintained a collection of over four hundred plates from 1760-1818. Banks occasionally annotated the plates with bibliographic details and systematically organized them alongside essays on dress extracted from the textual components of memorandum books (Fig. 38).[10] Barbara Johnson, the daughter of a Buckinghamshire vicar, stuck scraps of sample fabric and notes about her garments alongside fashion plates into an old account book (Fig. 39).[11] Twentieth-century historians of fashion and costume likewise assembled fashion plate collections as part of a growing national interest in historic clothing. Harry Matthews, one of the founders of the

[8] Batchelor, "Fashion and Frugality," 11.
[9] Sarah Sophia Banks, "Album of prints and cuttings of women's fashions, mostly from almanacs, magazines and pocket books," 1760-1818, British Museum, London, C,4.1-468. Accessible online at: https://www.britishmuseum.org/collection/object/P_C-4-1-468 Last Accessed: 13/02/2023]; Natalie Rothstein, ed., *Barbara Johnson's Album of Fashions and Fabrics* (London: Thames and Hudson, 1987).
[10] The plates were donated to the British Museum after her death by her sister-in-law, Dorethea Banks, whereafter they were pasted by museum curators into the albums we find them in today.
[11] These two collections have been the subject of in-depth scholarly analysis: Arlene Leis has examined the plates of Sarah Sophia Banks as part of a project that looks at Banks's broader collecting strategies, while Serena Dyer has done important work to show how Barbara Johnson's album constitutes what Dyer terms a form of 'material accounting. Arlene Leis, "Sarah Sophia Banks: Femininity, Sociability and the Practice of Collecting in Late Georgian England." *Unpublished PhD Thesis* (University of York, 2013); Arlene Leis, "Displaying Art and Fashion: Ladies' Pocket-Book Imagery in the Paper Collections of Sarah Sophia Banks," *Konsthistorisk tidskrift/Journal of Art History* 82, no. 3 (2013): 252-271; Serena Dyer, "Barbara Johnson's Album: Material Literacy and Consumer Practice, 1746-1823." *Journal for Eighteenth-Century Studies* 42, no. 3 (September, 2019): 263-282.

Costume society, was a prolific collector of pre-1830 fashion plates which he donated to the Museum of London to form the Harry Matthews Collection of costume and fashion plates, consisting of 3,500 prints dating from the sixteenth to early nineteenth century, as well as a smaller collection of fashion plates from the eighteenth century which he gifted to the Museum of Applied Arts & Science in Australia.[12] Leading fashion historian Doris Langley Moore first found her passion in collecting historic fashion plates in the 1920s; these would eventually form part of the collections of the Museum of Fashion in Bath that she founded in 1963.[13] The wide-ranging collections of local historian Herbert Druitt formed the basis of the Red House Museum, in Christchurch, Dorset, and included his extensive albums of historic fashion plates assembled on behalf of his mother.[14] The historicizing impulse of ladies' memorandum book fashion was therefore realized in the museum setting, where fashion plates have been used to chart changing sartorial styles of the past. In such collections, memorandum book plates have been brought together with fashion plates from the periodicals and magazines that would eventually supersede them, thus marking pocket books as one step along a chronology of developing trends in fashion and print. The wider category of the "fashion plate" has therefore acted as an organising principle of curation, helping to make the image of "the Lady in the Dress of the Year" into an enduring symbol of the pocket memorandum book.

[12] These plates were presumably already separated from the memorandum books in which they first appeared. "About our Collections: Dress and Textiles, "Museum of London, https://www.museumoflondon.org.uk/collections/about-our-collections/what-we-collect/dress-and-textiles [Last Accessed: 10/07.2021]; "Collection of fashion plates from the 18th century," Museum of Applied Arts & Sciences, https://collection.maas.museum/object/324781 [Last Accessed: 10/07/2021].

[13] In a clear nod to the eighteenth-century fashion plate, every year since its foundation the Museum of Fashion has run a competition entitled the "Dress of the Year", which selects an outfit that encapsulates prevailing styles. Langley Moore also published on ladies' fashion plates, see: Doris Langley Moore, *Fashion Through the Fashion Plates, 1771-1970* (London: Ward Lock, 1971), 31. Notably, she featured the fashion plate to Joseph Johnson's *Ladies New and Polite Pocket Memorandum Book* for 1778, but made no mention of the *Nine Living Muses* print that was originally published alongside it.

[14] Silvia Druitt, "Fashion Plates at the Red House Museum, Christchurch," *Costume* 8, no. 1 (January 1974): 65-69.



Figure 37. Sarah Sophia Banks Collection of Fashion Plates. British Museum, London, C, 4. 1-431



Figure 38. Album with textile samples and fashion plates, compiled by Barbara Johnson, England, 1746-1823. V&A, London, T.219-1973

Historians of fashion were therefore the first to note the emergence and importance of this genre, which as they saw it, lay in its representation of prevailing styles.[15] Notably, Anne Buck and Harry Matthews surveyed the genre in their article "Pocket Guides to Fashion."[16] Drawing mainly on scrapbooks and newspaper advertisements, they identified forty-six ladies' memorandum book brands published between 1760 and 1830 and provided information on their publishers, artists and engravers. Yet their attention was still fixed firmly towards the fashion plates; indeed, as the title of their article indicates, fashion was seen as the *raison d'être* of these little books, all other content merely context.

Yet as Buck and Matthews note, but do not reflect upon, fashion plates were not the only images in ladies' memorandum books.'[17] In fact, from the 1760s onwards it was standard for ladies' memorandum books to include two prints; the obligatory dress of the year set alongside another, often larger fold-out print, the subject of which ranged enormously–- though depictions of the royal family and views of fashionable assemblies were consistently dominant themes. When separated, such prints are unlikely to be identified as originating from memorandum books; they lack the obvious visual markers of fashion plates, and the cultural associations linking them together (Fig. 40). It is easy to see how this creates a vicious cycle, wherein the more that fashion plates are treated as a distinctive group, the more this dislocates other types of memorandum book prints.[18] Yet the primacy of the "Lady in the Dress of the Year" is not a readily obvious fact. We are given no reason as to why fashion plates exist isolated from prints that contemporary advertisements reveal once accompanied them, nor why Buck and Matthews characterise ladies' memorandum books as "Pocket Guides to Fashion" and not "Pocket Guides to Notable Events" or "Pocket Guides to Country Seats." The category of the fashion plate functioned not only to decontextualise

[15] Already by the nineteenth century ladies' memorandum books were drawn upon to pepper the pages of histories of English dress. See: Frederick William Fairholt, *Costume in England: A History of Dress from the Earliest Period Till the Till the Close of the Eighteenth Century* (London: Chapman and Hall, 186 Strand, 1846), 152.

[16] Anne Buck and Harry Matthews, 'Pocket Guides to Fashion: Ladies' Pocket Books Published in England 1760-1830', *Costume* 18, no. 1 (1984): 35-58.

[17] Ibid, 35.

[18] This is evident in the collections of Sarah Sophia Banks and Barbara Johnson: while both have been described respectively as an 'Album of prints and cuttings of women's fashions' and an 'album of fashion and fabrics', fashion plates are not the only memorandum book engravings which appear in their collections – indeed, the engraving of the "Nine Living Muses" appears in Banks' collection.

the images from their original publication, but to erase the presence and meaning of their counterpart print.



Figure 39. Example of an engraving which likely originally appeared in W. Harri''s British Ladies Pocket Book for 1773. A Masquerade Scene at the Pantheon, 1772, V&A, S.1627-2013.

Even more recent and expansive engagement with the content of ladies' memorandum books has still fundamentally framed analysis around fashion plates. Jennie Batchelor was the first to write at length on the emergence and meaning of ladies' memorandum books.[19] Contra Buck and Matthews, she has downplayed the centrality of the fashion plate, but still locates the book's fundamental meaning as resting in the tension generated between the

[19] Batchelor, 'Fashion and Frugality," 1-18.

plate and the message of oeconomy threaded throughout the rest of the book.[20] For Batchelor, the fashion plate represents a significant divergence from the 'the essentially conservative social and domestic values espoused by the pocket book' that attempted to mould users into financially responsible wives and daughters.[21] She characterises the memorandum book as poised between promoting fashionable consumption and the need to keep consumption in check, preferably by tracking one's finances and social credit within its pages. Timothy Campbell has more explicitly addressed ladies' memorandum books from a dress-historical perspective. 'The Dress of the Year' provides the organising theme of the first section of his book *Historical Style*.[22] His overarching aim was to elucidate the links between the temporality of eighteenth-century fashion and the century's historicizing impulse; to show how the increasingly serialized nature of fashion inculcated a 'sense of history' long before the Romantic Era's literary reckoning with the past.[23] Ladies' memorandum books were one important element of this new ordering of fashion: their dated fashion plates coupled with their emphasis on the culturally "new" (new country dances, new songs sung at Vauxhall) made them a 'genre of immanent memorialization and reflection upon the fate of personal and cultural memory in time.'[24] As fashion plates brought in a new annual rhythm to fashion, Campbell argues, they also historicised the recent past.[25]

Yet the assumed primacy of the fashion plate results in skewed characterisations of the genre. On Batchelor's account, ladies' memorandum books differed from their male counterparts 'by their attention to fashion, usually concentrated in one or two engravings, displaying gowns and headdresses worn in the metropolis and occasionally supplemented by written fashion reports.'[26] Fashion, not other fixtures of the books such as their essays, fiction, poetry, country dances, or enigma puzzle competitions, demarcates the gendered

[20] Ibid, 4.
[21] Ibid, 11; ibid, 2.
[22] Timothy Campbell, *Historical Style: Fashion and the New Mode of History, 1740-1830* (Philadelphia: University of Pennsylvania Press, 2006).
[23] Ibid, 26-27.
[24] Ibid, 65.
[25] We can see this playing out in collections such as Barbara Johnson's album in which the fashion plates were assembled in a broadly chronological order and brought into dialogue with the fabrics and designs of her own dresses, helping to chronicle her own sartorial choices. See: Dyer, "Barbara Johnson's Album," 263-282.
[26] Batchelor, "Fashion and Frugality," 1.

parameters of ladies' memorandum books. While she discusses other kinds of printed content, she regards them as conservative conduct literature in another guise, only complicated by the presence of the 'Lady in the Dress of the Year'. Batchelor does not pay attention to the presence of other kinds of prints, bar one passing mention of a particular copy that featured a fold-out image of Carlton House.[27] Campbell recognises more variety, noting that the 'Dress of the Year' was typically set 'alongside a fold-out illustrated plate showing the fashionable headdresses of the same year, along with an illustration of a high-fashion event or a literary scene on the reverse.'[28] This is still a narrow account of the imagery we find in memorandum book plates and, one suspects, tailored to suit the links he is making here between the cycles of fashion and literature.

Likewise, the extent to which pocket books 'regularly provided [...] prose dispatches on new fashions to complement their iconic visual frontispieces' has been overplayed.[29] Analysis of seventy-nine extant ladies' memorandum books printed in Britain between 1752-1803 (i.e. intended to be used in the years 1753-1804), only six contained essays on dress or fashion reports.[30] Two more had a description of the plate that detailed the fashions depicted. The other sixty-six memorandum books had no dispatches on fashion to speak of. It appears that such fashion updates were limited to a handful of brands: three issues of Elizabeth Stevens' *Ladies Annual Journal* accounted for half of the memorandum books with fashion essays, suggesting that it was at one time a regular fixture in her book. But on the whole, ladies' memorandum books did *not* parallel ladies' magazines in providing written reports on changing styles. In ladies' memorandum books, we find, scholars read fashion where it is not; even when meditating of the "blankness" of the memorandum book pages, Campbell

[27] Ibid, 10.
[28] Campbell, *Historical Style,* 64.
[29] Ibid, 64.
[30] Brands included in this analysis were: *The Ladies Complete Pocket-Book*; *The Ladies Memorandum Book; The Ladies' Own Memorandum Book; The Ladies Annual Journal; Newbery's Ladies Polite Pocket-Book; The Ladies Most Elegant and Convenient Pocket Book; The Ladies Town and Country Pocket Journal; The Ladies New and Polite Pocket Memorandum-Book; Harris's Original British Ladies Pocket Memorandum Book; The Ladies Mirror; The Ladies Daily Companion; The Ladies Miscellany; The Ladies Pocket Journal or Toilet Assistant; The Annual Present; The Ladies Pocket Book; The Ladies New and Elegant Pocket Journal; The Norfolk Ladies Memorandum Book; The Ladies New Memorandum Book; The Ladies Complete Pocket-Book* (a separate brand, published in Newcastle); *The Court & Royal Lady's Pocket Book; Crosby's Royal Fortune-Telling Almanack; Hinckesman's Union Ladies Companion;* and *Poole's Ladies Select Pocket Remembrancer.*

suggests they point 'to a time that is and ultimately will be filled – however adequately – by articles of dress that grant a form and body to the collective desires of commercial life.'[31]

My intention here is not to deny that there was an interest in dress evident in ladies' memorandum books. Even if this interest was not regularly supplied in the form of fashion reports, it manifested in other ways: specimens of use anticipated trips to dressmakers, which we find was not infrequently realised in the records of the women who used them, while an interest in the development of fashion is apparent in the collections of Barbara Johnson and Sarah Sophia Banks.[32] Instead, what I am demonstrating here is the collective overemphasis on the 'Lady in the Dress of the Year' and its consequences on scholarship, and in doing so, mapping out the conditions that make the image of the "Nine Living Muses" appear a wildly unaccountable outlier in a sea of fashionable dresses.

Previous scholarship has also flattened the publishing landscape, with ladies' memorandum books typically treated as a homogeneous group. Surprisingly, for all the consideration given to changing historical consciousness, Campbell and others have not considered if and how the genre changed over time, nor how publishers shaped content. Moreover, ladies' memorandum books had a rich and varied visual culture that has mostly gone unacknowledged. The emphasis on consumerism as the essence of the ladies' memorandum books has not given space to other cultural currents that shaped these publications. The "Nine Living Muses" print was not the only engraving that is difficult to square with an interpretative framework of consumerism or conservatism: other images that appeared in these books included "Mr Banks presenting Omiah, a Native of Otaheite, to the Queen", "The Lord Mayor &c. taking Water on their Return from Westminster Hall," "Miss More presenting the Bristol Milkwoman to Mrs Montagu" and "Lord Courtenay

[31] Campbell, *Historical Style,* 171.

[32] For example, a specimen of use which listed paying money to 'Mrs. Modish, Mantua-maker.' *The Ladies Complete Pocket-Book for the Year of our Lord* 1777 (Printed for T. Carnan and F. Newbery, jun. at No. 65, in St. Paul's Church-Yard; S. Crowder and R. Baldwin, in Paternoster Row, and B. Collins, in Salisbury). Copy consulted: "Wixford or Bidford: Diary of a Schoolgirl (1797)," Warwick, Warwickshire Record Office, CR1704; for example, one user of the *Ladies Annual Journal* for 1774 mainly used it to record purchasing materials for dressmaking: MS. Notations by Catherine Donisthorpe in *The Ladies Annual Journal; or, Complete Pocket Book, for the Year 1774* (London: Printed for Elizabeth Stevens, No. 2. Stationers-Court, Ludgate-Street; and I. Taylor, near the Top of Chancery-Lane, Holborn). Copy consulted: "Donisthorpe family papers 1762-1819," Taunton, Somerset Heritge Centre, DD/MR/69.

endeavouring to extinguish the flames of his Siste''s Clothes which had caught by kindling too near the fire."[33] To explore the various cultural currents running through the genre would merit a full-length study in itself. In what follows, I examine the "Nine Living Muses" engraving in Johnson's *Ladies New and Polite Pocket Memorandum Book* in order to challenge the conception of ladies' memorandum books as inherently conservative, and to show how they could in fact be a platform for publisher's political views – in this case, the promotion of women's participation in the public sphere.

Joseph Johnson's Ladies New and Polite Pocket Memorandum Book for 1778 and "The Nine Living Muses of Great Britain"

When Joseph Johnson (1738-1809) published his *Ladies New and Polite Pocket Memorandum Book* for 1778 with the engraving of the "Nine Living Muses," his memorandum book was already well-established. Joseph Johnson is remembered as publisher of some of the most significant radical texts of the late eighteenth century, including John Newton's abolitionist *Thoughts Upon the African Slave Trade* (1788) and Mary Wollstonecraft's *A Vindication of the Rights of Women* (1792), as well as editor of the periodical *Analytical Review* (1788-1798). It was early in his career that Johnson began publishing pocket memorandum books. He first established his own bookstore on Fish-Hill Street in London in 1761 and began publishing two pocket memorandum books the following year: *The Complete pocket book, or, Gentleman and tradesma''s daily journal* for 1763 and *The Ladies New and Polite Pocket Memorandum Book* for 1763.[34] Johnson's memorandum books were some of the most successful brands; he published the *Ladies*

[33] *The Ladies Most Elegant and Convenient Pocket Book, For the Year 1775* (London: Printed for J. Wheble; and sold by J. Bew, in Pater-Noster Row). Information on frontispiece sourced from catalogued copy: State Library of New South Wales, Sydney, Rare Books Collection item MRB/181; Rothstein, ed., *Barbara Johnson's Album of Fashions and Fabrics*, 25; Banks, "Album of prints and cuttings of women's fashions," C,4.1-468; *Harris's British Ladies Complete Pocket Memorandum Book for the Year 1792* (London: Printed for H. Goldney). Copy consulted: London, British Library, General Reference Collection P.P.2472.oa.

[34] The next year Johnson also advertised *The Young Gentleman's Pocket Book* for 1764, but this appears to have been a short-lived publication, and I have been unable to trace an extant copy. Gerald P. Tyson, *Joseph Johnson: A Liberal Publisher* (Iowa City: University of Iowa Press, 1979), 9-10.

New and Polite for upwards of thirty years, while *The Complete Pocket Book* continued to be published after his death, running for over eighty years.[35]

The success of Johnson's popular publications such as memorandum books has barely registered in scholarship, overshadowed by his contributions to radical philosophy and politics.[36] Nevertheless, it is surprising that little connection has been drawn between the most famous image of the bluestockings and its initial appearance in Johnson's publication. Joseph Johnson is well-known to have been an advocate of female writers, publishing and supporting them when they were still in the nascence of their careers.[37] These included Mary Wollstonecraft, Charlotte Smith and one of the subjects of the "Nine Living Muses" itself, Anna Barbauld.[38] Works by the bluestockings featured in the *Ladies New and Polite Pocket Memorandum Book* even before the famous engraving: the 1769 edition included an engraving of the King and Queen of Denmark based on a painting by Angelica Kauffman; the 1773 edition included an engraving of Barbauld's poem "To Mr. Barbauld, with a Map of the Land of Matrimony"; and the 1776 edition featured Baurbauld's essay "The Influence of Philosophy on Devotion."[39] Johnson's ladies' memorandum book therefore formed part of his broader interest in publishing works for and by women.

None caused quite the stir of his 1778 edition with its engraving of the "Nine Living Muses of Great-Britain" (Fig. 37). The engraving cast leading bluestocking women as the nine muses of antiquity: deities who inspired the arts and sciences, each embodying a different creative pursuit: Calliope (epic poetry); Clio (history); Euterpe (flutes and music); Thalia

[35] Advertisements for his memorandum books were much less common in the 1790s, but it appears they were still being published for at least some of the years in that decade. There are surviving copies of his *Complete Pocket-Book* in The National Library of Wales for 1791, 1793, and 1797, while his *Analytical Review* advertises both the *Complete Pocket-Book* and the *Ladies New and Polite Pocket Memorandum Book* for 1799. *The Analytic Review,* for October 1798.

[36] Three books have provided in-depth analysis of Joseph Johnson as publisher, none of which give more than a passing mention to his publication of memorandum books. None of them have made the link between Johnson and the engraving of the "Nine Living Muses of Great-Britain." Daisy Hay, *Dinner with Joseph Johnson Books and Friendship in a Revolutionary Age* (Princeton: Princeton University Press, 2022); Tyson, *Joseph Johnson*; Helen Braithwaite, *Romanticism, Publishing and Dissent: Joseph Johnson and the Cause of Liberty* (Basingstoke: Palgrave Macmillan, 2003).

[37] Tyson, *Joseph Johnson,* 51.

[38] Despite it being well-established that Johnson played a key role in the careers of Wollstonecraft in particular, and other female authors like Barbauld, there has been no scholarship examining Johnson's role in promoting women's work throughout his career.

[39] *Kentish Gazette,* 12 Nov. 1768; *Oxford Journal,* 21 Nov. 1772; *Oxford Journal,* 25 Nov. 1775.

(comedy and pastoral poetry); Melpomene (tragedy); Terpsichore (dance); Erato (love poetry and lyric poetry); Polyhymnia (sacred poetry); and Urania (astronomy).[40] Their leader was the god Apollo, and they resided with him on the sacred mountain at Parnassus. Identification of each bluestocking woman with the muse they were intended to represent was not clear-cut, and has led to speculation: Macaulay was depicted holding a scroll, likely marking her out as Clio, the muse of history, while Sheridan, in the centre, holding a lyre, was likely intended to represent Erato. Many of the women's gazes are turned towards Elizabeth Montagu, likely marking her out as Calliope, the leader of the muses.[41] Where historically the muses had been considered passive influences on male artistry, as Lucy Peltz has shown by the eighteenth century the muses were recast as more active contributors to the cultural life of Britain, as part of a growing appreciation for antiquity and in response to the increasing visibility of women in the arts. She writes that:

> These new Muses were a means through which Britain could celebrate the special contribution that women made to the social and cultural progress and economic well-being of the nation.[42]

This is one of the key reasons why the "Nine Living Muses" engraving and painting together have been identified as a landmark in women's history. The image captured a moment in which women were not only had a significant presence in the arts, but where their presence was becoming a source of national pride. The deification of these prominent women as living muses functioned to historicize female creativity, implying that they were part of a literary heritage that stretched back to antiquity. Although these women would have never met as a group in real life, by assembling them together as muses, the image proclaimed their collective presence across the arts.

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[40] Anne Kelley, "What a Pox Have The Women to do with the Muses?" The Nine Muses (1700): Emulation or Appropriation?" *Women's Writing* 17, no. 1 (2010): 9.
[41] Sylvia Harcstark Myers, *The Bluestocking Circle: Women, Friendship, and the Life of the Mind in Eighteenth-Century England* (Oxford: Oxford University Press, 1990), 278.
[42] Lucy Peltz, "Living Muses: Constructing and Celebrating the Professional Woman in Literature and the Arts," in Elizabeth Eger and Lucy Peltz, eds, *Brilliant Women: 18th-Century Bluestockings* (London: National Portrait Gallery, 2007), 57.

Yet the mythological setting has also been viewed as a means of abstracting the women from their individual achievements. Some allusions to the individual muses are evident in the "Nine Living Muses" image, but on the whole it is not immediately apparent which of the bluestocking women is intended to represent which muse of antiquity. Moreover, dressing up these modern women as mythological muses removed the possibility of viewing them as distinctive characters, unlike contemporary male authors who were often captured in realist portraits that drew on an iconography that represented their individual achievements, such as those of Laurence Sterne and Samuel Johnson. Not only were they presented as muses, but their depiction also bore little resemblance to the women in real life as none of the subjects sat for Samuel's work. As Elizabeth Carter pointed out to her friend Elizabeth Montagu in their correspondence, 'I cannot very exactly tell which is you, and which is I, and which is any body else.'[43]

This lack of individuation has often been seen as intentional by scholars. As Shearer West has written: 'The roles these women adopt are implicitly intended to be emulated or at least appreciated, but the classification of women according to ideal categories is also potentially restricting. Samuel's work takes women into the realms of the ideal.'[44] For West, the idealisation of these women runs contrary to their own works which often presented women as having complex inner lives. William McCarthy in his biography of Anna Barbauld has commented how 'apart from her hair and eye colour, Samuel's "Mrs Barbauld" is not a portrait. It is an iconic figure, a muse, Poetry herself.'[45] Meanwhile, because of the painting's ambiguous representation of its female subjects, Kate Davies has suggested that the image 'might be read as the representation of one indeterminate classical female figure divided into nine cultural activities'. As she continues, 'the point […] is less the reality of these women's productions and activities, their personalities and politics.'[46] Finally, Belly Schellenberg has said specifically of the engraving itself that it 'makes no attempt to create

[43] *Letters from Mrs. Elizabeth Carter to Mrs. Montagu between the Years 1755 and 1800,* vol. 3 (London: F.C. & J. Rivington, 1817), 46.
[44] Shearer West, "Roles and Role Models: Montagu, Siddons, Lady Macbeth," in Elizabeth Eger, ed. *Bluestockings Displayed: Portraiture, Performance and Patronage, 1730–1830* (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 2013), 164.
[45] William McCarthy, *Anna Letitia Barbauld: Voice of the Enlightenment* (Baltimore: John Hopkins University Press, 2008), 117.
[46] Kate Davis, *Catharine Macaulay and Mercy Otis Warren: The Revolutionary Atlantic and the Politics of Gender* (Oxford: Oxford University Press, 2005), 78; ibid, 80.

a sense of intimate298ceess to an embodied group.' In sum, the Nine Living Muses has been used to evidence the way women were given an elevated status in the public sphere, but not allowed individuated success.

Yet the significance of the image's initial appearance in a memorandum book has been overlooked. While such critiques may be fairly levelled at Samuel's painting, examination of the engraving challenges such interpretations. This chapter now turns to examine both the text and imagery of the *Ladies New and Polite Pocket Memorandum Book* for 1778, showing how the book functioned as a whole to individuate these women and their achievements.

The Text of the 1778 Memorandum Book

Opening the *Ladies New and Polite Pocket Memorandum Book* for 1778, the reader was first met with the two engravings at the front of the volume: a fashion plate set alongside the foldout engraving of the "Nine Living Muses of Great Britain" (Fig. 37). The timeline of production has led to the suggestion that the engraving may have been based on a preparatory sketch by Samuel which was then engraved by Page for the memorandum book. The title page then listed the book's contents, in a non-sequential order:

I. Useful Memorandum book, &c. &c. &c.
II. A table of the Moon for 1778
III. Table of the Sun's rising
IV. Holidays, Birth-Days, Eclipses, and other remarkable Days in 1778
V. Some Account of the Nine Living Muses of Great Britain
VI. A Beautiful Poem written by R. B. Sheridan, Esq. on Miss Linley of Bath.
VII. On Sentimental Connexions form'd by Young Ladies, an Essay.
VIII. Select Pieces of Poetry, by the most Admired Wits.
IX. The most esteemed New Songs Sung at Vauxhall, Ranelagh, the Theatres, and Catch Club.
X. Country Dances for 1778.[47]

[47] *The Ladies New and Polite Pocket Memorandum-book, for the year of our Lord* 1778 (London: Printed for J. Johnson). Copy consulted: Folger Shakespeare Library, Washington, DC., 193- 495q.

While many of these features were standard fare for ladies' memorandum books – such as the tables of the moon and sun, the recent songs sung at Vauxhall and the newest country dances – the theme of the "Nine Living Muses" was woven through the memorandum book. In particular, the book opened with a lengthy 'Account of the Nine Living Muses of Great Britain' proclaiming that:

> Among the many distinguishing excellencies which this age and country boast, the great figure which many women make in the polite arts, as well as in different branches of learning, may be considered as one of the choicest acquisitions. in order to pay a just tribute of praise to such truly estimable characters, we have engaged a very able artist to execute a masterly drawing, in which the most eminent of the female sex are represented as The NINE LIVING MUSES of GREAT BRITAIN.[48]

The engraving, unlike the painting, had a caption that identified the women and linked them to biographical descriptions that venerated each woman in turn as 'contemporary worthies.' These biographies were of varying length, but each praised the subject not only for her virtuous and accomplished character but also for her particular achievements and provided entertaining information about her familial or romantic connections. The praise accorded to these women was both tailored to their individual endeavours, and emphasised how they contributed on an equal footing to men in the various branches of the arts. Elizabeth Carter was praised for 'her profound erudition and depth of genius' – a term commonly reserved for men – for her Greek translations and published poems.[49] Elizabeth Montagu was presented as 'the judge and patroness of merit' and her essay on Shakespeare given as 'proof of her knowledge of the *Belles Lettre,* of her critical acumen, and her sound judgement.'[50] Catherine Macauley was described as being 'endowed with a large and manly compass of thoughts' as shown by her pursuit of political knowledge, and 'skill and acuteness in the sciences of government and jurisprudence.'[51] The *Ladies New and Polite*

[48] *The Ladies New and Polite Pocket Memorandum-book, for the year of our Lord* 1778 (London: Printed for J. Johnson). Copy consulted: Folger Shakespeare Library, Washington, DC., 193- 495q.
[49] Biography of Elizabeth Carter, Ibid.
[50] Biography of Elizabeth Montagu, Ibid.
[51] Biography of Catherine Macauley, Ibid.

Pocket Memorandum Book for 1778, then, celebrated these women not simply as personifications of the arts, but for their individual contributions to the public sphere.

Such praise was not without qualification. Angelica Kauffman's entry emphasised the 'delicacy' and 'softness' in her paintings that rendered her work feminine: 'in her colouring she is rich without "o'erstepping the modesty of nature".'[52] Meanwhile, Anna Barbauld and Elizabeth Sheridan, née Linley, shared their biographical descriptions with the key men in their lives. Barbauld's achievements were shown to be the result of her atypical education, in which her 'early relisI.for knowledge' was 'cherished by a parent, equally qualified as willing'. The inclusion of both Barbauld's father and her husband, the Rev. Rochemont Barbauld in the biographical sketch were used to model ideal family relationships. Barbauld received a formal education from her father that included study of Greek and Latin, but she was also proof that such education need not come at the expense of a 'superintendance of domestic concerns' – a combination of general education and domestic duty for women that Barbauld herself endorsed.[53] Her marriage to Mr. Barbauld was based on 'that happiness which love, disinterested, sincere, and mutual is calculated to confer,' in true dissenting tradition.[54] The biographical sketch for Elizabeth Sheridan was likewise subsumed into a broader narrative about virtuous love. Details about Elizabeth were eclipsed by lengthy praise for her husband, Richard Sheridan, 'a genius, who at the age of twenty-six or twenty-seven, has produced three plays in three successive winters, replete with wit, character plot and originality.' While Elizabeth Sheridan's musical talents, cultivated mind, and beauty, were highlighted, the greatest attention was paid to their romantic courtship, in part for its entertainment value. Her biography including a dramatic re-telling of Sheridan's famous duel with his one-time friend Captain Thomas Matthews for the honour of Elizabeth's heart. Yet the crux of this account lay in Sheridan's pursuit of domestic happiness in spite of his great success and youth, an example which should '*make virtue fashionable and put vice out of countenance.'*[55]

[52] Biography of Angelica Kauffman, Ibid.
[53] Biography of Anna Barbauld, Ibid; Aileen Fyfe, "Reading Children's Books in Late Eighteenth-Century Dissenting Families," *The Historical Journal* 43, No. 2 (Jun., 2000), 458.
[54] Biography of Anna Barbauld in *The Ladies New and Polite Pocket Memorandum-book, for the year of our Lord* 1778 (London: Printed for J. Johnson). Copy consulted: Folger Shakespeare Library, Washington, DC., 193-495q.
[55] Biography of Elizabeth Sheridan, Ibid.

The engraving of the "Nine Living Muses" was thus linked to these women's lives and works, with the biographical texts functioning to individually laud the women and provide didactic models for the female readers of the *Ladies New and Polite Pocket Memorandum Book*. That the different elements of the memorandum book worked together, that text and image were intended to be mutually reinforcing, can be seen by the ways in which the biographical descriptions of the depicted muses were linked to other features of the book. The biographical sketch for Elizabeth Sheridan was appended with the 'Beautiful poem written by R. B. Sheridan' for her that was listed in the contents page. It was in fact a Greek poem by Aristænetus that Sheridan had translated and abridged, and so continued the mythological theme. Notably, the last two verses concluded with the imagery of the lyre: 'for she'll inspire/Again the lay, who strung my lyre', and 'Again my lyre shall lend its aid and dwell upon the theme it loves.'[56] The appearance of Elizabeth Linley Sheridan in the engraving, plucking at a lyre, in this context appears an intentional link to Sheridan's p–em - particularly as the lyre was often seen as a symbol for romantic poetry. Likewise, Hannah More's biographical sketch reeled off the various 'productions of her pen', including her recently published *Essays on Various Subjects, principally designed for Young Ladies* (1777). The reader was directed to an extract from this work in the pocket book itself – the essay 'On Sentimental Connexions.[57]' It is notable that More was the most conservative of the writers celebrated in Johnson's pocket memorandum book, but also the most didactic. Her essays were educational, and directed to the same kind of audience as Johnson's memorandum books were primarily consumed by: young women. This particular essay warned of the dangers of behaving in a sentimental manner towards men, which could innocently veil impropriety. By cross-referencing the different features of the memorandum book in this way, the book wove together the depiction of More in the engraving, her biography, and her writing, clearly linking the exaltation of women worthies with moral instruction for the reader.

[56] Biography of Elizabeth Sheridan, Ibid.
[57] Biography of Hannah More, Ibid.

Thus the paratextual features of the memorandum book shaped how the engraving was to be read. Even the inclusion of an advertisement for another of Johnson's publications seems significant in this context. It was for the anonymously-penned *The Laws Respecting Women as they regard their Natural Rights, or their Connections and Conduct. In which their Interests and Duties as Daughters, Wards, Heiresses, Spinsters, Sisters, Wives, Mothers, Legatees, Executrixes, &c. are ascertained and enumerated ; also the Obligations of Parent and Child, and the Condition of Infants* (1777).[58] This was the first legal guide for women, and established itself as a standard text for the era. It did not explicitly advocate for changing women's legal status, rather as Gerald P. Tyson has described, 'its ultimate value lay in arming women with the knowledge of their female rights.'[59] As the title indicates, it clearly laid out the various laws that impacted women in various spheres of life, not just their rights as married women, as had previously been the focus of legal texts that included discussion of women.[60] In essence, *The Laws Respecting Women* was an example of knowledge as power in the advancement of women's rights. The appearance of the advertisement in Johnson's ladies' memorandum book suggests that the his theme of the "Nine Living Muses" was part of a broader interest in promoting women's rights at this time. Like the inclusion of More's essay, the placement of the advertisement guided the reader from celebrating these eminent women, to also considering and learning about their own status as women.

Thus while the image of the "Nine Living Muses" has often been interpreted as stripping away these women from their 'productions and activities, their personalities and politics', within the context of the *Ladies New and Polite Memorandum Book* for 1778 shows that it was intended to do quite the opposite; text and image worked together to individuate these women's achievements.

[58] Anon, *The Laws Respecting Women as they regard their Natural Rights, or their Connections and Conduct. In which their Interests and Duties as Daughters, Wards, Heiresses, Spinsters, Sisters, Wives, Mothers, Legatees, Executrixes, &c. are ascertained and enumerated ; also the Obligations of Parent and Child, and the Condition of Infants* (London: Printed for J. Johnson, no. 72, St Paul's Church-Yard, 1777).
[59] Tyson, *Joseph Johnson,* 50.
[60] Nicola Jane Phillips, *Women in Business, 1700-1850* (Woodbridge: Boydell Press, 2006), 36.

The Visual Imagery of the 1778 Engraving

There were also discrepancies between the engraving commissioned by Joseph Johnson for his pocket memorandum book and engraved by Page, and the painting executed by Samuel. The divergences between print and painting have been carefully articulated by Elizabeth Eger and Lucy Peltz, but too often scholars otherwise elide the print and the painting to the effect of obfuscating the importance of form in the appearance of these two images. While they may appear minor, they have important ramifications for our interpretation of the two images for the engraving ultimately conveyed a more radical vision of its female subjects.

Samuel's painting has frequently been understood as a celebration of national progress, which linked the advancement of women with the advancement of the nation. Matthew Head writes of the painting: 'In Samuel's *The Nine Living Muses of Great Britain* the title already announces the national interest at stake in images of female excellence.'[61] Cindy McCreery meanwhile finds it telling that the women were identified as British, concluding that the painting and engraving were 'a patriotic affirmation of Britain's wealth of female talent'.[62] But any nationalistic triumphalism was merely implicit in Samuel's painting; all explicit references to the Britishness of these women and their attainments were solely to be found in the pocket-book engraving and its accompanying text. While the print was entitled 'The Nine Living Muses of Great Britain', the painting was actually called *Portraits in the Characters of the Muses in the Temple of Apollo* (Figs. 37 & 41). The differing titles are subtle, but significant: the engraving's title placed focus on the modern women it mythologized, and their national importance; the painting's title shifted attention to its classical setting. Where the engraving individuated the women through the use of captions, and emphasised their connection to contemporary society, Samuel's painting added features to emphasise the classical setting and these women's depictions as muses. Allegorical details were added to demarcate the different muses: in the print version, Hannah More simply looked upward to the skies, but in the painting she was depicted holding a cup, to signify her character as Melpomene, the tragic muse, following the staging

[61] Matthew Head, *Sovereign Feminine: Music and Gender in Eighteenth-Century Germany* (Berkely: University of California Press, 2013), 38.
[62] Cindy McCreery, *The Satirical Gaze: Prints of Women in Late Eighteenth-Century England* (Oxford: Oxfurd University Press, 2004), 119.

of More's tragedy *Percy* in December 1777.[63] The mythological setting was further evoked in the painting with the addition of a silk curtain swathed around the temple, and the elevation of the temple to represent its site as the mountain of Parnassus. The most significant alteration was to the plinth at the centre of the image, which identified the setting as the Temple of Apollo. In Samuel's painting, the nine muses were shown worshipping at the foot of the god Apollo, traditional leader of the muses, who was stood atop the plinth holding his customary lyre in one hand and the sun in the other. In the engraving however, we find instead Apollo crowning Britannia, who sat centrally on the plinth, and the plinth itself decorated with a large laurel wreath. The newly-crowned leader of the muses, then, was Britain itself.

[63] Her performance would therefore have taken place *after* the original publication of Johnson's *Ladies New and Polite Pocket Memorandum-Book* for 1778. Myers, *The Bluestocking Circle*, 279.



Figure 40. Richard Samuel, Portraits in the Characters of the Muses in the Temple of Apollo. 1778. Oil on canvas. 52 in. x 61 in. National Portrait Gallery, London.

Therefore, it was the imagery of the engraving, not the painting, that linked the emergence of women in the public sphere to the advancement of the nation. Moreover, when the engraving was unfolded, the fashion engraving would also have been laid open to view. In this context the setting of the 'Lady in the newest full Dress and another in the most fashionable Undress' does not appear coincidental. The modish women stroll along a colonnade through which we spy distant trees and clouds, bearing a striking resemblance to the Grecian setting of the muses. The women's proportions and placement are likewise similar to the muses, and though the two women may be dressed *á la mode*, their pose is conversational, their gaze directed towards one another and hands outstretched in a manner similar to the animatedly-depicted Catherine Macaulay and Anna Barbauld. The effect was to create a visual continuity between the two images: the women could have believably walked straight out of the temple of Apollo. Lucy Peltz has commented on the conjunction of these two plates in the memorandum book, suggesting that the fashion plate 'brought the 'Living Muses' down from their heavenly pinnacle and put them on the

contemporary stage, thereby encouraging modern women to identify with them.'[64] Just as female consumers were intended to model themselves on the styles depicted in the fashion plates, here they were doubly invited to imagine themselves as one of the muses of Great-Britain and to emulate the virtues they embodied. *The Ladies New and Polite Pocket Memorandum Book* positioned not just the bluestockings, but everyday women as culturally and commercially linked to furnishing the improvement of Britain.

Far from instilling conservative values, then, Johnson's *Ladies New and Polite Pocket Memorandum Book* promoted women's artistic achievements and endeavours, in keeping with his views as a dissenting publisher. Furthermore, the 1778 memorandum book presented a more radical vision of women's progress than its more famous painted counterpart. While we have no knowledge of whether any of the bluestockings ever saw Samuel's painting exhibited in 1779, we *do* have reactions to the engraving in the correspondence of Elizabeth Montagu and Elizabeth Carter. On the 24th November 1777, Elizabeth Montagu wrote to her close friend Elizabeth Carter about their appearance in the *Ladies New and Polite Pocket Memorandum Book*:

> Pray do you know, that Mr Johnson, the editor of a most useful pocket book, has done my Prose head the honour to putt it into a print with yours, & seven other celebrated heads, & to call us the nine Muses. He also says some very handsome things, & it is charming to think how our praises will ride about the World in every bodies pocket. Unless we could all be put into a popular ballad, set to a favourite old English tune, I do not see how we could become more universally celebrated […][65]

Carter replied:

> O DEAR, O dear, how pretty we look, and what brave things has Mr. Johnson said of us! Indeed, my dear friend, I am just as sensible to present fame as you can be. Your Virgils and your Horaces may talk what they will of posterity, but I think it is much

[64] Peltz, "Living Muses," 63.
[65] Quoted in Elizabeth Eger, *Bluestockings: Women of Reason from Enlightenment to Romanticism* (Basingstoke: Palgrave Macmillan, 2010) 59.

> better to be celebrated by the men, women, and children, among whom one is actually living and looking […][66]

Despite both women's gentle ridiculing of the 'pocket-book' as a form of low culture, their exchange reveals a real appreciation for the impact of the publication. As Montagu remarked, the *Ladies New and Polite Pocket Memorandum Book* was the vehicle by which their 'praises will ride about the World in every bodies pocket.'[67] Samuel's painting and its display at the Royal Academy may have been a landmark moment for women's visibility in the public sphere, but it was the engraving in the ladies' memorandum book that the bluestockings and later commentators seized upon as evidence of their popular fame.

As this chapter has shown, to fully understand the meaning and significance of the "Nine Living Muses," it is important to interpret the engraving in its original context. Doing so not only helps us to understand its initial appearance, but reveals something that has flown completely under the radar of bluestocking scholars: Joseph Johnson returned to the same theme fifteen years later. It is to the 1794 edition to which we now turn.

Joseph Johnson's Ladies New and Polite Pocket Memorandum Book for 1794 Ladies and "The Three Graces and Nine Muses of Great Britain"

The *Ladies New and Polite Pocket Memorandum-Book* for 1794 was advertised as:

> Embellished with a beautiful Copper Plate, representing two Ladies in the most fashionable Dresses of the Autumn 1793; also an elegant Engraving, representing the Three Living Graces, and the Nine Living Muses of Great Britain.[68]

[66] *Letters from Mrs. Elizabeth Carter to Mrs. Montagu between the Years 1755 and 1800,* vol. 3 (London: F.C. & J. Rivington, 1817), 43-47.
[67] Eger, *Bluestockings*, 59.
[68] *Oxford Journal,* 28 Dec. 1793.



Figure 41. Engraving of "The Three Graces and Nine Muses of Great Britain," in the Ladies New and Polite Pocket Memorandum Book for 1794

Like the 1778 edition, the 1794 edition contained both a fashion engraving and an engraving which assembled and mythologised prominent women in the arts, paired with textual biographies of the women featured (Fig. 42).[69] The engravings in the 1794 edition were unattributed: we do not know who designed them, nor who engraved them. This was not unusual: as the painter Joseph Farington recorded in his diary, 'Stothard I called on today, & found him making small drawings, Head Pieces, for a Lady's Pocket Book published Annually. He has done this for this publication many years, but does not put His name to them.'[70] In this case, it could have been any number of artists and engravers whose services

[69] *The Ladies New and Polite Pocket Memorandum-Book, for the Year of our Lord 1794* (London: Printed for J. Johnson, No. 72, St. Paul's Church-yard). Copy consulted: "Pocket Book (Ladies News and Polite Pocket Memorandum Book Illustrated). (marked LXXXV). Manuscript entries by Harriet Constantia Orlebar generally about family movements and the weather," Bedford, Bedfordshire Archives, OR2216.

[70] Thomas Stothard, who was one of the leading book illustrators of his time, was likely designing drawings for an array of ladies' memorandum book brands, and did not want or need to advertise his contributions.

Johnson employed. But it certainly was not Richard Samuel, who died in 1787.[71] Instead, the connection between these two imaginings of the Nine Muses of Great Britain was Joseph Johnson as publisher of the *Ladies New and Polite Pocket Memorandum-Book.*

Parallels were deliberately drawn between these two editions: the 1794 edition replicated sections of text from the 1778 edition, especially the phrasing of the description of the plate and elements of the biographical descriptions. Nonetheless it was not an exact replica, but a reimagining, one which changed the line-up of the muses and now incorporated three aristocratic beauties as the "Three British Graces." Comparing the 1778 edition and the 1794 edition opens up a host of questions that help to bring the underlying intentions of both into sharper relief. In this section, I similarly situate the engraving within the context of the memorandum book in which it appeared to show how the interplay between text and image nuances any simple reading. Ultimately, I show how the 1794 edition of the *Ladies New and Polite Pocket Memorandum Book* presented a different vision of female celebrity, one which enabled Johnson's more radical views to filter through.

What was it about this moment that warranted revisiting the theme of the "Nine Living Muses"? There may have been a commercial element behind the choice of theme. Advertisements for Johnson's pocket books seem to disappear from newspapers following the 1789 edition, only to reappear for the 1794 edition.[72] In the collections of Sarah Sophia Banks and the scrapbook of Barbara Johnson, plates from Johnson's ladies' memorandum book drop off by the 1790s.[73] This is suggestive of a possible waning in popularity of the brand, and perhaps even a cessation in publication for certain years. It may be the case that Johnson was attempting to reignite popularity for his ladies' memorandum book by returning to one of his most memorable themes.

[71] L. H. Cust, revised by Tina Fiske, "Samuel, Richard (d. 1787), *Oxford Dictionary of National Biography.* Accessible online: https://doi-org.libproxy.york.ac.uk/10.1093/ref:odnb/24605 [Last Accessed: 20/02/2023].
[72] I have been able to trace an advertisement for every prior edition. *Oxford Journal*, 15 Nov. 1788; *Oxford Journal,* 28 Dec. 1793.
[73] Diary entry for 20 May 1811. Kathryn Cave, ed., *The Diary of Joseph Farington,* vol. XI: January 1811-June 1812 (New Haven: Published for the Paul Mellon Centre for Studies in British Art by Yale University Press, 1983), 3933.

Yet the revisiting of the theme reflected cultural as well as commercial concerns. It is notable that these two historical moments shared one important commonality: Britain was at war. Since memorandum books were published in the autumn before they were intended to be used, we find that the theme of the "Nine Living Muses of Great Britain" was deployed when the American and French Revolutionary Wars were heating up. The beginning of the American Revolution was viewed as a rebellion rather than outright war, and a possible reconciliation with Britain was thought to be possible until the signing of the Declaration of Independence in July 1776. By 1777, Britain was facing full-scale war. In fact, by the time the memorandum book hit the shelves that autumn, Britain had just suffered their first substantial loss at the Battle of Saragota, often seen as the turning point in America's fortunes. The French Revolution began in 1789, but in February 1793 the French First Republic declared war on Britain; later that year the memorandum book for 1794 was published. We have already seen how the 1778 memorandum book was a patriotic celebration of women's progress; once again the 1794 edition's use of the theme seems deliberately intended to appeal to a country in patriotic spirits during wartime.

Moreover, enough time had passed that women's presence in the cultural sphere could be surveyed anew. Many of the women conspicuously absent from the original 1778 "Nine Living Muses" found their way into the 1794 version.[74] Three women were present in both: Anna Barbauld, Elizabeth Montagu, and Hannah More. The new muses were: Sarah Siddons (1755-1831), Elizabeth Farren (c.1759-1829), Maria Cosway (1760-1836), Hester Thrale Piozzi (c.1740-1821), Charlotte Smith (c.1749-1806) and Helen Maria Williams (1759-1827). They were joined by the 'Three British Graces' who dominated the centre of the engraving: Princess Sophia Matilda (1773-1844), Lady Ann Spencer (1773-1865), and Lady Elizabeth Lambert (1775-1830). Where the nine muses of antiquity were representations of the sister arts, the three graces collectively embodied beauty. Here the female subjects were not cast

[74] Felicity Nussbaum, for example, has discussed why Hester Thrale would not have qualified for inclusion in the 1778 image despite being of the same generation of bluestockings as Anna Barbauld, Hannah More, and Angelica Kauffman. In the 1794 edition, however, Thrale is included where others like Kauffman are not. Meanwhile Timothy Clayton remarked that 'Maria Cosway was a leading artist of the 1780s and 1790s, but it was Kauffman, acclaimed as one of the 'Nine Living Muses' […]' Here we find that Kauffman has been replaced by Cosway. Nussbaum, "Hester Thrale: What Traces of the Wit?"' in Elizabeth Eger, ed., *Bluestockings Displayed: Portraiture, Performance and Patronage, 1730–1830* (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 2013), 187; Clayon, *The English Print,* 245.

in a mythological scene but instead collected together as portraits on a wall, with a *trompe l'oeil* effect used to invoke the imagery of the muses and frame the graces with cherubs. Much like the original "Nine Living Muses" engraving, it is not clear which muse each of the bluestocking women was intended to represent. The dagger and cup hanging above Sarah Siddons and the dramatic masks above Elizabeth Farren mark them out as Melpomene (the tragic muse) and Thalia (the comic muse) respectively, identifications confirmed in their textual descriptions.[75] The pan pipes and horns may identify Helen Maria Williams as Euterpe, the goddess of music and lyrical poetry. The object hanging next to Maria Cosway appears to be a painter's palette rather than a traditional symbol of the muses, mirroring the earlier depiction of her fellow painter Angelica Kauffman poised at an easel. The generic imagery of trumpets which decorate the top row suggest that the engraving, once more, was not seriously attempting to individuate the women as particular muses, but instead using the imagery of the nine muses to characterize their collective contributions to the arts.

It is possible to read the engraving of the "Three Living Graces and Nine Living Muses" as signifying a regression in the status of bluestocking women: once imagined on a grand, classical scale, here they were depicted as disembodied heads, hung on a wall, and subordinated to the newly-introduced graces, who form the central focus of the print. The graces of antiquity were typically seen as the bearers of 'joy, charm and beauty', and here the aristocratic women chosen to represent them were selected for their 'lovely forms', which rendered 'them rivals to the three celebrated Graces of Antiquity.'[76] The inclusion and centring of court beauties initially appears to suggest an uneasiness in celebrating women's intellectual achievements without also emphasising desirable feminine virtues.[77] Such an interpretation certainly chimes with scholarship on the changing representations of bluestocking women, with scholars such as Anne Mellor comparing the celebration of these women in Samuel's painting to their degraded reputation by the close of the century, with

[75] *The Ladies New and Polite Pocket Memorandum-Book, for the Year of our Lord 1794* (London: Printed for J. Johnson, No. 72, St. Paul's Church-yard). Copy consulted: "Pocket Book (Ladies News and Polite Pocket Memorandum Book Illustrated). (marked LXXXV)," Bedford, Bedfordshire Archives, OR2216.
[76] *The Ladies New and Polite Pocket Memorandum-Book, for the Year of our Lord 1794* (London: Printed for J. Johnson, No. 72, St. Paul's Church-yard). Copy consulted: "Pocket Book (Ladies News and Polite Pocket Memorandum Book Illustrated). (marked LXXXV)," Bedford, Bedfordshire Archives, OR2216.
[77] Lucy Peltz, "Living Muses," 84.

the 1790s described as a decade in which 'the cultural tide was running against these brilliant women.'[78] Their presence in the public sphere came to be seen as increasingly suspect, and as Mellor argues, led to their conflation with 'other women whose voices and bodies were on display for public consumption: actresses and prostitutes.'[79] The choice in the 1794 engraving to include actresses such as Sarah Siddons and Elizabeth Farren as new muses, and to present the female subjects as ornamental rather than classical figures, seems to conform to this trend.

Yet as I will show, the interplay between images and text in the memorandum book worked to interpolate the image with multiple meanings, which cast the updated theme of the nine living muses in a more radical light. We will consider in turn the reasons for the appearance of the graces, and the muses, before returning to the engraving itself and an analysis of its visual imagery.

The Three British Graces

In the description, the three graces were introduced as epitomizing 'British Beauty, Wit and Genius', with a suitable-sounding epigraph:

> Court Beauty bears, like gems, the highest rate,
> Born where Love's Splendors most can captivate

On the surface, the couplet can be read as a straightforward poetical tribute to aristocratic women's beauty. However, the better-versed of Johnson's customers would have recognised the literary reference it was making, and subversive meaning it therefore posed. The couplet is a modified version of lines from Epistle 1 of Alexander Pope's *Moral Essays*:

> Court-Virtues bear, like gems, the highest rate,
> Born where Heav'n's influence scarce can penetrate

[78] Anne Mellor, "Romantic Bluestockings: from Muses to Matrons," 18.
[79] Ibid, 27.

This section of the Epistle deals with the disjunction between perception and reality, condemning those who treat outward appearance as indicative of a person's moral character. Pope shows how members of 'High Life' are imagined as possessing a greater degree of virtue than they really do. 'In life's low vale', virtue is pleasing, but in the court such virtues are seen as 'Wonders'. Pope illustrates this criticism through negative example, exposing the absurdity of basing moral judgement on social rank and the richness of appearance.[80] We therefore must read these lines with an ironic inflection. It is an illusion that the court bears 'the highest rate' of virtue; instead, it is often a site of vice, lacking 'Heav'n's influence.' And as Roseanne Silvia Carrara has observed, 'The lack of influence signals, as well, the perversion of the divine right of the monarchy.'[81] Far from praising the court then, Pope's Epistle questions its very foundations.

Johnson's reworking of Pope's epistle introduced multiple levels of meaning into his description of the 'Three British Graces.' At the most basic level, the inclusion of "court beauties" fed into a wider popularity for picturing the court in ladies' memorandum books. Johnson himself had not been averse to illustrating the royal family and nobility in *The Ladies' New and Polite Pocket Memorandum-Book.* His 1766 edition included 'Portraits of the most celebrated Ladies of the British Court, from original Paintings', his 1777 edition was 'ornamented [...] with Portraits of the most celebrated Beauties of the British Court', and his 1779 edition featured a 'Copper-Plate, representing a View of the British Court.'[82] The latter is likely one we find in Sarah Sophia Banks's collection (Fig. 43).[83] The engraving depicts Queen Charlotte receiving compliments from the nobility for her birthday, and like the "Nine Living Muses," provided a key to identifying the figures. The memorandum book was advertised as having included a written 'View of the British Court' that may have contained similar biographical descriptions to the other editions we have seen, but sadly no copy for this year survives. It does suggest that Johnson was keenly aware of the popularity

[80] Roseanne Silvia Carrara, "Nature and Human Nature in Alexander Pope's Epistles to Several Persons and James Thomson's The Seasons," *Unpublished PhD Thesis* (University of Toronto, 2008), 55.
[81] Ibid, 55.
[82] *Bath Chronicle and Weekly Gazette,* 21 Nov. 1765*; Oxford Journal,* 23 Nov. 1776; *Oxford Journal*, 07 Nov. 1778.
[83] Its position in Banks' collection corresponds with the year given, it is of the same fold-out format of Johnson's 1778 Nine Living Muses, and was also engraved by Page.

of the court and its fashions with his audience, and happy to exploit this trend in his memorandum book.



Figure 42. Engraving of the British Court, part of Sarah Sophia Banks's collection of fashion plates.

However, the epigraph enabled Johnson to level a criticism at the very fashions he was promoting. If read with the ironic tone of Pope's original, it appears to mock the idea of the "court beauty", implying that it was an illusion that the court bears 'the highest rate' of beauty. To believe that the fashionable figures of the court are, by right of birth, the most captivating is to be misled by the trappings of wealth and status. This is a position which likely aligned with Johnson's own republican views on the aristocratic class. The use of the epigraph was therefore a playful way of interpolating different meanings without strongly committing to any position. Johnson could tap into the market for fashions of the beau

monde, while offering a subtle critique of their celebrity status, and the social standing they inherited by virtue of their birth.

This subversive strain was reinforced by his selection of the three graces. The three women were not the most conventional choices, though all were certainly public figures. Princess Sophia Matilda figured as the central grace, staring out directly at the viewer. Her biographical description focused on her heritage, as Sophia and her siblings were 'the only descendants from that branch of the Royal Family but the present Duchess of Gloucester.'[84] It was listed that the Duchess of Gloucester was in turn 'the second daughter of Sir Edward Walpole, Knight of the Bath, who was second son to the famous Prime Minister Sir Robert Walpole, first Earl of Oxford.'[85] Yet it was precisely her heritage that made Princess Sophia Matilda a pointed inclusion in Johnson's memorandum book. Although she was a great-granddaughter of George II, the princess issued from a marriage that was not approved of by the Royal Family as it took place between a prince and a widow of non-royal rank. Her father was Prince William Henry, Duke of Gloucester and Edinburgh, and her mother Maria née Walpole was the illegitimate child of Sir Edward Walpole and widow of the second Earl Waldegrave. Their wedding took place in secret in 1766, and came under increased scrutiny after the Royal Marriages Act of 1772. Sophia Matilda was therefore not formally recognised nor received at court.[86]

The second grace, Lady Elizbeth Lambert, was described of being of 'noble family and respectable connections, whose personal charms and amiable manners claimed universal good will.'[87] However, the biographical details indicate that her appearance in Johnson's memorandum book was not down to personal charm alone. As the biography described, Lambert was subjected to print libel that seriously sullied her reputation. Though the

[84] Biography of Princess Sophia Matilda in *The Ladies New and Polite Pocket Memorandum-Book, for the Year of our Lord 1794* (London: Printed for J. Johnson, No. 72, St. Paul's Church-yard). Copy consulted: "Pocket Book (Ladies News and Polite Pocket Memorandum Book Illustrated). (marked LXXXV)," Bedford, Bedfordshire Archives, OR2216.
[85] Ibid.
[86] Flora Fraser, *Princesses: The Six Daughters of George III* (London: Bloomsbury, 2013), 33-4.
[87] Biography of Lady Elizabeth Lambert in *The Ladies New and Polite Pocket Memorandum-Book, for the Year of our Lord 1794* (London: Printed for J. Johnson, No. 72, St. Paul's Church-yard). Copy consulted: "Pocket Book (Ladies News and Polite Pocket Memorandum Book Illustrated). (marked LXXXV)," Bedford, Bedfordshire Archives, OR2216.

purported offence was only alluded to here, the case was widely known: the *Morning Post* alleged that she had run off with her footman and had carnal knowledge of him.[88] On Lady Elizabeth's behalf, her mother pressed charges against the editor, Richard Tattersall, and won her case. As the memorandum-book described, 'The offence was too serious a nature to be passed by; an appeal was made to the laws, and a respectable jury awarded 4000l. damages.'[89] Her selection therefore seems to fit in with Johnson's broader interest in women's legal status, as evidenced by his publication of the *Laws Respecting Women.*



Figure 43. Joshua Reynolds, The Marlborough Family, 1777–79. Oil on canvas, 318x289 cm. Blenheim Palace, Oxfordshire

[88] *Four Thousand Pounds Damages. The Right Honourable Lady Elizabeth Lambert, (daughter of the Late Earl of Cavan) Against Richard Tattersall, Horse-dealer, and Proprietor of the Morning-post, for a Libel, … Tried Before the Right Honourable Lloyd Lord Kenyon, and a Special Jury, at Westminster, on Monday, July 9, 1792* (London: Printed for J. Owen, No. 168, Piccadilly; and Symonds, Paternoster Row, 1792); James Grant, *The Newspaper Press: Its Origin, Progress, and Present Position*, vol. 1 (London: Tinsley Brothers, 18, Catherine Street, Strand, 1872), 384-5.

[89] Biography of Lady Elizabeth Lambert in *The Ladies New and Polite Pocket Memorandum-Book, for the Year of our Lord 1794* (London: Printed for J. Johnson, No. 72, St. Paul's Church-yard). Copy consulted: "Pocket Book (Ladies News and Polite Pocket Memorandum Book Illustrated). (marked LXXXV)," Bedford, Bedfordshire Archives, OR2216.

The third grace, Lady Ann Spencer, appears to have been included in order to exalt 'the deathless talents of the late Sir Joshua Reynolds', who had died in 1792, a year prior to the composition of this biographical account.[90] Ann Spencer was one of the youngest children pictured in the iconic painting of the Marlborough family (Fig. 44) which as the reader was informed, was exhibited at the Royal Academy.[91] This painting, when displayed, had attracted both praise and criticism for its intimate portrayal of family life which, unusually, was centred around the matriarch.[92] As Gillian Russell has described: 'Reynolds' painting literally highlights the elite women of fashion as a powerful new presence in public culture in the 1770s and in public life in general.'[93] But the painting was also testament to familial tenderness, as shown through a web of gaze and touch built up through the painting's composition. It is the juxtaposition of the Duchess and her playful daughter Charlotte standing beneath her who form the focal point of the image. As Mark Hallett has argued, it shows the Duchess not only as a fashionable symbol of elite femininity but also an 'attentive, tender parent.'[94] The Duke similarly embodies:

> the contemporary ideal of the man of feeling – that is, someone who defined himself through his tender and attentive relationships with his family, rather than through his public achievements.[95]

The centring of the female subject in this painting was a means of foregrounding sentimental family values.[96]

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[90] Biography of Lady Ann Spencer in *The Ladies New and Polite Pocket Memorandum-Book, for the Year of our Lord 1794* (London: Printed for J. Johnson, No. 72, St. Paul's Church-yard). Copy consulted: "Pocket Book (Ladies News and Polite Pocket Memorandum Book Illustrated). (marked LXXXV)," Bedford, Bedfordshire Archives, OR2216.

[91] Ann is the little girl on the right, scared of the mask held up by her sister.

[92] Kate Retford, *The Art of Domestic Life: Family Portraiture in Eighteenth-Century England* (New Haven: Published for the Paul Mellon Centre for Studies in British Art by Yale University Press, 2006), 14-15.

[93] Gillian Russell, *Women, Sociability and Theatre in Georgian London* (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 2017), 192.

[94] Mark Hallett, "A Monument to Intimacy: Joshua Reynold's *The Marlborough Family,*" *Art History* 31, no. 5 (2008): 710.

[95] Mark Hallett, "A Monument to Intimacy: Joshua Reynold's *The Marlborough Family,*" *Art History* 31, no. 5 (2008): 703.

[96] It is striking that the engraving of the royal family from Johnson's memorandum book we previously examined has echoes of this portrait's composition: it likewise centres the mother-daughter dynamic of Queen Charlotte and Princess Royal Charlotte, using architectural framing devices to draw our attention to a female lineage. It is possible such similarities in composition were intentional, for Reynold's portrait of the

All three graces, then, were fashionable court beauties of the kind frequently pictured in pocket-books and periodicals. Yet the biographies of these three graces showed that Johnson was less invested in their lives, beauty, and celebrity status than with what could be said *through* these women. Johnson recognised the attraction of such figures, their ability to "captivate", and used them to platform other ideals, ones that reflected his radicalism and support of women's rights. Though supposedly chosen to characterise 'British Beauty, Wit and Genius', then, these three women in turn raised questions about the irrationality of an aristocratic class that bestowed legitimacy on those born into it; the importance of securing women's legal rights; and the ideals of sentimental family life.

The Nine British Muses

The Nine Muses were introduced in a strikingly similar manner to the description in the 1778 memorandum book:

> Among the many distinguishing excellencies which this age and country boast, the great attainments which have been made by many women in the polite arts, as well as in different branches of learning may be considered as one of the choicest acquisitions. A desire to pay a just tribute of praise to such truly estimable characters, has led us to engage a very able Artist to give an assemblage of the Portraits of the most distinguished of the Female Sex, whom we have characterised as *The Nine Living Muses of Great-Britain.*[97]

Similar – but not identical. Where the 1778 edition had expressed a desire to praise the 'great figure which many women make in the polite arts', the 1794 edition instead praised the 'great attainments which have been made' by women. It was a subtle but significant shift, one which encapsulated the great strides made by women in the arts in the

Marlborough family went on exhibition at the Royal Academy in spring 1778, while the engraving would have been completed shortly afterwards, in preparation for publication in autumn 1778.

[97] *The Ladies New and Polite Pocket Memorandum-Book, for the Year of our Lord 1794* (London: Printed for J. Johnson, No. 72, St. Paul's Church-yard). Copy consulted: "Pocket Book (Ladies News and Polite Pocket Memorandum Book Illustrated). (marked LXXXV)," Bedford, Bedfordshire Archives, OR2216.

intervening period. Where the 1778 edition was asserting and celebrating the identifiable presence of women in the public sphere, by 1794 the presence of women in the arts was well-established and such women were part of a growing cult of celebrity; the book was now in a position to describe a legacy of women's attainments.[98] This changing status was reflected in the way these images were constructed. When Samuel was designing the original portrait, he was unable to have his female subjects sit for his drawing and thus was unable to depict their likeness: the plate in the 1778 edition was therefore described as a 'drawing, in which the most eminent of the female sex are **represented**' [emphasis own]. Yet by the 1794 engraving, these women's images were in wide circulation, enabling the artist to 'give an assemblage' of their existing portraits.[99]

John Brewer wondered of Samuel's painting 'why Samuel chose these particular women. They were not a coherent group.'[100] It is a question which could be equally levelled at the 1794 engraving. By this point, some of the original nine muses had passed away – such as Catherine Macaulay – or emigrated– such as Angelica Kauffman – which may help to explain why some of the original subjects were substituted. But like the original "Nine Living Muses," the women grouped here were not necessarily natural friends – Hester Thrale and Elizabeth Montagu, for example, had by this point fallen out over the former's marriage to her children's Italian music teacher, Gabriel Piozzi, and Hannah More was much more conservative than her fellow female writers.[101] Neither were they all of the same generation: by 1794 Elizabeth Montagu was in her 70s, while newer additions such as Maria Cosway and Elizabeth Farren were in their mid-30s. Yet the engraving visually glosses the large age range of its female subjects to give the impression that this was nevertheless a coherent group.[102]

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[98] For more on female celebrity in late eighteenth-century Britain, see: Jessica Munns, "Celebrity Status: The Eighteenth-Century Actress as Fashion Icon," in Tiffany Potter, ed., *Women, Popular Culture, and the Eighteenth Century* (Toronto: University of Toronto Press, 2012), 70-91; Laura Engel, *Fashioning Celebrity: Eighteenth-Century British Actresses and Strategies for Image Making* (Columbus: Ohio State University Press, 2011).

[99] Many of these images appear to be based on portraits which no longer survive, offering us new perspectives on these famous women.

[100] John Brewer, *Pleasures of the Imagination: English Culture in the Eighteenth Century* (London: Harper Collins, 1997), 78.

[101] Nussbaum, "Hester Thrale: 'What Traces of the Wit?'," 195-201.

[102] Of course, the fact that the artist was working from pre-existing portraits may also have added to the seeming timelessness of the female subjects.

In fact, there was a greater coherence to this group than those depicted in the 1778 engraving. The choice of muses reflected some of the newer social coteries which had formed towards the end of the century, such as Hester Thrale's after her return to London. As Felicity Nussbaum has described, Thrale's 'new circle of fashionable elite included many in the theatrical world who were comfortable with fame and less concerned with orthodoxies' – particularly Sarah Siddons and Elizabeth Farren.[103] Meanwhile, Helen Maria Williams had moved in the earlier circles of Montagu and Thrale, and hosted Charlotte Smith and Anna Barbauld at her own salon in Southampton Row from the 1780s.[104] Barbauld had struck up a close friendship with Williams partly over their shared republican values during the early years of the French Revolution; Helen Maria Williams and Charlotte Smith were familiar with each other frequently cited together as two women 'who distinguished themselves by their writings in favour of the French Revolution.'[105] Joseph Johnson would have directly known some of these women, most significantly Anna Barbauld who was part of the same dissenting circle at Warrington academy, and for whom Johnson was publisher. He would also go on to become Charlotte Smith's publisher, including of her famous blank-verse poem *Beachy Head* (1807).[106]

New and extended treatment was given to those female subjects who more clearly reflected Joseph Johnson's radical political leanings, and his literary network. Actresses Sarah Siddons and Elizabeth Farren were given remarkably cursory biographies which simply identified them as the muses they were intended to represent. Montagu and More's biographies were recycled near-verbatim from the earlier memorandum book, while Maria Cosway's was a derivative of Angelica Kauffman's biography in the 1778 edition. By contrast, Anna Barbauld's biography was greatly expanded to over three times the length of any other biography in the memorandum book. It was also unusual in that it attempted to

[103] Nussbaum, "Hester Thrale: 'What Traces of the Wit?'," 201.
[104] Véronique Léonard-Roques, "Helen Maria Williams," *The Digital Encyclopedia of British Sociability in the Long Eighteenth Century* (2021). Accessible at: https://hal.univ-brest.fr/hal-03745478/document [Last Accessed 07/12/2022].
[105] Natasha Duquette, *Veiled Intent: Dissenting Women's Aesthetic Approach to Biblical Interpretation* (Eugene: Wipf and Stock Publishers, 2016), 8; quote cited in Angela Keane, *Revolutionary Women Writers Charlotte Smith & Helen Maria Williams* (Tavistock: Northcote House Publishers Ltd., 2012), 201.
[106] Keane, *Revolutionary Women Writers*, x.

convey a sense of intimacy between Barbauld and the author of the memorandum book, and by extension Johnson, by describing how:

> The writer of this account was favoured, some years ago, with the sight and perusal of a manuscript copy of a very beautiful piece written by this lady, in the manner of Spenser, and addressed to Mrs. Montagu[107]

While it reproduced some of the text from the 1778 edition, the newer biography surveyed and praised some of Barbauld's more recent publications, handily functioning as an advertisement for them, which had all been published by Johnson. This list included Barbauld's *Lessons for Children* (1778-9), so 'universally admired and adopted' and concluded by highlighting some of her now lesser known but more political work: *An Address to the Members of the House of Commons who voted against the repeal of the Corporation and Test Acts* (1790) and *Sins of Government, Sins of the People* (1793), which respectively argued for greater religious freedoms and criticised the morality of Britain in the French Revolutionary war.[108]

The preference given to Barbauld was also visible in the engraving, for not only had the subjects changed, but the hierarchy of women worthies had too. In the original "Nine Living Muses," Elizabeth Montagu had been the natural focal point of the picture, cutting a stoic figure amongst the other muses. It was to her that many of the other women's gazes within the image were turned, drawing our attention likewise, and possibly marking her out as Calliope, the head of the muses who presided over eloquence and epic poetry. Yet in the 1794 engraving, Anna Letitia Barbauld took the crowning position of the muses. Barbauld was the only muse to stare out at the viewer, while the others either gazed off serenely into the distance, or towards her, *including* Montagu. An analogous relationship was also being drawn between Barbauld and Princess Sophia, as Sophia was the only grace to likewise stare

[107] Biography of Anna Barbauld in *The Ladies New and Polite Pocket Memorandum-Book, for the Year of our Lord 1794* (London: Printed for J. Johnson, No. 72, St. Paul's Church-yard). Copy consulted: "Pocket Book (Ladies News and Polite Pocket Memorandum Book Illustrated). (marked LXXXV)," Bedford, Bedfordshire Archives, OR2216.

[108] Although the memorandum book listed her publication as *Sins of Government, Sins of the People*, it was published as *Sins of Government, Sins of the Nation.* See: McCarthy, *Anna Letitia Barbauld*, 33.

out at the reader. It underlined the hierarchical structure being established here: if Princess Sophia took precedence among the court beauties, Barbauld did so among the bluestocking women. It seems, then, that Barbauld was now being depicted as Calliope, leading the way in developing women's intellectual pursuits in Britain. Notably, Barbauld is here depicted wearing a laurel wreath, where in the original engraving that honour had been reserved for Britannia. It is possible to read this as a pointed choice: where previously the nine living muses were cast as a positive reflection on Britain's progress, the highest praise here instead was directed at a woman who explicitly called out the "Sins of Government, Sins of the Nation."

Furthermore, the memorandum book's biographies of Charlotte Smith and Helen Maria Williams introduced the levels of multiple readings we find in the biographies of the graces. Helen Maria Williams was described as having 'early distinguished herself for her poetical talents' and her printed poetry as 'well received.'[109] Charlotte Smith was showered with more effusive praise:

> The pleasing imagery which this lady has worked up in a variety of pieces has gained her a very distinguished reputation as one of the *literatae* of the age, if we may be allowed to make a feminine application to what has hitherto been merely masculine.[110]

As this extract suggests, as in the 1778 memorandum book, the 1794 memorandum book did not shy away from celebrating these women's individual talents in quite a forthright way – Charlotte Smith, for instance, being described as 'one of the *literatae* of the age.'[111] But it is also notable that the biographies of Williams, Smith, and Barbauld all concluded, more or less subtly, with a comment or allusion to their stance on the French Revolution. These were presented in a markedly factual manner, rather than focused on as a point of praise like

[109] Biography of Helen Maria Williams in *The Ladies New and Polite Pocket Memorandum-Book, for the Year of our Lord 1794* (London: Printed for J. Johnson, No. 72, St. Paul's Church-yard). Copy consulted: "Pocket Book (Ladies News and Polite Pocket Memorandum Book Illustrated). (marked LXXXV)," Bedford, Bedfordshire Archives, OR2216.
[110] Biography of Charlotte Smith, Ibid.
[111] Biography of Charlotte Smith, Ibid.

other aspects of their biography: Barbauld's *Sins of Government* was simply introduced as one of her 'admirable pamphlets of a political nature' which 'are generally received as the production of this lady's pen.'[112] Moreover the reader was informed that Helen Maria Williams recently had:

> 'made a trip to France, soon after the revolution in that kingdom took place, and returned a convert to Republicanism; her political sentiments are fully expressed in the two pocket volumes which she has published at different times, consisting of her "Letters from France."[113]

Lest this read as a straightforward recommendation of her radical work, a poem was inserted underneath which playfully addressed Williams's republicanism:

> MONARCHIC principles in vain
> Doth Helena renounce,
> Her pow'rful sparkling eyes deny
> What'er her lips pronounce.
>
> Why doth her presence strike with we?
> Why do we homage pay?
> Why court her smiles, why fear her frowns,
> And sigh our hearts away?
>
> Ah ! cannot lovely Helen guess
> What those emotions mean?
> Enslav'd, alas ! is ev'ry heart;
> And she the tyrant Queen.[114]

[112] Biography of Anna Barbauld, Ibid.
[113] Biography of Helen Maria Williams, Ibid.
[114] Biography of Helen Maria Williams, Ibid.

The poem had previously appeared in the *Gentleman's Magazine* for December 1792, and was simply inserted here with little alteration except changing the name to Helena's.[115] Its inclusion seems intended to complicate any simple reading of Williams as choice of muse: it functions to both highlight her republican values while subsuming her radical political sentiments into the more benign form of courtship poetry.

The memorandum book's biography for Charlotte Smith concluded with the seemingly random detail that:

> One of her sons, who was an ensign in the guards, unhappily had one of his legs carried away by a cannon shot before Dunkirk.[116]

The inclusion of this fact indicates how close to publication the biographies must have been composed, for Smith's son Charles lost his leg at the Siege of Dunkirk on 6th September 1793.[117] His injury was a source of great sorrow for Smith. Concluding her biographical account with this detail seems a reminder of the horrors of war, and in particular, the horrors of a war now in progress. Though Smith's radical politics were not directly addressed in the biography, they were subtly indicated by the cross-referencing of her biography with an example of her work, which appeared within the memorandum book's poetry section: "The Dead Beggar: An Elegy, Written in the Church-Yard at Brighthelmstone, on seeing the funeral of a Pauper who perished for want. Addressed to Mrs L."

The choice of poem is telling. It has often been thought that this poem, though composed in 1792, was only published 1797, but it clearly had an earlier appearance in Johnson's memorandum book. Like the paraphrasing of Pope's epistle, the elegy had an underlying subversive strain. On the surface, it described a lady's tearful lament over the death of a beggar:

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[115] *Gentleman's Magazine,* December 1792 (London: John Nichols, 1792), 1133.
[116] Biography of Charlotte Smith in *The Ladies New and Polite Pocket Memorandum-Book, for the Year of our Lord 1794* (London: Printed for J. Johnson, No. 72, St. Paul's Church-yard). Copy consulted: "Pocket Book (Ladies News and Polite Pocket Memorandum Book Illustrated). (marked LXXXV)," Bedford, Bedfordshire Archives, OR2216.
[117] M. O. Grenby, ed., *The Works of Charlotte Smith, Volume 7: The Banished Man and the Wanderings of Warwick* (Abingdon: Routledge, 2016), 502, n.105.

Swells then thy feeling heart and streams thine eye,
O'er the deserted being, poor and old

Yet bubbling underneath was a bitterness at a country which sentimentalised poverty, and yet did nothing to truly remedy it; 'cold, reluctant parish charity' merely left the beggar 'to mingle with his kindred mould.'[118] Smith called on the woman to instead rejoice the beggar's death, for death at least puts an end to his suffering:

Ah ! think, that this poor outcast, spurn'd by fate
Who a long race of pain and sorrow ran,
Is, in the grave, ev'n as the rich and great :
Death vindicates th' insulted rights of man.

What makes this markedly radical is the line alluding to Thomas Paine's *Rights of Man.* By emphasising the extent to which this 'poor outcast' had been abandoned by society, Smith was critiquing Britain's failure to look after its own people. As Jacqueline Labbe has argued, this is one of several poems which show Smith's 'anger at her culture's enthrallment with war and patriotism'.[119] The choice of this poem as the *sole* work by the nine muses showcased in the memorandum book was surely deliberate: it offered a timely critique on Britain while at the same time, maintained a certain degree of ambiguity; it was possible to be read on multiple levels. Whilst Charlotte Smith's biography made no direct comment on her views on France, biography and poem functioned together to disrupt any straightforward sense of triumphant nationalism in the "Nine Living Muses" Theme.

Thus the emphasis on Barbauld, Williams and Smith in the memorandum book functioned to draw attention to their more radically-political views. Only a few years prior, such views would have been more publicly palatable, but following the declaration of war between

[118] *The Ladies New and Polite Pocket Memorandum-Book, for the Year of our Lord 1794* (London: Printed for J. Johnson, No. 72, St. Paul's Church-yard). Copy consulted: "Pocket Book (Ladies News and Polite Pocket Memorandum Book Illustrated). (marked LXXXV)," Bedford, Bedfordshire Archives, OR2216.
[119] Jacqueline M. Labbe, *Charlotte Smith: Romanticism, Poetry, and the Culture of Gender* (Manchester: Manchester University Press, 2003), 49.

France and Britain it was more dangerous to express revolutionary sympathies or critiques of the British government; increasing government censorship would shortly lead to Johnson's prosecution over his publication of Rev. Gilbert Wakefield's *A Reply to some Parts of the Bishop of Llandaff's Address to the People of Great Britain* (1798), which argued that 'poorer people do not care who their sovereign is when they continue to be oppressed.'[120] Increasing censoriousness may explain the notable absence of Mary Wollstonecraft from this line up, for whom Johnson acted both as publisher and mentor. She certainly had garnered enough celebrity at this stage to have warranted inclusion, with the *Vindication of the Rights of Women* published in 1792, only a year prior to the memorandum book's initial release. Yet likely, Wollstonecraft was simply too radical to include here. Although Johnson continued to support Wollstonecraft financially when she left for France in 1792, he put off publishing her planned series *Letters on the Present Character of the French Nation* in 1793. Helen Braithwaite's conjectures on his reluctance to publish seem equally applicable here: 'it would […] have been less than tactful for Johnson to have published (and shown himself in receipt of) a work by an author who had openly refused the opportunity to return to England after the outbreak of war'.[121] Helen Maria Williams, too, ultimately made the decision to remain in France after war had begun, but if we return to her biography once more, we find her travels were framed merely as a 'trip to France' from which she '**returned** a convert to Republicanism' [emphasis own].

The Ladies New and Polite Pocket Memorandum Book for 1794 therefore toed the line by highlighting potential critiques of Britain, without ever explicitly expressing or advocating for them: its radicalism was to be read between the lines.

[120] Tyson, *Joseph Johnson,* 157-8.
[121] Braithwaite, *Romanticism, Publishing and Dissent*, 133.



Figure 44. Fashion Engraving in The Ladies New and Polite Pocket Memorandum Book for 1794.

It was probably not coincidental that Johnson reimagined the theme of the Nine Living Muses during the French Revolutionary Wars. His output in this period became increasingly radical in nature, and it seems that his *Ladies New and Polite Pocket Memorandum Book* was no exception. The "Three Living Muses and Nine Living Graces of Great Britain" was an outwardly patriotic theme, enabling wide-spread appeal, yet it functioned to interpolate criticisms of British society through the selection of muses and graces, and through the interplay of text and image. Compared to the many overtly radical works in Johnson's publishing oeuvre, the *Ladies New and Polite Pocket Memorandum-Book* may appear tame, and has attracted little more than a passing mention from academics studying Johnson. But it is important to recognise the likely spread and reach of the memorandum book, as one of the longest-running and most popular of its day: unlike many of Johnson's publications, it was not aimed at a dissenting audience, but instead targeted everyday women in Britain.

Everyday women were brought into the visual imagery of the engravings. As with the 1778 edition, the fold-out engraving worked in tandem with the fashion plate. The fashion plate showcased 'A Lady in the Full Dress and another in the most fashionable Undress of the Autumn of 1793,' capturing a moment of conversation between two elegant women crossing a bridge in a verdant park or gardens (Fig. 45). The fashion reflects the shift to simpler silhouettes of 1790s dresses and the patriotic mood of the country during the French Revolutionary Wars, with both women adorned in striking military hats. Notably, as the description of the plate highlights, the woman shown in fashionable undress wears 'a large Medallion Picture on the breast; suspended by a ribbon round the neck.'[122] This detail explicitly linked the fashionable woman to the display of female worthies in the fold-out engraving; for each of the women in the 'Three Living Graces and Nine Living Muses' was depicted in an oval medallion suspended from a ribbon. We can see, therefore, that the main engraving depicted the female subjects as a collection of miniature portraits. As Marcia Pointon describes, miniature portraits functioned to 'actually and metaphorically […] secure a connection between an absent person and the viewer', particularly because of their tactile nature.[123] They could be held, gazed upon, worn and carried with one at all times. Given the periods of prolonged absence engendered by war, in the latter half of the eighteenth century miniature portraits were particularly in vogue.[124]

This imagery thus posited a relationship between everyday women and the graces and muses, but of a distinctly different character to our earlier example. Where the 1778 image of the "Nine Living Muses" had worked in tandem with the fashion plate to bring the exalted sphere of the muses down to the level of everyday women, the juxtaposition of the fashion plate and the 1794 Three Living Graces and Nine Living Muses offered up a much more intimate vision of these prominent women. They were not just lofty figures, to be emulated from afar. Here they were presented as collectible commodities, something that not only

[122] *The Ladies New and Polite Pocket Memorandum-Book, for the Year of our Lord 1794* (London: Printed for J. Johnson, No. 72, St. Paul's Church-yard). Copy consulted: "Pocket Book (Ladies News and Polite Pocket Memorandum Book Illustrated). (marked LXXXV)," Bedford, Bedfordshire Archives, OR2216.
[123] Marcia Pointon, ""Surrounded with Brilliants": Miniature Portraits in Eighteenth-Century England," *The Art Bulletin,* 83, no. 1 (2001): 57.
[124] Along with other factors such as emigration and the popularity for Grand Tours. Pointon, "Surrounded with Brilliants", 67.

existed in the world of everyday women but could be owned, held, and displayed by them.[125] It may even be that the design of the 'Three Living Graces and Nine Living Muses' anticipated its own remediation as an object of consumption: that female consumers could cut out the medallions from the engraving to fashion them into miniature portraits, to collect them in scrapbooks, or even to have them 'framed in gilt circles and ovals' to decorate wallpaper or furniture.[126] Certainly in the 1790s memorandum books of a young Catherine Wood, we find female figures were cut out of engravings in this fashion (Fig 46).[127] The ribbon linking together the miniatures of the graces and muses also echoed the sartorial use of ribbon in the two dresses in the fashion plate. The visual trope of the miniature portraits in both engravings thereby worked to 'actually and metaphorically' invoke a material connection between everyday British women and the leading female intellectuals and subversive court beauties chosen to represent the muses and graces of Great Britain.

[125] As Pointon describes, 'the portrait-object offers the prerequisite transitional object that can insist its bearer is at one and the same time socially attached and individually separate.' Pointon, "Surrounded with Brilliants," 68.

[126] For quote and on furniture prints, see: Brewer, *Pleasures of the Imagination*, 461. For wallpaper decoration, see: Timothy Clayton, *The English Print: 1688-1803* (New Haven: Published for the Paul Mellon Centre for Studies in British Art by Yale University Press, 1997), 138.

[127] Catherine Wood's engravings offer a tantalising clue as to how such images were put to use, but as Stephanie E. Koscak has recently lamented: 'we still have very little sense of what average individuals actually did with the printed pictures […] they purchased: Stephanie E. Koscak, *Monarchy, Print Culture, and Reverence in Early Modern England: Picturing Royal Subjects* (London: Routledge, 2020), 315; Catherine Wood's memorandum book for 1790 with female figures cut out in ovals from the engravings. *The Ladies Annual Journal, or, Complete Pocket-Book, for the Year 1790* (London: Printed for J. Walker, No. 4, Pater-noster Row.Wilson Library). Copy consulted: Chapel Hill, Wilson Library, CT788.W83 A3 1790.

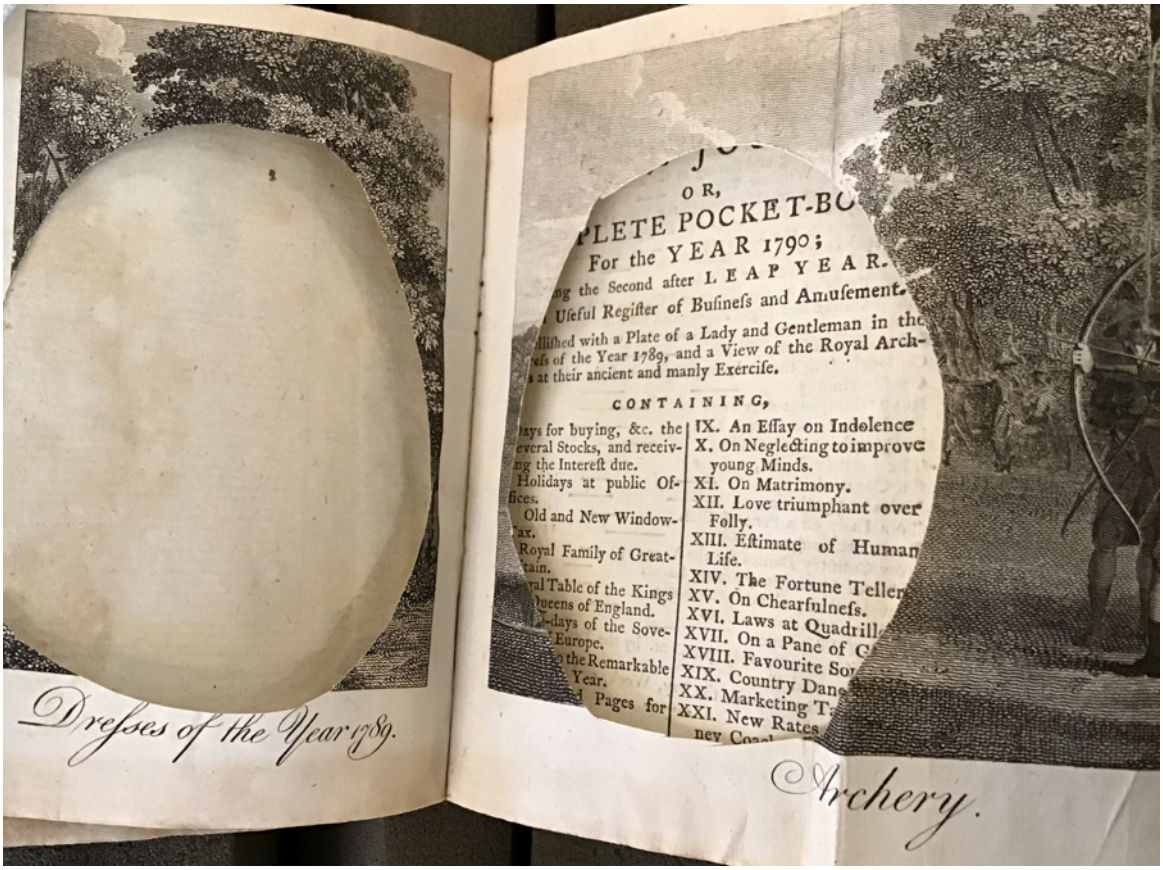


Figure 45. Catherine Wood's memorandum book for 1790 with female figures cut out in ovals from the engravings

The visual arrangement of the engraving also mimicked the craze for grangerized heads, which 'reached its heights in the 1790s.'[128] Grangerization was the practice of interleaving books with extraneous engravings, particularly history books, sparked by the publication of Rev. James Granger's *Biographical History of England, from Egbert the Great to the Revolution* (1769).[129] It was a form of systemization, that collected and organized portrait heads of individuals into a hierarchal structure that was intended to represent and celebrate British history.[130] As Marcia Pointon has described, the 'collecting of 'heads' was 'an epistemology that can be understood as ordering society and making visible the body politic.'[131] Granger's book lay down some guiding principles for this ordering, suggesting that portrait heads should first be arranged chronologically and then be divided into twelve

[128] Lucy Peltz, "Engraved Portrait Heads and The Rise of Extra-Illustration: The Eton Correspondence of the Revd James Granger and Richard Bull, 1769-1774," *The Volume of the Walpole Society* 66 (2004), 1.
[129] Brewer, *Pleasures of the Imagination*, 456.
[130] Lucy Peltz, *Facing the Text: Extra-Illustration, Print Culture, and Society in Britain, 1769-1840* (San Marino: Published by the Huntington Library, Art Collections and Botanical Gardens with support from the Paul Mellon Centre for Studies in British Art, 2017), 58.
[131] Marcia Pointon, *Hanging the Head: Portraiture and Social Formation in Eighteenth-Century England* (New Haven: Published for the Paul Mellon Centre for Studies in British Art by Yale University Press, 1993), 58.

orders of society, with "Kings, Queens, Princes, Princesses, &c. of the Royal Family" at the top, before moving down the scale to aristocratic figures and prominent public men, and to the more ordinary classes of men and women.[132] These portraits were often linked together using visual effects such as chains, just as the muses and graces were threaded together by a ribbon.

Granger described: 'No invention has better answered the memory of illustrious men […] than the modern art of engraving.'[133] Categories for male historical figures included "Peers," "Commoners of Great Employment," "Men of the Robe," "Men of the Sword," "Men of Genius and Learning," and "English Poets." While royal women could occupy a prominent spot, "Ladies" were relegated to a class of their own towards the bottom rung of society, as the eleventh group, placed only above those historical individuals known for one circumstance alone, such as 'deformed Persons, Convicts &c.'[134] The collection and organization of the female subjects in the 1794 engraving drew on the iconography of grangerized heads but subverted the traditionally masculine hierarchy and trajectory of British history it posed, not least by individuating these women as poets and women of genius and learning in their own right. The engraving divided the women along generational lines: along the top from left to right of the engraving are Charlotte Smith, Hester Thrale Piozzi, Anna Barbauld, Elizabeth Montagu and Hannah More, all of whom were born before 1750. The women on the bottom row were all born after 1750: Sarah Siddons, Helen Maria Williams, Maria Cosway, and Elizabeth Farren, and represented a newer generation of female intellectual celebrity. In the centre were the three British Graces, just on the cusp of their 20s. The centring of the Princess Sophia and her fellow court beauties conformed to the tradition of representing royalty and aristocracy as the higher classes of society, yet the subversive selection of these graces reveals this to be an alternate vision of leading court ladies, since Princess Sophia was not even formally recognised by royal family. In confirming the class-based logic of the grangerization system, it also challenged it. The logic of grouping

[132] Peltz, *Facing the Text*, 58.
[133] Quoted in Koscak, *Monarchy, Print Culture, and Reverence*, 297.
[134] James Granger, *A Biographical History of England, from Egbert the Great to the Revolution* (London: Printed by W. Nicholson, Warner-Street, 1804); Lucy Peltz, "Engraved Portrait Heads and The Rise of Extra-Illustration: The Eton Correspondence of the Revd James Granger and Richard Bull, 1769-1774," *The Volume of the Walpole Society* 66 (2004), 7.

of the muses along generational lines also becomes clearer as part of the mechanisms of grangerization; they were ordered both chronologically and by their perceived contributions to society. On the lower rungs were actresses like Siddons and Farren, while at the top were bluestocking writers and poets, with dissenter Anna Barbauld leading the way. This was the body politic Johnson wished to convey; this was a conceptualization of British history worth celebrating. Where the 1778 engraving had portrayed bluestocking women in a mythological scene in order to historicise their new and powerful presence in the arts, the 1794 engraving did not need to look so far back into the past to find models for feminine learning. Now, it was possible to construct an entirely feminized history of eighteenth-century Britain. The public presence of these prominent women in ball rooms and levees; in their published works of poetry, essays and criticisms; on the stage; as subjects of influential paintings and as painters in their own right, had fostered the advancement of women's status and the advancement of the nation. Yet grangerized portraits were also, as Pointon writes, intended 'to regulate the present by means of the past.'[135] By highlighting the critiques these women's lives and works made about British society, the 1794 edition of the *Ladies New and Polite Pocket Memorandum Book* also expressed its hope that they were to bring about a new kind of Britain.

Conclusion

The *Ladies New and Polite Pocket Memorandum Book* was by no means "radical" by the standard of Joseph Johnson's general outputs, particularly in the 1790s. But its subversiveness belies the conservatism typically attributed to ladies' memorandum books, and showcases the ways in which Johnson's radical ideals filtered through to his more populist publications. Of course, the ambiguity maintained by the *Ladies New and Polite Pocket Memorandum Book* left its messages open to interpretation. The copy of the *Ladies New and Polite Pocket Memorandum-Book* for 1794 on which this discovery was based was kept by Harriet Constantia Orlebar, a young woman from Bedfordshire who regularly recorded travels to friends and family members until her untimely death in the Autumn of that year. Harriet's views on the war with France were staunchly anti-revolutionary. On the 28th of February, she recorded:

[135] Pointon, *Hanging the Head,* 4.

> 'A general Fast, on account of the War & critical sitation of Affairs in England &c which God grant, may have a happy termination; & the blind Savages of France, be enlightened with a [*illegible*] of their Errors (productive of Misery & Barbarity) & return to a peaceful form of Government, under Monarchy; the only sure basis for Freedom & happiness.'[136]

The opposing sentiments of the publisher did not seem to present any issue to Harriet, and she left no marginalia for us to interpret her reaction to the image and the printed text of the memorandum book.

We do, however, find the image of the graces remediated in the form of a satirical print by Isaac Cruikshank, entitled *The Graces of 1794* (1794). Alongside James Gilray, Cruikshank was one of the leading caricaturists of so called "golden age" of British satire.[137] Cruikshank's fashion satires of the 1790s often took their cue from the format and titles of memorandum book fashion plates.[138] In his satire *The Graces of 1794* we find what appears to be a lampooning of Joseph Johnson's *Ladies New and Polite Pocket Memorandum Book,* and its inclusion of the "Three Living Graces" (Figs. 47 & 48). Cruikshank's satire appears to confirm the increasing anti-feminist strain of the 1790s.[139] Yet knowledge of its remediation underlines the importance of including memorandum book engravings in our studies of visual culture. Where Cruickshank's satire evidences the increasing hostility towards women's visibility in the public sphere, equating their presence with promiscuity, the engraving it was based on complicates this story by championing women who challenged the status quo.

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[136] MS. Notations by Harriet Orlebar in *The Ladies New and Polite Pocket Memorandum-Book, for the Year of our Lord 1794* (London: Printed for J. Johnson, No. 72, St. Paul's Church-yard). Copy consulted: "Pocket Book (Ladies News and Polite Pocket Memorandum Book Illustrated). (marked LXXXV)," Bedford, Bedfordshire Archives, OR2216.

[137] Iain McCalman, ed., *An Oxford Companion to the Romantic Age: British Culture, 1776-1832* (Oxford: Oxford University Press, 2001), 472.

[138] Such as his *A Republican Belle* (1794), *Waggoners frocks or no bodys of 1795* (1795); *Too much and too little or summer cloathing for 1556 & 1796* (1796); *Young gentlemen in the dress of the year 1798* (1798) and *Parisian ladies in their winter dress for 1800* (1799).

[139] Anne Mellor, "Romantic Bluestockings: from Muses to Matrons," 15-38.



Figure 46. Isaac Cruikshank, The Graces of 1794 (1794). British Museum, 1851,0901.683



Figure 47. Close up comparison of the 1794 engraving of the muses with Cruikshank's 1794 satirical print.

The visual culture of ladies' memorandum books, then, has much to offer for our understanding of eighteenth-century society and culture. Their images were widespread and affordable, they circulated both in memorandum books and were removed and remediated out of them, helping to shape the wider visual culture of the era. We need to look past the fashion plate in ladies' editions to see how the genre could also be a platform for other social messages. Most fundamentally, this chapter has unpicked the assumption that there was 'little to distinguish one pocket book from another.'[140] As I have demonstrated, memorandum books were far from inherently interchangeable publications, and there is value in treating them seriously as a literary production. In doing so, I have shown that these small books have power to challenge and open up some of our most well-established historical readings of the eighteenth century.

[140] Batchelor, "Fashion and Frugality," 4.

Conclusion

This thesis has sought to fill a significant gap in our print and life-writing narratives and in the process broaden our understanding of eighteenth-century society and culture. It contends that memorandum books warrant investigation as one of the most characteristic genres of the period. As argued in the introduction, studying this hybrid genre requires a hybrid approach. To understand these books in their entirety necessitates connecting together conceptual tools from different disciplines; it entails studying them simultaneously as print commodity, manuscript record, and culturally-codified object; it demands we hold in equal balance the textual, the graphic, and the material form. In doing so, I have attempted to model a new methodology for future studies.

The first half of the thesis addressed the print history of the memorandum book and presented, for the first time, a bibliographic study of the genre. This is vital not only for what it reveals about the mechanics of the memorandum book trade, but to facilitate comparative studies with other eighteenth-century publications and bring memorandum books back into our wider narratives of the print trade. It has demonstrated the remarkable number and range of individuals involved in the trade, the complexity of business partnerships, and the large potential profit of memorandum book publication. With individual titles ranging from the low thousands to the tens of thousands per annum, I have shown that memorandum books likely exceeded some of the best known publications of this period such as novels, periodicals and satirical prints. As such, the bibliographic study presented in this thesis challenges our understanding of the nature of eighteenth-century publication and which media forms were the most commonly published, encountered and consumed in this period.

Building upon these foundations, the thesis provided a nuanced analysis of the role of memorandum books in the print trade. It has often been assumed that memorandum books emerged solely to circumvent the monopoly on almanacs held by the Stationers' Company. However as argued in Chapter Two, which revisited this history of the monopoly alongside evidence of memorandum book publishing, it is clear that memorandum books were a

publishing phenomenon in their own right, distinct from almanacs, a discovery which enhances our understanding of the history of both. Chapter Three explored this publishing history still further, using a case study of late eighteenth-century Newcastle to showcase the fierce competition that could develop between local publishers. It highlighted how publishers such as Thomas Slack and his wife Ann Fisher deftly threaded together communities of readers across their different publishing platforms, in order to promote a provincial identity through print. Studying the memorandum book as a commodity, then, advances our understanding of the broader mechanics of the eighteenth-century print trade.

The second half of this thesis drew out some of the cultural inflections and implications of the genre. Chapters Four and Five focused on the books' underlying principles of self-recording and how they were put into practice. The earliest examples of the genre demonstrate how these books were conceived of as a means of time- and record-management, and by extension, self-management. By bringing order to one's weekly schedule and different types of record-keeping, the books promised to help create the well-regulated man of business. This analysis was brought into the wider context of calendar reform in Great Britain, as memorandum books first emerged during broader debates about how to organise time for an increasingly mercantile nation. I argue that the books reflected wider shifts in time consciousness, in which human action was increasingly brought to the forefront. Chapter Five then scrutinised the many ways in which these books were used by their owners, which extend beyond simply adherence or resistance to the dictates of the books' format and design. Instead, this thesis explores how the page acted as an interface which users adapted in unanticipated ways, often drawing on the interplay of print and manuscript in the generation of meaning. Finally, Chapters Six and Seven explored the wider cultural resonances of the genre by looking at the gifting of memorandum books and the visual culture of ladies' editions. Chapter Six unpacked the many possible meanings bound up in the gifting of the books – as edifying gift for a young child or family friend, as romantic token of affection, as New Year's gift, or as prize shared among friends. Chapter Seven, in particular, shows that the books can greatly advance our broader understanding of eighteenth-century society and culture. Examining the long-running *Ladies New and Polite Pocket Memorandum-Book* issued by the dissenting publisher Joseph Johnson, my research

reveals how some of Johnson's more radical ideas could filter through to more populist publications in ways which have gone entirely unappreciated. By focusing on the image of the bluestockings as "the Nine Living Muses of Great Britain" and recontextualising its initial appearance in Johnson's memorandum book in Chapter Seven, this thesis demonstrates how a more comprehensive study of memorandum books allows us to revisit apparently familiar material, changing and nuancing our understanding of even one of the most iconic images of the eighteenth century. Both chapters also challenge simplistic gendered readings of the genre. They argue that ladies' memorandum books were not necessarily inherently 'conservative' publications that sought to restrict women's writing and behaviour, but rather that there were a wider range of cultural meanings at play, and could be a space for championing women's intellectual and artistic productions. Underpinning the thesis as a whole is the contention that memorandum book titles should not be treated as interchangeable, but have a history worth exploring in their own right.

Of course, as with all substantial research projects, by taking a wide-ranging analysis of memorandum books as a broad genre of eighteenth-century print culture this thesis has generated several new lines of inquiry that fall beyond the scope of this study, yet which my research indicates would be fruitful to pursue. This thesis has primarily focused on the development of the genre in the eighteenth century, from Dodsley's initial publication of *A New Memorandum Book* in 1748 through to the early nineteenth century. Yet as the Leigh Hunt passage cited at the beginning of this thesis showcases, it would be possible to tell a much longer story. There was no single, identifiable moment where the death knell tolled on the pocket memorandum books. My research suggests that while several brands lasted late into the nineteenth century, none survived into the twentieth. The reasons for that remain to be answered, but one factor in the decline of the genre appears to have been their evolution into other related print products such as literary annuals and more modern-style pocket diaries. Some of this process began as early as the 1780s with the publication of William Peacock's *The Polite Repository.* As has been briefly touched upon, the *Polite Repository* – later described as the 'patriarch of the pocket books' – marked the entrance of a more lavish type of publication, with greater attention given to the material quality of the

book, particularly its binding and numerous engravings.[2] With an emphasis on literary and picturesque illustrations, most notably those supplied by the prominent garden designer Humphry Repton, publications like the *Polite Repository* prompted a shift in the wider visual culture and aesthetic of the genre.[3] By the 1790s, memorandum books were frequently populated with images of country houses and scenes from novels, especially when publishing houses like the Minerva Press recognised the advertising potential of these images for their other literary productions.[4] Developments in steel engraving carved out a more ornamental role for illustrations in more high-end productions, as the production of images became cheaper and more intricate detail was able to be preserved. Illustrations therefore shifted from their detached position as frontispieces to a more embedded role throughout the book, appearing as headers on the diary pages. The literary and emblematic focus of these vignettes reflected changes in the book's print content as well. Smaller typefaces made it possible to put more information on the page, condensing tables and giving more space for prose essays.[5] Contributions of poems and short stories from readers became a newly central focus. More elegant, and more refined, books like the *Polite Repository* were designed with display and preservation in mind.

[2] *The Bookseller: A Handbook of British and Foreign Literature*, August 26 1861 (London: Published at the Office, 5, Warwick Square, Paternoster Row), 473.

[3] See: Sandro Jung, "Illustrated Pocket Diaries and the Commodification of Culture," *Eighteenth-Century Life* 37, no. 2 (Spring 2013): 53-84; Sandro Jung, "The Illustrated Pocket Diary: Generic Continuity and Innovation, 1820–40," *Victorian Periodicals Review* 45, no. 1 (Spring 2012): 23-48.

[4] William Lane and the Minerva Press published several different ladies' memorandum book titles, many of which included an illustration of and extract from a recent Minerva Press novel. This presumably both functioned to advertise the novel, and was an economic use of the same engraving. For example, *The Court and Royal Lady's Pocket Book* for 1801 contained an illustration of a scene from the novel *Which is the Man*, which appears to have been published after the memorandum book in 1801. Copy consulted: "Small pocket diary of an unknown [woman] 1 Jan 1801 - 7 July 1801," Taunton, Somerset Heritage Centre, A/CTP/3/5/20. There has been a recent surge of scholarship on the Minerva Press, though memorandum books have thus far have not been studied as part of their productions: see special issue "The Minerva Press and the Literary Marketplace," *Romantic Textualities* 23 (Summer 2020): 1-322.

[5] As Hunt described, 'Pocket-books, now-a-days […] endeavour to contain the greatest quantity of matter in the smallest compass; to which end the little nonpareil types now in use are of great service.' Leigh Hunt, "Pocket-Books and Keepsakes," *The Keepsake for 1828* (London: Printed by Thomas Davison, Whitefriars, 1828), 8.

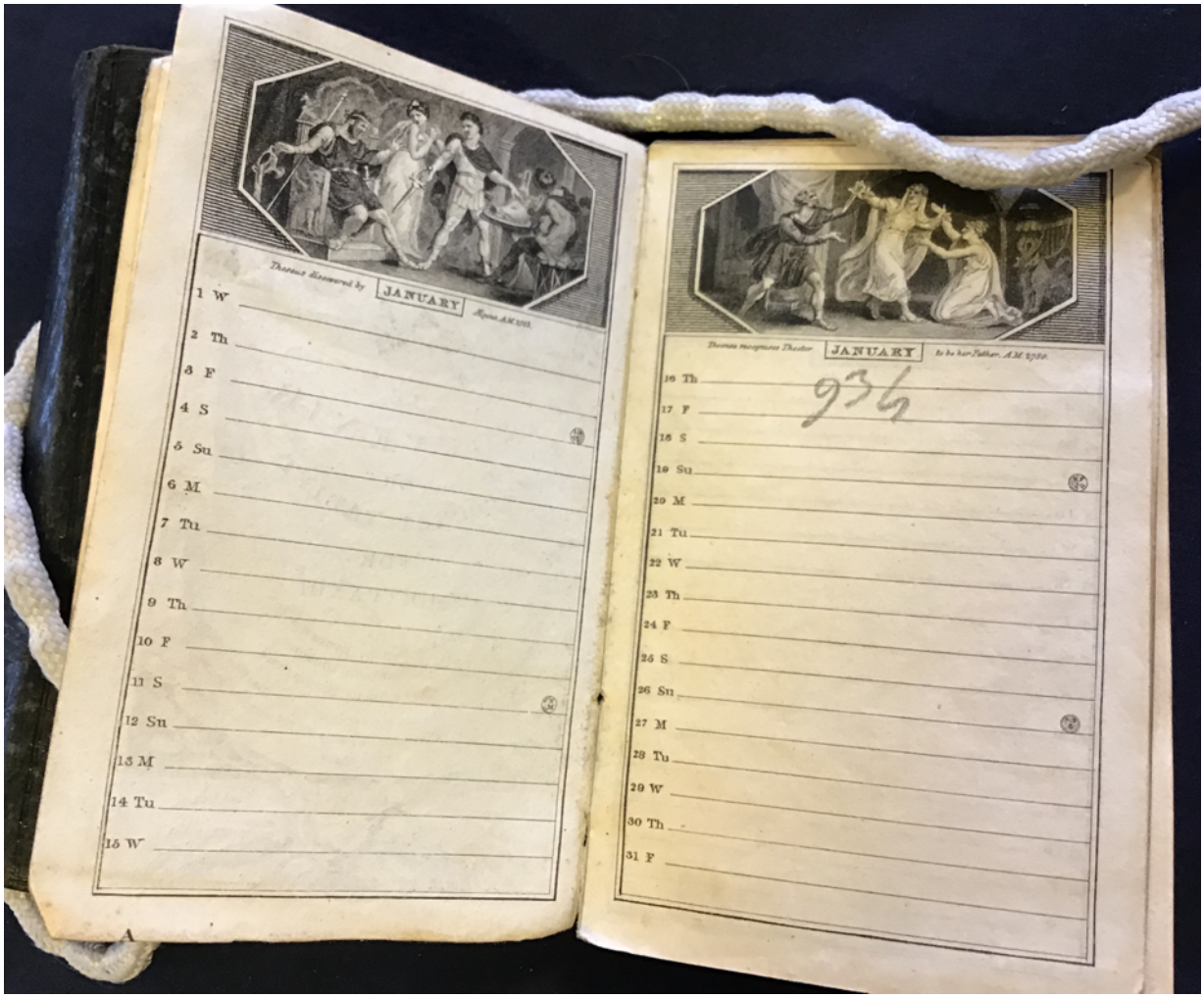


Figure 48. Illustrations in Le Souvenir or Pocket Tablet for 1823

As we saw in Chapter Five, the mise-en-page could shape the manuscript records inside, and it is likely that such stylistic alterations consequently affected the ways in which the books were put to use by consumers. The underlying rationale of self-recording in these books seems to have shifted away from the explicit emphasis on moral and financial accounting to the memorialisation of one's own life, as evoked in popular titles such *as Le Souvenir, or Pocket Tablet*.[6] More upmarket publications like the *Polite Repository* employed ruled lines instead of a tabulated layout, making the space for self-recording resemble an illustrated miniature novel of one's life (Fig. 49). One can speculate that this may have contributed to the rise of the romantic-era conceptualization of diarising as narrative and descriptive.[7]

[6] See for example *Le Souvenir or Pocket Tablet for MDCCCXXIII* [1823] (London: Published by Suttaby, Evance & Fox; J. M. Richardson; and Beilby & Knotts, Birmingham). Copy consulted: "Pocket Diaries of an Unknown Person 1803-1832," Taunton, Somerset Heritage Centre, DD/SVL/5/8/6.
[7] For example, see: Catherine Delafield, *Women's Diaries as Narrative in the Nineteenth-century Novel* (Farnham: Ashgate Publishing, 2009).

Here we can see the roots of the genre's transformation into the Romantic-era literary annual.[8] Literary annuals were initially published with similar pages for self-recording before, as Hunt describes, they disposed of the 'blank or barren part' to become primarily printed objects.[9] Nonetheless, it would be far too easy to buy into the teleological march of progress painted by Leigh Hunt and other commentators who proclaimed the pocket memorandum book to have become a bygone relic by the nineteenth century.[10] Hunt, for example, described pocket memorandum books as 'cosy memorials': to be remembered fondly but no longer suited to modern life.[11] Yet it is nonetheless important to stress the incredibly long survival of brands such as the *Ladies Complete Pocket Book,* which as my research has shown was published for at least 127 years until 1875, and the *Newcastle Pocket Memorandum Book,* which lasted for 140 years until its discontinuation in 1894. Clearly, the memorandum book has a longer history than Hunt's narrative suggests – and in fact, several titles outlived the literary annuals which claimed to have supplanted them. Thus the rise of the literary annual can only go so far in explaining the decline of the pocket memorandum book in the nineteenth century.

Running parallel to this was the development of the modern-era pocket diary, of which the manufacturer Letts remains emblematic. Essentially, where the annuals morphed out of the literary content of ladies' memorandum books, the modern pocket diary pared down the printed content to focus on the space for self-recording. Retailers offered a variety of purchasing options depending on the length of entries demanded by the customer, as well as increasingly stratifying consumers along professional lines. Established in 1796 as a stationery store, Letts published its first diary in 1812 and by 1862 was publishing 55 types of diary a year.[12] The research presented in this thesis shows Letts' current claims to have

[8] For more on literary annuals, see: Katherine D. Harris, *Forget Me Not: The Rise of the British Literary Annual, 1823–1835* (Ohio: Ohio University Press, 2015).
[9] Leigh Hunt, "Pocket-Books and Keepsakes," *The Keepsake for 1828* (London: Printed by Thomas Davison, Whitefriars, 1828), 11.
[10] There was, of course, a vested interest for contributors and editors of literary annuals to proclaim the memorandum book obsolete or old-fashioned, in order to promote the literary annual.
[11] Leigh Hunt, "Pocket-Books and Keepsakes," *The Keepsake for 1828* (London: Printed by Thomas Davison, Whitefriars, 1828), 7.
[12] Rebecca Steinitz, "Social Spaces for the Self: Organizing Experience in the Nineteenth-Century British Printed Diary," *a/b: Auto/Biography Studies* 16, no. 2 (2001), 164.

invented the 'first commercial diary' to be shaky. The company suggests that the Letts diary 'was an innovation in that it was future-focussed and not designed simply to record past events.'[13] Clearly, that innovation came sixty years prior with the publication of Robert Dodsley's *A New Memorandum Book*. The company's traditional slogan – 'For every person wishing to save Time and Money' – could have easily been a tagline for the earlier pocket memorandum book.[14] But the establishment of the Letts' empire does mark a large shift in the production of and type of tools for self-recording available, as diarising reached a mass-market like never before. Towards the end of the nineteenth century, Letts published 'a few hundred thousand diaries per annum,' but by 1932 they were publishing an astonishing 2.7 million per annum.[15] There have been some examinations of the rise of the Letts diaries in the nineteenth century, but a longue durée approach would enable us to interrogate claims about the standardization of diarising practices which are often seen as a product of the industrial revolution and Victorian imperialism, rather than indebted to earlier Enlightenment ideals.[16] It would also be illuminating to examine how a changing publishing landscape contributed to the decline of the pocket memorandum book, and shaped everyday self-recording practices.

Furthermore, it would be worthwhile situating the genre's history in an international context. Studies of the rise of autobiographical practices in the eighteenth century have often been quite geographically limited; a study of the spread of the commercial pocket diary would enable us to map out wider transnational trends, and perhaps place some of our hypotheses about the cultural drivers of diarising to the test. There are two promising and related avenues of research: study of the exportation of British publications abroad,

[13] https://letts.group/2020/11/18/the-history-of-the-letts-diary/ [Accessed: 10/01/2023]; Anthony Letts, "A History of Letts," in Frances Vivian, ed., *Letts Keep a Diary: An Exhibition of the History of Diary Keeping in Great Britain from 16th-20th Century in. commemoration of 175 years of Diary Publishing by Letts* (London: Charles Letts Limited, 1987), 29.
[14] Colin Symes, "Chronicles of Labour: A Discourse Analysis of Diaries," *Time & Society* 8, no. 2 (1999): 363.
[15] Anthony Letts, "A History of Letts," in Frances Vivian, ed., *Letts Keep a Diary: An Exhibition of the History of Diary Keeping in Great Britain from 16th-20th Century in. commemoration of 175 years of Diary Publishing by Letts* (London: Charles Letts Limited, 1987), 30.
[16] See for example: Harro Maas, "Letts Calculate: Moral Accounting in the Victorian Period," *History of Political Economy* 48, suppl_1 (2016): 16-43; Kathryn Carter, "Accounting for Time in Nineteenth-Century Manuscript Diaries and Photographs," *Life Writing* 12, no. 4 (2015): 417-430; Susan K. Martin, "'One week in each opening': Furphy and the use of the Diary form," *Journal of the Association for the Study of Australian Literature* 13, no. 1 (2013): 1-13.

and study of the comparative development of related genres in other countries. Regarding the first, I have found evidence that from an early point in their publication history, a variety of eighteenth-century British pocket memorandum book titles were exported across Europe and to America.[17] The later story of the development of the Letts' empire is also a story of empire and globalisation, as the diaries came to be available from the company's agents across Africa, Australia, China, Canada, India, New Zealand, South America, the West Indies and Europe.[18] Consideration of the exportation of memorandum books naturally leads into the second avenue of inquiry, which is to explore what influence British memorandum books had on life-writing practices in other countries and vice versa. A limited amount of scholarship has been conducted on related genres in countries beyond Britain: notably Molly McCarthy has published on American pocket diaries, while Adrianne Baggerman, Rudolf Dekker, and Michael Mascuch have examined Dutch egodocuments, including pocket diaries.[19] Intriguingly, British products influenced publishers in both of these contexts: the first American pocket memorandum book, Robert Aitken's *Complete Annual Account Book and Calendar for the Pocket or Desk for 1773,* lifted some of its pages from Dodsley's *New Memorandum Book*, while the first secular pocket diary in the Netherlands, A. C. Kruseman's *Herinneringen van het jar 1848*, was inspired by the popularity of pocket diaries in Britain.[20] Tying together these different histories raises compelling questions. Why is it that pocket diaries only really took off in America and the Netherlands in the nineteenth

[17] For example, Joseph Johnson's *Ladies New and Polite Pocket Memorandum Book* was sold in Leipzig, while Dodsley's memorandum books were sold in New York: See the "Catalogue of English Books Sold by Caspar Fritsch at Leipzig" in Johann Jacob Volkmann, *Historisch-kritische Nachrichten von Italien: welche eine genaue Beschreibung dieses Landes, der Sitten und Gebräuche, der Regierungsform, Handlung, Oekonomie, des Zustandes der Wissenschaften, und insonderheit der Werke der Kunst nebst einer Beurtheilung derselben enthalten*, vol. 1 (Leipzig: Published by Caspar Fritsch, 1770). Accessible online at: urn:nbn:de:bvb:12-bsb10468476-7 [Accessed 10/03/2022]; See advertisement by Garrat Noel and Company in the *New-York Mercury* – September 10, 1759. Available online at: Readex: America's Historical Newspapers. https://infoweb-newsbankcom.myaccess.library.utoronto.ca/apps/readex/doc?p=EANX&docref=image/v2%3A10DBEB948F3572A8%40EANX-10DEF0F35E7731C0%402363774-10DEF0F3AFE79878%403-10DEF0F49D745FF0%40Advertisement. [Accessed 09/03/2022].

[18] Rebecca Steinitz, "Social Spaces for the Self: Organizing Experience in the Nineteenth-Century British Printed Diary," *a/b: Auto/Biography Studies* 16, no. 2 (2001), 165; Colin Symes, "Chronicles of Labour: A Discourse Analysis of Diaries," *Time & Society* 8, no. 2 (1999), 365.

[19] Molly McCarthy, *The Accidental Diarist: A History of the Daily Planner in America* (Chicago: University of Chicago Press, 2013); Arianne Baggerman, Rudolf Dekker and Michael Mascuch, eds., *Controlling Time and Shaping the Self: Developments in Autobiographical Writing since the Sixteenth Century* (Leiden: Brill, 2011).

[20] McCarthy, *The Accidental Diarist,* 54-59; Arianne Baggerman, "Lost Time: Temporal Discipline and Historical Awareness in Nineteenth-Century Dutch Egodocuments," in Adrianne Baggerman, Rudolf Dekker, and Michael Mascuch, eds., *Controlling Time and Shaping the Self: Developments in Autobiographical Writing since the Sixteenth Century* (Leiden: Brill, 2011), 480.

century, so long after their commercial success in Britain? Do such staggered developments of the genre reflect disparities in the practicalities of book production in each country, the types of publishers involved, or was there a broader national framing of the concept of time and time-management at play that affected how people recorded their lives?

Finally, a major direction for future study would be to integrate the pocket memorandum book in our studies of eighteenth-century art, literature and science, and to bring to light the role memorandum books played in underpinning some of the most celebrated achievements of the century. This thesis has focused on the publication's promotion to the middling sorts, and has looked at a wide array of consumers of the genre, most of whom would otherwise remain obscure to the modern reader. I considered this approach more vital to our understanding of the genre *in itself*, which concerned itself not with the literati, but with the more nebulous "Man of Business" and aspirationally fashionable woman. However, as briefly touched upon in the introduction, a truly remarkable number of canonical figures used memorandum books to track their lives in ways that have mostly gone unacknowledged or uninterrogated, but are indicative of the genre's wider cultural influence. To name just a few, prominent painters such as Joshua Reynolds and Nathaniel Hone used their memorandum books to organise portrait sittings, while era-defining diarists such as Hester Thrale and Frances Burney were shaped by their prolific use of memorandum books.[21] As such, there is a great deal of research to be done on the ways memorandum books supported the practical and ideological labour of cultural production.[22]

As an archival-led project, examination of the books themselves drove many of the research questions addressed in this thesis. Focusing on different archives and other extant copies

[21] "Memorandum-Books of Nathaniel Hone, portrait-painter and foundation member of the Royal Academy; 1752-1754," London, British Library, Add MS 44024-44025; "Pocket books" (1757-1790), Sir Joshua Reynolds, PRA, papers. London, Royal Academy Archive, REY/1; "Daily Journals" (1757-1821), Thrale-Piozzi Manuscripts. Manchester, University of Manchester Library, GB 133 Eng MS 616; "Memorandum books and diaries for the years, 1803, 1805-07, 1809, 1817, 1819-21, 1823, 1826 and 1828," Frances Burney d'Arblay collection of papers. New York, New York Public Library, Berg Coll MSS Arblay. Also see: James L. Clifford, "The Daily Diaries of Hester Lynch Piozzi," *Columbia Library Columns* 22, no. 3 (1978): 10–17; Peter Sabor, "Journal Letters and Scriblerations: Frances Burney's Life Writing in Paris," in Daniel Cook and Amy Culley, eds., *Women's Life Writing 1700-1850: Gender, Genre and Authorship* (Basingstoke: Palgrave Macmillan, 2012): 71-85.

[22] In particular, I suspect memorandum books played a significant role in textual remediation, exploration of which may cast new light on the composition of famous literary, autobiographical works.

would likely throw up different sets of questions. Here, I have addressed those questions I felt best placed to answer, given my own training. Other academics would likely have pulled at different threads: some of the printed features of these publications that were only briefly touched upon in this thesis could have been adopted as the basis of entire chapters in themselves. To give just a few of examples, the tax and interest tables would be of interest to those studying the role of print in spreading financial literacy; music historians would likely find value in studying the guides to country dances and lists of songs sung at Vauxhall, while literary scholars would find interest in the as-yet-unstudied fiction that populated ladies' editions. Nonetheless, taking seriously the memorandum book's status as a 'hybrid genre' has demanded a multidisciplinary approach and throughout this thesis I have intentionally drawn on a range of approaches and conceptual tools from the history of the book, the history of information management, consumption history, legal history, the history of time, marginalia studies, life-writing studies, visual culture studies, fashion history and bluestocking and literary coterie studies, amongst others. Overall, my project maps out a holistic view of the genre, which had previously only been treated in piecemeal ways, with the fragmentary nature of this scholarship being further entrenched by disciplinary divisions. This thesis has shown that memorandum books held great potential value both for publishers who profited by them and for the consumers who used them to structure their daily lives. As a widespread phenomenon, they fed into and illuminate a wider range of social and cultural practices – such as the structuring of correspondence, gift exchange and gift poetry, the circulation of enigmas and riddles, the crafting of communities of readers, and the creation of grangerized albums, paintings and satire. At the same time, the hybrid nature of memorandum books means that they usefully push at the margins of many of our pre-existing categories of analysis, especially further complicating the print-manuscript divide. These pocket-sized publications therefore offer a microcosm of eighteenth-century life and culture, opening up large theoretical questions about the development of print culture and life writing, and the nature of self, time and gender.

Appendix. Explanation of the Dataset of Memorandum Book Titles, 1748-1799

As part of the research for this project, I built a dataset identifying memorandum book titles published in Britain between 1748-1799, their publishers, and their earliest and latest known dates of publication, and whether they were published in London, Ireland, Scotland, or were provincially-published. The dataset then calculated the print spans of titles. Note that the years given represent the edition for which the book was intended to be used, but they were typically published in the autumn of the year prior. The reason for ending the dataset at 1799 was to enable a decade-by-decade analysis up to and including the 1790s. This dataset is not included with the thesis, but interested parties are welcome to contact me for further information.

The dataset was primarily constructed on the basis of newspaper advertisements located in the Burney Newspaper Collections and the British Newspaper Archive, two electronic resources which collectively bring together all the major London newspapers as well as most of the provincial papers of the period. Given the paucity of information on the memorandum book market as a whole, one the main priorities was the identification of as many titles and their publishers as possible. Therefore, while there was an discernible publishing season for memorandum books – the November and December of each year – a sampling approach would have been insufficient for our purposes: there was no consistent day in which the advertisements all crowded the page, and we would miss out on the sheer plurality of titles competing in any given year and the publishers who issued them. A wider net was cast by combining key words searches (such as “pocket”, “memorandum”, “journal”, “ledger”, “register”, “repository”, “annual”, “daily” and “for the year”) with more targeted trawling of relevant newspapers once an individual title was identified, attempting to trace each title from its first appearance to its last. This was supplemented with information on extant copies as found in the course of my own archival research and through key word searches of Worldcat, the English Short Title Catalogue, the British Library catalogue, the National Archives catalogue, and Google Books. This enabled the identification of several titles that I can otherwise trace no advertisements for and was used to extend estimated print spans when extant copies evidenced a longer period of

publication than newspaper advertisements did. Despite attempts to be as exhaustive as possible, this dataset can only ever be an indicator, not an absolute guarantee, of dates of publication.

Bibliography

Memorandum Books

N.B. Since memorandum books are catalogued both as printed books and manuscript records, I have treated them as a separate category in this bibliography. I have provided information on where to locate copies, even when catalogued as printed books by libraries and archives. Footnotes in the thesis provide information on memorandum book titles and publishers when the source has been catalogued as a manuscript record.

Bedfordshire Archives, Bedford

OR2156. Diary (marked LXIII). 1776

OR2158. Extracts from Pocket book (marked LXXXVII). 1808-1818

OR2201/1. Military Pocket Book or soldier's assistant (NB illustrations of soldiers doing drill; list of Generals in the Army) (marked LXXXIV). 1796

OR2216. Pocket Book (Ladies News and Polite Pocket Memorandum Book Illustrated). (marked LXXXV), Manuscript entries by Harriet Constantia Orlebar generally about family movements and the weather. 1794

OR2220/1. Diary (marked LXV). 1785

OR2220/2. Diary (marked CVIII). 1827

OR2220/3. Diary (marked CIX). 1828

Bodleian Library, Oxford

Gough Warw. 15 (1). *The New Birmingham Directory, and Gentleman and Tradesman's Compleat Memorandum Book.* Birmingham: printed by and for M. Swinney, at No. 76, in High Street [1774?]

MS Eng.misc.f.71. Diary of Frances, widow of Admiral Edward Boscawen, 1763, in The daily journal

Vet.A5.f.4057. *The Ladies New and Polite Pocket Memorandum-Book, for the Year of Our Lord 1777*. London: Printed for Joseph Johnson, no. 72, St Paul's Church-Yard.

Vet. A6 g.205. *The Ladies' Own Memorandum-Book, Or Daily Pocket Journal for the Year 1837.* London: Printed by assignment of G. Robinson for Suttaby and Co. Stationers' Court; and J. and J.M. Richardson, Royal Exchange, 1836.

Borthwick Institute, York

Fonds YM - Yarburgh Muniments

YM/MB/8/b, Hesketh Yarburgh: A New Memorandum Book, 1749

YM/MB/8/c, Hesketh Yarburgh: The New Memorandum Book Improv'd, 1753

YM/MB/8/d, Hesketh Yarburgh: MS. fair copies of entries in above, and accounts of payments to J. Newsom, 1756-1786

YM/MB/8/e, No. IV. The Daily Journal for ... 1753, 1762

YM/MB/8/f, Hesketh Yarburgh: The Newcastle Memorandum Book, 1763

Raymond Burton Yorkshire Collection 4.13. *The Newcastle memorandum-book : or, a methodical pocket-journal, for the year MDCCLXIX* [1769]. Newcastle: Printed and Sold by T. Slack

British Library, London

578.a.35. *The Kentish Companion: or, Useful Memorandum and Accompt Book, for the Pocket or Desk, for the Year of our Lord One Thousand Seven Hundred and Seventy-Three*. Canterbury: Printed and Sold by Simmons and Kirkby, and T. Fisher, at Rochester

1606/200. *The Christian-Lady's Pocket Book for the Year 1792*. London: Printed for the Proprietors and Sold by J. s. Jordan, 166, Fleet Street & G. Terry, 54, Pater-noster Row

10349.e.15.(1.). *The Liverpool Memorandum-Book; or, Gentleman's, Merchant's and Tradesman's Daily Pocket Journal, for the Year MDCCLIII* [1753] London: Printed for R. Williamson

RB.8.a.12. *The Exeter Pocket-journal; Or, West-country Gentleman and Tradesman's Memorandum-book for the Year of Our Lord 1755.* Exon: printed by Andrew Brice, for Barnabas Thorn, Bookseller, in St. Peter's Church-Yard

RB.8.a.215(1). *The Ladies' Own Memorandum-Book: or, Daily Pocket Journal, for the Year 1794*. London: Printed for G. G. and J. Robinson, No. 25 Paternoster-Row; and S. Hodgson, Newcastle

RB.8.a.215(9). *The Ladies' Own Memorandum-Book, or Daily Pocket Journal, for the Year 1802.* London: printed for G. and J. Robinson; and S. Hodgson, Newcastle; by S. Hamilton, Falcon-court, Fleet-street

RB.23.a.6836. *The Ladies' Own Memorandum-Book; or, Daily Pocket Journal, for the Rear 1780*. London: Printed for G. Robinson, No. 25, Pater-noster-Row; and T. Slack, Newcastle

RB.23.a.6889. *MDCCXCVI* [1796]. *The Royal Repository, or Polite Pocket Diary*. London: Printed for J. Evance, Queen Street, Cheapside; and W. Richardson, under the Royal Exchange

RB.23.a.10115. *The Complete Pocket Book, or, Gentleman and Tradesman's Daily Journal for the Year of our Lord 1775.* London: Printed for J. Johnson, No. 72, St. Paul's Church yard, and J. Payne

RB.23.a.30884. *The Ladies Annual Journal; or, Complete Pocket Book, for the Year 1779* (London: Printed for J. Russell, successor to E. Stevens, No. 2 Stationers-Court, Ludgate Street; and I. Taylor, near the Top of Chancery-Lane, Holborn

RB.23.a.38154. *The Ladies Complete Pocket-Book, for the Year of Our Lord 1761*. London: Printed only for John Newbery, in St. Paul's Church-Yard

RP 9583. *The Ladies Complete Pocket Book For the Year of Our Lord, 1757. London:* Printed for John Newberry, Bookseller, in St. Paul's Church-Yard. Photocopy in the 'Archive of manuscripts relating to the Orlebar family of Hinwick House in Bedfordshire'

C.129.a.9. *MDCCLXXXIX. The Polite Repository, or Pocket Companion…* London: Printed for William Peacock, Salisbury Court, Fleet Street

C.136.bb.30. *The Ladies Compleat Pocket-Book, for the Year of our Lord, 1753*. London: Printed for John Newbery, Bookseller, in St. Paul's Church-Yard

C.142.dd.28, *The Newcastle Memorandum Book; Or, Methodical Pocket-Journal for the Year 1755.* Newcastle: Printed by I. Thompson & Co. for T. Slack

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