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Natalie Roxburgh
*Rutgers University*

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**Keywords**
Pamela controversy, Samuel Richardson, Pamela, Clarissa, Bank of England, accounting, public credit, gender, virtue, formalism

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# Rethinking Gender and Virtue through Richardson's Domestic Accounting

Natalie Roxburgh

*abstract*

A formal approach to the history of the novel is illuminative when form itself becomes a marker of virtue, a term at the heart of the so-called "*Pamela* controversy," whose respondents doubt the virtue of Pamela's accounts. Analyzing the ways in which Samuel Richardson uses the formal components of the account in *Pamela* helps us to understand just what is at stake in the *Pamela* controversy. The changes Richardson makes in *Clarissa*, including proliferating points of view in order to help the reader to trust Clarissa's account and also showing by external means that Clarissa holds herself accountable to her account, reveal a necessary fictional supplement to accounting. This technique resembles strategies that the Bank of England uses, such as its architectural layout, to help the public trust the soundness of its own accounting mechanisms. In this way, formal analysis of *Pamela* and *Clarissa* reveals an important link between the rise of public credit and the rise of the novel.

THE RELATIONSHIP between form and virtue emerges historically when the practice of accounting, necessary for the rise of public credit, becomes a means for producing trust. The Bank of England, one agency that facilitates public credit for a nation that is still unsure of the virtue of paper money, relies on its formal presentation of trustworthy accounting in a way similar to Samuel Richardson's use of accounting principles in *Pamela* (1740).[1] What is at stake in the demonstration of female virtue in the Pamela controversy parallels what is at stake in the rise of public credit.

National accounting and the public credit it entails represent a shift in English thought. Andrea Finkelstein points to William Petty's *Political Arithmetick* (1690) as a major turning

[1] One way of measuring the English nation's growing reliance on paper credit is by examining the increasingly harsh penalties for forgery of paper money. By 1729, forgers faced the death penalty. See Randall McGowen, "From Pillory to Gallows: The Punishment of Forgery in the Age of the Financial Revolution," *Past and Present* 165, no. 1 (1999): 110.

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point in economic history because, in this work, the practice of using numbers begins to take on an authority of its own, one that gradually comes to be regarded as more important than the authority of particular political interests, an underlying problem for the tumultuous seventeenth century. Petty's "political arithmetic," according to Finkelstein, "described the political economies of England and Ireland the way bookkeeping described the political economy of a business or household. In this sense, seventeenth-century economics was political economics because it described the economy of the polis, the commonwealth, the political community."[2]

In 1694, shortly after the publication of Petty's book, the Bank of England was established to serve as one of England's creditors for financing its ongoing wars. The first of its kind, the Bank was explicitly designed for the purpose of lending to the Exchequer. England had three creditors at the time: the South Sea Company, the East India Company, and the Bank. The collapse of the South Sea Bubble in 1720 resulted in the strengthening of the Bank as England's major public creditor. The Bank, fortunate enough to resist buying overpriced stock in the South Sea Company just before the Bubble, led in the financial bailout. At this point, Robert Walpole handed over more power to the Bank.[3] In its early years, the Bank had to assure the public that it used fair and precise methods of accounting. The type of virtue that the Bank attempted to convey to the public can be compared to the way virtue is constructed formally in the Pamela controversy, allowing us to see the extent to which the fictions required for understanding an inherently problematic public credit system are recapitulated in the early novel form.

## *The Form of Virtue at the Bank of England*

By 1734, the Bank moved to Threadneedle Street, across from the Royal Exchange. George Sampson, the Bank's architect, designed one of the first buildings in England to be built specifically for the purpose of serving as a bank. As Daniel Abramson's

[2] Andrea Finkelstein, *Harmony and the Balance: An Intellectual History of Seventeenth-Century English Economic Thought* (Ann Arbor: University of Michigan Press, 2000), 252.

[3] Daniel Abramson, *Building the Bank of England: Money, Architecture, Society, 1694–1942* (New Haven: Yale University Press 2005), 24.

research suggests, the building itself is of great importance in the history of capitalism because of its ability to produce confidence in the public that the Bank served the public good.[4] The very structure and its architectural form were designed to separate interested businessmen from the Bank itself, which needed to appear disinterested in the public imagination. The Bank had to give the impression of keeping fair and tidy accounts, and its architectural organization did just that: "The Accountants Office accommodated the Bank of England's bookkeeping functions and so symbolized more than any other space in the complex the nation's probity and integrity. Sampson thus helped sustain the Bank's corporate virtue by spatially quarantining stockjobbers and traders away from the rest of the building, its staff and clientele."[5] The layout meant that administrative and market functions were kept separate so that the public would not question whether the Bank had any conflicts of interest: "The spatial clarity of Sampson's plan embodied the Bank of England's desired institutional virtue ... Sampson's building thus functioned as an instrument for producing trust, the Bank of England's most priceless asset."[6] The building, therefore, served as a marker of virtue in a climate that questioned the stability of paper money and the financial, political, and social implications of the burgeoning national debt. In order to gain the public's trust, the Bank not only had to balance its books correctly, but it also had to convey its virtue (that is, its disinterestedness) in spatial terms. Members of the public could visit the physical Bank and be assured that their money was safe by seeing the way the Bank was designed.

The impression of keeping good accounts, one partially conveyed through intentional decisions in the formal architecture of the Bank, meant that people might then trust in the integrity of the actual account books. It took a long time for the Bank to find and train tellers who had the impeccable mathematical

[4] People often attacked public credit on the grounds that it served particular party interests. As Bruce Carruthers points out, "the state's financial system was more than just an extractive machine, an engine of state, because it also helped build up a political constituency in support of the post-1688 Protestant regime." Carruthers, *City of Capital: Politics and Markets in the English Financial Revolution* (Princeton: Princeton University Press, 1996), 87.

[5] Abramson, 52.

[6] Abramson, 53.

skills required for the job.[7] However skilled or precise the accountants were in actuality, they held a reputation of being unquestionably dependable. Daniel Defoe, for example, praised the Bank as a model for all businessmen to follow. At the Bank, "business is dispatch'd with such exactness, and such expedition and so much of it too, that it is really prodigious; no confusion, nobody is either denied or delayed payment, the merchants who keep their cash there, are sure to have their bills always paid, and even advances made on easy terms, if they have occasion. No accounts in the world are more exactly kept, no place in the world has so much business done, with so much ease."[8] Defoe's emphasis on "exactness" and "ease" sheds light on components of the Bank that were important for the flourishing of public credit. Exact accounting played a significant role in the Bank of England's gradually becoming the country's primary creditor in establishing the national debt; the accountants had such a good reputation that the Exchequer Office in Whitehall increasingly handed over portions of publicly subscribed shares.[9]

Within the building, the account books themselves served as indicators of virtue. The account books were more important than anything else in the Bank, at least according to its early policies. The Bank required that a porter live on site at all times so that, in case of fire, he could save the priceless ledger because "damage to the Bank's books could erase thousands of stockholders' wealth, substantially injure the nation's public credit and financial stability, and likely put an end to the Bank of England itself."[10] Before the Gordon Riots of 1780, the Bank did not arm itself against robbers or intruders. However, extreme care was taken regarding the preservation of the account books, revealing that the fundamental capital of the Bank lay in its mastery of double-entry bookkeeping.

The Bank of England was meant to serve as the government's creditor but was opened with the design of lending directly to members of the public. The Bank's General Court records indicate that the issuing of cash, in the form of paper money and

7 Anne L. Murphy, "Learning the Business of Banking: The Management of the Bank of England's First Tellers," *Business History* 52, no. 1 (2010): 157.

8 Daniel Defoe, *A Tour through England and Wales: Divided into Circuits or Journeys* (1724–27; London: J.M. Dent and E.P. Dutton, 1928), 1:11.

9 Abramson, 14.

10 Abramson, 14.

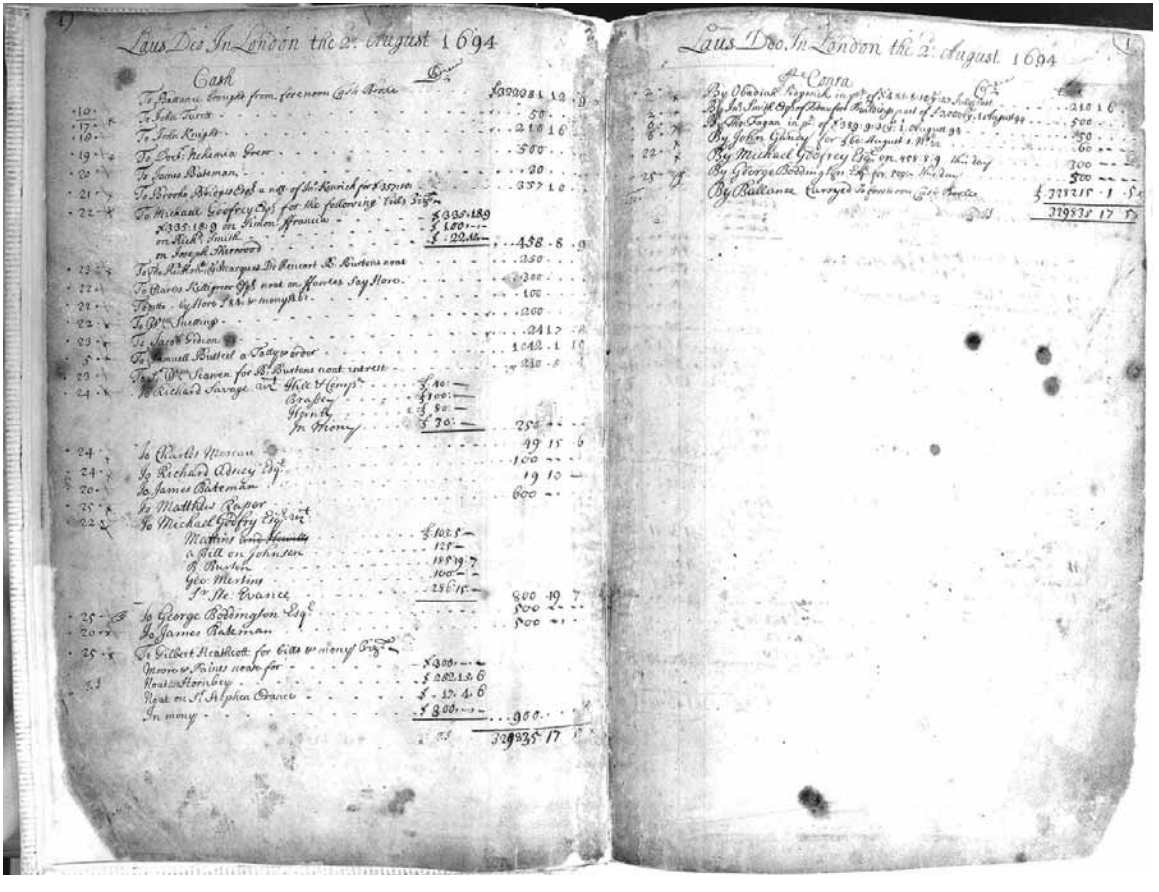
other specie, was intended from the beginning.[11] The Bank opened its first accounting ledger in the summer of 1694. On the top of the first page next to the date is inscribed Laus Deo, or "Praise be to God." These gigantic royal folio tomes utilized the form of the codex, the open pages side by side, to register credits and debts (see Figure 1). The left page registered "cash paid to" (or debts) and the right registered "credits by." The far left side of each page was used to calculate balances of credit or debt respectively and the far bottom right side kept a running total. Sub-calculations (for example, if multiple payments or credits were received through the same creditor or debtor) were performed in the memo section and then carried over to the ledger space. By keeping a running balance by glancing at the two pages simultaneously, a clerk could get a sense of the Bank's available funds almost instantly (or at least with the help of some quick arithmetic). But the ledger was not the only apparatus to ensure the Bank remained trustworthy: very explicit rules regulated the operation of the ledger. Correct accounting required a physical process of co-ordinating multiple human beings and multiple pieces of paper. To manage this feat, the Bank created written house rules for all employees. One internal cash office protocol memo, dated 19 October 1727, specifies that

> the Cash Office be enlarged ... That Six persons be imployed at the drawing acctts offices ... That two Check Books be kept, One by Way of Dr and Cr, the other by way of Addition & Subtraction ... That Additions be made in the Book of Dr & Cr at every four Lines ... That the Person who adds shall put the letters of his Name against the Addition ... That a proper time be sett a part, when the Cheque Ledgers are not in use in the Hall, to prick the posting against the Ledger in the accounting office ... That the ledger be locked up every Night.[12]

Pricking, or poking small holes in the parchment, affirmed that the ledger entries lined up exactly. Without straight lines, one could not ensure that the proper figure be added or subtracted. Not only was competent arithmetic important, but co-ordination of all employees in a systematic way was necessary for calculations to be carried out precisely.

[11] According to the General Courts, the "form of Note to be given for borrowing the 20% was approved" in June 1694. Bank of England Archive, General Courts, ADM 30/47.

[12] Bank of England Archive, Minutes Committee of the Bank of England, 6A30/1.



Laus Deo. In London the 2d August 1694

Cash

Dr

| | | | | |
|---|---|---|---|---|
| | To Balance Compte from fore-noon Cash Book | | £22081 10 | 9 |
| 10 | To John Turner | | 50 | |
| 17 | To John Knight | | 216 16 | |
| 19 | To Doct. Nehemia Grew | | 500 | |
| 20 | To James Bateman | | 20 | |
| 21 | To Brooks Bridges Esq. a note of his Receipt for £30000 | | 357 10 | |
| 22 | To Michael Godfrey Esq. for the following Tallies Sign. | | | |
| | £335.189 on Finlow Francis | £335.189 | | |
| | £100 on Nich. Smith | £100 | | |
| | £20.10 on Joseph Harrowed | £20.10 | 458 8 | 9 |
| 23 | To the Rt. Hon. the Marquess Di Vincent & Burtons note | | 250 | |
| 22 | To Baron Killigrew Esq. note on Hawles Say Moro. | | 300 | |
| 22 | To ditto. by Moro Sale v money Br. | | 100 | |
| 22 | To Wm. Sheldrake | | 1200 | |
| 23 | To Jacob Bacon | | 2417 | 8 |
| 5 | To Samuel Bissell a Tally v order | | 1042 1 | 10 |
| 23 | To Wm. Seaven for Rt. Burtons note interest | | 210 | 8 |
| 24 | To Richard Savage on the Hemp | £40 — | | |
| | Crosse | £100 — | | |
| | Hynde | £8 10 — | | |
| | In Money | £70 — | 258 | |
| 24 | To Charles Morgan | | 49 15 | 6 |
| 24 | To Richard Aldrey Esq. | | 100 | |
| 20 | To James Bateman | | 19 10 | — |
| 25 | To Matthew Raper | | 600 | |
| 22 | To Michael Godfrey Esq. Int. | | | |
| | Mattins ~~Long Hewitt~~ | £102.5 — | | |
| | a Bill on Johnson | 125 — | | |
| | R. Brisler | 118.19.7 | | |
| | Geo. Martins | 100 — | | |
| | Jn. St. Evance | 256.15 — | 800 19 | 7 |
| 25 | To George Boddington Esq. | | 500 | |
| 20 | To James Bateman | | 500 | |
| 25 | To Gilbert Heathcott for Gilts v money Br. | | | |
| | Governor & Fellows receive for | £300 — | | |
| | House Hornsby | £282.13.6 | | |
| | Rent on St. Stephen Evance | £17.4.6 | | |
| | In money | £300 — | 900 | |
| | | | 32983 5 17 | 5 |

Laus Deo. In London the 2d August 1694

Cash

Cr

| | | | |
|---|---|---|---|
| 2 | By Obadiah Reynolds in pt of Note for £20 dated 2 July last | 216 16 | |
| 2 | By Jos. Smith Esq. for Remainder part of Exchequer Tally dated 1 August 94 | 500 | |
| 8 | By Tho. Fagan in pt of £339.9.3 & 1 August 94 | 150 | |
| 22 | By John Gibney for Gilts dated 1 Mar. | 60 | — |
| | By Michael Godfrey Esq. on note 8 this day | 300 | — |
| 25 | By George Boddington Esq. for ditto this day | 500 | — |
| | By Balance Carried to fore-noon Cash Book | £22081 10 | 9 |
| | | 32983 5 17 | 5 |

Figure 1. Bank of England. A 1694 ledger page. Source: Bank of England.

The folio-sized tomes, regulated by an increasingly systematized internal procedure, were kept behind the teller's counter and in public view, which meant that potential borrowers, lenders, and anyone who happened to enter the Bank could see the teller registering all credits and debts by glancing at the open book. This massive open tome, visually presenting both sides of the register, was important for a public whose trust was crucial for the Bank's (and the commonwealth's) success. More important than the accuracy of the tellers and accountants, therefore, was the public perception of this accuracy. The placement of the giant tomes in public view symbolized the practice of accounting that was done behind the scenes and described in the Bank's internal protocols.

A grasp of the function of the zero balance in double-entry bookkeeping (the part of the account that is formally authoritative) can help us understand how the novel develops formally in the eighteenth century. In *A History of the Modern Fact* (1998), Mary Poovey argues that the neutrality of the accounting ledger takes over the authority of classical rhetoric. In Poovey's argument, what is significant is not the amount of wealth a ledger indicates, but the form the calculation takes to arrive at a number: "Even though number was not in itself the sign of virtue, arithmetic, which followed its own formal rules, constituted a system in relation to which one could judge right from wrong ... The precision of arithmetic replaced the eloquence of speech as the instrument that produced both truth and virtue."[13] In the middle of the century, the virtue of the character drives the ideological and formal development of the novel. Significantly, however, the novel does not require numbers in order to utilize the authoritative form of the account. And this allows us to complicate Poovey's alignment of virtue with arithmetic. Like the Bank, the novel only needs to gesture towards the form of accounting in order to convey virtue; the perception of following formal rules, rather than the rules in themselves, produces trust.

### *The Form of Virtue in the Novel*

The Pamela controversy is particularly revealing of the parallel between public credit and the form of the eighteenth-century

[13] Mary Poovey, *A History of the Modern Fact: Problems of Knowledge in the Sciences of Wealth and Society* (Chicago: University of Chicago Press, 1998), 55.

novel because of what is at stake in the debate: What constitutes virtue? How can it be signified? These are questions not unrelated to the ones Sampson faced when designing the new building for the Bank, and the ones the Bank's board of governors faced when they instituted a required protocol for the porter to protect the paper ledgers at all costs. Virtue, I argue, is at least in part constituted through the form of accounting in the debate that ensues after the publication of *Pamela* in 1740. And by "form of accounting," I mean not only arithmetical double-entry bookkeeping, but also formal decisions about spatial representation that produce trust. The ledger is a legible figure for the public's understanding of trust. And this figure is utilized in the early form of the novel.

On one level, Ian Watt has already addressed the relation between the rise of the novel (and the ideology of individualism inherent to it) and accounting: "Book-keeping is but one aspect of a central theme in the modern social order. Our civilization as a whole is based on individual contractual relationships, as opposed to the unwritten, traditional and collective relationships of previous societies; and the idea of contract played an important part in the theoretical development of political individualism."[14] In this article, however, I follow the work of Michael McKeon, who suggests that the novel comes into being because economic individualism and the progressive ideology it entails meet with resistance from a traditional order.

My concern here will be with two of the terms that McKeon describes in *The Origins of the English Novel, 1600–1740* (1987), what he calls "progressive ideology" and "naïve empiricism."[15] The novel emerges by linking virtue at the level of content with truth telling at the level of form.[16] It is important for Richardson's progressive ideological praxis that Pamela is virtuous at the level of content, and he employs formal strategies to ensure that readers believe her to be virtuous. The form of the novel is inseparable from its ideological perspective. Respondents to *Pamela* manipulate the content of the novel in order to suggest that mere form cannot be read without scepticism. Richardson's progressive ideology is connected with naive empiricism, and his

[14] Ian Watt, *The Rise of the Novel: Studies in Defoe, Richardson, and Fielding* (London: Hogarth, 1957), 63–64.

[15] Michael McKeon, *The Origins of the English Novel, 1600–1740* (Baltimore: Johns Hopkins University Press, 1987), 171.

[16] McKeon, 20.

technique is shown to be naive by the responses to it that follow. Critics of *Pamela* treat the novel with what McKeon calls extreme scepticism, which is a product of conservative ideology (the same conservatives who condemned paper money and the progress of public credit). At a historical moment when national accounting becomes endemic to the functioning of the commonwealth (or at least city interests within it), *Pamela* utilizes a similar mechanism to reflect the progressive ideology that accompanies it.

At the level of content, mid-century domestic novels emphasize the female virtues of household economy. Richardson's eponymous protagonists, Pamela and Clarissa, are both reported to be excellent accountants and managers of the household. In the eighteenth century, instructional books began to surface with the purpose of educating women in arithmetic and accounting methods.[17] Such works as *The Accomplish'd Housewife* (1745), *The Young Ladies Accountant, and Best Accomplisher* (1771), and the annual editions of *The Ladies' Compleat Pocket-Book* and *The Ladies' Own Memorandum Book* were marketed to help women keep track of personal and familial accounts. Such manuals served as a combination of diaries, journals, and numerical registers, teaching the management of both fiscal and social debts. Rather than using double-entry columns of debt/credit, ledgers of the domestic memorandum book read "received/paid" and were often circulated to friends.[18] Keeping track of one's daily whereabouts in a diary or register conflated social conduct book habits and quantitative practices of accounting used in double-entry bookkeeping.

Richardson's novel explores a double meaning of the words "accounting" and "tell," terms that have implied both narration and fiscal counting since the fourteenth century (*OED*). Rebecca Elisabeth Connor's work explains the relationship between the account as first-person narrative and fiscal reckoning in the household in her discussion of the double meaning of the terms "account" and "tell": "If to secure one's property is in some sense to stabilize one's history, then the desire to account surely springs from a comparable impulse. And the account—be it spiritual, financial, or narratival—stands as testimony to and template of

[17] Rebecca Elisabeth Connor, *Women, Accounting, and Narrative: Keeping Books in Eighteenth-Century England* (London: Routledge, 2004), 54.

[18] Connor, 54.

the individual. All of which would seem to indicate that financial accounting represents a record of experience not dissimilar to the 'recording' inherent in narration itself."[19]

*Pamela* (1740) and *Clarissa* (1747–48) get the reader to believe in the virtue of their respective protagonists through the recording technique of writing epistles "to the moment," a practice that seems disinterested in part because the writer has no time to manipulate the truth. In these epistolary novels, the inner selves of the characters are brought out for the scrutiny of the virtual public. The link between desert and accounting becomes a central ideological question: does Pamela possess real virtue whose reward (that is, upward mobility) is justified? Did Clarissa, despite her false step of absconding with a man, act with propriety? Fielding and Haywood (key respondents in the Pamela controversy) imitate the form of accounting and but also change the content. The result is that characters cannot be credited as virtuous by the same means as Pamela. These parodies provide ironic critiques of Richardson's non-ironic project by illuminating the weakness of the form of the account. Their extreme scepticism towards the form entices readers to reread *Pamela* and to question an ideological alignment of form—more precisely, the form of accounting—with virtue.

### *Accounting and the "Pamela" Controversy*

What is at stake in *Pamela* is that the reader believes that the eponymous heroine refuses her master's sexual advances because she is truly virtuous (and without an "interested" ulterior motive). It is important that she stays out of debt or obligation to him because by accepting any gifts she might end up owing to him what he desires: to become his mistress. In this sense, she desires to maintain a zero balance with Mr B. By the end of the novel, her supposed virtue is the reason that Mr B marries her and also why his family comes to accept the marriage. If readers do not really believe Pamela to be virtuous, it would seem Mr B was duped into marrying beneath him by a woman only pretending virtue in order to achieve social mobility. Her letters to her parents (and later her personal diary) provide evidence that she constantly tries to avoid Mr B's attempts to give her gifts, to seduce her, and to make her his mistress.

[19] Connor, 45.

Letters that make up the form of *Pamela* are also folded into its content. To be more specific, Pamela's narrative describes the letters as material objects that she sews into her clothing in order to hide them from Mr B. John B. Pierce's argument that "Pamela's appeal to authority resides in the mediated form of the 'Text'" helps to explain why the materiality of the letters is important. Pierce points out that "she bypasses questions of subjectivity perhaps because it is her own subjectivity that is at stake. The 'Text' acts as an objectified form for Pamela, having a reflective security and stability produced from but outside the constant threats to her virtue."[20] The text, serving as a material form, is supposed to represent the content of Pamela's subjectivity. The material status of the letters in itself holds a rhetorical force. But we need to examine the ways in which Richardson modifies the epistolary form to supplement the intrinsic believability of the material letter.

Richardson's *Familiar Letters on Important Occasions* (1741) was begun before *Pamela* and was meant to teach the art of letter writing. Richardson was working out the formal importance of credible letter writing prior to the construction of his major novel, and these formal concerns persist in his fiction. *Pamela* differs radically from the epistolary novels that precede it (for example, Aphra Behn's *Letters from a Nobleman to His Sister* [1684–85]) because the reader (and Mr B) must believe that Pamela is virtuous through her letters so that she deserves the reward of marrying socially above her station. The form is integral to the plot; in McKeon's vocabulary, the way the story is told opens up questions of truth that are intimately tied to questions of virtue. But this requires Richardson to do something to ensure his readers trust Pamela's letters; only seldom is a third-person narrator used to paint for the reader a complete picture. Instead, the fact of staying out of obligation to Mr B (maintaining a zero balance) is reflected through the representational strategies by which Pamela conveys to the reader her actions. The formal quality of "writing to the moment" implies that Pamela cannot be duplicitous. She merely reports the facts of her subjectivity as they occur. Also, her narration is continuous and ongoing, and it eventually turns into her diary.

[20] John B. Pierce, "Pamela's Textual Authority," in *Passion and Virtue: Essays on the Novels of Samuel Richardson*, ed. David Blewett (Toronto: University of Toronto Press, 2001), 10.

Critics have already pointed to the way fiscal indebtedness underlies Pamela's behaviour and predicament. As Catherine Ingrassia points out, readers "see numerous examples of her accounting abilities, her shrewd financial assessment of other (typically male) characters, and her recognition that most aspects of the socio-cultural world are determined by the absence or presence of money."[21] Pamela is attuned to indebtedness throughout the novel. Her parents are in debt, after all, and this is why she refuses to take on new debts and keeps her accounts in order.[22] Pamela's skills as a household manager and accountant are introduced on the first page of the novel. In the first letter to her parents, Pamela writes that her Lady had taught her how to cast accounts: "As my Lady's Goodness has put me to write and cast Accompts, and made me a little expert at my Needle, and other Qualifications above my Degree, it would have been no easy Matter to find a Place that your poor Pamela was fit for."[23] This skill has social implications: it sets her apart and above other servants. She has the much-valued skill of the gentlewoman. But it also has implications for the way the novel is to be read: these skills in accounting also help us trust her narrative. As we will see, while accounting may be above her station, what she accounts for shows that she is acting within her station with the propriety proper to her.

Richardson uses the word "account" 83 times in the novel. Even at the end of the work, he draws the reader's attention to accounting, after Pamela has married Mr B. Here, she discusses the form of the account explicitly once she is in charge of the money:

> I am resolv'd to keep Account of all these Matters, and Mr Longman has already furnish'd me with a Vellum-book of all white Paper; some sides of which I hope soon to fill, with the Names of Proper Objects: And tho' my dear Master has given me all this without Account, yet shall he see, (but nobody else) how I lay it out, from Quarter to Quarter, and I will, if any be left, carry it on, like an Accomptant, to the next Quarter, and strike a Ballance four times a Year, and a general Ballance at every Year's End. (471–72)

21 Catherine Ingrassia, "'I am Become a Mere Usurer': Pamela and Domestic Stock-Jobbing," *Studies in the Novel* 30, no. 3 (1998): 303.

22 Ingrassia thinks of Pamela as a domestic stock-jobber because of her attention to her future worth, like a speculative investment; she gets Mr B to invest in her through the "paper credit" of her journal (304).

23 Samuel Richardson, *Pamela; Or, Virtue Rewarded* (1740; Oxford: Oxford University Press, 2001), 11. References are to this edition.

In the final pages of *Pamela*, which are narrated by a seemingly objective editor rather than through the letters themselves, not only does one learn of the whereabouts of each character, but one is also provided with a series of morals: "And they charm'd every one within the Circle of their Acquaintance, by the Sweetness of their Manners, [and] the regular Order and Oeconomy of their Household" (499). One of these morals extols the virtues of the household economist and advocates emulating Pamela's accounting skills: "From the Oeconomy [Pamela] purposes to observe in her Elevation, let even Ladies of Condition learn, that there are Family Employments in which they may, and ought to, make themselves useful, and give good Examples to their Inferiors, as well as Equals" (502). Richardson's 1742 sequel further explores Pamela's virtues in the household, perhaps attesting to the reason he removed this editorial ending in subsequent editions.

If what is at stake in the doubting of Pamela's virtue is the possibility that she might be attempting to extract property from Mr B (a position taken by the pre-reformed Mr B and anti-Pamelists alike), what matters is that Pamela accounts for property well. She produces a zero balance very early in the novel. Here, she separates her true property from the property that does not match her station when Mr B begins to make sexual advances and she prepares to return home. To show that she owes him nothing, she separates her own clothing from the pieces that do not belong to her. She tells Mrs Jervis, "I had no Cloaths suitable to my Condition when I return'd to my Father's; and so it was better to begin here, as I was soon to go away, that all my Fellow-servants might see, I knew how to suit myself to the State I was returning to" (55). This is less a matter of monetary ownership than of recognition of social station, giving evidence of her social propriety.[24]

[24] Pamela's attention to indebtedness persists after she marries Mr B and is able to celebrate her material happiness. Later in the novel, Pamela uses the language of the book-keeping ledger when she refers to her new status: "Then shall I not stand a single Mark of God's Goodness to a poor worthless Creature, that in herself is of so poor Account in the Scale of Beings, a mere Cypher on the wrong Side of a Figure; but shall be placed on the right Side; and, tho' nothing worth in myself, shall give Signification by my Place, and multiply the Blessings I owe to God's Goodness, who has distinguish'd me by so fair a Lot!" (363). Here, the many blessings are registered as what she now owes to God; in this way, extravagances are no longer marks of impropriety.

The way Pamela writes, which might be called puritan "plain style," is a formal correlative to the way she registers her social propriety through dividing her clothes. The prefatory material, composed by a fictitious editor who compiles Pamela's letters and authoritative readers who reflect upon them, emphasizes the "beautiful Simplicity of the Style, and a happy Propriety and Clearness of Expression (the Letters being written under the immediate Impression of every Circumstance which occasioned them)" (5). In the second prefatory letter, the author contrasts Pamela's writing to eloquent writing that might "disguise the Facts, marr the Reflections, and unnaturalize the Incidents" (9). By contrast, the novel is persuasive (at least according to its own para-text) because it represents "*Pamela* as Pamela wrote it; in her own Words, without Amputation, or Addition" (9). Plain style, pioneered by the seventeenth-century merchant Thomas Mun, was grounded in experiential knowledge and avoided eloquence and rhetoric, and was often associated with good business practice and tidy accounting.[25] The novel's para-text also makes the parallel to clothing: "Such a Dress will best edify and entertain. The flowing Robes of Oratory may indeed amuse and amaze, but will never strike the Mind with solid Attention" (9). Like Pamela's narrative, one that is not overdressed, Pamela ensures that her body is not inappropriately dressed with clothing that is not rightfully hers. Pamela, owning herself properly, acts thus with propriety. Pamela prepares Mrs Jervis and Mr B for her assumed departure through physically registering her lack of indebtedness, her zero balance, to them.

But, like at the Bank, accounting by itself is not enough to convey virtue: accounting must be presented to and produced for others. To ensure that Mrs Jervis and Mr B notice her propriety, Pamela makes a formal choice in representing her act. She separates the clothing into three distinct piles: "I took all my Cloaths, and all my Linen, and I divided them into three Parcels; ... I beg you will look over my poor Matters, and let every one

[25] Plain style and accounting can both be linked to the emergence of the empirical sciences. Thomas Sprat calls for a one-to-one relation between words and things in his *History of the Royal-Society* (1667, 1702). One should "reject all the amplifications, digressions, and swellings of style: to return back to the primitive purity, and shortness, which men delivered so many things, almost in an equal number of words." Sprat, *The History of the Royal-Society of London, for the Improving of Natural Knowledge* (London, 1702), 113.

have what belongs to them; for, said I, you know, I am resolv'd to take with me only what I can properly call my own" (77). In the first pile, she places things her Lady gave to her. In the second, she sets aside gifts from Mr B. In the third, she places items she brought with her and thus rightfully owns: "But, said I, come to my Arms, my dear third Parcel, the Companion of my Poverty, and the Witness of my honesty; and may I never deserve the least Rag that is contained in thee, when I forfeit a Title to that Innocence that I hope will ever be the Pride of my Life" (79). The explicit enumeration of these piles stresses the truly formal way she achieves a zero balance. Nothing is left over, and the reader has nothing with which to impute to her impropriety. By separating her clothes into what does and does not belong to her, she creates a sartorial register for Mr B and the reader to prove she owes the former nothing.

The form of the zero balance is not merely folded into the content of the novel, but also structures an important discursive exchange between Pamela and Mr B. The piles of clothing, visual indicators that Pamela has cleared her debts and is thus free to leave, might be compared to the way she (and even the printed pagination of *Pamela*) structures Mr B's proposed contract with her later in the novel. Mr B lays out the terms of his proposal that Pamela become his mistress through a numbered format, offering to settle her with money and property if she accepts his offer (188–92). The first two pages of the contract and its refusal appear in Figure 2. What is striking is the way each proposal is paginated alongside a response from Pamela, who declines each proposal with an explicit reason. The form of this passage resembles a ledger because each proposal attempts to put Pamela in Mr B's debt, and each response clearly negates the debt. By scanning the contract, the reader quickly finds that Pamela has maintained her propriety. As in an accounting ledger, Pamela persuades through a zero balance. Despite the way Pamela mobilizes the form of the zero balance, Pamela's letters are moving, and it is precisely because they are moving that Mr B sympathizes and is converted to believing her. Her accounts seem to bear witness to her honesty, and many details convey a sense of spiritual torture and despair. Pamela's account of her near-suicide by the pond, for example, affects Mr B because he no longer believes she is manipulating him. Lady Davers, at first sceptical

Thoughts of. But you'll see how they are accommodated to what I should have most desir'd, could I have honestly promoted it, your Welfare and Happiness. I have answer'd them, as I'm sure you'll approve; and I am prepared for the worst: For tho' I fear there will be nothing omitted to ruin me, and tho' my poor Strength will not be able to defend me, yet I will be innocent of Crime in my Intention, and in the Sight of God; and to Him leave the avenging of all my Wrongs, in his own good Time and Manner. I shall write to you my Answer against his Articles; and hope the best, tho' I fear the worst. But if I should come home to you ruin'd and undone, and may not be able to look you in the Face; yet pity and inspirit the poor *Pamela*, to make her little Remnant of Life easy; for long I shall not survive my Disgrace. And you may be assured it shall not be my Fault, if it be my Misfortune.

'To Mrs. PAMELA ANDREWS.

'*The following* ARTICLES *are proposed to your serious Consideration; and let me have an Answer, in Writing, to them; that I may take my Resolutions accordingly. Only remember, that I will not be trifled with; and what you give for Answer, will absolutely decide your Fate, without Expostulation or further Trouble:*

'I. IF

This is my ANSWER.

*Forgive, good Sir, the Spirit your poor Servant is about to shew in her Answer to your* ARTICLES. *Not to be warm, and in earnest, on such an Occasion as the present, would shew a Degree of Guilt, that, I hope, my Soul abhors. I will not trifle with you, nor act like a Person doubtful of her own Mind; for it wants not one Moment's Consideration with me; and I therefore return the* ANSWER *following, let what will be the Consequence:*



'I. IF you can convince me, that the hated Parson has had no Encouragement from you in his Addresses; and that you have no Inclination for him, in Preference to me; then I will offer the following Proposals to you, which I will punctually make good.

'II. I will directly make you a Present of 500 *Guineas*, for your own

I. AS to the first Article, Sir, it may behove me (that I may not deserve in your Opinion, the opprobrious Terms of *forward* and *artful*, and such-like) to declare solemnly, that Mr. *Williams* never had the least Encouragement from me, as to what you hint; and I believe his principal Motive was the apprehended Duty of his Function, quite contrary to his apparent Interest, to assist a Person he thought in Distress. You may, Sir, the rather believe me, when I declare, that I know not the Man breathing I would wish to marry; and that the only one I could honour more than another, is the Gentleman, who, of all others, seeks my everlasting Dishonour.

II. As to your second Proposal, let the Consequence be what it will, I



Figure 2. Pagination in *Pamela*, showing Mr B's proposals and Pamela's refusals. Source: British Library (Cup.403.y.8)

of Pamela's intentions, is likewise moved by her narrative (455). Pamela's accounts have proven her deservedness and have also caused Lady Davers to accept her. Thus, it is a combination of the factual and the subjective that allows for the plot of *Pamela* to work: the story of her heart is counted as a fact.

One reason that the novel is subjected to immediate critique is that Pamela's accounts are presented as factual and yet are so utterly moving. William Warner argues that the publication of *Pamela* resulted in a "media event" whereby the public could not help but respond to Pamela.[26] Titillating, entertaining details are co-opted into similarly didactic projects, making readers reflect on whether they had been duped into sympathetic identification for and critical judgment of the protagonist.[27] The anonymous *Pamela Censured* (1741), for example, accuses the novel of being pornographic, exposing the "Most Artful and Alluring Amorous Ideas." Much of the *Pamela* controversy hinged on whether the truth of her letters (and thus her virtue) could be believed: "Pamelists and Antipamelists concerned themselves with the obvious areas of dispute opened up by the ambiguities of Richardson's presentation: Pamela's motivation, her veracity, her piety ... Pamela was not only a novel but also a site of ideological contestation."[28] This ideological contestation is tied to a debate about the form through which it is presented. The story of Pamela's heart that is counted as fact creates this famous debate about literary technique. And this debate might also be discussed through understanding the way the form of accounting is utilized in subsequent works.

To undermine Pamela's factual pretenses, parodists wrote counter-narratives with counter facts. *Pamela*, dated in 1741, was published anonymously in 1740. By January 1741, a second edition was already announced, and by March 1741, a third. Each subsequent edition contained an editorial apparatus praising the novel. Five fictional responses were published immediately after *Pamela* appeared in 1741: Henry Fielding's *Shamela*, Eliza Haywood's *Anti-Pamela*, James Parry's *The True Anti-Pamela*,

26 William Warner, *Licensing Entertainment: The Elevation of Novel Reading in Britain 1684–1750* (Berkeley: University of California Press, 1998), 178.

27 Warner, 22.

28 Thomas Keymer and Peter Sabor, eds., "General Introduction," in *The Pamela Controversy: Criticisms and Adaptations of Samuel Richardson's "Pamela," 1740–1750* (London: Pickering and Chatto, 2001), 1:xiii.

Charles Povey's *The Virgin in Eden*, and the anonymous *Memoirs of the Life of Lady H——*.[29] Versifications, plays, prose responses, sequels, and graphic representations followed in ensuing years. Of these original five response pieces, Fielding's and Haywood's counter-narratives emulate the epistolary form of *Pamela* and can be considered as parodic imitations of the type of account that I have discussed.

Fielding's *Shamela* emulates not only the epistolary structure of *Pamela* but also the promotional apparatus, using Parson Tickletext and Parson Oliver as correspondents debating the value of the work. The letters themselves replicate the form of those in *Pamela*, only to suggest that the letters included in the original narrative had been partial and incomplete. The title page claims that the text is a "full Account of all that passed between her and Parson Arthur Williams" containing "exact Copies of authentick Papers." The letter as a documentary object is once again preserved as the material witness to the facts. The epistolary form, one that helps us believe Pamela, is mobilized to make readers sceptical of her virtue when given a new set of contexts.

At the level of content, the reader learns that particular details had been wrong in the original *Pamela*. Pamela's name is actually Shamela. Her mother is actually a whore rather than a pious Christian. And Pamela has been pursuing an illicit relationship with Parson Williams the entire time, acting in order to get Mr B to invest in her through marriage. Even the way Shamela pronounces the word virtue as "vartue" undermines the original's self-representation. Significantly, in contrast to Pamela, Shamela is a poor accountant. After her marriage, Shamela says "I believe I shall buy everything I see. What signifies having money if one doth not spend it ... It would be hard indeed, that a woman who marries a man only for his money, should be debarred from spending it."[30] This differs drastically from Pamela's comments on household management throughout the novel, especially at the end when she discusses meticulously accounting for all of her purchases (471–72). Even though the novel borrows the formal structure of *Pamela*, *Shamela* explicitly refutes the necessity

[29] Thomas Keymer and Peter Sabor, *"Pamela" in the Marketplace: Literary Controversy and Print Culture in Eighteenth-Century Britain and Ireland* (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 2005), 83.

[30] Henry Fielding, *Joseph Andrews*, in *"Joseph Andrews" and "Shamela"* (Boston: Houghton Mifflin, 1961), 331–32.

of maintaining a zero balance. Shamela, unlike Pamela, only thinks on one side of the ledger; Mr Booby plays no role in our understanding of the protagonist as Mr B does.

In Haywood's *Anti-Pamela*, Syrena Tricksey writes to her mother for advice on how to extract money from various men. Syrena's mother coaches her not to follow her passion but instead her economic interest: "No Woman ever made her Fortune by the Man she had a sincere Value for."[31] Syrena's mother, in contrast to Pamela's parents who warn about losing her virtue, warns her not to lose her value. The language of accounting returns. This time, however, it is used for explicitly fiscal ends. Syrena manages her accounts only in order to marry a rich man: "The Motives of her behaving in this Fashion were two; the first was to get as much as she could of him, before she granted him any material Favour, having an After-game in her Head to play upon him; and the other was, that she had another Lover whom she found her Account in managing" (113). Here, managing accounts has become a mere trope, subverting the alignment of accounting and virtue and thereby collapsing the model of virtue in Richardson's novel. As soon as *Pamela* appeared, therefore, parodists were co-opting accounting in order to use it for non-virtuous ends, showing how its form cannot be aligned strictly with virtue.

### *A Proliferation of Accounts in "Clarissa"*

Despite the ways in which contemporaries utilize accounting to transform the definition of virtue put forth in *Pamela*, Richardson does not abandon the form of accounting in its critical aftermath. On the contrary, he refines it, and his contemporaries even mark a moral difference between *Pamela* and *Clarissa*. For example, an anonymous critic ("a LOVER of VIRTUE") writes, "I think your writings have corrupted our language and our taste; that the composition of them all, except *Clarissa*, is bad; and that they all ... have a manifest tendency to corrupt our morals. I have likewise shewn that your principle characters are all, except *Clarissa*'s faulty, ridiculous, or unmeaning."[32] How might we account for the way this critic affirms that *Clarissa*,

31 Eliza Haywood, *Anti-Pamela* (London, 1741), 19. References are to this edition.

32 *Critical Remarks on "Sir Charles Grandison," "Clarissa" and "Pamela"* (London: J. Dowse, 1754), 57–58.

unlike all other works in Richardson's oeuvre, is not corrupting? In refining the way accounting works, *Clarissa* complicates an alignment of virtue and virginity. Clarissa loses her virginity but remains virtuous precisely because she affirms that she is guiltless in her struggle with Lovelace through the way she establishes herself as a household and narrative accountant. It is not only propriety that the form of the accounting produces; rather, Clarissa utilizes a very strong zero balance to demonstrate that she is not indebted to Lovelace and is thus not guilty for having lost her sexual virtue through the rape. Here, the form of accounting more literally balances credits and debts, albeit in social (qualitative) rather than economical (quantitative) terms.

The most obvious difference between *Pamela* and *Clarissa* is the proliferation of points of view and letter writers in the latter. We get an exchange of correspondence not only between Clarissa and Anna, but also between Lovelace and Belford. Minor characters often write letters to these primary recipients, as well. The proliferation of perspectives is a focal point for critics who debate whether or not Richardson comes to acknowledge the arbitrariness of subjectivity. Terry Castle writes that "confronting the dissolution of *claritas*, the replacement of a so-called objective narrator by a multiplicity of interpretative events, we are made conscious in turn of our own subjectivity, the arbitrariness of the ways we try to make sense of contradictory accounts."[33] The multiplicity of letter writers constitutes a fundamental shift in the way Richardson modifies the form of accounting.[34] In *Clarissa*, Richardson shifts from the production of truth telling by way of accounting to the production of different systems of mutual obligation. But, as in the case of *Pamela*, Richardson begins by linking accounting practices to virtue. The novel is organized so

[33] Terry Castle, *Clarissa's Ciphers: Meaning and Disruption in Richardson's "Clarissa"* (Ithaca: Cornell University Press, 1989), 28.

[34] This emphasis on subjectivity was a critical consensus until the work of Sandra Macpherson. By contrast to criticism that emphasizes subjectivity, Macpherson argues against emphasizing intentionality or interiority: "It is the intentionalist account of obligation—of promissory liability and criminal responsibility—that comes increasingly under attack. The problem of what Lovelace means, and of what it means to be a self-perjuring matrimonial contractor like Lovelace, is a central concern in *Clarissa* not because meaning is a problem, but because Richardson comes to understand that interpretation is crucially at issue precisely when social relations and obligations are configured as contractual" (100). Macpherson, "Lovelace, Ltd.," *ELH* 65, no. 1 (1998): 99–121.

that Clarissa is incapable of accounting for that which would make her morally culpable: the rape. This formal blind spot gets registered through her ultimate forgiveness of Lovelace for the act (rather than acquiescing to marriage, which he desires).

Reading *Clarissa* inspired contemporaries in the practice of keeping accounts. In a letter to Richardson, Lady Bradshaigh writes, "you made her early hours appear so charming, that I determined to become in that her imitator, and find numberless conveniencies in it, unknown to me before ... She has also taught me to keep an account of my time; but that, compared with her's, only serves to put me out of conceit with myself."[35] Similarly, in the 1750s, shopkeeper Thomas Turner wrote in his journal that his wife read *Clarissa* to him aloud while he kept his books.[36]

In understanding Lady Bradshaigh's or Thomas Turner's appreciation for accounting in *Clarissa*, one might point to Anna's elegiac statements contained in letter 529, which describe Clarissa's particular daily practices of time management that, as in the case of *Pamela*, utilize accounting to signify virtue. Anna begins her lengthy description of Clarissa's daily tasks by quoting her thus: "No one could spend their time properly, who did not live by some rule: who did not appropriate the hours, as near as might be, to particular purposes and employments."[37] Attention to particular duties regulated within a twenty-four-hour cycle demonstrates the novel's diurnal nature, a term Stuart Sherman uses to discuss the production of temporality in the eighteenth-century novel.[38] Like the double-entry ledger that calculates quantities of fiscal indebtedness, keeping track of one's time is used as a marker of virtue.

Clarissa's diurnal duties range from private time in her closet to the material management of household property. Being a woman who has the potential to inherit, Clarissa's relationship to property is crucial to the plot. Whereas Pamela has much to gain, Clarissa has much to lose. The prospect of marrying Solmes

35 Richardson, *The Correspondence of Samuel Richardson* (New York: AMS Press, 1966), 4:264.

36 Margot C. Finn, *The Character of Credit: Personal Debt in English Culture, 1740–1914* (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 2003), 64.

37 Richardson, *Clarissa* (1747–48; London: Penguin, 1985), 1470. References are to this edition.

38 Stuart Sherman, *Telling Time: Clocks, Diaries, and English Diurnal Form, 1660–1785* (Chicago: University of Chicago Press, 1996), 224.

establishes an obsession on Clarissa's part to attain economic independence. As Christopher Hill has pointed out, the issue of property, inheritance, and marriage for money is essential to reading *Clarissa*.[39] Mark Kinkead-Weekes historicizes the economic preconditions of the novel, explicating the financial underpinnings that lead to Clarissa's eventual disillusionment and demise. He explains how "bourgeois capitalist though he was himself, Richardson was in doubt about the corrupting power of money, and the alienation of economic man from all that is most worthwhile in life."[40] Perhaps this is why Clarissa's refusal to marry Solmes for the purpose of her family's aggrandizement presents a preliminary conflict between her values and those of the Harlowes. What Hill and Kinkead-Weekes read as Richardson's critique of the corrupting forces of material wealth is a motivating force for Clarissa: she keeps tight accounts to stay out of obligation in a system of value she despises, and, more importantly, she defines her value system explicitly through her letters in order to be held accountable to it alone.

Anna's representation of Clarissa's account contains subtitles to help the reader visualize the breakdown of each part of Clarissa's day (see Figure 3). Anna's description shows how Clarissa spends time in study, devotions, domestic management, crafts, meals, conversation, and (as in the case of Pamela) charity to the poor. What is significant about Anna's description is the way Clarissa's accounting for time includes a concept of both debt and credit. Four hours of the day serve as potential credits based on whether Clarissa has satisfied her debts. She calls these variable hours her "fund," "upon which she used to draw to satisfy other debits" (1471). Further, Clarissa carries over her balance of hours to the end of each week and notes whether she is in credit or debt. Anna writes, "once a week she used to reckon with herself; when, if within the 144 hours contained in the six days she had made her account even, she noted it accordingly: if otherwise, she carried the debit to the next week's account; as thus: Debtor to the article of benevolent visits so many hours. And so of the rest" (1471). Anna's example—indeed, the use of italics to imitate

[39] Christopher Hill, "Clarissa Harlowe and Her Times," in *Essays on the Eighteenth-Century Novel* (Bloomington: Indiana University Press, 1965), 39.

[40] Mark Kinkead-Weekes, *Samuel Richardson: Dramatic Novelist* (London: Methuen, 1973), 135.

In all her Readings, and in her Converſations upon them, ſhe was fonder of finding beauties than blemiſhes: Yet ſhe uſed to lament, that certain writers of the firſt claſs, who were capable of exalting virtue, and of putting vice out of countenance, too generally employed themſelves in works of imagination only, upon ſubjects merely ſpeculative, diſintereſting, and unedifying; from which no good moral or example could be drawn.

All ſhe ſaid, and all ſhe did, was accompanied with a natural eaſe and dignity, which ſet her above affectation, or the ſuſpicion of it. For, with all her excellencies, ſhe was forwarder to *hear* than *ſpeak*; and hence no doubt derived no ſmall part of her improvement.

You are curious to know the particular diſtribution of her Time; which you ſuppoſe will help you to account for what you own yourſelf ſurpriſed at, to wit, how ſo young a Lady could make herſelf miſtreſs of ſo many accompliſhments.

I will premiſe, that ſhe was from infancy inured to riſe early in a morning, by an excellent, and, as I may ſay, a learned woman, Mrs. Norton, to whoſe care, wiſdom, and example, ſhe was beholden for the groundwork of her taſte and acquirements, which meeting with ſuch a genius, made it the leſs wonder that ſhe ſurpaſſed moſt of her Age and Sex.

She uſed to ſay, 'It was incredible to think what might 'be done by early riſing, and by long days well filled up.'

It may be added, That had ſhe calculated according to the practice of *too many*, ſhe had actually lived more years at *Sixteen*, than *they* had at *Twenty-ſix*.

She uſed to ſay, 'That no one could ſpend their time 'properly, who did not live by ſome Rule: Who did not 'appropriate the hours, as near as might be, to particular 'purpoſes and employments.'

In conformity to this ſelf-ſet Leſſon, the uſual diſtribution of the twenty-four hours, when left to her own choice, was as follows:

*For* REST *ſhe allotted* SIX *hours only.*

She thought herſelf not ſo well, and ſo clear in her intellects (ſo *much alive*, ſhe uſed to ſay) if ſhe exceeded





this proportion. If ſhe ſlept not, ſhe choſe to riſe ſooner. And in winter had her fire laid, and a taper ready burning to light it; not loving to give trouble to ſervants, 'whoſe 'harder work, and later hours of going to bed, ſhe uſed 'to ſay, required conſideration.'

I have blamed her for her greater regard to them, than to herſelf: But this was her anſwer: 'I have my choice: 'Who can wiſh for more? Why ſhould I oppreſs others, to 'gratify myſelf? You ſee what free-will enables one to 'do; while impoſition would make a light burden heavy.'

*Her Firſt* THREE *Morning Hours*

Were generally paſſed in her Study, and in her Cloſet-duties: And were occaſionally augmented by thoſe ſhe ſaved from Reſt: And in theſe paſſed her epiſtolary amuſements.

*TWO Hours ſhe generally allotted to Domeſtic Management.*

Theſe at different times of the day, as occaſions required; all the houſekeeper's bills, in eaſe of her mother, paſſing thro' her hands. For ſhe was a perfect miſtreſs of the four principal rules of arithmetic.

*FIVE Hours to her Needle, Drawings, Muſic, &c.*

In theſe ſhe included the aſſiſtance and inſpection ſhe gave to her own ſervants, and to her ſiſter's ſervants, in the needleworks required for the family: For her ſiſter is a MODERN. In theſe ſhe alſo included Dr. Lewen's converſation-viſits; with whom likewiſe ſhe held a correſpondence by letters. That reverend gentleman delighted himſelf and her, twice or thrice a week, if his health permitted, with theſe viſits: And ſhe always preferred his company to any other engagement.

*TWO Hours ſhe allotted to her Two firſt Meals.*

But if converſation, or the deſire of friends, or the falling in of company or gueſts, required it to be otherwiſe, ſhe never ſcrupled to oblige; and would *borrow*, as ſhe called it, from other diſtributions. And as ſhe found it very hard not to exceed in this appropriation, ſhe put down



Figure 3. Pagination in *Clarissa*, showing Anna's description of Clarissa's accounting. Source: British Library (C.71.bb.1)