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Managing Skill, 1680–1730: Domestic Service and the Forms of Practical Knowledge

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Thesis submitted for the degree of Doctor of Philosophy

Birkbeck, University of London

The work presented in this thesis is the candidate's own.

Robert Stearn

Abstract

This thesis is a study of how skill in the specific realm of service was understood in seventeenth- and early eighteenth-century Britain. It examines how the aptitudes that were elicited from employers and demanded of servants by domestic service were represented as instances of skill. It demonstrates that in the period 1680–1730, domestic service offered diversely-situated writers ways to think about skill as a component of antagonistic everyday social relations and ways to think about those relations as practice or activity. In doing so, it brings to light a significant thread in the history of skill and identifies hitherto overlooked locations in which discourses and practices of skill may be found. The thesis is divided into five chapters. The first explores how seventeenth- and eighteenth-century handbooks and visual art modelled the qualities of ideal servants. It considers what pleasures employers were afforded by representations and imitations of servants. Chapters two and three, focussing on the manuscript meditations and diaries of Anne, Lady Halkett and Sarah, Lady Cowper, respectively, each offer a case study of how a writer occupying a sometimes compromised position of authority within her household reflected upon skill and service through extensive, recursive life-writing. Chapters four and five return to represented servants in the context of the expansive imagined geographies of adventure fiction. This popular mode built narratives around the practical knowledge elicited from protagonists by situations of extremity and thus offered a space within which skill and service could be explored. Chapter four examines how, in Defoe's fictional and didactic works, scenes of management link bodily and social dexterity to ideologies of government, while chapter five explores what can be learned about skill by studying the ways in which narrative and material forms were re-written, adapted, and extended.

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8. Hertford, Hertford Archives and Local Studies, DE/P/F30, Sarah, Lady Cowper, 'Diary. Volume the Second', p. 290
9. Hertford, Hertford Archives and Local Studies, DE/P/F32, Sarah, Lady Cowper, 'Diary. Volume the Fourth', p. 361
10. *The Life And most Surprizing Adventures of Robinson Crusoe, of York, Mariner […] The whole Three Volumes faithfully Abridged, and set forth with Cuts proper to the Subject.* (London, 1722), p. 253

Abbreviations

CJ	Daniel Defoe, *Colonel Jack*, ed. by Gabriel Cervantes and Geoffrey Sill (Peterborough: Broadview, 2016)
Cowper	*The History of Old Age in England, 1600–1800*, ed. by Lynn Botelho and Susannah Ottaway, 8 vols (London: Pickering & Chatto, 2008–09), VII: *The Diary of Sarah, Lady Cowper*, ed. by Anne Kugler (2009)
FA	Daniel Defoe, *The Farther Adventures of Robinson Crusoe*, ed. by W. R. Owens (London: Pickering & Chatto, 2008)
FI	*Religious and Didactic Writings of Daniel Defoe*, ed. by W. R. Owens and P. N. Furbank, 10 vols (London: Pickering & Chatto, 2006–07), I: *The Family Instructor, Volume 1*, ed. by P. N. Furbank (2006)
Halkett	*Lady Anne Halkett: Selected Self-Writings*, ed. by Suzanne Trill (Aldershot: Ashgate, 2007)
JPY	Daniel Defoe, *A Journal of the Plague Year*, ed. by Cynthia Wall (London: Penguin, 2003)
NS	Penelope Aubin, *The Noble Slaves* (London, 1722)
RC	Daniel Defoe, *Robinson Crusoe*, ed. by Thomas Keymer, 2nd edn (Oxford: Oxford University Press, 2007)
Spectator	*The Spectator*, ed. by Donald Bond, 5 vols (Oxford: Oxford University Press, 1987)
SR	Daniel Defoe, *Serious Reflections during the Life and Surprising Adventures of Robinson Crusoe*, ed. by G. A. Starr (London: Pickering & Chatto, 2008)

A Note on Texts

Edition numbers are given as part of long titles for pre-1800 printed works, as are the names of eponymous authors. Where the authorship of a work is known but it originally appeared anonymously, the author's name is given in square brackets. In quotations from pre-1800 printed works, I have retained original spelling, punctuation, and capitalisation, including i/j and u/v, with the exception of the following: I have expanded contractions and substituted 's' for long 's' and 'w' for 'vv'.

Semi-diplomatic transcriptions have been used for quotations from manuscript sources. I have adopted the following transcription conventions:

1. original spelling, punctuation, and capitalisation are maintained, including i/j, u/v, ff, and ':' to indicate abbreviation;
2. ampersands have been maintained but '=' has been replaced by '-', fossil thorn by 'th', long 's' by 's';
3. superscript abbreviations have been lowered and expanded, with the supplied characters indicated by italics;
4. omitted letters indicated by tildes have been silently supplied;
5. deleted text is enclosed within angle brackets: if legible, the deleted text is supplied, if not, each letter is indicated by '.';
6. text inserted in margins or inter-lineally, where included, is enclosed by '\' and '/'; where necessary, the position of the text on the page is indicted in a footnote;
7. lineation has not been retained.

Unless otherwise noted, the new year is assumed to begin on 1 January. In quoting the titles of Halkett's meditations I have followed her dating, giving a dual year for dates between 1 January and 24 March.

Introduction

This is a study of how skill in the specific realm of service was understood in seventeenth- and early eighteenth-century England and Scotland. It examines how the aptitudes that were elicited in masters and mistresses and demanded of servants by domestic service were represented as instances of skill. It asks what kind of thinking about social relations, labour, and the self was made possible by writing about this skill. Drawing on a range of textual evidence produced within and about service relations, including prescriptive handbooks, visual art, manuscript life writing, and printed prose fiction, 'Managing Skill' uses each set of materials to gain a distinct vantage on skill and service. In doing so, it brings to light a significant thread in the history of skill and identifies a variety of hitherto uninvestigated locations in early modern culture in which discourses and practices of skill may be found. Overall, this thesis argues that in the period 1680–1730 domestic service offered diversely situated writers ways to think about skill as a component of antagonistic and hierarchical everyday social relations, and ways to think about those relations as practice or activity.

'Managing Skill' concentrates on domestic service because it was a heterogeneous and unspecialised form of waged work, nominally excluded from the 'mystery' or 'art' of the organised trades, and also an institution basic to the ordering and reproduction of early modern society and early modern households. The hypothesis guiding this investigation is that the skill associated with domestic service relations was correspondingly fundamental, if commonplace and dispersed in its textual record, so that examining representations of domestic service for what they disclose about skill will shed light on the various ways in which early modern writers understood the everyday as an arena of skill. By focussing the question of skill through textual evidence that renders and responds to domestic service relations, the thesis is able to bring to light a heterogeneous but publicly recognised form of practical knowledge: one that dealt not only with household labour, such as scrubbing floors, cooking dinners, and minding children, but

also with the navigation of hierarchies and the fabrication of emotions. While of widespread concern to workers and employers in the period, this non-craft skill, lacking institutional guarantees, frequently appears in the evidence as something that is adjacent to writers' explicit preoccupations. The focus of this thesis on domestic service enables it to explore practical knowledge in this more expansive, non- or para-occupational sense, while remaining anchored in the specific set of tasks, locations, and legal forms that made these forms of knowledge legible as skill to contemporaries.

In order to explore the multiple forms through which this partly codified skill of everyday household interaction appears, the thesis investigates the attitudes and practical knowledge that were involved in the production, reception, and use of the materials it considers, in addition to examining how skill is represented within those materials. In doing so, the thesis is able to identify skill, in theory and in practice, at multiple levels in the textual evidence. Chapter one explores how seventeenth- and eighteenth-century handbooks for servants and visual art depicting servants modelled the qualities of the ideal servant. By placing the images alongside a selection of related commercial entertainments, images, and ornaments, it also considers what pleasures employers might have been afforded by representations and imitations of servants. Chapters two and three, focussing on the manuscript meditations and diaries of Anne, Lady Halkett (1622–1699) and Sarah, Lady Cowper (1644–1720), respectively, each offer a case study of how a writer occupying a sometimes compromised position of authority within her household reflected upon skill and service through recursive life-writing. Chapters four and five then return to represented servants in the context of the expansive imagined geographies of adventure fiction, a popular mode which built its narratives around the practical knowledge elicited from protagonists by situations of extremity, thus offering a space within which skill and service could be explored. Chapter four examines how, in Defoe's fictional and didactic works, scenes of management link bodily and social dexterity to ideologies of government, while chapter five explores what can be learned about skill by studying the ways in which the narrative and material forms of this adventure fiction were re-written, adapted, and extended in abridgements and later novels.

'Managing Skill' explores how skill emerges as an object of concern in writing about domestic service. In this context, as in other instances of labour and its supervision, skill appears as both a kind of knowledge and a kind of property. The following paragraphs, therefore, set out three salient aspects of skill, as these emerge from historical sources and define the initial object of this inquiry. The introduction then goes on to describe in brief the structure and organisation of early modern domestic service, before setting out the critical field in which this investigation sits and describing the arrangement of its materials.

Skill as knowledge named a relation between a knower and a field of objects. Early modern practitioners were rarely said to 'have' a skill and never to have 'skills'. Instead, they were 'skilled in' an art or set of objects. To be 'skilled in' (or well read in or well versed in) a subject did not necessarily imply the ability to perform actions with the body or create material objects (the paradigm cases of modern knowhow). Rather, 'skill' meant knowledge acquired through lengthy conversance with a group of materials, a tradition of learning, or a locale. Such conversance might be through hands-on experience, or through prolonged reading and intellectual inquiry. Thus, in his drafts for the *Essay Concerning Human Understanding*, written around 1671, Locke understands 'the skilfull horseman' not as a particularly agile or deft rider, but as one with greater warrant than 'the unskillfull man' to testify about what 'sensible qualitys or simple ideas' belong to the denomination and substance 'horse', on the basis of his greater acquaintance with the subject.[1] 'Skill' or 'art' could denote the knowledge put into practice through one's 'labour', 'pains', or 'power', but the concepts 'skilled labour' or 'skilled work' (taking 'skill' as an individual qualification of an abstract, general labour) are not attested until Adam Smith's *Wealth of Nations*, and do not circulate widely until the mid-nineteenth century.[2] 'Art' and

[1] John Locke, *Drafts for the 'Essay Concerning Human Understanding', and other Philosophical Writings*, ed. by Peter Nidditch and G. A. J. Rogers, 3 vols (Oxford: Clarendon Press, 1990–), I: *Drafts A and B*, pp. 9, 192. For similar examples, see John Wilkins' multiple uses of 'skill' to define varieties of 'acquired virtuous habits', *An Essay Towards a Real Character, and a Philosophical Language* (London, 1668), p. 205.

[2] Adam Smith, *An Inquiry into the Nature and Causes of the Wealth of Nations*, 2 vols (London, 1776), I, 124,126.

'skill' might be synonyms, or they might be used to distinguish a discipline from way of operating. One could be skilled in an art, but not vice versa: 'skill' was not an object.

A second characteristic of skill as knowledge in the early modern period is the division drawn, though a variety of terms, between skill or art properly so called and mere dexterity or knack. Real skill is distinguished from its paltry imitation by the presence of self-reflection in the practitioner, or by a theoretical moment which involves their judgement about a class of objects. The properly skilled person has insight into their activity and is able to give a rational account of their knowledge and what they are doing, adducing reasons and causes for their actions and those actions' corresponding effects. The merely dextrous person, on the other hand, acts with a quasi-automatic deftness and possesses knowledge in the form of an aggregate of facts, but is unable to reflect on their conduct or generalise from these facts and make a judgement about a class of objects with which their art is concerned. Ultimately, this understanding of 'skill' can be traced back to ancient Greek conceptions of *technē*, a term which, like early modern 'skill', denoted a form of expertise involving both theoretical and practical knowledge, cutting across retrospective divisions between mental and manual labour or knowledge-how and knowledge-that.[3]

The hierarchical division within skill constitutes a basic way of differentiating between kinds of practical knowledge that is carried over, partly via the reception of Aristotle, into the very different philosophical terrain of the seventeenth century, appearing in corpora as otherwise divergent as those of Locke and Hobbes. For Hobbes, it takes the form of a distinction between sapience, which comes about through reason and depends on speech, and prudence, which is based on non-linguistic experience and conjecture. True skill consists in the certain knowledge of general rules 'added to […] dexterity', which enable prognoses and right government.[4] For Locke, the question of acquiring and practicing skill becomes a matter of taking a deliberate, intentional, and

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[3] Tom Angier, *Technē in Aristotle's Ethics: Crafting the Moral Life* (London: Continuum, 2010), pp. 1–58, 136.

[4] Thomas Hobbes, *Leviathan*, ed. by J. C. A. Gaskin (Oxford: Oxford University Press, 1996), V. 21, p. 32.

reflective approach to the gaining of experience, which improves conduct and enables knowledge and political action.[5] In both cases, true skill is composed of theory and practice. A version of the distinction persists in contemporary philosophy of skill and knowhow, as a division within the terrain of skill, between skill properly so called, and mere dexterity, knack, or non-cognitive 'abilities or propensities to act'.[6] In the early modern period, this division within the terrain of skill had an everyday purchase, as the evidence assembled in this thesis suggests, distinguishing those who were capable of reflecting on their conduct and thereby coming to know what they were doing from those who were not. It also appears in a wide variety of contexts in which elite practitioners have an interest in differentiating their activities from apparently similar practices, such as sexual conduct or reading.[7]

Finally, skill was also understood as a property that required collective recognition in order to be validated and to exist. The contours of skill as property in this sense are clearest in the case of early modern and eighteenth-century workers in organised trades or early industry, for whom, building on the practice of medieval guilds, the possession of skill was understood as a relationship of participation in the collective property of 'art', 'craft' or 'mistery'. Such membership was predicated on the maintenance of particular institutionally-backed forms of association.[8] Thus, the designation 'skilled', as Margaret Somers and John Rule argue of early eighteenth-century manufacturing and handicraft workers, referred not just to people who had the necessary technical competencies or abilities (which could be attained through a variety of routes), but to people whose

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[5] John Locke, *Some Thoughts Concerning Education and Of the Conduct of the Understanding,* ed. by Ruth Grant and Nathan Tarcov (Indianapolis: Hackett, 1996), pp. 153–60; John Locke, *An Essay Concerning Human Understanding*, ed. by Peter Nidditch (Oxford: Clarendon Press, 1975), IV. 21. 3.

[6] Jason Stanley and Timothy Williamson, 'Skill', *Noûs*, 51.4 (2017), 713–26 (p. 721). See also Carlotta Pavese, 'Skill in Epistemology II: Skill and Know How', *Philosophy Compass*, 11 (2016), 650–660 (p. 657).

[7] For examples in relation to sexual conduct, see James Turner, 'Milton Among the Libertines', in *Milton, Rights and Liberties*, ed. by Christophe Tournu and Neil Forsyth (Bern: Peter Lang, 2007), pp. 447–60.

[8] For a case study in relation to lead miners, see Andy Wood, *The Politics of Social Conflict: The Peak Country, 1520–1770* (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 1999).

training, whether regulated by town or city guilds or companies, or by less formal self-government, rendered them 'regular' members of an association and gave them the right to practice a particular trade.[9] Property in skill was property in membership: property in forms of bounded association or relationality.[10] A refracted view of this conception of skill as a property in membership can be seen in the writing of elite philosophical observers such as Thomas Sprat and John Locke, for whom the 'skill' of artisans was understood to include both their technical competence and their devious 'Arts and Managements'.[11]

Domestic servants, mostly female and frequently transient workers of no defined occupation, lacked the institutional forms that would guarantee such skill. The exclusions on which artisanal skill were built, moreover, were persistently gendered.[12] Yet, the conception of skill as a property that requires social recognition and validation in order to exist turns out to be crucial for both servants and their employers. To concentrate on a political theory of skill in this way is not to dismiss the technical knowhow in which apprentices were trained, but rather to emphasise that the function of lengthy apprenticeships (to maintain control over the quality and quantity of workers in a particular field) and the workplace meaning of skill (as control over the form of work processes, predicated on particular knowledge) were embedded in institutions and broader social practices which defined the meaning of skill as much as did practical

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[9] John Rule, 'The Property of Skill in the Period of Manufacture', in *The Historical Meanings of Work*, ed. by Patrick Joyce (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 1987), pp. 99–118; Margaret Somers, 'The "Misteries" of Property: Relationality, Rural-Industrialization, and Community in Chartist Narratives of Political Rights', in *Early Modern Conceptions of Property*, ed. by John Brewer and Susan Staves (London: Routledge, 1995), pp. 62–92.

[10] Somers, pp. 69, 75.

[11] Thomas Sprat, *The History of the Royal-Society of London* (London, 1667), p. 190; John Locke, *Some Considerations of the Consequences of the Lowering of Interest, and Raising the Value of Money* (London, 1692), p. 2. For broader intellectual consequences of this conception, see Pamela Long, *Openness, Secrecy, Authorship: Technical Arts and the Culture of Knowledge from Antiquity to the Renaissance* (Baltimore: Johns Hopkins University Press, 2001).

[12] However, small numbers of women were regularly apprenticed from the mid-seventeenth century onwards. See Laura Gowing, 'Girls on Forms: Apprenticing Young Women in Seventeenth-Century London', *Journal of British Studies*, 55 (2016), 447–73.

competence.[13] Since, in this sense, there is a caesura between skill as technical aptitude or knowledge and skill as effective property, skill cannot be thought of solely as a disposition or a mental item of multiple valence predicated of the individual: it is vulnerable to cancellation if it is unrecognised or if its collectivity is compromised.

The thesis uses these three non-exhaustive characteristics of skill — skill as a relation between knower and object; skill as distinguished from dexterity by reflective self-awareness and a theoretical moment; and skill as property that requires collective validation — as a heuristic with which to identify skill in the textual evidence it examines. In this way, while this study is not a word history, it does base its investigation of skill and service on the shape of skill as it was understood to exist by employers and servants in early modern England and Scotland, and attends closely to the particular configuration of knowledge that the term 'skill' was used to denote. The practice and representation of 'skill', rather than any cognate term like 'art', is the focus of this study because because 'skill' was a commonplace term: an operator not subject to rigorous definition or inquiry, unlike 'wit' or 'ingenuity'.[14] In its approach to the relation between terms and concepts and its focus on what can be learnt from the work done by non-systematic distinctions between ordinary words that do not reach *Begriffsgeschichte*'s high bar for conceptual status, the thesis draws on the models of 'relational' and 'critical' semantics suggested by Neil Kenny and Roland Greene, respectively.[15] The thesis is attentive to the significance of the variety of terms that were consistently related to skill, especially 'art', 'dexterity', 'management', and 'practice'.

The limits and coherence of the collection of evidence examined in this study are given by the consistency of the semantic field outlined above and by the institution of

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[13] Patrick Wallis, 'Apprenticeship and Training in Premodern England', *Journal of Economic History* 68.3 (2008), 832–61.

[14] Alexander Marr, Raphaële Garrod, José Marcaida, and Richard Oosterhoff, *Logodaedalus: Word Histories of Ingenuity in Early Modern Europe* (Pittsburgh: University of Pittsburgh Press, 2018).

[15] Neil Kenny, C*uriosity in Early Modern Europe: Word Histories* (Weisbaden: Harrassowitz, 1998), pp. 2–3, 22–32; Roland Greene, *Five Words: Critical Semantics in the Age of Shakespeare and Cervantes* (Chicago: University of Chicago Press, 2013), pp. 41–73. For conceptuality see Reinhart Koselleck, '*Begriffsgeschichte* and Social History' in *Futures Past: On the Semantics of Historical Time*, trans. by Keith Tribe (New York: Columbia University Press, 2004), pp. 75–92.

domestic service, which, as a form of waged work and a hierarchical relationship, forms the ground in relation to which skill is investigated in each chapter. Drawing on the extensive cultural, social, and economic history of service, then, the following paragraphs outline the structure and organisation of domestic service in seventeenth- and eighteenth-century Britain, with a focus on elements germane to skill.[16]

While service relations and servant status could be understood in broad and narrow senses throughout the period, it remained the case, as Tim Meldrum argues, that 'the concept of a specifically *domestic* form of servant was well understood in London in 1660', as well as in other major towns: it normally suggested 'the contractual weight of a mutual acknowledgement of employment'.[17] In this thesis I understand domestic servants to be workers subordinated to a master or mistress, sleeping, eating, and living at their place of work, and receiving remuneration in cash and kind for work in the household. As an occupational group, servants in this sense were ubiquitous: they formed up to one tenth of the population of London and other urban centres in the late seventeenth and early eighteenth centuries; in rural areas the population was more variable.[18] From the seventeenth to at least the mid-nineteenth century, domestic service

[16] For an overview of this research at European and global levels, see Jane Whittle, 'Introduction: Servants in the Economy and Society of Rural Europe', in *Servants in Rural Europe, 1400–1900*, ed. by Jane Whittle (Woodbridge: Boydell & Brewer, 2017), pp. 1–18; Raffaella Sarti, 'Historians, Social Scientists, Servants, and Domestic Workers: Fifty Years of Research on Domestic and Care Work', *International Review of Social History*, 59 (2014), 279–314. For England, in addition to the below, see Jeanne Clegg, 'Good to Think with: Domestic Servants, England, 1660–1750', *Journal of Early Modern Studies*, 4 (2015), 43–66.

[17] Tim Meldrum, *Domestic Service and Gender 1660-1750: Life and Work in the London Household* (Harlow: Longman, 2000), p. 32. On the language of social description in the period, see Keith Wrightson, '"Sorts of People" in Tudor and Stuart England', in *The Middling Sort of People: Culture, Society and Politics in England*, 1550–1800, ed. by Jonathan Barry and Christopher Brooks (Basingstoke: Macmillan, 1994), pp. 28–51; Alexandra Shepard, 'Poverty, Labour, and the Language of Social Description', *Past and Present*, 201 (2008), 51–95.

[18] Meldrum, *Service*, pp. 13–14; Peter Laslett, 'Mean Household Size in England since the Sixteenth Century', in *Household and Family in Past Time*, ed. by Peter Laslett with Richard Wall (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 1972), pp. 125–58 (p. 152); Carolyn Steedman, *Labours Lost: Domestic Service and the Making of Modern England* (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 2009), p. 39.

was the largest single sector of women's employment, and probably the second largest sector of employment overall, after agriculture.[19]

While domestic servants in the period were likely to describe themselves as having no trade, profession, calling, or employment, the labour and skill of domestic servants was nonetheless recognised at an everyday level.[20] Differences in wage rates for housemaids and cook-maids, as much as employers' complaints, attest to the recognition of servants' skill in its everyday consistency, distinct from the conventional dexterity of fictional servants and from the property in skill possessed by artisans and tradespeople.[21] Scholars of seventeenth- and eighteenth-century service have emphasised that early modern and eighteenth-century servants were not isolated or sequestered in private or domestic settings, nor were they excluded from legal consideration.[22] Servants' consistently rising cash wages in the period, combined with decreasing food prices (except in the 1690s), along with high and increasing demand for servants in the metropolis suggest that servants were a relatively mobile and independent workforce with some bargaining power, at least in London and in the growing towns of England and Scotland in which they were concentrated.[23]

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[19] Meldrum, *Service*, p. 13; Peter Earle, 'The Female Labour Market in London in the Late Seventeenth and Early Eighteenth Centuries', *Economic History Review*, 42.3 (1989), 328–53 (pp. 341–42); Steedman, *Labours*, pp. 38–41; Jane Whittle, 'Housewives and Servants in Rural England, 1440–1650: Evidence of Women's Work from Probate Documents', *Transactions of the Royal Historical Society*, 6th ser., 15 (2005), 51–74 (p. 52).

[20] Meldrum, *Service*, p. 131.

[21] Meldrum, *Service*, pp. 18–21, 143, 189–92; Earle, 'Female', pp. 331–33, 344–45; D. A. Kent, 'Ubiquitous but Invisible: Female Domestic Servants in Mid-Eighteenth Century London', *History Workshop Journal*, 28.1 (1989), 111–28 (pp. 119, 122).

[22] Charmian Mansell, 'Beyond the Home: Space and Agency in the Experiences of Female Service in Early Modern England', *Gender and History*, early view (2020), 1–26 <https://doi.org/10.1111/1468-0424.12494>; Paula Humfrey, 'Introduction', in *The Experience of Domestic Service for Women in Early Modern London*, ed. by Paula Humfrey (London: Routledge, 2011), pp. 1–41.

[23] Peter Earle, *The Making of the English Middle Class: Business, Society and Family Life in London, 1660–1730* (London: Methuen, 1989), p. 218–20; Meldrum, *Service*, pp. 33, 188, 192; John Hatcher, 'Labour, Leisure and Economic Thought before the Nineteenth Century', *Past and Present*, 160 (1998), 64–115 (pp. 75–77); Craig Muldrew, *Food, Energy and the Creation of Industriousness: Work and Material Culture in Agrarian England, 1550–1780* (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 2011), pp. 298–318.

Nonetheless, several characteristics of domestic servants and the structure and organisation of domestic service work —in addition to its lack of a corporate body guaranteeing an art — made servants uncertain candidates for the ascription of skill. The majority of domestic servants were young women working in one- or two-servant households, moving between them with greater than annual frequency. Male servants, by contrast, were concentrated in larger establishments, in which there was a more granular differentiation of roles, and where they were likely to stay for longer.[24] In general, the category of 'domestic service', within the broader realm of contractual service, while acknowledged as work, was devalued in social and economic terms as a form of specifically women's work, aligned with 'housewifery' (as the substantial wage differentials within service, between men and women, attest).[25]

The late seventeenth and early eighteenth century has sometimes been considered a turning point in the structure of service, as the pivotal moment of the decline of 'life-cycle service' — that is, service in another household of superior social standing as a usual stage in the life course and socialisation of young people — and consequently the rise of service as a contractual employment relation and of servants as an occupational group.[26] However, such clear periodisation is difficult to sustain. As Charmian Mansell and D. A. Kent have observed, early modern domestic service had always been more varied and flexible in profile than the life-cycle model would suggest and also — at least for domestic servants rather than servants in agriculture — more varied than the stipulation of yearly hiring and employment by a single person that legally distinguished a servant

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[24] Meldrum, *Service*, pp. 16–17, 24; Steedman, *Labours*, p. 40; Kent, p. 115–19; Charmian Mansell, 'The Variety of Women's Experiences as Servants in England (1548–1649): Evidence from Church Court Depositions', *Continuity and Change*, 33 (2018), 315–38 (p. 321); Peter Earle, *A City Full of People: Men and Women of London 1650-1750* (London: Methuen, 1994), p. 125.

[25] Meldrum, *Service*, pp. 128–53, 183–92; Humfrey, pp. 7–11; On housewifery, see Jane Whittle and Mark Hailwood, 'The Gender Division of Labour in Early Modern England', *Economic History Review,* 73.1 (2020), 3–32 (pp. 21–23); Earle, 'Female', pp. 336–37, 339.

[26] Sheila Cooper, 'Service to Servitude? The Decline and Demise of Life-Cycle Service in England', *History of the Family*, 10 (2005), 367–86.

from other kinds of labourer would suggest.[27] Evidence for a sharpening gendered division of labour among servants or a restriction of women's economic participation more generally over the eighteenth century is sketchy.[28] However, the seventeenth century did see the extinction of specifically elite institutions of service.[29] In great houses, the 1720s and 30s also witnessed the decline of the household as a space of formal, collective display, and the imposition by architectural design of greater physical and social separation between servants and served.[30]

Nonetheless, for the bulk of servant-employing households, domestic service remained an amalgam of a social condition or state and a form of wage labour, paradigmatically understood as an occupation for lower-class young women, which included an element of socialisation. Domestic service was work, but, throughout the period, the norm according to which reciprocal duties of servants and masters followed from the inclusion of domestic servants in the patriarchal family (including employers' pastoral and pedagogical responsibilities) retained its purchase, along with the emotionally potent relations of 'obligation and hostility' that Laura Gowing argues characterised seventeenth-century employer–servant relations, especially those between mistresses and maids.[31] This thesis argues that the contours of these obligations, and the

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[27] Mansell, 'Variety'; Kent, 'Ubiquitous'. See also Meldrum, *Service*, pp. 18–24; Earle, 'Female', pp. 340–43. On legal definitions see Robert Steinfeld, *The Invention of Free Labour: The Employment Relation in English and American Law and Culture, 1350–1870* (Chapel Hill: University of North Carolina Press, 1991), pp. 19, 86–87; Ann Kussmaul, *Servants in Husbandry in Early Modern England* (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 1981), pp. 135–42. On life-cycle service see Peter Laslett, *Family Life and Illicit Love in Earlier Generations: Essays in Historical Sociology* (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 1977), pp. 29–35, 43–45, 61.

[28] Amanda Vickery, 'Golden Age to Separate Spheres? A Review of the Categories and Chronology of English Women's History', *Historical Journal*, 36.2 (1993), 383–414; Alexandra Shepard, 'Crediting Women in the Early Modern English Economy', *History Workshop Journal*, 79 (2015), 1–25; Jane Whittle, 'A Critique of Approaches to "Domestic Work": Women, Work and the Pre-Industrial Economy', *Past and Present*, 243 (2019), 35–70. For the claim, see Earle, *City*, p. 124.

[29] Mark Girouard, *Life in the English Country House: A Social and Architectural History* (New Haven: Yale University Press, 1978), pp. 142–44; Susan Amussen, *An Ordered Society: Gender and Class in Early Modern England* (Oxford: Blackwell, 1988), p. 68.

[30] Girouard, pp. 119–62, 181–212.

[31] Laura Gowing, 'The Haunting of Susan Lay: Servants and Mistresses in Seventeenth-Century England', *Gender and History*, 14.2 (2002), 183–201 (p. 192).

moral and emotional relationships in which they were elaborated, became open to tactical manipulation in the period, as prescriptive literature, life-writing, and prose fiction alike attest.

While it draws on Marxist feminist and sociological accounts of emotional labour in order to understand this tactical skill, and argues that the work of service came to be understood in something like these terms by early modern writers, this study also aims to keep in view the fact that domestic service was explicitly conceived of as the hard, physical labour necessary to maintain and reproduce the fabric and personnel of a household at the same time that it was conceived of as work with and on the emotions.[32] Servant labour included cooking and serving food; cleaning bedchambers, kitchens, fireplaces, and entrances; lighting and maintaining fires; childcare and nursing sick members of the household; airing and changing bedlinen; washing dishes and laundry; mending clothes; fetching and heating water and fuel; conveying warming pans into bedchambers and removing chamber pots or close-stools; running errands and going to market. It might also include shopwork and fieldwork, depending on the employer's circumstances.[33] Emotional work, then, alongside cooking and cleaning, was one among the complementary duties expected of those in subordinate and superordinate positions which ensured the reproduction of early modern society, as the work of social historians such as Laura Gowing and Keith Wrightson makes clear.[34]

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[32] For a survey of scholarship on emotional or affective labour, see Kathi Weeks, 'Life Within and Against Work: Affective Labor, Feminist Critique, and Post-Fordist Politics', *Ephemera*, 7.1 (2007), 233–49. The classic account of emotional labour as skilled work with potentially personality-forming effects is Arlie Hochschild, *The Managed Heart: Commercialization of Human Feeling* (Berkeley: University of California Press, 1983). For domestic servants undertaking emotional labour, see Cissie Fairchilds, *Domestic Enemies: Servants and Their Masters in Old Regime France* (Baltimore: Johns Hopkins University Press, 1983), pp. 100–63. For the constitutive effects of the plebeian emotional work involved in maintaining relations of domination and subordination, see Andy Wood, 'Fear, Hatred, and the Hidden Injuries of Class in Early Modern England', *Journal of Social History*, 39.3 (2006), 803–26 and Steedman, *Labours*, pp. 228–54.

[33] Meldrum, *Service*, pp. 137–58; Earle, *City*, p. 127.

[34] Keith Wrightson, *English Society, 1580–1680* (London: Hutchinson, 1982), pp. 47-73 and 'The Politics of the Parish in Early Modern England', in *The Experience of Authority in Early Modern England*, ed. Paul Griffiths, Adam Fox, and Steve Hindle (Basingstoke: Macmillan, 1996), pp. 10–46; Laura Gowing, '"The Manner of Submission": Gender and Demeanour in Seventeenth-Century London', *Cultural and Social History*, 10.1 (2013), 25–45.

A number of other changes occurring in late seventeenth- and early eighteenth-century British society are relevant to the study of skill and service. A period of 'intensification' in manufacture (or proto-industrialisation), involving new conceptions of how expertise should be utilised, these years witnessed the development of novel concepts of skill (as speed, productivity, accuracy) by political arithmeticians and political economists, in tandem with changes in the social organisation of labour.[35] In the cultural sphere, the early eighteenth century also saw the maturing of the periodical press and the extensive publication of ostensibly factual prose fictions about non-elite persons, both of which opened a space for the public examination of service relations as arenas of everyday skill and management. The fraught politics of the period, from the serial crises that marked the close of Charles II's reign, through the 'revolution' of 1688–89 and the Jacobite uprising of 1715, to the Hanoverian succession — and the 'public politics' and social reform campaigns that these upheavals generated — lent political resonance to discussions of service, which were registered by the protagonists of this study in different ways.[36] The period 1680–1730 thus offers numerous trajectories and processes that changed the meaning of service and skill, while the institution itself remained durable and slowly changing.

As the foregoing discussion has indicated, this thesis draws extensively on labour history and the social and cultural history of domestic service in order to ground its investigation of service and skill. Methodologically, it is informed by Carolyn Steedman's studies of eighteenth-century domestic service, *Master and Servant* and *Labours Lost*, which situate the imaginative work that servants did for their employers within and

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[35] David Rollison, *The Local Origins of Modern Society: Gloucestershire, 1500–1800* (London: Routledge, 1992); Maxine Berg, 'Skill, Craft and Histories of Industrialisation in Europe and Asia', *Transactions of the Royal Historical Society*, 6th ser. 24 (2014), 127–48; Mary Poovey, 'Between Political Arithmetic and Political Economy', in *Regimes of Description: In the Archive of the Eighteenth Century*, ed. by John Bender and Michael Marrinan (Stanford: Stanford University Press, 2005), pp. 61–76. For an example of new theories of skill, see [Henry Martyn], *Considerations on the East-India Trade* (London, 1701), pp. 42–45.

[36] Mark Knights, 'Public Politics in England c. 1675–1715', in *The English Revolution c. 1590–1720*, ed. by Nicholas Tyacke (Manchester: Manchester University Press, 2007), pp. 169–84; Rachel Weil, *Political Passions: Gender, the Family and Political Argument in England 1680–1714* (Manchester: Manchester University Press, 1999).

alongside their quotidian household labour and, in so doing, return the activity of developing social and political theories to the everyday calculations and frustrations of domestic employment.[37] The focus and methods of the thesis are also informed by a renewed attention to the household, materiality, and the everyday in early modern studies.[38] The following paragraphs set out the other bodies of scholarly literature on which the thesis draws, in order to clarify its scope and aims and suggest the ways in which its focus on skill differentiates it from the studies of early modern servants by Mark Burnett and Michael Neill, and of eighteenth- and nineteenth-century servants by Kristina Booker, on which it draws.[39]

In its thinking about skill and the everyday, the thesis is informed by the historical and social studies of Michel de Certeau and Henri Lefebvre. Their accounts of strategy and tactics — especially de Certeau's presentation of the problematic of enunciation within which tactics are made visible — enable the thesis to see everyday interaction within society, and especially within the household, as a conflictual or polemological process of skill.[40] Supplementing these studies, the thesis is informed by the work of Roger Chartier, in tracing threads of connection between the logic of practice and the logic of discourse.[41] For models of how to establish the contours of practical knowledge from evidence in which it is only unevenly made explicit, the thesis also draws on studies of ancient and modern variants of cunning intelligence, such as *mētis*, as excavated by

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[37] Carolyn Steedman, *Master and Servant: Love and Labour in the English Industrial Age* (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 2007) and Steedman, *Labours*.

[38] Tara Hamling and Catherine Richardson, *A Day at Home in Early Modern England* (New Haven: Yale University Press, 2017).

[39] Mark Burnett, *Masters and Servants in English Renaissance Drama and Culture: Authority and Obedience* (Houndmills: Macmillan, 1997); Michael Neill, 'Servant Obedience and Master Sins: Shakespeare and the Bonds of Service', in *Putting History to the Question: Power, Politics, and Society in English Renaissance Drama* (New York: Columbia University Press, 2000), pp. 13–48; Kristina Booker, *Menials: Domestic Service and the Cultural Transformation of British Society* (Lewisburg: Bucknell University Press, 2018).

[40] Michel de Certeau, *The Practice of Everyday Life*, trans. by Steven Rendall (Berkeley: University of California Press, 1984); Henri Lefebvre, *Critique of Everyday Life*, trans by John Moore and Gregory Elliott (London: Verso, 2014).

[41] Roger Chartier, *On the Edge of the Cliff: History, Language, Practices*, trans. by Lydia Cochrane (Baltimore: Johns Hopkins University Press, 1997).

Marcel Detienne and Jean-Pierre Vernant, or the 'subaltern recalcitrance' called *jugaad* discussed by Amit Rai.[42] From Bruce Robbins' *The Servant's Hand*, which reads the 'functionality' of domestic servants in simultaneously literary and historical registers, the thesis takes a method for reading the evidence of servant commonplaces as conventional, instrumental, merely entertaining, and repetitive — 'achieving coherence and even visibility more in the aggregate than in the individual instance'— and yet able be placed in relation to history precisely through that conventionality.[43]

'Managing Skill' is not a study of the everyday in general as a space of tactics or skill, but it does suggest that polemic writing about servant government was one site that made space for the historical emergence of that problematic and enabled everyday skill to be constituted as an object of concern. Insofar as it looks at how skill was understood and practiced in service relations, the thesis explores an area of human activity and experience that exceeds explicit conceptualisation in one sense (due to the epistemological opacity between the perceptions of employers and those of the employed) but which was of widespread concern — as an aspect of household management — in another. However, rather than seek to re-describe as skilled activities that were not thought of these terms by early modern subjects, this thesis pays careful attention to the phrasing and practice of historically specific forms of skill, in the non-specialist setting of the household, in order to trace the ways in which individual forms of acuity, dexterity, or practical knowledge could come to be understood as varieties of skill in socially recognised terms. To that end, it draws on histories of economic discourse and Marxist critiques of work, as well as on historical studies of the meaning of work, which have argued that if work is to be understood as a social category it must be examined not only as a production process involving relations of domination and exploitation, but from the standpoint of social and

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[42] Marcel Detienne and Jean-Pierre Vernant, *Cunning Intelligence in Greek Culture and Society*, trans. by Janet Lloyd (Hassocks: Harvester Press, 1978); Amit Rai, *Jugaad Time: Ecologies of Everyday Hacking in India* (Durham: Duke University Press, 2019), p. 156.

[43] Bruce Robbins, *The Servant's Hand: English Fiction from Below* (New York: Columbia University Press, 1986), pp. 205–206.

societal reproduction.[44] In order critically to assess the ascription of skill to male and female domestic servants the thesis also draws on work by feminist economists and social and economic historians of women's work, who have shown the ways in which workplace definitions of skill and value — and corresponding occupational vocabularies which occlude the detail of women's work— take up and transform already existing social hierarchies, with which they ultimately come to have a mutually constitutive but contingent relation.[45]

In order to better understand the nature of skill as a possession, the thesis draws on political histories of property.[46] In particular, it uses J. G. A. Pocock's excavation of seventeenth- and eighteenth-century attempts to ground rival visions of 'personality' in landed or movable 'property'.[47] By concentrating on servants and skill, the thesis makes visible the affective and temporal elements of both skill and property, as everyday social forms. Focussing on the personality-constituting aspects of property relations, including the property in a servant's time, energies, and competencies, the thesis also draws on

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[44] Keith Tribe, *Land, Labour and Economic Discourse* (London: Routledge & Kegan Paul, 1978); Michael Roberts, "'Words they are Women, and Deeds they are Men": Images of Work and Gender in Early Modern England', in *Women and Work in Pre-Industrial England*, ed. by Lindsey Charles and Lorna Duffin (London: Croom Helm, 1985), pp. 122–80; *The Historical Meanings of Work*, ed. by Joyce; *Work in France: Representations, Meaning, Organization, and Practice*, ed. by Steven Kaplan and Cynthia Koepp (Ithaca: Cornell University Press, 1986); John Rule, *The Experience of Labour in Eighteenth-Century Industry* (London: Croom Helm, 1981); Maurice Godelier, 'Work and its Representations: A Research Proposal', *History Workshop Journal*, 10 (1980), 164–74; Kathi Weeks, *The Problem with Work: Feminism, Marxism, Antiwork Politics, and Postwork Imaginaries* (Durham: Duke University Press, 2011); André Gorz, *Critique of Economic Reason*, trans. by Gillian Handyside and Chris Turner (London: Verso, 1989).

[45] Deborah Simonton, *A History of European Women's Work, 1700 to the Present* (Oxford: Routledge, 1998); Anne Phillips and Barbara Taylor, 'Sex and Skill: Notes Towards a Feminist Economics', *Feminist Review*, 6 (1980), 79–88; Judith Bennett, '"History that stands still": Women's Work in the European Past', *Feminist Studies*, 14.2 (1988), 269–83; Whittle, 'Critique'.

[46] C. B. Macpherson, 'Capitalism and the Changing Concept of Property', in *Feudalism, Capitalism and Beyond*, ed. by Eugene Kamenka and R. S. Neale (Canberra: Australian National University Press, 1975), pp. 105–24; G. E. Almayer, 'The Meaning and Definition of "Property" in Seventeenth-Century England', *Past and Present*, 86 (1980), 87–97; *Property*, ed. by Brewer and Staves.

[47] J. G. A. Pocock, 'Authority and Property: The Question of Liberal Origins', in *Virtue, Commerce, and History: Essays on Political Thought and History, Chiefly in the Eighteenth Century* (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 1985), pp. 51–71 and 'The Mobility of Property and the Rise of Eighteenth-Century Sociology', in *Theories of Property: Aristotle to the Present*, ed. by Anthony Parel and Thomas Flanagan (Ontario: Wilfrid Laurier University Press, 1979), pp. 141–64.

Marxist histories of employment law, such as those by Robert Steinfeld, Douglas Hay, and Paul Craven, which argue for the centrality of 'contractual servitude', opposed both to modern free labour and to chattel slavery, to the history of employment and the history of ideas of property in labour.[48]

In much of the historical and sociological literature on skill, there is a disconnect between skill as a property or right that is claimed, and skill as practical knowledge brought to bear on tools, objects, an environment. Since this thesis is concerned in detail with forms of action, especially uses of books, that might be considered skilled, it also draws on accounts of skilled practice offered by social anthropology and philosophy. The work of Tim Ingold is especially important in offering a sensitive account of skilled practice as a processual 'bringing into use'.[49]

While this study aims to take skill in service on its own terms, rather than as a metaphorical extension of craft knowledge, the extensive scholarly literature which has evaluated the importance of artisans, as practitioners and as rhetorical examples, in the development of experimental philosophy and early modern cultures of knowledge, has been instrumental in elucidating the historical contours of practical knowledge and establishing the stakes of contemporary efforts to redraw lines between theory and practice, idea and technique.[50] From studies of natural philosophical writing by Joanna Picciotto, Tita Chico, and others the thesis also draws ways of reading literary forms as experimental, knowledge-producing, and vehicles of skill — aspects of texts that were apparent to early modern individuals.[51]

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[48] *Masters, Servants, and Magistrates in Britain and the Empire, 1562–1955*, ed. by Douglas Hay and Paul Craven (Chapel Hill: University of North Carolina Press, 2004); Steinfeld, *Invention of Free Labour*.

[49] Tim Ingold, *Being Alive: Essays on Movement, Knowledge and Description* (Oxford: Routledge, 2011) and *The Perception of the Environment: Essays on Livelihood, Dwelling and Skill* (London and New York: Routledge, 2000).

[50] Pamela Smith, *The Body of the Artisan: Art and Experience in the Scientific Revolution* (Chicago: Chicago University Press, 2004); Paola Bertucci, *Artisanal Enlightenment: Science and the Mechanical Arts in Old Regime France* (New Haven: Yale University Press, 2017).

[51] Joanna Picciotto, *Labors of Innocence in Early Modern England* (Cambridge: Harvard University Press, 2010); Tita Chico, *The Experimental Imagination: Literary Knowledge and Science in the British Enlightenment* (Stanford: Stanford University Press, 2018).

Skill, whether conceived of as knowledge or property, intellectual or practical, necessitates a focus on activity and process. Following Raymond Williams, the thesis approaches the evidence it examines as the outcome of particular practices of writing which record and take their conditions from other cultural practices and activities (of governing, of self-regulation), to which they are related as part of a dynamic and intentional totality.[52] In asking how the skill present in the production and use of the materials it examines might relate to the skill represented in them, as well as to the wider ideologies and practices of skill within which they moved, the thesis draws on a range of studies in the history of reading, from Roger Chartier's work to examinations of early modern practices by William Sherman and Heidi Hackel.[53] It also draws on material texts scholarship, which has developed a capacious understanding of how books were used by early modern readers, as texts and as textual objects.[54] Scholarship which examines the ways in which early modern writing, and other inscriptive practices, were conceived of as skilled, embodied activities, offers another resource for reading practical knowledge in textual evidence.[55]

Studies of craft skill often aim, implicitly or explicitly, at positive reconstruction, repeating eighteenth-century claims that craft is an enlightened model for labour that brings with it its own ethic.[56] By drawing attention to the ways in which skill was thought through service, this thesis argues that attention to domestic service has the

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[52] Raymond Williams, *Marxism and Literature* (Oxford: Oxford University Press, 1977). For a discussion of early modern autobiographical writing as practice, see James Amelang, *The Flight of Icarus: Artisan Autobiography in Early Modern Europe* (Stanford: Stanford University Press, 1998).

[53] William Sherman, *Used Books: Marking Readers in Renaissance England* (Philadelphia: University of Pennsylvania Press, 2008); Heidi Hackel, *Reading Material in Early Modern England: Print, Gender, and Literacy* (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 2005).

[54] Bradin Cormack and Carla Mazzio, *Book Use, Book Theory: 1500–1700* (Chicago: University of Chicago Library, 2005); Jeffrey Knight, '"Furnished" for Action: Renaissance Books as Furniture', *Book History*, 12 (2009).

[55] Helen Smith, 'Women and the Materials of Writing', in *Material Cultures of Early Modern Women's Writing*, ed. by Patricia Pender and Rosalind Smith (Houndmills: Palgrave Macmillan, 2014), pp. 14–35; Wendy Wall, 'Literacy and the Domestic Arts', *Huntington Library Quarterly*, 73.3 (2010), 383–412; Juliet Fleming, *Graffiti and the Writing Arts of Early Modern England* (London: Reaktion, 2001).

[56] Anthony Ashley Cooper, third Earl of Shaftesbury, *Characteristics of Men, Manners, Opinions, Times*, ed. by Lawrence Klein (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 1999), p. 117.

potential to enrich our understanding of the history of skill, but, in doing so, it does not aim to redeem service as a model, restore to it its dignity, or to recover its overlooked status as skilled work. It refuses the implicit identification of skilled work with workers worth defending or examining. The expansiveness of these servants' political imaginations were not indexed to the degree of their skill: the distinction between work as necessity and thought as a separate freedom, 'constitutes an essential stake'.[57]

Across a range of print, manuscript, and visual media, the five chapters of this thesis explore how early modern writers used domestic service and domestic servants, real and imagined, to think about skill. It begins by asking what place skill was supposed to have in the relation between employers and servants and how this understanding changed over the period from the late sixteenth to the late eighteenth century. In order to do so, the first chapter places paintings and printed images that depict servants alongside the plentiful practical and devotional handbooks for servants and their employers which were printed over the seventeenth and eighteenth centuries. By examining evidence spanning the entire temporal range of the thesis, focussing in detail on two cross-sections, *c.*1680 and *c.* 1745, chapter one establishes the primary forms, concepts, and commonplaces though which skill and service were thought in the period and examines their change over time. Through the prescriptive texts, the chapter explores how, in addition to attaining proficiency in a range of practical competencies, domestic servants were increasingly encouraged to make their own and their employers' emotions objects of skill. In the images, the chapter suggests, a concurrent trajectory can be seen whereby domestic service, while remaining a distinct area of skill, was increasingly, if fragmentarily, thought of as a form of labour comparable with other trades. Thus, the chapter traces the perceptual interplay between the shifting ground of service and the forms of skill related to it. Placing the eighteenth-century prints within a multimedia context composed of contemporary entertainments and items of material culture that imitated or represented servants, the chapter suggests what enjoyment employers might have taken from such

[57] Jacques Rancière, 'The Myth of the Artisan: Critical Reflections on a Category of Social History', *International Labor and Working Class History*, 24 (1983), 1–16 (p. 14).

manipulable representations and the ways in which this pleasure inflected their conceptions of servant skill and their own managerial knowledge.

Having considered the circulation of images and texts for and about servants, chapters two and three move inside the household. They examine manuscript life writing by elite employers in order to investigate how the conceptualisations of skill and service that were outlined in schematic and stylised terms by the evidence considered in chapter one were lived and reflected upon in practice. Anne, Lady Halkett (1622–1699), whose meditations and commentaries are considered in chapter two, and Sarah, Lady Cowper (1644–1720), whose miscellanies and diaries make up chapter three's evidence, both governed their households from positions of often ambiguous, sometimes compromised authority. These experiences of pressure and constraint led them, in different ways, to reflect upon the meaning and practice of skill — both their own and that of their servants. To this extent, Halkett and Cowper are instances of a more general social role, one often fulfilled by women. However, the differing political, religious, geographic, and social settings within which they wrote enable the thesis to explore, through Halkett and Cowper's writing, divergent but connected ways of thinking through skill and service. The organisation and conceptualisation of service in Halkett's household proceeded for the most part along lines of familial jurisdiction, while, for Cowper, service was primarily an employment relationship governed by ideas of property. However, as these chapters show, both ways of thinking about service are attested in both sets of writing. Moreover, both Halkett and Cowper engaged in extensive, serial, and recursive life-writing practices: their manuscript volumes, composed over decades, contain plentiful evidence of re-reading, use, and adaptation over time. Their texts are therefore apt to reveal skill in thought and practice and it is for this reason, in combination with their analogous household positions, that Halkett and Cowper are chosen as case studies.

Chapter two concentrates on meditations written by Anne Halkett in the 1680s and 1690s. Having spent her childhood in London and engaged in civil war Royalist conspiracy, Halkett was widowed in 1670 and for the last three decades of her life oversaw a small household in Dunfermline. There, she produced copious manuscript

writing on topics ranging from the everyday life of her household to commentary on national and international politics, which reveals the complex outlines of the project she wished to pursue, involving herself and her household in skilled practice. To Halkett's chronic indebtedness and later ill health was added, in the years following 1688, a political settlement increasingly hostile to the Episcopalian and Stuart loyalties of Halkett and her circle. For a decade, starting in 1687, Halkett took in young men and women from other elite Jacobite and Episcopalian families as paying boarders, to mitigate her debts and enable her to continue her charitable practices, which also employed her servants, and also in order reproduce the oppositional political and religious project of which she was a part. This situation gave rise to complex meditations on skill and service and the competing claims of pedagogy and discipline.

Chapter three examines the seven volumes of a diary that Sarah Cowper produced between 1700 and 1716. These manuscript books reveal how Cowper's exclusion from domestic authority by her overbearing husband, Sir William, and her resulting criticisms of his strategies of government, led Cowper to develop an extensive commentary on the right methods of servant and household management, tabulated and reviewed through systems of cross-referencing and indexing in her diaries. After Sir William's death in 1706, Cowper used the diary to record her attempts to re-shape her household and, in so doing, composed an extensive commentary on the dispositions of servants as a class, disclosing both a careful attention to questions of tactics and enunciation and also, like Halkett, an oblique rhetoric of indirection, as she confronted the intractability of a situation with which her explicit strategies repeatedly failed to cope. Cowper's engagement with the periodical press and her use of the servant commonplaces discussed in chapter one make visible, in her writing about servants, the emergence of a concept of the everyday as a space of tactics. Together, these chapters show that early modern and eighteenth-century life writing potentially offers a wealth of information about skill and service, if these texts' statements about the world are interpreted in concert with the evidence they offer about autobiography as a material practice.

Chapters four and five return to the imaginative representation of servants and service and their activities outside the household, first broached in the images examined in chapter one and now explored in the context of the expansive fictional geographies of maritime and adventure fiction produced in the 1710s and 1720s. The loose, popular mode of adventure fiction, which built its narratives around representations of the skill demanded of protagonists by situations of extremity, such as captivity and shipwreck, which also placed them in precarious or servile positions, provides fruitful material on skill and service. Taking up the problematic of management elaborated by Sarah Cowper in her diaries, chapter four asks what kind of skill management was understood to be in the early eighteenth century, focussing its investigation through fictional and didactic work by Daniel Defoe, concentrating on the *Farther Adventures of Robinson Crusoe* (1719) and *Colonel Jack* (1722). Reading Defoe's didactic works on household government and service builds on and extends the analysis of handbooks in chapter one. In Defoe's fictional works, the chapter proposes, scenes of management link social and bodily dexterity, connecting Defoe's political theory and his theoretical justifications of enslavement both to the skilled, theatrical manoeuvres undertaken by employers to 'manage' servants and enslaved people, and also to the dextrous coups undertaken by servants to 'get the management' of their employers.

Chapter five takes the terrain of adventure fiction as a location to explore what can be learnt about skill from the ways in which fictional forms were re-written, adapted, and extended. Situating its investigation in the early eighteenth-century book trades, it studies the changes wrought to the text of Defoe's *Colonel Jack* and the three volumes of *Robinson Crusoe* by the process of abridgement. By examining the abridged texts as evidence of particular, motivated readings of Defoe's fictions, and by excavating the skilled nature of the practice of abridgement itself, the chapter is able to suggest how the ideas of skill and management present in Defoe's narratives were taken up and transformed by specific eighteenth-century writers, in anticipation of specific readers. Reading these abridgements alongside some examples of adventure fiction published in the 1720s which responded to and sought to revise and contest Defoe's example, the

chapter shows how adventure fiction offered a venue within which the skill of domestic servants, in addition to the craft of mariners and artisans, could be explored. In doing so, it deepens the examination of contemporary understandings of tactics and strategy, explored in chapters one and three, and excavates an array of locations in the early eighteenth-century print trades and prose fiction at which skill and service were brought together. In hypothesising what kinds of enjoyment these episodic novels offered contemporary readers, the chapter returns to and extends the line of questioning opened in relation to visual and ornamental representations of servants in chapter one.

The order of the chapters is thus broadly chronological. Chapter one examines evidence produced across the entire temporal span covered by the thesis, from the late sixteenth to the late eighteenth century, concentrating on the years 1682–1747. Each subsequent chapter examines evidence drawn from a series of overlapping twenty-year periods, within the envelope marked out by chapter one.

Chapter 1. Implements: Servants in Handbooks and Prints, 1682–1747

This chapter addresses how servant skill was represented in theory. It asks: what place was skill supposed to have in the relation between masters, mistresses, and servants; how and why did it change over the seventeenth and eighteenth centuries? To investigate these questions, the chapter studies paintings and printed images of servants and items of material culture depicting servants, reading them against the changing law of master and servant and a range of legal digests and handbooks for servants and their employers. In these materials, change over time in the concept of skill as it relates to service in the post-reformation household can be traced, together with changes in the ways service as a form of work was understood to relate to other trades, the distinctions dawn between service and (other) forms of unfree labour, and the changing grounds of these comparisons. The chapter draws on a diverse range of scholarship, principally social and cultural histories of domestic service together with the history of popular print and graphic satire, histories of the household, and histories of design and material culture. It aims to see each print, as Adrian Rifkin writes of depictions of skilled labour in nineteenth-century France, 'not so much at the centre of a complex set of political and social discourses and representations as afloat in them, rather as its viewers themselves must have been'.[1] By exploring how these visual materials might have been used, by whom, and with what purpose (such as games, admonition, reassurance, or instruction), the chapter sheds light on the affective relations that inevitably accompanied the service relation and were internal to the concept of skill developed within it.

Where each of the subsequent chapters studies a series of overlapping generations, from the 1680s to the 1730s, this chapter examines evidence spanning the entire temporal range of the thesis. In doing so, it seeks to establish some general coordinates within which to understand how skill is elaborated in the specific bodies of evidence and through the specific writing practices that are explored in the rest of the

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[1] Adrian Rifkin, 'Well Formed Phrases: Some Limits of Meaning in Political Print at the End of the Second Empire', *Oxford Art Journal*, 8.1 (1985), 20–28 (p. 20).

thesis. The chapter is in three parts. Section one investigates what handbooks for servants and their employers had to say about the practical knowledge required of servants (and the corresponding managerial skill demanded of masters and mistresses). It outlines the growing discursive attention to tactics and emotions in these books, exploring the changing ways in which servant attitudes and demeanour were understood as an object of skill. Turning to visual materials, section two uses a series of pictorial representations of servants — emblems and caricatures in which servants are depicted successively as human-animal hybrids and as composite figures made out of the tools of service — to explore other ways in which servants were connected to skill and the ways in which work in service was understood to be comparable with other forms of labour. By correlating textual and visual evidence in this way and reading it for traces of practices, concentrating on two cross-sections that bookend the period investigated in this thesis — circa 1680 and circa 1745 — the chapter is able to identify the accents given to conventional verbal and visual formulae at particular historical conjunctures. Section three then briefly surveys the ecology of commercial entertainments and some items of elite material culture contemporary with the late seventeenth- and eighteenth-century prints, in order to suggest how these images might have been received and what their significance may have been to those who bought or observed them. By doing so, section three extends the analysis of skill, tactics, and emotions undertaken in section one to the prints themselves, addressing the question of how the attitude towards servant skill elicited from employers by its representations shaped understandings of skill.

1. Handbooks

Despite the absence of institutional recognition of servants' art or skill, employers were well aware of the different levels of ability and knowledge their servants might posses and of the necessity to cultivate methods to manage them. The plentiful instructional literature addressed to non-gentle and female servants that proliferated in the last quarter

of the seventeenth century bears witness to the fact that there were acknowledged competencies to be taught, as do the manuscript meditations and diaries examined in chapters two and three of this thesis, which explore in greater depth how these developments manifested in individual households. But in what was the skill of servants understood to consist, in what ways was it publicly recognised, and how was it understood to be gained, purchased, and exercised? To explore these questions, this section draws on this literature of advice to servants, which aimed to teach a range of practical knowledge as well as dispositions and attitudes. The archive of servant and household manuals has been well-mined in social and literary history, so the following paragraphs concentrate on a few features of the rhetoric used to model servant personalities and skill, in order to foreground the ways in which servants' dispositions were made objects of skill.[2] By concentrating on the durable rhetoric of servant handbooks, a body of writing characterised by repetition, recycling, and accretion, this section elucidates the fundamental, commonplace bases for thinking about servant skill in seventeenth- and eighteenth-century culture.

The vernacular discussion of servant skill, as recorded in these handbooks and in the sermons and manuals of household government with which they shared an approach, was made up of a loose conceptual weave of three components: a biblical foundation, mainly drawn from the letters of St Paul; a classical philosophical inheritance, which was augmented and ultimately replaced by contract theory; and a developing body of master and servant legislation, into which, over the course of the late seventeenth and eighteenth centuries, the political philosophy of contract became increasingly integrated. The body of master and servant legislation was itself augmented and extended to cover an increasing number of occupations in the first decades of the eighteenth century. The biblical topoi, meanwhile, though in themselves an unalterable set of statements, were given different accents in successive generations of servant handbooks and household manuals, as the

[2] Tim Meldrum, *Domestic Service and Gender 1660–1750: Life and Work in the London Household* (Harlow: Longman, 2000), pp. 34–67; Susan Amussen, *An Ordered Society: Gender and Class in Early Modern England* (Oxford: Basil Blackwell, 1988), pp. 33–66.

subsequent exploration of these texts' rhetoric will show. Each strand, then, was undergoing change in the period and shaping the forms of skill that appeared through their crossing.

In Aristotle's *Politics*, servants are understood as animate instruments used by the master in the 'artful expertise [*ti technikon*]' of household management; an expertise which consists in the use of the instruments, animate and inanimate, that are his household possessions.[3] In the words of a 1598 translation of the *Politics*, household management is 'the skill to get goods' necessary in order 'to liue well'; an expertise that is an art though not among the 'Artes definite'.[4] Servants (in the naturalising sixteenth-century translation; slaves in Aristotle's original) participate in this art, and so participate in full rationality, as subordinate parts of a whole, by being brought into use by their master.[5] However, servants also possess their own, low-status, 'seruile and slauish' expertise, consisting in arts like cookery.[6] An animate instrument of action, rather than production, a servant is 'an instrument that wields many instruments', or, in the phrasing of the 1598 translation, an 'instrument ouer instruments'.[7] To this extent the main desideratum is servants' ability to anticipate or promptly respond to their master's wants so that 'at their masters becke and commandment, or by any precedent sence of their owne' they can bring other household instruments into use.[8] Notably, the 1598 translation here amplifies Aristotle's text, in which the enslaved person is unlike other instruments, but similar to mythical automata, in being 'able to perform its function on command or by anticipation'.[9] It is this prior, anticipatory function that distinguishes servants from other tools and ensures their smooth integration into the practice governed by the master's

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[3] *Aristotle's Politics*, ed. and trans. by Carnes Lord, 2nd edn (Chicago: Chicago University Press, 2013), p. 2, I.1,1252a19–24, I.4,1253b23–27, 1.4,1253b30, I.7,1255b31–36.

[4] *Aristotles Politiqves, or Discovrses of Government […] Translated out of French into English* (London, 1598), p. 21.

[5] *Politics*, I.5,1254a17–30, I.6,1255b10–11.

[6] *Politiqves*, p. 32, translating *Politics*, I.7,1255b21–28

[7] *Politiqves*, p. 22 translating *Politics*, I.4,1253b33–1254a1, I.4,1254a9.

[8] *Politiqves*, p. 22.

[9] *Politics*, I.4,1253b33–1254a1.

skill.[10] Servant skill appears at two points in this account: as a heterogenous set of acquired competencies, and as an implicitly trainable disposition, through which servants are made apt to participate in or be invested with expertise by their employer.

The picture of servant skill in the *Politics* (one of the few Aristotelian works that existed in vernacular translation in early modern England) shaped early modern works of household management.[11] In describing what makes a good servant, Thomas Kyd's translation of Tasso's *Housholders Philosophie* (1588) draws on Aristotle's discussion in the *Politics* (and on related passages in Aristotle's *On the Parts of Animals* and Galen's writing on the same topic), in a discussion that was repeated verbatim by Robert Cleaver in his *Godlie Forme of Household Government* (1598; augmented by Thomas Dod in 1610 and last printed in 1630). Tasso observed that, just as the hand is termed the instrument of instruments:

> so is the Seruant said to bee an instrument of instruments: because he keepeth all the instruments of houshold occupied, not only to liue, but to liue well, wherein he differeth from all the other instruments. For where they are *Inanima*, things without soule, he is *Animatus*; and diuinelie is enriched with a soule, and heerein differeth from the hand, for that the hand is fastned and vnited to the bodie, but he separate and disioyned from his Maister, and is also different from Artificers, for Artificers are instruments of those things which properly they call workmanship: but the Seruaunt is Instrument of the action.[12]

Taking up Aristotle's distinction between instruments of action and of production ('workmanship'), Tasso, and later Cleaver, emphasise that it is the good servants' capacity to understand their masters' wishes 'at a beck', as the hand follows the mind, and yet to be

[10] Aristotle stresses this comparison in his ethical works: the enslaved person is a moving tool, the tool an unmoving slave. Tom Angier, *Technē in Aristotle's Ethics: Crafting the Moral Life* (London: Continuum, 2010), p. 53.

[11] Charles Schmitt, *John Case and Aristotelianism in Renaissance England* (Kingston and Montreal: McGill-Queen's University Press, 1983), pp. 60–61.

[12] Torquato Tasso, *The Housholders Philosophie*, trans. by T[homas] K[yd] (London, 1588), sig. E1^{v}, paraphrasing *Politics*, I.4,1253b23–27, I.4,1253b33–1254a1, I.4,1254a9, I.5,1254a26–30. Compare Robert Cleaver, *A Godlie Forme of Hovsehold Government* (London, 1598), pp. 375–76. For a discussion of the related Aristotelian and Galenic passages and their reception see Jonathan Goldberg, *Writing Matter: From the Hands of the English Renaissance* (Stanford: Stanford University Press, 1990), p. 86.

separate beings, that distinguishes them from other beings and defines their skill, even as they are excluded from the collective knowledge of workmanship. This conception of servant fidelity and attentiveness is echoed in the words of William Gouge, for whom servants, while in service, 'are not their own […]: both their persons and their actions are all their masters' and for whom 'the particular worke which appertaineth to a seruant […] is to haue an eie to his master, to see what he requireth at his hands'.[13] Gouge takes up the Aristotelian conception of a shared 'work' or 'action' in which the servant participates as a subordinate part, and in which the good servant's aptitude is attentiveness, prior to any other skill.

This broadly Aristotelian account was easily integrated into prescriptions for Christian households. Aristotle divided the household into three relations of rule: husband and wife, father and children, master and slave, treating the latter as foundational to the household.[14] The same tripartite division of relations, as Susan Amussen notes, had an alternative, scriptural origin in St Paul's instructions for Christian households (Ephesians 5. 21–6. 9).[15] These verses formed the biblical foundation for godly households.[16] Sixteenth-, seventeenth-, and eighteenth-century manuals of household government organised their chapters around complementary lists of the prescribed reciprocal duties of each dyad of ruling and ruled.[17] All seventeenth- and eighteenth-century texts that prescribe the duties of servants agreed on the main points: servants owed their masters love, humility (or submissiveness), and fidelity (which meant

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[13] William Gouge, *Of Domesticall Dvties* (London, 1622), pp. 604, 608. Similar prescriptions are to be found in Lancelot Andrewes, *The Pattern of Catechistical Doctrine at Large* (London, 1650), p. 353.

[14] *Politics*, I.3,1253b6–10.

[15] Amussen, p. 38.

[16] For the full range of scriptural passages on service, see Naomi Tadmor, *The Social Universe of the English Bible: Scripture, Society, and Culture in Early Modern England* (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 2010), pp. 82–118.

[17] William Tyndale, *The Obedience of Christen man, & how christen rulers ought to gouerne* (London, 1548), sig. D2v; Cleaver, *Godlie Forme*, title page; *Domesticall Dvties*, title page; *Pattern*, p. 341; John Reading, *A Guide to the Holy City* (Oxford, 1651), p. 271. Daniel Defoe also organised the first volume of his *Family Instructor* (1715) under these headings.

diligence and obedience).[18] These aspects of affection, attitude, and demeanour, which often extended to verbal discretion (refusing to spread secrets and not answering back) came before any particular expertise.[19] The same three dyads were also treated as the basic units of 'private' or 'oeconomical' relations in political philosophy and legal commentaries over the same period.[20] Arguments persisted about the degree of unity, similarity, or analogy between these relations, but they proved a persistent structure for ethical and political thinking, and for theorising skill and management. In this biblical and Aristotelian model of the hierarchical household, focussing on the meaning of the interpersonal relations within it rather than on the practice of the tasks that kept it going, reciprocal but unequal skills were understood to be part of the duties of servants and masters: skill in governing for the employer, and for servants, the skill of attentive anticipation, necessitating some personality-forming work, which must be combined with a wide variety of other practical competencies in order to reach the socially-accepted level.

The link Gouge draws between servants' trainable labour, their attentiveness, and their master's ownership of their persons and actions, brings us to the final strand of this weave: the law of master and servant. The law of master and servant governed the employment of labour in Britain and its empire until its replacement in Britain in 1875 by the Employers and Workmen Act. As Douglas Hay and Paul Craven indicate, this body of law, which was based on the Statute of Artificers (1562), much augmented, saw contract as a private agreement between employer and employed, which entailed, in

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[18] *The Compleat Servant-Maid; or, The Young Maiden's Tutor* (London, 1677), pp. 1–3; Richard Lucas, *The Duty of Servants, containing First, Their Preparation for, and Choice of a Service. Secondly, Their Duty in Service* (London, 1685), pp. 2, 84–93; Richard Mayo, *A Present for Servants, from their Ministers, Masters, or Other Friends, Especially in Country Parishes* (London, 1693), pp. 27, 29, 34; [Nicholas Zinzano], *The Servants Calling; with some Advice to the Apprentice* (London, 1725), p. 11.

[19] I. M., *A Health to the Gentlemanly profession of Seruingmen* (London, 1598), sig. C2r; *Godlie Forme*, p. 379; *Domesticall Dvties*, pp. 589–634; *Pattern*, p. 353; *Servant-Maid*, pp. 62–63; [Eliza Haywood], *A Present for a Servant-Maid: or, The Sure Means of gaining Love and Esteem* (London, 1743), p. 32.

[20] Samuel Pufendorf, *Of the Law of Nature and Nations* (Oxford, 1703), p. 122; Matthew Hale, *The Analysis of the Law* (London, 1713), sig. 6r, pp. 45-50; William Blackstone, *Commentaries on the Laws of England*, 4 vols (Oxford, 1765–69), I, 410.

return for wages or maintenance, a right to command on the part of masters and an obligation to obey on the part of servants. It empowered Justices of the Peace to summarily enforce these private relations by penal sanctions and also made provision for wage remedies for servants.[21] Together with the law of settlement, under the poor law, it enabled the public management of servants' labour. The law of master and servant, Robert Steinfeld argues, couched masters' control over servants' work in two ways: in terms of masters' property in their servants' labour (servants leasing their labour to masters, who had a property in their time and services and the right to exclude others from them); and in terms of masters' jurisdiction over the persons of their servants (servants as subjects of household government, in whose labour the community had an interest, under the authority of an agreed head).[22] The question of whether specifically domestic servants were included within the ambit of master and servant legislation, since they were not in fact included in the 1562 Statute, remained vexed, although in the later seventeenth century and the first half of the eighteenth century most legal authorities agreed that they were, which is what JPs continued to assume in practice.[23] Indeed, the early eighteenth century witnessed increasing oversight by the courts of contractual relationships between servants and masters and greater emphasis on the property understanding of labour and service which, Carolyn Steedman argues, tended to de-emphasise the legal sense in which servants were a 'mere appendage, or extra limb of the employer'; nonetheless, proprietary and jurisdictional senses remained entangled throughout the period, since property in a thing could be redescribed as rights over it, and so suggest forms of personal control.[24]

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[21] Douglas Hay and Paul Craven, 'Introduction', in *Masters, Servants, and Magistrates in Britain and the Empire, 1562–1955*, ed. by Douglas Hay and Paul Craven (Chapel Hill: University of North Carolina Press, 2004), pp. 1–58.

[22] Robert Steinfeld, *The Invention of Free Labour: The Employment Relation in English and American Law and Culture, 1350–1870* (Chapel Hill: University of North Carolina Press, 1991), pp. 55–78.

[23] Douglas Hay, 'England, 1562–1875: The Law and Its Uses', in *Masters, Servants, and Magistrates*, ed. by Hay and Craven, pp. 59–116 (pp. 70–79, 87–91); Carolyn Steedman, *Labours Lost: Domestic Service and the Making of Modern England* (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 2009), pp. 180–81, 197; Michael Dalton, *The Countrey Justice* (London, 1682), p. 125.

[24] Steinfeld, pp. 73, 78–83, 90–92; Carolyn Steedman, 'Servants and Their Relationship to the Unconscious', *Journal of British Studies*, 42.3 (2003), 316–50 (p. 325).

Servants' social status and legal personality were constituted through this subjection: the law codified a 'cultural space', present in Britain and its colonies, of voluntary, consensual, or contractual servitude (not free labour, which had yet to be conceptualised) that was compensated but also compelled.[25] The ownership and control the law granted employers over servants' service and time implied some rights over their skill as well, in ways that dovetailed with the everyday political philosophies of service.

In order to understand how this conception might be combined with the philosophy of contract, the chapter turns to one especially durable handbook, *A Present for Servants* (1693), by Richard Mayo (1631–1695), the quietistic Presbyterian minister of Kingston-upon-Thames. Mayo's book was a 'steady seller', in David Hall's phrase: reprinted in 1710, it went through at least nineteen numbered editions to its final printing in 1821.[26] In terms that closely track John Locke's definitions of servants and slaves ('another sort of Servants') in *Two Treatises of Government*, Mayo defined servants as: 'such as by reason of Poverty, or a meaner condition in the World, have voluntarily submitted themselves, by Contract, for a certain time, to the disposal of others, according to the Word of God, and the Laws of the Realm'. Like the author of *The Gentlewomans Companion* (1673), Mayo saw servants as a ubiquitous kind of waged worker 'making up a part of every family'.[27] While people enslaved under multiple and differing regimes (Barbary captives and enslaved Africans) might, on Mayo's account, exist in a space of comparison with servants, as persons compelled to serve, the difference between enslaved people (who were utterly subjected to private dominion and therefore had no recourse to the law) and fortune English servants (who could publicly obtain help from the

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[25] Steinfeld, pp. 8–10. The literature on historical forms of unfree labour in Britain and colonial America is considerable. For an overview, see Christopher Tomlins, *Freedom Bound: Law, Labor, and Civic Identity in Colonizing English America, 1580–1865* (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 2010), pp. 1–17.

[26] Mayo, *Present*, p. 7; David Hall, *Cultures of Print: Essays in the History of the Book* (Amherst: University of Massachusetts Press, 1996), pp. 61–64.

[27] Mayo, *Present*, sig. A4r, pp. 3, 6; Hannah Woolley, *The Gentlewomans Companion; or, A Guide to the Female Sex* (London, 1673), pp. 109, 204 (attribution possibly spurious). For Locke's definition, see *Two Treatises of Government,* ed. by Peter Laslett, 3rd edn (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 1988), II. 24, 85, pp. 284, 322–23.

magistrate) was clear to him.[28] The law ensured servants' legal personality and their separateness from their employer, while the theory of contract and the law of master and servant, by granting property in servants' energies and time, ensured servants' subjection to and partial incorporation into their employer. On Steedman's reading of the 'practical effects' of the law and Locke's argument in *Two Treatises*, servants were understood as 'aspects of their employer's capacities and abilities', for whose labour-capacity they were a 'cipher (or automaton)'.[29] Handbooks for servants were unanimous that servant's time, like the products of their labour, was not their own, because it was owned by their employer. What servants therefore owed their employers was a refusal to waste that time: idling, subcontracting, or imperfect performance was fraud and robbery. This had implications for servant skill. First, in that servants had little time of their own for education: using their master's time for it was robbery. Secondly, in that for masters to extract the full benefit of the time they owned, that time had to be accompanied by dutiful skill as well: attentiveness, fidelity, and concrete practical knowledge.[30] These tensions gave rise to practical as well as conceptual difficulties, which Mayo's handbook addresses.

In *A Present for Servants* Mayo adapted the methodical structure of earlier household manuals, setting out the different kinds of servant; the servant's duties to God; the servant's duties to their masters; their duties towards their fellow servants; and the temptations to sin and hinderances to Christian living presented to servants by imperfect education, discontent in their position, and lack of free time. The means Mayo uses to explain the emotional work required of servants is the language of contract, which ends up being constitutive of personality. In *A Present*, Mayo takes up a venerable tradition of strategic conflation and comparison of Christianity-for-servants and Christianity-as-service, shuttling between writing about being a servant as a metaphor for describing the

[28] Mayo, *Present*, pp. 2–3, 36, 60–62.

[29] Steedman, *Labours*, pp. 48, 53, 52.

[30] Mayo, *Present*, pp. 69, 18, 29–30; *Pattern*, pp. 352–53; *Calling*, p. 33–34; Haywood, *Present*, pp. 6, 22–23, 12.

Christian's relation to Christ and writing about the actual worldly institution of domestic service. First, Mayo adopts the commonplace, based on 1 Corinthians 7. 20–22, that all believers are alike faithful or unprofitable servants of God and the Christian life is a kind of service in which everyone takes part and which ultimately assures freedom.[31] Then, he explains the intangible institution of divine service and the duties of a Christian in general through the experience he assumes his readers have of contracting for domestic service work: 'you that know what it is to go to service, should know upon what terms you may become the Servants of Christ'. That is, you agree the terms in advance and then make the covenant. Mayo then, in reverse, uses an account of the duties we ought to discharge for God to model the way servants ought to carry themselves towards their earthly employers: being bound by contract, servants should ensure 'that you diligently apply your selves to know and do the will of your Master'.[32] The pivotal moment in this argument is the unmarked transition from divine to earthly service, within chapter two (the servant's duties towards God) but anticipating chapter three (their duties towards their masters). The servant's emotional labour is enlisted here, in the realm of metaphor and symbol, before being applied to diverse aspects of seventeenth-century employment relations through the rest of the tract. Using as a vehicle the idea of contract, which had developed in political theory throughout the seventeenth century as a means of thinking the construction and regulation of subjects' passions and dispositions, enabling the conceptualisation of political obligation and the government of conduct, as Victoria Kahn and James Tully have argued, Mayo makes the affective dynamics of service an object of skill.[33]

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[31] Thomas Boston, *The Mystery of Christ in the Form of a Servant* (Edinburgh, 1727), pp. 5–8, 13–15, 18–20; Lancelot Andrewes, *Holy Devotions, with Directions to Pray* (London, 1663), p. 54. There are numerous examples of this figure: a frequent locus was Paul's spiritual paradox in 1 Corinthians 7. 22, taken up in Anglican liturgy, that God's service is such that it is perfect freedom. See David Evett, *Discourses of Service in Shakespeare's England* (Basingstoke: Palgrave Macmillan, 2005), pp. 1–15. For examples, see Mayo, *Present*, p. 66; Lucas, *Duty*, p. 14.

[32] Mayo, *Present*, pp. 12, 13, 16.

[33] Victoria Kahn, *Wayward Contracts: The Crisis of Political Obligation in England, 1640-1674* (Princeton: Princeton University Press, 2004); James Tully, 'Governing Conduct', in *Conscience and Casuistry in Early Modern Europe,* ed. by Edmund Leites (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 1988), pp. 12–71.

Mayo thus suggests the possibility of the deliberate fabrication or suppression of emotions and encourages in servants a simplified version of the kind of reflexive self-government that manuals of household government enjoined to masters and mistresses (as will be explored in greater length in the case of Halkett and, especially, Cowper, in chapters two and three). Using contract to model 'a consent that is also compelling, a coercion that is also willed' — as Victoria Kahn finds in earlier household manuals — and the slipperiness of the passions, as both passive and active, to mediate volition, allows passion derived from obligation to turn into obligation derived from passion.[34] In Mayo's case, it was not simply that practical knowledge had an emotional component, as Susan James argues of the period's philosophical writing.[35] Contract, worldly and divine, was a practical framework through which to ensure the right feeling.

Resonating with Mayo's views, Richard Lucas' *Duty of Servants* (1685; reprinted 1699, 1710, 1720), suggested an alternative practice of acquiring the necessary practical knowledge that foregrounds the question of skill. Making service comparable to other trades, Lucas notes that all work that is done well requires that servants be 'train'd up to it, [...] either by an actual or habitual preparation'.[36] The method he proposes, based on what was common practice, is that servants accustom themselves to the 'duties' and 'virtues' they anticipate in their master's household by carrying them out in their parents'. For Lucas, the customary analogy between parents and children and master and servant is easily operationalised as a course of psychological preparation that the prospective servant can administer to themselves, in order to learn how to carry out the necessary tasks with 'the Humble and Respectful Language or Demeanours of a Servant' (p. 12). The social distance between master and servant was assumed not to be that great in Mayo's and Lucas' texts, which were addressed to poorer servants.[37] These social

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[34] Victoria Kahn, '"The Duty to Love": Passion and Obligation in Early Modern Political Theory', *Representations*, 68 (1999), 84–107 (p. 85).

[35] Susan James, *Passion and Action: The Emotions in Seventeenth-Century Philosophy* (Oxford: Clarendon Press, 1997), pp. 225–53.

[36] Lucas, *Duty*, p. 1.

[37] *Duty*, pp. 5, 9, 12, 13, 20–21; *Present*, sig. A6v.

conditions made the advice about demeanour necessary. For Lucas, the 'general qualifications' learned in this way are necessary conditions, 'without which whatever skill of experience any man has, he is unfit for any service' (p. 183). Nonetheless, the prospective servant must 'weigh [their] own Capacities and Abilities' in relation to a service: if they are lacking, the service should not be undertaken. To be sure, sometimes it is not 'ability' but 'Chearfulness and Industry' that is needed, so, 'if your Capacity come not up to their Expectation, you wrong 'em not'. But in cases where labour without skill is required, Lucas suggests, extra claims would be made on a servant's 'good Nature and Diligence' which would be just as likely to exhaust the servant (p. 23). The emotional costs of domestic labour are explicitly anticipated and addressed in this treatise, which offers an account of the production of the aptitude for service, and also an account of how the emotions are put to work in service: both demeanour and household tasks are posited as objects of skill and forms of painful labour.

The emotional claims of service, central to seventeenth-century handbooks, are taken up in a more strategic form in Eliza Haywood's *Present for a Servant Maid* (1743), which integrates the discussion of servant skill with the economic calculus of masters' ownership of servants' time.[38] The anonymously-published *Present* was one of Haywood's most popular books, going through four London and two Dublin editions in 1743–45.[39] One way of tracing the difference of Haywood's text is by looking at the history of the durable concept 'eye-service'.[40] This history expresses the links between the demand on servants' fidelity, a developing problematic of surveillance, and the ownership of servants' time and energies by their employers. In Ephesians 6. 5-8 and Colossians 3. 22, Paul advises servants to obey earthly masters in the same manner as the heavenly one: 'with fear and trembling, in singleness of your heart, as unto Christ; Not with eye service, as

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[38] Chapter three, which studies the diaries of Sarah, Lady Cowper, will suggest how deeply felt in practice were employers' expectations on this score.

[39] Patrick Spedding, *A Bibliography of Eliza Haywood* (London: Pickering & Chatto, 2004), p. 402. Fifth and sixth London editions followed in 1749 and 1756.

[40] Amanda Vickery, *The Gentleman's Daughter: Women's Lives in Georgian England* (New Haven: Yale University Press, 1998), p. 141; Steedman, 'Servants', pp. 337–43; Meldrum, *Service*, p. 49.

men pleasers; but as the servants of Christ, doing the will of God from the heart' (Ephesians 6. 5–6). The latter verses are the base text for Gouge's seventh treatise 'Duties of Servants'.[41] Beginning with Tyndale in 1548, who deplored 'seruice in the eye-syght', commentators frequently linked Paul's precept with 1 Peter 2. 15-18, in which servants are counselled to obey 'froward' masters as well as gentle ones, since enduring sadness and violence is a Christian glory and masters contain the image of God.[42] In early seventeenth-century texts, eye-service is primarily a problem of the will: working for the right reasons and when not overseen.[43] In Lucas' *Duty of Servants*, eye service appears in two senses. First, as a problem of will: a true sense of duty and kindness means looking to your master and mistress as 'Adopted Parents'; if your interests are aligned with theirs (as earlier treatises had also noted), in singleness of heart, service becomes 'True Liberty'. Secondly, as a problem of surveillance: a servant who only works when his disobedience cannot be concealed obliges their master to an intolerable 'Care and Toil of overseeing'. Fidelity is what ensure's the master's 'real pleasure or satisfaction'; to neglect that is shameful in a servant.[44] The essential problem of eye service is located in the will of the servant, but it is also identified with the employer's affective disturbance and increased managerial labour that it causes. Later texts further emphasise the supervisory and affective dimensions of the concept.[45] Over a century and a half, then, the issue of a servant's inward state and acceptance of subordination, manifest in their attentiveness and obedience, becomes a matter of ensuring particular effects in their employer, which maintains claims on servants' inner states. In both cases, a space opens up for skill, to which the servant manuals studied here address themselves.

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[41] *Domesticall Dvties*, p. 589.

[42] *Christen Man*, sig. D6r; Thomas Fosset, *The Servants Dutie* (London, 1613), p. 10; *Domesticall Dvties*, p. 612; *Present for Servants*, p. 28; *Servants Calling*, pp. 8, 50–51.

[43] *Servants Dutie*, p. 24; *Domesticall Dvties*, pp. 165–66; *Guide*, p. 274; *Pattern*, pp. 352, 353*; Holy Devotions*, p. 205.

[44] *Duty*, pp. 14, 90, 93. For earlier texts advising identification with masters, see *Domesticall Dvties*, p. 634; *Pattern*, pp. 352–53.

[45] Mayo, *Present*, p. 30; see 'Duties Proper to Servants' added to *A Present* (1726), pp. 71–73; *Calling*, pp. 47–48.

Haywood proscribes eye-service in straightforward terms: 'to appear diligent in Sight, and be found neglectful when out of it, shew you both deceitful and lazy' .[46] Haywood notes that the extra surveillance necessitated by the discovery of servant duplicity will be 'irksome' for maid as well as mistress. However, Haywood innovates in suggesting tactics to avoid being thought that kind of servant:

> People, who keep Servants, keep them for their Ease, not to increase their Care; and nothing can be more cruel, as well as more unjust, than to disappoint them in a View they have so much Right to expect. [...] To avoid all Mistakes of this Kind, it would be well for you to calculate the first Thing you do in the Morning (after having said your Prayers) the Business of the Day, and contrive it so as it may come within as little Compass of Time as possible, and then go chearfully about it, without taking Notice whether you are observed or not. Contrivance is half Work they say, and I am certain you will find it so; every Thing will go easily and smoothly on, and no Mistress but will look on such a Servant as a Jewel, when she finds out that waking or sleeping, abroad or at home, she may depend on her Business being regularly done.[47]

The crime of eye-service, on this understanding, is not, as it had been for Mayo, contrivance or hypocrisy (which is embraced insofar as it is functional).[48] Nor is the problem simply the employer's increased managerial labour. Rather, it is the interruption of the ease that mistresses have 'a Right to expect'. Servants are counselled to respond to the fact of this expectation with calculated appearances, which necessitate the same attentiveness to the movements and whereabouts of the mistress as would service offered genuinely in singleness of heart (in the older sense) except that this service is undertaken with an eye to the maximisation of the good effects of the servant's labour and the minimisation of her effort (or at least, the feeling of effort). Haywood presents reasons for servants identifying with masters by making a focus on the emotional and intellectual costs for employers of their managerial labour a guide to contrivance.

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[46] Haywood, *Present*, p. 12.

[47] Haywood, *Present*, p. 12.

[48] Mayo, *Present*, p. 30.

Throughout Haywood's *Present* servants are schooled in how to render themselves pleasing by inhabiting the viewpoint of their employers, regulating their conduct by their mistress' 'Right to expect'. This is evident in the organisation of her book. Haywood eschewed chapter division by household relationship (duties of servants to masters, etcetera) and instead organised her advice under a series of headings, amounting to a compendium of commonplaces and cleaving closely to the exasperated discourse of employers while covering the same bases as earlier texts: sloth, staying when sent on errands, carelessness of children, giving pert or saucy answers, delaying to give change, wasting of victuals, quarrels with fellow-servants, conduct toward apprentices, and so on. Haywood's worldly text brings to servant literature the kind of advice on improvisatory self-fashioning through bodily and verbal dexterity offered to Renaissance courtiers, which had been the model for advice given to Elizabethan servingmen.[49] Giovanni Della Casa wrote: 'It is not only necessary that busynesse be *done*; there is an *artifice* in making *known* that *it is so*: and many actions are *lost* for not being *sufficiently averred*'.[50] Haywood, introducing her treatise and taking up the theme of how practical task-oriented skill might be traded off against cheerful eagerness, broached in Lucas' *Duty of Servants*, suggested that servants 'possess'd with a strong Desire of pleasing' who made that desire apparent would win favour, even if they were 'awkward' in carrying out their tasks. Conversely, if a servant undertook 'all the Duties of a Servant with the utmost Exactness' but seemed careless whether their actions were 'agreeable', then '[her] Services will lose great part [*sic*] of their Merit. The Manner of doing any thing is as much to be regarded as the Thing itself; and […] as the Scripture says, *The Eye of the Handmaid looks up to her Mistress*, so you ought diligently to observe not only what she *says*, but also how she *looks*,

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[49] Passages from Giovanni Della Casa, *Galateo*, trans. by Robert Peterson (London, 1576) were included in Walter Darell, *A Short Discourse of the Life of a Seruingman* (London, 1578), sigs B1^{r}–R1^{v}. On these older forms of dexterity, see Seth Lerer, *Courtly Letters in the Age of Henry VIII: Literary Culture and the Arts of Deceit* (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 1997); Stephen Greenblatt, *Renaissance Self-Fashioning: From More to Shakespeare* (Chicago: University of Chicago Press, 1980).

[50] Giovani Della Casa, *The Arts of Grandeur and Submission*, trans. by Henry Stubbe (London, 1665), pp. 37–38.

in order to give Content.[51] Reinterpreting scripture, Haywood's strategic eye on how to make the best of mistresses' surveillance entails a close attention on the servant's part to the worldview and expectations of the mistress. The skill described here is primarily one of managing conduct and interpersonal relations, and not practical competence in household tasks. It amounts to what the ex-servant Robert Dodsley, called 'discretion': the most necessary virtue in a manservant, crowning the commonplace qualities of honesty, carefulness, obedience, diligence, submission to rebukes, and neatness; 'cunning Skill to search and find | The darling Humours of a Master's Mind'.[52]

Servant dexterity necessitated servants identifying with employers, but such identification also served to justify the division of serving and served. For Haywood, Servants should notice in their employers exactly the affective consequences of the circumspection Haywood recommends to servants: 'It often costs many a bitten Lip and aking Heart to support the Rank they have been accustomed to hold in the World, while you, […] have only to do your Duty quietly in the Stations God has placed you' (p. 30). The idea that servants had it easy compared with the intellectual labour of their employers was present in earlier treatises, but Haywood's rendition is more sharply imagined.[53] Since the 'care' of paying wages is 'more than an Equivalent' for the 'care' of obliging, argues Haywood, servants ought not to expect to be as well nourished as their employers. Servants' labour, moreover, 'if you consider the Difference of Education' is 'no more to you than those Exercises which are prescribed to your Superiors for the Sake of Health' (p. 30). In Haywood's case, this strategic thinking entails sharpening the class division between mistress and servant, leisured and working, until it becomes almost physiological. Haywood's moralising guide to the 'artful Manner of delivering' service suggests strategies for navigating hierarchical households on the condition that the stratification of society remain unquestioned (p. 20). On the other hand, the 'bitten Lip and aking Heart', being immediately relevant to the servant's condition, suggest a double

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[51] Haywood, *Present*, pp. 4–5.

[52] Robert Dodsley, *Servitude: A Poem* (London, [1729?]), pp. 7, 25.

[53] Mayo, *Present*, pp. 62–64; Lucas, *Duty*, pp. 13–14.

voice to Haywood's text, also perceptible in the advice on eye service, which opens up a further space for skill, although Haywood's strictures about the necessity of seeming as well as being diligent appear to license a duplicitous performance.

Haywood confronts this tension in her work. For Haywood, servants ought to govern their conduct according to how they know it will appear to their employer. The limitations and partiality of the employer's viewpoint is acknowledged, but Haywood's advice nonetheless holds that the employer's interpretations of phenomena accurately point to the moral truth of a situation. Where Mayo's problematic had been the proliferation of vices if one vice is present (if servants are not catechised, or lie in bed on Sundays, their conduct will worsen, they will steal from their masters and end at the gallows), Haywood's, by contrast, is the inferences that may be drawn by masters and mistresses from servant actions: she describes multiple small infractions, like quarrelling, whispering, or eating leftover food, which will be interpreted in the worst light or as precursors to greater crimes and which require avoidance or careful management (for example, not being the person whose voice is raised) on that basis.[54] Ultimately, small instances of wasting time, like not attending church, 'shew you refrain from more publick Robberies only for fear of the Penalties of the Law' (p. 23). Employers' inferences must also be a guide to action when they are false. However, even if they are false, a servant putting herself in a position where such inferences might be drawn shows herself to be a bad servant: 'Carelessness of pleasing' is the real origin of 'almost all the Faults you can be guilty of' (p. 8). Thus, to be in a position of losing a service and so 'from petty Frauds [proceeding] to greater', ultimately to sex work and death (the warning with which Haywood's tract begins), is at root a failure of skill (p. 25).

As a corollary of her focus on the affective consequences of servant failures, Haywood also articulates in the most elaborate terms the way in which a servant misspending the time owned by their employer amounts to a trespass on the employer's property. For Haywood, being one 'whose Time is not her own' was basic to being a

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[54] Mayo, *Present*, pp. 75-77; Haywood, *Present*, pp. 11, 29, 32, 38.

servant, while having a 'Right to expect', secured by contract, defined an employer (pp. 6, 22–23, 12).The monetary value of servants' time was brought into increasing visibility in the mid-eighteenth century as customary hiring of servants for a year was being terminally replaced by shorted units, and hirings were customarily broken by a month's notice or a month's wages; handbooks contained tables enabling the quick calculation of wages due.[55] For Haywood, trespass is couched both as taking the employer's money and as disappointing their expectations of ease. Thus, if a servant loiters when sent on an errand, the 'Suspence' she engenders in her employer 'creates an Uneasiness of Mind which no considerate Person would give to any one, much less to a Master or Mistress', and it is also 'Robbery' since 'while you are in the Condition of a Servant, your Time belongs to those who pay you for it' (p. 9).The 'market penny' (a servant's pocketing the difference if by their own acuity they buy more cheaply than expected with the money given them to go to marker) is a species of trespasses on time and money, along with 'Delaying to give Change', 'Giving away Victuals', and 'Bringing in Chair-women', all of which are also symptoms of a deficiency or mis-estimation of skill in the servant (pp. 24, 25–29).[56]

This section has concentrated on the ways in which servant handbooks made the dispositions and demeanour of servants into objects of skill. But of course, these texts (especially those written by women and aimed at maidservants, distinct from the godly handbooks authored by clergymen) also aimed to render their readers 'skilful' and 'experienced' in the other side of the skill mentioned in Aristotle: the heterogenous array of practical competencies necessary for good servants, including cooking, cleaning, and going to market. Often texts were split into parts, reflecting this division.[57] Haywood is

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[55] [Daniel Defoe], *Every-Body's Business is No-Body's Business* (London, 1725), p. 11; *The Maid-Servants Modest Defence [...] By a Lady's Woman* (London, 1725), pp. 35–35; *The Complete Man and Maid Servant* (London, [1764?]), pp. iii–iv, 15.

[56] For complaints about the market penny, see *Every-Body's Business*, p. 8.

[57] *Servant-Maid*, sigs A3v–A3r, p. 63; *The Compleat Servant-Maid: or, The Young Maiden's and Family's Daily Companion [...] The Ninth Edition with large Additions* (London, 1729), pp. 6, 11–19 (second pagination); Haywood, *Present*, pp. 39–40, 51, 69; Mary Johnson, *The Young Woman's Companion; or The Servant-Maid's Assistant* (London, 1753), title page.

clear that the training of 'Mind' she offers comprehends calculated appearance and concrete practical knowledge (pp. 39–40). Over the late seventeenth and eighteenth centuries, servant handbooks paid increasingly detailed attention to the practicalities of service and the skill needed to excel in it. *The Complete Servant Maid* (*c.* 1770), attributed to Anne Barker (the title page claims she used to be a housekeeper, just as Mary Johnson, author of the *Young Woman's Companion* (1753) is described on the title page as 'Superintendent of a Lady of Quality's Family), combined much of Haywood's text with material from later editions of the *Compleat Servant-Maid* (1677, serially enlarged to a 'ninth edition' in 1729) — advice which, in turn, originated in reproduction of material in *The Gentlewomans Companion* (1673). Like these earlier handbooks, Barker's book split the text into numerous headings to suggest advice specific to a variety of servant roles — a lady's woman, housekeeper, chambermaid, nursery maid, housemaid, laundry maid, cook maid, kitchen or scullery maid, dairy-maid — establishing clear hierarchies of skill between them and educating servants about what mistresses of different quality would expect.[58] Whatever their relation to actual practice, these texts witness a colossal bringing into discourse of the various tasks that made up domestic servants' drudgery.

The handbooks themselves offer some evidence of the dutiful practices they hoped to elicit. The text of Mayo's *Present* remained largely unchanged through its reprintings. Minor alterations in phrasing were introduced in the 1726 'Second Edition', which also added several digests to Mayo's seven chapters: summaries of the book in verse ('Good Qualities in a Servant', 'Ill Qualities in a Servant') and prose, with the text of morning and evening payers for servants, each of which repeated in summary form the same precepts.[59] Mayo's text was reworked for use, then, to make it user-friendly and digestible

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[58] Anne Barker, *The Complete Servant Maid; or, Young Women's Best Companion* (London, [1770(?)]), pp. 44, 46; *Servant-Maid* (1729). See the much-expanded text, based on Haywood, *A New Present for a Servant-Maid […] In Ten Books* (London, 1771). Another similar text appears under the name of Anne Walker, *A Complete Guide for a Servant Maid* (London, 1787). For similar instructions, see Johnson, *Companion*.

[59] *A Present for Servants, From their Ministers, Masters, Or other Friends […] The Second Edition* (London, 1726), pp. 68–81. For other handbooks with payers for servants, see *Holy Devotions*; *Duty*; *Young Woman's Companion*, and earlier seventeenth-century texts cited in Mark Burnett, *Masters and Servants in English Renaissance Drama and Culture: Authority and Obedience* (Basingstoke: Macmillan, 1997), p. 9.

through the mnemonic function of verse and a series of complementary negative and positive examples. Perhaps read aloud, in a context of family devotion that would also include catechism, recitation of texts from memory, and giving an account of what the servants remembered of the sermon, it was designed to teach and to interpolate servants, in keeping with the text's insistence on the necessity of instructing servants in literacy and their inevitable criminality if they did not acquire this ability.[60] Mayo's *Present*, like the prose digests and prayers for servants present in other handbooks, aimed to offer servants a script they could use to develop aptitudes in themselves.

The acquired competence of literacy was obviously a condition of possibility for servants' use of the handbooks. For many writers, teaching reading and annotation was the responsibility of employers.[61] For Mayo, who was explicit about the difficulty of finding opportunity for learning for the children of labourers, it was also a responsibility literate servant bore to illiterate brethren.[62] The handbooks themselves sometimes contained pronunciation guides, as well as instruction in (gender-specific) handwriting, pen-making, letter composition, and arithmetic — aspects of what Wendy Wall has term a wider 'kitchen literacy' encompassing household work, reading methods, and the material practices of writing.[63] Texts like *The Compleat Servant-Maid* (1677) or Haywood's *Present for a Servant-Maid* (1743) might be bought by mistresses rather than

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[60] Mayo, *Present*, sigs. A6r-A6v, pp. 30, 53–54, 76–77; *Guide*, p. 272; Richard Baxter, *Catechising of Families*, in *Works*, 4 vols (London, 1707), IV, pp. 115–19. On catechism, sermon recitation, and devotional reading, see Amussen, pp. 35–37.

[61] *Godlie Forme*, pp. 29–30, 46–47; *Duty*, p. 27.

[62] Richard Mayo, *The Life & Death of Edmund Staunton* (London, 1673), pp. ix–x; *Present*, sigs A2v–A5r, pp. 44–46, 48.

[63] *Gentlewomans Companion*, pp. 204–18, *The Compleat Servant-Maid* (London, 1677), pp. 23–26; *Servant-Maid*, 9th edn, 'Appendix', pp. 1–10; *Young Woman's Companion*, pp. 63–88. Wendy Wall, 'Literacy and the Domestic Arts', *Huntington Library Quarterly*, 73.3 (2010), 383–412. On gender and writing instruction, see Stacey Sloboda, 'Between the Mind and the Hand: Gender, Art and Skill in Eighteenth-Century Copybooks', *Women's Writing*, 21.3 (2014), 337–56. In this period, Margaret Spufford suggests, children would have been able to read if they had gone to school until age seven, 'First Steps in Literacy: The Reading and Writing Experiences of the Humblest Seventeenth-Century Spiritual Autobiographers', *Social History*, 4.3 (1979), 407–35 (p. 412). Peter Earle's data for London 1695–1725 suggests that forty percent of women who worked as domestic servants could sign their name, 'The Female Labour Market in London in the Late Seventeenth and Early Eighteenth Centuries', *Economic History Review*, 42.3 (1989), 328–53 (p. 343).

maidservants, and seem intended for use by both.[64] Mayo's handbook, from the 'second edition' onwards, was printed under the auspices of the Society for the Promotion of Christian Knowledge, was sold at a price within reach of domestic servants, at 3d. each or 20s. per hundred. The 1743 edition of Haywood's anonymous *Present*, meanwhile, was priced at 1s, or twenty-five for a guinea 'to those who give them away' — three times the price of the 1768 edition of Mayo's *Present* (4d. or 28s. per hundred).[65] The readership and address of many of these handbooks was double, as their preface addressing employers and occasional grammatical oddities also suggest.[66] These texts elaborated a shared set of materials that were known to and usable by both servants and employers.

By concentrating on the arts of attentiveness and fidelity, this section has been able to trace a clear trajectory in the rhetoric of servant handbooks. While conserving the same set of scripturally derived servant virtues — and while continuing to insist that the condition of being a servant had claims on a servant's inner desires and volitions — these treatises increasingly emphasised the skilful, tactical aspects of servants' work and localised the evaluation of that work in the effects it had on employers, whose socially validated expectations (warranted by their purchase of servants' time) motivated and guided servants' conduct. Concurrently, servants' volitions and personalities tended increasingly to be represented as opaque to employers. Rather than posing servant fidelity as mere acting or impersonation, however — one aspect of a general theatricalisation of social relations in the eighteenth century — handbooks like those of Lucas, Mayo, and Haywood turned the emotions and dispositions of servants into objects of skill, making use of the modelling capacities of contract and the possibilities of imaginative identification to do so.[67]

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64 Meldrum, *Service*, pp. 42, 142.

65 Haywood, *Present*, title page.

66 See for example Mayo, *Present*, p. 6, apparently addressing servants: 'your Money, Wages, and Provision […] their indigency, and their Work and Service'.

67 For theatricalisation, see Jean Cristophe Agnew, *Worlds Apart: The Market and the Theater in Anglo-American Thought, 1550–1750* (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 1986), pp. 153-61; Nicholas Ridout, *Scenes from Bourgeois Life* (Ann Arbor: University of Michigan Press, 2020), pp. 23–100.

2. Prints

Handbooks for servants gave expression to the voice of employers (including clergymen), and ex-servants of the middling sort, shaped by their address to servants. How was servant skill understood outside this context of one-sided dialogue? In order to gain an alternative perspective on what employers wanted servants to be, and what that meant for understandings of what it was for servants to be skilled, this section examines visual evidence. Drawing on the work of Mark Burnett and Malcolm Jones, it canvasses the medieval and early modern tradition of emblematic depictions of servants and focusses in detail on two images, both print satires: *This Ages Rarity* (1682) and George Bickham's *Moll Handy* (*c.* 1746).[68] These images mark out either end of the period on which the previous section focussed. The visual motifs they exhibit amount to another slowly-changing repertoire of servant representations, in conversation with the commonplaces of the prescriptive materials discussed above, but offered in a different mode. By placing both later prints in relation to the tradition of 'good servant' emblems, and by correlating verbal and visual evidence across the period, this section makes visible the rich commentary on skill present in and around these images.

In the pan-European tradition of 'good servant' emblems, on which the later prints draw, the desirable qualities of servants are figured though the allegorical significance of diverse non-human animal parts (ass's ears, deer's feet, a pig's snout), combined in one composite body, and the tools that body holds. The visual allegory dates from at least the fifteenth century; in sixteenth- and seventeenth-century France it was

[68] Mark Burnett discusses the 'good servant' emblems and their medieval precursors in 'The "Trusty Servant": A Sixteenth–Century English Emblem', *Emblematica*, 6.2 (1992), 237–53, while Malcolm Jones constructs a genealogy of *This Ages Rarity*, beginning with the medieval tradition, in *The Print in Early Modern England: A Historical Oversight* (New Haven: Yale University Press, 2010), pp. 310–14. Neither discuss *Moll Handy*.

frequently drawn on the walls of houses.[69] A sixteenth-century French woodcut, *Le bon serviteur* depicts a figure of this kind (Plate 1). The verses underneath state that one who wants to serve well must 'Work all the time without feigning, | Must bring with the fire the water | Needed to put it out'.[70] The fire an water, according to Gilbert Cousins' *Office of Servauntes* (1543), betokens the servant's 'deftenes, and good conueyaunce in bringinge many thinges at ones to passe'.[71] The attributes of the trusty servant (variants of which included a padlock on the mouth of the figure or a sheep's tongue) indicated positively and negatively the necessity of the mental and manual virtues of verbal discretion and dexterity.[72] Central to the meaning of these late medieval allegories, this section suggests, was the representation of servant skill.

The 'good servant', as visual emblem and textual allegory (sometimes found in household manuals), provided an extremely durable framework for representing the desirable demeanour, attitudes, beliefs, speech habits, and practical knowledge of servants. In post-medieval Europe, reproductions of and references to the 'good servant' figure are widely attested in print and manuscript.[73] A version of *Le bon serviteur* was printed in 1713 to illustrate a song of the 'Valet a Tout Faire' — a popular type of servant omnicompetence.[74] The figure is attested in England from the sixteenth century: in the 1580s John Hoskyns, who also drew pictures of his own male servants on the walls of his manor, had a similar emblem, *The Trusty Servant*, painted on a board to be hung on an

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[69] Burnett, '"Servant", 247–49; Malcolm Jones, 'Washing the Ass's Head: Exploring the Non-Religious Prints', in *The Print Collection of Ferdinand Columbus (1488-1539): A Renaissance Collector in Seville*, ed. by Mark McDonald, 2 vols (London: British Museum Press, 2004), I, 221–245; Elizabeth Godfrey, *Home Life under the Stuarts, 1603–1649* (London: Stanley Paul, 1925), p. 210.

[70] My translation.

[71] Quoted in Burnett, '"Servant"', p. 249.

[72] Paul Secord, *The Trusty Servant* (Albuquerque: Secord Books, 2021), pp. 4–15.

[73] For reproductions of seventeenth-century images from Switzerland, Poland, and France see Secord, *Servant*, pp. 19, 26–27; Krzyztof Kruzel, 'The Print Collection of the Polish Academy of Sciences', *Print Quarterly*, 11.2 (1994), 158–66 (p. 165).

[74] Cissie Fairchilds, *Domestic Enemies: Servants and Their Masters in Old Regime France* (Baltimore: Johns Hopkins University Press, 1983), p. 23.

outside wall of Winchester College.[75] Hoskyns added a Latin expansion of the French verses to the Winchester painting, which run through the significance of each animal part and implement: not fussy in eating (snout), not apt to disclose secrets (padlock), patient in bearing harsh words (ears), swift in errands (feet), 'apt to labour' (tools – fire-tending implements have replaced the buckets and taper of the European tradition), neat and faithful (vest and open hand) (Plate 2).[76] The *Trusty Servant* was repeatedly redone, moved to an interior wall by the kitchens at some point in the seventeenth century, and currently exists as a life–sized oil painting (1809). Multiple print and manuscript reproductions of its various states exist, from 1642 onwards.[77]

In its sixteenth-century form, the *Trusty Servant* was a servant in an elite household ('Girt with his sword, his shield upon his arm' as the 1773 translation of the Latin verses has it). The 'good servant' motif is absent from early modern emblem books, but some sixteenth- and seventeenth-century prints of it are attested.[78] The practice of drawing the trusty servant emblem on interior and exterior walls must be understood in the context of the visual environment of early modern churches, alehouses, and even relatively humble households, which, Tessa Watt and Gill Saunders have argued, might be ornamented with cheap woodcuts as well as images painted on cloth and on the walls — between which media there was a close relationship of form and content.[79] These images were part of the material and cognitive world of servants and their employers.

Reading the *Trusty Servant* emblem in the context of the contemporary literature on service suggests that by the first decades of the seventeenth century it would have

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[75] Jones, *Print*, p. 311; Secord, *Servant*, p. 32; Burnett, '"Servant"', p. 244.

[76] [Thomas Wharton], *The History and Antiquities of Winchester*, 2 vols (Winchester, 1773), I, p. 92, quoted in Burnett, '"Servant"', p. 240. For the Latin verses see Louise Osborn, *The Life, Letters, and Writings of John Hoskyns 1566–1638* (New Haven: Yale University Press, 1937), p. 168.

[77] Second, *Servant*, pp. 32–37; Burnett, '"Servant"', p. 251.

[78] Secord, *Servant*, p. 13; Sheila O'Connell, *The Popular Print in England 1550–1850* (London: British Museum Press, 1999), p. 149.

[79] Tessa Watt, *Cheap Print and Popular Piety, 1550–1640* (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 1991), pp. 178–216; Gill Saunders, '"Paper Tapestry" and "Wooden Pictures": Printed Decoration in the Domestic Interior before 1700', in *Printed Images in Early Modern Britain: Essays in Interpretation*, ed. by Michael Hunter (Farnham: Ashgate, 2010), pp. 317–36.

come to signify an ideal of past times. In these years there was a flourishing of writing lamenting the decline of service and hospitality, the downsizing of aristocratic households, and the consequent loss in status for servingmen.[80] Addressed to yeomen's sons who might become servants, *A Health to the Gentlemanly Profession of Seruingmen* (1598), like the servingman William Basse's *Sword and Buckler* (1602), identifies loss of skill as a salient aspect of the loss of status consequent on the decline of liberality (when there was 'no seruile, but as it were a filial feare'). Where formerly the servingman had the opportunity of the hunt 'to shew his skil, to delight his Maister', he is now no longer an 'equall partaker' in the collective, skilful pleasures of rural sports (one of the few contexts in which servants are found in early modern visual art), or of the household.[81]

The 'good servant' motif, in which desirable qualities of servants are figured through the allegorical significance of diverse animal parts combined in one body, is taken up again in a seventeenth-century print, *This Ages Rarity: Or, The Emblem of a Good Servant Explain'd* (1682) (Plate 3). The print combines a new image with subscribed verses that are extremely similar to those of the *Trusty Servant*. As Malcolm Jones argues, *Rarity* also draws on two prints from 1641 which adapt the earlier iconography in order to satirise projectors and the seventeenth-century patent and monopoly system.[82] These prints — an illustrated broadside, 'The complaint of M. Tenter–hooke the proiector, and Sir Thomas Dodger the patentee', which built on Wenceslaus Hollar's *Picture of a Pattenty* — use the composite servant figure and the established iconography of the 'good servant',

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[80] *Health*, sigs B1v, B3r–C4v, D2v; Richard Brathwait, *The English Gentleman* (London, 1630), pp. 158–59. See also Darell, *Discourse*, sigs A3r–B1v. On these changes, see Felicity Heal, *Hospitality in Early Modern England* (Oxford: Clarendon Press, 1990), pp. 164–70. On the periodisation mounted by this writing, see Burnett, *Masters*, pp. 4–5, 84–97; Michael Neill, 'Servant Obedience and Master Sins: Shakespeare and the Bonds of Service', in *Putting History to the Question: Power, Politics, and Society in English Renaissance Drama* (New York: Columbia University Press, 2000), pp. 13-48 (pp. 19–23, 44–46).

[81] *Health*, sigs C2v, C2r. Compare William Basse, *Sword and Buckler, Or, Serving-Mans Defence* (London, 1602), sigs B1r–B4r, C2r–C3v, D3r–v. Servants' skilled participation in the hunt is also celebrated in Basse's poem, *Maister Basse his Careere* (London, 1620). For discussions of this visual tradition, see Anne French, 'Stewards to Scullery-Maids', in *Below Stairs: 400 Years of Servants' Portraits*, ed. by Giles Waterfield and Anne French, with Matthew Crask (London: National Portrait Gallery Publications, 2003), pp. 37–55 (pp. 46–47); Nathan Flis and Michael Hunter, *Francis Barlow: Painter of Birds and Beasts* (London: Robert Boyle Project, 2011), p. 6.

[82] Jones, *Print*, pp. 312–13.

combining the animal parts with mechanical devices, to represent political dangers, making them legible as the effects of misplaced and misdirected servant skill.[83] They literalise the sense in which a servant was a 'creature' or 'instrument' of their employer, a potentially recalcitrant tool in the practice of their employers' skill.

According to the verses subscribed beneath the depiction of the servant in *This Ages Rarity* (1682), ideal servants are unfussy about food, discreet, patient when verbally abused, swift in errands, and habituated to hard work, as in Hoskyns' image. *Rarity* has the hind's feet and ass's ears of the trusty servant figure: he is never idle, never reluctant, does not think he deserves his master's food and is 'Nimble […] | In the Dispatch of Business'. He holds in his hands the instruments of some high status arts or trades (painting, geometry, and sculpture) whose proper use depends on a skill that does not conventionally belong to a servant. In this he is unlike the 'good servant' figures, who hold the instruments of service. As was the case with the earlier images, however, the verses interpret the meaning of these tools in a restricted manner: 'he should not be given to Idleness'. Since he has a boyish human face his person seems a more viable locus of skill than the earlier animal-headed composites. If he is an 'instrument of instruments', then this reflexive phrase expresses his capacity as a user of instruments, rather than a doubly secondary implement.

Other aspects of the class and gender presentation of the servant complicate this account of his skill, however. The coat he wears was a late seventeenth-century design, with minimal collar and low horizontal slit pockets, designed for everyday wear, which also provided less occasion for obvious class distinction. However, the neckwear is notably sparse, and if he wears a wig it is not an imposing one.[84] He seems to be wearing a livery coat, an immediately recognisable form of occupational clothing that doubly sets him

[83] On these prints and the monopolists, see Helen Pierce, *Unseemly Pictures: Graphic Satire and Politics in Early Modern England* (New Haven: Yale University Press, 2008), pp. 69–99.

[84] For the appearance of wigs, see Valerie Cumming, *A Visual History of Costume: The Seventeenth Century* (London: Batsford, 1984), pp. 111, 117.

apart from most servants.[85] He wears what looks like a scold's bridle, to still 'that female Weapon, the tongue'.[86] The explanatory verses say it is to make him slow to speak and call it a muzzle (taking up Hoskyns' addition of a padlock to the French woodcut): if this saves him from feminisation, it is at the expense of his re-expulsion into non-human animality. Ultimately, the '*he*' is nonetheless liable to be dispersed, since the tools depicted are tools proper to the arts and business of the servant's employer and not to him. Through the instruments he holds, according with both the older Aristotelian understanding of service and the developing everyday philosophy of contract, the servant in *Rarity* participates in skill by carrying out the intention, knowledge, and expertise that are supposed to be resident in his master, but which can only emerge when servant and instruments are assembled with the master and used.

This Ages Rarity is satirical in a different mode to its predecessors. While it describes itself as an emblem (as do Hoskyns' verses on the Winchester painting and descriptions of the European 'good servant' tradition) and includes all elements of emblem's format (insriptio, pictura, subscriptio), it nonetheless holds the popular or antique form at a distance, by adding four lines to the beginning of the recycled verses and two to the end, as well as a couplet commenting on the emblematic form and a prose legend in which claims the image dates from the time of Alexander the Great and is a portrait by Apelles. The qualities it exhorts are *rare*, not ideal: it has lost the hortatory mood of the sixteenth century prints (the figure is from the 'Golden Days' not 'as things now are'). Like the seventeenth-century writing on servingmen, it presents true service as belonging to a past age, but one now understood as a time of perfect subordination, rather than reciprocity. The ambiguity of *This Ages Rarity* is more pronounced and self–conscious than that of Hoskyns' emblem. For Burnett, the zoomorphism of the sixteenth-century *Trusty Servant* 'work[s] against the thrust of the verses': the whole is a 'monstrous anomaly' that suggests both the servile subordination and the menacing power of

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[85] John Styles, *The Dress of the People: Everyday Fashion in Eighteenth–Century England* (New Haven: Yale University Press, 2007), pp. 51, 296.

[86] *Every Man Mind His Own Business* (London, 1725), p. 27.

servants, whose mouths, if not padlocked, would speak out and whose swift legs will one day make them run away.[87] The reception of the 'good servant' images, however, suggest that they were relatively commonplace and, in themselves, far from unsettling in their medieval and early modern contexts. In the case of *This Ages Rarity*, the verses — which, aside from the framing lines, appear to refer to the older tradition — seem blithely affirming of the evident vulnerability of the servant. The assertiveness and represented power of the earlier images is further diminished, along with the number of animal components: the servant and the potentially fractious employment relationship that *This Ages Rarity* indicates are framed by classicising allusions and proffered as something like a natural philosophical specimen, a 'rarity'.

The 'good servant' emblems and *This Ages Rarity* are excluded from human rationality by their defacement and animalisation, but are invested with skill through the instruments they hold, which signify the qualities of an ideal servant and gesture towards the employment relation that demanded the servant's activity and through which they might participate in skill. We can see how this oscillation of the ascription and erasure of skill is transformed in the eighteenth century by examining a well-known print, *Moll Handy. With a Letter of Recommendation to a Service* (*c.* 1746–47) by George Bickham the younger (*c.* 1704–1771) (Plate 4). These paragraphs argue that the meaning of Bickham's print and of the series 'Trades made out of their own Implements' of which it was a part, and these items' relevance to skill, becomes clear when contextualised by the earlier 'good servant' tradition.

The servant, Moll, holds a broom, a tool of servant's work, but Bickham's print posits a more complex relation than is found in the seventeenth-century print between her character or qualities and the domain of tasks in which one might use a broom. Moll Handy's body is made out of the utensils that one would bring into use when carrying out the tasks of a domestic servant: the print displays the servant's skill by displaying the tools in relation to which the skill is manifest. *Moll Handy* has a more sensuously

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[87] Burnett, 'Trusty Servant', pp. 252–53.

recognisable figure: she is human in outline, not a human–animal hybrid. Yet Bickham's print does not depict a plausible imaginary living being or personality, as the earlier images do; rather, the composite servant body, made up of the outlines of household objects, around which and through which the work of domestic service takes place, figures the energies and capacities of the living servant whose mobility and knowledge would put the objects in motion. *Moll Handy*'s intellect is the attachment of household objects; she is an 'implement of implements' in a secondary sense. The text of a 'character', addressed to Lady Crosspatch from Margery Makefree, is affixed beneath the image, asserting that Moll possesses 'all the good Qualities'. The servant is animated by the writing which frames the print and describes her personality and history: a discourse between mistresses, whose oversight and wages demand the objects' use. *Moll Handy* is thus not an automaton (a self-mover): her limbs are not obviously articulated, there are no joints shown that might allow a viewer to imagine its movement. Unlike the instruments of Aristotle, Tasso, and Cleaver, or the 'good servant' figures, Moll is not represented as having any anticipatory power: her motive power is exterior to her.[88] The skill represented is directed primarily at the material drudgery of household reproduction, rather than personal qualities of responsiveness and discretion governing interpersonal relations, as in the *Trusty Servant* and *This Ages Rarity*. The print thematises the everyday social aspects of employment — the servant character, getting a place, securing settlement — in a way that the previous prints do not. Rather than a wonder or a specimen, a spectacular 'rarity', the servant has become a type: 'Moll'. This changed representational strategy suggests the reassertion of labour discipline in a different mode and a diminution of the qualities of a servant, whose time and labour were both owned while the intellectual content of her labour was undertaken in the mind of her employer.

Moll Handy represents skill in the mode of emblem and caricature. The components of the image retain some allegorical character, although their main appeal is

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[88] For early modern definitions of automata and servant automata, see Minsoo Kang, *Sublime Dreams of Living Machines: The Automaton in the European Imagination* (Cambridge: Harvard University Press, 2011), pp. 17–18, 103–12, 120–23.

as notations of everyday domestic objects familiar to viewers. More importantly, each household object is labelled, has an explicit function, and needs a servant's action to make it do the thing for which it is intended and which, animated by the employment relation, it demands. The depicted servant's body as a possible locus of skill or volition disintegrates into the outline of a function that follows the dictates of objects and does what they and its employer tell it to do. An observer who recognises what these configurations of wood, metal, and bristles are, also knows what activities will be demanded of the person who picks them up; they are objects whose proper use is clear. Taking the form of an exploded household, *Moll Handy* travesties the form of the diagram, as defined by John Bender and Michael Marrinan: an object-like representation, characterised by the discontinuity of the data it presents, which provoke 'seriated cognitive processes' and 'active correlation' in its users.[89] The servant figure depicted in the print is not such a user: rather than possessing a body and mind that might recognise the applications of the objects depicted in the print through the narratives of their use, in Tim Ingold's phrase, she is simply the aggregate of those narratives (in a manner that resonates with satirical strategies that sought to diminish the stature of maidservants by naming them for household objects).[90] If 'considered as tools, things *are* their stories', Moll, like any other tool, is 'the epitome of the story', an abstract of actions to be performed, and requires her employer to be brought into use in a skilled practice.[91] She is moved through social and physical worlds by the words of her employers: characters and verbal commands which actualise what Carolyn Steedman terms 'the needs of things' that are to be worked with.[92]

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[89] John Bender and Michael Marrinan, *The Culture of Diagram* (Stanford: Stanford University Press, 2010), pp. 7–8, 63.

[90] 'Catherine Comb–Brush, Lady's Woman', purported author of *Every Man Mind His Own Business*, responded to Andrew Morton (i.e. Defoe)'s attacks on servants: 'I doubt not but you are angry with Providence for not giving Servants another Form to distinguish them from their Superiors' (p. 22).

[91] Tim Ingold, 'Walking the Plank: Meditations on a Process of Skill', in *Being Alive: Essays on Movement, Knowledge and Description* (Oxford: Routledge, 2011), pp. 51–62 (pp. 56, 58).

[92] Steedman, *Labours*, pp. 342–56.

Thus far, the prints that this section has looked at seem to trace a narrative of decline in the status of servant skill. As their mode of address shifts, from the hortatory, through the fearful and the elegiac, to the knowing, and as they cease to be so directly part of enforcing the worldview of employers (and so closely aligned with the prescriptions of servant handbooks), the kind of expertise that these prints predicate of the relation between servants and masters also changes: emotional or moral dispositions are evacuated. Of course, these prints existed alongside other developments in literary and art history, which attest to increased possibilities for the representation of servant subjectivity (including Richardson's *Pamela* (1740), or the adventure fiction of the 1720s discussed in chapter five.) The eighteenth century also saw substantial increases in cultural production by domestic servants. Nonetheless, *Moll Handy*, like *This Ages Rarity* radicalises an existing trend in servant portraits to depict servants (especially aged ones) using the implements of their work and as contained by or commemorating their workplaces and employers. Charles Beales's red chalk studies of friends, tradesmen, and servants (*c.* 1680), or Richard Waitt's portrait of an elderly servant to Clan Grant, known as the *Henwife* (1706) are unusual in partially derogating from these traditions in their sensitive attention to servants and the 'apparent uniformity of presentation' across sitters of different status.[93] Transformations over time in the visual language of this series of emblems and prints, then, illuminate alterations in early modern society's sense of what was grotesque or monstrous in its attempts to depict employers' ownership of servants' time and energies, or claims over their skill, volition, and emotional dispositions, without collapsing the condition of 'servant' into that of 'slave', 'beast', or 'tool'. As servant handbooks increasingly emphasised the skilful, tactical aspects of servants' work, and localised the evaluation of that work in the effects it had on their employers, whose

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[93] Malcolm Jones, *I, Richard Waitt, Picture Drawer: Portraits of a Highland Clan 1713–1733* (Edinburgh: National Museums Scotland and Grantown Museum, 2017) p. 46. For the servant studies, see Charles Beale, *3rd Sketchbook* [red chalk, black chalk, graphite] (1680-81). London: British Museum, Department of Prints and Drawings. Museum numbers: 1981,0516.15.34, 35, 44; Lindsay Stainton and Christopher White, *Drawing in England from Hilliard to Hogarth* (London: Trustees of the British Museum by British Museum Publications, 1987), pp. 214–16. For Waitt and other servant portraits, see Jones, *Waitt*, pp. 46–47, 78–79; Anne French and Giles Waterfield, 'Loyal Servants', in *Below Stairs*, ed. by Waterfield, French, and Craske, pp. 57–75.

expectations and emotions became sovereign, these images, which occupy the cultural negative space of the servant handbooks, progressively delocalise skill and labour, evacuating emotional or moral dispositions and instead representing skill, through material things, as aligned with capacity rather than quality.

The contradictory nature of this change in the conception of servant skill, as depicted in the eighteenth century, can be clarified by comparing *Moll Handy* with other prints by Bickham that adopted the same visual format. *Moll Handy* was one item in a series, issued by Bickham between 1746 and 1747 and advertised at the end of his short volume *General Rures* [sic] *for Painting in Oil and Water-Colours*, under a separate heading: 'Trades made out of their own Implements'. These are satires of everyday life that depict various trades as composite figures made out of their own tools. The list, as printed in Bickham's *Rures* [sic] *for Painting* is as follows:

> 1. The Butcher, taken from the Sign of the Butcher, in Butcher-Row.
> 2. Moll Handy, with a Letter of Recommendation to a Service.
> 3. The Taylor with proper References.
> 4. The Victualler or Publican.
> 5. The Butcher in another Manner.[94]

Of these, *Moll Handy* (undated), *The Taylor* (undated), and *The Victualler* (1746) exhibit the same format: a composite figure in a rococo frame, with subscribed text explaining the meaning of the objects depicted. One later print in the same manner, *Don Tonsorio* the barber, is not listed. The two *Butcher* prints are quite different: they depict an anthropomorphised ox with a cow's head, dressed in a butcher's apron, carrying a cleaver and other implements, recalling the visual language of the 'good servant' tradition. The first, dated 19 December 1746, is a post-Culloden satire on the Duke of Cumberland (Plate 5) while the second is a topical satire set in Smithfield. Looking at the publication lines of the *Taylor* (Plate 6) and *Victualler* and comparing the format of these prints with

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[94] George Bickham, *General Rures for Painting in Oil and Water–Colours; Washing Prints, Maps, and Mezzitintoes* (London, 1747), sig. D4^{r}.

the *Butcher* prints it is clear that *Taylor* and *Victualler* were conceived as a series; it seems plausible that Bickham's incorporation of *The Butcher* this series was a post-hoc rationalisation, which attests to the continued comparability of human–animal and human–tool hybrids in making allegorical meaning and serves as another way to place *Moll Handy* in relation to the 'good servant' tradition.[95]

It seems likely that Bickham took the design format of the 'Trades' series from another St Martin's Lane printmaker, suggesting that the motif had a retail appeal that he recognised. (Bickham appears in the archival record as both plagiariser and plagiarised; 'much of his practice consisted in silently appropriating other men's designs'.[96]) Bickham's print of *Don Tonsorio,* the barber (another composite figure, depicted in the same manner as those in the 'Trades' series) is a later state of an etching by F. Hammond, which has a the same subheading as Bickham's *Taylor* ('Erected out of his own utensils without the assistance of nature').[97] Hammond's *Don Tonsorio* was published on 11 June 1746, whereas the amended publication line of Walpole Library's copy of Bickham's *Don Tonsorio* dates the print to 1752 (and the plate is worn). Plausibly, then, *Tonsorio* was a later addition to Bickham's 'Trades', with the plate purchased from Hammond after Bickham had appropriated the idea, and for this reason not advertised by Bickham in 1747. Bickham's series is far from systematic or uniform, then, but it has coherence in centring on retail trades rather than artisans, and using both tools and animals parts to represent the habits of life, collective skill, and imagined character of each trade: an idea that was not confined to him alone.

Bickham's series is unique among similar visual and textual catalogues in including a servant among other trades. Domestic work (apart from the role of the male

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[95] London: British Museum, Department of Prints and Drawings. Museum number: 1898,0520.175. On the allegorical potential of animals in this period, see Douglas Fordham, 'George Stubb's *Zoon Politikon*', *Oxford Art Journal*, 33.1 (2010), 1–23.

[96] Nancy Valpy, 'Plagiarism in Prints: The "Musical Entertainer" Affair', *Print Quarterly*, 6.1 (1989), 54–59 (p. 58). See also David Hunter, 'Pope v. Bickham: An Infringement of *An Essay on Man* Alleged', *The Library*, 6th ser., 9.3 (1987), 268–73.

[97] Copies of Hammond's and Bickham's prints with publication lines are held in the Lewis Walpole Library, New Haven. See call numbers 746.06.11.01.1 and 746.06.11.01.2 respectively.

cook) does not feature in instructional compendia of trades contemporary with Bickham's prints, such as *A General Description of All Trades* (1747) or Richard Campbell's *The London Tradesman* (1747). No servants feature in any version of the *Cries of London* (or of Paris or Rome) from the late sixteenth to the mid eighteenth century: because their work is heterogeneous and their employment widespread, servants have no characteristic public cry representing their expertise and social function. Thus, dishonest and unskilful servants appear as social types, among other plebeian and elite undesirables, in Wenceslaus Hollar's set of twenty satirical cards, *A Pack of Knaves* (1640s; reissued in the 1670 — a format that Bickham adopted when he published a set pf playing cards with satirical prints on their reverse sides in 1746).[98] Domestic servants occupy a representational space adjacent to the lower-status occupations depicted in the *Cries* and the trades surveyed in the textual catalogues.

A collection of costume prints produced by a family of printmakers, Nicholas I de Larmessin (1632–94) and his younger brother, Nicolas II (*c.* 1645–1725), first published *c.* 1695, provides another plausible precursor to the method of Bickham's prints. The Larmessins' prints, which were extensively copied and expanded in France, Germany, and England, and published into the 1730s, depict practitioners of the *arts et métiers* outfitted with the products and implements of their trades (Plate 8). Again, no domestic servants are represented, but the Larmessins' series of costume prints helps to clarify what kinds of bodies are displayed in Bickham's prints. William Sewell interpreted the Larmessins' series as the apotheosis of early modern visual depictions of trades: where early modern prints compressed into one image a synopsis of 'the division and the coordination of labor and [. . .] the various tools, implements, and techniques' for each trade, the Larmessins' prints depict each type of artisan as 'a particular kind of person, with a single public

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98 Wenceslaus Hollar after Abraham Bosse, *A Pack of Knaves*, *c.* 1640, etchings, London: British Museum, Department of Prints and Drawings. Museum numbers: 1878,1012.346–362. For servants, see *A Cokes*, *The Nastye*, *Sweetlipps*, and *A Mere Scullion*. For Bickham's cards, see Herbert Atherton, 'George Townshend Revisited: The Politician as Caricaturist', *Oxford Art Journal*, 8.1 (1985), 3–19 (p. 9).

personality'.[99] The body that is displayed, for Sewell, is a virtual, corporate body: a skilled unity that appears in and through coordination, cooperation, and association. David Pullins, placing the Larmessins' prints within the ecology of fashionable print genres in late seventeenth-century Paris, suggests that the Larmessins' prints should be understood in light of a preoccupation with the social meaning of gesture, body, and surface in the costume prints on which they draw. These prints, oriented towards ballet and masquerade, depicted maximally displayable clothed surfaces that have obfuscated relations to the bodies interior to them. For Pullins, the Larmessins make use of these conventions to figure artisans' habitual outlook or patterns of thought and life as bodily conditioning: 'habit' as clothing, custom, and dexterity.[100] Bickham's 'trades' represent skill, as indicated by collections of implements, as a matter of conversance with those instruments; but, by substituting depictions of imaginary assemblages or human-animal hybrids for the Larmessins' depictions of costumed practitioners, with their problematic of gesture, technique, and 'habit', Bickham's series record a productive incoherence in the location of skill and ask that more is supplied by the viewer. While the 'public personalities' of the victualler, tailor, barber, and butcher represent synopses of work processes and locations potentially under corporate control, that of *Moll Handy* gestures only to the household.[101] The 'Trades' thus represent skill as collective property, in a way that applies only slantingly to *Moll Handy.* In another sense, however, the unity of all the trades depicted by Bickham, including *Moll Handy*, is exterior to them and constituted by exchange: together, the skill and labour of these retail and service trades could feed, clothe, and environ one employer.

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[99] William Sewell, 'Visions of Labor: Illustrations of the Mechanical Arts before, in, and after Diderot's *Encyclopédie*', in *Work in France: Representations, Meaning, Organization, and Practice*, ed. by Steven Kaplan and Cynthia Koepp (Ithaca: Cornell University Press, 1986), pp. 258–86 (pp. 259, 266).

[100] David Pullins, 'Techniques of the Body: Viewing the Arts and Métiers of France from the Workshop of Nicolas I and Nicolas II de Larmessin', *Oxford Art Journal*, 37.2 (2014), 133–55.

[101] On the labour struggles of eighteenth-century tailors, for example, see John Rule, *The Experience of Labour in Eighteenth-Century Industry* (London: Croom Helm, 1981), pp. 51–59, 125–26, 152–56.

In Bickham's 'Trades' series, then, domestic service is made visible as one among a limited range of potentially comparable forms of work, each with their own character and collective personality, in a novel way. The social grounds of this comparability are suggested by concurrent changes in master and servant legislation. A series of acts from 1720, including important legislation in 1747, brought a plethora of named trades into the scope of the legislation and thus (at the same time that they increased the number and severity of penal and monetary sanctions for leaving or mis-performing work) generalised the legal category 'servant', transforming the law of master and servant into something like a general employment law.[102] Bickham's 'Trades' can be understood as a popular expression of an emergent abstraction: 'labour in general', first theorised in eighteenth-century political economy. 'Labour in general' refers to labour considered as qualitatively homogenous, without reference to its particular form or to the status of the person performing it; a mental abstraction that relies for its existence on the existence of particular social conditions: the extensive diversification of concrete forms of labour and the possibility of an individual's moving between these forms.[103] (As the content of the laws make clear, the latter possibility was robustly managed.) In virtue of their shared format, Bickham's 'Trades' make visible the fact of comparability between domestic service and a restricted range of other kinds of retail work. Service — very clearly a perceptually distinct arena of skill in this period — has a place within the world of labour, rather than being a matter of a status or condition. Moreover, each of Bickham's 'Trades' prints, depicting non-automaton assemblages rather than fanciful costumes, represent skill through quasi-allegorical means as an operational characteristic of labour, which is

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102 Hay, 'England', pp. 61, 83–91. For legal 'servant' see Richard Burn, *The Justice of the Peace, and Parish Officer […] The Second Edition*, 2 vols (London, 1756), II, 385, 227–41. Burn's general heading 'servant', including 'labourers, journeymen, artificers, and other workmen', replaced Dalton's 'Labourers, Servants, and Apprentices'.

103 Karl Marx, 'Introduction' (1857), in *Grundrisse*, trans. by Martin Nicolaus (London: Penguin, 1973), pp. 83–111 (pp. 103–05); Maurice Godelier, 'Work and its Representations: A Research Proposal', *History Workshop Journal*, 10 (1980), 164–74. The conceptual abstraction of labour in general, arising historically but with trans-historical validity as a category of analysis, is to be distinguished from practically abstract labour, that is, the value-forming aspect of labour performed to create a commodity. Patrick Murray, 'Marx's "Truly Social" Labour Theory of Value: Part I: Abstract Labour in Marxian Value Theory', *Historical Materialism*, 6 (2000), 27–65.

conceived of as capacity or potentiality, whereas earlier prints represented skill through visual allegory, as an array of qualities possessed by imaginary hybrids, characterised by attentiveness and anticipation. Significantly it is around the same moment that the *Trusty Servant* begins to be reproduced as an object of historical curiosity in histories and magazines.[104] *This Ages Rarity*, which quotes the medieval tradition while diminishing the number and potency of its component animal parts and moving the locus of practical knowledge towards the employer, represents a transitional movement towards the conception of skill indicated by *Moll Handy*, but one still focussed on male upper servants and the specificity of household service. Bickham's 'Trades' represent labour as the same kind of thing in the case of each print, with each form of work differentiated from the others by the objects with which it labours.

However, as section one noted, the place of domestic servants within master and servant legislation was potentially ambiguous. The social conditions this ambiguity reflected are also visible in the anomalous presentation of *Moll Handy* within the 'Trades' series. *Moll Handy* is the only print in Bickham's series that depicts a woman, and the only one in which the text affixed to the image purports to be the writing of some named other person (a duplicitous 'character' from a mistress of questionable morality), thematising the employment relation as a matter of discipline and subterfuge as well as exchange. *Moll Handy*, as noted above, is the object of her employers' writing and is mobilised by that writing. The fact that the servant represented is a maidservant, rather than a male servant suggests again an attention to the everyday, which has the effect of a burgeoning demographic or sociological realism (given that most servants working in the one- or two-servant households were women, and that these households accounted for the majority of servant employment). The character itself also draws attention to the gendered stereotypes of domestic service. As part of a series in which each composite person is explicitly and aggressively gendered, *Moll Handy* also shifts onto a specifically

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[104] Two prints of *The Trusty Servant* appeared in 1749, Cecil Deedes, 'The Trusty Servant', *Notes and Queries*, 298 (1915), 193–94. It continued to be reproduced throughout the eighteenth and nineteenth centuries: see Burnett, '"Servant"', p. 241; Secord, *Servant*, pp. 43–58, 66–77.

gendered sexual terrain to indicate a potential site of embodied subjectivity (although there were gendered and sexual aspects to the troping of the subordination of the servant in *Rarity*).[105] Moll's 'character' alludes to her pregnancy, reflected in the cracked pot that forms her lower torso, and the relatively low wages she can command as a result (the dishonourable effects of vulnerability to sexual assault rendering nugatory her practical knowledge).[106] The diminution of maidservants' skill on the basis both of their gender and the form of work is thus represented graphically. In important respects, then, service as rendered by Bickham remains qualitatively different to other forms of work. These specific differences attest to the long-term continuities in domestic service, and to the eighteenth-century reformulation of its specific difference from other trades as something defined by the heterogeneity of its tasks, and by the fact that servants came to be differentiated from other workers by being managed through character, reputation, and immediately personal supervision.[107]

In *Moll Handy*, the human body of an actual servant is absent, reduced to outline and capacity figuring a virtual or collective body, but also present, indicated by its reproductive capacity — the result either of disorderly or insufficiently discreet conduct.[108] Through an 'abstract-allegorical body' that is 'incongruously presented as the visceral object of […] lust' (as Sianne Ngai writes of catachrestic depictions of soldiers), *Moll Handy* thus embodies a 'legal joke' about servants and masters, 'body-subject and

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[105] Mario DiGangi, 'Asses and Wits: The Homoerotics of Mastery in Satiric Comedy', *English Literary Renaissance*, 25.2 (1995), 179–208 (p.180). DiGangi notes the connection with 'trusty servant' emblems. O'Connell, p. 114 discusses the Trusty Servant motif and *Moll Handy*, but does not connect the latter to the former, instead comparing Bickham's print with seventeenth-century *Cries of London* and arguing that *Moll* suggests a unusually accommodating attitude towards women's sexuality was normal in the eighteenth century.

[106] On sexual impropriety and household skill, see Laura Gowing, 'Women, Status and the Popular Culture of Dishonour', *Transactions of the Royal Historical Society,* 6th ser., 6 (1996), 225–34 (pp. 229–30). On sexual assault of maidservants see Laura Gowing, *Common Bodies: Women, Touch and Power in Seventeenth-Century England* (New Haven: Yale University Press, 2003), pp. 59–65; Meldrum, *Service*, pp. 100–27; Steedman, *Labours Lost*, pp. 135–51.

[107] Meldrum, *Service*, pp. 51-65; Steedman, *Labours*, pp. 342–45.

[108] A fifth of part one of Haywood's *Present* is devoted to calibrated advice on how to navigate service with men servants, apprentices, married and unmarried masters, their sons, and their gentlemen lodgers (pp. 35–37, 43–50). Compare Mayo, *Present*, p. 40; *Every–Body's Business*, p. 9; *Every Man Mind his Own Business*, p. 18.

subjected body […] put together in the burst of laughter', that is at once 'visceral' and 'visual'.[109] The means of this putting together are skill. By situating *Moll Handy* diachronically in the tradition of depictions of the 'good servant', along with *This Ages Rarity*, and by contextualising *Moll Handy* synchronically in relation to Bickham's 'Trades' series, design plates, and other catalogues of work, this section has shown how the eighteenth-century servant, as an aspect of the everyday, became part of the world of labour. Tracing the history of commonplace understandings of what servants should be like through these visual materials has disclosed a wealth of social and economic thinking about skill that is not legible in the handbooks but which parallels transformations in their rhetoric and concerns. In order to integrate these two narratives and situate the largely iconographical discussion of the servant prints in the context of social practices, the final section of this chapter examines what attitude employers took to depictions of servant skill and the felt relation of that skill to their own aesthetic or social abilities.

3. The Uses of Servant Satire

How might the servant images interpreted in section two have been experienced in the period and what they might have meant to the people who bought and viewed them? In the absence of direct evidence of how the servant images were used, the final section of this chapter explores this question by examining related areas of print production alongside aspects of the ecology of commercial entertainments and elite material culture present in late seventeenth- and early-eighteenth century London: forms of ornament, exhibition, and performance which depicted servants and other workers for the enjoyment of consumers. The section aims to reconstruct the attitudes towards menial work and skill that were elicited from or proffered to employers by this multimedia

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[109] Sianne Ngai, 'Visceral Abstractions', *GLQ*, 21.1 (2015), 33–63 (p. 36); Steedman, *Labours*, p. 22, 'Unconscious', p. 349.

assemblage, and, by placing the servant prints afloat in this complex, to better understand the kinds of enjoyment that *This Ages Rarity* and *Moll Handy* offered to employers.

The account of how skill is represented diagrammatically in Bickham's 'Trades' can be historically particularised by attending to Bickham's practice as an exponent of rococo aesthetics and purveyor of instructional literature. *Moll Handy* can be situated at the junction of Bickham's political satire and the design plates that he produced. Bickham lived and worked, operating his own press and also retailing books, just off St Martin's Lane, a locale that was well-known, among other things, for its concentration of practitioners of Rococo aesthetics (the unruly 'modern taste'); an 'art world' (in Stacey Sloboda's terms) noted for the extent of the collaboration it fostered between printmakers, cabinetmakers, and other artisanal design workers.[110] As well as political satire, Bickham also printed design prints, perspective views, and how-to books on various topics, including ink-mixing, drawing, writing, and dancing, at his own press. His *Easy Introduction to Dancing* (1738) described in detail how to carry oneself in the minuet, and diagrammed the figures made by hands and feet, making visual use of spiralling text to temporalise the lines traced by individual dancers.[111] These illustrated books, like his *New Introduction to the Art of Drawing* (1737), and *Introductive Essay on Writing in General* (*c.* 1740), enabled the learning of socially meaningful bodily dexterity — line-making, gesture, dancing — through imitation and tracing.[112] Bickham's *Moll Handy* might also be compared with design prints like the etchings he contributed to a book of ornaments 'Drawn for ye Use of Artificers in General'.[113] Anne Puetz argues that

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[110] Stacey Sloboda, 'St. Martin's Lane in London, Philadelphia, and Vizagapatam', in *Eighteenth-Century Art Worlds: Global and Local Geographies of Art*, ed. by Stacey Sloboda and Michael Yonan (London: Bloomsbury, 2019), pp. 245–66.

[111] George Bickham, *An Easy Introduction to Dancing* (London, 1738), pp. 2–6 and *The compleat Figure of the Minuet* (p. 7).

[112] Figures in the British Library's copy of a later edition of *A New Introduction to the Art of Drawing* (London, [1740?]), pp. 8–10 show signs of being traced (shelfmark: 1422.e.2). For George Bickham junior and senior, drawing instructors, see Sloboda, 'Mind', pp. 346, 351–53.

[113] George Bickham after [Pierre Edmé Babel?], *By Babel of Paris*, etching, in *A New Book of Ornaments, for Glasses, Tables, Chairs, Sconces, &c* (London, 1752), pl. 3. Reproduced in Geoffrey Beard, 'Babel's "A New Book of Ornaments" (1752)', *Furniture History*, 11 (1975), 31–32 (fig. 62).

a chair depicted by Bickham in this book offers in one image a compendium of multiple possible actualised designs, advertising the engraver's skill and demanding acuity from the artisan making use of it; such prints could be used to teach drawing and design (abilities necessary for mechanics as well as gentlemen, as Bickham insisted) in addition to the vocabulary of a style.[114] Instructing manufacturers in 'design', as a new aspect of production mediating theory and craft, was felt to be urgent in Britain 1720–1750, a time when Britain's competitiveness in the luxury goods market was lacking.[115] Ruth Mack has suggested that this 'design consciousness' was crucial to the aesthetic and social theory of Bickham's contemporary and neighbour, William Hogarth: it enabled the diagrammatic thinking present in his *Analysis of Beauty* (1753), in which line and shape both stand for and are components of everyday experience and practice.[116] Drawing on Mack's argument, *Moll Handy* can be interpreted as compendia of possible actions available to masters and mistresses, aligning their consciousness with design-inspired awareness of potential multiplicity and the power to understand the social world as shaped. Rather than the ethnographic observer-practitioner that Mack finds in Hogarth, the everyday situatedness of Bickham's prints proffer these actions specifically to employers as employers: the subjects of considered gestures rather than the awkward, compelled movements of the represented servant.

This Ages Rarity and earlier print*s* might have been made meaningful in the context of games or play that worked with these gestures. Shiela McTighe examines Annibale Caracci's *Arti di Bologna* (1646) alongside printed board games and records of contemporary parlour games. In these games players had to call out the characteristic cry of trades, or recall the names of the tools of a trade when another player named it. There

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114 Anne Puetz, 'Drawing from Fancy: The Intersection of Art and Design in Mid-Eighteenth-Century London', *RIHA Journal*, 0088 (March 2014) <urn:nbn:de:101:1-2014062623148> [accessed 11 April 2018] (para. 52 of 72); *Art of Drawing*, pp. 1–9.

115 Anne Puetz, 'Design Instruction for Artisans in Eighteenth-Century Britain', *Journal of Design History*, 12.3 (1999), 217–39.

116 Ruth Mack, 'Hogarth's Practical Aesthetics', in *Mind, Body, Motion, Matter: Eighteenth-Century British and French Literary Perspectives*, ed. by Mary Helen McMurran and Alison Conway (Toronto: University of Toronto Press, 2016), pp. 21–46.

were also charades that involved imitating the gestures and physical deformities or injuries characteristic of a particular occupation. As McTighe argues, participants in these games demonstrated they knew what artisans did: 'one participated in their labour long enough to make it into play, and thereby demonstrated one's distance from the necessity to perform it in reality.[117] In the earlier English context, we can look to wooden banqueting trenchers, designed for use in the sugar courses. These were often available in sets, with an emblematic figure and/or verses inscribed on the base; in the early seventeenth century, these were often character types. After eating, games might be played with the trenchers, for example, performing the poem with gestures to imitate the character. Designs might be based on printed examples, such as the servingmen included in books of characters by Earle and Overbury, which treated a servant as 'one of the makings vp of a Gentleman […,] wholly his masters, of his faction, of his cut, of his pleasures'.[118] Trenchers thus 'scripted' social action at elaborate meals, in conversation with the mimetic aspects of sugar and marzipan deserts.[119] The enjoyable play-familiarity with the everyday life of tradespeople and servants that these games may have encouraged — a stance of knowingness, a socially-dexterous performance of labour and skill that maintained distance from it while demonstrating a caricatural proficiency in it — resonates with the rhetorical ploys found in Swift's *Directions for Servants* (1745). Swift's satirical mock-advice was redoubled in its turn by a servant author in his *Directions to Lords, and Ladies, Masters and Mistresses* (1746).[120] As traced by James

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[117] Sheila McTighe, 'Perfect Deformity, Ideal Beauty, and the *Imaginaire* of Work: The Reception of Annibale Carracci's *Art di Bologna* in 1646', *Oxford Art Journal*, 16.1 (1993), 75–91 (p. 82).

[118] John Earle, *Micro-Cosmographie* (London, 1629), sigs D7$^{r–v}$.

[119] Victoria Yeoman, 'Speaking Places: Text, Performance, and Banqueting Trenchers in Early Modern Europe', *Renaissance Studies*, 31.5 (2017), 755–79; Harry Newman, 'Human Forms: The Matter of "Character" in the 1610s', unpublished paper delivered at *Literary Form After Matter*, The Queen's College, University of Oxford, 22 June 2018. A set of ten trenchers sold at Bonhams on 4 December 2019 included one with verses on a servingman. Poppy Harvey-Jones, 'Lot 25', Bonhams (2019) <https://www.bonhams.com/auctions/25231/lot/25/> [accessed 6 January 2021]. Compare 'The Courtier' from a set titled Twelve Wonders of the World, London: V&A. Museum number W.30F–1912.

[120] Jonathan Swift, *Directions to Servants in General* (London, 1745); *Directions to Lords, and Ladies, Masters and Mistresses* (London, 1766).

Secord, the later history of composite caricatures along Bickham's lines, which were immensely popular in the early decades of the nineteenth century, was as items printed for use in the 'elite drawing room culture' of scrapbook compilation and appreciation.[121] These whimsical prints of trades and amateur scientists (only two of the series include images of domestic servants) were materials for period-specific textual practices of 'clipping, cutting, pasting, abridging, reviewing, and recycling', but the meanings to which these practices attest — neutralising the claims of labour and signalling ambiguous, reserved affiliations with the kinds of knowledge depicted in the prints, though carefully-crafted collection and display — connect to a thread running through *This Ages Rarity* and *Moll Handy*.[122]

Chinaware provides another context for the practical meaning of Bickham's prints, especially the low-life subjects. Porcelain figures began to be produced in London around the time Bickham was printing the *Trades* series (porcelain factories opened at Chelsea and Bow in 1745 and 1747 respectively), having been imported from Germany and France as luxury goods over the previous decades.[123] The subjects of these pieces included peasant scenes and street-cries.[124] Edmé Bouchardon's 1730s *Cris de Paris* were used as models for a series of porcelain figures modelled by Johann Joachim Kaendler at Meissen, around 1744–1745; Bow later produced figures along the same lines.[125] Many of these figure were also functional tableware that could be used to serve food.[126] Chelsea,

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[121] James Secord, 'Scrapbook Science: Composite Caricatures in Late Georgian England', in *Figuring it Out: Science, Gender, and Visual Culture*, ed. by Ann Shteir and Bernard Lightman (Hanover: University Press of New England, 2006), pp. 164–91 (p. 186).

[122] Secord, 'Scrapbook', pp. 178, 180–85.

[123] Catherine Lippert, *Eighteenth-Century English Porcelain in the Collection of the Indianapolis Museum of Art* (Indianapolis: Indiana University Press, 1987), pp. 13–14; Elizabeth Adams and David Redstone, *Bow Porcelain* (London: Faber and Faber, 1981), pp. 15–17.

[124] Lippert, pp. 14, 21; Adams and Redstone, p. 134.

[125] Adams and Redstone, p. 93. The *Cries* already existed in elite culture. Several musical settings of the *Cries* were produced in the late sixteenth and early seventeenth centuries, as well as musical settings of London that included imitation of the shouts of servants. Bruce Smith, *The Acoustic World of Early Modern England: Attending to the O-Factor* (Chicago: University of Chicago Press, 1999), pp. 52, 64, 68.

[126] *The F. S. Mackenna Collection of English Porcelain. Part 1: Chelsea 1743–1758* (Leigh-on-Sea: Lewis, 1972), pp. 142–45.

for example, in the 1760s (after Meissen originals of the previous two decades) produced a pair of figures, available in two sizes, holding baskets (for long biscuits), dressed as picturesque street vendors.[127] Bow and Chelsea also manufactured series of miniature gardener figures, 5.5 inches and 2.5 inches high respectively.[128] Bow made a similar figure, usable as tableware: a black woman wearing a loose skirt standing next to a basket (Bow also manufactured a piece based on the same basket design, supported by two putti).[129] These figures could cost between 2s. and 9s. depending on the size; a Paris Cry retailed for 6s in the 1750s.[130] Elaborating on earlier sugar-paste ornaments and table displays, in the mid eighteenth century the dessert tables of the elite were arranged in the image of formal gardens.[131] Starting in the 1740s, china figures were used to populate themed dioramas on these elite dining tables, alongside the kind of sugar gum paste and marzipan miniature statuary that had been popular fifty years earlier.[132] For those who could sufficiently distance themselves from the necessity to perform it, varieties of menial labour became collectible in the mid-eighteenth century, and objects of skilful display, the social value and meaning of which was divorced from the global histories of their constituent materials. In these models, the explicit shrinking of the worker, as with dolls and other miniatures, and as in the figures represented in the nineteenth-century

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[127] Chelsea Porcelain Manufactory, *Man and Woman with Baskets*, *c.* 1760–69, soft-paste porcelain, reproduced in Lippert, p. 20 (Cat. 6); Lippert, pp. 57, 70.

[128] The English Ceramic Circle, *English Pottery and Porcelain: Commemorative Catalogue of an Exhibition Held at the Victoria and Albert Museum, May 5th–June 20th, 1948* (London: Routledge & Kegan Paul, 1949), Cats 178, 179 (Bow); Cat. 289 (Chelsea).

[129] Bow Pottery, *Figure with Basket and Cover*, *c.* 1750, soft-paste porcelain, London: Museum of London, ID: 70.48/2 <https://collections.museumoflondon.org.uk/online/object/283505.html> [accessed 19 December 2020]; Adams and Redstone, pp. 136–37.

[130] Adams and Redstone, pp. 92, 210–11.

[131] Peter Brown and Ivan Day, *Pleasures of the Table: Ritual and Display in the European Dining Room 1600-1900: An Exhibition at Fairfax House, York 1st September to 20th November 1997* (York: York Civic Trust, 1997), pp. 11, 17, 26–30.

[132] Brown and Day, pp. 31–36, 57.

composite caricatures, potentially enabled ambivalent emotions to be turned into pleasurable ones, accompanied by the satisfaction of intelligibility.[133]

In addition to chinaware, instances of non-elite display are relevant to understanding *This Ages Rarity* and *Moll Handy*. A number of informal exhibition spaces opened in London in the late seventeenth century in the premises of coffee houses, taverns, and at fairs. These popularly accessible spaces, which were also used for performances of various kinds, exhibited objects in a natural philosophic vein. In these spaces one might view waxwork figures and tableaux (sometimes incorporated into 'raree shows') alongside animated figures or 'motions' powered by clockwork, puppet theatres, and animated pictures.[134] Ingenious pseudo-automata were part of the repertoire of popular metropolitan exhibits, part of an ordering of knowledge that included manufactured as well as natural 'rarities'.

The theatrical entertainments on offer in early eighteenth-century London offer a further possible context for Bickham's prints.[135] Posture masters, for example, had been part of summer fairs since the early seventeenth century at least, but attained new visibility from the late seventeenth and early eighteenth centuries as part of the entertainment economy. As well as in taverns, coffeehouses, fairs, and private rooms, they performed in theatrical settings, before or between dramatic performances, alongside the jugglers, tumblers, (rope-)dancers and other physical performers that took to the London stage from the 1690s.[136] Unlike the Victorian contortionists they closely resembled, the bodily manipulations and tricks of dexterity of these performers (one of whom was

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[133] Susan Stewart, *On Longing: Narratives of the Miniature, the Gigantic, the Souvenir, the Collection* (Durham: Duke University Press, 1993), p. 112; Claude Lévi-Strauss, *The Savage Mind* (London: Weidenfeld and Nicolson, 1966), pp. 23–24; Secord, 'Scrapbook', pp. 168–70. For the miniaturisation of later composite servants, see Charles Williams, *Implements Animated* (London, 1811).

[134] Richard Altick, *The Shows of London* (Cambridge: Harvard University Press, 1978), pp. 8, 17–19, 50, 56–62.

[135] John O'Brien, *Harlequin Britain: Pantomime and Entertainment, 1690–1760* (Baltimore: Johns Hopkins University Press, 2004).

[136] Dane Smith, *Plays About the Theatre in England from 'The Rehearsal' in 1671 to the Licensing Act in 1737* (Oxford: Oxford University Press, 1936), pp. 62–63.

included in Laroon's *Cryes of London* (1688)) were designed not only to impress, with reference to the human performer's material capacities, but to signify beyond the body: particular arrangements of the posture master's limbs imitated specific 'deformities', known persons, national types, and fantastic creatures.[137] John Rich, the operator of Lincoln's Inn Fields playhouse from 1714, was also a 'grotesque dancer' whose act included imitation of animals through physical attitudes and vocal mimicry; Pat Rogers credits him with '[transferring] to the legitimate theatre a popular street entertainment' — a manager who disposed the business of the playhouse as easily as he arranged and manipulated his own person.[138] This particular mix of action with and representation by the body in performance, mediating between high and low culture, resonates with the ways in which the implements out of which *Moll Handy* is made render her skill through both emblematic and practice-based meanings, by pointing towards the activity the implements demand.[139]

Theatrical performances characterised by dexterity invoked questions about skill and class which bear on the meaning of servant skill. The pantomimes, harlequinades, spectacles, and interludes staged by Rich at Lincoln's Inn Fields and later Covent Garden, especially in the 1720s, involved dances, gestures, and tricks of legerdemain as well as elaborate stage machinery that enabled the transformation of objects, or of people into tools and furniture.[140] 'Pantomime' in the period of its popularity — the 1720s, 30s, and 40s — meant a spectacular performance characterised by elaborate scenery and special effects, in which a serious story, presented in an operatic mode, was interleaved with a

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[137] Tonya Howe, '"All deformed Shapes": Figuring the Posture-Master as a Popular Performer in Early Eighteenth-Century England', *Journal for Early Modern Cultural Studies*, 12.4 (2012), 26–47.

[138] Pat Rogers, *Literature and Popular Culture in Eighteenth Century England* (Brighton: Harvester, 1985), pp. 16–17. On Rich's dextrous performances, see Richard Semmens, 'Sure John Rich Could Read, but Could Lun Dance?', *Lumen*, 31 (2012), 155–68; O'Brien, p. 61.

[139] On the 'realness' and 'signification' of animal bodies in performance, see Nicholas Ridout, *Stage Fright, Animals, and Other Theatrical Problems* (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 2006), pp. 96–128.

[140] Smith, *Plays*, pp. 212–13.

grotesque or comic story told through dance.[141] As a form of physical comedy it was a focus of arguments about the debasement of English theatrical taste. Figures whose narratives fed popular literature, like the prison escapee Jack Sheppard (hanged in 1724) were also represented in dance and pantomime, as well as in drama like Gay's *Beggar's Opera* (which used Newgate scenery that had been developed for pantomimes).[142] For Rogers, the early Hanoverian era is one in which popular forms were remediated on the elite stage as 'fashionable entertainment'.[143] Meanwhile, plays about the theatre in the first four decades of the eighteenth century regularly rehearsed the complaint that more money was spent on mechanical devices for the stage, and inter-act performers than on actors.[144] In Charlotte Charke's *The Art of Management* (1735), these popular entertainers, hired by a commercially-minded management with no respect for theatrical tradition, are repeatedly imagined as the actor's own domestic servants; by the end of the play, they are restored to their proper place as candle-snuffers and scene-men while the tragedians (the 'old Servants') are restored to their pomp.[145] In this way, early eighteenth-century representations of servants as actors and entertainers, and considerations of the fact of servants as potential audiences, were bound up with questions of skill, and of the meaning, value, and public effects of different forms of skill, especially physical dexterity.

The evidence of this barrage of images, performances, exhibitions, and ornaments suggests the context of experience within which the servant images were afloat: a multimedia environment that solicited enjoyment from viewers through the

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141 O'Brien, pp. 1–9, 30.

142 Lance Bertelsen, 'Popular Entertainment and Instruction, Literary and Dramatic: Chapbooks, Advice Books, Almanacs, Ballads, Farces, Pantomimes, Prints and Shows', in *The Cambridge History of English Literature, 1660–1780*, ed. by John Richetti (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 2005), pp. 61–86 (pp. 74–75); John Bender, *Imagining the Penitentiary: Fiction and the Architecture of Mind in Eighteenth-Century England* (Chicago: University of Chicago Press, 1987), pp. 87–136.

143 Rogers, pp. 20, 27–29, 77–80.

144 Smith, *Plays*, p. 84.

145 Charlotte Charke, *The Art of Management; or, Tragedy Expell'd* (London, 1735), pp. 16–17, 35–36.

representation or imitation of servants and their particular skill, rendering them manipulable.

4. Conclusion

This chapter has traced the perceptual interplay between the shifting ground of service and the forms of skill related to it. Throughout the long period examined, it has found that domestic service was a perceptually distinct arena of skill. Its specificity is thrown into relief when it is also, at this specific moment of the mid eighteenth century, represented of as a form of labour comparable with other trades and occupations. The evidence surveyed in section three enables the chapter to correlate the textual evidence examined in section one and the primarily visual evidence examined in section two. Section one found a twofold account of servant skill in the vernacular discourse on skill: domestic servants had to have a suite of practical competencies, but also had to have attained proficiency in a prior skill of attentiveness and fidelity. The section found that this skill, initially posed in terms of a duty owed in virtue of a servants' social position, was transformed over the course of the seventeenth century into a series of emotional and volitional states that had to be deliberately created and maintained by servants. Servant emotions became an object of skill. Concurrently, a growing emphasis on servant dexterity, motivated by and evaluated with reference to its effects on the expectations, surveillance, and emotional states of employers, produced a sense of household interactions as an arena of tactical skill, and thus localised skill in servants, rather than understanding servants as a moment within a skilled practice of which the employer was the subject. However, in the visual materials examined in section two, this adroitness in self-management and household interpersonal relations progressively disappears from view, while, concurrently, servants' work becomes thinkable as in some ways qualitatively similar to other kinds of work. As the human-animal hybrid is replaced by the aggregate of household objects, the represented motive power and practical knowledge of the

servants depicted evaporates: skill as a quality, signified allegorically, is replaced by skill as inferred from the functions of objects animated by labour; labour which is understood as a capacity, put into motion by the direct supervision of the employer's 'character'.

The disappearance of qualities, and the consequent increase in the viewer's practical cognitive involvement — aligned with social and gestural dexterity — that Bickham's prints solicit, reflects the greater opacity accorded to servants' intentions in the handbooks; an opacity which was the condition of possibility for tactics, since it made necessary greater surveillance, and meant that servants' self-regulation was understood as something undertaken in anticipation of that surveillance. The mixed claims of Haywood's treatise, which attempts to ground moral norms in the potentially fallible inferences drawn by surveilling employers, are reflected in the mixed, quasi-allegorical order of *This Ages Rarity* and *Moll Handy*. Eighteenth-century viewers of Bickham's prints — able to appreciate forms of dexterity aligned with lower-class audiences, if these were reframed; and able to collect and enjoy material reproductions of servants and other trades if these were miniaturised and made ornamental — could understand themselves, through these prints, as possessors of a practical knowledge that ran in parallel to, and depended upon imaginatively comprehending, the practical knowledge possessed by domestic servants. The enjoyment afforded viewers by these prints, then, has resonances with the structure of managerial knowledge, but offered a complex set of pleasures that remains to be explained. Chapters four and five, which investigate the representation of servants in prose fiction, take up this question.

The evidence examined in this chapter bears witness to long-term continuities in understandings of skill and domestic service. It is also able to point to the late seventeenth- and early eighteenth century as period in which, within discourses on and depictions of servants, the tactical dimension of everyday household relations was brought into representation. The following two chapters explore the real life of these prescriptive and satirical accounts: they take us within the household, working closely with the meditations and diaries of Anne, Lady Halkett (1622–1699) and Sarah, Lady Cowper (1644–1720), respectively. By examining these two bodies of manuscript writing,

developed in parallel with the prescriptive and satirical materials that this chapter has examined, the thesis is able to explore the practical life of management. Each offers a case study of how a writer occupying a sometimes compromised position of authority within her household reflected upon skill and service. For Halkett and Cowper, servants were not manipulable objects (although Cowper's metaphorical language often tries to makes them so). The successful management of their servants was a test of their capacities, by which they might be judged by themselves and others.

Chapter 2. 'Example', 'Imployment', and 'Practice': Servants, Boarders, and Household Pedagogy in the Meditations of Anne, Lady Halkett (1622–1699)

What evidence can life writing offer of the practical, everyday conceptualisation of skill and service that was outlined in stylised and schematic terms in chapter one? In order to explore this question, this chapter examines the educational writings, biblical exegeses, and copious mediations on public and private events that Anne, Lady Halkett (1622–1699) composed in manuscript between 1644 and 1699.[1] Halkett was born into a Scottish minor gentry family, grew up around the court of James I and VI in London, and spent much of her life in Scotland.[2] After her involvement in Royalist conspiracy during the civil wars, she married Sir James Halkett in March 1656 and lived at his seat at Pitfirrane, Fife. Widowed in September 1670, for the three decades following Halkett oversaw a small household at Abbott House, Dunfermline, while her stepson Charles took over the family seat.[3] This, and the chapter that follows, each offer a case study of how a writer occupying a compromised position of authority within her household was provoked by these constraints to reflect upon skill and service. They start from the assumption that life-writing produced by writers in such positions offers a wealth of information about skill and service, if it is read as a series of statements about the world and if these statements are interpreted in concert with the evidence such texts offer about autobiography as a material practice. Halkett's meditations evince a prolonged and detailed attention to household management, which is more often found in fragmentary or notational forms. By paying close attention to her sustained practices of composition and the way she used her books, we can trace how the demands of household discipline and pedagogy interacted with her meditative practice. Looked at in this way, Halkett's

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[1] Edinburgh, National Library of Scotland (NLS), MSS 6489–6502.

[2] For Halkett's life, see Trill, 'Introduction', in *Lady Anne Halkett: Selected Self-Writings*, ed. by Suzanne Trill (Aldershot: Ashgate, 2007), pp. xvii–xliii (pp. xvii–xxxiv).

[3] Halkett returned to Pitfirrane to run the estate while Charles was fighting in the third Anglo–Dutch war, 1672–74. In addition to Charles, the heir, Sir James Halkett had two daughters and a younger son; Halkett's surviving son with Sir James died in 1693; *Lady Anne Halkett: Selected Self-Writings*, ed. by Trill, p. 43; hereafter *Halkett*.

manuscripts offer evidence of how the interrelation of heterogeneous practices of skill was thought in the late seventeenth-century and demonstrate that conceptual history takes place in politically-engaged life writing and meditation.

While recent work on early modern life writing, informed by material texts scholarship and the history of reading, has attended in detail to the practical and processual aspects of autobiography, scholarship has not, to date, explored such texts as repositories of thought about skill in the household. Thus, work on life writing, and on women's life-writing in particular, such as that by Margaret Ezell, Helen Smith, and Adam Smyth, has offered detailed explorations of writers' skilled engagements with the materiality of their environments and of the complex ways in which the forms and concerns of their writing took shape in relation to those environments.[4] Yet, while this scholarship has for the most part dealt with textual production by gentry and elite subjects, it has tended not to acknowledge that the relations of property and jurisdiction constitutive of the households which provided writers with implements of inscription also governed servants' time, energy, and knowledge. The present study, then, builds on the detailed accounts of writerly and readerly skill that this scholarship has developed, in concert with recent emphases on the formal heterogeneity and sustained political engagement of Halkett's writing in particular, to offer a sustained exploration of the forms of skill produced by household relations of domination and subordination — forms of skill from which writing practices were not insulated.[5]

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[4] Margaret Ezell, 'Domestic Papers: Manuscript Culture and Early Modern Women's Life Writing', in *Genre and Women's Life Writing in Early Modern England*, ed. by Michelle Dowd and Julie Eckerle (Aldershot: Ashgate, 2007), pp. 33–48; Helen Smith, 'Women and the Materials of Writing', in *Material Cultures of Early Modern Women's Writing*, ed. by Patricia Pender and Rosalind Smith (Houndmills: Palgrave Macmillan, 2014), pp. 14–35; Adam Smyth, *Autobiography in Early Modern England* (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 2010). See also Kathleen Lynch, 'Inscribing the Early Modern Self: The Materiality of Autobiography', in *A History of English Autobiography*, ed. by Adam Smyth (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 2016), pp. 56–69 and chapters on early modern forms in this volume.

[5] On Halkett's political activity see Suzanne Trill, 'Beyond Romance? Re–Reading the 'Lives' of Anne, Lady Halkett (1621/2?–1699)', *Literature Compass,* 6.2 (2009), 446–59 and Susan Wiseman, *Conspiracy and Virtue: Women, Writing, and Politics in Seventeenth-Century England* (Oxford: Oxford University Press, 2006), pp. 313–59. On the forms of Halkett's writing, see Trill, 'Critical Categories: Toward an Archaeology of Anne, Lady Halkett's Archive', in *Editing Early Modern Women*, ed. by Sarah Ross and Paul Salzman (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 2016), pp. 97–120 and works by Ezell cited below.

The chapter is organised around three keywords from Halkett's writing which, it argues, Halkett used to think through her own activity as skilled. Section one, 'example', establishes Halkett's use of exemplarity to think through forms and levels of skill in her writing and practice as a lifelong concern.[6] The following sections then look in detail at manuscript volumes dating from the last two decades of Halkett's life, in order to explore the concepts and practices of skill that Halkett developed in response to multiple forms of scarcity and constraint. Section two, 'imployment', focuses on the period 1687–1697 and explores the effects debt had on Halkett's conceptualisation of her project. It examines Halkett's anxieties about the paying boarders from elite families whom she took in to mitigate her debts and to help reproduce her embattled political and religious community in Scotland. Halkett's boarders and servants were both objects of instruction, though the relations of dependency in each instance were reversed. Section three, 'practice', returns to Halkett's hierarchical pedagogical relationship with her servants and the part they played in her charitable and medical activities in the 1690s, concentrating on the crisis years 1696–1698, in order to explore the forms of practical knowledge developed through her attempts to teach and discipline her servants. As well as years of economic and political duress, the 1690s were also, as Trill notes, the years in which Halkett's 'concern for other readers affects her most'.[7] Consequently, Halkett's volumes from this period provide unique evidence of how the orientation of her books towards future readers, and the curation of their use, interacts with her skilful navigation of everyday difficulties and her pedagogical and managerial practice.

[6] Halkett"s medical 'skill' was consequential in the civil wars. As she wrote in her 'True Accountt' of civil war conspiracy (1677–78), she was instrumental in treating wounded soldiers after the Battle of Dunbar in 1650 and taken notice of by the king, *Halkett*, pp. 105–08. On the title of Halkett's self–writing, see Trill, 'Introduction', p. xxxvii.

[7] Trill, 'Critical Categories', p. 108.

1. 'Example': The Form of Halkett's 'Liuing Monument'

This section explores how Halkett conceptualised relations between her writing and her activity in other realms of practice, especially the government and instruction of her servants. It does so by examining how she used ideas of example and exemplarity, which were widely available in seventeenth-century culture. Examples were used frequently in seventeenth-century writing, including by Halkett; they were tools of interpretation and exegesis which, as well as revealing gender and politics in process, focussed attention on connections between writing and action.[8] By focussing on exemplarity, this section is able to elucidate the ways in which Halkett thought together different activities and conceived of them as skilled.

The section begins with a 1659 meditation 'vpon discention amongst the Saruants', tracing its movement in detail in order to establish the role servants occupied in Halkett's occasional meditations and to give an indication of her meditations' typical form. In this meditation, Halkett, recently married and confronting the problems of household government, begins with a retrospect: 'how often haue I resolued if euer I Came to that Condittion as to bee able to keepe Saruants that they should either liue in peace & vnitty one with another or els they should nott serue mee. and yett I could neuer bee Mistris so much of them or of my selfe as to bee obeyed'.[9] The first sentence quoted describes two actions of binding a person to a course of action: an ultimatum delivered by Halkett to the servants and a resolution made by Halkett to herself, through her writing. For Halkett, resolutions like these are an event and an activity that happens through books: across all her manuscript volumes, Halkett is frequently to be found evaluating her own conduct in relation to a rule laid down by a past resolution. In this 1659 meditation,

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[8] Susan Wiseman, 'Exemplarity, Women and Political Rhetoric', in *Rhetoric, Women and Politics in Early Modern England*, ed. by Jennifer Richards and Alison Thorne (London: Routledge, 2007), pp. 129–48 and *Conspiracy and Virtue*, pp. 33–58.

[9] NLS MS 6490, p. 124. All quotations from Halkett's meditations are from the manuscripts unless signalled. Halkett's meditations are doubly paginated: by Halkett, and by a later hand, in pencil. Where these diverge I follow Trill's practice in *Halkett* and adopt Halkett's pagination for MSS 6493 and 6502 (from which pp. 214–49 were cut) and that of the cataloguer for MSS 6500 and 6501.

Halkett's resolution governs both herself and her household, including the activity of her servants: its transpersonal scope is grounded in the measure of power she has to impose a form and order on the household. However, as Halkett notes in the second sentence quoted, such power demands technique. The question is: how to be obeyed? The answer is: to be mistress — an activity that subtends household management and self-government. As a role within a hierarchy and an attribute of personality, being mistress is achieved through considered speech, writing, and thought.[10]

To think through the problem of government broached in the opening sentences of 'vpon discention', Halkett reasons using the category of service. If she has not been blessed with a quiet house, it is because she has not sought it from God, 'from whence Comes Loue & peace betwixt Man and wife among children and Saruants' (p. 125). In a movement of relay and abstraction often repeated in her meditations, Halkett then gathers all the household together under God as 'his Saruants' (p. 125).[11] Participating in an effort common to the prescriptive materials surveyed in chapter one, Halkett uses the idea of Christian service to make commensurable distinct forms of worldly service, and so temporarily to soften hierarchies within her household. Then, pivoting back to the issue of her particular servants, Halkett makes several, linked complaints:

> I beleeue there is few Saruants that hath lese burthen laid vpon them then Mine haue or that hath more occation to improue themselues by knowing of God & seruing him, or hath more quiett from those that hath the charge of them & yett they are euer wrangling and quarrelling among themselues.[12]

[10] For Halkett, as for such influential writers in her religious tradition as Perkins, Allestree, and Gouge 'the right management of the tongue' was crucial to living and commanding in society. Anne Halkett, *Meditations Upon the Seven Gifts of the Holy Spirit* (Edinburgh, 1702), p. 10; NLS MS 6500, p. 59–135; William Perkins, *A Direction for the Gouernement of the Tongue* (London, 1603); Richard Allestree, *The Government of the Tongue* (London, 1674); Robert Cleaver, *A Godlie Forme of Household Government* (London, 1598), pp. 106, 377–79.

[11] By far the most frequent use of 'saruant' in Halkett's writing is to describe her own relation, or that of a co-religionist, to God.

[12] NLS MS 6490, pp. 125–26.

Here, in the context of the two relations of service, divine and worldly, teaching servants means practicing an unobtrusive form of government and providing them with the occasion and means for learning. Throughout her time as an employer, Halkett took very seriously the religious instruction which pious domestic literature insisted was an employer's duty. In the 1690s, she led her family in prayer every morning, after private prayers and before her writing.[13] She read to her servants on Sundays and on notable holidays; writing in 1691, she recommended Ruth's example of masters and servants praying for one another.[14] As will be seen in section three, Halkett also attempted to instruct her servants in writing, and used practices of reading and teaching to mediate disciplinary relations with her servants. In 'vpon discention', however, these activities, and the vexed relationship they instituted between Halkett's knowledge and that of her servants, are merely indicated.

In the 1659 meditation, Halkett goes on to canvass two kinds of explanation for her servants' misbehaviour, which involve problems of pedagogy and management. First, 'itt is because they are nott well grounded in that w*hi*ch ought to bee the first principle — to know God'. Knowledge of God, implying submission to temporal authority, 'would restraine that pride and ill nature' which they collectively display. The remedy for the servants' moral demerits is better religious instruction. Secondly, Halkett turns to a stylised view of servant psychology: 'is itt nott strange to See that Some vnder want how humble they will bee, […] that affterwards when these thinke they haue more interest in the familly will bee as imperious as if all the familly were att there dispose' (pp. 126–27). Halkett's use of 'interest' draws attention to the wager servants make on their accrual of knowledge and embeddedness as objects of concern within the family, implying calculations about the time and effort their employers and other servants have expended on instructing them. Halkett offers no solution to the problem: if servants' expectations of employment are secure, they are ungovernable; but how can they become 'well-grounded' if not instructed over time? It is 'strange', she writes: an exasperated observation poised

[13] NLS MS 6500, pp. 356–57, 238.

[14] NLS MS 6499, pp. 68–69; NLS MS 6502, pp. 273, 351; NLS MS 6499, pp. 254, 282–83.

between joke and complaint, in which servants are a menace even as their pretension to authority is shown to be misplaced by their proximity to hardship. Servants come from a position of want, Halkett's meditation acknowledges, and their exposure to it can be used to discipline them back into humbleness and obedience.[15] However, the meditation indicates what will be the central problem of Halkett's later writing on her servants: how to sustain pedagogical and disciplinary relations simultaneously, when their practical logics are frequently mutually vitiating.

Continuing the 1659 meditation, Halkett reasoned analogically, again using the concept of service to link household discipline to self-regulation. She stands in the same relation to God as the servants stand to her, in that she exhibits the same emotional tendencies: 'Submise and humble vnder a Crose [...], whereas if that burthen bee neuer so litle remoued then I am ragingly impatient at euery litle thing that doth opose my humour' (p. 128). Therefore, she writes, it must be that God suffers faults in the servants to exist in order to teach her to put the beam out of her eye before reproaching others for the mote in theirs (pp. 128–29). As well as providing an occasion to reform herself, then, the servants also provide Halkett with resources for inquiring into the relationship between individual psychology and external constraint and for making generalisations about the affective dynamics of the expectation of reward or punishment. Servants, after all, 'like a glase may represent what all men are' (p. 128). In this, Halkett's servants are like the colliers, sailors, and grave diggers on whom she meditated in MSS 6490 and 6491, whose habitual dispositions she interpreted as being limited and moulded by their forms of work. Represented in these terms, Halkett used their psychologies to figure for her own meditative practice, which knowingly repeated the effects of custom to produce knowledge. Through these examples of labourers and servants, the world offers her an opportunity to glean spiritual improvement from every 'accident' and 'obiect'.[16]

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[15] The reforming power of 'want' as a tool of government that backs up even as it vitiates servants' instruction in skill and knowledge would be a strategy Halkett ruminated upon at length in the 1690s and is discussed in section three of this chapter.

[16] 'vpon beeing in a Coale pitt', NLS MS 6490, pp. 28, 89; 'vpon a graue Maker that liued against my window in Henrietta street', NLS MS 6491, p. 75. This reflexive structure is observable even in her later, more diaristic, meditations. See for example, NLS MS 6501, pp. 201, 326.

Halkett's meditation 'vpon discention' also makes visible the practical side of exemplarity. Halkett's reflection on her servants concludes in a guide for her own conduct: she must be an 'exemplar' to those with less 'knowledge & experience', servants and children (p. 129). Her capacity to posit her thoughts and actions and the activity of members of her household as objects of reflection — an aptitude sharpened by meditation and not yet developed or perhaps never to be developed in the unreflective consciousnesses of children and servants — imposes on her a pedagogical responsibility. (Halkett's emphasis on the reflexiveness of her own practice, in contrast to that of her servants, and her lexicon of experience, brings her discussion into the ambit of skill, in the sense outlined in the introduction.) Halkett predicates exemplarity not just of herself, but also of her whole household, just as the scope of her resolution, as recorded in the meditation's opening sentences, included the whole household. Halkett ends 'vpon discention amongst the Saruants' with a wish for the unity of the whole household in serving God so that the truth of their belief will be seen in their actions (p. 131). The servants here become willing functional parts of a collective. This desire for a near-future state of unity of the household is repeated in later meditations — for example, in 'vpon putting outt my Son to Skoole March 4th 1668/9', where Halkett hopes of the whole household that 'wee \may/ Liue & walke examplarily together like them that had there eyes fixed on the new Ierusalem.'[17] Exemplarity for Halkett was collective, future-oriented and dependent upon successful pedagogy, grounded in Halkett's ability to constitute the social world around her as an object of knowledge. Halkett used exemplarity to explore the relationship between the government of the self and the government of others, and to understand the place of her meditative practice as a process of skill relevant to both techniques.[18]

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[17] NLS MS 6492, pp. 70–71.

[18] This phrasing draws on Foucault's framework of 'governmentality', but the linkage itself had widespread currency in the period. For an exploration in the context of life–writing, see Katharine Hodgkin, 'Thomas Whythorne and the Problems of Mastery', *History Workshop Journal*, 29 (1990), 20–41.

Halkett's conception of exemplarity was also shaped by the genres in which she wrote: 'fixed' (or 'select') and 'occasional' meditations. These forms were never interspersed in her books: either Halkett devoted separate volumes to one or another form, or clearly demarcated portions within a single volume. Under 'fixed' meditations she included commentaries on scripture, extended compositions on specific topics, and collections of biblical examples. The practice-oriented genre of occasional meditation flourished in the seventeenth century. It was understood as a skilled activity as well as an accessible form of writing with distinct aesthetic an epistemological protocols. Enabled by the assumption that both natural and social worlds were divinely imbued with meaning, the practitioner of occasional meditation began with close observation of particulars and searched for the resemblances and analogies present in them, avoiding conceits and ostentatious wit, in order to draw from phenomena useful knowledge that would be a guide to further action and lead the meditator towards the love of God.[19] Thus for Joseph Hall and Robert Boyle, the genre's most influential authors, both of whom Halkett read, occasional meditation was understood as a practice-oriented form of writing and thinking which produced knowledge about the world while exercising and re-shaping the mind of the apt meditator who had trained themselves in it.[20] Occasional meditation, unlike deliberate or divine meditation, should take its figurative cues from study of objects 'and their diuerse manner of profering themselues to the minde' (in Hall's terms) avoiding extraneous metaphor. Meditating in this way '*Indifferently* upon the Occurrences that shall happen', was a test of both effort and skill for Boyle.[21] In Boyle's formulation, it was as a 'way of

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[19] Marie-Louise Coolahan, 'Redeeming Parcels of Time: Aesthetics and Practice of Occasional Meditation', *Seventeenth Century*, 22.1 (2007), 124–43. For the experimental or natural philosophical aspects of the genre, especially as practiced by Robert Boyle, see also Courtney Weiss Smith, *Empiricist Devotions: Science, Religion, and Poetry in Early Eighteenth–Century England* (Charlottesville: University of Virginia Press, 2016) pp. 1–68; Joanna Picciotto, *Labors of Innocence in Early Modern England* (Cambridge: Harvard University Press, 2010), pp. 267–283. For Halkett's distinctively political meditations, see Trill, 'Introduction', p. xxxvi.

[20] Joseph Hall, *The Arte of Diuine Meditation* (London, 1606), pp. 8–11, 15; Robert Boyle, *Occasional Reflections upon Several Svbiects* (London, 1665), pp. 24, 2–28, 41, 49. Hall's *Occasionall Meditations* (London, 1630) makes the same point through multiplication of examples. Halkett's practice was also informed by her reading of the Catholic mystic De Sales, NLS MS 6500, pp. 181–83.

[21] Hall, *Arte*, pp, 11, 17–23; Boyle, *Reflections,* sig. A8^{v}, pp. 2, 48.

Thinking' that meditation was above all to be recommended; written meditations, were '*Proofs* as well as Effects, of *Skill*'.[22] Occasional meditations were the written record of skilled practice.

Halkett's commentaries on her writing evince consciousness of the form's orientation towards skilled practice. Her manuscripts are punctuated by comments like those in 'vpon discention' that meditation as a process 'rightly Managed' enables her to turn all events and objects, positive and otherwise, into lessons. Such commentary extended to meditations undertaken by Halkett at the level of the whole book as well as the individual entry, as in MS 6494 ('The Art of Deuine Chimistry'). Written 1676–1678, MS 6494 draws on the format of the contents page to constitute its object, listing autobiographical 'Crose occurrences' including 'The failings of a [...] faithful Saruantt', which, by a process 'rightly Managed', will be turned to use.[23] For Halkett, 'select' meditations were 'helpes' to guide her activity and avoid being 'discomposed', while meditation of all kinds was 'the life of action'; each meditation was an 'act' whose 'results' had to be considered in order for it to be 'well performed'.[24] The recounted performance of meditation in narrative passages that is characteristic of Halkett's later, diaristic meditations functions precisely as a proof and effect of skill, in Boyle's terms. Through re-reading, individual meditations could be incorporated into the texture of an ongoing spiritual life, and would constitute a spur to further writing evincing temporal layering.[25] Each meditation of this form functioned as a meditative icon, a fragment of autobiography, and a performance of Halkett's learned facility in this way of thinking — potentially an example for others.[26]

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[22] Boyle, *Reflections*, pp. 49, 17 (italics in original).

[23] NLS MS 6494, p. 2.

[24] NLS MS 6497, p. i; NLS MS 6495, fol. 1v, NLS MS 6500, p. 59.

[25] Trill, 'Introduction', p. xxxvi; Ezell, 'Papers', p. 36; Raymond Anselment, 'Feminine Self–Reflection and the Seventeenth–Century Occasional Meditation', *Seventeenth Century*, 26.1 (2011), 69–93 (pp. 81–83). For diaristic meditations on routine experiences in the house and gardens, in which Halkett returned to and improved earlier meditations, see NLS MS 6500, p. 187; NLS MS 6502, pp. 258–59, 329–30, 339, 344.

[26] NLS MS 6502, p. 326; Couper, *Life*, p. 56;

Looking at Halkett's commentaries on her own writing, it can be seen that it was in part through the genre of meditation that Halkett narrated her relationship to posterity. In so doing, she grounded the posthumous value of her texts in a particular account of writing's capacity to be useful and to be a vehicle for skill. In a meditation precipitated by reading Boyle's *Reflections* in 1669, Halkett positioned herself as one writer among many, partisans of a common project; as an 'instrument'; and as a widow whose 'mite' should be accepted alongside the 'Talent' of others, since it would conduce to the 'improument' and 'excite[ment]' of later readers.[27] She invests her writing with an exemplary vitality: 'who Can tell butt euen what I haue writt may when I am dead bee Liuing monuments of praise to the infinitt God of mercy'.[28] Halkett's term 'liuing monument' aptly captures the sense in which the exemplarity she could achieve through later readers' perusal of her meditations depended on the meditations' status as records of activity as well as artefacts, and was grounded in their power to elicit corresponding performances in their readers.

The particular orientation of Halkett's practice of writing was premised upon the availability to her of posthumous publication, whether in print or manuscript, which was 'one part of a complex system of authorship practices and manuscript coterie dynamics' open to women in the seventeenth century.[29] Due to specific 'personal and institutional' difficulties of accessing print at her time and place, Margaret Ezell argues, Halkett never wrote directly for print publication, nor was she a coterie author or engaged in scribal

[27] 'vpon reading Mr Boiles occationall reflections Ianuary 25 1668/9', NLS MS 6492, p. 59.

[28] NLS MS 6492, p. 60. For similar phrases, see NLS MS 6491, p. 326 (discussed in Trill, 'Critical Categories', p. 119).

[29] Margaret Ezell 'The Posthumous Publication of Women's Manuscripts and the History of Authorship', in *Women's Writing and the Circulation of Ideas: Manuscript Publication in England, 1550–1800*, ed. by George Justice and Nathan Tinker (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 2002), pp. 121–36 (p. 122). See also Elizabeth Clarke, 'Beyond Microhistory: The Use of Women's Manuscripts in a Widening Political Arena', in *Women and Politics in Early Modern England, 1450–1700*, ed. by James Daybell (Aldershot: Ashgate 2004), pp. 211–27 (pp. 216–18, 222–25).

publication.[30] Rather, the manner in which Halkett bequeathed her writings, as Ezell and Trill have shown, suggests that she envisaged her books being examined by future readers at some distance from the context of their composition and that the kind of publicness she anticipated included the possibility of print and was not limited to her relations or close associates.[31] In February 1698, Halkett clandestinely sent her written books to three recently ejected Episcopalian ministers: Simon Couper, James Graeme, and Thomas Marshall.[32] After Halkett's death, Couper arranged for selections from her works to be printed as a series of four, under her name, following his *Life of the Lady Halket* (1701).[33] The careful way in which Halkett drew up tables of contents for her volumes shows the orientation of her texts to a posthumous readership most clearly. Over three weeks in February 1695, she read over all her books in order to write contents pages in each, and then transcribed those contents into separate papers 'to lye by them, that if I Liue I may the sooner find outt any Subiect I haue a desire to read: And if I dy itt may bee the more vsefull to such as the Lord shall think \fitt/ to make them knowne to'.[34] Readers are able to follow Halkett's process of composition and so to understand how she made meaning out of adverse experience – not only through these volumes' contents pages but because Halkett narrated the process of her writing in material and intellectual terms. She described the spatial and temporal organisation of her books in detail in prefatory statements, in commentary within meditations and, in her last three books, in

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30 Margaret Ezell, 'Anne Halkett's Morning Devotions: Posthumous Publication and the Culture of Writing in Late Seventeenth–Century Britain', in *Manuscript, Print, and Performance: The Changing Relations of the Media in Early Modern England*, ed. by Arthur Marotti and Michael Bristol (Columbus: Ohio State University Press, 2000), pp. 215–31 (p. 227).

31 Ezell, 'Devotions', p. 217–23; Trill, 'Critical Categories'.

32 NLS MS 6502, pp. 262–66; *Halkett*, pp. 188–89. Fourteen of these volumes are now extant, in addition to the 'True Accountt'. Halkett chose these men as her editors and executors because her son was dead. For information on Couper, Graeme, and Marshall, see Trill, 'Introduction', pp. xxxi–xxxiv and references cited therein.

33 For the catalogue of Halkett's manuscripts, fourteen of which are now extant, see: 'Books written by the Lady Halkett' in *The Life of the Lady Halket* (Edinburgh, 1701), sigs H2^{r}–H4^{v}. On incongruities between Couper's and Halkett's categorisation of these books' form and topic, see Trill, 'Critical Categories'.

34 NLS MS 6500, pp. 146–47.

annotations to the contents pages.[35] The later, practical implications of these books as a 'liuing monument' is here made clear: individual material features that recorded and enabled Halkett's own re-reading also functioned as a demonstration of the qualities of carefulness and piety that motivated and were developed through that activity. Posthumous publication was the infrastructural condition of the conception of skilled practice that she named the 'liuing monument'.

Halkett understood the validity of her writing to be grounded in practice and example beyond the textual, as the terms through which she understood her posthumous reputation indicate. In July 1694, Halkett had imagined setting up an endowment for the support of aged workers or the education of poor children as a 'Liuing monument' to her son Robert and his fidelity to their shared religious and political cause, following Robert's death in the service of the deposed James II and VII.[36] Halkett's use of the same phrase for this foundation and for her written corpus clarifies her view of the latter: their purpose was to enable others to pursue a controlled set of activities, and to endow those activities with a significance of which Halkett's life was exemplary. In virtue of a shared project and shared orientation towards God, Halkett would be present to later readers. Halkett's ambition echoes, on a smaller canvas, the integral relationship between Anne Clifford's multimedia assemblage of self-documentation and the territories and buildings to which that documentation staked a claim, organised on a principal which linked self-writing closely to property.[37] As Halkett wrote on the recto of the first leaf of MS 6495 (begun 10 February 1679), commenting on the audience for her 'morning refreshments': 'if the Lord thinke fitt to manifest them when I am Dead I hope […] that th*e* blese

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[35] For comments on the practice of writing, see: NLS MS 6495, fol. 1v; NLS MS 6499, pp. 1–3; NLS MS 6500, pp. 122, 269–78, 297, 356–57; NLS MS 6501, pp. vii, 201. For prefatory statements on the organisation of volumes, see: MS 6492, p. iv; NLS MS 6496, pp. i–ii; NLS MS 6497, pp. i–ii; NLS MS 6499, pp. 1–3; 'The Contents of this Booke in Quarto', MS 6501, p. i. For orienting comments within meditations, see NLS mS 6499, p. 80; NLS MS 6500, pp. 59, 136/H138, 269–78, 278–82 (pp. 269, 278). The last three volumes are NLS MSS 6500, 6501, 6502. For comments

[36] NLS MS 6500, p. 328.

[37] Anne Myers, 'Construction Sites: The Architecture of Anne Clifford's Diaries', *ELH*, 73.3 (2006), 581–600.

Spirit of God will so influence what himselfe hath wrought in mee, that itt shall make them studious to performe […] what may make harmony & Concord'. Halkett's presence to a posthumous readership is understood as the relation of her practice, as recorded in and achieved through her books, to the practice those books will elicit in future readers.

Halkett understood herself and her own life as potentially exemplary, in way that again linked her writing to other realms of practice. On the first leaf of MS 6498, in a prefatory entry titled 'Monday 21 of May 1688', Halkett asked God to make her heart 'an euerlasting habitation' (a call repeated throughout Halkett's prefaces and meditations) and to 'assist me in what I am now designing to writte that if itt should euer come to bee seene of others they may say God is in her of a truth'.[38] The citation of 1 Corinthians 14. 25, together with the idea of the fabrication of an artefact, was repeated in her posthumously published meditation 'Of Widows being called Relicts' (one of the ten occasional meditations included by Couper and Graeme in the final volume of her writings). In this case, the phrase applied to her widowed self. Halkett takes up the social fact of a mistaken belief and makes it an object of consideration that determines her conduct. She writes that as a 'relict' (as widows are called 'in this Country'), she will aim to fulfil the function of relics in the Roman Catholic church: to 'stir up peoples affections, to imitate the Vertues of these Holy Saints'. By living in retirement and doing good works she will craft her own 'Behaviour, and example' into something that will 'excite all that behold me to say, God is in her of a truth'.[39] Halkett will thus transform a 'Supersititous practice' into a true model of conduct, through a union of practice and meditative inquiry. The resonance between this and the 1688 preface reinforces the sense in which both Halkett herself (her behaviour and way of life), and the writing in which that self was recorded were understood by her as a deliberately crafted artefact — a 'liuing

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[38] NLS MS 6498, p. ii.

[39] Anne Halkett, *Meditations Upon the Seven Gifts of the Holy Spirit* (Edinburgh, 1702), p. 77. This printed book, like Halkett's *Instructions for Youth* (Edinburgh, 1701), was based on a now-lost manuscript that was not listed by Couper, Trill shows, 'Critical Categories', p. 104. The meditation 'vpon my deplorable beeing a Widow' (written 1670–1671) contains a similar thought: 'My Light may then so shine before Men […] that <they> may See my good workes & glorify my father', NLS MS 6492, p. 37.

monument' and true non-Catholic 'relict'. Underlying this is Halkett's sense — which caused some controversy among her neighbours and religious advisors — that (as she wrote in 1674) faith is best 'euidenced by [...] Workes'.[40] In the last decades of Halkett's life, then, as Halkett's sense of herself as an example became increasingly grounded in her texts, as records of her practice, the determinants of exemplarity gained a more complex temporal profile. They extend into the future, and over social and geographical distance: exemplarity comes to be determined by the possible judgements and imitations of future readers, in addition to those of household and neighbourhood onlookers in the present.

Taking together the materials surveyed in this section, the contours of the 'liuing monument' that Halkett wished to construct through her own actions and the actions of her household become clear. Halkett's way of thinking constitutes a prolonged engagement with concepts rarely articulated as skill, the skilled character of which is revealed through her use of example. Halkett used the idea of example to describe the connection between practice and product in different areas of her life and to represent connections between the government of herself and the government of others. Exemplarity offered a means to think together several different sites and activities of everyday poiesis: her pedagogical and disciplinary relations with her servants and the unified household she hoped to create; her deliberate self-fashioning and the artefact it would create; and her meditative practices, both occasional and fixed, through which she achieved knowledge about herself and about the world, and which created a monumental corpus of writing that would have the posthumous effect of recording her own way of thinking and acting and of eliciting similar conduct in later readers.[41] Exemplarity, as a dimension of texts actualised in interpretation and as a dimension of practice validated by its effects on others, allowed Halkett to think through these different forms of technique as comparable forms of skill — deliberate, trained, and reflective creative activity — and

[40] NLS MS 6493, pp. 290–91. In this case, Halkett's interlocutor identified her as a 'papist'.

[41] On Halkett's vexed relation to the 'life and writings' paradigm, see Trill, 'Critical Categories' p. 101, and on the exemplarity of the fact of women's writing, mentioned as a certification of piety but infrequently reproduced in written accounts of their lives, see Ezell, 'Papers', pp. 33–35.

to claim as her own the present and posthumous products and effects of that skilled activity. The political and economic threats to that skill are considered in the next section.

2. 'Implyment': Debt and Boarders

A national famine, a political settlement increasingly hostile to the Episcopalian and Stuart loyalties of Halkett and her circle, and Halkett's own personal indebtedness and periodic sickness combined in the 1690s to place Halkett under considerable political and economic pressure. Debt compromised Halkett's ability to undertake charitable activities in Dunfermline society, but it also led Halkett into a new 'imployment': she took in the children of elite families as boarders, in order to ensure their religious education in a politically sympathetic environment and in return for a supply of money from their parents. This section asks: how did these conditions of scarcity and economic dependency shape Halkett's conceptions of her own skilled activity? Although, as will become clear, many of the events dealt with in this and the following section were concurrent in Halkett's life and braided together in her meditations, they are separated in this chapter and presented sequentially in order to analyse their dynamics with greater clarity.

The 1690s were years of increasing difficulty for Halkett and her aristocratic patrons and associates. The post-1688 settlement in Scotland saw royalist Episcopalians like Halkett and her circle increasingly politically isolated and viewed with suspicion by crown and parliament. Halkett began the 1690s alarmed by preparations for King William's Wars and followed the conflict throughout the decade, including the capture in 1690 and eventual death in 1693 of her son, Robert, in the service of the deposed James II and VII.[42] Writing in April 1695, Halkett considered the wars and these deaths to be 'vniustifiable occations'. Adding to this sense of general crisis, and worsened by the military conflict, a national famine gipped Scotland from the harvest failure of 1695 until

[42] NLS MS 6499, pp. 8–10, 10–11, 15–16, 48–51; NLS MS 6500, p. 219; *Halkett*, p. 169n18; Couper, *Life*, p. 49.

1700.[43] While Fife was not the worst-hit area, Halkett noted the unusually cold weather and the famine in May 1698, interpreting it as divine punishment.[44] Throughout the 1690s, she refused to attend church on days of thanksgiving or humiliation that demanded assent to William and Mary's rule, but did participate in fast days for the famine in 1696 and 1698.[45] In November 1690, and more severely in the springs of 1694, 1695 and 1696, Halkett was ill.[46] She was frequently woken in the night by chronic coughing and pain.[47] On occasions when she woke in the night and worried she was dying or, like one of her former servants, going mad, she rang a bell for her servants, who sat up by her.[48] Her house, though a substantial stone structure, was one in which sound travelled easily through floors: her needs lengthened the servants' working day and put pressure on the household.[49]

Halkett, like many women in early modern England and Scotland, especially widows and single women, was involved in debt and credit networks and worried about her debts.[50] It seems the extent of Sir James' indebtedness at his death came as a surprise to both Halkett and Sir Charles, as Halkett's comments on 'An Accountt of the depts vpon bond', a document drawn up in her hand in the early 1670s, make clear. This document is held among the papers of James Kennoway of Edinburgh, the bailiff of Sir William Bruce of Balcaskie, latterly of Kinross. Bruce was suspected of Jacobitism and

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43 Karen Cullen, *Famine in Scotland: The 'Ill Years' of the 1690s* (Edinburgh: Edinburgh University Press, 2010), pp. 14–15, 18, 27.

44 NLS MS 6502, p. 305.

45 NLS MS 6499, pp. 1–3, 3–5, 63–64; NLS MS 6501, pp. 279–81, 235–37, 306–9; NLS MS 6500, p. 322; NLS MS 6502, p. 305.

46 NLS MS 6499, pp. 42–43, 44–46, 47; NLS MS 6500, pp. 302–03; NLS MS 6501, pp. 312–15, 318–20.

47 NLS MS 6500, pp. 298, 299, 310–13, 168–73, 176–80 and rear pastedown; NLS MS 6501, pp. 265–67.

48 NLS MS 6499, pp. 29–30, 42–43, 47; NLS MS 6502, pp. 321-23.

49 For sound, see NLS MS 6501, pp. 291–92.

50 Cathryn Spence, *Women, Credit, and Debt in Early Modern Scotland* (Manchester: Manchester University Press, 2016), pp. 1–33, 38; Judith Spicksley, 'A Dynamic Model of Social Relations: Celibacy, Credit and the Identity of the 'Spinster' in Seventeenth-Century England', in *Identity and Agency in England, 1500–1800*, ed. by Henry French and Jonathan Barry (Basingstoke: Palgrave Macmillan, 2004), pp. 106–46.

imprisoned on occasions in the 1690s; his grandchildren boarded with Halkett. While she ran Sir Charles' estate, Halkett corresponded with Kennoway, who received payments for coals from the family's coal pits in 1672–1674.[51] The 'Accountt' lists, on the recto, exact debt sums totalling 47,570 marks (about 2643 pounds sterling), with interest paid until various quarter days in 1670.[52] The verso lists approximate debt sums, including 'To Sr William Bruce about 5000'. Halkett notes: 'Till your fathers death I neuer knew what the depts were'.[53] Her stepson's financial difficulties (which meant payment of her jointure was incomplete), combined with her lack of success in securing an annuity from Charles II, placed her in financial difficulty for the rest of her life. The degree of dependence thus introduced into Halkett's situation, the way indebtedness determined her relationship to time, and the effects these phenomena had on her practice and representation of skilled action will be explored in what follows.

Halkett wrote about debt frequently: it was a central component of her everyday experience. Debt was implicated in all good and bad occurrences, even where it was not itself the topic — just as debt and credit relations in early modern society were themselves dependent on a tissue of judgements about a person's character, forming extensive networks of obligation through which the financial and reputational repercussions of non-payment could travel.[54] Halkett's meditations of the 1690s are regularly punctuated by laments that she 'cannot command a shilling' and does not know how she will pay her creditors; that debt keeps her awake at night and arrests her upon waking; complaints about the non–payment of her jointure and late payments by her debtors; jubilation when accounts are clear ahead of time and thankfulness for relaxation

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[51] See receipts in Halkett's hand, Edinburgh, National Records of Scotland, GD29/1963/1–15 (14 November 1672–20 April 1674). Halkett also drafted an apparently un-sent letter to Kennoway in 1692, in support of a man imprisoned for debt in Dunfermline, GD/1963/8.

[52] A. J. S. Gibson and T. C. Smout, *Prices, Food and Wages in Scotland, 1550–1780* (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 1995), p. xv; John Lowery, 'Bruce, Sir William, first baronet', *ODNB* (2006) <https://doi.org/10.1093/ref:odnb/3760>.

[53] NRS, GD29/1963/19.

[54] Craig Muldrew, *The Economy of Obligation: The Culture of Credit and Social Relations in Early Modern England* (Basingstoke: Palgrave, 1998), pp. 121–96; Spence, pp. 36–37.

of repayment dates or unexpected accesses of money.[55] In June 1696, when her servant returned with money from the Edinburgh fair, Halkett had to conceal the repayment because she could not afford to pay all her due debts at once.[56] Halkett felt debt exacerbated her fainting and the coldness she felt in her stomach.[57] Debt was a somatic experience ('that vneasy load of Dept') that affected Halkett temporally, constraining her to a continuous debilitating present from which only radical action could achieve escape.[58] The following paragraphs set out in more detail the ways in which Halkett was unable or unwilling to undertake this action, which threatened to undo the product of her writing and practice.

Halkett's indebtedness led to her signing over or selling much of her revenue and possessions. In March 1691 she had owed David Meldrum 1000 marks, and had assigned 'so much to pay him of that was due of my ioynture' (he was a flexible creditor).[59] On 21 September 1696 she had applied to 'Dill' for money (he had been helpful in the past): 'And vpon my giuing him an Assignation to my ioynture For some Termes hee is Content to allow this And what I formerly was owing him And hath promised to furnish mee with mony or what euer I haue occation for for the vse of the familly'.[60] By June 1698, Halkett had made over much of her jointure to her creditors and sold a portion of her furniture.[61] Ultimately, she gained some peace on 16 August 1698: she signed over to Sir Robert Murray half her jointure as well as all her household furnishing as security for a loan with which she paid off many of her debts; this left Murray to cover a small remainder and the cost of her funeral.[62] Halkett's dependence on the actions of others

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[55] NLS MS 6499, pp. 38–39, 40–41, 74–76, 77; NLS MS 6500, pp. 174–75; NLS MS 6501, pp. 282, 297–301, 306–9, 358–62; NLS MS 6502, p. 308.

[56] NLS MS 6501, pp. 281–82; compare NLS MS 6499, pp. 69–72.

[57] NLS MS 6501, pp. 301–3.

[58] NLS MS 6499, p. 17. This formulation draws on Lauren Berlant, *Cruel Optimism* (Durham: Duke University Press, 2011), pp. 1–49.

[59] NLS MS 6499, p. 77.

[60] NLS MS 6501, pp. 323–24

[61] NLS MS 6502, pp. 309–10.

[62] NLS MS 6502, p. 338; Couper, *Life*, pp. 52–53.

that she could not control was what structured her vision of the immediate future until the very end of her life and was the topic of the last entry in her final volume, 26 November 1698.[63]

Halkett's indebtedness seems to have been exacerbated by her insistence on continuing to give her money away or otherwise use it for charity. At least, this is how matters appeared to many around her. Her entries recording payments from her debtors usually mention that she gives some of the money to necessitous families.[64] On 9 December 1670, upon being widowed, meditating on the exemplary widow Anna, she had resolved to give over a tenth of her income to 'bee imployed for the vses that I thought most Charitable' (as she wrote, reviewing her successful performance of that resolution on the anniversary of its making, in 1673).[65] The writing down of such recurrences attests to the importance of the charitable resolution, and gives an indication of Halkett's resistance to abandoning it. Halkett's desire to keep up her practice and her fear that expenditure on it could not be justified occasioned conflict with her acquaintances. Graeme and Couper told her works of justice were to be preferred above works of charity, disparaging her charitable activities as 'burnet oferings'; Halkett continued with works of charity, but repeatedly returned to the anxiety that they were unjustifiable — or that, while she was still in debt, any alms given to the poor amounted to theft from her creditors (the ministers' accusation that weighed most heavily on her).[66]

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[63] NLS MS 6502, p. 351; on 8 October noble family had announced it would visit the next day but Halkett 'had nott a Shilling in the house nor knew where to borrow any', NLS MS 6502, p. 346.

[64] See for example NLS MS 6501, pp. 282–84.

[65] 'Meditations & Resolution Concerning the deuoutt Widow Anna', NLS MS 6493, p. 63. The final item in the contents to MS 6493, drawn up in 1695, notes, in page. 63, that Halkett 'accidentally' returned to the topic of the charitable use of a tenth of her income on the same day three years later, NLS MS 6493, p. 336.

[66] NLS MS 6501, pp. 360–61; NLS MS 6499, p. 73. In his *Life* Couper justifies her actions with the argument that Halkett was able to increase or decrease the amount she spent on charity depending on her ready cash 'and while she had it, she could not deny it', while repaying her debts required a single substantial sum (p. 51). If he made this argument in person, it is not recorded by Halkett.

For Halkett, the continuation of life became a financial problem. Debt threatened to undermine her posthumous reputation, which she had hoped would be secured through her writing and practice. Meditating on 1 October 1694, the first anniversary of her son Robert's death, she worried about the effect his death would have on her own credit.[67] On 16 June 1697, having come to an agreement with her son Charles about disputed payments, Halkett wrote: 'if I should Liue some time & nott outtliue what I haue made ouer to D M for his security. Many besides my selfe may bee in want & trouble'.[68] The good, and the reproduction of the community, were at stake: Halkett had to support her 'family', which at this time included both boarders and servants.[69] What Halkett saw as her sometimes excessive anxiety about debt was the prime cause of her being 'vnsatisfied' with herself, 'nott for worldly reputation though th*a*t be a thing valuable \butt/ lest by doing any thing vnworthy the name of a Christian I should bring a scandall vpon my most holy Proffesion w*hi*ch I desire should bee most euidenced in my practice.'[70] Debt, for Halkett, imperilled her status as a pious example and group representative in two ways: because her present exemplarity was premised on her action in society, which lack of money rendered her unable to perform; and because the personal moral demerit of debt, with its potential posthumous implications for the financial situations of others, cancelled anything she might achieve through 'practice', especially with regard to the posthumous effects of her life and writing. Halkett's debt and credit relations mapped out a social network that partially overlapped with the religious and political community she hoped would witness and validate the faith evidenced in her works, a point Halkett gave a resentful twist. Recovering from her illness in April 1695, she imagined that, should she die with her debts unpaid, those who presently 'extoll' her 'for the benefitt they receaue [...] would bee the first to reuile mee As if all the good I

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67 NLS MS 6500, p. 351.

68 NLS MS 6501, p. 244.

69 NLS MS 6500, p. 174.

70 NLS MS 6501, pp. 207–9.

indeauored to doe was to bee seene of Men'.[71] A crucial judge of Halkett's works was God, called upon as witness while Halkett solicited but chafed against present and posthumous social validation of her skilled practice.

Halkett's use of her books to materialise her experiences sometimes offered ways to ameliorate those experiences. On 13 September 1694, Halkett recorded how, having borrowed a larger sum than usual (three hundred marks for six months) in order to pay off petty debts contracted 'to buy nesesarys for the house', she found that she was made even more 'vneasy' by wondering how to pay that off and avoid further borrowing. Of the anticipated 'sattisfaction', she wrote: 'itt slipt through my fingers as if itt had beene putt as the prophet says vnto a bag with holes'. The experience of debt in her present taught her to follow Saint Paul's exhortation 'to bee carefull for nothing' and depend on prayer (Philippians 4. 6–7). Halkett then specifically directs herself and her reader to the place and time that she considered these verses: 'on which I fixed my Meditation Monday 4th of Iune 94 page 59' (the third select meditation in this volume). In her September citation of the verses, she wrote that such dependence was a remedy for what 'disquiett[ed]' her, 'as the vngouernable humour of Children or indiscretion of Seruants', repeating similar comments on the need for 'restraint vpon the Tongue' that she had made in June.[72] Halkett's process of recording anniversaries and repetitions and correlating them in her meditations placed the vicissitudes of debtor and creditor relations in a providential pattern. Examples of similar occurrences, weaving together her afflictions conceptually and in the form they were presented by experience (debts, servants, boarders, and her self-government in relation to them) can be multiplied.[73]

The temporality of debt and interest, which, by binding individuals to networks of obligation oriented them towards a future judgement while modifying their present, posseses a structure similar to that of Halkett's process of revisiting her resolutions,

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[71] NLS MS 6500, pp. 184–86.

[72] NLS MS 6500, p. 348, 59. Couper narrates this sequence of meditations in *Life*, p. 52. For other instances of Halkett equating government of children and servants, and the example she ought to set to both, see: NLS MS 6490, pp. 124–31; NLS MS 6501, pp. 214–15.

[73] NLS MS 6499, pp. 74–76; NLS MS 6501, pp. 277–78.

through which she provided her own abilities with a history and a form. Debts, vows, and resolutions were moral engagements governing behaviour: they had a comparable social objectivity (for Halkett, a vow bound one to a result while a resolution bound one to a course of action).[74] Halkett kept detailed track of a range of anniversaries, and their specific related commitments. She had a richly qualitative sense of repetition: coincidences and repetitions of days and dates enabled her to perceive movement, change, and pattern and to superintend the progress she had made in binding herself to resolutions.[75] Within each meditation, Halkett frequently recorded providences and made meaning from observed particulars; re–reading her meditations at distances of months or years, she was able to discern patterns of action, experience, and providence.[76] Re-reading provoked action and reflection, which, when represented, became part of the ongoing text. In this way, Halkett's life and the lives of others were given shape as a narrative 'cast from multiple points of regression', as Tom Webster observes of Puritan diaries, which created a 'material site for the self'.[77] Through these practices, Halkett (and potential later readers) was able to revisit and re-inhabit past situations, in order to perceive and construct providential patterns in her experience as well as to hold herself to account in relation to past resolutions, and so gauge her own capacities.

However, the making visible of providence and the evaluation of action through re-reading was not always comforting. It could serve simply to make visible the insuperability of Halkett's position. In June 1698, Halkett wrote about looking back at her entries of a year ago in the previous volume ('Iune 1\st &c/ 97 page 238'), in which, after her daughter expressed concern about her debt, Halkett had agreed that a more

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[74] 'Resolutions Made vpon 9 of December 1670', NLS MS 6492, p. xviii; compare 'vpon \making/ Vows', NLS MS 6491, p. 57.

[75] Examples are too numerous to list, but see: 'vpon \making/ Vows', NLS MS 6491, pp. 57–60; NLS MS 6499, pp. 60–62, 24–25; NLS MS 6500, pp. 349–50 and rear pastedown; NLS MS 6501, p. 270–71, 289–90, 324–36; NLS MS 6502, pp. 262–66, 341, 345.

[76] NLS MS 6500, p. 188; NLS MS 6501, p. vii.

[77] Tom Webster, 'Writing to Redundancy: Approaches to Spiritual Journals and Early Modern Spirituality', *Historical Journal*, 39.1 (1996), 33–56 (pp. 44, 47–53, 40).

private way of life was the only remedy. In 1698, Halkett found her case little altered.[78] A sense of muted exasperation is palpable: she is surrounded by advisors who appear not to appreciate the intractability of her situation, or the sources of Halkett's unwillingness to give up her present way of life, her desire to be 'helpfull to the poore' and to reside near the church and her own grave: 'some then discoursed of me by others suitable to a letter I receaved yesterday th*a*t if I would follow aduice I might soone bee outt of Dept'. She wrote to justify herself in dialogue with God: it was not 'vanity or ostentation' that stopped her from leaving and living 'in the most retired corner'. The previous year it had been suggested Halkett sell her furniture. In April 1695, Halkett had already been preoccupied by this issue: should she sell all her moveables and so pay her debt? The problem was exacerbated by the fact she had 'a considerable familly to sustaine'.[79] In 1697, she had sent her furniture to Edinburgh, but there were no buyers to be found; part of it was sold in Dunfermline and had not yet been paid for. Others suggested she retire and board somewhere — but where and with whom? The money from her family at Whitsunday had come with the caveat that they did not know when they would be able to pay more; they were also 'in want' in 1698.[80] Sir Charles had died in 1697; the situation was perhaps exacerbated by the collapse (with no fatalities) that April of a coal pit on which the family had spent a considerable sum.[81]

For Halkett, her situation in the 1690s was one that did not offer her the life she had hoped for. Halkett saw insuperable organisational difficulties in the way of changing her practice; yet, menaced by debt and political hostility, she stubbornly insisted on continuing the practice she had resolved on as soon as she was widowed. She had reached what she, if not her interlocutors, saw as an impasse: it could not be exited, only navigated. That navigation elicited an implicit skill, to which Halkett's books and the inscriptions of their use examined in this and the previous two paragraphs attest. It is in

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[78] NLS MS 6502, pp. 309–10; NLS MS 6501, p. 238.

[79] NLS MS 6500, pp. 174–75.

[80] NLS MS 6502, pp. 309–10, 258.

[81] NLS MS 6502, pp. 282–82, 283–85.

relation to these two mutually interfering ways of experiencing time — as meaningful recurrence and providential pattern, and as serially and secularly menaced by debt obligations — that the complex temporality of Halkett's meditations, within which her concepts of skill took shape, should be evaluated.

In the 1690s, then, debt, famine, and sickness, which appeared in her meditations severally and in combination, imperilled Halkett's project of creating an exemplary corpus through public piety and practical knowledge, even as the increasingly hostile political situation sharpened the conflict between her circle of associates and the majority of Fife society and so rendered clearer the contours of the monument she wished to leave behind.[82] In order to explore how, by threatening to cancel the effects of Halkett's skilled practice, these pressures modified the sense of skill that emerges in her writing, it is necessary to explore Halkett's principal 'imployment' in the 1690s: her religious and political tutelage of the elite young men and women, mainly of Jacobite and Episcopalian families, who, over ten years starting in 1687, came to board with her in order to attend the school at Dunfermline. Taking in boarders seems to have replaced Halkett's 'imployment' as a midwife, which decreased in the 1690s, although it seems Halkett maintained a mediating and advisory role in the distribution of medical supplies and organisation of medical personnel in Dunfermline and was still performing medical services for acquaintances in 1694.[83] Exploring the stresses of her pastoral activity, which Halkett undertook in part because it offered an additional source of income with which to maintain herself, her household, and her social activities, will make it possible to specify in more detail the nature of Halkett's skill in management, pedagogy, and medicine; how Halkett's paid 'imployment' shaped and threatened her 'imployment' of her servants in her own projects; and how debt and work threatened to annul the effects of her skilled practice: the meditations which 'imployed' her time.

[82] NLS MS 6500, pp. 238–39.

[83] Although references to traveling to administer medicine and help with births abound in MS 6497 (written 1687–88) they are scant thereafter. See, for example, NLS MS 6497, p. 304 and NLS MS 6501, pp. 259–61. For organisation, see NRS, GD29/1963/7, Halkett to James Kenaway, 23 September 1692. For Halkett letting blood, see NLS MS 6500, pp. 320–22.

A brief summary of the boarders mentioned explicitly in Halkett's meditations gives a sense of their political and religious complexion. Halkett began with two of Sir Charles's daughters in June 1687, sealing a rapprochement between them.[84] On 5 October 1687, the only son of Sir George Mackenzie, Lord Rosehaugh and his second wife, Margaret Halyburton (d. 1713), arrived; followed by Lord and Lady Rosehaugh's niece (later identified as Margeritte Haliburton) on 7 April 1688.[85] Mackenzie (1636/38–1691) had been an enthusiastic prosecutor of covenanters in the 1680s; he would later oppose the declaration of the Scottish throne's vacancy after James VII and II's departure and supported Episcopacy.[86] William Hope arrived in 1689 with his governor and page, staying until 1694 at which point he went to the university at Edinburgh. He was joined by his younger brothers Thomas (in October 1690) and John, who he left in June 1697 upon the final breakup of the school at Dunfermline.[87] The Hopes were children of Anne Bruce (daughter of William Bruce, Sir James' creditor) and Sir Thomas Hope of Craighall, fourth Baronet. Mary Bruce came to Halkett in August 1690 (daughter of Lady Inverkeithing, Mary was possibly a relation of Halkett's via Mary, Halkett's stepdaughter, and also of William Bruce).[88] Halkett was initially reluctant to take Mary but decided to take her in order to bring her to the 'true faith' from which her mother had 'swerued'.[89] Halkett considered her role to be that of 'a holy example' in order to instruct the children 'to bee blamelese & harmlese in the midst of a crooked & perverse generation'.[90] Halkett's use of 'example' here suggests the degree to

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84 NLS MS 6497, p. 293. Trill provides a partial list of Halkett's boarders: Sir George Mackenzie's son, Lady Rosehaugh's niece, Sir William Bruce's second grandchild (i.e. Thomas Hope), and Lord Cumberland, grandson to the countess of Argyle, *Halkett*, p. xxv.

85 NLS MS 6497, pp. 327–28.

86 Clare Jackson, 'Mackenzie, Sir George, of Rosehaugh', *ODNB* (2007) <https://doi.org/10.1093/ref:odnb/17579>.

87 NLS MS 6499, pp. 28, 35; NLS MS 6500, p. 358.

88 Victoria Burke, 'Manuscript Description: National Library of Scotland: MS 6499', *Perdita* <https://web.warwick.ac.uk/english/perdita/html/ms_NLS6499.htm> [accessed 2 February 2017].

89 NLS MS 6499, p. 11.

90 NLS MS 6499, pp. 11–12; NLS MS 6497, p. 375.

which she understood the reproduction of a political community through the work of care and instruction to be part of the same project as her writing. (Halkett's posthumously published *Instructions for Youth*, ostensibly written as pedagogical materials for her boarders, contains pointed exhortations to follow minority Episcopalian practices.[91]) Finally, John Murray or Moray, Lord Cumberland, a distant relative and grandson of the first Earl of Belcarese (Sir Robert Moray, who had been a Royalist associate of Halkett's during her time in Scotland in the 1650s), with his governor (another unemployed Episcopal minister) and page, arrived in June 1694.[92] While Halkett took in boarders as a direct response to her indebtedness, then, the appearance of these particular boarders was the result of a weave of personal, political, and financial obligation, coupled with the positive desire to perpetuate the religious and political project which had motivated her actions during the civil wars.

Halkett's boarders provoked anxieties because she had pastoral responsibilities for them which engaged her medical as well as pedagogical skill. Lord Cumberland fell ill soon after his arrival in July 1694, and thus a source of further anxiety, apart from the everyday 'trouble & care' of boarders (then including Sir William Hope) which distracted Halkett from her preparation for the sacrament.[93] The health of her boarders had preoccupied Halkett from the start. Sir George Mackenzie's son had been brought to her in October 1687 specifically on health grounds, after Sir George and his Lady, 'hauing buried many' of their children, heard of 'the good aire in this place'.[94] Halkett's boarders were also periodically joined by relations who were sent to her when unwell; her medical skill and her pastoral responsibilities, then, overlapped.[95] Being tests of Halkett's skill as well as being uncertain financial prospects, her boarders introduced additional uncertainty

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[91] *Instructions*, pp. 7, 13.

[92] NLS MS 6500, pp. 325–37, 331. Halkett writes cannot refuse the request from the boy's grandmother, the Countess of Argyle, who helped Halkett when she left Fyvie (p. 326). For other obligations, see *Halkett*, pp. xxii, 115–27.

[93] NLS MS 6500, pp. 334–35, 356–57; NLS MS 6500, p. 350.

[94] NLS MS 6497, pp. 327–28.

[95] NLS MS 6501, p. 282.

into her future. Halkett was frustrated — and perhaps a little worried, in anticipation of the reaction of their parents — at the lack of effect her teaching had on some of her boarders, such as the particularly refractory Margeritte Haliburton, who had been with Halkett two years and nine months when she left in January 1691.[96]

Throughout the time she looked after her boarders, Halkett was obliged to weigh the effects of the boarders' cares against the (ultimately uncertain) financial support their presence offered. An entry of 16 August 1690 reveals the financial connections between Halkett's various activities. Halkett wrote that she was determined 'to giue a true account of all my depts' to some unnamed trustworthy person (likely the David Meldrum referred to above, to whom Halkett had given power to make quarterly payments from her jointure to her debtors). For herself, Halkett wrote, she would reserve:

> such a proportion quarterly as may inable mee to fullfill the othe other [*sic*] part that my God requires in shewing Mercy. by releeuing the poore and administring to the deseased & infirme what may be vsefull for there helpe. And so I may then reserue what I haue with my boorders wholy for there vse.[97]

Clearly, then, the money coming in from Halkett's boarders in 1690 was not, in fact, reserved wholly for their use: it subsidised Halkett's medical and charitable activities, as well as her servants' wages.

Halkett's economic situation is further clarified in an entry from Friday 5 September 1690. Referring to her decision of 16 August 1690 to give a trusted associated an account of her debts and control over her jointure, Halkett wrote:

> How short a duration hath any sattisfaction that I propose to my selfe. I haue for a long time beene wrastling witht he deficultys of my temporall condition and to bee in a capacity both to bee iust to others to whom I was indepted And to subsist my selfe \to as my great endeauor/. When the Lord by his good prouidence opened a doore of hope to mee by sending seuerall young persons to bee vnder my care, that they beeing helpefull to

[96] NLS MS 6499, p. 65.

[97] NLS MS 6499, pp. 13–14.

> mee I might bee helpfull to them And though itt was nott an easy buthen to haue such a charge yett I was willing to vndergoe itt to bee a meanes to helpe mee from that vneasy load of Dept I lay vnder. And now when I had brought my selfe to resolue to putt my Ioynture into such hands as I thought I might trust to pay off quarterly \as/ farre as itt would reach (reseruing butt the fift part to my selfe) And that I would indeauor to keepe the familly within the bounds of what the boorders paid. Now to dash all my expectation of that, Yesterday Sr William Hope with his Gouernour went away And is nott like to returne because the Skoole Master vpon whose account hee came here is like to bee putt outt of his place though the fitest for his proffesion of any Man in Scotland.[98]

Halkett's financial situation is made unusually clear here: she needed money to pay her creditors, to continue her 'great endeauor' of charitable practice, and for the subsistence of her 'family' — herself, her servants, and her boarders. Making over most of her jointure to service her debts and using one fifth of it for herself, Halkett here apparently aimed to use the 'what the boorders paid' for all her 'familly'. Nonetheless, deprived of the money given for William Hope (which Halkett did not spend entirely on him, but also used to sustain herself and her household), Halkett was in difficulty. Indeed, a later note, headed 'Saturday 2d of Iune 94', written at the bottom of the page on which, on 16 August 1690, Halkett recorded that she would reserve the boarders' money solely for them, evinces Halkett's careful re-reading of her volumes to record her financial problems and account for her performances. She notes that she has been unable to perform what she had resolved to do in the 1690 entry, and counsels herself to be patient until she is enabled by God to perform it. In 1694, then, it remained the case that Halkett used some of the money she received for her boarders to support herself and her skilled social activities. Halkett's 5 September 1690 entry renders the temporality of debt and shows how Halkett's establishment was in a symbiotic and precarious relationship with the school: as Halkett indicated in 1694, both were spaces of oppositional religious and political pedagogy.[99] In the event, the schoolmaster was not removed and Hope returned in October 1690, 'vnexpectedly [...] by w*hi*ch I gott a suply by there boord when I knew

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98 NLS MS 6499, pp. 17–18.

99 NLS MS 6500, p. 326; Trill, 'Introduction', p. xxv.

nott where or how to gett any'.[100] However, periodic entries and exits of boarders, prompted by the presence, or not, of the schoolmaster, continued through to 1697.[101] The boarders never provided the predictable income Halkett had hoped for.

As Halkett's writing on the economic crises examined in the previous two paragraphs begin to make clear, her confrontation with economic constraint — her inescapable debt, compounded by her refusal to give up her wider medical and charitable 'practice' — gave rise to a complex decision-making rhetoric in which financial and other benefits that accrued to Halkett through her work and skill were distributed, serially confronted and evaded. Drawing on Lauren Berlant's analysis of the form of political attachment she calls 'cruel optimism', the chapter approaches this rhetoric as a form of indirection. For Berlant, building on Wendy Brown, an object of desire is understood as 'a cluster of promises'.[102] An attachment is cruel if what is desired is in fact progressively invidious to flourishing, even as it provides the ground of someone's continuity and hope. It is the form of an attachment, not its content, that is important, and so 'a poetics of attachment always involves some splitting off of the *story* I can tell about wanting to be near *x* […] from the *activity* of the emotional habitus I have constructed, as a function of having *x* in my life'. To study attachments thus requires 'an analysis of indirection'.[103] Looking closely at Halkett's rhetoric, with Berlant, discloses the ways in which Halkett's concepts of skill and labour were shaped by economic pressures originating in debt and also by her political attachment to a certain form of life, the affective signatures of which are rendered in her writing. The following paragraphs now turn to consider Halkett's work as her boarders' moral and religious teacher, and the character of the double skill that their government demanded, which intensified her attention to providence and overlapped with her consideration of her debts.

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100 NLS MS 6499, p. 28. NLS MS 6500, p. 358; NLS MS 6499, p. 35.

101 NLS MS 6501, pp. 241, 285, 342.

102 Lauren Berlant, *Cruel Optimism* (Durham: Duke University Press, 2011), p. 24; Wendy Brown, *States of Injury: Power and Freedom in Late Modernity* (Princeton: Princeton University Press, 1995), pp. 52–76.

103 Berlant, p. 25.

Halkett had been uncertain about taking in more boarders from the first, and her ambivalence is repeated in her writing about almost every new arrival, as she reflects on the meaning of the boarders for the practice of her life. In a meditation on her changed circumstances in August 1687, just after Sir Charles had sent two of his daughters to her, Halkett discusses two problems. The first was that, although her time to think and write has been curtailed — 'how much more composed my thoughts were and more serious my Meditations (& more frequent) when I had none butt my selfe & saruants in my family to disturbe mee'— to instruct young people is a duty belonging to the example Halkett emulates in her later years: the 'Widow indeed' of 1 Timothy 5. 5. The second problem is providential: Halkett's disinclination to continue in the absence of clear providences. Hesitantly, she wrote: 'I was this morning euen ready to aske of God that if this kinde of life for mee were what might make mee most seruiceable to his deuine Maiesty then by sending some addition to th*e* number I haue \of Children/ by that I might know itt was his will I should pursue this charge'. Conversely, if God were to arrange for their removal, her path would be similarly clear.[104] Whether or not the two initial boarders were foisted on Halkett, she clearly perceived herself to be at an unchosen threshold. Her repeated later desires (but not requests) for providential signs in relation to her boarders attest to her continuing uncertainty about the unchosen project. On 7 May 1697, for example, Halkett considered firing an ungrateful servant and giving up 'making and giuing to ye poor and indigent' due to the ill-payment of her jointure and her debt.[105] Looking for direction in the providential patterns in her books, and following a cross-reference marked in her Bible at Psalms 37. 3 she re-read an entry from 1684 in which she had resolved to move to York, where she was unknown, in order to 'make vse of such things which I had formerly giuen in Charity to to [*sic*] be a support to mee', but had been unable to do so because the financial arrangements were impracticable.[106] She had

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[104] NLS MS 6497, pp. 315, 316.

[105] NLS MS 6501, pp. 228.

[106] NLS MS 6501, p. 227. Anselment develops his point about the 'temporal layering' characteristic of Halkett's devotions principally in relation to this meditation (pp. 87–88).

re-read the same entry, for the same reasons, in 1691, and on that occasion had received money unexpectedly soon afterwards.[107] The May 1697 situation (discussed in more detail in section three, below) was resolved when a sick child was brought to her, recommended by Sir Patrick Murray. Halkett saw this as arranged by God to 'draw mee the more vnresistably to goe on in my former practice' (p. 230). The same pattern of events repeated in June 1697.[108] As well as providences, made visible through Halkett's writing, these requests also amount to repeated endorsement's of Halkett's skill as a medical practitioner. Halkett's considerations of whether or not to dispense with her 'imployment' were lengthy; cumulatively, they demonstrate how her sense of skill, retrospectively validated by social acclaim and recounted as providence, was built on narrative and collective foundations.

Halkett's consistent ambivalence about her boarders elicited explicit considerations of how best to discipline them, and a practice of implicit skill: how to navigate an unchosen situation of dependence exacerbated by her refusal to give up her other social practices. If Halkett is effectively drawing a wage, or at least using the boarders' money to pay her debts, then the activity is definitively work, and the nature of the skill is changed. Halkett's ambivalence circles around this issue, in connection with which her meditations evince a complex rhetoric of artifice and concealment. In March 1688, in ambiguously economic terms, Halkett weighed 'charg' against 'benefit'.[109] That month, in an entry that seems to refer to Sir George Mackenzie's son, Halkett had complained of the 'fretting vntoward humour of that Child who I loue as my owne', who had disturbed her in her morning meditations. Halkett lets him have his way:

> because I find him much ye more tractable, then when hee is crosed. Butt it is a great crose to my selfe to bee humouring others when I should now in my old age bee imploying most of my time to fitt my selfe for death. And the vneasinese of my life by my present imployment in hauing care of others made mee sometime resolue to lay itt alltogether aside and take

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[107] NLS MS 6499, pp. 74–76.

[108] NLS MS 6501, pp. 248–49, 255.

[109] NLS MS 6497, p. 358.

> mee to a more solitary quiett way of Liuing where I may more imploy my selfe by hauing lese interuption in my way to […] God.[110]

Responding to her evident inability to forcibly admonish Mackenzie, presumably due to the status of his parents and her financial dependence on them, Halkett's argument here proceeds by polyptoton. To cross (denial) becomes a cross (affliction); 'imploying' (directed use of time) becomes 'imployment' (remunerated activity, subject-object relations unclear) and then becomes 'imploy' (the deliberate and productive engagement of the intellect, using the self as an object). The figure foregrounds the way in which Halkett's use of occasional meditation makes actions into an object, and the way in which the question, for Halkett, is whether to use her time or have her time be used. Again, Halkett ends by insisting that 'itt is by his prouidence & not my ownse contriuance that I haue these Chilldren vnder my care', holding open two mutually excluding possibilities: that on 'farther determination' God may yet remove the boarders from her, and that God has already decided, once and for all.[111] Returning to Berlant's formulation, a rhetoric of indirection is clearly visible here, early in the boarders' sojourn, shaping Halkett's use of 'imployment' within circumstances that do not allow her freedom of action.

For Halkett, it was the *aim* and *cause* of labour that was decisive in determining what *kind* of work was being done. Halkett's concepts 'trouble', 'toil', 'labour' (used of coal miners) and 'industry' (used of her servants throughout her writing) name the expenditure of energy without any aim or cause other than material necessity. The same work, viewed from the standpoint of those who deliberately set it in motion and materially benefited from it, was end-oriented 'imployment'.[112] The concept 'imployment', like the concept 'saruant', enables Halkett to shift between financial and

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[110] NLS MS 6497, p. 357.

[111] NLS MS 6497, p. 358.

[112] 'vpon beeing in a Coale pitt', NLS MS 6490, pp. 21–26.

spiritual benefits, holding together incommensurable activities and therefore concretely dissimilar forms of practical knowledge in one conceptual field.

This section has explored the effects on Halkett's conceptualisation and practice of skilled activity of the various political and economic pressures she withstood in the 1680s and 1690s. It has suggested that the temporal experience recorded in Halkett's meditations was determined by debt as well as by her construction of providential narratives. Debt hindered Halkett's ability to pursue skilled and virtuous activities in the present, and, by destroying her reputation, threatened to cancel the posthumous effects of these activities. In so doing, debt revealed that a crucial determinant of the meaning of her skill was the posthumous appreciation of it as a whole by her community and her readers. Halkett's boarders offered a new avenue for the application and social validation of her medical skill and pastoral abilities, but their presence interfered with Halkett's ability to engage in the refreshing and spiritually crucial practice of meditation. In confronting both the economic compulsions constraining her actions and her attachment to a particular way of life — ostensibly searching for the means to make decisions — Halkett elaborated a rhetoric of indirection which depended in part on her use of her books to record and revisit providences and resolutions. This rhetoric and the textual practices on which it rested constitute an implicit skill, an improvisatory response to an impasse. The development of Halkett's thought on 'imployment' within these entries also reveals the degree to which the field of concepts through which Halkett explicitly conceived of labour and practical knowledge depended upon an interpenetration of spiritual and material concerns, and were shaped by the tactical demands of her need to formulate a defensible account of her actions in the face of inarguable financial necessity. It is to the fractious labour and pedagogical relations within Halkett's household in the 1690s, when financial necessity was at its sharpest, that this chapter now turns.

3. 'Practice': Servants, Work, and Pedagogy

Halkett's household in the 1690s was composed of servants and boarders to whom Halkett had pastoral responsibilities. In different ways, she aimed to pass on knowledge and to inculcate desires and norms of conduct in them. Halkett's writings suggest that she sustained much more direct pedagogical relationships with her servants than with the boarders, to whom she extended 'care'. In the case of Halkett's servants, unlike her boarders, her authority was unquestionable. Concentrating on Halkett's servants, therefore, this section asks: what concepts of skill or practical knowledge were precipitated by the mixture of disciplinary and pedagogical relations that Halkett sustained with her servants, mediated as they often were by reading and writing, under conditions of economic and political duress? It explores the ways in which her writing became an instrument of labour management as well as a means of recording it.

The ideal form and outcome of the pedagogical relation for Halkett, and how the pleasure she took in this ideal was informed by local and national politics, takes its clearest shape in the 1690s. In July 1694, Halkett was visited by a former boarder, Betty Murray and her woman.[113] Although Murray had not been a servant, many of the hopes Halkett invested in Murray were similar to those she invested in her servants, but successfully realised because they were not contradicted by the fact of hierarchy. As a clear instance of a successful pedagogical relationship, Murray's example will be used to clarify the ways in which Halkett's servants fell short, and the structural impediments inhibiting their ever satisfactorily taking up what Halkett taught.

Halkett initially reserved judgement on Murray and her woman, noting they are 'both of them so improued as to there outtward state that I hope they are proportionally improued in there soules'.[114] On Sunday 5 August 1694, Halkett and Murray went

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[113] Murray was possibly related to Sir Patrick Murray of Saltcoats/Dryden, a friend to Halkett, ally of the Episcopalian faction, and an intermediary between her and her son, Sir Charles, who had married Sir Patrick's eldest daughter, Janet, in 1675. NLS MS 6501, p. 282; NLS MS 6502, pp. 278–79; *Halkett*, p. 165.

[114] NLS MS 6500, p. 333.

together to celebrate the Lord's Supper, an event Halkett had been anticipating for months.[115] Halkett recorded her worry that due to infirmity she would be unable to 'hold outt all the time of \the/ administration' without some refreshment.[116] But in fact, from five a.m. to three p.m., as she wrote on 13 August:

> I was much better then I haue beene when I staid att home And often both eate & dranke within that space. As that was very refreshing to my Soale to bee inabled to goe with hungring & thirs<y>ing desires after him who was the food of Life. So great was the ioy I had to see (if I may withoutt presumption say) the trauaile of my Soule and was sattisfied that I liued to see Mrs Betty Murray who from her Childhood was many yeares vnder my Care went with mee to the holy Table where I offered her vp with praises & prayers. So I doupt nott butt shee deuotoed her selfe to the seruice of the Allmighty for shee is serrious & vnderstands more than is vsuall.[117]

Halkett here repeats phrases from an entry she wrote the day before the service, that Murray 'was many years euen from her Childhood vnder my care'. Her pride in what Murray has become, now that they are 'partakers of the deuine nature' together, who share an understanding of religious 'dilligence to make our calling & election sure' is palpable. Murray is 'her who I loue as my owne' (a phrase Halkett had used of Sir George Mackenzie's son in 1688).[118] For Halkett, the sacrament was a devotional practice that comprehends within it a whole bodily practice.[119] She experiences joy, hunger, thirst, and miraculous support (recalling prophet Anna of Luke 2. 36–38, a scriptural widow on whose example Halkett meditated) within a specific tradition of worship in which she wants those under her care to participate and to value as she does, as a result of her teaching.[120] When Murray left, on 21 August, Halkett called her Elizabeth, and recorded

115 NLS MS 6500, pp. 334–35; Trill, 'Introduction', p. xxiv. On the importance of the sacrament of the Lord's Supper for Halkett, see NLS MS 6499, p. 79; NLS MS 6500, pp. 181–83.

116 NLS MS 6500, p. 338.

117 NLS MS 6500, pp. 339–40.

118 NLS MS 6500, pp. 337, 340.

119 NLS MS 6497, pp. 286–87.

120 NLS MS 6493, p. 32.

again that it gave her 'great sattisfaction […] to find so good effects of the indeauors I vsed to giue her good impresions \early/ in her Childhood'.[121] What offers Halkett satisfaction, in this episode, is the return to Halkett of her priorities in the figure of another person whom she has shaped through the investment of labour and skill; a former tutee who has taken care to employ the education that Halkett has offered, and now joins the community of which Halkett is part.

The devotion in which Murray shared was, for Halkett, explicitly oppositional. Throughout the 1690s, Halkett was involved with other 'considerable Heritors of the Parish' in disputes concerning the right of the local Episcopal ministers to preach in resistance to the newly Presbyterian Church of Scotland. Presbyterian attempts to oust Graeme and the especially intransigent Couper from their places, which had begun upon the sidelining of the Episcopal church in 1689, were ongoing throughout 1696 and 1697.[122] When, in July 1696, the Presbyterians were apparently successful, Halkett recorded her refusal to hear the new minister, and discharged 'all that are of my familly' of the duty to hear him.[123] In practice, this might have meant a positive ban. In the 1690s, and especially after he was ejected from his post in 1696, Couper undertook to minister 'in priuate'.[124] Halkett's last volume records more frequently than earlier volumes instances of her reading 'in the family' after her own private prayer and reading.[125] On 6 February 1698, Halkett took her servants with her to hear Couper preach privately, but, unable to gain entry, they returned home and she read to them instead.[126]

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[121] NLS MS 6500, p. 344.

[122] NLS MS 6499, pp. 17–19, 20–23, 31, 32–34, 38–39, 63–64; NLS MS 6501, pp. 265–67, 270–71, 273–76, 282–87, 293–94 337.

[123] NLS MS 6501, pp. 296, 352–53. The synod met to put a minister in Couper's place in April 1697, NLS MS 6501, pp. 201–02, 210. Halkett was still taking action to reinstate Couper in March 1698, NLS MS 6502, pp. 278–80.

[124] NLS MS 6499, p. 78; NLS MS 6502, p. 256.

[125] NLS MS 6502, pp. 202–03, 345. On 'family religion', composed of communal reading, prayer, and sociable visits to clergy, see: Andrew Cambers and Michelle Wolfe, 'Reading, Family Religion, and Evangelical Identity in Late Stuart England', *The Historical Journal*, 47.4 (2004), 875–96; Gillian Wright, 'Delight in Good Books: Family, Devotional Practice, and Textual Circulation in Sarah Savage's Diaries', *Book History*, 18 (2015), 48–74.

[126] NLS MS 6502, pp. 258–59.

Halkett's satisfaction in her former ward, Murray, then, is also satisfaction at having an accomplice in the local and national political and religious activity centred on her household. Halkett's activities here bear comparison with Margaret Hoby, whose household contained young women from important local families being trained by Hoby in household management and true religion, in preparation for their forming households of their own and so reproducing politically-inflected godliness.[127] Murray's actions afforded Halkett a measure of collective identity that was not mediated by print or formed in reaction to a national proclamation and was not constrained by any form of payment, as were relations with her boarders. The ideal form of instructor–tutee relationship, then, modelled by Elizabeth Murray's return to Halkett, was a collaborative variant of the hierarchical pedagogical relationship Halkett aimed to establish between herself and her servants, in order that they should be a household united in piety and the practice of internally- and externally-oriented skill, defined against the prevailing norm.

The positive example of Betty Murray can be used to illuminate Halkett's fractious relations with her servants, and the ways in which her writing practice was directly functional in their management as well as being a skilled commentary about it. Halkett's will names three women servants, presumably those with her in the 1690s: Janet Drummond, Christian Alexander, and Janet Thomsone.[128] Four decades after 'vpon discention amongst the Saruants', the meditation with which this chapter began, on 23 April 1694, Halkett wrote again about servant dissension, rendering the practice of government in far more concrete detail. She meditated:

> vpon some indiscreet answeares I gott from one seruant who the night before had complained to mee of the same fault in other seruants w*hi*ch for my owne quiett at that time I did forbeare to take notice of, But the next morning she (that accused the other) vpon my only asking where she had beene did so impertinently & pasionately answeare mee that I confese I was att the very brinke of plonging my selfe into imbitter'd words […]

[127] Mary Ellen Lamb, 'The Sociality of Margaret Hoby's Reading Practices and the Representation of Reformation Interiority', *Critical Survey*, 12.2 (2000), 17–32 (pp. 18–21).

[128] *Halkett*, p. 190n7. Unlike Cowper, Halkett never identifies her servants by name in her meditations.

> Butt blesed bee my God att that time (w*hi*ch brought mee to make these reflections) when I was so prouoked I did nott only forbeare giuing her any reproofe butt went on in writting in her fauors as I had before begun & then read itt to her to make her ashamed of her vngratitude And so indeauered to ouercome evill with good.[129]

Here we see Halkett's virtuous self-control being used to admonish her servants, as a form of affective discipline, and also the literacy she had been at pains to teach them — which, as we will see, they had imperfectly grasped. The 'writting in her fauors' (apparently not extant) might have been a character for that servant, in which case Halkett's forbearance is undertaken from a position of power over the servant's future employment; or it might have been a collection of precepts spiritually favourable to the servant. Halkett's attempt to introduce labour discipline — control on servants' time and movements via the government of the tongue — is made more difficult by the necessarily unsystematic imposition of that discipline and her servants' arguments with one another. The success recorded here depends upon Halkett's sense of occasion and her capacity for confrontation (questions of enunciation that are taken up at length in the diaries of Sarah, Lady Cowper, in the following chapter of this thesis). The 'imbitter'd words' of the first servant could be interpreted as a response to Halkett's failure to act on or seek to redress her initial complaint. Halkett's acknowledgement of this situation is oblique: she burnishes self-exculpation ('for my owne quiett at that time') by presenting the first servant as a hypocrite with the ability deftly to deploy Halkett's precepts on indiscretion against other servants. Indiscretion in servants meant speech out of place and horizontal communication. When Halkett moved from Pitfirrane to Dunfermline in February 1671, she had reflected that if she and her stepson Sir Charles 'had Liued together the indiscretion of Saruants might haue putt mee to an inconuenience w*hi*ch att this distance may bee auoided'.[130] Halkett's later meditations are eloquent witnesses to the ways in

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[129] NLS MS 6500, pp. 314–16.

[130] NLS MS 6492, pp. vi–vii; *Halkett*, pp. 38–41 (p. 38). Whether this means the servants would have been an unwelcome conduit for Halkett's statements, or that their behaviour would have provoked contests of authority over them is unclear.

which she grappled with the affective and tactical realities of work in an early modern household in the course of theoretical reflection on the right way to govern one.

Two examples of other employers using pedagogical reading and instruction in literacy to mediate household discipline will clarify what is at stake in Halkett's activity here. Halkett's practice echoes the conduct of household writing and reading eulogised in funeral sermons like that of godly gentlewoman Elizabeth Walker.[131] Walker was married to Anthony Walker, chaplain to Mary Rich; Anthony published some his wife's devotions after her death, as he had done for Rich.[132] His posthumous record describes how, after dressing, Walker would 'kindle her own Fire, […] and so she spent two hours at least with God; and then at Six, or after, would she call her Maids, and duly hear one or both read a Chapter, then sit and read her self, till the Servants has had what was fit for them'.[133] The pattern for Christian employers found in this portrait of 'the vertuous wife' of a rector, meditating and overseeing the spiritual improvement of her maids before going to pay the wages of her day labourers, indicates how household religious pedagogy might inflect, but not dissolve, relations of authority. The value of Halkett's writing as a record of the real life of management becomes clear here and in the following meditations, when her texts are compared with the diaries of Lady Margaret Hoby. Hoby's writing contains copious notation of her routine religious instruction of her servants and 'maids' (her tutees) and how that instruction, based on reading, was arranged around Hoby's day-to-day work in the household and estate and her own interactions with texts. Hoby can be found catechising members of the household; explaining the 'princeples of relgion' to the 'poore and Ignorant' working in her kitchen; reading to her servants; having her maidservants and servingmen read to the household from Foxe or

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[131] Sara Mendelson, 'Stuart Women's Diaries and Occasional Memoirs', in *Women in English Society 1500–1800*, ed. by Mary Prior (London: Routledge, 1985), pp. 181–210 (p. 183). On the use of these texts as evidence, see Ezell, 'Papers', pp. 33–42; Peter Lake, 'Feminine Piety and Personal Potency: The "Emancipation" of Mrs Jane Ratcliffe', *Seventeenth Century*, 2.2 (1987), 143–65.

[132] Coolahan, pp. 130–31, 140.

[133] Anthony Walker, *The Vertuous Wife: Or, the Holy Life of Mrs. Elizabeth Walker […] With some useful Papers and Letters writ by her on several Occasions* (London, 1694), p. 34.

read to her from Perkins; and questioning her 'maids' about the day's sermon.[134] While, as Mary Lamb notes, the reading practices that meditated Hoby's relations with her servants involved a blending of forms of authority – such that, if servants' recall of passages or sermons was defective, their standing in the household would be diminished — Hoby's diaries contain little commentary on how she felt about her use of reading as a form of discipline, and limited detail of how she organised it.[135] Halkett's meditations, by contrast, are rich in such detail, and, in combination with Hoby's notation of her routine, enable some tentative generalisations about the dynamics of this kind of instruction.

Halkett placed her April 1694 meditation 'vpon some indiscreet answeares' within a network of references to similar occasions, in order to create knowledge as a guide to action. She began the April 1694 entry 'vpon some indiscreet answeares' by noting that, because she is too apt to be 'disturbed' over trivial matters, she had made a resolution on 27 September 1690 'that A froward heart should depart from mee' (Psalms 101. 4), writing down the day in the margin of her Bible, as was her usual practice. On 27 September 1690, she had hoped for God's help in governing the anger that her servants and boarders often provoked, in order not to compromise her own rationality and demeanour or disturb her body, her control over which was demonstrated in the content of her resolutions and the skilled use of her books through which their performance was tracked (notwithstanding that 'the Apostle says Bee \ye/ angry and sin nott lett nott the sun goe downe vpon your anger').[136] Looking back to 1690 in 1694, Halkett felt herself condemned by the little she had improved in the intervening time; the narrative of the indiscreet servant appears as the most recent example. Writing in April 1694, Halkett

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[134] *The Private Life of an Elizabethan Lady: The Diary of Lady Margaret Hoby, 1599–1605*, ed. by Joanna Moody (Stroud: Sutton, 1998), pp. 4 (catechising), 9, 48 (kitchen), 34 (reading to her servants), 48 (reading to her maids), 22, 24, 51, 166 (servants reading), 39, 161 (examining maids on sermon). For other instruction in religious principles see p. 96. Unlike Halkett, Hoby recorded when she paid her servants' wages (pp. 28, 154), alongside details of ordering business in the house, taling to workmen, and viewing lands and buildings on her and Sir Thomas' lands (*passim*). Like Halkett, Hoby also had medical oversight of the local poor and members of her household (pp. 18, 40, 144, 145)

[135] Lamb, 'Sociality', 19.

[136] NLS MS 6499, pp. 26–27.

again thanked God — who stopped her speaking on this occasion — and invokes numerous biblical examples of those who did not answer back, but found that 'the disorder of [her] Spiritt when […] indiscreetly answered by my servants' would not diminish. It reminded her of how she used to give 'hasty imprudent answeares' to Sir James when they were married. His mild reproach ashamed her then and reformed her conduct; she will try it on her family. As elsewhere, Halkett thinks through the methods of subordination by imaging herself in the inferior position. Halkett links the government of the self and of others together as a matter of technique: in order to successfully reprove her servants, she will need to be slow to anger, casting out the beam from her eye before the mote in her brother's (p. 317).[137] Like the practice of meditation, this skilled attention to her conduct, enabled by her books, will enable 'wise Redeeming the time' (p. 318).

Through consideration of Halkett's serial narration of her servants' ingratitude and ungovernability, the following paragraphs also explore in further detail how cross-references and re-reading function in her writing, framing Halkett's servant management within her own processes of self-regulation and her perception of the plot of providence in her books. On 18 March 1695, Halkett returned to her regime of household government in which writing played a pivotal role:

> The last Monday what I said to all my Seruants & the occation of itt is written in a Loose paper att the end of this booke. And since then shee that was the reason of my beeing most disturbed with the vnquiet disention that was amongst them & had absolutely told mee shee could nott Liue peabeably with mee (vpon w*hi*ch I gaue her leaue to goe when she pleased (being resolued neither to keepe nor part with any against there will.) Now shee is come to some sence of her folly & desires to stay & vpon promise of future circumspection I haue accepted of her againe: which I had neuer done. If I had nott considered my owne passionate humour that makes mee say many things I repent and w*hi*ch I hope the Lord pardons.[138]

[137] Again, as in her 1659 meditation on servant dissension, relative proportion is important: what is a mote in others is a beam in her. This biblical citation reappears again a year later, in March 1695.

[138] NLS MS 6500, pp. 160–161.

Halkett here directs unknown posthumous readers and her later self to a script for the admonishment of her servants, and the occasion of its first enunciation. As before, Halkett turns the servants' arguments into an occasion to examine her own conduct, which must be the more exemplary due to her position of command ('sins that are as great in proportion as ten thousand Talents is to an hundred pence') and which is carefully regulated using her writing. The loose leaf unfortunately does not survive, though other loose papers do, serving as annotated supplements to the volumes' contents pages or to notes on fundamental resolutions such as Halkett's undertaking to live as 'a Widow Indeed'.[139] Judging by her mention of using loose papers even in her earliest extant volume, it must be assumed that many more such notes are lost.[140] These notes were functionally analogous to Halkett's record of servant discipline: they served to orient reading and organise memory, in order to inform action. Halkett's ability to recall her 'owne passionate humour' and her past speeches depended upon the protocols of her manuscript production, which enabled the revisiting of earlier moments at which she bound herself to a course of action or was forced to reflect upon her conduct, of which this confrontation with her servants is another instance. Writing, whether directed at servants or used by Halkett, was an adjunct to discipline, crucial to the enactment as well as to the recording of Halkett's managerial abilities, as well as being a measure of her servants' skill.[141]

May and June 1697, as the previous section noted, was a period of acute crisis for Halkett:

Decisions she took at this time about whether or not to cease public works of charity were at the centre of a contentious tangle of expectations and prohibitions about what

[139] NLS MS 6501, pp. v–vi; 'Resolutions Made vpon 9 of December 1670', NLS MS 6492, p. xviii. For further examples of notes on Halkett's reading inserted into her books, see *Halkett*, p 145n1.

[140] NLS MS 6489, p. 196. On early modern writing and reading practices involving similar papers, see Smith, 'Materials', pp. 23–24.

[141] For cognate but more elaborate methods of using writing to 'maintain rigorous surveillance', see Nancy Wright, 'Accounting for a Life: The Household Accounts of Lady Anne Clifford', in *Early Modern Autobiography*, ed. by Kelly, Davis, and Bedford, pp. 234–51 (p. 238).

actions people thought were appropriate, theologically warranted, or financially permissible for her to undertake, which concentrated Halkett's attention on the attitude and practical knowledge possessed by her servants.[142] On 7 May 1697, as section two addressed, Halkett considered dismissing her servant and giving up almsgiving due to her debts and the insufficiency and unpredictability of her income. Returning to that meditation, then, the discussion now turns to Halkett's attention to dismissal as a management stratagem. Halkett wrote:

> I haue of Late beene resolued to part with a very vseful seruant who in a Manner from her Childhood hath beene vnder my care, And imployed in making & giuing outt things for the benefitt of the sicke & poore. And to giue ouer wholy that imployment since I found my selfe more & more disabled for want of mony to doe itt with. Itt was nott withoutt great reluctancy that I exposed her to the want shee could nott butt suffer when shee wanted my seruice especially in this hard time And where one wants a Seruant ten Seruants want a Mistrise.[143]

Lack of money due to debt menaced Halkett because it constrained her to morally dubious inactivity: she is deprived of the ability to 'imploy' (use) the servant in her charitable 'imployment' (laudable activity). It has been seen that the necessity of such 'imployment' was an imperative in Halkett's life and foundational to her sense of self in the 1690s. In depriving her of opportunity to undertake it, debt curtailed the exercise of Halkett's skill, diminished her authority, and rendered superfluous, from her point of view, and unsalable, from her servant's perspective, the practical knowledge with which she had invested her servant, for whom the continuation of Halkett's 'imployment' is a matter of livelihood.

In the same meditation, Halkett wondered about turning environmental and economic catastrophe of 'this hard time' into a tool of management. The possibility of the servant's departure was well-known: Halkett had been 'solicitede to keep her both from

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142 Perhaps indicating an upswing in hostility to Halkett's practice at this time, in June 1697 Halkett heard from a servant that she was popularly accused of witchcraft, NLS MS 6501, pp. 251–53.

143 NLS MS 6501, p. 228.

those within & withoutt the house' (p. 229). As already noted, these were years of famine in Scotland and the pressures on employment Halkett referenced were in part due to the substantial increase in urban-bound migration triggered by the famine. Several Perth and Kinross parishes were affected, as Halkett herself witnessed in July 1696.[144] Halkett was willing to use the poverty behind the slack labour market as a method (one that might even be providentially sanctioned) to teach the proper disposition to her servant:

> if hee were pleased that I should still keepe her who by her offten vngratitud for all I haue done for her, hath prouoked mee to part with her, euen outt of compasion to her, that by coming to feele the nesesitys that douptlese shee must meet with, shee might come to bee more humble for nott improuing as she should haue done the mercy shee hath mett with, And more thankefull to God and obedient to mee then euer formerly shee hath been if I should still keepe her. Butt beeing still vndetermined I desired the Lord by his good prouidence to make his way plaine before mee.[145]

The servant has been advanced an opportunity for improvement — a mercy — but she has failed to make use of it and turn it to her own and to Halkett's advantage. In failing to be a proper object of tuition she has failed in obedience. Halkett has, on one page, described a servant as 'vseful' and, a page later, as provokingly ungrateful. Halkett feels this 'vngratitude', here as in 1694, as an injury and betrayal. Halkett's vacillation over the characteristics of this both useful and ungrateful servant attests to the doubleness of servant skill, as outlined in section one of chapter one. It also attests to the ways in which servant skill was insecurely possessed and vulnerable to revocation, since it was something with which servants were invested by their employers in a process governed by affective norms, according to which the occupant of the inferior position in a hierarchy is grateful to the superior in virtue of occupying that position. This servant's 'vngratitutde' (a failure of demeanour and attentiveness) cancels her claim to usefulness (her particular skill). Halkett's resentment towards the servant leads her to voice an aggressive fantasy of the

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144 Cullen, pp. 58, 157–60, 193–95; NLS MS 6501, p. 295.

145 NLS MS 6501, p. 229.

servant's abasement and subsequent obedience. That fantasy of abasement, which was also a strategy of management, had a hard edge, but Halkett left open the possibility of continuing her 'former Course'.

On 24 February 1698, Halkett recorded her provocation by another 'indiscreet' servant who interrupted her evening mediations.[146] This servant was another who, like the boarder Betty Murray and the servant discussed on 7 May 1697, Halkett 'had in a manner taken care of […] since she was a Child & sett her to Skoole & brought her to the knowledge of many things.' Halkett was irritated because the servant had forgotten Halkett's regular daily meditative routine.[147] Halkett took the interruption to be a divine rebuke: it was God who 'stirred vp the passion of an indiscreet Servant' to accuse her wandering thoughts. Halkett was increasingly worried in her last years about what she perceived as a growing inability to sustain concentration.[148] One way she controlled that worry and gained a handle on her involuntary anger was by framing the servants as vehicles for feedback on her meditative practice and relationship to God. Then, Halkett shifts from a narrative record of the performance of piety, for which her servant is audience, to herself and her readers, for whom the servant is a meditative object: she decides to bear with this servant's faults, even as God bears with hers, returning to the same scriptural commonplace — never thinking, as she did not in 1659, nor more recently in 1694 or 1695, to pluck the mote from the servant's eye: 'So I will make use of her faults as a Looking glace to lett mee see the blemishes offe my owne life.' Halkett's displeasure at the individual servant is placed within a long history of her frustration at being denied by 'discention amongst the Saruants' the quiet and united household she had anticipated in the 1650s, and repeats the same meditative movement (and simile) she traced there. Halkett concludes the 1698 meditation by noting that her greatest uneasiness 'since euer I was [mistress] of a familly' had been 'the disquiett I haue had from seruants & there contest one with another', asking, in the characteristic closing

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[146] NLS MS 6502, pp. 267–68.

[147] For the routine, see *Life*, p. 56.

[148] NLS MS 6502, p. 350.

gesture, for God's support in unifying the household, so that 'with one mind and one Mouth' it may praise God.[149] If servants attended on the opportunities for education that Halkett advanced them, she suggests, they would not argue among themselves: the question of how to govern — a question of managerial skill — is turned into a question of her servants' ability to learn. Ingratitude was a failure of the relationship that sustains a servant's skill. In this instance, in order to recuperate her failure of instruction, Halkett narrates their failures as internal to her own skilled practice which, if pursued successfully, would transform her household into a unified collectivity.

While Halkett sometimes presents servant infractions and her responses to them as a dynamic totality, as moments within her own spiritual progression, she is more frequently concerned with her servants' usefulness in the world for her 'practice'. This concept of skill, a conceptual and affective framework reflective of the fact that without 'imployment', Halkett's servants had no opportunity to exercise skill, is foregrounded, in its connection to book use, in an entry written on 26 April 1698 concerning the indiscreet servant of 24 February. The entry begins with 'The continuance of that which I was displeased with mentioned Page 267'. Halkett had considered firing the servant (a woman apparently 'vnfitt for any seruice that had any vneasynese in itt') as a 'remedy' for her conduct, but then decided to keep the servant on and reform her; in any case, she could not pay the wages the servant was owed. Even had Halkett been able to pay, she recognised that the wages and all the servant's 'owne industry' (her only economically consequential property) would have been insufficient to protect the servant from suffering 'in this time of hardship'. As a result, rather than trying to reform the servant by enforcing conditions of scarcity that would return the same result whether or not the servant was virtuous and whether or not she was skilled, Halkett instead planned a covert discipline. In hesitant syntax, Halkett aimed to 'doe good to her by incensibly (as itt were) to bring her <by> offering her a Temperall aduantage to bring her to the most

[149] NLS MS 6502, p. 268. For similar phrases, see NLS MS 6500, p. 161.

Spirituall.'[150] Halkett understood this covert discipline as a skill, comparing it to her ability to cure 'deseases of the body'.

In describing these methods of instruction, Halkett expanded on the nature of this servant's ingratitude. Halkett complains that, like the servant she had considered firing in 1697, despite the fact that she 'had often giuen her time & opertunity to learne', this woman had not improved: 'though I had Long kept her att Skoole yett shee could nott read well; and therefore could the lese practice what shee did read […] Therefore as a two fold benefitt I writt her outt Copys to learne to Write.'[151] Halkett's management technique in April 1698 went further than in February, when she had simply 'endeauored calmly to represent her fault to her selfe' and prayed for the servant, that she might become 'sensible of her vngratitude to mee'.[152] Poor reading, for Halkett, could not inform action; and if reading did not lead to action, it was wasted (as many early modern scholars argued).[153] Mixing generosity with compulsion, Halkett provides the servant with references to scripture which set out a Christian's duties to God, to neighbours, and to the self 'that she might know where to find them' and therefore be enabled to 'practice' effectively. Constructing from first principles the scriptural armature of many handbooks for servants and masters, Halkett aims here to inculcate in her servant the same textual knowledge of that and how that Halkett herself possessed, which Halkett put into practice when she referenced page 267 and used marginal notes in her Bible and in her writing both to enable her 'practice' and to produce, through cross-references, knowledge about her self and her life. In this, and in her other uses of writing in the government of servants — such as writing for her maid's benefit and recording for future readers (and perhaps her servants) the admonitions she delivered to her servants — Halkett practices a more pedagogically thorough version of Anne Clifford's practice of writing 'Sayings of

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150 NLS MS 6502, pp. 292–94.

151 NLS MS 6502, p. 293.

152 NLS MS 6502, pp. 267, 268.

153 Bradin Cormack and Carla Mazzio, *Book Use, Book Theory: 1500–1700* (Chicago: University of Chicago Library, 2005), pp. 1–37; Lisa Jardine and Anthony Grafton, '"Studied for Action": How Gabriel Harvey Read His Livy', *Past and Present*, 129 (1990), 30–78.

remark' on 'her Walls, her Bed, her Hangings, and Furniture […] causing her Servants to write them in papers, and her Maids to pin them up'. [154] Details of Halkett's instruction in literacy and medicine are absent from the meditations: what readers learn about, negatively, is her servants' deficiencies, and, positively, how she wants them to use text to inform their general activity.

Thinking through her government of the whole household, Halkett wrote that she would also excite the endeavours of her other two servants, one of whom could read well and read to Halkett, while the other could hardly read at all. Arrogating effort and knowledge to herself and aiming at the same effects she foresaw for her writing, Halkett wrote that she would 'indeauer to haue her like what I desire for my selfe to Li[u]e like a Widow indeed' and to 'show to them the desire I haue to make them (what I aime att my selfe to bee) faithfull seruants to the true & only God'.[155] This phrase, like a widow indeed, rings throughout Halkett's later writings, as well as her posthumously published meditations, as a model for her conduct, along with the prophetess widow Anna of Luke 2. 36–38.[156] The example of the widow is often invoked by Halkett when initiating or concluding the writing of a volume, when the unit of time delimited by the composition of the book serves as a container for experience to be evaluated against the example: another way in which her writing come to mark out her life as a space of skilled practice.[157] Halkett wanted to manufacture her servants so that they would want what she wanted for herself, as a dimension of her desires for an exemplary household perpetuating a religious and political community united in heavenly service. Her servants, however, were recalcitrant, disappointing, and frustrating. Halkett, it seems, would have been satisfied with servants who behaved like the neighbour she wrote about in August 1696, who, after an argument about 'indiscretion' ultimately 'did what shee ought to doe

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[154] Edmund Rainbowe, *A Sermon Preached at the Funeral of the Right Honorable Anne, Countess of Pembroke, Dorset, and Montgomery* (London, 1677), sig. E5v.

[155] NLS MS 6502, pp. 293, 294.

[156] NLS MS 6492, p. xviii; NLS MS 6497, p. 315; NLS MS 6501, p. 326; NLS MS 6493, p. 32. On this motif, see Trill, 'Beyond Romance?', p. 447.

[157] NLS MS 6495, rear pastedown.

and found an aduantage to her selfe in doing what sattisfied mee'.[158] Halkett, then, used her servants intermittently to write her own life and collectively achieve her wishes. What she saw as their ingratitude and inattention to the educational materials she offered, however, interrupted that process, causing her unease, which led her to entertain the possibility of exposing her servants to harm or shame in order to render them more tractable.

As well as revealing Halkett's strategies of management as skill, these meditations on her servants also cumulatively reveal how concepts of practical knowledge were shaped within Halkett's thinking about her household and the mistress–servant relationship. Halkett had invested time and energy in these servants: she had tried to educate them in religion, instructed them (and had others instruct them) in reading and, less systematically, in writing, and had put them to work in projects that were essential to her practice-focussed conception of pious living. As Halkett's vocabulary of 'service' (a position in a household rather than an activity) and 'imployment' (the end-oriented use of one person or thing by another) make very clear, Halkett did not conceive of herself as paying for or having a property in her servants' time and energies. Rather, adapting Robert Steinfeld's typology, the relationship was primarily one of familial jurisdiction; one reason why the approbatory turns of phrase she used of her servants and her boarders were so similar. Nonetheless, Halkett developed a sense of rights in or over her servants' thought and action in virtue of the fact that she used them — 'imployed' them — in the practice of her own activities, and in so doing invested them with knowledge. This ambiguous property was one that, in J. G. A. Pocock's terms, founded and sustained personality.[159] This model has a number of resonances with the ideas about the location of skill in master-servant relations propounded by the handbooks and images examined in chapter one, according to which servants as instruments were understood as participating in skill by being brought into use by an employer. Halkett's emphasis,

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[158] NLS MS 6501, pp. 299, 300.

[159] J. G. A. Pocock, 'The Mobility of Property and the Rise of Eighteenth–Century Sociology', in *Theories of Property: Aristotle to the Present*, ed. by Anthony Parel and Thomas Flanagan (Ontario: Wilfrid Laurier University Press, 1979), pp. 141–64.

however, is on collective practice and education, in which a servants' investment with skill is sustained by affective bonds of gratitude and fidelity.

Halkett aimed to achieve exemplarity through writing and practice which would create a 'liuing monument' with contemporaneous and posthumous effects. Her writing was part of a unified but internally complex project which demanded skill. As participants in her project and members of her household, her servants ideally shared in this collective exemplarity; Halkett's writing was also, however, used as a means of government within the household. Usefulness in making and serving was not sufficient if servants failed to engage with the textual and religious knowledge Halkett aimed to pass on. It was only through practice based on that knowledge that she and her household could become collectively exemplary. In this way, her servants were participants in, objects of, and ephemeral evidence for her practice, aligned with the readership of her 'liuing monument' (in whom Halkett aimed to incite action) and also temporary, subordinate parts within it.

4. Conclusion

This chapter has sought to uncover connections between the practical knowledge of how to govern servants and boarders, both explicit and implicit, developed by Halkett as she confronted her servants' skill. It has found that Halkett's manuscript books record a developing set of practices that she used to govern and improve her household, and to serially refine her own thought in relation to the household. At the same time, Halkett's writing shows how the successful accomplishment and representation of her life, as process and product, depended both materially and figuratively on her servants. Analysed with a focus on the heterogeneous forms of skill it records and instantiates, then, Halkett's writing can be understood as a sustained discourse on household government and the meaning of practice. Through the ways in which they uses and reshapes the concepts of skill and service excavated in chapter one, Halkett's meditations disclose a

wealth of information about what it was to be skilled in early modern England and Scotland, and about how skill was understood to be distributed within hierarchical employment relations or manifest in works. Through writing about the government of her household in emotionally fraught contexts, within conditions of political and economic duress, Halkett's writing has enabled us to explore how the doubleness of servant skill — its status as attentiveness tied to emotional dispositions, and as practical competencies — was lived and has demonstrated how normative understandings of the emotional response to subjection were part of the determination of skill.

Halkett's meditations show both that and how the attribution of skill to a person, or claim to skill by a person — even an elite, if relatively impoverished, employer like Halkett — was not solely a matter of an individual's aptitudes or abilities. Skill, as a kind of collective property, depended on others — not just in order to be accorded significance, but in order to be ratified, validated; to exist at all. Thus, if Halkett's servants' investiture with skill was vulnerable to cancellation, so was Halkett's own skill, due to its complex temporal character — it had to be ratified and actualised in the present, and also through the posthumous effects of her practice, as recorded in her writing. The overlapping politically-constituted collectives to which her skill was immediately and posthumously addressed were fragile and heterogeneous. Debt motivated her decision to take in boarders and was thus an occasion for the communal endorsement of her pastoral and medical expertise among her network of neighbours and fellow travellers in Fife and across Scotland. At the same time, Halkett's indebtedness imperilled her reputation due to her refusal to give up charitable medical activity and the skilled use of her servants in that activity; this led her repeatedly to an impasse, whose contours she materialised through her books and in her rhetoric of indirection an concealment. The future menace of debt also imperilled the posthumous effects of her exemplary 'liuing monument'.

What this chapter has called Halkett's rhetoric of indirection and her vacillation over how to describe her servants' qualities suggest how integral conceptions of providence and theological discourses that mediated between spiritual and material economies were to the conceptual field through which Halkett understood work and skill.

The same qualities of Halkett's style also suggest a fundamental, ongoing, and only partially explicit questioning in her writing of the 1680s and 1690s of whether the people and activities in which she had chosen to place her energies and knowledge were such that they would ever be able to offer the form of life she hoped for, given the constraints within which she was forced to operate. Comparing Halkett's ideal pedagogical and familial relationship with Betty Murray, her former boarder, to the compromised relationships with her servants suggests a further aporia. Could Halkett's servants ever have followed Murray's trajectory? Halkett's complaints about her servants' ingratitude, whether or not that ingratitude is understood as their refusal of her project, may stem from her recognition of the mutual incompatibility of hierarchical labour relations, on the one hand, and the intellectual and practical unity she experienced with Murray in the church, on the other, given that to be a servant, for Halkett, implied a secondary possession of skill by the servant in virtue of their use by an employer. It is within this autobiographical context, which records how individual skill and capacity come to be collectively but insecurely determined, as well as in her articulated thought, that Halkett's writing presents evidence of the contours of skill in early modern society.

The compounded crises Halkett experienced in the 1690s meant that she was provoked to think carefully about her own work and skill. Sarah, Lady Cowper, whose diaries are discussed in the next chapter, was never economically insecure. However, Cowper's transition from married life to widowhood, and so from partial subordination to effective domination in the household, represents an especially stark caesura in a body of writing that is extensively concerned with servant management. In different ways, both Cowper's and Halkett's manuscripts suggest that domestic service offered a useful means to render visible, though not transparent, the kinds of skill produced through navigating situations of power and constraint.

Chapter 3. 'The Itch of Gouernment': Book Use and Servant Management in the Diaries of Sarah, Lady Cowper (1644–1720)

What can commentary on the household tell us about how theories of servant management were lived and the concepts of skill to which household conflicts gave rise? Whereas chapter two explored how servants featured intermittently as recalcitrant objects of both pedagogy and discipline in the written meditations and skilled practice of Anne, Lady Halkett, this chapter explores the practical life of household government through the extensive attention given to servant problems in the manuscript writing of Sarah, Lady Cowper (1644–1720). Cowper, the only child of a moderately prosperous London merchant, was twenty when she married Sir William Cowper (1639–1706), radical Whig politician, sometime MP for Hertford and later second Baronet, in 1664.[1] Over five decades, beginning around 1670, she produced a series of manuscript histories, compilations, miscellanies, collections of prints, and commonplace books. Between 1700 and 1716 she also composed seven volumes of a diary, which provide the main evidence used in this chapter.[2] In the diary Cowper recorded the conflicts over domestic authority and strategies of household management that composed the everyday stuff of her fractious marriage. After Sir William's sudden and largely un-mourned death on 26 November 1706 Cowper used the diary to record her attempts to stabilise and reform her household. In so doing, she composed an extensive commentary on the psychology, morality, and rationality of servants as a class. A focus on skill brings these previously understudied aspects of her writing into view, and they are the focus of this chapter.

[1] This chapter refers to Sarah Cowper as 'Cowper', and, following her usage, her husband as 'Sir William' and their sons as 'William' and 'Spencer'.

[2] Cowper's diaries (DE/P/F29–35) and her histories, collections, commonplace books, and prayer books (DE/P/F36–46), as well as Sir William's books and papers and family correspondence, form part of the Panshanger Papers, held at Hertfordshire Archives and Local Studies (HALS). An edition of excerpts from each volume of the diary is published as *The History of Old Age in England, 1600–1800*, ed. by Lynn Botelho and Susannah Ottaway, 8 vols (London: Pickering & Chatto, 2008–09), VII: *The Diary of Sarah, Lady Cowper*, ed. by Anne Kugler (2009); hereafter *Cowper*. All quotations from Cowper's diaries are taken from the manuscripts, unless otherwise indicated.

Cowper's disagreements with Sir William over the proper mode of servant government, recorded in the first three volumes of her diary (1700–1706) are examined in section one of this chapter, in order to isolate the positive principles and practices of good management that Cowper used to critically evaluate Sir William. Section two then looks at the mechanics of Cowper's manuscript production and the features she included to direct later readers, in order to establish how her writing functioned as a tool of management. It explores what relation this practice of government had to the fears, disappointments, expectations and repetitions that were given material and narrative form through her writing. Cowper's writing is voluminous and heterogeneous in format and topic. While Cowper devoted considerable space to her servants across all her volumes, they form only one thread within an extensive corpus. However, whereas Halkett's writing about servants is dispersed in her texts, the management of servants is a thread that Cowper herself explicitly isolated within her writing, both thematically and through strategies of information management. This section interrogates how and the terms on which she did so. The third section investigates volumes four to seven of Cowper's diary (1706–1716), written after Sir William's death, in order to explore Cowper's development of an account of practical knowledge particular to servants as a class, and the management strategies she developed to confront it. Here, questions of enunciation (how, and when, and in what manner a speech or action is performed), broached in section two in relation to the knowledge produced in Cowper's books, take centre stage.

In exploring Cowper's household, this chapter builds on the foundational scholarship of Anne Kugler. In *Errant Plagiary*, Kugler shows how Cowper appropriated socially conservative prescriptive literature and turned it to her own ends, abetting what Kugler calls her 'strategies of avoidance and withdrawal' and 'tactics of flight and refusal' in the face of conflict with Sir William and her servants.[3] Cowper is best known to literary scholars as a discriminating collector of clandestine satire plugged into networks of scribal circulation, through the work of Harold Love, whose attention to the Cowper's

[3] Anne Kugler, *Errant Plagiary: The Life and Writing of Lady Sarah Cowper, 1644–1720* (Stanford: Stanford University Press, 2002), pp. 72, 55, 57.

methods of collection and playful recombination of poetic and literary materials complements Kugler's account.[4] And it is through Cowper's politicisation of household conflict with Sir William over household management, that Cowper features in Mark Knights' *The Devil in Disguise*, which uses the Cowper archive to study social, political, and intellectual conflicts in early eighteenth-century England; conflicts that the family exemplify 'in an extreme form'.[5] However, these approaches to Cowper's manuscript diaries have not teased out what their contents, and uses to which they attest, disclose about skill and service. Knights' relatively brief reading of Cowper's diaries privileges her fractious relationship with Sir William, overlooking later volumes of the diary and Cowper's close attention to the techniques of household management; and while Kugler explores Cowper's relations with her servants as a problem of governance and the appropriation of prescriptive literature, she does not engage with the way in which Cowper's managerial knowledge is determined and developed in practice by its asymmetric, antagonistic relationship with the skilled activity of her servants. Extending Kugler's analysis of Cowper's selective reading of prescriptive literature, the chapter also examines how she read a variety of topical printed and manuscript texts. It uses Cowper's partial transcription, re-writing, and re-framing of texts to explore how her accounts of skill and management were informed by methods of appropriating texts. Cowper's attitudes and beliefs about servants were for the most part conventional: the interest of her diary for this study is in observing how these views were animated by her own concerns and fears. By studying her writing in detail, the chapter is able to show how

[4] Harold Love, 'How Personal is a Personal Miscellany? Sarah Cowper, Martin Clifford and the "Buckingham Commonplace Book"', in *Order and Connexion: Studies in Bibliography and Book History,* ed. by R. C. Alston (Cambridge: Brewer, 1997), pp. 111–26 and *English Clandestine Satire, 1660–1702* (Oxford: Oxford University Press, 2004), pp. 282–86. Cowper's miscellany titled 'The Medley' (DE/P/F37), for example, contains the longest extant version of Cowley's *The Civil War*. *S*he continued collecting and transcribing this material until the late 1710s. Each volume of her diary (1700–1716) is written from two sides, one side containing Cowper's diary 'notes', and the other the same mixture of transcribed politically-engaged topical poetry and prose found in the early commonplace books.

[5] Mark Knights, *The Devil in Disguise: Deception, Delusion, and Fanaticism in the Early English Enlightenment* (Oxford: Oxford University Press, 2011), p. 9

culturally available concepts were implemented and operationalised in practice, and the theories of skill and management that precipitated as a result.

Underpinning the chapter's approach is a set of critical analyses of the everyday by Michel de Certeau and Henri Lefebvre, which use a polemological analysis to restore to everyday life a dynamic and conflictual sense of technique. This chapter approaches Cowper's diaries as a literature of tactics and strategy, an approach which necessitates working closely with her texts. To do so reveals rich material on employers' approaches to their servants' habits, speech, and labour and on how concepts of skill were generated by interacting axes of hierarchy within the household, since, in a set of circumstances characteristic of women's often ambiguous positions of household power which can be compared with those of Halkett, Cowper's authority over her servants was compromised by Sir William's exertion of power during his lifetime and shadowed by it after his death. Cowper's diaries offer one perspective on the process traced by Lefebvre: the historical emergence of the everyday as a concept and a social phenomenon, produced in relation to diversified forms, functions, and structures of modernity as both 'residual deposit' and 'product'.[6] Without overstating discontinuity between Halkett and Cowper, therefore, or temporalising as successive differences in their aims and methods attributable to other factors, this chapter considers ideas and practices of skill and management in Cowper's diaries by adding to the framework of property, personality, and political attachment a focus on strategy and tactics within the everyday. On a small scale, this chapter suggests, Cowper's diaries witness the development of the everyday as a concept and represent it as an arena of skill.

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[6] Henri Lefebvre, *Critique of Everyday Life*, trans by John Moore and Gregory Elliott (London: Verso, 2014), pp. 351, 358, 361, 414, 431, 476, 686–93 and 'The Everyday and Everydayness', trans. by Christine Levich, *Yale French Studies*, 73 (1987), 7–11.

1. 'Ill Management': Navigating the Household under Sir William Cowper, 1700–1706

The first three volumes of Cowper's diary, written during her marriage to Sir William, contain a various and extensive record of her servants' failures. Many of these notes about her servants are included as part of her resentful criticism of Sir William and his poor government of their household. Indeed, Cowper's aims in writing the diary included her desire to construct a posthumous vindication of her own conduct that would be a monumental reproach of Sir William's. However, accounts of servant infractions were not only valuable to her for the light they cast on Sir William: Cowper was invested in the theory and practice of management for her own sake and for the sake of her household's collective reputation.[7] This section explores how Cowper's close attention to the deficiencies of Sir William's management and the necessity of her own self-government led her to develop a positive account of what good household government ought to look like. It begins by introducing the context in which Cowper began writing her diary.

While Sir William was alive, he and Cowper spent their summers in Hertford Castle and their winters in Holborn; in both locations, relations among members of the household-family were subject to stress. They employed five permanent servants: a coachman, Sir William's footman, a cook–maid, Cowper's chambermaid, and a housemaid.[8] Cowper's decision to begin writing her diary, on 25 July 1700 at the age of fifty-six seems, as Kugler notes, to stem from a compounded familial, political, and social crisis, caused by her son Spencer's 1699 trial for the murder of a Hertford Quaker, Sarah Stout.[9] (Cowper and Sir William had two surviving sons: Spencer (1670–1728), who became a successful circuit lawyer and JP, and William, later first Earl Cowper (1665–1732), who was a more moderate Whig than his father and became Lord Keeper of the

[7] Kugler suggests that the conflict 'had more to do with her dislike of Sir William than with the bad behaviour of servants', but this is not borne out by the consistent thread of many of Cowper's theories about servant misconduct before and after Sir William's death (Kugler, p. 47).

[8] Hertford, Hertfordshire Archives and Local Studies, 23 July 1702, DE/P/F29, p. 247.

[9] Kugler, p. 3.

Great Seal in October 1705, then Lord Chancellor under Anne (1707–10) and George I (1714).[10]) Spencer was acquitted in July in a highly politicised trial.[11] In the public fallout, having withdrawn from public view at Hertford while it was ongoing, Cowper felt isolated.[12] She was ignored by her sons, and relations with her daughters-in-law were strained.[13] Sir William lost the Hertford election in January 1701.[14]

These were the general pressures under which Cowper began the diary, but the immediate catalyst for her writing was servant infractions, enabled by Sir William. The diary's first entry, 25 July 1700, records a resolution, formed in response to her servant Sarah, 'an Instrument of the Enemy of Souls' who interrupted Cowper's usual morning reading and writing time.[15] Cowper wrote:

> Since it is not possible for me to redress these Domestick greivances, I wou'd notice them to no other purpose, but to find by what means to sustain and bear them well. What if I try this expedient? Never to speak any:thing but what is necessary to be said for some Use or End.[16]

Servant infractions were to be made objects of Cowper's practice of self-regulation — a means to the better government of others. Since she could not alter her circumstances (Sir William excluded her from control of the household and her marriage to him, she thought, was not soon to end), she undertook to use the diary to find ways to navigate her

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[10] For William's political career, see Geoffrey Treasure, 'Cowper, William, first Earl Cowper', *ODNB* (2004) <https://doi.org/10.1093/ref:odnb/6511>.

[11] A detailed account of the trial and Cowper's involvement in it is given by Knights, *Devil*, pp. 10–44, 110–16; see also Kugler, pp. 37–45 and *Cowper*, p. 31n158. It confirmed Cowper's opinion that justice is arbitrary and open to political manipulation, DE/P/F29, pp. 79, 81, 90, 92.

[12] Kugler, pp. 41–42; DE/P/F29, pp. 63, 67–68, 71, 80.

[13] For her sons, see entries August 1700 to December 1701, DE/P/F29, pp. 7, 8, 10, 22, 37–38, 42, 43, 44, 64, 125, 137, 164; for her daughters-in-law, DE/P/F29, pp. 23, 54.

[14] DE/P/F29, pp. 44, 53.

[15] Cowper wrote in the morning and examine her conduct in the evening, DE/P/F29, pp. 76, 110; DE/P/F30, p. 186; DE/P/F34, p. 221; DE/P/F35, p. 93.

[16] DE/P/F29, p. 1. Like Halkett, Cowper especially hated to be interrupted during her morning reading and writing (from seven until two), and the first volume of the diary records her annoyance at Sarah and then Mol: (the cook)'s serial interruptions of her at this time, DE/P/F29, pp. 2, 6, 10, 79.

situation and facilitate her self-government. Like the indebted Anne Halkett, Cowper fretted against a situation she was unable to change; unlike Halkett, her labour of self-fashioning and her limited practice of government were insulated from economic necessity.[17] Her frustrations with her servants, until the death of Sir William, were primarily because she could not govern, rather than that her government did not achieve its effects.

An entry from Volume One, 8 March 1701, 'a day of vexation and trouble', provides an example in which her frustrations with her servants and her husband are braided together:

> The sub:ject of it is S*ir* W:s ill managem*en*t of a villainous Coach:man, the circumstances hugely provoking, tedious to relate. The disappointm*en*t of hopes, unreasonable doings, and ingratitude reviving the memory of past inju:ries and sufferings, cause pain to the mind. Besides such things occasion breach of Resolution, upon w*hich* follows shame and sorrow uneasie passions w*hich* disquiet the soul, and hinder that peace and tranquillity I labour after but it is to be feard I Shall never attain, or at most but for a short and uncertain Continuance.[18]

The entry is characteristic of the first volume in omitting particulars about the servant's infraction and in taking Sir William's deficient practical abilities together with the servants' ineluctable bad behaviour as one object. In multiple entries in the diary's first volume, servants feature simply as a 'provocation', or the actors of things 'it is not Convenient to Explain', of which Cowper will 'make good Use'.[19] On numerous occasions Cowper complains that interruptions and provocations by servants 'clogg' and 'encumber' her thoughts, compromise her cognition, and break her concentration.[20] Cowper's complaint is about the master–servant relation gone wrong, its effects narrated as an instance of three genres of feeling, caused by or correlated with both Sir William and the coachman: disappointed hopes, unreason, and ingratitude. In provoking her

[17] For Cowper's reflections on this, see DE/P/F29, p. 31.

[18] DE/P/F29, p. 69.

[19] DE/P/F29, pp. 1, 2, 3–4, 6, 29, 99, 101; see also DE/P/F30, p. 164.

[20] DE/P/F29, pp. 6, 7, 37, 245; DE/P/F30, pp. 2, 66, 112, 140, 150, 164; DE/P/F32, p. 90.

anger, Cowper's servants forced her to break the resolution that inaugurated the diary. Servant provocations like that of 8 March 1701 compromised the peace that Cowper laboured to maintain, a peace that was to be achieved primarily through solitary reading and writing.[21] Servants vexed Cowper directly, by interrupting her when she was reading, writing, or at her morning devotion; and indirectly, because the anger their 'perverse' actions provoke destroyed her project of self-regulation by making her act in spite of her self in unforeseen and unreasonable ways. Particular instances of ill management took their place as instances of a series: catalogued in Cowper's books, their record gave form to Cowper's temporal and affective experience.

The rhythms of these experiences will be traced in section two; now, this section turns to explore in what management, good and ill, consisted. For Cowper, there was an art of household government which Sir William had failed to master. The outlines of what properly skilful servant discipline would look like are visible in Cower's criticisms of Sir William's deficiencies. Since Sir William's ill management was especially visible around hirings, firings, and servant infractions, the following paragraphs survey those events, from July 1700 to December 1704, as far as they can be reconstructed from Cowper's diaries. This partial snapshot has been chosen because it follows the career of Sir William's footman, 'Old John Mullins', Cowper's adversary.

Cowper's first complaint was that Sir William denied her the opportunity to participate in the management of their household and to govern the female servants, which, as she well knew, was defined as her purview in contemporary household manuals.[22] In response to this curtailment of this 'common power', Cowper simply refused to participate: from 1 January 1702 until Sir William asked her back ten months later, Cowper resigned control of the household 'to the managem*en*t of S*i*r W' and refused to join him in Hertford that summer (but reserved the ability to hire and fire her

[21] DE/P/F30, pp. 4, 25; DE/P/F35, pp. 18, 47; see also: DE/P/F29, pp. 28–29; DE/P/F35, p. 93.

[22] DE/P/F29, p. 168; Kugler, p. 223n7, 16, 49–51; Knights, *Devil*, p. 119.

own maid).[23] It was primarily against Sir William's curtailment of her managerial power that Cowper used the political vocabulary of 'slavery' to convict Sir William, the radical Whig, of hypocritical patriarchalism.[24] The explicit politicisation of domestic government and marriage in Cowper's rhetoric is the focus of Mark Knights' study of the diaries, so will not be dealt with at length here.[25] Instances of her generally sceptical and satirical commentary on public politics are too numerous to mention. However, it is important to emphasis that Cowper's political criticisms were couched in terms of property. She used analogies with high politics and, later, selective quotations from *The Spectator*, to underscore how, although she had the 'title' to household government, this was 'mannag'd' in such a way that she was without the ability to practice her command — one deprivation of 'estate' among others, equal to slavery and characteristic of marriage.[26] Cowper understood exclusion from the power to exercise skill as exclusion from her right.

Cowper's complaints about her limited authority to govern female servants are only partially borne out by the evidence of her diaries. In 1700, the female staff were the maid, Sarah, Hannah, the chambermaid who attended Cowper, and Mol:, the cook. Sarah is forced to leave due to her pregnancy on 28 October 1700 (Cowper petitioned Sir William to make the ejection — after her domestic strike she seems able to dismiss

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[23] DE/P/F29, pp. 168, 172, 288; Kugler, p. 56. For Cowper, as for Halkett, the 'family' is the consistently the unit outlined by Naomi Tadmor: the co–resident household, with an emphasis on vertical relations, Naomi Tadmor, 'The Concept of the Household–Family in Eighteenth–Century England', *Past and Present*, 151 (1996), 111–140.

[24] See for example DE/P/F29, p. 168; DE/P/F32, pp. 26–27 on marriage and 'slavery'. For similar sentiments see also DE/P/F34, p. 78; DE/P/F30, pp. 98, 131. For Sir William's politics see, for example, DE/P/F27/3, DE/P/F27/9, Sir William's Miscellany; Knights, *Devil*, pp. 98–114.

[25] Knights, *Devil*, pp. 120–25. Cowper also collected prints and transcribed lampoons; see, for example, DE/P/F45, fols 17^{v}–18^{r}, 19^{v}–20^{r}; DE/P/F36, fols 90^{r}–91^{v}. For Cowper's patronage activities and religious politics see Kugler, pp. 34–36, 171–79. On the deployment of 'slavery' by feminist writers around the turn of the eighteenth century, see Sarah Apetrei, *Women, Feminism and Religion in Early Enlightenment England* (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 2010), pp. 1–157; Sharon Achinstein, 'Mary Astell, Religion, and Feminism: Texts in Motion', in *Mary Astell: Reason, Gender, Faith*, ed. by William Kolbrener and Michal Michelson (Aldershot: Ashgate, 2007), pp. 17–29.

[26] DE/P/F29, p. 172; DE/P/F29, p. 32; DE/P/F34, p. 177, quoting from the 3 October 1712 number of *The Spectator*, ed. by Donald Bond, 5 vols (Oxford: Oxford University Press, 1987), IV, 272–75 (p. 273), hereafter *Spectator*. When William married Judith in 1686, Sarah had given up her dower rights in Sir William's property in return for a £400 annuity, Kugler, p. 144.

servants more quickly). Mol: is dismissed, again at Cowper's instigation, in September 1701. Hannah's dishonesty and ingratitude are mentioned twice in October and December 1700, after which she disappears from the record. Cowper complains of the impudence of another female servant, 'Mar: t' on 18 July 1702, just before she and Sir William separated for the summer.[27] A letter of Sir William's to Cowper on 31 July 1702 refers to his dissatisfaction with the work of the next cook, Betty, and his threat of replacing her with Hellen — a rare instance of what he refers to as his bad housekeeping, but also an explicit acknowledgement of differences of skill between servants and of the usefulness for managerial purposes of competition between servants.[28] The next chamber maid, Avis, appears in the diary on 11 May 1703 as someone Cowper has 'in pitty bore with', now about to leave after having been employed for a year. She is named in full, as Avis Brown, rather than by abbreviation in a marginal note, in the 20 May entry that records her departure — a format that Cowper consistently uses to signal closure of a servant's employment. (Despite Cowper's complaints, she reemployed Avis around 1711.) A 'suspitious' new cook suddenly left on 19 August 1703. Cowper complained of the inattentiveness of Avis's replacement, Ja: B, on 13 September 1703, and noted the hiring of her unnamed replacement on 9 October 1704.[29] As this catalogue makes clear, the turnover of female staff was high, but not unusually so (London tenures generally ranged between eight and fifteen months).[30]

If Cowper was ultimately able to achieve a measure of control over the hiring and dismissal of her servants, Sir William nevertheless asserted control over everyday questions of household expenditure, such as replacing coaches, lighting fires, or laying out bedlinen for guests. His restrictions in this domain had the effect, Cowper felt, of

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[27] DE/P/F29, pp. 19–20, See 10 days before F29, p 150, 15, 39, 245.

[28] DE/P/F23/3.

[29] DE/P/F30, pp. 67, 72; DE/P/F33, p. 318; DE/P/F30, pp. 109–10, 292.

[30] Tim Meldrum, *Domestic Service and Gender 1660–1750: Life and Work in the London Household* (Harlow: Longman, 2000), p. 24.

compromising the style they ought to display as well as curtailing her freedom.[31] His motivation may have been the Cowpers' comparatively insubstantial finances, which had been a cause of argument in the two decades before the diaries.[32] Ultimately, Sir William wanted to determine what was to be governed (expenditure) and what was not worth the effort (servant morality, especially sexuality — a long-running cause of argument between Sir William and Cowper which inevitably expanded to his freethinking views on sexuality).[33] Sir William, whose 'gouernm*en*t' was not 'well order'd' neglected to 'Controul and punish sin:ners' and squandered his own reputation, through apathy or ignorance; in so doing, Cowper found, he wrecked her own reputation as a manager.[34] The deficiencies of Sir William and his household were mutually influential and created an ensemble defined by lack of skill.

Not only did Sir William exclude Cowper from household management, he also failed to underwrite, or actively undermined, her authority on the few occasions when she was given latitude to correct the servants. In Cowper's telling, Sir William's actions begin with petty obstruction when at table with lower-class guests.[35] Sir William also rebuked her over minor issues in front of the servants and in front of their sons.[36] The result was that Cowper's management was ineffective, as she complained in October 1704: 'so much Reputation is really so much power, but my Credit is so small and my Authority so weak among servants that I must daily suffer the untoward Consequences of so prodigious mismanagement.'[37] On 24 April 1704 Cowper asked their coachman, who had lain out

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[31] DE/P/F29, pp. 159–60, 9, 4; DE/P/F31, p. 303. For Sir William's direct criticisms of Cowper's expenditure, see DE/P/F29, pp. 178–79, 246.

[32] Sir William's income (£1,200 a year in 1675, below the average for the rank of Baronet) was insufficient to support a lifestyle appropriate to the family's station, although this situation was improved by the 1700s. Kugler, pp. 7, 21, 27, 216n11, 229n15; Knights, *Devil*, p. 125; Robert Allen, 'Class Structure and Inequality During the Industrial Revolution: Lessons from England's Social Tables, 1688–1867', *Economic History Review*, 72.1 (2019), 88–125 (pp. 115–16).

[33] DE/P/F29, pp. 20–21, 61. On Sir William's opinions and the male Cowpers' sexuality, see Kugler, pp. 60–63; Knights, *Devil*, pp. 99, 103–07, 126–38.

[34] DE/P/F29, pp. 100–01, 207; DE/P/F30, p. 284.

[35] DE/P/F29, p. 89.

[36] DE/P/F29, pp. 31, 56.

[37] DE/P/F30, p. 293.

all night, where he had been: his reply, 'Before Sir W', was that 'he woud not giue me that Sattisfaction'.[38] Similarly, when the coachman Lar: returned from drinking with Sir William's footman, John Mullins in August 1704, and Cowper threatened him with loss of place if he did so again: 'In most surly fashion his reply was he Cared not. I bid him leave his Coat and be gone. He stript it off and fflung it att one on the floor.'[39] The coachman did not leave: the consequences Cowper threatened were not credible, due to Sir William's indifference to these 'Indignitys and Affronts' and the expectations his tolerant management engendered. In an environment determined by Sir William's customs and habits, Cowper's managerial power, especially over the male servants, was nugatory.

From the position of being excluded from government or undermined when practicing it, Cowper levelled a series of specific criticisms at Sir William's methods of management, drawing on common accounts of the right way to ensure compliance and submission from inferiors, and the links between this government and the management of the self. Sir William could not govern well, she argued, because he was too familiar with servants and lower-status guests. Those who make themselves 'Familier with the Vulger', she wrote, 'must lose the majesty bestowed by infrequent appearances.[40] (A marginal note makes the application to 'Sir W.') In 1714 she noted that a man who has to govern a family should not 'thro Carelessness of Facility level himself with Those he is to Govern'.[41] The calibration of demeanour and distance required technique. Sir William, for Cowper, was an unskilled actor in the late Stuart household, a failing upholder of a ruling-class hegemony of theatrical and symbolic character that, in E. P. Thompson's estimation, required 'the constant exercise of skill'.[42] As well as failing to navigate

[38] DE/P/F30, p. 208.

[39] DE/P/F30, p. 260.

[40] DE/P/F29, p. 98 quoting from a letter of instruction to a young nobleman in *The Works of Mr de St. Evremont, […] Translated from the French*, 2 vols (London, 1700), II, pp. 397, 399.

[41] DE/P/F35, p. 72; for reference to a similar example see Love, 'Miscellany', p. 123.

[42] E. P. Thompson, 'Eighteenth–Century English Society: Class Struggle without Class?', *Social History*, 3.2 (1978), 133–65 (p. 164).

conventions of proximity and distance, Sir William also appeared to Cowper as alternately too weak to govern and as actively conniving with his servants, against her. Thus, in January 1703 Cowper anticipated Sir William's response to their coachman, 'Lar:' underfeeding the horses: 'S*i*r W hath not that kind of Courage as to Controul naughty Serv*an*ts which is the subject Matter of much vneasiness and jangling between us'.[43] At other times, he seemed to revel in the danger she felt to her person, taking the servants' part in making jokes about the horses disliking Cowper's presence in the coach so that 'to live with S*i*r W and his Tools must be the Emblem of Hell' (later Sir William figures as 'their protector' and 'our master').[44] On rare occasions, Sir William asserted his authority as the head of the household with force. On 31 January 1702, Cowper complained about Sir William's servant putting coals on the fire just as they are going to dinner, causing eye-watering smoke which 'he thinks fitt to defend'; Sir William 'takes up the Cudgel and raps me on the pate'.[45] Cowper took Sir William's boorishness as complicity with the servants in this instance, presenting him as the sinister motive force behind them, or as part of their collective, rather than the ineffectual master manipulated by them.

That problems with the management of coachmen were a flashpoint for disagreements over Sir William's motivations and skill can be made clear by focussing on a thread of entries in the second volume of the diary, through which the actions of the coachman Lar: can be followed. To begin with, Lar: put Cowper at risk of physical harm: in May 1703 he had been told to get new coach wheels, said there was no need, then broke a rim.[46] On 6 September 1703 Lar: cheated her grandson, Spencer, of two shillings, apparently by getting drunk with him at the alehouse and then picking his pocket. For Cowper, Sir William's response was characteristic: 'Ask S*i*r W: what course he will take with such Complicated Villany, and he answers they're all such Arch:Rogues, and there's

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[43] HALS DE/P/F30, pp. 12–13.

[44] DE/P/F29, p. 8; DE/P/F31, p. 6; DE/P/F30, p. 223. For similar examples, see DE/P/F29, pp. 6, 22.

[45] DE/P/F29, p. 185.

[46] DE/P/F30, pp. 70–71.

an end on't'.[47] Cowper asks an audience to bear witness and judge Sir William. The following day found Cowper still disquieted by the thought of a cheating servant being so close.[48] The consequences did not allay her disquiet. The coachman, in order 'to prevent being turn'd out', in Cowper's estimation, gave his warning to leave on 24 September. Cowper was pleased to think that she would be saved the 'forecast and trouble' of getting rid of him.[49] However, on 1 October, upon her and Sir William's return to London, she discovered that the managerial 'task' would fall on her after all: 'S*ir* W: […] after owning he beleives him as great a knave as liues, yet sneakingly invites him to stay. Tis strang when hau:ing been used to the like for forty years past, amasment shou'd now break my rest in the Night, but so it is.'[50] Cowper's final comment here echoes the 6 September entry that recorded Lar:'s cheating Spencer: Cowper had introduced the narrative as a 'trial of my skill' in relation to a resolution she had made the previous day, that since she could take 'no pleasure in remem:brances' and would not choose to live any part of her life over again, she would forget 'all former transactions' of her painful life.[51] Lar: is eventually 'expell'd' on 13 October 1703, despite Sir William's opinion that 'the knave you know' is better, an assertion to which Cowper obliquely dissented through repurposed lines about chimerical expectations from Abraham Cowley's poem 'The Passions'.[52] (The diaries are, throughout, composed of Cowper's direct words and a tissue of quotations, usually unacknowledged and often selectively presented with silent omissions, emendations, and additions; 'a deliberate kind of collageing' that turns their sense to something like Cowper's own.[53]) As well as showcasing Cowper's threefold criticism of Sir William — that he was by turns unskilled in government, weak in command, or conniving in harm — the entries about Lar: also evince a discomfort with confrontation on both Sir

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[47] DE/P/F30, p. 116.

[48] DE/P/F30, p. 116.

[49] DE/P/F30, pp. 122, 130.

[50] DE/P/F30, p. 125.

[51] DE/P/F30, p. 116.

[52] DE/P/F30, p. 127; *The Works of Mr Abraham Cowley* (London, 1668), p. 20 (second pagination).

[53] Love, 'Miscellany', p. 123.

William and Cowper's parts. They further suggest how failures of management gained emotional force for Cowper from the patterns of betrayal and disagreement into which they fitted, as re-inscribed in her diary.

Cowper understood Sir William's refusal to properly oversee, punish, or eject servants as a matter of habit: a fleeing from discomfort from which rational reflection, and so skill, had been evacuated. He was well-known to be averse to looking into things, Cowper argued, which encouraged criminality in servants and household disorder. In October 1700, where he had been informed of his servants' extramural activities, Cowper criticised Sir William's 'Old Habitt': 'nothing makes him more uneasie than to force him to know it, not that he is wholly ignorant of their wicked:ness, but he loves not to have it demonstrable that he is acquainted with it, for then all reasonable people must expect he shou'd redress it'.[54] It was clear to Cowper that only the pressure of social expectations concerning the 'reputation', 'power' and 'authority' properly belonging to a gentleman could induce Sir William to act. Cowper's observation that Sir William's habits and the habitual conduct of his male servants moulded each other, and eventuated in aggression towards her, provided her with a way of mediating between her diagnosis of Sir William's government as weak and unskilful and her suspicion of sinister complicity between Sir William and his male servants.

Cowper's suspicion was most pronounced in relation to the 'old servants', and especially John Mullins.[55] Mullins made his first entrance in the diary's second entry of 26 July 1700, in which Cowper was 'hugely provok'd [...] with some performance of my Resolution': a marginal note ('S*ir* W. Jo.') identifies the culprits as John and Sir William in concert.[56] Mullins' independence (he was apparently married), his greater freedom of movement outside the household and his frequent drunkenness meant that he was often the means by which other servants' schemes and dishonesties were revealed, so that he

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[54] DE/P/F29, p. 13. For similar complaints, see DE/P/F30, p. 136, 139–40.

[55] DE/P/F30, p. 171.

[56] DE/P/F29, p. 1.

appeared at the centre of wrongdoing.[57] Mullins joined in other servants' violence, as in the ase of the replacement for the coachman who replaced Lar:, hired in December 1703.[58] Among a large number of other infractions, including drunkenness and staying out in the evenings, in September 1704 this coachman assaulted the gardener and plotted with Mullins to arrange an 'accident' for the young man; Sir William rejected the gardener's mother's petition as 'gossip' and only fired the coachman after Cowper refused to travel for two weeks.[59] Again, unable to exert authority or impose her own managerial strategy, Cowper resorted to refusal and abstention to force Sir William's action. Mullins was also violent when acting alone, in way that again revealed Sir William's apathy and cowardice and suggests how inter-servant violence could functions as a proxy conflict. On 15 June 1701 Cowper described how Mullins beat Mol:, the cook: 'and tells S*ir* W. to his Face, he will not live here unless he may so do'.[60] Sir William's suggestion was 'to get a Warrant and bind him to good Behaviour, himself not dareing to tell the fellow, that if he con:tinues this practise he shall leave his service'. Cowper's indignation here is not that Sir William fails to intervene to protect the cook — the category 'woman' was not a grounds of common experience and, indeed, a few months later she successfully agitated to have the cook dismissed.[61] Rather, Cowper resented her inability to contest the terms in which Sir William's government was understood, writing (in phrases she repeated in 1704) 'is it not a pitty an Abject mind Shou'd pass for a patient Spirit, and an Obstinate

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[57] DE/P/F30, p. 126, 260.

[58] DE/P/F30, p. 154.

[59] DE/P/F30, pp. 173, 208, 221, 233, 282, 290.

[60] DE/P/F29, p. 100.

[61] DE/P/F29, pp. 49, 58, 69–71; DE/P/F30, p. 102. But see DE/P/F30, p. 190, for Cowper excerpting from Mary Astell's *Some Reflections Upon Marriage* (London, 1700), pp. 4–5, noted by Kugler, p. 53. Such considerations are entirely absent from, for example, her contemptuous comments about sexual immorality occasioned by the illness, death, and memorialisation of Elizabeth Culling (d. 1703), with whom William had an adulterous relationship and two children, or her reaction to her maids becoming pregnant. For Culling, see DE/P/F29, p. 26; DE/P/F30, pp. 98, 145, 261. On gender and politics in the period, see: Rachel Weil, *Political Passions: Gender, the Family and Political Argument in England 1680–1714* (Manchester and New York: Manchester University Press, 1999), pp. 1–15; Susan Wiseman, *Conspiracy and Virtue: Women, Writing, and Politics in Seventeenth–Century England* (Oxford: Oxford University Press, 2006), pp. 1–25; Knights, *Devil*, pp. 98–141.

Will to continue an Old humour of maintain*i*ng serv*an*ts in opposition to me, Shou'd go for good Nature and forbearance'.[62] Sir William's government was lenient where it should not be, in order to attack her — both a matter of habitual apathy and petty conspiracy.

Cowper's problems with John were part of a larger issue of old servants. Writing in 1700 she had complained how the 'malitious, seven:year:old servants' habituated to the 'mismanagm*en*t of S*i*r W' were ungovernable by her; she could 'by no means be reckon'd Mrs of the family'.[63] It was not until January 1707, after Sir William's death, that Cowper was able to dispose of 'the set of servants left mee of the Old Stamp'.[64] As Cowper wrote, the day after Mullins beat the cook: 'What manner of man the Ruler of the House is such are they that dwell therin'.[65] On Cowper's account, servants stamped and moulded by their master, then reproduced norms within the body of servants, in relation to which Sir William, and later Cowper, were impotent. Sir William's apparent deference to his 'old servant' raised the spectre of two closely related kinds of disgrace: that of being ruled or managed by a servant (explored further in chapter four) and that of perversely entering into the sins of servants, being loyal to them over blood relations.[66] As Cowper wrote when jubilantly recording John's departure on 3 November 1704, he was 'rather master than ser*van*t in Cold bloud I speak it'.[67] Cowper read two motivations in Sir William's actions: cowardice and a perverse vendetta against her, carried on through his 'tools'. In the one case, Sir William's fault is a lack of skill (and a refusal of the responsibilities of his

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[62] DE/P/F29, p. 100; DE/P/F30, p. 233.

[63] DE/P/F29, p. 16.

[64] DE/P/F32, p. 15.

[65] DE/P/F29, p. 100.

[66] On the political consequences of these crimes see Cynthia Herrup, *A House in Gross Disorder: Sex, Law, and the 2nd Earl of Castlehaven* (Oxford: Oxford University Press, 1999), pp. 14–24; Frances Dolan, *Dangerous Familiars: Representations of Domestic Crime in England, 1550–1700* (Ithaca: Cornell University Press, 1994), pp. 59–88.

[67] DE/P/F30, p. 305. See also DE/P/F29, p. 84 for Cowper's endorsement of the commonplace that the earth cannot bear 'a servant when he (or she) reigneth' (Proverbs 30. 21–23; Thomas Fosset, *The Servants Dutie* (London, 1613), sigs A4$^{r–v}$; Nicholas Zinzano, *The Servants Calling* (London, 1725), pp. 43–44).

position); in the other, a bad skill, distorting hierarchy by directing his servants against her. 'Ill management' referred to both faults. Taken together, these instances of Sir William's 'ill management' suggest how fatalism and unskillfulness might have sinister implications. What rendered Sir William contemptible was not only being ruled by servants due to weakness, ineptness, or laziness but also his possible perversion of social hierarchy that imperilled the family and — for elite households which were supposed to be the 'bedrock of civilized organization' — became a problem of disorder with social and political consequences, especially for a family like the Cowpers, already the target of pamphlets and lampoons, and later to be featured in Delarivier Manley's *New Atalantis* (1709).[68]

This section has sought to make clear Cowper's position in the household under Sir William and to show how, through protests at her exclusion from government and criticism of Sir William's methods of government, Cowper made a series of statements about good servant management. For Cowper, effective government, in order to achieve an orderly household, required the calibration of social distance, swift action to eject servants, energy, and an appetite for confrontation. The government of others necessitated a deliberate and reflexive government of the self. Aware that the characteristic disposition of a household reflected to a local audience the moral stature and managerial competence of its head, Cowper scorned the ways in which Sir William and his servants were mutually formative. Good government had to be a matter of conscious, skilful action, rather than following the dictates of habit and moving unreflectively away from the psychological-somatic condition of 'uneasiness'. The evidence examined in this section has also suggested that the emotional heft of many of Sir William's and the servants' actions were constituted by their placement within series of infractions. Cowper's

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[68] Herrup, p. 7. Cowper kept a record of this literature: 'The Country parsons honest Advice To that Judicious Lawyer and worthy minster of State my Lord Keeper', DE/P/F36, fol. 103^{r}; see also DE/P/F34, p. 64; DE/P/F29, pp. 35, 81, 87, 104; DE/P/F30, p. 29. For *The New Atalantis* see DE/P/F33, pp. 10–12. On other pamphlets, see Kugler, p. 42; Knights, *Devil*, pp. 125–26, 131–32. On the political significance of elite households, see Mark Knights, 'Public Politics in England c. 1675–1715', in *The English Revolution c. 1590–1720*, ed. by Nicholas Tyacke (Manchester and New York: Manchester University Press, 2007), pp. 169–84.

writings thus demonstrate how, in one particular situation, writing about servants and the household enabled an elaborate discourse on tactics which took demeanour and the emotions as its objects, but which was afloat in and shaped by the potent affective dynamics of the early eighteenth-century household. The next section, then, surveys how Cowper used her books to tabulate managerial knowledge about her servants over time and to give form and consistency to the memories and expectations that rendered their actions so disturbing.

2. 'My Slender Narrative': Book Use and Information Management

The previous section investigated what Cowper's commentary on Sir William's methods of government revealed about her theories of good management. This section turns to the evidence offered by the material forms of her diaries themselves. It asks: how was Cowper's thinking about skill and management shaped by the material forms of her books and the uses she made of them? In order to explore this question, this section examines the plentiful evidence of practices of cross-referencing, re-reading, and serial annotation in the diaries, which record and instance Cowper's arts of self-regulation and household management. By analysing these manuscript features, it will become clear how in Cowper's books, as in Halkett's, evidence of specific manuscript practices render clear in small but systematic ways practices of skill and an attitude towards skill.

The material and narrative features Cowper included to organise her diaries were designed not only for her own immediate benefit but to enable people reading her texts at a distance from the circumstances of their original composition to comprehend and navigate the books.[69] Unlike Halkett, Cowper never seems to have anticipated her writings being published in print. However, Cowper anticipated some later readers for

[69] This orientation is argued for in Andrew Cambers, 'Reading, the Godly, and Self-Writing in England, circa 1580–1720', *Journal of British Studies*, 46.4 (2007), 796–825 (pp. 809–15); Margaret Ezell, 'Domestic Papers: Manuscript Culture and Early Modern Women's Life Writing', in *Genre and Women's Life Writing in Early Modern England*, ed. by Michelle Dowd and Julie Eckerle (Aldershot: Ashgate, 2007), pp. 33–48 (pp. 40–44).

her manuscript 'collections'.[70] Examples of commentary explicitly responding to and preempting the possible assumptions of later readers (including herself) are copious.[71] Comments, marginal notes, and other evidence of Cowper's re-reading are plentiful, both in the diaries and in her other books, at intervals of years and decades (as indexed by her dating and changes in her hand when she left comments).[72] However, the reader envisaged by Cowper whose judgments were of most moment was Sir William himself. In an undated note written some time after his death on 26 November 1706, inscribed at the end of Volume Three of the diary, before the index, Cowper wrote: 'I have set down a great many things in my Diarys which I wou'd never have done but with an intention S*ir* W: Should see them after my Death. Not in the least imagining he wou'd dy before mee.'[73] Sir William's death, therefore, had a number of implications for the purpose and format of Cowper's diaries, and the ways in which they which they rendered her practices of management, which this section will explore.

The page-by-page organisation of Cowper's diaries reveals a range of apparatuses designed to assist revisiting of the text. The margin of each page was used by Cowper to annotate entries with lines and manicules, to add scriptural citations, cross-references to other pages, the names of places, and events, and occasionally the names of authors quoted. The abbreviated names of servants are added next to entries in which they feature. Most importantly, margins were used to note one of a range of standardised terms — 'Observe', 'Note', Rule', 'Resolution', 'Story' — which classify each entry. Using these terms, Cowper was then able to compile indexes to her volumes, which employ the same categories as headings. All volumes of the diary except the last contain an index; the alphabetical order within each letter heading, among other details, suggest that, unlike the cumulative indexes of her early manuscript collections, these were retrospectively

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[70] DE/P/F35, p. 343; Kugler, p. 6.

[71] DE/P/F29, pp. 70, 99; DE/P/F30, pp. 29, 30, 35; DE/P/F32, p. 109; DE/P/F34, p. 263; DE/P/F35, p. 88.

[72] DE/P/F29, p. 176; DE/P/F34, p. 270; DE/P/F36, fols 50^{r-v}; DE/P/F29, p. 95, quoting Saint–Évremond, *Works*, II, p. 14.

[73] DE/P/F31, p. 304.

compiled.[74] These methods enable what Ann Blair has termed nonsequential 'consultation reading'.[75] They also allowed Cowper, as well as other future readers, to thread together narratives: Cowper's marginal annotations throughout volumes one and two of the diary recorded each of John Mullins' crimes.[76] This classificatory schema is largely consistent across all volumes of the diary, with one servant–related exception which is suggestive of the ways in which for Cowper, as for Halkett, the anticipation of posthumous readers shaped her record of and perhaps her attitudes towards managerial skill.

Instances of servant indiscipline were carefully marked by Cowper with two sets of marginal annotations, one used before, and one after Sir William's death, reflecting her changed expectations about the diaries' posthumous readership. Before Sir William's death, Cowper recorded servant infractions with a non-verbal graph, '+' (Plate 9). The meaning of the graph is never made explicit. It appears in the index to Volume One (the only index in which it appears) under 'S', as 'See + in each page —'. The graph is an instruction both to her and to Sir William: 'See' is a reproach that is more general than his name. It is strikingly similar to the graph Cowper used in place of 'Christ' to indicate the title 'Life of Christ'. One meaning of the graph, then, might be an icon representing the 'Cross Accidents' that appear under it.[77] On a number of occasions, the marginal placement of the '+' is used to pick out entries about the servants.[78] Equally frequently the events being narrated that are noted with a '+' constitute more general 'Domestick

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[74] On one occasion, an entry is listed in the index without the corresponding term in the margin, again suggesting either that Cowper kept a tally of the page numbers on loose paper as she was writing, or that she comprehensively reviewed the entire volume at a later date, DE/P/F33, p. 271. Contrast 'A Table to the Abstract of the History of the World' and 'An Index to a Manuscript written in the year 1673', DE/P/F42, fols 1v–14v, 14v–18r.

[75] Ann Blair, 'Reading Strategies for Coping with Information Overload', *Journal of the History of Ideas*, 64.1 (2003), 11–28 (p. 17).

[76] DE/P/F29, pp. 29, 76; DE/P/F30, pp. 88, 127, 194.

[77] DE/P/F30, p. 55, 122, 215.

[78] DE/P/F29, pp. 7, 37, 74, 76, 77, 84, 110, 178; DE/P/F30, pp. 14, 78, 88, 103, 104, 109–10, 116, 126, 127, 162, 164, 171, 282.

grievances', in which both the servants and Sir William are involved.[79] Less often, it is Sir William alone whose 'feeble gouernme*nt*' or poor social dexterity seems to be indicated.[80] Over the course of Volume Two another use for '+' emerges, which could be called 'lack of peace'.[81] Cowper managed her information carefully: where an entry noted by '+' runs recto to verso, she inscribes the '+' on both pages, to ensure it would not be missed.[82]

After Sir William's death, the '+' disappears and a new category, 'servants', appears in the margins of her diary and in the index (Plate 10). Although the nature of her complaints about the servants are slow to change, the change in how they are catalogued is immediate. Her servants are now a topic among others, not yoked together with Sir William. Sir William's death was an event in information management. It prompted Cowper immediately to begin a new, fourth volume of the diary and to review and index the first three volumes.[83] The change it precipitated in her classificatory schema confirms the extent to which Sir William's absence enabled a thoroughgoing consolidation of Cowper's power over the servants while also suggesting a reframing of her experience of their work and their misdemeanours, disentangled from contestation with Sir William. Servants were no longer indignities and grievances to be suffered and drawn to the attention of a specific posthumous reader, but were more properly an object of management. Once Cowper was deprived of her most important posthumous reader and enabled by a more transparent indexing category, from Volume Four onwards, the density of cross-references also decreases markedly. The following paragraphs therefore study

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[79] DE/P/F29, pp. 2, 13, 20–21, 37, 69, 79, 99, 100, 168, 172, 185; DE/P/F30, pp. 2, 12–13, 74–75 (disorder and mischievous dealings around Cowper), 77 (cheating and abuses in the family), 105, 125, 136, 139, 292 ('+' refers to 'the ill Constitution' of the family).

[80] DE/P/F29, pp. 19, 72, 89, 100–101, 108, 242.

[81] DE/P/F30, pp. 96, 114, 115, 116, 130, 147, 173, 176, 186, 215, 290.

[82] DE/P/F30, pp. 12–13.

[83] The shaky script that characterises Volume Three from page eighty-two onwards, following Cowper's illness in June 1705, provides a key to dating. The index to Volume Two of the diary (written January 1703 to December 1704) is written in the post-1705 hand, suggesting that Cowper drew up the indexes for volumes Two and Three at the same time, after Sir William's death.

what these references did for Cowper and how they enabled her to produce knowledge about her self and her servants.

Cowper used cross-references to isolate narrative threads pertaining to groups of servants. Returning to the period before Sir William's death, an entry from 25 June 1703, one of a thread of entries recording the actions of the coachman Lar:, demonstrates the implication of Cowper's books within her practices of management, through a series of cross-references that linked John cheating William with Lar: the coachman starving the horses.[84] The diary draws these moments together, through reciprocal cross references: a note on page 12, on which the coachman starves the horses, refers forwards to page 88; page 88 (noting 'Jo:' and 'Lar:' in the margin) directs the reader 'see page 12 and 116'; on page 116, which records the coachman cheating William, above the marginal note 'obserue', another note reads 'see page 88'. (Cowper professed to have thought John 'honest' until 1 February 1704, when he is revealed as a cheat — suggesting the annotations linking him to the horse-starving may have been added at a later date, in order to place his wrongdoings in their proper sequence in the diary.[85]) The 25 June 1703 entry — the page eighty-eight referred to in cross-references — which notes 'Jo: Lar' in the margin, rehearses Cowper's grievances: she left off eating white bread on 11 August 1700 'hoping 'twou'd be eaise to take share with 'em in Brown', but the bread she is offered is either too hot or stale; she drinks water to avoid the beer, but she is served 'Ducks:puddle in a stinking Mugg'; John and Lar: (their names indicated by marginal reference) starve the horses and lie about it 'with an impudent face'.[86] There are multiple other instances of Cowper adding page numbers in annotations that plot a trajectory of cross-reference within and between volumes, from multiple points of retrospect, page to

[84] DE/P/F30, p. 88.

[85] DE/P/F30, p. 171.

[86] DE/P/F30, p 88; for bread, see DE/P/F29, pp. 3–4. Cowper's narrative calls up earlier events that are not cross-referenced: her refusal to drink beer due to suspicions about John's methods of storing it and her anger at not being fetched water from the spring, narrated in entries from March 1701 and January 1702, DE/P/F29, pp. 76, 178. The entry is a junction of two narrative orders.

page.[87] The array of servant misdeeds catalogued in this entry is suggestive: failures of timing that impact Cowper's sensorium, mendaciousness, and insubordination. Together, these infractions constitute the servants' collective failure to maintain for Cowper a reliable environment of temperature, taste, and regard, underwritten by dependable and rational speech, in response to her desires. The means by which these failures were drawn together is the coordinating function of cross-references themselves, within Cowper's books — a doubly temporal experience, both in relation to the events that are recorded and in the drawing them together, and in relation to the reader's following them through.

Cowper also used cross-references to keep track of patterns in her servants' actions. Thus, when in March 1701 John Mullins disturbed Cowper's hopes for a 'Sedate and Calm' house by refusing to sit up until eleven p.m. to let in a maid, Cowper inscribed reciprocal cross-references between her entry recording that refusal and an earlier note, in which she describes John's appeal to her after he disturbed her preparations for communion.[88] She had already forgiven him '70 times 7' times, Cowper had written in the earlier November 1700 entry,

> w*hic*h Easiness has embolden'd him to such intellorable impudences, […] and pardon ill dispensed to vile ungenerous spirits, is look'd upon as Fear, and Encourages to bolder undertakings. Charity bids me not Reveng what is past, yet prudence allows me after so much Experience to stand upon my guard and defence, Keeping at distance from the like provocation.[89]

In this instance, Cowper's cross-references link passages that vindicate her insight into how servant types would interpret their employers' actions and the consequent likely

[87] Next to her observation of 20 July 1701 that one ought not to desire advancement, Cowper wrote 'observe this in 1701' and 'See October 1705'. On 11 October 1705, Cowper recorded 'This Day my Son was made Lord:Keeper of the Great Seal of England […] all real Honour is attended w*i*th Difficulties'. A marginal note directs 'see July 20.th 1701 See page 69'; the page contains observations of 8 and 9 May 1705 that God intended the world to be uneasy. DE/P/F29, p. 113; DE/P/F31, pp. 192, 69. For references between volumes, see clusters of cross-references linking DE/P/F30, p. 52 and DE/P/F29, p. 289; DE/P/F30, pp. 37, 53, 55 and DE/P/F29, pp. 286, 299.

[88] DE/P/F29, p. 76.

[89] DE/P/F29, pp. 29.

effects of such action. The cross-reference enables Cowper to perceive patterns and regularities in her servants' actions, not in order to make legible providential plotting, but to confirm theses about servant psychology by tracking the results of the different management techniques she and Sir William deployed and adjusting her demeanour accordingly.[90] In Volume Two, for example, cross-references link a 17 June 1704 entry (a narrative about the coachman staying out drinking rather than being available to Cowper) to an entry from February that year, in which Cowper had paid half the 15 shillings it would have cost the coachman to replace the 'foreglass' he broke in an accident. Cowper had undertaken to pay him the rest on good behaviour, only for the coachman then to abscond to an alehouse instead of picking Cowper up in Kensington. Cowper's June entry glosses the action as betrayal: 'This ffelow is the same whose loss I repair'd and thus doth he requite it'.[91] Cross-references here link promises not kept: financial incentives fail to make servant behaviour dependable. These rhetorical or narrative references proffer a knowledge that is processual as well as systematic and atemporal.[92] They display the development of a systematic knowledge about techniques.

Cross-references enabled Cowper to abstract and exemplify as well as to aggregate her servants' actions. These uses of cross-reference are clear from the beginning of the diary. Indeed, Cowper's practice of cross-referencing and the meditation on management that this practice enabled was inaugurated by a servant. 'Han: 39' is written in the margin of page fifteen of the diary's first volume, next to an entry expressing Cowper's disappointment in Hannah, the only servant (she wrote) whom she thought honest. The entry on page thirty–nine (for 22 December 1700) — the words 'Han:', 'Observe', and a '+' in the margin — is as follows:

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[90] A similar process is visible in 14 December 1708, DE/P/F32, p. 290, referencing 10 December 1708, p. 289.

[91] DE/P/F30, pp. 173, 233.

[92] Janie Vanapée, 'La Femme Mode d'Emploi: How to Read the Article FEMME in the *Encyclopédie*', in *Using the 'Encyclopédie': Ways of Knowing, Ways of Reading*, ed. by Daniel Brewer and Julie Hayes (Oxford: Voltaire Foundation, 2002), pp. 229–45 (pp. 230–31).

> A passage that happen'd in my Family hath taught me, it is not prudent to Send an angry message to one serv*an*t by another, it were best to reproof them my Self. I wish to remember that I Commit not the like Errour agen. There is but one of the five at this time whose Service is easie to me, and She after many Obligations, I find unsincere (to say the least of it) […]. Nothing harder to forgive than a false Accusation, we are Chargable with real fault Enough, ther's no need of Malitious aggravations. Many uneasie things happen.[93]

The link between these two entries is the first cross-reference in the diary. It seems that a misfiring delivery of a message caused conflict between two servants: Cowper seems almost to be arguing with, or vindicating herself to the servant who was the target of the reproof — the audience addressed by the final three clauses is ambiguously opened out so as to ask both readers and household to bear witness to Cowper's good intentions. Coordination between diary entries about servant management is generated by affective disturbance and emerges in response to unreliable coordination between servants themselves, which the information tabulated in the diary retrospectively supplements and corrects. More generally, Cowper's cross-references demonstrate to a future reader the persistence of a feeling between two separate pages, or the patterned and sustained nature of Cowper's tribulations, or the way in which her judgements at an earlier time, when not in possession of all the facts, turned out to be correct (or to be justified on later behaviour or other opinions gathered).[94] In the case of 'Han:', the process of referencing serves as a memorial to Cowper about good and bad methods of management, but also fixes Hannah in the attitude she holds in both entries: the servant who has always just betrayed Cowper. It assigns her a narrative function.

Subsequent servant-related cross references evince more elaborate versions of this retrospective summation, enabling Cowper to establish a servant's character through a temporal narrative gathered into an array. The entry in which Cowper recorded the exit of

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[93] DE/P/F29, p. 39.

[94] For example, see Cowper's cross-referenced vindication of her assertion that Judith owed her a letter and not the other way around, 7, 8 September 1701 and 22 September 1701, DE/P/F29, pp. 142, 147. For similar examples see DE/P/F30, pp. 44–45, 32 For Cowper updating earlier entries, see DE/P/F30, p. 10; DE/P/F35, p. 89.

the coachman who beat the gardener, on 3 October 1704, includes a series of marginal cross–references, summing the coachman's career in the household once it has been concluded: 'page 173. 208. 221. 233 260 282' (Plate 8).[95] These references represent an amplification of Cowper's usual practice, of rarely recording the action of hiring a servant but instead using the occasion of their being dismissed to retrospectively judge the servant's career in her household. Cowper's ways of collating information add up to a developing record of the effects of household management methods which was also productive: in its systematisation, it gave form to feeling. As noted in section one, the servants' abbreviated names of their roles (wench, maid, cook, coachman) are given in the main text, while their full names feature only in marginal tags (until they die or are ejected from Cowper's household), so their individual presence in Cowper's narrative as material inscriptions is literally marginal, but also co-extensive with the network of cross-references. Cross-references, like those on page eighty-eight of volume two of the diary, array spatially knots of narrative; a fact that becomes an explicit focus of Cowper's commentary.

The story of Cowper's servants is also, as Cowper notes, the story of her writing in time. Anticipating later readers at the close of the diary entry for 25 June 1703 (following the actions of John and Lar:), Cowper wrote: 'It may be trac'd along my Slender Narrative that Bad servants badly mannaged are my perpetual greivance. My soul is vex'd day by day with their unlawful deeds'.[96] The narrative of bad servants badly managed is a narrative in and of Cowper's annotations and cross-references. On 16 September 1704, the gardener-beating coachman had already been 'The Coachman so often mention'd'.[97] Cowper's writing about her servants afforded opportunities for meta-commentary in a way that no other topic seems to have done. Thus, in an early entry on her servant Sarah, whom she suspected of attempting to abort her pregnancy, and over whose treatment she and Sir William disagreed, Cowper called her 'the Old Theam' (her departure on 28

[95] DE/P/F30, p. 290.

[96] DE/P/F30, p 88; for bread, see DE/P/F29, pp. 3–4.

[97] DE/P/F30, p. 282.

October continued to cause 'combustion' in the household on 2 November).[98] It is a narrative of a problem and ways of attempting to change that problem or avoid it; an encounter between two kinds of practical knowledge — in de Certeau's terms, between a set of tactics (procedures that do not have their own autonomous field of action and therefore depend on possibilities and materials imposed by circumstance) and a set of strategies (forms of action that are able to rely on creating their own places, 'from which relations with an exteriority composed of targets or threats […] can be managed').[99] Furthermore, as the 'Old Theam' — the 'old Complaint of Vile Servants' as Cowper wrote on 30 April 1708 — this narrative of bad servants is a narrative of Cowper's narrating, of the obstinate continuation of a dysfunctional relation with her subordinates.[100] She wrote on 16 October 1704 that she knew she wrote about her servants too frequently, and should change her mode of relating to them to softer rebukes: the remainder of the diary attests to how little these intentions were put into practice.[101]

Serial disappointments occasioned by her husband's and her servants' actions were rendered by Cowper as causing her mental pain, the result of repetitions which reactivated memories. On multiple occasions in 1701, Cowper made cryptic reference to perturbing actions by Sir William and the servants that brought up former troubles, aggravating 'the troublesome imagination that hath haunted me almost 30 year'.[102] Such reflections are not confined to that year: in 1712 she recorded how her 'Bodeing Day' being recently passed increased the disquiet she felt from servants.[103] She noted in a 18 June 1701 entry with the marginal gloss 'The Effect of former Trouble' that 'Man is never so Broken as when he is frustrated in his Expect:tation'.[104] The expectations that her

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[98] DE/P/F29, p. 21.

[99] de Certeau, pp. 24, 35–40, 77–90 (quotation at 35–36). Cowper is frequently evasive in recognising the secure site from which her strategy emanates.

[100] DE/P/F32, p. 198.

[101] DE/P/F30, p. 296. Compare her observation that writing about servants 'to some may seeme, a discontent beneath a man's Esteem', 31 March 1701, DE/P/F29, p. 77.

[102] DE/P/ F29, pp. 59, 60, 74–75; see also DE/P/F30, p. 108.

[103] DE/P/F34, p. 142.

[104] DE/P/F29, p. 101.

husband and servants frustrated were projected at several scales and periodicities, formed into patterns through references in Cowper's diaries. 'Fear of Evils tho' they come not to pass is a painfull Condition', as Cowper noted in 1713, due to 'worthless and Foolish servants'.[105] Such everyday infractions, she wrote in 1700, 'revive old matters', arranged by Cowper's memory and her books into a narrative of serial disappointments that evacuate the 'Desire or Hope' of another future; 'my greifs seem hope:less, Endless'.[106] These repetitions, at several periodicities, are formed into patterns through references in Cowper's diaries. At times, these rhythms are inflected by public politics, which unsettled 'futurity' for Cowper.[107] In the longer term, she chastised herself, during Sir William's lifetime, for repeatedly entertaining thoughts of 'a Chang of the uneasie Circumstanc*e*s' of her life, and for imagining how she would use the power to reform her household that such a change would offer.[108] Remembrance of past disappointment, returning with each infraction, shut down possible alternative futures and left Cowper to navigate her present, principally — like Halkett — by checking her behaviour against resolutions.[109] Her conduct in relation to her resolutions was, as she wrote in relation to the coachman, a 'trial of […] skill'.[110] More generally, Cowper justified the diaries as an alternative venue for stinging words.[111] For Cowper, as for Halkett, the rhythms of her use of books, as well as the overlapping periodicities of those expectations and disappointments, constituted her disappointed expectations at the same time they gave a shape to her own practical abilities.

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[105] DE/P/F34, p. 274.

[106] DE/P/F29, pp. 17–18, 32. For disappointment at the scale of the whole married life, see DE/P/F29, pp. 100, 246; DE/P/F30, p. 200.

[107] DE/P/F29, p. 63; DE/P/F34, pp. 200, 207.

[108] DE/P/F29, pp. 73–74.

[109] For remembrance see DE/P/F29, pp. 249, 252, 288; DE/P/F23/2, Sir William Cowper to Sarah, Lady Cowper, 26 July 1702; DE/P/F23/3, Sir William Cowper to Sarah, Lady Cowper, 31 July 1702. On the correspondence, see Kugler, pp. 55–57. For resolutions see DE/P/F29, pp. 19, 47.

[110] DE/P/F30, pp. 115–16.

[111] DE/P/F29, pp. 33–34; for stinging words DE/P/F29, p. 176; DE/P/F34, p. 224, repeating DE/P/F29, p. 181.

Throughout all her diaries, then, Cowper used her books to produce knowledge about herself and about her servants. While married, she used the '+' graph and extensive networks of cross-references to construct narrative arrays that promised to tabulate servant knowledge. However, the insistently retrospective nature of Cowper's practices of information management and its modality of protest (its aim being to convict both Sir William and her servants, in concert, as wrongdoers: Sir William was the audience for the '+', but it was the servants, in a household controlled by Sir William, that motivated the adoption of cross-references) ultimately had the effect of creating not testable knowledge but the affirmation of disappointed hopes. The same features that enabled outward-facing management were also reservoirs for the resentment that Cowper felt towards her servants, which shaped and motivated her practices of management and complicated her assessment of servants' practical knowledge. Indeed, when Cowper wrote a unidirectional reference back to an earlier entry, by date, this was very often to draw attention to the dashing of earlier hopes that the servants might not be going to disappoint her this time. The reference stands in ironic relation to the content of the earlier entry.[112] In household management and in her writing, it could be said (adopting de Certeau's terminology) that Cowper changed from tactician to strategist after Sir William's death, at which point she was able to posit her servants as objects of skill and as a category like any other in her diaries. In her early diaries, she was able to tabulate servant actions in a space of inscription that belonged to her but did so in protest, as a narrative record of situations in which she felt she had to intervene from a position of disadvantage, in a space controlled by Sir William.[113] The ways in which the servants motivated the adoption of cross-references and enabled metacommentary demonstrates their double function for Cowper. They were a means to think through the everyday as a level or space of tactics, defined by (secular) rhythms. For Lefebvre, the everyday as 'the level of tactics' between stagnant repetition and the drama of decisive upheaval, emerges

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[112] DE/P/F32, p.124 referring back to p. 121. See also 14 December 1708, DE/P/F32, p. 290, referring back to 10 December 1708, p. 289; 26 March 1701, DE/P/F29, p. 75 referring back to 6 March 1704 DE/P/F30, p. 189.

[113] She hated the relative isolation of Hertford on this basis, DE/P/F29, pp. 17–18, 108, 110.

through repetitions like these and is analysable (as for de Certeau and Bourdieu) as matters of rhythm and tempo.[114] Servants were, in ways Cowper's writing and practices of information management intermittently cognised, both objects of skill and analysis at the level of the everyday and also the means and narrative materials through which her writing and thinking happened. The evidence of Cowper's practices of information management thus discloses how the fabrication of managerial knowledge about the household and knowledge of the self were shaped and determined by, even as they analysed, patterns of emotional response. The argument of this chapter is not that this simply represents a failure of knowledge or insight on Cowper's part. Patterns of interference between the affective dynamics of service and the order of knowledge were noted by Cowper in her diaries. Rather, it is that the kind of managerial skill recorded in Cowper's diaries inevitably took the form of an adjacency between practice and explicit theorising, and that both together — obliquely registered in the diaries — constitute the everyday as a space of tactics: an 'empirical modality for the organization of human life' and also 'a mass of representations which disguise this organization'.[115]

In her later diaries, especially, Cowper attempted to constitute a systematic knowledge of servant management that would be portable across situations, based on her own experiments and her extensive reading. However, the character of Cowper's management activity is rendered difficult to decipher by her persistent presentation of herself as the wounded and disempowered party when dealing with her servants — even after Sir William's death. In her writing, Cowper minimised the effective force that she could wield, if indirectly, while Sir William was alive; once widowed, as section three will argue, she persistently concealed her actual practices of management behind a pseudo-theory of strategy. The final section, then explores how Cowper's changed orientation towards her servants, indicated by the changing graphs and categories employed in her diaries, was reflected in her managerial practice.

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[114] Lefebvre, *Critique*, pp. 429, 343, 526.

[115] Lefebvre, *Critique*, p. 432.

3. 'The Domestick Care': Management Strategies and the Everyday, 1706–1716

After Sir William's sudden death in 1706, Cowper moved to their London property (in September 1707) and generally spent the whole year there.[116] Now the ultimate point of authority in the household, she was finally able to organise it according to her own plan. This section therefore asks: what change was Cowper able to effect and what can be learned about the operation of management and the servant skill it responded to from Cowper's later writing? To explore this question, it examines the explicit and extensive rumination on servant skill, psychology, and criminality that Cowper developed in these volumes as a complement to her investigations into methods of management.

Cowper established her London household in the same pattern as before, with five servants, and continued this way until the end of her life — she did not leave behind, after his death, the way of doing things she had been forced into by Sir William.[117] Problems of instituting a 'new order' among the servants crowd the first pages of Volume Four of the diary. This section therefore begins where Cowper did, with her explicit attempts at reforming her household and teaching her servants. It then investigates her theories of servant conduct, speech, and rationality, which together compose an account of servant skill, before examining the strategies of management which Cowper developed in response to these judgements about the specific kind of practical knowledge servants possessed and their habits of mind and action. Cowper's strategies of management paid particular attention to enunciation (questions of how, and when, and in what manner a speech or action should be performed); at the same time, they facilitated fantasies of aggression towards her servants and — as Kugler notes — tended to excuse Cowper from responsibility for her servants' failings.[118]

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116 DE/P/F32, p.1; Kugler, pp. 144–45.

117 DE/P/F32, pp. 115–16, 338; DE/P/F35, pp. 98–99.

118 Kugler, pp. 69, 150–52, 190.

Cowper had always been aware, as servant handbooks informed their readers, that she and Sir William shared responsibility for the spiritual state of their subordinates, whose characters she had seen deteriorate due to the 'ill Constitution' of their family and 'for want of instruction, good order and Managm*en*t'.[119] Nonetheless, when considering the religious instruction of servants, Cowper was generally careful to qualify that she was not interested in the servants' religion for their own sake or even for the collective sake of the household, through which her power and goodness might be expressed, but, rather, in removing their inhibition of her actions: 'these things deserve not serious regard nor care further than as they hinder or contribute to the good of our spirit:ual state'.[120] Whereas Anne Halkett attempted to construct a textual monument which depended in part on her servants' education, Cowper's desire was to shape the servants into an orderly body in order that they might be kept at a distance and not 'perplex and disturb' her. For both Halkett and Cowper their servants were a project, but one in which success and failure had different coordinates.

The programme of servant reformation on which Cowper embarked after Sir William's death was more extensive than that before 1706, but still intermittent. Cowper instituted a 'New order of Reading t. C: [i.e. the Bible and divinity]' in the family, which was interrupted on Christmas Day 1706 by a drunken coachman, who had locked himself in the stables.[121] She carried on reading scripture to the family, along with the weekly prayers of her favoured authority, Simon Patrick, Bishop of Ely, until at least 4 September 1708, including 'divers passages not fit to join in with such a profligate Congregation who haue Time and leasure enough to pray by themselvs'. Cowper abdicated final responsibility for her servants' literacy and salvation. After this, provoked by a sermon she heard on the spiritual authority of masters to reflect that the sexual liaison of two servants was no justification for ceasing instruction, she began again on 21

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[119] DE/P/F29, pp. 8, 74; DE/P/F30, pp. 140, 282; DE/P/F35, p. 49.

[120] DE/P/F29, pp, 100–101.

[121] DE/P/F32, p. 11; see also DE/P/F32, p. 15.

November 1708.[122] Cowper's exasperation, mentioned in the 4 September entry, at one servant's inability to read or remember the creed ('tho' […] he heard it Repeated by mee, besides on Sundays at Church') mirrors Halkett's. Unlike Halkett, however, Cowper seems to have made no provision to teach her servants to read; nor did she alter her pedagogy in response to these failures. Imperfections of comprehension, memory, and performance are attributed to the servants themselves, while Cowper exhibited a weary fatalism about the possibility of their reform.[123]

For Cowper, the household was a venue for servants' edification rather than their instruction. Charity schools were proper sites for servant education. Cowper had given £100 to the charity school in St Andrew's Holborn on 30 December 1708.[124] In February 1712, on hearing from her son William that a charity school was to be erected in Hertford, Cowper, quoting Steele's defence of charity schools in the 6 February 1712 *Spectator*, reflected on the benefits that would accrue to employers: 'From such as are Educated in these places we might Hope to see nothing but lowliness in the Servant. […] This wou'd Create Endearing Depenencies'.[125] Instruction in religion and literacy is posed here as essentially functional for the reproduction of deference within service relations.[126] Cowper emerges as a spokesperson for a one-sided paternalism. The affects and expectations that ideally cemented the unequal but reciprocal bonds of paternalism are recast as attitudes that could be manufactured outside the household and straightforwardly bought and sold for cash, reducing the supervisory and pedagogical labour of employers to a minimum.[127]

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[122] DE/P/F32, pp. 254, 282. In 1709 Cowper was terrified to reflect, following her servants' later bastardy examination, that she had prayed with and read scripture to such people with no effect, DE/P/F32, p. 304.

[123] DE/P/F32, p. 59; DE/P/F34, p. 73.

[124] DE/P/F32, p. 296; Kugler, pp. 152–53.

[125] DE/P/F34, p. 94; *Spectator*, III, 49. Cowper continued to copy the next day, DE/P/F34, p. 95.

[126] Compare DE/P/F34, p. 188.

[127] E. P. Thompson, 'Patrician Society, Plebeian Culture', *Journal of Social History*, 7.4 (1974), 382–405 (p. 383). For a similar statement in 1711, see DE/P/F34, pp. 67–68.

Cowper's reform campaign continued through January into early February 1707, but she became increasingly frustrated and apt to regard the servants as unteachable during this time.[128] Soon enough she disposed with these servants that retained the imprint of Sir William but whom she could not reform ('To write upon ye water is labour in vain') and started afresh, with the explicit goal, not of achieving a virtuous life through the household, but of 'peace' and 'repose' by means of an internal distance within it.[129] Cowper sought to keep spatial as well as social and conceptual distance between herself and her servants. She sought solitude when in the house and was intensely conscious of the noise servants made in the house, interpreting it as evidence of hostility from which she wanted to insulate and distance herself as much as possible.[130] She frequently asserted the desirability of avoiding servants where possible and of employing a small number of servants.[131] However, distance brought with it its own problems as Cowper wrote in 1713: 'The slender Affairs of my Family, allows me to haue litle to Do with my servants; therefore they Live like Devils with themselves and annoy me with it 3 story high'.[132] The spatial arrangements describe here are the basis and an emblem of her later diary, in which 'slender Affairs' observed from a distance substitute for her 'Slender Narrative'. Cowper's desire for seclusion here speaks to her sensitive consciousness of the interacting architectural and behavioural determinants of privacy.[133] From spring 1707 onwards, Cowper adopted a strategy of immediate expulsion and the importation of new staff, rather than laborious reformation, in order to discipline her household. Cowper's hiring,

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[128] DE/P/F32, pp. 21, 22–23, 25.

[129] DE/P/F32, p. 25.

[130] On 20 September 1704, for example, writing at Hertford, she claims be alone twenty out of every twenty–four hours, DE/P/F30, p. 284. Compare DE/P/F30, p. 24; DE/P/F34, p. 173. For servants and noise, see DE/P/F29, p. 110; DE/P/F32, pp. 22–23..

[131] For avoiding, see DE/P/F34, p. 102; DE/P/F32, p. 307. For numbers, see DE/P/F30, p. 87; DE/P/F33, p. 225; DE/P/F35, p. 20; DE/P/F33, p. 288, adapting John Tillotson, *Sixteen Sermons, on Several Subjects*, 3 vols (London, 1696), III, 130–31. For Cowper's appreciation of Tillotson, see DE/P/F34, pp. 283–84.

[132] DE/P/F34, pp. 264–65.

[133] Meldrum, *Service*, pp. 76–83; Amanda Vickery, 'An Englishman's Home is his Castle? Thresholds, Boundaries, and Privacies in the Eighteenth-Century London House', *Past and Present*, 199 (2008), 147–73 (p. 172).

dismissal, and management of her servants can be traced in some detail through her diaries for this period. In order to trace the development of Cowper's ideas about servant psychology and her strategies of servant discipline, it will be useful to set out this narrative.

Cowper dismissed an absentee coachman before his year ended, on 18 March 1707. 3 April then finds Cowper interviewing a number of men and women. On 13 September 1707 she wrote that, having tried and failed to make them 'better' she had sacked two women when she left 'home'.[134] By 10 October 1707 she had been in town for one month, and had just succeeded in recruiting a 'New Family' of five servants, apparently making a clean break with the staff employed by Sir William, and setting down new precepts to live 'without noise or trouble'.[135] By 3 November hopes of repose were dashed and the new cook had to be dismissed. A year passed without incident, but on 21 November 1708, Cowper found a man and a woman (identified on March 29 1709 as the cook and the coachman) in an indecent position, and on 10 December she wrote that this 'wench' left the house with a child by the coachman, who was also to be fired. On 14 December she descried another instance of the same behaviour, prompting her for fear of robbery to send all the non-necessary plate to Spencer. On 29 December this second servant couple (later identified as 'House wench' and 'Footman') — apparently now married, though Cowper was sceptical — also left; whether by compulsion or agreement is unclear.[136] Barely a month later, on 7 February 1709, Cowper turned off two more servants, for an unspecified 'irresistible cause'.[137] 8 February found her again spending the day viewing servants. By 29 March 1709 she had dismissed the remaining female servant, Mrs Fox, also suspected of sexual dishonesty.[138] A week after this, reviewing her recent turnover, Cowper wrote that of the five servants currently employed,

[134] DE/P/F32, pp. 40, 105.

[135] DE/P/F32, pp. 115–16.

[136] For these identifications, see DE/P/F32, p. 335.

[137] DE/P/F32, p. 314.

[138] DE/P/F32, p. 335.

the longest serving had been there just six months. On 17 May Cowper ejected the cook (presumably the woman she hired in November 1708) and on 23 May another coachman left because, like his predecessor-but-one, he found Cowper's restrictions on his movements and holidays excessive. Thus, from December 1706 to June 1709, the two and half years covered by Volume Four of the diary, Cowper went through three coachmen and three cooks, with a fourth of each in current service at the close of the volume. She also dismissed at least four other servants, at least two of whom were women.

The rate slowed somewhat over the two years covered by Volume Five. On 15 December 1709 Cowper dismissed a female servant for making excessive noise. On 23 May 1711 she discharged her re-employed chambermaid, Avis Brown. As recorded in Volume Six, she then dismissed two female servants on 13 July 1711, one of whom she trusted, but who had been going by the false name of Hannah Bullock (baptised Joan). On 31 March 1712, Edmund Gittous, the coachman, and another servant left after Cowper curtailed their access to vails and perquisites.[139] Another female servant had left by 12 January 1713 after being bullied ('all the Methods I can take to Regulate my small Family avail me Nothing […] the partys most scared flee from the Rest'), repeating the intra-servant disorder Cowper had complained of under Sir William's management. The following day, the coachman who had replaced Gittous was killed by a horse, his epitaph Cowper's: 'he was the best servant I haue had in many years.'[140] An untimely exit, escaping a write-up at the time of ejection, seems to be the only way a servant could achieve a positive summary. Cowper dismissed another 'Domestick Enemy' on 21 March, and an 'Impudent Female' on the quarter day following, 25 March 1713.[141] On 11 August that year she ejected the foot boy and the cook (possibly the woman hired in May 1709), for their arguing and on the basis of her suspicion they were lovers. Finally, in the last volume of Cowper's diary, which is lighter on such details, Cowper records how on 3 December 1713, she called her 'Cook:wench' a fool and, in anger, the cook bid Cowper

[139] DE/P/F34, p. 110.

[140] DE/P/F34, pp. 208, 209.

[141] DE/P/F34, pp. 228, 229.

discharge her, which Cowper did (whether calling the cook's bluff, or responding to a real request, is unclear). At the end of this period, Cowper reflected, she had become sensitive to servants' infractions of her expectations, but the pace of her turning off servants had decreased. Her two male servants continue 'Cursing, swearing, Lying, Fighting, Threatening to cutt each others Throat' in March 1715, but Cowper was reluctant to dismiss them, as they were the best she had secured in a while.[142] Towards the end of the diary, Cowper's attitude towards servants becomes more embittered, while her management is less assertive.

On the basis of this catalogue of hirings and dismissals, a picture of Cowper's developing management practices can be constructed. Cowper's inability to retain coachman will be analysed first. Returning to 1707, a repeat of many issues Cowper encountered with Sir William's servants can be seen. On 18 March, for the second time in a month, her coachman 'lay out all Night'. When approached, 'he Huff'd and bid me provide my self agen his year was up' (in the margin Cowper gives that date, 'April 20th'). Cowper reflected that she forgave him the first time without his asking, 'which lenity too often pulls on repeated abuses'. On this occasion, she wrote, 'I turn'd him out the same Day'.[143] Cowper felt her management of this servant had been faultless: to encourage him to good service, she gave him his livery at the end of the first six months, and gave him new mourning clothes. The moral she takes from the encounter is ''tis dangerous to Deal too well with servants'. The next coachman, however he was dealt with, behaved in exactly the same manner, as Cowper wrote in July 1707.[144] Cowper's peremptory ejection of the coachman, who presumably expected that a certain course of action, met once with forgiveness, would be so met again, was the first in the series of hirings and firings just elaborated. Cowper's extraction of proverbs and morals from her servant encounters attests to the way in which her attempts at reform were always preemptively justified in their failure by her sense of the inevitable deficiencies of the servant class. Her trials of

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[142] DE/P/F35, p. 203.

[143] DE/P/F32, p. 40.

[144] DE/P/F32, p. 76.

new management techniques, like the cross-references in her diaries, have strategic possibility that is cancelled by their narrative presentation.

Cowper's problems with drunken and unreliable coachmen represent a continuation of the issues encountered in Volumes One to Three of the diary, which elicited information management.[145] By offering monetary bonuses conditional on good behaviour (June 1704), or promising yearly wage increases if a coachman stayed (1709), alongside benefits in kind, Cowper hoped to make her servants more dependable.[146] In the case of her coachmen, Cowper's attempts at rationalisation represent in less elaborate form an impulse also apparent in the complex system of fines and loyalty bonuses for his staff drawn up by Sir Richard Newdigate in the late 1670s, as analysed by Steve Hindle, or the system of servant wages, duties, and penalties for non-performance that Sir Walter Calverley — a baronet, contemporary with Cowper and Sir William — recorded in his diary.[147] However, apart from a single record of annual expenditure, not including servants' wages, no financial accounts survive for Sir William and Cowper's household, or for Cowper's household after his death, so her strategies of remuneration cannot be reconstructed in any detail.[148] Her aim in each case was to quantify and so enable the better control of servant motivations through graduated incentives, rather than governing through the flexible, customary usages through which they might assert their own

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[145] DE/P/F34, pp. 230, 277.

[146] DE/P/F30, pp. 173, 233; DE/P/F32, pp. 356, 361. The rate of increase proposed by Cowper (10s. per year) is very roughly comparable with that enjoyed by coachman elsewhere in London, based on wage data in Meldrum, *Service*, pp. 188, 192–94. Cowper's coachman's starting wage was not recorded.

[147] Steve Hindle, 'Below Stairs at Arbury Hall: Sir Richard Newdigate and his Household Staff, c. 1670–1710', *Historical Research*, 85 (2012), 71–88. See for example the entries for 29 March 1693, 28 August 1704, 'Memorandum Book of Sir Walter Calverley, Bart.', ed. by Samuel Margerison, in *Yorkshire Diaries and Autobiographies in the Seventeenth and Eighteenth Centuries*, ed. by Charles Jackson, H. J. Morehouse, and Samuel Margerison (Durham: Surtees Society, 1886), pp. 51, 102–3.

[148] DE/P/F35, p. 3 (reverse pagination).

rewards.[149] Cowper, however, struggled to make her coachmen so dependable: they pursued leisure and freedom of movement rather than economic rationality.

Consequently, although she continued to practice it, Cowper's belief in management by wage incentives declined. A later coachman, Edmond Gittous, who had been a failed object of such management in January 1710, eventually quit Cowper's service on 31 March 1712, along with another servant, after Cowper found that they had been stealing small amounts (or, availing themselves of vails and perquisites that breached the bounds of what Cowper was prepared to accept).[150] Cowper's policy here reveals the aims and negative limits of management through monetary incentives.

The mechanism of Cowper's cross-references, allied with her attempts at financial management, apparently offered evidence for her generalisations about a general disposition that militated against full rationality. A servant like her gardener, wrote Cowper, was representative of those confined to labour, in having no impulse control and prizing leisure over money 'without regard to [...] future wants'.[151] As Cowper wrote (in a 1710 entry annotated 'Most Servants'), one should not be angry with those who offend due to a 'Defect or Disorder of Vnderstanding'.[152] Also notable is that Cowper's explicit comments on skill, usually negative, were reserved for coachmen ('but a Carter, and when Sober very vnskillfull') and cooks, as were Sir William's.[153] Cooks and coachmen — servants with a specific occupational skill — also seem to be the fastest turned over. Cowper may have intervened in her maids' work, or evaluated it, but if she did so she did not record it in her diaries. She copied 'Lady pawlets Receipt To Clean Grates' into Volume Five of the diary, but otherwise such matters appear only glancingly in her

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[149] For contemporary ideas about the socially-useful constancy and dependability of interest ruled by desire for money, see Albert Hirschman, *The Passions and the Interests: Political Arguments for Capitalism before Its Triumph* (Princeton: Princeton University Press, 1977; repr. 2013), pp. 3–66.

[150] DE/P/F33, pp. 101, 238–39; DE/P/F34, p. 110. On the importance of and contestation over vails and perquisites see Meldrum, *Service*, pp. 199–206; Peter Linebaugh, *The London Hanged: Crime and Civil Society in the Eighteenth Century* (London: Penguin, 1991), pp. 248–55.

[151] DE/P/F29, p. 123; compare DE/P/F29, pp. 3–4; DE/P/F32, p. 308.

[152] DE/P/F33, p. 172.

[153] DE/P/F30, pp. 140, 154 (the carter); DE/P/F34, p. 102; DE/P/F23/3, Sir William Cowper to Sarah Cowper, 31 July 1702.

complaints.[154] It is only for the coachmen that Cowper develops systems of wage incentive, recognising skill. In the case of her female servants, as the catalogue of hirings and dismissals indicates, it is their sexuality that is most closely observed.

Servant sexuality compromised the physical integrity of the household because, in the case of the pregnant servant Sarah mentioned in Volume One, or Avis Brown in Volume Five, it led to the ingress and egress of unknown persons, who might steal from the house.[155] Servant sexuality was also, for Cowper, an avenue for criminality more generally, and indicative of the defective rationality and morality that lay behind criminality. In 1708 and 1709 she reflected on the habits of mind that made this likely. In general, small evils (like her cook's pregnancy) are followed by greater ones, so the strongest measures are justified.[156] Observing another cook's swearing in May 1709, Cowper was moved to reflect that someone thus reckless of the effects of promises will 'play the whore for her pleasure, and cheat for her profit, tho' perhaps may not be a Thief because \in/ Awe of The Gallows. So I immediately cast Her out'.[157] This entry presents the nexus of Cowper's concerns: servant speech is dangerous in its effects and irrational in its origin; the dishonesty of female servants takes a primarily sexual character, and will lead to other forms of criminality; the only thing that restrains them is fear of hanging. What she elsewhere calls 'gallows honesty' — her own coinage and otherwise unattested — is a cornerstone of Cowper's theory of servant psychology. The theory of small crimes inevitably drawing on larger ones (so that, in some accounts, a servant could pre-emptively be considered guilty of the whole) was the common sense of employers, as recorded in Richard Mayo's *Present for Servants* (1693) and Eliza Haywood's *Present for a*

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[154] DE/P/F34, p. 5 (reverse pagination); DE/P/F33, p. 9.

[155] DE/P/F29, pp. 10, 16–17, 18, 19–20; DE/P/F33, p. 318. The fear that maids would have a male lover who was part of a housebreaking gang, or be otherwise induced to allow thieves entry, was the quintessential fear of employers, at a time when no crime caused more 'panic' than robbery, burglary, and housebreaking. J. M. Beattie, *Policing and Punishment in London 1660–1750: Urban Crime and the Limits of Terror* (Oxford: Oxford University Press, 2001), pp. 22–23, 37–39.

[156] DE/P/F32, pp. 289, 304.

[157] DE/P/F32, pp. 353–54.

Servant-Maid (1743).[158] Cowper had used it to interpret as potentially murderous the actions of the coachman, Lar:, who poisoned the horses in November 1703, after he was dismissed.[159] Evidence of this cast of mind in a servant justifies peremptory dismissal. Gallows honesty, like the lack of future-orientation that it resembles, places servants as a moral class apart: Cowper linked it to an inability to read or remember scripture.[160] It was 'an uncontested Maxim' for Cowper that servants like this (or sometimes, all servants) reasoning from 'Visible Effects', would believe innocent anything for which they were not punished.[161] Servants are cognitively other, on this quasi-Lockean account, and resistant to all kinds of pedagogy except the threat of death. They must be managed accordingly.

The most pertinent diagnostic of 'gallows honesty' was lying. If a servant was a liar, they would tend to be a thief since 'Lying is the cause of all […] Crimes', averred Cowper on many occasions. Lies indicated and caused brutishness; nothing made Cowper as angry.[162] As well as conducing to criminality, and so being an index of the unreflective mind characterised by gallows honesty, servant duplicity in speech was an element in a larger category of errors of practical knowledge, which, for Cowper, were the origin of servants' resistance to pedagogy. Those in 'a servile condition' never admit they are wrong or provide an adequate account of their reasons (thus excluding themselves from skill); consequently, wrote Cowper in 1703, she would leave off demanding such things — but she was complaining of the same in 1711 and demanding accurate reasons for her servants' actions in 1712.[163] In 1708 she had noted that 'It is true a Servant is the Masters Instrument to be His work, and not to do his own Will; But He that Commands

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[158] Specific sources for this theory of pre-emption might include James 2. 10 (he who offends in one point of the law is guilty of all), as taken up in, for example, Benjamin Hoadly, *Several Discourses Concerning the Terms of Acceptance with God* (London, 1711), p. 109–52 and criminal biography more generally, which Cowper read.

[159] DE/P/F30, p. 136.

[160] DE/P/F32, p. 254.

[161] DE/P/34, p. 171; DE/P/F32, p. 314. See also DE/P/F34, p. 26.

[162] DE/P/F32, pp. 212, 109. For falsehood diminishing rationality, see DE/P/F33, pp. 47, 52. For Cowper's anger at servant lies about the household, see DE/P/F29, p. 18; DE/P/F30, pp. 82, 112; DE/P/F32, pp. 109, 323–24; DE/P/F33, p. 9; DE/P/F34, p. 44.

[163] DE/P/F30, p. 153; DE/P/F34, pp. 54, 110.

must Do it with Reason'. Here, the clean evacuation of the servant's own rational faculties necessitates reason being supplied to them, as in the earlier seventeenth-century schema of the servant handbooks surveyed in chapter one: the employer is the skilled agent.[164] However, wherever the fact of servants' own volition is factored in, reason is contested rather than donated. Servants are difficult to argue with, especially, wrote Cowper on 13 October 1708, 'those sawcy pragmatical servants who ne:ver make a fault but they giue a Reason for it; or rather a Because, say I, ffor [...] their manner of expostulation, is most wondorous silly'.[165] Cowper admits here that servants possess mental dexterity, only to dismiss their argumentative skill by pointing to their laughable malapropisms. She enjoyed the comic rendering of servant speech, and, in September 1708, had copied into the reverse of Volume Four Jonathan Swift's poem 'The Humble Petition of Frances Harris, Who must Starve, and Die a Maid if it Miscarries' (written 1701), 'in joculer Rhimes and a lively Description of Family Chatt'.[166] The pleasure offered by such verses was predicated on the frustration employers like Cowper felt when confronting servants: management strategy and derogatory imitation, as Cowper's books make clear, were conceptually and affectively linked.

It was in the course of argument that Servants revealed the nature of their impoverished skill, which rendered them so unamenable to government. Arguments with servants were asymmetrical, for Cowper: their 'molestation' provoked anger, but their indifference to truth-telling rendered remonstration pointless.[167] As Cowper wrote in December 1711:

> It is very Difficult to Mannage a Debate with Servants who Dispute in a Kind of wild Logick when they are not able to Confute, Run me down with Noise, and a Bold sawcy Toung. Let euery One that Hopes to Go:vern a Fool, Remember that 'tis Impracticable; yet wee may Observe

[164] DE/P/F32, p. 212.

[165] DE/P/F32, p. 268.

[166] DE/P/F32, p. 257, 11–13 (rear pagination). The poem was not published until 1709.

[167] DE/P/F30, p. 67; Cowper recorded another extensive confrontation with Mrs Fox, DE/P/F32, p. 335.

> that cunning is the Inseperable companion of such weak and stupid Minds.[168]

This account of her servants' 'wild Logick' and 'cunning' that worked by non-signifying 'Noise' rather than reason offers a synthesis of Cowper's frequent derogation of her servants as simply 'fools' and her presentation of them as sly and threatening 'monsters'.[169] Here, as in another entry from 1708, a usually buried idea surfaces: that servants have a store of ingenuity which they only ever misapply, but they display — Cowper's analysis does not quite say that they fake — idiocy and slowness in response to their employers' unwelcome demands of improvement.[170] In her account of 'wild Logick' and elsewhere, Cowper endorsed both at once: servants have a paltry skill: a kind of provoking cunning that proceeds from stupidity or brutality.[171] Like all those with a deficient skill, they act dextrously by an automatic action, unguided by reflection or a rational account of causes. Servants do not know themselves and are incapable of reflecting on their own poverty of knowledge — a kind of moral and cognitive alterity that Cowper also diagnosed in their sexuality — which constitutes them as empty subjects moved by the force of an ignorance they cannot cognise.[172] Servants' actions, Cowper wrote in 1711, are 'the Effect of Ignorance without the least sense of it' which makes them uniquely difficult to 'Mannage'.[173] The asymmetries of power characteristic of employer-servant conversations, which produced inevitable epistemological barriers, and the many opportunities for

[168] DE/P/F34, p. 67.

[169] DE/P/F30, pp. 55, 19; DE/P/F34, p. 208.

[170] For similar observations, see DE/P/F30, pp. 311, 162; DE/P/F33, p. 96; DE/P/F34, pp. 6, 184.

[171] See also DE/P/F32, p. 308.

[172] DE/P/F32, pp. 290, 307; DE/P/F34, p. 272.

[173] 4 April 1711, DE/P/F33, pp. 297–98. Cowper vented similar frustrations in 1707, 1713, and 1715, DE/P/F32, p. 105; DE/P/F34, p. 208; DE/P/F35, p. 235.

recalcitrance and passive protest these enabled, are registered in Cowper's diaries in terms of servants' erratic or devious skill, which demanded a managerial response.[174]

On the basis of these accounts of servants' deficient practical knowledge, Cowper developed strategies of management, drawing on a range of authors. At its most basic, as posed in November 1712, her question was whether to rule aggressively, via verbal abuse, or whether to rule 'with Discretion and gentleness, not too much severity'.[175] The question of whether leniency or stringency was more efficacious in changing servants' behaviour was ultimately a question of enunciation in a limited sense: how and when to speak. To 'Brutify'd' Christians of limited understanding, she wrote in January 1707, 'give only a plain and positive precept. Thou Shalt Do this. Thou Shalt not Do that'.[176] As she wrote of advice she received in June 1713: 'Cutting words are weapons thrown from thee which return agen'; such 'Bitter Taunts' are not easily forgotten, especially when they they contain an element of truth.'[177] Examples of similar reflections, on the legitimacy and efficacy of prudent coldness versus Christian charity, can be multiplied.[178] In 1707 Cowper spliced together passages from William Penn's *More Fruits of Solitude*, advising persuasion over 'rigour' in servant government. In 1713 she cited approvingly George Stanhope's commentary on the Book of Common Prayer, that verbally abusing 'stupid men' in one's employ could sometimes be effective.[179] However, Cowper had already found neither strategy effective, as she noted in 1711.[180]

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[174] For one influential account, see James Scott, *Domination and the Arts of Resistance: Hidden Transcripts* (New Haven: Yale University Press, 1990) and for the literary traces, Bruce Robbins, *The Servant's Hand: English Fiction from Below* (New York: Columbia University Press,1986), pp. 53–90.

[175] DE/P/F34, p. 188. She had posed similar questions in terms of the effectiveness of 'austerity' in March 1701 and February 1703, DE/P/F29, p. 74; DE/P/F30, p. 19.

[176] DE/P/F32, pp. 22–23; see also DE/P/F32, p. 25; DE/P/F34, p. 88.

[177] DE/P/F34, p. 251.

[178] DE/P/F33, p. 239; DE/P/F32, p. 212; DE/P/F30, pp. 67, 72.

[179] DE/P/F32, quoting William Penn, *More Fruits of Solitude: Being The Second Part of Reflections and Maxims, Relating to the Conduct of Human Life* (London, 1702), pp. 66–67; DE/P/F35, p. 15, quoting George Stanhope, *A Paraphrase and Comment upon the Epistles and Gospels, Appointed to be Used in the Church of England*, 4 vols (London, 1705–9), III (1706), 273.

[180] DE/P/F34, p. 6.

As Cowper's continued transcription of already-tested advice suggests, behind both options for the enunciation of management — verbal severity or gentleness — lay the path Cowper in fact took: the practice of limited interference followed by abrupt dismissal. Throughout the diaries, but especially in 1708–1709, she reflected on and rationalised the occasional necessity of 'prudently conniving at faults' for a time, and then striking, since anything less than ejection would inevitably aggravate the servant.[181] Concurrently, the summer of 1708 saw a decisive turn towards rigour: Cowper defended the right of employers to demand the regard due to them and make use of the power afforded them in a natural hierarchy.[182] Cowper's alternation between leniency and stringency was sometimes posed as a scenario. On one occasion in April 1711 she wrote her reasoning out longhand:

> Suppose between two Servants, the one hauing not Shewn his Disobedience so often, the Master Directs him in his Actions, hopeing to keep him by this means from all bad practises; and the Other hauing shewn the same Disobedience more frequently; The Master thinks it vseless any longer to attend upon Him or to warn him against any perticuler Action; He hauing willfully Offended against all his past Rules. The Other hath not sinn'd beyond patience; so as to for:feit his Masters Admonition; which He hath Done, and still persists in that Disobedience. The same Disposition of Mind will carry such a Servant to Injure and Affront Him in all other Instances.[183]

A marginal note indicates that one of these servants is Avis Brown, but Cowper's habit, when reasoning hypothetically, to default to a male universal makes it impossible to determine which servant is which. Although she notes 'my case' in the margin, the problem is posed as a diagram of relations among men in society in general (Avis was dismissed one month later, threatening slander). The clean economic language of rules, limits, and forfeits, within which a servant's 'Disposition of Mind' is made legible offers Cowper a framework for management, but, as has been seen, her management was in fact

[181] DE/P/F32, pp. 124, 286, 296, 307; DE/P/F30, p. 72; DE/P/F34, p. 221.

[182] DE/P/F32, pp. 212, 235, 246. Cowper's aggression could be carried further: she celebrated the death of a servant (and the servant's child) after she had left a cat to starve, DE/P/F32, p. 110.

[183] DE/P/F33, pp. 301–302.

characterised by vacillation between severity and leniency and by sudden dismissals. Cowper's verbal diagram records her inserting herself into a social position, 'The Master'.

Cowper buttressed her strategy of avoidance and ambush via psychological theories derived from the philosophy of Locke. Complaining on 4 October 1708 of a day disturbed by the wickedness of Servants, Cowper averred that, while it is important to know what servants are, not what they seem, it remains 'policy' not to reveal that knowledge:

> ffor when they find them:selves discern'd it rather hardens then amends them, therefore watch but discouer not your Sentiments till you Resolve to haue Done with Them. Vneasiness being a part of unhappiness is first to be Remov'd in our way to Happiness. Ay well said (Mr Lock) but who can Do it? Such fine Notions do puzzle more th*an* convince being not in the Number of Things self:evident.[184]

The first and last sentences here are Cowper's discourse, the second is taken from Locke's epistolary summary (in his *Familiar Letters* of 1708) of his reworking of §§28–40 of the chapter 'Of Power' for the 1694 edition of the *Essay Concerning Human Understanding*.[185] Here, as elsewhere, Locke offers Cowper a rationale for the surveillance and sudden ejection of servants, giving up the possibility of altering their conduct, in terms of removing her own personal uneasiness.[186] The relationship between techniques of servant government and uneasiness is clarified by an entry from 1707, written at the beginning of Cowper's period of high servant turnover: 'whither is most successfull to Govern by Fear or Love, I plead for fear.' Cowper's Machiavellian questioning is again founded on a view of the capacities of servants as a class: few are capable of love, but all of fear. Government by fear (of being dismissed) is a way of avoiding a sustained combat, since 'where variance and Contests obtain […], there is no Ease and quiet of Mind; […] the mind is still

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184 DE/P/F32, p. 265

185 *Some Familiar Letters between Mr. Locke, and Several of his Friends* (London, 1708), John Locke to William Molyneux, 15 July 1693, p. 46. The exact phrase Cowper quotes is there given by Locke as a summary of §35; in the revised second edition of the *Essay* a similar but shorter phrase introduces II. 21. 36.

186 DE/P/F31, pp. 137–39; DE/P/F34, p. 221 (again quoting from the *Letters*). For Cowper's eulogy for Locke, see DE/P/F30, p. 311.

con:triving Defence or Offence'.[187] In polemological terms, government by love is dismissed as tending towards constant hostile encounters between opposing strategies. Being able to fire servants at will was, Cowper suggests, the 'prospect of Content' held out by leaving Hertford (implicitly, consequent on Sir William's death).

The 'unbecoming' anger the servants sometimes provoked in Cowper had internal and external consequences: it broke 'th*e* order and Connexion of Thoughts' and it forced her as an employer to show her weakness, lose authority, and to appear foolish through a loss of rational control.[188] When Cowper felt fear of her servants in 1713 she similarly asked: are these fears rational? If so, they should be amenable to management.[189] As a translation of a poem by Epictetus that Cowper copied into her diary in 1709 with explicit agreement had it: 'He gets the Better if you're vex'd. / He grows your Master while he can forment'.[190] Entries on comportment in front of the servants focus on the necessity of the 'art' of suppressing anger and methods for doing so, or on not acting on anger, or on being troubled by the inability to quell her anger at servants abound, especially in volumes five and six of the diary.[191] Behind Cowper's second-guessing can be seen another line of thought, developed in later volumes of the diary: silence punctuated by outbursts is perhaps the inevitable course of action. Cowper found she could not avoid failures in her patience, and so, in the early years of the diary, sought to determine whether these were voluntary states, or involuntary (and so not blameworthy).[192] In volumes four and five of the diary, especially, written *c.* 1707–*c.* 1711, entries recording anger at the servants are frequently followed by entries meditating on

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[187] DE/P/F32, p. 105.

[188] DE/P/F30, pp. 70–71. See also DE/P/F30, p. 176; DE/P/F34, pp. 104, 189, 277; DE/P/F35, pp. 3–4.

[189] DE/P/F34, p. 269.

[190] DE/P/F34, p. 30. The lines are from Ellis Walker, *Epicteti Enchiridion Made English in a Poetical Paraphrase* (London, 1692), pp. 21–22. Cowper owned *Epictetus, his Morals*, trans. by George Stanhope (London, 1694) but the poem is not contained within that volume, Kugler, p. 202.

[191] DE/P/F29, p. 289; DE/P/F33, pp. 79, 86, 219, 271, 298; DE/P/F34, pp. 181, 224–25, 228, 278; DE/P/F35, p. 66.

[192] DE/P/F30, pp. 78, 164, 232.

the deleterious effects of anger on discourse and authority, or passages copied from works of practical divinity anatomising the ideal servant's qualities.[193] The diary reveals a gradual hardening of Cowper's attitude towards servants, and a corresponding forgivingness towards her own displeasure. Cowper came to blame her servants for her generalised misanthropy and, in concert with her failing eyesight, hearing, and mobility, for the lack of pleasure she took in living on.[194] Anger is not inherently sinful, she wrote in 1714; the good or bad management of it is decisive.[195] A rhythm of writing attests to Cowper's reactive practice of government. The adjacency of Cowper's explicit theorisation to much of her actual practice resembles Halkett's decision-making rhetoric, which the previous chapter identified as a poetics of indecision, in that it serves to prolong a situation that will never eventuate in its wished-for end, because Cowper's practice of silence followed by abrupt dismissal vitiated any attempt to reform her servants or subject their government to reflection.

Cowper was sensitive to the ways in which anger at subordinates and the power to punish might combine to lead one into transgressive extremity of reproof. Writing on 30 April 1708, she says she is sorry to end the month 'with the old Complaint of Vile Servants', noting that it is good sign in them to be able to endure reproof, with caveats: 'take we also heed least by the Itch of gouernment or the indignation of an Angry Mind wee run beyond the gentleness of a Chri:stian admonition'. Expanding her earlier concern with the deleterious effects of anger on rationality and the competing claims of charity and prudence, Cowper's metaphor here suggests that the exercise of the power to govern and command — a disturbance of sensation that must be attended to — is its own, compelling, pleasure. It is in resisting that relish that the difficulty of government partly lies. Servants, required only to 'be Obedient', have an easier time of it (another

[193] See, for example, DE/P/F32, pp. 109, 235; DE/P/F33, pp. 297–98.

[194] DE/P/F30, pp. 74, 85–86, 105, 117–18, 222; DE/P/F32, pp. 282, 307; DE/P/F33, p. 79; DE/P/F35, pp. 20, 58, 174, 293, 343; Kugler, p. 190.

[195] DE/P/F35, p. 40.

echo of the servant handbooks).[196] The automaticity of emotion that Cowper detected in her servants here threatens to be transferred to her, and demands a skilled response.

In order to see how Cowper's concern with strategy enabled her to perceive herself as part of class with distinct interests, the section now closes with Cowper's engagement with prescriptive and periodical literature.[197] Her language is often polemological; her servants are 'domestick enemies'.[198] Quoting the *Spectator* on the best manner of rendering palatable the 'bitter potion' of advice — since those so addressed are apt to take it as an insult — Cowper appended: 'Especially when apply'd to servants. The Domestick Care is the truest picture of a man every where Else.'[199] Attention to enunciation — the ways and styles of delivering reforming content, which Addison, like Shaftesbury, explored in general social terms as a question of genre — is here reduced by Cowper to its most characteristic and original instance: service relations.[200] Occupation of the dominant position in a service relation is posed by Cowper as the truth of a man, and the activity of reproving servants is the paradigm for all advice-giving. The household is the pattern for social relations, but not as a microcosm of the state; rather, as a venue for the everyday as a space of strategy. Relations with servants were a proving ground for interpersonal skill.

Cowper's understanding of the representativeness of domestic service and its diagnostic uses here can be contrasted with Halkett's. For both Halkett and Cowper, the servant is at the root, but what that means is cashed out in divergent problematics. For Halkett, servants 'like a glase may represent what all men are': they served as more elementary form of subjectivity that, when considered under the heading of the

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[196] DE/P/F32, p. 198

[197] For Cowper reading the *Tatler* and *Examiner*, see, respectively 17 January 1710, DE/P/F33, p. 102 and 16 February 1713, DE/P/F34, p. 218; Cowper regretted the ending of *The Spectator* in 1712, DE/P/F34, p. 196.

[198] DE/P/F29, pp, 100–101; DE/P/F30, p. 171; DE/P/F33, p. 86.

[199] 21 October 1712, DE/P/F34, p. 181, quoting 17 October 1712, *Spectator*, IV, 317.

[200] Anthony Ashley Cooper, third Earl of Shaftesbury, 'Soliloquy, or Advice to an Author', in *Characteristics of Men, Manners, Opinions, Times*, ed. by Lawrence Klein (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 1999), pp. 70–162.

mediating concept of Christianity-as-service, could reveal to the meditator an essential truth about humans more generally and so enable knowledge of the self (when that self is capable of reflection, i.e., is skilled in its own conduct). For Cowper, by contrast, it is the employment relationship defined as a matter of communicative technique that is the representative instance that enables diagnosis of the abilities of 'all men', now explicitly rather than implicitly identified as the keepers of servants. This contrast should not be overdrawn: we have seen how Cowper also uses the servants and meditation upon them to reflect on herself. But what can be seen in this contrast is the production of a new concept of the everyday as truth. It is in virtue of occupying the everydayness of domestic command and persuasion that servants are fundamental.

The periodical enabled Cowper to place herself within a public of employers, and oriented her attention to the place of skill within the everyday, of which the periodical was, in its regularity and its experimental focus, a constitutive part. In the period, it can be said that the production of the everyday, for an upper fraction of the population, depended in part on the spatial and temporal coordinates created by new reading rhythms, based in the periodicity of the regular shared texts of periodicals and news. The overlapping historiographies of the public sphere and the national imagined community explain the emergence of these two phenomena with reference to media history and the development of transport and communication infrastructure (components of larger-scale processes of commercial capitalism and state formation).[201] Reading the *Spectator*, Cowper projects a universalism of employers in this space: 'wee masters' as she put it in another quotation from the 11 June 1711 *Spectator*, inserting herself into a class interested in 'Measures to Reform' servants and thereby decrease robberies; a public, based on shared managerial relation to servants, on which she comments, although her relation to it is

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[201] Uriel Heyd, *Reading Newspapers: Press and Public in Eighteenth–Century Britain and America* (Oxford: Voltaire Foundation, 2012), pp. 1–27; Peter Lake and Steve Pincus, 'Rethinking the Public Sphere in Early Modern England', *Journal of British Studies*, 45.2 (2006), 270–92; Jürgen Habermas, *The Structural Transformation of the Public Sphere: An Inquiry into a Category of Bourgeois Society*, trans, by Thomas Burger with Frederick Lawrence (Cambridge: MIT Press, 1989), pp. 1–26; Benedict Anderson, *Imagined Communities: Reflections on the Origin and Spread of Nationalism*, 2nd edn (London: Verso, 2006), pp. 22–36.

mediated through texts.[202] These texts included 'pamphlets, libels, and Ballads' like 'the Nineteen plagues of A Chamber:Maid, The plagues of a Coachman, and the plagues of a Footman'.[203] At around the same time, in 1712, Cowper developed a new form of diary entry, noted as 'my journal', describing in iterative tense her daily routine, including breakfast at eight, 'wash my Face and Hands, without Attendance to do any thing for me which I can Do my Self. Then Read the Spectator and Scribble till Twelve'.[204] The periodical became part of Cowper's 'slender affairs'.

Cowper's later diaries, then, show how navigating a household and governing domestic servants could produce copious writing, amounting to a sustained discourse on the place of skill in domestic service. Through her records of managerial strategies, her repetitive notation of techniques of self-government motivated by servants, and her canvassing of options about the best methods of enunciating command, the rhythms and contents of Cowper's writing produced an extensive meditation on the theory and practice management and on the nature of the practical knowledge possessed by servants. Her diaries show the various ways in which satirical poetry, practical divinity, household manuals, and periodicals could be taken up and put to work in the service of accounting for the actions of servants and the difficulty of commanding them to do what employers wanted. In different modalities, these literatures provided conceptual coordinates for and legitimation of Cowper's positions, and offered malleable materials for the prosecution of her management. Through them, Cowper came to identify herself as a member of a group, defined by a shared set of strategies and a shared everyday, envisaged as a public rather than as a series of affiliations between individuals. However, as the analysis of

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[202] *Spectator*, I, 372–73. On gentry class consciousness, see Keith Wrightson, 'The Social Order of Early Modern England: Three Approaches', in *The World We Have Gained: Histories of Population and Social Structure*, ed. by Lloyd Bonfield, Richard Smith, and Keith Wrightson (Oxford: Blackwell, 1986), pp. 177–202 (pp. 196–99).

[203] DE/P/F34, p. 64. DE/P/F34, p. 30. Cowper's reference here seems again to be the *Spectator*: the 22 August 1711 number specified nineteen plagues, in the same order; *Spectator*, II, 89. The genre was indeed popular, see for example, *The Fifteen Plagues of A Lawyer […] To which is added, The Fifteen Plagues of a Foot-man, Coach-man, Butler, Cook-maid, Chamber-maid, and Nursery-Maid* (London [1711?]), not noted by Bond.

[204] 11 March 1712, DE/P/F34, p. 102; for a similar entry for 7 June 1714, see DE/P/F35, p. 93.

Cowper's managerial practice has sought to make clear, the theorisation of servant skill and techniques of management that the diaries proffer, motivated by and produced through the activity of confrontation with servants, largely runs in parallel to the actual course of those confrontations. Cowper's late diaries evince an elaborate discourse on skill that attests to the importance of the topic for an employer like Cowper, and the way in which the everyday became, for her, an arena of tactics and strategy. Yet, the knowledge produced through those strategies is only ever put to work in a diffracted manner in the actual practice of government. Cowper's diary entries themselves intermittently acknowledge this fact.

4. Conclusion

Working closely with Cowper's diaries, this chapter has identified an extensive discourse on skill within writing about the household and about servants. In Cowper's writing, it can be seen how ideas about servant management and the characteristics of servants that were circulating in a wide variety of writing are brought to bear on household government and her confrontations with her drunk, dishonest, rude, insubordinate, violent, incompetent, thieving, and sexually promiscuous servants.. At the same time, the evidence surveyed — Cowper's commentaries on Sir William's management, the ways in which she organised the information in her diary volumes, and her careful attention to the operation and enunciation of management — has suggested the complex ways in which this skill both took the emotional life of the household as its object and was also shaped by and afloat in the affective dynamics of the household. Management, as practiced by Cowper, grappled half-explicitly with its own status as knowledge and as feeling. Writing about servants enabled Cowper unevenly to conceptualise implicit and explicit levels of skill together, and in so doing produced a concept of the everyday as a space of tactics.

To describe Cowper's strategic discourse in these terms is not to say that, when compared to Halkett, Cowper is simply less skilled. Halkett wanted to achieve through her life and writing a unified practice composed of different but articulated forms and levels of skill, involving her servants. For Halkett, her power over the servants was a problem — a condition of possibility for her pedagogy and an obstacle to its full realisation; for Cowper, her proximity to the servants was a problem. For Cowper, spiritual flourishing was to be achieved to the extent that she could distance herself from her servants and prevent them from impinging upon her. She did not consider the household, and pastoral or pedagogical relations within the household, as an avenue through which to pursue anything that was expressive of herself or her relation to God, except in the limited and conventional sense in which a well-organised and well-managed household was important for the reputation of its proprietor. Cowper's literary ability, her political nous, and her household governance were separate spheres of activity. Cowper's very attempt to manage her servants at a distance allowed her to develop a more extensive, though psychologically oblique, account of servant skill and management; one which drew on a far greater range of texts than Halkett. Indeed, Cowper's diaries provide plentiful evidence of the reception of the satirical servant commonplaces examined in chapter one, whereas Halkett's framework for dealing with servants is a more limited range of devotional works and the bible.

On the basis of the intensity of servant turnover in Cowper's household, when compared with the lengthy, less explicitly contractual, cohabitation of servants in Halkett's, the presence of boarders in Halkett's household along with other remnants of elite service, and Cowper's desire for spatial separation, the temptation is to allot Halkett and Cowper roles as representatives of residual and dominant aspects of the culture of service, respectively.[205] Halkett is embedded within the family jurisdiction model of service; Cowper sees it in terms of contract relations and property. However, the aim of this chapter is not to overstate discontinuities, or to temporalise differences attributable

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205 Raymond Williams, *Marxism and Literature* (Oxford: Oxford University Press, 1977), pp. 121–27.

to other causes. Cowper is writing a little later than Halkett, but other aspects of their lives as widows are more relevant when drawing comparisons between them, in particular Cowper's location in London and the fact that she was writing from a position of far greater political and economic security than Halkett.

Using the evidence of Halkett and Cowper's extensive, recursive manuscript production, chapters two and three have shown the multiform and complex ways in which skilful uses of books interacted with representations of skill in the household and attempts to govern the household. From within different situations and using difference conceptual resources, compromised household authority led Halkett and Cowper to a tenacious engagement with problems of skill, made visible by a focus on service. Having studied domestic service from within the household through close attention to two bodies of manuscript writing, the thesis now turns to consider the conceptual resources and aesthetic pleasures that imagined domestic service relations rendered in prose fiction offered to eighteenth-century readers and writers.

Chapter 4. Patterns of Management: Dexterity and Government in the Fiction of Daniel Defoe

> The skill of making, and maintaining commonwealths, consisteth in certain rules, as doth arithmetic and geometry; not (as tennis-play) on practice only.
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> Hobbes, *Leviathan*, XX. 19[1]

Taking up the problematic of management elaborated by Sarah Cowper in her diaries, this chapter asks: what kind of skill was management? It explores the question through the writing of Daniel Defoe, focussing on the first two volumes of *Robinson Crusoe* (1719), with reference to his wider fictional and didactic *œuvre.* This chapter and the following use the expansive fictional geographies of maritime and adventure fiction, a genre inaugurated by Defoe in 1719, to explore the imaginative representation of service, servants and their activities outside the household. The loose, popular mode of adventure fiction built its narratives around representations of the skill demanded of protagonists by situations of extremity such as captivity and shipwreck — situations which also placed its protagonists in precarious or servile positions — thus offering a space within which skill and service could be explored. Defoe's corpus is a crossing point of an interest in management — developed across his espionage, his journalism, and his works of economic and social polemic — and fictional forms that gave space to the representation of manual and social skill. Defoe's fictional texts, by virtue of their interest in topics of service and more or less coerced labour in the Atlantic and Mediterranean worlds as well as the acquisition of skills, capacities and wealth, and by their narrative mode (which pays attention to bodily disposition, the ordering of space, and the experience of space through movement) narrativise conceptual connections and unexpected sympathies between the manual and the social senses of management. In Defoe's fictional works, the chapter proposes, scenes of management link social and bodily dexterity, connecting Defoe's political theory and his theoretical justifications of enslavement both to the skilled,

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[1] Thomas Hobbes, *Leviathan*, ed. by J. C. A. Gaskin (Oxford: Oxford University Press, 1996), p. 139.

theatrical manoeuvres undertaken by employers to 'manage' servants and enslaved people, and also to the dextrous coups undertaken by servants to 'get the management' of their employers.

The chapter is in two sections. First, it examines the outlines of a scene of management repeated across Defoe's major fictional works, in which theatrical managerial effects are created through the operationalisation of philosophical justifications of enslavement. It then turns to look in detail at Crusoe's methods of management in the *Farther Adventures*, in order to explore the manipulations of space that connect different forms of dexterity. It draws on Marxist criticism of the novel which, building on histories which explored the social and economic configurations of the form through the mediating term value, integrates legal and military histories and identifies the history of eighteenth-century capitalism not with the free circulation of capital but with interstate competition, born of the close integration of state power and economic power, noting capitalism's historical preference for relatively monopolised rather than free markets. Siraj Ahmed has argued that 'rather than segregate the individual from primitive accumulation, [Defoe's] *Captain Singleton* represents their interpenetration'.[2] Here, I explore a version of this interpenetration in *Crusoe* and other works by focussing on the ways in which these novels represent forms of social and bodily dexterity involving the creation and manipulation of gratitude or dependency, which Defoe calls management, as determined by, or intervening in, the violence of international commercial and military competition that is their setting.

Alongside the vitriol Defoe directed at servant insubordination, social climbing, and irreligion in his polemical writing — and the specific distrust that he urged of managers and stewards — many of his protagonists rely on managers and themselves prove excellent managers of servants and enslaved or captive populations.[3] Placing his texts in conversation with the legal fictions that provided the infrastructure for their

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[2] Siraj Ahmed, *The Stillbirth of Capital: Enlightenment Writing and Colonial India* (Stanford: Stanford University Press, 2012), p. 53.

[3] *Every-Body's Business is No-Body's Business* (London, 1725), passim; for managers, see *The Great Law of Subordination Consider'd* (London, 1724), pp. 35–38, 202, 275–76.

narratives of management, interpreted in the light of contemporary discourses and practices of management, the chapter is able to explore how Defoe thought about the social world as an arena for skill, modelled on the kind of superintendence proper to the service relation. It will show how one strand of Defoe's political theory — which dovetailed with his justification of new world slavery and his position on domestic government — was presented in his novels as a capacity for skilful manoeuvre.

In the passage that forms the epigraph to this chapter, Hobbes, in the course of making a familiar distinction between real skill (guided by propositions, theory, or rules) and mere knack, satirically counterposes a sportsman's supposedly unreflective physical dexterity to the reasonable practical knowledge of how to fabricate and govern a polity.[4] A commonwealth, for Hobbes, was founded on covenant: whether it owed its origin to victory in war or to collective institution, the 'rights and consequences' of the power of its sovereign over its subjects was the same; the 'despotical' dominion of a master over the 'servant' or slave whose life he spares in battle is identical to that of the sovereign deliberately erected by a populace over that populace, once instituted.[5] Defoe's fiction, this chapter argues, explores the possibility that these forms of skill might really be comparable, and does so through an idea of management that was based precisely on the classical doctrine elaborated by Hobbes: that the perpetual service of a vanquished enemy was the right of the victor in a war and guaranteed by verbal contract.[6] Moreover, the chapter suggests, the model of civil society implied by Defoe's focus on the means of government of that society — management — ends up constructing a picture of the social much more like that of Hobbes than Locke.

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[4] For this distinction in relation to the individual man, see *Leviathan* V. 21; and in the context of political rule, XIX. 23, XXV. 13, XXIX. 1, XXX. 5.

[5] *Leviathan*, XX. 14.

[6] *Leviathan*, XX. 2, 10–14.

1. Management, Service, and Enslavement

'Management' is a key word in Defoe's fiction: to what did it refer? This section draws together a series of instances from the novels which narrate forms of coercive and theatrical governance explicitly labelled 'management'. In concentrating on these elements, a picture of Defoe's ideas about the kind of skill it took to properly govern servants and enslaved or captive people will emerge. Using the plantation sequence in *Colonel Jack* (1722) as a lens allows us to read a persistent concern with 'management' backwards through Defoe's fiction; a concern visible in Crusoe's *Life and Adventures* (1719) and *Farther Adventures* (1719) as well as in *Captain Singleton* (1720). A loose trajectory emerges in which the disciplinary power opened up by war slavery doctrine becomes a management strategy. Aspects of this topos in Defoe's work and its relation to elite and vernacular justifications of slavery have been studied by George Boulukos and Mary Nyquist. This section, drawing on David Marshall's excavation of the 'figure of theatre' in Defoe's fiction, argues that it is essentially the same scene that is repeatedly played out.

Once he arrives as an indentured servant in Maryland, the means of Jack's speedy elevation from labourer to plantation owner, via the position of overseer, is his expertise as a manager. Jack designs a theatrical scheme to elicit the gratitude of slaves on his master's plantation: by confecting a series of scenarios of threatened execution or brutal punishment, followed by intercession and sudden reprieve, he secures the obedience of the enslaved men and women over whom he has been set as overseer and alongside whom — as an indentured servant, 'treppaned' or 'spirited' to Maryland without his consent — he recently laboured.[7] After falsely announcing that a gratuitously severe punishment is about to be meted out, and arranging the place and implements of such a punishment, Jack pretends to intercede with the proprietor of the plantation on behalf of

[7] Daniel Defoe, *Colonel Jack*, ed. by Gabriel Cervantes and Geoffrey Sill (Peterborough: Broadview, 2016), pp. 173–91; hereafter *CJ*. This sequence is analysed extensively in George Boulukos, *The Grateful Slave: The Emergence of Race in Eighteenth-Century British and American Culture* (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 2008), pp. 75-94.

the enslaved workers. Supposedly obtaining leniency from the proprietor, Jack indefinitely postpones the punishment and in so doing, through his delegated position within the organisation of the plantation, becomes a saviour of the enslaved. Jack refers to his actions as the epitome of good 'managing' or 'kindness well manag'd' (*CJ*, pp. 175, 187, 189, 190). Undertaking to prove that 'Nature is the same, and Reason Governs in just Proportions in all Creatures', Jack takes the management of enslaved people to be a 'working upon their Passions' and 'managing their Reason' (*CJ*, pp. 187, 194). Management is the practical manipulation of the emotions and self-interest of others.

The narrative presentation of Jack's management is complicated; this, as much as its theatrical character, is key to how management works in Defoe's fiction. The order of presentation is as follows: when Jack is promoted to overseer, he is given a new set of clothes, a horse, and a horsewhip. He finds himself unable to use the whip with what he judges to be the necessary brutality on workers who were his equals the day before, such that his authority is held in contempt by the plantation servants and enslaved people (specifically by 'the *Negroes*' (p. 174), although elsewhere (e.g. p. 173) he speaks of 'servants and Negroes'). Jack concludes that the much-reported cruelty of British planters is a sad necessity given the natural brutality of the Africans, but, at the same time, that this 'Brutal temper […] was not rightly manag'd' (pp. 174-75). The master of the plantation, Jack knows, is a man of 'Tenderness' who delegates decisions about physical punishments and dislikes to see them done (pp. 175-76). Another 'upper servant' reports Jack's bad management to the Master. The master surveys Jack's superintendence and finds it acceptable. Jack then introduces another scene, with an 'I should have said […]'. Here, we learn that the Master came across two enslaved men who Jack proposes to whip twice a day for four days to punish them for their infractions. Engineering a public confrontation of methods, Jack urges the necessity of severity, while the Master urges Jack's instinct ('remember […] you were once a Servant' (p. 177)) and insists on a discretionary pardon in this instance. Immediately afterwards, the Master takes Jack to task for both his cruelty and the money he would have cost him in destroying labour-power. Jack then reveals to the Master, and simultaneously to readers, that in fact he had

no intention of whipping either enslaved man. He tells a story of how he has already proven that, by allowing a punishment to begin, and then halting it and pretending to intercede with the Master, he has engaged the absolute and binding loyalty of one enslaved man, Mouchat (proven by Mouchat's willingness to die in Jack's place after Jack pretends he is to be hanged (p. 186)). Jack explains that his method of government by fear and gratitude relies on the creation in the enslaved of 'the utmost Horror and Apprehensions of the Cruelest Punishment that they had ever heard of', so that leniency, when it comes, is the more valuable. The method is both more humane and conducive to productivity (*CJ*, pp. 188, 189).

Jack secures tractability and contractual assent to the state of slavery through gratitude, solidifying racial difference as a byproduct, as George Boulukos has argued. Government by leniency responds to a view that Africans are rationally and emotionally other than Europeans not with a claim to equality, but with a claim that their capacity for gratitude and affection exists, as well as for fear and hatred, and is worth exploiting. As Boulukos notes, Jack's flirtation with the notion of African racial inferiority, which he rejects in favour of the view that it is their brutal treatment that has made them brutal, enables him to hypothesise their status as 'fully affective beings' in the service of more effective overseeing. Jack's ability to think with the enslaved, as he has suffered alongside them, 'allows a pseudo-empirical articulation of racial difference that actually reinforces European claims to superiority': shared humanity means, rather than equality, the 'practical superiority' of white Europeans.[8] The possibility of shared humanity is instrumental to more effective government, and has no implications beyond that. The method is underwritten by a moment of force: the threat of expulsion, sale, or punishment so severe as to be fatal (*CJ*, p. 190): in order for gratitude to be produced and the threat of sale to be effective, it is necessary that the generally-prevailing degree of violence and exploitation in the plantation system not change. Indeed, while Jack's method mimics the soteriological narrative of Christianity, Jack is unconcerned at

[8] George Boulukos, 'Daniel Defoe's *Colonel Jack*, Grateful Slaves, and Racial Difference', *ELH*, 68.3 (2001), 615–31 (pp. 618, 623, 624).

apparently interrupting the enslaved Africans' access to grace by seeming to stand at the summit of the possibility of salvation.[9] The period of the seventeenth and eighteenth centuries witnesses a reappraisal of gratitude that is co-constitutive of racial difference based in supposed differential abilities of European and African subjects to reason and to control their emotions. The gratitude of a servant to a master or a wife to a husband ceases to be understood as an attribute of their position within a hierarchical structures (the obligatory and automatic attitude of a subordinate) and comes to be understood as a response that is called forth by especially benevolent behaviour and that therefore might cease to be deserved. The desire for liberty, Boulukos argues, comes to be understood as a masculine English perquisite, while the more uncertain nature of that desire in women is explored within a complex psychology. The gratitude of a slave does not follow this course: instead, it is construed as inordinate, irrational, binding, and coterminous with a lack of will to assert independent self-interest or renegotiate a contract.[10] Enslaved people are those who will be convinced that they have a contractual obligation to gratitude, despite the dishonest means by which that gratitude was created.

The management that Defoe outlines here was, as Boulukos notes 'proleptic': later eighteenth-century treatises on plantation management set out methods of using 'kindness as a tool of discipline' in non-fictional contexts.[11] David Roediger and Elizabeth Esch have uncovered examples of theatrical management practices on strikingly similar lines to that suggested by Jack in the magazines of early nineteenth-century plantation owners in the Southern states, a corpus which they see as the first self-

[9] Boulukos, 'Grateful Slaves', pp. 621–23, 625. David Blewett notes the structuring principle of gratitude in the novel, but, unlike Boulukos, sees gratitude as sustaining a chain of mutual regard that is not interrupted by the pseudo-empirical articulation of racial difference. *Defoe's Art of Fiction: Robinson Crusoe, Moll Flanders, Colonel Jack and Roxana* (Toronto: University of Toronto Press, 1979), pp. 100–102. Lincoln Faller notes the potentially blasphemous implication of the analogy and its connection to Defoe's journalism, *Crime and Defoe: A New Kind of Writing* (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 1993), pp. 189–92. Geoffrey Sill similarly focusses on gratitude, in 'Daniel Defoe and the Sentimental Novel', in *Topographies of the Imagination: New Approaches to Daniel Defoe*, ed. by Katherine Ellison, Kit Kincade, and Holly Faith Nelson (New York: AMS, 2014), pp. 3–13 (p. 6).

[10] Boulukos, 'Grateful Slaves', pp. 624–25; *The Grateful Slave*, pp. 20-31.

[11] Boulukos, 'Grateful Slaves', pp. 630–31.

conscious management literature. Esch and Roediger identify the plantation and this writing about it as the origin of modern management as a self-conscious theory and a practice, in which theorisation about the management of enslaved labour drew on a common stock of ideas about the management of land, livestock, and working animals, tended to identify the enslaved with those categories, and in doing so formulated theories of racial management: the claim to knowledge about the aptitudes and dispositions characteristic of different 'races', the cultivation and development of them as 'races', and the fostering of competition between them.[12] As section two, below, explores, these themes are present in embryo in the *Farther Adventures*. Focussing on the practice of management, rather than structures of race, allows us to see that the kind of abstraction characteristic of 'race' is a precondition of management, in Defoe's fiction, which relies on a stylised understanding of the psychology of those who are to be managed.[13]

The practice of management that Jack mobilises on the Maryland plantation is based on an affective re-writing of a legal concept, which is found in its most powerful but most complex form in the initial confrontation between Crusoe and Friday in *The Life and Strange Surprizing Adventures of Robinson Crusoe* (1719), subsequently to be re-written in the collective relationship between the Spanish and English colonisers and the captive indigenous population in *The Farther Adventures of Robinson Crusoe* (1719). Both of these instances of coercive service rest on what Mary Nyquist has termed 'war slavery doctrine': the idea, found in ancient Greek and Roman sources, that the right of one person to enslave another is founded in the moment of military victory, where the victor

[12] David Roediger and Elizabeth Esch, *The Production of Difference: Race and the Management of Labor in U.S. History* (Oxford: Oxford University Press, 2012), pp. 3–63. For scholarship on the capitalist character of the plantation system, on which Esch and Roediger build, see David Scott, 'Modernity that Predated the Modern: Sidney Mintz's Caribbean', *History Workshop Journal*, 58 (2004), 191–210 and Nikhil Pal Singh, 'On Race, Violence, and So-Called Primitive Accumulation', *Social Text*, 34.3 (2016), 27–50. For another instance of a focus on 'productivity', abstracting from the physiological characteristics of reproductive and labour capacities, see Jennifer Morgan, *Laboring Women: Reproduction and Gender in New World Slavery* (Philadelphia: University of Pennsylvania Press, 2004).

[13] Cheryl Harris, 'Whiteness as Property', *Harvard Law Review*, 106.8 (1993), 1707–91; Roediger and Esch, pp. 26–29. On the variable configurations of regimes of difference based on bodily exploitation and territorial dispossession, see also Patrick Wolfe, *Traces of History: Elementary Structures of Race* (London: Verso, 2016).

chooses not to kill the defeated party and so both saves and enslaves them. This doctrine was elaborated in the writing of a range of early modern European thinkers including Grotius, Hobbes, Locke, and Pufendorf. Nyquist demonstrates its utility and widespread legibility to a range of thinkers in the late seventeenth and early eighteenth century and its use in debates concerning both figurative, political slavery and actual chattel slavery, forming a link between practices of colonialism and political theory.[14] Defoe would have been familiar with these thinkers from his days as a student at Charles Morton's dissenting academy.[15] The central tenets of the doctrine were usable by both pro- and anti-slavery thinkers.[16] The legal fiction of war slavery doctrine provided a justification for the institution of slavery and, implicitly, an account of the enslaver's perpetual and wholesale disciplinary power over the enslaved.[17]

What Crusoe authoritatively interprets as Friday's voluntary assent to enslavement is the fruition of a process in which Crusoe recognises the early episodes of his dream of getting a native slave and arranges, or allows to transpire, his rescue of Friday with reference to that script ('so I did not let my Dream come to pass in that Part, *viz.* That he came into my Grove for shelter').[18] Mary Nyquist convincingly shows how

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[14] Mary Nyquist, *Arbitrary Rule: Slavery, Tyranny, and the Power of Life and Death* (Chicago: The University of Chicago Press, 2013).

[15] Maximillian Novak, *Daniel Defoe: Master of Fictions. His Life and Ideas* (Oxford: Oxford University Press, 2001), pp. 113, 242, 281-82.

[16] Jack Greene, '"A Plain and Natural Right to Life and Liberty": An early Natural Rights Attack on the Excesses of the Slave System in Colonial British America', *William and Mary Quarterly*, 3rd ser., 57.4 (2000), 793–808; Philippe Rosenberg, 'Thomas Tryon and the Seventeenth–Century Dimensions of Antislavery, *William and Mary Quarterly*, 3rd ser., 61.4 (2004), 609–42.

[17] Authorities differed on the question of whether and how the state of war between enslaver and enslaved ended, and on the differing nature of the power of the enslaved given by the slave made 'chattel', in the case of enduring conflict, and made an object of use and government, through 'compact'. For Pufendorf, as for Hobbes and Locke, unlike Grotius, service attained simply through withholding death is compelled by continuous force; obligation to a master of any kind only enters in if a slave is given tokens of an additional trust. Hugo Grotius, *Of the Rights of War and Peace […] Done into English by several Hands*, 3 vols (London, 1715), III, 129–32, 137; Samuel Pufendorf, *Of the Law of Nature and Nations* (Oxford, 1703), pp. 125, 127; *Leviathan*, XX. 5, 10, 12, pp. 133–35; John Locke, *Two Treatises of Government*, ed. by Peter Laslett, 3rd edn (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 1988), II. 22–24, 85, pp. 283–85, 322–23. On the interpretive difficulties of the passages from Grotius, Hobbes and Locke, see Nyquist, *Arbitrary Rule*, pp. 222–26, 293–61.

[18] Daniel Defoe, *Robinson Crusoe*, ed. by Thomas Keymer, 2nd edn (Oxford: Oxford University Press, 2007), pp. 172, 167–68, 171, 173; hereafter *RC*.

Defoe's knowledgeable and contorted exploration of war slavery doctrine in *Crusoe* enables him, through intricate narrative means, to present a novel argument for the acceptability of transatlantic slavery on the basis of an enslaving that is also a saving — saving for Christianity and civility, from death or from cannibals.[19] Crusoe saves Friday from cannibalism by other 'savages' but does so in a way that, the narrative indicates, looks to Friday as if Crusoe might also have been in a position to extend mercy to Friday on the field of battle, since Crusoe could have, and might be going to, kill Friday as he did one of his pursuers. Crusoe manipulates, through theatrical means, affects produced by the deliberate creation of the situation described by a legal fiction. This strategy of government also appears early in the narrative of *Captain Singleton* (1720), where it is specifically identified as 'management'.[20]

Crusoe's confrontation with Friday is repeated in two different forms across volumes one and two of the Crusoe trilogy. The first repetition concerns the English mutineers. Towards the end of the narrative of *Robinson Crusoe*, Crusoe — together with Friday and the captain, his mate, and a passenger — defeats the mutineers, restores the deposed captain to his ship, and is able to leave the island behind as a colony on the basis of strategies of misdirection and management grounded in similar just war arguments. (Although Crusoe does not take Friday as a slave in war, but rather saves him from native antagonists, he initially houses him as if he were a captive (p. 176).) Pretending to be only the emissary of the island's governor, ever upon the point of arriving with his fifty men, Crusoe achieves by bluff, 'fiction' (*RC*, p. 226), and targeted terror what he could not have achieved in pitched battle. In many respects the strategy resembles Jack's. First, in that the deposed captain spontaneously embarks on the same mock-intercession as Jack, at

[19] Mary Nyquist, 'Friday as Fit Help', in *Milton in the Long Restoration*, ed. by Blair Hoxby and Ann Baynes Coiro (Oxford: Oxford University Press, 2016), pp. 335–59.

[20] Daniel Defoe, *Captain Singleton*, ed. by Manushag Powell (Peterborough: Broadview, 2019), pp. 102–03, 105–08, 120, 127; hereafter *CS*. It is on the basis of this engagement that Singleton is nominated 'Captain' by his associates, jolted from his indifference and anomie, and takes his place among the other 'Managers' in the company — all men skilled in a specific art (*CS*, pp. 106–7). Singleton then, like Jack, is first able to access a sense of himself as an actor in the world and part of a collective through subjugating others through perception of racialised similarity and inferiority, based in war slavery doctrine.

first insisting that chief mutineer Will Atkins must die, on the command the Governor (pp. 225–26), and then being called from offstage as if from a great distance by Crusoe: 'when I call'd, as at a good Distance, one of the Men was order'd to speak again, […] *Captain the Commander calls for you*; and presently the Captain reply'd, *Tell his Excellency*, *I am just a coming*'. Using the worse treatment they are sure to receive elsewhere (hanging in England) as a lever, and reminding them of the quarter shown to them, the captain, overseen by Crusoe, extorts a promise of loyalty 'to the last Drop' from the imprisoned mutineers, and then pretends to intercede with the Governor on their behalf (*RC*, p. 227). Unlike the simplified psychology of the enslaved in Maryland, whose gratitude is unquestionably and immediately binding, the captain's intercession results in some of the mutineers being kept in a liminal state as hostages for the good behaviour of the rest, to be hanged like pirates if they misbehave (*RC*, p. 227). Second, as this familiar method of exemplary punishment suggests, the episode connects these local actions of guerrilla warfare to the operation of state power: Crusoe invokes the state and the army, in a way that leaves the full extent of his own power a matter of assertion rather than demonstration: Crusoe is '*Generalissimo*' of an army (p. 224); he keeps himself 'out of sight, for Reasons of State' (p. 225). The parallels are satirical, for Crusoe, but compelling to the mutineers; Crusoe's improvisations and asides jokingly make connections that the narrative patterns in *Colonel Jack* make with greater seriousness. Crusoe's subsequent treatment of the five captive mutineers depends on a play of real and staged intercessions, he and the Captain intervening by arrangement in each other's harsh decisions (*RC*, pp. 232–33). The obvious staginess and jokiness of the methods Crusoe embarks on (David Marshall sees 'this comedy of ruses and impersonations' as 'specifically theatrical in character'), the exaggerations of distance and number on which his stratagem depends, serve to miniaturise the episode, in a way that is intensified when the island is returned to in the *Farther Adventures*.[21]

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[21] David Marshall, *The Figure of Theater: Shaftesbury, Defoe, Adam Smith, and George Eliot* (New York: Columbia University Press, 1986), pp. 81, 85.

These events in *Crusoe* resonate with the strategies adopted by three brothers in a lengthy inset narrative in *A Journal of the Plague Year* (1722). The metafictional effects of these passages have been explored by Marshall, an aspect of narrative management to which the chapter returns below; what this section is concerned to show is their character as strategies that might be adopted by a minority of servants (like Jack), in order to escape the condition of servitude. The inset narrative tells the story of three brothers — a biscuit-baker, a sail-maker, and a joiner — who escaped from London and, along with a band of others, make their way through towns and villages to the north-east of the city before encamping in Epping forest, sponsored by a local gentleman, and riding out the plague there.[22] A key point in the story is the theatrical deception which allows the brothers to pass along the road through a village in order to escape the environs of London, presented in dialogue form with footnotes indicating stage directions (*JPY*, pp. 132–35). One brother, a former soldier, pretends to have a host of soldiers behind him, and to be just a representative of a superior officer, in order to extort concessions from the inhabitants, who have only a partial view. This pseudo-military operation is called '*John* the Soldier's Management' (*JPY*, p. 134) and as a strategy is almost identical to the way the mutineers are overcome in *Robinson Crusoe*. Like the sequence in *Crusoe*, John's management in the *Journal* is also presented in dialogue form (between John and the Constable), within a continuous narrative. The narrative of the three brothers is trailed several times in the preceding pages of the *Journal*, and advertised as instancing an alternative narrative poetics that necessitate judgement by different standards of truth: it will be given 'in their own Persons' and H.F. will neither 'vouch the Particulars, or answer for any Mistakes'.[23] It is a quasi-fictional telling, almost folkloric in setup, distinguished from the rest of the narrative in its form and truth-content and aiming to teach a specific skill.

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[22] Daniel Defoe, *A Journal of the Plague Year*, ed. by Cynthia Wall (London: Penguin, 2003), pp. 118–45; hereafter *JPY*.

[23] *JPY*, p. 58, cf. p. 115.

Pseudo-military management has to remain a minority pursuit, for Defoe. John's management, and the whole tale of the three brothers, is initially framed as the story of action taken in the face of inadequate public 'Measures and Managements' (*JPY*, p. 118). It is subsequently contextualised by a collection of narratives that H.F. has 'enquir'd and found', which demonstrate the number of others who also left to live like 'Hermits in Holes and Caves' and were the victim of the inhospitality of the inhabitants of towns surrounding London. This context is presented in H.F.'s usual method: writing a general overview of a number of similar actions, before recounting a particular narrative, then offering statistics, followed by a probabilistic account — casting up explanations and mechanisms for action and recounting an existing debate — before terminating in his own polemical interpretation (*JPY*, pp. 145–49). At the same time, just as the whole narrative of the *Journal* is to be taken as 'a Direction to […] act by', rather than a 'History of [H.F.'s] actings' (p. 10), so is the narrative of the three brothers to be understood as 'a very good Pattern for any poor Man to follow', 'or Women either' (pp. 58, 118): an instance of what can be achieved by 'Human Help and human Skill' (p. 237) in the face of a plague whose ultimate cessation, though not its propagation, can only come from 'the immediate Finger of God'.[24] H.F. points out on a number of occasions that the worst affected by the plague were the poor, those 'who formerly liv'd by their Labour, or by Retail-Trade' (p. 91), including servants (pp. 92–93). Servants had it worst (p. 29), he avers elsewhere, and they brought the plague into houses because they were sent to market (pp. 72, 76). At the same time, suggests H.F., the deaths of tens of thousands of the poor as result of the schemes in which they were employed (watching shut-up houses and burying the dead for men, nursing the sick for maidservants), 'tho' a Melancholy Article in it self, yet was a Deliverance in its Kind' since these people must otherwise have proved too much of a burden on public charity (p. 95). While admitting in some places the economic coercion under which the poor took risky employment with 'a sort of brutal Courage' (pp. 87, 99), H.F. most trenchantly ascribes the rate of infection among the poor,

[24] *JPY*, p. 234, cf. p. 236. For the plague as 'providential' action via 'Agency of Means' but not the 'immediate' action of God, see pp. 67, 73, 186.

not to 'Necessity' but to deficient practical knowledge and an inability to reflect on action: it is servants' 'usual Impetuosity', which leads them into 'adventurous Conduct' and bad 'Husbandry' — an economically irrational inability to defer gratification — whatever level the 'Distress of their Circumstances' (*JPY*, pp. 201–202). H.F. is a substantial tradesman: he employs 'an ancient Woman, that managed the House, a Maid-Servant, two Apprentices' and has the wherewithal to lay up a store of provisions in advance, as he notes others do not (pp. 74, 76). His strategy of escape through management, offered in a markedly parabolic form, is a strategy of impersonation of state power in order to escape it and occupy spaces in the forest, a licensed version of the common practice of landless early modern squatters; a form of dexterity recommended to servants that most will not and cannot take up.[25]

Returning to the narrative of the Crusoe trilogy, the second repetition of Crusoe's confrontation with Friday occurs in relation to the later group of 'savages' captured by the Spaniards during their sojourn on the island. At the beginning of the island events recounted to Crusoe in the *Farther Adventures*, the Spaniards arrive back at the island to be presented by the three reprobate mutineers who remained on the island with lengthy written instructions drafted by Crusoe and left behind on his departure, detailing the methods he laboriously discovered for living on the island.[26] The Spaniards fail to exploit their slaves properly: they follow Crusoe's advice in everything and raise a colony on his plan, except in the sentimental government of the 'lusty stout young Fellows' they have taken prisoner in war and enslaved and made servants:

> they did not take their Measures with them as I did by my Man *Friday*, (*viz.*) to begin with them upon the Principle of having sav'd their Lives, and then instruct them in the rational Principles of Life, much less of Religion, civilizing and reducing them by kind Usage and affectionate Arguings; but as they gave them their Food every Day, so they gave them their Work too, and kept them fully employ'd in Drudgery enough; but they fail'd in this, by it, that they never had them to assist

[25] Briony McDonagh and Carl Griffin, 'Occupy! Historical Geographies of Property, Protest and the Commons, 1500–1850', *Journal of Historical Geography*, 53 (2016), 1–10.

[26] *RC*, p. 233; *The Novels of Daniel Defoe*, ed. W. R. Owns and P. N. Furbank, 10 vols (London: Pickering & Chatto, 2008-9), II: *The Farther Adventures of Robinson Crusoe (1719)*, ed. W. R. Owens, p. 31; hereafter *FA*.

> them and fight for them, as I had my Man *Friday*, who was as true to me as the very Flesh upon my Bones.[27]

These 'measures' are precisely what Jack enlarges on with his method for factitiously condemning and then interceding for the pardon of enslaved people in order to foster gratitude and devotion. Crusoe is ultimately prevailed upon to allow those of the 'savages' who are made servants 'without being absolute Slaves' to the European families to be instructed in religion, but only on the condition they not be informed about the division between Protestant and Catholic faiths (*FA*, pp. 112, 115). Even if this is 'no Priestcraft', as Crusoe protests, salvation remains ultimately subordinate to management. The passage makes clear that this 'management' is an elaboration in the notional legal basis for slavery in the state of war: that it is predicated on the right to another person's perpetual service that is conferred on the victor in battle who decides not to kill their adversary. It also makes clear, as does the passage from *Captain Singleton*, Defoe's familiarity with the distinction between enslavement, in which a state of war persists between captor and captive, and service by contract, in which case bonds of loyalty may be formed. In comparing the Spaniard's case to his own and recasting the fact of saving Friday's life as a matter of 'Measures' and a theoretical 'Principle' (rather than as the seizing of a fortuitous moment as it in fact was), Crusoe retrospectively brings the foundation of his island kingdom on purportedly non-extorted gratitude into the ambit of a deliberate technique of government. The relation between master and servant is presented in the sequel, not as a fable of two individuals confronting one another, but as a question of management and individual skill, which resonates with *Colonel Jack*. Gratitude does not magically transpire; it has to be deliberately inculcated and managed. Together with the opening up of the island to the rest of the world, and the return to it as a space to be managed, the island is turned into a place of technique and management in the strategic sense and the productivity-oriented sense.

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[27] *FA*, p. 44. Nyquist also discusses this passage, 'Friday as Fit Help', p. 358, focussing on its substitution of 'affectionate Arguings' for the coercive power of life and death.

To sum up the discussion so far: situations in which the protagonist is enabled to save a person from death and so command their perpetual service on the basis of binding gratitude and loyalty are initially presented as happy accidents, but in successive iterations of similar situations and through recursive re-narrations of the same situations, within and between the *Crusoe* works, become objects of technique. These repetitions are used to model the state as a theatrical and managerial entity that secures obedience through factitious acts of mercy – the legal and philosophical basis on which some arguments for the justifiability of slavery were also advanced, from the late seventeenth to the mid-eighteenth century. As a constellation of practices and narrative signatures, management, for Defoe, depended on theatre and deception. Whether or not war slavery doctrine was explicitly invoked, Defoe drew on his knowledge of war slavery doctrine as well as his admiration of the technological and strategic aspects of war (Defoe's own capacity for military leadership was 'an important fantasy element in his personality').[28] 'Management' was enacted in a specific narrative structure, centred on a moment of overturning and partial revelation (rather than as a persistent activity of superintendence) which demanded the differential allotment of knowledge. In both spatial and temporal terms, it was a strategy operated over familiar ground, which often necessitated the seclusion of the manager and was governed by conventions of proximity. In the case of its most developed renditions, in *Colonel Jack* and *Crusoe*, Defoe developed a model of management as ongoing superintendence that had to be inaugurated by a moment of ideological ambush. A (fictive) original moment of submission ensures or licenses a perpetual domination and submission. Passages from *Robinson Crusoe*, *Singleton* and *Colonel Jack* make the argument that good management frequently depends on manufacturing a situation in which the legal and historical myth used to justify enslavement in the eighteenth century actually obtains and has binding legal and emotional effects. Management in this sense is immediately effective and binding on racialised subjects in the narrative — Mouchat and also Xury, discussed below — and

[28] Maximillian Novak, 'Defoe and the Art of War', *Philological Quarterly*, 75.2 (1996), 197–213 (p. 201).

effective at a distance, through the course of narrative, though not compelling to the same extent, on white criminals (Will Atkins and the other mutineers; Jack himself). In the case of the encounter between two groups, as in *Journal of the Plague Year*, it provides a way through an impasse, a treaty between equal parties.

2. Revisiting the Island

Looking at a selection of sequences in Defoe's major fiction in which a specific, delimited practice of management happens enables us to see that Defoe understood management as a specific modality of government and workplace control. What narrative strategies do Defoe's novels use to present management in an expanded sense? This section looks at how broader practices of management are represented, primarily in the *Farther Adventures*, in order to see how the strategies of interpersonal management within a hierarchical relationship traced above begin to be scaled up to constitute governance of a miniature society. It attends to the manipulation of proximity and distance implied in each case and to the ways in which management as the ordering of society might be translated into the manipulation of spaces and objects, including the body.

First, in order to assess the specific character of Defoe's version of management and assess the degree of its idiosyncrasy, this section quickly surveys the range of applications the term had in seventeenth- and eighteenth-century culture. The aim is to make management legible as an ideologeme, in the sense sketched by Jameson: 'the smallest intelligible unit of the essentially antagonistic collective discourses of social classes'; a construct that is both 'pseudoidea' and 'protonarrative' and must simultaneously be 'susceptible to both a conceptual description and a narrative manifestation'.[29] In eighteenth-century culture there were a series of overlapping concentrations of meaning around management. In the managerial relationship between masters or mistresses and

[29] Fredric Jameson, *The Political Unconscious: Narrative as a Socially Symbolic Act* (Ithaca: Cornell, 1981; repr. London: Routledge, 1983), pp. 61, 73.

servants, 'management' referred both to the activity of governing the household and to the dangerous power by which it was understood to be reversible through the skill of a servant who, by exploiting a weakness or secret in their employer or by skilfully manipulating their emotions, 'got the management' of their superior, thus transposing the employer's skill.[30] Political 'management' included shrewd navigation of hierarchies and the good use of personalised authority. But it also insinuated — especially in Defoe's usage of the term in his letters to Robert Harley, when in his service — adroit manoeuvring, secrecy, and the manipulation of a target population's hopes and affects, with the aim of achieving a specific objective.[31] 'Management' as superintendence, regulation, and standardisation with the goal of increasing the productivity of the object it surveyed was understood to occur in relation to early manufactures (where proprietors aspired to control over workers' speech and comportment as well as time-discipline and wages); estate management (which aimed to quantify and maximise revenues from land, tenants, and natural resources), plantation management (organised around the 'improvement' of land, livestock and enslaved workers); and merchant bookkeeping methods (such as those which sought to maximise the yield of the British excise or the

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[30] For management as governing, see *Law of Subordination*, pp. 285, 293. For servants getting the management, see Delarivier Manley, *The Adventures of Rivella*, ed. by Katherine Zelinsky (Peterborough: Broadview, 1999), pp. 80, 89, 102; Nicholas Zinzano, *The Servants Calling* (London, 1725), p. 43; *Law of Subordination*, pp. 72–73, 116, 122; *Religious and Didactic Writings of Daniel Defoe*, ed. by W. R. Owens and P. N. Furbank, 10 vols (London: Pickering & Chatto, 2006–07), IV: *Religious Courtship (1722)*, ed. by G. A. Starr, pp. 233, 234.

[31] Jean Cristophe Agnew, *Worlds Apart: The Market and the Theater in Anglo-American Thought, 1550–1750* (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 1986), p. 159; Paul Langford, 'The Management of the Eighteenth-Century State: Perceptions and Implications', *Journal of Historical Sociology*, 15.1 (2002), 102–06; *The Letters of Daniel Defoe,* ed. by George Healey (Oxford: Clarendon Press, 1955), pp. 33, 28, 32, 42–43, 54–55, 265. For political 'dexterous management' in a value-neutral sense, see Bernard Mandeville, *The Fable of the Bees: Or, Private Vices, Publick Benefits*, ed. by F. B. Kaye, 2 vols (Oxford: Clarendon Press, 1924), I, 369 and *passim*.

profits of the quasi-state East India Company).[32] In the period, then, we are faced with widespread practices in specific locations that correspond to modern management, but are only patchily connected to the term or concept 'management'. Two senses of management emerge that are taken up in Defoe's fiction: management as husbanding, or continuous superintendence; and management as a punctual manoeuvre.

Management in the *Farther Adventures* persists in Crusoe's absence. Friday's father and the Spaniard whom Crusoe saved in volume one depart the island for the '*Cannibal* Coast' towards the end of that volume (*RC*, p. 205), in order to ferry to the island the remainder of the Spanish crew who were then living alongside the natives. Section One explored the Spaniards' faulty take-up of Crusoe's written instructions. The following paragraphs explore the other histories of management on the island, beginning with the reformation of Will Atkins and the other mutineers whose surrender was so successfully managed by Crusoe at the end of his first sojourn on the island. Friday's father and the Spanish governor leave the island before the fight with the mutineers and return to the island after Crusoe and the others have left, thus serving as a narrative link between the two books, a textual counterpart to the intra-diegetic written instructions. This textual recapitulation is underscored by Crusoe's re-narration in the *Farther Adventures* of the events at the end of the first volume: he goes back in order to add things he 'forgot to set down' such as the presence of two extra English sailors (*FA*, pp. 31, 32). Crusoe's narrative itself is punctuated by reminders that it is a revisiting of experience and affective states as well as the locations with which they are associated: references to his previous account cluster in these opening pages of the voyage out and allow Crusoe to make sense of it, as well as assuring the reader of continuity and

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[32] Sidney Pollard, *The Genesis of Modern Management: A Study of the Industrial Revolution in Great Britain* (London: Edward Arnold, 1965), pp. 1–24, 51, and works cited therein; Harry Braverman, *Labor and Monopoly Capital: The Degradation of Work in the Twentieth Century* (New York: Monthly Review, 1974), pp. 41–49; E. P. Thompson, 'Time, Work-Discipline, and Industrial Capitalism', *Past and Present*, 38 (1967), 56–97 (pp. 81–83); Miles Ogborn, 'Wherein Lay The Late Seventeenth-Century State? Charles Davenant Meets Streynsham Master', *Journal of Historical Sociology*, 15.1 (2002), 96–101 and *Spaces of Modernity: London's Geographies, 1680–1780* (New York: Guldford Press, 1998), pp. 158–200; Charles Davenant, *An Essay upon the Probable Methods of Making a People Gainers in the Ballance of Trade* (London, 1699), pp. 12, 155–56, 177.

reminding them of the foregoing account.[33] The island narrative encourages readers to experience recognition of the familiar along with Crusoe, and evaluate the action on the island as a movement from a place of limits at the edge of society to a place which Crusoe controls. In the second part, Crusoe must cut his way as a disruptor of company monopolies, in which the commercial arms of the English and Dutch states appear as unaccountable pirates.

Much of the narrative of Crusoe's return to the island in the *Farther Adventures* is taken up by a report on the Spaniards' rule, enacted on the basis of the written instructions Crusoe left behind. The contention between British and Spanish methods of colonisation, which comes up in the first volume as a check to Crusoe's murderous animus towards the savages, is transformed in the second into a contest between varieties of management at the same time as Crusoe's island loses its mythic status and is reconnected to the contemporary Caribbean. The contest is made clear in the gradual edging-out of the protagonist role of the Spaniard (saved by Crusoe in the first volume and set up on the island as 'Governour' (*FA*, p. 40)) as the historian of the colony. His narrative of events up to Crusoe's return takes up half of the island section, after which the story of Will Atkins, the reformed mutineer, subsequently comes to the fore. Throughout the narrative, a factually inconsistent (in that it contradicts earlier-told but chronologically subsequent events and judgements) revaluation of Will Atkins and the other two reprobates occurs (*FA*, pp. 67, 71, 73, 75). Will Atkins, once the chief mutineer (*RC*, p. 225) forced by fears of justice to abscond from the ship that was leaving Crusoe's island, who threatened, beat, and harass the two honest Englishmen and, without title, claimed absolute authority over the island, demanding rent and service — though he had not *bought* the Englishmen, as the Spanish governor notes (*FA*, pp. 32-35); who had to be excluded from the island's society because his refusal to labour and rebelliousness made him impossible to include in a cooperative society (*FA*, pp. 47-49) and motivated his raid on a peaceful nation for natives to use as slaves and sexual partners (*FA*, pp. 54-56), which

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[33] *FA*. pp. 14, 17, 19, 23.

Crusoe sees as demanding heavenly punishment — he, by means of working on his plantation with an ingenious and dutiful woman (his slave at first, eventually his wife) has become 'a very industrious necessary and sober fellow' (p. 73), finally 'a most sober grave managing Fellow, perfectly reform'd, exceeding Pious and Religious' (p. 112) and a deputy commander of the island. The artifice he is able to elicit from the captive 'savages' — the beehive-like wickerwork house he, the other Englishmen, and the native women live in — forms the central wonder of the book, an innovation in the island's buildings (*FA*, pp. 73–74), while the Spaniards still live in Crusoe's cave, continuing on his own patterns of fabrication by making a bigger, thicker palisade of closely-planted trees (*FA*, p. 45).[34]

Atkins, utilising the knowhow of the 'savage' war captives, builds on the strand of Crusoe's experiments in the first volume, where he gradually improved his art in basketmaking (*RC*, pp. 91–92, 122, 208). In exploiting the dexterity of the 'savages' — 'being very ingenious at such Work, when they were once put in the way of it' (*FA*, p. 73) — Atkins provides the explicit goal or strategy that combines with their manual acuity to make a skill, and take up what Defoe came to regard in *A Plan of the English Commerce* (1728) as the native artisanal genius of the English, that they are '*better to improve than to invent*'.[35] Atkins is revealed, in the *Farther Adventures*, as the ideal subject of a kind of penal transportation and indentured servitude; a novel institution, codified in the Transportation Act (1718).[36] From the worst of reprobates Akins becomes, through work in a relatively isolated productive unit, a sincere penitent and, like Jack, a manager of racialised labour. His inset narrative anticipates the patterns of Jack's, his servant-tutor's, and Moll Flanders' lives. He and the other 'incorrigible rogues' are cast out of the island society (the threat of hanging is raised by the Spanish governor, as it was raised by

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[34] In *CS*, the captive Africans build Bob and his pirates similar structures, pp. 84–85, 119, 147.

[35] *Political and Economic Writings of Daniel Defoe*, ed. by W. R. Owens and P. N. Furbank, 8 vols (London: Pickering & Chatto, 2000), VII: *Trade*, ed. by John McVeagh, pp. 115–341 (p. 282); italics in original. For further comment, see pp. 283–84, 288 and *Brief Observations on Trade and Manufactures* (1721) in *Trade*, ed. by McVeagh, pp. 105–14 (p. 111).

[36] Defoe had financed tobacco trading ventures to Virginia and Maryland, and had personally profited from transporting men to Maryland in the 1680s. See Paula Backscheider, *Daniel Defoe: His Life*, rev. edn (Baltimore: Johns Hopkins University Press, 1992), p. 486; on tobacco, see George Gifford, 'Daniel Defoe and Maryland', *Maryland Historical Magazine*, 52 (1957), 307–15.

Crusoe and the Captain in the first volume), and are given a store of corn, animals, tools, and seeds by the Spanish governor (*FA*, pp. 47-48). The basis of this model, then, lies not only in a dramatisation of natural law theories, which were mobilised to justify a particular kind of racial hierarchy, but also, with the addition of Christian education, of what Gabriel Cervantes has termed a broader 'logic of clemency'.[37]

The French priest whom Crusoe picked up on his voyage to the island puts it to Crusoe that he has neglected to marry the Englishmen who have been living in adultery with the indigenous women, neglected to instruct the men in how to instruct the women in Christianity, and failed to convert the island's captive population of thirty-six or thirty-seven natives to Christianity. Crusoe sets out to address the first two problems. Through two lengthy conversations, presented as dialogue with notes and in which Crusoe interprets between Atkins and the priest, it emerges that Atkins thinks he knows he cannot instruct his wife in religion because he has done wrong and is not punished, so apparently revealing the Christian God to be impotent, but also that he knows himself to be damned, and is in despair (*FA*, p. 97). Subsequently, Crusoe and the priest watch Atkins' gestures from a hiding place in trees as he preaches to his wife, seeing him but unable to hear the conversation (*FA*, pp. 98–99): a silent tableau painted in gestures and tears. The emotional power and ambiguity of a similar scene had been put to pedagogic use by Crusoe towards the end of his first stay on the island, teaching both Friday and his readers a lesson (*RC*, p. 211).

After the dialogue between Atkins and his wife has been described as a series of silent postures and legible exchanges of feeling, Crusoe and Akins exchange repentances and reflections on the aptitude for religious knowledge of savages (*FA*, pp. 101–04). Atkins tells Crusoe what they had been discussing (pp. 104–08), which is presented in the text as dialogue, headed 'N. B. *This Dialogue between* W. Atkins *and his Wife, as I took*

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[37] Gabriel Cervantes, 'Episodic or Novelistic?: Law in the Atlantic and the Form of Daniel Defoe's *Colonel Jack*', *Eighteenth-Century Fiction*, 24.2 (2011–12), 247–77 (p. 264). See also his 'Convict Transportation and Penitence in *Moll Flanders*', *ELH*, 78.2 (2011), 315–36 (pp. 320–22) and Joseph Bartolomeo, '"New People in a New World?" Defoe's Ambivalent Narratives of Emigration', *Eighteenth-Century Fiction,* 23.3 (2011), 455–70.

it down in Writing, just after he told it me, was as follows.' (p. 104). Crusoe points up the moments of congruence between his account of gestures without words and this account of words without gestures:

> *The poor Fellow was in such an Agony at her desiring him to make her know God, and her wishing to know him, that, he said, he fell down on his Knees before her, and pray'd to God to enlighten her Mind with the saving Knowledge of Jesus Chris* [...]. N. B. This was the Time when we saw him kneel down, and hold up his Hands.[38]

The framed dialogue technique that allows such narrative layering, and the benign forms of management it involves, resemble in theme, form, and *mise en page* the mixed essay, novel, and dialogue forms of his didactic works (*The Family Instructor* (1715, 1718), *Religious Courtship* (1722)).Throughout the latter, where two concurrent strands of dialogue are presented sequentially, a footnote indicates the temporal placing of one strand of the narrative against the other.[39] The first part of *The Family Instructor* — a novelistic work, affirming the truth of its narrative, presented, like much of Defoe's novels, as dialogues within prose narrative, and specifically aiming to be understood by children and adults — utilises the intensifying effects of charged locations in addition to narrative layering.[40]

Crusoe in the *Farther Adventures* acts as a kind of stag manager. Atkins' ascendancy from the worst miscreant to one 'who seem'd now to speak for the rest' (*FA*, p. 93) is consummated by a sentimental and religious education in which he is both agent and object. The return to the island also allows Crusoe to perform the function of scrivener, clerk, translator, or recorder of events on his island (as he variously refers to himself), arranging benign forms of management, similar in form and content to the

[38] *FA*, pp. 106–107.

[39] *Religious and Didactic Writings*, ed. by Owens and Furbank, I: *The Family Instructor, Volume 1 (1715)*, ed. by P. N. Furbank, p. 114; hereafter *FI*.

[40] *FI*, p. 146; Teresa Michals, *Books for Children, Books for Adults: Age and the Novel from Defoe to James* (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 2014), pp. 20–22.

mixed essay, novel, dialogue forms of his didactic works.[41] In these works, there is very clear authorial direction: some of the dialogues, as well as narrative postscripts, have notes suffixed to them, directing the reader to the most salient elements of what they have just read, and supplying interpretations.[42] The first *Family Instructor*, as well as giving information about the movements of characters, also supply keys to the interpretation of the actions, speeches, and movements of its protagonists, much as in the *Farther Adventures*.[43] As in the dialogue sections of *A Journal of the Plague Year* that describe John the soldier's 'management', marginal notes supply asides as reported speech as well as stage directions.[44]

'Separation or secret consciousness is the key source of that power which Defoe's characters exercise', argues John Richetti.[45] Crusoe's numerous enclosures, fortifications, and concentric barrier walls have been identified by various critics as emblems and supports of this secret consciousness, on which Crusoe's psychic composition depends.[46] Just such separation, and delight in it, is evinced in Defoe's letter to Harley, boasting of his ability to be 'all to Every one' and never known for who he is.[47] But Crusoe in the *Farther Adventures* moderates this total and powerful concealment: instead, he puts himself in the interstices of his island, becomes its infrastructure. (This is one meaning of his lament at the end of *Farther Adventures*, when he finds that the settlement has failed, that he ought to have put the colony on an established footing by annexing it to a European state: as matters stand, his personal rule, to which all his inhabitants voluntarily

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[41] *FI*, pp. 46, 48, 89, 114, 146. Faller also discusses Crusoe's conversations with Friday in the light of *Family Instructor*: see *Crime*, pp. 80–83.

[42] See, e.g. *FI*,, pp. 66-71, 80-83, 90-94, 181-85, 197-98

[43] *FI*, p. 54, 61, 75, 175.

[44] *FI*, p. 57, 78; *JPY*, pp. 132, 134.

[45] John Richetti, *Defoe's Narratives: Situations and Structures* (Oxford: Clarendon Press, 1975), p. 147.

[46] Peter Hulme, *Colonial Encounters: Europe and the Native Caribbean, 1492–1797* (London and New York: Methuen, 1986), pp. 197–200; Joan DeJean, 'No Man's Land: The Novel's First Geography', *Yale French Studies*, 73 (1987), 175-89 (181-82); Nancy Armstrong and Leonard Tennenhouse, *The Imaginary Puritan: Literature, Intellectual Labour, and the Origins of Personal Life* (Berkeley, Los Angeles, Oxford: University of California Press, 1992), p. 201.

[47] Defoe to Harley, 26 November 1706, *Letters*, p. 159.

assent, is not only the sole source of authority, but also the actual sinews of the state (*FA*, p. 125)). Crusoe conceals himself to watch and record the effects of conversion on an uninstructed savage and a sincere penitent, but then dialogues with the penitent. Crusoe's spatial concealment is sociable, experimental, didactic, and temporary, rather than isolationist and fortified. His mode of government on the island is a theatrical supplement to the written instructions he left behind. These instructions, which contained the secret of who he is (it is only at this point that he reveals to the mutineers he is no 'governor' but a shipwrecked mariner), were a perpetuation of his political authority on the island and a repository of his practical knowledge.

The dialogue also has an important visual or emblematic, function, furthered by its double rendering as dialogue and as spectacle. Defoe encouraged readers to understand dialogues as providing visual, even diagrammatic, information. At the opening of the fifth dialogue in the *Family Instructor*, for example, readers are addressed: 'The last Dialogue is a kind of a *Sketch* or Draught of the whole Family we are speaking of.'[48] The dialogue is a map, showing relationships, their histories, and the forms they take, analogous to a painted scene composed of objects and people framed within a domestic space, indicating a narrative. Moreover, the moment on which Defoe concentrates — Atkins kneeling, holding up his hands — was illustrated in early abridged versions of Defoe's trilogy. In an illustration for the 1722 abridgement undertaken by Thomas Gent for Edward Midwinter (discussed in the following chapter) Crusoe and the priest stand in the foreground to the left, turned towards each other, apparently discussing Atkins and his wife, who sit under a tree to the right, Atkins' hand raised to heaven.[49] In this text, the dialogue between Atkins and his wife is given a separate heading, setting it apart from Crusoe's dialogue with Atkins, as a brief inset tale (pp. 273–76). A shorter 1737 epitome excises the dialogue and this print, but retains another illustration from 1722, which immediately followed Will Atkins' dialogue with his wife, of the priest baptising two

[48] *FI*, p. 111.

[49] *The Life And most Surprizing Adventures of Robinson Crusoe, of York, Mariner. […] The whole Three Volumes faithfully Abridg'd, and set forth with Cuts proper to the Subject* (London, 1722), p. 271.

black women while two white men, one richly dressed (Crusoe) and one poorly dressed look on.[50] The same image reappears as one of two illustrations in a 1742 full text printing of volumes one and two.[51] The earlier framed scene from the first volume of *Crusoe*, in which the deposed captain kneels before the mutineers, was also illustrated in the same epitome (p. 168).

Crusoe's secret observation of Will Atkins and his wife depends on the pathways and intricate subdivision of space on his island. The dialogue and its viewing relies on the domestic subdivision of space, and as a corollary it imports the world of Defoe's didactic dialogues — the rooms, stairways, doors, lanes, and gardens and their adjacencies in which the dialogues take place — into his adventure fiction.[52] These are also the worlds of *Roxana* and of portions of *Colonel Jack*. The equivocal return to the island in *Farther Adventures* furthers a series of moods and movements already present in the first volume: revisiting sites, imagining scenarios, increasing by slow accretion of detail the complexity of the stratification and differentiation of space — whether of the various sites for an ambush, or the number of dwellings around the island, or, in the second volume, the actual establishment of several villages. In the *Life*, for example, Crusoe twice works himself up into a murderous rage against the Caribs, and makes elaborate plans for attacking them. These plans necessitate the preparation and provisioning of vantages for ambush, the marking out of routes, and the repeated everyday traversing of these routes, a practice which itself keeps the passion that motivates it at a high pitch. Crusoe calls the projected plan and its spatial blueprint a 'Scheme', a word indicating a narrative adumbration as well as a diagram. The connection that this draws between sentiment and

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[50] *The Wonderful Life, And most Surprizing Adventures of Robinson Crusoe, of York; Mariner […] Faithfully Epitomized from the Three Volumes* (London, 1737), p. 111; cf. *The Life And most Surprizing Adventures*, p. 277. *The Wonderful Life* was reprinted with the same illustrations in 1752, for a similar set of booksellers.

[51] *The Life and Strange Surprizing Adventures of Robinson Crusoe, Of York, Mariner: Who lived […] With an Account how he was at last as strangely delivered by Pyrates.* (London, 1742), p. 487. This edition contains the same set of illustrations as *The Wonderful Life.* The images are printed from copied plates: they differ in some details and are reversed.

[52] *Religious and Didactic Writings of Daniel Defoe*, ed. by Owens and Furbank, 10 vols (London: Pickering & Chatto, 2006-7), IV: *Religious Courtship (1722)*, ed. by G. A. Starr, p. 224.

space is transformed in the second volume. The process transforms the rhythm of the narrative established in the foregoing pages: violent emotion interrupts craft, but continues the rhythm of skill and problem solving established over the preceding pages, so that it stands as an indication of how the passions may themselves be worked on and with, and how the fabricated environs of the island are part of a movement — both spatial and temporal. In this sense the *Farther Adventures* participates in a narrative poetics of sentimentality, as does *Colonel Jack*, revisiting locations and the earlier episodes of the narrative that made them meaningful in order, by repetition, to intensify emotions associated with them.[53] Crusoe's narration spreads and branches out from deed to deed, creating places alongside other places and arraying them before the reader like the paths, enclosures, regions, and dwellings that his labour and habitual action has created. The narrative is not only tightly sequenced and organised around problems — as Margaret Cohen argues in *The Novel and the Sea*, discussed in the following chapter — but also a necessarily organising counterpart to the construction of highly organised and subdivided spaces.

What enables these acts of management to occur, in part, is the status of *Farther Adventures* as a continuation. Management is a technique operated over familiar ground, which necessitates the insertion of that ground into Caribbean networks of capital accumulation and the forms of monoculture and unfree imported labour on which they depended. This insertion invites the readers to bring a different set of interpretive presuppositions to it and the events that happen there. The island is no longer a mythic crucible, an arena for the remaking of Crusoe's self — 'a retreat from chronology and from geography into a moment that can in certain respects be called "Utopian"'.[54] Instead, it is a location in a historically specific and known Atlantic and Caribbean maritime world, as indicated by the discovery of nearby islands periodically populated by other colonists and sailors, containing livestock, and by the French and English ships Crusoe

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[53] Geoffrey Sill, 'Daniel Defoe and the Sentimental Novel', in *Topographies of the Imagination: New Approaches to Daniel Defoe*, ed. Katherine Ellison, Kit Kincade, and Holly Faith Nelson (New York: AMS, 2014), pp. 3–13.

[54] Hulme, p. 187.

encounters on his voyage there, from which his crew rescue French sailors and three starving English passengers, whose abilities are honed in the colonial context of Crusoe's island (*FA*, pp. 16–18, 22–23, 26). Even the fear of cannibalism is translated into a hazard of commercial shipping among Europeans (*FA*, pp. 23, 117). The servant Susan, who wondered about eating her dead mistress, 'very Handy and Housewifely in any Thing that was before her; an excellent Manager, and fit indeed to have been Governess to the whole Island', marries the Jack of all Trades who came with Crusoe; a matrimonial English substitute for Crusoe and Friday's homosocial original (*FA*, pp. 12, 83, 112). The island's labouring population is incrementally increased not only by protracted war with the indigenous population and the enslavement of the survivors and prisoners, but also, in the end, through traffic with Defoe's partner in Brazil (*FA*, pp. 123–27, bringing together the separated two halves of the narrative of the first volume: what was a frame for Crusoe's isolation is now an easily navigable connection of trade and friendship). Plantations proper come to the island, along with commodified persons: a sailor arrives with a man he has enslaved, accompanying a heretic Portuguese planter and the two of his enslaved workers who have not yet confiscated by the Inquisition. The sailor had been a planter in Maryland and a buccaneer (a plausible Singleton or Jack); the Portuguese man brings sugar canes and knowledge of their cultivation with him to the island (*FA*, p. 124). In bringing sugar cane and imported labour to the island, Defoe consummates its inclusion in the historically contemporary Caribbean, 'a New World economy of slave trading, sugar plantations, and the prospect of colonial improvement', the contextual presence of which, Robert Markely argues, was what rendered plausible the island's colonisation.[55] Given that, the *Farther Adventures* acknowledge what fictional and critical responses to *Crusoe* pointed out: the implausibility of such an island not already being familiar to sailors, within the Caribbean's 'known and populated sea'.[56] As a colony composed of multiple ethnicities, religions, and nations, with an increasingly large part of it given over

[55] Robert Markley, *The Far East and the English Imagination, 1600–1730* (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 2006), p. 183; Wheeler, pp. 66–67.

[56] Eve Tavor Bannet, *Transatlantic Stories and the History of Reading, 1720–1810: Migrant Fictions* (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 2011), p. 44.

to cultivation, the island is an arena for both political manoeuvre and the regulation of productivity.

The narrative, as written by Defoe, solicits a view of the island as a magical place in the first volume, not least in Crusoe's dream of Friday's arrival that anticipates in detail all their movements, only to dispel that aura in the second. Peter Hulme and Michael McKeon's readings of the novel provide suggestive descriptions of the nature of this magic.[57] In the second half of the narrative of *Farther Adventures*, by contrast, Crusoe is explicitly conscious of the place of his own narrative within the dense weave of earlier travel accounts of China against which he is writing.[58] The present argument concentrates on the island section because it is the return to the island and its increasingly complex (though politically stunted) society that elicits Defoe and Crusoe's management. Nonetheless, the fact must be kept in mind that one of the most salient features of Crusoe's colony is that he leaves it behind and it ultimately fails.[59] There is an emphatic split between the two halves of *Farther Adventures*, which invites readers to compare the Crusoe found in ether half: the Crusoe who superintends production and reproduction, and Crusoe the merchant who trades and makes enormous profits on alienation based on the lack of integration between markets (quintupling his money with each run between the East Indies and the Spice Islands) but presents all that he does as 'rambling' (*FA*, pp. 144, 146).

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57 Hulme, pp. 177–222; Michael McKeon, *The Origins of the English Novel, 1600–1740* (Baltimore: Johns Hopkins University Press, 1987), pp. 315–37. *Crusoe* is in the seventeenth century, before Charles II gave a monopoly to the Royal African Company on the trade in slaves, so Crusoe's actions can be read as having unspecific political reference. By contrast, *Farther Adventures*, like *Colonel Jack*, is more nearly contemporary: the action is carefully dated, running from January 1694/5 to January 1705/6 (*FA*, pp. 12, 217).

58 *FA*, pp. 127, 144–45, 174–75, 202. On these passages of the novel and Defoe's objections to the East India trade, see G. A. Starr, 'Defoe and China', *Eighteenth-Century Studies*, 43.4 (2010), 435–54.

59 Lincoln Faller, 'Captain Misson's Failed Utopia, Crusoe's Failed Colony: Race and Identity in New, Not Quite Imaginable Worlds', *The Eighteenth Century*, 43.1 (2002), 1–17; Markley, *Far East*, pp. 177–84.

In the preface to *Serious Reflections During the Life and Surprising Adventures of Robinson Crusoe* (1720), 'management' is retrospectively applied by Defoe (writing in the voice of Crusoe), to events in the early, maritime section of *Crusoe*:

> The story of the Bear in the Tree, and the Fight with the Wolves in the Snow, is likewise Matter of real History; and in a Word, the Adventures of *Robinson Crusoe*, are one whole Scheme of a real Life of eight and twenty Years, spent in the most wandring desolate and afflicting Circumstances that ever a Man went through, and in which I have liv'd so long in a Life of Wonders in continu'd Storms, fought with the worst kind of Savages and Man-eaters, by unaccountable surprising Incidents; fed by Miracles greater than that of Ravens, suffered all Manner of Violences and Oppressions, injurious Reproaches, contempt of Men, Attacks of Devils, Corrections from Heaven, and Oppositions on Earth; have had innumerable Ups and Downs in Matters of Fortune, been in Slavery worse than *Turkish*, escaped by an exquisite Management, as that in the Story of *Xury*, and the Boat at *Sallee*, been taken up at Sea in Distress, rais'd again and depress'd again […]: In a Word, there's not a Circumstance in the imaginary Story, but has its just Allusion to real Story, and chimes Part for Part, and Step for Step with the inimitable Life of *Robinson Crusoe*.[60]

In this quotation, Robinson triumphantly describes his escape with Xury in the *Life and Strange Surprizing Adventures* as his first act of management. The preface retrospectively identifies as 'an exquisite Management' the sequence of actions undertaken by Crusoe that enable his escape: having gained through his docility the confidence of his captors, he slyly provisioned the boat in which he was trusted to fish for his master, put to sea, and then surprised another crew member, tumbling him in to the water and forcing him to swim back to land, before sailing off with the boat, accompanied by the Morisco boy Xury — whom he has surprised into a situation of constraint in which 'saving' and 'enslaving' are identified, and whom he later sells into slavery.

Developing the above examples, management in this episode is the outcome of a plot and also a paradigmatic instance of skill or art: from a position of subordination, Crusoe has observed and carefully planned, accumulating knowledge; he chooses exactly the correct moment to act: an instance of bodily dexterity relying on practical maritime skill and ruthless decisiveness, built on secrecy, with powerful effects. In this way the

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[60] *Serious Reflections during the Life and Surprising Adventures of Robinson Crusoe*, ed. by G. A. Starr (London: Pickering & Chatto, 2008), pp. 52–53, hereafter *SR*.

narrative represents an instance of the sudden turn, a narrative form of 'cunning intelligence', combined with yet another successful inculcation of gratitude and fidelity in a fellow captive who is made a servant by being carried away in an act of rebellion and having his life spared, in order that he can later be sold to the Portuguese captain. Through these actions, the resourceful Crusoe achieves a reversal in his circumstances: his management is a dextrous movement, a 'coup', using whatever materials are to hand, from a state of subjection to one of power, eventuating in the possession of authority over another person, which — mediated at every stage by a magical account of human emotion and beneficence — furnishes the foundation for all his later wealth.

Management is the kind of action undertaken by a servant (Crusoe has been a Barbary captive) in the process of leaving the condition of service. The contention of this chapter is that the management necessitated by this process is the model for or fundamental source of management in Defoe's novels more broadly. Defoe's adventure fiction tracks his protagonists' movements from servant to commander of service, and from instrument to wielder of intermediaries. 'Management', moreover, is one among a number of double-voiced terms, 'though Allegorical, [...] also Historical' (*SR*, p. 51), which, the preface writer claims, refer both to real events recounted in the *Life* and the *Farther Adventures* and also figure the real actions in the life of another man, Defoe, who often wrote about his own 'Life of Wonders' and is here responding to, by extending, Charles Gildon's accusation that Crusoe was the 'true Allegorick Image' of Defoe.[61] Defoe's equivocations in the preface, often cited as an exemplar of his tortured position on the fictionality of his narratives and the defensibility of romances with moral effects, serve to connect Crusoe's adventurous deftness — his navigation of a terrain populated

[61] Charles Gildon, *The Life And Strange Surprizing Adventures of Mr. D—— De F—, of London, Hosier* (London, 1719), p. x.

by biblical tribulations and the various generic hazards of romance, travel, and crime — to the cunning intelligence necessary for grappling with events nearer to home.[62]

3. Conclusion

Management, then, was a textual as well as a social phenomenon. 'Management' refers to the skilful arrangement of materials in a composition; it was a term that mediated between social and narrative arrangement.[63] This process is what Victoria Kahn, drawing on Terence Cave, calls the 'paralogism of romance': the process whereby the resolution of a plot by 'inartistic means' (including the ingenious ruses of a protagonist as well as the representation of coincidences, mistakes, and elaborate deceptions), rather than through the working out of events, comes to serve as a magnet for the issue of fictionality and specifically fictional effects characterised by the manipulation of readers. Disruption of the 'contract of mimesis', on Kahn's reading, points 'not only to the social construction of genre but also to the conventionality of the social contract more generally'.[64] In Defoe, they are connected with a model of workplace control, on which to model a kind of sovereignty over a territory imaged as a workplace (like a colony) and include within

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[62] Lennard Davis, *Factual Fictions: The Origins of the English Novel* (New York: Columbia University Press, 1983), pp. 160–61; Maximillian Novak, 'Defoe's Theory of Fiction', *Studies in Philology*, 61.4 (1964), 650–68 (pp. 653–55) and 'Novel or Fictional Memoir: The Scandalous Publication of "Robinson Crusoe"', *The Age of Johnson*, 18 (2007), 207–44; Marshall, pp. 96–99; Markley, *Far East*, p. 181.

[63] For examples of the term used in this way, see Sarah Cowper's July 1702 commentary on a letter from Sir William, in which 'good meaning' is 'spoiled in the Management', HALS, DE/P/F29, p. 249. For examples from printed texts, see Lucy Hutchinson, *Memoirs of the Life of Colonel Hutchinson*, ed. by James Sutherland (Oxford: Oxford University Press, 1973), pp. 27–32; Aphra Behn, *Oroonoko; Or, the Royal Slave*, in *Oroonoko and Other Writings*, ed. by Paul Salzman (Oxford: Oxford University Press, 1994), p. 6; Anthony Ashley Cooper, third Earl of Shaftesbury, *Miscellany I*, in *Characteristics of Men, Manners, Opinions, Times*, ed. by Lawrence Klein (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 1999), pp. 339–50 (p. 349), quoted in Eve Tavor Bannet, *Eighteenth-Century Manners of Reading: Print Culture and Popular Instruction in the Anglophone World* (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 2017), p. 175.

[64] Victoria Kahn, *Wayward Contracts: The Crisis of Political Obligation in England, 1640-1674* (Princeton: Princeton University Press, 2004), p. 192. Marshall mounts a similar argument on the basis of the theatrical manipulations in *Robinson Crusoe* and *A Journal of the Plague Year*, focussed on the centrality of 'impersonation' to Defoe's understanding of fiction, *Figure of Theater*, pp. 81–103.

them physical dexterity as well as mental agility. Management in Defoe's fiction endorses metafictional effects and allegorisis even as it connects bodily dexterity to social and political manoeuvring on a legal terrain. These strategies are certainly not exhausted by the concept 'management'; the present chapter concentrates on this notion because it indicated for Defoe, as well as for his contemporaries, a way of mediating between different levels and scales, on the model of the skilful arrangement and disposition of elements, a privileged moment of which is the service relation. By following the progress of management in Defoe's fiction — both his use of it as a strategic mediating term and his idiosyncratic presentation of it as a specific method of government — a perspective is opened up on the role and meaning of skill in early eighteenth-century England.

Management is a way of governing that is scalable because it remains personalised. In Defoe's novels, it designates a way of imaginatively comprehending a spatially and temporally extended network of trade, expropriation, unfree labour, and military power, not by positing cognition of one's implication in it as a sublime limit or as a textual disturbance of the local by the global, but by imagining skilful participation in it — handling it —as necessary to life.[65] This chapter has argued that in Defoe's novels 'management' as a kind of government, based on the political theory of service and slavery or on the commercial negotiation and exploitation of competing legal regimes, is systematically imagined as a species of dexterity. Knowledge of the legal regime supplies the discursive or theoretical component by which interpersonal dexterity is guided in order for the latter to be properly skilled. Defoe's works are not bearers of the polysemy of seventeenth- and eighteenth-century 'management'; rather, they explore the idea's 'inner articulations and contradictions'.[66] Management is tied up with managed display, with secrecy and with tableaux. Management in its specific, narrow sense — as a practice

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[65] James Thompson, *Models of Value: Eighteenth-Century Political Economy and the Novel* (Durham: Duke University Press, 1996), pp. 9, 10 and Kevis Goodman, *Georgic Modernity and British Romanticism: Poetry and the Mediation of History* (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 2004), p. 6 both draw on Fredric Jameson, 'Cognitive Mapping,' in *Marxism and the Interpretation of Culture*, ed. Cary Nelson and Lawrence Grossberg (Urbana: University of Illinois Press, 1988), pp. 347–60 (p. 349) to make this point. For an alternative articulation, see Bruce Robbins, 'The Sweatshop Sublime', *PMLA*,117.1 (2002), 84-97.

[66] Roland Greene, 'Resistance in Process', *Prose Studies*, 32.2 (2010), 101-9 (p. 107).

of government, concept and narrative — was understood by Defoe as a species of skill, premised on secrecy and hiddenness and operated through theatrical performance. Management is also used by Defoe as a way of mediating between dexterity at different scales and different arenas, practices which were understood as having to do with arranging things, while maintaining the sense that these practices include bodily comportment. As a perspective, management allows us to see that Defoe regarded social relations as something that it was necessary to have skill to navigate, and that the kind of skill needed to navigate them was best developed on the model of coercive relations between masters or mistresses and their servants, mediated by managers: figures who are the faithful instrument of their employer.

Chapter 5. Patterns of Skill: Servants and Practical Knowledge in Early Eighteenth-Century Abridgements, Epitomes, and Adventure Fiction

What can be learnt about skill from studying prose fiction featuring servants and the market in which they emerged? Exploring how these texts were re-written, appropriated, and contested by writers and other agents in the eighteenth-century print trades, this chapter puts together abridgements of Defoe's *Colonel Jack* and *Robinson Crusoe* alongside examples of prose fiction written in the wake of *Crusoe* in the 1720s. Central to the action of this adventure fiction, which addresses and modifies the maritime and criminal worlds identified with Defoe's fiction, is the skill of their protagonists, many of whom are placed in servile positions.[1] Aiming to locate the history of skill within the history of these fictional modes and the history of reading, this chapter suggests that the persons and situations represented in these books, the diverse range of narrative poetics and material forms they exhibit, the publication strategies of which they were a part, and the forms of reading which they solicited, responded to, and partially record can tell us much about how the literate public understood skill in the period, and the kind of enjoyment or edification they took from reading about it.

This chapter draws on a renewed interest in adventure fiction among scholars of the novel in order to support its investigation into the accounts of skilled work offered in early eighteenth-century fiction and the pleasure and instruction that these novels' episodic or segmented dramas of problem-solving afforded contemporary readers.[2] In particular, the chapter draws on the powerful formalist analysis of Defoe's narrative poetics and their capacity to render skilled performance offered by Margaret Cohen in *The Novel and the Sea*, in tandem with Eve Bannet's *Transatlantic Stories and the History of Reading*, which studies the re-writing, reframing, and circulation of Defoe's and other

[1] 'Adventure fiction' is a retrospective designation, but the texts to which it refers were grouped by early eighteenth-century readers, as discussed in section two, below.

[2] Nancy Armstrong and Leonard Tennenhouse, 'The Problem of Population and the Form of the American Novel', *American Literary History*, 20.4 (2008), 667–85; Margaret Cohen, 'The Right to Mobility in Adventure Fiction', *Novel*, 42.2 (2009), 290–96.

maritime fictions.[3] Bannet's attention to the ways novels produced in the wake of Defoe, far from being derivative, contested his representation of Atlantic and Mediterranean worlds, provides this chapter with a model for how to interrogate the political import of these novels at the same time as understanding the uses to which readers might have put them. The chapter also draws on recent scholarship that addresses the re-appropriation and re-mediation of seventeenth- and eighteenth-century fiction, and related efforts to historically particularise the expectations and manners of reading codified by early eighteenth-century genres.[4]

Section one looks at abridgements and epitomes of *Robinson Crusoe* and *Colonel Jack*, using the evidence of reading and re-writing that they contain to study how contemporary authors, booksellers, and printers responded to Defoe's example, especially his presentation of skill and management. It also explores what the autobiography of Thomas Gent — the self-described 'servant' of the printer Edward Midwinter who wrote one or both of the two most popular eighteenth-century *Crusoe* abridgements — has to say about the kind of skilled practice abridgement-writing was. Section two then turns to adventure narratives that responded to and sought to revise Defoe's example, reading fiction by William Chetwood and Penelope Aubin and focussing especially on an early response to *Robinson Crusoe* of unknown authorship, *The Adventures, and Surprizing Deliverances, of James Dubourdieu, and his Wife* (1719). By interrogating the narrative contents and composite forms of these volumes, the section demonstrates how the various abilities to survive, serve, and prosper that were celebrated in Defoe's fiction were reshaped. Overall, the chapter follows two threads. It investigates the possible ways of

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[3] Margaret Cohen, *The Novel and the Sea* (Princeton: Princeton University Press, 2010), pp. 1–14, 59–98; Eve Tavor Bannet, *Transatlantic Stories and the History of Reading, 1720–1810: Migrant Fictions* (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 2011).

[4] Daniel Cook, 'On Authorship, Appropriation, and Eighteenth-Century Fiction', in *The Afterlives of Eighteenth-Century Fiction*, ed. by Daniel Cook and Nicholas Seager (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 2015), pp. 20–42; Andrew O'Malley, *Children's Literature, Popular Culture, and Robinson Crusoe* (Houndmills: Palgrave Macmillan, 2012). On historicising genre and reading practices, see Nicholas Seager, 'Daniel Defoe, the Novel, the Canon, and *The Memoirs of Major Alexander Ramkins*', *Eighteenth-Century Novel*, 8 (2011), 31–59; Kate Loveman, *Reading Fictions, 1660–1740: Deception in English Literary and Political Culture* (Aldershot: Ashgate, 2008); Eve Tavor Bannet, *Eighteenth-Century Manners of Reading: Print Culture and Popular Instruction in the Anglophone World* (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 2017).

representing the acquisition, possession, and practice of service-related skill; and it investigates the ideological meanings of skill and of the individual and collective possibilities that were predicated upon it. In addition to tracking how Defoe's fiction studied in chapter four was taken up and contested, then, the chapter also addresses new domains of writerly skill that look forwards into the eighteenth century. In studying how ideas about skill and service circulated and were enjoyed in the second quarter of the eighteenth century, the chapter returns to and extends through different media the analysis of the uses of imaginary and ornamental servants offered in the final section of chapter one.

1. Abridging Defoe, 1719–1734

This section looks at a selection of abridgements and epitomes of *Robinson Crusoe* and *Colonel Jack* produced in the years immediately following publication of Defoe's novels. It asks: what can the ways in which Defoe's narratives were read and re-written disclose about early eighteenth-century understandings of skill and of the forms appropriate to its representation? As Roger Chartier and others have pointed out, what historical readers made of their readings cannot be inferred from the thematic or typographic content of what they read. Because the same cultural artefacts and texts were shared between elite and non-elite audiences and were read or used in a variety of ways that were not isomorphic with sociocultural or geographic demarcations, and since it is the different reading styles and strategies of use that are decisive in making individual meanings and constructing interpretive communities, general links between a sociological group, a set of cultural objects, and a collection of presuppositions and pleasures in relation to reading —

the who, what, and how of reading — cannot be easily established.[5] Nonetheless, since accounts of how non-elite readers read and the traces of their reading are relatively few, we can look at the format of what was published as an index of styles of reading or modes of appropriation.[6] Formal and material characteristics of texts respond to, anticipate and may or may not successfully produce a public defined by shared modes of appropriating texts.[7] Serial rewritings and reprintings make visible what D. F. McKenzie called the 'social motives' underlying particular readings.[8] While the images considered in chapter one were 'afloat', then, the texts this chapter examines are rather more tethered to their uses.

As Jordan Howell and others have noted, abridgements of texts, fictional and otherwise, were widely accepted as useful by publishers and by both polite and popular readers, provided the intended market of original and abridgement were sufficiently different. Indeed, the early eighteenth-century book trades appear to have been marked by a high degree of coordination and cooperation between abridgers and the owners of the copyright in original texts.[9] The format of particular abridgements reflect deliberate practices of market segmentation. In this sense, abridgements offer evidence not only of how 'common cultural sets are appropriated differently' but also, as Lori Newcomb

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[5] Roger Chartier, 'Popular Appropriations: The Readers and their Books', in *Forms and Meanings: Texts, Performances, and Audiences from Codex to Computer* (Philadelphia: University of Pennsylvania Press, 1995), pp. 83–97 (pp. 88–89) and 'Reading Matter and "Popular" Reading: From the Renaissance to the Seventeenth Century', in *A History of Reading in the West*, ed. by Guglielmo Cavallo and Roger Chartier, trans. by Lydia Cochrane (Oxford and Cambridge: Polity, 1999), pp. 269–83 (pp. 270–73); James Raven, 'New Reading Histories, Print Culture and the Identification of Change: The Case of Eighteenth-Century England', *Social History*, 23.3 (1998), 268–87.

[6] Chartier, 'Reading', pp. 275–81 and *The Cultural Uses of Print in Early Modern France*, trans. by Lydia Cochrane (Princeton: Princeton University Press, 1987), pp. 240–64.

[7] Roger Chartier, 'Laborers and Voyagers: From the Text to the Reader', trans. by J. A. González, *Diacritics*, 22.2 (1992), 49–61.

[8] D. F. McKenzie, *Bibliography and the Sociology of Texts* (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 1999), p. 29.

[9] Jordan Howell, 'Eighteenth-Century Abridgements of *Robinson Crusoe*', *The Library*, 7th ser., 15.3 (2014), 292–343 (pp. 293, 304–05, 308–12, 315). See also Bannet, *Stories*, pp. 26–27. On the public battle between William Taylor and Thomas Cox over the latter's abridgement of *Robinson Crusoe*, see Henry Hutchins, *'Robinson Crusoe' and its Printing, 1719–1731: A Bibliographical Study* (New York: Columbia University Press, 1925), pp. 142–45.

argues, of how they are appropriated 'in order to differentiate'.[10] Building on the work of Eve Bannet, Pat Rogers, and others who have studied the poetics of these abridgements and the kinds of re-writing that created them, then, this section takes eighteenth-century *Crusoe* abridgements as records of a certain market-mediated way of reading Defoe's texts, in anticipation of how specific imagined others would want to read them, and therefore as evidence for how ideas of skill and management present in Defoe's writing were appropriated and transformed.[11]

To begin, this section examines how a basket-making episode is rendered in two early abridgements of *Robinson Crusoe*. It looks in detail at, first, an abridgement of all three volumes undertaken for the ballad and chapbook printer and bookseller Edward Midwinter by the journeyman printer Thomas Gent in 1722, and sold by Midwinter, illustrated with woodcuts.[12] This text is compared with a 1737 printing of a shorter illustrated Midwinter–Gent 'epitome' (originally printed *c*. 1722–1724), which further compresses the text.[13] The section also makes reference to an abridgement of the first volume, published by Thomas Cox in 1719, which Gent used when abridging volume one of *Robinson Crusoe*.[14] The basketmaking episode is chosen because, although wicker-work is not the craft in which Crusoe boasts most success, it is the only case in Defoe's novel

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[10] Lori Newcomb, *Reading Popular Romance in Early Modern England* (New York: Columbia University Press, 2002), p. 12, adapting Chartier, 'Popular', p. 89.

[11] Bannet, *Stories*, pp. 7–12, 24–41; Pat Rogers, *Literature and Popular Culture in Eighteenth Century England* (Brighton: Harvester, 1985), pp. 167–73, 189–95; O'Malley, pp. 76–101; Howell, pp. 299–302, 335-43. For comparisons between the Taylor editions and Cox abridgement, see also Lucius Hubbard, 'Text Changes in the Taylor Editions of Robinson Crusoe with Remarks on the Cox Edition', *Papers of the Bibliographical Society of America*, 20.1–2 (1926), 1–76; Hutchins, pp. 150–57.

[12] *The Life And most Surprizing Adventures of Robinson Crusoe, of York, Mariner. […] The whole Three Volumes faithfully Abridged* (London, 1722); hereafter Midwinter–Gent (1722). In the second (1724) and third (1726) editions, Midwinter is listed among the sellers on the imprint.

[13] *The Wonderful Life, And most Surprizing Adventures of Robinson Crusoe, of York; Mariner […] Faithfully Epitomized from the Three Volumes* (London, 1737); hereafter Bettesworth (1737).The first three editions of this text, printed in 1722 (possibly), 1724, and 1734, respectively, are not available in the United Kingdom.

[14] *The Life And Strange Surprizing Adventures of Robinson Crusoe, of York, Mariner: Who lived eight and twenty Years all alone […] Written Originally by Himself, and now faithfully Abrdig'd, in which not one remarkable Circumstance is omitted* (London, 1719); hereafter Cox (1719). For Gent's use of Cox, see Hubbard, p. 53; Hutchins, p. 135.

where Crusoe's possession of practical knowledge is explicitly grounded in a skill acquired by observation and practice and validated by a collective. By contrast, Crusoe's agricultural, axe-sharpening, and kiln-making abilities are all contrived explicitly without his previously having seen how such things are done.[15] Crusoe's initial basketmaking experiments, analysed here, form the first in a series of events that culminate in Atkins' wickerwork house in the *Farther Adventures*, as discussed in chapter four. It is thus a practice of skill and object of management pivotal to the first two volumes of *Crusoe*.

Here is how the episode appears in the first 1719 edition of *Robinson Crusoe*, published by Taylor:

> This Time I found much Employment, (and very suitable also to the Time) for I found great Occasion of many Things which I had no way to furnish my self with, but by hard Labour and constant Application; particularly, I try'd many Ways to make myself a Basket, but all the Twigs I could get for the Purpose prov'd so brittle, that they would do nothing. It prov'd of excellent Advantage to me now, That when I was a Boy, I used to take great Delight in standing at a *Basketmakers*, in the Town where my Father liv'd, to see them make their *Wicker-ware*; and being as Boys usually are, very officious to help, and a great Observer of the Manner how they work'd those Things, and sometimes lending Hand, I had by this means full Knowledge of the Methods of it, that I wanted nothing but the Materials; when it came into my Mind, That the Twigs of that Tree from whence I cut my Stakes that grew, might possibly be as tough as the *Sallows*, and *Willows*, and *Osiers* in England, and I resolved to try.
>
> Accordingly the next Day, I went to my Country-House, as I call'd it, and cutting some of the smaller twigs, I found them to my Purpose as much as I could desire; whereupon I came the next Time prepar'd with a Hatchet to cut down a Quantity, which I soon found, for there was great Plenty of them; these I set up to dry within my Circle or Hedge, and when they were fit for Use, I carry'd them to my Cave, and here during the next Season, I employ'd my self in making, *as well as I could*, a great many Baskets, both to carry Earth, or to carry or lay up any Thing as I had occasion; and tho' I did not finish them very handsomly, yet I made them sufficiently serviceable for my Purpose; and thus afterwards I took Care never to be without them; and as my *Wicker-ware* decay'd, I made more, especially, I made strong deep Baskets to place my Corn in, instead of Sacks, when I should come to have any Quantity of it.

[15] Daniel Defoe, *Robinson Crusoe*, ed. by Thomas Keymer, 2nd edn (Oxford: Oxford University Press, 2007), pp. 67, 71,103; hereafter *RC*.

> Having master'd this Difficulty, and employ'd a World of Time about it, I bestirr'd myself to see if possible how to supply two Wants.[16]

Crusoe's younger self learned in the way an apprentice was supposed to learn, by watching and doing. Three aspects of Defoe's narrative poetics that, for Cohen, create the 'performability effect' of *Crusoe*'s narrative, which persuades through 'the structure of the episode rather than the rhetoric of description' are well evidenced here.[17] First, the way in which Defoe ensures 'unity of action': each episode in *Crusoe* is focussed on a 'single deed' — in this case, the weaving of baskets. Second, Defoe's amplification of the toil and danger involved in each episode — in this case, Crusoe's initial failures, his multiple trips to his country house, his subsequent repair and maintenance work. Third, the way Defoe writes 'adventures of problem-solution', dilating the time between the emergence of a problem and the working out of a solution for it, serially connected 'through a tightly sequenced narrative'.[18] The passage is insistently purposeful, each phrase providing the materials for the next and each main verb in the second paragraph correlated with an infinitive or a preposition (to, for) indicating a purpose — a microcosm of the connectivity of Crusoe's labours, where one problem solved leads to the 'next Concern' or 'next Difficulty' (*RC*, p. 104). Finally, building on Cohen, it is notable that the diffusion of temporal position at the end of the second paragraph is also characteristic of Defoe's rhetoric of skilled practice: while placed within a sequence of actions, the closure of the basket-making episode bleeds into a future in which all the actions that are narrated as taking place during the temporal unity of 'This Time' have been achieved.[19] Crusoe's skilled practice is prognostic.

In the longer Midwinter–Gent 'abridgement' the passage's beginning does not coincide with a paragraph division and it is thoroughly compressed:

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[16] *The Life And Strange Surprizing Adventures of Robinson Crusoe, Of York, Mariner* (London, 1719), pp. 125–26; *RC*, pp. 91–92.

[17] Cohen, *Novel*, pp. 72–73.

[18] Cohen, *Novel*, pp. 68, 71.

[19] For other instances of this pattern, see *RC*, pp. 64, 98–99, 122, 136–37.

> And in this Time I contriv'd to make many Things that I wanted, tho' it was with much Labour and Pains before I could accomplish 'em. The first I try'd was to make a Basket; but all the Twigs I could get, prov'd so brittle, that I could not then perform it. But now it prov'd of excellent Advantage to me, that when a Boy, I took great Delight in standing at a Basket-maker's in the same Town where my Father lived, to view them at Work, and like other Boys curious to see the Manner of their working these Things, and very officious to assist, I perfectly learn'd the Method of it, and wanted nothing but the Tools. And then it came into my Mind, that the Twigs of that Tree of which I made my Stakes, might be as tough as *Sallow*, *Willow* and *Osiers*, growing in *England*; and so resolving to make an Experiment, I went next day to my Country Seat, and found some fit for my Turn; and cutting down Numbers with my Hatchet, I dry'd them in my Pale, and when fit to work with, carried them to my Cave, where I employ'd myself in making several sorts of Baskets to put in whatsoever I pleased: It is true, they were not cleverly made, yet they served my Turn upon all Occasions.
>
> But still I wanted two necessary Things.[20]

That Gent used the Cox abridgement for his abridgement of volume one is suggested by the correspondence of many otherwise unmotivated substitutions, including 'experiment', 'fit for my turn', and 'cleverly made'.[21] Nonetheless, Gent reinstates some of Defoe's language of labour in the opening sentence (Cox's abridgement deleted all reference to 'hard Labour and constant Application', rendered by Gent with the conventional hendiadys 'Labour and Pains'), suggesting that he also worked with the text as published by Taylor. Gent's itemisation of the basketmaking as 'first', rather than Defoe's selective focus on it as 'particularly' effects a subtle shift. In place of a multiplicity of 'employment', some aspects of which will be illuminated in narrative, Gent's 'many Things' serves as a general characterisation of a set of actions, introducing an exhaustive list. As in Cox, although by different means, Gent strips away the penumbra of labour and amplifies the seriality of Crusoe's activities. The gain in temporal clarity requires a diminution of the sense created by Defoe's narrative of many processes set in train in sequence, each proceeding concurrently in the same present and cumulatively adding complexity to the island's environment. Gent also reduces the language of trial and error which remained in

[20] Midwinter–Gent (1722), pp. 57–58.

[21] Compare Cox (1719), pp. 88–89.

the Cox abridgement: Crusoe only makes one trip to his country house. The purposeful language of Defoe's second paragraph (doing *x* in order to *y*, which is the condition of possibility for *z*) has been replaced with parataxis, figuring intention through the energetic sequence of actions. Finally, the narrative prolepsis at the close of the episode, still faintly present in Cox, is entirely flattened in Gent's version, and along with it the iterative quality of the whole narration. In sum, by simplifying Crusoe's actions and clarifying their sequence while retaining detail about the qualities of the objects on which Crusoe works, Gent amplifies Crusoe's singleness of purpose and shapes the continuous forward motion of the episode, at the cost of deleting much of the activity of problem-solution and losing a sense of aim, action, and result at the level of the phrase.

The Midwinter–Gent 'epitome' renders the passage :

> I always took Care to provide Necessaries, that I might stay within during the wetness of the Weather, and in that Time I took Care to make me such Tools as I most wanted.
>
> The first Thing I attempted, was, to make me a Basket, which after much Labour and Difficulty, I effected; but the two Things I most wanted […][22]

This text retains all the essential objects and events of Defoe's original: the rains, the many things made, the difficulty, the basket. The sequence of events is clear, but the process of skill is merely indicated, by 'Difficulty', rather than enacted. Crusoe becomes a practitioner of 'Care' rather than a man contriving advantages. The fact of accomplishment is key. As this sequence of examples makes clear, even at the micro-level, abridgement was a process of compression and re-writing in order to include all major plot points, rather than one of excision.[23]

If the end result of abridgement at the level of the episode and plot was to increase the ratio of event to text and to strengthen the experience of causality, then, at the the level of the sentence and paragraph, by deleting extraneous reflection, hesitancy,

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[22] Bettesworth (1737), p. 43.

[23] Bannet, *Stories*, p. 27; Hubbard, p. 48; Howell, p. 299.

and narrative by-paths, these abridgements tended to remove exactly the qualities of Defoe's narrative poetics that Cohen identified as so innovative: his representation of skill through problem-solution, building on the narrative protocols of maritime literature.[24] Abridgement diluted the concentration of the lexicon of cause and effect, of action towards a defined purpose, which is characteristic of the micro-level of Defoe's style in *Crusoe* (although in some cases that lexicon does not in fact render purposive activity or an instance cause and effect, as in the presentation of Crusoe's memory).

It is notable across all these abridgements that they de-emphasise the moral qualities attached to Crusoe's labour at the same time they diminish its painfulness. Whereas in the passage initially quoted, and throughout Defoe' text, Crusoe's island labour serves as evidence that he is suitably employed and has not been idle, in the abridgements his skill and labour are simply exercised in response to necessity.[25] These aspects of the presentation of skill and labour are of a piece with the abridgement's general reduction in the proportion of the text given over to spiritual introspection.[26] Both Midwinter–Gent 'abridgement' and 'epitome' radically condense the *Serious Reflections*, reflecting the fact that, throughout the eighteenth century, unabridged editions of the *Crusoe* trilogy including the third volume were far less frequently printed than editions composed of instalments one and two.[27] However, Gent's differential compression is not only related to religiosity: both 'abridgement' and 'epitome' also condense the second half of the *Farther Adventures*, which narrates Crusoe's trading ventures in East Asia and his overland journey back to Europe through China and Russia, to a far greater degree than the first half, which deals with Crusoe's return to the island. While a number of scholars including Roxann Wheeler have stressed that concentration on Crusoe's island to the exclusion of 'other geographies of Imperialism' in

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[24] O'Malley, pp. 48–101; Rogers, pp. 170, 190; Cohen, *Novel*, pp. 15–58, 68.

[25] *RC*, pp. 97, 98, 101, 115, 129; compare for example Midwinter–Gent (1722), p. 62.

[26] Hubbard, pp. 51–52; Rogers, pp. 192, 195; Bannet, *Stories*, pp. 26, 32.

[27] Melissa Free, 'Un-Erasing Crusoe: Farther Adventures in the Nineteenth Century', *Book History*, 9 (2006), 89–130; D. F. Foxon, 'More on *Robinson Crusoe*', *The Library*, 5th ser., 25.1 (1970), 57–58.

the novels risks rendering the island mythical in a way that repeats the novel's nineteenth-century reception, then, it is nonetheless the case that Defoe's narrative of reform and skilled management was clearly of the most interest to abridgers.[28] By catering to an anticipated desire for more of the same, these abridgements contributed to the process of rendering an island-centred *Crusoe* text 'socially canonical', in David Brewer's terms; a shared property among printers and public that anticipates the production of the island as a space of fascinated play, characteristic of later eighteenth-century responses.[29]

The narrative poetics and plots of these abridgements are thus useful evidence for the history of skill because changes made to Defoe's text by abridgers and printers register, inter alia, alternative approaches to skill. The evidence they provide is especially salient because the majority of readers who encountered the story of *Robinson Crusoe* in English in the eighteenth century read an abridged edition, whether in standalone volumes or serialised in newspapers.[30] Abridgements were popular and profitable work, and represented the most accessible forms.[31] As Jordan Howell as shown, in the period 1719–1750, abridgements of all three volumes of *Robinson Crusoe* were as frequently printed as unabridged editions (production of abridgements rapidly took off thereafter). Moreover, of those abridged editions, the majority are accounted for by two 'textual families', originating from the longer Midwinter 'abridgement' and shorter 'epitome',

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[28] Roxann Wheeler, *The Complexion of Race: Categories of Difference in Eighteenth-Century British Culture* (Philadelphia: University of Pennsylvania Press, 2000), p. 54. See also Bannet, *Stories*, pp. 32–42; Markley, *Far East*, p. 179.

[29] David Brewer, *The Afterlife of Character, 1726–1825* (Philadelphia: University of Pennsylvania Press, 2005), pp. 17–18.

[30] Rogers, p. 164, 189–95; Michael Suarez, 'Publishing Contemporary English Literature, 1695–1774', in *The Cambridge History of the Book in Britain, Volume V: 1695–1830*, ed. by Michael Suarez and Michael Turner (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 2009), pp. 649–66 (p. 665).

[31] On Midwinter's stock and capital, see Margaret Spufford, *Small Books and Pleasant Histories: Popular Fiction and its Readership in Seventeenth-Century England* (London: Methuen, 1981), pp. 86, 90–91; Newcomb, pp. 238–39. See also *The Life of Mr. Thomas Gent, Printer, of York; Written by Himself* (London, 1832), pp. 113–14, 137–39; hereafter, *Life*. Unlike the Cox and Gent versions, the compilations of criminal lives in which Colonel Jack appeared (discussed below) were not cheap volumes, although Lincoln Faller notes a 1725 advertisement for a now-lost abridgement, priced at 3d., which he speculates may be the basis for the 'Life' offered in these abridged versions, *Crime and Defoe: A New Kind of Writing* (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 1993), p. 52.

respectively.[32] Thus, one of the most frequently-read texts containing both the *Life and Strange Surprizing Adventures* and the *Farther Adventures* was written by a man describing himself as a 'servant', Thomas Gent. The following paragraphs describe his further interventions into Defoe's text, before using the evidence of Gent's autobiography to explore what kind of practice abridging texts was.

In combination with the compressions assessed above, abridgers of *Robinson Crusoe* also effected changes in the representation of skill by intervening in the organisation of Defoe's text through non-verbal means and by adding text to change the narrative setting. In the *Farther Adventures*, after Crusoe has returned to his island colony, a lengthy segment of the book is taken up by the reported speech of the Spaniard whom Crusoe left behind as governor, bringing Crusoe up to speed on the consolidation of his settlement.[33] Crusoe explicitly aims to write 'Historically', leaving out the 'ten Thousand *said I*'s, and *said he*'s' necessitated by the first person and aligning the Spaniard's viewpoint and priorities closely with Crusoe's own (*FA*, p. 30). The Spaniard's relation is interspersed with Crusoe's own reflections upon the narrative, before it shades almost imperceptibly into Crusoe's continuation of the story, producing the same readerly disorientation as Crusoe's extemporisations on his journal in the first volume, which 'stealthily becomes redaction even as we read it', as McKeon notes, so creating the 'peculiar coexistence of historicity and subjectivity' characteristic of *Robinson Crusoe*.[34] By contrast, in the 1722 Midwinter–Gent 'abridgement', the hazy transition between the Spaniard's narration and Crusoe's own is sharpened. Gent adds sentences of his own, dramatising the situation of discourse and making clear the division of the narration, in

32 Howell, pp. 295–97, 315, 321.

33 *FA*, pp. 29–79.

34 *FA*, pp. 40–42, 50–54; compare *RC*, pp. 148–49, 193; Michael McKeon, *The Origins of the English Novel, 1600–1740* (Baltimore: Johns Hopkins University Press, 1987), p. 317. Defoe's original text, as well as the Dublin edition, and the Cox and Midwinter abridgements, indicate the beginning of the journal with a separate title (Midwinter, p. 35; Cox, p. 52; Dublin, p. 35 [mispaginated = p. 67]. The end fades ambiguously into Crusoe's summary narration (Midwinter, p. 56; Cox, p. 85; Dublin, p. 98).

tandem with ornaments and separate headings (Plate 11). To the end of the Spanish governor's relation, Gent adds a useful recap of the action so far:

> Thus, kind Sir, have I given you, according to my Ability, an impartial Account of the various Transactions that have happen'd in the Island since your Departure [...]. When you inspect your little Kingdom, you will find it something improv'd in general, your Flocks increased, and your Subjects augmented: So that from a *Desolate Island*, as this was before your wonderful Deliverance upon it, here is a visible Prospect, of its becoming a populous and well-govern'd little Kingdom, to your immortal Fame and Glory.[35]

After a line of text marking the end of his speech, a border, and a lengthy heading announcing the resumption of Crusoe's own narration 'Written by Himself', Gent adds: 'There is no Doubt to suppose, but what the Precedent Relation of my faithful *Spaniard*, was very agreeable, and no less surprizing, to me, the young Priest, and to those that heard it [...].' Almost identical additional passages and page layout are found in the shorter Midwinter–Gent epitome (even though the foregoing and subsequent text is radically compressed).[36] Abridging Defoe also meant, in this instance, adapting his continuous work to an eighteenth-century norm of chapter-like divisions and interpolated tales (of the kind adopted by the contemporaneous adventure fiction examined in section two of this chapter), against which Defoe's fashionable 'Histories at Large' were understood as aberrant by contemporaries.[37] As chapter four noted, the dialogue between Atkins and his wife in the *Farther Adventures* is also given a separate heading in Midwinter–Gent, setting it apart as a brief inset tale.[38]

How might the formal choices of Gent, and of whoever was responsible for the page layout, if not him, produce or reflect different concepts of skill and practical knowledge? These alterations make easier the kind of extensive and intermittent reading

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[35] Midwinter–Gent (1722), p. 253.

[36] Bettesworth (1737), pp. 105–6.

[37] Jane Barker, *A Patch-Work Screen for the Ladies* (London, 1723), p. iv. Barker groups 'Robinson Crusoe, and Moll Flanders; Colonel Jack, and Sally Salisbury' in this category.

[38] Midwinter–Gent (1722), pp. 273–76.

strategies which were characteristic not only of readers of the *Bibliothèque bleue* and other popular literatures, as imagined by its publishers, but which were also, 'in other modalities', characteristic of numerous areas of elite eighteenth-century textuality with its proliferation of 'miscellaneous, discontinuous' forms of writing and corresponding manners of reading.[39] These changes also have consequences for the representation of skill and management. While Crusoe is able to insert himself into the infrastructure of his island in order to effect management in Defoe's *Farther Adventures*, the subsequent abridgements and epitomes of the novel undo this effect by making the novel into a tapestry of tales. Again, the emphasis is thrown on the accomplishment of skilled activity and not its process, while Defoe's protagonists' tendency to elide their own subjectivities with those of their managers and servants is blocked.

The Midwinter–Gent abridgement is also remarkable in that Thomas Gent's identity as its writer is known. The following paragraphs, therefore, investigate what Gent's autobiography (written in 1746), in which he retrospectively identifies himself as Midwinter's 'servant', can reveal about the kind of skill involved in making abridgements. Gent was arrested on suspicion of having written offensive text about the then-imprisoned Bishop of Rochester. According to his autobiography, on finding himself detained with Midwinter, Gent exclaimed:

> have they made me appear greater than you, by placing me first in the warrant for our apprehension? me, who am but your servant, and, you know, has wrote nothing for you this long time, except an abridgement of three volumes of 'Crusoe' into one, or being otherwise employed in the affairs of printing only?[40]

In this instance, Gent's casting himself as 'but' Midwinter's servant is most obviously interpretable as a strategy to avoid legal culpability. This brief mention of his activity as an

[39] Chartier, *Uses*, p. 249; Chartier, 'Reading', p. 282; Raven, 'Histories', pp. 283–84. For reading strategies, see Bannet, *Manners*, pp. 171–224

[40] *Life*, p. 124. These lines are discussed by Hutchins, who dates the events to between 1720 and 1722, p. 136.

abridger therefore prompts two questions: what kind of servant was Midwinter at the time he wrote for Gent and what kind of writing was the production of an abridgement?

Due to a discontinued apprenticeship in Dublin and his subsequent difficulties in gaining freedom of the Stationers' Company, Gent was sensitive to the variable meanings of 'service' as well as its material meaning. Gent's status as Midwinter's servant after gaining his freedom in 1717, working in Midwinter's premises, in 1722–1723, is to be differentiated from his earlier state 'in servitude' as an apprentice, being 'treated [...] as a servant', and from his period of informal freedom doing 'smouting-work [...] labouring here and there without settlement', as well as from his later status as master printer in York.[41] Sharpening his consciousness of service, at the time he was detained, Gent was in the process of setting up his own press 'worked by hired servants'. He is in an intermediate position: 'I helped an under class of my fellow-creatures by keeping servants on occasion, and Mr. Midwinter, as a servant, by my constancy in his business'.[42] Turning to the issue of writing, Gent's reported speech presents abridgement as part of the practical work of a printer, but distinct from 'the affairs of printing only'. By 'writing' or 'written' Gent generally means writing by hand, as opposed to printing or compositing.[43] As has been seen, he worked from both Defoe's original text and also Cox's abridgement when composing his own abridgement of volume one. He had undertaken court reporting and pamphlet writing for Midwinter and others since he was an apprentice, as well as producing occasional poetry, and was proud of his 'genius at the pen'.[44] Notably, Gent also introduced some of his own verse into Chapter Three ('Of Suffering Afflictions') of the radically condensed *Serious Reflections*, which appear in the 1722

[41] For apprentice servitude see *Life*, pp. 10, 11–12, 25, 28, 54. On Gent's Dublin apprenticeship and its fallout, see pp. 22, 54, 66–67. On his informal 'smouting work', see p. 17. For Gent as a 'fellow-servant' of Midwinter after his formal freedom, see pp. 92, 93 and as the 'constant servant' of another printer, p. 74. Gent is mistakenly identified as an apprentice by Rogers, p. 169.

[42] *Life*, pp. 128–29.

[43] *Life*, pp. 96, 97, 119, 122. On one occasion 'writing' appears as a general term (pp. 178–79); usually a distinction is implied between 'writing' and 'printing' or 'composing' (pp. 104, 191).

[44] *Life*, p. 11, 96–97, 101–04, 119, 134

abridgement as an appendix to the *Farther Adventures*.[45] So, in this instance, 'writing' an abridgement is low-level work, of a kind that does not compromise Gent's claim to be 'but your servant', but it is also deliberate, skilful, and creative work, distinct from the everyday. Notwithstanding the fact that Gent explicitly defends his skill as compositor when working for one Mr Wilkins, who assumes Gent's training in cheap print at 'a ballad house' renders him 'insufficient for his polite business' (p. 74). In Joseph Moxon's exhaustive account of the technology and expertise of printing, it was specifically in adapting the punctuation and formatting of title page and body text to 'sympathize with the *Authors* Genius, and also with the capacity of the Reader' that the compositor would 'shew his skill'.[46] In addition to correlating and re-writing *Crusoe* texts, then, it is possible (though the quotation is ambiguous) that Gent was able to exert considerably more control over the appearance of his abridgement, and therefore record his reading of the text, than was Defoe over his volumes.

To conclude, this section now turns to an alternative series of abridgements of *Colonel Jack* in order to compare the effects their condensation has on Jack's skill with the processing characteristic of the *Crusoe* abridgements. *Colonel Jack* abridgements appeared in a number of mid-eighteenth century compendia of criminal lives. These generically constrained redactions of Defoe's text, incorporating it into a genre centrally concerned with criminal technique and morality, record an alternative re-reading and re-writing of Defoe's representation of skill and service. Each compilation uses the same version of Defoe's text, so in what follows I quote from the first to appear.[47]

The abridged *Colonel Jack* concentrates overwhelmingly on Jack's criminal childhood, his enlistment in Scotland, his subsequent desertion, trepanning from

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[45] Midwinter–Gent (1722), p. 341; Hutchins, p. 124.

[46] Joseph Moxon, *Mechanick Exercises: Or, the Doctrine of Handy-Works. Applied to the Art of Printing* (London, 1683), p. 220.

[47] *A General History of the Lives and Adventures Of the Most Famous Highwaymen, Murderers, Street-Robbers, &c. […] by Capt. Charles Johnson* (London, 1734), pp. 117–26. The last to use this abridgement is *A General History of the Lives and Adventures Of the most Famous Highwaymen, Murderers, Pirates, Street-Robbers, and Thief Takers [...] by Capt. Mackdonald* (London, 1758), pp. 50–90. For a full list of compilations consulted, see the bibliography and *CJ*, p. 413.

Newcastle, and sale as an indentured servant in Maryland, and his rise to prosperity as the owner of a plantation, merchant, and exploiter of enslaved and indentured labour. These events, including Jack's meeting with his servant-tutor on his plantation and his and decision to sail for England in order to achieve the 'Life of a Gentleman' together make up the first four-fifths of the narrative, whereas in Defoe's original they comprise approximately two-thirds of the total. Once stability is achieved in the 'Foundation' of Jack's life in the new world, he aims at greater things in the 'Superstructure' (p. 124). The remaining pages of the abridgement narrate in compressed form Jack's voyage to Europe, capture by a French ship, sojourn as a merchant in London, and first marriage in London; his military service with an Irish regiment and then briefly with the French fleet; his second marriage in Paris and duel with his wife's lover; his return to Virginia and marriage to 'a Maid I brought over from England' who 'at last turn'd whore'; and finally his subsequent return to England and attainment of a space to reflect and write his memoirs (now located at 'home' rather than in his 'exile' in the Spanish colonies (*CJ*, p. 337)). The abridgement deletes Jack's earliest participation in battle and deletes his fourth wife (together with his life in the North of England, his fight with the Jacobite rebels at Preston in 1715, and subsequent fear of reprisal). It also omits the recognition of Jack's first-and-fifth wife in Maryland and instead transposes the narrative of his third (London) wife to North America, while reducing his last trading voyages to a sentence. The narrative arc is clear: transportation reforms Jack; through hard work in Maryland, Jack becomes independent and sober, and comes to benefit from the labours of others. The retention of Jack's self-description before his first marriage as a 'meer Boy in the Affair of Love' (p. 126), allows the reader to understand his military and matrimonial adventures in the old word as a second form of progress, the 'superstructure', terminating in a rejection of women (rather than acceptance of being 'managed' by his servant-wife) and an emphasis on his plantation as the condition of autonomy.

The abridgement is interested in Jack's acquisition of skill in a trade and his early aptitude and dexterity, but, in contrast to Defoe's text, ensures that this aptitude remains insulated from the remainder of his life. The abridgement retains verbatim phrases used

for dexterity: 'I undertook to walk by myself; and the first Thing I did accurately, was a Trick I play'd, that argued some Skill for a new Beginner' (p.119), however, the compression and reshaping of Jack's story has the effect of insulating Jack's later life from any taint of 'management' or skilful dexterity, and therefore of removing the possibility for any readerly correlation of situations, techniques, and experiences. Instead, 'management' is located in the activity of subordinates like the servant-tutor (pp. 125–26). The means by which Jack manages on Smith's plantation are entirely cut from the text and reduced to good 'behaviour'; while Jack's retort to Smith, his master, that he has 'as much Gratitude as a *Negro*' is retained (p. 123), in order to differentiate Jack from the enslaved, the 'Principle of Gratitude' to which the phrase refers in Defoe's narrative, on which Jack's management rests, is absent (*CJ*, p. 310). Jack's original skill and dexterity, which form a basis for his later improvisations and his model of labour discipline in Defoe's text, are denuded of their power to grapple with the world in the abridgement. Thus, while this text serves as an example of the generic protocols and priorities of criminal biography above all else, it also illuminates the meaning of skill and management in *Colonel Jack*: the contrasting arenas of skill which *Colonel Jack* mixes — criminal, servile, managerial, political — should be kept separate and non-analogous.

These multiply authored abridgements' rewriting of Defoe's narratives that this section has explored offer evidence for what printers, booksellers, editors, and abridgers thought might be interesting to, and so saleable to, specific segments of readers that they constructed, what they thought was essential to the text, and what they judged to be in need of ideological or formal alteration. The evidence of the Cox and Midwinter–Gent abridgements, combined with Gent's own testimony, enables us to bring together two locations of skill: as represented within texts, and as involved in the practice of abridgement. In Gent's case, it can tentatively be suggested that abridgement involved longhand writing based, at times, on two versions of a 'common cultural set': a skilled adjustment to the capacities of different groups of readers, perhaps including decisions about page layout, that resulted in a representation of skill based in seriality of action and singleness of purpose. Turning from abridgements that worked directly with Defoe's text

to a collection of prose fictions that appeared in the subsequent decade, the following section explores further connections between the form of texts, publishing strategies, and the representation of servant skill.

2. Narrative and Material Forms of Adventure Fiction

This section explores what can be learned about skill by studying the ways in which works of adventure fiction published in the decade after *Robinson Crusoe* adapted, re-appropriated, and re-wrote the concerns and narratives of Defoe's fiction and each other.[48] These texts are good places to excavate concepts and experiences of skill because, in common with Defoe's writing, they explore the resourcefulness of subordinates and their ability to acquire wealth in recognisable Atlantic and Mediterranean worlds. In their form and content they record both substantive ideological disagreements over the meaning of ingenuity and the global possibilities open to British subjects in servant positions, and also the activity of serial re-writing and extending, which in its working on and through a material is revelatory of skill. These styles and imagined worlds of these texts appear quite different to that of *Crusoe* and *Colonel Jack*; however, they were addressed to the same set of problems and were interested in producing effects of instruction and entertainment through the representation of skill. The persons depicted in these fictions are variously servants, emigrants, captives, transports, enslavers, lovers, and merchants of dubious legality who encounter a range of situations that develop their aptitudes: the heterogeneous dangers and obstacles found in shipwreck, foreign captivity, maritime adventure, amorous intrigue, and commercial activity in hostile legal

[48] Defoe himself was not identified as the author of his fictional works in the eighteenth century. However, multiple sources suggest that *Moll Flanders*, *Colonel Jack*, *Roxana* and *Robinson Crusoe* were associated with each other in this period and with similar criminal and adventure pseudo-(auto)biographies. See, for example, Barker (cited above), [Peter Longueville], *The English Hermit* (London, 1727), p. iv; [William Chetwood], *The Voyages, Dangerous Adventures, and Imminent Escapes, of Capt. Richard Falconer […] The Second Edition Corrected* (London, 1724), sig. A2r. See also quotations from periodical articles from the 1720s assembled in Lennard Davis, *Factual Fictions: The Origins of the English Novel* (New York: Columbia University Press, 1983), p. 123; Newcomb, p. 253; *CJ*, p. 387.

jurisdictions, traversing Europe, the Mediterranean, the far East, and the colonial Atlantic. Their lives are regulated to a greater or lesser degree by providence or an impersonal necessity, against which they struggle and on which their skill can sometimes capitalise. Moreover, as the section goes on to show, they were published and marketed by the same set of printers and booksellers as were involved in abridgements of Defoe's novels; they advertised their affiliation with the world represented in Defoe's fiction.

To begin investigating how authors of adventure fiction contrived forms through which to explore the technical competencies, dispositions, and aptitude for interpersonal management demanded of those in service and retail positions, the section first examines *The Adventures, and Surprizing Deliverances, of James Dubourdieu, and his Wife […] also the Adventures of Alexander Vendchurch* (1719). This short volume, of unknown authorship, was composed of two prose narratives and was printed in October 1719, within months of the first two volumes of *Robinson Crusoe* (printed in April and August, respectively) and of Cox's abridgement.[49] Advertised as 'proper to be Bound up with Robinson Crusoe', *Dubourdieu* addresses itself to the same world of roughly contemporary maritime adventure as Defoe's novel (its fictional action takes place in the 1680s and 90s), while offering an intriguing revision of *Crusoe*'s narrative poetics and ideological investments.[50] It was priced at 2s., the same as Cox's abridgement, whereas Taylor's editions were priced at 5s., in a market where 3s. was the usual upper limit for a substantial single volume.[51] These cues allow us to position more accurately the novel's discursive affiliations to *Robinson Crusoe*. At 2s., *Dubourdieu*, while not exactly affordable to servant or plebeian readers — unlike the chapbook versions of *Moll Flanders* and *Robinson Crusoe* that began to be printed at mid-century — was more portable and accessible than Defoe's original.[52]

[49] *Post Boy*, 1 October 1719, p. 2; *Daily Post*, 7 October 1719, p. 2, Hutchins, pp. 157–66.

[50] *Original Weekly Journal*, 10 October 1719, p. 155.

[51] Robert Hume, 'The Value of Money in Eighteenth-Century England: Incomes, Prices, Buying Power — and Some Problems in Cultural Economics', *Huntington Library Quarterly*, 77.4 (2015), 373–416 (p. 384).

[52] On servants' reading patterns and access to printed texts, see Newcomb, pp. 210–60; Jan Fergus, 'Provincial Servants' Reading in the Late Eighteenth Century', in *The Practice and Representation of Reading in England*, ed. by James Raven, Helen Small, and Naomi Tadmor (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 1996), pp. 202–25; Steedman, *Labours*, pp. 301–302.

A further cue is provided by the novel's two titles: while the first prioritises Dubordieu over his unnamed wife, the heading on the first page of text names Rattenberg first and reverses the priority (and thereby provides a more accurate reflection of the text's centre of gravity) (p. 1). This double framing signals that the book will appeal to those who liked *Crusoe*, while also signalling that it supplies something missing from that text: the experience of women, and collective survival. The narrative of *Dubourdieu* is important for this chapter in providing a pattern for later texts and in representing the collectively endorsed skill of management in a global setting as specifically the skill of a servant who, unlike the protagonists of Defoe's novels, remains economically subordinate and whose subordination frames and motivates the tale.[53] A number of the men involved in printing and selling it would go on to publish and (in the case of William Chetwood) write further volumes of adventure fiction. Since this novel is likely to be unfamiliar to most readers, some summary of the plot will be necessary, and the section therefore proceeds as a commentary on those passages and plot developments most relevant to questions of skill.[54]

The narrative of the first, and longer, story — of Dubourdieu and his wife, Martha Rattenberg — takes the form of a gentlemanly letter to a friend, signed 'Ambrose Evans' (no such person is attested). The epistolary frame narrative has Evans explain how, travelling in Paris, he had been forced by a storm to stay in a tavern. There, he encounters the proprietors, an English woman of fifty (Martha Rattenberg) and a French man of sixty years old (James Dubourdieu). As Rattenberg is showing Evans around the tavern, his eye is caught by a painting of a desert island among the prints on the walls and he is arrested by 'the oddness of the painter's fancy'.[55] Rattenberg, the attentive proprietor,

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[53] Bannet explores variations on 'The Servant's Tale' in *Stories*, but her evidence begins in the 1750s (pp. 111–86).

[54] *Dubourdieu* is analysed at length, with a focus on translation and mediation, in C. M. Owen, *The Female Crusoe: Hybridity, Trade and the Eighteenth-Century Individual* (Amsterdam: Rodopi, 2010), pp. 109–37.

[55] *The Adventures, and Surprizing Deliverances, of James Dubourdieu, and his Wife: Who were taken by Pyrates, and carried to the Uninhabited Part of the Isle of Paradise. […] Also, the Adventures of Alexander Vendchurch […] Written by Himself* (London, 1719), p. 3; hereafter *Dubourdieu*.

notes this, and in response to his questions, adumbrates the tale of her and Dubourdieu's shipwreck with dinner. After a brief negotiation, in which Evans offers to dine at their tavern every evening and recommend the place to his friends, Rattenberg and Dubourdieu in turn tell their story in full over several evenings (pp. 3–4). The body of the story is Rattenberg and Dubourdieu's narratives, told in sequence. The tale as transcribed by Evans, then, is a sales pitch, consummating the novel's melancholy vision of a world characterised by endless toil, in which the careful art of pleasing includes telling the story of that art to those who are able to write novels (Rattenberg had written out her own life story, the narrative later reveals (p. 66), but this is not what is presented to readers). The fact of the story's telling is a result of Rattenberg's canny use of the practical knowledge she has developed through the narrative and is motivated by the material necessity that has compelled her to perfect that skill.

The initial segments of Rattenberg's story describe her acquisition of qualifications in domestic service work and the development of her aptitude for emotional ingratiation and financial management. Rattenberg's education in the practical and emotional competencies of service begins when she is excluded from inheritance by her step-siblings after the death of her father, a yeoman farmer. After this, she and a cousin are refused help by an uncle to whom they have travelled, so they spend the night in an inn in Plymouth. Whether or not the cheerful face Rattenberg turns to the world in these tribulations is contrived — the language is poised between description of an inner state and a demeanour — it secures her a position as chamber-maid to an old gentlewoman, to whom she is introduced by the inn-keeper's wife (p. 9). Rattenberg itemises the position, efficiently indicating to contemporary readers the kind of place it was: 'I had nothing to do but to provide and dress her victuals, make her bed, dress and undress her, and wash her linen, and my own' (p. 11).[56] Rattenberg is an exemplary servant, perfecting the careful observation of her employer in the terms that servant handbooks recommended: 'I being new come to her, took care to do everything to her

[56] Compare *The Compleat Servant-Maid* (London, 1677), pp. 61–64; *The Compleat Servant-Maid […] The Ninth Edition with large Additions* (London, 1729), pp. 5–6.

satisfaction, to study her humour, and when I was acquainted with it, to prevent even her desires in the very minutest things about her' (pp. 11–12). Here, then, Rattenberg's account presents her behaviour as explicitly skilful. Her practical foresight is further demonstrated over the following months. Winter comes, and Rattenberg, a knowing instrument, works to produce an environment at the same time she confects a familial intimacy:

> I was very solicitous that she should lie warm in her bed, and therefore profer'd my self to be her bedfellow. By these, and other arts, I had made my self mistress of her affections, so far, as she began to use me and love me as her own child, for she was a woman of a great deal of good nature and humanity.[57]

Closing a virtuous circle, Rattenberg's statement of the gentlewoman's character loosely grounds the effectiveness of Rattenberg's arts in the virtue of their object, and in doing so suggests that this is proof of their legitimacy. Although Rattenberg's fidelity is calculated, it is not condemned or satirised in the manner of Fielding's *Shamela*. The duplicitous overturning of hierarchy connoted by becoming 'mistress of her affections'— a servant getting the management —is defanged, and proffered instead as a contrivance learnt in response to precarity, but compatible with earnestness.

Following a well-established path of servant migration in search of higher wages and expanded possibilities, Rattenberg then proceeds to London and in the process diversifies her accomplishments. She unevenly accumulates experience and money through legal proceedings against her family (to recover her inheritance) and partly-successful investments, both under the tutelage of her first mistress, and by movement between households, enabled by a network of acquaintances centred on the Plymouth innkeeper to whom she had first ingratiated herself (pp. 11, 13–15, 20–22). Once in London, Rattenberg continues her speculation and soon wins one hundred pounds in the Royal Oak lottery at Bartholomew Fair (p. 23). Subsequently, she sets herself to learning

[57] *Dubourdieu*, p. 12.

confectionary making, cookery, and French, in hope of a better position. Soon she secures employment waiting on a 'Lady of quality', for twenty pounds per year and her mistress' old clothes (p. 24). The narrative of *Dubourdieu* has thus far proceeded, like *Robinson Crusoe*'s, by donation and subtraction (though less securely underwritten than Defoe's text by the 'narrative function' of beneficence), intermixing sudden influxes and deprivations of money and opportunity with a granular and approximately recognisable account of the social connections through which a servant might gain a foothold in London.[58] The reader's attention is focussed on the narrative's construction of situations that engender skilled action, in parallel with the narrative record of the building up and depletion of Rattenberg's store of money, and of the difficulty of its good 'management' (pp. 11, 16, 34). In its emphasis on the possibilities for material advancement afford to servants by good relations with their surrogate parent-employers, even at the expense of their birth relatives, the novel echoes and radicalises the advice of early eighteenth-century servant handbooks, which presented the calculated fidelity of servants as a means to gain.

Once in her place as an upper servant, however, Rattenberg finds she cannot be happy when 'subject to the will and pleasure of another' (p. 24) and therefore, having encountered a limit to the gains to be made through skill in service, decides to emigrate to Barbados, following the example she hears of the speedy enrichment of a shoemaker who went over early in the island's colonisation.[59] This moment, unbeknownst to Rattenberg, represents the height of her good fortune. The accelerated upward mobility within domestic service that she had enjoyed until this point is interrupted by her seduction and subsequent jilting by a serial bigamist who absconds to France with her money, (pp. 28–31); a repetition of an earlier hazard from which Rattenberg had narrowly escaped when sailing to London from Plymouth (pp. 16–20). In *Dubourdieu*, as in the novels of Penelope Aubin, the hazards of love and desire, linked metonymically with maritime travel, are shown to be as potentially ruinous as subsequent shipwreck, pirates,

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[58] For beneficence in *Crusoe* see Hulme, pp. 217–20.

[59] On the lure of Barbados and its reputation for luxury and quick improvement, see Jack Greene, *Imperatives, Behaviors, and Identities: Essays in Early American Cultural History* (Charlottesville: University Press of Virginia, 1992), pp. 13–67.

and captivity, and to be just as much objects of skill. When she meets her eventual husband, Dubourdieu, Rattenberg is much more circumspect. Now, though, too ashamed to return to service, she embarks for Barbados with a diminished fortune, bolstered by a gift of thirty guineas from her erstwhile employers (pp. 31–33).

Henceforth, Rattenberg's arts are exercised unevenly in situations of social conflict within the 'edge zones' of shipwreck and captivity that demand the improvisatory maritime expertise celebrated in Defoe's *Robinson Crusoe* and *Captain Singleton*, in addition to subsequent fiction by Chetwood.[60] En route to Barbados, her ship is taken by pirates. Rattenberg finds herself part of a multinational crew of captives, her future husband, a surgeon, among them. A storm beaches the vessel on an unknown coast. In what follows, equal space and attention is given to the necessity of adapting materials from the ship to use for building settlements and to the rivalries and hierarchies among the captives, enabling the narrative to give space to explore both the social and the artisanal as arenas of skill (pp. 55–59). Several women who had entered into sexual relationships with the pirates while at sea (willingly or unwillingly) now elect to remain on the beached ship, while Rattenberg and several others move to an inland encampment. The cargo and tools that they are able to temporarily reclaim from the pirates are gained through the influence of Betty Higham, 'an excellent mimick' with a 'good stock of assurance' who has, under conditions of ambiguous restraint, 'render'd her self mistress of the inclinations' of the pirate captain (echoing the phrase Rattenberg used of herself in her first service position). Rattenberg is obliged to make court to her in order to access materials (p. 45). Having done so, Rattenberg and the others 'ungratefully, and impoliticklyʼ vent their moral opprobrium on Higham and her companions (p. 47). Higham's resentment and negative solidarity are ventriloquised compellingly, as, in revenge, she incites the pirates to rape the three young women, 'since we were slaves as well as they' (p. 48). Rattenberg and the older castaways flee inland; that night, the pirates, Higham, and all the other young women are killed by an earthquake (pp. 50–52).

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[60] Cohen, *Novel*, pp. 12, 30–34, 49–52, 62.

In this way, the narrative draws an unsteady line, one that is explicitly not divinely sanctioned, between Higham, the artful and assured mimic whose sexually dishonest methods of achieving power and a measure of freedom are beyond the pale, even as they are paralleled with Rattenberg's earlier contrivances, and the careful art of Rattenberg, who pursues methods that do not compromise her virtue, from the same position of vulnerability and metaphorical 'slavery'.

The narrative of *Dubourdieu* has invited readers to think with Rattenberg, as she is is equipped with materials and aptitudes and afforded the opportunity to use them by a series of obstacles to which she has to respond with manoeuvres (rather than solutions), before she is abruptly moved to a new scene, or deprived of her gains, as the story transitions to the next segment. Through these repetitions, in contrast to the tightly-sequenced, prognostic knowledge of the master developed in *Crusoe*, Rattenberg's elaboration of the arts of service can be traced. The action of *Dubourdieu* is marked by a refusal to seize the moment and achieve escape or a sudden overturning of established hierarchies by an instance of dextrous management. It refuses the picaresque; the servant skill it represents is allied to a virtue of persistence rather than coups or shortcuts. Dubordieu's portion of the narrative, which immediately follows Rattenberg's, presents a utopia which offsets with a thoroughly fantastic imagining of a world of ease and leisure Rattenberg's much more realistic (when compared with Defoe's fictions) depiction of how a servant might rise, through the exercise of skill, to the status of hard-up married tavern owner: an everyday dream. Over several months following the earthquake the company is thinned out by the disappearance of Dubourdieu and the remaining priest and the death of Rattenberg's female companions. Until Dubourdieu and the priest return three years later, revealing that they have been guests in a tropical utopia inhabited by the Children of Love, Rattenberg divides her time Crusoe-like between prayer, bible reading, subsistence activities, and writing an account of her life (p. 66). She is resilient and goal-oriented but the narrative is sceptical of the possibility of founding a flourishing society on the basis of a single person's labour and skill.

The utopia of the Children of Love is described at length: cumulatively, the sweetness and harmony of this place, in which human flourishing is achieved along the grain of an abundant world, serves to illuminate the grittiness both of the mariners' survival and of the European societies they have been attempting socially and biologically to reproduce (pp. 55–56). The beautiful, naked inhabitants are tall and symmetrical; Dubourdieu and the priest — small, hairy men kept naked in a ritual enclosure to be cleansed and observed — feel their inferiority as 'scurvy' figures, 'scarce [. . .] of the same species' (pp. 69–73, 74–75). The climate, flora, and fauna of the utopia are naturally amenable to human needs and the land is so fertile that cultivation of it becomes an 'exercise and diversion' (p. 80). The inhabitants are skilled in their environment: their buildings are made of an intermixture of living and felled tees and their containers are made from shells or intricate, watertight wicker ware, recalling Crusoe's efforts and the ingenuity of the 'savages' in the *Farther Adventures* (pp. 83–86, 95–96). The inhabitants are ignorant of the profit motive and the pleasure of command and they have no property, except as patriarchal control of women (pp. 77–79, 81). Their religion embraces natural theology and refuses the dogma of a sacred text. Its creation myth insinuates that these Children of Love are a remnant of unfallen humanity (pp. 78, 91–92). When Dubourdieu and the priest eventually return to Rattenberg's settlement, still naked and even more hairy, Rattenberg locks herself indoors and hands them clothes and scissors out of the window (p. 67), reflecting the importance of clothing and housing as a sign of civilisation.[61] The return and reintegration of Dubourdieu and the priest into a civilisation that has been perpetuated by Rattenberg's labour and skill confirms the unreachability of leisure and bodily ease.

The remainder of the narrative serves to reinforce the impersonal necessity governing the narrative, in which any gains from skill or labour are time-limited, hard-won, and of limited portability. On return to the settlement and to Rattenberg, Dubourdieu and the priest lay in stores of gold which occurs naturally as sand on the

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[61] Wheeler, pp. 17–20, 65–66.

island (as in *Candide* (1759)), in preparation for a return to Europe, until they are almost killed by another landslide. They are rescued by a French ship whose captain wants to capture some of the Children of Love, but they find what was a narrow ravine separating utopia from the rest of the island now widened to sixty yards (pp. 99–100). In Paris, Rattenberg and Dubourdieu's fortune in gold is quickly depleted by failed business ventures, until Rattenberg's nous saves them: knowing which part of Paris Englishmen frequent, she establishes an English-style tavern. Thus, utopia does exist, in this narrative, but it is not for us. The Children of Love and their radical Deist tropical utopia provide an unattainable 'other scene', so that European service labour and the skill necessary to undertake it can be presented as ubiquitous fact, without being affirmed or accepted as a law.[62] On the other hand, the inhabitants of utopia are socially, physiologically, perhaps even spiritually other; its territory is accessible only once, and the material abundance it affords is not portable. The compulsion to work, for those like Rattenberg or Dubourdieu, is never lifted: unlike Defoe's, Chetwood's, or Aubin's protagonists, they cannot in the end amass a fortune that frees them from necessity (in becoming proprietors of a tavern, they are presumably master and mistress of at least one servant, but this is left unmentioned). Instead, via a lengthy maritime detour, Rattenberg makes the socially commonplace movement from domestic servant to co-proprietor of a tavern — the dream of servant couples, as described in one cheap 1685 dialogue, aimed at a servant readership.[63]

The meaning of Dubourdieu's narrative is composed in part of the perspectives of other narratives it solicits. The frame narrative of *Dubourdieu* foregrounds through the painting of the island the story's relation to *Crusoe*. Another vantage is proffered by the pendant tale of Alexander Vendchurch — a pun on Sell-Kirk, one model for Crusoe —

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[62] de Certeau, p. 16.

[63] Peter Earle, 'The Female Labour Market in London in the Late Seventeenth and Early Eighteenth Centuries', *Economic History Review*, 42.3 (1989), 328–53 (p. 338); Jane Whittle, 'Enterprising Widows and Active Wives: Women's Unpaid Work in the Household Economy of Early Modern England', *History of the Family*, 19.3 (2014), 283–300 (pp. 295, 296); Spufford, p. 60.

which follows the narrative of Dubourdieu and Rattenberg.[64] In brief, it describes, in the mode of a short amatory 'novel' the adventures in New Spain of an unabashedly acquisitive Edinburgh-born chancer, Vendchurch. After running away to sea, Vendchurch quickly becomes skilled in accounting and playing the lute and guitar. Assuming the identity of a Spaniard, he sails to Panama as the purported nephew of his master, a merchant and begins an amour with Donna Elvira, the relative of a bitter enemy of his master. Failing to engage sufficient 'caution and address', they are betrayed by a servant (p. 11). Immediately, Vendchurch finds that he is unable to escape the status of servant: a relative of his (now deceased) master arrives, and challenges his identity: as neither a relative nor a Catholic, he argues, Vendchurch cannot inherit his former master's fortune. Putting to sea, in order to save his fortune and find Elvira, who he thinks has been taken back to Spain, Vendchurch is marooned by his crew and discovers Elvira on a depopulated island. Vendchurch lives there with Elvira for three years, until her death, in the island's semi-derelict buildings making use of the goats and pigs and ground planted with turnips and potatoes. Again, the grubbiness of survival — the ability to tame animals, cultivate root vegetables, and deal with dead bodies — is superimposed on the image of a lovers' idyll, casting a pall of desperation over the whole (p. 33).

Vendchurch eventually returns to Scotland with nothing to show for his hazardous circuit of the Atlantic but an inheritance from his aged father that he might have had anyway. By contrast, the ship that takes Vendchurch home 'had been carrying on that private trade with the Spanish Indians, which the men of Jamaica had found very beneficial; though oftentimes very hazardous, because it was practis'd against the Spanish laws, but private gain seldom has much regard to publick tyes' (p. 34). The pursuit of this profitable 'private trade', breaching the national monopolies on trade with their colonies set up by European imperial powers, is central to Colonel Jack's enrichment, and has an ambiguous place in the first two volumes of *Crusoe*.[65] Chetwood's *Captain Boyle* (1726),

[64] Owen, *Female*, p. 111.

[65] Maximillian Novak, 'Colonel Jack's "Thieving Roguing" Trade to Mexico and Defoe's Attack on Economic Individualism', *Huntington Library Quarterly*, 24.4 (1961), 349–53.

as Bannet notes, argues stridently in favour of this form of free trade (and in doing so borrows elements from *Farther Adventures* and *Colonel Jack*).[66] The venal but hapless Vendchurch also attempts a mode of enrichment 'against the Spanish laws', but, being individual and servile, his dishonest shortcut to riches is doomed to failure.

By offering a similar narrative arc to *Dubourdieu*, rendered in a different generic code, Vendchurch's failed picaro narrative offers readers a binocular perspective on the world it describes and on the possibilities open to servants within that world through their ingenuity and skill, in order to make an ambivalent case for servants remaining where they are. The stories of Rattenberg, Dubourdieu, and Vendchurch caution against narratives spun around colonial servitude such as the Caribbean story Rattenberg told herself of marrying quickly into money and the mobility-inducing stories she read as a child, when she was 'always feeding myself with vain hopes of bettering my fortune by my change of place' (pp. 5, 25). The book's warning has a conservative aspect, but it also acknowledges what, as Bannet notes, was clear to non-elite early eighteenth-century British subjects: that the imperial project meant hardship, loss of life, and the curtailment of liberty for most sailors and emigrants in servile positions. In this way, *Dubourdieu* stands opposed to what Bannet identifies as the 'ideological burden' of abridged version of *Crusoe*: the sugaring of maritime threats and the modelling of 'daring, flexible, and adventurous young men'.[67]

The volume overall, therefore, makes available two readings, emblematic of the debate over the possibilities afforded subaltern inhabitants of Britain by its imperial project and the possibilities for effecting change in the world through skill. On the one hand, the novel foregrounds the risks rather than the opportunities of maritime travel and unmasks as chimerical the social mobility promised by Barbados and New Spain — and by extension, by the other British and Iberian colonies that would be so extensively

[66] Bannet, *Transatlantic*, pp. 68–73. See *The Voyages and Adventures of Captain Robert Boyle, In several Parts of the World* (London, 1726), pp. 171–205; compare *CJ*, pp. 311–40; *FA*, pp. 123–25.

[67] Bannet, *Stories*, p. 38. For the experience of sailors and the declining vulnerability of British merchant shipping in the period see Marcus Rediker, *Between the Devil and the Deep Blue Sea: Merchant Seamen, Pirates, and the Anglo-American Maritime World, 1700-1750* (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 1987), pp. 20–21, 45.

puffed in Defoe's fiction. Through close attention to the service-specific practical knowledge of its female protagonist, *Dubourdieu* demonstrates the limited distance, socially, that can be moved by a servant. The religious heterodoxy tacitly endorsed by the presentation of utopia, coupled with the insistent explanation of sudden ruptures in the earth by natural philosophy rather than divine intervention interrupts any attempt to interpret the limits on social mobility in the novel as providential, and instead invites readers to interpret these limits as expressions of an impersonal social necessity. Personal risk is very uncertainly tied to the possibility of gain. The other space provided by the Children of Love and their island utopia enables the novel to present this necessity as at once unavoidable and unjustified. The uncolonised and uncolonisable space of these Children presents the specifically European form of life the colonists attempt to reproduce as a degraded second-best, even as it is inescapable. At the same time, the line separating this pessimistic but oppositional view of the early eighteenth-century British social order from the orthodox view of early eighteenth-century political arithmetic and political economy — that in a fallen world the vast majority of the population are doomed to the unfortunate necessity of labour, to which they must be habituated, in order for society to reproduce itself — is very slight.[68] *Dubourdieu* and *Vendchurch* on this second reading, are anti-romances, concerned simply to limit expectations by representing the curtailment of possibility of a servant bettering her fortune by changing her place.

On either reading, the author of *Dubourdieu* focuses on the service relation and the imagined aspirations of servants in order to mount a philosophical critique of early eighteenth-century English society; a critique which runs athwart Defoe's ambivalent theorisation of management as a basis for political society in the *Farther Adventures* and *Colonel Jack*. However, unlike Defoe's celebratory account in *Colonel Jack*, *Dubourdieu* avoids depicting its protagonists' first-hand confrontation with the plantation slavery that is ultimately the motor of their desires and which Rattenberg hopes will prove for her to be the mediating term between 'adversity' and 'prosperity', as it would for Jack (in the

[68] John Hatcher, 'Labour, Leisure, and Economic Thought before the Nineteenth Century', *Past and Present*, 160 (1998), 64–115 (pp. 64–80).

terms of the frontispiece to the 1738 edition of *Colonel Jack*). In doing so, *Dubourdieu* focuses on servant skill, the non-accumulating work that reproduces the households that make up that society, in a more sustained manner than Defoe's fiction, developing a segmented narrative form. However, the stories of Rattenberg, Dubourdieu, and Vendchurch are essentially stories about, rather than for, servants.

The close attention to the detail of servant skill in *Dubourdieu*, and its representation of a plot that cleaves relatively closely to the actual possibilities of servant advancement, might be seen simply to fix that skill in its place, rather than, by transcending or displacing it, to open up a space for imagining aspiration, hatred, or escape; self-aware wish-fulfillments that Lori Newcomb suggests rewritten romances (such as that published by the same personnel as were involved in the publishing of *Dubourdieu*) might have made available to their non-elite readers.[69] *Dubourdieu* affords its relatively elite readers a contemplative freedom through its critique of society, but in order to do so, arrests fluidity in the social world it depicts. The organisation of the events suggests, in aggregate, a certain set of ideas about causal connection, and the generally possible effects of certain actions: that tactical dexterity can never lead to ease for servants, if the world remains as it is. At the same time, the novel's segmented narrative and composite form helps to produce a concept of a marginal skill of manoeuvre, rather than problem-solution, that is portable across situations: a model of skill that contrasts with that of Crusoe but which anticipates the aptitude modelled through the narrative repetition, transposition, and inversion of relations in Defoe's *Colonel Jack* (1722) and especially *Roxana* (1724).

For prose fiction that did offer its readers a form of wish fulfilment, in which the skill and labour of servants is presented in oblique forms, the section now briefly considers a selection of successful 'maritime picaresques' by Penelope Aubin and William Chetwood.[70] Like *Robinson Crusoe*, these both drew on Barbary captivity narratives to

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[69] Newcomb, pp. 174–77, 214–16, 223–28, 262–63, examining *The Fortunate and Unfortunate Lovers*, a modernisation of Robert Greene's romance *Panosto* (1588), which was printed *c.* 1727 by Midwinter and in 1735 by Bettesworth, Hitch, Ware, and Hodges.

[70] Coehn, *Novel*, p. 88.

represent ingenuity and fidelity in simplified hostile environment and which, like *Dubourdieu*, undertake political interventions in the world identified with Defoe's fiction, aiming to correct and augment its morality, its population, and its conventions of cause and effect.[71] Taking it as exemplary of her work, the following paragraphs primarily examine Aubin's most popular novel, *The Noble Slaves* (1722).[72]

Aubin's protagonists are the youthful sons and daughters of displaced English, French, Spanish, and Italian aristocrats, drawn from the same stylised milieu as Haywood's fictions of the 1720s and 30s. However, her plots of amorous intrigue, male predation, and social corruption play out in the same expansive global frame as Defoe's fiction, and the lives, sufferings, and adventure narratives that were retailed alongside it. Recent research into Aubin's biography makes it clear that Aubin had at least as much knowledge of Atlantic and Indian Ocean commerce and maritime affairs as did Defoe and Chetwood.[73] Indeed, Aubin's preface to her first novel *The Strange Adventures of the Count de Vinevil and His Family* (1721) explicitly invites comparison as a moral alternative to *Robinson Crusoe*.[74] The fictional space of Aubin's novels is similar to that of a cheap anonymous novel *The Jamaica Lady* (1720), which, primarily an amatory fiction, had also included 'A Table, Explaining the Sea, and other difficult Terms'.[75] Aubin's fiction, as Bannet argues, stages a series of meetings between protagonists at which they exchange life stories, in the manner of seventeenth-century romance (adopted by Gent in

[71] For factual and fictional Barbary captivity narratives see Joe Snader, 'The Oriental Captivity Narrative and Early English Fiction', *Eighteenth-Century Fiction*, 9.3 (1997), 267–98; Bannet, *Stories*, pp. 26, 49; Linda Colley, 'The Narrative of Elizabeth Marsh: Barbary, Sex, and Power', in *The Global Eighteenth Century*, ed. by Felicity Nussbaum (Baltimore and London: Johns Hopkins University Press, 2003), pp. 138–50 (pp. 143-47); Nancy Armstrong, 'Captivity and Cultural Capital in the English Novel', *Novel*, 31.3 (1998), 373–98 (pp. 380, 391).

[72] For Aubin's popularity, see Sarah Prescott, *Women, Authorship and Literary Culture, 1690–1740* (Basingstoke: Palgrave Macmillan, 2003), p. 9, 18.

[73] Joel Baer, 'Penelope Aubin and the Pirates of Madagascar: Biographical Notes and Documents', in Eighteenth-Century Women: Studies in Their Lives, Work, and Culture, ed. by Linda Troost (New York: AMS Press, 2001), pp. 49–62 (pp. 56–62); Debbie Welham, 'The Particular Case of Penelope Aubin', *Journal for Eighteenth-Century Studies*, 31.1 (2008), 63–76.

[74] Penelope Aubin, *The Strange Adventures of the Count de Vinevil And his Family* (London, 1721), p. 6.

[75] *The Jamaica Lady* (London, 1720), sigs H3^{r}–H4^{v}, priced at 18d.

his abridgement of *Crusoe*) and also offer mutual assistance, in order to 'explore issues of infra-institutional trans-national community'.[76] While, in *Vinevil*, the practical aid exchanged by the protagonists remains entirely distinct from the kinds of self-preserving knowhow practiced by the sailors, in Aubin's subsequent fiction, domestic service and collaborative skill are brought closer together.

The Noble Slaves tells the story of a collection of pairs of noble lovers, structured in a series of short chapters, alternately narrating the actions of the male and female pairs of noble slaves through serial escapes and re-enclosures. Many narrative segments contains a short initial recap of events so far, encouraging intermittent reading. Narrative after interpolated narrative describes how women end up as captives in the Barbary states due to patriarchal structures in Europe. In *The Noble Slaves*, as in *Vinevil*, control of women, institutions of social inequality, and male rapaciousness thus enabled — or enforced removal from Europe by male relatives' commercial ambition — put women at risk of kidnap or flight; they are then followed by their male lovers, who are invariably shipwrecked or captured by Algerian pirates.[77] Like *Dubourdieu*, Aubin's novels see these commercial adventures primarily in terms of risk. The practical skill of women that the novels narrate is elicited by the failures of the generally ineffective men. If, through these men, Aubin's novels can be read as encoding a limited critique of Britain's imperial project insofar as it renders women vulnerable, then they still rely on a conventional vision of the Turk as sexually perverse and threatening subject of a despotism that depresses ingenuity, in order to provide a field for the skill the works dramatise.[78]

The Barbary setting also enables Aubin to write the situation in which all Europeans are originally minor aristocracy but are placed in servile conditions; either they

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[76] Bannet, *Transatlantic*, p. 49.

[77] Penelope Aubin, *The Noble Slaves; or The Lives and Adventures of Two Lords and Two Ladies* (London, 1722), pp. 2, 13–14, 61–69, 70, 80–86, 120–22, 137–41, 151–60; hereafter *NS*; *Vinevil*, pp. 10, 33. On Aubin's combination of Barbary and North American captivity narrative forms and themes to legitimise women's violence and strategic transculturation, see Bannet, *Stories*, pp. 49–60 and on the transatlantic interaction of both forms, see Paul Baepler, 'The Barbary Captivity Narrative in Early America', *Early American Literature*, 30.2 (1995), 95–120 (pp. 95, 97).

[78] *NS*, pp. ix–xi; Snader, pp. 288–97; Edward Kozaczka, 'Penelope Aubin and Narratives of Empire', *Eighteenth-Century Fiction*, 25.1 (2012), 199–225.

have been captured before and are now servants, or they were servants formerly, became mistresses, and now have power over other Europeans (*NS*, p. 70). It is these situations of service — often also situations of erotically charged vulnerability and constraint, for both men and women — that elicit from the European men and women servant dexterity as well as violent retribution.[79] This is clearest in the tale told by the humblest pair of lovers, Clarinda and Monsieur Chateau-Roial, which is also the richest in circumstantial detail of the techniques whereby actions are accomplished. Clarinda and Chateau-Roial end up as man and maidservant in the same household (pp. 80–101). Pretending to be brother and sister, they are menaced by the widow, their mistress, who extorts sex from Chateau-Roial. However, making use of her desire, he 'managed her Affairs and Fortune as I pleased' (p. 86), until a jealous servant, an Irish renegade, betrays them. However, the servants who are actually servants in Christian Europe are peripheral. They function as equipment: elite characters furnish themselves with them as they do bills of exchange, and their narrative function, enabling movement, betrayal, and access to people, is the same (pp. 70, 120–22, 143, 156). Servants, as in Haywood's fiction as much as Defoe's, register skill as instruments of the plot. A motif of skilled domestic production, embroidery, links at the level of the signifier, by resonances and overlaps in narrative design and verbal texture, the contiguous analogical tales that are linked at the level of the plot by surprising coincidences (pp. 52, 95–102). As well as providing opportunity for multiple pleasures in scenes of sexual vulnerability, licensed by the moral framework of the narrative, then, Aubin's novels also provide intermittent space for the representation of the kind of skill persistently associated with servants, on the part of those placed temporarily in the servant position.[80] For these protagonists servile management and dexterity, when allied with tactical transculturation and sincere faith, is shown to be effective in achieving change and a measure of security.

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[79] For the extortion of sex, see *NS*, pp. 55–56, 86, 123; for men at risk of sexual assault, pp. 42, 140; and for women, pp. 45–48, 89, 93, 109–11.

[80] On Aubin's moral 'persona', see Sarah Prescott, 'Penelope Aubin and The Doctrine of Morality: A Reassessment of the Pious Woman Novelist', *Women's Writing*, 1.1 (1994), 99–112.

William Chetwood's novels adapt situations and plots from Defoe's and Aubin's novels.[81] In Chetwood's most popular work, *The Voyages and Adventures of Captain Robert Boyle* (1726) the exceptional practical and tactical abilities of its protagonist in situations of captivity, aristocratic society, and private commercial ventures of dubious legality are narrated at length. However, after his apprenticeship and an initial captivity in the Barbary states in which Boyle demonstrates his expertise as a gardener as a byproduct of his aptitude for escape (pp. 27–69) and meets his future wife, Mrs Villars, the narrative entirely segregates the actions of Boyle on the high seas from the actions of Mrs Villars, who, despite her early business acumen and her servant, Susan's, 'management', is rendered immobile by North African and later English captivity (in sequences borrowed directly from Aubin).[82] By the same token, the skilled labour of Boyle — whose diverse practical knowledge is indicated by the generic multiplicity of the text, which includes interpolated tales mixing shipwreck and amatory adventure retailed by minor European aristocracy, in the mode of Aubin, combined with maritime log-keeping and travel writing — is separated from any taint of servility. Chetwood's fiction thus re-writes both Defoe and Aubin, developing the latter's generic mixture of maritime craft and amatory adventure and rendering more concrete its connection to the contemporary world, but in so doing, deletes the components of this discursive blend that made possible representation of servant skill.

The work of these three authors, then, demonstrates that the loose mode of adventure fiction offered a space of ideological contestation within which domestic servants as potential narrative centres of volition and skill, though not of effective action, could be explored. To close, the section now turns briefly to explore the composite forms of these books, asking what model of skill might be developed through these segmented narratives. While *Dubourdieu*, which only ran to one edition, does not seem to have been particularly popular, it is of interest not only as a record of a response to Defoe's writing,

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[81] Bannet, *Stories*, p. 67.

[82] On Chetwood's adaption of the Barbary captivity genre, see Snader, pp. 281–88. For borrowings, see *Boyle*, pp. 307–18; *NS*, pp. 196–202. For Susan, see *Boyle*, pp. 79–81.

but also because it may have provided one model for subsequent fiction by Chetwood. Various combinations of the loose syndicate of booksellers involved in financing the printing of *Dubourdieu* collaborated in adventure fiction publication over the following years, extending and developing the genre with novels by Aubin and abridgements of Defoe. These were A[rthur] Bettesworth, T. Warner, C[harles] Rivington, J[ohn] Brotherton, W. Meadows, A. Dodd, and W[illiam] Chetwood.[83] Rivington would go on to publish novels by Aubin as well as Richardson's *Pamela*; Bettesworth, Brotherton, and Meadows were involved in printing the 1722 Midwinter–Gent abridgement of the three volumes of *Robinson Crusoe*.[84] William Chetwood occupies a particularly important role here, as both bookseller and author: he published novels by Haywood and Defoe as well as *Dubourdieu*; alongside Bettesworth, Brotherton, Meadows, he published his own *Voyages, Dangerous Adventures And imminent Escapes of Captain Richard Falconer* (1720).[85]

The expedient of adding a pendant tale to the main narrative may have been taken from *Dubourdieu*, either by Chetwood or by other publishers of his fiction, or at least represents a common publishing strategy. By multiplying narratives and perspectives, these volumes were responding to an early eighteenth-century norm, of publishing multiple 'novels' within a single volume, as well as to the format of criminal biography compilations and transatlantic formats of printed sermons which sometimes included narrative compilations or addenda.[86] The volume containing *Robert Boyle*, in all editions up to that of 1759, included a separate voyage narrative alongside Boyle's. Richard

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[83] On the entrepreneurial power of booksellers in the early eighteenth-century book trades, see James Raven, *The Business of Books: Booksellers and the English Book Trade, 1450-1850* (New Haven: Yale University Press, 2007), pp. 4, 127. For details on these booksellers, see Henry Plomer and others, *A Dictionary of the Printers and Booksellers Who Were at Work in England, Scotland and Ireland from 1668 to 1725*, ed. by Arundell Esdaile ([Oxford]: Oxford University Press, 1922), pp. 34, 254, 44–45, 53, 201–02, 105.

[84] Hutchins, pp. 130–32.

[85] Bettesworth, King, Brotherton, Meadows, and Chetwood were involved in the printing of other texts possibly by Defoe, to be sold by Boreham, such as *The King of Pirates* (London, [1719] 1720).

[86] Jim Egan, 'Tales of Wonder, Spiritual Autobiographies, and Providence Tales' and Janet Sorensen, 'Literature of the Ocean', in *Transatlantic Literary Studies*, ed. by Bannet and Manning, pp. 46–59, 124–38.

Castleman's narrative describes the author's shipwreck and goes on to offer a glowing description of Pennsylvania and recommendations of emigration and transportation (p. 362). Echoing the generic doubleness of *Dubourdieu* and *Vendchurch*, Castleman's story occupies a fictional universe defined by different parameters of probability and morality to those of Boyle's narrative. It is shorn of any amatory component, consistent in the narrator's self-portrayal as a prosaically skilful and ungenerous man (p. 345), though it occupies a space determined by the realisms of international politics in the Bermudas that comments obliquely on Boyle's free-trade sympathies (pp. 337–38). The narrative was in fact based on the real experiences of a fellow employee of Chetwood's at the Drury Lane theatre, to whose actuality contemporary readers might have been drawn by advertisements for the book.[87]

The strategy of adding an additional narrative was then applied to the fourth edition of *Falconer* (1734), to which the bookseller Marshall also added a stylistically discordant pendant tale: *Deus Nobiscum. A Narrative of A Great Deliverance at Sea*.[88] In contrast to the variegated texture of *Falconer* and its presentation of the Atlantic and Mediterranean worlds as a field of opportunity, William Johnson's narrative is sombre (p. 35). Again, like Castleman's voyage and shipwreck, Johnson's was a true story: the narrative dates from 1659, and had been reprinted twice in the seventeenth century (in 1664 and 1672). In *Falconer*, the specific date of shipwreck, 29 September 1648, which was included prominently in the opening paragraphs of earlier editions, is hidden (the year is omitted), while the title is changed: advertised as the 'fourth edition' on a separate title page, it presents Johnson as sub-almoner to 'His Sacred Majesty' rather than specifically to 'Charles II', as had been the case in previous editions.[89] The tale is thus

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[87] Hazel Wilkinson, '*The Voyage of Richard Castleman* (1726): A New Document for Transatlantic Literary Studies', *Review of English Studies*, 70 (2019), 467–88.

[88] *The Voyages Dangerous Adventures And imminent Escapes of Capt. Rich. Falconer. […] The Fourth Edition Corrected* (London, 1734), sig. U4r / p. 1 (second pagination). In Chetwood's third novel, however, there is no pendant tale, but several interleaved tales. *The Voyages, Travels and Adventures of William Owen Gwin Vaughan, Esq*, 2 vols (London, 1736).

[89] *Deus Nobiscum. Or, A Sermon Preached upon A Great Deliverance at Sea* (London, 1659), p. 53; *Deus Nobiscum […] The Third Edition, Corrected* (London, 1672), p. 1; *Falconer*, p. 1 (second pagination).

presented as roughly contemporary to readers. Attention is drawn to its apparent factuality not through by historicity but by its generic difference, as an aesthetic choice representing two different faces of the present. At the same time, the preface and other paratexts to *Falconer*, serially rewritten by Chetwood, de-emphasise the purported verity of the narrative 'Written by Himself' from the 'second edition' onwards. What is thus stressed in the fourth edition with its recycled shipwreck narrative, as in the correlation of *Boyle* and *Castleman*, *Dubourdieu* and *Vendchurch*, is the possibility of a binocular vision of the world of adventure provided by these contrasting pendant tales through their divergent styles and correspondingly contrasting views of the possible effects of skilled action.

3. Conclusion

This chapter has analysed an array of locations in the early eighteenth-century print trades and prose fiction at which skill and service were brought together. Examining abridgements of Defoe's novels as well as adventure fiction produced in their wake, it has explored what the narrative and material forms of these texts and the ways of reading they responded to, recored, and made available can tell us about the history of skill and service. Approached in these terms, the evidence of abridgements and adventure fiction narratives attests to the generic multiplicity of early eighteenth-century prose fiction and to a sustained interest on the part of diverse writers in politically contesting and commercially capitalising upon the maritime and criminal worlds popularised by Defoe's novels. *Robinson Crusoe*, and Defoe's subsequent novels, opened up a cultural space for these texts to consider servant skill as the possibility of collaboration in ways that he had not done. Argument over whether which the everyday skill paradigmatically possessed by servants and heightened by situations of peril might offer fictional protagonists a reliable way of amassing money or security and enable social advancement, led writers, printers,

and booksellers to contrive a range of forms through which to represent the non-elite, non-professional, and non-artisanal practical knowledge of servants.

On the basis of the texts considered here it is clear that there was a fragmentary interest, early in the century, in representing domestic servants, not as commonplaces, instruments, or conventions (as in Haywood's fiction, or indeed in much of Aubin and Chetwood), and not as the kind of partners, managers, or sinister appendages that appear as objects of management in the novels by Defoe examined in chapter four, but as labouring protagonists equipped with a particular kind of skill, constrained by impersonal necessity to non-accumulating and precarious lives. The chapter has also suggested that the manner in which that skill was represented was partially determined by different modes of reading encouraged by the organisation of these texts. Studying the narrative and material forms of these texts, finally, has disclosed some connections between the skill involved in reading and re-writing and skill as represented within fiction. If, as Cohen argues, part of the pleasure offered to readers by maritime literature — including Defoe's novels and adventure fiction more broadly — was in enabling them to 'exercise a playful version of the pragmatic imagination', by following along with the 'admirable, heterogeneous capacities of the complete mariner', then some of the texts examined in this chapter reveal a comparable pleasure to be taken in the practical knowledge of domestic service.[90] In so doing, the novels participate in similar enjoyments afforded audiences by the images, performances, and ornaments of servants studied in chapter one, which, in their imitation of servant demeanour and knowledge, enabled employers to assert and disdain, through a parodic form of maker's knowledge, the skill possessed by their servants.[91] However, the servants of adventure fiction, this chapter suggests, enabled more capacious ways of thinking than these images, and one more widely available; and did so as part of a genre and marketplace that enabled at least one 'servant' — though not a domestic servant — to write a bestseller.

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[90] Cohen, *Novel*, p. 60.

[91] For maker's knowledge — 'I know *x* because I made/did *x*' — see Antonio Pérez-Ramos, *Francis Bacon's Idea of Science and the Maker's Knowledge Tradition* (Oxford: Clarendon Press, 1988), p. 49.

Plates

Plate 1

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Plate 2

A PIECE of ANTIQUITY

Painted on the Wall adjoining to the Kitchen of Winchester College,
which has been long preserved; & as oft as occaſion requires, is repair'd, w.th the following Latin Verſes.

Effigiem Servi si vis spectare Probati,	A Trusty Servant's Portrait would you see,
Quisquis es, hæc oculos pascat Imago tuos.	This Emblematic Figure well Survey:
Porcinum Os quocunque cibo jejunia sedat;	The Porker's Snout – not Nice in diet shews.
Hæc Sera, consilium ne fluat, arcta premit:	The Padlock Shut – no Secrets He'll disclose.
Dat patientem Asinus Dominis jurgantibus Aurem:	Patient the Aſs – his Master's wrath will hear.
Cervus habet celeres ire, redire, Pedes.	Swiftneſs in Errand – the Staggs Feet declare:
Læva docet multum tot Rebus onusta Laborem:	Loaded his Left Hand – apt to Labour saith:
Vestis munditiem; Dextera aperta Fidem.	The Vest – his Neatneſs: Open hand his Faith.
Accinctus Gladio; Clypeo munitus: & inde	Girt with his Sword – his Shield upon his Arm.
Vel se, Vel Dominum, quo tueatur, habet.	Himself & Master He'll protect from harm.

Published according to Act of Parliament 1749.

Plate 3

THIS

AGES RARITY:

OR,

The Emblem of a Good SERVANT Explain'd.

26. May. 1682.

SEE here an *Emblem* of what's very Rare
To come by in the *World* (as things *now* are)
A *SERVANT* Penſil'd thus (as Story ſays)
By th' great *Apelles* in his *Golden* Days.
His *Hands* here Pictur'd full of *Tools*, expreſs
That he ſhould not be given to *Idleneſs*:
By his broad *Shoulders* it doth plain appear,
That *Burthens* he ſhould not refuſe to bear:

Hinds Feet he hath, to ſhew how Nimble he
In the Diſpatch of *Buſineſs* ought to be:
His *Aſſes* Ears and *Muzzel'd* Mouth do ſhow
He ſhould be *ſwift* to Hear, but to Speak *ſlow*:
His *Meagre* Look, and his *Thin* Panch, declare,
That he ſhould be content with *ſlender* Fare.
Tell me where's *One* thus *Quallifi'd*, and Thee
Some great *Apollo* I will own to be.

The *Mind* is ſlower *wrought* on by the *Ear*,
Than by the *Eye*, which *makes* things *plain* appear.

Apelles, *the Author of this* Emblem, *Lived* Two Thouſand *Years ago, in the time of* Alexander *the Great, who permitted him* only *to Draw his* PICTURE.

LONDON, Printed in the YEAR 1682.

Plate 4

Moll Handy.

With a Letter of Recommendation to a Service

1 A Pattapan — 4 Pepperbox — 7 Hair Sive — 10 Two Quart Mugs — 13 Rowling Pin —
2 Elm platter — 5 Puter Plate — 8 Elm bowle — 11 a Bunch of Matches — 14 Dusting Cloths —
3 Thimble — 6 Round Towel — 9 Two China basons 12 a Piked Stair Bursh 15 Trencher Bruch —
16 Weapon of Defence 19 Porrige Pot — 22 Crack in ye Pot. —
17 Iron Scuer — 20 Cabbage Net — 23 Bellows — 25 Thrum mop
18 a Payl — 21 Nutmeg greater 24 Scrubing Brush. 26 Pudding Sticer

To the Lady — Crosspatch! Madam

I have lately brought to Town a poor wench Destitute of a Living, & as I have it not in my Power to provide for her, & hearing you have been long pester'd with Disobedent headstrong Servants I do therefore recommend her to you & I do assure you on ye Word of a Woman that She is very Quiet, Honest — in Short She is made up wth all ye good Qualites. & I do not know above one thing in her that may be Call'd a Fault, & that is She had ye Misfortune by a fall to be Crack'd & is become Pot Belly'd, but as this Small fault is so Comon in Our Sex I hope (for ye poor Creature's Sake) that it will be over look'd by You.

Your Humble Servt. Margery Makefree —

P.S. She will come for Small wages.

British Museum

PPA 146641

No. 2472

Plate 5

The Butcher,

Taken from ye Sign of a Butcher in ye Butcher-Row.

Old Æsop who in Morals did surpass,
Wrapt in a Lion's Skin, produc'd an Ass,
And sure as fit a Cloathing we provide,
Who dress a Butcher in an Oxe's Hide,
The Candle serves his Foe-men to disclose,

The Tray's a Breast-Plate to ward of their Blows
His Axe, Knives, Clever is prepar'd for fight,
And Death & Slaughter are his sole deleght,
Thus arm'd he Terror all aroud doth spread,
Had he not borrow'd from a Calf his Head.

Decem.r 19 : 1746

2843.

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Plate 6

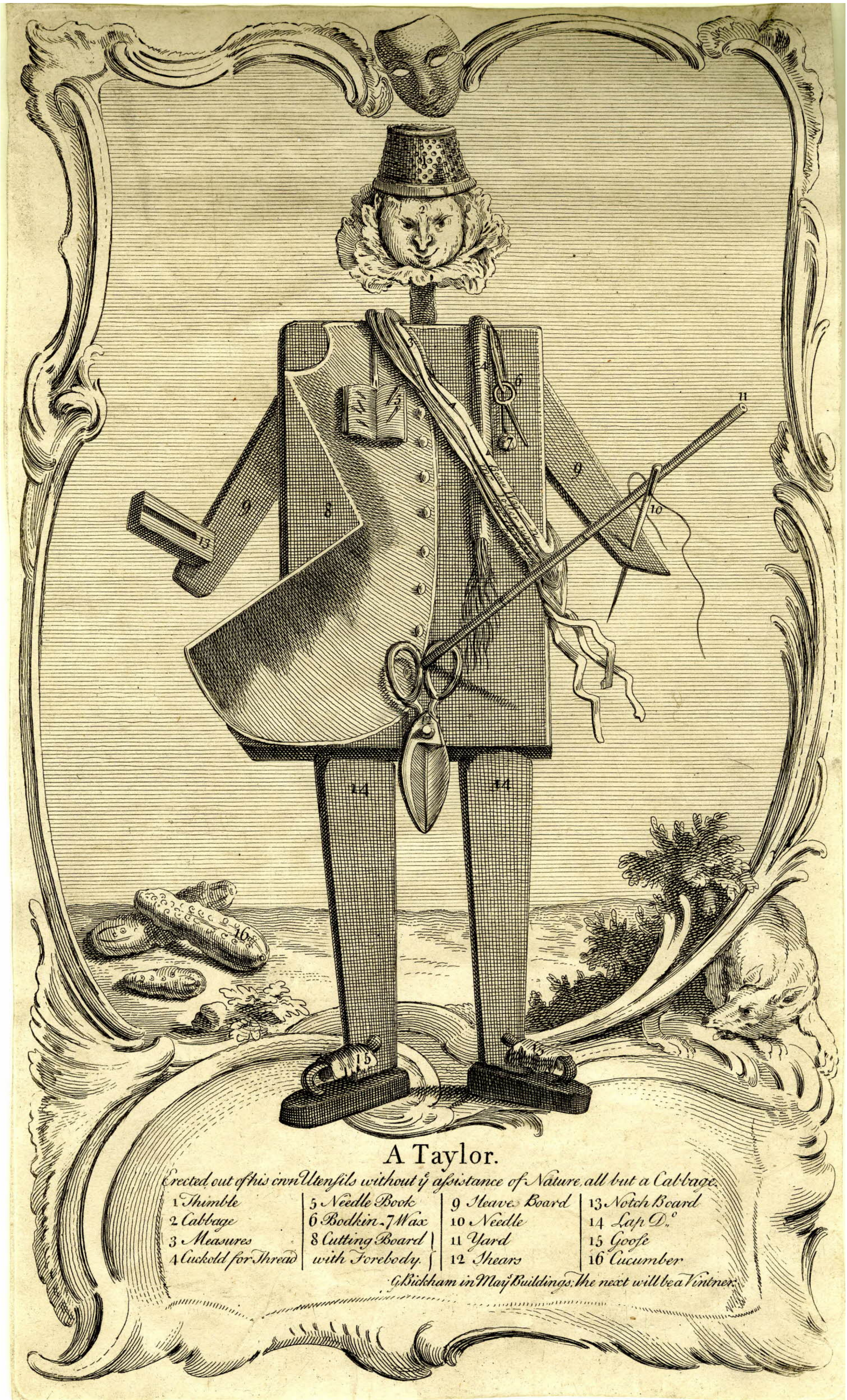

Plate 7

Plate 8

29o October

pleasures of Sense but peace of Conscience and Tran:
quility of Mind. Religion directs us rather to secure
inward peace than outward Ease.

3 — I kept my word in not letting the fellow drive me any
more, so S:W: has dismiss'd his Coachman with a letter of
recomendation for a very honest man after all his a:
foresaid abuses of mee, which must needs leave no good
impression in my Mind. I am told the Dutc: of Buck=
every Night takes an 150 Drops of Laudenum to quiet
the anguish she yet lives in. I need somwhat to make
me sleep after these vexable things. but neither Cares nor
fears have yet reduced me to such Remedys. I trust to
God in whose Care I repose my Confidence and quiet my
Mind. Else I should now be greatly afraid of this Mali:
cious Revengfull Villain. were it not for Hope in God
we may be brought to that Extremity as not to know
how to Enjoy our selves for one Hour.

page 173. 208. 221 233 260 282

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4 — It may be observ'd in the parable of the Husbandmen
how they did by degrees proceed in wickedness. At
first they did no more than beat, then they Cast Stones
and wounded at length Came to killing the servants
of their Lord, who threatens to Destroy such as some think
fit to favour and Reward. I am sensible our Evils
are so much the greater because they are aggravated
and set on by the restless workings of our Minds and
exasperated by the smart Reflections and frettings of
our own Thoughts.

5 — I am told my Coz: Trans: Mos: being at the taking of
Gibralter the Garrison there had laid a train of powder
to intercept the Assailants, but Contrary to that intent
it Blow'd up the Castle, killing many of those which

story

Plate 9

361. :nitten, which makes me very uneasie to Reflect on ———

June 5. Sund: This Day Appointed for Holy Rest, but Domestick grievances De:prive mee of Ease and peace of mind infesting it with thoughts as irresistably disturb Devotion, and Causes such anguish of Spirit as sensibly affects the whole Body making my Life very uncomfortable even to a degree beyond what I can Express.
Dec 356. I have now discover'd the Servant who Compared with the Rest one might Call St Andrew, but he proves to be a Hypocrite, an his pretence for leaving my Service was altogather False, such as manifestly Shews he was a Lying Knave.

6 Servant Yesterday is succeeded by a Worse, for att Seven this Morn: my New: Coachman Rid forth without leave to Strattford, le Bow return'd by Eleven which Heated my Horse so as the ill Consequence of it Cannot yet be known. Sure Never was more Villainny Shewn in so Short Time as by this Drunken Devilish Lying wretch. w is a Crime that does not only irritate but terrify mee, which are both very painfull passions. So I turn'd him off, and now in Nine Months have Cast out Nine such, as without any Breach of Charity may be Call'd Rogues and Whores ———

7. Col: pl - i Some Things I mett with pleas'd mee. my kind Neighbor puts mee in a Way about my Coach Affairs as gives some prospect of Ease, however Hope is pleasant. In the Next place Came the Girl whom I gott Touch'd by the Queen, to shew me how very well her Eies are Now; so that I mervell'd, and Glorify'd God w had given such power unto Men. This sight brought Joy to my Heart.

8. Story It is said Sr John Suckling was Born with a Remarkable Circumstance of His Mothers going till the Eleventh Month with Him, which the Naturalists took upon as a Sign of a

Plate 10

were ſubdued in the World, wanting nothing but Wives to make 'em a Nation.

Thus, kind Sir, have I given you, according to my Ability, an impartial Account of the various Tranſactions that have happen'd in the Iſland ſince your Departure, to this Day; which, bleſſing us with your Preſence, ſeems as if it would make us forget our late Sufferings, tho' our Loſſes are not fully retriev'd, and yet we have no Reaſon to complain againſt the kind Providence of Heaven. When you inſpect your little Kingdom, you will find it ſomething improv'd in general, your Flocks increaſed, and your Subjects augmented: So that from a *Deſolate Iſland*, as this was before your wonderful Deliverance upon it, here is a viſible Proſpect, of its becoming a populous and well-govern'd little Kingdom, to your immortal Fame and Glory.

The End of the Spaniſh *Governour's Relation.*

The Continuation of the Life of Robinſon Cruſoe, *both of thoſe Paſſages that happen'd, during the Time of his Continuance on the Iſland, and after his Departure, 'till he arrived again in his Native Country.* Written by Himſelf.

THERE is no Doubt to ſuppoſe, but what the Precedent Relation of my faithful *Spaniard*, was very agreeable, and no leſs ſurprizing, to me, the young Prieſt, and to thoſe that heard it: Nor ere theſe People leſs pleaſed with thoſe abſolutely ceſſary Utenſils, that I brought them, as Knives, iſſars, Spades, Shovels and Pick-Axes, with which they

Bibliography

Manuscripts and Archival Materials

EDINBURGH, NATIONAL LIBRARY OF SCOTLAND

MS 6489, Anne, Lady Halkett, 'Expostulation about Prayer, including The Mothers Will to her vnborne child, beeing writ <at Pitfirrane> when I was with child of my deare Betty' (*c.* 1650–56)
MS 6490, Anne, Lady Halkett, 'Ocationall Meditations' (1658/9–60)
MS 6491, Anne, Lady Halkett, 'Occationall Meditations' (1660–63)
MS 6492, Anne, Lady Halkett, 'Occcationall Meditations and Select Contemplations. Instructions to my Son' (1667/8–70/1)
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