

The Pamela Controversy

Richardson's apparatus and Fielding's *Shamela*
Verse responses

Edited by
Thomas Keymer and Peter Sabor



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Volume 1



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Criticisms and adaptations
of Samuel Richardson's *Pamela*
1740–1750

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Thomas Keymer *and* Peter Sabor

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 **Routledge**
Taylor & Francis Group
LONDON AND NEW YORK

First published 2001 by Pickering & Chatto (Publishers) Limited

Published 2016 by Routledge
2 Park Square, Milton Park, Abingdon, Oxon OX14 4RN
711 Third Avenue, New York, NY 10017, USA

Routledge is an imprint of the Taylor & Francis Group, an informa business

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BRITISH LIBRARY CATALOGUING IN PUBLISHING DATA

The Pamela controversy : criticisms and adaptations of Samuel Richardson's
Pamela, 1740–1750

1. Richardson, Samuel, 1689–1761. Pamela
I. Keymer, Thomas II. Sabor, Peter
823.6

LIBRARY OF CONGRESS CATALOGING-IN-PUBLICATION DATA

The Pamela controversy : criticisms and adaptations of Samuel Richardson's
Pamela, 1740–1750 / edited by Thomas Keymer and Peter Sabor
p. cm.

Includes bibliographical references.

1. Richardson, Samuel, 1689–1761. Pamela. 2. Richardson, Samuel, 1689–
1761 – Adaptations. 3. Richardson, Samuel, 1689–1761 – Criticism and interpreta-
tion – History – 18th century. I. Keymer, Thomas. II. Sabor, Peter.

PR3664 .P4 P34 2001
823'.6–dc21

00-057449

ISBN-13: 978-1-85196-615-8 (set)

Original material typeset by
P&C

DOI: 10.4324/9781003550570

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ACKNOWLEDGEMENTS

In the early stages of the project we profited from the advice of John Mullan and of Bridget Frost, formerly at Pickering & Chatto, who first proposed this edition. We are grateful to our research assistants, Anna van Lopik (University of Oxford) and Joanna Steer and Victoria Kortess-Papp (Laval University), for locating newspaper advertisements and other material. William Keymer and Faith Keymer undertook major archival research on the life of John Kelly. Stephen Clarke provided material from the Beinecke Library, Yale; and Janice Thaddeus supplied valuable information from the Houghton Library, Harvard. We received specialized advice and assistance from John Dussinger (on Richardson), John Ingamells (on Philip Mercier), and Alex Pettit and Patrick Spedding (on Eliza Haywood). We are also indebted in various ways to Adam Budd, Claire Grogan, Shelley King, F. P. Lock, Tony Nuttall, Jonathan and Lisa Reynolds of *Dramatis Personae* Booksellers, Raymond Stephanson, Peter Wagner, and Alice Wakely.

Librarians and archivists who aided our research include Mrs H. E. Alexander (The Fan Museum, Greenwich), Renu Barrett (McMaster University), Charles Benson and Lydia Ferguson (Trinity College, Dublin), Michael Crump and Graham Jefcoate (British Library), Richard Dean and Alastair Laing (National Trust), Michael Frost (Inner Temple Library), Anna Malicka and Joan Sussler (Lewis Walpole Library), and Naomi van Loo (New College, Oxford). At Pickering & Chatto, we benefited from the editorial diligence and efficiency of Mark Pollard and Barry Parsons. Financial support was generously provided by the Arts and Humanities Research Board (UK), St Anne's College, the Faculty of English, and the News International Fund (University of Oxford), the Faculté des Lettres (Laval University), and the Social Sciences and Humanities Research Council of Canada. Our greatest debt – for sustenance, encouragement, and wise counsel – is to Prudence Robey, Marie Legroulx, and Emmi Sabor.

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For permission to reproduce the texts and illustrations in this edition, grateful acknowledgement is made to the Beinecke Rare Book and Manuscript Library, Yale University; The British Library Board; The British Museum; the Syndics of Cambridge University Library; the Trustees of the Devonshire Collection, Chatsworth House; the Courtauld Institute of Art, London; the Houghton Library, Harvard University; The National Portrait Gallery, London; the National Trust; New College Library, Oxford; Rhode Island School of Design Museum; Trinity College Library, Dublin.

ABBREVIATIONS USED IN THIS EDITION

- DNB* *Dictionary of National Biography*
- Eaves and Kimpel, *Samuel Richardson* T. C. Duncan Eaves and Ben D. Kimpel, *Samuel Richardson: A Biography* (Oxford: Oxford University Press, 1971)
- ESTC* *English Short Title Catalogue*
- Fielding, *Joseph Andrews and Shamela* Henry Fielding, *Joseph Andrews and Shamela*, ed. Douglas Brooks-Davies, revised and introduced by Thomas Keymer (Oxford: Oxford University Press, 1999)
- FM Forster Collection of Manuscripts, Victoria and Albert Museum, London
- Foxon, *English Verse* D. F. Foxon, *English Verse 1701–1750* (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 1975)
- Highfill, *Biographical Dictionary of Actors* Philip H. Highfill, junior, Kalman A. Burnim and Edward A. Langhans, *A Biographical Dictionary of Actors, Actresses, Musicians, Dancers, Managers and Other Stage Personnel in London, 1660–1800*, 16 vols. (Carbondale: Southern Illinois University Press, 1973–93)
- Kreissman, *Pamela–Shamela* Bernard Kreissman, *Pamela–Shamela: A Study of the Criticisms, Burlesques, Parodies, and Adaptations of Richardson's Pamela* (Lincoln: University of Nebraska Press, 1960)
- McKillop, *Printer and Novelist* Alan Dugald McKillop, *Samuel Richardson: Printer and Novelist* (Chapel Hill: University of North Carolina Press, 1936)
- Plomer, *Dictionary of Printers* H. R. Plomer, G. H. Bushnell, and E. R. McC. Dix, *A Dictionary of the Printers and Booksellers ... from 1726 to 1775* (Oxford: Oxford University Press, 1932)
- Richardson, *Correspondence* *Correspondence of Samuel Richardson*, ed. Anna Laetitia Barbauld, 6 vols. (London, 1804)

- Richardson, *Pamela* Samuel Richardson, *Pamela*, eds. T. C. Duncan Eaves and Ben D. Kimpel (Boston: Houghton Mifflin, 1971)
- Richardson, *Selected Letters* *Selected Letters of Samuel Richardson*, ed. John Carroll (Oxford: Clarendon Press, 1964)
- Sale, *Bibliographical Record* William Merritt Sale, junior, *Samuel Richardson: A Bibliographical Record of His Literary Career with Historical Notes* (New Haven: Yale University Press, 1936)
- Sale, *Master Printer* William Merritt Sale, junior, *Samuel Richardson: Master Printer* (Ithaca, NY: Cornell University Press, 1950)
- Scouten, *The London Stage* *The London Stage 1660–1800, Part 3: 1729–1747*, ed. Arthur H. Scouten, 2 vols. (Carbondale: Southern Illinois University Press, 1961)
- Sullivan, *British Literary Magazines* *British Literary Magazines: The Augustan Age and the Age of Johnson, 1698–1788*, ed. Alvin Sullivan (Westport: Greenwood Press, 1983)
- Warner, *Licensing Entertainment* William B. Warner, *Licensing Entertainment: The Elevation of Novel Reading in Britain, 1684–1750* (Berkeley: University of California Press, 1998)
- Wiles, *Serial Publication* R. M. Wiles, *Serial Publication in England Before 1750* (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 1957)

GENERAL INTRODUCTION

In December 1741, a year after the publication of *Pamela*, Richardson's neighbour Solomon Lowe commented on the novel's effect in energizing the book market of the day. *Pamela*, he told Richardson, had proved 'of so much Service to your very Brethren; witness the Labours of the press in Piracies, in Criticisms, in Cavils, in Panegyrics, in Supplements, in Imitations, in Transformations, in Translations, &c, beyond anything I know of.'¹

By the date of Lowe's letter, the novel had appeared in six authorized editions (one of them in French), and Richardson had recently published his sequel. Piracies had come out in London and Dublin, and an unauthorized newspaper serialization was still in progress. Even more striking than the number of reprints was the related output of others. The full chronology below (pp. xxi–xxix) makes clear that Richardson was underestimating his novel's impact when noting on Lowe's letter, late in life, that 'the History of Pamela gave Birth to no less than 16 Pieces under some of the above or the like Titles'.² *Pamela's* success inspired a swarm of unauthorized appropriations, a Grub Street grabfest in which a hungry army of entrepreneurial opportunists and freeloading hacks ('these Poachers in Literature', a colleague of Richardson called them)³ moved in for a slice of the action. Contributions already published (or, in the case of serial works, at least partly published) as Lowe wrote include *Shamela*, *Anti-Pamela*, and *The True Anti-Pamela; Pamela's*

¹ Lowe to Richardson, 21 December 1741, FM XVI, 1, fo. 78.

² Richardson scribbled a similar late note, with the same conservative estimate, on his letter to Leake of August 1741: 'no less than 16 Pieces, as Remarks, Imitations, Retailings of the Story, Piracies, &c.' (FM XVI, 1, fo. 56). Our chronology in the present edition expands and corrects earlier chronologies by Sale (*Bibliographical Record*, pp. xv–xvi) and Eaves and Kimpel (*Pamela*, xvii–xxii).

³ Ralph Courtville to Richardson, 8 June 1741, FM XVI, 1, fo. 50 (referring specifically to the publishers of *Pamela's Conduct in High Life*).

Conduct in High Life, Pamela in High Life, and The Life of Pamela; Pamela Censured and Pamela Versified; and, most recently, *The Virgin in Eden* (proving 'Pamela's Letters ... to be immodest Romances') and *Memoirs of the Life of Lady H—, The Celebrated Pamela*. London and Dublin had seen stagings of *Pamela. A Comedy*, and the text of the play had been published in competition with a rival comedy, *Pamela: or, Virtue Triumphant*. *Pamela* poems had appeared in the newspapers and magazines of London and Edinburgh, and even on an illustrated fan. Various other engravings of scenes from the novel were now in circulation, as published in the London piracy, *Pamela Versified, Pamela in High Life, and The Life of Pamela*. Fielding's *Joseph Andrews* was shortly to appear, and would be followed by 'Pamela the Second' in the *Universal Spectator*; *Pamela: or, Virtue Rewarded. An Opera; Pamela: or, The Fair Impostor. A Poem, in Five Cantos*; and *A Dramatic Burlesque of Two Acts, Call'd Mock-Pamela: or, A Kind Caution to Country Coxcombs*. With the exception of the easily available *Joseph Andrews*, all the key sources for the contemporary debate are included in the present edition, many of them reprinted for the first time since the 1740s.

What can have prompted this riot of print? Much of the explanation must lie, of course, with the power of the originating text. Traditional identifications of *Pamela* as the first true novel, or again as the original best-seller, have been tempered by the fuller picture we now have of existing trends in both the techniques of fiction and the commodification of literature in earlier decades. Yet both of these once-standard claims have much to say about the significance and impact of the work that launched this extraordinary spate of writing and publication. Structured as a series of letters from the heroine herself as the plot unfolds, its epistolary narrative seemed to offer intimate access to the ebb and flow of consciousness, unhindered by the distancing or flattening effects of retrospection. Richardson was later to name this technique 'writing, to the moment',¹ and the phrase catches to perfection its two associated qualities: not just its capacity to register the flux of consciousness over time, but more particularly its dramatic synchronizations of narration and crisis, with focus above all on the immediate psychological impact of 'moments' in the sense of turning-points or critical junctures. The potential effects of excitement and suspense, heightened by the inter-

¹ To Lady Bradshaigh, 14 February 1754, *Selected Letters*, p. 289.

rupted nature of the epistolary form, could be fully exploited by a plot that turned on seduction, abandonment, and imprisonment; yet at the same time these more or less illicit pleasures could seem legitimized by the elaborate didactic claims and religious glosses that larded the text. Add to this the engagingly humble status of Richardson's heroine (not the aristocrat or princess of traditional romance, but a day-labourer's daughter in domestic service, describing the workaday world in demotic tones), add again the intoxicating fantasy of rags-to-riches advancement and providential reward that her story offered, and the strength of *Pamela's* appeal is hard to miss.

Yet explanations must also reach beyond the old standby of literary genius. Or rather, they must accommodate a different but no less instrumental aspect of Richardson's genius, acquired during his long climb to the position he occupied, on publishing *Pamela* in his early fifties, as one of the foremost London printers of his day. As hard-nosed an entrepreneur as any subsequent player in the vogue (and probably wealthier than them all), Richardson had a keen eye for the latest areas of growth in his trade, and in the run-up to *Pamela's* publication had devoted increasing attention to prose fiction. It would be little exaggeration to say that the brilliance of *Pamela* lay as much in commercial strategy as in literary achievement. Through his shrewd identification of an emerging market to exploit, and his ready skill in providing a product that was in growing demand but limited, low-grade supply, Richardson could almost instantly reach thousands of consumers for whom (as one anonymous purchaser of *Pamela* laconically put it) "Things of that Sort in English but seldom appearing made me a little curious to see it".¹ Though insufficiently sure of *Pamela's* success to retain the whole copyright in person (he sold a third apiece to his two publishers),² Richardson then did everything within his formidable reach to boost its sale. Having targeted his market, he manipulated it with a virtuoso publicity campaign involving celebrity endorsements, newspaper leaders, a promotional sermon, and even, it was alleged, covert sponsorship of a pamphlet denouncing the novel as pornography in disguise. One need not believe this last allegation (which Richardson, of course, denied) to see his genius for what the reader quoted above pungently

¹ 'Eusebius' to Charles Rivington, 2 February 1741, FM XVI, 1, fo. 48.

² Sale, *Bibliographical Record*, p. 16.

termed 'the Selling Part'.¹ As well as alerting other authors to the burgeoning market for fiction (the novel prompted Henry Fielding and John Kelly, both former playwrights, to reinvent themselves as novelists, and helped draw Eliza Haywood back to the genre), *Pamela* became a legend in the trade for its earning power. As a bookseller recalls in a fictional dialogue of 1748, 'the Piece might be bad or good for any Thing I know of, but this I am sure of, that it sold admirably'.²

The literary and historical significance of the explosion of print surrounding *Pamela* has long been recognized, though it has been represented in different ways. Traditionally, the quarrel between Richardson and Fielding (a quarrel complicated and amplified, as the present edition shows, by the heckling voices of Haywood and Kelly) has been seen as a watershed in generic development, and as the key defining moment for the rise of the novel. The continuing usefulness of this view, which received its classic expression from Ian Watt, is manifested by the sophisticated reformulations of recent critics. Though questioning other aspects of Watt's thesis, John Richetti continues to find *Pamela*, 'in its density of social scene and sweep of historical reference radically absent in its amatory predecessors, ... a true original'. In *Joseph Andrews*, Richetti goes on, there emerges 'a style energized and to some extent organized by [Fielding's] rejection of the Richardsonian novel and its amatory predecessors'.³

Other critics now prefer to locate the significance of the vogue in its social and commercial aspects, as though the items reprinted in these volumes might seem to dramatize, or even decisively institute, the nightmare visions of Swiftian satire, in which books are like mackerel, fugitive commodities to be noisily hawked as their freshness ebbs. For Terry Eagleton, *Pamela* is as brashly modern as a Hollywood blockbuster, not so much a novel as 'a whole cultural event ... the occasion or organizing principle of a multimedia affair, stretching all the way from domestic commodities to public spectacles, instantly recordable from one

¹ 'Eusebius' to Rivington, fo. 47. For Richardson's alleged involvement in *Pamela Censured*, see volume 2 of this edition, pp. xiii-xvi.

² *The Parallel: or, Pilkington and Phillips Compared* (1748), p. 7, quoted by Martin C. Battestin, 'On the Contemporary Reputations of *Pamela*, *Joseph Andrews*, and *Roderick Random*: Remarks by an "Oxford Scholar", 1748', *Notes and Queries*, 213 (1968), 450-2 (p. 451).

³ John Richetti, *The English Novel in History, 1700-1780* (London: Routledge, 1999), pp. 84, 122.

cultural mode to the next'. William Beatty Warner writes that 'the cultural location and meaning of novel reading took a decisive turn with the publication of *Pamela*', generating an unprecedented 'media event' in which the novel became 'an ambient, pervasive phenomenon' in the press and the public sphere.¹ A defining event in the history of print and consumer culture as much as in that of a genre, the deluge of print that *Pamela* unleashed gives fascinating illustration to the dynamism, responsiveness, and swift entrepreneurial vigour of eighteenth-century Grub Street, while also displaying the pure desperation that often drove its efforts. It is salutary to remember that the lead publisher of *Pamela's Conduct in High Life*, Richard Chandler, was shortly to shoot himself under pressure of debt, and that Fielding's *Shamela* was almost certainly written in a debtors' sponging-house, primarily as a means of getting its author out.²

Yet to stress the merely opportunist or parasitical aspect of all this writing is to underplay the extent to which the *Pamela* vogue was also (as the title of this edition stresses) a *Pamela* controversy: not only a contrivance of the marketplace or a fashionable consumer craze, but also a multi-voiced dispute, beginning with matters of local interpretation but typically extending much further. Though 'vogue' and 'controversy' have often been used interchangeably in this context, the second term more clearly registers the extent to which critics have seen writers on *Pamela* as playing, with different degrees of knowingness, for serious ideological stakes. Nor is this emphasis on the fundamentally adversarial nature of all this output entirely a recent view. Indeed, if a single dominant model has informed critical accounts of the controversy, it has come in the unlikely shape of a plagiarized report, published in English in 1750, but traceable first to a Danish publication of 1744:

There are Swarms of Moral Romances. One, of late Date, divided the World into such opposite Judgments, that some extolled it to the Stars, whilst others treated it with Contempt. Whence arose, particularly among the Ladies, two different Parties, *Pamelists* and *Antipamelists*. This Book describes a poor young Chambermaid, with whom a Gentleman of Fortune falls in Love, and endeavours, by Power and Subtilty, to corrupt;

¹ Eagleton, *The Rape of Clarissa: Writing, Sexuality and Class Struggle in Samuel Richardson* (Oxford: Blackwell, 1982), p. 5; Warner, *Licensing Entertainment*, pp. 176, 178.

² Plomer, *Dictionary of Printers*, p. 49; Martin C. Battestin, with Ruthe R. Battestin, *Henry Fielding: A Life* (London: Routledge, 1989), p. 304.

but her Virtue and Chastity prove so great, that she could not be prevailed upon to grant unwarrantable Favours. Hence, after some time, his impure Love turns to Esteem; insomuch, that, without regarding the Inequality of their Conditions, he marries her. Some look upon this young Virgin as an Example for Ladies to follow; nay, there have been those, who did not scruple to recommend this Romance from the Pulpit. Others, on the contrary, discover in it, the Behaviour of an hypocritical, crafty Girl, in her Courtship; who understands the Art of bringing a Man to her Lure. Both these Judgments, I think, are in the Extreme. For we cannot entirely rely upon the Conduct of such a Girl; because we frequently find, that Men are imposed upon by pretended Virtue: and yet every Instance of Virtue must not be deemed Hypocrisy. Women of real Religion may be found, who have no such sinister Views. I comply so far with the Ladies, whose Friendship I always cultivate, as to reckon *Pamela* of this last good Sort; especially as, in her Prosperity, her Conduct is similar to what it was before; so that she pleases every body by her Civility, Modesty, and obliging Behaviour. Her History, indeed, would have been more exemplary, and her Conduct less exceptionable, if this Heroine, after suffering so many Persecutions, had continued in her low Condition; for, thus she would have avoided the Censure now pass'd upon her. At least, she might have made her Admirer wait a few Years, before she concluded the Match. Nevertheless, I approve of this Romance, so far as it contains just Sentiments, and holds out an Example of Virtue and Honour. At the same time, I cannot allow it to be a Master-piece; and by no Means think it deserves to be recommended from the Pulpit. For tho' there are some instructive Parts in this Work; yet there are others too licentious. And certainly the Images it draws of a beautiful Woman, her Shape, Air, Neck, Breasts, &c. which are all fully display'd, cannot furnish a proper Text for a Sermon.¹

Since A. D. McKillop first reprinted this passage in his study of 1936, the terms 'Pamelist' and 'Antipamelist' have become staples of criticism, their shorthand usefulness outweighing the tendency they encourage to classify in rigidly binary terms a body of writing that is rather more fluid. With its talk of 'different parties', moreover, the passage nicely suggests the way in which the controversy had seemed to outgrow its immediate source – as though resembling, or even for certain readers eclipsing, the sensational parliamentary struggles of the day. (As *Pamela*

¹ *The Reflector* (1750), pp. 14–15; for the apparent source of this analysis in *Moralske tanker* (1744), by the Norwegian dramatist Ludvig Holberg, see McKillop, *Printer and Novelist*, pp. 101–2.

was published, the long campaign against the great Whig kleptocracy of Sir Robert Walpole – in which Fielding, Kelly and other participants in the controversy had played significant roles – was in its climactic last stages.)

In the first place, Pamelists and Antipamelists concerned themselves with the obvious areas of dispute opened up by the ambiguities of Richardson's presentation: Pamela's motivation, her veracity, her piety. Much modern criticism, however, has devoted itself to excavating the deeper ideological structures and bones of contention beneath these debating-points. Below the surface of arguments about character and motive, also in play were the larger conflicts and questions of an age in which traditional ideologies were increasingly open to question or challenge: the relationships between virtue and class, or between virtue and gender; the rival claims on the Christian soul of faith and good works; the vague and troubled borderline between moral and immoral discourse. *Pamela* was not only a novel but also a site of ideological contestation, and in the focus given by writers of the controversy to these and other areas of dispute we can read a whole culture and its discontents. It is for this reason that so much is to be gained by recovering to view, alongside well-known responses like *Shamela*, the full range of *Pamela's* quarrelsome progeny: in these sources we see displayed, with unrivalled clarity, the diversity, vigour and turmoil of their cultural moment.

Critical endeavours of every kind have been hampered until now by the scarcity of most of the key sources, and it is the purpose of this edition to make them much more easily available for reference and debate. The *Pamela* controversy brought together a fascinating variety of figures: rival novelists such as Henry Fielding and Eliza Haywood; men of the theatre such as Carlo Goldoni (whose dramatic adaptation was translated into English) and David Garrick; fashionable artists such as Francis Hayman, Hubert Gravelot, Joseph Highmore, and Philip Mercier; and a host of lesser critics, poets, and playwrights. Yet of the rich profusion of texts reproduced in these volumes, only *Shamela* can be said to have entered the literary canon, and most survive in a handful of copies scattered around the world. Three short items (*Shamela*, *Pamela Censured*, and Richardson's introduction to *Pamela* in its second edition) have been included in the publications of the Augustan Reprint Society, and others have been reprinted in a facsimile edition of *Richardsoniana* (New York:

Garland, 1974–5), which was published without editorial apparatus. Several of the most interesting works included here have not been reprinted at all since the 1740s, among them the two main Irish contributions to the debate, *Pamela: or, The Fair Impostor* (1743) and *Mock-Pamela* (1750); the latter survives in a single recorded copy, now at Trinity College, Dublin, and has previously been unknown to scholars of the novel or its vogue. A further distinctive feature of the present edition is the emphasis on visual representations, which are gathered together from diverse sources to facilitate comparative study. Published for the first time in their entirety since 1741 are John Carwitham's illustrations for *The Life of Pamela*. This edition also reproduces three of Philip Mercier's erotic paintings of Richardson's heroine, all in private collections, and distinguishes them from other erotic paintings by Mercier with which they have previously been confused.

Though concentrated in the year or eighteen months immediately following first publication, the *Pamela* controversy continued to generate significant new contributions for almost a decade. For this reason, the scope of these volumes extends chronologically from 1740 to 1750, and has been defined in such a way as to take in Irish as well as British works, notably the two Dublin publications mentioned in the paragraph above. The more diffuse reception of the novel on continental Europe would require as many volumes again, but we have included one French-language source, *Lettre sur Pamela* (1742), on the grounds that it may possibly have been published in London. The organization of the volumes is mainly generic. Volume 1 includes Richardson's promotional apparatus to the novel, in juxtaposition with Fielding's close parody of this apparatus in *Shamela*, and the remainder of the volume is devoted to the poetry of the *Pamela* controversy. Volume 2 is divided between early prose criticism of the novel and the various surviving illustrations, and volume 3 reprints two related narratives, Eliza Haywood's *Anti-Pamela* and the anonymous *Memoirs of the Life of Lady H—, The Celebrated Pamela*. Volumes 4 and 5 are given over to the most important of the spurious continuations, John Kelly's *Pamela's Conduct in High Life*, and volume 6 is devoted to early plays and operas on the *Pamela* theme. Each volume is preceded by a substantial editorial introduction, based on new researches into the controversy and its protagonists, and situating each of the works to follow in historical and critical context.

CHRONOLOGY, 1740–1750

Most of the publication dates listed below derive from newspaper advertisements recorded in William Merritt Sale, junior, *Samuel Richardson: A Bibliographical Record* (New Haven: Yale University Press, 1936) and in the chronological table by T. C. Duncan Eaves and Ben D. Kimpel in their Riverside edition of *Pamela* (Boston: Houghton Mifflin, 1971). Advertisements unrecorded by Sale or Eaves and Kimpel are supplied with the following abbreviations: *Ch* (*Champion*), *DA* (*Daily Advertiser*), *DG* (*Daily Gazetteer*), *DJ* (Faulkner's *Dublin Journal*), *DP* (*Daily Post*), *GA* (*General Advertiser*), *GM* (*Gentleman's Magazine*), *LDP* (*London Daily Post and General Advertiser*), *LEP* (*London Evening-Post*), *StJEP* (*St James Evening-Post*). Unless otherwise indicated, performance dates are from *The London Stage 1660–1800, Part 3: 1729–1747*, ed. Arthur H. Scouten, 2 vols. (Carbondale: Southern Illinois University Press, 1961), abbreviated here as *LS*. SR indicates Samuel Richardson.

1739–40

Nov.–Jan. *Pamela* drafted: 'by a memorandum on my copy, I began it Nov. 10 1739, and finished it Jan. 10 1739–40' (SR to Aaron Hill, c. 1 Feb. 1741).

1740

- 11 Oct. *Weekly Miscellany* leads with lengthy advance praise of *Pamela* ('in hopes by this Means to quicken the Publication of it') in the form of a letter 'To my worthy Friend, the Author of PAMELA, &c.' (probably composed by the editor himself, the Revd William Webster).
- 4 Nov. *Pamela* registered at the Stationers' Company in the names of SR and the booksellers Charles Rivington and John Osborn.
- 6 Nov. *Pamela* published anonymously by Rivington and Osborn in two 12^o volumes, dated 1741, price 6 shillings bound, including in its preliminary matter (as 'To my worthy Friend, the Editor of PAMELA, &c.') the *Weekly Miscellany* puff of 11 Oct.
- 15 Nov. Manuscript critique of *Pamela* sent anonymously to Charles Rivington; SR advertises for further correspondence with the writer, 'under what Restrictions he pleases' (*DG*, 20 Nov.).

1740

- Nov.–Dec. *Pamela* recommended by the Revd Benjamin Slocock from the pulpit of St Saviour's, Southwark (some time before 6 Jan., when Aaron Hill comments on the event in a letter to SR).
- 13 Dec. *Weekly Miscellany* reprints SR's preface and conclusion to *Pamela*.
- 29 Dec. SR has apparently commissioned from William Hogarth two designs for frontispieces to the second edition of *Pamela* (Hill to SR), but later abandons plan to use them (second edition, I, xxxvi–xxxvii).
- Dec. *Pamela* sympathetically reviewed in *The History of the Works of the Learned*, IV, 2: 433–9.

1741

- 23 Jan. Publication of SR's *Letters Written to and for Particular Friends* (usually known as *Familiar Letters*).
- 27 Jan. Forthcoming second edition of *Pamela* announced (DG).
- 31 Jan. First Irish edition of *Pamela* published by George Faulkner and George Ewing, undercutting the English edition at a price of 5s. 5d. bound. 'As the Demand for this Book is expected be very great, it is hoped Gentlemen will be pleased to send Silver, as it will be very difficult to provide Change' (DJ, 27–31 Jan.).
- Jan. *Gentleman's Magazine* has received (but does not print) 'several Encomiums' on *Pamela*, 'it being judged in Town as great a Sign of Want of Curiosity not to have read *Pamela*, as not to have seen the French and Italian Dancers'.
- 12 Feb. Alexander Pope's 'Approbation and Pleasure' on reading *Pamela* is conveyed to SR from Bath in a letter by George Cheyne, and widely reported.
- 14 Feb. Second edition of *Pamela* published (*a large Impression having been carried off in less than Three Months*), with a new introduction based on six commendatory letters by Aaron Hill (one refuting the anonymous critique of 15 Nov. 1740) and closing with Hill's verses on the novel.
- 23 Feb. The London correspondent of the *Göttingische Zeitungen* reviews *Pamela* as a work influenced by *La Vie de Marianne*, by Marivaux.
- 28 Feb. *Weekly Miscellany* reprints from the second edition of *Pamela* the first of Hill's letters, and his concluding verses.
- Feb. Date of a letter from London published in the *Bibliothèque britannique* for Apr.–June 1741, summarizing *Pamela* and announcing that a French translation would soon be in the press.
- 12 Mar. Third edition of *Pamela* published.
- 14 Mar. Second Irish edition of *Pamela* published in Dublin (DJ, 10–14 Mar.).

1741

- 27 Mar. French translation of *Pamela* advertised in London as 'in the Press, and speedily will be published' (DP).
- 2 Apr. Fielding's *Shamela* published; second issue follows, probably on 3 Nov.
- 3 Apr. Robert Dodsley's *The Blind Beggar of Bethnal-Green* performed at Drury Lane (LS); later marketed in Dublin as 'Wrote on the same plan with Pamela, viz. Virtue attack'd and triumphant' (DJ, 16–20 June).
- 7 Apr. Teasing verse epigraph in DA, 'Advice to Booksellers, (After reading *Pamela*)', implicitly identifies SR as author of the novel; reprinted in *Gentleman's Magazine* for April.
- 9 Apr. New edition advertised of Nicolas Vedette's *The Pleasures of Conjugal-Love Explain'd*, 'of the same Letter and Size with *Pamela*, and very proper to be bound with it' (DA).
- 15 Apr. *Shamela* published in Dublin by Oliver Nelson (DJ, 11–14 Apr.).
- mid-Apr. SR starts writing his continuation of *Pamela*, having heard that a rival continuation by John Kelly is 'in great Forwardness' (SR to James Leake, Aug. 1741).
- 25 Apr. *Pamela Censured* published.
- 28 Apr. 'PAMELA, a new Fan, representing the principal Adventures of her Life, in Servitude, Love, and Marriage' is now on sale 'at all the Fan-Shops and China-Shops in and about London' (DA).
- 5 May Fourth edition of *Pamela* published. SR appends note to advertisements discrediting the forthcoming 'spurious Continuation' and announcing that he 'is actually continuing the Work himself' (DG, 7 May). Some time afterwards, a piracy of *Pamela* is published in London by Mary Kingman, apparently deriving from SR's fourth edition text and issued in three instalments.
- 20 May A passage from letter xv of the novel appears, under the heading 'A Continuation of the Familiar Letters of PAMELA, &c.', in a rare surviving issue of *Robinson Crusoe's London Daily Evening Post*. A passage near the end appears on 21 Sept. 1742; the serialization seems to have been completed before the next surviving issue of 12 Nov.
- 28 May John Kelly's *Pamela's Conduct in High Life* published anonymously by Richard Chandler and Caesar Ward, with promise of a second volume should the first succeed. SR places advertisements 'to assert his Right to his own Plan, and to prevent such an Imposition on the Publick' (DG, 30 May), and an advertising war with Chandler and Ward ensues.
- May Sarcastic verse commendation ('Remarks on *Pamela*. By a Prude') published in *London Magazine*; reprinted in *Scots Magazine* for July.

1741

- 4 June Specimen of the Chandler–Ward continuation mockingly reprinted in *DG* (also *DA*, 6 June) ‘in order to convince the Publick how well the Volume call’d Pamela in HIGH-LIFE, deserves that Title’. SR advertises that the same passage is available gratis from Rivington and Osborn, ‘and the Publick is assur’d, that (*bad as it is*) ’tis one of the best-written Parts of their Volume’ (*DG*, 10 June).
- 16 June Publication of Eliza Haywood’s *Anti-Pamela: or, Feign’d Innocence Detected*; reissued on 29 Oct., by which time an unauthorized serialization is well advanced in surviving numbers (20 Oct. 1741–2 Jan. 1742) of a cheap newspaper, *All-Alive and Merry*.
- 22 June Irish edition of *Pamela’s Conduct in High Life* published by Faulkner and Nelson (*DJ*, 13–16 June).
- 27 June James Parry’s *The True Anti-Pamela* published; second edition follows on 26 Sept.
- June ‘To the Author of *Shamela*’, a poem praising *Shamela* at *Pamela’s* expense, published in *London Magazine*.
- 24 July First instalment published of *Pamela Versified*, a heroic poem by George Bennet, to be published in fifteen numbers. Second instalment announced for 18 Aug. (*DA*, 12 Aug.); extract reprinted in the *Scots Magazine* for Oct., which comments that ‘the work now seems dropt’.
- July Verse defence of *Pamela* by R. D., entitled ‘An Apology for the Censorious’, published in *London Magazine*.
- 13 Aug. SR advertises that his own continuation is ‘*In the PRESS, And will be Published with all convenient Speed*’ (*DG*); the first two printed sheets are seen by George Cheyne on 24 Aug.
- 26 Aug. Mary Barber writes to SR from Dublin describing ‘the Universal Applause Pamela met with’ in Ireland: ‘every body in this Kingdom ... that I have met with or heard of, was highly delighted with it.’
- 12 Sept. Second volume of Kelly’s *Pamela’s Conduct in High Life* published; first volume republished in a second edition on 3 Oct.
- 22 Sept. Fifth edition of *Pamela* published.
- 23 Sept. Advertisement in *LDP* that on the previous day, at Goodman’s Fields Theatre, ‘a new Comedy call’d Pamela ... was rehears’d ... founded on the celebrated novel of that name’ (*LS*, 929).
- 29 Sept. First instalment of another spurious continuation, *Pamela in High Life* (originally scheduled for five fortnightly instalments, but apparently completed in three), published by Mary Kingman in a format matching her piracy of the original novel (see above, 5 May 1741).

1741

- 8 Oct. SR reports to Ralph Allen that he has finished writing the continuation.
- 23 Oct. French translation of *Pamela* (undertaken with SR's approval, probably by Jean Baptiste de Freval with verse translations by César de Missy) published in London by John Osborn 'for the Use of SCHOOLS' (DG).
- 9 Nov. Henry Giffard's *Pamela. A Comedy* performed at Goodman's Fields, with the young Garrick in the part of Jack Smatter (Lord Davers's nephew); seventeen further performances in the 1741–2 season (LS, 941–6, 948, 951–2, 971).
- 16 Nov. Publication of *Pamela: or, Virtue Triumphant* (possibly by James Dance), a play 'intended to be Acted at the Theatre Royal in Drury-Lane'.
- 17 Nov. Publication of Henry Giffard's *Pamela. A Comedy*; two separate piracies of the play published in London at about this time, with another in Dublin, and a second authorized edition on 16 Nov. 1742.
- 23 Nov. Charles Povey's *The Virgin in Eden* published, with a section alleging 'PAMELA's Letters ... to be immodest Romances painted in Images of Virtue'.
- 4 Dec. *Memoirs of the Life of Lady H—, the Celebrated Pamela* published, proposing Sir Arthur Hesilrige and his wife (née Hannah Sturges) as SR's models.
- 7 Dec. SR's continuation of *Pamela* (often known as *Pamela in Her Exalted Condition*) published in two volumes (numbered III and IV and dated 1742), having been registered at the Stationers' Company on 4 Dec.
- 7 Dec. First Dublin performance of Giffard's comedy *Pamela* at the Smock-Alley Theatre (DJ, 1–5 Dec.); text published by Nelson the same day (DJ, 28 Nov.–1 Dec.).
- 21 Dec. Solomon Lowe comments to SR that *Pamela* 'has proved of so much Service to your very Brethren; witness the Labours of the press in Piracies, in Criticisms, in Cavils, in Panegyrics, in Supplements, in Imitations, in Transformations, in Translations, &c, beyond anything I know of; SR later annotates Lowe's letter with reference to 'no less than 16 Pieces under some of the above or the like Titles'.
- 28 Dec. Pirated edition of SR's continuation published in Dublin by Faulkner and Ewing (DJ, 22–6 Dec.).

1741

- 28 Dec. Unidentified version of *Pamela* (possibly *Pamela: or, Virtue Triumphant*) performed between the two halves of a concert at the French Theatre in Haymarket (*LS*, 954).
- 1741 Publication of *The Life of Pamela*, a third-person retelling of *Pamela* and the Kelly continuation, dated 1741 and apparently issued as a 21-part serial. Publication completed some time after the appearance of Kelly's second volume (12 Sept. 1741), but possibly as late as 19–22 Feb. 1743, when the earliest known advertisement for *The Life of Pamela* (now complete in bound form) appears in *StJEP*.

1742

- 13 Jan. SR, Rivington and Osborn granted Royal Licence for the sole printing, publishing and vending of all four volumes of *Pamela* 'within our Kingdoms and Dominions' (so protecting their property against kinds of piracy, notably abridgements and Irish editions, not covered by the Copyright Act of 1710).
- 19 Jan. The Revd John Swinton writes to SR on the success of *Pamela*'s third and fourth volumes in Oxford, where 'all the Senior and more intelligent Part of the University highly value and esteem them'.
- 22 Feb. Fielding's *Joseph Andrews* published; second edition follows on 10 June, and further editions in 1743 and 1748.
- 26 Feb. Last performance of Giffard's *Pamela. A Comedy* at Goodman's Fields (*LS*, 971).
- 18 Mar. Eliza Haywood's *The Virtuous Villager* published (*Cb*). An adaptation of Charles de Mouhy's novel *La Paysanne parvenue*, its heroine is based on both de Mouhy's protagonist and Pamela.
- 24 Apr. *Universal Spectator* publishes first instalment of 'Pamela the Second', which claims to report in dramatic form 'a Kind of a Parallel Case' to *Pamela* that 'lately happen'd in Buckinghamshire'. Continued 1 May; concluded 8 May.
- 8 May Sixth edition of *Pamela* published in lavish 8° format, together with 'third' edition of the continuation (the first simultaneous publication of all four volumes as a single unit). Illustrated with twenty-nine plates engraved by Hubert Gravelot from his own and Francis Hayman's designs; price £1. 4s. for the bound set.
- 22 May Dublin edition of *Joseph Andrews* advertised by Faulkner, Ewing and Smith (*DJ*, 18–22 May); second Dublin edition follows in 1747.
- 16 Sept. *Pamela* (probably an imported edition) advertised by William Bradford of Philadelphia in the *Pennsylvania Gazette*.

1742

- 16 Nov. Joseph Watson's verse satire *Fashion* published (*LDP*), in which modish ladies 'Of Vauxhall, Garrick, or Pamela prattle'.
- 1742 *Pamela: or, Virtue Rewarded. An Opera*, an adaptation of Giffard's play by 'Mr Edge' (i.e. Joseph Dorman), published in Newcastle.
- 1742 *Lettre sur Pamela*, traditionally attributed to the abbé Marquet, published with a 'Londres' imprint (which may be false).
- 1742 Two scenes from *Pamela* painted by Hayman for display in the pavilions at Vauxhall Gardens at about this time. Two other *Pamela* paintings, by Gravelot and by the American portraitist Robert Feke, are of similar date.

1743

- 29 Jan. 'Second' edition of *Pamela in Her Exalted Condition* published in 12° format, dated 1742, apparently having been printed before publication of the 8° 'third'. Later reissued (again with the date 1742) as the 'fourth' edition.
- 7 Apr. Fielding's *Miscellanies* published (*DP*), including his youthful imitation of Juvenal's sixth satire, updated with topical allusions: 'But say you, if each private Family / Doth not produce a perfect Pamela'.
- 21 June Eliza Haywood's *A Present for a Servant-Maid* published (*LDP*). An advice manual, it makes several allusions to *Pamela*, and warns that marriages between servants and masters 'are very rare, and as seldom happy'.
- 21 Dec. *Pamela: or, The Fair Impostor. A Poem, in Five Cantos*, by 'J---- W----, Esq.', burlesquing *Pamela* in the style of *The Rape of the Lock*, published in Dublin (*DJ*, 13–17 Dec. 1743); London edition follows on 5 Jan. 1744.
- 1743? 'Fifth' edition of *Pamela* (in fact a reprint of the fourth London edition), dated 1742–3, reprinted and published in Philadelphia by Benjamin Franklin (R. P. Bristol, *Supplement to Charles Evans' American Bibliography* (1970), item B1186).

1744

- 16 Feb. Joseph Highmore advertises (*LDP*) that ten of his twelve paintings depicting the *Pamela* story are on display at his house in Lincoln's Inn Fields, where subscriptions are being taken for a set of engravings.
- 15 Apr. *Pamela* and Haywood's *Anti-Pamela* are entered on the Roman Catholic 'Index Librorum Prohibitorum'; the French translations of both works are added on 22 May 1745.
- 10 May Highmore advertises (*LDP*) that all twelve of his paintings have now been completed.

1744

May Publication of William Whitehead's poem 'On Nobility' (*GM*), with topical literary allusions: 'Who does not, *Pamela*, thy Suffrings feel?'

June–July First recorded discussions of *Clarissa* in SR's correspondence indicate that work on his next novel is well advanced.

1745

11 Feb. James Miller's comedy *The Picture* performed at Drury Lane (*LS*): its rebellious heroine is blamed by her father for saying more 'of *Pamela*, or *Joseph Andrews*, than thy Catechism'.

Feb. 'To the Author of *Pamela*' (a verse commendation by 'Belinda' of Salisbury) appears in *Gentleman's Magazine*.

Apr.–Dec. 'PAMELA; or, VIRTUE REWARDED. Being a curious Piece of Wax-Work' exhibited near Richardson's Salisbury Court premises for several months (*DA*, 23 Apr. and 8 Aug.); the display is later expanded to include scenes from the continuation (*DA*, 19 Nov. and 21 Dec.).

June A. W.'s *The Enormous Abomination of the Hoop-Petticoat* published (*GM*), with a passage denouncing 'the Reading of *Plays, Pamelas, Novels, Romances*'.

15 July Engravings by Antoine Benoist and Louis Truchy of Highmore's set of twelve *Pamela* paintings published (*DA*); reissued 1762.

1746

18 Oct. 12^o 'sixth' edition of *Pamela* published.

1747

Verse commendation by the Revd Josiah Relph (d. 1743), 'Wrote after Reading *Pamela*', appears in his posthumous *A Miscellany of Poems* (published in Glasgow).

1747–8

Clarissa published in three instalments (vols. I–II, 1 Dec. 1747; vols. III–IV, 28 Apr. 1748; vols. V–VII, 6 Dec. 1748).

1748

13 Feb. Edward Moore's comedy *The Foundling* first performed at Drury Lane (*LS*), with a plot based on unequal marriage: Belmont 'must read *Pamela* twice over' before marrying Fidelia, who later seems 'the perfect Pamela in High Life'.

8 Sept. *Pamela* compared unfavourably with *Joseph Andrews* in *The Parallel: or, Pilkington and Phillips Compared* (*GA*), but remembered as a best-seller.

21 Nov. First volume of John Cleland's *Memoirs of a Woman of Pleasure* published (*GA*), containing several allusions to *Pamela* and *Shamela*.

- 1748
 Second volume follows on 14 Feb. 1749 (*LEP*), and an expurgated abridgment, *Memoirs of Fanny Hill*, on 8 Mar. 1750 (*GA*).
- 1749
 June *Gentleman's Magazine* publishes Albrecht von Haller's review of *Clarissa* as 'the younger sister and imitater of *Pamela*'.
- 1750
 March Publication of Peter Shaw's *The Reflector* (*GM*), with its account, deriving from Ludvig Holberg's *Moralske tanker* (1744), of how *Pamela* 'divided the World into ... two different Parties, *Pamelists* and *Antipamelists*'.
- spring Goldoni's comedy *Pamela nubile* (published in English in 1756) first performed in Mantua; further performances in Venice from 28 Nov.
- 14 May *A Dramatic Burlesque of Two Acts, Call'd Mock-Pamela: or, A Kind Caution to Country Coxcombs* performed (as afterpiece to *Henry IV, Part 2*) at the Smock-Alley Theatre, Dublin, and simultaneously published to be 'sold at the Theatre' (*DJ*, 8–12 May 1750).
- 4 Aug. *Mock-Pamela* performed again at Richmond, Surrey, as afterpiece to *The Provoked Husband* (*Notes and Queries*, 173 (1937), 312).
- 21 Sept. Publication of 'a Beautiful Print ... of PAMELA rising from her bed', price 2 shillings, engraved by Thomas Chambers from the original painting by Philip Mercier (*DA*). The painting itself, and a similar Mercier canvas of *Pamela* pulling on her stockings, may date from the mid-1740s.
- 25 Oct. *Pamela* 'is still the joy of the chambermaids of all nations' (Lady Mary Wortley Montagu to the Countess of Bute).



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