The Pamela Controversy

Prose criticism
Visual representations

Edited by
Thomas Keymer and Peter Sabor

ROUTLEDGE

THE PAMELA CONTROVERSY

Volume 2

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

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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

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 interpretation – 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: 10.4324/9781003551478

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INTRODUCTION TO VOLUME 2

This volume is in two sections. The first contains four early critical accounts of *Pamela*, beginning with the first and only conventional review of the novel in the English press (in *The History of the Works of the Learned* for December 1740). The second and third items are the anonymous *Pamela Censured* and Charles Povey's *The Virgin in Eden*, published in April and November 1741 respectively, which between them mark the most extreme forms of moralizing attack to which the novel was subjected. When added to the prefatory material from other works reproduced in this edition, notably the second edition of *Pamela* (in volume 1) and John Kelly's *Pamela's Conduct in High Life* (in volumes 4–5), these sources complete our representation of all the most important prose criticism of *Pamela* produced in English in the 1740s. Also included is a critical account in French, *Lettre sur Pamela*, which was published in 1742 with a London imprint.

The second section is devoted to the many visual renderings of the novel produced in the decade following publication. The earliest are twelve plates engraved and probably designed by John Carwitham for the anonymous *The Life of Pamela* (1741). They are followed by twenty-nine illustrations commissioned by Richardson for the octavo edition of *Pamela* (1742): twelve designed by Francis Hayman and seventeen by Hubert Gravelot, who also undertook all of the engraving. Next in order are the prints made from twelve paintings of scenes in *Pamela* by Joseph Highmore, engraved by Antoine Benoist and Louis Truchy in 1745. Robert Feke's portrait of Pamela, painted in the early 1740s, shows the impact of the novel in the wake of both imported copies and an American edition. At the opposite extreme from Feke's decorous heroine are the erotic paintings of Pamela by Philip Mercier, three of which are reproduced in this volume.

PART 1: CRITIQUES

The History of the Works of the Learned

The first review of *Pamela* was published in the December 1740 number of *The History of the Works of the Learned*, a monthly abstracting and reviewing periodical founded in 1737 as the 'united Concern of the Proprietors of the *Present State of the Republick of Letters* and the *Literary Magazine*'.[1] The first of these precursors had been running since 1728 under the editorship of Andrew Reid, the second since 1735 under the encyclopaedist Ephraim Chambers (on whose death, in May 1740, Reid presumably assumed sole charge). The merger was not a long-term success. Published monthly in shilling instalments, and cumulated semi-annually, *The History of the Works of the Learned* failed to match the circulation of more broadly based sixpenny magazines like the *Gentleman's Magazine* and the *London Magazine*, and it folded in 1743. It was not until the foundation of the *Monthly Review* in 1749, followed by Smollett's *Critical Review* in 1756, that literary reviewing in the modern sense was to become firmly established in Britain.[2] Conceived in an older, more highbrow tradition (Elizabeth Kraft identifies the magazine's ultimate model as the seventeenth-century French serial the *Journal des sçavans*), *The History of The Works of the Learned* showed relatively little interest in contemporary literature, and largely ignored prose fiction. Its stock in trade was the approving summary of new works by (as the editors liked to put it) 'the most eminent Writers' of philosophy, science, divinity, history, and the like.

In these conditions, the mere existence of a *Pamela* review is remarkable. (Even the magazine's indexer was taken aback, to judge from the uncertain wording of his entry in the 1740 index for 'Pamela, *an Account of a sort of Novel under that Title*'.) Far more typical of the magazine's content was a lengthy review the previous May of Richardson's edition of

[1] Preface to the opening volume of 1737, quoted by Elizabeth A. Kraft, '*The History of the Works of the Learned*', in Sullivan, *British Literary Magazines*, pp. 160–3 (p. 161).

[2] Systematic reviewing was further advanced on the Continent, and the English edition of *Pamela* received early reviews in the *Göttingische Zeitungen von Gelehrten Sachen* (23 February 1741), 129–30, and the *Bibliothèque britannique* (April–June 1741), 27–60, well before the availability of French and German translations; see McKillop, *Printer and Novelist*, pp. 36, 94.

The Negotiations of Sir Thomas Roe, which praises Richardson handsomely enough to suggest that he and the magazine's management were on friendly terms. 'The Printer of this Volume may, I think, be very justly stiled the Editor of it', begins the review, 'and he has executed his Part so well in both Capacities, that on one Account as well as on the other, he merits our Acknowledgments.'[1] Little evidence survives to connect Richardson with one of the two publishers of *The History of the Works of the Learned*, Jacob Robinson, who a year later was to publish Henry Giffard's *Pamela. A Comedy.* But he had dealt extensively for years with Thomas Cooper, the other. Cooper's pamphlet shop had served as the distributing agent for various periodicals printed by Richardson, as well as for separate works including Richardson's own *Seasonable Examination of the Pleas and Pretensions of the Proprietors of ... Play-Houses* (1735) and, in 1739, the fifth edition of Aaron Hill's poem *The Northern-Star*. In 1739 Richardson had also been drumming up contributions for, and possibly printing without charge, another periodical published by Cooper, a short-lived weekly entitled *The Citizen*.[2] Cooper may well have been minded to return the favour.

Even by the generally emollient standards of the magazine (which later praised the slimy dedication to Conyers Middleton's *Life of Cicero* as 'writ with the Freedom and Propriety of a Philosopher and a Scholar, and not the fawning Servility ... of a modern Author'),[3] the *Pamela* review reads unusually like an inside job. Long quotations from Richardson's prefatory matter are followed by a sympathetic synopsis, evidently written by a reviewer who had studied the novel with care. Only in the closing sentence is a note of criticism ventured: 'The Language is not altogether unexceptionable, but in several Places sinks below the Idea we are constrained to form of the Heroine who is supposed to write it' (below, p. 7). The point is mildly put, but publicly inaugurates a strain of objection (marking a deep-seated cultural resistance to Richardson's location of virtue in a plebeian voice) that would become a major theme of *Pamela*'s early reception. Though obviously inappropriate to a work

[1] *The History of the Works of the Learned*, 4 (May 1740), part 1, p. 346.

[2] Sale, *Master Printer*, p. 73; see also pp. 320–1.

[3] *History of the Works of the Learned*, 5 (February 1741), part 1, p. 152. For the text of Middleton's dedication, which is ridiculed for its slavishness in Fielding's mock-dedication to *Shamela*, see *Joseph Andrews and Shamela*, pp. 345–50.

attempting to simulate a servant's letters, complaints like this followed inevitably from the established assumption that good literature involved high style. Here Richardson's attitude was equivocal. While discarding this assumption as he wrote, he also craved the approval of those polite and learned readers who were its main upholders. The result was that later editions of *Pamela*, in progressive layers of defensive revision, would attenuate the stylistic radicalism of the original text.[1]

Pamela Censured

Though measured reviewing played little part in the literary culture of the 1740s, more extravagant forms of puffing and trashing lay at its heart. *Pamela Censured* offers compelling evidence of both extremes, and of the strangely grey area that lay between.

Anonymously published on 25 April 1741, some three weeks after *Shamela*, *Pamela Censured* shares with Fielding's satire a hostile interest in the promotional campaign surrounding Richardson's text. Early advertisements draw particular attention to the fact that the pamphlet is ironically *'Dedicated to the Rev. Dr.* SLOCOCK, *Chaplain of St. Saviour's, Southwark'*,[2] whose recommendation of *Pamela* from his pulpit within weeks of publication had attracted widespread and often scandalized notice. Aaron Hill was 'charmed by ye brave Independence of Taste in the generous Doctor', which 'could impell him so nobly to avow his Approbation in the Face of the World, without waiting ye Sanction of Time for safe-guarding his Sentiments'.[3] Others were more hostile, notably the unknown author of *The Life of Pamela* (1741), whose passing reference to 'a Parson' who had received 'ten Guineas to recommend

[1] See T. C. Duncan Eaves and Ben D. Kimpel, 'Richardson's Revisions of *Pamela*', *Studies in Bibliography*, 20 (1967), 61–88; Philip Gaskell, 'Richardson, *Pamela*, 1741', in Gaskell, *From Writer to Reader: Studies in Editorial Method* (Oxford: Clarendon Press, 1978), pp. 63–79; and Peter Sabor, 'Richardson's Correspondence and His Final Revision of *Pamela*', *Transactions of the Samuel Johnson Society of the Northwest*, 12 (1981), 114–31.

[2] *London Evening-Post*, 14–16 May 1741. The publication date of 25 April was established by Eaves and Kimpel from an advertisement in the *Daily Post* (*Samuel Richardson*, p. 129). The work sold for a shilling.

[3] Hill to Richardson, 6 January 1741, FM XIII, 2, fo. 36, quoted by Peter Sabor, 'Did Richardson Bribe Dr Slocock?', *Notes and Queries*, 224 (1979), 29–31 (p. 29).

[*Pamela*] from the Pulpit' hurled mud that has subsequently stuck.[1] Whatever the truth about the rumoured backhander, it was no doubt with Slocock in mind that Fielding has *Shamela*'s Parson Tickletext rejoice that the clergy 'have made it our common Business here, not only to cry [*Pamela*] up, but to preach it up likewise'.[2]

In *Pamela Censured*, the dedication to Slocock works as a kind of replay of Parson Oliver's rebuke to Tickletext in *Shamela*. No divine, the dedication insists, 'would recommend any Thing in his Sacred Function, but what might be repeated there, without Offence to Decency and Morality' (below, p. 17). Yet the burden of the pamphlet to follow is that, knowingly or otherwise, both decency and morality are travestied throughout the novel, which has used its promotional front matter to disguise its true identity as a pornographic text. Where Fielding had parodied the commendatory letters, *Pamela Censured* simply slates them. First Richardson's strategies of authorial disavowal and claims of factual authenticity are unpicked: *Pamela* is redefined as a mere novel in the tradition of Charles de Mouhy's *La Paysanne parvenue* (1735–7),[3] and Richardson is mocked as a vacillating 'HALF-EDITOR, HALF-AUTHOR' (below, p. 23). And if *Pamela* is in truth an authored novel, no allowance can be made for the extravagant praises preceding the work, which make the author seem to rival Colley Cibber (again the cue is from *Shamela*) as 'sole Monarch of the Realms of *Effrontery* and *Vanity*' (below, p. 26). Then comes the attack on the text itself, alleging it to be 'directly the Reverse of the Encomiums bestow'd in your Preface' (below, p. 33). Where Fielding had wittily hinted at *Pamela*'s potential as pornography in the masturbatory effusions of Tickletext ('Oh! I feel an Emotion even while I am relating this'),[4] *Pamela Censured* catalogues the offending passages with dogged prurience. Drawing on a range of Anti-pamelist objection (which, according to the censurer, is now heard as

[1] *The Life of Pamela* (1741), p. 340 n. On the likelihood of bribery, see volume 1 of this edition, p. xli.

[2] Fielding, *Joseph Andrews and Shamela*, p. 310.

[3] On the significance of this stage in the censurer's argument, which enables him to draw for the remainder of the pamphlet on an established 'antinovel discourse ... haunted by the specter of the erotically aroused (usually female) body', see Warner, *Licensing Entertainment*, p. 211. *La Paysanne parvenue* was serially published in English, as *The Fortunate Country Maid*, between April 1740 and February 1741 (Wiles, *Serial Publication*, p. 324).

[4] Fielding, *Joseph Andrews and Shamela*, p. 311.

widely as Pamelist praise), it makes shrewd and pithy allegations along the way: the charge, for example, that Pamela's '*Virtue* is only founded on *Shame*' (below, p. 47). The overriding obsession, however, is with *Pamela* as pornography. Breathily alert to every slightest hint of the illicit, from Mr B's obscene punning on 'quick' in the sense of pregnant (below, p. 58) to the implied lesbianism of Mrs Jewkes (below, p. 64), *Pamela Censured* often seems to exemplify exactly the readerly arousal it seeks to avert. Witness, for example, the following effusion:

> The Advances are regular, and the amorous Conflicts so agreeably and warmly depicted, that the young Gentleman Reader will at the best be tempted to rehearse some of the same Scenes with some *Pamela* or other in the Family, and the Modest Young Lady can never read the Description of Naked Breasts being run over with the Hand, and Kisses given with such Eagerness that they cling to the Lips; but her own soft Breasts must heave at the Idea and secretly sigh for the same Pressure ... (below, p. 37)

It should be noted that these increasingly heated words are attributed in context not to the censurer himself but to another reader (whom the censurer implausibly calls 'a stay'd sober Gentleman'). But they only slightly exaggerate the tone of the whole.

The result is that *Pamela Censured* has traditionally been read, and laughed at, not only as a humourless exercise in scandalized paranoia, but also as the work of a writer rather too clearly absorbed in the lewdness he berates. Yet the pamphlet may well be something more mischievous, or even more sophisticated, than simply the work of an overexcited puritan who reads with one hand. Witnesses more intimate than we are with the elaborate feints of the eighteenth-century book trade suspected as much. Defending the original novel in his preface to *Pamela's Conduct in High Life*, John Kelly not only called this critic a 'luscious Censurer' who 'charges his own luxurious Fancy on the Author' (vol. 4 of this edition, p. xvi). He also took the effect to be perfectly knowing. Alluding to the most notorious and devious bookseller of the day, Edmund Curll, whose latest ruse had been to publish a pornographic satire with false imprints implicating Richardson's brother-in-law, James Leake,[1] Kelly calls *Pamela Censured* 'a Piece of *Curlism*; the

[1] On this publication, *A New Description of Merryland* (1740), see Foxon, *Libertine Literature in England, 1660–1745* (New York: University Books, 1965), p. 17 n.; also Ralph Strauss, *The Unspeakable Curll* (London: Chapman and Hall, 1927), pp. 308–11.

greater Part a Transcript from *Pamela*'s Letters' (volume 4 of this edition, p. xiii). The implication here is twofold: that the censurer is first a literary pirate, using his censorious pose as a pretext for reprinting *Pamela*'s highlights, and second a pornographer, adding titillating commentaries to ensure that readers will 'imagine as lusciously as he does' (volume 4 of this edition, p. xv). Now *Pamela Censured* seems to change completely: it becomes not moral denunciation but pornography disguised as denunciation – or, more specifically and dizzyingly, pornography disguised as the moralizing exposure of pornography in moral disguise.

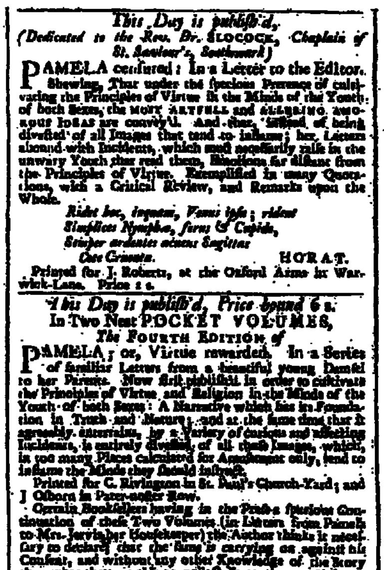
It is hard not to feel here that Kelly (or, strictly speaking, his editorial persona 'B. W.') has a point. Though Charles Batten calls *Pamela Censured* 'a much more serious attack than *Shamela*', and Eaves and Kimpel concur in finding it 'earnest', 'a less frivolous attack' than Fielding's,[1] it now looks likely that the serious or earnest surface was wholly false. Or perhaps both these pamphlets were driving in the same direction, satirically focusing as much on the extravagant absurdity of early responses (whether Pamelist or Antipamelist) as on the novel itself. It would not be impossible to read *Pamela Censured* as an ironic skit inspired by *Shamela*'s framework, written in the voice of a character in whom Parson Oliver's moral severity mingles disastrously with Tickletext's lust.

Contemporary interpretations of *Pamela Censured* suggest one further possibility, even more intriguing than this. An unidentified friend of Aaron Hill (perhaps simply, in the tactful phrasing of Hill's letter to Richardson, the voice of rumour, or even his own conjecture) went beyond Kelly in refusing to take the pamphlet at face value. In his view, *Pamela Censured* was nothing less than 'a Bookseller's Contrivance, for recommending y^{e} Purchase of *Pamela* to such Light and Loose Readers, as the names of Religion and Virtue might well have scar'd from any Purpose to look into it'.[2] Richardson and his business partners, in other words, were behind the work themselves – an idea which, however implausible it might now seem, should not be dismissed out of hand, coming as it does from a source far closer to Richardson and the world in which he operated than we can ever be. By implicating the owners of

[1] Eaves and Kimpel, *Samuel Richardson*, p. 129; Batten, introduction to *Pamela Censured* (Los Angeles: Augustan Reprint Society Publication 175, 1976), p. ii.

[2] Aaron Hill to Richardson (reporting the allegation of an acquaintance, and annotated with Richardson's denial), 25 May 1741, FM XIII, 2, fos. 48–9.

Pamela as clandestine sponsors of an attack on their own literary property, the allegation opens up a beautiful sense of how the double appeal long noted by critics of the novel (Ian Watt famously credits *Pamela* 'with the combined attractions of a sermon and a striptease')[1] might have worked at the level of marketing strategy. Overtly promoted by the moralizing puffs of the *Weekly Miscellany*, and covertly by the enticing denunciations of *Pamela Censured*, the novel is simultaneously recommended, on divergent grounds, to widely divergent tastes. Or rather, once three editions of *Pamela* have been exhausted in sales to the moral and pious, a new market of libertine readers is furtively tapped for the forthcoming fourth, which followed *Pamela Censured* by ten days, and was regularly advertised alongside it, as in the *London Evening-Post* of 14–16 May:



This Day is publish'd,
(Dedicated to the Rev. Dr. SLOCOCK, *Chaplain of St. Saviour's, Southwark)*

PAMELA censured: In a Letter to the Editor. Shewing, That under the specious Pretence of cultivating the Principles of Virtue in the Minds of the Youth of both Sexes, the MOST ARTFULL and ALLURING AMOROUS IDEAS are convey'd. And that, instead of being divested of all Images that tend to inflame; her Letters abound with Incidents, which must necessarily raise in the unwary Youth that read them, Emotions far distant from the Principles of Virtue. Exemplified in many Quotations, with a Critical Review, and Remarks upon the Whole.

Ridet hoc, inquam, Venus ipsa; rident
Simplices Nymphae, ferus & Cupido,
Semper ardentes acuens Sagittas
Cote Cruenta. HORAT.

Printed for J. Roberts, at the Oxford Arms in Warwick-Lane. Price 1 s.

This Day is publish'd, Price bound 6 s.
In Two Neat POCKET VOLUMES,
The FOURTH EDITION *of*

PAMELA; or, Virtue rewarded. In a Series of familiar Letters from a beautiful young Damsel to her Parents. Now first publish'd in order to cultivate the Principles of Virtue and Religion in the Minds of the Youth of both Sexes: A Narrative which has its Foundation in Truth and Nature; and at the same time that it agreeably entertains, by a Variety of curious and affecting Incidents, is entirely divested of all those Images, which, in too many Places calculated for Amusement only, tend to inflame the Minds they should instruct.

Printed for C. Rivington in St. Paul's Church-Yard; and J. Osborn in Pater-noster Row.

Certain Booksellers having in the Press a spurious Continuation of these Two Volumes (in Letters from Pamela to Mrs. Jervis her Housekeeper) the Author thinks it necessary to declare, that the same is carrying on against his Consent, and without any other Knowledge of the Story than what they are able to collect from the two Volumes already printed: And that he is actually continuing the Work himself, from Materials, that, perhaps, but for such a notorious Invasion of his Plan, he should not have publish'd.

London Evening-Post, 14–16 May 1741.

[1] *The Rise of the Novel* (Berkeley: University of California Press, 1957), p. 173.

Richardson, of course, denied the allegation, angrily protesting 'Quite mistaken!' in the margin of Hill's letter. But one sees how the rumour could have arisen. Whatever the case in London, the pamphlet was quickly enrolled in Amsterdam as a promotional device when the publisher Dirk Swart brought out a volume juxtaposing an abridgement of *Pamela* with a full translation of *Pamela Censured*.[1] It does little to strengthen Richardson's denial that *Pamela Censured* was published by his close associate James Roberts, also the publisher of no fewer than thirty-seven Richardson-printed items in William M. Sale's catalogue of his printing output (among them the original numbers of Aaron Hill's periodical the *Plain Dealer* and Richardson's own work of 1733, *The Apprentice's Vade Mecum*).[2] As James Grantham Turner has noted, one of the lengthiest collaborations between Richardson and Roberts concerned the main repository of the earliest puffs for *Pamela* as a moral work, the *Weekly Miscellany*, which was printed by Richardson and published by Roberts from its inception in 1732 until December 1736, with Roberts continuing as publisher thereafter.[3]

We are left to choose between three alternative views of *Pamela Censured*: first, as a moralizing attack on *Pamela*'s eroticism, in which the writer denounces (while also unconsciously demonstrating) the novel's corrupting power; second, as an opportunistic work of pornography, which legitimates (and spices up) its compilation of *Pamela*'s erotic highlights beneath a veil of moral denunciation; third, as perhaps the most ingenious of the marketing ploys surrounding *Pamela*, in which official promotion of the novel as a didactic work is stealthily paired with unofficial exhibition of its scandalous subtext. Though modern readers have tended to look no further than the first of these three options, the second – that *Pamela Censured* is 'a Piece of *Curlism*' – looks more persuasive,

[1] The abridgement was headed *Pamela Bespiegeld* ('*Pamela* Observed'), and *Pamela Censured* became *Pamela, Zedelyk Beoordeeld*; see *The Richardson–Stinstra Correspondence and Stinstra's Prefaces to Clarissa*, ed. William C. Slattery (Carbondale: Southern Illinois University Press, 1969), pp. xxiii–xxiv.

[2] Sale, *Master Printer*, p. 337 and passim. It is now known that Sale's list represents only a small sample (perhaps as little as 20 per cent) of Richardson's output; see K. I. D. Maslen, 'Samuel Richardson's Books', *Bulletin of the Bibliographical Society of Australia and New Zealand*, 12 no. 2 (1988), 85–9 (p. 87).

[3] Turner, 'Novel Panic: Picture and Performance in the Reception of Richardson's *Pamela*', *Representations*, 48 (1994), 94 n; Sale, *Master Printer*, pp. 68–9; Eaves and Kimpel, *Samuel Richardson*, pp. 58–9 n.

and the third – that it is 'a Bookseller's Contrivance, for recommending y^e^ Purchase of *Pamela*' – should not be ruled out. Richardson was not only a religious didact but also a resourceful entrepreneur, and the didacticism, for all its centrality, was demonstrably an approach to his own writing that he was capable of stepping outside. Whatever the truth, he evidently thought the aspect of the novel denounced in *Pamela Censured* important enough to protect it through subsequent revisions. Though Batten suggests that it is under the censurer's influence that Richardson toned down his 'warm scenes' in the fifth and later editions, he gives only one example: where *Pamela Censured* protests at a description of Pamela 'extended on a Floor in a Posture that must naturally excite Passions of Desire' (below, p. 45), Richardson retains the description but specifies that she is face down (thus, one might think, creating as many problems as he solves).[1] As Eaves and Kimpel's comprehensive analysis of revisions to *Pamela* shows, however, of the 900-odd changes made to the text in the fifth edition, this amplification is the sole change that can be tied to *Pamela Censured*. Even so the connection is possible only.[2] *Pamela Censured* culminates by calling on Richardson to 'amend ... or entirely strike ... out' the many other inflaming passages that it notes (below, p. 78), yet Richardson made every one of these passages survive in its objectionable form in every subsequent lifetime edition (five in all). Only in the posthumous edition of 1801 do changes occur that coincide with the censurer's objections (the removal, for example, of the pun on 'quick'), and these bowdlerizations may well be the work of Richardson's daughters.[3]

[1] *Pamela Censured*, introduction by Batten, p. vi; Batten is citing Richardson's fifth edition of 22 September 1741, letter xv (I, 31). The heroine rotates again in the text of 1801, which removes this added detail; see *Pamela*, ed. Peter Sabor with an introduction by Margaret Anne Doody (Harmondsworth: Penguin, 1980), pp. 64 and 519 n. 24.

[2] 'Richardson's Revisions of *Pamela*', p. 67.

[3] 'Richardson's Revisions of *Pamela*', p. 82, citing the removal from the 1801 text (*Pamela*, ed. Sabor, p. 102) of the pun on 'quick' in letter xxvii. (For a close account of this passage and its relationship to *Pamela Censured*, see Tassie Gwilliam, *Samuel Richardson's Fictions of Gender* (Stanford: Stanford University Press, 1993), pp. 37–41.) Though Eaves and Kimpel acknowledge no more than that 'the 1801 edition was printed from Richardson's revised copy, possibly with slight alterations by his daughter Anne' ('Richardson's Revisions of *Pamela*', p. 76), they underplay the significance of several letters between Anne Richardson and Martha Bridgen (now at the Fondren Library, Rice University) in which the sisters agree that Richardson's last revised version is 'too imperfect for publication' (20 July 1784) and must be 're-revised' (10 July 1784). Only after this 're-revision' would they publish, as Anne duly did after Martha's death.

Charles Povey, *The Virgin in Eden*

Emphatically not a piece of Curlism or a bookseller's contrivance was Charles Povey's zealous denunciation of *Pamela* in *The Virgin in Eden*, a tale of exemplary spiritual progresses 'To which are added [as the title-page goes on], PAMELA's Letters proved to be immodest Romances painted in Images of Virtue: Masquerades in Disguise, that receiv'd Birth now Vice reigns in Triumph, and swells in Streams even to a Deluge.' Adorned with Povey's coat of arms and 'sold ... at the Author's House, N°. 3, in *Little Ailie-Street*', this curious piece of vanity publishing was announced for sale on 23 November 1741.[1] Unsold copies probably continued to clutter the author's house for the rest of his life. Four further 'editions' dated 1741 all appear to be simple reissues of the first, with fresh title-pages added to create a false impression of rapid sales. At least 200 copies were still hanging fire in January 1743, when Povey put a clause in his will arranging for them to be distributed to 200 impoverished widows.[2] Years later, an enterprising publisher thought *The Virgin in Eden* worth reviving – first with a revised title more fully indicating its Bunyanesque credentials, *The Virgin in Eden; or, Pilgrim's Progress* (1767), and then in the style of a sentimental novel as *The Fair Wanderer; or, The Triumphs of Virtue* (1770) – but it seems unlikely ever to have sold in large numbers. Its interest lies not in its popularity or influence, but in its representation of the outer limits of early Antipamelist objection, couched in a religious discourse that is quite unlike the secular moral language of *Pamela Censured*.

Povey announces himself in his preface as being 'arrived at the Period of fourscore' (below, p. 83), but he seems to have been exaggerating his youth in this passage, and the *DNB* estimates that on his death in 1743 he was aged about 90. If so, he would have been born at the very height of the Cromwellian era, and the biblical cadences and godly enthusiasm of his writing do indeed make him read, in the latitudinarian climate of the 1740s, like an exotic, zealous blast from the Puritan past. One of the ironies of *The Virgin in Eden*, and a mark of its extremism, is that Povey

[1] Sale, *Bibliographical Record*, pp. 125–6 (items 75, 76).

[2] Povey required his will to be printed after his death in a public newspaper, as it duly was in the *London Daily Post and General Advertiser* for 1 and 8 July 1743 (*DNB*; see also McKillop, *Printer and Novelist*, p. 81, and Eaves and Kimpel, *Samuel Richardson*, p. 131).

chose as the target of his strictures a writer who considered himself an upholder of old-style religious rigour in degenerate times.[1] In *England's Memorial To Obtain Right and Property* (1737), Povey claimed to have been twice imprisoned in the 1680s for libelling James II, and in the new century he produced a string of outmoded devotional works, from *Meditations of a Divine Soul* (1703) to *The Torments of Hell* (1740). In other ways, however, he comes across as rather modern. An indefatigable projector, he was remembered at death as 'well known for his many Schemes and Projects; particularly the Sun-Fire-Office, from which he had a Salary of 150 *l.* per *Ann.*'[2] Among Povey's speculative inventions were a machine for clearing coal-ships at speed, a water-filled bomb for annihilating fires, and an automated church organ. At different points in his career he set up a range of innovative (though doomed) ventures involving weaving, brewing, and postal carriage. In *England's Memorial* he noisily claimed to have lost £50,800 plus £4,000 per annum through official frustration or theft of his various schemes, and in *The Virgin in Eden* (below, p. 88) he adds that he was saved from subsequent ruin only when his virtue was providentially rewarded by 'a plentiful Fortune'. (Povey resists the temptation to draw analogies here.) One of his schemes, however, had been a spectacular success, and can now be seen to have paved the way for one of the dominant institutions of financial modernity. By 1705 he had taken possession of the Traders' Exchange House, Hatton Garden, where he built up a large trade in life and fire insurance. The scheme collapsed a few years later, but an enduring offshoot was the Sun Fire Office, which Povey floated in 1708, remaining a member of the board, with the substantial annuity mentioned by the *Gentleman's Magazine*, after selling his interest in 1710.[3]

Povey presents *The Virgin in Eden* as a kind of anti-*Pamela*, an alternative narrative written to let readers decide '*which of the two Essays they recommend to succeeding Ages, as most worthy and useful to cultivate Virtue in the Minds of Youth*' (below, p. 83). Though the whole work is thus framed as an engagement with *Pamela*, it is particularly in an interpolated sec-

[1] See, for example, the postscript to *Clarissa*'s third edition: 'He has lived to see Scepticism and Infidelity openly avowed, and even endeavoured to be propagated from the *Press*' (VIII, 279).

[2] *Gentleman's Magazine*, 13 (May 1743), 274.

[3] *DNB*; see also P. G. M. Dickson, *The Sun Insurance Office* (Oxford: Oxford University Press, 1960).

tion (pp. 68–79) that its hostile animus comes to the surface. Like several other players in the *Pamela* controversy, Povey seems to have paid particular attention to the novel's promotional front matter. As well as reworking particular passages – where Aaron Hill thinks Pamela 'a salutary *Angel*, in *Sodom*' (volume 1 of this edition, p. 21), Povey likens her 'to one of the fair Apples of *Sodom*' (below, p. 152)[1] – he mimics Richardson's strategy by inserting promotional letters of his own. Two are from high-born young readers; the other three construct an ecumenical front against *Pamela* in letters from an Anglican divine, a dissenting minister, and a Quaker. All five letters are dated, and if genuine (which should not, of course, be assumed) would indicate that Povey was circulating his work in manuscript before early August. His introduction to these letters stops short of condemning every word of Richardson's novel, but finds its instructive aspect overwhelmed by its erotic allure: 'What tho' some of *Pamela*'s Letters give Hints that may be imitated, does not the Poison contain'd in others destroy all, and give Birth to loose and wandering Imaginations?' (below, p. 151). Inadvertently anticipating the comic premise of *Joseph Andrews*, he protests that Pamela is depicted in ways 'that cannot but raise vain Desires even in Men as chaste as *Joseph* when tempted by his Mistress' (below, p. 150). The heroine's virtue is demonstrably false ('Virgins pure in Mind and Thought ... never undress till every Avenue in the Room is searched, and the Doors safely secur'd'), and the novel as a whole 'deserves no other Title but *Iniquity rewarded*' (below, p. 152).

Lettre sur Pamela

A witty middle way between Pamelist effusion and Antipamelist outrage is found in *Lettre sur Pamela*, a sardonic commentary on the novel which bears the imprint 'LONDRES. 1742'. The pamphlet was published anonymously, and its authorship remains uncertain. In 1936 A. D. McKillop referred unhesitatingly, but without explanation, to 'the Abbé Marquet's *Lettre sur Pamela*', and in the same year W. M. Sale gave only slightly more detail when noting that 'this book is ascribed by

[1] On the currency of this trope in the period, see Miller Solomon, '"To Steal a Hint Was Never Known": The Sodom Apple Motif and Swift's "A Beautiful Young Nymph Going to Bed"', *Tennessee Studies in Literature*, 22 (1977), 105–16.

Barbier to the Abbé Marquet de la Maison de Sorbonne'.[1] Puzzlingly, there is no obvious mention of either Marquet or *Lettre sur Pamela* in either of the works (by different Barbiers) that Sale can have had in mind. The only relevant passage in the mid-eighteenth-century *Journal de Barbier* discusses a review of *Pamela* by Pierre-François Guyot Desfontaines (in his *Observations sur les écrits modernes*) and a hostile reply of unknown authorship, *Lettre à l'abbé Desfontaines sur Pamela*.[2] Nor is the pamphlet listed in the augmented third edition of Antoine-Alexandre Barbier's *Dictionnaire des ouvrages anonymes et pseudonymes* (1872–9). The attribution to Marquet was either unknown to, or rejected by, the leading French Richardsonian of the McKillop–Sale era, Paul Dottin,[3] and there is no sign that the question has been reopened since then. As P. N. Furbank and W. R. Owens have observed of the Defoe canon, 'the principle of inertia is as important in bibliography as it is in Newtonian physics',[4] and in this much smaller case it looks to have prevailed. Although the attribution to Marquet is accepted in some (but not all) modern French bibliographies, and by the few Richardson scholars to have cited the work,[5] it seems to rest on unexamined assertion. In the absence of any traceable rationale – and, given the exotic variety of attributions still found in standard bibliographies and library catalogues for the first French translation of *Pamela*, one would need more than the kind of bald pairing of work and name contained in reference works like Barbier's *Dictionnaire* – it has to be treated as unproven.

Not, of course, that firmly establishing Marquet's authorship would tell us much. An obscure graduate of the Sorbonne, Marquet is the author of a long-forgotten *Discours sur l'esprit de société* (1735), two epistolary pamphlets of the same year, and a *Panégyrique de saint Louis* (1739).[6] No other fiction-related publications are known. Though evi-

[1] McKillop, *Printer and Novelist*, p. 96; Sale, *Bibliographical Record*, p. 129 (item 81).

[2] Edmond-Jean-François Barbier, *Chronique de la régence et du règne de Louis XV, ou Journal de Barbier*, 8 vols. (Paris: Charpentier, 1857), VIII, 158.

[3] *Samuel Richardson, 1689–1761, imprimeur de Londres* (Paris: Perrin, 1931), p. 126.

[4] P. N. Furbank and W. R. Owens, *Defoe De-Attributions* (London: Hambledon Press, 1994), p. xii.

[5] The exceptions are Eaves and Kimpel (*Samuel Richardson*, p. 126), who tiptoe silently past the McKillop–Sale attribution and discuss *Lettre sur Pamela* as an anonymous work.

[6] See *Dictionnaire des lettres françaises: le dix-huitième siècle*, ed. Georges Grente, 2 vols. (Paris: Librairie Arthème Fayard, 1960), II, 190; Pierre M. Conlon, *Le siècle des lumières: bibliographie chronologique* (Geneva: Librairie Droz, 1993), XII, 125–6.

dently a clever and witty critic (assuming, that is, that the pamphlet is his), he had no profile to speak of in Enlightenment France.

Equally mysterious is the provenance of *Lettre sur Pamela* in publishing terms, given its appearance in a period when, for various reasons including censorship and prestige, false claims of London publication were common in French-printed books.[1] McKillop and Sale venture no opinion as to the genuineness or otherwise of the imprint, but Sale does mention another *Pamela*-related work of 1743 (*Antipamela ou Memoires de M. D.* ****) where a similar claim to have been published in London was discredited within a year.[2] Dottin took the imprint at face value, but the current *ESTC* entry for *Lettre sur Pamela* identifies the work as printed in Paris, and this assumption gains plausibility from Sale's failure to find it advertised in the London press, as well as from the distribution today of surviving copies.[3] *Lettre sur Pamela*, of course, is just the kind of publication that would have gained from masquerading as a London book. At a time when (in the words of Aubert de la Chesnaye-Desbois) 'pour être à la mode, il faut avoir un *Pamela*',[4] there could be no better way of boosting a spin-off publication than by claiming to write from the seat of the vogue. With official disquiet about *Pamela* shortly to culminate in its prohibition by the Catholic Church,[5] moreover, a false imprint could endow such a work with the glamour of a clandestine import. In content and tone, *Lettre sur Pamela* seems sufficiently anglophobic to cast further doubt on the imprint, and indeed its patriotic edge makes it look like a haughtily Parisian riposte to Jean Baptiste de Freval's remark that

[1] See Jim Mitchell, 'Investigating False Imprints', in *Searching the Eighteenth Century*, eds. M. Crump and M. Harris (London: British Library, 1983), pp. 43–58. Of a sample of 1,957 'Londres' works of the eighteenth century recorded in *ESTC* and analysed by Mitchell, 711 had been identified as French-printed and another 186 as Dutch, with probably another 200–300 false imprints having escaped identification (p. 45). Of the imprints known to be false, approaching half (215 of the first 500 surveyed) have a title-page in the style of *Lettre sur Pamela*, giving no bookseller's name and reading simply 'Londres' plus the date (p. 47).

[2] Sale, *Bibliographical Record*, p. 118.

[3] Three copies are held in the Bibliothèque Nationale, as compared with one apiece in Britain (British Library) and North America (University of Illinois, Urbana-Champaign).

[4] *Lettres amusantes et critiques sur les romans* (1743), quoted by Dottin, *Samuel Richardson, imprimeur de Londres*, p. 118.

[5] *Pamela* was entered on the 'Index Librorum Prohibitorum' on 15 April 1744; the French translation was added on 22 May 1745 (Florian J. Schleck, 'Richardson on the Index', *Times Literary Supplement* (25 April 1935), p. 272).

Pamela would give 'a neighbouring Nation ... *English* Bullion in Exchange for its own Dross' (a remark which, predictably enough, went down with de Freval's compatriots like a lead balloon).[1]

The bibliographical evidence, however, is inconclusive. Although distinctive features of the signatures and press figures of the British Library copy indicate the work of French printers, the title-page ornament is English in style.[2] The likelihood is that *Lettre sur Pamela* falls into the category of works printed in France but then imported by British booksellers, who would often add their own locally printed title-pages. John Nourse, the English publisher of Goldoni's *Pamela nubile* in 1756, is an example of a London bookseller who specialized in this practice.[3] Even if not genuinely printed in London, then, the pamphlet seems highly likely to have been imported and circulating on this side of the channel, and we include it here as constituting a part of the English debate.

Whatever the origins of *Lettre sur Pamela*, the first translation of the novel into French genuinely was a London publication, and it is to this, rather more than to Richardson's original text, that the pamphlet responds. Though the author dismisses the French version as 'une assez mauvaise traduction d'un Original singulier' (below, p. 206), and claims to discuss the novel in its authentically (though lamentably) Anglo-Saxon form, coincidences of wording make it clear that he was using the translated text.[4] Doubtless this had been exported in volume to France, though it is clear that Richardson and his partners intended it in the first place for domestic sale. An early decision had been made to bring it out

[1] See de Freval's prefatory letter to *Pamela*, reproduced in volume 1 of this edition (p. 13) from the second edition of February 1741 (I, ix). 'On est révolté contre l'auteur des *Observations* [the abbé Desfontaines] pour avoir fait l'apologie de *Pamela*', as Edmond-Jean-François Barbier responds, 'et fort surpris qu'on ait accordé un privilège pour l'impression d'un ouvrage dont la préface fait l'éloge des Anglois et insulte à toute la nation' (*Journal de Barbier*, VIII, 158).

[2] As Mitchell writes ('Investigating False Imprints', p. 43), 'the clues here are very difficult to read, and there is no real alternative to an heroic amount of personal experience'. We thank Michael Crump and Graham Jefcoate for helping us to read the clues in this case.

[3] Mitchell, 'Investigating False Imprints', pp. 43, 49.

[4] 'Marquet complains that Pamela is "connoisseuse en oeuillades" when reporting the way milord looked at her in the summerhouse [p. 8]', as James Grantham Turner astutely notes: 'unfortunately the suggestive word *oeuillades* (seductive glances) appears only in the translation' ('Novel Panic', p. 96 n. 39: the word is from *Pamela, ou la vertu recompensée* (1741), I, 20; for the corresponding English see Richardson, *Pamela*, p. 34).

(the translation was advertised in March 1741 and noted as forthcoming in *Pamela Censured* the following month), and on publication in October it was advertised as '*For the Use of* SCHOOLS'.[1] Here is another masterly marketing stroke: *Pamela* now acquires a new selling-point as a tool for language-teaching – as young readers already know it by heart, the implication is, there can be no better primer than a version in French – thus allowing Richardson to sell the same product twice to the same consumers. The translator is nowhere identified, but the author of *Pamela Censured* assumed that Jean Baptiste de Freval was implicitly pitching for the job in his prefatory commendation, and although other names have been floated by scholars, his remains the most plausible.[2]

Having criticized the translation, the author of *Lettre sur Pamela* goes on to describe his mingled admiration and disdain for the original version: 'malgré la négligence du style, je l'ai dévoré, & je ne rougirai point de dire qu'il m'a touché & même attendri' (below, p. 207). In London the novel has become 'le meuble à la mode' (below, p. 206), and in France, even if it is the product of a maladroit, half-witted neighbour, it fascinates 'tous les Lecteurs de profession que le tumulte des armes a laissés dans Paris' (below, p. 205). (Britain, France and their various

[1] On 27 March a notice in the *Daily Post* reported that a translation was 'in the Press, and speedily will be published'; publication was advertised on 23 October 1741 (*Daily Gazetteer*). The anonymous translator claimed to have worked '*avec la participation de l'Auteur*' (*Pamela, ou la vertu recompensée*, I, x), a claim substantiated by his inclusion of a passage not present in any English edition of *Pamela* until the octavo sixth edition of May 1742 (Eaves and Kimpel, 'Richardson's Revisions of *Pamela*', p. 69). The translation exists in two impressions, one published by Thomas Woodward and John Osborn, the other by Osborn alone. Printing appears to have been completed in August: the printer was not Richardson but William Bowyer (see *The Bowyer Ledgers*, ed. Keith Maslen and John Lancaster (London: Bibliographical Society, 1991), item 2963), perhaps because Bowyer had compositors with competence in French.

[2] See *Pamela Censured*, p. 14. In 1936 McKillop definitively eliminated the abbé Prévost and Aubert de la Chesnaye-Desbois, though both have continued to be discussed and catalogued as likely candidates since then. McKillop adds that Nichols ascribes the passages of verse translation to César de Missy, a Protestant clergyman exiled in London (*Literary Anecdotes of the Eighteenth Century* (1812), III, 307), and speculates plausibly that a consortium of London-based translators may have shared the work (*Printer and Novelist*, pp. 93–4). Jean Sgard quotes Charles de La Motte as suggesting in 1743 that Jean-Frédéric Bernard had translated the novel, assisted by de Missy for the verse (*Prévost romancier* (Paris: Librairie José Corti, 1968), pp. 539–40). Bernard, however, was a Protestant refugee who lived and worked in Holland, and La Motte's informant was probably confusing the authorized London translation with the rival Amsterdam-published French translation of 1742.

allies were then embroiled in the War of the Austrian Succession.) Unsophisticated in its literary style, and resembling in this the uncouth nation it depicts, it has a few raw merits in which even the civilized can find pleasure. Beneath these and other sallies of Gallic charm, the author of *Lettre sur Pamela* shows himself a remarkably shrewd reader of Richardson's text. Though offered in a spirit of mild Antipamelist mockery, his comments on various peculiarities of Pamela's conduct and motives draw out the complexity of her representation with a subtlety unusual in early criticism. With his incredulous repetition of the phrase 'une veste à broder' (below, pp. 219–20), the author is the first of many critics to note the suspect nature of Pamela's explanation for remaining in her persecutor's house.[1] He wittily notes the oddity of her choice of a youthful parson for her protector ('c'est proprement donner son bien à garder aux voleurs' (below, p. 223), and nicely catches the presumptuousness of her rewritten psalms ('Mademoiselle Andrews s'amuse à parodier David' (below, p. 225)). Though Eaves and Kimpel find the pamphlet 'bantering and belittling',[2] *Lettre sur Pamela* may equally be read as a wry tribute to the psychological depth and complexity that more sympathetic French critics like Diderot would later praise in Richardson's fiction.[3]

PART 2: ILLUSTRATIONS

Lost illustrations

As early as December 1740, within a month of its first publication, Richardson was already thinking of *Pamela* in visual terms. The novel was selling rapidly (probably well in excess of his own expectations);[4] and adding engravings, as well as new introductory material, to the

[1] *The Virgin in Eden* anticipates the point in clumsier form: '*Pamela*, had she been as chaste as represented, would have run to her Father's Cottage, as to an Ark of Security' (below, p. 158).

[2] *Samuel Richardson*, p. 126.

[3] See his 'Éloge de Richardson', originally published in the *Journal étranger* (1761).

[4] Sale notes that his selling two-thirds of the copyright to *Pamela* for 20 guineas is 'an indication of how completely Richardson underestimated the value of the book as a publishing venture'; in 1776, 'a one-sixteenth share of *Pamela* sold for £18' (*Bibliographical Record*, p. 16).

second edition would invest the book with greater dignity. Richardson's edition of *Aesop's Fables*, published a year earlier in November 1739, contained an illustrated title-page, signed by John Clark, a plate illustrating the life of Aesop, and twenty-four engravings, each with ten diminutive illustrations.[1] The title-page boasted of the book's 'Containing Two Hundred and Forty Fables, with a Cut Engrav'd on Copper to each Fable': for this children's book, quantity, not quality, was the watchword. John Clark's name would do nothing for sales, and the 240 crowded illustrations (probably his work) are unsigned, but what the edition lacked in elegance it made up for in bulk. In his preface to the *Fables*, Richardson noted the 'alluring Force which Cuts or Pictures, suited to the respective Subjects, have on the Minds of Children', and expressed the hope that the plates, engraved 'at no small Expence', would 'excite their Curiosity, and stimulate their Attention'.[2] One child known to have enjoyed these illustrations is Harry Campbell, a seven-year-old boy living in Aaron Hill's home. After reading Hill's account of Harry weeping over the scene of Pamela's meditations on suicide in *Pamela*, Richardson sent the boy a copy of the *Fables*; Hill records his charge's delight in the book.[3]

For *Pamela*, in contrast, Richardson adopted a minimalist strategy: not a throng of anonymous illustrations but two high-quality engravings to which the utmost care would be devoted. The second edition of the novel, first advertised on 27 January 1741 and published on 14 February, was to feature frontispieces to the two volumes, designed by William Hogarth. The first surviving report of the project occurs in a

[1] See Sale, *Bibliographical Record*, pp. 3–4.

[2] Richardson, ed., *Aesop's Fables* (1740), p. xii.

[3] See Eaves and Kimpel, *Samuel Richardson*, pp. 120–1. Richardson would later create various links between his edition of the *Fables* and *Pamela*. The first edition of *Pamela* contains several quotations from the *Fables*, said by Pamela to be one of 'my Lady's Books'; to the fifth edition (22 September 1741), Richardson added a note to this passage advertising his version of Aesop (*Pamela*, p. 77 and n. 1). In an advertisement for the *Fables* of 23 December 1742 (*Daily Advertiser*), Richardson again promoted both works by noting that 'This is the Aesop quoted in Pamela' (McKillop, *Printer and Novelist*, p. 314). For Richardson's use of the *Fables* in *Pamela*, see John B. Pierce, 'Pamela's Textual Authority', *Eighteenth Century Fiction*, 7 (1995), 131–46; and Keymer, 'Pamela's Fables: Aesopian Writing and Political Implication in Samuel Richardson and Sir Roger L'Estrange', *Bulletin de la société d'études anglo-américaines des XVIIe et XVIIIe siècles*, 41 (1995), 81–101, reprinted in *Le Portrait*, ed. Pierre Arnaud (Paris: Presses de l'Université de Paris-Sorbonne, 1999), pp. 43–60.

letter of 29 December 1740 to Richardson from Aaron Hill, who remarks: 'The designs you have taken for frontispieces, seem to have been very judiciously chosen; upon pre-supposition that Mr. Hogarth is able (and if any-body is, it is he), to teach pictures to speak and to think.'[1] In a missing letter, Richardson had apparently told Hill what the subjects of these frontispieces would be and whom he had commissioned, or hoped to commission, to design them. Richardson had earlier expressed his admiration for Hogarth in *The Apprentice's Vade Mecum*, in which he concludes a satirical portrait of a fop with the wish that 'to complete the Ridicule, and shame such Foplings into Reformation, the ingenious Mr. *Hogarth* would finish the Portrait'.[2] Hogarth had already achieved fame as a book illustrator with his designs for Samuel Butler's *Hudibras* (1726), and given Richardson's ambitions for his novel it is not surprising that he wished to collaborate with the most celebrated English artist of his time.

Early in 1741, something obviously went wrong with Richardson's project. The evidence is again found in a letter from Aaron Hill, of 9 February 1741:

> I am glad your designer falls to work on the *bundles*; because there is something too intensively reflective in the passions, at the *pond*, that would make such significant calls for expression and attitude, as not to allow the due pardon, for those negligent *shadows of form*, which we commonly find, in a frontispiece.[3]

In a missing letter to which Hill is replying, Richardson must have told him about a change of plans. Pamela's contemplated suicide at the pond had been intended to serve as the frontispiece to the first volume. This scene was now being replaced with a lighter one: Pamela dividing her clothes into three bundles, early in the novel. The phrase 'your designer' suggests that a new, less glamorous artist had been appointed instead of

[1] Hill to Richardson, 29 December 1740, *Correspondence*, I, 56.

[2] Richardson, *The Apprentice's Vade Mecum*, ed. A. D. McKillop (Los Angeles: Augustan Reprint Society, 1975), p. 35.

[3] Hill to Richardson, *The Works of the Late Aaron Hill*, second edition (London, 1754), II, 164–5. The date given in Hill's *Works* may be inaccurate; part of the letter surviving in a manuscript copy (FM XIII, 2, fo. 45) is undated, and another part, printed in Richardson, *Correspondence*, I, 59–66, is dated December 1740. Eaves and Kimpel's assertion that 'February 9 is undoubtedly the correct date of at least the quoted extract' (Richardson, *Pamela*, p. 21, n. 24) is questionable.

Hogarth. Hill supplies no information about the second frontispiece, but presumably the unnamed 'designer' would turn to it once the bundles scene had been completed.

When the second edition of *Pamela* was published on 14 February, no frontispieces were provided. At the end of his introduction to the edition, Richardson explained their absence:

> We shall only add, That it was intended to prefix two neat *Frontispieces* to this Edition, (and to present them to the Purchasers of the first) and one was actually finished for that Purpose; but there not being Time for the other, from the Demand for the new Impression; and the Engraving Part of that which was done (tho' no Expence was spared) having fallen very short of the Spirit of the Passages they were intended to represent, the Proprietors were advised to lay them aside. And were the rather induced to do so, from the following Observation of a most ingenious Gentleman, in a Letter to the Editor. 'I am so jealous, *says he*, in Behalf of our *inward* Idea of PAMELA's *Person*, that I dread *any* figur'd Pretence to Resemblance. For it will be pity to look at an *Air*, and imagine it *Hers*, that does not carry some such elegant Perfection of Amiableness, as will be sure to find place in the *Fancy*.'[1]

From this it appears that the bundles scene, the subject of the first frontispiece, had been completed and engraved, but that the results pleased neither Richardson nor his fellow 'Proprietors' in the novel, the booksellers John Osborn and Charles Rivington.[2] The second frontispiece seems never to have been finished or engraved and its subject remains unknown, as do the identities of the designer and of the engraver for whom 'no Expence was spared'.

In view of the well-established affinities between Hogarth and Fielding, it is tempting to hypothesize that Richardson belatedly realized he had chosen the wrong illustrator for his novel. T. C. Duncan Eaves, for example, speculates that 'Richardson did not like the interpretation Hogarth gave his novel', and that 'Hogarth, seeing Pamela with the eyes of a Fielding, confronted Richardson with a graphic "Shamela"'.[3]

[1] See volume 1 of this edition, pp. 3–48, in which the introduction is printed in full. The 'ingenious Gentleman' is Aaron Hill, whose letter to Richardson of 9 February 1741 is quoted here.

[2] See Sale, *Bibliographical Record*, p. 16.

[3] Eaves, 'Graphic Illustration of the Novels of Samuel Richardson, 1740–1810', *Huntington Library Quarterly*, 14 (1950–1), 351–2.

Marcia Allentuck wonders whether 'Hogarth's gift for highlighting incongruities, which perhaps revealed itself ... in his preliminary designs for Richardson, caused Richardson's condemnation of them'.[1] Ronald Paulson, similarly, suggests that Richardson 'found Hogarth's illustration insufficiently spiritual in its representation of his heroine', and that Hill's letter of 9 February 'could be describing dissatisfaction with the application of Hogarthian forms and a recognizable likeness to the ineffable Pamela'.[2] The problem with such conjectures is that they go well beyond the meagre historical record. The only evidence for Hogarth's having any part in the abortive project is in Hill's letter of 29 December. It is possible that Hogarth declined a request from Richardson at about this time; that he accepted and then changed his mind, without beginning the work; that he drew the scene of Pamela's meditations on suicide by the pond before withdrawing or being dismissed; or even that he drew both the pond scene and the bundles illustration that was to replace it. Unless further evidence emerges, the extent of his involvement, if any, cannot be determined.

Whatever the reasons for Hogarth's refusal, resignation, or dismissal, Richardson abandoned his plan for frontispieces to *Pamela*. Before publication of the third duodecimo edition in March 1741, the fourth edition in May, and the fifth edition in September, there was ample time for both designs to be completed and, if necessary, re-engraved, but Hill's 'dread' of '*any* figur'd Pretence to Resemblance' seems, for the time being, to have carried the day. Hogarth apparently remained on good terms with Richardson, first meeting Samuel Johnson in 1753 at Rich-

[1] Allentuck, 'Narration and Illustration: The Problem of Richardson's *Pamela*', *Philological Quarterly*, 51 (1972), 877.

[2] *Hogarth*, 3 vols. (New Brunswick, NJ: Rutgers University Press, 1991–3), II, 187–8. Paulson asserts (p. 187), without providing evidence, that the engraver employed by Richardson for the second edition of *Pamela* was Gerard Vandergucht. Other critics speculating about a putative Richardson–Hogarth disagreement include Warren Mild, who suggests that Richardson 'may have begun to hear that a few irreverent readers claimed to detect a touch of the floozy in his Pamela and guessed that illustrations by the creator of the *Harlot's Progress* and the *Rake's Progress* would encourage this misreading' (*Joseph Highmore of Holborn Row* (Ardmore, Pa.: Kingswood Group, 1990), p. 254); and Stephen Raynie, who writes that 'Richardson appears to have perceived quickly Hogarth's interpretive independence and never included his designs in *Pamela*' ('Hayman and Gravelot's Anti-*Pamela* Designs for Richardson's Octavo Edition of *Pamela I* and *II*', *Eighteenth-Century Life*, 23 (1999), 77).

ardson's house.[1] The author who did succeed in having Hogarth provide two illustrations for his first novel was Laurence Sterne. In March 1760, the first London edition of *Tristram Shandy* appeared with a frontispiece by Hogarth to volume I, and in January 1761 volumes III and IV were published, with an illustration by Hogarth in volume IV.[2] In a letter to Bishop Hildesley of early 1761, Richardson claimed to have read only the first two volumes of *Tristram Shandy*, finding it 'execrable' and 'too gross to be inflaming',[3] but he would certainly have seen at least the first of Hogarth's two engravings. This letter, among his last, was written a few months before his death, his hostility towards Sterne perhaps exacerbated by recollections of his own abortive attempt to enlist Hogarth as an illustrator.

The engraving of the bundles scene as a frontispiece for the second edition was the earliest illustration of *Pamela*, but it was seen only by Richardson and a few others and is not known to have survived. The next visual renderings of the novel, also lost, were those adorning a fan, sold in April 1741 and promoted in the *Daily Advertiser*:

> *For the Entertainment of the Ladies, more especially those who have the Book*, PAMELA, a new Fan, representing the principal Adventures of her Life, in Servitude, Love, and Marriage. Design'd and engraven by the best Masters.[4]

The names of these 'Masters' are unknown, as are the subjects chosen for their designs. For the fan to represent Pamela 'in Servitude, Love, and Marriage', there must have been at least three illustrations.[5] It was

[1] See *Boswell's Life of Johnson*, eds. George Birkbeck Hill and L. F. Powell (Oxford: Clarendon Press, 1934–50), I, 145–7. No correspondence between Richardson and Hogarth is known.

[2] See Paulson, *Hogarth*, III, 276–84. Hogarth also designed the frontispiece for Fielding's burlesque play *The Tragedy of Tragedies* (1731), and, after Fielding's death, for *The Works of Henry Fielding* (1762); see Paulson, *Hogarth*, I, 314, III, 367, and Robert Halsband, 'Hogarth's Graphic Friendships: Illustrating Books by Friends', *Johnson and His Age*, ed. James Engell (Cambridge, Mass.: Harvard University Press, 1984), pp. 333–66.

[3] Richardson to Hildesley, *Selected Letters*, p. 341. Eaves and Kimpel (*Samuel Richardson*, p. 704) provide evidence that the letter was probably written in March 1761. Barbauld (*Correspondence*, V, 145) misdates the letter as 24 September 1761, over two months after Richardson's death.

[4] *Daily Advertiser*, 28 1741; see volume 1 of this edition, p. lxii.

[5] Stephanie Fysh, one of the few critics to take an interest in the *Pamela* fan, suggests that it 'probably contained several vignettes, anywhere from three (the most common) to the ten or twelve sometimes found' at the end of the century (*The Work(s) of Samuel Richardson* (Newark: University of Delaware Press, 1997), p. 77).

advertised as an accompaniment, not a replacement, for *Pamela*: its owners would derive more 'Entertainment' from its depictions of the novel if they were already familiar with the text. This might have been some consolation to Richardson: presumably a number of customers bought copies of the novel at the same time as they purchased the fan. Control over the illustrations, however, had passed from the author to the fan's proprietor. In its minor way, this was a form of appropriation comparable to the much greater provocation posed by Kelly's spurious continuation, against which Richardson would shortly be protesting in newspaper advertisements.[1]

John Carwitham's engravings for *The Life of Pamela*

A more serious challenge to Richardson's power to determine how his novel would be illustrated was made with the serial publication, in 1741, of the anonymous *The Life of Pamela*, a third-person recasting of both *Pamela* and the first volume of Kelly's *Pamela's Conduct in High Life*. Although William Sale noted the presence of engravings in this work (there are eleven and a frontispiece, rather than the nine in Sale's listing),[2] critics have ignored their existence, despite their importance as the earliest surviving illustrations of *Pamela*. The book seems originally to have been issued in twenty-one parts: it is possible that each part contained a plate and that several are therefore missing in the two surviving bound copies.[3]

The presence of illustrations is used as a selling-point on the title-page of *The Life of Pamela*, which draws attention to the 'great Number

[1] See the introduction to volume 4 of this edition, pp. xiii–xxiv.

[2] *Bibliographical Record*, p. 127. Sale's observations are based on the copy of *The Life of Pamela* at Yale. The copy at Harvard, of which the illustrations are reproduced in this volume, contains two additional engravings. In both the Harvard and the Yale copies, some illustrations are bound out of place; in the present volume, each illustration is reproduced facing the text for which it was designed. All but three of the engravings are paginated for the binder. Of the unpaginated illustrations, the first, facing p. 1 in the Yale copy and badly misplaced opposite the opening of Book VI in the Harvard copy, should face p. 5; the second (not in the Yale copy), facing p. 406 in the Harvard copy, should probably face p. 314; and the third (not in the Yale copy) is correctly placed facing p. 495 in the Harvard copy.

[3] For the evidence of publication in parts, see Sale, *Bibliographical Record*, p. 127.

of COPPER-PLATES describing her in the different Stations of Life'. The frontispiece and all but the last two illustrations (both absent from the Yale copy) indicate the name of the engraver, John Carwitham; the unsigned plates might be by another hand. Carwitham, a professional engraver, may have been responsible for designing as well as engraving the *Life of Pamela* illustrations. Hans Hammelmann and T. S. R. Boase, although unaware of his *Pamela* engravings, note that 'his one contribution to decorative art ... shows an original and inventive talent for illustration'.[1] The expense of a more prestigious artist would have been too great for the downmarket *Life of Pamela*, but Carwitham's illustrations are surprisingly effective. Although most of them depict scenes from Richardson's *Pamela*, two (below, pp. 250, 270) represent incidents created by the author of the *Life*.

The title-page of *The Life of Pamela* emphasizes the social distance that the heroine travels, 'from the lowest Degree of Rural Life' to becoming 'Mistress of a most splendid House and Fortune'. Carwitham's frontispiece (below, p. 248) depicts a stately, elaborately dressed Pamela, in clear possession of her new wealth. The next illustration, in contrast (below, p. 250), shows Pamela as a child, being delivered by her parents to the care of her new employer. By placing the countrywoman Mrs Andrews and the estate-owner, Mr B.'s mother, beside each other, Carwitham effectively represents the gulf that Pamela will traverse, from cottage to country house. Other plates in the series also bring out the novel's class conflicts: the illustration (below, p. 263) of Pamela kneeling beside her father, with an overturned card-table strategically placed between them and the row of B.'s acquaintances, stiffly trying to keep their composure, is especially attractive, as is that of a light-footed Pamela (below, p. 266) about to make her exit through a window, taking advantage of Lady Davers's having turned her back while cooling herself with a fan. Another of Carwitham's engravings (below, p. 255), depicting Pamela in her rustic garb, accompanied by Mrs Jervis and being questioned by Mr B., was copied, with some variations, by the anonymous designer of the frontispiece for *Pamela; or, Virtue Triumphant*, published in November 1741.[2]

[1] *Book Illustrators in Eighteenth-Century England* (New Haven: Yale University Press, 1975), p. 24.

[2] See volume 6 of this edition, p. xvi.

At about the same time as serial publication of *The Life of Pamela* began, the first of three instalments of a piracy of *Pamela* was published by Mary Kingman, illustrated with five naive, anonymous engravings.[1] This virtually unknown edition is of considerable interest. It begins by reprinting the preface and introduction to *Pamela*, from Richardson's fourth-edition text.[2] Appended to this material, and printed as though it were also part of Richardson's novel, is a seven-page section, entitled 'The Parentage of Pamela', accounting for her parents' poverty (they have been ruined by a profligate son, Robert), and describing the circumstances of Pamela's employment by Mr B.'s mother. This passage is illustrated by a plate, with the caption 'Pamela going to Service Attended by her Father & Mother'. The engraving resembles the one created for *The Life of Pamela* (below, p. 250), but without the presence of Mrs B. and with the addition of an exterior view of an imposing B. Hall, a large structure with a roof topped by outsized statues.

The other engravings in the pirated *Pamela*, none with captions but all paginated for the binder, are based on scenes from Richardson's novel. The first, depicting Pamela with her bundles, illustrates the pas-

[1] The only known copy of this piracy, at the Houghton Library, Harvard, was formerly owned by the American novelist Sarah Orne Jewett. Sale mentions the piracy (*Bibliographical Record*, p. 16) but was unable to describe it, since the copy (possibly the one later bought by Harvard) was then held by an unco-operative bookseller. Janet Aikins, the first critic to take notice of the illustrations, states that four of the five 'feature scenes or situations similar to those' that Hayman and Gravelot would depict, but in fact only two of their illustrations have the same subject. This undermines Aikins's claim that the 'creators of the piracy' may have had 'information about Richardson's project' ('Representing the Body in *Pamela II*', *New Historical Literary Study: Essays on Reproducing Texts, Representing History*, eds. Jeffrey N. Cox and Larry J. Reynolds (Princeton: Princeton University Press, 1993), p. 157). Kingman's piracy was probably published in all three parts before Gravelot and Hayman had even been commissioned, and in any case she is unlikely to have had any knowledge of their dealings with Richardson. The influence, if any, was in the other direction: both Richardson and his chosen illustrators would have had ample time to look at the engravings in Kingman's volume, and to decide which of the scenes they would portray in the octavo edition. For information about Houghton's copy of the pirated *Pamela* and assistance in obtaining photocopies, we are much indebted to the generosity of Janice Thaddeus.

[2] This gives a date for the pirated *Pamela* of after 5 May 1741, when Richardson's fourth edition was published. Since further changes made to Richardson's introductory material in the fifth edition of 22 September 1741 are not followed here, the pirated *Pamela* may have appeared between May and September. For the different versions of the introductory material, see *Samuel Richardson's Introduction to Pamela*, ed. Sheridan W. Baker, junior (Los Angeles: Augustan Reprint Society, 1954).

sage that Richardson had chosen for the abandoned second-edition frontispiece and that would be represented both by Hayman for the octavo edition and by Highmore in his series (below, pp. 276, 340). The second, in which Pamela steps into a chariot while Mr B. looks on through a window, has no counterpart in the octavo edition but would be painted by Highmore (below, p. 341). The third, Pamela by the pond, is the scene originally chosen by Richardson for the second-edition frontispiece, before it was replaced by the bundles engraving; neither Gravelot and Hayman nor Highmore made use of this passage. The 'pond' here, with Pamela's garments floating on the surface, is a diminutive ornamental pool, quite unlike the novel's 'so large a Piece of Water'.[1] The final engraving is of Pamela overturning the card-table as she greets her father, a scene that attracted Carwitham, Gravelot, and Highmore alike (below, pp. 263, 290, 344).[2]

These anonymous illustrations, although much inferior to those in *The Life of Pamela*, must have been a further irritant for Richardson. Compounding the problem, George Bennet's *Pamela Versified*, launched in July 1741 as a serial, was also 'adorn'd with Copper-Plate Cuts'.[3] Although only two instalments of this versification seem to have been published (neither known to be extant), Richardson again had to face the threat of a series of unauthorized illustrations of *Pamela*. Not only was his novel being parodied, fraudulently extended, retold, dramatized, and versified, but his scrupulous concern for the 'Spirit of the Passages' – a concern that had led him to abandon his own project for frontispiece designs – was being blithely ignored by unscrupulous fan-shop proprietors and publishers.

[1] Richardson, *Pamela*, p. 154.

[2] As a companion to her pirated edition of *Pamela*, Kingman also published a spurious continuation, *Pamela in High Life*; the first of its three instalments appeared on 29 September 1741 (see the introduction to volume 4 of this edition, pp. ix–x, n. 6). Unlike the piracy, the continuation contained no illustrations.

[3] *Daily Advertiser*, 24 July 1741; see volume 1 of this edition, pp. lxvii–lxviii.

Engravings by Hubert Gravelot and Francis Hayman for the octavo edition of *Pamela*

The threat posed by unauthorized illustrations of *Pamela* must have been among the factors prompting Richardson's decision to include engravings in the deluxe octavo edition, which he conceived as the definitive version of the novel. Following the publication of his own continuation of *Pamela* in December 1741, it would be the first to publish the four volumes as a whole. Its physical appearance – octavo format, fine paper, and large, clear type – was designed to increase the stature of the work. A new table of contents, extending to some 16,000 words, would act as a synopsis of the novel. And the illustrations would reassert Richardson's control over visual representations of his characters and scenes, acting, like the table of contents, as an interpretative guide. That the original plan for two frontispieces was now being replaced by one for a far larger number of illustrations is a sign of Richardson's increasing ambitions for *Pamela* and the need to outdo his competitors: his illustrations would be both more plentiful and of higher quality than theirs.[1]

Richardson first mentions his plans for the edition in a letter of 8 October 1741 to Ralph Allen. Here he refers to 'an Octavo Edition I am Printing, which is to have Cuts to it, done by the Best Hands', and states that he hopes 'to publish by the latter End of November: The Copy is all finish'd; but the Number Printed, being large, makes it tedious at the Press'.[2] Richardson's estimate was out by over five months: the edition was finally published on 8 May 1742. It contained seven 'Cuts' in each of the first three volumes and eight in the fourth: 'an unusually large number for any English literary work of the period, and an extraordinary number for prose fiction', as Eaves observes.[3] The time needed for these illustrations to be designed and engraved might account for the delay in publication.

No records of Richardson's dealings with his illustrators, Hubert Gravelot and Francis Hayman, are known, and since they are not named

[1] Aikins suggests that Richardson's change of plans 'was not a rejection of Hogarth but of the frontispiece as a genre too limited in power' ('Richardson's "Speaking Pictures"', *Samuel Richardson: Tercentenary Essays*, eds. Margaret Anne Doody and Peter Sabor (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 1989), p. 152).

[2] Richardson to Allen, 8 October 1741, *Selected Letters*, p. 52.

[3] 'Graphic Illustration', p. 353.

in his letter to Allen, it is not certain that they had been commissioned at this stage.[1] When their services were secured, Richardson could boast with some justice of having found the 'Best Hands' to illustrate *Pamela*. Gravelot, who had been living in England since 1732, was the foremost book illustrator of the day, his recent work including illustrations for the second series of Gay's *Fables* (1738) and the second edition of Theobald's *Works of Shakespeare* (1740). Brian Allen, discussing the rage for French art in England in the early 1740s, notes that 'Gravelot played a major rôle by injecting a distinct note of French elegance into the shaky tradition of English draughtsmanship. The Frenchman's characteristically sinuous, spidery line could enliven even the most mundane subject matter'.[2] Hayman was still at an early stage of a career that would continue for over thirty years, but he had already collaborated with Gravelot in 1737 and 1738 on vignettes and decorations for the popular Vauxhall songsheets.[3] Allentuck describes the pair as 'fashionable, experienced, and somewhat toney artists',[4] an apt description of Gravelot but not of the junior partner, Hayman, who would become fashionable only after his work on *Pamela*. Although he supplied fewer of the designs (twelve to Gravelot's seventeen) and did none of the engraving, Hayman's name is listed before Gravelot's on Richardson's title-page, perhaps for patriotic reasons.

Gravelot and Hayman were doubtless consulted, but the choice of scenes to be represented for the octavo edition of *Pamela* is thoroughly

[1] No correspondence between either Gravelot or Hayman and Richardson has survived, and it is not known whether Richardson's acquaintance with his illustrators continued after 1742. Hayman painted a portrait of Richardson and his family, reproduced and dated 'towards the end of 1740' by Brian Allen (*Francis Hayman* (New Haven: Yale University Press, 1987), p. 30), but a date during or after Hayman's work on the *Pamela* illustrations is also possible. Edward Young, in a letter to Richardson of 11 August 1754, mentions 'yr Friend Mr Hyman' (*The Correspondence of Edward Young, 1683–1765*, ed. Henry Pettit (Oxford: Clarendon Press, 1971), p. 411). Pettit notes that 'whether Young wrote "Hyman" or "Hymore" is not clear', so that Young may be referring here to Richardson's friend, the painter Joseph Highmore. The case for its being Hayman is strengthened by his having painted an episode from *Clarissa* at about this time (1753–4), showing Lovelace persuading Clarissa to flee from Harlowe Place; see Allen, *Francis Hayman*, pp. 115–16, and the reproduction of the painting there.

[2] Allen, *Francis Hayman*, p. 108.

[3] See Mark Girouard, 'Coffee at Slaughter's: English Art and the Rococo', *Country Life*, 13 January 1966, p. 60.

[4] 'Narration and Illustration', p. 880.

Richardsonian. The even-handedness of supplying seven illustrations for each of the first three volumes reflects Richardson's belief (shared by few of his readers) that his continuation was not inferior to the original novel; giving an extra, eighth engraving to the final volume was to take this belief one step further. The exclusion of all of the much-criticized 'warm' scenes is also a sign of Richardson's guiding hand; prurient readers will search in vain for representations of Pamela in a state of undress, or being fondled or assaulted by Mr B. Instead of representing Pamela's 'passions, at the *pond*', Hayman depicts her moments later, as she takes shelter in the 'Corner of an Out-house' (below, p. 283). The bundles scene, however, is illustrated (below, p. 276), perhaps with sufficient pathos to overcome Hill's misgivings about conveying 'our inward Idea of PAMELA's *Person*'. Richardson probably prescribed that his heroine should be portrayed first as a virtuous maiden and then as a dignified, capable wife and mother, instead of the scheming hypocrite seen by Fielding, Haywood, and other Antipamelists; that B. should be represented as the mature figure that he becomes in the continuation of the novel, rather than the blundering country squire of the first two volumes; and that illustrations of the married couple should demonstrate the harmony of their union, contradicting the scepticism of readers offended by the misalliance. In the continuation of *Pamela* Richardson furnished a verbal portrait of his heroine, providing several details, such as her slender neck and serious expression, that his illustrators would follow.[1] He also ensured that the engravings would be bound at the appropriate place in the volumes by having the relevant page number printed in each case. The images were, of course, to be seen in conjunction with the text, not viewed as a replacement for it.

Eaves's contention that the Gravelot–Hayman illustrations are 'as excellent as even fastidious Richardson could have desired'[2] has been challenged in articles by Allentuck and Stephen Raynie. Allentuck contends that 'there is a curious alienation between text and illustration in almost every instance. The illustrations rarely address themselves to the emotive unities of the text'.[3] For Allentuck, Gravelot and Hayman's designs are austere and simplistic, detached from the teasing ambigu-

[1] See Sabor, 'What Did Pamela Look Like?', *Notes and Queries*, 228 (1983), 48–9.
[2] 'Graphic Illustration', p. 353.
[3] 'Narration and Illustration', p. 880.

ities of the novel. Raynie, citing Allentuck, takes a quite different approach. Where she finds stasis and frigidity, he sees the illustrations as offering a series of subversive readings of the text, making 'it more likely that anti-*Pamela* interpretations would emerge in opposition to the author's purported moral purpose'.[1]

Allentuck's objections are based on only two of the twenty-nine plates (both by Hayman): the first (below, p. 275) showing Mr B. reading one of Pamela's letters to her parents, and the second (below, p. 281) depicting Pamela angling for carp, a reclining Mrs Jewkes beside her. Both neutralize the textual dynamics, as Allentuck suggests, but many of the other engravings are much livelier. Among the more expressive of the illustrations are Hayman's depiction of Mr Andrews pleading with B. for his daughter's return (below, p. 278); Gravelot's first contribution to the series, showing a gypsy fortune-teller reading Pamela's palm, with Nan and Mrs Jewkes as onlookers (below, p. 286); Gravelot's rendition of Pamela kneeling at her father's feet, beside the overturned card-table (below, p. 290); Hayman's drawing of Pamela fleeing from Lady Davers, with the gigantic Colbrand blocking the path of any pursuer (below, p. 296); and a rare moment of slapstick, Hayman's drawing of the tyrannical Sir Simon Darnford throwing a book at his daughter Polly (below, p. 305). In Raynie's feverishly Freudian reading, nothing is what it seems. Mr B., for example, is supposed, in his confrontation with Goodman Andrews (below, p. 278), to sport 'an odd vulval-looking fold in the crotch of his trousers'; in an illustration by Gravelot of Lady Davers berating the newly-married Pamela and Mr B. in their bedroom (below, p. 298), 'the arm that Pamela stretches towards Lady Davers seems about to fondle Mr. B.'s crotch'; and in the angling scene (below, p. 281), Pamela is grasping 'an obvious phallic symbol'.[2] Sometimes a fishing-rod is just a fishing-rod.

Perhaps the least animated of the illustrations for the octavo *Pamela* are those designed by Gravelot for the final volume, several depicting the heroine as an idealized mother with her children.[3] Richardson him-

[1] 'Hayman and Gravelot's Anti-*Pamela*', p. 79.

[2] Ibid. pp. 85, 89.

[3] Aikins, however, makes a strong case for the significance of these illustrations by Gravelot, pointing out that 'from the very first page, *Pamela II* builds towards the birth of the B.'s [*sic*] first child' ('Re-presenting the Body', p. 163).

self, however, emphasized that his continuation of the novel was 'to be more calm, serene, and instructive, and such as should be Exemplary, as I may say'.[1] That Gravelot could have rendered his designs for *Pamela* with greater power is indicated by the vigour of his illustrations for Pierre-Antoine de la Place's French translation of *Tom Jones* (1750),[2] unfettered by authorial demands. The sixteen engravings depict highly dramatic scenes, involving either emotionally charged confrontations (such as Mrs Wilkins finding Allworthy, in a state of undress, with the infant Jones, and Jones learning from Partridge that he has committed incest with his mother) or physical violence (such as Jones routing the attackers of the Man of the Hill, and tying Northerton's hands behind his back, while the bare-breasted Mrs Waters looks on in terror). Gravelot's bold designs for this edition suggest how the octavo *Pamela* might have appeared, had he been allowed a free hand in choosing scenes to be depicted. Hayman's fine illustration of 'The Hop Garden Peasants Merrymaking' in Smart's *Poems on Several Occasions* (1752)[3] likewise demonstrates his ability to render a lively scene effectively.

Six of Gravelot's original drawings for the octavo *Pamela*, as well as one by Hayman, are known to be extant.[4] Richardson was fortunate in his final choice of engraver: the plates are remarkably faithful to the originals. On one occasion (below, p. 290) Gravelot does modify the original design: in the drawing, Goodman Andrews's appearance is more urbane than in the engraving, and he wields a straight walking cane, rather than a knotty, twisted piece of wood. Presumably Gravelot wished to heighten the realism of the published version. Charles Grignion, Gravelot's pupil, declared that he was 'a designer but could not engrave. He etched a great deal in what is called the manner of

[1] Richardson to Cheyne, early January 1742, *Selected Letters*, p. 54.

[2] This translation was published in Paris in February 1750, with a false London imprint. Richardson's old friend Jean Baptiste de Freval conveyed the bad news from France, in April 1751, that the book 'has had a vast run here this good while' (*Correspondence*, V, 277); see Martin C. Battestin, Introduction to *Tom Jones*, ed. Fredson Bowers (Middletown, CT: Wesleyan University Press, 1975), I, lii–liii.

[3] See Hammelmann and Boase, *Book Illustrators*, Plate 18. Richardson was a subscriber to this volume; see Arthur Sherbo, *Christopher Smart: Scholar of the University* (East Lansing: Michigan State University Press, 1967), p. 82.

[4] The British Museum, Department of Prints and Drawings, holds the drawings for the engravings on pp. 289–94, 296, and 312, by Gravelot, and the engraving on p. 310 by Hayman. Hayman's drawing is reproduced in Allen, *Francis Hayman*, p. 150.

Painters etchings, but did not know how to handle the graver'.[1] But this was a purist's view; Grignion worked exclusively as an engraver, whereas Gravelot engaged in a wide range of artistic activities. Hammelmann and Boase note that Gravelot 'ceased engraving altogether after his return to France', but contend that 'his minute technique, which he passed on to Grignion and other pupils, was far in advance of the careless practice then customary in England'.[2]

At about the same time as Hayman was designing his illustrations for *Pamela*, in late 1741 and early 1742, he was commissioned by Jonathan Tyers, the proprietor of Vauxhall Gardens, to execute a series of paintings for the supper-boxes. Among the numerous canvases painted or supervised by Hayman were two adapted from his work on the octavo *Pamela*: Pamela with her bundles (below, p. 276), of which the painting is unknown today; and Pamela fleeing from Lady Davers (below, p. 296), of which the painting is now at Sizergh Castle (below, p. 332). For this painting, Hayman changed the composition to an oblong shape to fit the requirements of the supper-boxes, and made several other alterations: Colbrand, for example, looms still larger than in the plate, and the more distant of Lady Davers's two male footmen is older, stouter, and more impassive.[3] Gravelot also reworked, or supervised the reworking of, his engraving of Pamela and the fortune-teller (below, p. 286) as a painting, now at Chatsworth House (below, p. 333).[4] The engraving shows Pamela closely guarded by Mrs Jewkes and Nan. The painting, like Hayman's, turns the design into an oblong, extending the scene to the right by adding another female servant, who has no counterpart in the novel. That both Hayman and Gravelot chose to create or oversee

[1] *The Diary of Joseph Farington*, VIII, ed. Kathryn Cave (New Haven: Yale University Press, 1982), p. 2800; cited by Paulson, *Hogarth*, II, 65.

[2] *Book Illustrators*, p. 40.

[3] For a complete list of Hayman's supper-box paintings of around 1741–2, see Allen, *Francis Hayman*, pp. 180–2. Fysh writes well on the placing of the *Pamela* paintings in relation to others at Vauxhall, and on the significance of Hayman's choice of subjects for the Vauxhall clientele (*The Work(s) of Samuel Richardson*, pp. 71–5). She wrongly supposes, however (p. 71), that both of the *Pamela* paintings have been lost. The painting at Sizergh Castle has been newly restored.

[4] Eaves, who terms this painting a 'small, exquisite piece', notes that it was traditionally attributed to Joseph Nollekens but contends that 'undoubtedly it is by the designer himself' ('Graphic Illustration', p. 357). Charles Noble, Deputy Keeper of the Devonshire Collection at Chatsworth House, however, classifies the painting as 'after Gravelot', rather than being certainly by him.