

THE
Cambridge Edition of
THE WORKS OF
SAMUEL
RICHARDSON



PAMELA
IN HER EXALTED
CONDITION

EDITED BY

Albert J. Rivero

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PAMELA IN HER EXALTED CONDITION

THE CAMBRIDGE EDITION OF
THE WORKS AND CORRESPONDENCE OF
SAMUEL RICHARDSON

GENERAL EDITORS

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THE WORKS

- 1 Early Works
- 2 Pamela: or, Virtue Rewarded
- 3 Pamela in Her Exalted Condition
- 4-7 Clarissa: or, The History of a Young Lady
- 8-11 Sir Charles Grandison
- 12 Later Works and Index

In Preparation:
THE CORRESPONDENCE

SAMUEL
RICHARDSON



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To Lisa and Albert

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PAMELA IN HER EXALTED CONDITION *i*

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GENERAL EDITORS' PREFACE

The Cambridge Edition of the Works of Samuel Richardson is the first fully annotated scholarly edition of Richardson's works, including his securely attributable minor works, ever to have been undertaken. Five substantial collected editions have been published before now: *The Works of Samuel Richardson*, with an introduction by Edward Mangin (19 volumes, 1811); *The Works of Samuel Richardson*, with an introduction by Leslie Stephen (12 volumes, 1883); *The Novels of Samuel Richardson*, with an introduction by William Lyon Phelps (19 volumes, 1901-2); *The Novels of Samuel Richardson*, with an introduction by Ethel M. McKenna (20 volumes, 1902); and finally *The Novels of Samuel Richardson* (18 volumes, 1929-31). None of these editions, however, contains any explanatory or textual apparatus, and none contains any of Richardson's writings beside his three major novels.

In the absence of any scholarly alternative, the last of these collected editions, the Shakespeare Head edition, has passed as standard for almost a century, though with no visible credentials for doing so. It is attractively printed, on fine paper, but suffers from several obvious shortcomings. First, it is extremely scarce; only five hundred copies were issued, many to individual subscribers, and few libraries possess copies. Second, it was anonymously edited, and a brief note on the text is ambiguous; to what extent, and if so on what principles, the text was modernized or corrected remains unclear. Third, the choice of copy-text for the novels, Richardson's octavo edition in each case, is highly questionable. A compulsive reviser and, unusually, his own printer, with complete and direct control over the production process, Richardson changed the texts of his novels with each edition that he printed. He issued one edition of each novel in octavo, in contrast to the smaller duodecimo size normally used. Intended for wealthier buyers, the octavo editions were printed on better paper, with more generous margins and leading, and, in the case of *Pamela*, with twenty-nine engravings by two of the foremost book-illustrators of the day. The octavo editions, however, represented a stage in the process of revision that was intermediate and in some respects tangential to the genealogy of the text:

in the case of all three novels, Richardson went on to make extensive further changes, working from the previous duodecimo edition and losing many of the octavo revisions as he did so.¹ One might expect a standard edition to use as copy-text either the original version or the final revision, but not a text midway between – or aside from – these two significant states.

Groundbreaking annotated editions of individual works have appeared since the 1970s, notably in the Oxford English Novels, Oxford World's Classics and Penguin Classics series, but these have been limited in scope and ambition by their trade or textbook formats, and have not extended to significant works such as *Aesop's Fables* and the continuation of *Pamela*. Over the same period, other kinds of scholarship on Richardson – biographical, bibliographical, critical, historical – have flourished as never before, and large advances have also been made in relevant contextual fields. In light of all this work, and of the unprecedented research resources now available to editors of eighteenth-century literature, the time has come to provide Richardson's whole output with explanatory apparatus of the scale and depth that already exists for other major novelists of the period, such as Fielding, Smollett, and Sterne. The detailed introductions, comprehensive annotations, and bibliographical appendices of the Cambridge Edition provide comprehensive accounts of the composition, publication, and subsequent textual history of all his works, with the extensive commentary and additional material necessary to situate and understand them in their cultural, historical, linguistic, and literary contexts.

No perfect solution exists to the question of copy-text. The five previous collected editions all derive, with varying degrees of directness and accuracy, and without apparent awareness of the textual issues, from interim revised versions of all three novels. By contrast, most of the single-novel editions published since the 1970s revert to the earliest published state of each work, with an implied or explicit preference, critical or theoretical, for primary utterance over retrospective intervention, or for the version of each novel that generated controversy over the version that sought to allay it. Yet there is no simple choice to be made here between original and final authorial intentions or textual states, for neither can be clearly established. There is nothing particularly 'original' about the first edition of *Clarissa*, which in a process resembling scribal publication had already circulated for years in manuscript copies among at least a dozen readers, with several distinct stages of authorial revision undertaken during the process (the pre-publication

¹ The exception here is the octavo edition of *Sir Charles Grandison*, which, though labelled the 'second' edition, was published simultaneously with the 'first' (duodecimo) edition. In effect, *Sir Charles Grandison* has two separate first editions in different states, with minor corrections incorporated in the octavo version (Robert Craig Pierson, 'The Revisions of Richardson's *Sir Charles Grandison*', *Studies in Bibliography*, 21 (1966), 163–6).

manuscripts do not survive). There is nothing definitively 'final' about either the last octavo or the last duodecimo edition of *Pamela* published in Richardson's lifetime, each of which omits revisions included in the other, and both of which were followed decades later by a posthumous edition in which subsequent authorial revisions mingle, undetectably and inextricably, with alterations apparently made on their own initiative by Richardson's daughters. Strictly speaking, the first edition of volumes v–vi of *Sir Charles Grandison* is not Richardson's own but a Dublin piracy, based on preliminary sheets of the novel stolen from his business premises, and here too, as in both *Pamela* and *Clarissa*, the authenticity of his final authorial revisions is obscured by intermingling familial interventions. From months or years before publication to decades after Richardson's death, all the novels were in a state of instability and flux that renders illegitimate any notion of a single authoritative text. At the same time, the swarming complexity of the textual situation makes clear not only the practical impossibility but also the theoretical undesirability of attempting to establish a composite or eclectic text. Numerous versions exist of the major works, all with a claim to validity and interest, none with a definitive claim to eclipse all other versions.

In these unusually complicated circumstances, the Cambridge Edition of the Works of Samuel Richardson takes as its copy-text the earliest version of each work to have been authorized and published. Richardson's subsequent rounds of revision are essential to complete understanding, and it may simplify the situation to say, as a previous editor has done of Richardson's characteristically deferential or precautionary practices as a reviser, that 'to the extent that he allowed outside pressure to influence his work, each edition is progressively less his own, further removed from the original conception, and often destructive of the spontaneity or colloquial tone of the first edition'.² But it is certainly true that much of Richardson's work as a reviser was palliative or defensive in the face of readerly incomprehension or conventional taste, and that cumulatively his revisions can dim our sense of his originality and distinctiveness as a writer, and of the impact made on his culture by the novels in their original published states. It is inevitable that competing trajectories are sometimes in play in the revision process, and among thousands of local adjustments, individual changes sometimes pull away from the larger trend. In comparison with later versions, however, the basic characteristics of a Richardson novel in its first edition are clear enough: in matters of linguistic, moral, and social decorum, it is typically more provocative and transgressive; and in matters of meaning and interpretation, it is typically more indeterminate and open. At a time when electronic databases now make all editions published

² Samuel Richardson, *Sir Charles Grandison*, ed. Jocelyn Harris, 3 vols. (London: Oxford University Press, 1972), vol. 1, p. xxviii.

before 1800 available in digitized form, moreover, it makes more sense for readers interested in Richardson's revisions, or more generally in the pressures exerted on innovative works by conservative tastes, to work forward from a first-edition text rather than backward from a later version – the more so given the interrupted state of the revisions on Richardson's death, the ambiguous status of the posthumous editions, and the consequent impossibility of securely identifying final authorial intention in any published edition.

A further rationale for the choice of first-edition copy-texts is their direct link to Richardson's correspondence, in which the single most important topic is the composition, correction, publication, and interpretation of his novels. The vast majority of this protracted and, for the period, unprecedentedly rich and detailed debate on the art of fiction concerns either first editions or pre-publication versions, no longer extant, to which the earliest printed state is the closest surviving witness. Published alongside this edition is a companion edition of Richardson's complete known correspondence, most of it previously unpublished, in which his consultations, discussions and disputes with readers of the novels are recorded at length.

An important further component of the Cambridge Edition of the Works of Samuel Richardson, absent from previous collected editions, is Richardson's minor and occasional writing, in the first and last volumes of the edition. The first volume includes the two works from which Richardson's *Pamela* most immediately arose: his Æsopian collection of 1739 and *Letters Written to and for Particular Friends* (1741). These appear alongside other securely attributed writings of the same period and two substantial pamphlets of the mid-1730s: *The Apprentice's Vade Mecum* and *A Seasonable Examination of . . . Play-Houses*. All of these publications have generated considerable interest for some decades, but the absence of scholarly editions has impeded critical study of the works in their own right or in relation to the novels. The last volume includes an annotated text of Richardson's fragmentary attempt at a fourth novel, 'The History of Mrs. Beaumont', partly published by Anna Laetitia Barbauld in 1804 but edited here from the autograph manuscript in the Morgan Library, supplemented by additional fragments in the hand of Richardson's daughter Martha Bridgen, now at the Fondren Library, Rice University. The volume also contains Richardson's important *Rambler* essay of 1751 (approvingly cited by Austen in *Northanger Abbey*) and what appears to have been his final publication, an essay written for Smollett's *British Magazine* of April 1760, as well as a general index to the edition as a whole.

The Cambridge Edition of the Works of Samuel Richardson is designed to become the uniform scholarly edition. It has extensive historical and textual introductions, providing authoritative accounts of the composition, publication, early reception and subsequent revision of each work. Material on the personal and

professional circumstances in which Richardson wrote the work, and on pre-publication circulation, consultation, and revision, is presented in full, as is whatever information can be established about the commercial practicalities of contracts, print runs, and sales. There are also ample linguistic and historical notes, addressing Richardson's use of language (the love for neologisms and puns, for example, that made him the most significant living presence in Johnson's *Dictionary*), as well as literary and cultural allusions. Emendation is conservative, and the meticulous preparation of the copy-texts by compositors under Richardson's direct supervision removes the need for more than very occasional minor correction. Textual apparatus includes, for each novel, tables of emendations, noting the source and authority of each emendation adopted; mid-production variants among different states of the first edition revealed by horizontal collation; tables of cancellantia and cancellanda, recording the variant text of the cancellanda where surviving evidence makes this possible; and other relevant appendices including descriptive bibliographies of principal editions and tables of word-division. Given the number of editions involved, and the thousands of changes typically made between each edition and the next, vertical collation, even if achievable, would be impossible to use. Instead, the significant additions in principal later editions of the novels will be included as substantive appendices, notably the new paratextual material added in the second and sixth editions of *Pamela* and the volume of *Letters and Passages Restored* published by Richardson in 1751 to provide readers of *Clarissa* in its first edition with the additions made in the third.

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CHRONOLOGY

- 1682
2 June Marriage in London of SR's parents, Samuel Richardson, Sr (d. 1727), a master joiner, and Elizabeth Hall (d. 1736)
- 1687 Family leaves London for Derbyshire at about this time, perhaps for political reasons
- 1689
July–August Born and baptized in Mackworth, near Derby, the fourth of nine children from the marriage
- 1695–9 Family returns to London during this period, settling in the Tower Hill district
- 1701–2 Probably educated at the Merchant Taylors' School, where his schoolfellows know him as '*Serious* and *Gravity*'
- 1706
1 July Apprenticed to John Wilde, a printer of Aldersgate
- 1713
2 July Completes apprenticeship with Wilde, where SR has become 'the Pillar of his House'
- 1715
13 June Made freeman of the Stationers' Company and a citizen of London
- 1715–20 Works as a compositor and corrector in Wilde's business
- 1720 Manages the printing business of the Leake family on the corner of Blue Ball and Salisbury Courts; begins printing

- private bills for James Blew, a lawyer and parliamentary agent
- 1721 Buys 'Printing Presses and Letter Utensils of trade' from the Leakes and sets up as master printer in their former premises, where he resides until 1736; remains in the Salisbury Court district for his entire career
- 23 November Marries Martha, daughter of John Wilde; five sons and a daughter from the marriage die in infancy
- 1722
- 5 March Granted the livery of the Stationers' Company
- 6 August Three Leake apprentices turned over to SR, the first of twenty-four apprentices bound to him during his career
- 1722–4 Denounced to the ministry by Samuel Negus, a printer, as one of the 'disaffected printers . . . Said to be High-Flyers'; continues printing Tory–Jacobite material, including the Duke of Wharton's periodical *The True Briton* (1723–4)
- 1725
- December Begins printing *The Daily Journal* (to 1737), one of several newspapers and periodicals printed by SR until the mid-1740s
- 1727
- 11 April Elected to junior office as Renter Warden in the Stationers' Company
- 1728 Rents a second Salisbury Court house, opposite the first, for *Daily Journal* operations (to 1736)
- September Identified to the ministry by Edmund Curll as printer of a seditious number of *Mist's Weekly Journal*
- 1730
- December *The Infidel Convicted*, possibly by SR
- 1731
- 23 January Death of Martha (Wilde) Richardson
- February Becomes a junior shareholder in the Stationers' Company, purchasing progressively more senior levels of stock in 1736, 1746, and 1751

- October Incurs financial losses on the collapse of the Charitable Corporation; embroiled until mid-1733 in related legal proceedings
- 1733
- 3 February Marries Elizabeth Leake (d. 1773), sister of the Bath bookseller James Leake
- February Appointed first official printer to the House of Commons (to 1761), responsible for public bills and committee reports; SR thereby becomes ‘more independent of Booksellers (tho’ I did much Business for them) than any other Printer’
- December *The Apprentice’s Vade Mecum*
- 23 December Baptism of daughter Elizabeth, d. 1734
- 1734 Expands business premises into a third house, in Blue Ball Court (to 1740)
- 1735
- 2 January Baptism of daughter Mary (Polly), m. 1757 (to Philip Ditcher), d. 1783
- April *A Seasonable Examination of the Pleas and Pretensions of the Proprietors of, and Subscribers to, Play-Houses*
- June Probably begins printing the pro-ministerial *Daily Gazetteer* (to 1746)
- 1736 Moves to ‘House of a very grand outward Appearance’ on Salisbury Square, which he occupies until 1756; also rents Corney House, a tenement of Sutton Court, Chiswick, as a weekend/summer retreat (to 1738)
- January *Gentleman’s Magazine* publishes a light verse epistle by SR, noting that ‘the Publick is often agreeably entertain’d with his Elegant Disquisitions in Prose’
- 16 July Baptism of daughter Martha (Patty), m. 1762 (to Edward Bridgen), d. 1785
- 1737
- 16 August Baptism of daughter Anne (Nancy), d. 1803
- 1738
- Summer Rents large semi-rural retreat at North End, Fulham (to 1754)

- October Edits and prints updated second edition of Defoe's *Tour*, also subsequent editions of 1742, 1748, 1753, and 1761–2
- 1739
- 26 April Baptism of son Samuel, d. 1740
- 10 November Starts writing *Pamela*
- 20 November *Æsop's Fables*
- 1740
- January Completes draft of *Pamela*, revising the text over the ensuing months
- 29 March *The Negotiations of Sir Thomas Roe in His Embassy to the Ottoman Porte*, edited and printed by SR for the Society for the Encouragement of Learning
- 17 July Baptism of twelfth and last child, Sarah (Sally), m. 1763 (to Richard Crowther), d. 1773
- 6 November *Pamela; or, Virtue Rewarded*
- 1741
- 23 January Expands his printing premises behind Salisbury Court
Letters Written to and for Particular Friends
- 28 May Opening volume of John Kelly's *Pamela's Conduct in High Life*, a spurious continuation, published; SR starts planning his own authorized continuation
- 1 December Elected to the Court of Assistants, ruling body of the Stationers' Company
- 7 December *Pamela in Her Exalted Condition*, SR's continuation
- 1742
- 8 May Sixth edition of *Pamela*, in octavo format and with twenty-nine engravings by Hubert Gravelot and Francis Hayman: the first simultaneous publication of both parts
- May Wins large contract to print the *Journals* of the House of Commons (to 1761)
- 1744
- June–July Begins printing the *Philosophical Transactions of the Royal Society* (to 1761), one of several major projects for learned societies
- Earliest references in SR's correspondence to *Clarissa*, which already exists in some form of draft
- December Sends part of the novel in manuscript to Aaron Hill; manuscript copies in various states of revision circulate among SR's friends until 1747

- 1746
 Summer Assists the ministry in finding shorthand experts to help prosecute Jacobite rebels
 December Hill sends SR his ‘Specimen of New Clarissa’, a test abridgement of the novel’s opening
- 1747
 1 December *Clarissa*, Vols. I and II
- 1748
 28 April *Clarissa*, Vols. III and IV
 5 July William Richardson, nephew, apprenticed to SR
 2 August Advertises in the *Whitehall Evening-Post* for contact with Lady Bradshaigh, who has been sending pseudonymous letters about *Clarissa*
 6 December *Clarissa*, Vols. v–vii
- 1749
 June Prints *Answer to the Letter of a Very Reverend and Worthy Gentleman*, a defence of *Clarissa*’s fire scene, for private distribution
 August Publishes notes responding to Albrecht von Haller’s critique of *Clarissa* in the *Gentleman’s Magazine*
 December Prints *Meditations Collected from the Sacred Books* for private distribution
- 1750
 6 March First face-to-face meeting with Lady Bradshaigh, thereafter his closest literary adviser
 August Death of SR’s brother Benjamin; household joined by Benjamin’s fourteen-year-old daughter Susanna (Sukey), ‘whom my Wife has in a manner adopted’
- 1751
 January Sections of *Sir Charles Grandison* start to circulate in manuscript among SR’s friends
 17 February Publishes an essay (no. 97) on courtship and marriage in Samuel Johnson’s periodical *The Rambler*, based on SR’s letter of 8 September 1750 to Frances Grainger
 20 April Expanded third edition of *Clarissa*; new material separately published as *Letters and Passages Restored from the Original Manuscripts of the History of Clarissa*

- 1752
- 28 September Fire at SR's printing house causes extensive damage and loss of stock; takes on additional Salisbury Court premises at about this time, probably as a warehouse and workmen's residence
- 1753
- May Begins distributing printed sheets of *Sir Charles Grandison* among friends
- 2 June Writes autobiographical letter to Johannes Stinstra, his Dutch translator
- 30 June Attains rank of Upper Warden in the Stationers' Company
- August Learns that four Dublin booksellers have stolen most of *Sir Charles Grandison* in printed sheets and plan to publish an unauthorized edition; halts printing and fires suspected employees
- 14 September *The Case of Samuel Richardson, of London, Printer; with Regard to the Invasion of His Property* printed for free distribution
- 13 November *Sir Charles Grandison*, Vols. I–IV, simultaneously published in duodecimo ('first') and octavo ('second') editions; Vols. I–VI of the piracy appear in Dublin the same month, before SR can bring out his authorized Vols. v–vi
- 11 December *Sir Charles Grandison*, Vols. v–vi (duodecimo) and Vol. v (octavo)
- 1754
- 1 February Prints *An Address to the Public*, a further attack on the Dublin pirates and on George Faulkner, an Irish bookseller, with whom he had failed to negotiate a solution
- 14 March *Sir Charles Grandison*, Vol. VII (duodecimo) and Vol. VI (octavo)
- 19 March Revised third edition of *Sir Charles Grandison* (duodecimo)
- April Prints two commentaries on *Sir Charles Grandison*, *Answer to a Letter from a Friend* and *Copy of a Letter to a Lady*, for private distribution; the latter explains that there will be no further volumes
- 6 July Becomes Master of the Stationers' Company for a one-year term
- July–October Rents and renovates new weekend house at Parson's Green, which his wife and daughters make their main home

- 1755
 February Begins writing a fragmentary ‘History of Mrs. Beaumont’ (partly published in 1804), possibly as the basis for a new novel
- 6 March *A Collection of the Moral and Instructive Sentiments, Maxims, Cautions, and Reflexions, Contained in the Histories of Pamela, Clarissa, and Sir Charles Grandison*
- 5 August William Richardson completes apprenticeship and becomes SR’s overseer
- July–December Builds expensive new business premises in Salisbury Court, renovating the adjoining house as a residence, which he occupies the following spring
- 1757
 June Approached by Erasmus Reich, a Leipzig bookseller, with proposals to bring out a German edition of his selected correspondence, which he starts to prepare
- 1758
 May Abandons the Reich project, but continues preparing letters for possible posthumous publication
- August–September Revises and corrects Urania Hill Johnson’s novel *Almira*, which she publishes six months after SR’s death, rejecting most of the revisions
- 1759
 May Prints Edward Young’s *Conjectures on Original Composition*, composed by Young with SR’s collaborative involvement
- Summer William Richardson leaves SR’s employment to start his own printing business
- 1760
 28 April Revises and contributes to a translation of Marguerite de Lussan’s *The Life and Heroic Actions of Balbe Berton*, printed by William Richardson
- 24 June Enters partnership with Catherine Lintot, heir to the printer Henry Lintot, in a law patent with monopoly rights to print books on common law
- 1761
 March Borrows Lady Bradshaigh’s annotated copies of *Pamela* and *Clarissa* to make further revisions

- 28 June Suffers stroke during a visit from the portraitist Joseph Highmore
- 4 July Dies, leaving an estate of £14,000 and bequeathing manuscripts to his daughters; buried in St Bride's, Fleet Street, beside his first wife and infant children
- September William Richardson returns to Salisbury Court, taking over SR's business with a partner, Samuel Clarke
- 1762 Posthumous revised editions of *Pamela* and *Sir Charles Grandison*
- 1765
- March 'Six Original Letters upon Duelling' published in the *Candid Review and Literary Repository*
- 1771
- 25 January Publication of Anna Meades's *The History of Sir William Harrington, written some years since, and revised and corrected by the late Mr. Richardson*; SR's daughters contest the claim, but he had indeed advised Meades in 1757–8
- 1780 William Richardson issues proposals for a uniform edition of the novels, 'with corrections', but the edition does not materialize
- 1784 Anne Richardson and Martha Bridgen plan a new edition of *Pamela*, based on unpublished final revisions by SR, to be 're-revised' by themselves
- 1786
- January–February Authorized 'Memoirs of Richardson', perhaps by Edward Bridgen, published in the *Universal Magazine*
- 1792 'New edition' of *Clarissa*, 'with the last corrections by the author', prepared with the involvement of Anne Richardson and SR's granddaughter Sarah Crowther Moodie
- 1801 Fourteenth edition of *Pamela*, prepared from Anne Richardson's copy, 'with numerous alterations . . . by the Author'
- 1803 Death of Anne, SR's last surviving child

1804

July *The Correspondence of Samuel Richardson*, edited, with a substantial biographical memoir, by Anna Laetitia Barbauld

1810 'New edition' of *Sir Charles Grandison*, probably from Anne Richardson's copy, 'with the last corrections by the author'; fifteenth edition of *Pamela*, with further 'numerous corrections and alterations', apparently from Anne's annotated copy of the fourteenth edition

ABBREVIATIONS

- Clarissa* Samuel Richardson, *Clarissa. Or, The History of a Young Lady*, 7 vols. (1747–8)
- Eaves and Kimpel T. C. Duncan Eaves and Ben D. Kimpel, *Samuel Richardson: A Biography* (Oxford: Clarendon Press, 1971)
- ESTC* *English Short Title Catalogue* (online version)
- EW* Samuel Richardson, *Early Works*, ed. Alexander Pettit (Cambridge University Press, 2011)
- FM Forster Collection, Victoria and Albert Museum
- Johnson Samuel Johnson, *A Dictionary of the English Language*, 2 vols. (1755)
- Keymer Samuel Richardson, *Pamela*, ed. Thomas Keymer and Alice Wakely, intro. Thomas Keymer (Oxford University Press, 2001)
- Keymer and Sabor Thomas Keymer and Peter Sabor, *Pamela in the Marketplace: Literary Controversy and Print Culture in Eighteenth-Century Britain and Ireland* (Cambridge University Press, 2005)
- Maslen Keith Maslen, *Samuel Richardson of London, Printer: A Study of His Printing Based on Ornament Use and Business Accounts* (Dunedin: University of Otago, 2001)
- McKillop Alan D. McKillop, *Samuel Richardson: Printer and Novelist* (Chapel Hill: University of North Carolina Press, 1936; repr. Shoe String Press, 1960)
- ODEP* *The Oxford Dictionary of English Proverbs*, 3rd edn, rev. F. P. Wilson (Oxford: Clarendon Press, 1970)
- OED* *O[xford] E[nglish] D[ictionary] Online* (Oxford University Press, 2008)

- Pamela* 1 Samuel Richardson, *Pamela: or, Virtue Rewarded*, ed. Albert J. Rivero (Cambridge University Press, 2011)
- Sabor Samuel Richardson, *Pamela*, ed. Peter Sabor, intro. Margaret Anne Doody (Harmondsworth: Penguin, 1980)
- Sale (1936) William Merritt Sale, Jr, *Samuel Richardson: A Bibliographical Record of His Literary Career with Historical Notes* (New Haven, CT: Yale University Press, 1936)
- Sale (1950) William Merritt Sale, Jr, *Samuel Richardson: Master Printer* (Ithaca, NY: Cornell University Press, 1950)
- SCG Samuel Richardson, *The History of Sir Charles Grandison*, 2nd edn, 6 vols. (1753–4)
- Spectator* *The Spectator*, ed. Donald Bond, 5 vols. (Oxford: Clarendon Press, 1965)
- Tilley Morris Palmer Tilley, *A Dictionary of the Proverbs in England in the Sixteenth and Seventeenth Centuries* (Ann Arbor: University of Michigan Press, 1950)

GENERAL INTRODUCTION

Pamela in Her Exalted Condition, the third and fourth volumes of *Pamela: or, Virtue Rewarded*, 'By the Editor of the *TWO FIRST*' (title page), was published on 7 December 1741. Thirteen months earlier, when the first two volumes had appeared, Richardson had managed to conceal his authorship, at least initially, from all but a handful of friends and associates.¹ The spectacular and controversial success of the original, however, had ensured that, by the time he published the sequel, he no longer had 'the umbrage of the editor's character to screen myself behind'.² Indeed, it was the umbrage (in a different sense) he took at the theft of his literary property, and the ensuing public quarrel with 'the High-Life Men' over who had the right to continue Pamela's story, that irretrievably ended any hopes he might have had of keeping up at least the appearance of anonymity. Thus, while retaining 'the editor's character', he uses the word 'editor' on the title page, in the clause quoted in our opening sentence, not so much to apprise readers of his narrative strategy as to declare his ownership of Pamela's story, with

1 For a brief account of the composition, publication, and early reception of the first two volumes, see my General Introduction to *Pamela: or, Virtue Rewarded*, pp. xxxii–lxiv. For the most comprehensive account of the novel's publication and reception, see Thomas Keymer and Peter Sabor, *Pamela in the Marketplace: Literary Controversy and Print Culture in Eighteenth-Century Britain and Ireland* (Cambridge University Press, 2005). I am deeply indebted to this work, as well as to Alan Dugald McKillop, *Samuel Richardson: Printer and Novelist* (Chapel Hill: University of North Carolina Press, 1936), pp. 3–106; and T. C. Duncan Eaves and Ben D. Kimpel, *Samuel Richardson: A Biography* (Oxford: Clarendon Press, 1971), pp. 100–53. Most of the documents generated by the publication of the novel, including visual representations, are reproduced in the six volumes of *The Pamela Controversy: Criticisms and Adaptations of Samuel Richardson's Pamela, 1740–1750*, ed. Thomas Keymer and Peter Sabor (London: Pickering & Chatto, 2001).

2 Richardson to Aaron Hill, c.1 February 1741. All references to Richardson's correspondence are to the Cambridge Edition of the Correspondence of Samuel Richardson, gen. eds. Thomas Keymer and Peter Sabor, in progress. The original of this letter has not survived; the letter is quoted, undated, by Anna Laetitia Barbauld in the biographical preface to her six-volume edition of *The Correspondence of Samuel Richardson* (London, 1804), vol. 1, pp. lxix–lxxvi. The date given here is conjectural and derives from Eaves and Kimpel, p. 626. Richardson is answering Hill's letter of 15 January 1741; Hill replies to the letter cited here on 9 February 1741.

the italicized and capitalized 'TWO FIRST' emphasizing both the original (and originating) position of this particular 'editor' and the belatedness of all others. Richardson completes his re-appropriation by inserting the phrase 'Printed for S. RICHARDSON' in the colophon, a phrase that, also serving as an acknowledgement of authorship, would later appear on the title pages of the octavo edition of *Pamela* (1742), the first edition comprising all four volumes of the novel, as well as of all lifetime editions of *Clarissa* and *Sir Charles Grandison*.

If *Pamela: or, Virtue Rewarded* had 'sprung' from him, as Richardson would later explain to Johannes Stinstra, the Dutch translator of *Clarissa*, in a seemingly spontaneous overflow of recollection and composition,³ *Pamela in Her Exalted Condition* owed its origins to the rough-and-tumble London publishing world of which Richardson, by the early 1740s, had become a respectable and prosperous citizen. As Thomas Keymer and Peter Sabor have observed, '*Pamela* inspired . . . a Grubstreet grabfest in which a hungry succession of entrepreneurial opportunists and freeloading hacks . . . moved in for a slice of the action.'⁴ Richardson would later note that 'The Publication of the History of Pamela gave Birth to no less than 16 Pieces, as Remarks, Imitations, Retailings of the Story, Pyracies, &c.'⁵ Of this progeny, none was so hideous in his eyes as *Pamela's Conduct in High Life*. Professing to be derived 'from her ORIGINAL PAPERS' (title page), it was published on 28 May 1741, with a second volume, 'To the Time of her DEATH' (title page), issued on 12 September; a second edition of the first volume appeared on 3 October, a measure of the work's initial success, but no second edition of the second volume seems to have followed.⁶ It is entirely possible that Richardson might have written a sequel without this provocation from 'the High-Life Men' – as he derisively called them – to cash in further on the success of his work, as others were doing. After all, Daniel Defoe and Eliza Haywood, to name two well-known examples, had capitalized on the popularity of their 1719 bestsellers, *Robinson Crusoe* and *Love in Excess*, by adding second and third parts. But there is no evidence that Richardson contemplated continuing *Pamela's* story beyond the

3 Richardson to Stinstra, 2 June 1753. 4 Keymer and Sabor, p. 2.

5 Richardson wrote this comment, in his later trembling hand, on the manuscript of his letter of August 1741 to James Leake quoted below (FM xv1, 1, fols. 55–6). He offers the same estimate of 'no less than 16 Pieces' (again in his later trembling hand) on the manuscript of a letter in which his friend Solomon Lowe congratulates him on *Pamela's* not only 'answering the great . . . End you had in View', but also proving '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 (Lowe to Richardson, 21 December 1741, FM xv1, 1, fol. 78).

6 For bibliographical information on *Pamela's Conduct in High Life*, see William Merritt Sale, Jr, *Samuel Richardson: A Bibliographical Record of His Literary Career with Historical Notes* (New Haven, CT: Yale University Press, 1936), pp. 114–16.

'happy Period' to which he had 'brought this little History' (*Pamela* 1, p. 458) at the end of the second volume, until he was forced to do so.

Critics have been less than kind to *Pamela in Her Exalted Condition*. Some early readers objected to its lack of 'incidents', and the charge that the continuation is less compelling than the original has stuck. Summing up what seems to have been the prevailing view of English readers by the beginning of the nineteenth century and setting the tone for subsequent criticism, Anna Laetitia Barbauld declares, in her biographical introduction to her edition of Richardson's correspondence (1804), that, 'like most second parts', the volumes of the continuation were 'greatly inferior to the first. They are superfluous, for the plan was already completed, and they are dull, for instead of incident and passion, they are filled with heavy sentiment, in diction far from elegant.'⁷ A 'great part' of the sequel, she observes, 'aims to palliate, by counter criticism, the faults which had been found in the first part. It is less a continuation than the author's defence of himself.'⁸ She asserts that 'the only incident of consequence is, the adventure at the masquerade, and Mr. B.'s beginning intrigue with a lady there, which gives Pamela an opportunity to shine in so critical a circumstance as a married jealousy; her behaviour under it is very well drawn, with a proper mixture of acute feeling, spirit and gentleness'.⁹ Richardson himself had hoped that this 'strong Jealous Scene' would answer the 'kind Objection' of a correspondent who had complained of the lack of 'moving Incidents' in the second part.¹⁰ Most critics since Barbauld have concurred that, beyond this potentially interesting episode, not much else happens in the third and fourth volumes to engage the reader. While recognizing that the continuation in some respects marks an advance in technical competence over the original and is thus of importance in Richardson's development as a novelist – for example, the expansion of epistolary voices looks forward to the multiple correspondences in *Clarissa*; the social comedy scenes, with their conversational style, anticipate those in *Sir Charles Grandison* – Richardson's biographers succinctly restate the case against the work: 'In every way, the second part of *Pamela* shows Richardson at his worst – pompous, proper, proud of himself, and above all dull.'¹¹ As a result, while *Pamela: or, Virtue Rewarded* has elicited considerable critical attention, *Pamela in Her Exalted Condition* has languished virtually unnoticed until relatively recently, when such aspects of the work as its representation of the masquerade, its debate

7 Barbauld, *Correspondence*, vol. 1, p. lxxvii. 8 Ibid. 9 Ibid.

10 Stephen Duck to Richardson, 14 October 1741. For more on this letter and Richardson's answer to it, see below, pp. liii–liv.

11 Eaves and Kimpel, p. 153. In *A Natural Passion: A Study of the Novels of Samuel Richardson* (Oxford: Clarendon Press, 1974), Margaret Anne Doody labels the second part – in the title of her excellent chapter on it (pp. 71–98) – 'the Sequel that Failed'.

over breastfeeding, and its examination of Locke's views on education have received sophisticated critical scrutiny.¹² Still, the number of critical studies of *Pamela in Her Exalted Condition* remains comparatively low. In addition – and likely a factor contributing to its neglect – the continuation is not widely available and, unlike the original, has never been critically edited.¹³ The present edition is the first critical edition of the third and fourth volumes of *Pamela: or, Virtue Rewarded*. In the following pages, I shall offer a brief account of the circumstances leading to the composition of *Pamela in Her Exalted Condition*, its publication, early reception, and revisions, as well as a rationale of my principles of annotation.

CIRCUMSTANCES OF COMPOSITION

In January 1741, barely two months after the publication of *Pamela: or, Virtue Rewarded*, *The Gentleman's Magazine* remarked on the novel's popularity and status as cultural event, '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'.¹⁴ As Richardson proudly declared in his introduction to the second edition, published on 14 February 1741, 'a large Impression [had] been carried off in less than Three Months'.¹⁵ Less than a month after that, on 12 March, a third edition appeared, with a fourth following on 5 May and a fifth on 22 September. Straining the resources of his printing press to accommodate demand, Richardson was doing all he could to keep the 'Town' supplied with copies of his product. When it became clear that virtually anything with the name 'Pamela' attached to it could make a profit, others stepped up to claim their share. Some merely repackaged Richardson's work. For example, a serialization ran in *Robinson Crusoe's London Daily Evening Post*, probably from March 1741 to around November 1742.

¹² See, for example, Terry Castle, 'The Recarnivalization of Pamela: Richardson's "Pamela," Part 2', in Castle, *Masquerade and Civilization: The Carnivalesque in Eighteenth-Century Culture and Fiction* (Stanford University Press, 1986), pp. 130–76; Ruth Perry, 'Colonizing the Breast: Sexuality and Maternity in Eighteenth-Century England,' *Eighteenth-Century Life* 16 (1992), 185–213; Toni Bowers, "'A Point of Conscience": Breastfeeding and Maternal Authority in *Pamela 2*,' *Eighteenth-Century Fiction* 7 (1995), 259–78; Lois Chaber, 'From Moral Man to Godly Man: "Mr. Locke" and Mr. B in Part 2 of *Pamela*,' *Studies in Eighteenth-Century Culture* 18 (1988), 213–61; and Janet E. Aikins, 'Pamela's Use of Locke's Words,' *Studies in Eighteenth-Century Culture* 25 (1996), 75–97.

¹³ There is no classroom or trade edition of the continuation. It is included in the Shakespeare Head edition of *The Novels of Samuel Richardson*, 18 vols. (Oxford: Blackwell, 1929–31), vols. III–IV. The Everyman edition of the novel, first published in 1914 in two volumes (the continuation appearing in the second volume) and reprinted several times over the next decades, has been long out of print. Moreover, the text of the Everyman edition, as Peter Sabor has demonstrated, is not reliable; see Sabor, 'The Cooke-Everyman Edition of *Pamela*,' *The Library*, 5th Series, 32 (1977), 360–6; and note 86 below.

¹⁴ *The Gentleman's Magazine: and Historical Chronicle* XI (January 1741), p. [56]; this section of the volume is not paginated.

¹⁵ *Pamela* 1, p. 463.

Beginning about May and ending in September 1741, the bookseller Mary Kingman published a piracy in three instalments.¹⁶ George Faulkner and George Ewing published an Irish edition in Dublin in January 1741, with a second following two months later.¹⁷ Back in London, sometime in 1741, *Pamelia; or, VIRTUE Rewcompenc'd. Being a Choice COLLECTION of Familiar Letters from A Beautiful young VIRGIN to her PARENTS* was issued, first apparently in forty-eight numbers and then as a two-volume octavo in half-sheets. Its title page claimed that it was 'Printed for J. Andrews, and may be had of all Persons who carry News'.¹⁸ This curious production, a unique copy of which is part of the Rothschild collection at Trinity College (Cambridge) Library, omits Richardson's prefatory matter but faithfully reproduces the text (second or subsequent edition) of Pamela's letters and journal, only changing every instance of 'Pamela' to 'Pamelia'. In a modest attempt to elevate the work, an illustration of Pamela's wedding ceremony faces p. 377 of the second volume, though the description of that scene appears nearly two hundred pages earlier (p. 187). At the end of Richardson's narrative follows a brief section on 'The Parentage of PAMELIA' (vol. II, pp. 432–40); the volume concludes with Aaron Hill's 'VERSES', lifted from the end of the introduction to the second edition. Another one of Hill's poems, appearing in the novel as 'a Song my dear good Lady had learn'd me' ('Go, happy Paper, gently steal', *Pamela I*, p. 266), was set to music, 'For the German Flute', by Henry Holcombe (*fl.* 1707–48), and apparently sold as sheet music.¹⁹ A fan, featuring scenes from the novel, was advertised for sale in *The Daily Advertiser* on 28 April and 2 May.²⁰ Pamela had indeed aroused the 'Curiosity' of the 'Town' and her story, celebrated in prose as well as in verse, could be re-presented and merchandized, in multiple formats and media, to suit the fancy or finances of every possible consumer.

16 It was eventually published in one volume, running to 644 pages, with five illustrations; to confuse inattentive buyers, it reproduces an approximation of Richardson's title page from the second edition, with 'familiar' and 'prefixed' misspelled 'familliar' and 'perfix'd', and the information about the publishers replaced with 'LONDON: Printed in the Year, MDCCXLI.' The only known copy is in the Houghton Library, Harvard University.

17 The first edition was advertised in *George Faulkner. The Dublin Journal* on 27–31 January 1741; the second on 17–21 March 1741.

18 According to *ESTC*, there was a bookseller and printer by the name of 'J. Andrews', based at 10 Little Eastcheap, active in the 1770s and 1780s. I have been unable to confirm if this later J. Andrews' is the same as the one listed on *Pamelia's* title page. The coincidence between this surname and the heroine's is certainly intriguing and might have been a ploy to hint that Pamela's father, John Andrews, was responsible for the publication. *The Beau's Miscellany* (1745?), for example, was 'printed by David Simple, for Joseph Andrews, and sold by Abraham Adams'.

19 A copy is in the British Library, shelfmark G.308.(7.); the year of publication is more likely to have been 1741 than the catalogue date of '[1742?]'. The word 'Harms' in the third stanza is changed to 'Charms'.

20 The advertisement for 'PAMELIA, a new Fan', posted by 'M. Gamble', promises scenes 'Design'd and engraven by the best Masters', 'representing the principal Adventures of her Life, in Servitude, Love, and Marriage'.

There was also a market for those who wished to profit from questioning the heroine's virtue and motives. For example, Henry Fielding's *Shamela*, the first and best-known of all full-length *Pamela* spin-offs, was published on 2 April 1741. Aiming to combat 'an epidemical Phrenzy now raging in Town', as Parson Oliver writes to the infatuated Parson Tickletext, Fielding not only unmasks Pamela as a pious fraud but also shrewdly reveals her narcissistic thirst for celebrity, as she looks forward, at the end of her last letter, to seeing 'my self in a printed Book'.²¹ In addition, Fielding deconstructs Richardson's double claim of originality and documentary authenticity by asserting that it is the 'editor' of *Shamela*, not the 'editor' of *Pamela*, who is giving his readers 'exact Copies of authentick Papers' (title page), a strategic move that would be appropriated by future retailers of Richardson's story such as 'the High-Life Men'. Three weeks after the publication of *Shamela*, on 25 April, appeared the anonymous *Pamela Censured*, exposing as 'inflaming' Richardson's scenes of virtue-in-distress in such salacious detail that Hill conveyed to Richardson the suspicions of 'a Gentleman, a Relation of my Daughters', that the 'Piece' was 'a Bookseller's Contrivance' intended to recommend the 'Purchase of *Pamela*' to 'Light & Loose Readers'.²² Having written a pair of additional parts to capitalize on the success of her own *Love in Excess* two decades earlier, Eliza Haywood entered the lists with *Anti-Pamela: or, Feign'd Innocence Detected*, published, on 16 June, 'as a necessary Caution to all Young Gentlemen' (title page).²³ Its heroine, Syrena Tricky, 'train'd up to deceive and betray all those whom her Beauty should allure' (p. 3), has 'her Viciousness' (p. 280) discovered at the end, with her removal to Wales, 'where what befel her, must be the Subject of future Entertainment' (p. 281), promising to give her author, always alert to potential marketing possibilities, an opportunity (not taken) for undertaking a sequel.

Given the town's interest in all things Pamela, it was the market for sequels or continuations that could, potentially, offer the most reward. People were curious to learn more about Pamela – about her parents, the time-frame of her story, her real-life identity (since the story was purportedly true), her reading, her favourite charities – but most especially they wanted to know how the low-born serving maid would conduct herself in her exalted condition. Of the three book-length *Pamela* continuations appearing in 1741, only *Pamela's Conduct in High Life*, the first to be

21 Henry Fielding, *The Journal of a Voyage to Lisbon, Shamela, and Occasional Writings*, ed. Martin C. Battestin (Oxford: Clarendon Press, 2008), pp. 157, 192.

22 Hill to Richardson, 25 May 1741. Richardson writes, 'Quite mistaken! The Pamphlet (*Pamela Censured*) was written by an Enemy, on purpose to depreciate the Book', at the bottom of the manuscript page on which Hill's comments appear (FM XIII, 2, fols. 48–9).

23 *Anti-Pamela: or, Feign'd Innocence Detected; In a Series of Syrena's Adventures* (1741). Further references to this work appear parenthetically within the text.

published and the one that spurred Richardson to write his own, deserves extended attention. It was written by John Kelly (1680?–1751), an impoverished West Indian heir, who, earning his bread by his pen, had been a translator, journalist, and modestly successful playwright, before the Licensing Act of 1737 had forced him, as it had Fielding and Haywood, to turn to prose fiction.²⁴ Kelly had been hired by Richard Chandler (1713?–44) who, together with his partner Caesar Ward (1710–59), owned bookshops in London, Scarborough, and York, as well as a printing press in York. Their list of publications included law and travel books, editions of Defoe's *Colonel Jacque* (1738, 1739, and 1743), translations of Cervantes's *Persiles and Sigismunda* (1741) and Quevedo's *Comical Works* (1742), and, aiming to make a quick profit from events that had recently caught public attention, a criminal biography, long a Grubstreet staple, titled *The Whole Life and Trial at Large of the Notorious Highwayman, Richard Turpin* (1739). Chandler might also have been a partner in *The Champion*, the opposition newspaper in which most of the advertising campaign for *Pamela's Conduct in High Life* and against Richardson was waged.²⁵ Eventually, by embarking on a risky but potentially lucrative project of publishing *The History and Proceedings of the House of Commons from the Restoration to the Present Time* (1742–4) – and thus, once again, poaching in Richardson's territory – Chandler overextended his financial resources and ruined his partnership with Ward; overwhelmed by debt, he shot himself in the head in 1744.²⁶ But in early 1741, like many others, Chandler and Ward had spotted a sure-fire business opportunity and were poised to invest in the bullish Pamela market.

The best source we have for Richardson's dealings with 'the High-Life Men' is his own 'History of the true and spurious Continuation of Pamela' – as he titled it in his index to his correspondence on *Pamela* – contained in a letter he wrote to his brother-in-law and fellow printer, James Leake, in August 1741. This account is worth quoting in full not only because it offers a detailed narrative of the events that spurred Richardson into action, but also because it captures his outrage over what he perceived as the violation of his rights as the sole proprietor of Pamela's story; it also offers an outline of the topics Richardson thought needed to be discussed in the sequel:

24 For an excellent account of John Kelly's career, see Keymer and Sabor, pp. 66–82. Information on publications by Chandler and Ward given below is drawn from *ESTC*.

25 For Chandler's connection to *The Champion*, see W. B. Coley's general introduction to Henry Fielding, *Contributions to the Champion and Related Writings*, ed. Coley (Oxford: Clarendon Press, 2003), pp. xlix–l.

26 Richardson was the official printer to the House of Commons from February 1733 until his death in 1761; from 1742–61, he also printed the volumes of the *Journal* of the House of Commons. See Keith Maslen, *Samuel Richardson of London, Printer: A Study of His Printing Based on Ornament Use and Business Accounts* (Dunedin: University of Otago, 2001), pp. 22–6.

You desire to know when the 3rd Vol. of Pamela will come out; and you'll have seen several base Advertisers. and Papers against me in the Champion, in Defence of the spurious High-Life, publish'd only to draw me into Controversy, to make that foolish Piece sell; and I will give you a short Account of the Affair.

Having heard that Chandler had employed one Kelly, a Bookseller's Hackney, who never wrote any thing that was tolerably receiv'd, and had several of his Performances refused by the Stage, [to continue my Pamela,] I remonstrated against it, to a Friend of Kelly's. This brought Chandler to me, who when he found I resented the Baseness of the Proceeding; told me that he understood I had said, I had neither Leisure nor Inclination to pursue the Story. I told him it was true I had said so to several of my Friends who had pressed me on the success to continue it; but that was upon a Supposition, no one would offer to meddle with it; in which Case I had resolved to do it myself, rather than my Plan should be basely ravished out of my Hands, and, probably, my Characters depreciated and debased, by those who knew nothing of the Story, nor the Delicacy required in the Continuation of the Piece. I told him that still I would decline continuing it, if he and others did not force me to it in my own Defence; but if they proceeded I must & would; and Advertise against them, as soon as they Published. He had the Impudence to propose to me, to join my Materials to their Author's, and so let it come out under my Name: A proposal I rejected with the Contempt it deserved. Next he offered to Cancel 4 Sheets he had Printed (tho' it was no more than $4\frac{1}{2}$ Sheets, as I found afterwards) and to lose 9 Guineas they had advanced to their Author, if I would continue it, for him and his Partners. I told him, that if, contrary to my Inclination, I was obliged to continue it, I would suffer no one to be concern'd in it; having a young Family of my own that was intitled to All I could do for them. And insisted that if their Piece was so well written as he pretended, (and much boasted to me, saying, they fell in nothing short of my two Volumes) he should have it publish'd under some other Title, and not infringe upon my Plan or Characters; which I represented to him in the Light in which it wou'd appear to every Body; and I urg'd the Insignificance of his Plea of what old Mr. Osborn had said, if he did say it, when he might have consulted me, and had my Answer from my own Mouth, and the Baseness as well as Hardship it was, that a Writer could not be permitted to end his own Work, when and how he pleased, without such scandalous Attempts of Ingrafting upon his Plan. He went from me, as I thought, convinced of this Baseness, wishing he had not engaged in it, and saying he would consult his Partners, and give me an Answer. I never heard further from him only of his Boasts how well written their Piece was, and how determined they were to prosecute it, braving it out that if I did Advertise against them, they had Authors who could give me Advertisement for Advertisement let me say what I wou'd, and that I was like the Dog in the Manger wou'd neither eat myself nor let them eat. Their Author sent me the 4 half Sheets by means of his Friend upon full Assurance I wou'd be pleased with this Performance; and by these I saw all my Characters were likely to be debased, & my whole Purpose inverted, for otherwise, I believe I shou'd not have prevailed upon myself to continue it; for Second Parts are generally received with Prejudice, and it was treating the Public too much like a Bookseller to pursue a Success till they tired out the buyers; and the Subject to be pursued as it *ought*, was more difficult and of Consequence, my Leisure, my Health and my Capacity to do it, were all Objections to the Attempt.

But, on the other Hand, when it was represented to me, that *all* Readers were not Judges, and that their Volume, and another Volume after it, which they design'd, and had intended to Publish with their 3rd had not my Menaces to Advertise against them, made them try the Success of one first; and still more and more [Volumes] intended possibly by them, so long as the Town would receive them would by the Bookseller's Interests and Arts, generally accompany the Two [I had written] and moreover reflected upon the Baseness of their Proceedings; they likewise giving out that I was not the Writer of the two (which indeed, I wish, and did not intend should be known to more than 6 Friends and those in Confidence) but they were written by one of my Overseers, who was dead, and that I could not for that Reason, continue them—I set about the Work, but began not till I found their Volume in great Forwardness, and they in Earnest to proceed; and that was in the middle of last April. By which you may judge that its Appearance cannot be very sudden: For it is no easy Task to one that has so much Business upon his Hands, and so many Avocations of different Sorts, and whose old Complaints in the Nervous way require that he should sometimes run away from Business, and himself, if he could. Then, Sir, to write up this Work as it ought, it is impossible it should be done in the Compass of one Volume: For her Behaviour in Married Life, her Correspondencies with her new and more genteel Friends; her Conversations at Table and elsewhere; her pregnant Circumstance, her Devotional and Charitable Employments; her Defence of some part of her former Conduct; which will be Objected to by Lady Davers, in the Friendly Correspondence between them. Her Opinion of some of the genteeler Diversions when in London, as the Masquerade, Opera, Plays &c.—Her Notions of Education, her Friendships, her relative Duties, her Family Oeconomy—and 20 other Subjects as Material, ought to be touched upon; and if it be done in a common Narrative Manner, without those Reflexions and Observations, which she intermingles in the New Manner attempted in the two first Volumes, it will be consider'd only as a dry Collection of Morals, and Sermonising Instructions that will be more beneficially to a Reader, found in other Authors; and must neither Entertain or Divert, as the former have done beyond my Expectation.

Judge then, Sir, what a Scribbler, such a one as I, and busied as I am otherwise, and oppressed by Tremors account for my long Silence, that I am persuaded you will impute it to its true Cause . . .²⁷

This account offers the background to what, by August 1741, had become a very public paper war between Richardson and 'the High-Life Men'. The first public notice that Richardson was working on his continuation is a paragraph inserted on 7 May at the end of an advertisement for the fourth edition of the first two volumes in *The Daily Gazetteer* (the advertisement had appeared without the paragraph on 4 and 5 May):

²⁷ I have transcribed the original text of this letter (following the transcription guidelines for the Cambridge edition of the correspondence) from FM xv1, 1, fols. 55–6, with three later additions by Richardson inserted within brackets to clarify the sense.

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 published.

This expanded advertisement was posted several times during the rest of the month in *The Daily Gazetteer* and was reprinted at least once in *The London Evening-Post*, on 14 May, curiously enough right below an advertisement for *Pamela Censured*. There is no question that Richardson was upset by what he perceived as the theft of his literary property – the angry rhetoric of his letter to Leake makes that sufficiently clear – but he was also a man steeped in the ways of the London publishing world. Simply put, though there is no reason to doubt Richardson’s sincerity and honesty in his account to Leake, ‘the High-Life Men’ had given him a golden opportunity to publish his own continuation – and thus continue to profit from the ‘success’ of his own work – by allowing him to profess, publicly, his reluctance to do so. This would be the linchpin of the marketing machinery Richardson would put into motion to justify himself to readers prejudiced against ‘Second Parts’. Beginning with an address ‘*To the PUBLICK*’ posted in *The Daily Gazetteer* on 30 May, two days after the appearance of the first volume of *Pamela’s Conduct in High Life*, and written in response to Chandler and Ward’s publication announcement in *The Champion* on 28 May – a number which, like several in which the spurious continuation was advertised, is now lost – Richardson would market his sequel as the ‘GENUINE CONTINUATION’ its aggrieved ‘Author’, no longer able to afford to screen himself behind ‘the umbrage of the editor’s character’, had no choice but to publish.

Chandler and Ward were also furiously puffing their work, with early advertisements of its publication appearing not only in *The Champion* but also in two other opposition newspapers, *The Craftsman* and *Common Sense*, on 30 May. Competing advertisements sometimes appeared together. For example, on 30 May and 1 June, in *The London Daily Post and General Advertiser*, Chandler and Ward’s advertisement is preceded by Richardson’s reprise of the first two paragraphs of his ‘*To the PUBLICK*’, promising again, at the end, that ‘the Genuine Continuation will be published by Mr. Charles Rivington, in St. Paul’s Church-Yard; and Mr. John Osborn, in Pater-noster-Row; Proprietors of the Two Volumes’. A few weeks later, an advertisement for the fourth edition of *Pamela* is followed by an advertisement for the first volume of *Pamela’s Conduct in High Life*, followed immediately below by what is essentially a reprint of Richardson’s 30 May notice (*The London Evening-Post*, 23–5 June 1741). *The Craftsman* for 6 and 13 June

prints both Richardson's 'To the PUBLICK' and Chandler and Ward's advertisement claiming (as on 30 May) that their volume is 'Printed on the same Letter as PAMELA; or, Virtue Rewarded'. In the 6 June issue of *Common Sense*, both notices appear in the same column, separated by an advertisement for another publication; a week later, on 13 June, both would appear again in *Common Sense*, this time with Chandler and Ward's advertisement at the top and Richardson's 'To the PUBLICK' at the bottom of the same column. A few months later, on 8–10 October, an advertisement for the fifth edition of *Pamela* appeared in *The London Evening-Post*, with a concluding paragraph asserting that 'the Third and Fourth Volumes, written by the same Author, are now in the Press, and will be speedily publish'd by . . . C. Rivington and J. Osborn: Whose Names only will be affix'd to the Genuine Editions'. Right below that follows an advertisement for *Pamela's Conduct in High Life* in two volumes – the second volume having been published on 12 September – touting it as 'Being the only Genuine Edition of the Continuation of *Pamela*'. Since Richardson's advertisement had appeared by itself in the previous number of *The London Evening-Post* (6–8 October), it is plausible to infer that Chandler – carrying out his threat to 'give [Richardson] Advertisement for Advertisement' – paid to have his advertisement placed right below Richardson's. This hypothesis is strengthened by the fact that, when Chandler and Ward advertised the publication of their volumes on 10–12 September, in the same newspaper, the clause claiming theirs as 'the only Genuine Edition of the Continuation' was not included.

The 'Advertisement for Advertisement' phase of Richardson's battle with 'the High-Life Men' continued unabated throughout 1741. But on 4 June, Richardson decided to fight the battle on two fronts – or at least two sides of the same number of *The Daily Gazetteer*. While the address 'To the PUBLICK' from 30 May is reprinted among the classifieds, the leading article proposes 'to convince the Publick how well the Volume call'd *Pamela* in HIGH-LIFE, deserves that Title', giving as evidence 'the following Specimen [from] p. 125, & seq.' (pp. 125–7, in 'the Chandlerian Continuation').²⁸ Richardson's new offensive might have been prompted by an addition 'the High-Life Men' had made to their publication notice, on 3 June, in *The Daily Post* – where Richardson had been attacking them on 1 and 2 June with his 'To the PUBLICK' paragraphs – in which they boast that their work is not only 'Printed from original Papers', but also 'regularly digested by a Gentleman more conversant in High Life than the vain Author of *Pamela*, or *Virtue Rewarded*'. Beginning with Mr. B.'s improper question to his

²⁸ Richardson refers to *Pamela's Conduct in High Life* as 'the Chandlerian Continuation' in his index to the *Pamela* correspondence in FM xvi. For a transcription of this document, see Peter Sabor, 'Richardson's Index to His Correspondence on *Pamela*', *Notes and Queries* 224 (1979), 556–60.

mother-in-law, 'what may you have earn'd to-day at your Wheel?', the passage Richardson quotes and annotates is intended to demonstrate the 'lowness' of 'the High-Life Men'. As he had done on 7 May in *The Daily Gazetteer*, Richardson focuses on what he apparently regarded as the 'spurious' volume's most egregious marker of 'lowness', inserting, after Pamela's chummy 'my dear *Jervis*', within brackets, '*the House-keeper, to whom all her Letters are written, because she is now in HIGH-LIFE the Reader must remember*'. But the most salient feature of the passage is Pamela's discovery that, in her pregnant circumstance, she can drink large amounts of beer and wine – 'a whole Bottle of *Burgundy* at Dinner, and two at Supper', for example – 'without finding any Alteration'. In what reads like a parody of her disputatious style in Richardson's original (and anticipating the tone of her disagreements with Locke in the sequel), Pamela challenges 'one of these Men of *Reason*. . . to assign a *Reason* why a pregnant Woman shall not be affected with six times the Quantity of Wine, which at another time would deprive her of Sense and Motion'. Having thus tested the limits of 'our Knowledge of Nature', Pamela exclaims, 'Well, said the Philosopher, *all that I know is, that I know nothing*; and indeed, the Knowledge of our own Ignorance is, in my Opinion, knowing a great deal' – a bit of hackneyed Socratic wisdom eliciting from Richardson a sarcastic footnote, '*What Pity the HIGH-LIFE MEN know not thus much!*' Having reached the end of 'the Specimen', Richardson assures 'the Publick. . . that the *whole* Volume is written with *equal* Spirit and Propriety; and if this succeeds, (as who can doubt it!) the honest *High-Life-Men* in their Introduction give Hopes of another Volume'.²⁹

Richardson clearly thought that he had struck a decisive blow. His address '*To the PUBLICK*' continued to appear in subsequent issues of *The Daily Gazetteer*, but on 10 June he added another paragraph: 'NB. In the *Gazetter* of Thursday June 4, and the *Advertiser* of Saturday June 6, is a faithful SPECIMEN of this HIGH-LIFE *Performance*: And the Publick is assur'd, that (*bad as it is*) 'tis one of the best-written Parts of their Volume.' On 12 June, '*Gazetteer*' now correctly spelled, he added two more lines: '*The said Specimen may be had Gratis of Mr. Rivington and Mr. Osborn, abovementioned*'. No individual copy of this 'specimen' has survived,

29 In the second volume of *Pamela's Conduct in High Life*, Mr. B. himself answers the censures of a Bath satirist, whom he includes among those he calls 'ill-natured ignorant Snarlers': 'Now such a one we had last Season at the *Bath*, who by attempting to satirise others, wrote the severest Satire upon himself. He accuses my *Pamela* of drinking, because when with Child, she drank two Bottles of *Burgundy*. One would think the Fool had never heard of a Woman's longing when pregnant. He calls her mean-spirited, because she writes to a Gentlewoman who being reduced to Misfortunes, is in my Service as a House-keeper; as if Humility was a proper Subject for Ridicule, and the not being blown up with a prosperous Fortune, was a Proof that we don't understand ourselves, and are incapable of acting up to it' (vol. 11, p. 236). Hill apprised his friend of this 'Side Stroke, aim'd at *you*, in a Paragraph of Page 236' (Hill to Richardson, 22 October 1741).

but, hoping to silence the artillery of his enemies, Richardson had added a new notice, appearing right above the old 'To the *PUBLICK*', in this same issue:

The Author of PAMELA; or, Virtue Rewarded; thinks fit, once for all, to give the following Answer to the scurrilous Papers and Advertisements that have been scattered about the Town, by Persons who can say any thing, and have no other View in it than to promote the Sale of a wretched Performance called Pamela in High-Life, which debases all the Characters in his two Volumes; viz.

"That when any Person who is above Scandal and scandalous Practices, shall say any thing worthy of Notice, and set his Name to what he publishes, he shall receive a proper Reply."

A brief silence seems to have ensued, but on 9 July a newly incensed Richardson fulminates in *The Daily Gazetteer* that 'Fresh Irruptions of Scandal and Impertinence in the honest *High Life Men*, as advertis'd in the *Champion* of July 7, make it necessary to re-publish this Advertisement'; he then reprints the notice from 12 June cited above. Because the 7 July number of *The Champion* is missing, we do not know the precise nature of the attack from 'the honest *High Life Men*', but, within a few days of Richardson's volley, they retaliated with full force in *Common Sense* (18 July). Repeating their old claim that their continuation was drawn 'from original Papers', they now assert that it has also been published '*without the Consent, or even Knowledge, of the pretended Author of Pamela, or Virtue rewarded*'. Then, borrowing a page from Cervantes, and before Richardson can kill his own heroine and thus put an end to all continuations, they reveal that they also '*have been obliged to Kill Pamela, that neither Mr. R—n or his accomplices might be guilty of Murdering Her*'. Then '*The Proprietors of Pamela's Conduct in High Life*' really let loose, writing, in mock imitation of Richardson's language, that they

Think fit, once for all, to give the following Answer to the Impertinent, Vain, Self-sufficient and Scurrilous *pretended Author of Pamela, or Virtue rewarded*, That they have already answered him; and in that Answer, to which they defy him to reply, justified their Proceeding; and as they have Signed it, look upon his Scandalous Advertisement as pointing them out for the Persons who are not (to use his own very improper Words) *above Scandal*, by which we suppose he means what he repeats, *above Scandalous Practices* and unworthy of Notice, they think in a most flagrant Manner striking at, and endeavouring to Stain, their Characters, which stand *at least in as fa[i]r a light* as the pretended Author's; but they don't wonder at his being *so free with them*, since, in the Work he arrogates to himself, he has *burlesqued the Scriptures* and made *Time Servers, Fools, and Fiddlers*, of the Reverend Clergy.³⁰

Richardson chose to ignore this insult, at least initially, and was content to reprint his 'Fresh Irruptions' notice in *The Daily Gazetteer* for the rest of the month

30 Cited by Eaves and Kimpel, p. 138. The numbers of *Common Sense* featuring this advertisement are missing from the Burney Collection of British newspapers.

(on 21, 23, 25, 28, and 31 July). On 27 July, however, perhaps in response to the reposting on 25 July of the advertisement from ‘the High-Life Men’ in *Common Sense*, Richardson reprinted his full ‘To the PUBLICK’ address from 12 June (the one concluding with the offer of the sheet of the ‘specimen’) in *The Daily Gazetteer*. When ‘the High-Life Men’ placed their advertisement yet once more in *Common Sense*, on 1 August, Richardson, rather than continuing the tiresome exchange of well-worn attacks and counterattacks, waited for a few days to unveil his new weapon. On 13 August he placed an advertisement in *The Daily Gazetteer* (reprinted on 21 August and into September), which, given his account to Leake that same month, he must have known to be premature. It was nonetheless a good strategic move. Readers wondering when Richardson’s own continuation would appear were now reassured that it would soon be available: ‘*In the Press, And will be Published with all convenient Speed, THE THIRD and FOURTH VOLUMES OF PAMELA; or, Virtue Rewarded, BY The AUTHOR of the Two FIRST. Printed for C. Rivington, in St. Paul’s Church-Yard; and J. Osborn, in Pater-Noster Row.*’ On 27, 28, and 29 August, Richardson once again deployed his strategy of premature advertising in *The Daily Gazetteer*, this time on behalf of the authorized French edition of the first two volumes, to be sold by Osborn, which, readers were informed, ‘*Next Month will be Published, (For the Use of SCHOOLS)*’, though it was not published until 23 October. If Richardson had hoped to depress the demand for the ‘spurious’ Pamela volume by publishing these advertisements for his own forthcoming ‘genuine’ ones and for the pedagogically useful French translation, he was disappointed. As noted above, the second volume of *Pamela’s Conduct in High Life, ‘To the Time of her DEATH’* (title page), was published on 12 September. In response – and after Chandler’s advertisement and Richardson’s ‘In the Press’ appeared together (with Richardson’s on top) in *The Daily Post* on 15 September – Richardson added a postscript to his ‘In the Press’ advertisement on 17 September in *The Daily Gazetteer*: ‘N.B. The Two Volumes just publish’d, intituled *Pamela’s Conduct in High Life, to the Time of her Death*, are not written by the Author of the Two First Volumes’. On 3 October, in *The Craftsman*, Chandler and Ward advertised the ‘second’ edition of their volumes, though it was in fact only the second edition of the first volume, as they too, like Richardson, indulged in a bit of misleading advertising. They conclude their advertisement with their own address ‘To the PUBLICK’, in which they declare that ‘this genuine Edition was thought Necessary to be done by another Hand, and is not by the Author of Pamela, or, Virtue Rewarded’. Dropping their claim that Richardson was only the ‘pretended Author’ of the first two volumes, now that, thanks to Richardson’s advertisements for his continuation, their claim had become less tenable, they restore full authorship of the original novel to him. But, in doing so, and thus declaring their independence from Richardson’s work, they assert *their* ownership

of *their own* work. *Pamela's Conduct in High Life*, they insinuate, is worth buying precisely because it is *not* by Richardson. It was a bold and perhaps desperate move, as their window for profiting from Pamela's story seemed to be closing. With Richardson's third and fourth volumes 'in the Press', they had a limited time to cash in on their own. They rightly suspected that, once Richardson published his own continuation, any other continuation, because 'done by another Hand', would lose much of its value.

As he had confided to Leake, Richardson was outraged at 'the High-Life Men' not only because of their theft of his literary property and the ravishing of his 'Plan', but also because of what he feared would be their debasement and depreciation of his characters. In addition to the absurd scene of Pamela's drinking which he had singled out for ridicule in *The Daily Gazetteer*, Richardson would have been particularly disturbed by the revelation, early in their first volume, that the heroine's family is high-born. Pamela's father, it turns out, is the close relation of one of his new neighbours in Kent, Sir Simon Andrews, 'a Knight of the Shire for this Country', with whom Mr. B. 'was acquainted . . . in Parliament'.³¹ As Mr. Andrews informs Sir Simon, they have the same 'Great-Grandfather', whose second son 'took to the Sword, and went to *Sweden*, where he married the Daughter of Baron *Strome*' (p. 36); from this union sprang Pamela's Swedish-born father. In typical romance fashion, Mr. Andrews tells 'the History of his Misfortunes' (pp. 114 ff.) to Lady Andrews, and justifies concealing knowledge of her lofty origins from Pamela because 'nothing is more contemptible than a proud Beggar' (p. 121). Pamela's mother, we also learn, is related to the Jinks, another locally prominent family. Later on, after the latest eruption of Lady Davers's upper-class arrogance towards Pamela is put down, Mr. B. tells his wife that his family 'cannot boast a Descent from more ancient, more virtuous Ancestors than my *Pamela's* on either side, whether the *Andrews* or the *Jinks*, for they both came with the Conqueror' (pp. 202–3). As Aaron Hill had declared, in defence of Richardson's original plan (a defence Richardson had printed in the introduction to the second edition of the first two volumes): 'In *Pamela*, in particular, we owe All to her *Lowness*. It is to the docile Effects of this *Lowness of that amiable Girl*, in her Birth, her Condition, her Hopes, and her Vanities, in every thing, in short, but her *Virtue*, – that her Readers are indebted, for the Moral *Reward*, of that *Virtue*' (*Pamela* 1, p. 468). Whatever other changes 'the High-Life Men' may have made, this one was, by far, the most devastating. Bestowing an ancient pedigree on Pamela would undermine the central premise of Richardson's work, debasing her character by raising it, and thus depreciating her 'moral' value. Contrary to the Aristotelian assumption

³¹ *Pamela's Conduct in High Life*, vol. 1, p. 31. Further references to this work appear parenthetically within the text.

of 'the High-Life Men' that *vera nobilitas* is derived from high birth, Richardson had aimed to illustrate, in his first two volumes, the Platonic and Ciceronian idea that nobility is born of virtue, that *virtus vera nobilitas*.³² Pamela and her virtue are admirable and worthy of reward precisely because she is low-born. In his own continuation, Richardson would not only retain Pamela's 'low' origins, but also refuse to elevate her beyond her 'exalted condition' as a squire's wife when Mr. B., with Pamela's advice, turns down the offer of a title.

On the evidence of his surviving correspondence, Richardson paid little or no attention to the other two full-length continuations of *Pamela* published in 1741. Sometime in August, around the time when he announced that his own continuation was 'in the Press', appeared *The Life of Pamela*, a serialization in twenty-one weekly parts. Published by Charles Whitefield, possibly a relation of George Whitefield and bookseller of his discourses and sermons in 1739–40, this third-person narrative mixes incidents and situations culled from Richardson's novel and Kelly's first volume. In *Shamela*-like fashion, it aims to 'rectify a thousand more Mistakes that have been made' in Richardson's 'Work', by following '*the original Papers now in the Hands of the Reverend Mr. Perkins of Shendisford Abbey*'.³³ Unlike Kelly and in agreement with Richardson, its author preserves the heroine's 'low' origins. The story opens in 1720, when Pamela's father invests in 'the *South-Sea Stock*' (p. 2) and thus ruins his already slender estate. It ends when Pamela dies of a fever, with her 'Remains being deposited in the Family Vault at the Church of *Grove Belmour*, on the 27th of May 1740' (p. 495). An undistinguished Grubstreet concoction, *The Life of Pamela* is nonetheless noteworthy because it featured a frontispiece and eleven illustrations by John Carwitham – depending on the dates of publication of *Pamelia; or, VIRTUE Recompenc'd* and Mary Kingman's piracy mentioned above, the first visual representations of Pamela's story still extant.³⁴ On 29 September, Mary Kingman, fresh on the heels of her piracy of Richardson's

32 Richardson had recently printed Seneca's *Select Epistles on Several Moral Subjects* (1739) for Rivington (Maslen, p. 137, item 754). In the seventh epistle, 'Of the true and false Nobility' (pp. 24–7), Seneca declares, 'Who then is a Nobleman, or a Gentleman? He who hath naturally a good Disposition to Virtue. This is all that is to be consider'd in the Case. . . It is the Mind which makes a Man noble. . . ' (pp. 25–6).

33 *The Life of Pamela* (1741), p. 2. Further references to this work appear parenthetically within the text. I have not discovered any biographical information on Charles Whitefield, who, according to *ESTC*, seems to have been active between 1739 and 1749. He published around fifty works, among them two editions of Defoe's *Roxana* (1745, 1749) and a translation of Marivaux's *La Vie de Marianne*, under the title *The Life and Adventures of Indiana, the Virtuous Orphan* (1746). The majority of his publications, however, were by George Whitefield, giving his press, especially at the time of the publication of *The Life of Pamela*, a decidedly Methodist profile.

34 Carwitham's frontispiece and illustrations are reproduced in Keymer and Sabor (eds.), *Pamela Controversy*, vol. II, pp. 249–71; on Carwitham's engravings, see Peter Sabor's introduction to this volume, pp. xxx–xxxiii. See also Lynn Shepherd, *Clarissa's Painter: Portraiture, Illustration, and Representation in the Novels of Samuel Richardson* (Oxford University Press, 2009), pp. 67–73.

original two volumes, advertised in *The London Daily Post and General Advertiser* the first of a projected five numbers (though the serialization seems to have been scaled back and completed in three) of *Pamela in High Life: Or, Virtue Rewarded*, promising that the second number would be ‘published on Tuesday October 12’.³⁵ ‘Carefully extracted from Original Manuscripts, communicated to the Editor by her Son’, the advertisement claims ‘This Volume gives an Account of Pamela from the Time she returned from Kent to the Lincolnshire Estate, from thence to the Time of her Death.’ In this version, which opens during the Restoration, Pamela gives birth to ten children and becomes fabulously wealthy; after a visit to the court in her first year of marriage, she finds herself the object of affection of Charles II, who, she is informed, ‘is smitten with your Person’.³⁶ Having earlier received the ‘Honour of Knighthood’ from King Charles for his ‘Loyalty, Riches, and Influence in [his] County’ (p. 263), ‘Sir *Thomas* [as Mr. B. is now called] beloved by his King [William III], and honoured by his Country’ is created ‘Duke of G.’, as reward for his services during the Glorious Revolution – an ‘Honour’ soon ‘succeeded by another’, as he is ‘sent Ambassador to the *French Court*’ (p. 401). Other ‘Honours’ – later listed on his rather busy ‘Tombstone’ (p. 447) – include being ‘made Lord Privy Seal, and one of the Lords of the Treasury’ (p. 413), appointed ‘Lord Lieutenant of the Kingdom of *Ireland*’ (p. 415), and ‘sent by Her Majesty [queen Anne] into *Scotland*, as Lord Commissioner of the States of that Kingdom’ (p. 422). Even Parson Williams benefits handsomely from his association with the fortunate couple, being first ‘made Archdeacon of the Diocess of *Lincoln*’ (p. 412), then Dean (p. 435). After being married to Pamela for fifty years, ‘His Grace’ dies, leaving an estate worth £300,000 (p. 448), a sum that appears to validate Lady Davers’s earlier speculation that her brother ‘must be the richest Peer in *England*’ (p. 413). Having recorded, in her memorandum for ‘*The Second Year of my Widowhood*’, that ‘I have in Monies, Bank Notes, *East-India* Bonds, and other Securities 220,000 *l.*’ (p. 450), Pamela dies eight years after her beloved husband, ‘in the 76th Year of her Age, after a Life spent in Virtue and Piety’ (p. 452). With little else to recommend it, *Pamela in High Life* at least trumps all the continuations in its ‘Account’ of the ostentatiously lavish rewards ‘Providence’ (p. 446) showers on its heroine’s virtue.

As may be inferred from his August 1741 letter to Leake, Richardson very likely started writing his own continuation in early to mid-April, advertising for the

35 Evidence that the work was being shortened might be seen at the end of the narrative of Pamela’s first year of ‘Happiness and Marriage’, when the narrator observes that, from this point on, Pamela ‘thought proper to alter her Method . . . and for the future . . . to make short Memorandums’ of only important ‘Occurrences’ (*Pamela in High Life: Or, Virtue Rewarded*, p. 347).

36 *Pamela in High Life: Or, Virtue Rewarded* (1741), p. 325. Further references to this work will appear parenthetically within the text.

first time that he was doing so (as noted above) on 7 May. In July 1741, after two months of ‘Advertisement for Advertisement’, an anonymous correspondent, ‘anxious for the Author’s Reputation’, hopes that Richardson ‘can act without Vanity’ and ignore the ‘repeated Advertisement about Pamela in High Life, which does not deserve so much Notice’.³⁷ The ‘Author of the Original Pamela’, he advises, ‘need not be in a Hurry; but may touch and polish his Continuation at discretion; for though it is waited with Impatience, yet if it is finished up to Expectation, no premature Imitation will hurt the Profit of the Printer, nor the Credit of the Author’.³⁸ But, in words not likely to have calmed Richardson’s already overwrought nerves, he adds that ‘it will be a Task so to finish it.—For it is expected not merely to equal with, but to excell the first’ because ‘Higher Stations make Virtue and Wisdom more Conspicuous; Every Defect therein more obvious.’ ‘The Preface’, he continues, ‘may say what the Writer pleases of the Imitation, but no Allusion, not the most distant Hint relating to an Imitation, can be admitted in Pamela’s story of herself’, though sometimes ‘like Incidents’ may be allowed, to ‘show superior Skill’ in the genuine continuation. Citing ‘the long Episode of a Lady run away with in Italy’ – the story of Beatrix, a Pamela-like damsel whose virtue is also rewarded, told by ‘the Rev. Mr. *Brown*’ in several instalments (*Pamela’s Conduct in High Life*, vol. 1, pp. 58 ff.) – he notes ‘the Imitation’s Want of Skill to furnish proper Incidents for a Volume of his Heroine’s Behaviour in High Life’. This ‘Want of Skill’ is evident not only in Kelly’s sequel but also in the other two continuations, where interpolated stories and various digressions on geography, politics, religion, and other miscellaneous topics swell the nearly incident-free life of the heroine to volume length. As some of his friends would later point out, Richardson seemed to have had similar difficulties with furnishing such ‘proper Incidents’ for his own continuation. The anonymous correspondent ends his letter by objecting to ‘the Punishment’ the author of the ‘Imitation’ has ‘carved out for Mr Peters and Mrs Jewkes’, which, ‘with Pamela’s Reflection thereon, give no advantageous Idea of her Improvements in High Life, no Mark of a benign Temper, the true Spirit of Christian Charity, but rather of such an

37 As Richardson notes in his index, this letter is by the ‘anonymous Gentleman’ who had written to Rivington in November 1740, offering praise but also raising objections to some passages in the original. Hill had answered his objections in rather intemperate language in a letter that became part of the introduction to the second edition. This is why, at the beginning of his letter, the anonymous correspondent mentions that he offers his ‘Advice again, though I shou’d be again mistook, and have Censure instead of the contrary’.

38 Hill had also advised Richardson to take his time: ‘Whatever you do Sir, take full Time: & form, & finish your *Plan*, & the *Incidents*, before you go to work on the Letters: And This, above All Things, let me beg you to keep in your Eye, – that, in the former two Volumes, you had only the Rest of the World, to surpass: whereas, in what is to follow, you will have, also, yourself, for your Rival!’ (Hill to Richardson, 25 May 1741).

one as wou'd call down Fire from Heaven'. This piece of advice Richardson seems to have heeded (if he had not already written these scenes, occurring early in his third volume, by July). In *Pamela in Her Exalted Condition*, Mr. Peters, while not exonerated of his 'Pusillanimity' (p. 88), is allowed to apologize to Pamela for refusing his help during her time of distress, rather than, as in Kelly's version, having 'his only Daughter, a Girl about Fifteen . . . ruined by his Coachman' (*Pamela's Conduct in High Life*, vol. 1, p. 277). Mrs. Jewkes, disgraced, dismissed, and beaten by her husband in the 'Imitation' (vol. 1, pp. 280–1), is fully forgiven and permitted to correspond with her charitable lady – who vehemently defends her decision to refuse the advice that she dismiss her wicked servant – and to become truly penitent before dying.

Richardson's friends were curious to know about the progress of his continuation. On 29 July, for example, an anxious Hill asked Richardson, 'How far have you gone on, in that bold, dangerous, glorious Second Part, which No Man breathing, but the Author of the First, is Equal to?', adding the encouraging exhortation, 'Deliver Pamela from these cold *Killers*, who assume a merit by destroying her!' By the middle of August, Richardson had apparently made enough progress not only to advertise that the work was 'in the Press' but also to send two sheets to Leake who, acknowledging receipt on 26 August, declares that 'they are, in my Opinion preferable to any Letters in the other Vols and I have far a greater Desire to see the Conclusion, than I had last Week'. Leake also conveys the approval of his family and mentions that he has 'sent the 2 Sheets' to Ralph Allen (1693–1764) – the celebrated Bath philanthropist and patron of literature and the arts to whom Fielding would dedicate *Amelia* ten years later – but '[has] not heard' from him, supposing that Allen 'has return'd them himself'. Richardson would not hear from Allen for a while. After he did, in a letter now lost, he wrote (on 8 October) to apologize that it was too late to follow Allen's advice, even though 'I did indeed tarry near a Month before I wou'd put to Press the two Sheets I troubled you with.' Although Richardson wishes that 'I had in Time been favoured with your kind hint in relation to the genteel and generous Dismission of Mrs. Jewkes', he hopes that 'you will not be displeased, when you see upon what Terms she is continued in the Family, and the intire Reformation which her Lady's Example makes in her Morals and Behaviour'. After assuring Allen that he plans to heed his 'Objection to a Passage in one of the introductory Letters' in future editions, and 'shall do it in an Octavo Edition I am Printing', he notes his progress on the continuation, expressing the hope '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'. The writing of *Pamela in Her Exalted Condition* had taken nearly six months – or almost three times the amount of time it had taken to 'prosecute' the original, which, as Richardson had informed Hill, he wrote 'so diligently, through

all my other business, that, by a memorandum on my copy, I began it Nov. 10, 1739, and finished it Jan. 10, 1739-40'.³⁹

Other Bath friends had also seen the two advance sheets. Paul Bertrand, who had heard them recited to him by Richardson in London during a recent visit and had now read them himself 'divested of the Pathetic Accents of the Author', expressed his approval on 25 August: 'I will only say, for fear you should suspect me of Flattery, that I like them well; and that I am sure they will give you Honour and Reputation superior to the first Parts.' Having read 'the two first Sheets of Pamela', Bertrand retracts 'the Advice I gave you of Transposing Lady Davers's Letters: I now think your Introduction very natural and easy, and the Reader's Curiosity will be satisfied by soon meeting with the said Letters, and be agreeably led from Pamela's usual pious humble Style, to her more elevated one', adding that 'As the Town already love Pamela, I hope their Fondness for the Lovely Creature, will even increase, and that this Second Part will be as warmly receiv'd as the First was.' Bertrand also mentions that he has read the letter 'the Doctor' has written to Richardson and was 'free to tell him [that] his Advice [was] very needless because indeed your own Plan is very good. I will likewise take the Liberty to say (entre nous) that I think the little amendments he has marked with his Pencil very trifling.' The 'Doctor' referred to here was the famous Scotsman, Dr George Cheyne (1671/2-1743), Richardson's friend and physician. Richardson had printed several of the Doctor's books, including *The English Malady* (1733), and as a result the two had begun and kept up a lively correspondence.⁴⁰ In Cheyne's letters Richardson usually found, in addition to solicitous advice for his health, including elaborate recipes for medical remedies, a bracing mixture of praise and carping criticism of his works and personal habits (as well as complaints about his associates in the publishing trade, such as Leake, whom Cheyne did not like). For example, before thanking Richardson for sending him a copy of *Pamela*, which he and his family found 'extremely' entertaining, Cheyne wondered why 'you make your modern Books in so small a Type and so bad Paper' (13 December 1740). On a more positive note, he had also reported to his friend, on 12 February 1741, the flattering news that Pope had been talking up his novel in Bath. The letter Bertrand mentions, dated 24 August 1741, opens with Cheyne's informing Richardson that 'I have seen your Letter to Mr. Leake and read your two first Sheets, and have in a few Places scratched with my Pencil where I think you may reconsider.' After bestowing a somewhat dubious compliment ('I think you are right to begin with the least interesting Parts and rise gradually on your Reader'), Cheyne goes on to 'sketch out a few Things in general, which you will judge best how they will

39 Richardson to Hill, c.1 February 1741.

40 For Cheyne's works printed by Richardson, see Maslen, pp. 70-2, items 134-55.

suit your Design', while granting that, without knowing the 'Plan', he 'cannot judge of the Work nor its Success'. His Shandy-like list of 'Things' includes 'a broken Leg, a disjoined Limb, a dangerous Fever, happening to a Husband and then the tender Care Vigilance and active Nursing of a loving Wife'; the 'Death of a favourite Child'; 'an Epidemical Distemper'; 'Quarrels among Neighbours or Friends'; Pamela's conversion of Mr. B.; and, as the list moves into more delicate territory, the heroine's request 'with Deference to her Husband for a Chapel of her own, I mean a closet . . . where she may uninterrupted perform her private Devotions . . . and do the necessary Occasions of Nature'. He also advises Richardson to 'avoid Fondling and Gallantry, tender Expressions not becoming the Character of Wisdom, Piety, and conjugal Chastity, especially in the Sex', not to mention that 'clasping, kissing, stroking, hugging . . . are really dangerous to be proposed to or read by young Persons of either Sex'. Before ending his letter with medical advice for his 'short, round, and plump' patient, Cheyne urges him to 'avoid Drawling as much as you can and let not a long penny full tempt you to say low and vulgar Things. Readers love Rapidity in Narrations and quick Returns. Keep them from dosing. Hitherto you have succeeded with all sober, serious Readers though in low Life. Now you are to try [to] rise up to Dignity and higher Life.' Therefore, Cheyne thinks it 'improper' that Pamela and her parents 'should ever creep and hold down their Heads in the Dirt' to Mr. B.

Richardson's response to this letter (dated 'Aug. 31. 1741' but apparently not sent) offers an extensive defence of his work-in-progress.⁴¹ While Richardson hopes that 'my Heroine will be found to aim at those useful Characters you so kindly recommend as the *prudent Wife*, the *affectionate and tender Mother*, the *civil Neighbour*, the *affectionate Friend*, the *charitable Steward to the Poor*, &c.', he cannot share Cheyne's 'Opinion of the Matrimonial Tenderness'. Because he is 'endeavouring to write a Story, which shall catch young and airy Minds', he explains, 'if I were to be too spiritual, I doubt I should catch none but Grandmothers'. As he reminds his friend, 'the principal Complaints against me by many, and not Libertines neither, are, that I am too grave, too much of a Methodist, and make Pamela too pious'. 'In my Scheme', he elaborates, 'I have generally taken Human Nature *as it is* . . . My Gentleman is a Man of warm Passions, Youthful, unconverted [though Richardson promises that his conversion will take place 'in the winding up of the Story']—My Heroine is pious and Virtuous, but blooming in Youth and Beauty, which were the first Attractions to him.' In short, 'to say,

41 Richardson had planned to show Bertrand his response to Cheyne, but did not send the 'Intended Letter to Mr. Bertrand' either (Richardson to Bertrand, 31 August 1741). Richardson adds an uneasy postscript to this letter: 'If you think the Letter to the Doctor, will be taken amiss, be pleas'd to keep it back, and I will send another and shorter.' It is interesting to note that, though he kept copies of these letters in defence of the continuation, he did not send them to their intended correspondents.

that these tender Scenes should be *suppos'd* rather than *described*, is not answering my Design, when the Instruction lies *in them*, and when I wou'd insinuate to my *younger Readers*, that even their tenderest Loves should be govern'd by Motives of Gratitude for laudable Obligations'. It is also in terms of 'laudable Obligations' that Richardson answers the charge that Pamela and her parents are too deferential to 'their Benefactor'; he has 'carried' their 'Gratitude' to him '*intentionally high*', to illustrate both their sense of their obligations to him and his 'enlarged and generous Heart' in accepting those obligations graciously. Returning briefly to the subject of 'inflaming' descriptions, Richardson asserts 'that in the Two new Volumes, I shall have no Occasion for such of the deep Scenes, as I believ'd necessary to the Story in two Places in the former'. Ending his defence of his 'Plan' on a conciliatory note, he reassures Cheyne that 'I contend only for the Sake of my Story and Characters; and I wish my own Capacity were able to rise to your Plan.'

Richardson was also unveiling parts of his 'Plan' to friends not living in Bath. On 26 August Mary Barber (c.1685–1755), whose *Poems on Several Occasions* (1734) Richardson had both printed and subscribed to, had written from Dublin to praise the first two volumes, mentioning that 'the only objection I have heard made by the best judges . . . was, that the Scene where the Master & Mrs Jewkes had her in Bed between them, was a little too Strongly Painted'.⁴² She had also taken a swipe at 'the High-Life Men': 'I think the Publishers of Pamela in High Life as they Call it, have given you ample Satisfaction for the Envy & Ill-nature they show'd you, by showing their great want of judgment in giving the World a second Part so infinitely below the first.' And, in a not so subtle attempt to put them in their place, she had wondered 'if Chandler is not the Brother of the Milliner at Bath'. Richardson replies to this 'kind Letter' on 3 September, agreeing that 'the Scene you mention is undoubtedly very strongly drawn', adding that 'in the Continuation, Lady Davers will observe upon that and the other affecting one, in such a manner, as may perhaps excuse both a little'. He confides that 'the unexpected success of the two first Volumes has made me still more diffident as to the Continuation', especially now that his authorship is widely known, even though 'I did not design that any body should have known the Author; but those three or four Friends to whom I could not help owning it, would not let me have my own way.' Though he is 'now known', he will not 'where the cause of Virtue is concern'd, trim one bit, in the future two Volumes, as some People expect I should, and yet I have no Pleasure in giving Offence to any Body. Nor is it the Design of the Piece that I should. But yet 'tis impossible in general Conversation, now

⁴² Richardson also printed the second edition (1735) of Barber's *Poems on Several Occasions*, as well as a reissue in 1736. See Maslen, p. 58, items 20–2.

the Girl is lifted up into genteeler Life, to avoid some things, that may be a little touching. . . .’ Writing from Kew on 14 October, Stephen Duck (1705?–56), the ‘thresher poet’ whose works Richardson had printed, thanks him for his ‘Papers’, which he has returned ‘by the Waterman’.⁴³ Although he ‘is mightily pleased with the diversity of Style and Manners so justly adapted to each particular Character’ and believes that ‘Homer’s Achilles is not better distinguished by his Courage, Anger, & Impetuosity of Temper, than your Heroine Pamela, by her Virtue, Prudence, Gratitude, and dutyfull Behaviour’, yet ‘I know not how it is, I do not feel my Mind Affected and Interested so much for Pamela in this Third Volume, as I did in the two former.’ Where ‘in the first part of her Life, Plots, Intrigues, and Distress were continually moving Compassion for her’, he is ‘somewhat doubtful that these moving Incidents will be wanting in this Second Part from the very Nature of the Subject which seems too barren of Distress to excite our Pity’. Duck’s reaction clearly stung Richardson. In an undated letter, which (like his long response to Cheyne) remained unsent, Richardson thanks his ‘true Friend’ for his ‘*general* Opinion’, but reminds him that what he ‘wanted was, that you wou’d be so good as to point out *particular* Faults, which I might correct before I put to Press an 8vo Edition, which is to accompany an Octavo Size now Printing of the first Two Volumes’.⁴⁴ He mentions ‘a Plan to break Legs and Arms . . . to create Distresses’ given him by ‘an excellent Physician’, repeating, as he had done in his letter to Cheyne, that his ‘Business and View was to aim at Instruction in a genteel and usual Married Life’. Noting his intense hatred for ‘the French Marvellous and all un-natural Machinery’, he grants that ‘I am very sensible that there cannot, *naturally*, be the room for Plots, Stratagem and Intrigue in the present Volumes as in the first.’ Reiterating that ‘*Nature* is my whole View’, he proceeds to outline ‘a general Sketch of my Design’, adding parenthetically, ‘How it will be executed, is another thing.’ ‘In the succeeding Sheets’, Richardson writes, Duck will see ‘Plans for her Charity to the Poor; her Sunday Behaviour, Family Management, Table Conversations with her Polite Neighbours, the Pregnant Circumstance to a Mind so apprehensive as Pamela’s, a Debate about Mothers being Nurses to their own Children; an Intrigue of her Waiting-maid with Lord Jackey, and her Behaviour in a Case so like what her own was; her Observations on a Tragedy, a Comedy, an Italian Opera, and a Masquerade; from the last of which will arise a Distress, that, possibly, will answer your kind Objection; in a strong Jealous Scene.’ That only one of these ‘Incidents’ is likely to answer Duck’s ‘kind Objection’ is a telling point. As Richardson resumes his ‘Sketch’, he inserts a dash, which he follows

43 Richardson had printed several editions of Duck’s *Poems on Several Occasions* (1736, 1737) and *The Vision* (1737); in 1741 he printed his *Hints to a School-Master. Address’d to the Rev’d. Dr. Turnbull*. See Maslen, pp. 82–3, items 250–7.

44 Richardson to Duck, <October–November 1741>.

with the somewhat perfunctory ‘Then her Opinion and Practices on the Subject of a first Education &c’, followed by another dash. Then, as he seems to despair of the task, he crosses out the ‘And’ he has written after the second dash – to be followed, presumably, by more examples – and hastens to repeat his by now boilerplate reasons for his ‘Design’: ‘By all which you’ll observe that *Instruction* is my main End, and if I can *Entertain* at the same time my View will be Complete; and when the four Volumes shall appear together, it will then be a piece of natural Life, with the *ups* and *downs*, the *Stormy* and the *Sedate*, that we generally find it, or (as to *Sedate*) hope to find it.’ When in his conclusion Richardson begs his ‘dear Friend’ not to tell anyone that he has ‘seen the Sheets’ because ‘People will be asking for your Opinion, and I am so much convinced of your Friendship, that I should suspect your Partiality in my Favour may wound your Judgment’, one senses the bitterness and frustration of a wounded author who is not entirely confident that he will succeed in his ‘Plan.’

Fortunately for Richardson, the always reliably supportive Hill came through once again with his usual enthusiasm. Writing on 15 October, he offers ‘a thousand thanks . . . for the two delightful sheets of Pamela, part II’ and gushes, ‘Where will your wonders end? or how could I be able to express the joy it gives me to discern your genius rising, not like a pyramid, still lessening as it labours upward, but enlarging its proportion with the grace and boldness of a pillar, that, however high its shaft is lifted, still looks largest at its capital.’ He encourages Richardson to ‘go on, Dear Sir, (I see you will and must) to charm and captivate the world . . .’. On 22 October, having ‘been dipping, this morning’ into the second volume of *Pamela’s Conduct in High Life*, he laments ‘What a murdering Taste have these Critics!’ but rejoices ‘that the Good nature of a *Pamela* is about to join, & reform, the Fraternity’. He asks the ‘Dear Engrosser of whole Nature’ to send him ‘the work’d off Sheets of the 4th Volume of Pamela, after having been transported, as I am, by her inexpressible Beauties in the 3rd!’ He wishes that ‘you wou’d lengthen the sweet Charmer’s Life to a 5th and 6th new volume’ because ‘besides the noble Triumph, of a Genius, that cou’d reach such Wonders’, it ‘wou’d prevent that poor and sole Resemblance, between *High Life*, & *Pamela* that Each is comprehended in 4 volumes’. On 12 November, having received ‘that Mass of new brilliant Beauties; which glow (beyond all Power of Description!) in the loose sheets, printed off, of the 3rd, & 4th volumes’, he exclaims that ‘every new Page you send me fills my Heart with new Friendship – & my Soul with new wonder!’ Although Richardson would later comment, on the first sheet of Hill’s letter of 29 July 1741, that ‘All Mr Hill’s Praises [were] too warm, and should be lowered greatly’, he must have deeply appreciated his exuberant approbation and generous encouragement at a moment when he most needed them.⁴⁵ Of all the pieces ‘the Publication of the

45 FM XIII, 2, fols. 51–2.

History of Pamela gave Birth to', none seems to have been so painfully conceived as *Pamela in Her Exalted Condition*.

PUBLICATION AND EARLY RECEPTION

Three months after he had advertised that his third and fourth volumes were '*In the Press, And will be Published with all convenient Speed*', Richardson began to post notices in *The Daily Gazetteer* (24, 26, 28 November; 1, 3, 5 December) announcing that they would appear 'On Monday, December 7'. *The Daily Advertiser* also carried an advance notice of the work's publication on 1 December – right above an advertisement for the two volumes of *Pamela's Conduct in High Life*. On Friday, 4 December, as the day of publication drew near, Richardson entered his volumes at the Stationers' Company, thus securing the whole of the copyright to himself (he had kept only a third of the copyright of the original two volumes and sold the other two thirds to Osborn and Rivington for twenty guineas). On 7 December, though it had been scooped by *The London Evening-Post* on 5 December, *The Daily Gazetteer* finally carried the long-awaited publication announcement, at the bottom of the first column of advertisements: '*This Day are Publish'd, The THIRD and FOURTH Volumes, (By the EDITOR of the TWO FIRST) OF PAMELA: OR, Virtue Rewarded.*' Right below the title follow the detailed contents of the work as well as the information from the colophon, reproduced from the title pages. The price (six shillings) of the volumes, included in the first advertisement for the original two volumes in November 1740, is omitted here and in most of the other London newspapers, though it would appear in an advertisement in *The Norwich Gazette* on 12 December. The volumes were widely advertised – for example, in *The Daily Post* (7 and 8 December), *The London Evening-Post* (15, 17, 22, 26, 29 December), and, of course, in *The Daily Gazetteer* (10, 12, 15, 17, 19, 22, 24, 29, 31 December; and through January, February, and March 1742).⁴⁶ We do not know how many copies of this edition Richardson printed, other than his comment to Ralph Allen on 8 October (cited above) that the number was 'large', a comment he echoes after publication in a letter to Cheyne (see below). On 10 January 1742, Cheyne reported from Bath that the 'Booksellers here says it sells very well, but not so quick as the first'. This assessment seems to have applied beyond Bath. *Pamela: or, Virtue Rewarded* had caused a national sensation and had gone through five editions in less than a year, with the second being published three months after the first, and the third following less than four weeks after the second. *Pamela in Her Exalted Condition*, on the other hand, would appear in only one more edition in 1742, the 'third' octavo published on 8 May, an edition that was undertaken not

⁴⁶ There is a gap of six months (between 13 March and 18 September) in the issues of *The Daily Gazetteer* in the Burney Collection.

so much because the ‘large’ number of the first had been ‘carried off’ – though Richardson mentions to Cheyne in early January 1742 that ‘I printed a very large Number, and the Bookseller advises me to proceed with another Impression’ – but because Richardson had decided that he would publish all four volumes of the novel in a more exalted format. The publication of the ‘second’ duodecimo edition would not be advertised until 29 January 1743 (*The Daily Gazetteer*), over a year after the publication of the first. As the advertisement suggests, this edition was published so that readers who could not afford the more expensive octavo (also listed as available at the end of the advertisement) could combine these revised third and fourth volumes with the fifth edition of the first two and thus have the complete novel in duodecimo. As the Bath booksellers had remarked, within the first month of its publication *Pamela in Her Exalted Condition* was selling well but less quickly than the original and the trend seems to have held. Not only did Richardson wait until early 1743 to advertise his second duodecimo edition, but, whatever the number of copies of this edition he had printed in 1742, he had enough of them on hand to last for the next twenty years, until he lightly revised the text for the ‘eighth’ edition (actually the ‘sixth’ of the continuation), published posthumously on 28 October 1761. The ‘corrected’ fourth edition (1742), apparently issued to accompany the 1746 edition of the first two volumes, and the fifth edition (1754) merely repackage sheets left over from the second with new title pages and introductory material.⁴⁷

Richardson sent his new volumes to his friends and soon began to hear from them. Because Hill had read a good portion of the novel in loose sheets prior to publication – on 12 November he mentions that he has seen 240 pages of the third volume and 336 of the fourth⁴⁸ – he had already expressed his enthusiastic

47 The British Library copies of the 1746 edition of the first two volumes and the 1742 ‘fourth’ edition of the last two (shelfmark 1607/5023 and 1607/5016) offer intriguing evidence that these volumes were intended to go together. On p. 385 of vol. II (1746), at the beginning of signature S, the text switches to the text of vol. III (1742), while on p. 385 of vol. III (1742), the text switches to the text of vol. II (1746). It is not certain when the conflation of these volumes occurred. The British Library acquired these four volumes, as a set, from Hofmann & Freeman, a firm which no longer exists, in June 1973. The volumes were rebound by Dunn & Wilson in 1988 and microfilmed in 1989; the microfilm (reel 3933), published in 1990, is the basis for the scanned volumes in ECCO, where the texts of vols. II and III are conflated as described above. The evidence as to when the volumes were misbound is inconclusive. As Dr Karen Limper-Herz, Curator of British Collections 1501–1800, British Library, has written to me (17 May 2010), ‘it is more likely that the sections were already misbound in vols. II and III when [the British Library] bought them than that they were mixed up when the volumes were rebound in 1988’. It is entirely possible that the sheets were conflated by the original purchaser in 1746 or soon thereafter, but this is, of course, speculation. I thank Dr Limper-Herz for investigating this matter for me and for the information I have given here on the history of the volumes since their acquisition by the British Library. For another version of the publication sequence of these editions, see Peter Sabor, ‘Richardson’s Continuation of “Pamela”: A Chronology of the Early Editions’, *Notes and Queries* 224 (1979), 31–2.

48 If the pagination of the sheets Richardson sent Hill accords with that of the first edition, Hill had read pp. 3–165, 287–515 of the Cambridge edition.

approval, but, as usual, he had more praise to give. By 8 December, he and his daughters had received at least one more 'invaluable Packet'. With typical fervour, Hill writes that he is 'lost, in equal wonder, & Delight!' and cannot enclose a letter from 'a Baggage of a Daughter' because, after getting through half of it, she 'has sacrific'd it to the conscious Reverence, you have *book'd* her into!' Just after he seals his letter, he receives a 'new Parcel' from Richardson, apparently containing the published volumes. Encouraged by Richardson, who had already begun to revise his volumes for the forthcoming octavo edition, Hill continued to comment on the advance sheets he had received. Returning one of them on 15 December, he offers advice on improving the poetry, 'the only Strength'ning, that any Part of your inimitable Pamela cou'd stand in need of'. Apologizing, as always, for presuming to find fault in so much excellence, Hill wonders if 'I should act in the remaining Sheets, as I have done in this that I now send you?' After a further apology and apparently further encouragement, in letters now lost, Hill did remain as Richardson's poetic advisor. Richardson's index to his papers on *Pamela* lists six poems by Hill, 'being the proposed Amendments of some of ye Verses in Pamela', but unfortunately they are now missing.⁴⁹ In subsequent letters, such as a fragment from late December or early January 1742, Hill would offer a few more 'insignificant' suggestions for revision, always couching them in extravagant praise for both the author and his work.⁵⁰

As Richardson would have expected, qualified praise came from Cheyne, who on 30 December wrote with thanks 'for the two Copies of the last Pamela, the Critics say some Letters are excellent, but think there are too few Incidents'. On 10 January, in the same letter in which he mentions the opinion of the Bath booksellers quoted above and adopting the same strategy of professing to be reporting the opinions of others, he adds, 'as to the last Part of Pamela all the Fault I find the World has to it is what I told you in my last; they say there is too much Preaching in it, it is too long, too drawling, and the Passions not sufficiently agitated'. In his response, written in early January but apparently not sent – in his later trembling hand, Richardson wrote on the manuscript copy, 'To be better written, if not

49 The titles of the poems are as follows: 'The misgrounded Compassion', 'The Recollected Complainer', 'The Resignation', 'A Catch', 'Lesbia in the Garden', and 'The Messenger'. I will have more to say about 'The misgrounded Compassion' below. 'The Recollected Complainer' might be the verses on the 'Love Quarrel' at the end of the third volume of the first edition, cut from the second and subsequent editions. 'The Resignation' is very likely the poem Pamela writes when her son falls ill with the smallpox (pp. 460–1 below); one of its lines is 'Resign me to thy Will, my God' (p. 461 below). The titles of the other three poems do not allow even tentative identification with verses appearing in the work.

50 Hill to Richardson, <late December 1741–early January 1742>. For example, Hill suggests that 'in the Beginning of Vol. III. where Pamela, writing to her Father and Mother, calls Mr. B. her Best Beloved so often—wou'd not her Beloved, or her tenderly Beloved, have been better!' – a suggestion Richardson heeded only in three instances at the beginning of the third volume in the second edition (p. 11: 'Beloved'; p. 17: 'Beloved'; p. 18: 'my dear Mr. B.'). but left unchanged elsewhere (vol. III, pp. 140, 235, 240, 243, 286; vol. IV, pp. 33, 99, 100, 103, 184, 283, 288, 358, and 415).

wholly omitted⁵¹ – Richardson refutes the charge of ‘Defects in Incidents’ with a reprise, in similar language, of the arguments he had advanced a few weeks earlier in his intended answer to Duck. ‘I am so great an Enemy to the French Marvellous’, he declares, ‘that I only aimed to give the Piece such a Variety, as should be consistent with Probability, and the general Tenor of a genteel Married Life.’ In fact, he ‘had so much Matter upon [his] Hands’ that he had to ‘rein in [his] Invention’, to keep the story within the bounds of two volumes. He asserts, again, that he meant ‘to *instruct*, rather than *Surprize*’ and that, because ‘the four Volumes were to be consider’d as one Work’, the ‘two First were to include the Storms, the Stratagems, and all that could indanger Virtue’, while the ‘succeeding of course were to be more calm, serene, and instructive, and such as should be Exemplary, as I may say’. In February, having heard that another *Pamela*-inspired work is soon to be published, Cheyne writes to Richardson to ‘beg as soon as you get Fielding’s Joseph Andrews, I fear in Ridicule of your Pamela and of Virtue in the Notion of Don Quixote’s Manner’. Richardson complied with his friend’s request and must have been relieved when, on 9 March, Cheyne thanked him for ‘Fielding’s wretched Performance’, which had been published on 22 February, and declared that it ‘will entertain none but Porters and Watermen’. Cheyne does not mention *Pamela* again in his extant letters until 2 May, when he acknowledges receipt of an advance copy of the octavo, ‘the fine new Edition of Pamela’, which had arrived the previous evening. Perhaps because he had not had time to read it, he is generous in his praise: ‘It will be a classical Book for the Younger especially of the fair Sex and consequently be of great Profit to your Family.’⁵²

51 Richardson to Cheyne, FM XVI, 1, fol. 58. Eaves and Kimpel (p. 630) assert that Richardson is here answering only Cheyne’s letter of 30 December, but, given the details in his response, he seems to be replying to Cheyne’s letter of 10 January as well.

52 Writing to Richardson on 5 September 1742, Cheyne advances a potentially profitable *Pamela*-related scheme: ‘I wish you would think of employing a fit Person to collect and write a Character and short Contents of all the Books in English or French that are fit to amuse, divert, or instruct the serious, virtuous Valetudinarians of whatever Kind. Such a Catalogue, if judiciously collected by a Man of Virtue and Taste, would be a great Charity, would be well received by the Virtuous and Serious of all Parties, and would be of great Service to the fair Sex, and keep many from the Playhouse and the Tavern and perhaps from worse Places. This would come in very aptly with the Design of *Pamela* and might be called a Catalogue of her Library.’ Twelve days earlier, Cheyne had mentioned in a postscript to a letter that ‘a good Library of sacred History Natural Philosophy, spiritual Divinity, and innocent Triflers would be very proper for your Heroine, which if you want and cannot otherwise procure I will help you to’ (Cheyne to Richardson, 24 August 1741). Richardson was apparently interested (see postscript to unsent letter of 31 August 1741: ‘I shall be greatly obliged to you, Sir, for your Library’), but, as an irritated Cheyne told him on 2 November, ‘As to the Catalogue, you have not a right Idea of it. It must not consist of Extracts or Abridgments of the Books but their Characters and a short Idea of them, which might be comprized in 10 or 20 Lines for as the Catalogue must be very large . . .’ Cheyne continued to work on his catalogue but did not live to finish it; it was never published. For an account of this project, see David E. Shuttleton, ‘“Pamela’s Library”: Samuel Richardson and Dr. Cheyne’s “Universal Cure”’, *Eighteenth-Century Life* 23 (1999), 59–79.

Sometime in December 1741, another Scottish friend, the poet David Mallet (1701/2?–1765), had informed Richardson that he had seen an advertisement of the ‘Second Part of Pamela’, adding that ‘if it is by the Author of the First I shall expect it with Impatience and Pleasure. If it is the Work of another Hand, I am resolved never to look into it.’ In a subsequent letter, after thanking Richardson ‘heartily for the Present of your Pamela’, he tells him that he found it so ‘very agreeable . . . that the very Day I receiv’d them I read over both Volumes before I went to Sleep’. The Reverend Morley had also read ‘the two remaining Volumes’ and declared that ‘we are so great Admirers of them at our House and all our Acquaintance set so high and so just a Value on them that if I had twenty Sets, I could keep them all employ’d’ (undated letter). In a letter of 7 January 1742 (misdated 1741) lamenting ‘the Sickness and Death of the best of Wives’, another one of Richardson’s clergymen friends, Patrick Delany (1685/6–1760), who had known Swift since the 1720s and would become Dean of Down in 1744, conveys his ward Miss Tenison’s thanks for ‘the Two last Volumes of Pamela, with which we are all highly Delighted, and, I hope, improved’.⁵³ Another ‘Elogium of the Two last Vols. of Pamela’, listed on Richardson’s index but now missing, had also arrived from Dublin, from Mary Barber. Writing from Oxford on 19 January 1742, the Reverend John Swinton (1703–77), while unable to learn the ‘precise Number of the 3rd & 4th Vols of *Pamela* Sold here’, asserts ‘that all the Senior and more intelligent Part of the University highly value and esteem them’. He also reports that ‘my good Friend, the Dean of Christ’s Church, the last Evening I spent with him, assured me they were the finest Picture of Nature he ever yet saw’, singling out for particular commendation the depiction of ‘the Passion of Jealousy’, which ‘was work’d up in so fine a manner’ and ‘with many masterly touches’. Having read the volumes ‘with great Eagerness twice’, the Dean – John Conybeare (1692–1755), who, though presumably occupied by his collegial and clerical duties, apparently had as much free time on his hands as Fielding’s Parson Tickletext – ‘was determined to give the whole a 3rd reading immediately’.⁵⁴

Richardson also heard from anonymous and pseudonymous correspondents. For example, in January or February 1742, the ‘Anonymous VI Ladies’ from Reading write to let him know that they ‘have read your two First Volumes with great

53 Delany had also sent Richardson Miss Tenison’s thanks for the original, noting that ‘Pamela is really the most accomplished Lady I ever met with; and I have earnestly recommended her Example to my Ward, who, I trust in God, will make an excellent Woman’ (Delany to Richardson, 21 January 1741).

54 Beginning with *A Defence of Reveald Religion* (1732), Richardson had printed several works by Dr. Conybeare; see Maslen, pp. 74–5, items 172–8. Richardson undertook a subscription edition of his *Sermons*, published in two volumes in 1757, to benefit his widow; ‘Printed by SAMUEL RICHARDSON.’ appears on the title page of each volume. In September 1749, as he prepared the third edition of *Clarissa*, Richardson sought and received Conybeare’s advice (Eaves and Kimpel, p. 313).

Pleasure, your Continuation with no less, and think it quite worthy of the First'. Because Richardson – by directing their letter 'to Mr. Richardson Bookseller', they appear to believe he is not the author – seems 'to speak at the beginning of your First and Third Volumes, as if the Story was Fact', they want him to answer their 'bold' question, 'whether the Story is real or feigned?' They promise to keep his answer confidential, but 'if you answer, it is Fiction, who was the Author?' Noting that 'Silence shall not serve your Turn', they threaten to keep writing until they hear from him – which they do, in a second missive, upbraiding him for having 'paid so little regard to the Number Six' and begging for an answer in the 'next Week'.⁵⁵ Finally prodded into action but suspecting that the 'Reading Ladies' might be 'feigned' themselves, Richardson drafted an 'intended Answer', apparently not sent, 'raillerying them for their Curiosity' (as he writes in the entry for this letter in his index). He tells his 'fair Inquisitors' that he will not comply with their wishes until he knows who they are, not to mention that 'it was never since the Beginning of the World, known, that a Secret was communicated to, and kept by a Society of Six Ladies'. 'Mean time, being willing to draw some Benefit to the Work', he informs them that 'he is commission'd in any future Editions, to make such Corrections and Amendments, as any kind Correspondent shall suggest' because 'the Piece being really calculated to Instruct as well as Divert . . . shou'd be as little liable to Objection as possible' – a request for improving the work he was issuing to virtually all of his correspondents at this time.⁵⁶

Another anonymous letter, delivered to Richardson on 24 January 1742, from 'One among the many Thousand Admirers of your excellent Pamela', who 'must not Subscribe my Name, least, lying under great Obligations to you, the Dictates of a sincere and grateful Heart should be mistaken for Sycophancy', gushes with Hill-like adoration: 'Be it enough, that in my humble Opinion, I think it one of the most Entertaining, most Instructive Books, that have as yet appear'd in the *English* Language.' Two days later, on 26 January, Richardson received more 'Expressions of Admiration' for his 'Excellent Piece': 'Nor can any thing New be said by this Time of that Master-piece of Human Wit, in which tho' Art is every where diffused, it can be traced no-where; in which tho' all is elaborate & Exact, yet all is

⁵⁵ Six Reading Ladies to Richardson, c.March 1742.

⁵⁶ *Ibid.* Probably in response to the ladies' mentioning in their first letter that, because Pamela's story 'Happen'd in so late a Date of Years', the real identities of the characters must be known to people 'Conversant in the Polite World', Richardson removed the time reference ('*between the Years 1717 and 1730*') from his preface in future editions. They had also wondered 'what Mrs. B did with her Wedding-ring the Night she Sup'd with Sir Jacob Swynford, as Lady Jenny, for she says in her Letter to Mr B, it was never off of her Finger, and sure he could see a plain Gold Ring'. In the second edition, after 'He run on a deal in my Praises, after his manner, but so rough at times, that he gave me Pain' (p. 215 below), Richardson adds a few more lines: 'and I was under a Difficulty too, lest he should observe my Ring; but he star'd so much in my Face, that That escap'd his Notice' (vol. III, p. 301). The octavo reading differs slightly: 'Ring: But he stared' (vol. III, p. 382).

easy and flowing; whose irresistible Influence over the Heart, eludes and turns into Ridicule the rigid Rules of Criticism; and whose Morality (which is severe enough for a System for Angels) has the unaccountable Power of gaining our Love, whilst it makes us hate even our dear selves.' This admiring reader, of 'about 26 Years of Age', hopes that, in one of his future 'Productions', the author of *Pamela* will 'give us the Representation of Virtue in the lowest Stations of Life, as you have already in the higher'. Two months later, 'Philopamela' reports that 'I am . . . so delighted & affected by this Book that my Friends tell me I talk in no other Language than Pamela's'; resembling Hill and Parson Tickletext, this transported reader has 'often us'd all my Endeavours to forget the dear Girl; but I find it impossible, for the sweet Idea still recurs to my Mind and does not permit my Thoughts to any thing else'. Like the Dean of Christ Church in Swinton's report, he admires 'the celebrated Jealousy piece' and 'had not read two Pages, before my Eyes dicover'd by the pearly Fugitives that flow'd from those Fountains in two little Streams, the Temper of my Soul'. As he reaches the end of his encomium, he reckons that 'of Longinus's five Fountains of the Sublime, Pamela abounds in Three, Greatness of Thought, moving the Passions, and proper Diction; and of the two other I cou'd produce Instances. And as to the Sublime's always leaving an agreeable Idea after we have read it, every one that has seen Pamela, can testify.'⁵⁷ But not all who had 'seen Pamela' had agreeable ideas about it. A rare negative response kept by Richardson among his papers came from a less than kind correspondent who, thinking that 'Pamela is larded with too much religious Cant', offers an 'Epigram to its Author': 'Your Tale's absurd, quite out of modern Taste; / Your Priest is honest and your Nymph is chaste; / How can it then *instruct* our *rising Youth*, / Since *Priests*, and *Females* prove there's *no such Truth*?'⁵⁸

Two private responses to *Pamela in Her Exalted Condition*, unknown to Richardson, deserve brief notice. The first – by Eliza Lucas (1722?–93), born in the West Indies of British parents but living in South Carolina by 1738 – suggests that the continuation, like the original, had quickly made its way to the North American colonies and that, like its predecessor, it could elicit a mixed response even from

57 At the bottom of the last manuscript page of this letter, keyed to 'an agreeable Idea', Richardson writes, 'See this Observation confirmed, and beautifully expatiated upon, by A. H. Esq. p. 107. of this Collection' (FM xvi, 1, fols. 87–8). The relevant passage from Hill's letter (dated 15 January 1740) is quoted, with minor changes, in the introduction to the second edition of *Pamela: or, Virtue Rewarded*: 'Longinus, I remember, distinguishing by what Marks we may know the *Sublime*, says, it is chiefly from an Effect that will follow the Reading it: a delightfully-adhering Idea, that clings fast to the Memory; and from which it is difficult for a Man to disengage his Attention.—If *this* is a Proof of the *Sublime*, there was never *Sublimity* so lastingly felt, as in PAMELA!' (*Pamela* 1, p. 471). The original of this letter, missing four pages, is in FM xiii, 2, fols. 40–4.

58 Though this epigram appears among responses to the continuation (FM xvi, 1, fol. 77), it could well have been provoked by the first *Pamela*.

sympathetic readers.⁵⁹ Writing to her friend Miss Mary Bartlett in May or June 1742 – and sounding very much like a version of Anna Howe or Charlotte Grandison, Richardson’s future lively correspondents – Miss Lucas notes that Pamela ‘is a good girl and as such I love her dearly, but I must think her very defective and even blush for her while she allows her self that disgusting liberty of praising her self, or what is very like it, repeating all the fine speeches made to her by others’.⁶⁰ Anticipating her friend’s rejoinder that Pamela ‘was a young Country Girl, had seen nothing of life and it was natural for her to be pleased with praise and she had not art enough to conceal it’, she counters that, while such self-praise might ‘be excuseable, when [she] only wrote to her father and mother’, it is not so ‘after she had the advantage of Mr. B.’s conversation and others of sence and distinction’ (ibid). But there is another ‘difficulty’ because ‘we are to be made acquainted by the Authour of all particulars’ (ibid). This was, of course, a ‘difficulty’ many readers of the original had remarked upon and of which Richardson was acutely aware. Even though in the sequel Richardson expands the number of correspondents – a technique he would improve upon in *Clarissa* and *Grandison* – the fact remains that, as Miss Lucas incisively observes, Pamela is still the story’s principal teller, and, because the tale she tells consists to a large extent of other people’s praises, as she astonishes everyone around her with her flawless impersonation of a high-born lady, she can hardly avoid praising herself. Miss Lucas suggests that most of the praise should come from ‘Miss Darnford or some other lady very intimate with Mrs. B.’ (ibid). Imagining that her friend is by now smiling ‘at my presumption for instructing one so farr above my own level as the Authour of Pamella (whom I esteem much for the regard he pays to virtue and religion throughout the whole piece)’, she asks her ‘Dear Miss Barlett [to] contract your smile into a mortified look for I acquit the Authour’ (ibid). As she explains, Richardson ‘designed to

59 Eliza Lucas, who married Charles Pinckney in 1744, would later become famous for successfully growing indigo in South Carolina, a crop which became a staple of the colony’s economy. Her sons, Charles and Thomas, were soldiers in the American revolutionary army and held public offices in the fledging republic; President George Washington asked to serve as one of the pallbearers at her funeral. For an account of her life, see Constance B. Shulz, ‘Eliza Lucas Pinckney’, in *Portraits of American Women from Settlement to the Present*, ed. G. J. Barker-Benfield and Catherine Clinton (New York: St. Martin’s Press, 1991), pp. 65–81.

60 *The Letterbook of Eliza Lucas Pinckney 1739–1762*, ed. Elise Pinckney (Chapel Hill: University of North Carolina Press, 1972), p. 47. Further references to this work will appear parenthetically in the text. The letter is undated here but the date of ‘May 2, 1742’ is given to it in *A Library of American Literature from the Earliest Settlement to the Present Time*, ed. Edmund Clarence Stedman and Ellen MacKay Hutchinson, 11 vols. (New York: Charles L. Webster & Company, 1891), vol. 11, pp. 446–7, where the text is modernized. As her letters to Miss Bartlett reveal, Eliza was fairly well-read; among the authors whose works she comments upon are Addison, Malebranche, Milton, Plutarch, and Virgil. Like Pamela, she was not averse to treating Locke with familiarity (and wit): ‘I was forced to consult Mr. Lock over and over to see wherein personal Identity consisted and if I was the very same self’ (*Letterbook*, p. 19). Writing to Lady Carew in early 1754, she mentions that she has been reading *Sir Charles Grandison* (*Letterbook*, p. 82).

paint no more than a woman, and he certainly designed it as a reflection upon the vanity of our sex that a character so compleat in every other instance should be so greatly defective in this; defective indeed, for when she mentions that poor Creature Mr. H. Applusees [applauses] it puts me in mind of the observation in *Don Quixott* How grateful is praise though it be from a madman' (pp. 47–8). Mocking her own Quixotism, she pokes fun at the Quixotic presumption of both Pamela and her creator: 'I have run thus farr before I was aware for I have nither capacity or inclination for Chritisism tho' Pamela sets me the example by criticizeing Mr. Lock and has taken the libirty to disent from that admirable Author' (p. 48). She then concludes her contrarian reading of the novel with a dubious compliment to the author, who 'has kept up to nature (one of the greatest beauties in the whole piece) for had his Heroin no defect the character must be unnatural' (*ibid.*).

Harsher criticism is found in a series of five comments jotted on a copy of the fourth volume of the first edition, now in the Berg Collection at the New York Public Library. The comments are in an eighteenth-century hand and, though some are far from delicate, could well be by the young woman Frances Preston (1724–91), whose name, with the date '1742', appears in the front of the volumes.⁶¹ On p. 9 (p. 292 below), in a letter in which Pamela explains to Miss Darnford

61 Frances Preston was born in Beeston St. Lawrence, Norfolk. The daughter of a lawyer, Jacob Preston (d. 1753), she married William Jermy (1713–52) of Bayfield, a member of the prominent Jermy family, in October 1751, but was widowed three months later; she married again in May 1754, to John Michell (1709–66) of Middlesex. There is a website dedicated to 'The Jermy Family of Norfolk and Suffolk' (<http://jermy.org>), from which I have collected the details given here; I am grateful to Tom Keymer for directing me to this source. One of the documents on this website is a poem, 'Advice to a Painter', attributed there to the Reverend Philip Francis (1708?–73), which, while skewering her brother Isaac Preston (1710–68), who had followed his father into the legal profession, features the following lines on Frances:

At 29 in Virtue's last despair,
With neck untuckered, and with Bosom bare,
His simpering Sister should attempt to stand,
But sweetly-tottering catch her Brother's hand
Down to her Navel pour the light
And spread her nauseous Bosom to the sight;
And as her bitten Lips with purple Glow,
Let a soft-lisping-Nonsense ore them flow
Such have I seen a Heifer, in her pride,
when all her gambol-tricks of love She tried,
She kicks, she flings, and tossing high her tail,
with amorous Lovings woos her Grinded Male.
But first be sure your colours to perfume
For fear her very-likeness scents the Room . . . (ll. 27–40)

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the accommodations she makes to get along with Mr. B., next to the sentence beginning 'But then I would reserve my Strength for these *greater* Points', the reader has made a mark on the left margin, next to the word '*greater*', and, keyed to it in a scrawl at the bottom of the page succinctly passes judgment on the heroine with 'conceited rebellious Bitch'. At the bottom of pp. 52–3 (pp. 321–2 below), in the middle of yet another scene in which Pamela details her negotiations with her husband over the extent of his prerogative, the reader fumes: 'If the author did not mean to <satirize> the whole sex in Pamela, if he proposed her as an example, <Hanging> is too good for him. Mr B has but one fault, he is too <Patient>, more so than in real life a man can be.' About a hundred pages later (p. 167; pp. 400–1 below), reacting to a passage in which Pamela describes the attempt by the vile Mr. Turner to persuade her that Mr. B. is having an affair with the Countess he met at the masquerade, the reader objects that 'The woman has not a sense of Guilt or shame for having listened one moment to such a conversation.' Five pages later (p. 172; p. 404 below), commenting on Pamela's bitter observations on Mr. B. and the Countess, the reader wonders 'Whether this author created, or only painted the vices of women' because 'in his favorite characters we find every modern criminal principle'. And finally, on the next page (p. 173; pp. 404–5 below), the reader (somewhat unfairly) takes Pamela to task when she emotes over her 'poor Baby': 'Here as in the real world, the Child is preferred to the husband. Tho' I never yet saw <other> instances of maternal affection.' Whoever this reader was, he or she was obviously not a fan.

Public responses to *Pamela in Her Exalted Condition* were relatively few, especially when compared with those elicited by the original; spin-offs were even rarer. It is possible that the Royal Licence issued to Rivington, Richardson, and Osborn on 13 January 1742 granting them 'sole Printing, Publishing, and Vending' of the four volumes 'for the Term of Fourteen Years' might have discouraged enterprising hacks in His Majesty's 'Kingdoms and Dominions', but it is also likely that a certain cultural fatigue had begun to set in.⁶² In addition, whether public or private, many of the responses, including some of those cited above that specifically discuss the continuation, either apply to both parts or allude to features or aspects of the novel which are more in evidence in the first two volumes. However much anticipation there might have been before its publication, Richardson's sequel did not capture the public imagination as the original had. Most readers seem to have preferred Pamela in her country habit, as she heroically resists and triumphs over Mr. B.'s stratagems and is rewarded with marriage and social elevation. For

62 The petition for the Royal Licence was filed on 7 January (Public Record Office, SP 36/58, fol. 9) and granted on 13 January (PRO, SP 44/367, p. 250). The licence appears at the beginning of each volume of the octavo, and of the second and fourth editions of the continuation. For a reproduction, see Appendix 1 below. Cheyne thought this was a good idea: 'I think you did prudently in getting a Privilege for it [*Pamela*] in this Edition [the octavo]' (Cheyne to Richardson, 2 May 1742).

example, the young Richard Hurd (1720–1808), who would later become Bishop of Worcester, in a letter of November 1742 to his friend James Devey (1680–1754), asks him to tell Mrs. Devey that ‘I have just read Pamela, and am glad, for the credit of my judgment, that I agree with her in admiring it. Some people have thought it odd in me, but I really like Pamela in low life better than in high. I have not room now, or think I could give excellent reasons for my opinion.’⁶³ Rather than ‘odd’, Hurd’s opinion seems to have been typical and might explain why most of the noteworthy *Pamela* spin-offs appearing after December 1741 draw their inspiration from the original rather than the sequel. Thus, ‘Pamela the Second’, published in three instalments in *The Universal Spectator, and Weekly Journal* (24 April, 1 and 8 May 1742), in the form of a ballad opera purporting to be an ‘abstract’ of a play by ‘A Gentleman in that Country’ of ‘a Kind of Parallel Case [which] has lately happen’d in *Buckinghamshire*’, distantly derives its thin plot from characters and events in the first *Pamela*. Similarly, *Pamela: or, The Fair Impostor. A Poem, in Five Cantos. By J—W—, Esq.*, published in Dublin on 21 December 1743, revisits Pamela in low life, in imitation of the manner of *Shamela*, by way of *The Rape of the Lock*.⁶⁴

Partial exceptions to this trend were visual representations, such as the series of ‘TWELVE PRINTS, by the best *French Engravers* [Antoine Benoist and Louis Truchy], after his own PAINTINGS, representing the most remarkable

63 *The Early Letters of Bishop Richard Hurd, 1739–1762*, ed. Sarah Brewer, Church of England Record Society 3 (Woodbridge, Suffolk; Rochester, New York: Boydell Press, 1995), p. 93. On 7 November 1742, in a letter to the Reverend Cox Macro (1683?–1767), with whom Richardson would later correspond regarding the religious compromise Sir Charles Grandison agrees to with Clementina’s family, Hurd offers a nuanced reading of the novel: ‘I thank you, good Sir, a thousand times for recommending Pamela to me. I had some how conceiv’d such an unaccountable prejudice agst. it, that nothing less than your good Opinion could have induc’d me to read it. But what a treasure of Beauties had I then lost! to say the least of a work, of whc. the most one can say is too little, I never saw Nature in such perfection before. I make no scruple to say that there never were any characters more justly drawn, with greater propriety and exactness, or of a more glowing likeness to the life. The whole is literally a speaking Picture, & by reason of the several distressful Incidents, that are work’d up in it, as moving a one as ever did credit to any pencil. As a draught of Nature then I must read, love, & admire it, & stand amaz’d that any Reader of Taste should hazard his reputation so much as to own a dislike of it. But in it’s moral capacity I am not so positive. On the other hand I incline to suspect more danger from it to the generality of young readers, than Advantage. Mr. B.’s character is a little too engaging to make a Debauchee sufficiently distasteful to the youth of his quality & fortune; & the very nature, that strike so much <of> in Pamela’s narrative of her own distresses is, I fear, still more dangerous to most female fancies. ’Tis hazardous, nay I’ll go further, ’tis hurtful to paint Nature in such cases too faithfully. The two lively representation warms & inflames – the passions kindle at the view, & want more than the fair complainant’s ejaculations, & reflections to cool them again. This, Sir, I cannot but fear will be the probable consequence of some part of Pamela’s charming Journal to the unconfirm’d virtuous of both Sexes. I mention it not as an Objection to the work, (for I am satisfy’d ’tis the very perfection of it) but as a hindrance to it’s moral Design. ’Twill be a pleasure to find myself mistaken, & too apprehensive in this point, for ’tis with reluctance I observe anything in the lovely piece, that may keep it from being generally read’ (*Early Letters*, pp. 91–2).

64 On this poem, see Thomas Keymer, ‘Getting Level: *Pamela*, Pope, and J—W—’, *QWERTY* 4 (1994), 111–19; and Keymer and Sabor, pp. 191–9.

ADVENTURES of *PAMELA*', advertised for subscription by Joseph Highmore (1692–1780) on 16 February 1744 in *The London Daily Post and General Advertiser* and published in July 1745.⁶⁵ As the advertisement goes on to note, 'the Twelve Pictures are described, and their respective Connexions shewn . . . in a printed Sheet given to Subscribers'.⁶⁶ But, of the twelve prints, only two represent 'adventures' from the sequel, one from the third volume (11: 'Pamela asking the Blessing of Sr. Jacob Swinford') and one from the fourth (12: 'Pamela with her Children and Miss Goodwin to whom she is telling her nursery tales').⁶⁷ More balanced in their representation of scenes from both parts of the novel were the waxworks exhibited 'at the Corner of Shoe-Lane, facing Salisbury-Court, Fleet Street' (in Richardson's neighbourhood) advertised in *The Daily Advertiser* in 1745 (23 April and 8 August for the first part; 19 November and 21 December for the second). However, one of the 'High Life' scenes described in the second set of advertisements, 'the Discovery of her Family at Sir Simon Andrews's', seems to refer to the 'discovery' of Pamela's posh lineage in the first volume of *Pamela's Conduct in High Life* – suggesting, perhaps, that by then *Pamela* continuations were beginning to melt together in cultural memory.

Like the first volume of *Pamela's Conduct in High Life*, which had seemed promising enough to be pirated by Oliver Nelson and George Faulkner (1703?–75), Ireland's most prominent bookseller, less than a month after its publication and issued in Dublin on 22 June 1741, *Pamela in Her Exalted Condition* saw its first Irish edition on 28 December 1741, under the imprint of Faulkner, George Ewing, and William Smith; Faulkner and Ewing had also been responsible for the Irish edition of *Pamela: or, Virtue Rewarded*, published on 31 January 1741.⁶⁸ As Richardson would later explain, he had attempted to prevent the piracy of the sequel by entering into an agreement with Thomas Bacon, a Dublin bookseller, to 'furnish him with the sheets as they came from his Press, in order to his reprinting them in Dublin'. But, as Richardson continues, 'Mr. Faulkner . . . having, by his extraordinary *diligence*, clandestinely got at the sheets as printed at Mr. Richardson's, he (Mr. Bacon) was

65 For accounts of these as well as other visual representations of the novel, see T. C. Duncan Eaves, 'Graphic Illustration of the Novels of Samuel Richardson, 1740–1810', *Huntington Library Quarterly* 14 (1950–1), 349–69; Keymer and Sabor, pp. 143–76; and Shepherd, *Clarissa's Painter*, pp. 58–111.

66 A copy of this sheet, dated January 1743/4, is in the Rothschild collection at the Trinity College (Cambridge) Library. Each illustration is described in some detail; the subscription price is two guineas, one payable at the time of subscribing, the other upon receipt. Hesitant subscribers are warned that 'The Price will be Two Guineas and a Half after the Subscription is closed.'

67 *The Life of Pamela, on 12 Engravings, with Description In FRENCH and ENGLISH* (1744). The prints were reissued, priced 15 shillings, in 1762; at the bottom of each print appears the line, 'Published, according to Act of Parliament, July 1st 1762'. There is a copy of this reissue in the Rothschild collection at the Trinity College (Cambridge) Library.

68 The Irish edition of the first volume of *Pamela's Conduct in High Life* was advertised in *George Faulkner. The Dublin Journal* on 20–3 June 1741; the Irish edition of *Pamela in Her Exalted Condition* was advertised on 22–5 December 1741.

deprived of the intended benefit; and also forestalled in the sale of the genuine Edition; 250 of which were sent him, in resentment of such base treatment.⁶⁹ Faulkner tried further to forestall Richardson's Irish sales when, in anticipation of the publication of Richardson's 'sixth' octavo edition, he advertised an edition of all four volumes in April 1742, which he cobbled together from existing stock by making changes to the title page of the first volume (adding 'In FOUR VOLUMES' and 'The SIXTH EDITION', while, curiously enough, retaining the publication date of 1741 from his January title page), and reissuing the second volume of the 'second edition' (a reprint of his first edition published in March 1742) and, with title pages unchanged, the third and fourth volumes he had published in late December 1741.⁷⁰

Like *Pamela: or, Virtue Rewarded, Pamela in Her Exalted Condition* was translated into French, both original and continuation appearing together in an edition with the imprint 'Londres: & se vend a Liege, chez J.F. Bassompierre, J. Delorme de la Tour', consisting of eight parts in eight volumes, with the first four volumes carrying the date 1743, the second four 1744. This translation has sometimes been attributed (as in the British Library catalogue) to Antoine-François Prévost d'Exiles (1697–1763), who would later translate *Clarissa* and *Grandison*, but the attribution has been disputed. The translation of the continuation seems to have been based on the octavo edition, dividing up the letters in the same fashion as the octavo third and four volumes and including a paragraph on Mr. H. in the conclusion to the fourth that appears only after the first edition; however, because the octavo does not have a preface at the beginning of the third volume, the preface here, which contains a reference to the time-frame of the story omitted in the second duodecimo edition, is translated from the first edition. Another French translation of both parts, in four volumes, with re-engravings by Jan Punt and Pierre Yver of the twenty-nine Hayman–Gravelot octavo illustrations, was published in Amsterdam in 1743–4; each volume of this edition has a frontispiece, by Yver, showing Pamela touching an allegorical figure representing Virtue and rejecting another representing Cupidity.⁷¹ There were also translations of the continuation into German (Leipzig, 1743), Dutch (Amsterdam, 1744), Danish (Copenhagen, 1746), and Italian (Venice, 1746). Towards the end of the century, a Spanish translation of both parts, *Pamela Andrews ó La Virtud Recompensada*, was

69 SCG, vol. vi, p. 432. While detailing Faulkner's part in the Irish piracy of his third novel, in the address 'To the Public' he printed at the end of the last volume, Richardson mentions this earlier instance of the Dublin bookseller's treachery.

70 George Faulkner. *The Dublin Journal*, 20–4 April 1742.

71 For more information on this illustrated French translation, see Keymer and Sabor, p. 162; and Eaves, 'Graphic Illustration', 357. As Eaves points out, the University of Chicago Library copy, which he examined, does not have plates in the first two volumes. The British Library copy, from which my brief description is drawn, has plates in all four volumes.

published in Madrid in 1794–5; like the ‘Londres’ French translation fifty years earlier, on which it appears to have been based, it runs to eight volumes.

As she had done in London and Dublin during 1741 and early 1742, Pamela would make the grand tour of Continental stages, in both low and high life, though it appears that these dramatic representations of Pamela in her exalted condition were little influenced by the continuation.⁷² In 1743, for example, three plays featuring her virtuous exploits were produced in Paris: Louis de Boissy’s *Paméla en France, ou la vertu mieux éprouvée* in March and, in December, Nivelles de La Chaussée’s *Pamela* and Claude Godard d’Acour’s *La Déroute des Paméla*. A few years later, her story would be the inspiration for Voltaire’s three-act play, *Nanine, ou le préjugé vaincu*, which premiered in June 1749 at the Comédie-Française. Following her success in France, Pamela travelled to Italy, to star in Goldoni’s comedy, *Pamela nubile*, which debuted in the spring of 1750 in Mantua and was also performed in November in Venice. Goldoni followed up *Pamela nubile* with a sequel, not derived from Richardson’s continuation, *Pamela maritata* (1760), as well as operatic versions of both plays, with music by Nicolo Piccini, *La buona figliuola* (1760) and *La buona figliuola maritata* (1761). To make her story more amenable to sophisticated Italian audiences, Goldoni, in imitation of the manner of the ‘High-Life Men’, exalted Pamela’s condition by making her the daughter of an aristocrat. As Alan Dugald McKillop has documented, Goldoni was influential in spreading Pamela’s story throughout the Continent, with versions of *Pamela nubile* appearing in German (1756, 1758), French (1759), Norwegian (1765), Portuguese (1766), Spanish (1787), Greek (1791), Russian (1812), Armenian (1866), and Czech (1887) and of *Pamela maritata* in German (1763, 1770), Spanish (1787), and French (1801).⁷³ Returning to France at century’s end, Pamela was featured in Nicolas François de Neufchâteau’s comedy, *Paméla, ou La Vertu récompensée*, based on Goldoni’s *Pamela nubile*, which opened in Paris in August 1793.⁷⁴ Because it seemed to undercut the egalitarian sentiments of the Revolution, the play was closed by the Committee of Public Safety after eight performances and its author arrested. To avoid further difficulties, Neufchâteau restored Pamela to her lowly condition; the play was eventually rehabilitated and revived in 1795, a year after Robespierre’s fall. Although Richardson would have disapproved of the intimidating tactics of the members of the Committee of Public Safety, he would have agreed with their emphatic rejection of a high pedigree for his heroine. As he had stressed in his quarrel with the ‘High-Life Men’ fifty years earlier, such an

⁷² On Pamela’s stage history, see Keymer and Sabor, pp. 114–42.

⁷³ McKillop, pp. 104–6.

⁷⁴ A modern edition of this play, edited by Martial Poirson, has been published by the Voltaire Foundation (2007). For Peter Sabor’s informative review of this edition, see *Eighteenth-Century Fiction* 21 (2009), 660–3.

elevation was a perversion of his original 'Plan' and, as suggested above, the main reason why he had to undertake his own continuation.

REVISIONS

When Richardson started writing *Pamela in Her Exalted Condition* in April 1741, he was already engaged in the process of revising *Pamela: or, Virtue Rewarded*.⁷⁵ The second edition, issued in February, had tried to refute readers' objections to Pamela's 'lowness' with the addition of a lengthy introduction defending both author and heroine and with hundreds of corrections intended to elevate her language by eliminating traces of 'low' speech. The third (March) and fourth (May) editions were only slightly revised but the fifth, published on 22 September, marked another major revision, with nearly one thousand corrections, including about fifty to the introduction, which had given offence by its intemperate tone. If, as Richardson informed Ralph Allen on 8 October, he was by then 'all finish'd' with the 'Copy' of the continuation and was beginning the printing of the octavo, which has about six hundred corrections in the first two volumes, the months of composition and printing of the first edition of *Pamela in Her Exalted Condition* coincided with the period in which the original was undergoing extensive revision. In addition, as his correspondence attests, Richardson had begun to ask friends for suggestions for improving the continuation for the forthcoming octavo edition. In short, when the first edition of *Pamela in Her Exalted Condition* was published on 7 December, Richardson had already started revising his text for a future edition. In fact, two substantial corrections to the first-edition text (one in each volume) were made while the edition was in press, so that some copies of that edition include either one or both of these corrections while others do not. The first stop-press correction occurs in vol. III, p. 299 (p. 202 below), with the addition of a footnote – and realignment and revision of a paragraph to keep the same pagination – assuring readers that Mr. Williams is not buying or selling ecclesiastical offices. The second appears in vol. IV, p. 242 (p. 452 below), in a paragraph containing Mr. B.'s somewhat impertinent comparison of the cheeks of Pamela and the Countess he had flirted with at the masquerade. These corrections were retained in all subsequent editions of the novel.⁷⁶

75 For a brief account of Richardson's revisions of the first two volumes, see General Introduction to *Pamela 1*, pp. lxiv–lxxiv.

76 The British Library copy, for example, does not have the footnote in vol. III, p. 299, but has the revised version of the 'cheek' passage in vol. IV, p. 242. The footnote is also missing from the Berg Collection copy at the New York Public Library, the Taylor copy at the Princeton University Library, and one of the copies at the Cornell University Library (PR3664 .P2 1741f); this Cornell copy also has the variant reading of the 'cheek' passage, as does one of the two Newberry Library copies (Case Y155 R4086). In addition, the British Library copy contains several minor errors; for

As noted above, Richardson reused leftover sheets of the second ‘corrected’ edition (1742) in the fourth ‘corrected’ edition (also dated 1742) and fifth edition (1754), which was published together with the seventh edition of the first two volumes. As a result, except for changes in the front-matter of these editions (or, more properly, reissues), the texts of the letters and journal are identical. The preface to the second edition is the same as that to the first edition, except that the sentence stating that ‘*the most material Incidents . . . happen’d between the Years 1717 and 1730*’ is deleted. In the fourth edition, the preface is omitted and replaced by a one-page advertisement declaring a preface ‘unnecessary’ because ‘of the kind Reception which the Third and Fourth (as well as the preceding) Volumes of this Work have met with’, particularly ‘as it is presumed, that, for the future, the Four Volumes will go together’. In the fifth edition, which comprises all four volumes, there is no preface or advertisement at the beginning of the third volume. In the ‘eighth’ edition – the sixth of the third and fourth volumes, dated 1762, but published on 28 October 1761, nearly four months after Richardson’s death – the preface from the second edition is restored, except that, because this edition consists of all four volumes and thus omits the paragraphs outlining the future lives of the characters at the end of the second volume, the reference to ‘*the Conclusion of the First Five Editions*’ of the first two volumes is deleted. Richardson also excises the self-serving final clause of the penultimate paragraph – ‘*lest his Interest might appear more concerned, than the Satisfaction of the Publick*’ – which the passage of time had rendered unnecessary. He also refers to the novel by the short title *Pamela* (instead of *Pamela: or, Virtue Rewarded*) in his opening sentence and, in the first sentence of the final paragraph, bafflingly substitutes ‘in relation to the Person and Family of the incomparable Lady, who is the Subject of these Volumes’ with ‘in relation to the Person and Family of the Gentlemen, who are the principal Persons in the Work’ (p. iv). The text of the 1762 edition of the continuation is revised, but not so extensively as the texts of the second duodecimo and third octavo editions. Thus, though there are six lifetime editions of the continuation (the posthumous 1762 edition is usually included in this group), only the third octavo and the second and ‘eighth’ duodecimo editions underwent revision.

Although the second and third editions exhibit a similar pattern of revision, the texts are not identical. But textual variations between these two editions are minor. Thus, for example, the ‘Farmer *Dickins*’ (p. 10 below) mentioned by Pamela’s father in the second letter of the third volume becomes ‘Farmer *Dickens*’ (p. 9) in the second and 1762 editions, but remains ‘Farmer *Dickins*’ in the octavo (p. 11);

example, it mistakenly lists ‘Letter XXXIII’ as ‘Letter XXXI’ (vol. III, p. 305); and reads ‘of any Neighbourhood’ (vol. III, p. 242, last line) and ‘So, thinks I’ (vol. IV, p. 229, l. 1), corrected in other copies to ‘or any Neighbourhood’ and ‘So, thought I’. More information on these press variants appears in the Textual Introduction.

'for both your Happiness' (p. 21 below), improved to 'for the Happiness of you both' (vol. III, p. 25) in the second and 1762 editions, remains unchanged in the octavo (vol. III, p. 31). A slight grammatical improvement – 'What numberless mean Things did not this unmanly Passion subject me to?' (p. 143 below); 'To what numberless mean Things did not this unmanly Passion subject me?' (vol. III, p. 200) in the second and 1762 editions – is not implemented in the octavo (vol. III, p. 253). Sir Simon's 'Crutch-Stick' (p. 230 below) is transformed into a 'Church-Stick' in the second and 1762 editions (vol. III, p. 323), but not in the octavo (vol. III, p. 409). Finally, to cite an instance from the fourth volume, the footnote keyed to the passage about Mr. H.'s 'Fear of crossing the salt Water' (p. 548 below), missing from the second and 1762 editions (vol. IV, p. 352), appears in the octavo (vol. IV, p. 403). Other changes between the second and octavo editions include minor changes in punctuation and paragraphing (for example, when a paragraph in the duodecimo is set as two in the octavo or vice versa). Although the evidence does not allow one to reach a definitive conclusion, it seems that Richardson incorporated his first set of major corrections into the octavo edition, the edition that he was planning to publish immediately after the publication of the first edition of the continuation, and then, having apparently begun work on a second duodecimo edition as the printing of the octavo (probably because of the illustrations) was taking longer than expected, he introduced into that copy not only the several hundred corrections from the octavo but also a new layer of minor corrections he had collected since beginning the printing of the octavo. Perhaps to avoid depressing the sale of the upcoming octavo by issuing a competing edition of the continuation, he decided to hold off publishing the duodecimo second until after the publication of the octavo. It would not be until seven months later – again, perhaps, delaying publication to prevent further undercutting sales of the octavo which, with its deluxe price of £1.4, was apparently not selling well – that he would actually publish that edition.⁷⁷ As he wrote to William Warburton on 17 November 1742, 'I am Collecting together the Observations and Castigations of several of my kind Friends in order, if the Piece should happen to come to a future Edition, besides the new one of the 3rd and 4th which is near Publishing, that it might benefit by their Remarks and that I might have a corrected Copy for the Press.' The edition of the third and fourth volumes Richardson is alluding to is '*The Second Edition, in Twelves*' advertised, as mentioned above, on 29 January 1743 in *The Daily Gazetteer*. Why Richardson did not change the date on his title page to '1743' remains a mystery. As Richardson began work on *Clarissa*, he put

⁷⁷ Richardson continued to advertise the octavo edition years after its publication – for example, in 1754, at the end of the fourth volume of the first edition of *Grandison*; as Eaves and Kimpel point out, 'the octavo *Pamela* was not sold out during his lifetime' (p. 490).

aside his plan to publish a further corrected edition of *Pamela*, especially as interest in the novel seemed to have momentarily cooled. In the event, there would not be a need for a new duodecimo edition of the first two volumes until 1746, when, to complete the set of the novel in four duodecimo volumes, he repackaged the sheets of the second edition, only changing the title page to read 'The FOURTH EDITION, *Corrected*', while keeping (another mystery) the date of 1742.

Because the octavo edition of the continuation appeared as part of a four-volume set, there is no preface to the third volume. Instead, at the beginning of the first volume, Richardson supplied a thirty-six page 'Epitome of the Work', similar to the index introducing his edition of *The Negotiations of Sir Thomas Roe* (1740), a work advertised at the end of the fourth volume, thereby suggesting that Pamela's letters and journal were worthy of the same serious treatment as the papers of a celebrated diplomat.⁷⁸ The octavo also included twenty-nine engravings by Francis Hayman and Hubert Gravelot, seven of them in the third volume and eight in the fourth.⁷⁹ Otherwise, as already noted, all major corrections in this edition replicate those in the second duodecimo. To make the third and fourth volumes more equal in length, Richardson moved three letters from the beginning of the fourth volume to the end of the third. Thus, the fourth volume opens with Pamela's arrival in London, an event which does not take place until the fourth letter in the first edition (p. 303 below). As with his alterations of the first two volumes, Richardson revises the continuation to elevate the speech and behaviour of his characters. For example, a sentence in which Miss Darnford shows disrespect towards her boorish father – 'if thy Lady had been half as lively as thou hast been in thy Day, my worthy Vather, thou mightest have had some Reasons for the Epithet [Bastards]!' (p. 56 below) – is omitted (2nd, vol. III, p. 75; 8vo, vol. III, p. 94); her later transcription of her father's obscene jest about a 'Partridge' and 'a coarser Bird' (p. 113 below) is also cut (2nd, vol. III, p. 157; 8vo, vol. III, p. 157). Lady Davers, who signs her first four letters in the first edition 'DAVERS', with the more appropriate 'B. DAVERS' not appearing until her fifth (p. 74 below), now signs herself 'B. DAVERS' from the beginning. Perhaps in response to Dr Cheyne's objection to the sexual play between the married pair, Pamela is less specific in describing some (though not all) of her physical encounters with Mr. B. For instance, on one such occasion, instead of putting 'his Arm round my Waist', Mr. B. puts 'his Arm about me'; Pamela, rather than 'half hiding my Face on his Bosom',

⁷⁸ Richardson's *Roe* folio (and its index) had been praised in *The History of the Works of the Learned* in May 1740 (article xxv, 346–60); *Pamela* was favourably reviewed in this publication in December 1740 (article xxviii, 433–9). The index to the third and fourth volumes is reproduced in Appendix II.

⁷⁹ The fifteen illustrations appearing in the octavo third and fourth volumes are reproduced in Appendix III.

does so 'on his Shoulder' (p. 68 below; 2nd, vol. III, p. 91; 8vo, vol. III, p. 115). A later exchange is similarly toned down, from 'he saluted me with Ardour' (p. 296 below) to 'tenderly saluting me' (2nd, vol. III, p. 400; 8vo, vol. III, p. 504).⁸⁰ Other changes specifically attempt to clean up or erase traces of 'low' language. Thus, Pamela's 'bottom Drawer' (p. 374 below) becomes 'lowest Drawer' (2nd, vol. IV, p. 102; 8vo, vol. IV, p. 120); Sir Simon's 'saucy Slut' (p. 89 below) is changed to the marginally more refined 'Boldface' (2nd, vol. III, p. 123; 8vo, vol. III, p. 155); 'a Toast to the King and Royal Family' (p. 155 below), perhaps more suited to an inn than among people of quality, is altered to 'a Health to the King and Royal Family' (2nd, vol. III, p. 218; 8vo, vol. III, p. 276); the faulty tense of Pamela's 'I sprung to him' (p. 389 below) is corrected to 'I sprang to him' (2nd, vol. IV, p. 123; 8vo, vol. IV, p. 144); and, to end this brief catalogue, Pamela's 'as must disgust any modest Body' (p. 357 below) is improved to 'as must disgust any modest Person of either Sex' (2nd, vol. IV, p. 73; 8vo, vol. IV, p. 91). One revision might have been made to differentiate Mr. Adams, Pamela's chaplain, from his less genteel namesake in *Joseph Andrews*. Although Mr. B. has pressed him to 'accept of a Place at his Table', the modest 'young Gentleman', because (as Pamela explains) 'we have generally a good deal of Company', declines to do so. Instead, he sometimes chooses to 'sit down . . . with Mr. *Longman* and Mrs. *Jervis*, who have a separate Table' (p. 171 below), but this occasional fraternization with folks below stairs disappears in revision (2nd, vol. III, p. 240; 8vo, vol. III, p. 304). Of course, this attempt to reform his levelling tendencies does not entirely succeed, as Mr. Adams eventually marries Polly Barlow, Pamela's maid (p. 490 below).

Following Hill's advice, Richardson tried to strengthen the verses, in one case by deleting in its entirety a journal entry ('*THURSDAY*') near the end of the third volume containing a long, tedious poem about a 'Love Quarrel', made even longer by the insertion of prose commentary between its stanzas (pp. 265–75 below); to paper over this deletion, the previous entry is renamed '*WEDNESDAY, THURSDAY*' (2nd, vol. III, p. 370; 8vo, vol. III, p. 467) and prior references to the 'Manuscript Verses' (p. 228 below; 2nd, vol. III, p. 320; 8vo, vol. III, p. 406) and 'Verses' (p. 237 below; 2nd, vol. III, p. 332; 8vo, vol. III, 420) are removed. However, two stanzas from the poem cited earlier by Pamela (pp. 160–1 below) are not omitted (2nd, vol. III, pp. 224–5; 8vo, vol. III, pp. 284–5). An earlier set of verses (pp. 242–5 below), broken up six times by prose commentary, is replaced with a new, longer poem, printed continuously (2nd, vol. III, pp. 339–42; 8vo, vol. III, pp. 429–33). This new poem is very likely 'The misgrounded Compassion',

⁸⁰ Earlier, however, the inflaming phrase is allowed to stand – 'So, my dear Love, how do you? folding his kind Arms about me, and saluting me with Ardour' (p. 294 below; 2nd, vol. III, 397; 8vo, vol. III, p. 500) – suggesting that the later change, while dampening Mr. B.'s passion, also eliminates an instance of repeated phrasing.

a poem Richardson lists in his index to the *Pamela* correspondence as Hill's.⁸¹ One of its sections, however, is a reworking of a stanza from the original poem dealing with the ways of 'wise Providence' (p. 244 below), a stanza that is, in turn, almost an exact copy of 'Lines' quoted by Pamela in the first part (as Richardson points out in a footnote) and there attributed to 'the Poet' (*Pamela* 1, p. 239). Whether 'the Poet' responsible for these 'Lines' was Richardson, Hill, or someone else remains an open question, but the appearance of them in the new poem raises at least the possibility that they are by Hill, though it is also possible that Hill is keeping lines which he liked from the discarded poem. As with the later manuscript poem, references to this one are also omitted (p. 195 below; 2nd, vol. III, p. 275; 8vo, vol. III, p. 348; p. 261 below; 2nd, vol. III, p. 365; 8vo, vol. III, p. 461). There is also a minor poetic addition, of two lines adapted from Davenant's 'To a Mistress Dying', after Pamela laments the state of mind 'the nasty Mr. Turner' (p. 414 below), with his innuendoes about Mr. B.'s affair with the Countess, has put her in: '*Since Knowledge is but Sorrow's Spy, / 'Twere better NOT to know*' (2nd, vol. IV, p. 159; 8vo, vol. IV, p. 184). Later, after the affair is revealed to have been largely Platonic, Richardson allows the Countess to expand her account of it to Pamela by adding several exculpatory clauses which further rehabilitate her character (pp. 494–8 below; 2nd, vol. IV, pp. 272–8; 8vo, vol. IV, pp. 312–20).

Richardson also scaled down some of Pamela's self-praise, which had annoyed readers since the original and given Miss Eliza Lucas, as we have seen, the opportunity to exercise her wit on both author and heroine. For example, writing to Lady G. (the former Miss Darnford) towards the end of the novel, Pamela reports the Dean's encomium 'That I seem'd design'd by Providence, as a Model, as well as an Exemplar, for my Sex' (p. 577 below); though the rest of his panegyric is allowed to stand, this clause is deleted (2nd, vol. IV, p. 395; 8vo, vol. IV, p. 452). Less than half a page later, after Pamela, in her usual fashion, self-deprecatingly congratulates herself on her humble origins, two of the young ladies listening to her cannot contain their admiration: 'Charming Humility! said Miss *Cope*, with her Hands lifted up. So said Miss *Stapylton*' (p. 577 below); while the paragraph provoking it survives, this effusion is omitted (2nd, vol. IV, p. 396; 8vo, vol. IV, p. 453). Earlier in the volume, another compliment to the heroine, this time paid by Lady Betty and reported by Lady Davers, 'that yours is the perfectest Character she ever heard or read of' (p. 330 below) is made less universal (or at least confined to only half of the human species) by the addition of 'in the Sex' (2nd, vol. IV, p. 40; 8vo, vol. IV, p. 49).

But not all characters improve their behaviour or language in revision. After his seduction of Polly Barlow is foiled by Pamela, the egregiously silly

81 For the titles of these poems, see note 49 above.

Mr. H., Lord Davers's nephew, writes a letter of apology, which Pamela reproduces in standard English for Miss Darnford in the first edition (275–8 below), but is full of misspellings in the second (vol. III, pp. 371–5) and octavo (vol. III, pp. 469–74). A similar transformation is undergone by a letter Mr. H. later writes to Lord Davers (p. 562 below) – and presented by Pamela to Lady G. as ‘a Curiosity’ – in which the nephew, now elevated to the peerage, berates his uncle for disapproving of his ‘low’ marriage (2nd, vol. IV, pp. 372–4; 8vo, vol. IV, pp. 426–7). Lord H. is also the subject of a substantial addition to the conclusion, in which Richardson details how the hapless peer, ‘after having suffer'd great Dishonour by the ill Courses of his Wife, and great Devastations in his Estate’, is rescued from his folly by his first wife's death and, on ‘Lady *Davers's* Recommendation’, ‘married a second . . . who, by her Prudence and Virtue, made him happy for the Remainder of his Days’ (2nd, vol. IV, p. 431; 8vo, vol. IV, p. 493).

Although Richardson seems to have put aside his scheme to revise *Pamela* as he worked on *Clarissa* and *Grandison* over the next decade, his first novel was still very much in his thoughts. On 5 October 1753, he confides to Lady Bradshaigh that ‘I will give Pamela my last Correction, if my Life be spared; that, as a Piece of Writing only, she may not appear, for her Situation, unworthy of her Younger Sisters.’ He had earlier made a similar remark to Johannes Stinstra: ‘I should say, that I intend to give my good Pamela, my last Hand. I find I shall correct it much; but shall leave a particular Regard to preserve the Simplicity of the Character.’⁸² The following year, on 28 June 1754, he informs Stinstra that ‘I shall retouch Pamela, as I have Opportunity; having gone a good way in it’; he also tells Stinstra that he is now collecting the ‘Sentiments’ of his first and last novel (having already done so for *Clarissa*) for ‘a kind of Vade Mecum’ for readers. As he compiled *A Collection of the Moral and Instructive Sentiments, Maxims, Cautions, and Reflexions, Contained in the Histories of Pamela, Clarissa, and Sir Charles Grandison*, published in March 1755, Richardson had an opportunity to go over the text of the novel once again, so that, as he writes to Stinstra on 26 November 1755, ‘I have actually retouched Pamela.’ Because of his ‘Ignorance of Proprietys of those Kinds’, such as ‘the Titles of Characters’, Richardson had earlier sought Lady Bradshaigh's advice to correct his ‘Mistakes’. She had agreed to do so and, in a letter she began on 23 December 1753 but did not finish until 14 January 1754, she promises to ‘write my marginal notes, in an old Edition of Pamela I have by me’. The next surviving reference in their correspondence to this annotated copy occurs in a letter from one of Richardson's daughters to Lady Bradshaigh, sent in March 1761, asking that she ‘will favour him [Richardson] with the Perusal of your Observations . . . as may make the future Edition more perfect than otherwise it can be’, a request she

82 Richardson to Stinstra, 2 June 1753.

agreed to on 13 March.⁸³ It is debatable whether Richardson had time, in the three and a half months before his stroke on 28 June and death on 4 July, to benefit from her 'Observations'. However, because some of the changes in the 1762 edition of all four volumes address issues of 'Propriety', it is possible that he had begun to follow her advice.

Revisions of the 1762 edition of the third and four volumes continue the process of elevating the style and conduct of the characters. One of the most pervasive changes concerns the words 'Gentleman' and 'Gentlemen'. In Pamela's letter at the beginning of the third volume, for example, 'the best of Gentlemen' becomes 'the best of Men' (p. 1); 'this excellent Gentleman' becomes 'this excellent Man' (p. 3); 'this best of Gentlemen' becomes 'this best of Men' (p. 4); and so on, with few exceptions, throughout the rest of the novel. Thus, near the end of the fourth volume, while 'Gentleman' and 'Gentlemen' remain unaltered on p. 410, the three instances of 'Gentleman' on p. 411 are changed to 'Man', including one in a clause in which the word 'Lady' undergoes a similar transformation: 'a Lady can judge, whether a Gentleman means honourably or not' (2nd, vol. iv, pp. 410–11); 'a Woman can judge, whether a Man means honourably or not' (1762, vol. iv, pp. 410–11). Where a servant maid might call all men and women in a higher station 'gentlemen' or 'ladies', a lady need not be so deferential, especially when, as in Pamela's first letter, she is speaking of her own husband.⁸⁴ The heroine's tendency to praise herself is further curbed. For instance, in a passage (vol. III, p. 220) that also features a change to increase the propriety of titles ('my dear Miss' altered to 'my dear Miss *Darnford*'), while Pamela is allowed to retain several paragraphs of 'the Respects paid me by People of different Ranks' as she takes an 'Airing' with Lady Davers, the rapturous comment of 'one Honest Man', 'That every-body's Heart sprang to their Lips as soon as I appeared, and they could not keep their Words in', is omitted. The presumption she often displays in her disagreements with Locke (vol. iv, p. 296) is somewhat toned down by the deletion of a sentence which, while typical of her way of piling clause upon clause and example upon example to refute the philosopher, also had unwittingly reminded readers of the 'low Condition' of two clergymen: 'To which, to name no more, the Merit of Mr. *Williams* and Mr. *Adams* will bear Witness.' Several lines that combine unseemly snobbery and low diction are cut from a scene in which Mr. B. leads Pamela and Miss Darnford into his coach: 'placing Miss and me on

83 Martha Richardson to Lady Bradshaigh, early March 1761. As Eaves and Kimpel observe (p. 704), the draft of this letter in the Forster collection (FM XI, fol. 270) is in Richardson's hand. I accept here Eaves and Kimpel's conjectures regarding which one of Richardson's daughters transcribed the letter as well as its date. Lady Bradshaigh's reply of 13 March is addressed to Richardson.

84 Writing about their emotional reading of *Clarissa*, Lady Bradshaigh refers to her husband as 'my dear Man' (Lady Bradshaigh to Richardson, 6 January 1749).

the Front-seat, and himself on the other, with Miss's Maid-servant, a genteel, prudent young Body, whom her Lady would fain have left in the Stage Coach, to avoid the Honour of sitting with Mr. B.' (vol. iv, pp. 36–7). Another line – 'And he saluted Miss, and me too' – is excised in a later scene to keep Mr. B. from transgressing the boundaries of polite behaviour after he has warmly complimented Miss Darnford for showing her emotion on her 'lovely Cheek' (vol. iv, p. 125). Pamela's occasionally ostentatious displays of religious fervour and filial piety are brought down a few notches by the excision of her overwrought apostrophe to Death: 'O Death! Death! thou mayst knock at the Doors of Tenements so frail, and so beloved: We cannot help ourselves: But we will not let thee in, if we can possibly avoid it; for the Lives of such dear Parents are a Part of my own Life: And, if God see fit, I cannot spare them! Indeed, I cannot!' (vol. iv, p. 371). Finally, having served its purpose, the advertisement appearing at the end of the fourth volume in all previous editions is eliminated.

Several editions of *Pamela* in four volumes appeared before the end of the century, none having any textual authority, though published by descendants or associates of the original publishers of the novel: the ninth in 1767 (vol. 1 reads 'eighth'; all other volumes, 'ninth'); tenth in 1771; another 'tenth' in 1775; eleventh in 1776; twelfth in 1785; and thirteenth in 1792. The sheets of the octavo edition, with new title pages and without the Royal Licence and illustrations, were reissued by William Otridge in 1772. In 1785 James Harrison published all four volumes of the novel and also included them the following year in volume xx of *The Novelist's Magazine*. A keen reader of publishing trends, Harrison chose only bestselling or celebrated works of prose fiction for his collection, thus assuring the continued availability and canonization of many of them.⁸⁵ There were several abridgements, such as the popular *The Paths of Virtue Delineated* (1768; second edition, 1773; third, 1777), containing 'in miniature' versions of all three

85 See Richard C. Taylor, 'James Harrison, *The Novelist's Magazine*, and the Early Canonizing of the English Novel', *Studies in English Literature* 33 (1993), 629–43. For an overview of these collections, see Robert D. Mayo, *The English Novel in the Magazines, 1740–1815* (Evanston, IL: Northwestern University Press, 1962). In *The Business of Books: Booksellers and the English Book Trade 1450–1850* (New Haven, CT and London: Yale University Press, 2007), James Raven summarizes Harrison's publishing career: 'James Harrison was an author and literary innovator as well as a highly successful entrepreneur. Among his 120 or so eighteenth-century titles were several part-book periodicals and weekly magazines. In November 1779, Harrison commenced his *Novelist's Magazine* in octavo with double columns and stitched in small weekly numbers . . . at their peak, 10,000 copies or more of the *Novelist's Magazine* sold each week, with twenty-three volumes extant by the date of completion. The *Novelist's Magazine* opened with John Hawkesworth's oriental *Almorán and Hamet* and Henry Fielding's *Joseph Andrews* and *Amelia* (the numbers of these three comprised the first volume). Later reprinted works included Tobias Smollett's *Peregrine Pickle* and *Humphry Clinker* and Samuel Richardson's *Pamela* and *Clarissa* (among sixty-one novels in all). In 1785, Harrison launched his *British Classics* over eight volumes, ending in 1787 (and reprinted again beginning in 1793 . . .). Harrison's *Sacred Classics* began in 1786, followed by his *New Novelist's Magazine*, which ran monthly from May 1786 to early 1788' (p. 245).

of Richardson's novels, a work sometimes attributed to Oliver Goldsmith, and *The History of Pamela; or, Virtue Rewarded* (1792; reissued, 1795), 'comprized in one large volume', published by Alexander Hogg. Abridgements, sometimes illustrated with 'cuts', also appeared in the United States in the 1790s, in Boston, New York, and Philadelphia, as well as in such smaller towns as Worcester (Massachusetts), Norristown (Pennsylvania), and Fairhaven (Vermont), suggesting that interest in Pamela's story remained high in the former colony, half a century after Benjamin Franklin had published a so-called 'fifth edition' (based on Richardson's fourth) of the first two volumes in Philadelphia (1742–4), thus making *Pamela: or, Virtue Rewarded* the first English novel printed in North America.⁸⁶ There does not appear to have been an eighteenth-century American edition of the third and fourth volumes.

Though appearing forty years after Richardson's death, the 'fourteenth' edition, 'with numerous corrections and alterations' (title page), published in four volumes in 1801, is textually important. Some caution, however, needs to be exercised before accepting as 'authorial' any of its revisions. We do not know which of the changes in this edition were made by Richardson and which by his two daughters, Martha Bridgen (who had died in February 1785) and Anne Richardson, both of whom seemed to have made corrections to the copy of the novel left in their possession – a copy which had, as Anne wrote to her sister on 31 July 1784, 'received' their 'Father's last hand', but was still 'not enough perfect to be published'. In short, while it can claim a direct line of descent from Richardson – '*THE Booksellers*' assuring '*the Public*' in the 'Advertisement' that they were '*favoured with the copy, from which this Edition is printed, by his only surviving daughter, Mrs. Anne Richardson*' – this edition is not fully authoritative. Nonetheless, while the mixed authority of this edition must be acknowledged, its place in the textual and publication history of the novel cannot be ignored. Whatever the scope of his daughter's editorial interventions, the 1801 edition presents *Pamela* in the exalted textual condition towards which Richardson's own revisions had been aiming since the second edition of the first

86 The colophon of Franklin's edition reads: 'LONDON, Printed: PHILADELPHIA; Reprinted, and Sold by B. FRANKLIN.'; the second volume is dated 1743. On Richardson and Franklin, see Paul Giles, *Transatlantic Insurrections: British Culture and the Foundation of American Literature, 1730–1860* (Philadelphia: University of Pennsylvania Press, 2001), pp. 70–91; Giles asserts that *Pamela* 'remained the most widely read of Richardson's novels in the New World' (p. 72). For a discussion of the 'American Richardson', see Leonard Tennenhouse, *The Importance of Feeling English: American Literature and the British Diaspora, 1750–1850* (Princeton University Press, 2007), pp. 43–72. Back in Britain, the London bookseller Charles Cooke included both parts of *Pamela*, unabridged, in his *Pocket Edition of Select Novels* in 1801–3; the text resembles that of the 'eighth' posthumous edition published in 1761. Cooke also published an abridgement of the novel in 1811, again based on the 1761 edition, which, reissued at least ten times before 1838, was not only the most widely available version of the novel in the early nineteenth century, but also provided the text for the Everyman edition of 1914. Thus, for most of the nineteenth century and well into the twentieth, readers of *Pamela* read the novel in a truncated state neither authored nor authorized by Richardson.

two volumes published in February 1741. The elevation of Pamela's language and social circumstances, begun by Richardson six decades earlier, reaches its full expression in the 1801 volumes.⁸⁷

With over eight thousand changes in the first two volumes and about the same number in the third and fourth, the 1801 edition is by far the most extensively revised; it is also shorter than previous editions.⁸⁸ As in the first two volumes, of which Eaves and Kimpel note (with only slight exaggeration) that 'hardly a paragraph is untouched', the continuation shows evidence of the reviser's hand everywhere, from changes in individual words and phrases to deletion and recasting of longer passages.⁸⁹ A notable exception occurs at the beginning, in the preface, which is imported virtually unchanged from the 1762 edition. The table of contents from the octavo is reduced by nearly a third and no longer appears in its entirety before Pamela's first letter in the first volume; instead, each volume has its own table of contents. The text of the letters and journals seems to be based on the octavo edition but there are readings adopted from the second duodecimo (when this edition differs from the octavo) as well as 1762 editions. It seems that, as Richardson gave his 'last Hand' to *Pamela* during the 1750s and in the year before his stroke, he might have been sifting through his corrections to previous editions to determine which ones were worth preserving. Thus, changes to titles and to the words 'Gentleman' and 'Gentlemen' appear mostly as they do in 1762, but Pamela's apostrophe to death, deleted (as noted above) in the 1762 edition, is restored (vol. iv, p. 343), its filial piety apparently trumping any misgivings about it Richardson (or his daughters) might have had. Overall, however, revisions in the 1801 edition aim to tone down Pamela's emotional language, as evinced in the opening letter of the third volume, revised in ways typical of the whole. For example, a paragraph of thanksgiving and blessings is deleted: 'How am I, every Hour of my Life, overwhelm'd with Instances of God Almighty's Goodness and

87 Anne Richardson, who died in 1803, informed a correspondent in October 1801 that she was correcting 'errors of printing &c.' in the 1801 edition of *Pamela*. Published by essentially the same group of booksellers as the 1801 edition, a 'fifteenth' edition, correcting typographical and other stylistic errors, appeared in 1810. Because this is the last edition in what might be called the Richardson–Bridgen line of textual transmission, it is of some significance. However, just as with the 1801 edition, it must be used with caution. For information on the 1810 edition, see Eaves and Kimpel, 'Richardson's Revisions of *Pamela*', *Studies in Bibliography* 20 (1967), 76–7. Eaves and Kimpel surmise that 'the 1810 edition was printed from a copy of the 1801 corrected by Anne Richardson. It is not impossible that she consulted the copy in her father's hand, but none of the changes are beyond her abilities' (p. 77). In short, we do not know who is responsible for changes in the 1810 text.

88 Eaves and Kimpel, 'Richardson's Revisions', 78.

89 One major revision affecting length occurs in the third volume, when Miss Darnford's irreverent description of her sister's quarrel with Mr. Murray, her suitor, is almost completely cut from Letter XXXIV. As a result, Letters XXXIV and XXXV from previous editions are combined here into Letter XXXIV, making the 1801 third volume shorter by one letter than the second, octavo, and 1762 editions.

his! – O spare, blessed Father of Mercies, the precious Life of this excellent Man, and increase my Thankfulness, and my Worthiness; and then – But what shall I say? Only, that then I may *continue* to be what I am; for more bless'd, and more happy, in my own Mind, surely I cannot be' (1762, vol. III, p. 3). On the next page, 'In this generous manner does this best of Men endeavour to disclaim' becomes 'In this manner does this generous man endeavour to disclaim'; 'the dear Object of my Happiness' is flattened to just the pronoun 'he'; and 'my Duty to the Supreme Benefactor, the First Mover and Cause of all his own Happiness, of my Happiness, and of that of my dear, my ever-dear Parents!' is trimmed to 'my duty to the first cause of all his own happiness, of my happiness, and of that of my ever dear parents!' (1762, vol. III, p. 4; 1801, vol. III, p. 4). The purpose of all these changes is to prevent the heroine and other characters (such as the once lively Miss Darnford) from, as Pamela writes at the end of this letter, in a sentence that remains unchanged, 'running on to my usual length'. In their cumulative effect, the 'numerous corrections and alterations' of this edition further diminish the freshness and spontaneity still present even in previous editions of the admittedly less eventful continuation. In its attempt to achieve correctness and propriety, the 1801 edition of the third and fourth volumes offers its readers not so much writing to the moment – the hallmark of Richardson's epistolary art – as writing (or revising) long after that moment is past.

PRINCIPLES OF ANNOTATION

It is a truth universally acknowledged that editorial work is culturally contingent. Thus, the purpose of my annotations is to illuminate for modern readers aspects of Richardson's *Pamela in Her Exalted Condition* obscured by the passage of time.⁹⁰ To that end, I have consulted contemporary documents, such as newspapers, histories, pamphlets, and Richardson's correspondence, to identify or explain references to notable persons or to cultural, historical, and political events. As is well known, Richardson liked to coin words or to use them in peculiar or idiosyncratic ways; when necessary to clarify the sense, I have derived definitions of words and phrases both from eighteenth-century dictionaries, such as Johnson's, and from the *Oxford English Dictionary*; for legal terms, I sometimes draw my definitions from contemporary law dictionaries. For biblical allusions, I have relied primarily on the King James Bible, and occasionally on contemporary editions of hymnals and the Book of Common Prayer; for proverbial expressions, I am indebted to

90 For my views on annotation, I am indebted to Arthur Friedman, 'Principles of Historical Annotations in Critical Editions of Modern Texts', *English Institute Annual 1941* (New York: Columbia University Press, 1942), pp. 115–28; and Martin C. Battestin, 'A Rationale of Literary Annotation: The Example of Fielding's Novels', *Studies in Bibliography* 34 (1981), 1–22.

Tilley's *A Dictionary of the Proverbs in England in the Sixteenth and Seventeenth Centuries* as well as *The Oxford Dictionary of English Proverbs*. Quotations from Shakespeare's poems and plays are from *The Riverside Shakespeare*, ed. G. Blakemore Evans, 2nd edition (Boston: Houghton Mifflin, 1997). Because Richardson often returns to the same concepts or ideas throughout his career, I also record in my annotations parallels with his other works, especially *Clarissa* and *Sir Charles Grandison*. Whenever appropriate in identifying a possible source or illuminating a particular point, I quote from books Richardson himself printed, on the assumption that he might have been familiar with their contents – a task made easier by William Sale's pioneering *Samuel Richardson: Master Printer* (1950) and Keith Maslen's indispensable *Samuel Richardson of London, Printer* (2001). Because this is the first critical edition of *Pamela in Her Exalted Condition*, I have not benefited here, as I did in the Cambridge edition of *Pamela: or, Virtue Rewarded*, from the labours and collective wisdom of previous editors.