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> THE CAMBRIDGE EDITION OF THE WORKS OF SAMUEL RICHARDSON 2

PAMELA: OR, VIRTUE REWARDED

#### THE CAMBRIDGE EDITION OF THE WORKS AND CORRESPONDENCE OF SAMUEL RICHARDSON

GENERAL EDITORS Thomas Keymer University of Toronto Peter Sabor McGill University

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# SAMUEL RICHARDSON

**3**2

## PAMELA: OR, VIRTUE REWARDED

EDITED BY Albert J. Rivero



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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 respect tangential to the genealogy of the text: in the

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#### xiv GENERAL EDITORS' PREFACE

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.<sup>1</sup> 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 Æsop'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

<sup>&</sup>lt;sup>I</sup> 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), 163–89).

GENERAL EDITORS' PREFACE XV

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 Vol. 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'.<sup>2</sup> 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

<sup>2</sup> Samuel Richardson, *Sir Charles Grandison*, ed. Jocelyn Harris, 3 vols. (London: Oxford University Press, 1972), I, p. xxviii.

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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 GENERAL EDITORS' PREFACE XVII

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,<br>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    |

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|                        | private bills for James Blew, a lawyer and parliamentary agent                                                                                                                                                                                              |
| 1721                   | Buys 'Printing Presses and Letter Utensils of trade' from<br>the Leakes and sets up as master printer in their former<br>premises, where he resides until 1736; remains in the<br>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<br>twenty-four apprentices bound to him during his career                                                                                                                                           |
| 1722–4                 | Denounced to the ministry by Samuel Negus, a printer,<br>as one of the 'disaffected printers Said to be<br>High-Flyers'; continues printing Tory–Jacobite material,<br>including the Duke of Wharton's periodical <i>The True</i><br><i>Briton</i> (1723–4) |
| 1725<br>December       | Begins printing <i>The Daily Journal</i> (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 <i>Daily Journal</i> operations (to 1736)                                                                                                                                                     |
| September              | Identified to the ministry by Edmund Curll as printer of a seditious number of <i>Mist's Weekly Journal</i>                                                                                                                                                 |
| 1730                   |                                                                                                                                                                                                                                                             |
| December               | The Infidel Convicted, possibly by SR                                                                                                                                                                                                                       |
| 1731<br>22 January     | Death of Martha (Wilde) Richardson                                                                                                                                                                                                                          |
| 23 January<br>February | Becomes a junior shareholder in the Stationers' Company,                                                                                                                                                                                                    |
| rebidary               | purchasing progressively more senior levels of stock in 1736,<br>1746, and 1751                                                                                                                                                                             |

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

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| CHRONOL                                        | CHRONOLOGY                                                                                                                                                                                                                       |  |  |
|------------------------------------------------|----------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------|--|--|
| October                                        | Edits and prints updated second edition of Defoe's <i>Tour</i> ; also subsequent editions of 1742, 1748, 1753, and 1761–2                                                                                                        |  |  |
| 1739<br>26 April<br>10 November<br>20 November | Baptism of son Samuel, d. 1740<br>Starts writing <i>Pamela</i><br>Æsop's Fables                                                                                                                                                  |  |  |
| 1740<br>January                                | Completes draft of <i>Pamela</i> , revising the text over the                                                                                                                                                                    |  |  |
| 29 March                                       | ensuing months<br>The Negotiations of Sir Thomas Roe in His Embassy to the<br>Ottoman Porte, edited and printed by SR for the Society for                                                                                        |  |  |
| 17 July                                        | the Encouragement of Learning<br>Baptism of twelfth and last child, Sarah (Sally), m. 1763 (to<br>Richard Crowther), d. 1773                                                                                                     |  |  |
| 6 November                                     | Pamela; or, Virtue Rewarded                                                                                                                                                                                                      |  |  |
| 1741<br>23 January<br>28 May                   | Expands his printing premises behind Salisbury Court<br>Letters Written to and for Particular Friends<br>Opening volume of John Kelly's Pamela's Conduct in High<br>Life, a spurious continuation, published; SR starts planning |  |  |
| 1 December                                     | his own authorized continuation<br>Elected to the Court of Assistants, ruling body of the<br>Stationers' Company                                                                                                                 |  |  |
| 7 December                                     | Pamela in Her Exalted Condition, SR's continuation                                                                                                                                                                               |  |  |
| 1742<br>8 May                                  | Sixth edition of <i>Pamela</i> , in octavo format and with                                                                                                                                                                       |  |  |
| May                                            | twenty-nine engravings by Hubert Gravelot and Francis<br>Hayman: the first simultaneous publication of both parts<br>Wins large contract to print the <i>Journals</i> of the House of<br>Commons (to 1761)                       |  |  |
| I744                                           | Begins printing the <i>Philosophical Transactions of the Royal</i><br><i>Society</i> (to 1761), one of several major projects for learned<br>societies                                                                           |  |  |
| June–July                                      | Earliest references in SR's correspondence to <i>Clarissa</i> , which already exists in some form of draft                                                                                                                       |  |  |
| December                                       | Sends part of the novel in manuscript to Aaron Hill;<br>manuscript copies in various states of revision circulate<br>among SR's friends until 1747                                                                               |  |  |

CHRONOLOGY XXIII

| 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                                  |
|             | 5 1 5                                                               |
| 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 <i>Whitehall Evening-Post</i> for contact with    |
|             | Lady Bradshaigh, who has been sending pseudonymous                  |
|             | letters about <i>Clarissa</i>                                       |
| 6 December  | Clarissa, Vols. V–VII                                               |
| 1749        |                                                                     |
| June        | Prints Answer to the Letter of a Very Reverend and Worthy           |
| juiio       | Gentleman, a defence of Clarissa's fire scene, for private          |
|             | distribution                                                        |
| August      | Publishes notes responding to Albrecht von Haller's                 |
| Tugust      | critique of <i>Clarissa</i> in the <i>Gentleman's Magazine</i>      |
| Describer   | •                                                                   |
| 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                 |
| Tuguot      | Benjamin's fourteen-year-old daughter Susanna (Sukey),              |
|             | 'whom my Wife has in a manner adopted'                              |
|             | whom my whe has ma 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 <i>Clarissa</i> ; new material separately |
|             | published as Letters and Passages Restored from the Original        |
|             |                                                                     |
|             | Manuscripts of the History of Clarissa                              |

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

CHRONOLOGY XXV

| 1755             |                                                                                                                                                                  |
|------------------|------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------|
| February         | Begins writing a fragmentary 'History of Mrs. Beaumont'<br>(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,<br>renovating the adjoining house as a residence, which he<br>occupies the following spring           |
| 1757             |                                                                                                                                                                  |
| June             | Approached by Erasmus Reich, a Leipzig bookseller, with<br>proposals to bring out a German edition of his selected<br>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 <i>Almira</i> , 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 <i>Pamela</i> and <i>Clarissa</i> to make further revisions                                                        |

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| xxvi CHRONOLOGY          |                                                                                                                                                                                                                                                                               |
|--------------------------|-------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------|
| 28 June                  | Suffers stroke during a visit from the portraitist Joseph<br>Highmore                                                                                                                                                                                                         |
| 4 July<br>September      | Dies, leaving an estate of £14,000 and bequeathing<br>manuscripts to his daughters; buried in St Bride's, Fleet<br>Street, beside his first wife and infant children                                                                                                          |
| 1                        | over SR's business with a partner, Samuel Clarke                                                                                                                                                                                                                              |
| 1762                     | Posthumous revised editions of <i>Pamela</i> and <i>Sir Charles</i> Grandison                                                                                                                                                                                                 |
| 1765<br>March            | 'Six Original Letters upon Duelling' published in the <i>Candid Review and Literary Repository</i>                                                                                                                                                                            |
| 1771<br>25 January       | Publication of Anna Meades's <i>The History of Sir William</i><br><i>Harrington, written some years since, and revised and</i><br><i>corrected by the late Mr. Richardson</i> ; SR's daughters<br>contest the claim, but he had indeed advised Meades in<br><sup>1757–8</sup> |
| 1780                     | William Richardson issues proposals for a uniform edition<br>of the novels, 'with corrections', but the edition does not<br>materialize                                                                                                                                       |
| 1784                     | Anne Richardson and Martha Bridgen plan a new edition<br>of <i>Pamela</i> , based on unpublished final revisions by SR, to<br>be 're-revised' by themselves                                                                                                                   |
| 1786<br>January–February | Authorized 'Memoirs of Richardson', perhaps by Edward Bridgen, published in the <i>Universal Magazine</i>                                                                                                                                                                     |
| 1792                     | 'New edition' of <i>Clarissa</i> , 'with the last corrections by the<br>author', prepared with the involvement of Anne<br>Richardson and SR's granddaughter Sarah Crowther<br>Moodie                                                                                          |
| 1801                     | Fourteenth edition of <i>Pamela</i> , prepared from Anne<br>Richardson's copy, 'with numerous alterations by the<br>Author'                                                                                                                                                   |
| 1803                     | Death of Anne, SR's last surviving child                                                                                                                                                                                                                                      |

CHRONOLOGY XXVII

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     |
|------------------|-------------------------------------------------------------|
|                  | <i>Lady</i> , 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)                          |
| $\mathrm{FM}$    | Forster Collection, Victoria and Albert Museum              |
| Johnson          | Samuel Johnson, A Dictionary of the English Language,       |
|                  | 2 vols. (1755)                                              |
| Joseph Andrews   | Henry Fielding, Joseph Andrews, ed. Martin C. Battestin     |
|                  | (Middletown, CT: Wesleyan University Press, 1967)           |
| 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 Dugald McKillop, Samuel Richardson: Printer and        |
| -                | Novelist (Chapel Hill: University of North Carolina Press,  |
|                  | 1936; repr. Shoe String Press, 1960)                        |
| ODEP             |                                                             |
|                  | Wilson (Oxford: Clarendon Press, 1970)                      |
|                  |                                                             |

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ABBREVIATIONS xxix

| OED         | O[xford] E[nglish] D[ictionary] Online (Oxford University     |
|-------------|---------------------------------------------------------------|
|             | Press, 2008)                                                  |
| Pamela 2    | Samuel Richardson, Pamela; or, Virtue Rewarded And            |
|             | afterwards, In her Exalted Condition, vols 3–4 (1742)         |
| Sabor       | Samuel Richardson, Pamela; or, Virtue Rewarded, 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)                                     |
| Shamela     | Henry Fielding, The Journal of a Voyage to Lisbon, Shamela,   |
|             | and Occasional Writings, ed. Martin C. Battestin (Oxford:     |
|             | Clarendon Press, 2008)                                        |
| Spectator   | The Spectator, ed. Donald Bond, 5 vols. (Oxford: Clarendon    |
|             | Press, 1965)                                                  |
| Tilley      | Morris Palmer Tilley, A Dictionary of the Proverbs of         |
|             | England in the Seventeenth and Eighteenth Centuries (Ann      |
|             | Arbor: University of Michigan Press, 1950)                    |
|             |                                                               |

#### GENERAL INTRODUCTION

Samuel Richardson's first full-length work of prose fiction, *Pamela: or, Virtue Rewarded*, was published anonymously on 6 November 1740 in two small duodecimo volumes; it became an instant bestseller and cultural event. Posing as 'editor' of a genuine correspondence, Richardson gave his readers, 'In a Series of Familiar Letters' (title page), the fascinating story of a young servant-girl who, withstanding the assaults of her late lady's rakish son, manages to convert him from his wicked ways and becomes his wife. Combining pious commentary with sexual titillation, and offering what its detractors affirmed was a recipe for social climbing, the novel spawned many publications, both from those who relished its religious message and from those who deplored its dubious morality. The so-called 'Pamela controversy', especially after Henry Fielding joined the fray with *Shamela* (first published on 2 April 1741, with a second edition appearing on 3 November 1741), has often been interpreted as one of the crucial events in the development of the English novel.<sup>1</sup> By May 1742, *Pamela: or, Virtue Rewarded* had reached its sixth edition (in

I For the most comprehensive and accurate account of the events surrounding 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 for my own account of the Pamela vogue. I am also indebted to Alan Dugald McKillop, Samuel Richardson: Printer and Novelist (Chapel Hill: University of North Carolina Press, 1936; repr. Shoe String Press, 1960), pp. 3–106, and T. C. Duncan Eaves and Ben D. Kimpel, Samuel Richardson: A Biography (Oxford: Clarendon Press, 1971), pp. 100–53. Still of some interest, but superseded by Keymer and Sabor's book, is Bernard Kreissman's monograph, Pamela-Shamela: A Study of the Criticisms, Burlesques, Parodies, and Adaptations of Richardson's Pamela (Lincoln: University of Nebraska Press, 1960). Most of the documents, including visual representations, generated by the novel's publication are conveniently reproduced in the six volumes of Thomas Keymer and Peter Sabor (eds.), The Pamela Controversy: Criticisms and Adaptations of Samuel Richardson's Pamela, 1740– 1750 (London: Pickering & Chatto, 2001). For an astute analysis of the cultural issues at stake, see James Grantham Turner, 'Novel Panic: Picture and Performance in the Reception of Richardson's Pamela', Representations 48 (1994), 70-96. Turner here follows Terry Eagleton, who views Pamela less as a novel than as 'a password or badge of allegiance, code for what became a whole cultural event'. For Eagleton, 'the modern equivalent of Pamela would . . . be . . . a phenomenon like Superman. The literary text... is merely the occasion or organizing principle of a multimedia affair, stretching all

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#### xxxii GENERAL INTRODUCTION

octavo format, with illustrations). In an attempt to legitimize his heroine's social elevation and to reassert his right as the sole purveyor of her story, Richardson had published on 7 December 1741 a continuation in two volumes, detailing Pamela's life 'In her Exalted Condition'. An inveterate reviser, Richardson continued to tinker with both parts of the novel for the rest of his life, with an 'eighth edition' (the fourth of the sequel) being published on 18 October 1761, three months after his death. A 'new edition, being the fourteenth', claiming to incorporate the author's final 'corrections and alterations' (title page), was published in four volumes in 1801. Issued by what was essentially the same group of booksellers, a 'fifteenth' edition, also in four volumes and with further corrections, appeared in 1810.

Such, in short, is the history of the publication of what was arguably the most influential novel published in Britain in the eighteenth century. This history, as well as the history of the novel's initial critical reception, has often been told. It is not my purpose here to rehearse either one or both of these histories in detail, but instead to offer a brief general introduction to *Pamela: or, Virtue Rewarded* that will outline circumstances surrounding its composition, publication, early reception, and revisions. My aim is to sketch out, in so far as it is possible, the historical context of the novel's first appearance, not to offer a new critical interpretation or to engage in critical disputes. At the end of this introduction, I shall offer a brief rationale of the principles governing my annotations. Although in the ensuing pages I shall sometimes refer to the sequel, my focus throughout is on the original novel, reserving information on *Pamela in Her Exalted Condition* for my General Introduction to that work, published in a separate volume.

#### CIRCUMSTANCES OF COMPOSITION

Writing to Johannes Stinstra, the Dutch translator of *Clarissa*, on 2 June 1753, Richardson provides his own account of the genesis of *Pamela*:

You ask, 'If I had a Model before my Eyes, in some of my Pieces?' The Story of Pamela had some slight Foundation in Truth. Several Persons of Rank were guessed at, as having in my Mind sat for the two Principal Characters in that Piece: But no one Conjecture came near the Truth; nor was it likely that it should; for I myself knew no more of the Story, than what I recollected a Gentleman told me of it Fifteen Years before I sat down to write it; & as it was related to him by an Innkeeper in the

the way from domestic commodities to public spectacles, instantly recodable from one cultural mode to the next' (*The Rape of Clarissa: Writing, Sexuality and Class Struggle in Samuel Richardson* (Oxford: Basil Blackwell, 1982), p. 5). Building on the cultural analyses of Turner and Eagleton, William B. Warner examines what he calls 'The *Pamela* Media Event' in *Licensing Entertainment: The Elevation* of Novel Reading in Britain, 1684–1750 (Berkeley: University of California Press, 1998), pp. 176–230.

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Neighbourhood of the happy Pair; & which Gentleman had been, at the Time, several Years dead.

The writing it then, was owing to ye following Occasion: -Two Booksellers, my particular Friends, entreated me to write for them a little Volume of Letters, in a common Style, on such Subjects as might be of Use to those Country Readers who were unable to indite for themselves. Will it be any Harm said I, in a Piece you want to be written so low, if we should instruct them how they should think & act in common Cases, as well as indite? They were the more urgent with me to begin the little Volume for this Hint. I set about it, & in the Progress of it, writing two or three letters to instruct handsome Girls, who were obliged to go out to Service, as we phrase it, how to avoid the Snares that might be laid against their Virtue; the above story recurred to my Thought: And hence sprung Pamela.<sup>2</sup>

The 'little Volume' Richardson refers to here is Letters Written to and for Particular Friends, On the Most Important Occasions, commonly known as Familiar Letters, probably begun in September or October of 1739, though its publication was delayed until 23 January 1741, as Richardson turned his attention to completing the project that had so adventitiously 'sprung' from him.<sup>3</sup> The one-paragraph Letter CXXXVIII, from 'A Father to a Daughter in Service, on hearing of her Master's attempting her Virtue', is clearly the germ of the second letter in Pamela, in which her parents advise Pamela to return to them 'if you find the least Attempt made upon your Virtue' (p. 12). But, unlike the daughter in Familiar Letters, who in her answer (Letter CXXXIX) succinctly apprises her father that 'I have this Day left the House', even though her master has not made another 'vile Attempt' (EW, p. 464), Pamela stays, a fateful decision not only for herself and her author but also for the history of the English novel. The two booksellers who persuaded Richardson to undertake Familiar Letters were his close friends and associates in the printing trade, John Osborn and Charles Rivington, who would also become the booksellers for Pamela and from whom, as he informs Stinstra, Richardson 'accepted of 20 Guineas for two Thirds of the Copy-Right; reserving to myself only one Third'.4 Given the spectacular success that lay ahead, it is evident, from this split in copyright shares, that Richardson, while cutting a relatively respectable deal for a first-time author of a novel, undersold himself.<sup>5</sup>

<sup>2</sup> Richardson to Stinstra, 2 June 1753. 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.

<sup>3</sup> Samuel Richardson, Letters Written to and For Particular Friends, On the Most Important Occasions. Directing not only the Requisite Style and Forms To be Observed in Writing Familiar Letters; But How to Think and Act Justly and Prudently, in the Common Concerns of Human Life (London, 1741). The full title of this work suggests that the stylistic and formal concerns of the traditional letter-writer are here secondary to issues of moral and ethical conduct.

<sup>4</sup> Richardson to Stinstra, 2 June 1753.
5 Other than this figure, we have no other surviving evidence of how much money Richardson made from Pamela. William Merritt Sale, Jr, writes that 'an indication of how completely Richardson

#### XXXIV GENERAL INTRODUCTION

A dozen years before his account to Stinstra, in late January or early February 1741, in reply to a query from Aaron Hill, Richardson had offered a similar version of the 'original groundwork of fact, for the general foundation of Pamela's story' but placed the gentleman's telling of it to him 'about twenty-five years ago'. In this earlier, fuller version, Richardson paints a detailed portrait of the lady, 'one of the greatest beauties in England; but the qualities of her mind had no equal: benevolent, prudent, and equally beloved and admired by high and low'. He continues:

That she had been taken at twelve years of age, for the sweetness of her manners and modesty, and for an understanding above her years, by Mr. B—'s mother, a truly worthy lady, to wait on her person. Her parents, ruined by suretiships, were remarkably honest and pious, and had instilled into their daughter's mind the best principles...

That the girl, improving daily in beauty, modesty, and genteel and good behaviour, by the time she was fifteen, engaged the attention of her lady's son, a young gentleman of free principles, who, on her lady's death, attempted, by all manner of temptations and devices, to seduce her. That she had recourse to as many innocent stratagems to escape the snares laid for her virtue; once, however, in despair, having been near drowning; that, at last, her noble resistance, watchfulness, and excellent qualities, subdued him, and he thought fit to make her his wife  $\dots$ <sup>6</sup>

The details of the original Mrs. B's story are so similar to those represented in *Pamela* that it is difficult to determine whether Richardson is reconstructing or obfuscating the historical origins of his novel, especially when one considers how the 'story' has been transmitted – from Richardson's recollection of a story told to him, 'many years before', by a friend, now dead, who, in turn, had heard it from the landlord of an inn. While it is entirely possible that Richardson, given

underestimated the value of the book as a publishing venture may be found in the fact that in 1776 a one-sixteenth share of *Pamela* sold for £18' (*Samuel Richardson: A Bibliographical Record of His Literary Career with Historical Notes* (New Haven, CT: Yale University Press, 1936), p. 16). But by then, though its popularity had waned, the novel was nonetheless still valuable 'as a publishing venture' precisely because of its initial spectacular success, not to mention Richardson's established reputation as the author of *Clarissa* and *Sir Charles Grandison*. Perhaps a more accurate measure of what a novelist might have expected as a lump sum payment for his work (as was the custom) in the early 1740s may be had in Henry Fielding's willingness (possibly prompted by the pressure of debt) to take only £25 for *Joseph Andrews* before James Thomson advised him to approach Thomson's own publisher, the bookseller Andrew Millar – even though, as Martin C. Battestin suggests, the details of the anecdote describing the selling of *Joseph Andrews* 'are suspiciously elaborate' (General Introduction, *Joseph Andrews*, ed. Martin C. Battestin (Middletown, CT: Wesleyan University Press, 1967), p. xxviii). That Fielding was actually paid £183 µs. might have been the result not only of Millar's munificence but also of the recent success of *Pamela*, which had very likely raised the price of that kind of literature. Millar later paid Fielding £600 for *Tom Jones* and £800–1000 for *Amelia*.

<sup>6</sup> Richardson to Hill, [c.1 February 1741]. 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), I, pp. Ixix–Ixxvi. 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.