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978-0-521-84894-7 - Samuel Richardson: Pamela in her Exalted Condition

Edited by Albert J. Rivero

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THE CAMBRIDGE EDITION OF  
THE WORKS OF SAMUEL RICHARDSON 3

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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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- 2 Pamela: or, Virtue Rewarded
- 3 Pamela in Her Exalted Condition
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In Preparation:  
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*To Lisa and Albert*

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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:

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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.<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>1</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), 163–6).

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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'.<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), vol. 1, 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 and

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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

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- 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

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- 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)

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- 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

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- 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*

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- 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

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- 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

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- 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

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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

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- 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)
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- 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)

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- 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)
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