

# Pamela: Or, Virtue Reworded: The Texts, Paratexts, and Revisions that Redefine Samuel Richardson's Pamela

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PAMELA: OR, VIRTUE REWORDED: THE TEXTS, PARATEXTS, AND  
REVISIONS THAT REDEFINE SAMUEL RICHARDSON'S PAMELA

by

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ABSTRACT  
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Marquette University, 2012

This dissertation is a study of the revisions Samuel Richardson made to his first novel, *Pamela*, and its sequel, *Pamela in Her Exalted Condition*, published within his lifetime. Richardson, who was his own printer, revised *Pamela* eight times over twenty years, the sequel three times, and the majority of the variants have hitherto suffered from critical neglect. Because it is well known that Richardson responded to friendly and antagonistic “collaborators” by making emendations, I also examine the extant documents that played a role in *Pamela*'s development, including Richardson's correspondence and contemporary criticisms of the novel. *Pamela Reworded*, then, is an explanation, exhibition, and interpretation of what Richardson revised, why he revised, and, more importantly, how the revisions affect one's understanding of the novel and its characters.

While studies of *Pamela*'s composition history have been thoroughly discussed in Richardson biographies, and the influence of Richardson's contemporaries on the novel's revisions has been examined, a comprehensive study of the variants and their impact on the narrative has remained in a scholarly limbo between textual and literary criticism. My collation is supported by documentary evidence about the text, including relevant contemporary conversations, in an attempt to illustrate the evolution of the novel through its different editions, and an exhibition of the variants is further supported by literary analysis. This exploration of why Richardson emended *Pamela* and what he changed informs how the revisions impact the novel and its characters. The results indicate that he typically revised in similar ways in subsequent editions, but at different times he had different intentions, and the changes he made serve different purposes. As a result, I contend that new and even contradictory perspectives of the novel's hero and heroine emerge. Consequently, this dissertation opens up additional opportunities in the study of *Pamela* and, perhaps, the eighteenth-century novel as well.

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## INTRODUCTION

According to his own memoranda, it was on November 10, 1739 that Samuel Richardson, at fifty years of age, began writing his first novel: *Pamela: or, Virtue Rewarded* (Carroll 41).<sup>1</sup> Immediately after *Pamela* was published, and its two volume sequel, *Pamela in her Exalted Condition*, also known as *Pamela II*, Richardson repeatedly revised both texts until his death in 1761. Over 270 years later, there is still much to be said about these revisions; in particular, why did Richardson revise; what, according to his correspondence, might have been his intent; and, more importantly, what is the impact of the variants and how do they affect one's interpretation of the novel and its characters? In this study, I hope to answer these questions by examining the variants in all four volumes of *Pamela* and the novel's extra-textual content within the context of Richardson's correspondence and contemporary responses to the novel, including criticisms, parodies, and unauthorized continuations. While the textual collation of Richardson's *Pamela* is by no means a new topic, it has been almost fifty years since ten different editions of the first two volumes were collated by T.C. Duncan Eaves and Ben D. Kimpel in order to determine the best text.<sup>2</sup> Furthermore, it has been thirty-five years since Peter Sabor completed his dissertation in which the variants of all four volumes of *Pamela* are studied in order to gauge how influential contemporary texts, criticisms, and Richardson's correspondents were in shaping each new edition.<sup>3</sup> As a result, the central

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<sup>1</sup> *Selected Letters of Samuel Richardson*. Ed. John Carroll. New York: Oxford UP, 1964. Print.

<sup>2</sup> "Richardson's Revisions of *Pamela*." *Studies in Bibliography* 20 (1967): 61-88. *JSTOR*. Web. 9 Feb. 2009.

<sup>3</sup> "Samuel Richardson, His Critics, and the Revisions of *Pamela* 1740-1801." Diss. U of London, 1977. Microfilm.

issues of *Pamela*'s textual history that have been explored but not exhausted include what type of revisions were made, why they were made, who influenced them, and which text we should be reading. I intend to examine a different but equally important aspect of all four volumes of *Pamela* published in Richardson's lifetime that is not an integral part of previous studies. Therefore, I do not attempt to determine which edition of *Pamela* is the best text, and though I speculate on the influence of Richardson's contemporaries, this is not my primary concern. Instead, I hope to resolve what Jerome McGann calls "the schism between textual and interpretive studies" (11) with a close analysis and interpretation of *Pamela*'s revisions within their contemporary context and how they alter characterization and affect one's interpretation of the novel.<sup>4</sup>

The answers to my questions of interpretation and characterization are to be found, above all, in the *Pamela* texts and paratexts – the material both inside and outside of the novel. In addition to extensive revisions to subsequent editions, Richardson also framed his text with paratexts, which can be further subdivided into what Gerard Genette calls peritexts and epitexts: the liminal devices inside and outside the book respectively.<sup>5</sup> Peritexts are situated within or around the text itself and include a number of extra-textual devices that Richardson, as his own printer, chose to incorporate, namely prefaces, introductions, illustrations, typography, and so on. Epitexts, on the other hand, are materials found outside of the text and are, in different ways, beyond the author's control, such as reviews, letters, parodies, imitations, etc. Paratexts, then, according to Samuel Kinser, "indicate the forces that have shaped a text: they show how contexts invade the

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<sup>4</sup> *A Critique of Modern Textual Criticism*. Charlottesville: University Press of Virginia, 1992. Print.

<sup>5</sup> *Paratexts: Thresholds of Interpretation*. Trans. Jane E. Lewin. London: Cambridge UP, 1997. xviii. Print.

text” (17) and are “physically adjacent to and inseparable from the text” (150).<sup>6</sup> Thus, the multiple editions of *Pamela* do not lend themselves to a discussion of textual variance alone. Although the revisions can be investigated in isolation, it is necessary, if we are to appreciate and fully measure their significance, that they be informed by an invading and shaping context that includes not only what Richardson thought, but what his contemporaries thought of his first novel, and what they thought of him.

*Pamela Reworded* is not an attempt to create a new edition of the novel. This study is primarily what John Bryant calls a “revision narrative” (144) – an explanation, exhibition, and interpretation of *Pamela*’s variants.<sup>7</sup> The modern approach to editing literary works was built by and established on the theories of W.W. Greg, Fredson Bowers, and G. Thomas Tanselle. Their respective methods, each different in their own way, often focus on creating a single text that does not illustrate revision as it happened, but instead all at once or not at all. Neither are the subtle shifts of the author’s intentions throughout the entire creative process addressed; rather, according to Tanselle, a “stage in the history of the work” is reconstructed (70).<sup>8</sup> To these critics there are essentially only three ways of looking at a text: either the author’s first intention in the form of a manuscript or first edition, an intermediate text that shows a transition of intention, or the author’s final intention, an eclectic maturation of their first intention, is preferred. This dissertation, on the other hand, draws from the approach known as Fluid Textual Editing, a hybrid method concerned more specifically with showing how the author revised their work along with their changing intentions throughout its various editions. In the revision

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<sup>6</sup> *Rabelais's Carnival: Text, Context, Metatext*. Berkeley: University of California Press, 1990. Print.

<sup>7</sup> *The Fluid Text: A Theory of Revision and Editing for Book and Screen*. Ann Arbor: University of Michigan Press, 2002. Print.

<sup>8</sup> *A Rationale of Textual Criticism*. Philadelphia: UP Press, 1989. Print.

narrative, each variant is analyzed, a possible motive suggested, and its impact interpreted. In the case of *Pamela*, the revisions appear to have been driven by sexual anxieties, aesthetic concerns, and a cultural backlash that included, among other things, objections to the heroine's social mobility and the novel's low style. The changes in *Pamela*'s editions, to some degree, are a response to these forces, and a revision narrative is the best way to explain how the verbal and visual variants affect one's interpretation of the novel and its characters.<sup>9</sup>

In order to examine, narrate, and interpret the variants found in the editions of *Pamela* published during Richardson's lifetime, I need first to identify what I am looking at and what I am looking for. For much of this information I am indebted to William M. Sale, Jr.'s *Samuel Richardson: A Bibliographical Record of his Literary Career with Historical Notes*. In this work, Sale identifies the nine editions of *Pamela* and the six editions of the sequel that were published between 1741 and 1762, the principle texts I examine.<sup>10</sup> Though I have made my own collations, I am equally indebted to Eaves and Kimpel's collations of volumes I and II which they discuss in "Revisions." In their study, they also conclude that the fourteenth edition of *Pamela* published in 1801 is based on a copy of the novel, presumably the octavo edition, revised by Richardson and his two daughters, Martha Bridgen and the unmarried Anne Richardson. Consequently, my study

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<sup>9</sup> It is also important to note that this is not a fluid textual study of *Pamela*. Such a work is beyond the scope of this dissertation and would require that a material edition of *Pamela*, preferably one that is digital and searchable, be produced and additional editions of the novel examined beyond those I have collated here. Instead, I am writing a revision narrative of *Pamela* and *Pamela II* that could be used, in part, to create a fluid text.

<sup>10</sup> Technically, the first edition of *Pamela* was published on November 6, 1740, and the eighth on October 28, 1761, but it was common in the eighteenth-century, according to John Nichols, "when a Book happens not to be ready for publication before November, the date of the ensuing year is used" (249). See the footnote in Nichols's *Literary Anecdotes of the Eighteenth Century*. Vol. III. 1812. New York: AMS Press, 1966. Print.

is limited to the editions published in Richardson's lifetime, which means I have collated only those editions that can, with a great degree of certainty, be attributed to him. Because Richardson was his own printer, the typical problems one encounters with a printer's house style or other such "corruptions," as Bowers calls them, are non-existent.<sup>11</sup> I have also omitted from my study the fourth and fifth editions of *Pamela II* because, according to Sale, as well as my own cursory examination, they are issues of the sequel's second edition and do not contain revision. At the same time, my collation of these editions does not mean that I have infallibly recorded and observed every variant there is to be found. I have made statements such as "volumes I and II of the lifetime edition contain 110 changes," but it is possible that some went unnoticed. While my count of *Pamela*'s verbal variants is never significantly different from those of Eaves and Kimpel, I still ask readers to keep in mind that my numbers, as well as theirs, are approximate. Moreover, I have excluded from my count what are known as accidentals, unless otherwise indicated, including misprints, changes in italics, spelling, punctuation, capitalization, and paragraphing. When dealing with paratexts, I count verbal changes to the front and back matter of *Pamela*'s duodecimo editions, but I exclude the octavo's unique table of contents and its 29 illustrations from my calculations, though their impact is thoroughly discussed.<sup>12</sup> Finally, Peter Sabor does not count the variants in his collations of *Pamela II*'s revised editions, but I make an effort to quantify them for the first time according to the previously established guidelines.

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<sup>11</sup> See *Textual & Literary Criticism*. Cambridge: CUP, 1959. Print.

<sup>12</sup> It is not clear how Eaves and Kimpel count the octavo's paratexts, and I have chosen to count only those variants that underwent some form of revision. Since the table of contents and the illustrations are terminal and cannot be compared to similar material in other editions, I examine them but they are not used to measure, quantitatively, the extent of revision.

Organized chronologically and by edition, this dissertation begins with volumes I and II and concludes with volumes III and IV. It is my rationale that this is the best way to exhibit the variants and Richardson's shifting intentions as they happened and within their specific contexts. This structure is also practical because *Pamela* was not offered for sale as a four volume novel until Richardson printed the octavo in 1742, so, despite variants with overlapping themes, to discuss it as all inclusive before this edition would be anachronistic and might mislead the reader into thinking that critical objections exclusive to *Pamela I* are shared by *Pamela II*. At the same time, and according to Richardson's correspondence, the purpose of *Pamela I* is markedly different from *Pamela II*, even if one looks no farther than the title pages. The former, according to its subtitle, is *VIRTUE Rewarded*, while the latter is *Pamela In her EXALTED CONDITION*. In many ways, the variants in one may be similar in nature to the other, but they have different objectives. Moreover, in many cases it is uncertain after 1742 if the novel's critics were reviewing and objecting to all four volumes or just the first two. Nevertheless, because *Pamela* was regularly sold as a complete set in four volumes, I have assumed in my examination of the octavo and eighth duodecimo editions of volumes III and IV that critics read it as such, and that what they call *Pamela* includes the sequel.

*Pamela Reworded* begins in Chapter One with a study of the most significant and impactful variants of the second edition and how characterization is affected as a result. The chapter is set within the context of *Pamela*'s genesis, initial reception, and the novel's instant success in order to establish Richardson's intention as evidenced in *Pamela*'s preface and his own correspondence. In doing so, the groundwork is laid for a

discussion of the revisions and how they illustrate the ways Richardson re-conceptualized his characters in the chapters that follow. To begin with, the variants themselves show immediate and noticeable changes in characterization. In particular, there are adjustments to language and style in what appears to be a direct attempt to dignify the heroine and, to a lesser degree, redeem the rakish hero. Richardson was first encouraged to revise in this way by an anonymous correspondent, whose objections were sent to him in care of *Pamela*'s bookseller at the time, Charles Rivington. Despite a declaration to the contrary in the introduction added to the new edition, Richardson emended his text in response to these objections. As a result, *Pamela* and *B.*, just two months later, are noticeably different characters, and the book begins its history as a malleable and fluid text.

Chapter Two discusses the revisions and altered characterization in the third, fourth, and fifth editions of *Pamela* along with the changes to the novel's paratexts that are a result of additional criticism. The impact of the third edition is minimal because popular demand required a new edition less than a month after the second, leaving Richardson with little time to revise. Revisions to the fourth and fifth editions, however, are more extensive. In particular, the censure and commentary of Henry Fielding's *Shamela*, the anonymous pamphlet *Pamela Censured*, and John Kelly's unauthorized sequel, *Pamela's Conduct in High Life*, were responsible, directly and indirectly, for a number of revisions that show, above all, Richardson continued to rethink his heroine's humble origins and his hero's culpability. By May 1741, readers were divided into what would later be called Pamelists and anti-Pamelists, due, in part, to emerging cynical readings. The Pamelists praised the heroine's virtue and the novel's morality, whereas the anti-Pamelists characterized her as a social-climbing schemer and the novel as a

titillating, somewhat pornographic fantasy. The revisions to the fifth edition especially complicate characterization in the wake of these new, polarized readings. Pamela's character is increasingly and by degrees elevated stylistically in an effort to reconcile her social mobility to a class-conscious readership, but, paradoxically, a number of other changes to Pamela and B. seem to encourage anti-Pamelist readings despite the evidence that suggests Richardson revised in an attempt to satisfy their objections. Thus, the influence of contemporary criticism on the fourth and fifth editions is significant beyond simply encouraging Richardson to experiment with style, though by the second edition this was clearly his frequent shorthand way of elevating the heroine, and modern critics have underestimated or perhaps been unaware of the subtlety with which Richardson portrayed his characters and their evolving personalities by the publication of the fifth edition.

Next, in Chapter Three I examine the text and paratexts in volumes I and II of the octavo edition and illustrate how they offer three different perspectives of the novel's characters. The octavo is a terminal text; that is, it is the only edition of *Pamela* that contains unique paratexts, such as a table of contents and illustrations, and the variants found in the revised text do not carry over into future editions published in Richardson's lifetime. In this expensive, lavish edition, Richardson used increasingly elaborate literary devices in order to affect a particular interpretation of his novel and its characters. This combination of the verbal and visual was, as can be speculated from Richardson's correspondence and other documentary evidence, an attempt to combat the subjectivity inherent in the text. Instead of forestalling subjective readings, however, Richardson, by presenting readers with three different ways of seeing his characters, exploded the



interpretive opportunities that were once limited by the text alone. I argue that Pamela is depicted more like a Lady than a servant in the images and certainly does not appear as a prisoner who is threatened, at every turn, with torture and rape. At the same time, B., instead of a morally bankrupt libertine, is portrayed as a perfect gentleman and all evidence that suggests he is a menacing would-be rapist is, at least visually, absent. I also discuss how in the table of contents Richardson-as-editor offers his subjective interpretation of events, and, along with the revised text, continues to elevate the heroine and, to some extent, disguise B.'s baser behavior while highlighting his better, though limited, qualities.

Chapter Four is an examination of the variants and revised paratexts in volumes I and II of the sixth, seventh, and eighth editions of *Pamela*, which, ultimately, represent Richardson's final conception of his first novel and its characters. In these editions, there are relatively fewer revisions when compared to the second and fifth duodecimos and the octavo edition; however, the emendations continue to illustrate Richardson's shifting intentions and how he saw his novel taking shape in the last years of his life. Following the success of *Pamela*, Richardson wrote two more novels, *Clarissa* and *Sir Charles Grandison*, and it was these longer, more mature works that occupied his attention between revised editions of his first novel. At the same time, and as he matured as a writer, Richardson, repeatedly attacked by critics for his low style, attempted to apply his talent and growing familiarity with upper-class life to *Pamela*. He did so, in part, with the help of Lady Dorothy Bradshaigh, who, at Richardson's request, annotated all three of his novels. Her annotations to *Pamela*, though lost, undoubtedly provided Richardson with a template for many of the changes included in the eighth, lifetime edition. Most of the

variants, as in all editions of *Pamela*, show a tendency toward elevating the style, but there is a much stronger global focus on correcting matters of propriety, such as affected behavior, erroneous titles, and forms of address, that lends more authenticity to the heroine's social transition. The final recension is also a cover-to-cover revision in which the emended front and back matter are strategically altered in order to emphasize the novel's didactic purpose. Thus Richardson, a more experienced writer with a better understanding of genteel social codes as prescribed by an upper-class reader, made Pamela's transition into a life of privilege appear almost seamless, but not until after spending the better part of twenty years revising her language and refining her character.

Chapter Five of *Pamela Reworded* offers the most comprehensive study of the variants found in volumes III and IV to date and explores their impact on characterization and their affect on the novel as a didactic text. In the sequel's second edition, Richardson revised significantly, making more changes to this text than any other edition of *Pamela I* or *Pamela II* published in his lifetime. The revisions stress, above all, the linguistic propriety of each character's letters because they are, as the title page promises, written "UPON THE MOST Important and Entertaining Subjects, In GENTEEL LIFE." In addition to signifying his characters elevated status stylistically, Richardson also foregrounded the didactic function of the novel, in large part, by justifying what critics considered objectionable in volumes I and II. In this way, he was able to further promote Pamela's virtues, exonerate the hero of his baser behavior, and, with language as a social marker, provide greater consistency of character. In other words, to facilitate Pamela's social advance into an exalted condition, each character is given a social identity that is more consistent with their style. In order for Pamela in particular to appear "*more conversant*

*in High Life*” (*Daily Post* 3 June 1741), her typical informal pattern of “writing to the moment” is abandoned in favor of a scripted rhetoric.<sup>13</sup> As a result, she appears more intelligent and confident overall and assumes a strong matronly air and teacherly ethos which is used to illustrate her moral authority. Upon revision, then, *Pamela II* becomes more of what Richardson planned it to be: two volumes that “were to be more calm, serene, and instructive, and such as should be Exemplary” (Carroll 54).

Chapter Six explores the text and paratexts in the octavo edition of *Pamela II* and examines how, with three different and often conflicting views, Richardson tried to further establish his characters’ moral and social identities. This is known as the third edition of the sequel and, like what is called the sixth, octavo edition of volumes I and II, it is a terminal text with variants not found in any other edition. It is also the first time all four volumes were sold as a complete set, and it offers the readers of this text the most unique and extreme views of the hero and heroine. As in volumes I and II, the paratexts of *Pamela II* both conflict with and idealize the text that describes them. With even more certainty than before, the third-person perspective of the “editor” in the second half of the table of contents conspicuously offers his view of the novel in a direct attempt to resist subjective readings. At times, the table of contents, with omniscient authority, subtly and not so subtly exaggerates a given character’s strengths while it conceals their faults. The illustrations, too, conflict with the text, and, in many cases, the primacy of the verbal is at risk of becoming inferior to the visual because one is displaced by the other as an

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<sup>13</sup> *Daily Post* 3 June 1741: n.p. Gale. Web. 20 Feb. 2012. The bookseller Richard Chandler advertized in the *Daily Post* that John Kelly’s unauthorized sequel, *Pamela’s Conduct in High Life*, was “regularly digested by a Gentleman more conversant in High Life than the vain Author of Pamela, or Virtue Rewarded.” This is one of several attacks leveled at Richardson’s low style that he would, over time, answer by revising *Pamela*’s language to match what he believed was a “high life” idiom.

alternate authority. Even if Richardson sought to subordinate the engravings to the written text, they are, in many ways, allowed to assume a greater role. This dual-media edition of *Pamela* and the shifting perspectives are counter-authoritative, and the overlapping versions of events compete for interpretive supremacy. On the other hand, the revised text of this edition has less of an impact on how one interprets the characters; nevertheless, the variants as a whole still show that Richardson was attempting to reconcile readers to Pamela's social mobility with an elevated language used to signify her status and fine-tune her nuanced, gentrified identity. This, I continue to argue, was not only done to better fulfill the promise on the sequel's title page, namely that these are letters between "Persons of *Figure* and *Quality*," but to answer, indirectly, the personal attacks made by Richardson's contemporaries. The anonymous author of *The Life of Pamela*, in particular, claimed Richardson knew "*nothing of the Behaviour and Conversation of the Nobility*" (249) and that *Pamela* was full of "*monstrous Inconsistencies* [of style that] *must be shocking to a judicious Reader*" (340).<sup>14</sup> Richardson's revisions, therefore, appear to be more of a tangible "defence of himself" (Barbauld, I, lxxvii) and his novel than first thought.<sup>15</sup>

Finally, Chapter Seven is an analysis of the variants and their impact on characterization in the last edition of *Pamela II* published in Richardson's lifetime. There is no sixth or seventh edition of volumes III and IV, and Richardson called this one the eighth, according to Sale, in order "to bring them into general conformity with Vols. I

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<sup>14</sup> *Life of Pamela*. London: Whitefield, 1741. Gale. Web. 12 Dec. 2009.

<sup>15</sup> *The Correspondence of Samuel Richardson*. 1804. 6 Vols. Ed. Anna Laetitia Barbauld. New York: AMS Press, 1966. Print. Barbauld, along with many modern critics of *Pamela II*, read the sequel as "less of a continuation than the author's defence of himself" (lxxvii), but the revisions appear to assume that role more so than the text itself.

and II” (34). These volumes are Richardson’s last attempt to satisfy his “high-bred” readers (Carroll 325) with comprehensive, global changes that ultimately add a greater consistency to Pamela’s social advance. In addition to adding further linguistic signs of gentility meant to elevate the heroine and, presumably, please “high-bred” readers, Richardson, I argue, also revised for personal reasons. *Pamela* was always, especially after *Clarissa* and *Grandison* were published, critically maligned as the lowest of his novels and clearly viewed as deficient in status and sensibility. Critical remarks of the novel’s deficiencies, faults, and failures were often complemented by personal attacks, and, in a few letters to his most intimate correspondents, Richardson, evidently aware of such criticism, admitted his ignorance of “high-life.” The exact degree of influence this censure and contempt had on *Pamela*’s revisions is immeasurable, but Richardson undoubtedly attempted, to some extent, and with Lady Bradshaigh’s help, to silence his most outspoken critics by offering them characters more consistent with what they expected from “Persons of *Figure* and *Quality*.” In this edition, Pamela’s social metamorphosis, then, is as complete, stylistically, as Richardson could make it in his lifetime. Therefore, as I go on to show, tracing the history of the writing and publication of *Pamela* and identifying and analyzing the substantive variants illustrates for the reader Richardson’s sensitivity to criticism, how that, in turn, affects characterization, and, ultimately, its extensive influence on how *Pamela* is read today.

## CHAPTER ONE: VIRTUE IN A STRONGER LIGHT

The success of *Pamela* surprised even Richardson, and the novel went through five editions in its first year alone.<sup>1</sup> If *Pamela*, as contemporary praise indicates, “was received with a burst of applause from all ranks of people” (Barbauld, I, lviii), then the question naturally arises: why did Richardson significantly revise his first novel over the next twenty years? During this time, and indeed throughout his lifetime, Richardson solicited the advice of his friends and correspondents for all three of his novels. He was also, in different ways, encouraged to revise them by complete strangers who publically and privately criticized his work. They objected, primarily, to *Pamela*’s heavy-handed morality, sexually suggestive narrative, blurring of class distinctions, and its low style. As the evidence suggests, these critics contributed to, or at least influenced in some way, Richardson’s revisions. This was possible, among other reasons, because of Richardson’s fluid approach to writing: he saw his text as malleable (before and after publication) and his novel as a medium that could be revised endlessly until intention was no longer in doubt. Indeed, as his correspondence indicates, Richardson appears to have been more interested in making changes than his correspondents were willing to suggest them. With or without help from others, Richardson did revise *Pamela*, making thousands of changes to all four volumes. His main goal for revision is explicated in a letter to Lady Bradshaigh dated October 5, 1753 in which he wrote: “I will give Pamela my last correction, if my life be spared; that, as a piece of writing only, she may not appear, for her situation, unworthy of her younger sisters” (Carroll 245). *Pamela*’s “sisters” were

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<sup>1</sup> Richardson wrote to Hill in a letter dated January 26, 1747 that “[*Pamela*’s] strange Success at Publication is still my Surprize – Even, Sir, the Approbation it met with from you” (Carroll 78).

written, Richardson continued, after their father “was a little more *aforehand in the World*” and “they were put to genteeler Parts of Education, than could be afforded for the Elder Daughter” (245). In other words, *Pamela* was not as sophisticated as her sisters and needed more polishing to perfect her in the “genteeler Parts.” The eldest “sister,” then, was periodically sent to finishing school, to carry on the metaphor, where her style was elevated in an unusual collaboration between author and critic, printer and correspondent, individual and culture.

This interaction between what Christopher Flint calls the “reception and conception” (46) of a text presents a unique opportunity to critically analyze *Pamela*’s variants in a revision narrative.<sup>2</sup> As an important part of any textual analysis, a revision narrative provides a detailed story of particular revisions, and each revision can be understood as a collection of text that, when exhibited in relation to other revisions, can be explained in concert via a global narrative. In other words, to demystify the deletions, additions, and re-writings, to critically analyze *Pamela*’s textual fluidities, and to present these findings in a meaningful way, it is necessary to discuss the interaction between Richardson and his collaborators, both antagonistic and friendly, in tandem with the variants as well as the interpretive impact these variants have on character and text. This study, then, seeks to explicate Richardson’s revisions to each edition of *Pamela* that was published in his lifetime beyond the current studies by Eaves and Kimpel and Peter Sabor, whose assessments of the revisions, however accurate, are incomplete.<sup>3</sup> Their data

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<sup>2</sup> *The Appearance of Print in Eighteenth-Century Fiction*. New York: CUP, 2011. Print.

<sup>3</sup> See Eaves and Kimpel’s “Revisions” and Peter Sabor’s unpublished dissertation. Eaves and Kimpel’s textual study of Richardson’s revisions to *Pamela* is to determine which is the best text. They conclude, after an extensive study of nine duodecimo editions (1740-1810) and the octavo edition of 1742, that the 1801 revision best represents Richardson’s final intention. They do not, however, examine Richardson’s

in regard to Richardson's emendations does not approach the vanishing point of critical interest, so a better understanding of what Richardson said he was doing, what he actually did, and what these revisions do is necessary in order to expand scholarly conjectures beyond what might be the best text, as Eaves and Kimpel do, and the degree of influence contemporary responses may have had on successive revisions, as Sabor does. Thus, this chapter begins *Pamela's* revision narrative by discussing the interpretive impact of the variants found in the second edition, speculates why they were made, and illustrates how characterization is changed as a result. In particular, they reveal that Richardson responded to critics by emending the language in an attempt to dignify his heroine. In doing so, he evidently hoped to reconcile antagonistic readers to her unprecedented social mobility in a rather straightforward way – by elevating her style. These subtle changes to characterization begin *Pamela's* twenty year transition from Richardson's rustic, "Elder daughter" to a woman of "genteeler parts."

It is well known to anyone who studies the origins of the novel in English that the anonymous publication of *Pamela* on November 6, 1740 was a significant event. Richardson's first novel had so thoroughly saturated the public consciousness that in January 1741 the *Gentleman's Magazine* declared it "as great a Sign of Want of Curiosity not to have read *Pamela*, as not to have seen the *French and Italian Dancers*" (56). According to Anna Laetitia Barbauld, Richardson's first biographer, "those who remember the publication say, that it was usual for ladies to hold up the volumes of

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sequel, *Pamela in her Exalted Condition*, also known as *Pamela II*. Sabor's dissertation examines Richardson's correspondence and the contemporary responses to *Pamela* in order to determine the degree of influence they may have had on successive revisions. While he examines the texts and paratexts of all four volumes of *Pamela*, it is not an exhaustive study of substantive and semi-substantive variants, nor does it determine the impact these revisions may have on the way we interpret *Pamela*.



Pamela to one another, to shew they had got the book that every one was talking of’ (lviii). *Pamela* was even recommended from the pulpit by Dr. Benjamin Slocock of St. Saviour’s in Southwark.<sup>4</sup> In a word, the novel brought all of London to fever pitch. Additional praise arrived in the form of private correspondence, which Richardson took an interest in preserving. On December 13, 1740, Richardson’s physician, George Cheyne, was impressed by the novel’s message, which he wrote “entertained me and all mine (for which I thank you) extremely” (Mullett 63-64).<sup>5</sup> Aaron Hill, who would become Richardson’s principle correspondent in the 1740’s, wrote frankly “What is there, throughout the *Whole*, that I do not sincerely admire...I admire, in it, the noble Simplicity, Force, Aptness, and Truth, of so many modest, economical, moral, prudential, religious, satirical, and cautionary, *Lessons*” (xvii).<sup>6</sup> The result of these and future epistolary exchanges is a text in which narrative and analysis quickly become inseparable. In other words, Richardson had his finger on the pulse of the reading public and he was willing, at the least sign of danger, to operate.

Several more extant letters of praise arrived shortly before Richardson published the second edition on February 14, 1741. For instance, on January 21, Patrick Delany wrote to tell Richardson how much he admired “Lady” Pamela, and recommended her conduct as an example to his ward (Sabor 56). A few days later, on January 27, Knightley

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<sup>4</sup> Following Slocock’s recommendation of *Pamela* to his congregation, rumors spread that he was bribed to advertise the novel because Richardson cancelled half a debt that Slocock owed him. There is no definitive proof this was the case; however, Brian Downs speculates there were “some obscure negotiations between the preacher and the novelist” (48), and Alan McKillop also assumes this is the case because “the whole transaction smacks of advertising” (47). See Downs’s *Richardson*. London: Routledge and Sons, 1928 and McKillop’s *Samuel Richardson: Printer and Novelist*. Hamden: Shoe String Press, 1960.

<sup>5</sup> *The Letters of Doctor George Cheyne to Samuel Richardson (1733-1743)*. Ed. Charles F. Mullett. Columbia: University of Missouri, 1943. Print.

<sup>6</sup> There are some twenty letters from Hill regarding *Pamela* as well as many others from Richardson’s correspondents that I examine as they correspond to specific revisions or calls for revision.

Chetwood wrote to Ralph Courteville and compared *Pamela*'s influence and reformatory powers to the Bible (56). On January 30, the pseudonymous poet Philo-Paideias sent Richardson a "small poetic Essay on your excellent Book," and gave him permission to "print it in any future Edition" (56-57). Even Alexander Pope is said to have stated, according to Cheyne, that *Pamela* "will do more good than a great many of the new Sermons" (Mullett 65). Similar eulogies are abundant and no doubt a tribute to *Pamela*'s popularity and renown.

Naturally, Richardson's authorship could not remain anonymous for long, nor is it likely, after so much praise and attention, that he wanted it to.<sup>7</sup> Overnight success meant that there would be inquiries, and, on at least two separate occasions, Richardson was asked how he came to write *Pamela*. The details are sketchy but consistent, and, in later years, Richardson mistakes the dates, but there is nothing to suggest his correspondents doubted his veracity, though we may look upon his account with a skeptical eye. On February 1, 1741, two weeks before the second edition of *Pamela* was available, Richardson wrote in answer to Hill's question as to "Whether there was any original ground-work of fact, for the general foundation of Pamela's story" (Carroll 39).

According to Richardson, there was:

About twenty-five years ago, a gentleman, with whom I was intimately acquainted (but who, alas! is now no more!) met with such a story as that of Pamela, in one of the summer tours which he used to take for his pleasure, attended with one servant only. At every inn he put up at, it was his way to inquire after the curiosities in its neighbourhood, either ancient or modern.... (39)

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<sup>7</sup> Initially, only a handful of Richardson's friends knew he was the author of *Pamela*, "6 Friends and those in Confidence" (Carroll 45). At the same time, however, he did not go to great lengths to maintain his anonymity, though his name does not appear as the author on any of his novels during his lifetime. It is also clear from his correspondence that once his authorship was known he thoroughly delighted in his celebrity.

It was during one of these tours, then, that Richardson's acquaintance heard the story of Pamela and B., fair-tale-like, from the landlord of an unknown inn, sometime around the turn of the century:

The lady, he said, was one of the greatest beauties in England; but the qualities of her mind had no equal: beneficent, prudent, and equally beloved and admired by high and low. 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...

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 principle, 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. That she behaved herself with so much dignity, sweetness, and humility, that she made herself beloved of every body, and even by his relations, who, at first, despised her; and now had the blessings both of rich and poor, and the love of her husband. (40)

Richardson claimed to have remembered this story after he started writing a collection of *Familiar Letters* for the booksellers Rivington and Osborne, during which he was inspired to make "two volumes of it," having "gave way to enlargement," in order to "introduce a new species of writing, that might possibly turn young people into a course of reading different from the pomp and parade of romance-writing, and dismissing the improbable and marvellous, with which novels generally abound" (41). The above description is an apt summary of *Pamela* that was given, of course, after the novel was

written, and therefore one is tempted to question whether or not Richardson's anecdote is the chicken or the egg.

If Richardson's short account was a chicken and egg situation, he was nonetheless consistent. Twelve years later, he gave a similar response to Johannes Stinstra, the Dutch translator of his third novel, *Sir Charles Grandison*. "You ask," he wrote, "'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 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 my self 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; and as it was related to him by an Innkeeper in the Neighbourhood of the happy Pair; and which Gentleman had been at the Time, several Years dead. (Slattery 28)<sup>8</sup>

In addition to confirming his earlier explanation to Hill, though the dating of events is dubiously altered, Richardson also corroborated that *Pamela*'s story developed from his work on *Familiar Letters*. "The writing of [*Pamela*]" he continued, "was owing to the 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...I set about it, and 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 to against their Virtue; the above story recurred to my Thought: And hence sprung Pamela. (Slattery 28)

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<sup>8</sup>*The Richardson-Stinstra Correspondence and Stinstra's Prefaces to Clarissa*. Ed. William C. Slattery. Carbondale: Southern Illinois UP, 1969. Print.

*Pamela* certainly seems to have “sprung” from him. It was completed in only two months and “enlarged” from a one-paragraph letter in which a father advises his daughter to return home after her master attempts her virtue. This advice, Letter CXXXVIII in Richardson’s *Familiar Letters*, is most definitely the same as that offered by Pamela’s father in the novel’s second letter. While we may question Richardson’s debt to earlier fiction – he was careful enough to avoid admitting he followed tradition but bold enough to state that he had, in fact, created “a new species of writing” – and doubt his assertion that *Pamela* has its “Foundation in Truth,” the theme of his first novel is undoubtedly linked, as he said, with *Familiar Letters*.<sup>9</sup>

In addition to being the impetus for *Pamela*, Richardson’s debt to *Familiar Letters* is also evidenced on the novel’s title page, which at once announces its epistolary style and its goal to delight and instruct:

*Pamela: Or, Virtue Rewarded. In a SERIES of FAMILIAR LETTERS FROM A Beautiful Young DAMSEL, To her PARENTS. Now first Published In order to cultivate the Principles of VIRTUE and RELIGION in the Minds of the YOUTH of BOTH SEXES. A Narrative which has its Foundation in TRUTH and NATURE; and at the same time that it agreeably entertains, by a Variety of curious and affecting INCIDENTS, is intirely divested of all those Images, which, in too many Pieces calculated for Amusement only, tend to inflame the Minds they should instruct.* (title page)

While Richardson altered the texts of *Pamela*, the title and subtitle remain unchanged. Readers are told they can expect a delightful story related through the letters of a young girl coupled with a didactic, sobering code of conduct. Indeed, it claims to “agreeably entertain” yet at the same time “cultivate the Principles of VIRTUE and RELIGION.”

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<sup>9</sup> For a study that seeks to place Richardson amongst a tradition of early British and French writers, see McKillop’s *Samuel Richardson: Printer and Novelist*.

Richardson would have his readers believe that *Pamela* is a medicine of cherries. This idea is further strengthened by the preface. Left unchanged until the fifth edition, the preface announces Richardson's comprehensive didactic goal: "to teach the man of *fortune*.... [and] to give *practical* Examples" to women in an "easy and agreeable" manner (iv).<sup>10</sup> Richardson insisted that young and old shall be edified "without raising a *single Idea* throughout the Whole, that shall shock the exactest purity" (v). In other words, women will fashion themselves according to the model presented while the men will be engaged intellectually, leaving them to pursue virtue according to their consciences.

Such is the function of the preface: to comment further upon the title and telegraph the novel's didactic message; however, at the same time, Richardson weakened the fictionality by assuming the persona of an editor. By disavowing his authorship, or at least obscuring it, Richardson claimed to be the custodian of a found manuscript. In doing so, he also became the mouthpiece for interpreting the text. Not only did he provide readers with some idea of what to expect, but he also took (or attempted to take) interpretive control away from them. The didactic pronouncements underscore the value of the text and its subject – its moral usefulness – while providing guidance for readers, "nine parts in ten" of whom, Richardson believed, "were but in hanging-sleeves" and largely incapable of close reading (Carroll 42).

Additional guides for readers in "hanging-sleeves" are two letters Richardson appended to the preface that, in effect, frame his novel as a conduct book. Before its

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<sup>10</sup> Richardson streamlined the preface to the fifth edition, removing a parenthetical and epithets such as "the modest virgin, the chaste bride, and the obliging wife" (v) in favor of utility and precise expression. A colophon is added and the signature "The Editor" is removed. See Chapter Two for a detailed discussion of the changes to the fifth edition.

initial publication, Richardson shared the manuscript of *Pamela* with others, ensuring that his text came into the hands of readers disposed to appreciate its content. Among those early readers were Jean Baptiste de Freval and William Webster, both of whom were acquainted with Richardson through his press. Each wrote a complimentary letter that would supplement the preface to the first and subsequent editions.<sup>11</sup> The sentiments of these two gentlemen were in agreement with Richardson's title page and preface. De Freval stated that the work "intirely answers the Character [Richardson] give[s] of it in [his] Preface" (vii), while Webster declared that the manuscript was full of "*Instruction*" and "*Morality*," "shews Virtue in the strongest Light, and renders the Practice of it amiable and lovely" (x). Clearly, by appending these two letters, Richardson had the idea of confirming the reality and authenticity of his novel. He engaged friends and acquaintances in a collaborative project before *Pamela* was even published in order to provide readers with a narrative that could lead "*Every one [to] mend one*" (II, 201) as well as encourage self-reformations.

When *Pamela* was first published, Richardson anticipated that his heroine would offend some readers "by her prattling Impertinence" (Sabor 34), but many also doubted *Pamela*'s authenticity and claims of morality, what he would later call a novel's "*Air of Genuineness*" (Carroll 85), despite the puff pieces in the preface. Some recommended, while others insisted, on changes to the text, clearly indifferent to the ruse that the novel was an edited collection of correspondence. The novel's first critic, an anonymous correspondent, wrote on November 15, 1740, nine days after the novel was published, to

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<sup>11</sup> These letters are published untouched in many editions, though Richardson omitted them entirely from the octavo of 1742. They return in the sixth edition of 1746 and parts from both letters are excised in the eighth edition of 1762.

offer constructive criticism.<sup>12</sup> Though generally “pleased with [the] book,” he proposed 17 revisions for future editions (Sabor 25), ten of which Richardson implemented immediately. A summary of these objections was published in the introduction to the second edition and are in turn refuted by Hill, whose letters of defense and praise are also included in the introduction to the second edition. Despite Hill’s arguments for leaving *Pamela* unchanged, Richardson followed through with some of the anonymous critic’s suggestions. In turn, Richardson overlooked Hill and Webster’s appeal to “let us have *Pamela* as *Pamela* wrote it; in her own Words, without Amputation, or Addition” (I, xiii) in favor of dignifying his heroine. This, no doubt, reveals Richardson’s deeper awareness of certain class presumptions. With some simple but effective revisions to the second edition, Richardson began a process that improves Pamela and positions her above her peers in the servant class. That Mr. B. stoops so low and marries his mother’s waiting maid is, so Richardson thought, more acceptable through a re-vision of the heroine and her “low” style.

After initially receiving letters that contained praise and comparatively mild criticisms, Richardson revised *Pamela*, wrote an introduction, and included six abridged letters from Hill in an attempt to improve his work, respond to objections, and reason the average reader into supporting his novel. Following Richardson’s claims in the preface, the introduction proceeds with corollary claims in which Hill debates the several points made by the anonymous critic.<sup>13</sup> First and foremost, Hill praised the text, its subject, and

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<sup>12</sup> Because *Pamela* was published anonymously, this letter was addressed to the bookseller, Charles Rivington. Hereafter, whenever I refer to this anonymous correspondent within this chapter, he will be referenced as the anonymous critic.

<sup>13</sup> Richardson included excerpts from six of Hill’s letters in his introduction. These date between December 17, 1740 and February 9, 1741.



the author. Hill's sycophantic devotion, however, overshadows his attempt to prepare a proper defense against criticism both undergone and anticipated. Instead, Hill broke a literary taboo by honoring "the wonderful AUTHOR" who "possesses every Quality that ART could have charm'd by...The Comprehensiveness of his Imagination must be truly prodigious" (xvii). But Hill did not stop there. He was "charm'd" with the "amiable *Good-nature* of the AUTHOR" who "has one of the best, and most generous Hearts, of Mankind" (xviii). Couched between inflated admiration for Pamela's character and applause for the author is Hill's very one-sided debate with critics. Consequently, Hill's letters serve as a valuable supplement to Richardson's preface, insofar as they mirror Richardson's own explanation of his intentions and add more explicit details about the material benefits. Regardless of whether or not anyone actually read the novel's introduction, which contemporary criticism proves they did, Richardson expected them to, and like Richardson, Hill forced his interpretation of the text on readers:

It will steal first, imperceptibly, into the Hearts of the *Young* and the *Tender*: where it will afterwards guide and moderate their Reflections and Resolves, when grown Older. And, so, a gradual moral Sunshine, of un-austere and compassionate *Virtue*, shall break out upon the *World*, from this TRIFLE. (xix)

In this manner, readers are presented with the second edition of *Pamela*: they are given an instruction manual, explicit directions for the proper use of the book, so that they may gain the benefits contained therein. If they do not achieve any internal growth, then they are poor readers. After all, Webster, de Freval, and Hill understood. The critical backlash caused by *Pamela*'s second edition shows that many did not take this narrowly prescribed interpretation seriously, perhaps simply because they were told to do so.

Hill's concluding poem at the end of the introduction functions in a similar way to his letters, but it also highlights his own misreading of Pamela's character. If the reader has not thumbed through the lengthy prefatory material and on to the text by now, or put the novel aside as uninteresting or dissatisfying, he or she has been told the high value of the work in a variety of ways: a preface, selected letters that are both critical and flattering, though mostly flattering, and, finally, a poem to further illustrate what Richardson wanted known without having to say it himself. In either case, such long-winded commentary was expected to aid and enrich the reader's understanding of the main text; be that as it may, it becomes instead an unnecessary distraction which bespeaks, if nothing else, the novel's all too obvious deficiencies. For instance, Pamela (and for that matter, Richardson himself) can never live up to the shining example that Hill's hyperbolic style described. He would have readers believe she is already perfect:

*What, tho' thy flutt'ring Sex might learn, from thee,  
That Merit forms a Rank, above Degree?  
That Pride, too conscious, falls, from ev'ry Claim,  
While humble Sweetness climbs, beyond its Aim?  
What, tho' Religion, smiling from thy Eyes,  
Shews her plain Power, and charms without Disguise?  
What, tho' thy warmly-pleasing moral Scheme  
Give livelier Rapture, than the Loose can dream?  
What, tho' thou build'st, by thy persuasive Life,  
Maid, Child, Friend, Mistress, Mother, Neighbour,  
Wife? (17-27)*

This is not a heroine with a foundation in "TRUTH *and* NATURE" (v). Here, Pamela is a character that represents a human type rather than a unique individual. According to Hill, she is an exemplar. In her letters and later in her journal, Pamela carefully constructs herself according to what is expected of her, but with such a one-sided representation, ambiguities are inevitable. Despite B.'s sordid behavior, it is difficult to dismiss outright

his repeated accusations that Pamela is vain and hypocritical. Richardson actually portrayed Pamela as a model not an ideal. Covetous of praise, he published an analysis that conflicts with his own. In a concentrated effort to forestall misreading, Richardson actually encouraged the anti-Pamelists by giving them more fodder to throw back at him. Rather than address the changes Richardson made to the text of the second edition, many future correspondents and skeptics criticized the additional prefatory matter, something that Richardson felt compelled to moderate in later editions.

As the variants indicate, Richardson revised the second edition extensively, although he does not admit it. The extant letters he received after the publication of the first edition suggest that epistolary exchange was an important means of communication between him and his readers, through which they could confirm reception of the book, share their critical reactions to the work, and even offer advice on improving it. The introduction to the second edition states:

*The kind Reception which this Piece has met with from the Publick, (a large Impression having been carried off in less than Three Months) deserves not only Acknowledgment, but that some Notice should be taken of the Objections that have hitherto come to hand against a few Passages in it, that so the Work may be rendered as unexceptionable as possible, and, of consequence, the fitter to answer the general Design of it; which is to promote Virtue, and cultivate the Minds of the Youth of both Sexes. (xv)*

Here, Richardson the author congratulated himself on *Pamela*'s success, "*a large Impression having been carried off in less than Three Months,*" but Richardson-as-editor humbled himself as a reviser. He claimed to "acknowledge" that "*some*" notice should be taken of the "*Objections*" when in fact he left only 318 pages of 692 untouched. I say untouched, but even many of these pages contain a single change or more to accidentals.

Eaves and Kimpel estimate Richardson made 841 changes to the second edition.<sup>14</sup> This number is fairly accurate. Following the same guidelines, I counted 668 variants in volumes I and II of the second edition. A single revision may include one to several substantive changes including omissions and additions. I have also counted any rephrasing or re-ordered words within a sentence as a single change. Respectively, there are 435 variants in volume I and 233 in volume II.

Pamela's unpolished style is an important concern to early readers, and, despite numerous revisions, it would remain the principle critical objection to the novel until Richardson's death. Like the anonymous critic, the first reviewer of *Pamela* wrote in December 1740 that "The Language is not altogether unexceptionable, but in several places sinks below the Idea we are constrained to form of the Heroine who is supposed to write it" (439).<sup>15</sup> Despite Pamela's education and alleged inborn grace, readers were skeptical that a servant's virtue is worth preserving, at least a servant who uses idiomatic speech. In response, Richardson corrected Pamela's language and elevated her style. This includes corrections to grammar and single-word changes that subtly raise and mature her character above the rustic fifteen-year-old Richardson had initially conceived.

Amongst the several changes that correct grammatical and stylistic niceties are Pamela's use of the past tense, contractions, and her characteristic idiomatic speech. In order to make her appear more like a traditional heroine, she must speak like one, and

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<sup>14</sup> Eaves and Kimpel claim they do not include misprints, changes in italics, spelling, punctuation, capitalization, paragraphing, or the expansion of contractions, but, in later editions of *Pamela*, they appear to count all the changes to the comparative forms of "further" and "farther," and, perhaps, each instance of "ungrateful" to "ingrateful" as well. I, too, have excluded misprints, italics, punctuation, capitalization, and paragraphing from my count, though I do include changes to contractions and spelling in singular cases similar to the previous example of the adjective and adverb "far," especially when Richardson clearly made the change to signify degree rather than distance.

<sup>15</sup> *The History of the Works of the Learned*. Vol. 2. London: Jacob Robinson, 1740. *Google Books Search*. Web. 25 Jan. 2012.

therefore, according to cultural standards, her language cannot “sink below” that expectation. For example, “thinks” is “thought” (47), “would” is “will” (49, 50), “run” is “ran” (147; II, 106, 250), and her use of past participles is corrected from “broke” to “broken” (29). Following the attacks made by Addison, Swift, and Pope on language and style at the beginning of the eighteenth-century, “contractions of every kind have ever since been in disgrace, even those of easy pronunciation, and which had been in use long before” (Campbell 397).<sup>16</sup> Since 1711, grammarians labeled two-word abbreviations as vulgar, and by 1790 they were considered “disrespectful” and their use too “familiar” (Haugland 175).<sup>17</sup> Because they were considered improprieties in writing, if not in speaking as well, some contractions are expanded, most likely as a signifying mark of Pamela’s better breeding. Two instances in particular include “can’t” to “cannot” (10) and “didn’t” to “did not” (163). As well, her style changes to better display her education when “where” becomes an affected “whither” (23) and “I was all confounded” is “I was much out of Countenance” (17). Pamela’s idiomatic speech is also corrected, for instance, when “seeing me frighted” is changed to “seeing me tremble” (3), “how I was sham’d” is “O how ashamed I was” (3), and “every bit and crumb of the matter” becomes “all that had passed” (22). And, of course, Pamela’s use of “curchee” and “voluntierly” are now “curtesy” and “voluntary” (4; II, 184). Because Richardson made global changes to the second edition, there does not appear to be anything different about Pamela’s style after her wedding, though the anonymous critic suggested that it be raised once she is

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<sup>16</sup> Campbell, George. *The Philosophy of Rhetoric*. Ed. Lloyd F. Bitzer. Carbondale: Southern Illinois UP, 1988. Print.

<sup>17</sup> Haugland, Kari E. “Is’t allow’d or ain’t it? On Contractions in Early Grammars and Spelling Books.” *Studia Neophilologica*. 67.2 (1995): 165-84. PDF file.

married.<sup>18</sup> There are changes, surely, but nothing to signify Richardson paid particular attention to Pamela in what he would later call her “exalted condition,” at least not in the second edition of volumes I and II. The changes do, however, raise Pamela above her fellow servants while giving the reader a clearer picture of her accomplishments and the education provided by B.’s mother. In other words, she is already made more Lady-like before she becomes Mrs. B., reconciling, in part, the glaring disparity of social class.

In an effort to moderate Pamela’s prudery, another criticism, Richardson restrained her piety. The anonymous critic’s third objection was to Pamela’s overuse of the word “God”: “That if the sacred name were seldomer repeated, it would be better; for that the Wise Man’s Advice is, *Be not righteous over-much*” (xxi). Hill, too, consented to a “little” change: “The Only of this Writer’s Objections, which, I think, carries Weight, is That, which advises some little *Contraction* of the Prayers, and Appeals to the Deity” (xxv). Hill later changed his mind, but Richardson undoubtedly agreed with the anonymous critic. He expanded Pamela’s vocabulary to include “Providence,” “Heaven,” “Blessing,” “Divine,” and “Grace” as alternatives, or the sentence is reworked to omit the word altogether.<sup>19</sup> In addition to being “righteous over-much,” Pamela’s overuse of the term devalues it until it is stripped of significance. Repeated use of the word appears rote to the point it is reduced to a mechanical function such as knowing multiplication tables. Hill sensibly argued that “the fashionably *Averse* to the Subject, Minds, which, most want the *purpos’d Impression*, might hazard the *Loss* of its *Benefit*, by passing over those pious

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<sup>18</sup> This gentleman wrote to Richardson twice, but nothing more is known. Richardson’s attempts to begin a correspondence included adding notices to advertisements for *Pamela*, but this was unsuccessful. See Chapter Two.

<sup>19</sup> Eaves and Kimpel count 85 changes to the word “God.” This agrees with my count, though not every “God” becomes a “Heaven” as they state (“Revisions” 66).

Reflections, which, if shorter, would catch their Attention” (xxv). After revision, then, their reformatory power is strengthened, presumably, because used sparingly, and, at the same time, Pamela’s use of such diverse expressions adds texture to and fleshes out her character while giving the reader a subtle reminder that she is not a typical servant.

As a result of Pamela’s abridged piety, her agency is significantly increased. Near the end of volume I, after Pamela is kidnapped by B. and her situation becomes desperate, she often asks for God’s guidance. While Pamela still lives at the Bedfordshire house, however, she places more trust in her own actions. In other words, these revisions show a Pamela who relies more on herself and less on God to preserve her virtue. For example, Pamela no longer hopes that God will give her “Grace” to resist B.’s temptations (46); rather, she is already fortified against them. Pamela further relies on her own strength to refuse B. (50) and to get out from under his power (77, 81), only asking God for safe travel (92, 105). Instead of asking God’s blessing, she grieves for herself, “Alas for me!” (81), and while she still trusts all to Providence and is “thankful,” God is not blessed for any influence on B. and his decision to send her home (106). What’s more, Pamela not only exhibits pride and self-reliance after she escapes the Bedfordshire house, she takes the credit rather than thanking God (107). At the same time, God does not inspire Pamela to return to her native poverty, she resolves to do so on her own (107), and it is her virtue and good example that touches B.’s heart rather than God (210). This is not to say Pamela has lost her faith, but that she comes to rely on Providence only “when all other possible Means should fail” (137). Pamela is also given more agency in volume II when she takes partial credit for her happiness (II, 114, 353). Indeed, after the wedding ceremony, Pamela no longer steals away out of sight in order to bless God

(177). Interestingly enough, these changes actually create an “over-righteous” Pamela – she relies upon her own actions and trusts in them to secure her acceptance before God. Ultimately, in the second edition, she pretends to a greater self-righteousness than perhaps a humble heroine should.

In each edition of *Pamela*, Richardson routinely added or removed a fair amount of italics as a typographical visual aid. Typically, Richardson used italics in accordance with John Smith’s *The Printer’s Grammar*; that is, “to distinguish such part of a book as may be said not to belong to the Body” (12).<sup>20</sup> In other words, italics are chiefly used to signify a quote, but Richardson is also guilty, in Smith’s opinion, of “several other uses which [the italic] now serves” (13), such as proper names. Richardson did, in fact, frequently use italics for both of these purposes, but he also used them for emphasis and rhetorical effect, such as parallel structure. In *Mechanick Exercises on the Whole Art of Printing*, Joseph Moxon identifies that “Words of great Emphasis are also Set in Italick” (216), and Richardson followed all three of these conventions on virtually every page of *Pamela*.<sup>21</sup> Hence, Richardson used eighteenth-century printing conventions to embellish the meaning of words typographically. Even though italics are not typically considered substantive variants, in Richardson’s novels they regularly function as a substantive change because of their thematic impact, and, in *Pamela*, they satisfy, in part, the fourth suggestion made by the anonymous critic.

In a key scene between Pamela and Lady Davers, for example, Richardson’s additional italics allow Pamela to assert herself and to use the authority she has been

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<sup>20</sup> *The Printer’s Grammar*. London: Smith, 1755. Gale. Web. 2 Feb. 2012.

<sup>21</sup> *Mechanick Exercises on the Whole Art of Printing*. Ed. Herbert Davis and Harry Carter. London: Oxford UP, 1958. Print.



given as B.'s wife. Eaves and Kimpel argue that Richardson left this important scene unchanged, yet textual evidence suggests that Richardson responded to the anonymous critic's request that Pamela "ought to have a little more Spirit" (I, xxi). It is true that Richardson left this area, some 26 pages, largely unrevised when compared with other parts of the novel, but the straightforward given-and-take between Pamela and Lady Davers does include a few subtle and noteworthy changes. The second edition contains the most alterations to italics in this scene than any other, and most of these changes remain in future editions.<sup>22</sup> To begin with, Lady Davers stresses her caution to Pamela not to be too "*pert*" (II, 227) during their confrontation, while Pamela underscores that she has "*not*" (229) lost her innocence. Because she cannot assert herself as much with Lady Davers, Pamela shows more spirit with Jackey, Lady Davers's nephew, and Beck, her Ladyship's servant (230, 239). The italics also give Lady Davers a more commanding tone. Her demands for Pamela to explain herself and remain in the house are further emphasized: "I *will* hear it" (231), "'tis *I* that commands you not to go," "your Master's sister, *commands* your stay" (232), and "you *shan't* go" (233). Pamela shows her courage and does justice to her elevated position at the same time when she refuses to wait on Lady Davers: "I *cannot* do it" (236). When Pamela shares B.'s letter with her, Pamela is both *pert* and *pointed*: "I might hope I should be not the *worse* treated" (245). These simple typographical changes creatively follow the anonymous critic's advice and give Pamela the spirit he requested without extended revision. The change in accidentals gives

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<sup>22</sup> The evolution of revision is as follows: Richardson italicizes 28 words used in this scene for the second edition; 0 changes are made to the third edition; 2 words have italics removed in the fourth edition; 3 are added and 3 removed from the fifth edition; 0 added and 1 removed from the sixth edition; 0 changes to the seventh edition; 0 changes to eighth edition; 7 added and 1 removed from the octavo edition.

us an inspired Pamela, an even haughtier Lady Davers, and emphasizes the already sarcastic, biting exchange between the two ladies.

Pamela may radiate a moral excellence, but Richardson's revisions highlight her propensity for repartee and sarcasm. Like Pamela's meeting with Lady Davers, Richardson added italics for emphasis and to contrast Pamela's view of a situation with another's. For instance, Pamela becomes more defensive in a conversation with B.: "it is not *I* that expose you, if I say nothing but the Truth" (I, 29). In other words, Pamela aggressively asserts herself, defends her actions, chides B., and, at the same time, contradicts his accusation that she is culpable for exposing him. Moreover, the italics help mimic the natural patterns of speech. As such, there are fewer questionable nuances in many different conversations. With parallel structure that resembles a small child's tantrum, the italics make it clear (if it was not clear enough already) that Pamela wants to leave the Bedfordshire house: "I am not *worthy* to stay, and so cannot *wish* to stay, and *will* not stay" (90). Later in the novel, italics show that Pamela is even more frustrated with Mrs. Jewkes through her angry retorts: "I need not be afraid of *your* following [Robert's] Example" (139); "is it in your *Instructions* that you must lie with me" (141); and "What do *you* call Honour" (158). The additional emphasis gives Pamela's words a biting, even scornful tone, and illustrates that she not only has a willful spirit with others of her class, but can also be provoked and defensive when alone with B. Contrast, too, is stressed with parallelism alongside a further instance of Pamela's vehement and waspish personality: "For *she* that can bear an Insult of that kind, I should think not worthy to be any Gentleman's Wife; any more than *he* would be a Gentleman that would offer it" (53). Pamela certainly possesses wit, and, in addition to their quotative function, the italics

appear to be a veiled nuanced expression of sarcasm: “I can make no Doubt what my Master’s *honourable* Professions will end in” (155). These revisions serve different purposes at different times, but taken collectively show a heroine who uses her rhetoric in a peevish way. Pamela’s repeated verbal battles with B. and Mrs. Jewkes become reminiscent of the haughty Lady Davers, thus making Pamela more temperamental and Lady-like before her time, and perhaps more so than Richardson may have originally intended.

As a result, Pamela’s use of italics significantly alters the reader’s impression of her character. She is not as passive in the second edition as the first, asserting herself when and how she can, yet she remains respectful of B.’s rank and position. They also add a stronger, mocking tone to Mrs. Jewkes’s exchanges with Pamela, and, like Lady Davers, Richardson revised some of B.’s dialogue to reflect a more commanding, even authoritative style. There is quotative and emphatic force in “*Work in it!*” (54), a condescending, even contemptuous edge in “How long are *you* to stay here” (54), and a jocular contrast in “*you’ll* have the merit, and *I* the Blame” (30). In fact, the majority of characters, from Mr. Longman to Parson Williams, use italics in one way or another that they did not use before. This, I would argue, is a substantive change or, at the very least, serves what Fredson Bowers calls a semi-substantive purpose.<sup>23</sup>

Despite Pamela’s increased sarcasm and verbal defiance, it was necessary for readers to believe that she can love B., and this is achieved, in part, by Pamela’s

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<sup>23</sup> See n7 in “Remarks on Eclectic Texts” in *Essays in Bibliography, Text, and Editing*. Charlottesville: UPV, 1975. 491. Print.

retrenched use of the word “naughty.”<sup>24</sup> This, in fact, was the anonymous critic’s sixth suggestion for revision, presumably because of the word’s ambiguous connotation. The number of times Pamela uses it is surprising (32 times in the second edition) since, as at least one contemporary reader believed, it is a loaded word that, in context, smacks of impropriety. Indeed, it must have invariably suggested that Pamela is only playing hard to get and using the term in a flirtatious way. “Naughty,” he argued, gives “an Idea not necessary to the Moral of the Story, nor of Advantage to the Character of the Heroine” (xxii). As Hill pointed out, Richardson’s intended use of the word was to soften Pamela’s criticism of B.’s behavior with a subdued epithet in the corrective sense, such as when it is used to describe a child’s bad behavior. Surely, Hill’s nuanced interpretation indicates at once Pamela’s contempt for B.’s actions and her regard for his person: “whereas *naughty* contains, in One single significant Petulance, twenty thousand inexpressible Delicacies” (xxvii).<sup>25</sup> Furthermore, Hill argued, the use of additional “angry Adjectives” would carry “Marks of [Pamela’s] Rage, not Affliction” (xxvi). Regardless of Hill’s justification, Richardson thought the objection worth looking into, though it remains, even after revision, particularly suggestive, especially as Pamela’s awareness of herself as a sexual object is clearly delineated.<sup>26</sup>

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<sup>24</sup> “Naughty” is used 34 times in the first edition and is changed twice in the second. It remains unchanged in subsequent editions until Richardson made two additional emendations in volume II of the octavo (1742). Eaves and Kimpel state that the word is “occasionally” revised to “wicked” (65). This is not entirely accurate. It is changed to “wicked” (152) and “vile” (242): the first is in reference to B. and the second to Mrs. Jewkes. Eaves and Kimpel further state that “‘infinitely’ becomes ‘greatly’ or is omitted,” but “Infinitely” is also changed to “highly” (II, 177).

<sup>25</sup> In the fifth edition, “twenty thousand” is changed to “a Variety” (xxvi).

<sup>26</sup> As early as page 10, before B. begins to molest and assault her, Pamela is aware of the male gaze and its implications: “methinks I cannot bear to be look’d upon by these Men-servants; for they seem as if they would look one thro’” (10). Look through one’s clothes, that is. B.’s looks, however unwelcome, are not derided: “I will tell you all, the next Opportunity; for I am watch’d very narrowly [by B.]” (16).

Similar to the revision of “naughty,” additional objections to *Pamela* likely influenced Richardson to focus on the suggestive language of his heroine rather than the more explicit scenes of attempted rape, which, curiously enough, were not an issue for the anonymous critic. One objection, however, as paraphrased by Richardson, was to what he saw as indecent *double entendres*:

Jokes are often more Severe, and do more Mischief, than more Solid Objections; and would have one or two Passages alter'd, to avoid giving Occasion for the Supposition of a double Entendre, particularly in two places which he mentions, viz. p. 175. and 181. (xxii)

Pamela’s alleged use of a *double entendre* was enough to encourage Richardson to make further revisions.<sup>27</sup> During her wedding, for example, Pamela trembles “betwixt Fear and Delight” (II, 175), which, the anonymous critic suggested, signifies that she is eager to consummate the marriage. It seems fair to say that instead of looking forward to the wedding night with sexual delight and lustful anticipation, she is likely both nervous and happy about her change of condition – not to mention her fear of a sham marriage. She says as much when she comments on “bashful Maidens” who are “surrender’d up to a *more* doubtful Happiness, and to half strange Men” (170). Undoubtedly shocked by the critic’s reading, Richardson changed “Delight” to “Joy” in the second edition.<sup>28</sup> As well, whatever the critic imagined he saw in Pamela’s eating ‘a bit of Apple-pie, and a little Custard’ but having ‘no Appetite to anything else’ (181) was enough to convince

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<sup>27</sup> Curiously, in the sequel, there is hardly anything Pamela objects to more than the use of *double entendres*.

<sup>28</sup> Sheridan Baker notes these changes in his introduction to *Samuel Richardson’s Introduction to Pamela*. Augustan Reprint Society 103. Los Angeles: William Andrews Clark Memorial Library, 1954. Print. See pages 4-5.

Richardson that it violated the integrity of his heroine and his didactic purpose; it was removed, no doubt, for proprieties sake and to subtly desexualize her.

Slight revisions to volume II of the second edition bring Pamela and B. closer together and equalize their relationship as husband and wife. Richardson achieved this by softening Pamela's language; her more formal epithets for B. become terms of endearment. After her marriage Pamela is even more a model of female obedience and submission, so much so that it appears, at times, B. marries her because he can control her. He says as much when he discusses that his original aversion to matrimony stems from the willful behavior of "People of Fortune" (II, 313). As such, B. can hardly imagine marrying "a fine Lady [who is] used to have her Will in every thing" (316). Pamela, however, will bend like the reed rather than resist like the oak (313). Her frequent use of "Sir" suggests that B. marries his servant because she is bound to study and obey his will; that is, until "Sir" is changed to "best Friend," "Master," "Spouse," or is omitted (333, 381, 389, 376, 379).<sup>29</sup> Pamela states she delights to call B. "Master" (197), but the revised expressions "Spouse" and "Friend," though still somewhat formal, suggest that Pamela and B. have a greater deal of love and respect for one another, at least in the second edition more so than the first.<sup>30</sup>

In the first edition, readers have to wait until the second volume to find out that Mr. Andrews, Pamela's father, is a former schoolmaster, but, after revision, Richardson established as early as Letter V that Pamela's family is middle-class. Pamela writes:

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<sup>29</sup> In one instance, Pamela's use of "Sir" remains, but the sentence is reworded. See page 370.

<sup>30</sup> Naturally, B.'s terms change significantly from one volume to the next, but they are not revised by Richardson in the second edition: slut, saucebox, painted bauble, gewgaw, and hussy in volume I become "Sweet Excellence" (50), "*dearest*" (223), "*dearest Love*" (224), "Dear" (337), and "Sweet Girl" (326) in volume II.

“[John] wonders, that you, my Father, who are so well able to teach, and write so good a Hand, succeeded, no better in the School you attempted to set up; but was forced to go to such hard Labour” (9). This addition, placed as it is at the beginning of volume I, subtly influences one’s first impression of Pamela. Though she is still far outside of B.’s wealthy, gentry class, Pamela is not the lower-class drudge that many might object to. Indeed, even Lady Davers’s opposition softens a little when she learns that Pamela’s father is educated (II, 330). Furthermore, Pamela’s respectable background distances her from the fortune hunting heroines created by Richardson’s contemporaries. One might suspect, however, that Richardson was setting his readers up for a conventional romance; that is, Pamela has a secret history that, when revealed, will make her B.’s social equal and invalidate any objection to the marriage entirely. This does not happen, of course, because Richardson preemptively demystified some of the ambiguity that surrounds Pamela’s poverty. Consequently, any readers expecting romantic pretensions from *Pamela* are disappointed.<sup>31</sup>

Another pair of revisions further highlights Pamela’s virtue and resolve. As a prisoner at the Lincolnshire house, Pamela suspects B. will attempt to rape her, so she writes in her journal that she sleeps “with two of [her] Petticoats on” (249). The next evening she writes “I was forced to go to bed; but with two of my Coats on, as the former night” (262). Perhaps Richardson recognized that two petticoats would not be enough to save Pamela from a sexual assault, and that she needed to organize a more aggressive defense. Rather than strip Pamela down, “Petticoats” and “Coats” are revised to “Cloaths.” Presumably, the general and ambiguous “Cloaths” provides a better barrier to

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<sup>31</sup> *Pamela* contains a variety of romantic conventions, but falls short of the *deus ex machina* of a contrived and wholly unexpected resolution.

rape than the eighteenth-century equivalent of underwear. These changes make B.'s plan to impersonate Nan more convincing, since he has better luck catching Pamela undressed and off guard when she believes he is miles away (264). At the time the second edition is published, there are few (if any) objections that Pamela is not doing enough to defend her virtue. Nonetheless, simple alterations such as these provide enough evidence for one to speculate that Richardson was concerned skeptics might question the veracity of his heroine's virtuous defense.

In addition to corrections and changes to Pamela's language and style, Richardson revised B.'s as well, most likely for consistencies sake; after all, it would not do to correct the heroine's grammar and not that of the socially superior hero. For example, "was" is changed to "were" (I, 286; II, 71, 295); "wrote" to "written" (149); "were" to "are" (149); and "may" to "might" (II, 19). As well, B.'s use of the objective "who" becomes "whom" (I, 19, 120, 281).<sup>32</sup> In his dialogue, B.'s contractions are expanded. "You're," for instance, becomes "you are" (I, 18; II, 364) and "we're" is "we are" (II, 313). A "here" becomes an affected "hither" (I, 107), and instead of putting Pamela "to" a fright, she is put "in" (19). Moreover, B. is no longer rough "to" her, but rather rough "with" her (36), and his incorrect use of "voluntier" is corrected to "voluntary" (II, 72). The global changes to B.'s style were no doubt intended to underscore him as very serious and intellectual and to further distance him from Pamela socially. Richardson was able to keep his main characters balanced when Pamela's status is naturally accompanied by slight changes to B.'s comparatively rigid and formal grammar.

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<sup>32</sup> Even Mrs. Jewkes's use of the objective is corrected (163) and her style improved (154). This is unusual considering her lower-class background. It may be possible that Richardson anticipated readers would think the grammatical error was his rather than a reflection of Mrs. Jewkes's class and lack of education.



Additional revisions to B.'s character reveal Richardson's ignorance of titles and suggest that he struggled over the problematic nature of B.'s rank. The second objection from the anonymous critic is to omit the term "Squire," prefix the term "Sir," and, in a future edition, make B. a baronet. Instead of titling him "Sir," though, Richardson substituted "Gentleman," "Master," "Mr. B.," and, in one instance, omitted the prefix altogether. Overall, "Squire" is changed 16 times in the second edition when used in reference to B. and is consistent in future editions, though it would take Richardson several passes over the years to correct the erroneous use of "Squire" by all of his characters. For instance, when used to reference the title of B.'s friends and acquaintances, "Squire" is generally left unchanged until later editions, and Pamela's singular use of "Esquire" is shortened to "Squire" in the fourth. Oddly enough, however, this instance remains in all subsequent editions published in Richardson's lifetime despite similar changes to the contrary.<sup>33</sup> In response to a future B. baronetcy, the forward thinking Richardson forestalled future petitions in volume III. It can be argued that raising B.'s rank and position even further above that of Pamela's, and thus widening the already substantial gap between them, would create additional problems and objections to their marriage. Such a revision could only be countered by raising Pamela's social position in the process, at least stylistically.

With a significant but minor change, Richardson firmly established B. as the wanton aggressor and Pamela as the helpless innocent. The anonymous critic's objection to the *double entendres* likely motivated Richardson to take another look at even marginally suggestive passages. Acutely aware at this early stage that readers are ready to

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<sup>33</sup> There are two instances in volume II of the second edition in which "Squire Martin" is changed to "Mr. Martin" (376, 378).

judge his heroine as a social climber, Richardson replaced “I thrust the Letter into my Bosom” with “I put the Letter into my Bosom” (27). At this point, Pamela has been warned by her parents that B.’s kindness and attention will lead to her seduction. A misreading of this passage might suggest Pamela is not so naïve and endeavors to tease B. into marriage. As he enters the room, she “thrusts” a letter into her bosom with a confused look on her face, drawing attention to her chest. Pamela’s embarrassment undoubtedly heightens B.’s awareness of her physicality, and her knowledge of “the *Artful*” (27) can be misread as an intent to increase the sexual tension between them. After an awkward conversation filled with loaded questions, he pulls her on his knee and grabs her breast. The absence of obscene language does not preclude any titillating effect, but the slight change to “I put” undoubtedly defuses the erotic tension found in a “thrust.” Thus Pamela appears less “*Artful*,” and B.’s one-sided attraction more like a lustful infatuation.

After B. is established as the aggressor, Richardson made an attempt to whitewash his character by omitting a very telling, incriminating confession. Richardson would eventually spend years rehabilitating his hero in an attempt to make him worthy – morally – of the heroine, but an early sign of this intention is evidenced when, speaking to Mr. Andrews, B. states “Nay, she has not, I understand, spared me, who used to joke and divert myself with her Innocence, as I thought it” (116). This undoubtedly undermines B.’s earlier statement that Pamela is a mistress of romantic invention and adds authority and sincerity to her first person narrative. Pamela is not infallible. The question of self-representation is complicated because we have very few voices to contrast with hers. Indeed, her account is inevitably colored by her own opinions, but if it

is ever her intent is to distort the pattern of events she is not the dissembler here. In fact, this part of the novel is narrated by Richardson-as-editor who portrays B. as a practiced libertine: B. is, after all, “a Gentleman of Pleasure and Intrigue” (114). To B., then, Pamela’s innocence was, formerly, a joke, a plaything to sport with as if he were foxhunting on the green. This statement also portrays B. as a sadistic tyrant who is willing to use his power and position to seduce a teenage girl under his protection on an idle whim.<sup>34</sup> Once B.’s flippant comment is removed, however, and his libertine leanings minimized, his unconquerable passion for Pamela becomes, more believably, a genuine attachment and his pride of condition the only insurmountable barrier.

Richardson’s revisions to the second edition are a response to aesthetic, sexual, social, and cultural concerns. Indeed, even a mildly censorious critic is responsible for several significant changes, despite Hill’s praise and determined arguments against them. Richardson’s goal for his novel did not change, yet he re-conceptualized his characters and his text in an attempt to please his critical readers and forestall future criticisms and misreading. Ultimately, Pamela’s vocabulary is expanded, her style is elevated, her spirit is raised a pitch in her rhetorical battles, and her agency is increased through displays of confidence that her own actions, in addition to God’s grace, save her from B.’s assaults. With her humble origins firmly rooted in the middle-class, she is not characterized, to the same degree, as the upstart contemporaries perceived her to be. Likewise, her virtue, despite Webster’s declaration, is not yet presented “in the strongest Light,” but, as the evidence suggests, it will be, in a shorthand way, strengthened stylistically. At the same

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<sup>34</sup> Richardson’s sequel explains that B. had his eye on Pamela since she was twelve and has been plotting for years how he might successfully corrupt her. Over the course of this study, I will point out how Richardson’s revisions continue to improve the characters of Pamela and B. until it can be argued they are both worthy of each other.

time, B.'s language, too, is elevated and his character altered. He is more balanced, consistent with "the Idea we are constrained to form" of a gentleman, and somewhat closer to a redeemable character, though Richardson revised extensively over the years before B.'s character is sufficiently rehabilitated, if indeed it ever is. As Richardson continued to revise his narrative in subsequent editions, the variants indicate that his chief concern was to elevate the style, tone down the novel's more sexually explicit passages, and respond to parodies and calls for expurgations. Accordingly, his new objective for Pamela and B. is seen in the reshaping of their characters through language, especially as he yielded to increasing critical pressure

## CHAPTER TWO: EDITING UNDER THE INFLUENCE

In 1741, the *Pamela* vogue reached its peak. As the year moved forward, *Pamela* was pirated, serialized, translated, adapted for the stage, and parodies, imitations, and sequels were written.<sup>1</sup> The *Pamela* “media event” increased demand for a third, fourth, and even a fifth edition within the year, and Richardson continued to receive enthusiastic letters, poems, and criticisms that praised the heroine while some artfully suggested he revise.<sup>2</sup> It appeared, for a time, that the orthodox reading Richardson wanted to encourage was taking hold. In January, for instance, Reverend Jones of Bodwin wrote that “*Pamela* is universally admired” and that the novel will prove “a Powerful Antidote” against “corrupt and debauched Writings” (Sabor 58). After the second edition was published, however, letters (and readers) became markedly more critical.

Surprisingly, much of the criticism singles out the introduction. An anonymous clergyman wrote to Richardson’s bookseller and declared that the author was “bewitched to Print that bad stuff in the Introduction; for it has made enemies; As the Writer indeed calls us all Fools, and of coarse discernment” (72-73). Surely, Richardson had “done himself no good in accepting of such greasy compliments [from Hill]. He would do well to alter it” (73). Clearly Hill’s letters and Richardson’s interlinking comments celebrating Hill’s flattery immediately alienated readers. By April 1741, both were treated in a contemptuous way by two of the most widely circulated criticisms of the novel: Henry

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<sup>1</sup> Eaves and Kimpel discuss many of these in *Samuel Richardson: A Biography*. Oxford: Clarendon Press, 1971. For a more recent discussion of the material inspired by *Pamela* see Thomas Keymer and Peter Sabor’s *Pamela in the Marketplace: Literary Controversy and Print Culture in Eighteenth-Century Britain and Ireland*. New York: CUP, 2005.

<sup>2</sup> The term “media event” to describe *Pamela*’s success is used by William B. Warner in *Licensing Entertainment: The Elevation of Novel Reading in Britain, 1684-1750*.

Fielding's *Shamela* and the anonymous pamphlet *Pamela Censured*. In addition to personal criticisms, these two texts offered a new interpretation of *Pamela*. She is called, in so many words, a hypocrite, a fortune hunter, and a whore. Pamela's one-sided, self-serving narrative is reinterpreted as subversive. Her repeated assertions of social inferiority are overwhelmed by doubts of her point of view. A series of revisions suggested by Hill and other critics quickly followed, and Richardson responded with more changes to his text. Accordingly, this chapter examines Richardson's revisions to editions three, four, and five, including the preliminary matter, how the revisions to the texts change characterization, and the influence that Fielding's *Shamela*, the anonymous *Pamela Censured*, and John Kelly's *Pamela's Conduct in High Life* may have had on the changes.

The third edition of *Pamela* was published on March 12, 1741, less than a month after the second, and the demand for a new edition left Richardson little time to revise. According to Sale, Richardson anticipated demand for a third edition, but he did not expect to organize another printing so soon (18).<sup>3</sup> Nevertheless, there are a small number of alterations to the text, though nothing that suggests Richardson was influenced by any correspondents or critics. In all, Eaves and Kimpel count 59 changes and mention eight specifically. My count falls short of this number at only 40, and this includes misprints from the second edition that were corrected as well as new ones introduced in the third.<sup>4</sup>

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<sup>3</sup> *Samuel Richardson: A Bibliographical Record of His Literary Career with Historical Notes*. New Haven: Yale UP, 1936. Print.

<sup>4</sup> Eaves and Kimpel do not count misprints in their approximate number. I count them here to illustrate the urgency with which this edition was printed.

Unlike their count of the changes to the second edition, Eaves and Kimpel's numbers for the third seem to be inflated.<sup>5</sup>

The changes to the third edition appear to follow the typical Richardsonian revision strategy of cleaning up the language – a pattern established in the second edition and consistent in all subsequent editions published in Richardson's lifetime. The following changes improve Pamela's style, and, though few in number, continue to imperceptibly elevate her. Grammatical niceties appear to have been Richardson particular focus. For example, "And hope" is changed to "And I hope" (42); "have some" to "have had some" (45); and "would" is "will" (55). Additionally, "thro' my apron" is elevated to "upon my apron" (79); "not a bit" is changed to "not a whit" (189); "into terror" is "in Terror" (221); and Pamela's language is further refined when "'em" is expanded to "them" (99). There are only three revisions to volume II, and they include the erroneous "stable" to "staple" (170), which is corrected in the fifth edition, "seems" to "seem'd" (224), and "my Attention to it" becomes "my Attention" (381).

In addition to a handful of changes to Pamela's language, Richardson also tinkered slightly with B. and Mrs. Jervis. B.'s epithet of "*dearest* Pamela," for instance, is moderated to "*dear* Pamela" (172), though it is still a premature term of endearment as it precedes several threats and another attempted rape. In the copy housed at the British Library, someone has written and underscored "*My Dear*" next to this variant. Whether this was done by a contemporary of Richardson's, as the handwriting suggests, or more recently is unknown, but the reader was aware of the absurdity nonetheless, despite Richardson's attempt to subdue it. Finally, an erroneous change is indicative of

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<sup>5</sup> See "Revisions" page 66.

Richardson's ignorance of the correct usage of subjective and objective pronouns, namely Mrs. Jervis's "and I" becomes "and me" (77). This is a common mistake that Richardson's more educated readers likely noticed and objected to when they criticized the novel's low style. In a way, however, in this case anyway, the gaffe makes Pamela appear superior – stylistically – to B.'s best bred housekeeper.

The most marked changes to the third edition are its obvious misprints. In the hurry to meet demand, a large number of compositorial errors are introduced. While these errors do not alter the narrative they could be seen as undermining the reputation of the novel as an anti-romance, or at least the reputation of the printer, by giving it the status of frivolous diversion rather than the instructive work that Richardson advertised. There is no extant correspondence that mentions the third edition's errors, but given that Richardson was somewhat of a perfectionist, one can infer this is not an edition he was proud of, especially if one were to compare it to the lavish octavo. The misprints in volume I include "me" to "he" (17); "that you know can answer you" is "that you *can* answer you" (89); at one point, "Mrs. Jervis" is mistakenly "Mrs. Jewkes" (111); "know how far to" becomes "know far to" (158); "to be by myself" is "to be myself" (158); "of" to "off" (249); and "not" to "nor" (255). Misprints introduced into volume II that Eaves Kimpel do not mention include "both of you" to "both you" (23); "said he" to "said she" (162); "him" to "me" (26); and "Mr. *Martin*" to "Mr, *Martin*" (378). Although a compositor introduced a number of errors, there are also several that are corrected, including "I fear, that he was mean" to "I fear that he who was mean" (16); "have some" to "have had some" (45); "formed" to "former" (177); and "said I, see my" to "said I, I



see my” (261). As well, two are corrected in volume II: “thinks” to “think” (322), and “spouses” is the possessive “spouse’s” (354).

Richardson’s light touches to the third edition also show how blindsided he was by the backlash to his introduction. He wrote to Hill in January 1741 that he was pleased, or at least satisfied that his preface and introductory material would secure proper readings from “nine parts in ten of [*Pamela*’s] readers” who are “but in hanging-sleeves” (Carroll 42). The self-serving introduction must have been, like the preface, “a bold stroke” (42) to further guarantee that nine out of ten people would take the editor’s word for it. Instead, through the gratuitous self-congratulatory tone, Richardson not only exposed himself as the author, but also drew the ire of many readers.<sup>6</sup> The evident contradiction between the humble heroine and the conceited writer is clear, and both are destined for the role of victim in Henry Fielding’s *Shamela*. Pamela’s “vartue,” the concept that one’s virtue and chastity are mutually exclusive, and the “greasy compliments” in the introduction are two of Fielding’s main targets in his parody.<sup>7</sup>

*Shamela* was published on April 2, 1741, six weeks after the third edition of *Pamela*, and, as the first of the *Pamela* parodies, it paved the way for a number of imitations and continuations. Though Fielding never acknowledged his authorship, the evidence is overwhelming, even amongst his contemporaries.<sup>8</sup> More importantly,

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<sup>6</sup> By April 1741, Richardson was publically identified as the author of *Pamela*. See “Advice to Booksellers (After reading Pamela)” in *Daily Advertiser* 7 April 1741. This is also quoted in A. D. McKillop’s *Printer and Novelist*, page 44. Richardson admitted that his ruse as the editor was exposed with publication of the second edition. He wrote to Ralph Allen in October 1741 that “the Praises [in the introduction] are carried so high, that since I cou’d not pass as the Editor only, as I once hoped to do, I wish they had never been Inserted” (Carroll 52).

<sup>7</sup> In the fifth edition, Pamela’s misspelled “vertuous” (II, 104) is corrected in a possible nod to *Shamela*’s “vartue.”

<sup>8</sup> See Charles B. Woods, “Fielding and the Authorship of *Shamela*.” *PQ* XXV (1946): 248-72. *Proquest*. Web. 5 Nov. 2010.

Richardson believed that Fielding wrote it. In a letter to Lady Bradshaigh in 1749, Richardson mentions the “vile Pamphlet *Shamela*... Written by Mr. H. Fielding” (Eaves and Kimpel *Biography* 128).<sup>9</sup> In this “vile Pamphlet” Pamela’s character is declared hopelessly unrealistic – a sham, if you will. *Shamela*, unlike *Pamela*, is anything but the typical romantic heroine. Though she is a contemporary beauty, like *Pamela*, her behavior is not encouraged by any conduct-book. She is the ultimate anti-*Pamela*: she is the mistress of Parson Williams, her mother is a bawd, and, feigning virtue, she successfully cheats the credulous Mr. B. (Booby) into marriage. Comical scenes abound in this novel as Booby is slow in picking up the cues. By the end, however, he is able to see through *Shamela*’s physical charms and false modesty, but only after they are married. In his parody, Fielding exploded Richardson’s morality with a duplicitous view of *Pamela*’s character, a view that still has a significant impact on critical readings of *Pamela* today.

Part of *Shamela*’s success is that it closely parallels Richardson’s novel; it mimics the title page and organizing structure of the introduction and epilogue to highlight the immorality that Fielding believed motivated *Pamela*’s behavior. Fielding mocked Richardson’s title while echoing the objective of conduct literature. *Pamela* is published “in order to cultivate the Principles of VIRTUE and RELIGION in the Minds of the YOUTH of BOTH SEXES,” while *Shamela* is “Necessary to be had in all Families” (title page).<sup>10</sup> The “puff” pieces written by de Freval and Webster are portrayed as counterfeit, written by the “editor” to himself and one aptly named John Puff, esquire. These letters, and those in the introduction, follow the style of their authors. In fact, much of Parson

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<sup>9</sup> *Samuel Richardson: A Biography*. Oxford: Clarendon Press, 1971. Print.

<sup>10</sup> *Shamela*. 1st ed. London: Dodd, 1741. *Gale*. Web. 6 Oct. 2010.

Tickletext's language is taken verbatim from the material Richardson added to the second edition's introduction. Through Tickletext the absurdity of Hill's letters is amplified, and Fielding used Hill's sexually charged language against Richardson and his heroine. Hill's fawning passages are recontextualized, and his otherwise innocent expressions are turned into innuendo. For instance, Fielding replaces Hill's parenthetical "(a poor Girl's little, innocent, Story)" (xvii) with the equivalent of a slang term for vagina: "(a poor Girl's little, &c.)" (3). Hill's misplaced metaphor is also an easy target for Fielding. In the introduction to the second edition, Hill described Pamela's style and expression fitting her as "roundly, and as close, as *Pamela* [in] her Country-habit" (xx), which is harmless enough until he extended the metaphor and conjured up a naked image of the heroine:

it *adorn'd* her, with such unpresum'd *Increase* of Loveliness; sat with such neat Propriety of Elegant Neglect about her, that it threw out All her Charms, with tenfold, and resistless Influence.—And so, dear Sir, it will be always found.—When modest Beauty seeks to hide itself by casting off the *Pride of Ornament*, it but displays itself without a *Covering*: And so becoming more distinguished, by its Want of *Drapery*" (xx-xxi)

This want of drapery, according to Tickletext, "*as she doth her no Habit... presents Images to the Reader, which the coldest Zealot cannot read without Emotion*" (2). Indeed, the "Witchcraft in every Page of it...the Witchcraft of Passion and Meaning" (xvi) that Hill wrote about gives Tickletext a physical "Emotion" as he envisions Pamela "with all the Pride of Ornament cast off" (2). Such literary borrowings attempt to show that *Shamela* is not so radical a re-imaging of its original, and that Richardson and Hill, however determined to try, could not convince everyone of Pamela's integrity, perhaps because they tried too hard.

Fielding's rather weak objections to *Pamela*'s content suggest that he was more offended with the "greasy compliments" than he was with the novel itself. For instance, the catalogue of *Pamela*'s useful purposes is contrasted in *Shamela* by Parson Oliver, who provides his readers with a warning in the epilogue. He objects to the "many lascivious Images" and that a gentleman is "taught" to marry his mother's chambermaid (53). His list goes on to declare that "vice is rewarded" in the character of Mrs. Jewkes, that maids are taught "little Arts" to seduce their masters, and that Parson Williams is an ungrateful meddler (53-54). No doubt Richardson expected that a good deal of this criticism was forestalled by Hill's letters in the introduction. Much of it is, in fact. Hill answered two objections in one sentence when he insisted "that the *moral Meaning* of PAMELA's Good-fortune, far from tempting young Gentleman to marry *such* Maids as are found in their Families, is, by teaching Maids to *deserve to be Mistresses*, to stir up *Mistresses to support their Distinction* (xxxvi). Hill also argued that it was necessary to keep Mrs. Jewkes "with a Prospect of correcting, in Time, her loose Habit of thinking, than, by casting her off, to the licentious Results of her Temper, abandon her to Temptations and Danger, which a Virtue like PAMELA's cou'd not wish her expos'd to" (xxviii-xxix). Moreover, Richardson further explained in his epilogue that the "odious" Mrs. Jewkes serves as an example to servants who will "learn what to avoid, and what to chuse, to make themselves valued and esteem'd by all who know them" (393).<sup>11</sup> Parson Oliver's objection to "lascivious Images" (53) is something that Richardson only passively addressed in revision, and the final objection that Parson Williams is portrayed

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<sup>11</sup> This is reflected further in Mrs. Jewkes's complete reformation in volumes III and IV, which suggests that Richardson was influenced by this objection to expand his argument and justify Pamela's choice to keep Mrs. Jewkes on staff.

as “faultless” and “ungratefully forward” (54) is slightly altered in the fifth edition to emphasize that Williams’ greatest fault is his reluctance to confront B.

Therefore, if Richardson was directly influenced by anything in *Shamela* it is the epistolary burlesque of his introduction and not Parson Oliver’s assessment of the “lascivious images.” Like the paratextual material, many of the scenes in *Shamela*, though recontextualized, parallel those in *Pamela*. The title page claims to expose “the many notorious FALSHOODS and MISREPRESENTATIONS [sic]” of the book while setting Pamela’s character in a “true and just Light.” The key scenes that are lampooned include the attempted rapes, Pamela’s change of clothes, her thoughts of suicide at the pond, B.’s articles and proposed settlement, B.’s anxiety over his pride of condition, Pamela’s notice to leave the Lincolnshire house, B.’s reconciliation with Williams, and scenes from after their marriage. *Shamela* is also a notoriously bad speller, which indicates that Fielding read the first and second editions of *Pamela*.<sup>12</sup> Another target is Richardson’s method of “writing to the moment,” particularly when *Shamela* writes “in the present Tense” that B. is “in Bed between us, we both shamming a Sleep, he steals his Hand into my Bosom, which I, as if in my Sleep, press close to me with mine, and then pretend to awake” (15). I list these parallel scenes and elements from both novels to point out that Richardson does not significantly alter them, notwithstanding the mockery, in future editions.<sup>13</sup> Even if Richardson was offended by Fielding’s parody, he admitted, some years later, to Lady

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<sup>12</sup> Richardson revised much of Pamela’s language in the second edition, correcting her grammar and refining her phraseology. Fielding would have been unaware of several instances of Pamela’s idiomatic style if he had not read the first edition. At the same time, his knowledge of the introduction to the second edition proves that he also read that or the third edition. At the very least, he read the introduction to one of these editions before writing *Shamela*.

<sup>13</sup> Charles Batten, Jr. points out in his introduction to the facsimile reprint of *Pamela Censured* that many of the “warm scenes” are significantly revised in the 1801 edition of *Pamela*. It is unknown, however, if these changes were made by Richardson or by his daughters Anne and Martha. See *Pamela Censured. Augustan Reprint Society 175*. Los Angeles: William Andrews Clark Memorial Library, 1976. Print.

Bradshaigh that he enjoyed the ambiguity inherent in his characters: “I have, designedly, play’d the Rogue with my Readers [in *Grandison*]; intending to make them think now one way, now another, of the very same Characters” (Carroll 248). In a second letter, Richardson stated that it was his aim to “occasion many Debates upon different Parts of my Management” (257). Though it is unlikely that Richardson anticipated *Shamela* – what he believed was an extreme misreading of his first novel – it is safe to say, in hindsight, he expected readers to approach his characters with skepticism. By its very nature, the epistolary novel lacks the authorial control of a third person narrative, and *Pamela* is missing the network of different perspectives found in Richardson’s other novels. As a result, he may have played an elaborate game in which he foresaw a range of responses as diverse as his readers. This is to be expected, given his reputation as an inveterate reviser, and makes an interpretation of *Pamela* precarious indeed. At the same time, however, in Richardson’s opinion, it also made the prescriptive prefatory material all the more necessary. It can be argued, then, that Richardson was not influenced by Fielding’s reading despite its lasting and largely negative critical effects.

The earliest and perhaps most important contemporary critical reading of *Pamela* was the anonymous pamphlet *Pamela Censured*, published on April 25, 1741.<sup>14</sup> The critic called Richardson the “HALF-EDITOR, HALF-AUTHOR” of a vulgar, pornographic novel (9). He began his pamphlet by scolding Dr. Benjamin Slocock for recommending the novel from the pulpit, criticized the promise of *Pamela*’s title page, attacked the introductory material, and finally quoted passages at length to prove that the novel is not proper reading for young or old. After the critic deconstructed the most offending

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<sup>14</sup> To avoid confusion, I hereafter refer to the anonymous author of *Pamela Censured* as the critic.

passages, he called for the revision or omission of several scenes. Like *Shamela*, *Pamela Censured* questioned both Richardson and Pamela's integrity; it alleged that Richardson encouraged women to learn from his heroine how to entice men with their beauty and false morality to secure a financial future. While *Shamela* and *Pamela Censured* have similar social concerns, the difference between these two anti-Pamela texts is significant. The all-pervasive humor found in *Shamela* takes a very serious turn in *Pamela Censured* to the point of condemnation and personal attacks, an attitude often found in the canon of *Pamela* criticism.

Despite any shortcomings exposed and exploited by *Pamela Censured*, the critic failed to influence Richardson to remove or significantly revise the so-called arousing images. Using Richardson's title page against him, the critic distorted the language to fit his interpretation of the *Pamela* narrative:

under the Specious Pretensions of Cultivating the Principles of Virtue in the Minds of the Youth of both Sexes, the MOST ARTFUL and ALLURING AMOROUS IDEAS are convey'd. And that, instead of being divested of all Images that tend to inflame, Her Letters abound with Incidents, which must necessarily raise in the unwary Youth that read them, EMOTIONS far distant from the PRINCIPLES of VIRTUE. (title page)

Richardson's preface and the appended letters are rewritten, as in Fielding's *Shamela*, using a similar, mocking style: "*I the Editor* tell you and command you to believe, that this Book called *Pamela*, will *divert, entertain, instruct, and improve* the *Youth of both Sexes*" (10). He dismissed the introduction to the second edition as "calculated to load us with still more Stuff of the same Kind as the [preface]" (15), and he objected to the claim that the unknown writer (Aaron Hill) is "a Person of *distinguish'd Taste and Abilities*" (15). The most pointed objection, however, is reserved for the "loose Images" (25) and

“lewd Ideas” that will fill the “Youth that read them with *Sentiments* and *Desires* worse than ROCHESTER can” (24).<sup>15</sup> He also used italics to highlight scenes and phrases that excited him sexually and that will undoubtedly “*excite Lasciviousness*” (63) in others. The argument that *Pamela*’s “loose images” promote the very opposite of what Richardson stated on his title page and in his preface is implied in *Shamela*, but they are made more explicit in *Pamela Censured*. Richardson, well aware of this graphic interpretation, does not omit these passages in any edition during his lifetime, as the critic requested.<sup>16</sup> It is clear, then, that while he was willing to revise, Richardson was unwilling to compromise the artistic integrity of his novel. To change or omit scenes that some found offensive would push the novel closer to a romance. It would, in effect, become *The Fortunate Country Maid*: a story very similar to *Pamela* but the male protagonist, the Marquis of L.V., remains outside of the action, and he certainly does not try to rape the heroine. In effect, Richardson treated many of the objections in this serious article of criticism the same way he did *Shamela*: he ignored them.

Though he ignored much of the criticism, Richardson was influenced enough by the *ad hominem* attacks to modify the offensive language of the introduction to the fourth edition. At Richardson’s request, Hill begrudgingly altered the tone of his original introductory letters. In a letter dated April 21, 1741, in true Hillian style, even Richardson’s choice to compromise, however necessary, was venerated: “what a pity it

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<sup>15</sup> Interestingly, this same analogy is used by Lady Mary Wortley Montague in 1755 to describe Richardson’s first two novels, *Pamela* and *Clarissa*. See Chapter Six.

<sup>16</sup> After reading *Pamela Censured*, Richardson sent Hill a copy. On May 24, 1741 an angry Hill “Suffering Every Pain, of Reflection” wrote to Richardson suggesting that the pamphlet was “a Bookseller’s Contrivance for recommending ye Purchase of *Pamela* to such Light & Loose Readers, as the Names of Religion and Virtue might have scar’d from any Purpose to look into it” (Sabor 111). Richardson, who believed it was written by an enemy to “depreciate” his work, vehemently disagreed, writing a note in the margin that states Hill was “Quite mistaken!” (111).



is, to see him resigning his judgment with a fruitless, however beautiful, hope, to reconcile inconsistent extremes, and unite all mankind in one sentiment!” (Barbauld, I, 71). Naturally, Richardson did not append an excerpt of this letter to a new edition, and it is a wonder that Hill failed to see how his overzealous praise was responsible for much of the criticism. Even so, Hill had “gone carefully over the sheet” (72) and revised the proofs of his letters that would appear in the fourth and fifth editions.

The majority of Hill’s revisions to his introductory letters in the fourth edition soften the bitter tone he assumed when answering the objections of *Pamela*’s earliest critic, the anonymous gentleman who wrote to Richardson in care of the bookseller, Charles Rivington.<sup>17</sup> For example, his advice to subdue Lady Davers’s persecution of Pamela is no longer the “rashest of all his Advices!” (xxv) but rather “the least weigh’d” (xxv).<sup>18</sup> Hill originally overreacted to the anonymous critic’s objection to the word “naughty,” proclaiming “I grow mortified, in Fear for our human Sufficiency, compar’d with our Aptness to blunder!” and called the gentleman “blind” (xxvi). In Hill’s revision, the insult is omitted and his “laudable...Intentions” (xxvi) are commended. Furthermore, the “nice, un-nice gentleman” becomes simply “nice” (xxvii), and a sentence critical of his “coarse Conception” of “the most charming...Sentiments” (xxvii), i.e., naughty, is removed. Hill’s crude and insulting “*Dutch Emendation*” (xxvii), another exaggerated reply to a suggested revision, is also excised. Hill’s final omission and rearrangement address the supposed *double entendres*. His advice to Richardson, and the reader, to

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<sup>17</sup> Eaves and Kimpel state that Hill moderated his praise of Richardson for the fourth edition introduction as well as the tone. However, only Hill’s overreaction to the anonymous gentleman’s objections was revised. The praise they refer to is significantly reduced in the fifth edition. See page 125 of their *Biography*. Charles Batten, Jr. also mentions the moderated praise in the fifth edition on page vi of his introduction to *Pamela Censured*.

<sup>18</sup> This is changed again in the fifth edition to “the least considered” (xxv). The pagination between the fourth and fifth editions is the same unless noted.

ignore the “coarse-tasted Allusions to loose low-life Idioms” (xxvii) remains, but Hill’s veiled slight to the gentleman’s “good Sense” (xxvii) is omitted.

These revisions, the first emendations to the introduction, probably changed the way readers approached the *Pamela* text. Richardson’s notice at the beginning of the introduction was not facetious; he invited and received criticism expecting, at least initially, that discerning readers could help him improve the novel so that “*the Work may be rendered as unexceptionable as possible, and, of consequence, the fitter to answer the general Design of it*” (xv). He further claimed that “*some Notice should be taken of the Objections that have hitherto come to hand*” (xv). Richardson even advertised in the *Daily Gazetteer*, a newspaper he printed, inviting further “*Candid and Judicious Observations*” from the anonymous letter writer (20 Nov. 1740).<sup>19</sup> Despite Richardson’s appeals for feedback, he allowed Hill to hastily condemn and insult *Pamela*’s earliest critics. In doing so, Richardson, and by proxy Hill, insulted *Pamela*’s readers. Richardson, though perhaps unintentionally, mocked the anonymous critic, and indeed all of his of readers, by allowing Hill to systematically dismiss many objections by way of *ad hominem* attacks. Fielding and the author of *Pamela Censured* undoubtedly saw this as well. The revised introduction, on the other hand, removes the personal insults and the aggressive, confrontational tone, thus liberating the reader from Hill’s myopic, however conventional, reading. In other words, readers can approach *Pamela* without the added anxiety that their unique readings call for censure. As a result, Richardson brought his introduction closer to fitting the demands of the text: a guide for understanding and interpreting the work rather than a prescriptive mandate.

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<sup>19</sup> *Daily Gazetteer* 20 Nov. 1740: n.p. Gale. Web. 1 Apr. 2011. For Richardson’s connection to this publication, see McKillop’s *Printer and Novelist*, page 302.

Richardson's most significant change to the introduction of the fifth edition was to tacitly declare his work a success. To begin with, he acknowledges the "*Objections that have come to hand*" (xv), but criticism is no longer requested; readers are not encouraged to help render the work "*as unexceptionable as possible*" (xv) as they were in former editions. Instead, Richardson's bold omission is tantamount to declaring the novel truly fit to answer the design of it (xv). We are aware, of course, that this is another one of Richardson's tricks put upon his readers. Just as he is the editor of a found correspondence, Richardson would now have his readers believe that he is done revising *Pamela*. It can be argued that this uncharacteristic rejection of future criticism was a response to the critical backlash found in *Shamela* and *Pamela Censured*. In this way, Richardson played the passive aggressive; that is, he accepted selected criticisms privately and continued to revise while publicly resisting all material change. This is further demonstrated in another key omission. While always appreciative of tribute and acclaim for his novel, Richardson received correspondence from readers who expected to have their letters and poems of praise appended to a new editions.<sup>20</sup> By removing a paragraph that states several gentlemen "*wish'd to see [Hill's letters] prefix'd to the Second Edition*" (xvi) Richardson appeared to rescind his earlier call for reader response. In effect, the social collaboration has seemingly stopped, and the text becomes fixed. Of course, his future revisions prove otherwise, but it seems as if he did not want to give his detractors the satisfaction.

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<sup>20</sup> The pseudonymous Philaretus wrote to Richardson praising *Pamela* and condemning *Shamela* and *Pamela Censured*. He left the letter at Richardson's "prudent Liberty" (Sabor 116), no doubt hoping to see it printed in a future edition like so many of Richardson's anonymous and pseudonymous correspondents.

After his public lampooning in *Shamela* and *Pamela Censured*, Richardson attempted to transform his public image. Further changes to the introduction in the fifth edition allow him to save face with readers resistant to and offended by the fulsome praise in Hill's letters. Called vain and conceited, Richardson, Hill, or both emend the interlinking comments. Richardson informed Hill to vary his rhetoric by retrenching the over-the-top praise, and Hill reluctantly made changes to appease the "Sordid taste" of the age (Barbauld, I, 72) by removing "every praise...fit to give up" (70). For example, the different opinions of *Pamela* are no longer submitted to the judgment of a "Gentleman of the most distinguish'd Taste and Abilities" (xv). In the fifth edition, the "gentleman" is simply the "Writer" and the "Author" (xv) of letters of praise. While his words are still "beautiful" (xxxiii), he is no longer labeled "fine" (4th, xxx) or "incomparable" (xxxiii), and the "delightful Story" of young Harry Campbell, a poor soldier's son, that was inserted to "give great Pleasure to the Reader" (xxx) is presented without the eulogistic transition. Readers can determine for themselves if the young boy's tale is "admirably related" (xxx). Additionally, the preface to Hill's organized rebuttal of the anonymous gentleman's objections, "Extracts from some of the most beautiful Letters that have ever been written in any language" (xxii), becomes the rather matter of fact "These are the most material Objections that have come to hand, all which are considered in the following letters" (5th, xxii). Finally, an entire paragraph is omitted, one that praises Hill's reading and interpretation of principal characters:

*The Manner in which this admirable Gentleman gives his Opinions of the Piece, and runs thro' the principal Characters, is so masterly, that the Readers of Pamela will be charm'd by it, tho' they should suppose, that his inimitable Benevolence has over-valu'd the Piece itself.*  
(4th, xxviii-xxix)

No doubt these revisions and omissions, 45 in all, are a direct response to a major critical concern in both *Shamela* and *Pamela Censured*, but they also help restore the reader's confidence in Richardson. In a clear desire to promote goodwill, Richardson approved of Hill's adjustments because they help the reader better understand the correct use of the introduction and the proper goal of his text. In other words, in the fifth edition, Richardson is not so approving of Hill's praise; rather, Hill is supporting Richardson and his novel, and these revisions show him shifting his rhetoric, in a sense bargaining with readers, with the hope of re-engaging them.

While it is likely that *Shamela* and *Pamela Censured* influenced changes to the introduction, the negligible amount of variants found in the fourth edition suggests that Richardson was not inspired by their objections to revise the narrative.<sup>21</sup> In this edition, published on May 5, 1741, Eaves and Kimpel estimate Richardson, possibly influenced by Hill, made 34 changes to the text.<sup>22</sup> This exceeds my count of 13, and this does not include the misprints added to the fourth edition (four to volume I and 24 to volume II) or the misprints corrected (three to volume I and one to volume II). These 13 changes include rephrasing, such as "I fear that he who was mean enough" becomes "I fear, he that was mean enough" (16); "How kind and how good he behav'd himself to me" is now "How kindly he behav'd himself to me" (II, 24); "fit to put up for the Night" is changed to "fit to put up at, for the Night" (48); "lac'd Head, and Handkerchief" becomes the

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<sup>21</sup> It is also likely that Richardson was too busy writing his continuation to make revisions. In a letter to his brother-in-law, James Leake, dated August 1741, Richardson mentioned Kelly's unauthorized sequel and that he began writing his own as early as the middle of April 1741. See Carroll pages 42-45.

<sup>22</sup> Some critics, Eaves and Kimpel included, speculate that Hill is responsible for some minor emendations. In a letter to Richardson from Hill dated April 13, 1741, Hill made changes to "a word, here and there, in [Richardson's] beautiful work" (Barbauld, I, 68). I argue that the evidence suggests Hill's revisions were held over for the fifth edition.

more detailed “lac’d Cambrick Handkerchief” (117); and “Well then, I hope, said I” is reworded to “Well then, said I, I hope” (244). There are additional changes to tense, such as “thought” to “thinks” (I, 213, 229) and “run” to “ran” (259); the adverb “very” (II, 51) is added to stress B.’s quick recovery from his illness; “Grooms” becomes “Groom” (I, 118); “Be as” to “Be so” (158); “in” to “into” (221); and “Esquire” is shortened to “Squire” (130).<sup>23</sup> Like the revisions to the third edition, these changes clean up the language and improve the clarity of statements, but they do not alter the content or intent of the text, and they certainly do not address the objections of *Pamela Censured* or the satirical attacks of *Shamela*.

The misprints introduced into the fourth edition far exceed the number of misprints corrected, suggesting that Richardson put aside Hill’s revisions until the fifth edition. The compositorial or distribution errors introduced into volume I include “he” to “me” (17); “she” to “he” (45); “be” to “bo” (79); and “to be the Making” becomes “to be Making” (103). Volume II misprints include “with” to “wiah” (25); “will” to “willt” (59); “it is” becomes “it it” (72); “of the Alcove” is “of Alcove” (92); “as well” is “as as well” (188); “marry’d to” is “to marry’d” (198); “gone to take” is “gone take” (200); “Because they” is “Because the” (208); “Woman” is incorrectly “Women” (274); “you” to “me” (279); “she” to “he” (335); and “the” to “tho” (378). Volume II also has 12 misnumbered pages beginning with page 289 (misnumbered 265) and ending at 312 (misnumbered 288). Misprints corrected in volume I include “Jewkes” to “Jervis” (111); “off” to “of” (249); and “nor” to “not” (255). Volume II only has one: “he” to “she” (162). Several

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<sup>23</sup> See Chapter One.

others are carried over from the third edition into both volumes.<sup>24</sup> The additional misprints can be dismissed as compositorial or distribution errors, but those carried over from the third edition would have likely been noted by Hill and, in turn, corrected by Richardson, if he had seen them. Hill claims to have read over the *Pamela* proofs “with the eye and the heart of a cynic, at one reading, and, in the next, with the vigilance of friendship” to “pick out any thing that might not suffer by altering” (Barbould I, 69). In the end, it is unlikely that Richardson included Hill’s revisions in the fourth edition. To suggest as much is to question Hill’s close readings, one whom Richardson knows “Praises too warm” and “Yet no man ever had a more expanded Heart, and *truer* Friendship, nor more Sincerity” (Sabor 118).

The evidence suggests that Hill’s corrections were not used in the fourth edition, but some of the revisions to the fifth edition, published on September 22, 1741, were most likely his. By August 13, 1741, according to an announcement in the *Daily Gazetteer*, volumes III and IV of *Pamela* were “*In the PRESS.*”<sup>25</sup> Richardson wrote his continuation in as few as four months, leaving him very little time to make the revisions this edition contains. It can be argued, then, that some of the changes to the fifth edition were the corrections made by Hill to the fourth edition proofs. Eaves and Kimpel estimate 905 emendations to the text, most of them varying or correcting the phrasing – improvements made so “that [the text] might not suffer by altering.”<sup>26</sup> Many of the misprints added to the third and fourth editions are corrected in the fifth, suggesting that Hill may have caught these during his close readings. Furthermore, on May 7, 1741,

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<sup>24</sup> See earlier in this chapter for a list of errors not corrected for the fourth edition.

<sup>25</sup> *Daily Gazetteer* 13 Aug. 1741: n.p. *Gale*. Web. 20 Feb. 2012.

<sup>26</sup> This approximate number is fairly accurate. I counted 403 changes to volume I and 298 to volume II for a total of 701.

Richardson began his ad campaign against the “spurious Continuation,” *Pamela’s Conduct in High Life* while announcing the publication of the fourth edition of *Pamela* in the *Daily Gazetteer*:

Certain Booksellers having in the Press a spurious Continuation of these two Volumes...the Authors thinks it necessary to declare, that the same is carrying on *against* his Consent, and without any other Knowledge of the Story than what they are able to collect from the Two Volumes already printed: And that he is actually continuing the Work himself, from Materials, that, perhaps, but for such a notorious Invasion of his Plan, he should not have published.<sup>27</sup>

This started a very publicized back-and-forth between Richardson and the *High Life* publisher, Richard Chandler, which lasted several months. Though prolific, it seems unlikely that Richardson would have enough time in four or five months to write and oversee the printing of his two volume sequel, monitor and match Chandler advertisement for advertisement, and complete the second major revision to volumes I and II of *Pamela* since the second edition. This is not to say that Hill made all of the changes to the fifth edition, but it is probable, given the extant evidence, that Richardson included Hill’s proof sheet revisions in the fifth edition.

The rhetoric of *Pamela Censured* and *Shamela* was so effective that it not only challenged *Pamela’s* paratextual material but helped to re-create it. Richardson streamlined the preface to the fifth edition and made several changes that suggest he was influenced by these two anti-Pamela texts. For example, Richardson changed his target audience with an omission. He removed his earlier attempt to attract “*Persons of maturer Years and Understandings*” (4th, iii). It is likely that these “maturer” readers were the

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<sup>27</sup> *Daily Gazetteer* 7 May 1741: n.p. Gale. Web. 1 Apr. 2011.



most censorious, and Richardson shifted his focus exclusively to “*the YOUTH of both Sexes*” (5th, iii).<sup>28</sup> A few revisions in particular, it can be argued, were influenced by the “maturer” writer of *Pamela Censured*. The story is told, according to the preface, “*in so probable, so natural, so lively a manner, as shall engage the Passions of every sensible Reader*” (v), but missing from the fifth edition is the suggestion that the readers’ “*Passions*” will “*strongly interest them in the edifying story*” (4th, v). It is passion in particular that *Pamela Censured*’s critic finds fault with: “I think [*Pamela*] very artfully work’d up, and the Passions so strongly touch’d that it is impossible for Youth to read it without Sympathy, and even Wishing themselves in such a Situation, which must be attended with very bad Consequences” (23). Richardson’s “warmly depicted” (23) scenes certainly engaged the writer “strongly” enough that he called Richardson and *Pamela* both morally flawed.

At another point in the preface to the fifth edition, Richardson adopted the language of *Pamela Censured*, just as this critic used the language of his title page against him. The preface asserts that the work does not raise “*a single Idea throughout the Whole, that shall shock the exactest Purity*” (v), but Richardson amended the end of the sentence to say “*even in the warmest of those Instances where Purity would be most apprehensive*” (v). “Warm,” or a variation thereof, is used six times in the 64 page pamphlet to describe the affects of *Pamela*’s “pernicious” images, and Richardson may have knowingly paraphrased his censorer.<sup>29</sup>

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<sup>28</sup> In a letter dated August 31, 1741, Richardson wrote to Cheyne to remind his physician that *Pamela* was meant to “catch young and airy Minds” (Carroll 46). Otherwise, Richardson lamented, “I should catch none but Grandmothers” (47). There is no doubt Richardson was hoping to reach a wide audience, but, as the revision and his letter indicates, he was targeting younger readers.

<sup>29</sup> See *Pamela Censured* pages 20, 23, 31, 34, 39, and 54.

Yet another omission that could be attributed to *Pamela Censured* is related to the novel's "warmest instances." While these scenes are still "*laudable or worthy Recommendations of any Work*" (v), they are not "*embellished with a great Variety of entertaining Incidents*" (4th, v). These "incidents" the critic called "Amorous" (63) and they "must necessarily raise in the unwary Youth that read them, Emotions *far distant from the Principles of Virtue*" (title page). Furthermore, the passions of Richardson-as-editor are still "moved," but by the entire work rather than the "*engaging Scenes*" (vi) in particular. The final revision that may have been influenced by *Pamela Censured* is the omission of "boldly." The critic objected to the rather brazen, commanding tone of Richardson's preface that the novel will "*divert, entertain, instruct, and improve*" (10), so Richardson probably responded by changing "*boldly bespeaks*" to "*ventures to bespeak*" the favorable reception of his work (5th, vi). Considering that much of the criticism from *Shamela, Pamela Censured*, and anonymous correspondents focuses on *Pamela's* front matter, it is hardly surprising that Richardson revised a great deal of the paratextual material. Despite widespread knowledge of his authorship, Richardson also continued his ruse as the editor, confidently declaring that an "Editor *can judge with an Impartiality which is rarely to be found in an Author*" rather than hedging as he did in earlier editions with "*an Editor may reasonably be supposed to judge with an Impartiality which is rarely to be met with in an Author towards his own Works*" (vi).

Further omissions in the preface may have been influenced by the first of the "spurious" sequels, *Pamela's Conduct in High Life*. Written by John Kelly and published by Richard Chandler on May 28, 1741, this sequel claims to continue Pamela's

correspondence where the original volumes end.<sup>30</sup> Outlined here are two possible influences that Kelly's continuation had on the fifth edition of *Pamela*. First, Richardson likely removed from the preface the assertion that *Pamela* outlines social duties "from low to high *Life*" (iv) to avoid any association with Kelly's work. Second, in another possible nod to Kelly's *Conduct*, Richardson omitted the epithets from "the modest Virgin, the chaste Bride, and the obliging Wife" (v) to read simply "the Virgin, the Bride, and the Wife" (v). Kelly used similar language in his introduction to highlight Pamela's most prominent characteristics: "a dutiful and loving Daughter, a most observant and obliging Wife, a humane and considerate Mistress, and a tender Mother to the Poor" (v).<sup>31</sup> These revisions allow one to speculate on the influence public and private criticisms had on the preface to the fifth edition. Indeed, Richardson altered his rhetoric to access current and former readers who may have been forming new opinions of his text, especially in light of continuations, parodies, and the *Pamela* fervor in general. Such self-conscious revisings help shore up his credibility. After all, it appears that Richardson wanted to meet the needs of his critics on equal terms, as long as those terms did not violate the integrity of his novel.

While *Shamela*, *Pamela Censured*, and Kelly's *Conduct* are altogether responsible for some substantial revisions to *Pamela*'s paratexts, the influence of *Pamela Censured* on the text of the fifth edition is minimal. On the other hand, Richardson's changes do indicate that he revisited the scenes with "pernicious" images (19) to take a second look. Perhaps the most well known revision answers the objection to Pamela's

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<sup>30</sup> Richardson's own sequel and the influence of continuations and the circumstances surrounding their publication are examined in depth in Chapter Five.

<sup>31</sup> *Pamela's Conduct in High Life*. 2 vols. London: Ward and Chandler, 1741. Gale. Web. 3 Oct. 2009.

posture. In the first four editions, Pamela imagines that B. looks at her through the keyhole as she is “lying all along upon the Floor, stretch’d out at my Length” (4th, 31). *Pamela Censured* called this an “Image that no Youth can read without Emotion!” and that it “must naturally excite Passions of Desire” (31). Of course, the most important detail Richardson added is that Pamela is laying face down, but further details are included to flesh out the scene. For example, B. tries a little harder to manipulate Pamela into giving him what he wants by taking the shame upon himself: “Who ever blamed *Lucretia*, but the *Ravisher* only” is replaced by “Who ever blamed *Lucretia*? All the Shame lay on the Ravisher only” (5th, 31). This slight addition gives B. more credibility as a rake, especially as he deftly seeks to reason Pamela into sleeping with him. As well, Pamela’s “went away” is elevated to “fainted away” because of her “Terror” and not her “Fright and Terror” (31), thereby easing, to a degree, B.’s aggression. *Pamela Censured* was severe in its criticism of this scene, perhaps overly so, but such critical scorn undoubtedly motivated Richardson to appease this critic where he could. Clearly Richardson recognized the objection as important enough to rethink the scene, if not to remove it.

Another scene that was challenged in *Pamela Censured* is slightly revised in much the same way – the scene is not changed but details are added and the sentence recast. *Pamela Censured* argued that the “innocent” Pamela is not so naïve: “with all the Inconsistence imaginable [she] expresses herself as cunningly and knowingly upon the Subject [of seduction] as the best bred Town Lass of them all” (32). Speaking to Mrs. Jervis, Pamela explains to stay at the Bedfordshire house or to take money from B. would only encourage him and his attempts: “For I think, when one of our Sex finds she is

attempted, it is an Encouragement to a Person to proceed...and it shews one can forgive what in short, ought *not* to be forgiven” (4th, 41). The variant adds detail and marks Pamela as more articulate while still indicating that she gains experience upon self-reflection: “For I think, when one of our sex finds she is attempted, it is an Encouragement to the Attempter to proceed...’Tis neither more nor less than inviting him to think that one forgives, what in short, ought *not* to be forgiven” (5th, 41). *Pamela Censured*’s objection has merit, and the revision makes Pamela’s inconsistent character even more pronounced, but to call her “a Town Lass” was likely, for Richardson, a misreading on the same level as *Shamela*. Pamela is vain and, at times, appears to feign naiveté, but this is balanced by her essential virtue, and she realizes quickly that she must show reserve or risk future assaults. Interestingly, Richardson did not appease the critic here, as the change to the scene defies the objection rather than yields to it. Nevertheless, Pamela’s characterization is altered as a result.

In another revision possibly influenced by *Pamela Censured*, Richardson draws closer attention to the sexual double standard. The critic argued that Pamela’s virtue is founded on shame (33). In other words, she would consent to be B.’s mistress if she was secure from abandonment and censure. The cynical reaction is certainly out of proportion, calling Pamela B.’s would-be seducer rather than his victim. The revision is slight: “even wicked Men...soon grow weary of Wickedness of *one* Sort, and love *Variety*” is replaced by “even wicked Men...soon grow weary of Wickedness with the same Person, and love *Variety*” (5th, 44). The change would perhaps be unremarkable, if not for its deliberate attempt to make the reference more personal. *Pamela Censured*, like the novel itself, makes clear the contradiction between Pamela’s idea of herself and

society's expectations; that is, B.'s life would not be ruined for a sexual lapse, whereas Pamela's would be ruined completely. If Richardson was attempting to obscure or even dodge the very real consequences for women who break the laws governing sexual behavior, *Pamela Censured* influenced him to confront (somewhat) the contemporary issue of gender relations.

Minor substantive revisions are made to a few more scenes that are criticized in *Pamela Censured*, but they do not deflect the charges of immorality or follow the critic's request to "amend...or entirely strike them out" (64). The critic found plenty to object to, including the first closet scene, B.'s discussion with Pamela under the pretence of showing her his birthday suit, and his open declaration that he loves her, all of which undergo slight revision that change B.'s character. For example, emphasis is added to make him sound truly sincere. His rather spiritless "I must say I love you" is improved with italics to the more expressive "I *must* say I love you" (5th, 103). Furthermore, "much against [his] Heart," B. tells Pamela that his earlier behavior was meant to "frighten you from your Reservedness" rather than "frighten you to my Purposes" (4th, 103). On the surface B.'s language appears less aggressive, but he also avoids commitment. He says to Pamela that she "shall see how much you shall find your Account in it" if she stays a fortnight longer (104). In the fifth edition, B. makes no guarantee, using the rather indistinct "how much you may find your account in it" (104). These changes further complicate B.'s character. Some of Richardson's major revisions to the second edition were made to excuse B.'s rakish behavior, make him more of a gentleman, and lead the reader to believe that he is not past reclamation. Changes to this scene, on the other hand, show B. as an accomplished libertine methodically exhausting

his repertoire. Richardson played the “Rogue” with his readers, and presents B. as a cunning, hard-working deceiver who tries to “[melt] her by love” (280) even before she is imprisoned in Lincolnshire. Clearly these changes do not answer the objections in *Pamela Censured*. They do, however, present evidence that the critic produced a recordable shift in intention from one edition to the next, even if that intention does not directly respond to the objections. Richardson revisited the objectionable scenes, ultimately ignored the criticism, but made substantive changes to character nonetheless.

Despite the absence of any new objections to Pamela’s low style in 1741, her language, phrasing, and grammar in the fifth edition are revised and further close the social gap between her and B. Much of the early criticism concentrated on Pamela’s language and her rustic, colloquial idioms. By the fifth edition, her language is more restrained, and restrained in ways that call attention to her education and inherent genteel respectability. For example, Pamela’s use of “indeed” is increased and added for emphasis. It replaces “O” (4th, 70), “but” (74), “So” (86), and is introduced with additional text referencing her “Amusements” while a prisoner at Lincolnshire (5th, 143). Moreover, words and phrases are refined such as “Yet I hope” to “However I hope” (8); “careful” becomes “apprehensive” (16); “are a-bed” is “are alone” (21); “clammy” is “dewy” (75); “can get a place” is now “can meet with a place” (93); “since told me” is “since own’d to me” (95); “last I have to ask you” is altered to “last I shall ask you” (102); “being in his Power so” is changed to “being so much in his Power” (108); “But still” becomes “Yet still” (108); “last Resource” is “last Refuge” (136); “without Mrs. Jewkes’s seeing me” is elevated to “without being observ’d by Mrs. Jewkes” (153); “Wrapper” becomes “Cover” (157); “alter it to my case more” becomes “alter it,

somewhat nearer to my case” (183); “strike me more into Terror” (221) is “strike more Terror into me” (221); “felt none then” (226) is revised to “felt it not then” (226); “Blame” is replaced by “Reprehension” (232); and “enabled me” is “impowered me” (275). Furthermore, “learnt” is changed to “taught” (268), “Lady had learn’d me” to “Lady made me learn” (II, 96), and in two places “learn” becomes “teach” (I, 284; II, 204) in corrected phrasings.<sup>32</sup> As Richardson continued to revise, there is an increase in instances where the language is improved by slight alterations or excisions, and this pattern is indicative of his motivation to raise his heroine stylistically until the unrefined elder daughter is not such an embarrassment to her father or her sisters.

There are also, of course, more tense changes that follow Richardson’s standard pattern of revision and continue to elevate the heroine until she is, presumably, worthy of social mobility. For instance, “Time I told her the Story” becomes “Time I was telling her the Story” (I, 22); “let me gone” is changed to “let me go” (46); “it was not stirr’d” to “it has not stirr’d” (174); “run” to “ran” (II, 247, 248); and “begun” to “began” (220). Pamela’s “there” becomes an affected “thither” (91), her “where” becomes “whither” (32), “crept” is “creep” (40), and two more grammatical changes are made that were not corrected in the second edition: “who” to “whom” (I, 281, II, 176), and “Thinks” to “Thought” (II, 235). The revised grammar and vocabulary, though perhaps imperceptible to contemporary readers, put a considerable distance between the Pamela who “curchee’d” and was “learnt” to the Pamela who has a more precise way of speaking.

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<sup>32</sup> Eaves and Kimpel state that a passage containing “learns me” becomes “teaches me” in the fifth edition. I found no such change, which may suggest that the edition they examined is slightly different from the one I examined housed in the British Library.



Another slight alteration in B.'s language can be read as elevating the heroine, humbling the master, or both. For example, B. no longer "stoop'd so low as to acknowledge" his love for a servant; rather, he "stoop'd to acknowledge" (104). Upon revision, he is able to maintain his social superiority without further demeaning Pamela. Later, "stoop" is replaced with the polished "descend" (105) and complements B.'s earlier statement that Pamela is worthier than "any Lady in the World" (104). These slight alterations continue to emphasize Pamela's education and inborn gentility, and such qualities prepare her to be something more than a mistress. Fashionably educated by B.'s mother, and her behavior shaped by proper reading and instruction, Pamela is progressively being groomed for the marriage market.<sup>33</sup> In other words, her social status is minimized and her accomplishments underscored in order to cement her marriageability. Indeed, her poverty might be entirely forgotten if not for the fact of her constant reminders.<sup>34</sup>

Additional revisions to the fifth edition further complicate Pamela's character and encourage Fielding's antithetical reading. Richardson continued to play the "Rogue" with his readers when he toned down Pamela's contempt of B. and added subtle hints that she may be a self-interested schemer. For example, Pamela often lessens the distance between herself and her master: she no longer refers to him as "so great a Man"; instead, he is simply a "Gentleman" (15, 151). Furthermore, Richardson omitted one instance of "my Master" (89), and "my poor Master" becomes "my Master" (63), which in context

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<sup>33</sup> In the fifth edition, Richardson assured his readers that the books Pamela reads are much like his own – intended for "Improvement, as well as Amusement" (I, 143).

<sup>34</sup> In a letter dated August 24, 1741, Cheyne wrote to Richardson "Your Heroine you have made a Gentlewoman originally and distinguished [only after her marriage] by some Ounces of shining Metal" (Mullett 69), signifying that she belongs in "high life" from the beginning.

suggests B.'s feelings for her are not pitiable but rather something she can use to her advantage. Moreover, Pamela justifies addressing B. informally by stressing that it is his fault when "I must *he* and *him* him now; for he has lost his Dignity with me" is changed to "Maybe, I *he* and *him* him, too much: But it is his own fault, if I do. For why did he lose all his Dignity with me" (17). Pamela also uses fewer insults and shows less contempt for B. In particular, his "black poisonous Heart" is altered to "base, plotting Heart" (156), "rude Gentleman" (83) is omitted from the fifth edition, and "you are no Gentleman" becomes "you have forgotten to act like a Gentleman" (84). As well, she is more aware of B.'s feelings for her: "I begin to think he likes me, and can't help it" is changed to "I begin to believe what Mrs. *Jervis* told me, that he likes me, and can't help it" (63). This, of course, comes short of Shamela's confession that she "put[s] upon the Fool for Anger" (13) and manipulates him to get what she wants, but Pamela's motives become more suspect and her character more balanced – she is neither a moral paragon nor is she an abandoned "Town lass." It is no wonder, then, that B. worries about Pamela's writing. New to the fifth edition is his warning to Pamela that "you ought to be wary of what Tales you send out of a Family" (4), encouraging the reader to question Pamela's point of view and somewhat reversing the established roles of predator and paragon that is masterfully worked up *Shamela*.<sup>35</sup> Thus, in a sense, B.'s culpability is reduced at the expense of Pamela's veracity, especially when the revisions allow readers more room to question her self-serving rhetorical skill.

At the same time revisions increase speculation that Pamela has mercenary motives, her emended verses reassure readers that B.'s love is "all God Almighty's

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<sup>35</sup> Richardson's addition may have been influenced by *Shamela*. Parson Oliver objects to chambermaids "betraying the Secrets of Families" (54).

Doings; and that a Gentleman of his Parts and Knowledge was not to be drawn in by such a poor young Body as [her]” (II, 353).<sup>36</sup> Indeed, Pamela’s rhetoric is enough to make one, as Richardson put it, “think now one way, now another, of the very same Characters,” Hill excepted of course. In the second stanza of her revised “Sonnet,” Pamela proudly asserts that poverty is her pride and she assumes the humility of an exemplary heroine (I, 112). The third stanza emphasizes the same humble principles she uses to draw sympathy from others. The fourth is a revised testament to her piety and virtue. In the ninth, Pamela contrasts her self-righteous poverty with the “gay deceitful snares” of the “Great” (113). The remaining revisions shower praise on her parents, despite their low degree, and are a shameless display of piety and goodness. Pamela uses “the Sacred Name much seldomer” so that the novel has “much less the Style of Robinson Crusoe, as wou’d make [*Pamela*] much more beneficial to the World,” as the anonymous critic requested for the second edition (McKillop 48), but her character continues to trouble critical readers because her humility disappears in one scene (depending on the edition), only to reappear in another.

Richardson also reacted to the largely cynical views taken of his heroine by revising the pond scene. With the obvious intent to continue elevating his heroine, Richardson substituted the language of the heart for the language of the mind by placing a higher value on sensibility. Pamela’s style gives the event a more affecting appearance rather than her characteristic “writing to the moment” response. Instead of her typical reaction that appears simple and straightforward (though all her reactions are subjective), words and phrases are carefully designed and arranged. As it was written before, Pamela

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<sup>36</sup> In his dissertation, Peter Sabor argues that the revisions to Pamela’s verses were most likely made by Hill. This is probable given the changes to grammar and meter as well as Hill’s moderate success as a poet and dramatist.

was not thinking so much through feeling; that is, the events in her narrative consist of vague sentences that provided only the necessary plot points. With revision, Pamela still speaks affectively; however, Richardson slowed down the scene to highlight her pain, her distress, and her thought process. For example, “when I would have got up, I could hardly stand; for I was full of Pain with it; and besides my Head bled, and ak’d with the Blow I had with the Brick.—Yet this I valued not!” is replaced with “then trying to get up, I sunk down again two or three times; and my left Hip and Shoulder were very stiff, and full of Pain, with Bruises; and besides, my Head bled, and ak’d grievously with the Blow I had with the Brick.—Yet these hurts I valued not!” (II, 227). Naturally, additional details flesh out the scene, but at the same time they stretch the emotional tension. In other words, “writing to the moment” is augmented with the finer points of Pamela’s tale of distress. The importance of this scene for the reader (and later for B.) merits the additional detail. Descriptive words and phrases make it possible for the reader to become a sympathetic spectator. Indeed, Pamela’s injuries are emphasized as she stumbles to her feet when “I crept along till I could get up on my Feet” is replaced with “I crept along, till I could raise myself on my staggering Feet” (227). Her physical sensibility is everywhere apparent – one need only count the moments she faints away or becomes senseless – but this scene in particular underscores her spiritual sensibility as well. The finality of her suicide is altered from a “Gulph, from which there can be no Redemption” to a “Gulph, from which there could have been no Return” (227). Her pious goodness throughout her misery expands to include her tormentors. Initially, she hoped, upon her death, that “they will find that Remorse to wring their obdurate Hearts,” but this is relaxed to a “Remorse to soften their obdurate Hearts” (229) against her and, at the same time, portrays the

heroine as incapable of resentment. Moreover, She has a “distrust” of God’s grace rather than a “Defiance” (230), and she is at the “Mercies of a protecting God” rather than a “gracious God” (231). In this scene, it is necessary that Pamela be regarded as an object of sympathy, and the disaster at the pond finds her humbly “consign’d to a *more* wretched Confinement, and worse Usage” (232 italics mine) instead of “consign’d to a wretched Confinement.” In effect, Pamela moves her readers with a language of suffering that tends to inflate both the physical and spiritual sentimental ethos with a strikingly elevated style.

A few subtle alterations to B.’s character may have been made to counter the gullible behavior of his counterpart, Mr. Booby, in Fielding’s *Shamela* and make him, at the same time, appear more calculating and villainous. When Mr. Andrews confronts B. at the Bedfordshire estate, for instance, a slight change in his language veils his involvement in Pamela’s kidnapping: B.’s confident “but she will send a Letter to you, Mrs. *Jervis*” becomes the more removed “And if she should send a Letter to you, Mrs. *Jervis*” (I, 121). More of a practiced libertine, this revision puts B. upon his guard with Mr. Andrews, as he is careful of implicating himself too much in Pamela’s disappearance in order to maintain his reputation. B.’s awareness that his conduct is unbecoming a gentleman is silently omitted from one of his letters to Pamela when “if you compel me not to a Conduct abhorrent to me at present” is changed to “if you compel me not to a contrary Conduct” (133). This new omission also supports B.’s earlier statement that his actions were “jocular Pleasantry” and “innocent Romping” (116) because he admits his true intentions only to Pamela. Richardson continued to advance B.’s libertine bent by making him more of a dissembler. In another of his letters to Pamela, “good intentions”

are added to his ardor: “I am resolv’d very soon to convince you, how ardently I am...” is “I am resolv’d very soon to convince you of my good intentions, and with what Ardor I am...” (149). His “good intentions” are his articles, and amount to nothing less than a contract for the purchase of Pamela’s virginity. Furthermore, in a possible nod to Parson Oliver, Richardson revised B.’s first meeting with Williams, softening the reprimand in the process: “you did not expostulate with me, as your Function might allow you, upon it; but immediately determined to counterplot me, and to turn as much an Intriguer for a Parson, as I was for Laick” is altered to the more polite and rather blameless “you did not expostulate with me upon it, as your Function might have allow’d you to do; but immediately determined to counterplot me, and attempt to secure to yourself a Prize...” (II, 89). This change is in line with the revisions to volume I in which B. does not implicate himself in any dubious activity. Indeed, if Williams is an “Intriguer,” then it follows that B. is one likewise.<sup>37</sup> Obviously these changes are not intended to absolve B.’s actions; rather, they provide further evidence of his deft, licentious behavior, a change Richardson probably made to refute the predatory charges levied against his heroine and make his hero less of a blundering “Booby.” Ultimately, the latter is compromised for the sake of the former.

As has been indicated, the fourth and fifth editions of *Pamela*, through the revision process, provide evidence of changes to characterization in the wake of highly publicized parodies, criticisms, and imitations that belittle the introduction, accuse the author of promoting “Amorous Ideas,” and eventually hijack the heroine’s story altogether. The alterations, then, appear to be a result of objections and suggestions made

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<sup>37</sup> B. shamelessly admits his culpability at length in volumes III and IV.

throughout 1741. The preliminary matter alone compromises Richardson's intended moral in the minds of many readers, and he appealed to Hill for revisions to avoid further critical backlash. At the same time, the competing interpretations of the novel by *Shamela* and *Pamela Censured* likely influenced a number of stylistic adjustments that do more than just dignify the heroine, though they undoubtedly elevate her. Some of Richardson's subtle changes to Pamela and B. may in fact encourage the anti-Pamelist readings he claimed were so offensive. Their actions and language are not so simple and straightforward as Richardson originally conceived in the first edition. The novel is still the same, but there are additional nuances of character introduced that make them distinctive and give a different coloring to their original conception. In effect, each character is more complex in the fifth edition, appearing neither entirely good nor entirely bad, striking a better balance between their opposing goals. The majority of Richardson scholars argue that the influence of contemporary criticism on *Pamela* was minimal until the fourteenth edition of 1801, but examining the changes to the fifth edition, rather than simply counting them, shows that Richardson was working against what he considered misreadings as early as 1741, and, what's more, that he was rethinking his heroine's humble origins and his hero's culpability in the process.

CHAPTER THREE: PARATEXTS AND TEXT IN *PAMELA I*: A “STRANGE  
MEDLEY OF INCONSISTENCE”

Paratexts

It has been shown that Richardson’s revisions to *Pamela* have a significant impact on how one interprets the novel and judges the credibility of its author and characters. This chapter, therefore, continues to examine Richardson’s increasingly elaborate revision strategies by analyzing the unique paratexts and revised text of volumes I and II of *Pamela*’s octavo edition. The extra-textual aim of the ancillary matter is to reframe the narrative and influence the reader’s response. Rather than comment directly on the action or characters, Richardson attempted to reduce, forestall, or silently remove the complexities and difficulties of Pamela’s marriage and the subjectivity of her narrative with additional verbal and visual components as if they were editorial commentary. In other words, Richardson continued to respond to the anti-Pamelists and the apparent interpretive instability of his first novel with a detailed table of contents, illustrations, and further revisions to the text that were intended to familiarizing readers with Pamela’s elevated status and B.’s better behavior. However, if Richardson was working toward closure and an end to debate with his revisions, the hybrid octavo leaves volumes I and II of the text even more open-ended and evasive than previous editions because it does not restrict readerly interpretation. On the contrary, the competing discourses of the verbal-visual dynamic expand the interpretive opportunities and, as a result, complicate the meaning Richardson intended to convey that was once, if not decisively, limited by the text alone.



According to the preface, the text's intent to "Divert *and* Entertain, *and at the same time to* Instruct, *and* Improve *the Minds of the* YOUTH of both Sexes" (v) met with a mixed reception that included excess praise, criticism, and, according to Richardson, misreadings.<sup>1</sup> In fact, a good measure of *Pamela's* fame no doubt resulted from the critical charges of blatant titillation. Indeed, certain scenes were considered so indecent that some contemporary readers called for censure. Richardson's correspondence shows that his delicacy was offended, but critics of his first novel would never have guessed, as Aaron Hill did, that *Pamela* would "live on, through posterity, with such unbounded extent of good consequences, that twenty ages to come may be the better and wiser for its influence" (Barbauld, I, 54-55). The unprecedented success of *Pamela* is evidenced in the demand for five editions within the first year, and, what is equally exceptional, each edition undergoes a certain degree of revision. This, I have argued, encourages the changing contemporary perceptions of *Pamela* and impacts how the novel is received. As early as the second edition, Richardson endeavored to raise his heroine and his novel above a middle-brow read. Part of his plan was discussed in a letter from Hill dated February 9, 1741 that included talk of engraved plates that called for "expression and attitude" (Hill, II, 164-165).<sup>2</sup> In the introduction to the second edition, Richardson announced:

*We shall only add, That it was intended to prefix two neat Frontispieces to this Edition, (and to present them to the Purchasers of the first) and one was actually finished for that Purpose; but there not being Time for the other, from the Demand for the new Impression; and the Engraving Part of that which was done (tho' no Expence was spared) having fallen very short of the Spirit of the Passages they*

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<sup>1</sup> In this chapter, all citations to *Pamela* are from the novel's octavo edition unless otherwise indicated.

<sup>2</sup> Hill, Aaron. *The Works of the Late Aaron Hill*. 2nd ed. 4 vols. London, 1754. Gale. Web. 12 March 2009.

*were intended to represent, the Proprietors were advised to lay them aside.* (xxxvi)

In an earlier letter from Hill dated December 29, 1740, the engraver is revealed to be none other than William Hogarth: “The designs you have taken for the frontispieces, seem to have been very judiciously chosen; upon presupposition that Mr. Hogarth is able (and if any-body is, it is he), to teach pictures to speak and think” (Barbauld, I, 56). Hogarth’s work on *Pamela*’s frontispieces was never finished, and the design was rejected “*having fallen very short*” of Richardson’s expectations.<sup>3</sup> Nevertheless, Richardson’s determination to produce an edition of the best quality is embodied in the octavo edition that was announced in the *Daily Post* on May 8, 1742.

In an attempt to set the latest edition of *Pamela* on a level with canonical works such as Latin and Greek texts, prayer books, and even *The Whole Duty of Man*, Richardson replaced the offensive prefatory letters, the original preface, introduction and epilogue with a new preface, a table of contents, twenty-nine engravings, and for the first time published the original volumes with their sequel, volumes III and IV.<sup>4</sup> The newest edition was advertised as “beautifully printed on a Writing-Paper and Large Letter, in four Volumes Octavo, and embellish’d with Twenty-Nine Copper-Plates, design’d and engrav’d by Mr. Hayman and Mr. Gravelot; (with ample Table of Contents; being an

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<sup>3</sup> No evidence is extant to explain why Richardson rejected Hogarth’s designs, but it is possible that they had differing views of the heroine. T.C. Duncan Eaves speculates that Hogarth looked on *Pamela* “with the eyes of a Fielding” and “confronted Richardson with a graphic ‘Shamela’” (351-52), in “Graphic Illustrations of the Novels of Samuel Richardson, 1740-1810.” *HLQ* 14 (1951): 349-83. *JSTOR*. Web. 9 Feb. 2009. Ronald Paulson, on the other hand, suggests that Hogarth’s *Pamela* was “insufficiently spiritual” (187-88) for Richardson’s taste. See *Hogarth*. Vol. 2. New Brunswick: Rutgers UP, 1991-93. Print. If Hill’s letter of February 9 is any indication, then Paulson is likely closer to the truth than Eaves. The frontispiece was to depict *Pamela* and her bundles, a scene that Hogarth could undoubtedly misrepresent, but, at the same time, a scene that does not easily lend itself to *Shamela*-like representation.

<sup>4</sup> While this is the first edition of *Pamela* to be published in four volumes, my discussion of the octavo in this chapter is limited to the paratexts and textual revisions in volumes I and II. The paratexts and Richardson’s revisions to volumes III and IV of the octavo are discussed in Chapter Six.

Epitome of the Work, now first prefix'd)" (*Daily Post* 8 May 1742).<sup>5</sup> To judge by the quality and lasting praise of the edition, the publication of the octavo was clearly an important undertaking. The illustrators Hubert Gravelot and Francis Hayman, according to Eaves, "were the best England could offer" at the time ("Graphic Illustrations" 353). Their work, and the expensive paper, pushed the price of all four volumes from 12s. to £1.4s.<sup>6</sup> Praise from Richardson's correspondence shows that the new edition was not to be purchased as a diverting read, but rather an instructive text that was meant to be shelved next to monuments of literature. George Cheyne, who criticized the paper and type of the first edition, wrote approvingly of "the fine new Edition of Pamela [that] will be a classical Book for the Younger especially of the fair Sex" (Mullet 93). In a letter dated December 28, 1742, William Warburton, a close friend of Alexander Pope, thanked Richardson for the "valuable present of a fine edition of your excellent work, which no one can set a higher rate upon" (Barbauld, I, 133). Four years later, Edward Young informed Richardson that his step-daughter, Caroline Lee, "has just now read you over in your new and splendid suit, (with which you was so kind as to present her;) and she is too much a woman to not like you still better for being so well dressed" (Pettit 223-24).<sup>7</sup> Accordingly, the octavo edition of *Pamela* certainly met its aesthetic goal. Though the visual, organizational, and editorial paratexts did not help this higher priced, prestigious

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<sup>5</sup> *Daily Post* 8 May 1742: n.p. *Gale*. Web. 20 Feb. 2012.

<sup>6</sup> See Sale pages 17-21.

<sup>7</sup> *The Correspondence of Edward Young, 1683-1765*. Ed. Henry Pettit. Oxford: Clarendon Press, 1971. Print.

edition sell, they provide valuable evidence for how Richardson envisioned presenting his text, and a visual representation of his characters, to the public.<sup>8</sup>

Richardson's first extensive revision to the octavo was to replace the controversial introductory letters with a table of contents, which, like the introduction to the second edition, he was certain people would read.<sup>9</sup> He documented his plans for the new edition in a letter to Ralph Allen on October 8, 1741: "when I come to perfect the Design in the Publication of the New Volumes, I am advised to omit both the Introductory Preface in the future Editions of the two first: And shall do it in an Octavo Edition I am Printing" (Carroll 51-52). In an extended prefatory note in volume I of the octavo, Richardson justified excluding the letters for three reasons:

*because the kind Reception which these Volumes have met with, renders the Recommendatory Letters unnecessary; and because the most material of the Objections answer'd in the Introductory Preface, are taken notice of and obviated in the Third Volume, in Letters from the fair Writer to Lady Davers, and others of her Correspondents. And their Place is supply'd, not unusefully, it is presum'd, by the following Epitome of the Work. (viii)*

In other words, the embarrassing letters are made obsolete, critics' objections are answered in additional volumes, and readers are now given an indexing and reference tool to guide them – the "*Epitome of the Work.*" Without a doubt, this was a shrewd move by Richardson. He broke his narrative into parts, which he then analyzed and interpreted for the reader. In fact, with the addition of such extensive paratextual material,

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<sup>8</sup> Enough of the octavo sheets remained unsold that they were re-issued in 1772 without the engravings and with a different title page. See Sale page 22.

<sup>9</sup> How often such paratexts were read in the eighteenth-century has not been measured, if indeed it can be, but the critical objections to the introduction of the second edition of *Pamela* undoubtedly prove it was read. Similarly, according to Richardson's correspondence, he expected readers would at least glance at the table of contents, though ideally he wanted readers to study it.

Richardson boldly declared that one need not read the narrative at all. The multi-purpose table of contents, he stated, would:

*serve to revive the Memory of the principal Matters in the Minds of those who have read [the novel], and to give an easy and clear View of what they contain, to those who have not, nor perhaps have Leisure to peruse them; at least, so carefully as may be necessary to answer the End of their Publication: And which, at the same time, will serve as a copious INDEX to direct the Reader where to find the most material Passages, as well as give an Idea of the entertaining and instructive Variety to be found in the Work. (i)*

Thus, in an effort to gain a positive reception and an accurate interpretation of the text, the narrative is filtered for readers of earlier editions, new readers are given Richardson's "clear View" of the contents without necessarily having to read the book, and others can enjoy the "material passages" in an unconventionally fluid way. However, if one reads only the table of contents they are directed toward a single interpretive conclusion – Richardson's. If one has the "Leisure" to read the narrative, then juxtaposing Richardson's 7,000 word synopsis with the text can be problematic and confusing.<sup>10</sup>

The table of the contents provides a similar subjective frame for reading the narrative as the introductory letters written by Webster, de Freval, and Hill.<sup>11</sup> Because of their subjectivity, these letters complicated how *Pamela* was received by contemporary readers, and, much like the letters, the table of contents is rather one-sided. More than a list of chapter titles or an index of letters and journal entries, Richardson-as-editor summarizes the novel and allows readers to thumb through the text and find a specific scene. Inevitably, though, the paraphrased material is carefully chosen and placed in

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<sup>10</sup> Richardson's synopsis of volumes I and II is approximately 7,000 words. His synopsis of volumes III and IV, discussed in Chapter Six, make up approximately 9,000 words.

<sup>11</sup> These letters are discussed in more depth in Chapters One and Two.

greater relief. This creates differing expectations and has a profound influence on how a reader approaches the narrative. Though the table of contents is not self-congratulatory, it is nevertheless prescriptive in its attempt to manipulate the reader's perception of characters and events. Similar to the exemplar that Hill wrote about, readers are introduced to a heroine who becomes increasingly apprehensive that her master intends to violate more than her rigid moral principles. B.'s sexual assaults are understated and generically called "free behaviour" while Pamela's virtue is foregrounded. Ultimately, the table of contents is a repackaging of the prefatory letters in Richardson's own words, as they attempt to instruct *Pamela's* readers how to interpret the actions of the main characters. This paratext has received little critical attention compared to those who have analyzed the tables of contents Richardson created for his other novels, *Clarissa* and *Sir Charles Grandison*, and critical observations, such as Peter Sabor's, do not examine the resulting changes in characterization. Instead, the language is the focus and Richardson's intentions are examined. Here, I hope to do the same while paying careful attention to how Richardson's summary of the novel's events and its representation of character are in competition with the narrative.

In the table of contents, the fictionalized editor assumes an all knowing third-person approach that trespasses into Pamela's limited first person point of view. In doing so, Richardson attempted to remove ambiguities inherent in the narrative, even revealing events and their outcomes before Pamela is aware of them herself. Moments of certainty occur as early as Letter IX, when readers are told, in so many words, that B. intends to seduce Pamela because he "refuses to let her go to Lady *Davers*" (ii). It is frankly stated that B.'s reasons for keeping her in Bedfordshire are "pretended" (ii), something that can

be speculated from the narrative but not conclusively confirmed. In a summary of Letter X, B. is established as the predator when his “Designs against [Pamela] are apparent” (ii). In Letter XI, readers are told, in no uncertain terms, that B. was “pretending” (ii) his assault in the summer-house was designed to try Pamela’s virtue. By Letter XXXI, B.’s behavior is explicitly “base” (v), and in a digested journal entry Pamela reflects on his “pretended Love to her” (x). In a summary of the editor’s intrusive account, B. offers “pretended Reasons” (v) for not returning Pamela to her parents, though in the narrative he is careful not to implicate himself.<sup>12</sup> Finally, readers are told that Williams is attacked by “supposed Robbers” (vii), clearing away any mystery or speculation that it is a random act. More importantly, however, the reader is aware of the contrivance before Pamela, who overhears and records Mrs. Jewkes’s confession nine days later (ix). Such narrative certainty is presumably an attempt to condition readers to see that Pamela’s point of view is the accurate representation of events, even if she does not know all the details herself.

Though the editor summarizes segments of the novel with certainty, there are examples in the table of contents that show, like the text itself, a surprising amount of contradiction between Pamela’s point of view and B.’s. In earlier examples, the language clearly implicates B. as the aggressor, but other summaries introduce a “he said, she said” situation. In Letter XIV for instance, B. “will have it, that [Pamela] is an artful and designing Girl” (ii) and that her fits are “Hypocrisy” (iii). Instead of writing, as he does earlier, that B. “pretended,” the editor implies that B.’s suspicions have merit. At the very least, B. perceives Pamela as “artful and designing,” even if the reader is given a

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<sup>12</sup> See Chapter Two.

contradictory sense of her character. Moreover, in Letter XXIV, B. “charges [Pamela] with a Design to attract him in Disguise” (iii). While this is not communicated with omniscient certainty it does suggest a stark contrast with Pamela’s point of view of her new dress. What’s more, in the editor’s summary of Letter XXX it is implied that B.’s feelings for Pamela are genuine, despite evidence to the contrary, when he “avows his Love to her” (iv). Later, the editor hedges with words such as “intimates” (iv) and “signifying” (vi) to describe B.’s actions rather than asserting that B. is “pretending.” Even though a synopsis removes the subtleties of language and the nuances written into the dialogue, the use of qualifiers signals uncertainty and shows that even an abstract of the novel can generate competing interpretations.

The supposed “easy and clear View” of Pamela is also, at times, contradictory and, paradoxically, supports an anti-Pamelist reading. In volume I, Pamela and her actions are often described as “grateful” (i), “virtuous” (ii), “moving” (ii, iii, v, vi, x), “affecting” (iv), and “apprehensive” (x, xi) – everything Richardson wanted her to be so she can radiate moral excellence. Nevertheless, the paratext’s attempt to control the uncertainty embedded in the narrative still casts doubt upon the novel’s moral tendencies that were pointed out by the anti-Pamelists. For example, Pamela, aware of B.’s “base” designs, endures his “angry” (ii) and “free Behaviour” (ii), yet she still writes of “Her Irresolution what to do” (ii). She embraces her poverty in one letter but doubts she can cope in another as she “hopes to make her Mind bend to her [poor] Condition” (iv). She undergoes “Distress and Difficulties” when presented with “favourable Appearances” (v), that is, money and comfort for her family, and she explicitly “dissembles” (v) when B. offers to find her a husband. Even less flattering, however, is the language used to



describe Pamela's actions after her abduction. Once in Lincolnshire, she "Tampers" with Mrs. Jewkes (v), employs "Stratagems" to escape (v), thinks of a "Contrivance" to correspond with Williams, "Lays a Trap to come at Mrs. *Jewkes's* Instructions" (vii), is "grieved" (xii) when she must return to her parents, and, in apparent agreement with a major anti-Pamelist objection, she has "Hopes of [B.'s] honourable Designs" (xi), i.e., marriage. In effect, some of the contradictions between Richardson's idea of Pamela and the different readings embedded in the narrative have been carried over to and, surprisingly, even highlighted in the table of contents.

Richardson's editorial summary of the narrative may have been directly influenced by the criticisms of *Pamela Censured*, as the action is softened and chastened. While the objectionable scenes remain largely unchanged in the narrative, the table of contents fundamentally desexualizes the relationship between Pamela and B. In fact, there is only the slightest hint of sexual tension as B.'s innuendo, voyeurism, and sexual assaults are reduced to unbecoming freedoms and attempts. For example, B.'s reference to "pretty Maids" and their "Stockens" (15) is summarized as a "free Expression" (ii). When B. finds Pamela in the summer-house, the conflict between them begins to take shape, but B.'s caresses and kisses described in the narrative are shortened to "free Behaviour" (ii) in the table of contents. The overt sexual tension continues to build when B. walks with Pamela in the Lincolnshire garden. There he is "very tiezing" (349), says "fond Things" (349), pulls her on his knee, and often kisses her. The rising tension so apparent in the narrative is challenged when B.'s behavior is consistently described, nondescriptly, as "free Usage" (xi). Finally, B. threatens to strip her naked in order to gain access to her journal, but the table of contents indistinctly states that "he frightens

her into a Compliance” (xii). Thus the narrative is whitewashed with a synopsis that conforms to many of *Pamela Censured*'s objections.

Richardson's conformity to anti-Pamelist objections are most strikingly illustrated in the omission of “loose Images” (*Pamela Censured* 25) and “*Scenes of Love*” (24) from the table of contents. In particular, B.'s aggressive sexual assaults are replaced with abbreviated and obscure descriptions. In Letter XV, for instance, Pamela tells her parents how B. pulls her on his knee, kisses her neck and lips, and grabs her breast. The editor's synopsis, on the other hand, reduces this to “Freedoms” (ii). In Letter XXIV, B. takes Pamela by the neck and kisses her. The table of contents offers no description of B.'s behavior and substitutes ambiguity for substance with “What passes on that Occasion between Mrs. *Jervis*, her Master, and herself” (iii). Likewise, B.'s actions during the first closet scene are omitted entirely. Instead of jumping into bed, grabbing her bosom, and threatening Mrs. *Jervis*, B. rushes out as Pamela “flies to the bed” and “falls into Fits” (iii). Finally, Pamela's detailed description of B.'s attempt to rape her in Lincolnshire is reduced to “the worst Attempt he had yet made” (xi). In the narrative, these key scenes are responsible for developing the sexual and emotional conflict between Pamela and B., but the table of contents describes them in an abstract and disconnected way. As a result, the tension is significantly deflated and encourages readers to see B. as less of a threat.

In addition to defusing the sexual tension in particular, the table of contents is a clever retelling of the narrative in an attempt to manipulate even the shrewdest critic to see Pamela's “Virtue in the strongest Light,” as Webster put it. In order to do this, the editor stresses, through repetition, Pamela's virtue, resentment, and moving behavior. In one example, she rebukes B.'s offers with a “virtuous Resentment” (ii). In another,

Pamela's "moving Expostulation" and her "passionate Exclamation" (ii) show the reader that she responds appropriately to B.'s advances. By Letter XVI, Pamela exhibits more "moving Behaviour" (iii) in the face of B.'s "Sternness" and "imperious Manner" (ii). As the conflict escalates in the narrative, Pamela "expostulates" (iii), demonstrates "affecting Behaviour" (iv) as well as "moving Conduct and Reasonings" (iv) in the table of contents. Her situation in Lincolnshire is supposed to fill the reader with "Surprize and Terror" (x), "Confusion and Grief," and yet readers are also conditioned to admire her "noble and resolute" resistance (x). These descriptions of the heroine fly in the face of the anti-Pamelists who saw her as a manipulative social climber bent on seducing her master. Hence, the table of contents is a framing device that tries to influence how Pamela is perceived; it compels readers to swallow Richardson's medicine of cherries before engaging with the work and forming an interpretation of their own. Indeed, Richardson worked hard to refine "*the Memory of the principal Matters in the Minds of those who have read them*" (i) in order to elicit the appropriate response to his heroine and her situation.

The table of contents, and its third-person perspective of the narrative, is also used to answer objections leveled at secondary characters. Both *Shamela* and *Pamela Censured*, two of the most important anti-Pamela texts, see Mrs. Jervis as a bawd. *Pamela Censured* called her a "Procuress in Ordinary" (46) and compared her to Mrs. Jewkes, while Fielding's Jervis talks of keeping a "House" (18) and helps Shamela ensnare Squire Booby. The table of contents is a tool to preemptively challenge these contentious views, as Richardson worked against these readings by highlighting the housekeeper's conduct, friendship, and advice. For example, Pamela writes to her parents

about Mrs. Jervis's "worthy Conduct in the Family, and Friendship to her" (i) in Letter V. Pamela's father writes in Letter VIII that he is made easy "since he knows [Pamela] has Mrs. *Jervis* to advise with" (ii). In Letter XII, Mrs. Jervis offers Pamela "good Advice" (ii), and by Letter XXV Pamela "flies to the Bed to Mrs. *Jervis*" (iii) for protection from B. Finally, in Letter XXIX, thinking that Pamela is going home to her parents, Mrs. Jervis offers her money (iv). With Jervis's questionable behavior minimized or omitted from the table of contents, the result is a benevolent and protective mother figure.<sup>13</sup> By re-framing the reader's perception of events, especially in the wake of widespread critical attacks, Richardson worked to ensure a proper interpretation of all his characters.

While Mrs. Jervis is exonerated by preparing the reader to receive her as Pamela's surrogate mother, Mrs. Jewkes, on the other hand, is demonized in the table of contents to direct negative attention away from B.'s behavior. The editor uses powerful adjectives to describe Jewkes and her actions, such as "bad" (v); "profligate" (vi); "wicked" (ix, xi); "impertinent" (x); "detestable" (x); "officious" (x); and "vile" (x). Furthermore, Jewkes "ridicules [Pamela's] Notions of Virtue" (ix), "ridicules her fears" (xi), strikes her (vi), "Raillies" her (viii), and "impudently instigates" B. to rape her (x). B.'s behavior, while aggressive, is described in softer terms. He "tauntingly Ridicules" (ii), "storms" (iii, x), "upbraids" (ii) "Reproaches" (x), and "falls into a violent Rage" (xii), but he also "treats [Pamela] kindly" (iv), shows "Kindness" (i), "Goodness" (i, xi), and "great Kindness and Favour" (xi). Ambiguities and meanings inherent in the narrative were challenged by the anti-Pamelists, so it appears as if Richardson attempted to define, describe, and

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<sup>13</sup> The *Pamela Censured* critic, who believed that Mrs. Jervis was in collusion with B., objected to her officious insistence that Pamela show B. her new dress and claimed she accepts a five guinea bribe to conceal B. in a closet so he can eavesdrop on Pamela.

circumscribe his text with respect to even secondary characters. Thus, Mrs. Jewkes's actions are exaggerated and clearly framed as unacceptable, whereas B.'s culpability is obscured and his gentlemanly conduct contrasted with Jewkes's bawdy behavior.<sup>14</sup>

The table of contents for volume II provides a similar frame with which to interpret B.; however, the reader's attention is shifted to *Pamela's* subtitle: virtue's reward. In the summary of volume I, the editor defends, condemns, or minimizes a character's actions in response to criticism. In this indirect way, Richardson continued to respond to an opposition that challenged, redefined, and even co-opted the *Pamela* text. In volume II, then, Richardson continued to prepare readers for a specific interpretation through repetition. For instance, in nearly every summary of Pamela's journal, the editor describes B.'s "great Kindness" (xiii): he "kindly" receives Mr. Andrews (xiii), shows "Kindness" to Williams (xiii), "kindly" reinstates cast off servants in the "kindest manner" (xiv), and B.'s benevolence continues with his "kind Intentions toward [Pamela's] parents" (xiv). In addition to "kind," B. is "generous" (xiv) to Williams, "generous" (xiv, xvi) to Pamela, and shows "generosity" (xiv) to Mr. Peters and Pamela's parents. B.'s earlier outbursts, freedoms, and "Rage" have become "Tenderness and Respect" (xii), "polite Tenderness" (xiv, xvi), and "encouraging Tenderness" (xiv). In doing so, Richardson likely attempted to undercut the anti-Pamelists' objection that

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<sup>14</sup> Because she is portrayed as a bawd, Mrs. Jewkes would have been a particular disreputable and disliked character, which may, in part, explain why some readers were so unwilling to accept her reformation in the sequel. In the eighteenth-century, those with ties to organized prostitution, but not necessarily the prostitutes themselves, were especially loathed. In the words of the *Spectator* for January 4, 1712, bawds were the "Hags of Hell" (Bond 535). Similarly, *The London Bawd*, first published in 1705, was particularly critical of the profession and characterized them as witches, among other things. *The Spectator*. Vol. 2. Ed. Donald F. Bond. Oxford: OUP, 1965. Print. *The London Bawd: with Her Character and Life*. 3rd ed. London: John Gwillim, 1705. *Project Gutenberg*. Web. 31 Jan. 2012.

Pamela's primary reward is a rich husband. As it stands, the table of contents would have the reader believe that B.'s "affecting... Goodness" (xvi) is reward enough.

Like so many other discrepancies between characters and actions, Lady Davers's role and behavior in the table of contents significantly contrasts with the narrative. Called a "downright *Billingsgate*" (22) by *Pamela Censured*, Lady Davers is considerably tamed. Concerned with the B. family integrity, she is an aggressive, intimidating force in volume II, but the table of contents reduces her cruel, masculine, and haughty behavior to "harsh Treatment" (xv). What's more, the synopsis omits every particular that "obliges [Pamela] to leap from the Parlour Window" (xv). Also absent from the table of contents is Pamela's conversation with B. after her encounter with Lady Davers. This ten page discussion in the narrative is summarized as "What passed on that Occasion between Mr. B. and [Pamela], and between them and the rest of the neighboring Gentry, and some Guests of Sir Simon's, who greatly admire her" (xv). This, no doubt, is an attempt to further justify the hasty and complete reconciliation between sisters. Of special interest in this context is B., who, rather than Pamela, is burdened with his sister's antagonistic behavior. In the narrative, Pamela endures more than "harsh Treatment" as Lady Davers imprisons her, insults her, and finally strikes her. The table of contents, however, minimizes Pamela's role and amplifies B.'s. For example, Lady Davers expostulates "severely and loftily" (xiii) with him before her "outrageous Behavior... provokes him to a violent Resentment" (xv). The dramatic tension is dissolved before it begins when such an aggressive, outspoken character, whose actions belie the notion of womanly passivity, is checked by B. and framed as rather obedient and self-controlled. From the table of contents, then, one might surmise that Pamela's social inadequacy was no impediment at

all, despite the number of revisions meant to justify her marriage, and that Lady Davers is introduced only to serve as a correspondent in the sequel.

Pamela's elevated role is also enforced by repetition in volume II of the table of contents. In volume I, Pamela's affecting behavior is stressed; that is, the tone is heightened with pathos so readers will sympathize with her. On the other hand, Pamela becomes more contemplative, concerned for others, and her new obligations in volume II. For instance, her "serious Reflections" (xiii, xiv, xv, xvi) dominate the editor's synopsis and direct attention to everything from the "Pride of People of Birth and Condition" (xiii) to the "near Prospect of her important Change of Condition" (xiv). She reflects on the death of B.'s friend (xv) and the "Vanity of human Life in its best Enjoyments" (xvi). In effect, her newly attained status compels her to lofty thoughts, as the action of volume II focuses on her discussions and interactions with B. and his peers. B. and others instruct Pamela how to behave as a wife and a gentlewoman – her new social duty – and she is careful to construct herself according to expectation. Thus, her reflection is indicative of learning how to live a life of aristocratic privilege so her lower-class background can be silently erased.

To counter the anti-Pamelists argument that she trades her virtue for economic security, repetition is used to frame the reader's perception of Pamela after her marriage. It is necessary that she set the example by her conduct, so Pamela must remain humble amidst the corrupting power of luxury. As her letters, journals, and moving speeches eventually soften B., so the editor continues his attempt to influence the reader. Pamela is described as "modest, humble, and thankful" (xiv); she is "grateful" (xiv), "joyful" (xiv), full of "Joy and Gratitude" (xv), and has a "grateful and humble Heart" (xvi). In context,

then, Pamela's violation of society's norms and values – marriage outside of her class – is significantly minimized by emphasizing her overwhelming gratitude and humility. In other words, Pamela neither aspires to B.'s social level, nor does she give herself consequence once elevated; rather, Pamela's marriage is framed with an abundance of “generous and affecting Conduct” (xvi) as additional reinforcement to her characterization.

In addition to matching *Pamela*'s imitators advertisement for advertisement, Richardson originally intended to further legitimize his text by including a dedication in the octavo edition.<sup>15</sup> Addressed “To the truly admirable Lady, to whom only these four Volumes of Pamela can with Propriety be inscribed” (Poetzsche 93), the dedication is no doubt referring to a similar “groundwork of fact, for the general foundation of Pamela's story” (Carroll 39) that he wrote to Aaron Hill about in 1741 and a corresponding account to Johannes Stinstra in 1753. Like the title page that grounds the narrative in “Truth and Nature,” like the prefatory letter from de Freval that conjectures “the Story must have happened within these Thirty Years past” (5th, I, viii), and like the revised preface published in the octavo that “repeat[s] what has been already hinted, That the Story has its Foundation in Truth” (viii), the dedication is yet one more document Richardson intended to use that would lend authority to his text, especially as it claims the Lady who “sat in the Writers Mind, for the Graces both Personal and Intellectual” (Poetzsche 93) was still living in 1742. Though never published with any edition of *Pamela*, the dedication would have also supported Richardson's earlier claim as the only person with

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<sup>15</sup> Two different drafts of the dedication are extant and are in the Forster collection. All of my quotations are from the second, revised version published in Erich Poetzsche's *Samuel Richardsons Belesenheit: Eine literarische Untersuchung*. Kiel: R. Cordes, 1908. 93. Print.



access to Pamela's correspondence: "Mrs. B.'s Observations and Writings, upon every Subject hinted at in the preceding Four Volumes, and in particular those relating to *Devotion, Education, Plays, &c.* are now in *One Hand Only*" (1st, IV, 472). It is likely, then, that Richardson's unpublished dedication was not only intended to add credibility to the narrative under the guise of a true history or a piece of non-fiction, but another advertisement against imitators in an attempt to gain a wider acceptance of his four volume text as the authoritative original over engraftments such as Kelly's *High Life* and the anonymous *Life of Pamela*.

Like the other paratexts found in previous editions of *Pamela*, the language of the dedication is carefully chosen, providing the reader with a fixed frame from which to evaluate Pamela's character. Indeed, the living representative for the "Beautiful Young Damsel" (title page) has since become the "Patroness of every good Work" (Poetzsche 93). Moreover, the "*curious and affecting Incidents*" (title page) of Pamela's life are nothing compared to the greater "sufferings" and "Injuries" (Poetzsche 93) that the Lady underwent, though they are not mentioned. While the "admirable Lady" is "neither so humble in her Birth, nor so exalted in her latter Fortunes" as the titular character, she, like Pamela, is an "Ornament to [her] sex" and a "Friend of distressed Virtue" (93). Perhaps the most significant part of the dedication is Richardson's claim to have met the Lady. He reflected upon a "Veneration that began in the same Hour, that I was first admitted into your Presence, and will continue to the last of my Life" (93). Similar sycophantic language was used by contemporary readers, as well as characters in the novel, to describe Pamela and her narrative. It was expected, then, after wading through the

paratextual material, that readers, aware as they were of appearances and motivations, would construct a positive image of Pamela despite her subversive potential.

In case framing his text with a variety of organizational and editorial paratexts failed to elicit the correct interpretation, Richardson also interspersed the octavo with twenty-nine illustrations, most of which, like the table of contents, offer a different interpretation of characters and events.<sup>16</sup> Volumes I and II contain seven images each. The first six plates of volume I and Plate 12 in volume II were designed by Francis Hayman, the rest were done by Hubert Gravelot, who, as the more experienced artist at the time, also did all the engraving.<sup>17</sup> While there is no disputing Eaves's aesthetic evaluation that the illustrations are "beautifully and simply designed and executed with a masterful grace of line as well as of light and shade" (355), his claim that the "engravings exhibit only a natural amount of feeling" (355) is an overstatement.<sup>18</sup> In fact, the engravings exhibit very little feeling at all when compared with the high emotion that Richardson used to build narrative tension. Marcia Allentuck is perhaps the first to argue that "there is a curious alienation between text and illustration in almost every instance" (880).<sup>19</sup> This may be due, in part, to the scenes Richardson chose to have illustrated. Eaves posits that the "subjects approved by Richardson are those which any admirer of the novel would have expected" (353), while others are excluded from illustration

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<sup>16</sup> Like the table of contents for volumes III and IV of the octavo, the engravings for Richardson's sequel are discussed in Chapter Six.

<sup>17</sup> Hammelmann, Hanns. *Book Illustrations in Eighteenth-Century England*. Edited and completed by T.S.R. Boase. New Haven: Yale UP, 1975. 51.

<sup>18</sup> Eaves provides a helpful, ordered list of the plates in a footnote on pages 353-354.

<sup>19</sup> "Narration and Illustration: The Problem of Richardson's *Pamela*." *Philological Quarterly* 51 (1972): 874-886. Print. Allentuck's argument focuses exclusively on two of the twenty-nine illustrations, both of which are in volume I and designed by Hayman (Plates 1 and 4). A more recent study of the engravings by Stephen Raynie slightly revises Allentuck's thesis, but nevertheless argues that the illustrations complicate the novel's meaning. See "Hayman and Gravelot's Anti-Pamela Designs for Richardson's Octavo Edition of *Pamela*." *Eighteenth-Century Life* 23.3 (1999): 77-93. *ArticleFirst*. Web. 30 Dec. 2010.

because of their graphic content (354). But even if Richardson chose scenes that he thought were the most affecting, the illustrations and the text do not represent an ideological as well as artistic collaboration. In other words, the lavish images do little to complement even the instructional purpose of the text.

Like the table of contents, Hayman and Gravelot's images of Pamela and B. "rarely address themselves to the emotive unities of the text" (Allentuck 880); instead, Pamela's very real danger and B.'s threatening actions are framed as an unconventional courtship rather than a potentially subversive, sexually charged narrative. Philip Gaskell argues that Richardson's revisions to the 1801 edition absolve Pamela and B. of their "grosser imperfections" (75); that is, Pamela is elevated and B.'s character whitewashed.<sup>20</sup> While this is true, the octavo illustrations show that Richardson continued to work against anti-Pamelist readings much sooner, including re-framing his characters in an attempt to resolve tension between competing interpretations. Plate 1, for instance, depicts B. reading Pamela's letter to her parents: "O how ashamed I was! – He took it, without saying more, and read it quite thro', and then gave it me again; – and I said, Pray your Honour forgive me!" (I, 4). In the text, Pamela feels shame, though she is not entirely sure why. B., who sneaks in and frightens her, smiles at Pamela's penmanship, then cautions her to be "wary what tales you send out of a Family" (4). The illustration, on the other hand, reduces the tension significantly. The image portrays B. standing in the foreground in a relaxed pose with his right hip locked and left leg forward. His calf, in Pamela's field of vision, is turned in so she and the viewer can see its symmetry. His head is angled and his arms outstretched making him look less like a rigid, overbearing

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<sup>20</sup> "Richardson, *Pamela*, 1741." *From Writer to Reader: Studies in Editorial Method*. Oxford: Clarendon Press, 1978. 63-79. Print.

Vol. I. p. 4



F. Hayman, inv.

H. Gravelot sculp

1 Vol. I. p. 4.:

Hayman

Mr. B. reads Pamela's letter

master and more like an amused parent. In contrast, Pamela's posture is stiff and stands out against the curves and folds of her dress. Her eyes are cast down in a humble gesture, and she plays with the quill in her hand. She appears calm, so the use of dashes and exclamation marks in the text belie her physical reaction in the image. As a result, Hayman's illustration depicts B. as less assertive and domineering, and Pamela, though fixed, is shown as submissive and unassuming. In effect, B.'s character is softened, as he looks amused and unconcerned with the contents of Pamela's letter. At the same time, the dramatic tension is stripped away, as Pamela does not show near the heightened emotional frankness that she does in the text. Thus, the visual frame attempts to show readers that B. is not such a lecher, as Pamela's letters lead her parents to believe, and that Pamela possesses an abundance of duty and humility.

Hayman's depiction of Pamela's bundles in Plate 2 continues to omit the physiological reactions described in the text and instead focuses on a formal presentation. In the text, Pamela tries to move Mrs. Jervis with a mixture of humor and pathos. It is here that Pamela makes a sarcastic reference to the first closet scene, "Now I come to the Presents of my dear virtuous Master: Hay! you know, *Closet* for that, Mrs. *Jervis!*" (121), and then characteristically embraces her poverty rather than forfeit her innocence: "come to my Arms, my dear *third* Parcel, the Companion of my Poverty, and the Witness of my Honesty" (124). The illustration, however, undermines the dramatic weight and enforces self-control. In the image, Pamela shows Mrs. Jervis her third bundle while B. observes out of sight from the closet. In the background, hiding behind a large drape, he leans to his right and looks on with a surprised expression, his eyes wide and forehead raised. Contrary to the text, he does not "wipe his Eyes two or three times" (127) in an emotional

Vol. I. p. 123.



2

Vol. I. p. 123.:

Hayman

Pamela shows Mrs. Jervis her bundles

display of sensibility; instead, he exhibits a schoolboy's curiosity, full of wonder at Pamela's odd ceremony. She looks toward Mrs. Jervis with her head angled and her arms outstretched to draw attention to her bundle. Her expression is surprisingly detached and does not reflect the gravity of the scene. Mrs. Jervis, too, in contradiction of the text, sits upright and stares blankly at Pamela with her arms folded on her lap. The personal exchange loses its intimacy in what appears to be an attempt to subdue Pamela's emotional vulnerability – she is not in as much danger as she perceives – and to promote B.'s marriageability – his behavior is not so objectionable. As voyeuristic as it may be, he appears far from threatening and Pamela far from threatened.

With Pamela absent from Plate 3, Hayman's design successfully captures the pathos of the scene as the image and the text complement one another. Plate 3 portrays an incident that is narrated by the editor, not Pamela, making its harmony with the text even more remarkable. At this point in the novel, the narrative digresses to explain how Pamela makes her way to Lincolnshire and how her father comes to Bedfordshire in search of her. Intense emotion in the text, signified by exclamation points, a shorthand way of signaling sensibility, is supplemented by Mr. Andrews's supplicating plea for the return of his daughter. He is in the foreground moving toward B. with his hands clasped together in deference and entreaty to B.'s authority. His stance is tense, illustrating the immediacy of the situation. His face is obscured by shadow, but he appears ready to speak. B. stands in the doorway in his "Morning-gown and Slippers" (151), striking an imposing figure with his arms crossed and his feet wide apart. The expression on his face is one of mild pique or impatience, as his gaze is set and his lips are pressed together. Visibly distressed, Mrs. Jervis stands to B.'s left with the skin around her eyes tightened,

Vol. I. p. 151.



E. Hornum inv.

H. Gravelle sculp.

3 Vol. I. p. 151.: Hayman Goodman Andrews pleads with Mr. B.



cheeks raised up, and eyebrows lowered. Her lips are stretched and her chin pushed up, indicating she is weeping or is about to. This particular engraving actually enhances the text by depicting the mood and shows how well sentiment in *Pamela* can be visually communicated when Richardson allowed it to be.<sup>21</sup> Indeed, Pamela's absence from this scene gave Hayman greater flexibility, as he did not have to depart from the details of the text in order to manipulate her image.

Despite a successful representation in Plate 3, Hayman's fourth image fails to elicit the emotional response of the written text, prematurely paying deference to Pamela's privileged lifestyle instead. The illustration is a conservative, rather reserved rendering of Pamela and Mrs. Jewkes at the pond that creates a misleadingly smooth surface compared to what is written in Pamela's journal. The text is full of emotional turmoil leading up to the angling scene – Pamela makes note of her “red Eyes” and “haggard Looks” (185). Truly a prisoner, she is at the mercy of Mrs. Jewkes, who, readers are told, revels in her authority. Physically and mentally exhausted, Pamela focuses her remaining energies on her clandestine correspondence with Williams; yet, in the engraving, all of this is obscured in order to emphasize Pamela's growing social position. In a scene of leisure and privilege, Pamela stands pond-side. The round eared cap she wore as a servant in Plates 1 and 2 has been replaced by a fashionable country hat that not only shields her from the sun but also lifts her out of the servant class.<sup>22</sup>

Towering over Mrs. Jewkes, Pamela leans slightly forward at the hips. In her right hand

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<sup>21</sup> There are no extant letters between Hayman or Gravelot and Richardson. It is unlikely, though, that Richardson would blindly accept the octavo illustrations considering he rejected Hogarth's designs for the second edition outright. While the extent of Richardson's influence over the illustrations is unknown, it is no doubt safe to say that he, at the very least, approved of them.

<sup>22</sup> Women of all classes wore caps and pinner, but Pamela's superiority to Mrs. Jewkes in the illustration is facilitated by the contrast of their clothes. Jewkes, for instance, is dressed and ready for manual work. Pamela, on the other hand, is dressed as idle gentry.

she holds the fishing rod, and her arm is pulled in for balance while her left, holding the carp, is extended to release the fish. The look on her face is one of mild disgust or contempt; the right corner of her lip is slightly pulled up, her gaze is narrowed, and her eyebrows pulled down. Mrs. Jewkes is reclined on a basket at the base of a tree holding the fishing line. Her head is tilted back and she eyes Pamela with a look of surprise. Pamela, like a true lady, stands the moral high ground and releases the fish while Mrs. Jewkes – visually depicted as Pamela’s servant in the image – is taken aback with the gesture, perhaps awed by the heroine’s noble action. Clearly omitted is Pamela’s frantic desire to escape and Mrs. Jewkes’s masculine appearance and officious behavior. Above all, and despite being a bit beforehand, Hayman’s illustration reinforces Pamela’s innate dignity and her eventual life of advantage while foreshadowing her reforming influence on a submissive Mrs. Jewkes.

Plate 5, depicting another scene at the pond, continues to sacrifice the raw emotion of Pamela’s journal to dignify her character and develop her significance. Indeed, there remains a disproportion between Pamela’s suffering in the text and Hayman’s visual articulation of the sentiment. In other words, Hayman’s attempt to depict what can be argued as the most affecting scene in the novel departs from the literal details of the narrative with a frigid representation. In her journal, Pamela writes that her “Mind [is] just broken, and [her] Heart sensible of nothing but the extremest Woe and Dejection” (291). She crawls from the pond to an outhouse with “*Bruises and Maims*” (288) where she imagines a “more wretched Confinement, and worse Usage” (290) from Mrs. Jewkes. Hayman’s Pamela is not, however, Richardson’s Pamela – an embodiment of undetermined and formless misery too weak to walk unassisted; rather, Pamela, in the



foreground, reclines on her right elbow with her fingers touching her cheek and gazes upward in a thoughtful expression. Her raised eyebrows are inconsistent with her downturned lips and pushed up chin, which indicates dejection but not despair. Her anguish in the text is undermined by her complacent stoicism and further contrasted with the animated movements of servants in the background. Nan is directing Colbrand toward the backdoor of the garden while the cook pulls Pamela's clothes from the pond. Mrs. Jewkes leans over the bank with her arms outstretched, her eyes wide, and her mouth open, hardly the "inhuman Tygress" that drags Pamela from the outhouse in the narrative (294). Undoubtedly, this image reflects well on B.'s character, as Pamela's despair as his prisoner is minimized. Hayman's departure from the details of the text also creates an effective image of Pamela as mistress of the Lincolnshire house. Under the circumstances, she reposes with an exceptional amount of decorum and grace while the servants scramble about her. Instead of rejoicing in her resolve to live, Pamela appears lost in thought, oblivious to the events unfolding around her.

Hayman's final plate for volume I continues to create a context separate from the narrative in which readers are encouraged to reconcile themselves to Pamela's greater merit and B.'s better behavior. Plate 6 depicts a pivotal scene between Pamela and B. in the garden. In the text, they discuss the "Pride of his Condition" (357), and he declares "I cannot bear the Thoughts of any other Man supplanting me in your Affections" (358), which, at this point, is nearly tantamount to a marriage proposal. Formal language is insufficient to communicate the intense emotion that Pamela feels. She writes: "It is impossible for me to express the Agitations of my Mind on this unexpected Declaration, so contrary to his former Behaviour...I threw myself at his Feet; for I trembled, and could

Vol. I p. 290.



hardly stand” (358). Hayman’s illustration, however, does not stress Pamela’s agitation, or for that matter B.’s “Apprehension” (358). Instead, Pamela is kneeling in the image a few feet away from B. with her arms wide and outstretched. The look on her face is rather blank, which might indicate, at best, mild confusion. Her arms are the key for decoding emotion, as they reach out to B. in quiet, though much less dramatic, anticipation. B. stands slightly bent over her with his legs apart and his arms reaching out to take hers. His shaded face shows even less emotion than Pamela’s, his arms, too, are the only expressive outlet. In contrast to the written text, Plate 6 shows both Pamela and B. sharing an unusual amount of openness, intimacy, and trust for one another. The insuperable barrier of social position that is still very much an impediment in the narrative is slowly erased as characters, situations, and events are rendered, presumably, more acceptable to a class conscious readership. As a result, the illustration reproduces very little of the dramatic tension; indeed, anyone familiar with the narrative might think that Hayman had captured something that was never there, even for the best readers among Richardson’s contemporaries.

The final plate in volume I was designed by Hubert Gravelot, and while it is a fairly accurate representation of the text, Pamela’s emotions are still subdued and her status remarkably raised. At this point in the narrative, B.’s plans for a sham marriage are introduced by a fortune-teller. Pamela is frightened when she hears “You will never be marry’d, I can see; and will die of your first Child” (373). Already aware of her danger, she displays her surprise, anger, and embarrassment in a rebuke: “Out upon thee, Woman! said I; better thou hadst never come hither!” (373). While the illustration conforms to the scene, Gravelot tempers the seriousness with an elegance and decorum

Vol. I. p. 358.



F. Hayman del.

J. Goussier sc.

6 Vol. I. p. 358.: Hayman Pamela pleads with Mr. B.

that readers of the octavo have by now come to expect. The warning, disturbing enough that it “ran strongly in all [of their] heads” (374), is minimized to portray Pamela’s grace and the conventional shapeliness of her figure, further establishing her as the lady of the house. In the text, she is still very much a servant and a prisoner, but in the image she is dressed as if she were heading out for a day of visiting. The ruffled cap that she wore in Plates 5 and 6 is replaced with a modest ladies’ country hat. The jacket she wears is close fitting to emphasize her shape yet moderately cut to reveal the front of her dress rather than her cleavage. She stands in the center of the engraving between the gypsy and Mrs. Jewkes with a sensitive, gentle expression of confusion on her face. Her mouth is open and she gazes earnestly at Mrs. Jewkes, who appears more like Pamela’s protector than her jailor. Standing on the other side of the walled gate is the “Gypsy-like Body” (372), whose face is the most expressive in the image. Clearly the picture of sorrow and agony, her eyebrows are pulled down, eyes narrowed, mouth open, and jaw pushed forward. She is visibly more upset telling Pamela’s fortune than Pamela and the servants are to hear it. The gypsy, Mrs. Jewkes, and Nan are all dressed alike to make it clear by contrast that Pamela is not only the most important figure but also the most genteel. In an attempt to ease any anxiety caused by Pamela’s social mobility in volume II, Gravelot concluded volume I with the best visual evidence documenting the difference between Pamela and the rest of the servants. Thus the engravings in volume I show a progression in which Pamela class status is redefined long before she becomes B.’s wife.

In volume I, Hayman and Gravelot consistently represent Pamela and B.’s courtship as substantially more conventional than the narrative and, hence, have reframed a marriage that pushed against the limits of a class conscious eighteenth-century. Surely,





every illustration that depicts Pamela deploys a visual rhetoric in such a way that raises her class status and alters her social identity. In effect, the engravings and the written text suspend her between two social groups creating a disconnect not resolved until volume II. In a similar way, B.'s presence or absence in the images undermines his character as Pamela's kidnapper and would-be ravisher. When Pamela and B. are depicted together, B. pays her a high degree of respect, the same one would expect if he were courting a Lady. When he is absent, Pamela is portrayed as a woman of ease and leisure, her actions and appearance clearly distancing her from her fellow servants.<sup>23</sup> These changes show the degree to which Richardson was still troubled by criticisms. The paratextual concessions made in volume I are an attempt to reduce, forestall, or erase altogether the more passionate and subversive features of his novel by making adjustments to characterization visually.

In contrast, volume II's illustrations are more dynamic and dramatic, depicting scenes with movement and sentiment that conform to the central aspects of Richardson's narrative. This is not to say that they are as conservative as the novel; rather, they too privilege and minimize selected aspects of the text. While all but one of the illustrations in volume I function to reconcile resistant readers to Pamela's transgressive marriage by purging her and B. of their "grosser imperfections," those in volume II frame Pamela's social elevation as a positive event. Eaves claims that many of the designs "illustrate the 'high life' of Pamela" in order to depict her "as a refined lady in elegant surroundings"

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<sup>23</sup> Mrs. Jewkes's character is also visually revised in Hayman and Gravelot's illustrations. In her journal, Pamela describes her as a "broad, squat, pousy, *fat Thing*, quite ugly" with a "huge Hand," flat nose, bushy eyebrows, and a "dead, spiteful, grey, goggling eye" (I, 184). The images, on the other hand, portray Jewkes as Pamela's servant and protector. Her masculine manners, appearance, and, of course, same-sex desires are erased.

(355), but this is not their only function. Images of Pamela's character are not so emotionally detached or textually disconnected that she is exempt from what Eaves calls "undignified situations" (355). Richardson's goal in volume II was, in all likelihood, to show readers that Pamela, now truly elevated through marriage, has not changed. Accordingly, Pamela is presented as worthy, even deserving of virtue's reward because of her filial devotion, deference to Lady Davers, and maternal affection for Miss Goodwin – she is given additional emotional, moral, and intellectual distinction beyond the verbal text. B., on the other hand, emotionally subdued, is depicted with an abundance of formality. Now the reformed rake, B., as the editor describes him in the table of contents, is all tenderness, kindness, and affecting goodness. His presence in the illustrations, however, is nothing more than a visual auxiliary; he is a formal appendage whose commands and instructions are replaced with weak smiles and approving looks. Ultimately, B.'s image remains unchanged from one volume to the next, as Hayman and Gravelot portray the libertine and the husband in much the same way.

With Gravelot's first illustration in volume II, Richardson would have readers believe that Pamela's story has reached its climax when her situation in the narrative remains precarious. In the text, Pamela looks forward "with great Pleasure" (II, 31) to a ride in the carriage and fears that B.'s kind treatment will make her "as proud as anything!" (32). In the image, Pamela stands staring into the carriage. She looks shocked at the privilege and oblivious to the crowd of servants gathered around her. She mechanically offers B. her left hand while her right arm hangs at her side. As he has done in all of the engravings, B. acts the perfect gentleman. He holds Pamela's hand with his right and uses his left to guide his future bride into the waiting carriage. His smile is

Vol II. p. 32.



H. Gravelot inv. sc.

8

Vol. II. p. 32.:

Gravelot

Pamela enters Mr. B.'s coach

pleasant and genuine enough, though tempered to avoid a gross display of actual joy. All of the servants are on hand to witness the first formal step toward Pamela's initiation as their mistress: "and he, before all the Servants, handed me in, as if I was a Lady: and then came in himself" (32). The servants' expressions in the engraving are obscured, with the exception of Mrs. Jewkes's, who appears distressed. In the text, she worries for B. and begs "he would take care he did not catch Cold, as he had been ill" (32). Her concern in the image, however, looks to be for Pamela's sake. This is likely given that the illustrations in volume I portray her as the equivalent of Pamela's waiting maid. Reaching out as if to grab Pamela and pull her from B., Mrs. Jewkes exhibits a pang of maternal anxiety that contrasts with her earlier role as B.'s accomplice in an attempted rape. Nevertheless, readers are already familiar enough with the refined and sophisticated "high life" Pamela that her place in a coach next to B. is really no surprise.

In Plate 9, Gravelot attempted to capture the sentiment of Pamela's reunion with her father, but this illustration also shows that, despite her inevitable change of condition, Pamela retains an important middle-class value – filial duty. In the narrative, B. underestimates Pamela's surprise at seeing her father: "I knew the Voice, and lifting up my Eyes, and seeing my Father, gave a Spring, and overturn'd the Table, without regard to the Company, and threw myself at his Feet" (89-90). Like the text, the image shows B. and his guests with open mouths and blank stares, suitably taken aback with Pamela's embarrassing excess of feeling. Yet it is this feeling and Pamela's filial devotion that the illustration emphasizes to her advantage. For example, Pamela is placed in the center of the engraving and B. stands to her right. Her arms are outstretched to embrace her father, but her forward motion and the angle of her posture suggests, as the text states, that she



9 Vol. II. p. 89.: Gravelot Pamela reunites with her father

will fall at his feet. Her eyes are fixed on her father while her lips are straight and firmly set. She exhibits focus and determination rather than surprise or joy. Mr. Andrews's expression is depicted with a gentle, affecting mixture of surprise and happiness. His eyebrows are slightly raised and his eyes open wide. He smiles and reaches out with his left arm in an accepting gesture as he moves forward to meet Pamela's embrace. The overturned table, a concern in the text, is barely visible in the bottom right of the illustration. As a result, Pamela's momentary neglect of social etiquette is undermined by her gratitude for the proper nurturing and education she received – the sensibilities of her class. In this way, Richardson is able to frame Pamela's social mobility as innocuous, especially since readers can visualize her surrounded by members of the aristocracy and gentry without absorbing their arrogance and pride. To further contrast her with Shamela, Pamela is clearly not too proud to own her impoverished though "honest and industrious" (261) parents.<sup>24</sup>

In Plate 10, Pamela's marriage to B. is framed in terms of the benefits gained. In conjunction with the text, the illustration of Pamela's wedding brings everyone together and sets right again what was once upended. While Pamela must still deal with her haughty sister-in-law, Lady Davers, her wedding day offers virtue its tangible reward, reconciles B. to Mr. Williams and Pamela to Mrs. Jewkes, and Mr. Peters repents the earlier neglect of his duty, acknowledges Pamela's value, and assists Williams with the ceremony. The inherent difficulty of illustrating such a subject is compounded by the need to represent Pamela as an ideal heroine. Hayman, Gravelot, and ultimately

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<sup>24</sup> In a letter to her mother, Shamela writes "O I had like to have forgot one very material thing; which is that it will look horribly, for a Lady of my Quality and Fashion, to own such a Woman as you for my Mother. Therefore we must meet in private only, and if you will never claim me, nor mention me to any one, I will always allow you what is very handsome" (50).

Vol. II. p. 175



H. Gravelot inv. 1750.

10 Vol. II. p. 175.: Gravelot Pamela and Mr. B. are married



Richardson clearly dissociate Pamela from her class from the beginning and align her with the stately woman that is the focus of everyone's gaze in the image. This is further enforced by Mrs. Jewkes, who, reprising her role as Pamela's waiting maid, is by her side smiling with maternal approbation.<sup>25</sup> Thus, in this case at least, Hayman and Gravelot, under Richardson's supervision, were not willfully contradicting the text; rather, through their selectivity, they skirted the subversive with a safer, dignified visual presentation that is depicted as advantageous to everyone involved.

Plate 11 ignores Pamela's confrontation with Lady Davers and uses humor to draw attention away from the conflict between the two ladies. Indeed, the masculine behavior of Lady Davers is absent, as is Pamela's suffering, so they can easily be united just 50 pages later. Gravelot chose instead to focus and vent Pamela's frustration at a much safer target – her foppish nephew, Jackey. As a result, Pamela's wit is displayed and her resentment purged at the ultimately harmless fop rather than the vulgar and disagreeable B. family matriarch. During this scene, Pamela is mocked by Jackey, the “Tinsel'd Toy” (251): “Come, said he, Mrs. Bride, be pleased to help my Lady, and I will be your Deputy” (249). Pamela defends herself with wit, and her necessary deference to Lady Davers does not extend to her nephew: “Sir, reply'd I, 'tis in a good Hand; help my Lady yourself” (249). Nevertheless, Pamela's witty repartee in the narrative is a short lived if not hollow victory. The illustration, on the other hand, highlights this moment and softens the severity into harmless comedy. Lady Davers sits across the room from

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<sup>25</sup> In the illustrations, Mrs. Jewkes and Mrs. Jervis become nearly indistinguishable. Pamela's critical description of Mrs. Jewkes does not entirely agree with Hayman and Gravelot's images, and Pamela is depicted as so much above both servants that anyone not familiar with the narrative would think them one and the same. Indeed, in the third edition Richardson himself may have confused the two characters when “Mrs. Jervis” is erroneously “Mrs. Jewkes” (111) in the text.



11 Vol. II. p. 249.: Gravelot Jackey taunts Pamela

Pamela, temporarily disarmed and diverted by Jackey's foolishness. She is depicted with a feminine passiveness patently missing from the text.<sup>26</sup> The look on her face is a combination of surprise and disbelief, and the image suggests that she reacts to Jackey's insulting gesture rather than Pamela's response. Lady Davers's waiting maid, Beck, stands in the background against the wall. Her expression mirrors her Lady's and could likewise be interpreted as a response to Jackey's remark as to Pamela's retort. Jackey stands to Pamela's right with a glass in one hand and a bottle in the other. His eyebrows are raised, head tilted back, and lips pressed together giving him a condescending air and a smug expression. Pamela sits by the window and leans back at his approach. She is surprised by his rudeness yet retains her composure. With all disrespect and disagreement between the two ladies pushed aside, Pamela's precarious situation becomes a scene of comic relief in which she one-ups her clownish nephew. At the same time, Lady Davers's objectionable behavior and Pamela's emotional torment and physical confinement are neither visible nor alluded to in even a perfunctory way. In effect, Lady Davers's class-bias and her objections to Pamela's marriage are omitted. Thus, this carefully chosen scene appears to be an attempt to further reduce the criticism of Pamela's movement within the class system.

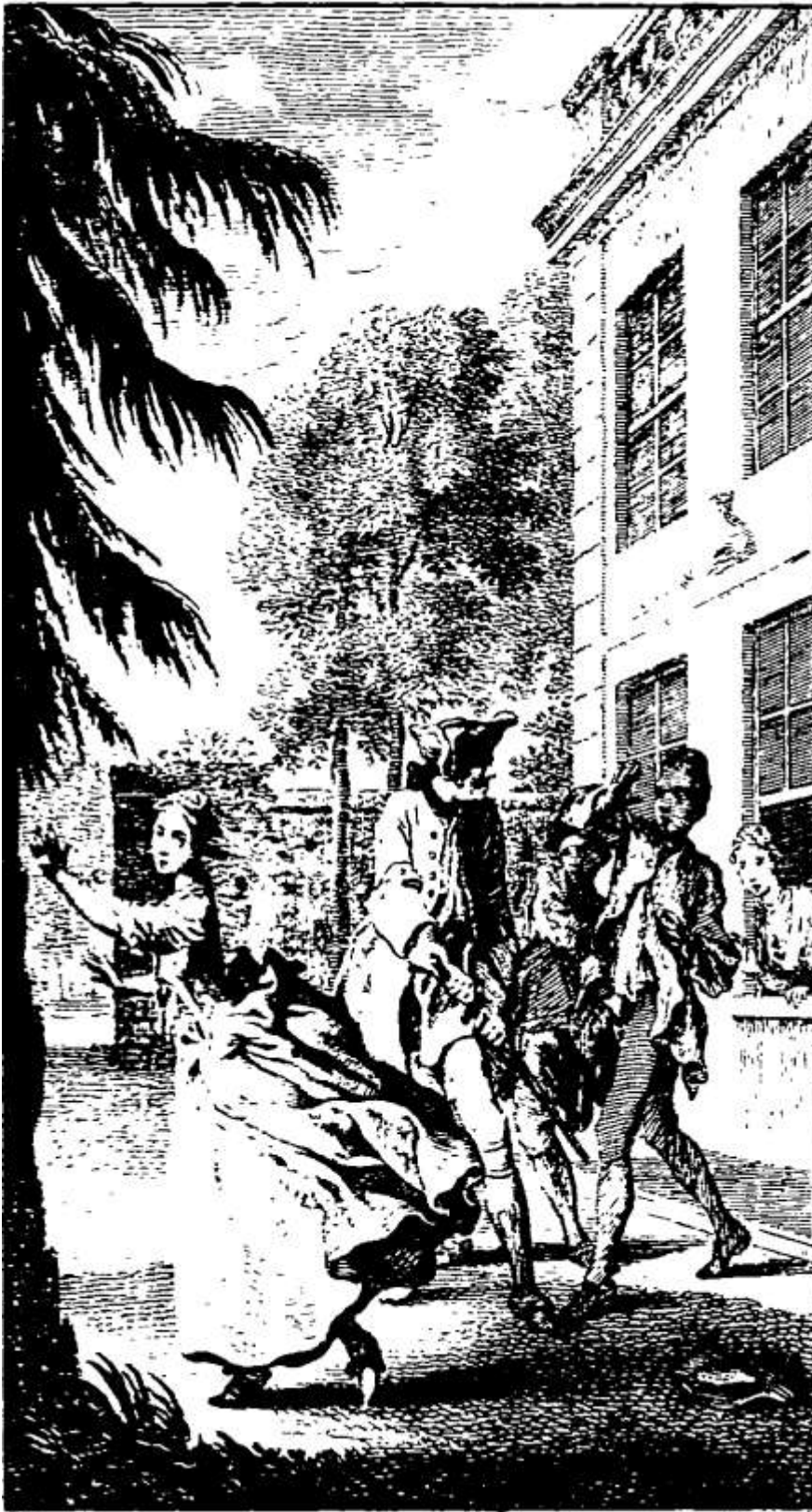
Hayman's only design to appear in volume II is Plate 12, and like Plate 11, it directs the experience of readers away from the ill-mannered Lady Davers; instead, the illustration focuses on the climax of the stormy and abortive meeting between the two ladies and heightens the dramatic intensity of Pamela's escape. In the center of the image,

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<sup>26</sup> At times, different characters comment on Lady Davers's better behavior, though readers are never given a concrete example of it in volumes I and II. See, in particular, volume II of the octavo, pages 272, 275, 281, 282, 283, 291, 292, 321, 328.

between Pamela and Lady Davers's servants, stands the colossal Colbrand. His hand is on the hilt of his sword ready to "*chine* the man...who offer'd to touch his Lady" (268). Visibly startled, the servants are stunned by Colbrand's "deadly fierce Looks" (267). One reaches for his sword while the other throws his arms up in a defensive maneuver. Pamela runs "as hard as [she] could drive" (267) with her arms stretched out and her dress flowing behind her. With an anxious look on her face, Pamela turns her head to gaze at her pursuers. To the far right, Beck leans out of the window with a similar look of surprise as the male servants waylaid by Colbrand. Generally, the illustration reveals the same intentions as those already discussed: scenes are carefully chosen to minimize or call attention to different and typically innocuous aspects of the controversial narrative. Though Lady Davers's "passionate Extravagance" (267) is absent, the dramatic tension is somewhat recovered in Pamela's steadfast determination to meet B. at Sir Simon's. It is rare that an illustration in either volume I or II successfully captures an apt sense of Pamela's raw emotion, in this case her anxiety and fear. It happens even less that an illustration represents the mood of the text and reinforces the language and plot. What readers see here, then, is a carefully chosen moment in the rise and fall of the story's action without retaining a fixed, negative image of Lady Davers.

Plate 13 generally conforms to the mood of the text, but Gravelot's design, again quite selective, highlights Pamela's deference to Lady Davers. The illustration portrays Pamela as the great peacemaker between B. and his sister. The text, too, makes it clear that it is Pamela's selflessness (and acknowledged social inferiority) that helps restore order in the family. In the narrative, Pamela overhears the heated conversation between B. and his sister. He rages "wrathfully," renounces her, and threatens to throw her out of



F. Flaxman del.

H. G. Carter scul.

12 Vol. II. p. 267.: Hayman Pamela flees from Lady Davers

the house (304). Pamela rushes from her closet, stops him, clasps Lady Davers's knees, and ignominiously begs her pardon, grace, and favor (305). In the image, B. stands in the center gripping his sister's hand and arm. Having just renounced her, he moves to escort her out of the house. He gazes at his humble bride with a look of pity that contrasts significantly with his "great Anger" (303). Pamela, already on her knees, reaches out imploringly to Lady Davers in a subservient deference. Her Ladyship stands across the room from Pamela and clings to the window curtain refusing to leave. Her expression is a malicious sneer, and she looks at Pamela with murderous contempt. Taken together, the text and image attempt to emphasize Pamela's "Worthiness" (305). Indeed, it is Pamela's persistent subservience, even servile behavior and her petitions for forgiveness that eventually facilitates their reconciliation. Her sycophantic regard for Lady Davers successfully disarms her and attempts to draw deep sympathy from readers. B., on the other hand, is a bystander, just as he is in all of the engravings in volume II. His limited function, appearance, and range of emotion in the illustrations frame the novel as very much Pamela's story.

The final plate in volume II depicts Pamela's transition from wife to mother and, consequently, solidifies her as the "good" heroine. After B. is reconciled to his sister, he takes Pamela "Ten Miles off...to breakfast at a Farm-house, noted for a fine Dairy" (401). It is here Pamela meets B.'s illegitimate daughter, Miss Goodwin: "the genteelest shap'd Child" with a "fine black Eye" (403). Already painfully aware of B.'s libertine past, Pamela clasps Miss Goodwin in her arms, kisses her, embraces B., and then asks to raise the child as her own. Always selective and stylized, the illustration captures the moment just before Pamela's emotions get the best of her. She takes Miss Goodwin by



13 Vol. II. p. 305.: Gravelot Pamela pleads for Lady Davers

the hand and asks, “Do you know this Gentleman, my pretty dear?” (404). B., in his usual role as bystander, sits at a table and looks on approvingly. Miss Goodwin, who appears a younger version of the heroine, stands at attention and takes Pamela’s hand. The engraving avoids the emotional core of the scene to highlight Pamela’s transition into motherhood, drawing attention to her special status. After all, B. often reminds Pamela of her generative role in the text: “I am almost the only one, in a direct Line” (49); “I am the last of my Family” (46); “What a sweet Shape is here! It would make one regret to lose it” (226); “at present, my Line is almost extinct” (429). As the last illustration in volume II, readers are left with a fixed image of Pamela as a maternal figure. This is only natural given that volumes III and IV examine motherhood at length. It is also critical to point out that Pamela is rewarded, in part, because she avoids seduction. Miss Goodwin is a symbol of her mother’s shame, and it is the resistant Pamela rather than the yielding Mrs. Wrightson, nee Godfrey, who gets to raise her. As always, B.’s culpability is portrayed without consequences; indeed, his distance and subdued behavior give the impression that he is not her father. In this way, the engravings attempt to condition the reader’s response to the text by staging, selectively, a character’s appearance and their actions. This, in turn, attempts to provide a moment of reflection that supports a positive response to the text.

Hayman and Gravelot’s illustrations are often inconsistent with the text; however, this inconsistency appears to be deliberate. Like the narrative the engravings tell a story, but with different expectations and with different effects. In the novel, Pamela records how B., Mrs. Jewkes, and Lady Davers all malign themselves through their actions. Hayman and Gravelot avoid these compromising situations and critical descriptions as





14 Vol. II. p. 404.: Gravelot Pamela meets Miss Goodwin

pictorial subjects. Instead, readers are repeatedly shown images of a gentrified Pamela, and her private meetings with B. are depicted as nothing short of courteous and honorable.<sup>27</sup> In the same way, Mrs. Jewkes is portrayed as Pamela's matronly servant rather than her jailor, and Lady Davers's arrogance is minimized to highlight Pamela's complaisance. The images, in turn, provide a foundation for conceptualizing the work and direct how one perceives each character and their actions. That is, they water down Pamela's gushing sensibility in an overt attempt to influence sharply divided readers. Significant – and not so significant – moments are carefully chosen in a response to ambivalent, resistant, and even hostile views. Accordingly, moral and social concerns are undermined by subtle means so the conclusion – Pamela's marriage to B. – appears validated and inevitable.

With nearly each new edition of *Pamela*, Richardson demands more from his readers. They are repeatedly told how they should read the novel and interpret the characters. The unique paratextual materials found in the octavo are another attempt to manipulate character, events, and reader response. Though it appears as if they were meant to resolve serious debate, the paratexts add another layer of interpretation to a text that Richardson sought to restrict. This is apparent in the different ways characters are represented in the table of contents, the engravings, and the text, as each presents, to varying degrees, three different Pamela's, three different B.'s, and three different

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<sup>27</sup> B.'s undescribed "free behaviour" in the table of contents and his genteel formality depicted in the illustrations provide paratextual evidence to support Mark Kinkead-Weekes's argument that "[t]he more closely we listen to and watch B, indeed, the less devilish he seems" (21). These paratexts also add force to the claim that "there must be the strongest doubt that [B.] ever attempted rape at all" (21). In fact, appearances in the illustrations contrast so much with the text that it is clear Pamela writes one thing while her visual interactions with others show quite another. See *Samuel Richardson: Dramatic Novelist*. Ithaca: Cornell UP, 1973. Print.

versions of Mrs. Jewkes side by side. Some of the incongruities play right into the hands of the anti-Pamelists while others purge characters of their “grosser imperfections” well beyond the polished 1801 edition. This makes it increasingly difficult for readers to establish a more complete as well as emotionally compelling view of the heroine, B., and secondary characters. To this end, they complicate the narrative – they are unable, in many cases, to afford proof or provide evidence that agrees with Pamela’s written account. While the text itself is complicated enough – Pamela’s story is not so plainly, simply, and forcibly told – it is, nevertheless, a starting and ending point. That is, after reading, one can accept or reject, interpret or misinterpret Pamela’s letters and journal. However, descriptions in the table of contents and appearances in the illustrations alter the text dramatically. In many ways, they challenge and attempt to rewrite Pamela’s narrative, ultimately leaving it incapable of providing the degree of closure that Richardson seems to have expected in volumes I and II.

### Text

Much of the public criticism and praise that *Pamela* met with in the first year had abated by the publication of the octavo edition, but *Pamela*’s celebrity endured. The novel’s ongoing popularity was due, in no small part, to imitators and Richardson’s own heavily promoted sequel.<sup>28</sup> But before printing his newest edition, Richardson continued

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<sup>28</sup> The most recent imitation of *Pamela* available before the octavo was printed is the first installment of “Pamela the Second,” published serially in the *Universal Spectator* on April 24, 1742. Two months before this, Fielding’s *Joseph Andrews* is published on February 22, and *Pamela. A Comedy* by Henry Giffard had its last performance on February 26. Caustic criticism in the vein of *Pamela Censured* had abated by the time the less vitriolic *Lettre Sur Pamela* (1742) reached London, and *Pamela* is still very much a commercial success in the form of adaptations, imitations, and, in Fielding’s case, a fictional critique. For an excellent chronology of *Pamela* related events, see pages 216-224 of Keymer and Sabor’s *Pamela in the Marketplace*.

to silently smooth over many of the charges, through revision, that *Pamela* was a corrupting influence. Indeed, each revised edition shows Richardson's enduring frustration with criticism, his regard for public taste, and a willingness to meet critics half way. As a result, volumes I and II of the octavo edition differ materially from what Richardson's first readers would recognize and even from what readers of the recent fifth edition knew of *Pamela*. Not only is the format and presentation of the novel different – framed, as it is, by a table of contents and interspersed with illustrations – but the text itself is heavily revised and restructured.<sup>29</sup> Eaves and Kimpel estimate that Richardson made 633 changes, but they determine that “only five of them are important” (“Revisions” 69). I argue that even minimal revision, obviously important to Richardson, is a factor in the vitality of any narrative. The 392 changes that I counted, however minor, are not trivial.<sup>30</sup> Taken together they show Richardson continuously advancing the concept of his story and articulating its meaning. The rest of this chapter, then, focuses on the additions, deletions, and rewritings of volumes I and II of the octavo text, their impact on plot, characterization, and speculates on the probable, lasting influence of Richardson's contemporaries.

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<sup>29</sup> To accommodate the sequel, Richardson balances all four volumes by moving six journal entries originally in volume II to the end of volume I. Volume I now concludes with Pamela's imminent departure from the Lincolnshire house, and in volume II her journal begins when she stops at a “little poor Village” (II, 1). The structural changes to volumes I and II are not retained in subsequent edition of *Pamela*, which reverts to the fifth edition for a new printing of the sixth, seventh, and lifetime duodecimo editions. A similar restructuring is made to the sequel in which three letters from volume IV are moved to the end of volume III. Although *Pamela I* does not retain its octavo structure, the re-organization of *Pamela II* is retained in subsequent editions. The shuffling of Pamela's letters and journal entries means that each volume of the octavo begins with a letter from Pamela written to her parents from a different location: Bedfordshire, Lincolnshire, Bedfordshire, and London.

<sup>30</sup> My count is textual only. Eaves and Kimpel indicate that they include the table of contents in their estimate, though it is not clear how this additional text is counted. See page 69 of “Revisions.”

An important, consistent revision is Pamela's elevated language and style, and Richardson continued this pattern with the octavo text. The revisions reveal that Richardson's strategy was to endear readers to Pamela by silently rewriting her objectionable, humble origins. Based on the substantial number of changes, it also appears that Richardson intended to close any gaps in interpretation between the newly added table of contents, the engravings, and the text. In other words, Richardson attempted to assert a single message using three different mediums. Despite the fact that he may have made too much of his heroine's birth and education, it is an attempt, nonetheless, to justify, deterministically, Pamela's social mobility. She is, after all, illustrated as wholly deserving of a higher level of social distinction in the engravings, supported by many positive epithets in the table of contents, and the source of her suffering in the text is clearly economic, not moral.

In volume I alone, there are some 90 revisions to Pamela's style that help elevate her to the important figure portrayed in the illustrations. Many of these alterations include adjustments to grammar and deletions or changes made to a single-word or phrase. Pamela's grammar includes corrections to a participle, such as "broke" to "broken" (I, 20, 90), and tense, namely "bid" to "bad" (334). Furthermore, "there" is changed twice to "thither" (324), "here" becomes "hither" (373), and Pamela's use of "us" is emended to the exclusive "one" (197). Moreover, single-word changes expand and improve Pamela's vocabulary to make her sound less colloquial. For instance, "tho'" is changed to "altho'" (38) and "however" (117). Pamela's permissive "mayn't" becomes "shan't" (46) and "may" is changed to "shall" (65) and "would" (104), presenting her as more determined and sure of her decisions. Pamela's "turned me off" is now "turn'd me away" (48), and

instead of “lifted” out of her poverty, she is now “taken” (57), which suggests that she was reluctant and perhaps unwilling to work for B.’s mother to begin with. Moreover, “that” is changed to “which” (124); “think” to “remember” (162); “advise” to “caution” (170); “project” is swapped with “design” (171); “things” is now “matters” (208); “best” is “proper” (211); “way” to “means” (212); “Thing” becomes “Word” (364); and “till I can see how much my pleasing you in this Particular, will be of Use to myself” becomes “till I know how much my pleasing you...” (386). All of these changes indicate an improvement in Pamela’s literary diction. What’s more, Pamela’s criticism of B. as “peevish” is now softened to “foolish” (58), her “Anxieties” are reduced to mere “Apprehensions” (262), her “crying” is a more formal “weeping” (277), and her “thought[s]” of B.’s actions are now “judg’d” hideous (277). Pamela’s “apprehensions” indicate that she worries less for the loss of her innocence than she did before, and her assessment of B.’s loutish behavior, “judg’d” as it is, makes her sound impartial. Even slight changes to characterization such as these illustrate Richardson’s enduring sensitivity to the charges of Pamela’s social subversion.

Pamela is also given a more genteel tone in volume I with emended prepositions and expanded contractions. The changes to prepositions correct some of Pamela’s lingering idiomatic speech patterns and add a refined, reserved tone. In particular, “for” is now “because” (38), “of” is changed to “in” (124) and later to “on” (250, 333), and “by” is “with” (321). This last revision changes the meaning of the sentence because Pamela cannot be “caught by a Bait” but rather “with a Bait.” Similarly, Richardson expands Pamela’s contractions to help show her serious and intellectual character: “can’t” becomes “cannot” (195), “you’ll” is now “you will” (321), and “I’m” is expanded to “I

am” (326). These particular revisions show that Pamela has, in effect, absorbed the language of a higher social class well in advance of her marriage.

Richardson continued to assist his readers’ interpretation of text and image with deletions and changes to phrasing that situate his heroine between social classes. In other words, she is neither the rustic she once was intended to be nor is her social position entirely secured. For instance, Pamela’s idiomatic “your Honour went further; so you did” is cut to “your Honour went further” (42). Pamela’s “but I am sure it is certain Ruin” becomes the stilted and restrained “but I know it will be certain Ruin” (50). She is similarly distanced from the servant class when “pray don’t let me be called Names for it” is reworded to “pray let me not be call’d Names for it” (88). The self-pitying “thy poor Handmaid” is changed to “thine Handmaid” (156), and her reversion to poverty is framed as a fairy tale dream come true when the “long hop’d for” homecoming is revised to the “often wish’d-for” (158) return to her parents. The conditional “If it lies in my way, I will encourage his Penitence” is replaced by a confident, resolute, and stylized “I will, if it lies in my way, encourage his Penitence” (194), as if she is duty bound to reform B. Then, too, she is not “oblig’d to go to my Father and Mother” as a dismissed servant without means would be; rather, she boldly declares “I chuse to go to my Father and Mother” (69) as if she has agency and can come and go as she pleases. Thus, Richardson’s textual changes, in combination with the paratexts, are part of his greatest attempt yet to even the social imbalance between Pamela and B. in order to make their marriage more plausible.

Additional rephrasings help facilitate Pamela’s intellectual superiority. Her liminal social state is less complicated when she speaks with increased intellectual respectability while appearing, at times, explicitly genteel in the engravings. In the

process, however, her language loses much of its “to the moment” spontaneity. For example, “what he did last” becomes “what he offer’d last” (104); “she did it” is changed to “this she did” (121); “will send you so far” is revised to “will send so far as” (135); and “O what a Scene of Wickedness was here laid down” is refined to “...here contrived” (138). Pamela’s loose description of her airing with Mrs. Jewkes is recast into a tighter, formal account when “I have been a little Turn with her, for an Airing, in the Chariot, and walked several times in the Garden” becomes “She took me with her a little Turn for an Airing, in the Chariot, and I have walked several times in the Garden” (197). The colorful “she seem’d full of wonder” is now simply “she seem’d to wonder” (296), and “what I dread most of all things” is polished to “what I most of all things dread” (300). In effect, Pamela’s language continues to lose much of its idiomatic flavor in favor of a more impersonal style that tends to slow the pace of the narrative, but such compromises are necessary in order to close any gaps in interpretation by accenting the heroine’s superior merit and social mobility.

In volume II of the octavo, Richardson attempted to further distinguish Pamela from the less articulate members of the serving class with an additional 104 changes to style. Generally, the revisions in volume II follow those in volume I: Pamela uses more of the language and style of the upper-class so that the refined figure she makes in the illustrations is consistent with her station and tone just prior to and after her marriage. In doing so, Pamela appears to effortlessly make the transition from Lady B.’s waiting maid to Mrs. B. For example, revisions are made to her residual and supposedly rustic grammar with additional corrections to tense and participles, such as “wrote” to “written” (II, 91); “was” to “were” (103); “did” to “done” (207); “will” to “would” (207); “seem’d”



to “seems” (236); “thinks” to “thought” (250, 258); “beat” to “beaten” (250); “call’d” to “calling” (289); “bid” to “bidden” (356); and “rode” to “rid” (395). Further single-word changes accompany Pamela’s fine-tuned syntax as Richardson’s constant attention to smaller details continued to improve Pamela’s vocabulary: “as I went by” becomes “as I pass’d by” (2); “had given him” is “had return’d him” (12); “naughty,” in another possible nod to the anonymous critic who wrote to Richardson in November 1740, is changed to “wicked” (19, 364); “that” is corrected to “which” (49) and “some” (87); “tell” is “inform” (106); “confounded” is the more dramatic “abashed” (112); and “affair” becomes the more formal “ceremony” (139). Pamela no longer looks “out of the window” but “thro’ the Window” (179); the overly affected “bringeth” is “bringing” (213); “every Step” of the Lincolnshire estate becomes “every Part” (226); her use of “Epithet” is replaced by the more appropriate “Title” (233); “get into the chariot” is the more graceful “step into the chariot” (238); “be there” is replaced with a distinguished “arrive” (248); “saw me thro’” is “guarded me thro’” (274); “grieved” is the less emotional “concern’d” (303); “durst” is “dared” (314, 333, 383); “carry’d” is “given” (340); “tho’” becomes “altho’” (343, 383, 402); and the once written to the moment “here” is replaced with a premeditated “there” (390). These simple revisions to volume II complement those in volume I, and the removal of what Richardson saw as defects in style, as he became, what he called, “a little more *aforehand in the World,*” allow Pamela’s character a greater claim to her sophisticated appearance in the engravings.

Richardson also made an extensive single-word change in volume II that points to the variety of influences on his revisions. B.’s affectionate, familiar, and explicit “kiss” is revised, several times, to a cold, refined, and indistinct “salute” (159, 183, 224, 270, 318,

333, 339, 366, 370, 383). The significant number of changes suggests that intimate public displays of affection are indecent, associated with the lower-class, and need regulating.

Indeed, Cheyne warned Richardson in August of 1741, two months before the octavo went to press, that

You ought to avoid Fondling and Gallantry, tender Expressions not becoming the Character of Wisdom, Piety, and conjugal Chastity...claspings, kissing, stroking, hugging are but Approaches to those others, and are really dangerous to be proposed to or read by young Persons of either Sex. (Mullett 68-69)

It is likely, then, that Richardson saw “kiss” as vulgar and wanted to de-emphasize its physical context. He was also self-censoring what the prudish author of *Pamela Censured* interpreted as “Amorous Incidents” intended to “*excite Lasciviousness in the Minds of the Youth of both Sexes*” (63). Indeed, kissing is one of the critic’s many objections:

...the young Gentleman Reader will at the best be tempted to rehearse some of the same Scenes with some *Pamela* or other in the Family, and the Modest Young Lady can never read the Description of Naked Breasts being run over with the Hand, and Kisses given with such Eagerness that they cling to the Lips; but her own soft Breasts must heave at the Idea and secretly sigh for the same Pressure. (23)

Richardson either disregarded or overlooked this piece of criticism until the octavo, or perhaps he agreed with John Kelly’s assessment of the critic that was, ironically enough, published in the introduction of the spurious *Pamela’s Conduct in High Life*:

I shall say thus much of the Author, that he is unfair in his Quotations, and gives us such an Idea of his own vicious Inclination, that it would not (I fear) wrong him to think the Shrieks of a Woman in Labour would excite his Passions, and the Agonies of a dying Woman enflame his Blood, and stimulate him to commit a Rape. (xiii)

Nevertheless, frequent physical contact of an “Amorous” and titillating nature is replaced with an unspecified, formal gesture. Given the details of their tumultuous courtship, which B. openly shares, the idea of him bowing, kissing his hand, or executing some other formal, polite action toward Pamela seems ridiculous in any setting. Yet it is clear that Richardson felt pressure to inhibit Pamela and B.’s displays of affection, and with this change he could easily do so without violating the integrity of his novel. This revision, therefore, is certainly consistent with Pamela’s elevated condition, influenced, no doubt, by Richardson’s awareness of the culture he was writing for, and attempts to forestall further criticism of himself or his characters.<sup>31</sup>

Additional revisions to Pamela’s language in volume II follow those in volume I, including more changes to prepositions and further expanded contractions. For example, “in” becomes “into” (54, 154); “in his arms” is corrected to “on his arms” (156); “of” is “at” (265); and “at” is “with” (268). Richardson continued his shorthand way of formalizing Pamela’s language with a formal speech pattern that includes phasing out her use of contractions. In particular, “can’t” becomes “cannot” (146); “you’re” is “you are” (387); and “won’t” is “will not” (438). Though he was unable or unwilling to establish Pamela’s superiority with the distinction of birth, Richardson’s adjustments illustrate that Pamela successfully internalizes the language of her social superiors. In effect, her style

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<sup>31</sup> It is just as likely that this revision was influenced by Kelly’s unauthorized sequel. In the imitation, B.’s affectionate kisses are excessive, and certainly not something Richardson would write beyond volume I of his own novel. In fact, they are exaggerated enough that Kelly’s novel could be read as a parody. For example, in volume I of *High Life*, B. kisses her (27, 108, 232, 272, 284); kisses her “with an eager Fondness” (14); gives her “several Kisses” (16); a “tender Kiss” (20); “twenty Kisses” (124); “kissed us oftener than I can tell you” (225); and finally “kissed me till I was almost stifled” (272). Pamela, too, is a bit forward and gives B. “half a dozen Kisses” (272). These exchanges take place while the couple is alone, in front of servants, and in front of company and therefore smack of impropriety.

and tone are more uniform than previous editions and, more importantly, these textual revisions are consistent with her status as B.'s wife.

Changes to Pamela's phrasing in volume II are minimal, but the revisions are necessary for consistency's sake – she must act and speak according to earlier changes in characterization.<sup>32</sup> For instance, in a move toward a stilted more sophisticated style, Pamela's "and say at the same time something agreeable to me" becomes "and yet might speak something very agreeable to me" (157). When B. visits the dying Mr. Carlton, Pamela's excessive "methinks already, 'tis a Week since I saw him!" is toned down to "methinks already every Hour is Two since I saw him" (233). Additional text also purges Pamela of the emotional excess she often shows in volume I, e.g., fainting and kneeling. Her behavior, in other words, is reserved when, instead of pleading on her knees or crying out, she "beg[s] [B.] would not fatigue himself too much, in attempting to return that Night" and gives "him all my best Wishes and Prayers along with him" (231). Her sensibility is clear but tempered to correspond with the self-control that she exhibits in many of the engravings. A sentence is reworded for greater clarity and to emphasize Pamela's hysterical fear of Lady Davers when "Dear, dear Sir, pray, pray don't! – O save me, save me!" is changed to "O save me, save me! – Dear, dear Sir, pray, pray, don't open the Door!" (297). Finally, her language is more polite when "*I don't desire he should*" is emended to "*Nor do I desire he should*" (355). These revisions, though slight, are improvements consistent with Pamela's more sophisticated style in volume II.

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<sup>32</sup> This is not to say that the octavo corrects every instance of Pamela's inconsistent language; rather, these and other octavo revisions are what Richardson happened to think would elevate, correct, or improve his heroine's language at the time, years before he had the benefit of corresponding with those "*more conversant in High Life,*" such as Lady Bradshaigh.

Richardson made three cuts to Pamela's piety that may have been influenced by John Kelly's *Pamela's Conduct in High Life*. Volume I of Kelly's novel was published in May of 1741, approximately five months before Richardson began printing the first two octavo volumes.<sup>33</sup> This allowed him plenty of time to read it, if indeed he did, and make any changes accordingly. One of the imitation's most salient features is, in fact, Pamela's excessive piety, a characteristic that Richardson repeatedly abridged. A few examples will serve to illustrate the character of Kelly's Pamela and the many monotonous "transporting Passions of [her] Soul" (I, 12). In volume I of *High Life*, for instance, Mrs. Jervis is Pamela's chief correspondent, and she asks her second mother to join in her devotions:

Oh join me, my dear *Jervis*, join me in my thanks and Praises; join me, thou once prudent and resolute Defence of my Virgin Innocence; join me all ye Angelick Hosts, ye Celestial Choirs, blissful Ministers of the great Jehovah, in the humble Oblation of my sincere Thanks, my unfeigned Praise. (11)

Kelly's Pamela frequently experiences and describes such "Transports" (13) in which she pays "Duty" to her "bountiful Creator" (29): "I could not help crying out, O, how inscrutable, how wise, how merciful are the Ways of the Almighty" (38). She also transcribes and paraphrases psalms (29, 110, 128, 297) and even imitates George Herbert's devotional, concrete poetry (274).<sup>34</sup> Pamela's extreme piety in Kelly's novel is so ridiculous and, at times, bizarre that it appears to parody Richardson's, especially when Sir Simon Darnford sermonizes. It can be argued, then, that Pamela's insincere

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<sup>33</sup> See Richardson's letter to Ralph Allen dated October 8, 1741 in Carroll, 51-52.

<sup>34</sup> There is scarcely a page in volume I of Kelly's imitation in which Pamela does not mention "God," "the Almighty," "Heaven," or "Providence." Pamela's piety is not so pronounced in volume II, but, at the same time, Kelly does not retrench it in the second edition of volume I, if indeed he was even asked to.

posturing in Kelly's sequel encouraged the very self-conscious and hypersensitive Richardson to retrench additional text. At the same time, Richardson's letter to Ralph Allen indicates these revisions are more than just concessions to public taste. Indeed, Richardson was concerned with hypocrisy: "Pamela's Gratitude and Thankfulness to the Supreme Being, I have, on all such Occasions, as my Judgment wou'd enable me to think proper, kept up: And it was my Intention to avoid Affectation on this Head" (Carroll 51). The first excision, for example, is the rather superfluous detail that Pamela leads B. and his guests to church a second time:

We had Prayers in the little Chapel, in the Afternoon; but they all wished for the good Clerk again, with Encomiums upon you, my dear Father; and the Company staid Supper also, and departed exceedingly well satisfied, and with Abundance of Wishes for the Continuance of our mutual Happiness. (5th, 12 II, 220)<sup>35</sup>

Following this, Richardson omits the further ceremonial excess of kneeling. Pamela still blesses God at the "Back-door" and the "mossy Bank" of the pond, but her objectionable and alleged artificial genuflect is silently removed (80, II, 226).<sup>36</sup> As Pamela's character evolves between editions, and develops in imitations, Richardson continued to temper what he once thought a fundamental characteristic. Her middle-class morality is beyond doubt, but her affected over-pious airs, criticized as excessive or distasteful, remain, like her idiomatic speech, fodder for parody and an unrelenting concern for Richardson.

Another revision Richardson employed was to significantly increase the number of words in italics that create a subtle shift in characterization and heighten the drama. In

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<sup>35</sup> For the corresponding, revised passage, see page 231 in volume II of the octavo.

<sup>36</sup> For the corresponding, unabridged passage, see page 217 in volume II of the fifth edition.

all, 53 words appear in italics for the first time to show emphasis and contrast.<sup>37</sup> Though smaller in number than the heavily revised second edition, this far exceeds the norm when compared to editions three, four, and five. Additional italicized words are not exclusive to Pamela. In fact, a number of characters use them, including B., Lady Davers, Mr. Longman, Pamela's father, Mrs. Jervis, and Mrs. Jewkes, and each character uses them in much the same way. A few examples of the changes to Pamela's character will best illustrate their intent, especially since nearly half of the revisions are to words she uses.

Pamela's use of italics in her writing continues to materially change her characterization by showing greater depth to her character. Indeed, her changing tone reveals a personality beyond the over-pious servant girl concerned solely with her virtue. For example, her mental distress surrounding her three "bundles," formally represented in Plate 2, is underscored by the fact that she is not sure "*how* to take them away" (I, 25), she expresses an emphatic concern that Mrs. Jervis will suffer because she "loves *me* too well" (53), and firmly articulates to Williams that marrying him to facilitate her escape is a "*last* Necessity" (237). As well, Pamela sets a resounding contrast between B.'s "*high*" and her own "*low* degree" (55), the fact that she will not "*earn* his Wages" and so will not "*have*" them (62), and rhetorically stresses that B. exposes "*himself*" with his behavior more than "*me*" (140). On two occasions, Pamela's italics are used to accent the faults of Robert, the coachman, and intensify her resentment when "what have I done to *you*" (165) and "thank you for *your* Part of it" (175). Additional italics are also used

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<sup>37</sup> I have only counted words or phrases that appear in italics for the first time. Richardson occasionally italicized in one edition, removed it in the next, and then replaced it again in another. This happens frequently in the fourth, fifth, and octavo editions. While these changes may appear compositorial, their proximity to substantive revisions suggests otherwise.

during Pamela's interview with Lady Davers. Pamela's haughty behavior to Beck is given double the dramatic force and mimics Lady Davers's own treatment of Mrs. Jewkes with her cutting rhetoric: "But *you* may as well confine your Freedoms to the House in which you had your *Breeding*" (II, 253). Pamela boldly shows Lady Davers B.'s letter, "For you'll please to see by *that* letter, that I am obliged to attend my Master's Commands" (256), and, finally, she is not so timid when answering questions as the following emphatic parallelism illustrates: "If I should say, I am *not*, then your Ladyship will call me hard Names...If I should say, I *am*, your ladyship will ask me how I have the Impudence to be so" (254). This calls attention to Pamela's growing confidence as B.'s wife and her frustration with Lady Davers's crude behavior. Such changes show a side of Pamela's character that is assertive, even prideful. Thus, she emulates in both the text and the engravings, though at different points, every aspect of a gentlewoman.

With a comprehensive amount of additional text – five paragraphs in all – to what Eaves and Kimpel call "the fine ladies passage" (69), Richardson organized a formidable defense of Pamela, B., and Lady Davers and a pointed attack on the aristocracy. In this scene, revisions to Pamela's character are the first to be considered; her education and, consequently, her middle-class morality are contrasted with the morally bankrupt privileged class. In Letter XXIII, Pamela analyzes four ladies of birth. She quotes Seneca, the Bible, and references Apelles, an ancient Greek painter, indicating that she learned more from B.'s mother than established social codes, household duties, and the necessary feminine accomplishments, e.g., music, singing, dancing, etc. Pamela quickly condemns the affected genteel pride of these ladies by reassuring her parents, and the reader, that "had I Reason to boast of [family and birth], I should, if I know my own Mind, very little



value myself upon it; but, contrarily, think with the Poet I have heard quoted, That VIRTUE *is the only Nobility*" (73). That is, Pamela criticizes aristocratic arrogance and explicitly states that she has no pretensions to status, thereby illustrating her greater worthiness and, consequently, her claim to it. Richardson would have it, then, that Pamela's internalized middle-class morality and merit make her a gentlewoman in spite of her origins.

As Pamela's letter continues, her revised, outspoken character criticizes the disagreeable, unfeminine natures of the four ladies. Lacking traditional female delicacy – they are neither modest nor do they affect appropriate signs of embarrassment – these ladies engage in vulgar "male" conversation:

And I don't know how it is, but one of the chief Beauties of the Sex seems banish'd from the Faces of Ladies, now-a-days: For they not only don't know how to blush themselves, but they laugh at any innocent young Body that does, as rustick and half-bred; and (as I have more than once heard them) toss their Jests about, and their *Double-meanings*, as they own them, as freely as the Gentlemen.  
(74)

Through her moral lens, its image magnified by a quote from Matthew 12.35, Pamela judges their masculine behavior and censures their coarse *double entendres*:

But whatever Reputation these Freedoms may give to their Wit, I think they do but little Credit to their *Hearts* — For does not the observation hold severely against such, *That out of the Abundance of the Heart the Mouth speaketh?*  
(75)<sup>38</sup>

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<sup>38</sup> Richardson cleverly omitted the first part of the verse that states "You brood of vipers! How can you speak good things, when you are evil?" (Matt. 12.34). It is one thing for Pamela to stand the moral high ground, which is what Richardson enforced, but it is quite another for her to call social superiors evil vipers. Here, I am quoting from the *Lutheran Study Bible: New Revised Standard Version*. Minneapolis: Augsburg Fortress, 2009. Print.

Motivated to improve her image, Richardson contrasted Pamela's delicate sensibility with unprincipled ladies who exchange female decorum for impropriety. In doing so, Richardson enforced Pamela's rigid morality and confronted the hypocrisy of the upper-class. This revision offers readers a Pamela who appears to be more in line with their social values and, consequently, more than a mere servant.

Richardson's attempt to convince readers that Pamela deserves the social elevation his novel eventually rewards is largely due to her education. To be sure, Richardson's revisions put words and attitudes in Pamela's mouth that are progressively beyond one of her station. Even before the revisions, however, Pamela's reading is subtly revealed through the many analogies she is able to make between her experiences and figures in literature.<sup>39</sup> It is no surprise, then, that Pamela's physical description of Lady Towers, whose features "seem as if they were not well put together" (76) is compared to a lost portrait of Venus by Apelles:

[he] took a Mouth from one Lady, a Nose from another,  
Eyes from a Third, Brows and Forehead from a Fourth; but  
when they were all put together, they made but a poor  
Piece; tho' separately they were Beauties on their own  
proper Faces. (76)

Richardson's extension of the "fine ladies passage" significantly fleshes out Pamela's education, further widening the distance between her and the servant class. Indeed, it would be ridiculous for Jane, Rachel, Hannah, Cicely, Mrs. Jewkes, and even Mrs. Jervis, though a "Gentlewoman born" (12), to "have read of a great painter" (76) in their spare

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<sup>39</sup> Pamela's analogies and references include *Hamlet*, the rapes of Lucretia and Tamar, Aesop's fables, various Christian martyrs, the Bible, "great Men" who love and marry "poor Damsels" (53), "wicked men" who "love *Variety*" (54), Diogenes, Virgil, and, when plotting her escape, she remembers to have read "of a great Captain, who being in Danger, leap'd over-board, into the Sea; and his Enemies, as he swam, shooting at him with Bows and Arrows, he unloosed his upper Garment, and took another Course, while they stuck that full of their Darts and Arrows; and so he escaped, and lived to triumph over them all" (279).

time, though they may have read of an adventurous sea captain.<sup>40</sup> With this change, Pamela's moral seriousness is further underscored by her proper reading (the Bible, classic and learned texts) and then fittingly contrasted with the pretentious "Ladies" of quality.

No doubt Richardson was aware that Pamela's comments pushed at cultural boundaries, and he tried to temper her criticism, class resentment, and borderline seditious observations in this scene with her usual declarations of social inferiority. At the same time she criticizes the unreasonable cultural ideology of birth above worth with arguments for merit and mobility, Pamela remarks "how strangely I run on!" (74) and stops herself short of suggesting a radical move away from the status quo of birth, property, and inheritance. She can object to "the Absurdity of Persons even of the first Quality, who value themselves upon their *Ancestors* Merits, rather than *their own*" (74), but she must also include a critique of the prideful members of her own rank or risk renewed concerns of social subversion. She does this by acknowledging that pride transcends class when she adds "even we Inferiors, when we get into genteel Families, are infected with this Vanity; and tho' we cannot brag of our *own*, we will sometimes pride ourselves in that of our *Principals*" (74). In other words, Pamela is presented as rejecting a vice that society condemns in all classes, and yet, at the same time, she is able to maintain a revolutionary attitude that she cannot openly endorse. She effectually abandons her rebelliousness by asking her parent's pardon for being too bold "to take these Freedoms with my Betters" (74), and her letter eventually transitions into what a

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<sup>40</sup> Mrs. Jewkes, too, is well read, though her reading, as Richardson indicates, consists of the Bible, the erotic, and the marginally pornographic, perhaps resembling Shamela's library more than Pamela's. See page 37 of *Shamela*.

happy couple her parents are because Providence has given them “*Content*” rather than “*Riches*” (75). Near the end of the scene, Richardson further reduced Pamela’s contempt of these ladies by showing that she can take a compliment and by omitting two of her more derisive comments. In previous editions, Pamela never acknowledges Lady Arthur’s sincere compliment that B.’s mother would be “mighty proud of you, as she always was of praising you, had she liv’d till now” (77). In the octavo, Pamela is gracious enough to recognize these words of praise rather than slight the woman: “This was a high Compliment from Lady *Arthur*, you must think” (77). Pamela’s refined manners are also illustrated in the omission of her sarcastic aside “(for it seems she is call’d a Wit)” (5th, I, 60). Also, her bold insult that these ladies cluck like hens with “their Clacks” is replaced with “Tongues” (80, I, 78). In doing so, Richardson interrupted the class conscious debate that the additional text explicitly encourages and promptly returned Pamela’s character to the meek and unassuming servant who not only eschews rank and money for happiness but also demonstrates self-effacing modesty by deflecting embarrassing attention from herself.

In this passage, Richardson also attempted to present a more benevolent B., whose character is improved by Pamela’s complimentary contrast between him and the neighboring gentlemen. Richardson retained Pamela’s sharp evaluation of “Squire *Martin*” and the “vile example” he sets for B. with his “three Lyings-in...one by himself, and one by his Coachman, and one by his Woodman” (108), but B. is somehow a better man because, unlike Mr. Arthur who “has the Character of a worthy Gentleman, as Gentleman go” (72-73), B. does not drink: “so indeed all the Gentlemen around us [drink hard], except my Master, who has not *that* Vice to answer for” (73). Though Pamela

wishes “for *his* sake, as well as [her] own – he had no worse” (73) vice, she offers the unbecoming conduct of Mr. Brooks’s “great *Airs of Jest*ing and Rallying upon serious Things” (73), matrimony in particular, as a further contrast. These additional “Descriptions” (72) of the social elite that Pamela shares with her parents lend B. a better character, especially when one sees him as a gentleman in substance and appearance in the engravings and his tenderness, respect, and kindness paraphrased in the table of contents. Certainly, all of the servants from Mrs. Jervis to Mrs. Jewkes, from Mr. Longman to Mr. Colbrand, offer a flattering estimation of B. Material markers of status are given, but B.’s superior character traits (his rigid standards of social propriety and etiquette that others eschew) are highlighted against Pamela’s critical judgment of conventional gentry. In effect, the additional text subtly aligns B.’s character with Pamela’s middle-class morality, or at the very least begins to narrow the social divide between them.

Another character whose faults are undermined as a result of the “fine ladies passage” is Lady Davers. Here again, Pamela uses the contrasting behavior of B.’s neighbors, who lack the fundamental principles of respectability, to validate the better breeding and social superiority of his sister. Lady Arthur, for example, is described as having a “Freedom and Presence of Mind in all she *says* or *does*, that sets her above being in the least conscious of Imperfection” (72). Unlike Lady Davers she is “passionate in her family on small Occasions,” but like B.’s sister Lady Arthur “bears no bad Character, when her Passion is over” (72). Then too, Mrs. Brooks, according to Pamela, has “Pride,” “looks *down* upon one, as it were, with *so* much Disdain,” and “affects to be thought a Lady of great Discernment” (73). Furthermore, the Countess is one who is

described as having an “intrepid” (74) air like the “masculine” Lady Arthur (72), and all three ladies offend Pamela’s delicacy with their cruelty, boldness, and affected behavior. From Pamela’s perspective, Lady Towers and Lady Davers are the only two with better manners, though Lady Towers has a little too much “Wit and Repartee” (75) for a Lady. Lady Davers, Pamela writes, is “more passionate a great deal; but has better Qualities, and is more bountiful” (72) and therefore above such disapproving criticism. Hence, the “fine ladies passage” contrasts the conventionally coarse violators of female delicacy with the better bred Lady Davers. Pamela’s moral analysis, then, is a purposeful description that endeavors to raise B.’s sister above other fashionable ladies as a regular observer of social decorum and suggests that her vulgar behavior in Lincolnshire is rather extraordinary and isolated.

Despite Pamela’s flattering comparison, additional revisions do little to alter Lady Davers’s character or change the view of *Pamela Censured* that she is a “downright *Billingsgate*” (22). In fact, a few of Richardson’s revisions to her language and style help reinforce the negative character trait given to her by others in the novel; namely, that she is “vastly passionate” (II, 275). A standard revision to all characters, Lady Davers included, are corrections to grammar, such as “was” to “were” (241), “that” to “who” (309), and “ye” to “you” (250), but Richardson, usually consistent with his revisions, made conflicting changes to her contractions. For example, “thou’dst” is changed to “thou wouldst” (323), “it is” to “’tis” (245), and “I assure” to “I’ll assure” (362). He also elevated her language: her praise of Pamela’s “virtuous Efforts” to escape are now “laudable Efforts” (242), and the less profound “cry” becomes a more dramatic “weep” (246). Richardson slightly altered her solemn style, keeping its condescending, haughty

tone while correcting it and giving its stilted manner more fluidity: “I am sorry for thy thus aping thy betters, and giving thyself such Airs” becomes “I am sorry thou givest thyself such Airs, and triest to ape thy Betters” (245). Another rephrasing works in much the same way when her command “Help me to a Glass of Wine, when I bid thee” is revised to the more patronizing question “Wilt thou help me to a Glass of Wine, when I bid thee?” (249). A similar change occurs when she addresses Mrs. Jewkes contemptuously as “Woman” (246). Two changes to italics also intensify her impropriety. In one case, she concludes more vehemently that Pamela’s social elevation “*is* a pretty Piece of Foolery, indeed” (247) and brought about by a sham marriage. In another, her masculine aggressiveness is enforced when she refuses Pamela’s request to leave: “I suppose I may now depart your Presence, Madam? I suppose *not*, said she” (256). It can be argued that these later changes offset Richardson’s earlier attempt to whitewash Lady Davers’s character in the “fine ladies passage,” especially since they subtly heighten and harden rather than abate her treatment of Pamela, but Richardson was most likely expecting his sequel to provide balance to her character and the much needed examples that she can “shew a deal of Sun-shine; but it must be always after a Storm” (283). In volumes I and II, however, for the sake of the text’s integrity, she must remain as the voice of the disapproving social elite, even if she is too “strongly drawn...for a lady of her fashion” (Barbauld, I, lxii).

In parallel fashion, the development of B.’s character in the octavo is in line with many of the changes to Pamela’s elevated language. Instead of clearing him of his sexual vice within the text, Richardson focused on making him speak more like a gentleman, and the easiest way to accomplish this was with a variety of revisions to style –

Richardson's frequent shorthand to signal changes in characterization. Much of B.'s licentiousness is expunged in the table of contents, and his gentlemanly elegance is certainly confirmed in the engravings, so Richardson had little to do but brood over B.'s language – anything more would alter the plot significantly. In volume I, Richardson made 21 changes to B.'s style, a significant amount considering he disappears for much of the action. The more noteworthy alterations include expanded contractions: "you'd" becomes "you would" (136); "you'll" to "you will" (321, 389); and "won't" to "will not" (381). Richardson also continued his global corrections to tense by changing "was" to "were" (317), elevating B.'s informal "tho'" to "altho'" (38), and improving his vocabulary and word choice with "think" to "believe" (152), "Mean time" to "Mean while" (241), "innocent" to "harmless" (308), "hard" to "cruel" (347), "should" to "would" (388), and "those" to "these" (404). As a result, B.'s verbal affectation is more discernible, consistent with Pamela's language, and both are further distanced stylistically from the lower-class. On the whole, these changes help to show Richardson's tireless concern with polite and formal language, perhaps, at times, even overcompensating, in B.'s case at least, for the origins of his heroine.

Continuing in volume II, Richardson made approximately 70 revisions to B.'s style, including corrections to grammar, expanded contractions, and, in some cases, a formal, genteel diction that makes readers even more aware of B.'s status as a gentleman, and, consequently, raises him above the conventional rakish figure he cuts in volume I. Such changes can also signify that B. is more refined and enlightened because he is further distanced from the colloquial diction of his servants, Pamela excepted. Of course, Richardson typically corrected the grammar of his elevated characters, and he made a few



adjustment to B.'s when "who" becomes "whom" (II, 67); "was" to "were" (143, 223, 400); "came" to "come" (180); "whoever" to "whomever" (215); and "that" to "whom" (372). The most abundant change to B.'s style, however, is expanded contractions that create an additional rigid and stilted dialogue: "you'll" to "you will" (72, 345, 396); "can't" to "cannot" (167, 181, 343, 410); "t'other" to "other" (194, 411); "she'd" to "she would" (291); "I'd" to "I would" (323); "you'd" to "you would" (323, 344); "we'd" to "we would" (324); "don't" to "do not" (333, 383); "he'll" to "he will" (374); "won't" to "will not" (374, 383); "you're" to "you are" (377, 397); "she'll" to "she will" (386); and "We'll" to "We will" (406). Revisions that improve B.'s vocabulary include replacing the informal "got up" to "arose" (14); "confound" is "reproach" (108); "instantly" becomes "immediately" (142); "that" is "since" (155); "without" to "unless" (158); "joke" to "sneer" (217); "tho'" to "altho'" (326, 406, 407); and "but" to "altho'" (415). Fewer errors and faults are to be found with B.'s style when compared with Pamela's, so many of these changes are undoubtedly compensating for similar revisions to her character. At the same time, Richardson may have felt compelled to give B. greater merit than his status as a country gentleman alone would allow. B.'s moral flaws are one thing and can be explained away as the corruption of the ruling class, but intellectual failings would make Mr. B. nothing short of Mr. Booby.

Richardson also changed B.'s phrasing in volume II, often improving the language or streamlining for greater clarity, explanation, and emphasis. Just as Pamela undermines the traditional image of a servant, B.'s character must communicate, through his rhetoric, with a superiority that distinguishes his elevated position in society. For instance, B. is eager for a male heir not because he is "the only male" but "the only one,

in a direct line” (40). When he asks to read Pamela’s papers, “shew them to me” is expanded to “shew me what you have written, since last I saw” (60). As well, Richardson shifted clauses around for greater emphasis when “And you’ll see nobody equal to yourself; don’t be concerned” becomes “And, don’t be concern’d: You’ll see nobody equal to yourself” (64), “Don’t fear, *Pamela*” is changed to “Fear, nothing *Pamela*” (297), and “give you Instances of a more particular Nature...” becomes “give you more particular Instances of this...” (348). Four changes that refine B.’s language include: “Fears that will not then be” becomes “Fears you will not then have” (156), “knows all that passes” is revised to “is acquainted with all that passes” (162), the clumsy “no room to think, but that we were marry’d” is now “room to think we were marry’d” (283), and “not to value my Displeasure” is “not to look upon my Displeasure” (343). Finally, a sentence is rephrased for clarity as B. speaks more generally and respectfully of married life: “for without this, *Pamela*, Indifferences, if not Disgusts, will arise in every wedded Life, that could not have made me happy at home” to “for even in this *best* Case, Differences are too apt to arise in Matrimony, that will sometimes make a Man’s Home uneasy to him” (348). These changes, however pedestrian, are a clear attempt to develop B.’s image, especially since many aspects of his character are questioned via parody and criticism.

A final revision to B.’s character is part of a short series of deletions and additions in volume II that not only help explain and expand the circumstances surrounding B.’s visit to his dying friend, but they also impact B.’s characterization. Presumably, at some point, Richardson must have become dissatisfied with Pamela’s description of the events surrounding B.’s absence, especially since this crisis is the catalyst for her confrontation

with Lady Davers. Without a doubt, the details are decidedly insufficient in earlier editions. In the octavo, however, the section is reworded and improved with greater detail for the sake of clarity and urgency. Mr. Carlton is not just “sick” but “dangerously ill” (230), a condition that lends B.’s departure an immediacy and necessity lacking in previous editions. Furthermore, B., readers are told, “order’d Two of the best Horses, for Expedition-sake, to be got ready, one for himself, the other for a Servant” (231). It is likely Richardson intended for these additional details, beyond fleshing out the scene, to humanize B. They show a deeper development of character superior to the one-dimensional master and would-be rapist. His weaknesses, imperfections, and vices are still very much a part of him, especially in volumes III and IV, but his development is part of Richardson’s ongoing effort to highlight B.’s better qualities. While these revisions enhance the plot to some extent they are more important for the changes they make to characterization, ultimately illustrating B.’s fidelity, friendship, and his attention to the needs of others.<sup>41</sup>

To further enforce the elevated language of Pamela and B. Richardson made a number of changes to minor characters as well, including single-words, rephrasing, and contractions. These revisions, however, are by no means consistent. For example, two adjustments to Mrs. Jervis’s language are contradictory when “her no more” becomes “her any more” (I, 44) and pages later “You shall not” is contracted to “You shan’t” (96). Similar changes occur to Mrs. Jewkes when the more idiomatic “Well, since you take on so” becomes the more formal “Well, since you are set upon it” (204), “come out” is

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<sup>41</sup> This section also contains a correction to overlapping dates made necessary by the shifting of letters from volume II to volume I. See Eaves and Kimpel’s “Revisions,” page 69. This change is merely cosmetic and has no significant impact on characterization.

“come about” (380), and “She’ll” is expanded to “she will” (372). Yet any further elevation of Mrs. Jewkes’s language is quickly reversed when “whom do you call” is “who is it you call” (205) and “I am” is contracted to “I’m” (309). To a lesser degree, Mr. Andrews’s style changes, but it is just as eclectic as that of B.’s servants. Single-word changes include “fatal word” to “frightful word” (6) and “Master” to “Gentleman” (II, 97), the latter, in context, appears to be more of a correction, as B. is not Mr. Andrews’s “Master.” Richardson’s global concern with contractions also finds its way into Mr. Andrews’s speech when “I will” becomes “I’ll” (I, 152), clearly putting Pamela above him and making Fielding’s gypsy story in *Joseph Andrews* all the more probable.<sup>42</sup> With these changes, Richardson reversed his earlier pattern of making global corrections that generally move in one direction – elevation to alter the prevailing image. Comprehensive changes to style were perhaps carried a bit too far, and in the octavo a colloquial style is returned to these characters as more fitting of their class status. In doing so, the consistent language of Pamela and B. stands out all the more and reinforces their external appearance and social grace in the engravings.<sup>43</sup>

Parallel revisions to minor and more genteel characters also improve style with changes to grammar, phrasing, and single-words. Miss Darnford’s “stole” is corrected to “stolen” (II, 228) and her only contraction expanded from “won’t” to “will not” (94). Lady Jones’s “peerless” is the more appropriate “matchless” (229), and Richardson expands Mr. Peters’ contraction from “won’t” to “will not” (173). Nancy Darnford’s

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<sup>42</sup> In his novel, Fielding contrived it that Fanny Andrews is stolen a year after her birth by gypsies and replaced with Joseph, whose parents are “Persons of much greater Circumstances than those he had hitherto mistaken for such” (338). Contemporary readers might have expected the same of Pamela, who, by a series of revisions, appears as genteel and refined as a lady of quality. *Joseph Andrews*. Ed. Martin C. Battestin. Middletown: Wesleyan University Press, 1967. Print.

<sup>43</sup> Pamela and B.’s language is indeed more consistent, but not uniform. Contractions and idiomatic speech are still used intermittently by both characters.

sentence is recast from “Miss, if I may judge by your easy Deportment now...” to the more exact and sophisticated “Miss, I hope, from your easy Deportment now...” (227), and even Miss Goodwin’s contraction is expanded from “hadn’t” to “had not” (405). Richardson reserved the most extensive revisions for Mr. Williams, elevating his style, no doubt, to reflect his education. In other words, he speaks more like a university graduate than one of B.’s servants. In particular, “For fear of losing the present lucky Opportunity, I am longer than otherwise I should be” is rephrased to the more affected “For fear we should be depriv’d the present Opportunity, of corresponding, I am more tedious than otherwise I should be” (I, 210). For greater clarity, “believes, afterwards, he will come into these Parts” is changed to “believes, he will come into these parts afterwards” (259). A single change is made to correct tense when a faulty “was” becomes “were” (II, 108), and his reference to “poor Mrs. Jewkes” is the more appropriate “poor Jewkes” (132). Above all, the stylistic changes help align these characters, as they should be, with the aristocracy or the gentry.

The textual revisions made to the octavo are, on the whole, more striking than Eaves and Kimpel claim. For Richardson, these revisions were not a casual performance. His trade as a printer and his unflagging relationship with the production of all his novels is most evident in the care, cost, and expansion of the octavo. He evidently read through his text slowly, mending and improving many of the “faults” in style and characterization that were magnified by his earliest critics and recent imitators. Indeed, many of the changes suggest that contemporary responses clearly continued to influence the direction of *Pamela*’s revisions. With the octavo, Richardson tried to better prepare readers for Pamela’s marriage by giving her a voice that corresponds with her distinguished

appearance in the illustrations. The changes certainly make her character more elegant, but while she may be more rounded and her style elevated, the text makes it clear that she is still a servant. For one thing, she was not switched with another child as a toddler, as Fielding's Joseph Andrews was, nor are her parents better born as they are in Kelly's sequel. In other words, there is no doubt that the octavo alters one's conception of the heroine, but even by purging her of her simplicity Pamela's humble origins cannot be entirely removed. At best, they can only be overlooked. There is a similar problem with B.'s character. Despite the enduring disparity between B.'s appearance in the engravings and his actions in the text, Richardson attempted to make his reformation all the easier by giving him fewer of the conventional, gentlemanly shortcomings. The altered text enforces his better qualities, even going so far as to suggest that some of his values are in line with Pamela's. Yet, regardless of these changes, B. is still, at least from Pamela's perspective, a sexual predator. His assaults are indispensable to the plot, and, like her birth, can only hope to be excused or forgotten. Therefore, the thrust of the text remains a tale of seduction and subversion and, paradoxically, the narrative of the engravings is a courtship and marriage. In fact, the two rarely complement each other, and Richardson's textual changes, though broad, do not extend to the scenes represented in the images. At the same time, the table of contents, too, creates a disconnect by ignoring narrative ambiguities and offering Richardson's own unique interpretation. On the other hand, it appears as if the revisions attempt to meet the expectations of readers, seeking their acceptance by trying to progressively represent Pamela and B.'s relationship as innocuous and conventional. In the end, taken all together, the revisions give Pamela a

class identity that is convoluted and contradictory, which may be all Richardson could accomplish without completely violating the integrity of volumes I and II.

## CHAPTER FOUR: TEACHING NOT PREACHING

Though Richardson spent much of the remainder of his life writing and revising *Clarissa* and his third novel, *Sir Charles Grandison*, he did manage to revise volumes I and II of *Pamela* three more times before his death on July 4, 1761. Given the depth of his last two novels, and the significant emendations he made to them, it is to be expected that the changes to *Pamela* in editions six (1746), seven (1754), and eight (1762) are minor compared to earlier revisions. Richardson's greatest addendum is the restoration of earlier material, namely the reversion of the text back to the fifth edition rather than keeping the newer text and paratexts of the octavo. As Eaves and Kimpel point out, there is not much of an appreciable difference between the fifth, sixth, and seventh editions, and they speculate, as I do, that Richardson's interests were focused elsewhere after 1742.<sup>1</sup> The eighth edition, however, contains Richardson's final, lifetime revisions, and the largest number of material changes since the octavo. This last, wholly authorized edition is Richardson's concluding reconception of his first novel and its characters, and the impact of these revisions is not well documented. In many of the changes, Richardson continued his standard refinement of diction and syntax, but with Lady Bradshaigh's help, he corrected a variety of obvious improprieties. There is also a greater consistency to Pamela's characterization. Before her marriage, she remains much the same, but afterwards she is subtly elevated by degrees rather than all at once. Deletions and substitutions improve the much maligned front matter and the concluding words of the "editor," as Richardson still styled himself, in an attempt to outline a much clearer moral

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<sup>1</sup> It is safe to assume that by the beginning of 1743, Richardson's literary activities were devoted directly to the writing and revising of *Clarissa*. See page 70 of Eaves and Kimpel's "Revisions."



precept. Richardson's plan for the last three editions of his novel, then, was to carry on suppressing Pamela's humble origins by degrees, remove improprieties, and to focus the reader on the instructive nature of the text. This chapter, therefore, is an investigation of the revisions to editions six, seven, and eight, their interpretive implications, and Richardson's final attempt to achieve in volumes I and II of the eighth edition what Aaron Hill earlier called "a fruitless, however beautiful, hope, to reconcile inconsistent extremes" (Barbault, I, 71).

Richardson's correspondence near the end of 1741 suggests that planning the octavo while publishing the first and second editions of his sequel was laborious in a number of ways.<sup>2</sup> First of all, many of his correspondents were either unwilling or unable to comment, at least not in the way that Richardson expected. In his October 8, 1741 letter to Ralph Allen, it is clear from Richardson's tone that he was eager for feedback and correction. His impatience and disappointment is also evident, though his language polite:

I did indeed tarry near a Month before I wou'd put to Press  
the two Sheets I troubled you with, in Hopes of your kind  
Corrections: And then I proceeded supposing that your  
great Affairs wou'd not allow me that desirable  
Favour...possibly the Octavo Edition will receive a Benefit  
by your kind Remarks, which this in Twelves cannot have.  
(Carroll 51-52)

Richardson's request for feedback and continued frustration is further outlined in an unsent letter written about the same time to the "thresher poet" Stephen Duck:

I am very thankful to you for your *general* Opinion so  
kindly and like a true Friend given me: But what I wanted  
was, that you wou'd be so good as to point out *particular*

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<sup>2</sup> It is believed that Richardson printed the second edition of his sequel while he was also printing the octavo edition of the same text. See Chapter Five.

Faults, which I might correct before I put to Press an 8vo Edition, which is to accompany an Octavo Size now Printing of the first Two Volumes. (52)

In this same letter, Richardson mentions his disapproval of Cheyne's suggestions that he "Plan to break Legs and Arms and to fire Mansion Houses to create Distresses" (Mullett 52). Aaron Hill's response is just as unhelpful, if not awkward. He offers a fawning, though sincere praise but no real criticism: "Where will your wonders end? or how could I be able to express the joy it gives me to discern your genius rising... Go on, Dear Sir, (I see you will and must) to charm and captivate the world" (Barbauld, I, 79). Richardson's largely unsuccessful attempts to solicit productive revisions during this time were further compounded by logistical difficulties. He wrote to Allen that the sequel was finished and plans for the octavo begun but "the Number Printed, being large, makes it tedious at the Press" (52).<sup>3</sup> Richardson's physical ailments, too, reached a pitch in 1742. A series of letters from Cheyne during this time are filled with remedies, precautions, and suggestions for physical exercise that Richardson followed diligently.<sup>4</sup> With the intellectual stress, the problems encountered at the press, and his ill health, it is no surprise that the next edition of *Pamela I*, known as the sixth duodecimo, was not published until 1746. Richardson, it would appear, needed a break from the labor and contention occasioned by his first novel, and, perhaps, the public did too.<sup>5</sup> Consequently, Richardson's tireless work with the decorative octavo resulted in an unusual gap in *Pamela's* revisions. Though a revised second edition of volumes III and IV was

<sup>3</sup> Sale estimates in his bibliographic study that it "occupied [Richardson's] press for seven months before publication" (21), most likely, Sale speculates, because he was printing all four volumes of the octavo while simultaneously printing a second edition of volumes III and IV.

<sup>4</sup> See Letters LXX-LXXV in Mullett.

<sup>5</sup> Despite Richardson's apparent neglect of the novel, and, according to Sale, its flagging sales (23), *Pamela* is still a profitable enterprise for artists. In 1744, Highmore completed twelve of his *Pamela* paintings, and the waxworks were exhibited in 1745.

advertised eight months later on January 29, 1743 in the *Daily Gazetteer*, his careful, unrelenting attention to volumes I and II of *Pamela* waned, and any reference to the novel in his correspondence between editions is primarily in comparison to his next project, *Clarissa*.

In order to further account for the gap in *Pamela*'s revisions one need look no further than Richardson's correspondence during the intervening years. By November 1742, Richardson's letter to Warburton shows that he was eager to collect feedback for future editions, though the few "Observations and Corrections" (Carroll 56) he was given did not fit his plan of revision. Richardson, in his enthusiastic though thoroughly unsuccessfully attempt to "court" corrections from Warburton, sent him a text of the octavo that he "might have a corrected Copy for the Press" (56). Instead of donating his "*unbending Hours*" to *Pamela*, as Richardson had asked him, and compiling a list of emendations or annotating his copy, Warburton disappointed him when he sent, a month later, a short, prescriptive reply that outlined the sequel as he would have written it.<sup>6</sup> Cheyne, like so many others, suggested Richardson add "Plots, Stratagems, and Intrigue" to his novel, what Richardson derisively called "the French Marvellous and all unnatural Machinery," but Richardson made it clear his goal was to "Instruct" (53). These rather flat responses, so unlike the fervency surrounding *Pamela* just a year earlier, may have, in part, encouraged Richardson to abandon the novel altogether for the next three years.

The sixth duodecimo of *Pamela* was published on October 18, 1746, and like the third edition of 1741, the sixth appears to be a hasty effort: Richardson made only 23

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<sup>6</sup> See Barbauld (I, 133-35).

changes, and the 16 errors introduced into the text could indicate his neglect at the press.<sup>7</sup> By this time, Richardson was already drafting *Clarissa*, and he had sent a manuscript of that novel to Aaron Hill and Edward Young as early as the summer of 1744, and to Laetitia Pilkington and Colley Cibber, among others, by 1745.<sup>8</sup> Then, too, the universal praise Richardson received from the *Clarissa* drafts had the once proud writer of *Pamela* making light of his first novel. In a letter to Hill shortly after printing the sixth edition, Richardson, perhaps unfairly, compared *Pamela* to her “younger sister” by highlighting *Clarissa*’s loftier purpose: “In [Clarissa’s] Preparation for Death, and in her Death, I had proposed to make this a much nobler and more useful Story than that of Pamela; *As all must die*” (83). Furthermore, it is in this same letter that Richardson, as if to say that *Pamela*’s success and sincere praises were somehow unmerited, mentioned *Pamela*’s “strange Success” (78). In other words, during the *Clarissa* years, *Pamela* was essentially ignored by Richardson and treated more like a stepsister, to carry on the metaphor, than the Cinderella she once was.

Naturally, corrections to style account for a substantial number of the changes to the sixth edition. Most of these alterations are fixes to grammar, minor language improvements, or deletions – all characteristic of Richardson. These revisions are also evidence of how much Richardson relied upon style to even the social balance between Pamela and B. – projecting her elevated character by further suppressing her idiomatic language and continuing to alter her singular persona. However, because the octavo

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<sup>7</sup> Eaves and Kimpel count 26 changes and do not mention the compositorial errors.

<sup>8</sup> In a letter to Aaron Hill dated January 20, 1746, Richardson told Hill that Dr. Heylin and his wife, Miss Peggy Cheyne, and Dr. Freke had also seen selections from *Clarissa*. See Eaves and Kimpel’s *Biography*, page 187 and 207.

changes do not carry over to this and subsequent editions their impact is clearly limited.<sup>9</sup> That is, the identity Richardson tried to establish for his characters in the octavo has been, rather violently, erased in the new editions. Why he did this is not known. Eaves and Kimpel speculate that Richardson lost the copy marked with the changes or that he was too busy writing *Clarissa* to work on a new, costly re-paginated edition (70). It could also be that Richardson attributed the slow sale of the octavo to the new material rather than the increased selling price. Though this is all conjecture, Pamela, far enough removed from her original, still retains much of the speech and thought of her new, eccentric character.

In all, Richardson made 18 changes to Pamela's style in an attempt to reinforce the earlier revisions to his elevated heroine.<sup>10</sup> These include "but would" to "but what would" (101); "out of Bed" becomes "out of my Bed" (221); "it was me" is corrected to "it was I" (234); and "but was" is now "but I was" (II, 251).<sup>11</sup> There is a single-word change for precision of meaning when "poor" is changed to "small" (201), and, as Eaves and Kimpel point out, there are several changes of "further" to "farther" (I, 91, 127, 162, 241, 247, 270, 275, 280, II, 200). Richardson corrected Pamela's use of the word to designate distance rather than degree, though in the last instance she uses it incorrectly.

Alterations to grammar fix tense issues such as "singing" to "sing" (154); "thinks I" to

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<sup>9</sup> Eaves and Kimpel point out in "Revisions" that the octavo was used as the base text for the posthumous 1801 edition kept by Richardson's daughters. See page 70.

<sup>10</sup> It must be noted that my text for the sixth edition is the text in the British Library scanned into the ECCO database. Volume II of this text is bound beginning on page 386 with the remaining sheets of the fourth edition (1742) of volume III, which is a re-issue of the second edition. Consequently, the displaced 11 pages of volume II are bound at the end of volume III. It is unknown whether these sheets were conflated by the original purchaser in 1746 or at some point after, particularly when the edition was rebound in 1988. For more detail, see Albert J. Rivero's introduction to the forthcoming Cambridge edition of *Pamela in Her Exalted Condition* (lvi).

<sup>11</sup> Pagination between editions six, seven, and eight is, for the most part, identical, and there are no discrepancies unless noted.

“Thought I” (236); and “accustom’d” to “accustom” (321). The latter two were first corrected in the octavo and so had to be corrected again in the sixth duodecimo. In another instance, “Head and my Heart” is changed to “Head and my Hand” (I, 70), a change most likely made because of Pamela’s redundant use the word “Heart” in the opening of Letter XXV to underscore her virtuous distress: “Heart’s just broke!”; “Heart from bursting!”; “Innocence of my Heart!” (70). The final emendation is an italic; Pamela’s “my humble Sense of the Word” is changed to “my *humble*...” (181). Rather than placing stress on her open defiance of B.’s advances, this is a shift that adds emphasis to Pamela’s disagreement with his definition of “honourable.” In other words, her “*humble* Sense of the Word” shows that it is the nature of his “Professions” that are offensive and not the professions themselves. After all, Pamela often hints that she “cannot hate him” (237) and, though a minor revision, it makes Pamela’s marriage to her would-be rapist a bit more convincing. Because these stylistic revisions are minor refinements of Pamela’s style it makes one wonder why Richardson bothered at all. Then again stylistic changes are so common for him that they no doubt became routine, though they are no less important for that. What’s more, now that all four volumes are regularly published together, any apparent lack of sophistication in Pamela’s character, such as the inaccurate use of further/farther, would have certainly reflected poorly on the heroine and the writer, and the variants suggest that Richardson felt the same way.

There are only two minor revisions to B.’s style, and, while these deletions offer no significant change to his character, their nature suggests that Richardson made them: “escapes it” becomes “escapes” (II, 15); “and to pour” is now “to pour” (71). Accordingly, B. and the principle secondary characters resume the somewhat simplified

characterization of the fifth edition rather than the considerably altered and inconsistent adjustments in the text and paratexts of the octavo. Thus, B. and others such as Mrs. Jervis, Mrs. Jewkes, and Mr. Williams are closer to Richardson's original conception, which means that readers, then as well as now, would most likely form a much different estimate of these characters, Pamela included, for not having read the octavo.

Like the third and fourth editions, the sixth has a large number of obvious misprints, a testament, perhaps, to how neglected *Pamela* was during the *Clarissa* years. Of course, the compositorial and what appear to be distribution errors alone are not proof of Richardson's negligence, but the care with which he undertook each previous edition until the sixth shows how important the message of his first novel was to him. The misprints in volume I include "and" to "ane" (11); "why" to "who" (68); "do" to "no" (72); "Romping" to "Ramping" (116); "upon" to "upon upon" (144); "ail" to "all" (202); "under" to "uuder" (229); and "you" to "your" (255). Misprints introduced into volume II include "unequal" to "anequal" (II, 32); "yonder" to "youder" (88); "have" to "haves" (157); and "abound" to "abonnd" (204). The carelessness by Richardsonian standards extends to punctuation errors when the close of a parenthetical ")" is in place of its beginning "(" (266), a semi-colon ";" incorrectly replaces a question mark "?" (283), "any body" is misrepresented as "any, body" (267); "every" is "very" (389); and "long" is "aong" (390). These and two other errors are corrected in the seventh edition, and one of the few misprints introduced into the fifth edition is corrected in the sixth: "safe" to "save" (264).

Eight years separate the sixth and seventh editions of *Pamela*, and during this time Richardson became his own severest critic. He started to criticize his first novel in a

letter dated October 26, 1748 when he wrote to Lady Bradshaigh about the marked difference between *Clarissa* and *Pamela*:

Had I drawn my [Clarissa] reconciled to Relations unworthy of her, nobly resisting the Attacks of an intrepid Lover; overcoming her Persecutors; and baffling the wicked Designs formed against her Honour, marrying her to Lovelace, and that on her own Terms – educating properly and instructing her Children – What however usefull, however pleasing the Lesson, I had done more than I had done in Pamela? (Carroll 92)

Clearly, at the time, Richardson still believed that *Pamela*'s "Lesson" was "usefull," but it had evidently become stale. By January 21, 1749, Richardson wrote as if he resented his characters. He criticized B. as arrogant, controlling, and tyrannical. Pamela, on the other hand, is weak-willed, only moderately happy in her marriage, and, ultimately, incapable of reforming the rakish B. without divine intervention. Indeed, the language Richardson used would have been familiar to his contemporaries because it adopts the point of view of the two most significant critical pieces of the period – the anonymous *Pamela Censured* and Fielding's *Shamela*:

In the proud and haughty Mr. B. in Pamela, I had done something of what Mr. C[oope]r would have done in Clarissa. It is apparent by the whole Tenor of Mr. B.'s Behaviour to Pamela after Marriage, that nothing but such an implicit Obedience, and slavish Submission, as Pamela shewed to all his Injunctions and Dictates, could have made her *tolerably* happy, even with a *Reformed* Rake. Who could be more miserable than she actually was in the Jealousy-Scene, and from thence till Lights superior to those of mere Morality broke in upon him? – Let me observe, Sirs, that Rakes and Free-livers, well as the Women generally love them, are jealous of their Prerogatives, and Tyrants of course. (124)<sup>12</sup>

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<sup>12</sup> Carroll's footnote explains the context of this letter: Richardson had written to Solomon Lowe about a suggestion made by Thomas Cooper that Clarissa marry Lovelace, die as his wife, and thereby become "an



These are harsh words for his hero, who, Richardson frankly admitted, is a poor reward for his heroine. Then again, Pamela, he suggested, is inadequate as a woman and a wife. She falls in love with a rake, marries him, and then passively submits to his every command. It is clear from this letter that Richardson was, at the time anyway, ashamed of his first novel, or, at the very least, indicates that it is the one he was least proud of. It appears, then, that Richardson's disgust with his own characters led him to abandon any plans to revise, and this, in some measure, may further account for the unusual gap between the *Pamela* editions.

After completing *Sir Charles Grandison*, Richardson's interest in *Pamela* was renewed. This is facilitated by a series of inquiries about the novel from his correspondents, Lady Bradshaigh in particular, who, in a letter dated December 8, 1753, he asked for help while making excuses for Pamela's "low Style":<sup>13</sup>

I will hope, that one Day, you will point out particularly to me, those you have observed in Pamela and Clarissa. As to the low Style of Pamela, at the Beginning, it must be considered that she was very young when she wrote her first Letters; and that she was Twelve Years old before her Lady took her. But little Time from Twelve to Sixteen (I forget how old she was at Setting-out in the Book) to form a Style; and writing only to her Father and Mother, common Chit-Chat, till her Master's Views upon her gave her more Consequence, and her Subjects more Importance. (250)

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Object of greater Pity, and a Pattern of greater Perfection" (123). This may suggest that some readers saw Pamela as a martyr and that her marriage to B. somehow makes her "an Object of greater Pity."

<sup>13</sup> These letters regarding *Pamela* begin in 1750 and last until the end of the decade. Correspondents interested in *Pamela* during this time include, among others, Sarah Chapone, Johannes Stinstra, Philip Skelton, Hester Mulso, Susanna Highmore, Smyth Loftus, Thomas Edwards, Sarah Westcomb, and, of course, Lady Dorothy Bradshaigh. See Barbauld's *Correspondence*.

After a number of letters passed between them, Lady Bradshaigh agreed on December 23, 1753 to annotate her copy of *Pamela*:

I will make no apologies for finding faults. Since it *charms* you, perhaps that may induce me to search for more, in order to *charm* you again... When I want a piece of work, I shall write my marginal notes, in an old Edition of *pamela* that I have by me. It will be of great amusement to me, tho' of no great benefit to anybody, but myself. (Sabor 399)

Richardson began planning what he considered his final revision months earlier and commented, in a letter to Johannes Stinstra dated June 2, 1753, that he was collecting observations and revisions from a “Score of very admirable Women, some of them of Condition” (Slattery 30). These women, Richardson explained, would help him “give to my good *Pamela*, my last Hand,” but contrary to his earlier objective, he planned to “preserve ye Simplicity of the Character” (30). In the interim, the seventh edition is published on April 16, 1754, and is most likely a combination of sheets from the sixth duodecimo – those that survived his printing-house fire on September 28, 1752 – and a new printing.<sup>14</sup> In his letter to Stinstra dated November 26, 1755, Richardson explained that he was still working on a “retouched” *Pamela*, but he also indicated that the changes are not in the newest edition:<sup>15</sup>

I have actually retouched *Pamela*: But there being a Number of the 3<sup>d</sup> and 4<sup>th</sup> Volumes of that Work in hand, more than of the 1<sup>st</sup> and 2<sup>d</sup>. I only printed as many of the two latter, as would make perfect Setts; and was therefore obliged to keep the two former as they were. (97)

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<sup>14</sup> See page 495 of Eaves and Kimpel’s *Biography* for more details about the fire.

<sup>15</sup> In a letter to Stinstra dated June 28, 1754, Richardson first stated that he would “retouch *Pamela*, as I have Opportunity; having gone a good way in it” (Slattery 86).

In other words, the revisions to *Pamela* that Richardson wrote about during the 1750's are most likely the corrections held over for the eighth edition, and the seventh, though it contains minor revisions, is, according to Sale, occasioned by copies lost in the fire (12).

The seventh edition contains only 36 alterations, most of which are single-word changes with a few improvements to style, deletions, and corrections to grammar.<sup>16</sup> These minor variations are evidence enough to establish that the seventh edition is not Richardson's "retouched" *Pamela*, and though his correspondence shows that he was serious about improving his novel, the variants in this edition are few and relatively simple. The changes add additional consistency to Pamela and B.'s language, and because they lack the sophistication of earlier revisions, it could be said that Richardson had already put his new artistic objective of keeping Pamela's native simplicity in place.

There are only 13 changes to Pamela's style, and none of them considerably alter her character; however, as over half of them are single-word corrections, they do illustrate Richardson's compulsive concern for accuracy. Like the sixth duodecimo, there are additional revisions to Pamela's use of "further" to "farther" (II, 221, 378), but only the latter is used in the contemporary context. As Eaves and Kimpel point out, there are four instances when the article "an" appearing before "h" becomes "a" (I, 157, 285, II 33, 387), but there is also a variant in which "a" is correctly changed to "an" (I, 82).<sup>17</sup> As well, Pamela's grammar undergoes a slight adjustment from the subject to the object form when "*she*" is adjusted to "*her*" (53), and in the final change to Pamela's language,

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<sup>16</sup> My count agrees with Eaves and Kimpel's estimate. See "Revisions" page 71.

<sup>17</sup> According to Wilhelm Uhrström, the use of indefinite articles was not as fixed in the eighteenth-century as it is today, but Richardson's revisions, with the exception of volume III of the octavo (see Chapter Six), clearly show him standardizing usage as the century progressed. *Studies on the Language of Samuel Richardson*. Uppsala: Almqvist & Wiksell, 1907. 35-41. Print.

Richardson altered “ingrateful” from the Latinate to its modern, Old English spelling “ungrateful” (90, 218, 231, 290, II, 158). While these revisions do not appear to be of particular importance, they do follow Richardson’s consistent, albeit less striking pattern of adjusting the language even if they were made for no other reason than to bring his earliest novel into line with his later views – especially since he was, by this time, “a little more *aforehand in the World*” as a writer.

There are 18 changes to B.’s language, all characteristically Richardsonian, that, in addition to being typical of those made to Pamela, slightly emend his character. Perhaps the most telling change of all is a “broke” to “broken” (II, 211), though the recurring revisions of “ingrateful” to “ungrateful” (214, 218, 248, II, 281, 314, 349), “an” to “a” (I, 75, 114, 154, 190, II, 364, 384), and “further” to “farther” (119) are representative of Richardson’s careful attention to consistent, often global changes in style. Additional changes include, for example, “if she pleases” to “if she please” (45) and “rallied” is corrected to “raillied” (310) because, as B. tells Pamela, the “stateliness of his Temper” is not something his neighbors joke about but more often censure (310-11). This complements his sister’s statement that B. is “too lordly a Creature” who “can’t bear Disappointment” (311). With this variant, Richardson adds a greater degree of contempt for his hero, and may be a reflection of his disgust with the “Tenor of Mr. B.’s Behaviour.” The final change to B.’s language is a small deletion that offers a slight change in characterization: “And I have sometimes sooth’d her, sometimes storm’d at her, sometimes argued, sometimes raged” is moderated to “And I have sometimes sooth’d her, sometimes raged” (278). Though B. can bully Pamela and demand her “slavish Submission,” Lady Davers commands an independent respect as his sister and

the wife of a Lord. Consequently, B. has more control over his rage and frustration with her than he does with his wife, who approaches him in his “Tumults” and “without Leave” (301) with disastrous consequences 23 pages later. As casual and incidental as many of these alterations are, executed, no doubt, for the sake of style, they help to illustrate, in part, Richardson’s development as a writer and *Pamela*’s evolution as a novel. Therefore, it is important to point out that Richardson took the trouble to make changes so minute to small points of style.

The seventh edition also contains four new revisions to two minor characters with a slight impact on characterization. Richardson changed Mrs. Jewkes’s “han’t” to “ha’n’t” (I, 204) and “shan’t” to “sha’n’t” (205) to give her language a distinct Lincolnshire dialect.<sup>18</sup> He probably did so to emphasize, for the purpose of verisimilitude, Mrs. Jewkes’s education and background, and to distinguish her – a mere servant, and not a very good one – with the cultured and well-read Pamela.<sup>19</sup> Since the rest of Mrs. Jewkes’s passages are untouched, this is a casual change that is not followed through with Richardson’s usual care, but the contrast would have undoubtedly been detected by Richardson’s contemporaries. In two other instances, corrections are made to Lady Davers’s language: “Key” appropriately becomes “Keys” (II, 273) and “rally” is corrected to “raily” (II, 310) because, as she tells B., it is contempt and not good humored teasing she expects to receive from her peers when they find out about his marriage. These slight adjustments show how conscious and concerned Richardson was

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<sup>18</sup> See Wright, Joseph. *The English Dialect Dictionary*. 6 vols. 1898-1905. London: Oxford UP, 1970. Print. Another change to Mrs. Jewkes’s “Shoes” is either misprinted as “Shews” (I, 163) or Richardson was attempting another imitation of the Lincolnshire dialectic.

<sup>19</sup> It should be noted that Pamela’s education was somewhat reduced when Richardson abandoned the octavo text in favor of the fifth edition, though even in the first edition it is clear that her education is greater and more literary than Mrs. Jewkes’s, and indeed the average eighteenth-century servant.

with any faults in his first novel. Indeed, two chambers require two keys, and it is expected that Lady Davers would know the difference between rally and raily. In fact, Richardson admitted to Lady Bradshaigh that there are “Mistakes in *Pamela* and *Clarissa*,” chiefly in matters of “Proprietys” but he hinted at others “where Uniformity called for it” (Carroll 245). Both are simple oversights made during composition and revision that Richardson and his coterie of readers would become skillful in discovering and preventing in his later novels.

Further evidence for Richardson’s renewed interest in *Pamela* is that fewer misprints are introduced into the seventh edition, and those present in the sixth duodecimo are systematically corrected. Richardson’s interest may also have a lot to do with timing. All three of his novels were completed by 1754, and his correspondence and published works indicate that he was engaged in revising all three simultaneously.<sup>20</sup> He wrote to Lady Bradshaigh on October 5, 1753 that *Pamela* was his primary concern and hoped, of course, that she “may not appear, for her situation, unworthy of her Younger sisters”:

But in *Clarissa*, I believe, these Mistakes seldom happen. In *Pamela* often. . . As to her Story; that, perhaps, taking in the Design, will not make her subscribe to the others; only, as to two Sisters, who, being born to their Father, when the Honest Andrewes was a little more *aforehand in the World*, as Rustics phrase it, they were put to genteeler Parts of Education, than could be afforded for the Elder Daughter before Mr. B.’s Mother took her, and laid the Foundations of the Family’s better Fortune. (245).

In other words, Richardson was content to perfect his novels, and this care is evidenced in a cleaner edition of *Pamela*. There are, however, five obvious compositorial and

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<sup>20</sup> The different editions of *Clarissa* published in Richardson’s lifetime are dated 1748-1749, 1749, 1751, and 1759, and *Sir Charles Grandison* is published in 1753-54, 1754, 1756, and 1762.

distribution errors in the seventh edition: “you” to “yon” (II, 21); “another” to “anothe,” (43); “worse” to “worth” (300); “And I hope” is “And hope” (301); and “Morning” is “Moroing” (379). Yet by their very number, these variants illustrate *Pamela*’s fresh importance to Richardson. This is especially true if he used a marked-up fifth edition as his copy text rather than the error-filled sixth duodecimo. Either way, Richardson, undoubtedly aware of previous errors, surely knew they could do no credit to him, his heroine, or his book and ensured their correction.

The eighth edition is the last purely authorial version of *Pamela*. Because of Richardson’s ailing health, the details leading up to and surrounding the revision and publication of the lifetime edition are somewhat unclear. It was published on October 28, 1761, a little more than three months after Richardson’s death, and though it contains a large number of revisions, it is most likely not the “retouched” text that he was working on throughout the 1750’s. Textual evidence and the correspondence between Richardson’s daughters, Anne Richardson and Martha Bridgen, suggests that the posthumous 1801 edition, described in Edward Bridgen’s will as “the Copy of Pamela corrected by Mr. R: 1758 8 vol” (Eaves and Kimpel “Revisions” 78) contains Richardson’s final corrections. However, the same correspondence also documents that either Martha, Anne, or both made adjustments to Richardson’s 1758 copy many years after his death. On June 28, 1784 Anne wrote that “farther corrections would be *necessary* and make it infinitely more perfect” (Sabor 414). Martha agreed and wrote on July 20 that she would not “take too great a liberty” but, if time permits, she will “alter some particular phrases, &c” (416). The fourteenth, 1801 edition, then, is a collaborative

work between Richardson and his daughters, making the lifetime edition the last that can wholly be called Richardson's.<sup>21</sup>

Many of Richardson's revisions to his preface and the introduction to the eighth edition of *Pamela* were likely assisted by his work on *A Collection of Moral Sentiments*, first published on March 6, 1755. The *Collection* was probably inspired by the anonymous pamphlet *Critical Remarks on Sir Charles Grandison, Clarissa, and Pamela*, published in February 1754. *Critical Remarks*, among other things, accused *Pamela* of being "low" and having "no sound moral" (iii):

...we shall find the only one that can be extracted out of it to be very ridiculous, useless, and impertinent...that when a young gentleman of fortune cannot obtain his ends of a handsome servant girl, he ought to marry her; and that the said girl ought to resist him, in expectation of that event. (13-14)<sup>22</sup>

This accusation enraged Richardson's correspondent, Sarah Chapone. She wrote to him on April 6, 1754 that she was "wholly possess'd by indignation at an anonymous author, who with his crude and misshapen conceptions is endeavouring to abuse and misrepresent Pamela Clarissa and Grandison, 3 characters of the highest estimation" (Sabor 369). Not surprisingly, Richardson's correspondence shows he was unconcerned, perhaps even apathetic about such criticism, which is, after all, only repeating what *Pamela Censured* expressed thirteen years earlier. Instead, Richardson began mining his work for "Sentiments" to include in the *Collection*, which, it could be argued, is a passive

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<sup>21</sup> That is to say, as much as any edition can wholly be called Richardson's. Given the amount of revisions based on the input he received from others regarding all three of his novels, it is safe to say that many of the changes were collaborative; however, unlike the fourteenth edition of *Pamela*, Richardson at least had the final word regarding all emendations made in his lifetime.

<sup>22</sup> *Critical Remarks on Sir Charles Grandison, Clarissa, and Pamela*. Augustan Reprint Society 21. Los Angeles: William Andrews Clark Memorial Library, 1950. Print.



aggressive response to short sighted critics who overlooked the edifying principles embedded within all three of his three novels. At first, Richardson appeared hesitant to complete the *Collection* because it reduced his fiction to an assortment of aphorisms, but it is just as likely that his modesty was a cover and he was really fishing for compliments. In a letter dated November 26, 1754, he explained to Benjamin Kennicott, who wrote the preface to the *Collection*, that “It is a dry Performance – Dull Morality, and Sentences, some pertinent, some impertinent, divested of Story, and Amusement” (Benoist 65);<sup>23</sup> yet, on February 21, just before the *Collection* was published, Richardson wrote to Bishop Hildesley and expressed, in a pleasing way, that in this new piece the didactic purpose supersedes the non-didactic elements of story:

In a collection of the sentiments contained in each of the three histories (now soon to be published in one pocket volume) it will be seen that there are not many of the material articles that may be of use for the conduct of life and manners unattended to in one or other of them; so that all together they complete one plan, the best I was able to give. (Barbault, V, 132)

In other words, all three of his novels, separated from their narratives and therefore free of aesthetic flaws, offer only their moral precepts. This creates a unique alternative to, in Richardson’s description, the accessory details of story and amusement, and sufficiently answers *Remarks*’ candid observations of character by eliminating them altogether.<sup>24</sup>

Indeed, character flaws and failings are omitted and only appropriate convictions, cautions, and conduct remain – the material that Richardson always hoped his readers

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<sup>23</sup> Benoist, Howard. “An Unpublished Letter of Samuel Richardson’s.” *University of Pennsylvania Library Chronicle*. 36 (1970): 63-65. PDF file.

<sup>24</sup> In the conclusion of *Remarks*, the critic offered the reader a final view of Richardson’s principle characters: “the composition of them all, except Clarissa, is bad... Grandison is an inconsistent angel, Lovelace is an absolute devil, and [B.] Booby is a perfect ass; Pamela is a little pert minx, whom any man of common sense or address might have had on his own terms in a week or a fortnight, Harriet appears to be every thing, and yet may be nothing, except a ready scribe, a verbose letter-writer” (58).

would absorb.<sup>25</sup> A study of *Remarks* and Richardson's *Collection* is beyond the scope of this study, but they are important in that they illustrate Richardson's underlying didactic design evidenced in new changes to volume I's preface and introduction, and volume II's conclusion.

To further emphasize the moral usefulness of his novel, Richardson cut 85 words from *Pamela*'s title page and preface, and though the spirit of the original is maintained while omitting and combining much of the old content, the pedantic tone, once a source of contention, is somewhat relaxed and its didactic message stressed. For example, the "Recommendations" outlined are no longer "laudable, or worthy" they are just "laudable" (iv), neither does the novel achieve its ends "in so probable, so natural, so lively a manner, as shall engage the Passions of every sensible Reader, and attach their Regard to the Story" (7th, v). Indeed, with a possible nod to *Pamela Censured* and Fielding's Parson Tickletext, who, in *Shamela*, feels a sudden and powerful "Emotion" (3) when he thinks of Pamela, all references to "Passions" are omitted, along with the editor's guarantee that "Every one *who shall read with Attention*" will be "uncommonly moved in perusing it" (7th, vi). In addition to cooling the reader's "Passions," the superfluous statement of confidence by the editor and "the favourable Reception which he ventures to bespeak for this little Work" (vi) are omitted, the idea being that *Pamela*'s success speaks for itself. The last deletion in the preface is to balance a corresponding change made to the subtitle: formerly "TRUTH and NATURE," the eight edition is now simply grounded in "TRUTH" (title page). The parallel cut in the preface from

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<sup>25</sup> This is not unlike the recursive table of contents that Richardson included in the octavo edition, especially as the *Collection* condenses, abridges, and contains "References to the Volume, and Page, both in Octavo and Twelves, in the respective Histories" (Title Page).

“*Foundation both in Truth and Nature*” to “*Foundation in Truth*” (v) is perhaps a subtle way of enforcing the morality and practical example of the novel instead of the sexually charged “NATURE” of Pamela’s letters. That is, the story will still “Divert *and* Entertain” the “YOUTH *of* both Sexes” (iii), but it appears Richardson was not so intent on catching “young and airy minds” by pleasing “their Imaginations” as he wrote to Cheyne in 1741 (Mullett 67). It seems the elder Richardson was content, therefore, that *Pamela* be read by “Grandmothers” and sit “in better company, such as that of the graver writers” (67) for instruction’s sake rather than be read for its supposedly lewd and parodied “*affecting* INCIDENTS” (title page).

Like the preface, the puff pieces written by de Freval and Webster in the introduction undergo extensive revision; the fulsome praises of Richardson, Pamela, and B. are significantly reduced. Large sections are deleted, 231 words in all, in a clear attempt to suppress the embarrassing, though once ego gratifying panegyrics. The largest cuts are to Webster’s letter, in which he identified with Pamela’s character, and his unfeigned surprise that a servant would choose poverty and virtue over wealth and vice:

It is an astonishing Matter...that a young beautiful Girl, in the low Scene of Life and Circumstance in which Fortune placed her... could, after having a Taste of Ease and Plenty in a higher Sphere of Life than what she was born and first brought up in, resolve to return to her primitive Poverty, rather than give up her innocence. (7th, xi)

It was this “astonishing Matter” that first inspired critics to question Pamela’s character and Richardson’s intent. This deletion draws less attention to Pamela’s unlikely resistance of “almost irresistible Offers” from a gentleman so “universally” admired “amongst all his Acquaintance” (xi) and instead concentrates, in the revised letter, on her prudent “conduct” during “Perplexities and Troubles” with a gentleman “generally”

admired (8th, x). A further deletion to Webster's letter prevents overselling the novel's didactic purpose and the author's greatness. For instance, *Pamela* is still published "for the Benefit of Mankind," but like the revised preface, Richardson stopped Webster short of making any guarantees and thus the climax of his praise is reduced: "I believe its Excellencies cannot be long unknown to the World, and that there will not be a Family that has it, will be much improv'd and better'd by it" (xiv). One consequence of the final cut to Webster's letter was likely influenced by Richardson's personal view of the libertine lifestyle. Webster believed that Pamela's "Temptations" and "Sufferings" would "shew the Ladies, that we are not inflexible, while they are so" (xiii), but anyone familiar with *Clarissa* knows that that heroine's "Sufferings" are substantially more than Pamela's, and all she could do would not move a true rake like Lovelace. Then again, Richardson may not have wanted to prematurely label B. as "inflexible" before his readers could judge for themselves.

It is not surprising that there are fewer cuts to de Freval's letter. Unlike Webster, he did not empathize with Pamela's character but rather admired her idiomatic style and highlighted the novel's abstract virtues. The only deletion is de Freval's unflattering estimation of French writers who, formerly, with the publication of *Pamela*, had "an Opportunity to receive *English Bullion* in Exchange for its own Dross, which has so long passed current among us in Pieces abounding with all the Levities of its volatile Inhabitants" (7th, ix). The contrast of "*English Solidity*" with French "Whip-syllabub" (8th, xi) is sufficiently covered in Webster's letter, and the suggestion that *Pamela* is worth its weight in gold no doubt made the older, more experienced Richardson cringe. Overall, these revised letters emphasize the text over the author, and, like the *Collection*,

put morality before melodrama in an attempt to strengthen the novel's didactic purpose and place *Pamela* at a further distance from the fiction.

Richardson more than doubled the cuts to Hill's letters, 625 words in all, concentrating on the excess praise in particular, but he also paid tribute to his deceased friend by restoring some of the praises removed in the fifth edition.<sup>26</sup> For example, Hill is now known as "*The ingenious Writer*" (xix), "*the same benevolent Gentleman*" (xxvi), and "*Gentleman*" (xxvii) instead of simply "*Writer*" (7th, xxxiii), thus returning and even adding new, positive epithets to preface Hill's comments. At the same time, the deleted text, some of it necessary for an updated edition, significantly reduces Hill's outrageous expressions. One cut removes a superfluous and dated detail: "You can hardly imagine how it charms me to hear of so many Editions already!" (xxvii). Others, including Hill's metaphors of the exploding gunpowder parcel and *Pamela*'s "enchanted" spread "from Family to Family" (xxvii-xxviii) as if she were an infectious disease, were most likely deleted because of their excess and distracting, unctuous praise. The most extensive cut of all, however, is made to Hill's story of the "lively little" Harry Campbell (xxx) who, in 1761, was around twenty-eight years old and no longer "the youngest of *Pamela*'s *Converts*" (xxxii). Hill's preface to this maudlin story, full of tribute to Richardson's refined judgment, is also omitted:

I must by your means tell the Author a *Story*, which a Judge not so skilful in Nature as he is, might be in Danger perhaps of mistaking, for a trifling and silly one. I expect it should give him the clearest Conviction, in a Case he is subject to question. (xxx)

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<sup>26</sup> It is important to note that revisions to the fifth edition's introduction may have been made by Hill only to be restored in 1761 by Richardson. See Chapter Two.

Indeed, for Richardson, a better “Judge” by 1761, there is no question, and all such “silly” trifles are removed. Accordingly, what remains of Hill’s introduction focuses on refuting the anonymous critic’s objections, defending Pamela and B.’s marriage, and commending her virtues as examples for all women to follow. In contrast to de Freval and Webster, Hill’s revised letters emphasize the novel’s didacticism and offer a cogent defense of the fiction, something that would have better served Richardson’s purpose twenty years earlier.<sup>27</sup>

Richardson’s lifetime edition is a cover-to-cover revision; that is, in addition to emending the front matter, *Pamela*’s conclusion is extensively revised and includes a large number of deletions to superfluous material, a couple of additions that facilitate the transition to the sequel, and a few changes to characterization. As Eaves and Kimpel point out, the first omission is the extended summary that provides details made redundant after Richardson published his two volume sequel. This information, combined with a bit of dramatic flair, became the foundation for volumes III and IV. Another deletion offers a smooth transition to Richardson’s continuation. Instead of bringing “this little History to a happy Period” (II, 392), Pamela’s letters end “at present,” and a brief summary of the offstage action is included to explain the events leading up to volume III (8th, 390). Additional revisions are made to the character sketches that are intended to “serve as so many Applications of [*Pamela*’s] most material Incidents to the Minds of the YOUTH of BOTH SEXES” (390). For instance, B.’s actions, never interpreted as “virtuous,” are appropriately altered to “benevolent” (390). At the same time, the “Proud and the

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<sup>27</sup> It should be noted that much of Hill’s defense, though made more convincing with revision, was undermined by Richardson twenty years earlier when many of the suggested changes by the anonymous critic were followed in the second edition. See Chapter One.

High-born” Lady Davers is not generally “hurried from one Extreme to another” but principally “from the Height of Violence, to the most abject Submission” (391). As well, the “poor deluded” Miss Godfrey no longer serves as an example for the “abandon’d Prostitute” who, beyond reclamation, is destined for “everlasting Perdition afterwards,” but rather the “Prostitute” who may hurry herself into “everlasting Perdition” (392). Finally, Pamela’s character is changed from “worthy of the Imitation of her Sex, from low to high Life” to just “worthy the Imitation of her Sex” (394). Because Richardson removed the phrase “*from low to high Life*” from his preface to the fifth edition, this subtle omission was likely made to further dissociate *Pamela* from Kelly’s *High Life* sequel.<sup>28</sup> The last change to the conclusion is the correction of a pronoun reference from the fairly ambiguous “she,” in which the “Editor” indirectly alludes to himself, to the more specific “Pamela” (394). If this mistake had not been present since the first edition, it might occasion a serious reconsideration of authorship in addition to suggesting that the editor “inspires a laudable Emulation” rather than the heroine. The revisions to the front and back matter were probably not motivated to please public taste as they were when *Pamela* was first published; instead, it appears as if Richardson was interested in further perfecting his novel and calling attention to the moral. Even if the lifetime edition does not wholly represent Richardson’s final intention, he still made a concerted effort to substantially improve *Pamela* so that she would not be such an unworthy “sister,” and a large part in doing so required a cover-to-cover revision.

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<sup>28</sup> See Chapter Two.

In all, volumes I and II of the lifetime edition contain 110 changes, and style accounts for a substantial number of the alterations.<sup>29</sup> Many of the changes are to single-words, adjustments to matters of propriety, and phrasing for clarity. The care and extent of these revisions shows that Richardson approached this text with a greater seriousness and focus than he did the sixth and seventh editions. Indeed, the changes in characterization are significant and relative to the sophistication offered in the octavo. Naturally, Pamela is his focus, her good nature and elevated status in particular. In some instances, B.'s character is also materially altered for the sake of propriety. Rather than rework his plot and violate the integrity of his novel to accommodate critics, Richardson's final improvements reveal his enduring anxiety to perfect Pamela's language in order to seamlessly incorporate her into the upper-class.

One of Richardson's chief correspondents in the 1750's was Lady Bradshaigh, and she was, in no small part, responsible for revisions to the lifetime edition of *Pamela*. When Richardson was ready to print the eighth edition, he was eager to see and incorporate the "marginal notes" she promised to make in December 1753. In early March, one of Richardson's daughters, acting as his amanuensis, requested all four volumes:<sup>30</sup>

the four Vols. of Pamela being almost out of Print, and a new Edition called for, and being delighted to hear, that your Ladship has remark'd upon that Piece and Clarissa, he directs me to express his earnest Wishes, that you will favour him with the Perusal of your Observations, with Liberty to add to new ones of his own such of your Ladship's, as may make ye future Edition more perfect

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<sup>29</sup> Eaves and Kimpel count 251 changes, including 27 in the introduction and 19 in the conclusion. See "Revisions" page 72.

<sup>30</sup> Barbauld states in her edition of Richardson's correspondence that both of his daughters were "employed in writing for him, and transcribing his letters; but, his chief amanuensis was his daughter Martha" (I, li).



than otherwise it can be. The Employment will be, my Papa says, a great Amusement to him, Hence we all wish your Ladship would be so good as to oblige him. We will take care of the Safe Return of the precious Loan. (Sabor 406)

Lady Bradshaigh's response on March 13 is as endearing as her friendship was enduring:

Will you my dear Sir give your self the trouble of looking over what I have Scroled in the Margin of your two Histories? had I thought of that, I wou'd have been a little more Correct, for I am very sure you will not be able to read half of it, and perhaps I shou'd have left out some things, and have added others. But take them as they are. I only wish you may have one tenth part of the amusement in reading, as I have in writing them. (407)

That she made alterations is quite clear, most likely corrections to matters of propriety, but the glosses themselves are lost. As such, the scope of her revisions cannot be measured, but their nature, to judge from the annotations in her surviving copy of *Clarissa*, is discernible alongside the more typical Richardsonian changes.<sup>31</sup> Richardson had only three months to add Lady Bradshaigh's annotations before his fatal stroke on June 28, but given his past persistence in such matters, and the likeness they bear to her suggested revisions to *Clarissa*, it is highly probable that a number of the comments in her copy of *Pamela* were used.

In volume I, there are 18 changes to Pamela's character that are reminiscent of Richardson's octavo revisions: emended single-words often add a precision of meaning that refines her language and points to a greater intellectual sophistication; altered, added, or deleted phrases characterize her as more articulate and well-mannered; and, with assistance from Lady Bradshaigh, a number of corrections are made to matters of propriety, the nature of which Richardson acknowledged his ignorance. These include

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<sup>31</sup> See Janine Barchas and Gordon Fulton's *The Annotations in Lady Bradshaigh's Copy of Clarissa*. Victoria: English Literary Studies, 1998. Print.

standards of address, superfluous details that mention servants, and the excess, perhaps even affected, elegance of speech and dress.

Many of the single-word changes are formal refinements to language that emphasize Pamela's liminal social status, but they also curb reckless behavior and make her character more worthy of emulation. Improvements include "Accompts" to "Accounts" (2); "oblig'd" to "desirous" (57); "mayhap" to "perhaps" (57); "Bite" to "Trick" (66); "belike" to "probably" (238); and "good Sirs!" to "good-lack!" (285), the latter adds a bit of idiomatic language during an unguarded moment. Indeed, Pamela often steps in and out of her new persona depending on the degree of revision in any given edition.<sup>32</sup> Furthermore, Mrs. Jewkes's "Wonder" at Pamela's "Resolution and Venturesomeness" is reduced to "Resolution" (236). This omission suggests that it is inappropriate for Pamela to engage in such a bold act of self-preservation, even if not doing so costs her the virtue she so passionately defends. In fact, her failed attempts to escape stop abruptly after the pond scene, and subtle hints afterwards discourage such heroic actions, also known as "Venturesomeness," in favor of a steadfast reliance on providence.

The older, more class conscious Richardson probably altered a socially contentious phrase at the end of the "fine ladies passage" to serve two functions: silence Pamela's critical judgment of those ladies and clarify meaning. A particularly longstanding example of Pamela's trademark wit and biting tone, both amplified to their highest pitch in the octavo, are quietly erased when "And so, belike, their Clacks ran for

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<sup>32</sup> It should be noted, however, that there are fewer changes to Pamela's character in volume I than previous editions containing major revisions, indicating that Richardson approached this edition with the goal of preserving "ye Simplicity of the Character" and elevating the heroine by degrees by refining her more after her marriage.

half an Hour in my Praises; and glad was I, when I got out of the Hearing of them” becomes “And so they ran on for half an Hour more, in my Praises, as I was told; and glad was I...” (61). While a degree of social criticism is still present in this scene, Pamela’s most direct insult of B.’s neighbors is removed. This change is especially important for the sake of Pamela’s character, whose developing relationship with these ladies after her marriage would otherwise smack of hypocrisy. Along with this change in characterization, additional details add a greater level of credibility and accuracy to the logistics of the scene. Pamela’s “as I was told” makes it clear that she leaves the room, and, what’s more, absolves her of the vulgar impropriety of eavesdropping.

More detail is added in an attempt to explain why Pamela, assaulted twice by B., remains in Bedfordshire (just to finish a waistcoat) at the risk of being raped. Richardson was obviously aware of how weak and artificial this plot point was, and he made an effort to strengthen and clarify Pamela’s decision. The alteration is identified by my italics: “O! I forgot to say, that I would stay to finish the Waistcoat, *if I might with Safety. Mrs. Jervis tells me I certainly may*” (48). A promise of safety from Mrs. Jervis, though an upper servant, is only slightly more convincing, and it does not entirely explain why Pamela, in such a precarious situation, stays behind.<sup>33</sup> Nor does it resolve the contemporary reader’s distrust of Mrs. Jervis who, though “a very good Woman” in Pamela’s estimation (9), is called a procuress by the critic, the poet, and the bawdy parodist.<sup>34</sup> Despite the change, this largely unresolved aspect of the novel obscures Pamela’s veracity and naturally creates concerns regarding her disinterestedness in B.

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<sup>33</sup> Of course, for the sake of the plot, it is necessary for Pamela to remain in Bedfordshire until B. can prepare his Lincolnshire household for her imprisonment.

<sup>34</sup> See, in particular, the anonymous *Pamela Censured*, the anonymous poem “*To the Author of SHAMELA*” printed in the *London Magazine* of June 1741, and Fielding’s *Shamela*.

The last eight changes to Pamela's language in volume I are a combination of corrections to grammar, syntax, and propriety, the former two being well-established Richardsonian standards. A tense issue is reconciled in Pamela's "VERSES *on my going away*" when "*found*" becomes "*find*" (112), her syntax is smoother with the change from "came to me both together" to "came both together" (189-190), and an emendation that was probably made for clarity creates an error when the affected "But I will no more *perambulate*" is changed to the more fitting "But I will not keep you suspense" (71). Another adjustment is equally unsuccessful because of a preposition change: "I leave the Hint for you" becomes "I leave the Hint to you" (169). Lady Bradshaigh's influence on volume I is likely reflected in the omitted reference to servants, "for the Men lie in the Out-houses" (76), and the adjustment of "Gold Lace" trimming to "Silver" (82). The alterations to forms of address such as "Maiden" to "Girl" (104) and "Maiden" to "Servant" (107) were probably suggestions of hers as well. When Pamela refers to herself as "poor Maiden" and "poor distressed Maiden," the text assumes the air of a romance, a genre that Richardson vehemently loathed, and her character a gratuitous presumption. To be sure, Pamela is undeniably humbled, and perhaps appropriately so, when she more fittingly calls herself "Girl" and "Servant."

Pamela's style in volume II is significantly elevated and complex compared to the seventh edition, but the change is gradual, almost imperceptible compared to the comprehensive revisions in the octavo. A number of the 59 changes follow a recommendation made by Cheyne in 1741 to raise the "Heroine into Dignity and High

Life by just Degrees” after her marriage (Mullett 69).<sup>35</sup> This period of adjustment was no doubt facilitated by Lady Bradshaigh’s annotations and her first hand knowledge of “high life” and genteel propriety. At the same time, the nature of the newest revisions indicate that Richardson, after twenty years, paid more regard to the anonymous critic’s suggestions printed in the introduction than he would ever admit. Pamela’s “Stile,” it was requested, should be raised “when her Diffidence is changed to Ease; And from about the fourth Day after Marriage, it should be equal to the Rank she is rais’d to” (xviii). Consequently, Pamela, rather than having too much change in characterization thrust upon her at once, gradually acquires a genteel language and behavior that reaches its highest level since the octavo.

Many of the revisions that illustrate Pamela’s progression from “*from low to high Life*” are simple adjustments to propriety. Pamela’s formerly incorrect titles, forms of address, and salutations are systematically corrected. For example, the single-word “Gentlefolks” is refined to “Gentry” (II, 54) and “neighbouring Gentry” is modified to the more inclusive “neighbouring Gentlemen” (387). Her nephew Jackey is not referred to as the “Son of Lord —” but the title is further distinguished with “Son of *the* Lord —” (235, italics mine). As well, when Pamela addresses young ladies as “Miss” it is corrected to “Madam” (257), and later “Miss” (257) is deleted altogether. Moreover, “in her Ladyship’s good Graces” becomes “her good Graces” (271); “Think, and please your Ladyship” becomes “Think! Indeed, Madam” (326); and “Mrs. *Arthur*” is corrected to “Lady *Arthur*” (357). Simple mistakes made to “Titles of Characters,” Richardson admitted, was part “Ignorance of Propriety” and “writing without a Plan” (Carroll 245).

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<sup>35</sup> This advice was intended for Richardson’s sequel, but its impact on revisions to volumes I and II is evident.

Lady Bradshaigh's corrections may have offered Richardson a blueprint much like the one Aaron Hill supplied for the fifth edition, and Richardson's esteem and general deferment to Lady Bradshaigh's opinion is likely evidenced in these changes.<sup>36</sup>

A series of revisions also lessen Pamela's affected speech and actions, and she is subtly elevated and matured at the same time. Given the nature of some of these changes, Richardson may not have made them by himself. It can be argued, then, that they were suggested by Lady Bradshaigh – someone admittedly more familiar with genteel manners, customs, and language. For instance, one of Pamela's characteristic outbursts of "good Sirs!" (7th, 266) is deleted, and Pamela's immoderate praise of B. in the phrase "For here, Sir, you are most charmingly dress'd yourself, as you have commanded me, before Dinner" (215) is likewise omitted. Further revisions are made from "good Ladies" to "Ladies" (8th, 387); "danc'd (and danc'd sweetly) with Miss *Boroughs*" is formally shortened to "took out Miss *Boroughs*" (271); and "have you no more of your sweet Injunctions to honour me with? They oblige and improve me, at the same time" is condensed to "have you nothing more to honour me with? You oblige and improve me, at the same time" (210). This revision indicates that B.'s "Injunctions" are not so "sweet" after all, and a stronger parallel is drawn to Pamela's questioning asides when she compiles the list of rules she is "instructed" to follow (320-324). Another instance of Pamela's exaggerated piety is restrained when "I kneel'd down severally, and bless'd God for my past Escapes, and present Happiness" is altered to "I bless'd God for my past Escapes, and present Happiness" (336). This last change, of course, follows years of

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<sup>36</sup> This is not to say that Richardson blindly followed all of Lady Bradshaigh's suggestions. In fact, her annotated copy of *Clarissa* illustrates that there were several areas of contention upon which Richardson would not budge. However, it seems unlikely that Richardson would dispute niceties such as these.

feedback from critics and correspondents asking that Pamela “*Be not righteous over-much*” (I, xviii). This type of criticism was also included in the anonymous pamphlet, *A Candid Examination of the History of Sir Charles Grandison* that was published shortly after *Remarks* on April 15, 1754.<sup>37</sup> The *Examination* comments on the absurdity of Pamela’s weakness for “whining, and crying, and kneeling” and the hypocrisy of her “*sweet blessed words*”:

Language that would better become an old Nurse than any of the Parties that use them: And so much of *God be thank’d*, and *God Bless*, and *God reward*, that I think it is quite taking the Name of *God* in vain: For God is no more thought of in these Expressions, than by a Person who makes a Custom of affirming any thing by his ever-to-be-revered Name. They are mere Expletives, that really debase the Style; and are much too frequently used (11-12)<sup>38</sup>

Richardson was by no means the kind of writer to disregard public taste entirely – far from it – and he did make revisions like this before. These changes, even if they are not comprehensive, show that constructive criticism had a lasting effect on Richardson and was imperative to Pamela’s character development and the novel’s many editions.

Additionally, superfluous details that seem important to a servant but are obviously above the notice of Pamela’s elevated character are emended or deleted. It is reasonable to assume that Lady Bradshaigh’s annotations to all three of Richardson’s novels educated and encouraged him to see that too much attention to servants, insignificant domestic matters, and extravagant dress were trifling and unnecessary. The following are primary examples of this new precision and economy. Pamela is not expected to “carve and help round” just to “carve” (II, 127), and her loose, wordy

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<sup>37</sup> Eaves and Kimpel attribute this text to Francis Plumer in a footnote on page 406 of their *Biography*.

<sup>38</sup> Plumer, Frances. *A Candid Examination of the History of Sir Charles Grandison*. 1754. London: Dodsley, 1755. Gale. Web. 2 Apr. 2011.

description “I attended him to Breakfast, and drank my Chocolate with great Pleasure, and eat two Bits of Toast” is pared down to “I attended him to Breakfast with great Pleasure and Freedom” (206). As Eaves and Kimpel point out in their study of the *Pamela* revisions, Pamela’s ill-mannered references to servants are cut, such as “with each a Footman, besides the Coachman” (132) and three references to Abraham (354, 359). Pamela’s “How do you do” to all 11 of the Bedfordshire servants is abridged to “How do you do, my old Friends and Fellow Servants? I am glad to see you all” (346). The collective approbation that B. is “the happiest Man in *England*” is likewise cut for economy when “And I, said Miss *Boroughs*: And I, said Miss *Darnford*: And I, said each of the other” is contracted to “And so said they all” (258). An added passage lends a necessary decorum to the same scene by preventing “Men-servants” from hearing Pamela’s detailed account of her interview with Lady Davers: “the Men-servants withdrawing at a Motion of Mr. *B.* on my looking towards them; and then, a tight Lass or two, at Lady *Darnford*’s, coming in, I proceeded” (265). Finally, as in volume I, clothes trimmed in “Gold” are made “Silver” (351, 374). Thus, in effect, Pamela’s character is altered “by just Degrees” over the course of volume II, and, for the first time, her integration into the upper-class is accomplished in a straightforward and methodical way.

While many of the revisions elevate Pamela’s character, other changes show a movement away from her rigid, often reserved characterization. To begin with, her term “injunctions” is adjusted to the less indisputable and commanding “instructions” (214). With this change, Pamela puts B. in the position of teacher rather than tyrant, and makes herself appear less “slavish,” though he still expects from her a passive obedience. Instead of referring to B. as the “most generous of Gentlemen” it is shortened to the less



formal “Men” (199) and again to “Man” (374). The stilted “beloved Spouse” becomes a more endearing “Beloved” (199), and the term “Spouse” and its variants are emended three more times to “Friend” (307), “my dear Mr. B.” (354), and “dear Lord and Master” (374). These slight changes to a more colloquial style suggest a companionate marriage based on genuine affection rather than a marriage born of mercenary motives on the one side and an insatiable lust on the other. This is all the more convincing since Pamela and B.’s numerous and affectionate “kisses” once changed to “salutes” in the octavo are restored in the sixth duodecimo from which Richardson’s revisions to the lifetime edition can be traced.

Further revisions to Pamela’s language continue to follow a pattern of precision and economy that appears more prevalent in the lifetime edition than in any other. This is a possible result of Richardson’s editorial goal of elevating Pamela by degrees, particularly after her marriage, rather than his usual pattern of global revision. In other words, instead of patching and filling in gaps as he saw them, seemingly at random, single-words are chosen with greater care and phrases are shortened or expanded for clarity. For instance, Pamela’s exalted condition is appropriately changed from a “Favour” to an “Honour” (61); “dreading” is corrected to “dreadful” (100); “*watched*” in Pamela’s imitation of psalm 137 is the more fitting “*guarded*” (138); and “seems” is the contextually correct “appears” (261). Because Lady Davers’s behavior is unbecoming and not mournful, the adverb “sorrowfully” is swapped with “ill” (294); “that she” is corrected to “whom she” (369); “therefore only” is adjusted for clarity to “only therefore” (387); and, as if Pamela is describing the events as they happen, there is a tense change of “overcame” to “overcome” (289). Additional phrases are cut for the sake of economy and

three others change characterization. The overall goal of two emendations is for clarity's sake when "by you" is "by you, Mrs. *Jewkes*" (174) and "said she, taking my Father's Hand, And yours too, good Mr. *Andrews*" is revised to "And yours too, good Mr. *Andrews*, taking his Hand" (107). In another instance, however, an error is added when the longer "For I can neither write so free, nor with any Face" is shortened to "For how can write I with any Face" (28). Changes to characterization occur when Pamela's doubtful expression "who I think has much more Skill" is the refined and assertive "who has much more Skill" (274); a lingering idiomatic "could do" becomes "could" (123); and "prattled a great deal" is expanded to "prattled a great deal too much so early" (64). This last change suggests that Pamela talks too much and before her time. Because she is not yet B.'s wife, too much "prattle" in her liminal state is a violation of propriety, and she consciously checks herself, resumes her restricted role, and waits for B.'s consent to continue.<sup>39</sup> These and other revisions illustrate that Pamela's identity is significantly re-imagined in the second volume rather than comprehensively as before, and a smoother transition is created from her role of servant to mistress. Thus, Richardson successfully preserved "ye Simplicity of [Pamela's] Character" in volume I, until, by degrees, her new identity could be firmly established in volume II.

A slight change of considerably more consequence suggests that Pamela is a hypocrite and has, at the beginning of volume II, entertained ideas of being a gentleman's wife. The humble Pamela, who before "could not have aspired to [marry B.]," is presumptuous and forward when she admits that being Mrs. B. is a "Happiness" she "could have aspired to" (8). Here, Pamela confides to her parents a desire that she has

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<sup>39</sup> Contemporary conduct books and the rules of social etiquette compelled unmarried women, particularly during courtship, to remain silent unless asked a question, and even then short, direct answers are expected.

repeatedly denied, and the stages by which she comes to recognize her love for B. are significantly undermined. Consequently, the line of comparison between Pamela and Shamela takes an interesting turn. In other words, Pamela's supposed disinterestedness becomes desire as soon as appearances and events suggest that B. will marry her. It could be that this unflattering and pretentious view of the heroine is the result of a compositor's error, but its proximity to another emendation makes this unlikely. It is also possible Richardson attempted to make Pamela more forthcoming about her feelings for B., but the nature of such a confession is damning. Yet a third conjecture is that marriage is a secondary goal for Pamela because what she really wants is the satisfaction of reclaiming "an abandoned Libertine" (8). Regardless, readers are left with a mercenary view of Pamela's character that confirms, to a degree, earlier critical objections.<sup>40</sup>

The most dramatic substantive changes to Pamela's character are effected by further revisions to propriety that not only reflect Pamela's elevated status but also shift the power imbalance between her and Lady Davers. As these changes show, Pamela has an improved understanding of social niceties and is not only aware of her new class status but more accepting of her role in the social order. Their nature also suggests they were influenced by Lady Bradshaigh. For example, Pamela now acknowledges at the beginning of the interview that she responds "a little too pertly perhaps" (229) to Lady Davers's intrusive questions, but as that woman's pride and anger get the better of her, Pamela responds without hesitation or apology. Her earlier pleading tone is revised to a forward line of questioning when "Why, what, and please your Ladyship, does it signify" is revised to "Why, what, Madam, does it signify" (240). The submissive "pray your

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<sup>40</sup> Pamela's confession is cut from the collaborative 1801 text that is said to contain Richardson's last correction, but whether or not that text represents his final intention is impossible to determine.

Ladyship” is exchanged for the socially balanced “pray Madam” (240) and “Good your Ladyship” is “Good Madam” (246). Both of these corrections to propriety indicate Pamela’s awareness that she is nearer to being Lady Davers’s social equal. Finally, Pamela’s use of a title is omitted altogether when “undone, and please your Ladyship” becomes simply “undone” (240). Pamela’s language is even more refined and her polite manners distinguished when she re-phrases Lady Davers’s words from “hast thou not been a-bed with thy Master? That she said” to “hast thou not been – hesitating – a very free Creature with thy Master? That she said, or to that Effect” (265). In doing so, Pamela joins the rest of the gentry who often cover up and make excuses for Lady Davers’s vulgar behavior, and she demonstrates that she has a better understanding of female propriety; indeed, Pamela knows better than to repeat such indelicacies in polite society. These subtle changes to Pamela’s character lend a greater deal of authenticity to her social mobility, and the aggregate revisions show that her genteel ethos develops over time until her unrefined, pre-marital style becomes a trained social grace. As a result, the character she assumes is polished, less affected, better suited to her new position, and serves as a rational foil to the uncontrolled, passionate Lady Davers.

The 17 stylistic revisions to B.’s character are strikingly similar to those made to the heroine; that is, in addition to Richardson’s standard emendations to grammar, the language is less affected, contracted for clarity, and reserved forms of address, too formal from a man of quality, are relaxed. Two corrections to tense are made when “has” becomes “is” (I, 19) and “shew’d” is “shewn” (26). An expanded contraction is typical as well: “No, that I won’t” to “That I will not” (II, 12).<sup>41</sup> Adjustments to B.’s style that may

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<sup>41</sup> This is another revision first made in the octavo that was changed again in the lifetime edition.

have been influenced by Lady Bradshaigh includes “Lines as yet” to “Lines yet” (12); “Lessons: I thank his dear Daughter for following them” is the more precise “Lessons to his Daughter; I thank her for following them” (125); B.’s self-important promise to Pamela of “my company in *London*” is emended to focus on “the Diversions of *London*” (191); “there was no room to think, but that we were marry’d” is polished and shortened to “there was no room to doubt of our being marry’d” (262); “their Mistress” is the inclusive “the Mistress” (294) and serves to remind Lady Davers, as a guest at the Lincolnshire house, that Pamela is not only set above the servants but her sister-in-law as well. Additionally, B.’s remark about killing horses in his sleep, an observation made in bad taste, is removed: “for when my Hand was in, I might as reasonably have killed the other three” (214). In three instances, B.’s affected reserve with Mr. Longman, his family’s longtime steward, is made semi-formal when “Mr. Longman” is “Longman” (I, 89, 90, II, 344); B.’s rather indifferent reference to Pamela as his “Spouse” becomes “Wife” (291, 338); and the similarly affected “Gentleman” becomes “Man” (125). Clearly, the minor improvements and revisions to B.’s style are parallel to the pattern of change Richardson developed for Pamela’s character – immodest, affected, or superfluous language is modified or omitted. Perhaps, in the process, the readers original view of B. as a tyrant is somewhat softened, but his character is certainly kept consistent with his social position.

Emendations to secondary characters are further adjustments to propriety, corrections made, no doubt, for a general consistency of tone. In other words, it is necessary for Richardson to revise the language of B.’s neighbors and peers to correspond with changes made to the hero and heroine. Examples include three

corrections to Polly and Nancy Darnford's references to Pamela: "Miss" to "Madam" (107) and "Miss" to "Miss *Andrews*" (217, 218). Mr. Peters' niece's "Miss" is also corrected to "Miss *Andrews*" (218). Mr. Peters' colloquial "I should set more by it" is formalized to "I should value it more" (173); Mr. Perry's "Gentleman" is "Man" (258); and Lady Jones's affected "tho' your dear Spouse is so excellent and generous as he is" is revised to "tho' Mr. *B.* is so generous as he is" (264). Finally, two changes are made to Mrs. Brooks's formal, affected language when "my Spouse" becomes "Mr. *Brooks*" (376), and her affected praise of Pamela is lessened from "charm'd with that easy and sweet manner, which you have convinced a thousand Persons, this Day, is so natural" to "charm'd with a Manner, which you have convinced a thousand Persons, this Day, is natural to you" (376). Because they are markers of propriety, these changes were probably suggested by Lady Bradshaigh, and they add a touch of verisimilitude that certainly agreed with the knowledge and experience of Richardson's class-conscious readers.

Although the last three editions of *Pamela* published in Richardson's lifetime contain a relatively small number of revisions when compared to the second, fifth, and octavo editions, the emendations reveal important changes to Richardson's revision strategy. As he gained more experience through writing and publishing two additional novels, and, as a result, became more familiar with upper-class life, Richardson's minute though important stylistic changes show a determination to strengthen the message of his first novel and to develop Pamela's character subtly and by degrees. To begin with the revised front and back matter of the lifetime edition indicates a cover-to-cover revision intended to emphasize the novel's didactic purpose. Richardson emended the preface and

purposely excluded the excessive praise of himself and his heroine to clearly define the morality tale-like function of his fiction. He also revised the conclusion to transition between volumes and further stress the instructional value inherent in the behavior of selected characters. At the same time, instead of implementing an assortment of dense, comprehensive alterations to elevate Pamela's character, changes to characterization are localized and found almost entirely in volume II and thereby lend a greater deal of authenticity to her social transition. Ultimately, with Lady Bradshaigh's help, Richardson was better able to write Pamela into the social elite. His ignorance and perhaps dated understanding of genteel social codes left him with fewer suitable, if not realistic, means to elevate Pamela's character.<sup>42</sup> The result, after revision, is a Pamela who better embodies the life of privilege she is raised to, yet she maintains the values characteristic of her middle-class background – an objective that took Richardson twenty years to achieve.

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<sup>42</sup> The suggestion that Richardson held not only dated but stereotypical ideas of upper-class society comes from Carroll's introduction to *Selected Letters of Samuel Richardson* (24) and Barchas and Fulton's *Annotations* (12).

## CHAPTER FIVE: CONVERSION BY THE WORD

Introduction

Because Richardson had already established the framework to Pamela's story and, by the end of 1741, sketched her as a compelling and complicated character, the sequel elaborates the plot by incorporating and linking its elements with the first half; enriches, through multiple correspondents, the characterization; intensifies at particular points the instructive and moral nature of the text and thereby alters significantly the tone of the story as a whole; and, ultimately, out-writes Kelly's spurious continuation, *Pamela's Conduct in High Life*. Richardson's approach to revision was not that different. Many of the stylistic variants reveal a great deal about his evolving concept of Pamela and how he, a successful middle-class printer and author, envisioned people of *Exalted Condition* speaking, acting, and behaving amongst themselves and toward others. Broadly speaking, the additions usually clarify or emphasize existing material while the more comprehensive deletions and substitutions show that Richardson was rethinking the spiritual and emotional sides of his characters. As a result, the structure is tightened at the sentence-level for greater clarity, character interest is developed, and, with additional italics, emphasis and dramatic tension are created, all of which affect interpretation. Thus, the revisions to the second half of *Pamela* formalize the language for greater consistency of character and give the text a greater moral authority and a stronger didactic effect. For example, Pamela's character is distanced from her humble origins, other characters, and made more of an exemplar and a concentrated reforming influence. In doing so, Richardson was able to call further attention to the original, intended usefulness of the novel: to "cultivate the Principles of VIRTUE and RELIGION" while "it agreeably



entertains” (title page). Unlike Eaves and Kimpel’s study of the changes made to *Pamela I*, no one has examined the sequel’s variants in depth.<sup>1</sup> Therefore, this is the first comprehensive and detailed comparison of the various editions of *Pamela in her Exalted Condition*, or *Pamela II*. In addition to showing the extent of revision, I also discuss possible influences, but, more importantly, I illustrate the changes to characterization as a result of the revisions. This chapter, then, examines the second edition of volumes III and IV, how the revisions further emphasize Pamela’s exalted condition stylistically, foreground the didactic function of the novel, and the implications these changes have in interpreting Richardson’s often critically maligned and largely ignored sequel.<sup>2</sup> In the process, I hope the evidence reveals the appealing and hitherto unremarked strengths and significances of Richardson’s addition to Pamela’s story.

Richardson’s own account of the genesis of *Pamela II* is in a letter written to his brother-in-law, James Leake, dated August 14, 1741. In this letter, Richardson explained

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<sup>1</sup> In his unpublished dissertation, Peter Sabor devotes a chapter to the octavo and lifetime editions of *Pamela II*, but his discussion of the variants is narrow, minimal, and he shows only a passing interest in their impact on characterization. Similarly, Janet Aikins discusses, albeit briefly, the textual revisions to the sequel of the octavo edition in tandem with her examination of selected illustrations from that edition. See “Re-presenting the Body in *Pamela II*.” *New Historical Literary Study: Essays in Reproducing Texts, Representing History*. Eds. Jeff N. Cox and Larry J. Reynolds. Princeton: Princeton UP, 1993. 151-177.

<sup>2</sup> Many studies of *Pamela II* then and now disparage the text to some degree, ranging from mild contempt to open disgust. For instance, Barbauld asserts that the sequel is “greatly inferior to the first,” “superfluous,” and “dull” (I, lxxvii). She further complains that it is “filled with heavy sentiment, in diction far from elegant” (lxxvii). Twenty years later, in his prefatory memoir to a collection of Richardson’s novels for *Ballantyne’s Novelists Library*, Sir Walter Scott dismisses *Pamela II* as an “unnatural and unnecessary appendage to a tale so complete within itself as the first part of *Pamela*” (xxiv). (*The Novels of Samuel Richardson*. London: Hurst, Robinson, and Co., 1824. xxiv. *Google Books Search*. Web. 30 June 2011.) Contemporary critics affirm, echo, and sharpen Barbauld and Scott’s sentiments, including, chiefly, Terry Castle, who, in two different studies, criticizes *Pamela II*, calling it, in one, an “unfortunate sequel” (n5, 473). (“P/B: Pamela as Sexual Fiction.” *SEL* 22.3 (1982): 469-89. *JSTOR*. Web. 15 Dec. 2009.) In a second study, Castle spends an inordinate amount of time, nine pages in all, reviling the continuation as “an imaginative failure” and a “narrative of few delights” (132). She calls it “more than a disappointment” (135) and “more than just plotless” (138) because she believes “nothing actually happens” (151). In addition to calling it unreadable (133), she warns that “[t]o write at all of *Pamela*, Part 2, let alone of a single vignette, is to run a danger – of having no reader” (131), and that the text “goes nowhere, like some interminable ceremonial procession” (152). (*Masquerade and Civilization: The Carnavalesque in Eighteenth-Century English Culture and Fiction*. Stanford: Stanford UP, 1986. Print.)

how he was compelled to continue his popular narrative, against his own better judgment, by “the High-Life Men”: John Kelly, Richard Chandler, and Caesar Ward, the author and publishers of the “spurious” *Pamela’s Conduct in High Life*. Richardson, who “resented the Baseness of the Proceeding” (Carroll 42), told Leake he began writing after having seen four half-sheets in which “all my Characters were likely to be debased, & my whole Purpose inverted” (44). At the same time, Richardson started an advertising war that would last until he could complete and publish his sequel on December 7, 1741. He gave the public notice by advertising the forthcoming volumes along with the fourth edition of volumes I and II in *The Daily Gazetteer* on May 7, 1741.<sup>3</sup> This was the first of many such announcements that were quickly returned in kind by the “The High-Life Men,” and Chandler made good on his threat to match Richardson “Advertisement for Advertisement” (Carroll 44).<sup>4</sup> In spite of Richardson’s anxiety, or perhaps because he tenaciously flooded the media with a series of advertisements, the sequel made its way widely into the market. Kelly’s *High Life* on the other hand was quickly out of fashion and summarily relegated to a footnote in history and Richardson’s correspondence.<sup>5</sup>

In the same letter to Leake in which Richardson vented his outrage at “the High-Life Men,” he offered details regarding the plan for his sequel:

Then, Sir, to write up this Work as it ought, it is impossible  
it should be done in the Compass of one Volume: For her  
Behaviour in Married Life, her Correspondencies with her

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<sup>3</sup> See Chapter Two.

<sup>4</sup> This back-and-forth is documented by Sale in his *Bibliographical Record*, pages 27-28, and in greater depth by Keymer and Sabor in *Pamela in the Marketplace*. At their peak, the personal attacks and Richardson’s openly hostile and antagonistic notices suggest that his resentment of “the High-Life Men” excelled even his literary rivalry with Henry Fielding.

<sup>5</sup> Years later, Richardson added in his letter to Leake that “The Publication of the History of Pamela gave Birth to no less than 16 Pieces, as Remarks, Imitations, Retailings of the Story, Pyracies, &c” (Sabor 193). Though volume I of *High Life* sold well enough to call for a second printing, neither it nor any other “Imitation” or engraftment achieved the success of Richardson’s *Pamela*.

new and more genteel Friends; her Conversations at Table and elsewhere; her pregnant Circumstance, her Devotional and Charitable Employments; her Defence of some part of her former Conduct; which will be Objected to by Lady Davers, in the Friendly Correspondence between them. Her Opinion of some of the genteeler Diversions when in London, as the Masquerade, Opera, Plays &c.—Her Notions of Education, her Friendships, her relative Duties, her Family Oeconomy—and 20 other Subjects as Material, ought to be touched upon; and if it be done in a common Narrative Manner, without those Reflexions and Observations, which she intermingles in the New Manner attempted in the two first Volumes, it will be consider'd only as a dry Collection of Morals, and Sermonising Instructions that will be more beneficially to a Reader, found in other Authors; and must neither Entertain or Divert, as the former have done beyond my Expectation. (45)

Richardson, hardly indifferent to volumes III and IV, which took him three times as long to write as the first two, anticipated a public backlash even before publication because of *Pamela II*'s strong didactic bent. Richardson's prediction that his sequel would "neither Entertain or Divert" is repeated again near the end of 1741 while he was organizing and overseeing publication of his octavo edition. He foresaw, in an unsent letter to Stephen Duck, that all four volumes would not sell because *Pamela II* lacked the necessary dramatic intensity:

I am contented to give up my Profit, if I can but Instruct. I am very sensible that there cannot, *naturally*, be the room for Plots, Stratagem and Intrigue in the present Volumes [III and IV] as in the first. (53)

In January 1742, in another unsent letter, this time to Cheyne, Richardson acknowledged that he understood the popular appeal of *Pamela II* but took a decidedly different approach to volumes III and IV:

The two First were to include the Storms, the Stratagems, and all that could indanger Virtue, and ingage the Attention

of the Reader, for its Distresses – The succeeding of course were to be more calm, serene, and instructive, and such as should be Exemplary. (54)

Clearly, it was the “Storms” and “Stratagems” of Pamela and B.’s unconventional courtship that first appealed, in one way or another, to both Pamelists and anti-Pamelists, and Richardson was willing to sacrifice sales to make the second half of the story “rather *useful* than *diverting*” (54). Indeed, as planned, *Pamela II* is written in the spirit of a domestic conduct book.

The sequel’s kinship to the moral and ethical guidance found in domestic handbooks is betrayed by its indifference to plot. Cheyne disagreed with Richardson’s design, and instead suggested that he add a variety of “interesting Incidents,” “Distresses,” and unexpected “good Fortune” that would “maintain the Dignity and Taste of a married Couple in a great Family,” including, oddly enough, the scatological but “necessary Occasions of Nature” (Mullet 67-68).<sup>6</sup> For the sake of being “useful,” and at the risk of producing a dull work, Richardson avoided Cheyne’s “Incidents” and his suggested revisions “scratched” in Pencil (67). Five months later, perhaps with a personal satisfaction, Cheyne wrote from Bath to tell Richardson that “the World” thought *Pamela II* was too preachy, too long, too drawling, and, worst of all, unaffecting (82). Despite the lack of “*affecting* INCIDENTS” and its insipid style, the sequel, according to Bath booksellers, “[sold] very well, but not so quick as the first” (82). The biggest surprise may not be that Richardson’s sequel was only moderately successful, but rather how well it was received by many of his correspondents.

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<sup>6</sup> Richardson made it clear in his correspondence and in his novel that the sequel “*will be found equally written to NATURE, avoiding all romantic flights, improbably surprises, and irrational machinery*” (i).

Like the first two volumes of *Pamela*, readers, solicited and unsolicited, wrote to Richardson and praised the sequel with a much greater degree of interest than he admittedly expected. Advance sheets given to Paul Bertrand in August of 1741 met with his approval. He stated “I like them well” and he was convinced “they will give you Honour and Reputation superior to the first Parts” (Rivero 1).<sup>7</sup> On October 14, Stephen Duck wrote that he was “mightily pleased with the diversity of Style and Manners so justly adapted to each particular Character” in the sequel, and he boldly declared that “Homer’s Achilles is not better distinguished by his Courage, Anger, & Impetuosity of Temper, than your Heroine Pamela, by her Virtue, Prudence, Gratitude, and dutyfull Behaviour” (liii). In a letter dated December 8, 1741, Aaron Hill, with his characteristic enthusiasm and poetic flair, declared Richardson’s sequel nothing short of a miracle. Indeed, he called it “God’s Rainbow, for ye Comfort of a drowning World!” and an “invaluable Packet” that left him “lost, in equal Wonder, & Delight” (Sabor 190). By this description one would think that *Pamela*’s two additional volumes signaled the return of the Messiah, and, for Hill at least, they did. He described Richardson as the “all-excelling, all-instructing, Humanizer of a People” (190), and expressed a reluctance to “deface” the interleaved copy Richardson expected him to annotate. Hill’s letter also warned Richardson to expect one from his daughter, Astraea, who, Hill wrote, was similarly, though clearly less enthusiastically, “awed” by Richardson’s “vast Genius” (193). Furthermore, Reverend Morley described it as “elegant” (196), and David Mallet, to whom Richardson sent a complimentary copy, declared in a letter dated December 1741 that he could not put it down until he finished both volumes at one setting (Rivero

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<sup>7</sup> Rivero, Albert J. Introduction. *Pamela in Her Exalted Condition*. By Samuel Richardson. Cambridge: CUP, xxxii- lxxxii. Forthcoming.

lix). Even Cheyne, who requested more “Incidents,” called the moral “extreemly good” (Mullet 79).

Readers outside of Richardson’s immediate coterie were also generally pleased with the more austere volumes, including the Reverend John Swinton of Oxford who wrote on January 19, 1742 that the “Senior and more intelligent Part of the University highly value and esteem” the additional volumes (Rivero lix). In his letter, Swinton also mentioned that the Dean of Christ’s Church, John Conybeare, read “the 3<sup>d</sup>. and 4<sup>th</sup> Vols. with great Eagerness twice” in six weeks and called it “the finest Picture of Nature he ever yet saw” (lix). Another clergyman, Patrick Delany, wrote on January 7 that his family was “highly Delighted, and, I hope, improved” by the continuation (lix), and, on January 25, Anthony Fulford sent Richardson some verses with permission to append them “by way of prologue” to “your new Edition of Pamela” (Sabor 202-203).

Accordingly, and despite the sequel’s rather lifeless narrative, *Pamela II* had many sincere devotees, motivated to write, no doubt, to commend a novel with general moral principles.

The extant collection of flattering correspondence does not end with Richardson’s acquaintances. The ethical and moral guidance of *Pamela II* was praised by an anonymous writer on January 24, 1742, who wrote “I think it one of the most Entertaining, most Instructive Books, that have as yet appear’d in the *English Language*” (Rivero lx). In this same letter, the writer explained to Richardson that the “Reflections [are] made in so nice a Taste, and upon such Sound Principles that I cou’d not help cutting them out, and Transcribing them, in order to consider them in a closer View” (Sabor 202). Two days later another anonymous letter arrived loaded with similar

sycophantic praise. Written in the cryptic Hillian style, the sequel is described enigmatically and as if its pages contain an enchanting celestial power:

Nor can any thing New be said by this Time of that Master-piece of Human Wit, in which tho' Art is every where diffused, it can be traced no-where; in which tho' all is elaborate & Exact, yet all is easy and flowing; whose irresistible Influence over the Heart, eludes and turns into Ridicule the rigid Rules of Criticism; and whose Morality (which is severe enough for a System for Angels) has the unaccountable Power of gaining our Love, whilst it makes us hate even our dear selves. (Rivero lx-lxi)

The fulsome praise and figurative language is certainly reminiscent of Hill, and the writer probably hoped, like Anthony Fulford, that Richardson would include his letter in a future introduction to the new volumes. Similarly, in March of 1742, the pseudonymous Philopamela, also using an affected Hill-like style, wrote how he “often us’d all my Endeavours to forget the dear Girl; but I find it impossible, for the sweet Idea still recurs to my Mind and does not permit my Thoughts to any thing else” (lxi). One’s reaction to the novel, he continued, allows one a window into their soul. Indeed, he claimed to have “not read two Pages, before my Eyes dicover’d by the pearly Fugitives that flow’d from those Fountains in two little Streams, the Temper of my Soul” (lxi). These strong, awkward, and often over-romanticized views permeate much of the praise for Richardson’s sequel, which is a very different public reaction than he anticipated given its didactic nature and the circumstances from which the narrative developed.

Unlike the first two volumes, positive praise for *Pamela in her Exalted Condition* is not tempered with an equal degree of criticism and censure; that is, the polarized reception of volumes I and II that originally divided readers into well-defined Pamelists and anti-Pamelists is markedly absent from the narrative history of volumes III and IV.

Of course, Richardson did receive constructive criticism for his newest endeavor. For example, the anonymous gentleman who described *Pamela's* mysterious and “irresistible Influence” offered his advice for the new volumes:

[they could] have shewed more Effectually Mr. B's address in assaulting the Virtue of a Lady of Pamela's Excessive Delicacy, and likewise shewed more effectually her Prudence and Strictness of Chastity, had Mr. B. instead of treating Pamela as his Servant, given her voluntarily a Settlement of £100 per Ann. as an allowance proportion'd to the Education she Receiv'd from his Mother, and afterwards begun his Attacks and carried on his Designs, till Pamela had found herself Obliged to give up the above Settlement, and lose his Kindness entirely. The Articles he offers must Startle a Virgin; whereas to yield her Chastity to one she loved, and owed so much to, might appear more disinterested. (Sabor 205)

Richardson responded immediately and, in his usual way, thanked the gentleman before offering several reasons against this recommendation. Similarly, the “Anonymous VI Ladies” of Reading wrote that they had read the continuation “with great Pleasure...and think it quite worthy of the First” (Rivero lx), but they also had complicated questions that Richardson was not prepared to answer. For instance, they wanted to know “whether the Story is real or feigned” and why, if real, the couple would allow the details to be published.<sup>8</sup> If the story was a fiction, they wanted Richardson to identify the author.<sup>9</sup> The Reading “VI” also pointed out a flaw in the narrative, namely that Sir Jacob Swynford,

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<sup>8</sup> Such an inquiry likely motivated Richardson to omit from the preface of the second edition a general though questionable reference to a time frame for the events of his novel: “*That the most material Incidents (as will be collected from several Passages in the Letters) happen'd between the Years 1717 and 1730*” (2nd, III, iv). For a detailed discussion of the time frame for volumes I and II, see Dorothy Parker's “The Time Scheme of *Pamela* and the Character of B.” *Texas Studies in Literature and Language* 11.1 (1969): 695-704.

<sup>9</sup> Richardson did put his name on the first edition of *Pamela II*, but he identifies himself only as the printer, though his authorship was made public in the *Daily Advertiser* on April 7, 1741. The preface also maintains, despite widespread knowledge to the contrary, the pretense that Pamela's letters are real: the “Editor” claims to “*vary and disguise some Facts and Circumstances, as also the Names of Persons, Places, &c.*” (iv).



who so assiduously notices Pamela's unusual hoop, fails to see the wedding band so conspicuously displayed on her finger. These ladies threatened to write until Richardson responded, but they only sent two letters. Instead of answering them, Richardson suspected foul play. Indeed, it is surprising that anyone could read *Pamela*, let alone *Pamela II*, and think that the eponymous text is a biography, and anyone still credulous enough by 1742 to think Richardson was only the editor must have lived much farther away than Reading. A rather trite objection from yet another anonymous correspondent accused *Pamela* of being "larded with too much religious Cant," and the writer offered a sample of his wit in an "Epigram to its Author," ultimately proving that his verses are as banal as his criticism: "Your Tale's absurd, quite out of modern Taste; / Your Priest is honest and your Nymph is chaste; / How can it then *instruct* our *rising Youth*, / Since *Priests*, and *Females* prove there's *no such Truth*?" (lxi). Finally, Hill defended Richardson against "Reverend Mistakers" who objected to parts of Pamela's long discussion on awarding church livings. Hill called them "*Weak*" and "*Impolitic*" for opposing Pamela's sentiments, and he urged Richardson not to "alter a Syllable" (Sabor 195). Thus, the insignificant amount of legitimate objections to Richardson's sequel illustrate a very different reception and a much milder experience than the distressing critical tempest occasioned by the first two volumes, at least initially. The revisions to the second edition of volumes III and IV, therefore, were not so much made in response to overwhelming criticism, but are, rather, Richardson's own afterthoughts.

This extensive background is necessary to show the unique relationship between the sequel's contemporary reception and Richardson's approach to revision. Between the extremes defined by volumes I and II, in which Richardson clearly struggled to

accommodate critics while maintaining the integrity of his text, there is, in most cases, a clear-cut strategy for revision. That is, Richardson attempted to distance the text, or at least its heroine, from his original conception, often returning to it in order to flesh out what he must have seen as an incomplete or misunderstood concept. This is well documented by the evidence and parallels between private letters as well as “Remarks, Imitations, Retailings of the Story, Pyracies, &c” and the variants in the first half of *Pamela* – many were made as a direct response to critical reaction. This “dialogue” between writer and reader confirmed that the evolution of *Pamela: or, Virtue Rewarded* was a collaborative effort. The same, however, cannot be said about the nature of the revisions made to the second edition of the continuation. Aside from a few proposed emendations from Hill and Cheyne, and some minor suggestion from anonymous correspondents, the lack of public interest and the absence of immediate cultural resistance to *Pamela in Her Exalted Condition* did little in determining its textual evolution until Richardson prepared the lifetime edition. It appears, then, that Richardson was essentially alone in deciding what seemed unsound or questionable in the first two revised volumes that conclude Pamela’s narrative

The second edition of volumes III and IV has a unique history that is important to this study. It was printed, according to Sale, around the same time as the octavo edition, which was first advertised on May 10, 1742 in the *Daily Advertiser*, but the second edition was not available until January 29, 1743, eight months after the octavo (30-31). Sale suggests that Richardson, overestimating demand, prepared a second duodecimo edition in advance, but sales being slow, there was no call for it until the following year. Between the first edition of December 7, 1741 and the printing of the second, presumably

begun in the early months of 1742, Richardson had ample time to revise both his octavo and duodecimo editions, and he was actively soliciting suggestions for revision with his correspondents in advance of the printing of each with the hope that “it might be benefited by their Remarks and that I might have a corrected Copy for the Press” (Carroll 56).<sup>10</sup> It is necessary, for continuity’s sake, to examine the second edition ahead of the octavo, though printed simultaneously and published out of sequence.<sup>11</sup> Both editions contain substantial textual variants, and the octavo includes important and exclusive paratextual material that is examined in Chapter Five.

### *Revisions to Volume III*

#### Pamela

Richardson’s revisions to the second edition of *Pamela II* are extensive. In all, he made 1568 revisions, and sixty-five percent of the changes are to Pamela’s language. The emendations show an effort to strengthen the reader’s admiration and awe of the heroine, and, consequently, use her appeal to deepen interest in the moral lessons that she champions. In the earliest revisions of the first two volumes, Richardson worked to make Pamela an individualized character, going so far as to complicate the reader’s understanding of her from one edition to the next. At the expense of the moral instruction, Richardson focused on the drama. He did this, I argue, with the hope that the

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<sup>10</sup> This letter to William Warburton dated November 17, 1742 is discussed in Chapter Four. Richardson’s correspondence at this time indicates that he did not receive the feedback he hoped, though some was provided anonymously and by a small number of his acquaintances.

<sup>11</sup> Peter Sabor disagrees with Sale’s chronology and suggests that the second edition was printed after but published before the octavo, the first edition having sold out before the octavo printing could be completed. Sabor offers the novel’s title page as evidence and cites the common eighteenth-century printing practice that the date of the following year is used when the actual printing occurs after October 31. See “Richardson’s Continuation of ‘Pamela’: A Chronology of the Early Editions.” *Notes and Queries* 26 (1979): 31-32.

changes would reconcile readers to her marriage and in some way mask the charges of social leveling. Unlike the emendations to *Pamela I*, in which much of Pamela's pious moralizing is removed, many of the variants in volumes III and IV show Richardson crystallizing his middle-class ethics and morality for the guidance of his readers. Clearly, not every change he made increases Pamela's moral authority, but, in the end, a better balance is achieved between the didactic and the aesthetic.

In volume III, there are 428 changes to Pamela's style that include the entire Richardsonian catalogue of revision, the development of which I have illustrated in the previous chapters. Richardson's process included cleaning up Pamela's grammatical niceties; formalizing the language with more precise and specific single-word changes; reworking her awkward sentences; and adding or deleting for greater clarity, strength of expression, to complete an idea, or to sharpen her intermittent use of idiomatic and affected phrasing. All of these are a significant part of Richardson's repertoire of revision, and they illustrate his typical, even obsessive habit of experimenting with Pamela's language to find just the right expression for the presentation of his ideas.

*Pamela II* was not written with the inspirational heat of the first half – Richardson's correspondence shows that more planning went into writing the sequel – so only a few of the adjustments include corrections to Pamela's verb tense and the expansion of contractions, the typical indicators of Richardson's own rapid "to the moment" writing style. The small-scale revisions that fix or formalize Pamela's grammar include "thanking" to "thank" (III, 59); "might be" to "might have been" (72); "forgot" to "forgotten" (89); "suffer me" to "have suffer'd me" (104); "would" to "will" (116); "receiving" to "received" (160); "not miss it" to "not have miss'd it" (170); the idiomatic

“willing” is “willing” (218); “leaving” is “left” (234); several uses of “was” become “were” (252, 255, 369, 400); “take” is “taken” (252); “says” to “said” (281); “run” to “ran” (293); “had” to “have” (367); “Whithersoever” is the less poetic “Whither” (400); and in one case “were” becomes “was” (403). Two contractions are also eliminated in order to make Pamela’s language a bit more formal and impersonal: “’tis” becomes “it is” (16) and “Word’s” is expanded to “Word is” (345). These variants, similar to volumes I and II, simply clean up meaning, but even minor revisions add a greater consistency to Pamela’s character in her exalted and edifying position.

Naturally, Richardson did not limit his emendations to just minor aspects of Pamela’s language; indeed, there are 105 single-word changes to the second edition, and they illustrate more than Richardson’s interest in greater verbal precision – they also correct, formalize, and elevate Pamela’s register. Corrections include “thy” to “thine” (66); “and” to “who” (66); “excusable” to “excused” (71); “*their*” to “her” (78); “my own” to “mine” (82); and “that” to “which” (108, 110, 140, 234, 261). Pamela’s idiomatic “carry” is an emended “call” (142); the collective plural pronoun “their” is appropriately changed to “her” (160); “you” is “yourself” (236); “we” is changed to “one” (237); “then” is corrected to “than” (347); “that” to “who” (355, 360); and “that” becomes “whom” (379). These changes were made for grammatical correctness, and Richardson’s dense revisions to *Pamela I* had given him the essential skills to detect such problems in his text.<sup>12</sup>

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<sup>12</sup> Richardson’s enthusiasm to correct his text also led him to introduce errors where none existed before, such as when the subjective “I” is erroneously corrected to the objective “me” (168) and “them” to “him” (258).

In addition to corrections, Richardson's earliest and typically global approach to revising Pamela's language often included overly florid, even affected word substitutions, such as "on" to "upon" (49, 212, 273); "once" to "formerly" (60); "worse" to "greater" (85); "fearful" to "dreadful" (110); "to" and "for" both become "towards" (116, 219); "less" to "fewer" (117); "pleasing" to "delighting" (142); the idiomatic "now-and-then" is changed to "often" (178); "kind Pleasure" to "visible Pleasure" (161); "Toast" is refined to "Health" (248); "oblige" to "satisfy" (219); "exceeds her Ear" to "exceeds her Taste" (219); "Help" is "Assistance" (220); "tho'" to "altho'" (224); and "good" to "worthy" (250). Pamela's earlier labeling of the clergy as a "Function" is revised to the more polite "Order" (261); "you are best Judge" is the less idiomatic "you can best Judge" (266); "let" is "permitted" (305); "cruel" to "harsh" (336); "to fall in" for a visit is emended "to call in" (343); "fit" to "proper" (349); "Bosom" to "Stays" (351); "too" becomes "likewise" (366, 367); and "ever-dear" is "my ever-honoured" (383). In many cases, Richardson evidently believed that an affected, literary style was consistent with Pamela's exalted condition and that in some cases an exaggerated diction would add a degree of credibility and authority to her character. This is especially important because the continuation's purpose is to expound Pamela's, and hence Richardson's, middle-class morality. It was, after all, intended as a hybrid *vade mecum* to be consulted "UPON THE MOST Important and Entertaining Subjects, [of Pamela's] GENTEEL LIFE" (title page).

Additional single-word substitutions may appear idiomatic or even indifferent in their effect, but the slight adjustments to Pamela's language change characterization and character relationships. For example, Pamela no longer offers objective "Advice" to her father but rather gives her subjective "Opinion" (56) instead. The advice whether or not

to hire extended family members to work the Kentish farm comes from B., who has the authority and experience to direct such matters. As a rule, the child would not advise the father, and Richardson corrects this with Pamela's deference to B. Moreover, an exaggerated display of affection is restrained when hiding her head on B.'s "Bosom" becomes his "Shoulder" (91), thus omitting a behavior Cheyne thought unbecoming the "Character of Wisdom, Piety, and conjugal Chastity" (Mullett 68). Another informal and endearing term is modified when "her dear Brother" is altered to "her good Brother" (162), further restraining Pamela's affectionate language with a formality while in mixed company. Similarly, Pamela's informal reference to Polly Darnford's sister as "*Nanny*" is changed to "*Nancy*" (103). The arc of tension between them as rivals for B. in volume II is not carried over into the additional volumes, and their relationship is not developed enough for Pamela to address her, especially in correspondence, in such a casual way. Indeed, it appears inappropriate and even condescending. In the sequel Pamela takes a special interest in Mrs. Jewkes's reformation, but the housekeeper's progressive repentance is changed from a "worthy Way" to a "good Way" (111), and the synonym reduces her spiritual renewal to a lesser degree of moral righteousness. Perhaps Richardson felt that "worthy" would put Pamela and Jewkes on the same level, whereas "good" illustrates that Pamela sees Jewkes's merit as satisfactory and not exemplary. Pamela's spirited defense of her parents' "*honest poverty*" (114) is supported by confirmation instead of example when an "Instance" becomes an incontrovertible "Proof" (114) and adds a greater directness of speech to her character. All of these changes reveal that Richardson was rethinking Pamela's character and exploring what constitutes the proper behavior of a servant girl who is unexpectedly given social mobility.

Another significant change in characterization effected by a single-word revision exposes Pamela's moral double-standard, and therefore may lead readers to draw an inconsistent ethical lesson from one of the mini-dramas within the story. Polly Barlow, Pamela's servant, is nearly seduced by Jackey on the promise that he will eventually own her as his wife. The girl's narrow escape is changed from an "imprudent Folly" to a "stupid Folly" (351), thereby establishing that Pamela has not only absorbed the language of people of quality but their attitude toward the servant class as well. Pamela praises and largely overlooks the irresponsible actions of Sally Wrightson, nee Godfrey, whom she describes as "poor dear Mother" (2nd, II, 362), "poor Gentlewoman" (363), and "Poor Lady" (368), but she calls Polly's trusting innocence "stupid" because of her inferior social standing. Accordingly, an act that Pamela calls "inexcusable" in a servant is paradoxically justifiable in a gentlewoman. Furthermore, Pamela channels the haughty Lady Davers when the gentler epithet "poor Soul" is altered to the demeaning "poor Creature" (2nd, III, 351), illustrating that the humble servant has become a proud mistress. This stylistic change offers a striking view of Richardson's paragon. In this case, Pamela's moral and social superiority remarkably inhibits her ability to empathize with Polly, and indeed anyone who does not subscribe or defer to her inflexible moral absolutes.

Further single-word revisions smooth over or sharpen Pamela's awkward or otherwise indistinct terms and generally improve the language and increase readability. Several of these changes are to the article "an" to "a," which Richardson continued to make more consistent in all four volumes before his death. A variety of others include prepositions, such as "on" to "to" (162); "For" to "Since" (170); "with" to "by" (178);



“at” to “in” (288); and “as” to “since” (320). Conjunctions are often swapped for the sake of correction, such as “but” to “or” (58); “and it was” to “but it was” (166); “for” to “and” (247); and “own as much” to “own so much” (382). The rest of the single-word changes are made for emphasis, clarity, correctness, or are a minor improvement to style. For instance, Pamela originally describes B. as “one of the haughtiest and most determin’d Spirits in *England*,” but Richardson’s substitute of “World” (63), though an obvious exaggeration, stresses Pamela’s grave danger. For clarities sake, “yet come” is “yet keep” (84); “all our Mercies” is “all these Mercies” (89); “Ideas” is “Notions” (106) and “the” is changed to “that” (107). The literary “efficacious” is revised to “effectual” (111); “Consideration” is simplified to “Regard” (116); “further” incorrectly becomes “farther” (159), but the change shows that Richardson was beginning to distinguish between the two adjectives by the end of 1742; “impress upon” is the less dogmatic “have upon” (212); “dedicate” is the more spiritual “devote” (217); “edifying Subjects” is “edifying Talk” (218); the clumsy “insomuch” is reduced to “so” (220); “when” is corrected to “where” (225); “Evening” is erroneously changed to “Morning” (240); “Servants, &c.” is shortened to “Servants” (248); “Esteem” is changed to “Liking” to avoid repetition (265); “hope” is the more poetic “wish” (275); the awkward “appropriate” is “devote” (278); “impress one” is changed to “strike one” (291) for greater emphasis; the affected “I arose” becomes “I rose” (304); “wanted to distress” is underscored by “threaten’d to distress” (336); the embellished “Turn of my Countenance” becomes “Change of my Countenance” (343); the vague term “unconscious” is made plain with “easy” (359); “the Verge of Life” is correctly made “the Verge of Death” (384); and the overused euphemism to describe Pamela’s

pregnancy, “my Circumstance,” is varied with “my Case” (386). Many of these simple changes to Pamela’s language correct, clarify, or strengthen, adding consistency to her language and greater authority to correspond with her exalted condition.

In volume III, there are 245 stylistic refinements made to Pamela’s phrasing. As usual, these changes clean up her language, make her more expressive or precise, clarify or add details to her narration, and delete affectation in her speech along with unnecessary words or superfluous information. The revisions also follow Richardson’s typical pattern of rewriting or reshaping particular phrases, clauses, or complete sentences to polish and refine the existing text rather than make extensive excisions. More specifically, the changes affect minor details and the finer points of Pamela’s grammar; others show Richardson varying sentence structure in order to amplify the ruling moral principles of the novel; and additional changes remove details that appear an affront to genteel taste and middle-class sensibilities.

One way in which the prejudices of a genteel taste are satisfied in the sequel includes emendations to even the slightest displays of affection. Because both critics and parodists branded *Pamela* as pornography, Richardson was mindful enough to avoid adding further “warm” and suggestive scenes to the continuation, but this was not enough. Because propriety is the standard in *Pamela II*, Hill offered his advice and suggested the “Softening” of Pamela’s “preference of the Conjugal, to the filial” (Sabor 195). Thus, in her letters to her parents, Pamela’s epithets for B. are often formalized in order to “Shadow over the Harshness, it might seem to come charg’d with, to the Hearts of a Father and Mother, who had Loved her, so tenderly” (195). Therefore, “my best Beloved” becomes “my dear Mr. B.” (2nd, III, 18). An even greater degree of formality is

achieved when the adjective is eliminated altogether: “my dear Mr. B.,” “my dear Gentleman,” “my Beloved’s,” and “my dearest Mr. B.” all become, on several occasions, simply “Mr. B.” Perhaps Richardson also thought the inane repetition lacked sincerity and the cold, polite address was naturally genteel. Further changes may have been influenced by Cheyne’s warning to avoid “Fondling and Gallantry.” This is evidenced by emended passages containing physical expressions of feeling between characters. The exchanges that contemporaries probably found harmless, except, perhaps, the excitable author of *Pamela Censured*, are sacrificed to Richardson’s sensitivity to criticism and described in rather general and passionless terms when “He put his Arm round my Waist” becomes “He put his Arm round me” (91) and “then he saluted me with Ardour” is “tenderly saluting me” (400). Moreover, B. still gives Pamela lessons in French and Latin, but in the second edition she omits that he “always learns me on his Knee” (1st, III, 388). These changes to B.’s typically loving, usually physical interactions with Pamela make him appear somewhat apathetic toward her and his dalliance with the Countess Dowager a matter of course. Pamela’s character on the other hand appears prudish, too modest to articulate the physical aspects of her relationship. There is one exception, however, that occurs at the very beginning of volume III when Pamela and B. are visiting the Kentish farm, and it is one of the few displays of affection remaining in the volume. Pamela sings for B. and his response is changed from “and called me for it, the sweetest of all Nightingales” to the less affected and more expressive “for which he rewarded me with a Kiss” (2nd, III, 3). “Nightingale,” presumably, was too much of a cant name that sounded artificial and “Kiss” was as innocuous as rewarding a child for good table behavior. While these revisions are not systematic, they subtly alter Pamela and B.’s

relationship; the couple is, on many occasions, more reserved after marriage than before and certainly more so upon revision. Indeed, Pamela absorbs Lady Davers's affected, formal gentility and often stands upon ceremony with her own husband, demonstrating for readers that a sophisticated reserve is as important as the social, domestic, and relative duties.

In order to give Pamela greater consistency of character in her exalted condition, and to underscore the austerity of her personality, frequent revisions are also made to phrases and clauses for clarity and emphasis – Richardson often added, deleted, or just rearranged his text for a smoother delivery of Pamela's moral principles. The alterations are evidence that Richardson wanted to avoid subtlety and show Pamela clearly and distinctly by avoiding all traces of ambiguity and affectation in depicting her pious character. For instance, “receive as they ought the Favours of the Obliger” is modified to “receive, as thankfully as they *ought*, the Favours of the Obliger” (49) and stresses her role as the spokesperson for middle-class morality. Additional changes accent Pamela's piety, her reforming influence, and her ethical guidance, including “He did not so much as *pretend* to be in Earnest to reclaim” is the more explicit “He did not so much as *pretend* to any Disposition to Virtue” (82); “a pious Turn of Thought” is refined to “a pious Demeanour” (107); “the distemper'd Great can pretend to know” is the more pronounced “the *Voluptuous* and *distemper'd* Great can pretend to know” (114); “which costs me in my constant Supplications for him in private, many a Tear, gave me great Apprehensions” is the stylistically improved “which, in my constant Supplications for him in private, costs me many a Tear, gave me great Apprehensions” (115); and the pangs of a guilty conscience “which will, sooner than he wishes, find him out” is

sharpened to “which he will one day have enough to do to pacify” (217). Pamela’s rambling defense for meticulously reporting every flattering compliment is recast from “lest there should be a Possibility for a Shadow of a Thought, that I was prompted by some vile, secret Vanity in being admir’d, to tell your Ladyship of them” to “lest the least Shadow of a Thought should arise, that I was prompted by some vile, secret Vanity, to tell your Ladyship of them” (222), and the ambiguous “direct our Family Duties” is the straightforward “assist us in our Family Devotions” (287-88). Pamela’s place in “high life” is further established by her view of servants; Polly no longer has “Virtue and Honour” but just “Considerations of Virtue” (357) to worry about, and her assets are rewritten in order of importance when “Yet so modest in Appearance, so honestly descended...” is altered to “Yet so honestly descended, so modest in Appearance...” (367), which suggests, contrary to Pamela’s pre-marital sentiments, that birth, to a degree, equals worth. Pamela also expresses with greater eloquence that B. allowed his conversion from libertine to husband rather than having it forced upon him: “Passions unbridled; God has touched your truly noble Heart, and you have seen your Error” becomes “Passions uncurbed; you have nevertheless permitted the Divine Grace to operate upon your truly noble Heart, and have seen your Error” (406). Finally, so that Pamela’s virtue and edifying presence would not be identified with spoiling “innocent” fun, Richardson altered her paraphrase of B.’s warning from “throw a Gloom, by my Over-seriousness, upon his innocent Injoyments” to “throw a Gloom upon his Mind by my Over-seriousness” (407). In this way, Richardson repackaged, sharpened, and intensified the moral profit he promised his readers.

Pamela's sincere religious dedication and moral fervor in the previous examples are complemented by revisions to her more affected, in-your-face campaigning – her “Over-seriousness,” in other words, that is further retrenched in the lifetime edition. These emended phrases indicate that Richardson was consciously fussing over details that he thought would offend *Pamela*'s earliest critics – the most divisive of which had moved on by 1742 – but there is no record of any specific objections made by contemporary readers to Pamela's moralizing in the sequel, though it is censured in general after all four volumes are typically sold as a set.<sup>13</sup> The figurative, longwinded, and convoluted “his Beneficence is the Gift of God to him, as I have been so free as to tell him, to serve for excellent Purposes, even for a Foundation to the noblest Superstructures, whenever the Rubbish of Sense shall be clear'd from it, and the Divine Workmen be properly employ'd to build a Temple for the Deity to reside in” is altered to a polished, succinct, and more genuine “his Beneficence is the Gift of God to him, for the most excellent Purposes, as I have often been so free as to tell him” (48). The vague “Amiability of a virtuous Habit” is made concrete with the “Amiability of conquering one's self” (72); The biblical potpourri Pamela pulls together to describe what she imagines will be Jackey's fate for his attempted seduction of Polly is relaxed from the severe “The Words *Weeping and Wailing, Howling and Gnashing of Teeth*, exceedingly well express, what nothing but the Divine Book can equally express; which in another Place, point them out as calling upon the *Mountains...*” to the less tormenting “and calling in vain upon the *Mountains...*” (359). Pamela's self-praising third-person

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<sup>13</sup> Indeed, Richardson's motives for many of the revision to his sequel are hard to disentangle, but the bulk of them are comparable in nature to the variants found in volumes I and II – improvements to form more often than content.

summary for the good deeds made possible by her marriage is less pretentious and self-righteous when “to do more Good, if she may say so without Vanity, than Twenty wicked Libertines have done Mischief; besides making every one, that approaches you, easy and happy” becomes the prudently modified “to do Good to the Poor and Destitute all around her; besides making every one who approaches you, easy and happy” (406). Pamela’s description of the Divine Grace working within B. is altered from the fairly artificial “I saw that manly Countenance manifesting the Struggle your Heart labour’d with, as it seem’d to me, between Grace and Consciousness” to the precise “I saw that noble Consciousness which you speak of, manifest itself in your Eyes, and your Countenance” (407). These changes are by no means global, but a better balance is struck between the distasteful, often self-serving passages and the middle-class moral standards Richardson used his heroine to promote.

Several stylistic revisions elevate Pamela’s character by replacing or removing her characteristic idiosyncratic style, thus giving her more authority and agency to promote the values of her class. To better refine the manners of his readers, as the changes suggest, Richardson worked to perfect Pamela’s moralizing, and make her, in many cases, an arbiter of proper social and domestic behavior. In other words, her accomplishments, her moralizing, and her code of ethics are the evidence of her superiority, and her mimicry of upper-class language and manners is crucial for consistency of character, the reformation of her peers and social inferiors, and her own merit. In particular, the general objective of many revisions appears to highlight her role in reforming B., Mrs. Jewkes, and even Sir Simon Darnford. In order to underscore B.’s kindness and her gratitude, for example, “his Favour for me” is changed to “his Goodness

to me” (59). Furthermore, Pamela’s description and subtle censure of B.’s temper is refined from “his beloved Mother never resisted till it subsided” to “his beloved Mother never ventured to oppose, till it began to subside” (64) and better illustrates the “Amiability of conquering one’s self” (72). Pamela also claims extenuating circumstances for her subversive reaction to B.’s “attempts” in the earlier volumes and thereby sets the standard for all women in distress when “where his Guilt, and my Innocence, gave me a Courage more than natural” is expanded to “where his guilty Attempts, and the Concern I had to preserve my Innocence, gave a Courage more than natural” (66). Pamela’s responsibility to reform B. is emphasized through her virtuous actions by slightly recasting “something in those Laws, that could” to “something in that Duty, which could” (72). Moreover, a large amount of text is omitted in which Pamela not only denies her reformatory power over B. but also crassly discusses his vices:

I make no doubt, Madam, that Mrs. *Jewkes* was placed there, as one who would be subservient to every bad Design; and that this was the Reason of Mr. *B.*’s causing me to be carried off to that House: But then this was a Proof too of my hopeless Condition, and of my want of Power to make his Reformation any Part of my Terms.

Alas! Madam, I was to take him as I found him, as I have already hinted, glad of my own Safety; and had only to hope, that God (and HE only could do it; for neither the Law nor Justice had stood in the naughty Gentleman’s Way) would perfect the good Work already begun in him; and having first made him refrain from what he had absolutely determin’d upon, would next let him see his Error, and at last give him Grace to reform. (85; 2nd, 81)

These passages, apart from violating propriety and significantly reducing the influence of Pamela’s virtue, imply that she married B. for her own “Safety” rather than the genuine affection she expresses in volume II. The tighter, active phrasing and the larger omission



corresponds with Richardson's goal of developing within his readers a bourgeois outlook by embellishing the accomplishments of Pamela's virtuous actions and provides a greater collective consistency between the novel's two halves and B.'s moral improvement.

In addition to her reforming influence on B., the variants also express more forcibly Pamela's reformation of the once "odious" Mrs. Jewkes. Similar to her defense of B.'s faults, in which she draws a kind of veil over his many transgressions, Pamela defends keeping Mrs. Jewkes at the Lincolnshire house and even revels in her housekeeper's moral and spiritual atonement. In what appears to be an attempt to make Pamela's pardon more convincing, her reproving language is omitted. Thus "rewarded her for her Vileness" is trimmed to "rewarded her" (63). The less stylish and ambiguous "When this poor Creature was put into my Power" is cleaned up to "When full Power was given me over this poor Creature" (64) and better articulates that Pamela is given absolute control over her servant by B.'s consent. Pamela's good influence over Mrs. Jewkes's actions is modified from "at first operated in sullen Awe" to "at first discover'd itself in a sullen Awe" (64); Pamela's assurance that there "was no Fear of a repetition" of bad behavior is simplified to "Fear of her repeating" (65); and the drawn-out and clumsy "so far was I in my Heart, and, I hoped, in the very Act that proceeded from that Heart, from *intentional* Meanness in forgiving" is refined to "so far was I from being guilty of *intentional* Meanness in forgiving" (66). For additional consistency with events in the first two volumes, Pamela's confident hindsight statement "For so [Mrs. Jewkes] actually was [a poor abject creature]" is altered to the reserved "For so she seem'd actually to be" (67). Because Mrs. Jewkes was acting under orders from B., Pamela no longer sees her as "one devoted to Perdition, by her own Act and Deed" but just

“Perdition” (71), and further condemnatory language is modified when “and who, while she could live in Ease and Plenty for a wretched poor Term of Years, the Remainder of an ill-spent Life” is softened to “but while she could live in Ease and Plenty for a poor Remainder of Years” (71).

Additional substitutions and alterations continue to place further emphasis on Pamela’s influence and effort to reform her housekeeper. In particular, the pleasure Pamela gains and the inward satisfaction she gets from nurturing and developing Mrs. Jewkes’s morality is reverently represented by a higher literary style when “in the Confidence it has given me with Mr. *B.* and his good Opinion of the Sincerity of my Charity, and (in what I was very desirous of) its Effects upon the poor Woman” is the elegant “when I consider the Confidence it hath given me with Mr. *B.* and (what I was very desirous of) the good Effects it hath had upon the Woman herself” (72). Pamela’s forgiveness of Mrs. Jewkes is even more praiseworthy with the substitution “when in one’s Power to resent” to “where there is Power to revenge” (72) because it suggests that Pamela has greater power, opportunity, and reason to punish her housekeeper’s actions. Two additional deletions were made for the sake of propriety. Pamela’s aside “which he would wish for in a Person he thought to honour” (75; 2nd, 72-73) implies that she forgives Jewkes only to impress B. with her good behavior. An uncharacteristic statement in which Pamela sheds her humble exterior and expresses a blatant superiority to Jewkes and the entire servant class is also removed: “After what I have said, I will not name lesser Considerations, such as that of my being forced to accompany with the poor Woman, and my being destitute of the Company of my own Sex, but of such as were too inferior and stupid for me to take Notice of, in the Prospect before me” (76; 2nd, 72). The

impropriety of this remark coming from Pamela, and its targeting of Mrs. Jewkes, whom she spends nearly 12 pages defending, undermines Pamela's moral integrity.

Furthermore, Mrs. Jewkes's reformation is better represented by changes to style in which meaning is more fully expressed and, in one case, repetition avoided: "but it still appears in her general Demeanor to the Servants...but still more particularly in a Letter I have received" becomes "but in her general Demeanour also to the Servants...And this still further appears by a Letter I have received" (74); "But, dear Mrs. *Jewkes*, (for now *indeed* you are dear to me) let me caution you against two Things" to "Let me, therefore, dear Mrs. *Jewkes*, (for now *indeed* you are dear to me) caution you against two Things" (110); and "can worthily taste" is elevated to "can truly relish" (110). The substitution of "truly" for "worthily" also suggests Pamela's firmer belief in Mrs. Jewkes's reformation. As a result, Richardson's general impulse to revise on stylistic grounds also shows a much more controlled purpose behind the revisions, namely the intent to shift greater emphasis toward Pamela's moral and religious reforms.

Three of the longest revisions to Pamela's defense of Mrs. Jewkes are a combination of deletions and substitutions that reduce Pamela's self-flattery and remove references to her discreditable and possibly self-serving motives. The first revision shows that Pamela's decision to keep Jewkes is, in part, based on the subjective view of others, which indicates that she may have ulterior, perhaps even objectionable, motives (76; 2nd, 72):

That even were she to be turned off disgracefully, at my Desire, besides shewing myself to be of an implacable Spirit, which some People would have imputed to right, some to wrong Motives, as they favoured me or not, she might be entertained by some profligate Persons, to whose Baseness such a Woman might be useful; and that then her

Power to do Mischief might be augmented, and she might go on more successfully to do the Devil's Work....

The revision not only omits Pamela's fear of judgment, but it also implies, with a higher degree of certainty, that Mrs. Jewkes's degree of corruption would, if unchecked, increase:

...and who, were she to be turned off disgracefully, at my Desire, besides that I should thereby shew myself to be of an implacable Spirit, might have been entertained by some profligate Persons, to whose Baseness such a Woman might be useful; and that then her Power to do Mischief would have been augmented, and she would have gone on more successfully to do the Devil's work....

Now, then, Pamela's struggle to overcome her dislike for Mrs. Jewkes is held up as an example to be followed without any mention of dubious motives, and she is compelled, by a firm belief that Mrs. Jewkes's mischief "would" be augmented and "would" be successful, to exert a strong moral influence over her. Likewise, in a second sizable emendation, Pamela reveals a surprising awareness and concern for how others see her, and ultimately argues that she retains Mrs. Jewkes because she is concerned for her own reputation rather than a selfless Christian duty to reform her "wicked" housekeeper (76; 2nd, 73):

But one thing I may mention further: Might it not, Ladies, be right, that by keeping her, I should make the World think, that Mr. *B.* had not gone such very wicked Lengths, as would have been imagin'd, if she had not been supportable to me in the same House? Which, moreover, those Persons, who might not know those Reasons which it was not to your dear Brother's Credit to give, might have imputed to me as Arrogance, or Revenge; and so brought still greater Disgrace upon the Choice he had made of me, as if I would take as much upon me, as tho' I were to be the Obliger instead of the Obliged; and who knows, besides....

The change streamlines the passage, cuts Pamela's tactless self-regard, and reinforces, via the omission, her established role as Jewkes's moral reformer:

I will only add, That I thought it would not be wrong to keep her, as, besides, what I have mention'd, it would induce the World to think, that Mr. *B.* had not gone such very wicked Lengths, as might have been imagin'd, if she had not been supportable to me in the same House? And who knows, moreover....

Pamela's righteousness is certainly more consistent once it is established that she is motivated by a commendable moral imperative and not a desire to maintain her reputation. Also omitted is an extended passage of self-praise in which Pamela compares her virtues, perhaps unfairly, with Mrs. Jewkes's vices:

When *I* talk to her in a virtuous Way, will she not see, that I talk from *Example*, (pardon my Presumption, Madam, in saying so) as well as *Precept*? Will she not see, that those Principles must proceed from a right Direction, a Direction *worthy* of being followed, which could make a Sufferer by her, forgive as readily as she could err; and in Hopes of reclaiming her to the Paths of Virtue, forget that she was either her Enemy or her Superior, tho' the one she had Reason to apprehend, and the other she saw I was become?  
(72; 2nd, 74)

Pamela's temptation to indulge in a bit of self-flattery at her housekeeper's expense not only weakens the effect of her example on Mrs. Jewkes but also undermines her claim to a superior virtue and her reformatory influence. Taken altogether, the changes show Richardson adding and omitting for the purpose of stressing Pamela's exemplary qualities while silently erasing sizable hints of unrighteous imperfections.

The changes to Pamela's reprimand of Sir Simon, written in imitation of his lighthearted style, are similar in purpose to her reformation of Jewkes and B.: delivery is designed to be more emphatic, meaning is made clearer, and the language is elevated. For

instance, “to shew your good Daughter” is expanded to “to take such a Method to shew your good Daughter” (103); Pamela’s mocking adjective is removed from the phrase “indulgent Patience” (104); Sir Simon’s “violent and peevish Evil” is revised to “violent Evil” (104) in order to avoid a redundant use of “peevish”; Pamela’s longer affected phrase “Henceforth, be thou condemned, unavailing Teacher, to stand by thyself” is recast, embellished, and “Teacher” is substituted with “Instructor” because of redundancy to “Henceforth, unavailing Instructor, be thou condemned to stand by thyself” (104); Sir Simon’s “Liberties of Speech” is given a more precise designation when “from those taken by one of Sir *Simon*’s authenticating, but better promising Time of Life” is altered to the more explicit statement “when coming from the Mouth of one of Sir *Simon*’s authenticating, but better promising Time of Life” (105); the awkward and grammatically muddled “Reprisal from one, whose Ears if he had not cruelly wounded, more than once, or twice, or three times, besides what he calls his *innocent* double Entendres, — she must have been believed by him, to be neither more nor less than an Hypocrite” is the more intelligible “Reprisal made by one whose Ears, he knows, he has cruelly wounded, more than once, or twice, or three times, besides by what he calls his *innocent* double Entendres, and who, if she had not have been believ’d by him, to be neither more nor less than a Hypocrite” (105); Pamela’s grudge against Sir Simon’s *double entendres* is elegantly expressed with the adjustment from “tho’ the Inside wanted it most, when he has wounded a Lady’s Ears” to “tho’ the Inside was least cleanly, when he has wounded a Lady’s Ears” (132); and “talk filthily” is changed in the interest of clarity and to suggest a greater degree of sophistication to “talk filthily upon it” (133). These small-scale revisions to Pamela’s half-teasing half-reprimanding of Sir

Simon's rakish improprieties show that Richardson took an active interest in conveying Pamela as a didactic force to members of all classes by adding to her lectures greater strength and cogency. Therefore, illustrated in the variants are Pamela's unyielding, prescriptive morality, and her ability to spread her reforming influence to others by example and through the rhetoric of gentle reproof.

The remaining variants to Pamela's language in volume III fall under three frequently overlapping categories: changes for clarity, precision, and economy, slight adjustments to style, and revisions that eliminate, modify, or even increase affected speech in order to accent her manners and morals. As might be expected, and his correspondence confirms, Richardson revised in an attempt to improve his text; therefore, his zeal for revision and the extent of corrections indicates that he often revised with the objectivity and purpose of an editor. As a result, he approached several of the changes in *Pamela II* with the objective of bringing his text into sharper focus by tinkering with the language, Pamela's in particular. He altered, for instance, "in those Letters" to "in Letters" (60-61); "both your Ladyships attention" is economized to the more efficient "the Attention of you both" (64); "kept from my sight" is altered to "kept from me" (65); and "the Post, moreover, being going off" is more to the point as "the Post being ready to go off" (72). One phrase likely cut for economy was also revised because it suggests that Pamela's has faults when "to be to all my Foibles" is altered "to be to all I do" (91). Pamela's awkward "at the being placed in such a station" is shortened to "on being placed in a Station" (110); the literary "in Dreams and Visions at Night" is simplified to "in sound Sleep at Night" (113); and "weakest Instance of his Pride" is reduced for the sake of redundancy to "weakest of his Pride" (70). Several other redundancies also are

cut when “me down by him” becomes “me by him” (140); “your own soul” is “your own” (110); “I write to” to “I write” (236); and “Part of that account” is “Part of it” (402). What’s more, “a Gentleman who is a free Joker” becomes the more direct “The Gentleman is a free Joker” (210); the clumsy “was a Restraint, as was very visible, upon him, and Mr. *Brooks* too” is contracted to “was a very visible Restraint upon him, and upon Mr. *Brooks* too” (211); “Mr. *Martin* began to single me out” is the straightforward “Mr. *Martin* singled me out” (212); “putting a Pinch of Snuff to his Nose with an Air” is refined and abbreviated to “taking a Pinch of Snuff with an Air” (215); and Pamela’s catalogue of admirers is compacted and the clause embellished from “at her Request, and the Dean’s, and the Company, I sung to her Play, twice or thrice” to “at the Request of everyone, I sung to her *Accompaniment*, twice or thrice” (219). In the interest of propriety, and to be more direct, “Modesty makes him decline it, and sit down, when he pleases, with Mr. *Longman* and Mrs. *Jervis*, who have a separate Table” is edited to “Modesty Makes him decline it, especially at those times” (240); “been to pay a Visit” becomes “been to visit” (257); “inhance that Respect, strengthen his Influences, and, of consequence, give greater Efficacy to his Doctrines” is cut down to “inhance that Respect, and, of consequence, give greater Efficacy to his Doctrines” (266); and the rambling “because I shall be sure of being in no Danger” is “because I shall be in no Danger” (282). These variants illustrate that Richardson’s editorial instinct helped him trim and prune for the sake of a more rigid syntax and style – an improved language meant to improve readers. Pamela, meanwhile, appears to speak more deliberately, carefully choosing her words with a formal correctness and concision.



A large number of alterations are further efforts to improve Pamela's style and give the impression that she is more sophisticated, an impulse illustrated in many of *Pamela's* variants that often includes overlapping addition, deletion, and substitution, as well as transposed word order within a phrase or clause. There are several corresponding revisions, but a sampling will serve to demonstrate the variety and character of the additions: "and as mean of our Fortunes, as they could think" is the more detailed and emphatic "and as *mean* of my Parents Fortunes, as any one could think" (58); "intirely my own" is expanded to "intirely agreeable to my own" (59), along with "how many I hope" to "how many more I hope" (84), "and she" is "and if she" (109), and "or think" is "or to think" (266). Richardson's singular use of "being disregardable" is rephrased to the more common "being to be disregarded" (147); "But this would not be prevented by the Title" is fleshed out to "But this would not be prevented, but rather be promoted by the Title" (168-69); "State" is the more complete "Thing, as some People imagine" (114); "for were I to do so" is "for were I only to do so" (159); "it became me" is "it became me to be" (162); "But I will turn my Quarrel" is "But, I think, I will turn my Quarrel" (223); "And must I, Sir, speak my Mind before so many better Judges" is "And must I, Sir, speak my Mind on such a Point, before so many better Judges" (265); and "Actions by that Consideration" is "Actions by the Result of that Consideration" (275). Here, as elsewhere, Pamela's artless, impulsive style is replaced with a restraining rhetoric to demonstrate her growing ability to produce elegant prose, thereby placing even more distance between her and her humbler origins.

In order to convincingly disguise the heroine as part of the gentry, Pamela's lack of socially elite ancestry is compensated with additional material that makes her

statements explicit and precise, carrying the thought forward or completing an image so that meaning is more fully expressed. The added phrases supplementing existing clauses add, primarily, a minute though detailed characterization. For instance, and contrary to Aaron Hill's advice, Pamela's innocent though pointed attack on the clergy, particularly when she compares them to criminals, is lessened to a degree by qualifying it with "and thought it right to encourage the Love of Letters" (285; 2nd, 272). In silent agreement with the anonymous "VI," Richardson inserted "and I was under a Difficulty too, lest he should observe my Ring; but [Sir Jacob] star'd so much in my Face, that That escap'd his Notice" (317; 2nd, 301) to answer their reasonable curiosity; the rather flat "I gave him a Tune, and sung to it" is the mannered "I gave him a Tune, and, at his Desire, sung to it" (307); a transition is prefixed to one of the longer poems with "and as I am sure you will be pleased with the Lines, I will transcribe them for your Entertainment" (357; 2nd, 338); Pamela emphasizes Jackey's plea to spare him the wrath of Lady Davers with the added genuflect "with Hands uplifted" (356); "You will observe in it, that he says, he spells most lamentably; and this obliges me to give it you *literally*" (404; 2nd, 371) is included for verisimilitude and a slight aimed at the fashionable, though uneducated, upper-class; and finally, "and with as foppish an Air" (412; 2nd, 379) gives a greater expression to Jackey's personality. Precision of meaning is a common objective for many of Richardson's emendations, and are accordingly found in all three of his novels. The variants are evidence, then, of his dedicated desire to define and express the sense of his text while presenting his heroine as mature and intellectual.

Like the additions, several deletions also alter the force of statements with a precision and economy that facilitates a smoother delivery of Pamela's selective style,

carefully constructing her character to further disassociate her from her past. In particular, an instance of Pamela's redundant, affected, and overzealously advocated conversion of Mrs. Jewkes is, undoubtedly, omitted for propriety's sake. In the second edition, Pamela still pledges to do her servant "real Service" in her "present as future life," but after revision the omission distances her from the repentant woman as she appears less eager to save her soul: "and pleased shall I be, to contribute to the one, and happy to advance the other" (116; 2nd, 111). Pamela's self-serving denial of the vapors is expunged: "(for I know I am not vapourish, nor the only Person who is thus constituted)" (120; 2nd, 115). Again, for the sake of decorum, Pamela's cheerful praise for the Countess's raillery of Jackey is excluded: "Was not that a fine Rebuke, Miss? Is not this a charming Lady" (304; 2nd, 289).<sup>14</sup> Finally, Pamela's double insult of Polly's indiscretion with Jackey is softened from "ignorant and foolish" to "ignorant" (350), perhaps because it was just as "foolish" of Pamela to stay in Bedfordshire to finish B.'s waistcoat. The remaining deletions, to use G. Thomas Tanselle's distinction, are horizontal rather than vertical; that is, they improve but do not significantly alter the text.<sup>15</sup> For example, "Well says the above quoted Manuscript, *We the Discomforts know of what we are, But little think what States superior share*" (365; 2nd, 384) is omitted because of a comprehensive change to the "manuscripts" of poetry that Pamela transcribes. Others include pruning, such as "Letter directed from" to "Letter from" (256); "so likely" is "likely" (228); "so ill" is "ill" (272); "upon the frequent" is "upon frequent" (266); "And he was to *own her*" is "And was to *own her*" (351); "being circumstanc'd" is "circumstanc'd" (352); and "as pure and

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<sup>14</sup> It is a shame that this rare glimpse of Pamela's lighter side is cut, though it conflicts with Richardson's fundamentally didactic goal.

<sup>15</sup> "The Editorial Problem of Final Authorial Intention." *Studies in Bibliography* 29 (1976): 193. JSTOR. Web. 22 June 2011.

as Circumspect” is “as pure and Circumspect” (398). With what Tanselle might consider vertical deletions, Richardson inches Pamela closer to the exemplar she is advertised and expected to be. With the horizontal, Richardson assumed the role of editor and played with the language. Either way, these stylistic revisions show his evolving image of Pamela and the careful presentation of her character in his text.

To repeatedly remind readers of Pamela’s grandeur, Richardson frequently employed a formal syntax and elevated vocabulary. This includes revising and repackaging phrases for reasons of style that regularly make the statement more explicit or emphatic. This intention is evidenced in the change from “obliged from the dear Gentleman this Frankness” to the more precise “obliged the dear Gentleman to this Frankness” (58); because Pamela is speaking in the past tense, “Right to pick and chuse your own Servants, and distribute” is corrected to “Right to have chosen your own Servants, and to have distributed” (63); “and what I was designed to be” is given greater emphasis as “and what I had been *designed* for” (66); the meandering “and by that Means rob one’s self of the Prime of one’s best worldly Injoyments” is redirected to “whereby one robs one’s self of the Pleasure of one’s best worldly Enjoyments” (115); “forgive me leaving you” is a formal “pardon me for leaving you” (248); the colloquial “in a Body’s Absence” is the more reserved “in one’s Absence” (334); the pronoun in “he should think so” is the specific “that Mr. *B.* should think so” (366); “to one in hers” is made the formal “to a Person in hers” (384); Pamela’s love for B. is distributed equally between body and soul when “more than for that of your Person” is altered to “as well as for that of your Person” (407). These variants, though mere adjustments to style, make character and

meaning clearer and suggest that Richardson was interested in removing even the slightest of obscurities and imperfect style for a more genteel, respectable heroine.

There are, moreover, revisions that combine addition, deletion, and substitution that alter the sense of the text and, consequently, one's sense of Pamela's character, including emended matters of propriety and a formal, elevated language that is essential in order to consistently classify Pamela as genteel. For example, Pamela's bold and seditious comparison between her parents, herself, and ladies of quality is adjusted from "That your Prudence and mine do more Credit to his Choice, than might have been done him by an Alliance with the first Quality: Since every Mouth, he is pleased to say, is full of our Merits" to the less offensive "That he is as much satisfy'd with your Prudence, as he is with mine; that Parents and Daughters do Credit to one another; and that the Praises he hears of you from every Mouth, make him take as great Pleasure in you, as if you were his own Relations" (142); "in part from the Observations of their Women" is made more precise and formal with "in part were beholden for the Observations of their Women" (234-35); Pamela's defense of the overzealous, hypocritical clergy is given a determiner when "but Constitution and Mistake" becomes "but either Constitution or Mistake" (253); and Pamela's advice for better servants is more intelligible when "and augment their Respect and Veneration for one at the same time" becomes the polished and pretentious "and yet to secure, and even augment the Respect and Veneration of those Inferiors at the same time" (253). Here, Pamela's inflated self-worth and class-identity is evidenced in the representative term "Inferiors." She spends a lot of time romanticizing the poor and abject poverty, yet she trivializes the servant class. A thread throughout

much of Pamela's revised characterization is a sense that her former peers are not only beneath her, but have, in fact, always been.

Once again, in spite of Hill's advice not to "alter a Syllable" of Pamela's discussion of the clergy, Richardson made minor adjustments that formalize Pamela's style and slightly soften her criticism of dispensations, pluralities, and the rather cutthroat practices of those on the market for church livings.<sup>16</sup> For instance, "we venerate the Function, tho' not the Failings of Particulars" becomes "we reverence the Function, notwithstanding the Failings of Particulars" (269); "Does it not rather rest in a happy Competency, or Mediocrity" is "On the contrary, Is it not oftener to be found in a happy Competency, or Mediocrity" (274); Pamela's naïve belief that members of the clergy are generally disliked because "envied" is omitted (292; 2nd, 278); and her reverence for the "Function" is increased when she, with confidence, declares "I can never suspect either your Judgment or your Conduct" (293; 279). Pamela's awkward, ungrammatical comparison between the clergy and "The *Physick Line*" is cleaned up to "And as to the *Physick Line*, what Fortunes are raised in that" (278); and her brusque sounding, supposedly reluctant consent to give the company her further opinion on pluralities is altered from "Well, Sir, said I, with your *requisite* Condition in my Eye, I will" is moderated to "With your *requisite* Condition in my Eye, I will, Sir" (282). In her exalted condition, Pamela must choose her words carefully or risk censure, and her candor in the sequel, though never absolute, is significantly reduced. The grave nature of her "high

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<sup>16</sup> Whether or not these emendations satisfied the "Reverend Mistakers" that Hill wrote about is unknown, but the thought of offending the clergy prompted Richardson to disregard Hill's request to leave the scene as is.

life” discussions often requires a dexterous, manipulative rhetoric to complement her new class identity.

Clearly, the majority of minor revisions to Pamela’s character are matters of style, but a controlled, mannered, and embellished language is Richardson’s habitual way of making details more explicit, working around social niceties, and communicating his heroine’s superiority. the casual “play’d with a Cork now, with my Rings another time” becomes a bit more controlled with “play’d with a Cork one while; with my Rings another” (315); the idiomatic “And now-and-then calling one’s self” becomes the developed “And now-and-then by looking in upon them one’s self” (334); the softer “if you have not given it under your *Heart* too, it were well” is given more authority with “it is well if you have not given it under your *Heart* too” (350); and the colloquial “know the Story by my former Papers” becomes the formal “have seen the Story in my former Papers” (369). Pamela shares the story of Sally Godfrey with Polly Darnford, and her request for greater discretion as a matter of propriety is emphatically marked by the change from “as too touching a Point to the Reputation of my Mr. *B.* to be known but to you only, and even to destroy it” to “as too much affecting the Reputation of my Mr. *B.* to be known any further, and even to destroy that account” (402); and lastly, for obvious reasons, Pamela’s more severe reprimand of *B.* is changed from “reproach’d him” to the benign, even child-like “gently chid him” (243), thus signifying her characteristic and dutiful submission. In this way, style and characterization are not mutually exclusive, and Richardson often used the one to subtly shift the other.

In a few additional cases, affected speech is introduced to elevate Pamela’s expressions, adding color, formality, and general improvement to her style that suggest

she has absorbed the language of the upper-class. For instance, the idiomatic “come down” becomes “be sent” (4); “worthy Heart run over” is the more literary “generous Heart overflow’d” (55); “that I can be intirely divested of that Awe, which will lay me under more Restraint” is embellished to “that I can intirely divest myself of that Awe which will necessarily lay me under a greater Restraint” (56); “you must turn from me then, or else how shall I look you in the Face” is formalized to “you must not look full upon me then; for if you do, how shall I look at you again” (91); “will write what passes between us” is inflated to “will occasionally write what passes among us” (159); “and so will break nothing into our usual Way” is elevated to “and so will omit nothing that we have been accustomed to do” (237); the flat statement “at the same time, that I have some Excuse, when I have won so happily the Favour of two such Judges” is the more urbane “at the same time, the Grounds of my Vanity; for they must then allow, that I have no small Reason to be proud, in having so happily won the Favour of two such Judges” (367); “had need of all one’s Fortitude to support” is the more dramatic “had need of the greatest Fortitude to support” (378); and the rather lifeless “if he but sees the least Thoughtfulness upon my Brow” is the poetic “if he sees but the least thoughtful cloud upon my Brow” (385). This pattern of revision is consistent with some of the stylistic improvements made to all four volumes of *Pamela* in Richardson’s lifetime. Their impact on characterization may appear indifferent, but they provide a fitting consistency of tone to Pamela’s language and, in some cases, better reflect that she has settled into the exalted condition she is raised to.

A variety of changes also indicate Richardson’s awareness of what was superfluous or artificial, and others illustrate an early concern with matters of propriety to



keep Pamela conventional and inhibited. For example, Pamela's submissive, almost demeaning praise of Lady Davers, a behavior inconsistent with Pamela's new position of privilege, is softened and redirected toward B., a more suitable object of her veneration, when "and by the noble Sister of my honoured Benefactor, whose Favour, next to his own" becomes "and my honoured Benefactor's worthy Sister, whose Favour, next to his" (54). The redundant "Respect and Esteem" is the concise "Respect" (58); Pamela's bizarre and outlandish description of B.'s renovations to the Kentish farm are modified from "and a little Building to be erected on its Summit, in the Fashion of an antient *Greek* Temple, of which he has sent them a Draught, drawn by his own Hand, from one he had seen Abroad" to "and a pretty Alcove to be erected on its Summit, of which he has sent them a Draught, drawn by his own Hand" (58). In an effort to possibly forestall criticism of Pamela's repeated praise of B., the passage "and that he prevented all my Wishes by his Goodness" is revised to "even to the Prevention of all my Wishes" (59). The affected "offer at making Terms with him" is relaxed to "offer any Terms to him" (82); likewise, the exaggerated "sooner than my Wont" becomes the casual "sooner than usual" (159); and a similar change is made from "they will be apt to say" to "they will perhaps say" (168). The wordy "alighted in the Passage" is cut to "alighted" (161); and "I just then enter'd" to "I just enter'd" (297). Richardson further restrained Pamela's self-flattery when "beloved Lady, as she calls me, it seems, at every word" becomes the more precise "blessed Lady, as it seems she calls me at every word" (240), and "Radiance, playing about my Eyes, and shining over my whole Face" is moderated to "Radiance in my Countenance" (241). The fulsome praise of "an high Obligation upon his Lordship" is restrained with "a high Compliment to his Lordship" (266), and the overstated "for I

never was more out of Countenance” is “for I was quite out of Countenance” (299).

While the majority of changes to phrasing do not alter the sense, they do influence the way readers respond to Pamela’s character. It is likely that Richardson saw these particular emendations in relation to one another; that is, it appears he worked from a largely stylistic motive to reject mannered and fanciful language that struck him as he made corrections between editions.

In addition to stylistic changes, more comprehensive revisions and extensive cuts are made, none of which are indifferent in their effect; indeed, large amounts of text are pared down for the sake of precision and economy, and these are often scenes of impropriety among others that seem inappropriate or are at odds with the didactic tone of the novel. In fact, many of the variants whether omissions or calculated revisions show that Richardson tried to write himself out of a corner; that is, he appears to have anticipated objections to Pamela’s grosser displays of self-righteousness along with a blatant affectation that is frequently represented by exaggerated displays of emotion or praise. Naturally, other alterations were made for the sake of continuity, to improve awkward phrasing, or to omit superfluous details, all of which, it can be argued, are improvements that not only add authority to Pamela’s ethical and moral edicts but to Richardson’s didactic project as a whole.

Pamela’s longer stylistic revisions illustrate a characteristic difference between editions, namely Richardson’s frequent movement away from an idiomatic spontaneity to a polished prose. In other words, her status as one of the social elite is further evidenced when her exalted style becomes less extempore and more studied. For example, Pamela’s defense of Mr. Williams is modified when the parenthetical is dropped and the awkward

phrasing corrected, thus making the action co-ordinate rather than an accompaniment: “he was, in reality, only helping (at the Hazard of exposing himself to the Vindictiveness of a violent Temper, and a rich Neighbour, who had Power as well as Will to resent) another to a Wife” becomes “he was, in reality, only helping another to a Wife, at the Hazard of exposing himself to the Vindictiveness of a violent Temper, and a rich Neighbour, who had Power as well as Will to resent” (152). Another sizable stylistic revision makes the meaning clearer and illustrates Richardson’s determination that what he wrote should appear to come from one fittingly advanced to an exalted condition. For example, when Pamela apologizes for her long-winded epistles the sentence is recast and words are added, deleted, and substituted to provide greater clarity and eloquence:

I have on Merit to plead in behalf even of my Prolixity, that in the delightful Conferences I have the Pleasure of holding with our noble Guests, and Mr. *B.* altho’ several, which I omit, may be more worthy of Recital than those I give, yet I am careful not to write twice upon one Topick (1st, 305)

I have on Merit to plead in behalf even of my Prolixity; That in reciting the delightful Conferences I have the Pleasure of holding with our noble Guests and Mr. *B.* I am careful not to write twice upon one Topick, altho’ several which I omit, may be more worthy of your Notice, than those I give (2nd, 289-90)

The passage itself may have been Richardson’s roundabout way of apologizing for Pamela’s “tedious” (289) narration of rather dry subjects of upper-class social and domestic behavior, and the reworked passage yields a smoother delivery while eliminating, with formal language, the tell-tale signs of Pamela’s humbler origins.<sup>17</sup> At

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<sup>17</sup> A similar revision is made some 80 pages later in which Pamela summarizes “how it is with us, one Day with another” (2nd, 369). The language is formalized, e.g., “judge pretty well” to “form a Judgment” (369), and Richardson omitted what was likely a superfluous or a less significant part of Pamela’s routine, i.e., “Needle-work sometimes [and] Musick now-and-then” (1st, 388).

the same time, however, Pamela's prose loses its natural immediacy and intimacy to a more calculated retrospection. This is further demonstrated in another revision to Pamela's view of dispensations and clerical livings. The original passage is repetitive, graceless, and includes a gratuitous digression and a disconnected reference to the larger poem Pamela transcribes 64 pages later:

For a Person (I have this Notion, dear Sir, from that Manuscript Poem you was pleased to shew me, of not preferring People above their native Condition, and which has been an excellent Lesson to me: For a Person, I was going to say) who being not born to an Estate, is not satisfied with a Competency, will know no Limits to his Desires. Such a one that an Acquisition of 100 or 200 *l.* a year will not satisfy, will not sit down contented with any sum. Although he may propose to himself at a Distance, that such and such an Acquisition will be the Height of his Ambition; yet he will, as he approaches to that, advance upon himself farther and farther—and know no Bounds, till the natural one is forced upon him, and his Life and his Views end together. (1st, 288)

The distracting aside and redundant “For a Person” are removed making the argument more intelligible, but the revision pushes the limits of the suspension of disbelief when Richardson seemingly abandoned his aesthetic “to the moment” technique to ensure that Pamela speaks with greater clarity and cogency:

For a Person, who being not born to an Estate, is not satisfied with a Competency, will probably not know any Limits to his Desires. One whom an Acquisition of 100 to 200 *l.* a Year will not satisfy, will hardly sit down contented with any Sum. For altho' he may propose to himself at a Distance, that such and such an Acquisition will be the Height of this Ambition; yet he will, as he approaches to that, advance upon himself farther and farther; and know no Bounds, till the natural one is forced upon him, and his Life and his Views end together. (2nd, 275)

As is often the case in the continuation, the reader is distanced from the immediacy of the narrative – this is not an instantaneous recording of events – and assumes the role of spectator, a voyeur of Pamela’s virtues, rather than sharing them as a participant. These and previous examples show that Richardson was willing to sacrifice Pamela’s native and more natural simplicity in order to increase the didactic force of her ethical and moral views, a position he established in his correspondence.

Additional emendations are made for more than just stylistic reasons because they significantly alter content in order to better fulfill Pamela’s pronounced reformatory purpose. For example, Pamela’s loose paraphrase of Lady Betty’s commentary is now quoted, with an important exception, word for word from Lady Davers’s letter (85-86; 2nd, 81-82):

But Lady *Betty* adds, ‘That had she been in my Case, she would have had one Struggle for Mrs. *Jewkes*’s Dismission, let it have been taken as it would; and he that was so well pleased with my Virtue, must have thought this a natural Consequence of it, if he was in Earnest to reclaim.’

‘She would, she says, had she been in your Case, have had one Struggle for her Dismission, let it have been taken as it would; and he that was so well pleased with your Virtue, must have thought this a natural Consequence of it, if he was in Earnest to become virtuous himself.’

Apart from the obvious difference in style, Pamela’s substitution of “virtuous” for “reclaim” is particularly telling. The goal is not to simply reform the man with a rakish bent, but to incorporate within him a greater degree of moral judgment. In this way, his actions are not only just and honorable but he also acts for the right reasons. In a similar way, another of Pamela’s mini-sermons is revised to drive home ethical principles. Her

defense of “*honest Poverty*” (114) is fleshed out, more emphatic, and her bourgeois zeal for reform more palatable. In the original paragraph, Pamela speaks generally of the “over-happy,” though she pointedly aims her rhetorical homily at the high-born:

...let me ask, What Pleasure can those over-happy People taste, who never knew that of Hunger or Thirst? Like the Eastern Monarch I have read of, who marching at the Head of a vast Army, thro’ a desert Place, where was no Water, nor any thing to quench his craving Thirst, at last one of his Soldiers bringing him in his nasty Helmet a little dirty Water, he greedily swallowed it, and cry’d out, That he never in all his Life had tasted so sweet a Draught! Having always before eaten before he was hungry, and drank before he was thirsty. (1st, 119)

The idiomatic paraphrase of what Pamela has read, applied aptly enough before revision, is elevated in the second edition, carefully composed, and clearly targets the “affluent”:

...let me ask, What Pleasure can those over-happy Persons know, who, from the Luxury of their Tastes, and their affluent Circumstances, always eat before they are hungry, and drink before they are thirsty? This may be illustrated by the Instance of a certain Eastern Monarch, who, as I have read, marching at the Head of a vast Army through a wide-extended Desart, which afforded neither River nor Spring, for the first time, found himself (in common with his Soldiers) overtaken by a craving Thirst, which made him wish for, and pant after, a Cup of Water. And when at last, after diligent and distant search, one of his Soldiers found a little dirty Puddle, and carry’d him some of the filthy Water in his nasty Helmet; the Monarch, greedily swallowing it, cry’d out, That in all his Life he never tasted so sweet a Draught! (2nd, 114)

Thus, to embellish the form of its expression, the lecture is revised from a comparatively flat statement in favor of the elegant and colorful. As a result, Pamela’s moral revulsion of the decadent, pretentious elite is more pronounced and serves to illustrate that she is an evangel of middle-class values despite her elevated status. It is likely that Richardson believed her eloquence would flesh out the message and strengthen the edifying influence

of his heroine and his novel. And, after all, in both examples, he allowed himself an opportunity to criticize the unprincipled behavior of his social superiors.

Another large revision adjusts Pamela's affected speech and indelicate behavior and considerably alters the tone of the passage by adding a degree of maturity to her character. For instance, Pamela's over-mannered, groveling, and artificial praise of Lady Davers and the Countess of C. is replaced by a more natural, honest, and mature compliment (169; 2nd, 163):

[the Countess] by an Aspect as noble as intelligent, obliged me to Silence, in Awe of a Superiority so visible; as had Lady *Davers's* free, though pleasant, Raillery, which she could not help carrying on now-and-then. Besides, Lady *Davers's* Letters had given me greater Reason to revere her Wit and Judgment, (high as my Respect for her before had carried my Notions of her Excellence) than I had formed to myself, when I reflected on her passionate Temper...

...by an Aspect as noble and intelligent, over-aw'd me, as I may say, into a respectful Silence, to which Lady *Davers's* free, though pleasant, Raillery, (which she could not help carrying on now-and-then) contributed. Besides Lady *Davers's* Letters had given me still greater Reason to revere her Wit and Judgment than I had before, when I reflected on her passionate Temper...

In the revised passage, the exalted Pamela is not so taken aback by appearances, as the daughter of a former ditch-digger may have once been, and the image of Pamela staring open-mouthed at the Countess's regal deportment, however fitting for a teenage servant to be impressed with, is appropriately restrained in the socially advanced Mrs. B. The Countess's "Superiority" and "Excellence" are removed, and Pamela's exaggerated "obliged" silence is now genteelly "respectful." At the same time that this change reduces Pamela's unctuous praise and tempers her enthusiastic leap into polite society, it also signals to the reader that no one, no matter how well-bred, can be as circumspect and

congenial as Pamela. Though she is “noble” and “intelligent,” the Countess of C. is fundamentally just another voice in the chorus that repeatedly praises Pamela. Indeed, Richardson makes a concerted effort to reserve the greatest applause for his heroine while all others, despite their social status, are in many ways eclipsed by her.<sup>18</sup>

There are, however, variants that reverse the pattern of praise for the heroine and inhibit, at the same time, some of the more affected and extravagant behavior of Pamela, Lady Davers, and B. Richardson made an extended revision to the conclusion of the dispensation scene with wholesale cuts to unnatural speech and impropriety. For example, Mr. Adams is overcome with emotion and unable to speak: “— I cannot, — I cannot, said he, — bear — bear — this Excess of Goodness” (1st, 299). The artificial repetition that was used to signify his joy is omitted, and Pamela’s literal transcription is substituted with a concise though less emotionally intense summary: “Mr. *Adams* trembled with Joy, and said, He could not tell how to bear this Excess of Goodness in us both: And his Countenance and his Eyes gave Testimony of a Gratitude that was too high for further Expression” (2nd, 285). A similar revision is executed two paragraphs later when Pamela’s characteristic “to the moment” dialogue becomes more dignified, confident, and, of course, scripted (300; 2nd, 285):

How shall I – how shall I, said I, – oppressed with your hourly Goodness, – find words? – But, Oh forgive me! Meanings crowd so thick upon me, that my Words, patting my Bosom with my other Hand, stick here, just here – and I cannot –

How shall I, oppressed with your Goodness, in such a signal Instance as this, find Words equal to the Gratitude of my Heart! – But here, patting my Bosom, just here, they

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<sup>18</sup> This is also true in volume IV when B. compares Pamela’s immeasurable virtue and beauty with the limited though eye-catching appeal of the Countess Dowager.



stick; – and I cannot –

The first edition's expressive outpouring, so typical of Pamela the servant, is presumably undignified in mixed company. Pamela's emotional reaction, then, though far from transgressive, is given a gravity that brings it in line with the conventions of upper-class society. Additional changes further illustrate a revised and controlled genteel decorum, especially while others are looking on. For instance, as she so often does in both her delight and her despair, Pamela drops to her knees and assumes a submissive posture in front of B. to thank him for his "Excellence" to the clergymen, Mr. Williams and Mr. Adams: "Could I avoid, I say, doing a weak thing, without regarding the Presence I was in? I fell on my Knees to him, and kissed his dear Hand" (1st, 300). Pamela's uncontrollable gratitude must manifest itself in some way in the second edition, so the passage is refined to include an innocuous and less ostentatious kiss: "pressing his Hand with my Lips, forgetting how many Witnesses I had of my grateful Fondness" (2nd, 285). Thus, with a greater amount of self-possession, Pamela's gratitude is not so gratuitous and offensive to the sensibilities of any class.

Even more decorum is established with additional revisions and cuts to the same scene. Both B. and Lady Davers act absurdly and surprisingly out of character, so much so that one might be inclined to believe Pamela's husband and sister-in-law were mocking rather than emulating her typical but over-expressive thanks. Their traditional stoic demeanors, especially in the company of their peers, gives way to an effusion of artificial emotion and ecstatic praise so ridiculous that it is not hard to imagine even Richardson's contemporaries cringing as they read. Pamela, still choking on the words sticking in her bosom, expresses the original scene thus:

And indeed I could say no more; and he, in the Delicacy of his Apprehensiveness for me, clasped his kind Arms about me, and withdrew with me into the next Parlour, and placed himself by me on the Settee, putting my Face on his generous Breast, and said, Take care, take care, my best Beloved! That the Joy which overflows your dear Heart, for having done a beneficent and a noble Action, to a deserving Gentleman, does not affect you too much. You have no Body just now, my dear Life! Added he; your SPIRIT has absorb'd it all: But you *must* descend, or what will become of me? And take care you don't do it too precipitately, for a Circumstance so delicate, and so delightful to me! (1st, 300)

B.'s embrace and his rather stern warning is not so unusual, he grabs and scolds Pamela often enough in volumes I and II, but his uncharacteristic maternal comfort and infantilizing of the heroine is not his usual way of expressing his refined and delicate sentiments. Such vain affectation and unnatural behavior appears unbecoming, self-gratifying, and, most of all, above one of B.'s noble stature. Neither are such "tender Expressions," according to Cheyne, "becoming the Character of Wisdom, Piety, and conjugal Chastity" (Mullett 68), and Richardson's preoccupation with disappointing those "who cou'd find Sex in a *laced shoe*, when there was none in the Foot, that was to wear it" (Carroll 47) might explain Pamela's unaffected reflection of the same event in the second edition:

And, indeed, I could say no more; and Mr. *B.* in the Delicacy of his Apprehensiveness for me, led me into the next Parlour; and placing himself by me on the Settee, said, Take care, my best Beloved, that the Joy which overflows your dear Heart, for having done a beneficent Action to a deserving Gentleman, does not affect you too much. (2nd, 286)

It can be no coincidence that all physical contact is omitted along with B.'s affected speech – both are necessary omissions in order for Richardson to narrate the intimate

aspects of respectable upper-class life with greater accuracy – but the scene becomes even more bizarre and affected when Lady Davers follows husband and wife in their retreat into the parlor. With an outlandish, contrived display of emotion, Richardson undermined Lady Davers’s well-established ethos by removing her overt concern for social appearance, position, and distinction:

My Lady *Davers* followed us, Where is my Angel  
Sister? where is my noble Brother? said she: Rest her dear  
Head on my Bosom; for I have a Share in her next to  
yourself; and return to a Company where you’ll not find a  
dry Eye, nor an opening Lip, but looking upon one another  
in speechless Rapture at the exalted Scene you have  
exhibited between you. (1st, 300)

In revision, the biblical language of “Angel,” “Rapture,” and “exalted” is removed or significantly toned down, and the stupefied “Company” no longer indulges the heroine with their tears. In fact, only the permissible physical contact between women remains unchanged, however contrary to Lady Davers’s usual icy and often masculine character:

My Lady *Davers* follow’d us: Where is my angelick  
Sister? said she. I have a Share in her next to yourself, my  
noble Brother. And clasping me to her generous Bosom,  
she ran over with Expressions of Favour to me, in a Style  
and Words, which would suffer, were I to endeavour to  
repeat them. (2nd, 286)

Through revision, Pamela becomes increasingly self-censoring the more “exalted” she becomes, demonstrating decorum and restraint that inhibits and distorts the dramatic action. Indeed, her words “stick,” and the habitually verbose, descriptive scribbler is incapable of articulating Lady Davers’s rare display of intimacy. That Pamela begs off recording verbatim and instead summarizes such events is indicative of her growing class consciousness; that is, the newly acquired and imitated characteristics of elegance, gentility, and ceremony. Also in these revisions are echoes of B.’s warning that was first

included in volume I of the fifth edition: “be wary what Tales you send out of a Family” (4). This is not to say that such behavior is as slanderous and censurable as B.’s assaults, but that it is bad social performance and a breach of genteel etiquette and propriety. What’s more, the heroine is described as angel-like rather than called, literally, a holy being.<sup>19</sup> Although Pamela’s thoughts and actions frequently focus on divine ideas, the awkward, overstated praise is somewhat contained. Pamela’s other-worldly ethos is effectively even if obnoxiously established from the beginning, and while Richardson left much of this praise untouched, his revisions show that a modicum of propriety is introduced where it was once glaringly absent.

Propriety is continually cultivated in this part of the dispensation scene with further selective omissions and revisions that promote speculative thought, tact, and self-control over embarrassing, artificial, and unrefined emotional displays in a semi-public, formal setting. Breaking proprieties may add verisimilitude and a “to the moment” pace, but the revisions are a better reflection of the continuation’s rhetorical goal – Richardson clearly transitioned Pamela away from a literal recording of events to a cautiously reflective, studied, and didactic interpretation. In other words, Richardson was more mindful of the improprieties he allowed Pamela to write “out of a family” as evidenced in the following omitted paragraphs:

My dear Mr. *B.* delighted with every Occasion that makes for my Honour, and to endear me to his beloved Sister, said, Take care then of my Jewel, and let her dear Face adorn the Bosom of a Lady I love next to herself. And rising, went into the great Parlour.

I would have stood up; but, quite abashed at my recollected Behaviour before so many Witnessess, and

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<sup>19</sup> Mr. Andrews calls Pamela “Angel” in Letter II (6), and Lady Davers still calls her “an Angel” when Sir Jacob is at a loss for an agreeable epithet (293).

confounded with the Goodness of such a Brother and such a Sister, my Feet were unwilling to support me. And my dear Lady *Davers* (O Miss, what a happy *Pamela* is your Friend! what a happy Daughter, my dear Father and Mother!) – clasped me in her Arms, and to her Bosom, and kissed me five or six times, running over with Expressions of Favour and Goodness, in a Style and Words I cannot repeat: For she is Mistress of a flowery Rhetorick, and has such a charming Gift of Utterance; that could I but half equal her, when she thus loftily soars, I should deserve the Compliments she made me. (1st, III, 300-301)

Ultimately, then, by their removal, physical contact and emotional outpourings, even some of those shared by women, are vulgar and at odds with the puritan bourgeois morality that Richardson and the exemplary *Pamela* preside over. Without a doubt, the inordinate, informal, and indelicate behavior *Pamela* describes undermines the fervent emotions all three characters try to express because they lack substance and style – this is not how B. and his sister are but rather how Richardson, in his shorthand way, originally wanted readers to think of them. Lady *Davers*, for instance, writes several letters to *Pamela* but never once reveals that “flowery Rhetorick” and “Gift of Utterance” that she is so capable of when she “loftily soars.” Her letters are rather dry, almost businesslike epistles that just as often command as express “Favour and Goodness.” The arbitrary number of kisses that she so liberally bestows are also uncharacteristic and out of place. Similarly, deviant behavior unmatched by both B. and his sister in any other part of the text is their maternal bosom bearing, which is an affected display for each character because they are largely unsuited for such a role.<sup>20</sup> In other words, if Richardson was trying to humanize his rake and his “*Billingsgate*” by erroneously giving them

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<sup>20</sup> At an earlier point, B. does hide *Pamela*’s face in his “generous Breast” (162), but this gesture, rather than an exaggerated display of affection, is an attempt to shield her blushes from Lady *Davers*. The next closest comparable scene is *Pamela*’s “trial” in volume IV, but even then B. simply takes her in his arms and does not lay her head on his bosom.

sensibilities they are incapable of appropriately expressing, they are fittingly revised. As well, Pamela's behavior equally strains the reader's credulity. Her physical sensitivity, aggravated by her emotional vulnerability, leaves her quite literally weak in the knees, and all because of the flattering "Goodness of such a Brother and such a Sister." While Pamela is no stranger to social embarrassment, it is difficult to believe she would express herself thus "before so many Witnesses" after adapting so well to the social codes of her exalted condition. The second edition, by contrast, promotes Pamela's superhuman morality by offering fewer examples of her human weaknesses – a critical intelligence is sometimes cleverly substituted for displays of feeling.<sup>21</sup> In the end, propriety and character are ultimately restored by considerable cuts, and readers are given an example, by omission, of feminine stoicism encouraged by socially authentic behavior.

The final revision to this part of the dispensation scene is largely logistical, though in the process Richardson also relaxed another instance of the effusive praise that Pamela regularly records. Evidence that Richardson reconceptualized the event is illustrated by the careful placement of his characters. In the first edition, for example, B. leaves Lady Davers and Pamela alone in the parlor. His exit at his sister's entrance is awkward and ill-timed. Lady Davers's affection for Pamela wins B.'s admiration in the early volumes, and his fondness for watching them interact, however voyeuristic in nature, is a staple of his personality. Mr. Adams, too, never leaves the company in the revision, whereas in the first edition he "retir'd" from the withdrawing room overwrought with gratitude. Lady Davers, the B. family matriarch who smothers Pamela with motherly

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<sup>21</sup> Perhaps revisions similar to these are why many critics find it difficult to empathize with the exalted Pamela. Despite the psychological torture of her jealousy and the physical danger of childbirth and the smallpox, she is a much less sympathetic figure than in the original two volumes.

hugs and kisses in the first edition, escorts the partially insensible Mrs. B. back to the company. In the second edition, B., Lady Davers, and Pamela return together as quickly as they leave. Indeed, B. hardly has time to finish warning Pamela not to get too carried away in her efforts to help others before Lady Davers appears and embraces her. Lastly, Pamela still receives compliments from Lord Davers and Jackey, but those from her brother-in-law are changed from “several fine Compliments” to the more generic “a great many Compliments” (2nd, 286).<sup>22</sup> Here, the subtle difference is quantity rather than quality and suggests that Lord Davers’s compliments, though “great” in number, are not so “fine” after all. This, in turn, strips the heroine of a certain degree of praise while still showing the good breeding of Lord Davers. At the same time, Pamela appears to mention his compliments only in passing in order to conclude the embarrassing scene and further comment on the “Goodness” of the Countess of C.

The most significant revisions in terms of quantity that Richardson made to volume III are to Pamela’s transcribed poetry. A larger poem praising the benefits of a rustic life is completely rewritten, though its theme remains the same, and Pamela’s glosses, in which she guides the reader along, are cut.<sup>23</sup> Further omissions, approximately 3,500 words across 13 pages, are made to a poem that Pamela refers to as “the Love

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<sup>22</sup> In many ways this revision parallels Pamela’s reunion with her father in volume II, in which she retires in a fit of emotion but shortly returns to the company who eagerly wait to commend her behavior.

<sup>23</sup> Pamela’s omitted remarks, some 221 words, are a combination of apologies for her prolixity and superfluous statements that simply repeat the moral, particularly that “one ought to consult a Person’s usual way of Life, and not to be so lavish to some one Object or two, as should limit one’s Power to relieve others, and, at the same time, by lifting the poor Folks into a State they had not been used to, make them possibly more unhappy than ever” (1st, 357). Richardson, who a little more than a year earlier believed nine-tenths of his readers incapable of recognizing the moral, must have judged *Pamela II*’s readers more proficient.

Quarrel.”<sup>24</sup> The circumstances behind the revisions are unclear because key letters between Richardson and Hill are missing. According to Richardson’s index to the *Pamela* correspondence, there were two letters which describe the changes and six poems were written, or re-written, to supplement Pamela’s moral and ethical pronouncements. All six of the poems have titles, and therefore the identities of three of them can be connected to specific events in the sequel. For instance, “The misguided Compassion” can with confidence be linked to the instructional poem on rustic life, “The Recollected Complainer” to the omitted “Love Quarrel,” and “The Resignation” to the smallpox outbreak in volume IV. The others, “A Catch,” “Lesbia in the Garden,” and “The Messenger” cannot with certainty be said to correspond with any particular scene. Their function, however, can be easily determined. They were intended, no doubt, as a dramatic form of instruction that either fulfilled one of Pamela’s many moral objectives, served as a corrective to faulty behavior with positive examples, or acted as warnings by depicting common pitfalls or snares. With their function in mind, one can speculate from their titles that “A Catch” was a moral exemplum intended to complement and comment upon Polly Barlow’s pledge to become Jackey’s mistress (2nd, 343-59), and given the pseudonymous Lesbia’s role as a muse for a variety of poets going as far back as Gaius Catullus, “Lesbia in the Garden” may have been a comment upon the Cowley verses transcribed for Pamela and hidden under her seat cushion at church (2nd, 221-29). Finally, “The Messenger” may have been intended to follow Mr. Turner’s visit to Pamela in volume IV (2nd, 137-39). Any one of these instances, among others, could serve as an opportunity for Pamela to preach a moral imperative, but the evidence is lost or mislaid.

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<sup>24</sup> Though the poem is omitted, along with requests for transcribed copies from Lady Davers and Polly Darnford, two stanzas remain that Pamela recites from memory at Lady Davers’s request (2nd, 224-25).



At any rate, the only poem that Richardson was confident added substance to his narrative is “The misgrounded Compassion,” the revision of which is likely one of Hill’s contributions to the continuation.

Richardson, not known for his poetic insight, deferred to Hill’s experience for revisions to Pamela’s verses in volume I and II, so it not surprising that Hill’s alterations to “The misgrounded Compassion” offer a tighter meter, regular end rhyme, more sophisticated turns, shifts in register, and a consistent narrative that significantly reinforces Pamela’s earlier defense of native poverty.<sup>25</sup> It is important to note that the poem itself, though vastly improved, is only transcribed by Pamela – she is not the author – so the emendation has a different impact on her character. It is a parallel, authoritative voice that dramatically develops Pamela’s earlier argument against raising her extended family out of their poverty at the expense of her husband while illustrating the strict limits of her own charity and assistance. This is Richardson’s heavy-handed way of providing Pamela’s edict additional power and cogency. In other words, the revised poem, that is both enlivened and improved, increases Pamela’s moral authority as it endeavors, with greater efficacy, to guide and influence the reader by her example.

The final revisions to Pamela’s character in volume III that are worth noting are Richardson’s use of italics. As in all previous editions of *Pamela*, Richardson routinely added or removed a fair amount of typographical visual aids, and the sequel, with 176 variants, is no exception. The 44 changes to Pamela’s use of italics in volume III have multiple uses with overlapping effects: they are made for emphasis or to de-emphasize a

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<sup>25</sup> Perhaps Richardson’s most famous poetic effort was his reply to Bowyer and Cave’s invitation to a printer’s dinner. The poem was liked so well that Cave published it next to an imitation of Psalm XV in volume VI of his publication, the *Gentleman’s Magazine*, for January 1736. For more details, see Eaves and Kimpel’s *Biography*, 55-56.

word; some serve a quotative function; others are added to balance a preceding or subsequent italic with parallelism; and still others are executed to stress Pamela's overt moral goodness.<sup>26</sup> In some cases, however, Pamela's excessive flattery of Lady Davers is more pronounced by the variant and Pamela's self-praise portrays her as narcissistic, self-righteous, and affected. These and other expressions of religious affectation were persistently problematic and challenging aspects of the entire *Pamela* text that Richardson repeatedly emended.

Naturally, Richardson's general use of italics express Pamela's meaning more forcibly, telegraphing the word's significance or enforcing the didactic lesson to the reader typographically. For instance, in case readers missed it, "*you*" is modified to suggest that B.'s family, Lady Davers included, are well known for their philanthropy (49); with force, Pamela affectedly declares "hardly any thing falls from your Ladyship that I do *not* remember" (271); and she absolves herself before criticizing the clergy by putting the blame on B. who "*would* command" her opinion (272). Still more variants amplify Pamela's stern censure of dispensations, including that the clergy "*must*" be contented with a curacy of 200£ for doing God's labor (273), that they "*ought*" to be happy with one position rather than look for such mercenary "Opportunities" (274), and then she qualifies her opinion by asserting that hers is only "*one*" side of the argument (276). In a rare instance, Pamela's good-natured wit is amplified with "*have* forgiven me" (278), effectively easing the tension during the longer dispensation debate until B. resumes the discussion. Further emphasis is added to Pamela's pointed question during her interrogation of Polly Barlow with "what do you think *yourself*" (345), and she

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<sup>26</sup> In one instance, italics are added to the proper noun "*Mother*" (49). In another case, "*Dear Miss*" becomes "dear Miss" (319) because the closing salutation is now part of the concluding paragraph.

compares their similar situations and contrasting outcomes with “I was once in as dangerous a Situation as you *can* be in” (346). Moreover, the italics in “*other* and *stronger* Inducements” (106) add strength to one of the many euphemism Pamela uses to describe her pregnancy – an affected bashfulness considering that she and B. can openly discuss attempted rape in mixed company.

Additional evidence of Richardson’s controlled use of italics includes subtle adjustments to Pamela’s self-flattery, moralizing, religious canting, and affected praise. As an example, and despite the seditious implication, “*indeed*” is italicized to underscore the social leveling that follows death when “the humble Cottager shall be upon a Par with the proudest Monarch” (15). In addition to its rhetorical effect, “*when*” (33) is italicized three times and “when every” is “*when every*” (33) in order for Pamela to signal and summarize for Lady Davers (and readers) her earlier suffering, her reward, and, as a result, her ultimate joy in the preceding two volumes.<sup>27</sup> Additionally, “*Own*” (48) calls greater attention to Lady Davers’s goodness and to show Pamela’s tireless efforts to flatter B’s sister, and “*too*” accents Pamela’s affected tribute to her sister-in-law’s “majestick Character” (258). In another instance, Pamela emphatically boasts of “*resisting*” B.’s “strong Passion” (82) and revels in her victory. In a further example, she commends the “virtuous Poor” who pass at least “*half*” of their lives with more comfort than the rich (114) and commends the strict religious background of an “*honest Poverty*” (114) such as hers. She further expresses her ambitious goal to atone for B.’s faults with her acts of charity by highlighting “*my*” and “*his*” rhetorically (151). Her didactic mini-

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<sup>27</sup> In the octavo edition of volume III, “every” is de-emphasized and maintains the consistent rhetorical effect of Pamela’s stylistically affected repetition of “*when*” (42). The lifetime edition reverts to the second edition variant of “*when every*” (8th, III, 33).

sermon on the libertine lifestyle and its effect on women is intensified from “find or make” to “*find or make*” (206), her charity to the poor receives extra attention with a pledge of her “Duty” to “*them*” (238), and her “*Sunday Duty*” is given a more sanctimonious flavor with “*Sunday Duty*” (239). Rhetorical flourish is added to Pamela’s mock and scoff of the undereducated representative of the upper-classes – Jackey – when “*write,*” “*think,*” and “*act*” (375) point to a few of the failings of the upper ranks. This – coming from Pamela, a member of the middling class who emulates every aspect of a Lady – is an interesting critique to say the least, particularly because she actively practices a formal gentility and consistently seeks acceptance from the upper echelon of society.

In a few examples, the use of italics for emphasis is reversed, suggesting that Richardson felt Pamela’s preaching, self-praise, and affected or indelicate speech was carried a bit too far. For example, the parallel use of “these” (31) de-emphasizes Pamela’s expected “Praise” for her “just and honourable” “*Intentions*” (31), “as” (33) is less pronounced and avoids drawing attention to portions of Pamela’s journal that are unflattering to her sister-in-law, and her artificial joy and pride that Lady Davers agrees to correspond with her, an emphatically expressed “very” (55), is minimized. Moreover, her pointed though hypothetical reference to relatives-cum-servants as “*they*” becomes “they” (21) and draws less attention to her impolite, even dehumanizing implication that her extended family should be treated as “common Servants” (21). Similarly, her condescending use of “I” (103) in a letter to Sir Simon is appropriately contracted because of its impropriety, and her rhetorical innuendo and unsympathetic treatment of Polly Barlow is relaxed when “*what* you’d have permitted” becomes “what you’d have

permitted” (347). Further, Pamela’s anxiety over recognizing the transcriber of the Cowley verses she finds at church is reduced to “he” (226), lest her apprehension be misconstrued as an eagerness to discover her admirer. Finally, her snide remark aimed at Jackey’s vulgar praise is significantly minimized when “*his* Plaudits” becomes “his Plaudits” (283). In this way, Pamela’s characterization is simply and effectively altered while meaning is clarified, embellished, and amplified without adding to the text.

B.

While the majority of the revisions found in volume III are to Pamela, approximately fifty-nine percent, secondary characters, too, are considerably revised. The heroine was certainly Richardson’s focus in revision, but the language of every character, with the exception of Pamela’s maid, Polly Barlow, is altered in one way or another. Richardson not only tinkered with the style of characters who have a considerable impact on the narrative, such as B., Lady Davers, and Polly Darnford, but also those whose presence is so slight, such as Sir Charles, Mr. Thomas Atkyns, and the Earl, that their absence would go unnoticed in the context of the larger narrative, and the novel would remain virtually unchanged without them. Of course, the nature of the variants varies – from simple tense corrections and the expansion of contractions to revisions of entire paragraphs – because of Richardson’s imperfect knowledge of “high life” and upper-class behavior.<sup>28</sup> Consequently, many of these changes continue to illustrate his global concern with formal language, matters of propriety, and his didactic purpose.

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<sup>28</sup> While Richardson demonstrated some knowledge of propriety through his revisions, it is not until after he had cultivated a friendship with Lady Bradshaigh that he became more acquainted with the nuances of genteel etiquette and behavior.

The character with the largest number of variants after Pamela is B., whose style undergoes a variety of changes in volume III, but some of these alterations become, in effect, an effort to further develop Pamela's character. Amongst the 96 variants are minor corrections, single-word exchanges, reworked passages, words substituted, added, or removed for clarity or emphasis, and some, though small scale emendations overall, refine B.'s phrasing. The most prevalent changes, however, add or remove affected speech. The elevated diction reflects Richardson's traditional method of re-writing in which he imagined and tried to reproduce a certain genteel pretentiousness, though he often mistakes affectation for sophistication and high rhetoric for authority. Ultimately, and as might be expected, B. experiences little change in characterization with these alterations – he is willful and arrogant in volumes I and II and he is willful and arrogant in volume III. Nevertheless, select revisions whitewash B.'s character while others reverse this pattern, and yet still more subdue some of the indirect, secondhand praises for his "pretty Preacher" (5th, I, 82). In this way, Richardson was able to conceal some of B.'s faults, efface a few instances of fulsome flattery, and place Pamela's good deeds and sentiments in higher relief because they are often overshadowed by the impropriety of always writing about how much everyone adores her. Accordingly, in some cases, a revision of B. is in essence a revision of Pamela, as the changes serve two purposes at once.

Richardson's traditional patchwork pattern of global correction and single-word substitution are only a small part of the changes to B.'s register, but they are important, nonetheless, in establishing B.'s ethos and his prevailing image of well-spoken gentlemanly elegance. For example, one contraction is expanded from "he'll" to "he will"

(19), and, because Richardson was never one to overlook grammatical niceties, participles and verb tenses are corrected or standardized when “cared” becomes “cares” (164); “threw” is “throws” (202) and “was” is “were” (398, 405). Single-word changes are far more numerous and serve a few different functions. First, they operate as a straight line way of refining B.’s style, formalizing the language and re-inforcing his genteel appearance. For instance, “tho” becomes “altho” (19); the baser “Anger” is changed to “Resentment” (131); “have” is a more affected “assume” (174); the more idiomatic “on” is the polite “upon” (195); “Subject” is elevated to “Occasion” (261); “Faces” is the more polished “Looks” (268); and the article “an” becomes the more standardized “a” (280). Second, Richardson corrected, as if by sleight-of-hand, additional grammar issues by silently exchanging single-words for their correct variants. These include “that” to “which” (128, 180); “and” to “nor” (166); “come” to “go” (185); “upon” to “with” (198); “Circumstance” to “Situation” (199); “that” to “whom” (200); “for” to “in” (268); “than” to “but” (271); “for” to “from” (288); and “Lady” to “Ladies” (311). Third, Richardson’s eagerness to improve B.’s style occasionally leads to incorrect usage. That is, in a few cases, the single-word change introduces a grammatical error, most likely unnoticed by the general reader. In particular, a former correction is applied blindly to other sentences in which B.’s usage was already accurate, such as “that” to “which” (191, 271, 311). This erroneous variant likely illustrates Richardson’s ignorance of the “high life” lexicon. No doubt he imagined that a refinement was effected, so he simply substituted one for the other. An additional infelicity occurs with “and” to “or” (246). B. invites Mr. Martin and his “Relation” over for Burgundy, but instead of inviting them both, B. misspeaks and expects to see one or the other. Finally, the remaining single-word

variants serve a number of different purposes. “Waistcoat” to “Coat” (236), for example, introduces a bit of idiomatic language. The change from “should” to “might” (270) allows B. to hedge during the dispensation scene. At the same time, “tho” to “when” offers a more convincing affirmation that B., despite discussing clerical failures, is “well-disposed to reverence their function” (270). The variant “Mind” to “Man” (405) creates a more personal connection between B. and his lofty subject (shame and guilt) because he no longer speaks generally of a guilty “Mind” but rather a guilty “Man.” The last two single-word emendations affect the reader’s perception of Pamela. For instance, “attracted” is replaced by the emphasized and refined “Confirmed” (201). This revision “confirms” Pamela as an “Example” for others rather than simply “attracting” their admiration. Another variant is consistent with an earlier change in which Lady Davers refers to Pamela as a supernatural being, namely “Angel Sister.” Similarly, B.’s “Angel-Lady” becomes “Angelick Lady” (409), and the subtle change dilutes the excessive praise that Pamela feels compelled to include in her correspondence. With this altered cant name, B. describes her as angel-like, thus the preternatural Pamela can embody bourgeois morality with a greater degree of humility. Clearly, then, Richardson was not trying to improve B.’s social status; on the contrary, he most likely revised what he believed would give his hero, and his novel, an additional genteel characteristic – a more consistent and formal style.

In order to further advance B.’s formal, genteel expression and to help complement Pamela’s exalted condition, Richardson often substituted an affected style into revised phrases and clauses. For instance, “So that the Province” becomes the flowery “By which means the Province” (19); “But never was an exacter” is “For never



was there an exacter” (140); “I take it” is “as I apprehend” (164); the idiomatic “must probably be as often out of the Way as they” is the more formal “must sometimes be in the wrong, as well as they” (166); “Checks upon each other” is a tighter “Checks upon one another” (166); “slight in itself” is expanded to “which, tho’ slight in itself” (189); the clause “I had little Hope of impressing her by Gentleness” becomes the verbose “I had little Hope of making any Impression upon her by Gentleness” (202); the less formal “by-and-by” becomes “in time” (215); the more natural “and you’ll find, if you excuse a poor Witicism” becomes the polished “and we shall find, if a poor Witicism may be excus’d” (264); the colloquial “and go out” is refined to “and come out of it” (185); a simple “very well” becomes a more pretentious “very well upon it” (262); “such a Pitch, that it is with Pain I bear it” is elevated to “such a Height, that it is with Pain I look down from it” (409); and, finally, “Even the casual Expression of a Baby shall strike back Shame upon a guilty Heart, and make one unable to look up” is the less idiomatic and more personal “Since the casual Expression of a Baby shall overwhelm him with Shame, and make him unable to look up” (405). The substitution of the objective for the indefinite pronoun illustrates that B. is speaking less collectively and more singularly. Indeed, in context he is now clearly commenting on his own shame as embodied in Miss Goodwin. These examples illustrate that B.’s style is more ornate and polished. In all probability, the overly florid language was intended to present B.’s character as stately, perhaps even high-minded, but the inflated diction only reinforces the affected attributes of gentility that most likely distanced B.’s character from middle-class readers. It is unlikely, however, that Richardson wanted to encourage a growing class divide; rather, he most probably believed that he was adding verisimilitude to his fiction. In tandem with

Pamela's exalted language and advanced expository preaching, Richardson's aim, it appears, was to further establish B. as an accomplished speaker and thinker as well.

A large number of revisions found in all four volumes of *Pamela* indicate an incongruity between affected language and a more natural speech. Just as Pamela is accused by the anonymous author of *The Life of Pamela* of "talking like a Philosopher in one Page and like a Changling the next" (185), B.'s language, too, is inconsistent.<sup>29</sup> Richardson once described his hero as "proud and haughty" full of "Injunctions and Dictates" (Carroll 124), so an artificially polite language seems to suit B.'s ethos. Yet Richardson was habitually revising, pulling his character one way only to pull him the other pages or even editions later. One explanation for B.'s changing register in the sequel may lie in Pamela's humble origins. After all, the more genteel and elite B.'s character appears, then the greater Pamela's must become in order to justify her social mobility. Furthermore, inconsistencies may also be explained by Richardson's penchant for local revision. Indeed, he was more often interested in scratching the surface with adjustments to grammar and word usage at the sentence level than overhauling content. Yet another explanation is that Richardson composed hurriedly.<sup>30</sup> He was impatient to continue his own story in the wake of Kelly's "spurious" sequel, and this likely meant that time-consuming refinement would have to wait for future editions, and, in some cases, for feedback from his coterie of correspondents.<sup>31</sup>

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<sup>29</sup> Not only did the author of *The Life of Pamela* claim to rescue Pamela's character from Richardson's "ridiculous Absurdities" but that "her Master will be found to talk a little more like a Gentleman" (185) too.

<sup>30</sup> It took Richardson six months to complete the sequel, which is prolific by modern standards, especially when one considers that during this time Richardson was running a successful printing business as well.

<sup>31</sup> It is well known that while Richardson sought feedback for his novels, he does not always follow it. The evidence suggests that Hill and Cheyne had the most influence over the revisions to *Pamela II*, at least its second and octavo editions.

Because they are fundamentally out of character, eight changes are made that remove B.'s affected over-fondness and hyperbolic statements, and the textual evidence suggests that Richardson was revising B.'s style for greater consistency. In particular, "as they would intend it, is so far from being so to me, that every Day of my Life, I not only pride myself in my *Pamela*" is emended to "as they intend it, is so far from being so to me, that I not only pride myself in my *Pamela*" (2nd, III, 4); the following obsequious outburst, expressed in a language more typical of Pamela, is modified and tempered from "thou dear Augmenter of my Honour! and Confirmer of all my better Purposes! how shall I acknowlege (for reward I never can) your inexpressible Goodness" to "thou dear Confirmer of all my better Purposes! how shall I acknowlege your inexpressible Goodness" (407); and "my obliging Charmer" is a more dignified "my dearest *Pamela*" (400). B.'s atypical reference to God and his premature hope of conversion are omitted from "and, I thank God, a vicious Heart is become virtuous, as I hope, at least morally so" and suitably altered to correspond with his principally unchanged rakish disposition "and by this means, a vicious Heart is become virtuous" (204). No doubt Richardson was conscious that B.'s reformation was still incomplete, and here he prudently avoided adding hypocrisy to B.'s catalogue of shortcomings. Finally, B. reacts to the pangs of a guilty conscience and initially admits his shame in true hyperbolic style: "to avoid reproaching me so much as with your Eye; for then, the whole Power of Innocence, triumphing over my Guilt, how like a Fool I look'd! Surely I made a most contemptible Figure, *Pamela*" (1st, 20-21). The revision, however, continues to illustrate that B.'s complete conversion is yet to come, and that he is still something of an unregenerate and unrepentant rake: "to avoid reproaching me so much as with a Look. Surely, *Pamela*, I

must then make a most contemptible Appearance in your Eye” (2nd, 405).<sup>32</sup> B.’s corruption of innocence, his admission of guilt, and his self-deprecating “Fool” are all excluded for a suitably stoic, mannerly, and characteristic response.

Another important change to B.’s style adds clarity and emphasis, thus tightening the sense of a phrase or clause and thereby achieving a fuller resonance of statement from the gentleman who is surprisingly more circumspect in his speech than in his behavior – before and after marriage. Accordingly, Richardson’s meticulousness is illustrated in his attention to precision and his quiet elimination of idiomatic language by filling in the blanks or adding further details. Specifically, “as Policy” becomes “as in Policy” (127); “our Ancestors” is “the Ancestors of our family” (164); “Indulgence overlooks all her saucy Sallies” is expanded to “Indulgence to her, makes you overlook all her saucy Sallies” (171); “of your Sex” is “that of your sex” (172); “than I cared for” is more pointedly “than I cared she should” (183); “Court’sies” becomes “Court’sies in her” (185); “and yet so humble, and so much above herself” is rephrased to “so humble, and yet so much above herself” (186) in order to emphasize Pamela’s natural superiority; Pamela’s clumsy representation of B.’s conversation with Mrs. Towers is revised from “I think, said Mr. *B.* pardon me, Mrs. *Towers*, a Lady should never make a Motion to wave such Subjects” to a more intelligible “You must pardon me, Mrs. *Towers*, said Mr. *B.* but I think a Lady should never make a Motion to wave such Subjects” (218); and B.’s opinion of the rift between Polly and Nancy Darnford is altered from the loose “she thought so late in her own Power” to a precise “she lately thought it was in her own Power” (255). Obviously, changes to style alone do not make B. a better man; instead,

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<sup>32</sup> Additional pretentious language is quietly altered, such as when “The Occasion was this” becomes “It was this” (189) and “cease” is “give over” (203).

they are a concrete indicator of his gentility and sophistication – essential, in part, to ensure that he is ultimately worthy of Pamela and worthy of redemption.

Perhaps to better please the “Reverend Mistakers” Richardson revised B.’s language in the dispensation scene using the same stylistic motives to produce a more explicit yet less inflammatory expression. In particular, the informal “they stand upon it” is extended and embellished to “they scruple doing things which very little become them to do” (264); “as that of the Church of England” becomes a more accurate “as those of the *Church of England* are” (267); “vote with Power” is an explicit “vote on the Side of Power” (267); and “Failings they would not be guilty of, in their Brethren” is the more exact “Failings in their Brethren, which they would not be guilty of themselves” (270). B. speaks generally of Pamela’s good opinion with “that when” but it is made direct and personal with “that were we” (271); the clumsy “so much as this is” is the tighter “how much this is” (279); the unpolished “so will never be drawn in, in my weakest Moments” becomes the more sophisticated “so will never, in my weakest Moments, be drawn in” (282); the rather unrefined statement “Mr. *Adams*, my Dear, who came last from the University, can perhaps recommend such another young Gentleman as himself, for your Domestick Duties” is modified and expanded to “Mr. *Adams*, my Dear, who came so lately from the University, can, perhaps, recommend such another young Gentleman as himself, to perform the Functions *he* used to perform in your Family” (287). With this change, Pamela’s private “devotionals” become more than just meager “Domestick Duties” as B. infers – an additional chore or obligation that supplements the household’s regular churchgoing. Instead, B.’s religious awareness is increased, and he acknowledges

the importance of such a “Function,” though he is hesitant to participate himself until his complete reformation in volume IV.

More evidence that Richardson wanted his text to run smoothly is suggested by revisions to B.’s obscure and vague phrases, thereby making his style more comprehensive and genteel. For instance, his loose paraphrase of Pamela’s response to his “Articles” in volume I is corrected when “bore no Part in my Violations” becomes “bore no Part in the Violation of me” (312); the stilted “which occasioned a Coolness between us for some time” is a more distinct “and this occasion’d a Coolness between us for some time” (381); the general and ill-defined “nothing to boast, but that I gave way to your Triumphs” is emended to “nothing to boast of, but that I gave way to the Triumphs of your Innocence” (406) in order to single out Pamela’s “Innocence,” one of her most salient and distinguishing characteristics; B.’s inflated rhetorical question beginning with “What” is given more force and clarity with the added preposition “To what” (200); “I was sensible” (201) was introduced into the second edition and included as part of B.’s self-incriminating defense, which has a much stronger tone of self-congratulation and ecstatic praise for Pamela than hints of his remorse or culpability. Finally, while B. is relating an earlier conversation with his mother, his turn ancillary “said I” becomes a more emphatic “Madam!” (185), a revision that indicates he protests too much his disinterest in a then 13-year-old Pamela. Taken out of context, these rather simple adjustments can appear indifferent – it may make little difference if B. speaks more or less like a gentleman – but they often fill in the gaps, remove idiomatic language, and provide clarity and emphasis to statements and make them more comprehensive and genteel. At the same time, a few additional variants impact Pamela’s character. Emphasis

for her innate modesty, for example, is surreptitiously slipped in, her in-house worship is augmented from a domestic duty to a family function, and it is ultimately the “Triumphs of [her] Innocence” that is B.’s pride. All of this is in addition to Richardson’s attempt to pacify offended readers, the “Reverend Mistakers,” with tighter, precise, and a more explicit argument against dispensations and pluralities.

Further changes to B.’s style include revisions made in the interest of propriety to show his better breeding. Like several of the variants already discussed, changes to B.’s language often affect the reader’s perception of other characters as well as his own, including Pamela, Lady Davers, and even Mr. Williams. Hence, certain variants that masquerade as simple sentence level adjustments have a far greater impact on characterization. For instance, another one of B.’s pronouncements, in which his criticism of high-born ladies is aimed unequivocally at his sister, is slightly reworded, for the sake of propriety and genteel affectation, so that he speaks collectively rather than individually. The original clause “Condescension of a proud Lady, to speak in her own Dialect, comes as hard and as difficult” becomes “Condescension, to speak in a proud Lady’s Dialect, comes with as much Difficulty from her” (172). Here, by reorganizing the sentence, B. subtly qualifies his statement and softens his evaluation of the “proud Lady” who cannot condescend all at once. He is also making a greater allowance for her behavior: “Condescension” is still “difficult” but not “hard” for her, nor is her pride directly addressed but rather cloaked within the dependent clause. It is this gentle censure, along with Pamela’s slavish flattery, that eventually reconciles Lady Davers to their marriage. Another example that illustrates how a revision of B.’s style impacts a different character is evidenced during the dispensation scene. B. states that Mr. Williams

“is very desirous” (1st, 217; 2nd, 260) to take the living offered by the Earl of —, but Richardson removed the adverb in the second edition and thereby reduced the clergyman’s eagerness to leave B.’s curacy for another, as well as any hint, however subtle, that Williams hoped to hold two livings.

Naturally, Pamela’s character is altered the most through revision to B. One instance in particular is during his extended *mea culpa* when “’Tis enough for me, that I am establishing with you, Ladies, and with you, my Lord, a higher Reputation for my *Pamela* (I am but too sensible I can make none for myself)” becomes “’Tis enough for me, that I am establishing in you, Ladies, and in you, my Lord, a higher Esteem for my *Pamela* (I am but too sensible I shall lose a good deal of my own Reputation)” (182). Pamela’s “Reputation” as a paragon of virtue is already well-established in volumes I and II, so the substitution of “Esteem,” though already near its highest point with all who know her, is particularly apt. At the same time, the variant makes it clear that B. is risking his own reputation as he communicates events from his point of view. Moreover, when B. narrates his earlier conversations with his mother, Pamela’s accomplishments are often the topic. In one instance, he begs his mother to talk “of any other Subject than this foolish Girl” (1st, 198). Richardson revised this to “Subject” (2nd, 191), presumably to give the reader a better opinion of B., who calculatedly omits the insult in his retrospective remarks. Of course, some of Richardson’s contemporaries found “foolish” to be an appropriate moniker for Pamela’s character in volume I. After all, she stays in Bedfordshire to finish a waistcoat against the advice of her parents. The change in volume III, however, removes any suggestion that Pamela deserves the epithet prior to B.’s attempts, as she is clearly an unwitting victim of his plot to seduce her. Yet another



change is made from “You are a charming Creature in every Dress” to “You are charming in every Dress” (244). “Creature” may have been deleted for two reasons. First, it shows the affectionate side of B. that Richardson was warned to censor, as cant names are “tender Expressions” unbecoming characters in “high life.” Second, “Creature” is used at different points in the narrative to describe Pamela, her maid Polly Barlow, and Mrs. Jewkes as disreputable or disgraceful. The connotation of the noun is evident in context, and the modifying adjective “charming” makes its meaning clear, but Richardson, familiar with the nuances of language, may have felt the word was, at best, affected and superfluous or, at worst, confusing. Another occasion in which a revision to B. also impacts Pamela’s character is part of his conversation with Sir Jacob when “But a good Wife is but a Steward to her Husband, in many Cases” becomes “But good Wives are but Stewards to their Husbands in many Cases” (318) Again, B. originally speaks singularly, clearly directing his maxim at Pamela. In revision, however, he refers to “good Wives” in general, and he completes the sentence by confirming that Pamela’s behavior corresponds with the adage. In the sequel, Richardson often used this approach to prove that each general assertion, regardless of who speaks it, has credibility, and Pamela’s example, more often than not, is the supporting evidence.

The final change to B.’s character that also alters Pamela’s characterization is a 164 word omission that, in effect, exonerates him while restoring humility to Pamela. In the first edition, B. justifies his marriage by cataloging his offenses and praising Pamela’s steadfast virtue to his uncle, Sir Jacob, thus:

That she should shew, on requisite Occasions, that she preferred her Virtue to her Life: That if ever she should be cast wholly into the Power of one, who, she had too much Reason to think, would stick at nothing to gain his Ends,

she should bear Persecution from his Agents, withstand repeated Offers from himself, tho' trying to influence her by Revenge, when he could not move her other Passions, (Revenge the darling Passion of the Sex, so seldom failing to answer a Tempter's Purpose, be he Man or Devil, that was his Expression) in pretending to put her Persecutor in her Power. – And when she saw no visible Way to escape, having been disappointed in an hundred pretty Machinations she had form'd, young and unassisted as she was, and threaten'd, that if she yielded not to the high and alluring Terms he offered, he would execute all his Purposes, and she should not have one Advantage that he then tender'd to her... (1st, 328)

To begin with, the omission minimizes B.'s culpability by quietly erasing his self-critical remarks. That is, there is no more discussion of "Power," "Persecution," "Offers," "Revenge," "Passions," "Terms," "Purposes," and, most importantly, B.'s parenthetical reference in which he compares himself to a "Devil" is also cut. His self-incriminating, methodical approach to rape has, in essence, been expunged. A modicum of decorum is also restored by the deletion, as it seems unlikely B. would impugn himself in such a way in mixed company, and the revision somewhat rescues him from his guilty past by making him appear more like a Grandison than a Lovelace; indeed, ignoring an embarrassing situation is as good as if it never happened.<sup>33</sup> At the same time that B.'s character is whitewashed by the alteration, Pamela's, too, is emended. This is an instance in which Pamela's "Triumphs," because repeated *ad nauseam*, are silently removed. Indeed, readers are well aware that "she preferred her Virtue to her Life," that she had to "bear Persecution from [B.'s] Agents," that she was "disappointed" in her escapes, and, finally, that she was "threaten'd" with rape. In fact, readers are conditioned to expect it.

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<sup>33</sup> One might argue that, like Lovelace's death, marrying Pamela and giving Mr. Andrews the Kentish farm would "EXPIATE" for B.'s behavior, but Richardson's goal was not achieved until his first hero was sufficiently reproached and fully repentant, thus allowing Pamela's incomparable virtue to rescue him from his perfidious libertine ways near the end of volume IV.

Not only are her virtues frequently repeated and brought up in casual conversation, but the narrative relies primarily on Pamela's point of view – her self-reporting. The change, therefore, helps reduce the unctuous praise and the heroine's self-congratulating tone that saturates *Pamela II*.<sup>34</sup>

The final emendations to B.'s character in volume III are 13 italics which serve two primary functions: they show both the lighter and more serious sides of his character by stressing or reducing his raillery, and, like the more substantive changes, they impact B.'s characterization as well as others, namely Lady Davers and Pamela. Seven of the italic variants in particular were added for emphasis and alter characterization. In one instance, "*me*" (172) is stressed to give readers the impression that B., like Pamela, is in "Awe" (172) of his sister. Richardson, in a possible effort to mend his "billingsgate's" "grosser imperfections," accented Lady Davers's intimidating though stately air whenever he could. However, the addition of B.'s perspective does little to alter the readers overall opinion of her, but it is refreshing, nonetheless, that in this example it is B. and not Pamela who flatters her. An additional italic emphasizes B.'s interest in Pamela's opinion. He and others compel her to decide important ethical and moral issues that come up in genteel conversation, such as peerage and church livings. The italic in "What would *you* advise" (258) illustrates B.'s interest in her point of view and shows that he is willing to consider deferring to her unbiased judgment. This change showcases Pamela's greater reasoning, especially since her pronouncements are always met with tears of joy or hyperbolic praise. Further emphasis is added to "*her*" (167) during B.'s rejection of a Baronet's Patent in order to greater distinguish his affection for Pamela.

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<sup>34</sup> Pamela always accepts compliments, and on the rare occasion that she protests the praises offered, it appears perfunctory and a polite matter of form.

Indeed, he prefers her formal cant names (*My dear Gentleman, My Benefactor, My dear Mr. B.*, etc.) to the thought of her calling him Sir William. B.'s emphatic "*did*" (197) during his *mea culpa* telegraphs to everyone that his mother's "solemn Injunctions and Recommendations" to look after Pamela "*did*" keep him from assaulting her until he was, at last, overpowered by his "Love" and "Spirit of Intrigue" (197). His mother's last request, he emphatically declares, was enough to keep his passion in check until Pamela's "bewitching...Charms" (197) went to work upon him. Moreover, to add credibility to B.'s generous nature, he more expressively asks Pamela "*when*" she can "dispense" with Mr. Adams's "Offices" (287) because he is eager to establish the curate in his new living. Likewise, to confirm that B. is capable of wit and raillery, "*Block*" (236) and "*is*" (278) are stressed. In the first example, B. jests that Jackey's neck, because of his birth, is more suited for the "*Block, than the Rope*" (236). In the second, B. lightheartedly agrees with his sister, during the dispensation scene, that Pamela's one-upmanship of her social superiors "*is* [endearingly] a little insolent indeed" (278). B.'s lighter side, more often aimed at offending Pamela's delicacy than attempts at wit, is underscored, but neither his character nor the book is humorous in scope. B. is, above all, a character that is more of a comment on the dangers of servitude and the discomforts of marriage than an outlet of humor or an agent of comedic discourse. All the same, the comic-relief, however slight within the longer thread of the didactic narrative, is not only welcome but restores a fragment of B.'s humanity.

In two instances, B.'s use of italics is removed, de-emphasizing "*she*" (2nd, 126) and "*your*" (131) in his playful letter to Sir Simon in order to minimize an aspect of B.'s playful personality in favor of his typically stoic ethos. In the first case, B. no longer

stresses his feigned surprise that Pamela is capable of offending “such a Gentleman” (126), as if Sir Simon’s complaint were genuine. In the second example, the emended typography draws attention away from Sir Simon’s tongue-in-cheek “Resentment” (131), thus making the epistle less comical. Although B. is still in on the joke, and very much playing along, he appears to take the game seriously after revision. Perhaps Richardson was concerned that the emphasis was misplaced and that his readers mistook B.’s raillery for condescension. Then again, B. is not known for his sense of humor. He is more of a rebuker, a threatening, domineering father figure always on the lookout for imperfections in others, especially Pamela, but curiously blind to his own shortcomings. This revision, B.’s scrupulous English standards of social behavior, and his inability to fully share in others’ amusements somewhat hardens him.

The final four italic variants combine emphasis with parallelism to strengthen the force of B.’s statements; however, in the process of handing out livings and complimenting his wife, B. exposes himself as a self-serving grandstander. With the first pair of variants, B. publicly congratulates Mr. Adams with Mr. Williams’s living, “may you give but as much Satisfaction *there*, as you have done in *this* Family” (285). This announcement distinguishes the great work Adams has done and will continue to do in his ministry, but it also shows that B. has the power. Regardless of Pamela’s input, B. is the one who makes the final decision, and he reminds her, in front of the company, that her power is only an extension of his own: “And whenever I put Power into your Hands for the future, act but as you have now done, and it will be impossible that I should have any Choice or Will but yours” (285). The other two variants intensify B.’s oft repeated maxim that Pamela “does *me* more Honour, than I have done *her*” (314). In effect, he

argues that Pamela's "Virtue has made her more conspicuous, than my Fortune has made me" (314), and he prides himself for marrying his mother's waiting maid because her "Conduct...in the Station she adorns," the very station he has raised her to, exceeds his hopes (314). Thus both revisions, likely made to add sincerity and generosity to B.'s short list of redeeming qualities, quickly become opportunities for B. to pat himself on the back. It would be different if his announcements were made privately, but in the sequel B. only makes such declarations when he has a crowd to praise him.

#### Lady Davers

The character whose style undergoes the largest number of revisions following B. is his sister, Lady Davers. There are 66 changes to the *Pamela* "billingsgate" that includes corrections to grammar, single-word variants, additions for greater precision and clarity, adjustments to affected and elevated language, and omissions for the sake of propriety. Because of Lady Davers's stiff-necked arrogance, it is no surprise that a number of the emendations are a clear attempt to alter her persona; indeed, it appears that Richardson revised to soften her reputation as an impolite social elitist by replacing much of her affected, masculine style with idiomatic, Pamela-friendly language. Of course, it would take a lot more than sentence level revision to completely overcome her defects of character, so in many ways Richardson failed to reconcile her behavior in *Pamela I* by writing *Pamela II*. However, he did make a conscious effort to scale back his unprincipled, pretentious social snob by allowing her to show a somewhat gentler disposition. In doing so, he managed to inhibit, to a slight extent, her legendary impatient, imperious, and implacable temper.

There are 28 single-word variants that correct or adjust Lady Davers's language, including the usual improvements to grammar and substitutions that not only correct or standardize usage but, surprisingly, introduce a relaxed, informal style. The grammatical niceties consist of three changes from "was" to "were" (35, 37, 99) and a "writ" becomes "wrote" (44). The variant "elder Sister" to "eldest Sister" (39) suggests either a compositorial error or that Richardson planned to add another sibling to the B. family.<sup>35</sup> Lady Davers's "Description" becomes the plural "Descriptions" (44); "on" is righted to "in" (96); "There" to "Then" (253); "Foot" to "Feet" (253); "that" to "who" (270); her erroneous use of the personal pronoun "we" is corrected to "I" (280); possessive adjectives are swapped for ownership when "our" becomes "my" (270); and the redundant "Sentiments" is replaced twice by "Epistles" (51) and "Thoughts" (51). The latter variant also adds informality. Adjustments and corrections to grammar are a consistent emendation and become automatic; nevertheless, they were important to Richardson, the tone of his novel, and the "high life" ethos he hoped to project.<sup>36</sup> Moreover, on two occasions Richardson's over-zealous single-word substitutions introduce errors. In particular, "that" becomes "as" (253) in separate sentences on the same page, and it is a blunder because both are placed in a relative clause. Furthermore, an example of Lady Davers's use of the article "an" before a word beginning with "h" is standardized to "a" (29) for consistency. Beyond the corrections, the remaining single-word variants give the reader a better idea of how Richardson wanted to alter her character. To begin with, her first four letters to Pamela are signed "Davvers," an

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<sup>35</sup> This change, not found in the octavo, was first added to the second edition. It remains in all subsequent re-issues of *Pamela II* as well as the lifetime edition of 1762.

<sup>36</sup> Richardson's global corrections have occasionally crossed over to servants, Mrs. Jewkes in particular, but with newer editions these are usually reversed.

impersonal closing that demonstrates her reluctance to begin an intimacy with her sister-in-law. Upon revision, however, “B. Davers” (30, 37, 41, 54) is substituted to show a greater degree of openness and sincerity that helps to establish a different mood in her correspondence.<sup>37</sup> Next, in her writing, Lady Davers adopts a casual, less ceremonious language when “Oeconomy” becomes “Management” (40); “Intuition” is “Nature” (52); the elevated “bestow’d” becomes “used” (232); the pompous “I now give” becomes “I now use” (232); and finally, her less affected compliment to Pamela’s “noble Modesty” is now a “natural Modesty” (244). Accordingly, the corrections show Richardson the editor, the errors his failed attempt to mimic the flair of upper-class diction, and the substitutions his effort to rewrite the relationship between the paragon and the matriarch. Even the slightest adjustment to such an unapproachable character is an improvement, and the friendlier, more familiar tone she assumes in her letters shows a level of casual intimacy entirely lacking in *Pamela I*.<sup>38</sup>

Because of her status, Lady Davers, a character who inspires so much “Awe” amongst servants and peers, must be expected to speak intelligibly, so Richardson reworked her phrasing to clarify meaning by filling in blanks and recasting and expanding passages for more effective detail or strength of expression. The 14 revisions are typical of Richardson’s usual method to eliminate the awkward, choppy “to the moment” style that is often at odds with some of the contemplative debates in *Pamela II*. In particular, Lady Davers’s syntax has an added precision and correctness in a few instances, namely “but improved” is “but was improved” (53); “I know what you hint at”

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<sup>37</sup> In the first edition, she does not sign-off as B. Davers until her fifth letter to Pamela (1st, 105).

<sup>38</sup> Further evidence that Richardson was trying to establish a closer relationship between Pamela and Lady Davers is suggested by an addition to the closing salutation of Letter IX: “And am” becomes the more intimate “And am, till then” (41).



is “I know what you hint at by it” (163); “Lady *Betty*” is a more exact “to Lady *Betty*” (229); and “of her Rectitude of Thinking” is tightened to “of the Rectitude of her Thinking” (281). Likewise, when speaking of Mrs. Jewkes, for example, Lady Davers’s opinion does not change, however, the clumsy “rewarded her for her vileness, which could hardly be equalled” is recast to “rewarded her: For her Vileness could hardly be equalled” (45); the sloppy “Lady *Betty*, (her Sister Lady *Jenny* too) with whom I am going over your Papers again, request of you” becomes the eloquent “Lady *Betty*, with whom I am going over your Papers again, and her Sister Lady *Jenny*, request of you” (95); the unclear “Much good may do you with such an Husband” becomes the plain “Much good may such a Husband do you” (97); “But, reply’d my Lady, *Cowley* is my favourite” is recast to the more concise “*Cowley*, reply’d my Lady, is my favourite” (223); and the slack “bringest so many booted Gentlemen as well as Neighbours, to croud the Church, to behold thee” becomes the orderly “bringest to Church so many booted Gentlemen, as well as Neighbours, to behold thee” (244). Two more variants expand their originals with more explicit statements when “Theory and Practice” becomes “Theory and Practice too, I doubt” (99) and “is deemed inviolable” is expanded to “is deemed, he owns, inviolable” (226). Finally, two more changes adjust redundant statements for clarity and concision when “more proper Decorum” is shortened to “more Decorum” (233) and, because all men are mortal, “that mortal Man” becomes “that Man” (282).

Other characters, principally Pamela and B., often remind each other that Lady Davers possesses “better Qualities,” suggesting, however ambiguously, that she is somehow superior to the fashionable ladies in her social circle. Consequently, readers expect more from “Captain *Bab*,” as B. calls her in volume II. Therefore, in order to meet or exceed

the expectations of her character, it is necessary to alter her shifting, somewhat spontaneous style for one that is more consistent and deliberate.

Although Richardson improved Lady Davers's slack, unpolished phrasing, he reversed his usual tendency to elevate the language; instead, he more often substituted the affected and formal with the idiomatic and familiar, making her, in the process, less of a social snob. Amongst the 19 variants, 10 alter her typical lofty style while the remaining emendations add an earnest formality depending on the context. The informal adjustments include, for example, "have in a Series" to "get in a Course" (52); "those Advantages" to "these" (52); "possibly make me resume" becomes the more natural "possibly revive" (53); "to be strong upon me" is less affected and more literary with "to fire my mind" (53); her pretentious use of Latin with "*Lex Talionis*" is translated to "Law of Retaliation" (98); "still better" is revised to the idiomatic and redundant "better and better" (162); the affected praise in "tho' all graceful Ease and Chearfulness" becomes "tho' easy and chearful" (223); the formal "that Epithet" is the casual "that that Word" (232); and the reflexive pronoun adds an informal touch when "the Transcriber" becomes "The Transcriber himself" (225). On nine occasions, Lady Davers's style is elevated. In particular, when speaking of titles, "the best Families among the Gentry are of it" becomes "the best Families among the Gentry are distinguish'd by it" (165); "And as Citizens being of it" is "And as to Citizens who have it" (165); and "some of them" is "some of this Class of People" (165). Three more changes illustrate the need for elevated language given the dignified subject, such as the verses Pamela's finds under her seat at church. Lady Davers eloquently defends her favorite poet, Abraham Cowley, when "Chastity too in his works" becomes "Chastity too in most of his Pieces" (223). While

supporting B.'s marriage, Lady Davers's style is raised in a conversation with Sir Jacob. Speaking of Pamela, the original "and so you'll say, when you see her" becomes "and so you'll say presently" (293). Finally, "Now then, this is what I insist on" becomes "Now therefore, this is what I insist upon" (36). Here, the change formalizes her demand that Pamela write to her, and the solemn command signifies to Pamela (and the reader) that in spite of her increased familiarity with her sister-in-law, Lady Davers, who "cannot bear Denial" (35), will be obeyed. At the beginning of *Pamela II*, Lady Davers becomes the newest of the heroine's converts, and in order to make her a true Pamelaphile, Richardson relaxed her belligerent, combative nature by making her more tolerant and socially acceptable. Thus, the variants subtly alter her characterization without entirely upsetting her ethos as the B. family matriarch. That is to say, in the process of scaling back Lady Davers's exaggerated style Richardson made her and Pamela sisters, friends, and, more or less, social equals.

In addition to making significant adjustments to her style that takes Lady Davers's character in an unexpected direction, Richardson also made two key revisions that add decorum, remove impropriety, and, most importantly, help confirm her new relationship with Pamela. In the first example, Lady Davers's offensive raillery of Pamela's pregnancy is emended from "Ay, said my naughty Lady, you may well look down, my good Girl: For, to talk to thee in thy own grave Way, thou has verify'd the Scripture, *What is done in Secret, shall be known on the House-top*" to "Ay, said my naughty Lady, you may well look down, my good Girl: For works of this Nature will not be long hidden. And, O! my Lady, (to the Countess) see how like a pretty *Thief* she looks!" (162). After revision, Pamela is still teased, but with good-humored rallying instead of obnoxious

mockery. The vulgar sexual innuendo, so inappropriately made in mixed company, remains, but the disrespect for Pamela's Puritan morality and the perversion of sacred writ is removed. The revision also omits the hint of religious hypocrisy and adds legitimacy to Lady Davers's complete reformation that is eventually signified by her participation in Pamela's closet devotions. Furthermore, it continues to reshape her relationship with Pamela. While she makes the joke at Pamela's expense, it is very much a joke and not nearly as derogatory as the original passage. The second revision was made primarily for consistency, but it also removes Lady Davers's impolite curiosity. Pamela's mention of the "Love Quarrel" in the first edition attracts a lot of attention. Indeed, both Lady Davers and Polly Darnford are too eager to read the clichéd verses of a jilted lover, and their appeals for copies goes against the confines of good breeding. Specifically, "Ay, *Pamela*, these are very pretty Lines. You must procure me a Sight of the Whole. They must needs let me into an entertaining History of a Love Quarrel.— Mean time, you must not think ill of my Favourite *Cowley*" becomes "Ay, *Pamela*, these are very pretty Lines. But you must not think ill of my favourite *Cowley*, however" (225). Here, the reference to the omitted poem is deleted, and, more notably, so is Lady Davers's indecorous curiosity. Together, the revised passages, and certainly most of Lady Davers's variants, tend to whitewash her character – she is on friendlier terms with Pamela, less vulgar, and is more entitled to her claims of nobility.

In the same way that substantive variants affect her characterization, the revised italics also provide further insight into Lady Davers's character and attempt to conceal her earlier transgressive behavior. For instance, through general emphasis and rhetorical effect, 12 emendations continue to illustrate her growing relationship with Pamela, her

thoughts on B.'s rakish conduct, and her opinions of Mrs. Jewkes, Mr. Williams, and social mobility. For example, Lady Davers's praises Pamela often enough, but an emphatic "*you*" (51) gives readers a typographical cue and prompts them to observe what she admires most in her sister-in-law: "Truth and Nature" (51). The italicized "*Well*" (96) stresses the severity of Pamela's danger and her fortunate escape from dishonor, but Pamela's struggle, so forcefully pronounced, also persuasively endears her to Lady Davers. The accented "*my Brother*" (100) puts emphasis on B.'s past conduct and perhaps hints at how Pamela is the only woman capable of reforming his bad behavior. Lady Davers's "*her*" (175) highlights her opinion of how brazen and careless B. was to try and sexually assault Pamela in front of Mrs. Jervis. Pamela's decorum and excellence are further underscored by "*any*" (233), which is used to signify that there is neither "Lady" nor "Neighbourhood" that exceeds Pamela's example (233). The variant "*one*" (45) is a quote from the Countess of C., but draws attention to both ladies' surprise that Pamela retains Mrs. Jewkes as her Lincolnshire housekeeper. Her retort to B.'s claim that he was at one time in "Awe" of her adds additional rhetorical effect when "*you*" parallels his "*me*" (172). Additional emphasis for parallelism is evidenced when "*for*" complements the already italicized "*against*" (253), and her statement that if Mr. Williams holds two livings he may pay the man "*handsomely*" (270) is emphasized along with the parallel of those who would "*not*" (270) do likewise and deserve censure. Lady Davers's chief objection to B.'s marriage is "*only*" (308) how to reconcile the dangerous precedent he has set by marrying his mother's waiting-maid. This last revision is particularly important because it not only allows B. to defend his marriage, but it also vehemently asserts that Lady Davers has no remaining conflict with Pamela, though her low birth still stings her

pride. The final and most important revision to Lady Davers's italics is a de-emphasized "did" (229). Here, Richardson draws attention away from the earlier "beating" she gives Pamela, a physical confrontation that includes two slaps on the hand and an attempted box on the ear (5th, II, 240, 246), a far less painful attack than the "deadly Slap" Mrs. Jewkes lands on Pamela's shoulder (I, 163). In further minimizing Lady Davers's attack, Richardson echoes his more substantive changes and obscures her earlier mortifying behavior in order to reduce her culpability and rebuild her image with readers. Taken altogether, Lady Davers's variants show an attempt to confine her within established social codes, and Richardson used his best editorial sleight-of-hand to further "extinguish" what his brother-in-law James Leake called "her former Severities" (Sabor 126).

#### Polly Darnford

After Pamela, B., and Lady Davers, the character whose style undergoes the most revision is Pamela's favorite correspondent, Polly Darnford. The 54 variants include single-word changes, revisions for clarity of meaning, modified affected speech, refined phrases and clauses that remove idiomatic language, and adjustments for propriety to her characteristic wit and verve. Taken altogether, the revisions firmly establish Polly as genteel without altering the sincerity of her character, and where propriety is not an issue she is just as frank in her letters to Pamela as in the first edition. The single-word changes often add a degree of formality, but much of her affected speech is reduced. Her idiomatic phrasing is polished to reflect her genteel status and education and slight obscurities are made explicit with precise designations. Polly, like B., remains largely unchanged within the greater context of the narrative; however, her character is more

consistent with her class. Furthermore, she is a better confidante for the heroine because she balances Pamela's moral preaching and complete submission with pragmatism and independent thought.

There are 16 changes to single words that include formal or standard usage substitutions that give Polly a stronger class identity that is consistent with her social position. "Attributes," for example, is the decorous "Commendations" (2nd, III, 77); "as" is the more formal "since" (120); "that" is corrected to "who" (121); "confirm" is embellished with "invigorate" (121); the closing salutation "prays" becomes a more characteristic "wishes" (121); "on" is "upon" (207); the informal "Servants" is "Domesticks" (320); Sir Simon's vulgar "Crutch-Stick" is now a "Church-Stick" (323); "think" is the refined "esteem" (326); "*dearest*" is the less affected "*dear*" (386); "decreed" is the more appropriate "agreed" (388); "an" is standardized to "a" (390); the erroneous "*London* Guests" is the accurate "*Noble* Guests" (320); her sister's "Monkey Airs" is revised to "Monkey Tricks" (322); and finally "you" is adjusted to "thee" (322) for rhetorical effect. A number of these variants are of a kind with changes to Pamela and B., and they show Richardson's class consciousness and his concern for consistency as he revised. If class was not an issue, it could be argued that the adjustments are indifferent, but because birth and status are such important parts of the narrative, it makes a difference, however slight, that servants are referred to as domestics. As a result, simple substitutions such as these can considerably sharpen the reader's perception of characters, and the adjustments to Polly's vocabulary add a convincing uniformity of character.

In the interest of clarity and concision, there are seven revisions that give Polly's style greater consistency and uniformity.<sup>39</sup> With the same regularity as he did with other characters, Richardson revised until the writer's language was more suitable to their social position, their correspondent, or their subject. Polly's chief correspondent is Pamela, so Richardson held her writing to the same standard as his exemplar. For example, meaning is made clearer with variants such as "disclaim Praise" to "disclaim the Praise" (77); "what a Figure will *Nancy* and her *Ursa Major* make together" is corrected to the masculine form and recast with "what a Figure *Nancy* and her *Ursus Major* will make together" (208); "Account of Family Management" is "Account of your Family Management" (320); the indefinite pronoun in "What would not one do" is personalized with "What would I not do" (329); "one's self" becomes the reflexive "myself" (329); "latter Part of your Letter" is a more specific "latter Part of your last Letter" (387); and, finally, "where this my Bold Curiosity" is expanded to "by the Recital of which, this my Bold Curiosity" (389). One of Richardson's most typical approaches to revision was to make vague, inaccurate, or incomplete thoughts into precise, corrected, and detailed expressions. Richardson labored assiduously to give his text a greater literary tone and quality by matching each character's style with the ethos expected of their social position. Perhaps for this very reason, as anyone who has read a sampling of *Pamela*'s spin-offs will attest to, a strikingly inconsistent disunity of style and trite,

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<sup>39</sup> For consistencies sake, Polly's requests for the verses to the excised poem are omitted: "But we all humbly request you'll be pleased to give us the Copy of the Manuscript Verses, from which you transcribe the pretty Lines, beginning – *But, Oh! forgive me, Heav'n, if oft my Fair*" (320) and "*P.S. Remember the Verses I wrote about, if proper – You hint too at some other Verses. Don't let us lose any thing*" (332).



hackneyed diction is more characteristic of Richardson's imitators than his own writings.<sup>40</sup>

In her letters to Pamela, there are nine revisions to Polly's style that add or remove affected speech as the context requires. In other words, the variants continue to demonstrate Richardson's advancing artistic skill as he added or removed artificial and exaggerated discourse based on the subject. For instance, part of Polly's function in the narrative is to update Pamela on Mrs. Jewkes's physical and spiritual health, but the stylish language she uses when discussing a servant is ill-fitting. Richardson, therefore, revised the rather artificial "will be efficacious to her" to the simpler "will contribute to make her" (76). A different subject, then, calls for a different style. This is also evidenced when Polly pleads on behalf of Mr. Peters. The language is elevated from "for he thinks he was wrong to deny you his Protection" to "for he thinks it was wrong in him, to deny you his Protection" (155). Pages earlier, however, Polly's paraphrase of Mr. Peters' "Hopes" is revised from the over polite "and to hope, in his Name" to the direct "and to express his Hopes" (120). Pamela has already forgiven Mr. Peters for his flippant disregard for her virtue in the earlier volumes, so Richardson recast the clergyman's affected apology to a style more becoming his position and situation – an affected display or gesture of penance is ignoble at best, and it appears as if Richardson would rather reconcile his readers to Mr. Peters than allow them to condemn him.<sup>41</sup> Similar revisions occur in Polly's ecstatic praise for Pamela. In one instance, her vehement veneration is

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<sup>40</sup> While it is true that Pamela often talks "*like a Philosopher in one Page and like a Changeling the next*" in volumes I and II, Richardson revisions to his first novel over a twenty year period improves much of Pamela's shifting, inconsistent style.

<sup>41</sup> That Richardson made an effort to mention Mr. Peters in his sequel is most likely due to Kelly's *High Life*, in which the clergyman's daughter is ruined by his coachman. Such a vulgar return for his earlier slight of Pamela's virtue possibly offended Richardson's delicacy, and the sting of a guilty conscience is Mr. Peters' only punishment in *Pamela II*.

revised from “than she is capable of adorning the princely Palace” to “than the Ornament of the stately Palace” (77). Polly, of course, admires Pamela, but she is not the loudest voice in the chorus that is always stroking Pamela’s ego – she has nothing to apologize for and has no reason to ingratiate herself with Pamela – so while she may think her friend an exemplar she does not incessantly eulogize her to the same degree as Pamela’s ever-growing coterie of admirers. At the same time, Polly is not above giving compliments when they are due. Writing to Pamela about the dispensation scene, Polly commends her marriage, for example, and gives her more credit than B. when “that never surely was so happy a Couple” becomes “that you do as much Credit to your Partners Judgment as to your own: Never, surely was so happy a Couple” (328). In the sequel, visitors are often surprised or embarrassed by how much Pamela, to the cottage born, excels them, her social superiors, in judgment, and instead of envying or rallying her, as Lady Davers does, Polly sincerely commends her intellect.

In a similar way, three more variants add or emend Polly’s affected speech. In one example, her style is elevated and refined as she describes how she competes with her sister for their parent’s attention. The slack clause “and injoy, unenvied, the Favour of my dear Papa and Mama, which this ill temper’d Girl is always begrudging me” is revised to an orderly “and shall enjoy, unrivalled, the Favour of my dear Papa and Mamma, which this ill-temper’d Girl is always envying me” (208). Although the emended passage loses its “to the moment” style, the improved rhythm draws more attention to an important statement that highlights the affection Polly has for her parents and her sibling rivalry. Therefore, when talking about her “Papa” and “Mamma,” a polite subject, the language is suitably elevated. Two more changes remove Polly’s artificial language and appear just

as deliberate. Both examples adjust the exaggerated, indelicate flattery of the heroine and strip Polly's character of impropriety. Her stilted, fulsome, and uncharacteristic "I must recapitulate the Pleasure you have given us in your charming Accounts" becomes an unaffected "You have given us Pleasure in your Accounts" (320), and the literary "are what would most engage my Curiosity" becomes a less contrived and supplicating appeal with "are what would satisfy my Curiosity" (389). Ultimately, the evidence suggests that Richardson, rather than blindly elevating even his secondary characters with an exaggerated style, knowingly chose whether or not to embellish or minimize artificial language based on the writer's subject and context.

Richardson made an additional nine revisions that refine Polly's phrasing, clean up her idiomatic language, and silently remove subtle improprieties. Two instances of Polly's idiomatic style are standardized when "shew it him" is expanded to "shew him the Letter" (11), and "Mama and me" becomes "Mamma, before me" (121). Two more emendations not only clean up informal language but also extend the passage with greater detail. For example, "at the Expence of *her own*" becomes "at the Expence of that Pride, which can only preserve her from Contempt" (323), and "be pleased, if I were to marry" is "be pleased, in that respect, if I were to marry" (326). Two passages are also revised for the sake of propriety. In the first, "charming Example and Conversation" becomes "charming Conversation" (117). Either the original phrase implies that Polly needs the force of Pamela's example, which is unlikely, or it is another instance of feigned flattery and therefore omitted. Polly, unlike Pamela's other converts, e.g., Mrs. Jewkes, Lady Davers, and B., is already sensible, witty, and good natured, so her overstated tribute to Pamela's radiating moral goodness, an indelicate affectation, almost certainly motivated

the change. In the second, while asking Pamela for the more private particulars of her married life, Polly's "where you can be guilty of any" is revised to "where you can give him such an Opportunity" (389). Here, the change was likely motivated by Polly's implication that Pamela is "guilty" of a willful fault. The substitution of such a discrete and diplomatic term is necessary or Richardson risked his readers mistaking the point. Indeed, Pamela may give B. an "Opportunity" that must be "borne with" (389), but she will never be blameworthy, as the term implies, in her conduct.<sup>42</sup> Finally, while arguing over Mr. Murray with Nancy, Polly affects the solemn style, and she hurls as many thous, thys, and thees at her sister as Lady Davers does at Pamela in volume II. At two points, however, Polly drops the redundant solemnity of the pulpit for a natural, less pretentious style. Specifically, "that thou dost not *satiate*" becomes "not to *satiate*" (322) and her original "that thou leavest something for *Hereafter*" is "to leave something for *Hereafter*" (322). Under Richardson's editorial eye, the repetition of "thou" five times in a 68 word paragraph must have been easily noticed. With these changes, some of Polly's slack, untidy, redundant writing is given a more genteel texture and tone, her rhetoric is more effective and reflective of her social environment, and her expressions are more exact while less affected.

Just as Pamela's persona is principally distinguished by her aggressive austerity, B.'s by his unapologetic arrogance, and Lady Davers, who eschews female decorum and restraint, by her spiteful and abusive conduct, Polly Darnford's is in large part defined by her characteristic wit, but Richardson omitted or emended the passages containing her unabashed, puckish repartee with subtler, less offensive forms of raillery. The first of two

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<sup>42</sup> Even in volume IV when Pamela is overcome with jealousy, B. acquits her during the "trial" of her "vapourish" behavior because his dalliance with the Countess Dowager is the root cause.

omissions is Polly's ready response to her father's growing impatience with his "little Bastards": "Ah! – though I, but I durst not say it – if thy Lady had been half as lively as thou hast been in thy Day, my worthy Vather, thou mightest have had some Reasons for the Epithet!" (1st, 78). Polly's apology for the impropriety originally followed, but for continuity and integrities sake, it too is omitted, and Richardson erased both rejoinder and retraction in order to repress Polly's assertive, masculine behavior: "Forgive me, dear Friend [Pamela]; you know I'm a bold Girl: But I love him dearly for all that, and honour him too; and he knows I do; – and, what's strange, if he did not love me again, would not have flung his Book at my Head" (78). Even with an old, unrepentant rake as a father, Polly violates her sacred duty as a daughter with an insult, a transgression that Pamela's strict middle-class morality would find hard to forgive.

Richardson further altered Polly's comic ethos in four emended passages by limiting the targets of her satire to the foolish and absurd, i.e., Nancy and Mr. Murray, and obscuring her verbal assaults. Naturally, then, another unbecoming exchange with her father is revised and changes his characterization in the process. Originally, Sir Simon's crude bird metaphor reflects his love for perverse *double entendres* and bawdy humor, and Polly's riposte is also typical of her endearing and sprightly wit:

You *must* be saucy, says Sir *Simon*, and when a Partridge is put on your Plate, snuff up your Nose at it, when, were you kept a little hungry, you'd have leapt at a coarser Bird.

I know some Gentlemens Partiges, Sir, cry'd I, no better than rank Wigeons, and far short of a Stubble Goose. He call'd me one of his free Names. (163)

This figurative description, full of texture and color, is replaced and restrained by a flat, strictly literal and more decorous expression:

You *must* be saucy, says Sir *Simon*, because the Man offers himself to your Acceptance. A few Years hence, perhaps, if you remain single, you'll alter your Note, *Polly*, and be willing to jump at a much less worthy Tender.

I could not help answering, that altho' I paid due Honour to every thing that my Papa was pleased to say, I could not but hope he would be mistaken in this. (2nd, 157)

Consequently, Richardson's well-known concern for delicacy alters the behavior of characters to accord with the nobler sentiments of his exemplar.<sup>43</sup> In other words, Polly's impetuous behavior is recalled in revision to match Pamela's example, though there are a number of instances in *Pamela I* where the heroine's ready wit and willful defiance surpasses Polly's rather benign rebelliousness. At the same time, Sir Simon's jocular analogy, perhaps tastelessly applied to the most important topic of the eighteenth-century – companionate marriage – is considerably less offensive, and the baronet does not appear so callous and uninhibited. In the interest of propriety, therefore, Polly's lively temper becomes, upon revision, less of a willful opposition and more of a calculated irony. For example, when Polly catalogues Mr. Murray's shortcoming, e.g., loud laughs, grand gestures, graceless manners, one remark changes from an indifferent "He is well vers'd in Country Sports" to a purposefully flippant "He is, *however*, well vers'd in Country Sports" (157 italics mine). The additional adverb emphasizes how ridiculously unfit Mr. Murray is for a husband, and, at the same time, gives Polly license to comment without offending anyone's delicacy. Similarly, "Yes, cry I" becomes "Yes, Sir, cry I" (157). The added noun to Polly's already tongue-in-cheek agreement with her father that Mr. Murray is "a most accomplished Gentleman" (157) surreptitiously adds a greater

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<sup>43</sup> "Delicacy," Richardson wrote to his brother-in-law, James Leake, was "required in the Continuation of [*Pamela*]," and was something that "the High-Life Men," Richardson claimed, knew nothing about (Carroll 43).

degree of sarcasm to her response. Finally, Polly's controlled, clandestine wit is further evidenced in her prediction of what life will be like if Nancy marries the foppish Murray. Originally, Polly mentions how her sister's "fine Attributes" will be "swallow'd up in the Quicksands of Matrimony" (1st, 344), but the revision recasts this phrase to "attributed Excellencies" (2nd, 326). In other words, Polly's new turn of phrase is ambiguous, suggesting that Nancy's "Attributes" are, in fact, only alleged or assumed, and her marriage will expose her for the shrew she is. Thus, Richardson was able to reshape Polly's character as assertive enough to offset Pamela's characteristic "post-hymeneal" passivity and yet serve as a counter-exemplum to the arrogant bullying of Lady Davers.<sup>44</sup>

The final revisions to Polly in volume III are italics that draw the reader's attention to specific statements by either indicating emphasis, rhetorical effect, or a quote, all of which affect characterization by indirectly influencing the reader's opinion of the person or subject Polly discusses.<sup>45</sup> To put it another way, the italics do more than just provide accent because they also telegraph to the reader how they are supposed to respond to a character or situation. In all, Polly's typographical changes emphasize her pleas on Mr. Peters' behalf, her on-going feud with her sister, her genuine dislike for Mr. Murray and Sir Jacob, and, most importantly, her affection for Pamela. For example, because Polly describes Pamela as being "so exact in *your own* Duty" (120) the reader is prompted to pity and forgive Mr. Peters' earlier slight. Pamela's consistent and rigid moral principles are also stressed and her vigilance is reinforced. At the same time, it is

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<sup>44</sup> The term "post-hymeneal" is Robert Folkenflik's. See page 593 in "A Room of Pamela's Own." *ELH* 39.4 (1972): 585-596. *JSTOR*. Web. 28 June 2011.

<sup>45</sup> Approximately 14 words are italicized for the first time, and in three instances italics are removed: "*it seems*" to "it seems" (326) and "*his*" to "his" (389). The context of the reversed typography suggests that italics were inserted in error.

made abundantly clear why Polly intercedes on Mr. Peters' behalf – both of them are uncertain “*how*” (121) B. will react if the clergyman writes to Pamela about “such delicate Circumstances” (121). After all, any explanation will implicate B. more than Mr. Peters. Again, the italics accentuate a subject that Richardson obviously thought needed highlighting – Mr. Peters' guilt, Polly's sympathy for him, and B.'s culpability. While readers are subtly instructed to pity Mr. Peters, they are encouraged to despise Mr. Murray. Polly, with emphatic irony, says that he is “like a *true* Man” (325), whose behavior during courtship is full of hypocrisy and neglect. Polly, of course, sees Mr. Murray, courtship, and marriage with a particularly critical eye, as her many gibes illustrate, but she is not necessarily made more of a termagant in the process. Nancy, too, who is often scolded by Polly for her temper, becomes more of an object of ridicule because of her “*one* View” (322) – her disagreeable, obnoxious character. The embellished sibling rivalry between Polly and Nancy may further alienate Polly with readers, but her faults are not excessive and her little indelicacies enhance Pamela's contrasting strengths. Further invective is aimed at the vulgar Sir Jacob despite his “Repentance, and Amendment” (330). Polly enthusiastically reminds readers what a “*Barbarian*” (330) he is. In two additional examples, Polly's italics underscore her praise for Pamela, once on her “favourable and *just*” (235) opinion and again in Polly's express joy to visit her friend in London: if Pamela's is only a “*Tenth Part*” of Polly's “Pleasure” then she is as “welcome as [she could] wish” (329). Three additional italics are primarily used for rhetorical effect, adding parallel structure and more critical bite to Polly's express dislike and frustration with Nancy and Mr. Murray: “*he*” is now paired with “*his*” (322) and “*negligent*” is paired in emphasis with “*forward*” (326). Finally, in one



instance, the italics not only signify a quote from Mr. Murray but also show Polly mocking him. Polly's added sarcasm is all too evident in her use of his flippant comment that the "Preparatives of Matrimony" are a mere "*busy Novelty*" (326). Polly's italics thus increase the verbal irony while signaling to the reader how they are supposed to perceive her and tertiary characters. Accordingly, Richardson, concerned with the subtlety of his meaning, made his point more intelligible and emphatic by forcibly expressing how he wanted readers to see things. At the same time, by using Polly, he was able to keep the impropriety out of his heroine's mouth.

#### Revisions to Volume IV

##### Pamela

In volume IV, there are 609 changes to Pamela's style that often replace the vitality and immediacy of Richardson's signature epistolary technique with additional stylistic correctness.<sup>46</sup> Amongst the variants that primarily polish her prose and exalt her character are corrections to grammar; the omission of a large number of redundant words and phrases; single-word substitutions that often elevate her language; modified affected speech; more deliberate, elevated, and less idiomatic phrases and clauses; fleshed out detailed and scripted expressions; recast "to the moment" sentences that are considerably more organized and developed; matters of impropriety are corrected; and, finally, material is deleted because superfluous or added for clarity. As a result, Pamela's language is increasingly more pedantic and sophisticated as the novel progresses, and,

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<sup>46</sup> So many changes are impractical to illustrate in full, especially when they are primarily aesthetic adjustments rather than creative or didactic. Therefore, I only offer a number of examples that illustrate the substantive variants found in volumes III and IV.

consequently, the limited action offered by the masquerade and trial scenes is overshadowed by Pamela's analytical and educative discourses. In other words, as she builds a wall of studied rhetoric between herself and the reader, Pamela gains status, coherence, and sophistication, but her writing loses much of its intimacy, sincerity, and simplicity.

There are a significant number of grammatical niceties that Richardson corrected in volume IV that further distance the exalted Pamela from her socially inferior, somewhat backward counterpart in volumes I and II. Verb tenses and participles, for example, are standardized to reflect the limited though genteel education she received from B.'s mother. In particular, "was" becomes "is" (58, 397); "bespeaking" to "bespeaks" (65); "who can call" to "who have call'd" (73); "and he says, he cannot live long" to "saying, he could not live long" (95-96); and "sprung to him, and kneeled for his kind Blessing" is "sprang to him, and kneeled for his Blessing" (123). Moreover, Pamela's "that made me worse" implies distance so it is replaced with "This made me worse" (158) and suggests temporal closeness; "thinks" is "thought" (199); "found" is "find" (330); "was" is "were" (333); "requir'd" to "requires" (397); "had" to "have" (397); "were" to "are" (397); the novels "which we have read" becomes "which we read" (401); "began" is "begun" (412); "wrote" to "written" (415); and finally, "by reason of their inflaming and unnatural Descriptions, which did much Hurt" is corrected and elevated to "by reason of their heighten'd and inflaming Descriptions, which do much Hurt" (397). These improvements are consistent with Pamela's developing erudition that has been unbelievably accelerated in the short time since her marriage. Her ethos as a

gentleman's wife would indeed be carried too far if she were not made the exception to so many social rules and regulations.

Beyond simple issues of tense, single-words are also revised to correct and refine Pamela's style with an accurate or more precise variant, thereby giving her more authority in her writing. For instance, "an" is with staggering frequency standardized to "a"; "Lady's" becomes "Ladyship's" (33); Pamela is not wedded to a "generous Mind" but rather to a "generous Gentleman" (36); the pronoun "their" is changed to "his" (38) and now agrees with its antecedent; "the being" is corrected to "their being" (43); "that" becomes "which" (70, 155, 179, 190, 272, 423) and "who" (93, 368, 409); "which" is "who" (97); "us" is appropriately "me" (100); "they" is correctly "yours" (105); "who" to "which" (150); "in" to "into" (170); "Rivaless" is the more conventional "Rival" (180); Pamela's relationship with the Countess Dowager is altered from a less intimate "my Lady" to "the Lady" (192, 219); four times the idiomatic "'em" is expanded to "them" (169, 202, 265) as is "'tis" to "it is" (332); "next" is "3rdly" (295) and altered again to "third" (299); Pamela's prescriptive "shall" is the more flexible "should" (348); baby Pamela's "little" black eyes are now "pretty" (353); "solid Motives" is a stronger "solid Ties" (363); because B. deserves kind words and not women, the vague "them" becomes "it" (36); "reply'd he" is more specifically "reply'd Mr. B." (219); and instead of "give" her despair, Pamela hopes B. and Polly will not "make" her despair (36). There are also, however, a few instances in which Richardson occasionally overcorrects and introduces minor errors similar to those he corrected. For example, "than" to "then" (5); a characteristic "further" is erroneously "farther" (153, 209); "is" becomes an incorrect "am" (209); and "that" becomes ungrammatically "which" (96, 125, 241). In spite of the

errors, the simple corrections illustrate that Pamela speaks with more gravity and urgency because more deliberate and correct. Therefore, as the changes increase Pamela's intellect, it appears as if Richardson was directing her writing with an overt authorial intention of calling greater attention to her pronouncements.

There are additional grammatical corrections that formalize some of the more obvious instances of Pamela's unpolished idiomatic language and illustrate a greater degree of deliberation in her letters that continues to alter the tone from one of unrehearsed candor to practiced conversation. Examples of Richardson filling in the gaps with a genteel grammatical correctness include, "from Fields" to "from the Fields" (3); "Front a Square" to "Front to a Square" (3); "was *Eaton*" is corrected to "was at *Eaton*" (5); "good to give" is "good as to give" (12); "I ought" is "I ought to have" (96); "upbraids her Guilt" to "upbraids her with her Guilt" (79); "and Recommendation of them to your Favour" becomes "and for my Recommendation of them to your Favour" (106); "I must call it so" to "for I must call it so" (155); "as the other" to "as for the other" (163); and "being sensible our Passions" becomes "being sensible that our Passions" (263). Further variants include added, adjusted, or corrected pronouns for detail and clarity, such as "expressing themselves after this manner" to "one of them expressing himself after this manner" (38); "even should that be ungrateful" to "even should that one be ungrateful" (62); "(*i.e.* he and his Lady)" to "(*i.e.* Himself and his Lady)" (76); "her and him" to "them" (196); "understand" to "understand you" (240); "and may" to "and that they may" (263); and "They would do no Harm to others themselves, and cannot think others would do them any" to "Such a Lady would do no Harm to others herself, and cannot think others would do her any" (398). Moreover, some changes replace a

slack pronoun with a more descriptive noun, particularly, “which makes her a thorough ridiculous Character; and he introduces Captain *Clerimont* into the Company of the Aunt and Niece” to “and she makes a thorough ridiculous and improbably Character. *Pounce* introduces Captain *Clerimont* into the Company of th i [sic] Aunt and her Niece” (78); “carries one up to” becomes “carries a Child up to” (127); “to them” is “to *Billy*” (272); “suppose such an one was to allot such a Portion of Time for the *more learned* studies” to “suppose this Gentleman was to allot a particular Portion of Time for the *more learned* studies” (300); “Fondness of one” to “Fondness of the Person” (328); and “were it but to keep itself in Countenance for her first Impressions” is “were the Lady but to keep herself in Countenance for receiving first Impressions” (405-406). These examples show that Richardson continued to use Pamela’s language as the primary means of establishing her exalted condition because the finer points of grammar develop after her marriage to B. and conspicuously correspond with her raised position and power.

Further improvements to Pamela’s style omit redundant words or phrases, but in the process her spontaneous, unreserved sense of familiarity that she has established with her correspondents is replaced with a scripted, premeditated style. In his revisions, Richardson separated Pamela from her usual way of “writing to the moment” with greater frequency as the novel progressed, uncovering at the same time his anxiety to keep the novel stylistically consistent with a “high life” ethos. The redundancies call unwanted attention to themselves that Richardson likely hoped to redirect to Pamela’s crusading didacticism. For instance, because Pamela uses “Sir” seven times on a single page, it is omitted in one case (7) and, in several others, Pamela’s overuse of “Sir” as an epithet for B. is globally and substantially reduced in what may be an attempt to literally lessen the

social distance between them; the repetitious “em” is expanded to “them” (39); “whether his Countenance” is “his Countenance” (69); the oft repeated and indistinct “Circumstance” becomes “Way” (11) and, in another context, the more direct “Tragedy” (70); “less indulgent to my Boldness” is “less indulgent to me” (75); “his Lady” to “her” (75); the unnecessary “took the Pen in his Hand, and wrote” is a simpler “took a Pen, and wrote” (86); because those who are “good” are usually “honest,” “a good honest Husband” becomes “an honest Husband” (106); Pamela’s “Thanksgiving Prayer” is reduced to a “Thanksgiving” (124); “Gentle-Gentleman” to “Gentleman” (125); “for speaking a few harsh words” is “for a few harsh Words” (129); when speaking of Locke’s *Thoughts concerning Education* Pamela’s “approve this Rule to Children” is “approve of this Rule” (285); three instances of a redundant “so” are altered (333, 363, 397) as well as “that” (9, 290, 346) and “too” (357, 406); “Instances to the Advantage of Ladies, which are so flagrantly in their Favour” is recast with a pronoun as “Instances, which are so flagrantly in their Favour” (346); “Glory” is elevated and replaced with “Exult” (347); because consent implies permission, “till we had consented to permit her to live with us” becomes “till we had consented to her living with us” (366); and instead of two people at separate keyboards, a “Harpichord” becomes a “Violincello” (412).

Although it took Richardson nearly six months to write his sequel, the redundancies are a sign of hurried writing. A writer pruning his text of superfluties may appear nothing more than mere copy editing, but in Richardson’s case, when language is one of the principle means of illustrating that Pamela is deserving of social and economic success, it is imperative. Each revision strengthens the sentence and is important in shaping the reader’s final impression of the heroine.

Not only is much of Pamela's style cleaned up and corrected in volume IV, it is also significantly raised and continues to emphasize her economic, social, and moral superiority. Her word choice in particular is repeatedly refined and elevated and therefore more noticeable because it pushes her further from the credulous servant girl that Richardson initially conceived. At the same time, beyond elevating Pamela's style and showcasing a well-developed vocabulary, single-word emendations also reveal she is master of a more studied and manipulative rhetoric designed to draw the reader's attention away from the fiction and absorb them in her didactic purpose. Single-word alterations for elevation include "Case" to "Dispute" (9); because of her social standing "Ridicule" is more appropriately "Censure" (37); "that" to "whether" (69); "as" is a more formal "since" (64, 72, 99, 174, 273, 283, 332, 333); "he says" is formalized to "he owns" (77); "bottom Drawer" becomes "lowest Drawer" (102); "Character" is "Disposition" (138); "dear" is the loftier "precious" (144); "Joy" is "Pleasure" (180); "tho" to "altho" (209); "improve" is "widen" (219); "Creator" to "Almighty" (289); "it will" is a more powerful "all will" (297); "Creature" to "Soul" (325); "Play-games" is "Playthings" (334); "Branch" to "Consequence" (334); "so" to "therefore" (335); "on" to "upon" (343); "Indulgers" is changed to "Instructors" (345); "late" is "former" (357); "Favour" to "Approbation" (405); and "clamorous" is "rapturous" (429). As well, Pamela often uses a commanding, imperative mood rather than an indicative to express necessity, such as "would" to "must" (71), "should" (166), and "will" (318, 330); "should" is "shall" (160, 330, 379); "may" is "shall" (170); and for improved rhetorical effect "will" also becomes "shall" (181) and "should rather" is "had rather" (336). With these variants, Richardson sought to reestablish social stability by appropriately distancing Pamela the

servant from the exalted exemplar she had become, thus making her bourgeois beliefs a less bitter pill to swallow as they eventually reform or influence members of every social class. In the same way, her language is charged with more prescriptive power and conviction and gives her a unique authority to mandate morality with a masculine firmness.

As a rule, Pamela's genteel pretentiousness or exaggerated displays of feeling are often altered because they offend genteel taste and undermine her conservative middle-class sensibility. At times, Pamela's "high life" ethos and her well-delineated bourgeois beliefs are at odds, but in many instances Richardson was able to strike a better balance between her elevated language and her socially unacceptable bootlicking. Many of the changes moderate Pamela's fulsome flattery of B., including the omission of endearing epithets such as "dear." For instance, "The dear Gentleman" becomes "Mr. *B.*" (36); the redundant "dear, dear Gentleman" is adjusted to "dear Gentleman" (96); "his dear Hands" is "his Hands" (145); "said the dear Gentleman, coming to me" is emended to "coming to me" (181); "my dear Mr. *B.*" is simply "Mr. *B.*" (186); "said the generous Gentleman, raising me to his Bosom" to "raising me to his Bosom" (190); "I see, dear Sir, said I" to "I see, Mr. *B.* said I" (207); "your dear Brother" to "Mr. *B.*" (209); "That Mr. *B.* the noble-minded Mr. *B.* is almost the only Gentleman" to "That Mr. *B.* is almost the only Gentleman" (347); and "Well, dear Sir" is "Well, Sir" (207).<sup>47</sup> Additional exaggerated compliments are reduced when "to your Generosity" becomes "to you" (104); the degree of B.'s goodness is decreased when "and he behav'd himself with as

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<sup>47</sup> Naturally, there are exceptions in which the praise is inflated rather than minimized: "dear Sir" becomes "dearest Sir" (309) and "from so beloved a Master" is "from so skilful and so beloved a Master" (341). The majority of variants, however, illustrate a strong intent to restrain the heroine.



great Goodness and Kindness to me as usual” is modified to “and he behaved himself to me with his accustomed Goodness and Kindness” (140); “Joy and Gratitude” is “Pleasure” (192); “Mr. *B.* with great Goodness came back” is “Mr. *B.* came back” (195); “your dear Brother had, unknown to me, presented to them” is “your kind Brother had presented to them, unknown to me” (195); “dear Lady” becomes “good Lady” (208); the “Gracefulness of [*B.*’s] Person” is retained, but the “Nobleness of his mind” is omitted (238; 2nd, 209); the canting “your Girl” is “your *Pamela*” (287); “your dear conversation” is “your conversation” (304); another affected repetition is retrenched from “charming, charming” to “charming” (337); the self-flattering “my fond chearful Discourses” is “my chearful Discourses” (359); and the flowery “every delighted Nostril, dwells on every praiseful Tongue, and is ingraved on every admiring Heart” is a less affected “every Nostril, dwells on every Tongue, and is ingraved on every Heart” (428).<sup>48</sup>

Along with the changes to Pamela’s unctuous praise, there are examples in which affected language is standardized without introducing an idiomatic or informal style. That is, in a few cases, Pamela retains her “high life” ethos without the pretense. For example, “a Character” becomes “a Person” (6); “that shocked me much” is “that made me shudder” (70); “be so pleased” is “be so good” (101); “altho’ the Neck” is “if the Neck” (102); “if I am inabled to reform such a dangerous Spirit of Intrigue, as your dear Brother possessed” is a more conservative “if I can be a means to reform such a dangerous Spirit of Intrigue, as that of your dear Brother” (208); “requested of me, to know, If I” is simplified to “ask’d me, If I” (237); in addition to correcting the compositorial error, the

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<sup>48</sup> In a few instances, Pamela’s conservative praise is reversed and exaggerated, including “ever-valu’d Present” to “ever-to-be-valu’d Present” (32-33); “the genteel Company” to “the genteel and splendid Company” (83); “were over; a Conference I still think of with Pleasure” to “were happily over, (a Conference I shall always think of with Pleasure)” (340).

passage “as the World would account it, were they to judge from my my [sic] Father’s low Estate” becomes “as the World would say, were a Judgment to be made from my Father’s low Estate” (238); “should be such an one as has had as genteel and free an Education” to “should be one who has had as genteel and free an Education” (308); “had not taken Effect” to “had not happen’d” (371); “meditating” to “considering” (389); and, finally, “she wilt” is “she will” (406). Thus, a large amount of the effusive praise is reduced or removed altogether, and Pamela’s mannered, pompous tone is made more conservative without becoming too informal or reminding the reader of her low birth. Consequently, a compromise is made between the competing ideologies, and Pamela’s character moves closer to the amalgam Richardson seems to have been aiming for.

There are a considerable amount of recast passages that revise Pamela’s style to characterize her as more intelligent, eloquent, and ennobled.<sup>49</sup> Her exalted condition is further distinguished by and contingent upon her innate ability to absorb and correctly use the language of the upper-class; therefore, elevated phrases and clauses show what appears to be a consciously controlled social performance that readers are likely to understand as authenticating Pamela’s status and strengthening her didactic role. Examples include “expects me to write as freely” to the more deliberate “expects that I should write as freely to you” (39); the idiomatic “every body” becomes “all Persons” (43); similarly, “Which looks pretty plainly” is “Which makes it apparent” (76); Pamela’s critique of “The Tender Husband” appears more analytical when “nor so much as one just

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<sup>49</sup> There are nine instances in which the existing elevated language is overturned, making up a very small portion of the whole. A few examples include, “what I could conceive” to “what I had imagined” (4); “my late Circumstance” to “my late Lying-in” (122); “thereby to” is “by that means, to” (280); “threefold” is “Three” (294); “to offer one more Point, on this Subject, to your Consideration, altho’ I just touch’d upon it before” to “to speak a little further to a Point, that I have already touched upon” (320); “and inspire him with” to “and create in him” (326); and “To watch the beamy Dawnings” to “To watch the Dawnings” (330).

or generous Design pursued throughout the Play” is changed to “nor, indeed, is there so much as one just or generous Design pursued throughout the Play” (81); her discussion of Italian opera is likewise improved when “pleas’d so many Hours by Air” is altered to “pleas’d so many Hours by the mere Vibration of Air” (83-84); the informal “dispens’d, for the present, from these lighter Subjects. But yet, if it please God to spare my Life, as your Ladyship does not disapprove of my Remarks, I intend to make a little Book” is a tighter and scripted “excused, if, for the present, I say nothing further of those lighter Matters. But yet, since your Ladyship does not disapprove of my Remarks, I intend, if it please God to spare my life, to make a little Book” (95); “deal with me” is inflated to “dispose of me” (99); “I hope I have dispensed the Power you have so generously intrusted to my Disposal, without Extravagance or Dishonour, with regard to you, and with Comfort and Suitableness to the particular Cases recommended to me” is the highly stylized “I hope I have made use of the Power that you have so generously intrusted me with, in a manner, that may shew I had a Regard for your Honour, and to the Exigency of the particular Cases recommended to me, without Extravagance or Vanity” (101); “what I had seen him look” is “what I had been Witness to” (153); the choppy “Will you permit me, Sir, (*Polly* shall wait your Answer) to attend you” is smoothed to “Will you suffer me, Sir, to attend you? (*Polly* shall wait your Answer)” (160); “when he cannot influence the *private* Practice of his Wife” is a reserved “if he cannot have a due influence over the *private* Conduct of his Wife” (238); “If I tell him” is a loftier “If I acquaint him with it” (238); “to encourage that wretched” is a formal “to countenance the wretched” (296); Pamela’s defense of poverty is significantly revised when “that an humble Condition is as likely as any other to produce a Gentleman of these good Qualities, as well for the

Reason” is expanded to “that a low Condition is as likely, as any other, with a Mind not ungenerous, as I said, to produce a Gentleman who has these good Qualities, as well for the Reasons” (296); the figurative “that is said to tame Lions” becomes the literal “that is said to polish the most brutal Temper” (385); and “as to return Evil for Good” becomes the more expressive “as to return irreparable Mischief for her Good-will to him” (398). Richardson, anxious to secure for Pamela a social identity, worked tirelessly to stress her natural distinction; however, with such revisions, it is difficult to tell what is natural and what is calculated. Certainly, as the variants in volume IV reveal, Pamela’s social ethos is pushed much further than it needs to be in order to reinforce her authority and position as the novel’s dispenser of moral lessons.

Pamela’s pointed assessment of “The Distrest Mother,” respelled “The Distress’d Mother” in the second edition, and “The Tender Husband” is expanded with a number of stylistic improvements that clarify, embellish, and improve her analysis thus further subordinating plot to emphasize and strengthen her moral judgments and evaluations. Lady Davers’s request that Pamela comment on the plays acted in London during her visit is the perfect opportunity for Pamela to relay critical as well as moral lessons to the reader. Naturally, the revisions provide more meaningful, impactful expression. For instance, “where the Actions” is made more emphatic with “Particularly, where the Actions” (56); for greater rhetorical effect, “and Vice is punished” is changed to “and where Vice is punished” (56); “to the Passions intended” is “to the Passions intended to be raised” (57); the slack pronoun in “*Hermione* falls by her own Hand for murdering him by the Hands of the *Greeks*” is adjusted to “*Hermione* falls by her own Hand for causing *Orestes* to procure him to be murdered” (61); “the Demand of confederate

Kings” is “the Demand and Menaces of confederate Kings” (68); Pamela’s illustration is made more concrete when “as in *Cato*, for Example” is reworked to “as in the Play of *Cato*, for Instance” (69); and her clumsy evaluation of the subtitle to “The Tender Husband” is altered from “I can’t say I was pleas’d at all with its second; with an explanatory...” to “I can’t say I was pleas’d at all with the other, explanatory of it” (74); she adds a sampling of her wit with a pun on the titular character when “But what is the Method he takes to reclaim the Lady” becomes “But what is the Method the Tender Husband takes to reclaim the Lady” (75); the judgment “and this in such free Language and Action, as must disgust any modest Body” is the more detailed and deliberate “(a Hint that has been scandalously improved, and made *more* fashionable, since this Play was written); and this he does in such free Language and Action, as must disgust any Modest Person of either sex” (76); another indistinct pronoun in “any other, that is her Inducement” becomes “*any* other, that is *Lucy*’s Inducement” (77); “of an infamous and sordid Character” is slightly more descriptive with “a Man of an infamous and sordid Character” (77); “Mr. *Pounce* finds Mr. *Humphrey* so great a Fool” is expanded to “it was necessary, that Mr. *Pounce* should find Mr. *Humphrey* so great a Fool” (78); the vague pronoun is changed and the adjective added to direct the reader’s interpretation when “to impose upon him as a Wife” becomes “impose upon poor *Humphrey*, as a Wife” (78); “all her Follies” is “all her improbable Follies” (79); “and that of *Pounce*’s and Mr. *Clerimont*’s against poor *Humphrey*” to “and the infamous one of *Pounce*’s and Mr. *Clerimont*’s against poor *Humphrey*” (79); and “about 1000*l.* out of 10000 *l.* which his Son was to have with *Bridget*” is given additional detail with “about 1000 *l.* which he would not give up, out of 10000 *l.* which his Son was to have had with *Bridget*” (80).

These variants further solidify Pamela's character as a moral guide for her readers, and she is given, at the same time, the express authority by everyone around her to present her opinion and make shrewd value judgments. In this way, the revisions continue to amplify Richardson's serious moral objective and his pedagogic aim.

Several additional variants enrich Pamela's expressions with more explicit references, adorn flat statements, and display a polished syntax that continues to socially elevate her character beyond the abilities of even her most genteel correspondents. These revisions help to explicitly ensure her the entitlement and privilege she is given after her marriage and further support her authority to moralize. For example, the ambiguous "appointing him the Subjects" is expanded to "appointing him the Prayers he is to read" (3); in order to place emphasis on Pamela's humility rather than her social position "whether I ought, in the Station to which I am raised, to take much Pains to subdue myself in some Instances" is reworded to "whether I ought to take much Pains to subdue myself in some Instances, in the Station to which I am raised" (43); "Gentlemen too often indulge themselves" is the less reserved "Gentlemen too often are guilty" (45); a flat statement is infused with a bit of self-pity and encourages readers to sympathize with Pamela when "some Pride; and said, She had heard me so much praised" becomes "some Pride to me: Every little Distinction is a Pride to me now — and said, she had heard me so much praised" (152); "For he was angry with me" is given urgency and dramatic intensity with "For he was more angry with me than ever" (158); likewise, "Sir, Sir!" becomes the melodramatic "I follow'd him, Sir, Sir!" (158); to emphasize Pamela's affection for B., "than your Girl" is "than your Girl loves you" (179); "to your Ladyship" is the more precise "to your Ladyship, in a former Letter" (196); "Objection to it" is

specifically “Objection to a Home Education” (319); “(with little Variation) that fell out the last, as they must do in a Family so uniform and methodical as ours” is recast to the detailed “with little Variation, occurring this Year, as to our Conversations, Visits, Friends, Employments, and Amusements, that fell out the last; as must be the Case, in a Family so uniform and methodical as ours” (352); Pamela’s thoughts on the grand tour is altered from “they would know the Inspection they were under, and have a greater Regard to their Conduct” to “they would have a greater Regard to their Conduct; and so much the more, if the young Gentleman were to keep an Account of his Expences, which upon his Return, he might lay before his Father” (377); the figurative “keep within their natural Chanel” becomes the more ornate “keep the *proud Waves of Passion* within their natural Chanel” (394); the ambiguous “back again to our Subject” is a more exact “back again to the Subject of *Credulity*” (397); and “but a Coxcomb” is stressed with “but a gay Coxcomb” (421). With increasing frequency, Pamela’s utterances become more pointed and controlled. Consequently, much of the moral clarity is accompanied by additional narrative clarity. This is hardly surprising given her evolution as a character – from characteristically split and changeable in *Pamela I*, to monotonously fixed and singular in *Pamela II*.

A large number of revisions to volume IV are improvements to Pamela’s sentence structure that add a sophisticated syntax and organization, thus replacing her looser, natural style with formality and authority to further elevate her idiom and promote her pedagogic aim. This creates less sudden and awkward shifts in tone or register, and Pamela’s language is made more consistent and coherent. The added syntactic complexity and composed rhetorical flourishes make her appear worldly, mature, and

intelligent, which is, perhaps, not all that conspicuous given the novel's moral purpose. Indeed, the syntactical changes clarify many of Pamela's vague or indiscriminant passage, but they also aid in establishing a stronger didactic atmosphere. For example, "when Matters will be adjusted, probably, so that he can take Possession of his Living" is recast to "when, probably, Matters will be so adjusted, as that he may take Possession of his Living" (3); "one, than these Representations, of the Truth of the common Observation, That the best Things, corrupted, may prove the worst" is "one of the Truth of the common Observation, That the best Things, corrupted, prove the worst, than these Representations" (56); "and deeming the worst of Rogueries a Panegyrick: And such Immoralities, mingled with Obscenities, that I was glad when the Play was over" becomes "and deeming the Imputation of the worst of Rogueries to him, as a Panegyrick: And such Immoralities, mingled with Obscenities, all thro', that I was glad when the Play was over" (81); the sloppy "as well from my own, as (more particularly) from Mrs. *Jervis's* Observations; because I thought it my Duty, as well in Justice to your dear Self, as to them" is tightened to "and have taken Mrs. *Jervis's* Observations, as a Help to my own, in this Particular; because I thought it my Duty, to do so, as well in Justice to your dear Self, as to them" (106); "let it be worthy of the Honour in your Estimation or not" is the loftier "let it, or let it not, be worthy of the Honour in your Estimation" (183); "I wish tho' you had always come honestly by your Knowlege, thought I" is rephrased to "I wish, however, thought I, you had always come honestly by your Knowlege" (203); "But then, according to this Gentleman, there is another Difficulty attending an Home Education; and is, what I hinted at before, in my second Article, The Necessity there is to keep the Youth out of the Company of the meaner Servants" is "But still, according to this



Gentleman, another Difficulty attends a Home Education; and that is, what I hinted at before, in my second Article, The Necessity of keeping the Youth out of the Company of the meaner Servants” (298); “when she rather *fears* an *Enemy*, than *hopes* a *Friend*, where so much depends upon the Issue” to “where she rather *fears* an *Enemy* in the Acquaintance she has of that Sex, than *hopes* a *Friend*; especially as so much depends upon the Issue” (390); and “among others, Courage and Hardness of Hearts, which make Ladies, where they meet not with Men of Honour, to engage upon very unequal Terms” to “That, besides, they have generally more Hardness of Heart, which makes Ladies, where they meet not with Men of Honour, to engage with that Sex upon very unequal Terms” (397). In many such instances, the rhythm of the passages becomes polished and refined – oratorical in nature – and therefore less intimate. The result of a reduced colloquial tone significantly subdues Pamela’s identity as a servant, and the addition of even more formal, pedantic language further highlights her exalted condition with an exhibition of intellectual power. Pamela’s style, then, becomes more scripted and thus appropriate to her elevated character, the prime effect of which is to draw attention away from her humbler origins to the instructive nature of her writing.

In addition to an improved syntax and inflated rhetoric, matters of propriety are also adjusted and show that Pamela continues to adapt and conform to the genteel breeding of her peers. In this way, she carries on her assumed roles of social distinction and superiority. For instance, her declaration that B. is her “principal earthly Good, for ever and ever” is altered to simply “for ever and ever” (107); the vulgar “in a Coach and Four” is “in their Coach” (122); Pamela’s uncontrolled and uncharacteristic admission of anger is altered from “I was sadly balk’d and vex’d” to “I was sadly balk’d” (128); B.’s

affectionate gesture is removed and his frustration highlighted when “He saluted me: What now would the pretty Fool be at” becomes “What now, with some little Impatience, would the pretty Fool be at” (128); a further impolite, familiar display of affection is adjusted from “clasping my Arms about him” to a formal “pressing his Hand to my Lips” (129); the semi-informal “dear Countess” becomes the ceremonious “dear Lady Countess” (130); Pamela qualifies her criticism of B. when “cannot be unpolite; but he is cold” becomes “cannot be unpolite, in the main; but he is cold” (135); Pamela’s superior declaration of innocence “to a Countess” is revised to the less presumptuous “even to a Countess” (153); her self-proclaimed “noble Enthusiasm” is replaced by a modest “Magnanimity” (173); her objection to playing match-maker between Polly Barlow and Mr. Adams is toned down from “’Tis an invidious Task; and I wish thou wilt but make Mr. *Adams* the Wife he deserves” to “I only wish, that thou wilt make Mr. *Adams* as good a Wife as he deserves” (243); Pamela’s repetition of B.’s maxim is cleverly reworded from “promote none but Men of Virtue” to “promote Men of Virtue” (311) thereby not excluding himself; the unflattering description of B.’s “high lordly Temper” is “high Temper” (356) and portrays him as less of a tyrant; “that she praised me so highly” is softened to “that she praised me” (399); and the disingenuous “It would be almost an unpardonable Presumption in me” is the humbler and more sincere “It would be a great Presumption in me” (399). Neither the original passages nor their variants shake the underpinnings of the social order, nor do they disrupt gendered codes of behavior. They do, however, show Richardson’s growing awareness of a restraint that satisfied his narrative’s conservative position. Pamela’s somewhat slack feminine decorum in

volumes I and II, so often questioned, criticized, and lampooned, is strengthened and marketed as a structuring principle for society in the sequel.<sup>50</sup>

Because style is vital to the portrayal of Pamela and an essential part of making the text appear exemplary and instructive, a number of minor deletions continue to illustrate Richardson's interest in pruning the text while the additions clarify ambiguities, increase the drama, and signpost Pamela's moral character. Eight cuts are made to what appears superfluous, repetitive, or idiomatic, such as "had it been so" (53; 2nd, 28); "in a Sonetta" (111; 84); "They say, she is a fine Woman" (176; 148); "that you should" (274; 242); "that was her Word" (313; 280); "as he liv'd in the House with the Child" (375; 339); "travelling, Expences, &c." (414; 377); and "(all unconscious of Art or Design in herself, and undreading it from others, but yet her Prudence ever wakeful, and on its Guard)" (466; 428). Three others are made for the sake of propriety, namely "by way of Dispute" (33; 9) is deleted in an attempt to reduce the severity of the breastfeeding "Dispute" to the level of debate or discussion, and the colorful "Tho', after all, her silvery Lustre is easily over-shadow'd by those crossing Clouds, that make his Glory shine the brighter" (384; 348) lessens Pamela's sycophantic praise of the "noble-minded Mr. B.," and her prideful, affected boast that his "Excellence" alone allows her to "pass among Ladies of Birth and Education for Somebody" (1st, 383).

Some of the additions simply make meaning clearer. In particular, readers are given an accurate count of coach travelers with the passage "including Miss and her

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<sup>50</sup> Pamela's obedience to propriety is reversed on two occasions in the second edition. In one instance, Pamela, nettled that she cannot breastfeed her own child, channels a bit of her pre-marital spirit when "Why then, Sir, I am a little sullen at present" becomes the assertive and challenging "Why then, I *am* a little sullen at present" (27). Similarly, less deference is paid to B.'s authority when "but Mr. B. directed all my Motions" becomes "and that Mr. B. directed all my motions" (157). The original makes it clear that Pamela follows B.'s proposals almost without exception. The revision, however slight, indicates that only a direct command from B. could make Pamela vacation with the Countess Dowager at Windsor.

Maid” (2nd, 35), “and he added” (158) clarifies who is speaking, “in the same Neighbourhood” (230) better illustrates which of the novel’s two Countesses Pamela is referencing, “nor, as I hinted” (291) refers to and supports an earlier statement made during her examination of Locke’s *Thoughts*, and “Paragraph” (315) guides the reader back to the quoted material rather than the indistinct “above-cited” (315). Further additions clarify and emphasize the importance of certain passages, including the aside, “for so she thought” (66), added to Pamela’s analysis of the “The Distress’d Mother,” and “which too was out of Time, being on the Wedding-day” (83) is part of her critique of “The Tender Husband.” To heighten Pamela’s emotional anguish over B.’s tryst with the Countess Dowager “For now I can say with the Poet: *Since Knowledge is but Sorrow’s Spy, ’Twere better NOT to know*” (159) is added to the second edition; “a Design she took up, some time ago, as I believe I mentioned to your Ladyship; but which it seems she could not conveniently put into Execution till now” (271) is not only a practical way of separating B. from his would-be mistress but, by its repetition, also highlights Pamela’s eagerness to see her rival leave for an extended stay on the continent; “and this the rather, as she had Grounds to think, he had once entertained no very honourable Notions of her Friendship for Mr. B.” (279) intensifies the intrigue and trouble caused by B. and the Countess that almost prevents a happy ending for both of them; “as well as his *Livelihood*” (300) places greater importance on a child’s acquaintances and stresses Pamela’s devoted study to Locke’s *Thoughts*; “Sir” (335) is a shorthand way of indicating Pamela’s deference to B.’s choice of companions for their eldest son, Billy; “or at least, such a one, as allows itself to walk so near the Borders of Injustice, that, where *Self* is concern’d, it hardly ever does right things” (335) accents Pamela’s moral

pronouncement; and finally, her reforming influence is emphasized by the clause “and I having already sent her the Letter she had desir’d, containing my Observations upon the flighty Style she so much admir’d” (412). Obviously, such slight cuts and additions do not change the course of the story; nevertheless, to Richardson, the material appeared out of place or in need of embellishment. Indeed, there is little room for irrelevance and ambiguity in a moral tract, so, it appears, he cut or added as need demanded for a greater consistency of style and to better fit Pamela to her role.

The most significant revisions to volume IV include additional polishing or emphasis added to significant scenes or events: Pamela’s conversion of B., her study of Locke’s tract, and her edifying conversation with three impressionable young ladies, Miss Stapylton, Miss Cope, and Miss Sutton. The degree of revision varies, from the sentence level to entire paragraphs, but shows, in particular, that the scenes are improved. Richardson’s interest, evidenced in the changes, was to assure readers that B. had indeed reformed and to increase Pamela’s intellectual and spiritual authority. The revisions, then, allow the heroine to better communicate her impression of B.’s conduct as well as her thoughts on education, female delicacy, and relationships. Such changes only slightly affect Pamela’s characterization, for she is already holier than thou, but her character is even more cerebral and edifying as a result.

The first such revision significantly dramatizes one of Pamela’s emotional transports by replacing her artificial joy with illustrative energy, clarity, and genuine feeling. It also foreshadows B.’s eventual reclamation by making explicit Pamela’s ultimate goal of thoroughly reforming him. At the same time, B. is given a voice where he was once silent in order to make Pamela’s hopes appear more concrete. He pledges,

even if informally, to work at being a better man. The original passage, lacking in dramatic tension, is subdued, shorter, vague, and less capable of imparting the sentiment to readers:

Judge ye, my honoured Parents, and you, my dear Miss, the Joy that overspread my Heart, encouraged in a manner so agreeable to all my Wishes. O Sir, Sir! said I, after a short Pause, your Goodness had struck me dumb for a Moment; but my Silence could hold but for that Moment: For had I been naturally dumb, and never spoken before, my Joy for this your Kindness, and the future Hope you raise in my Breast, would have unbarr'd the Doors of my Speech, or my Heart would have been made vocal, had my Tongue remained silent.

Forgive me, my dearest Miss, these flighty Expressions: I know they are above myself, and perhaps out of Nature; but so, in a manner, was your Friend, when she spoke them. If ever it be your Lot to marry such a Gentleman as Mr. *B.* one who is capable of generous and noble Sentiments, and yet has not been so good as you wish him to be; whenever it shall happen, that the Divine Grace, and your Example, shall touch his Heart, and awaken his better Faculties, you'll then know a Joy like this which I have described; which will not only exalt your Heart and Speech, but, upon Reflections, will irradiate many a gloomy Apprehension, that, at times, will cast a Shadow over the brightest and happiest Prospects. (1st, IV, 23-24)

Here, it is all about Pamela – her “Joy,” her “Expressions,” her “Example” – and B.’s reformation is taken for granted. She is, in effect, boasting before the victory. After revision, Pamela’s “Wishes” are made more explicit, her affected, self-absorbed “flighty Expressions” are replaced by a “speechless Rapture,” she embraces the “Prospect” rather than the surety of B.’s reform, and an added genuflect gives the scene greater thematic importance. She also makes it clear that a woman’s “unaffected Piety” is necessary to assist the “Divine Grace” in reforming men like B.:

Judge ye, my honoured Parents, what Pleasure must overspread my Heart, encouraged in a manner so agreeable to all my Wishes, and at the hopeful Prospect of a thorough Reformation, which I had so often pray'd for, and which so happily began to open to my delighted Mind on this Occasion.

Indeed I could not find Words to express my Joy, and so was obliged to Silence my Turn, being only able to raise my swimming Eyes to his encouraging ones, and to press his Hand between both mine, to my Lips, which, by their quivering Motion, shew'd their Readiness to perform their Part of Speech, could my backwarder Tongue have given Utterance to my Meanings.

He saw my grateful Transport, and kindly said, Struggle not, my beloved *Pamela*, for Words to express Sentiments which your Eyes and your Countenance much more significantly express than any Words *can* do. Every Day produces new Instances of your affectionate Concern for my *future* as well as *present* Happiness: And I will endeavour to confirm to you all the Hopes which the present Occasion has given you of me, and which I see by these transporting Effects, are so desirable to you.

If, my dear Miss, you are not at present able to account for this speechless Rapture, as I may call it, I am confident you will, if it should be your lot to marry such a Gentleman as Mr. *B.*; one who is capable of generous and noble Sentiments, and yet has not been so good as you could wish, whenever it shall happen, that the Divine Grace, and your unaffected Piety, shall touch his Heart, and he shall give you Hopes like those I have the Pleasure to rejoice in. – Hopes so charming, that they must, if confirm'd, irradiate many a gloomy Appearance, which, at time, will cast a Shadow over the brightest and happiest Prospects. (2nd, III, 408-409)

The variants communicate, through Pamela's heightened emotional response, a drama that is more convincing. It adds a sensational climax to the scene in which B. finally consents to let her raise the illegitimate Miss Goodwin as her own, but it also indicates

that Pamela's careful and "affectionate Concern" for B.'s soul will eventually bear fruit, and she can fulfill her duty as the proud redeemer of a certified rake. Furthermore, B.'s "endeavour" implies that his reformation is a work in progress rather than already certain. Undoubtedly, and in spite of his temporary setback with the Countess Dowager, this revision overtly marks the beginning of the end for B., namely his eventual "turn" from a man of few scruples to one of moral principle. At the same time, Pamela is continually and more forcibly portrayed as the ultimate reformer.

After more convincingly establishing the "Prospect" of B.'s reformation, Richardson made additional revisions in order to confirm and support his hero's redemption; that is, in a letter to her parents, Pamela, with more enthusiasm and detail, relays the circumstances of B.'s conversion and her new found peace of mind. The change further underscores her confidence in him in and, perhaps, is more capable of convincing cynical readers that he has at long last reformed. It takes four volumes and nearly 1500 pages before B. finally learns to control his passions, so it is no surprise that Pamela wants to revel in her moment of triumph. In the first edition, the passage is a single sentence, an inept and perfunctory preface to her summary of the novel's denouement: "I will give you the Particulars of this dark Affair, so far as shall make you Judge of my present Joy" (IV, 390). In revision, Pamela's happiness is amplified by "the highest Pleasure" and "Joy" while B.'s religious awakening is corroborated by a renewed "Affection" and pledge of "Fidelity":

I will now (because I can do it with the highest Pleasure, by reason of the Event which it has produced) give you the Particulars of that dark Affair, so far as shall make you Judges of my present Joy: altho' I had hitherto avoided entring [sic] into that Subject to you. For now I think myself, by God's Grace, secure of the Affection and



Fidelity of the best of Husbands, and that from the  
worthiest Motives; as you shall hear. (2nd, 354)

Here, the dramatic tension is given a suitable falling action, is affecting, and more satisfying because Pamela announces the effected change within B. Her joy is also understandable now that her marriage, children, and new social status are ultimately secured. Most importantly, however, the reclamation of the supposedly irredeemable and aberrant B. is emphasized. Before revision, his religious reform appears artificial, thin, and insincere. After revision, this is slightly improved by his commitment, restored fondness, and the additional confidence this inspires in Pamela. She, assisted by “God’s Grace,” has successfully converted a man of intrigue into a complacent, church-going gentleman and met with virtue’s reward – the security of “the best of Husbands.”

The final revision that supports B.’s spiritual transformation goes beyond “Affection” and “Fidelity” to comment on his behavior. Aside from a brief dramatic moment of catharsis at the end of the trial scene, B.’s rehabilitation is largely underrepresented. Given the novel’s limited first-person point of view, Pamela must tell her correspondents rather than show them B.’s increasing degree of Christian piety and good works. Still, with an added clause, Pamela is able to lend greater authenticity to an otherwise flimsy reversal. In particular, Pamela superficially represents B.’s quick change in the first edition thus:

For, my dear Parents, having happily put an End to that  
Affair, he was pleas’d, when we were at *Tunbridge*  
together, and in very serious Discourse on divine Subjects,  
to say to this Effect: Is there not, my *Pamela*, a Text, *That*  
*the unbelieving Husband shall be saved by the believing*  
*Wife, while he beholds her chaste Conversation coupled*  
*with Fear?* (393)

The original passage is preserved in revision, but additional evidence is added to amplify B.'s moral "turn." The "serious Discourse on divine Subjects," B.'s new fixed spiritual idealism, is now supported by a consistent, sober behavior that sets Pamela's mind at ease:

For, my dear Parents, having happily put an End to that Affair, and, by his uniform Conduct, for a considerable Length of Time, shew'd me that I had nothing to apprehend from it, he was pleas'd, when we were last at *Tunbridge* together, and in very serious Discourse upon Divine Subjects, to say to this Effect: Is there not, my *Pamela*, a text, *That the unbelieving Husband shall be saved by the believing Wife, while he beholds her chaste Conversation coupled with Fear?* (2nd, 357)

Here, B.'s "uniform Conduct" over time further justifies Pamela's moral assessment that he is effectually reclaimed. At the same time, the variant assures readers that B. is not only a dependable, time-tested godly man, but that his transformation is not as sudden and radical as it first appears. Indeed, with these changes Richardson was likely hoping readers would adjust their well-founded assumptions of B., and if this succeeded it is because he gave them a greater sense of the passage of time.

Another source of extended revision in volume IV is Pamela's evaluation of Locke's *Thoughts*. Given her extended analysis of the two plays she sees performed in London, it is no surprise that the variants show a thoughtful, more studied critique of her position on education. She lingers a little longer on her comments and fleshes out her alternative positions while defending them with greater maternal fervor. The "clearing up" (281) she proposes consists of objections to a few of Locke's topics in which he outlines the fundamentals for forming and educating a child's mind, including motivated learning, discipline, and how to select a proper tutor. The scope of revision is small when

compared to the length of her commentary, but there are enough changes to indicate that Pamela's philosophy of education was important or perhaps even troublesome for Richardson to develop. Many of the adjustments, scattered throughout the volume, are aesthetic in nature, such as an improved syntax, but others increase the clarity and sophistication of her argument as well. Additionally, her argument on motivated learning and the selection of tutors is expanded and embellished, and the requisite conditions for the proper disciplining of her children is emotionally detached and more emphatically expressed. Overall, there is nothing added in terms of creative contribution, but an increased logical coherence helps to further establish Pamela's elevated tone and the novel's didactic atmosphere. Her greater intellectual power indicates that she is to be regarded as an authority, a formidable woman not only capable of converting the most abandoned libertine in Bedfordshire, but also able to grapple with one of England's greatest philosophers.<sup>51</sup>

The last examples that strengthen Pamela's matronly adherence to societal codes and her prescriptive advice to others are largely marked by changes to style and propriety. The final revisions to her character in volume IV broadcast additional lessons on female conduct during her heavy-handed "Conversation" with three at-risk young ladies. At the request of the neighboring gentry, Pamela supplements the formal educations of these emotionally vulnerable women with important lessons in self-discipline and decorum, particularly in their relationships with men. The changes

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<sup>51</sup> It has been argued by Lois A. Chaber that Pamela oversimplifies Locke's *Thoughts* and that Richardson's misreading of the text leads to a misrepresentation of Locke's position. Such an argument is beyond the scope of this study, but if Pamela uses Locke's tract as a model to establish her own theory of education, adding or omitting from the original document as she sees fit, then she is even more accomplished than her heightened prose would suggest. See "From Moral Man to Godly Man: 'Mr. Locke' and Mr. B in Part 2 of *Pamela*." *Studies in Eighteenth-Century Culture* 18 (1998): 213-261. Print.

streamline and elevate Pamela's language while reinforcing her position as the exemplar all others defer to. Likewise, her characteristic self-reporting of indecorous praise is cut in order to draw more attention to the moral lessons integral to the novel's didactic function. Indeed, the purpose of the "Conversation" is to mold young women into models of virtue and obedience, not an opportunity for the heroine to pat herself on the back.

The first variant is an expansion of Pamela's attempt to reason Miss Stapylton out of her quixotic way of thinking by bridging a gap in the explanation of her pedagogy. Pamela's instructive approach is to match her method to the "Taste and Temper of the Person you would engage" (388). In the first edition, this is cryptically explained as "Whence, as I take it, that excellent Rule of the Apostle, of *becoming all Things to all Men*" (425). The revision expands the passage, clearly indicates where Miss Stapylton needs improvement, and, more importantly, how Pamela plans to educate her during the course of her lecture:

And, moreover, I had a View in it, to make this little Sketch the Introduction to a future Occasion for some Observations on the stiff and affected Style of Romances, which might put Miss out of Conceit with them, and make her turn the Course of her Studies another Way; as I shall mention in its Place. (2nd, 388)

Here, Pamela's advice is explicitly directed at the difference between romance and real life. Tales of seduction and betrayal are, as Pamela knows firsthand, real dangers and topics that she can speak of with authority. The male sexual threat is genuine, exacerbated by a woman's physical and social vulnerability, and Pamela's use of the romantic style is intended to catch the attention of all three women, make them a little more self-aware, and expose their credulity to one another.

In another example, Pamela's warning to keep men at a proper distance is animated with an elevated style and stronger cautionary language. Such a change continues to develop her intellectual as well as moral power. Her ultimate goal is to convince these young ladies to behave in accordance with well-established feminine principles, and they are gradually brought to recognize their mistaken ideas through Pamela's efficacious and straightforward pronouncements. In this particular instance, they learn how important it is to control their coquetry and guard against appearances. The original sentence is descriptive enough, but it lacks the rhetorical punch given to its variant (428; 2nd, 391):

For when once they are persuaded, that it is their Privilege to *ask*, and the Lady's only to *deny*, it will certainly imbolden them to solicit, and to think themselves acting in Character when they put the Lady upon exerting her less active Privilege.

Upon revision, Pamela's matronly *gravitas* is enhanced by a sophisticated syntax and word choice that further establishes the moral and didactic tone of the scene. It also sets clearer boundaries during courtship:

And as for those, who are more to be regarded, I am afraid, that when they can be assured, that a Lady allows it to be their Privilege to sue for Favours, it will certainly imbolden them to solicit, and to think themselves acting in Character when they put the Lady upon hers, to refuse them.

Pamela's elevated diction is represented by words like "assured" and "refuse" over their common equivalents "persuaded" and "*deny*." The sentence structure is also more deliberate and less idiomatic to mark the importance of Pamela's precept. Finally, in order to stress the risks of youthful levity, which will only attract the attentions of rakes, "Fops, Coxcombs, and Pretty Fellows" (391), the addition of the ambiguous "Favours"

strongly ties each woman's value to her physicality and suggests that an innocuous coquetry endangers not only one's reputation but one's virtue as well.

As the conversation progresses, the variants continue to intone Pamela's cautionary conduct book advice with an elevated style more appropriate to the seriousness of her topics: in this case, choosing the right spouse. With greater oratorical skill, she tells these women how to spot empty-headed, "Tinsel'd" toys like Jackey and supplements the ubiquitous didacticism of texts such as George Savile, marquess of Halifax's *Lady's New Year's Gift* with her own unique brand of morality.<sup>52</sup> The unrevised sentence, though characteristic of one who writes "to the moment," lacks detail and focus: before revision, Pamela rambles idiomatically while warning others against marrying a man whose sole focus is fashion and appearance:

He need not shew a Contempt and chief Concern; be ready to quarrel with a high Wind for discomposing his Peruque, or to put on his Hat, for fear of depressing his Foretop; be more afraid of a Spot upon his Cloaths, than twenty in his Mind. (1st, 429)

After revision, the rhythm of ordinary speech is replaced with a well-rounded period of added detail, clarity, and gravity:

He need not shew an utter Disregard to Dress, nor yet think it his first and chief Concern; be ready to quarrel with the Wind for discomposing his Peruque, or fear to put on his Hat, lest he should depress his Foretop; more dislike a Spot upon his Cloaths, than in his Reputation. (2nd, 392)

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<sup>52</sup> Evidence that Richardson was familiar with this and other influential texts on self-improvement is presented by Katherine Hornbeak in "Richardson's *Familiar Letters* and the Domestic Conduct Books: Richardson's *Aesop*," *Smith College Studies in Modern Languages* 19 (1939): 1-50. Print. Richardson also wrote instructive moral works, such as his own *Familiar Letters*, *The Apprentice's Vade Mecum*, and his adaptation of Roger L'Estrange's *Aesop's Fables*, as well as publishing Daniel Defoe's *A New Family Instructor* and *Religious Courtship*. See also Sale's *Samuel Richardson: Master Printer* for a comprehensive catalogue of Richardson's print history.

In this example, the formality serves to establish Pamela's position as an expert while stressing that a good man, like her own reformed husband, must be a combination of many things, though neither too much of this nor too little of that. Similarly, the substitution of "Reputation" for "Mind" minimizes the corollary between vanity and an individual's relationship with God; instead, it accents the importance of keeping up appearances. That is, rather than harboring a guilty conscience, a self-admirer tends to flaunt a soiled reputation, which, Pamela subtly warns, can destroy a young woman's character, either through inadvertence or ignorance, if she carelessly chooses to socialize with him. The second revision on the same topic undergoes a similar stylistic change: the language is altered to better fit with Richardson's thematic end – a rhetoric that telegraphs Pamela's authority and signifies knowledge, refinement, and reason. To convey a tone of voice that is respected and instructive, Pamela's writing is repeatedly altered to be more methodical rather than conversational. Initially, her thoughts appear to grow out from one subject to another in an apparent free association of ideas that is often represented by a looser syntax:

...it will be with a Preference to himself against her: If not  
 – will sink, very probably, into the worst of Slovens; for,  
 the Mind that is capable of one Extreme, (in every Case of  
 human Life almost) when that goes off, if not a Man of  
 Prudence, constitutionally, in a manner, falls into its  
 Opposite. (1st, 429)

By shedding the air of structural indifference and conversational informality, the variant, including its parenthetical aside, appears scripted in comparison – the passage is stiffer and constrained. It looks as if Pamela, aspiring to indoctrinate the gentry with her

bourgeois outlook, is reading directly from a moral tract or repeating, as if by rote, from a conduct manual:

...it will be with a Preference to his own Person: If not, will sink, very probably into the worst of Slovens. For whoever is capable of one Extreme, (take almost all the Cases in human Life through) when he recedes from that, if he be not a Man of Prudence, will go over into the other. (2nd, 329)

Here, the changes include tightening slack pronouns, the removal of idiomatic language, and cleaning up Pamela's typical run-on syntax with the addition of a full stop. It appears as if Richardson tried to underscore her advice by polishing her writing, but this also develops her character beyond virtue and goodness, benevolence and generosity.

Ultimately, such changes show her progression into a matriarch, a figure dispensing society's conventional norms and expectations to other women. In the end, and despite being a social aberration herself, Pamela moves from regulating the B. household to influencing the public and private behavior of her friends and acquaintances of all classes.

The next revision in this sequence omits Pamela's criticism of Miss Sutton, adds a sharper point to her censure of "Presuming" men, and removes an instance of colorful idiomatic language that makes Pamela's didactic purpose more apparent; indeed, rather than using the opportunity to publically shame and embarrass her three young guests, or parade her wit on paper as she so often does in volumes I and II, a degree of levity and impropriety are removed until the sequence is properly sanitized and only the kernel of wisdom remains. Pamela initially records the conversation thus:



...but I would not push her too far, altho' there was Room to have made the young Lady blush for her inconsiderate Notion.

So, I said, I don't *doubt*, Miss, but you meant honourable Questions. A young Lady of Miss *Sutton's* good Sense, and worthy Character, could not mean otherwise.

And yet Miss appear'd to be under an agreeable Confusion, every Lady, by her Eye, seeming to think she had met with a deserv'd Rebuke; and which not seeming to expect, it abated her Liveliness all the Time after, and turn'd, as I may say, her *Tongue* into *Ear*. (1st, 430)

Surely, Pamela's terse judgment overshadows her attempt to backpedal and save Miss Sutton from too much humiliation, and the witty idiomatic phrase "*Tongue into Ear*" extends the criticism by making Pamela appear spiteful. After all, she seems to gloat in her ability to talk the young woman into silence. In revision, however, Pamela offers less of a "Rebuke" and more of a compliment, and cleverly sandwiched in between is a summary of the argument that politely concludes this part of the discussion:

But I make no doubt, Miss, that you meant honourable Questions. A young Lady of Miss *Sutton's* good Sense, and worthy Character, could not mean otherwise. And I have said, perhaps, more than I needed to say, upon this Subject, because we all know how ready the Presuming of the other Sex are, right or wrong, to construe the most innocent Meanings in favour of their own Views.

Very true, said Miss; but appear'd to be under an agreeable Confusion, every Lady, by her Eye, seeming to think she had met with a deserv'd Rebuke; and which not seeming to expect, it abated her Liveliness all the Time after. (2nd, 393)

With the variant, Richardson shrewdly permitted "Presuming" men to emerge as the point of contention rather than a clash of wills between teacher and student, and it is certainly a mistake to show Pamela's frustration when she is supposed to set the

example.<sup>53</sup> Once again, Richardson amplified the edifying tone by restraining Pamela's looser style with a more deliberate, scripted language. This, in turn, makes her exalted character development more credible, consistent, and convincing.

In addition to adding an elevated style, augmenting her authority, and omitting indelicacies, Richardson also made substantial cuts to Pamela's disingenuous, self-reporting vanity. More specifically, a sequence of 387 words of redundant, effusive praise is reduced to 332 that focus more intently on the purpose and style of Pamela's satiric letter and less on its author. It was clear before Richardson wrote *Pamela II* that his heroine had an ear for praise. This is evidenced by the reactions of Richardson's contemporary critics and discussed at some length earlier in this study. I have concluded that Richardson's fear of public and private censure, so widespread during *Pamela's* early years, encouraged him to make what would become over time routine changes. The impropriety of excessive praise so casually exchanged between all of *Pamela's* major characters was clearly near the top of Richardson's list ever since his earliest critics and correspondents pointed it out to him.

Not surprisingly, the larger revisions of praise for Pamela are complemented by additional streamlined sentences that are more matter-of-fact, an elevated style that is more polite, and of course, omissions that make character and tone more sincere.

Richardson began by omitting an instance of Pamela's meticulous particularity, namely her unnecessary listing, one by one, of the company's request to hear her read aloud:

“Do, dear Madam, said Miss *L.* Do, dear Mrs. *B.* said Lady *Towers.* I beg it of you also,

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<sup>53</sup> This is especially true because Pamela hopes to have similar dialogues with her own children, and she needs to put her unique pedagogy to work. It could be argued, then, that this scene serves as a test of her teacherly ethos and explains why it received so much of Richardson's attention in revision.

said the Dean. Do, dear Madam, let us have it, said all the Ladies” (1st, 431). This is followed by Pamela’s vague explanation of her satiric letter and its purpose that is later expanded in revision (431; 2nd, 394):

It is short and unfinish’d. It is design’d to be woven into a Letter to a dear Friend: And let it be ever so censurable, I should be *more* so, if I made any Difficulties after such an unanimous Request. So taking it out of my Letter-case, I read as follows....

With added eloquence and detail, the letter’s source and meaning are made more apparent – neither is so hurriedly glossed over – and the language of the new clauses are indicative of formal deliberation instead of Pamela’s spontaneous method of writing:

It is short and unfinish’d. It was written for the sake of a Friend, who is fond of such a Style; and what I shall add to it, will be principally some slight Observations upon this Way of Writing. But, let it be ever so censurable, I should be *more* so, if I made any Difficulties after such an unanimous Request. So taking it out of my Letter-case, I read as follows....

Thus a slight obscurity is made clearer, Pamela’s style polished, and the letter, referenced earlier and written in what Pamela calls a romantic style, is given greater significance.

As the scene moves forward, Richardson continued to replace the largely fluid and formless style of Pamela’s writing even as he omitted instances of affected praise. When compared with the original passages, the adjustments reveal Richardson’s hypersensitivity to criticism, but readers of the sequel are better off for it. Without a doubt, Pamela’s maturity is illustrated by such changes, demonstrating not only her development as a character but Richardson’s as a writer.<sup>54</sup> Before the paragraph is pared

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<sup>54</sup> Donald Ball argues that Richardson had to crawl before he could walk; that is, he “developed his narrative, characterization, and epistolary techniques in *Pamela II* beyond those in *Pamela I* and then

down, for example, Pamela sounds as young and as excitable as the women she is coaching:

They were all greatly taken with what I read, and the Dean gave it Beauties by his kind Comments, which he himself could hardly think it merited, supposing, no doubt, that it might afford a Subject for the young Ladies to contemplate upon their own Taste, as one may say. Miss *Stayplton* particularly appear'd so delighted with it, that she desired a Copy of it; and the other Three young Ladies complaisantly join'd in her Request. (1st, 432)

In the emendation, however, Pamela sounds sedate, cultured, and polite to the point of appearing aloof. She has assumed a greater air of austerity not only with the young women but her correspondent, Lady G., nee Polly Darnford, indicating the gravity of the subject as well:

Miss *Stayplton* seem'd pleas'd (as I expected) with what I read, and told me, That she should take it for a high Favour, if I would permit her, if it were not improper, to see the whole Letter, when I had finish'd it. (2nd, 395)

The revision removes both the conversational quality and de-emphasizes Pamela's signature vanity, placing her above recording the overenthusiastic praise of the Dean and Miss Stayplton. Because of an improved style that has come to characterize the entire volume, what remains is a heavily moderated and therefore more refined show of regard in Pamela's writing for herself, her guests, and her correspondents.

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applied these improved techniques in *Clarissa* and *Grandison*" (334). "*Pamela II: A Primary Link in Richardson's Development as a Novelist*," *Modern Philology* 65.4 (1968): 334-342. *JSTOR*. Web. 25 Nov. 2011. Signs of Richardson's "improved techniques" are further illustrated in his revisions to subsequent editions of *Pamela I* and *Pamela II*, including greater consistency of character. After emendation, however, Pamela is in many ways less of a caricature, in spite of how dull she may appear in the continuation to modern readers. Her persona continued to evolve even after Richardson's death in 1761 when, forty years later, a fourteenth edition was published in 1801 with revisions made by Richardson and his daughters, Martha and Anne.

After further revision, Pamela eases her critical tone, telegraphs the letter's significance, and, in lieu of her guest's approval, focuses on the didactic sentiment, which is, after all, why they are assembled together in the first place. Two of the first edition paragraphs, like much of the original scene, are filled with an exchange of mutual congratulation. Pamela appears smug and condescending, and her feigned modesty is as transparent as Miss Stayplton's flattery:

Whereupon I said, that if it could have the benefit of the Dean's Remarks upon it, it would be worthy of their Acceptance: But, however, it was at their Service; for I had the rough Sketch of it above.

Miss *Stayplton* took it, promising to give each a Copy, and honour'd it with a Place in her Bosom. I mention this, because it answer'd my End; and, slight as the Cause was, gave the young flighty Ladies an high Opinion of me, which made them listen with the greater Attention to all that succeeded. (1st, 432)

The "high Opinion" Pamela inspires in the "young flighty Ladies" is reflected differently upon revision. Instead of reporting it second hand and interrupting the conversation with incidental, self-flattering particulars, she lets both Miss Stayplton and the Dean speak for themselves. And, as their governess for a day, Pamela, with the Dean's help, skillfully brings the conversation back to the lesson:

I said, I would oblige her with all my Heart. But you must not expect, Miss, that altho' I have written what I have read to you, I shall approve of it in my Observations upon it; for I am convinc'd, that no Style can be proper, which is not plain, simple, easy, natural, and unaffected.

She was sure, she was pleas'd to say, That whatever my Observations were, they would be equally just and instructive.

I too, said the Dean, will answer for that; for I dare say, by what I have already heard, That Mrs. *B.* will distinguish properly between the Style, and the Matter too,

which captivates the Imagination, and that which informs the Judgment. (2nd, 395)

Here, and in many instances after revision, Pamela practices what she preaches. In other words, her style is recognizably “plain, simple, easy, natural, and unaffected.” Indeed, Pamela’s prose has cast off its elastic excess for plainness and clarity, carrying information, narration, and expression forward with greater success. In effect, a spare and lucid style that does not draw attention to itself or the writer is more likely to facilitate Pamela’s objective of reasoning Miss Stayplton, Miss Sutton, and Miss Cope out of following the “affected Style of Romances.” Although Pamela’s language in the continuation is rarely in danger of reaching the fever pitch she uses in her satiric letter, it is not always plain and certainly not always unaffected. After revision, though, Pamela’s new impersonal style, however different from her pre-marital idiom, is undoubtedly the best medium for effecting a change within these young women and, beyond the narrative, Richardson’s impressionable readers.

Two more recensions are made during this scene to reduce the immoderate praise Pamela eagerly shares in her letter to Lady G., thereby restoring a modicum of genteel decorum and propriety to Pamela’s self-indulgent character. In the first example, according to the Dean, Pamela’s status is elevated to divine paragon:

The Dean began first, with a View to his own Daughter; and seeing his Drift, I humour’d it accordingly; and the rather, as Miss *Cope*’s Case was included in that of Miss *L*. He was pleased to say, That I seem’d desgin’d by Providence, as a Model, as well as an Exemplar, for my Sex; and that it was Matter of great Surprize to him, that, my tender Years consider’d, I should be capable of making those Reflections, by which Persons of twice my Age and Experience might be instructed. You see, Madam, said he, how attentive we all are, when your Lips begin to open; and

I beg we may have nothing to do, but to *be* attentive. (1st, 432-33)

Here, the Dean is guilty of being disingenuous with his excessive flattery and, because she includes such praise in her correspondence, Pamela portrays herself as a conceited narcissist. This is moderated somewhat in revision to a healthier degree of self-regard, and, though the paragraph is still a biased celebration of her well-recognized qualities, there is a higher purpose underlying the Dean's obsequious cheerleading:

The Dean began it, with a high Compliment to me; having a View, no doubt, by his kind Praises, to make my Observations have the greater Weight upon the young Ladies. He was pleas'd to say, That it was Matter of great Surprize to him, that, my tender Years consider'd, I should be capable of making those Reflections, by which Persons of twice my Age and Experience might be instructed. You see, Madam, said he, how attentive we all are, when your Lips being to open; and I beg we may have nothing to do, but to *be* attentive. (2nd, 395)

In addition to omitting the distracting language that singles out the Dean's daughter, the inflated rhetoric of "Providence" and "Exemplar" are replaced with the restrained "high Compliment" and "kind Praises." Moreover, and unlike before, Pamela is able to rationalize the eulogy because she believes his approval lends her a greater degree of authority and credibility with the young ladies. Thus, Pamela's "Reflections" are still touted as extraordinary, and her matronly image is reinforced despite her "tender Years." The second and final example that subdues the ostentatious praise for Pamela during this episode is a minor omission that has a large impact. The passage's intent is to signposts Pamela's "humility," a trait that is not illustrated during this scene originally, but it is undercut even further by her self-indulgent description of an affected, unnatural hero-worship: "Charming Humility! said Miss *Cope* with her Hands lifted up. So said Miss

*Stayplton*” (1st, 433). The exaggerated praise and the accompanying genuflect are embarrassing enough for a twenty-first century reader who is over 270 years removed from what is now called the *Pamela* “media event,” so one can only speculate the degree of nausea Richardson’s cynical contemporaries experienced at Pamela’s gushing endorsement of this melodramatic delivery. There is no question that throughout much of the sequel Pamela’s ego is over-caressed, the suspension of disbelief is stretched to its breaking point, and her personality is pushed beyond the limits of “TRUTH and NATURE.” Surely, though, Richardson’s goal of writing “a piece of natural Life” (Carroll 53) is, to some extent, redeemed after revision, and, on second thought, he appears to have complimented his readers with this omission instead of disenchanting them with the English equivalent of the “French Marvellous.”<sup>55</sup>

The final revisions to Pamela’s character in volume IV are 74 changes to italics that, on the surface, clearly distinguish Pamela’s commentary from the longer passages she quotes from Locke’s *Thoughts*, add general emphasis, and increase rhetorical effect; in many instances, however, they also adjust her characterization when they give her writing a stronger academic ethos, overstate her affected praise for others, stress her moral authority, reveal her willful personality, and, surprisingly, reinforce her support for women’s education.<sup>56</sup> In other words, simple typographical emendations help galvanize Pamela’s character beyond the stereotypical submissive prude into one who questions the status quo even as she appears to collude with contemporary conduct-book ideology. This

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<sup>55</sup> Indeed, if Richardson was going to build his heroine into a benevolent superhuman personage, then he may as well have written a noble ancestry for Pamela similar to the one Kelly provides her in the *High Life* sequel.

<sup>56</sup> Two revisions, “*the Book*” to “the *Book*” (127) and “*so many*” to “so many” (407), appear to be corrections, and, in one instance, the removed typography may have been a compositorial error because the balance between “fictitious” and “*real*” (404) is upset.



is not to say that she rejects the constraints of a male-dominated society (she more often reinforces than challenges social and gender ideologies in the sequel), but that she maintains a matronly surface decorum and respectability by pointing out how a woman's inadequate education makes her unsuitable for marriage. *Pamela II* is, critically, Richardson's most neglected novel. This may be because Pamela's feminist agenda in the sequel, subversive or otherwise, is not radical enough to merit examination by twenty-first century standards. At the same time, and because Pamela submits to the limitations and commandments imposed upon her by B., the novel is not read as a quest for female autonomy. Nevertheless, she is not powerless. Indeed, as some of the semi-substantives show, tone and mood are typographically manipulated to replace the sense that she is passive and weak with an intelligence and passion that noticeably unsettles her exemplary status.

The majority of italics Richardson added to volume IV are, to use the words of W. W. Greg, "a matter of presentation" (21), but there are also those that Pamela uses as signposts to set Locke's quoted material in special relation to her own teaching innovations.<sup>57</sup> That is to say, they make Pamela's extended references to Locke's *Thoughts* easier to distinguish from her remarks, turn ancillaries in particular, while they celebrate what she sees as pragmatic contributions to her pedagogy. Because they give her dissertation the appearance of elaborate study, the italicized turn ancillaries contribute a greater academic air to Pamela's commentary. These include several instances of "says he," and, to a lesser extent, "continues he" (295, 296, 299); "says this Gentleman" (295); "continues this excellent Author" (314); "as Mr. Locke says" (315); "as he adds" (315);

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<sup>57</sup> "The Rationale of Copy-Text." *Studies in Bibliography* 3 (1950-51): 20-37. *JSTOR*. Web. 4 Apr. 2009.

“says Mr. Locke, speaking to this very Point” (323); “adds he” (324, 329); “he rightly says” (331); “Mr. Locke observes” (332); “says Mr. Locke” (337); and “adds Mr. Locke” (339). In addition to signaling where Locke’s words end and Pamela’s begin, her encomiums are also italicized to foreground the occasions when she vehemently approves of Locke’s recommendations. These italics, acting as visual cues for the reader, draw greater attention to what she plans to practice or thinks is especially practical. In turn, they will, presumably, influence others to amend their “thoughts” on education and integrate her research with their own. These changes in particular do more than simply telegraph Pamela’s flattering commentary. They, in fact, act as annotations for readers and assign importance and consequence to what she believes deserves more consideration. The remaining variants added to Pamela’s study of Locke are primarily quotative, which again help increase her scholarly ethos. “Home” (294), “School” (294), and “Home or a School Education” (298), for example, are all citations. On the other hand, “you” (287), “Act” (326), and “him” (327) are used for emphasis; namely, B.’s patience with Pamela’s “Nursery Impertinencies” (287) is stressed by “you,” “Act” underscores for the reader the proper way to punish a child – with “Pauses, mingling Stripes and Expostulations together, to shame and terrify the more” (326) – and, in addition to its rhetorical effect, “him” accents a father’s “Authority to punish” (327). Thus, the nuanced typographical shift in voice or intonation carries with it a higher meaning that enhances Pamela’s intellect, stresses her views on education, and, above all, highlights her enthusiastic endorsement of a number of Locke’s pedagogical *Thoughts*.

Although Richardson made many changes to Pamela’s fulsome valentines by either omitting or moderating them, italics added to the second edition increase the

degree of praise she lavishes on others to the point of affectation. B., in particular, is her favorite target. For example, the “further great *Comfort*” he provides for her is improved in degree by “*further* great Comfort” (28). Despite his backsliding dalliance with the Countess Dowager, and without a hint of sarcasm, Pamela’s description of B. as “so fine a Gentleman” is altered to “so *fine* a Gentleman” (144) in order to stress his better qualities and, in a sense, excuse his rakish behavior. The final emendation directed at B. is made after he is fully reclaimed. Pamela, who lectures three “flighty” young ladies against the “affected Style of Romances,” colors her prose purple and gushes over the “Benignity” of B.’s “Rays” whenever she looks up to his “sunny Sphere” (347). The variant does not intrude upon Pamela’s romantic preserve but rather emphasizes the “dark Night” by accenting “*his*” (348), meaning B.’s, absence. His “Excellence,” she argues, “irradiate[s]” her, and the typographic shift augments his “reflected Glory” (347). The last revision to Pamela’s praise of others is for her most constant coterie of admirers – Lord and Lady Davers and Lord and Lady C. She is flattered by them and, in turn, stresses her appreciation by doing some apple-polishing of her own. She hopes, with greater urgency, to return their affection beyond the mere “*Appearance of a Return*” (130). The affection Pamela has for others would be admirable if it did not sound so artificial so often. Indeed, the italics exaggerate her inflated, even self-deprecating praise for her social superiors to a degree that violates propriety. Traditionally, Richardson would remove such improprieties in revision not add them, but to remove them all, especially her fondness for B., would seem out of character, and the heroine would be open to charges of ill-manners and ingratitude.

One way that Richardson attempted to offset Pamela's immoderate praise for others was to make the sequel a vehicle to showcase her morality, so in addition to a reforming influence that transcends gender and social class, Pamela also dispenses important moral lessons, some of which are foregrounded by additional italics in the second edition. For instance, Pamela vows to forgive B. for his affair with the Countess Dowager before she even knows the details, and this is featured more prominently with added rhetorical effect and typography. As "*his* [moral] Superior," she has a religious duty to not only "forgive the dear Gentleman" but to "*forgive* the dear Gentleman" (143). Failing to distinguish her forgiving nature would indicate that Pamela's morality is flawed, and this would undoubtedly undermine the novel's didactic purpose. Moreover, Pamela's moral principles are underscored by two more changes to what she calls her *Nursery Tales*. These edifying stories for her children guide them to better behavior by illustrating, allegorically, how the bad are punished and how the good are rewarded. In one case, the italics are added to stress that parents know best; that is, when children are refused something it is for their own good. If they "*were* refused," Pamela accents, it was because "they asked for something that would have done them hurt" (417). In the final example, Pamela offers a veiled threat to keep her children's behavior respectable and genteel with the adage "good Masters seldom fail to make good Gentlemen; and good Misses, good Ladies" by emphasizing that "God blesses them with as good Children as they were to *their* Parents" (417). In other words, the sins of the father shall be visited upon the son, and Pamela's children must set the example just as she has done. Accordingly, adjusted typography is able to foreground her principles and reinforce her moral character.

The nuanced meaning provided by italics further increases Pamela's character development by emphasizing her marital struggles with B.; in particular, her attempts of willful disobedience and her initial reluctance to forgive his romantic fling with the Countess Dowager. Because Pamela is a model for the eighteenth-century feminine ideal, her resistance to contemporary notions of female passivity in *Pamela II* often appear slight, harmless, and justifiable. This was the case until Richardson made typographical emendations that explicitly fly in the face of conduct-book ideology, namely the dictates of female propriety and the slavish obedience a woman owes to her husband. The first open challenge to undergo typographical revision is Pamela's demand that she be allowed to breastfeed her children. To nurse becomes a point of conscience with her, and the argument reaches its climax when she uses her rhetorical savvy to argue with B. Parallelism is her chief weapon as she tries unsuccessfully to reason B. out of his resolution. In the second edition, for example, she more convincingly questions his prerogative and control when she emphatically distinguishes between "*common* Points" and her "*Conscience*" (25). Though her appeal ultimately fails, Pamela shows an intractability that has been markedly absent in the novel since her wedding day. The next episode to undergo typographical adjustment precedes the trial scene. Here, Pamela's internal struggle is given an external visual element that helps to inflect her emotional and psychological turmoil. Introduced into her rhetorical question addressed to Lady Davers is an italic that illustrates how her love for B. conflicts with her morality: she asks "Can I live with him, Madam,—*Ought* I" (148). Pages later, she answers this question with an added emphatic "I *will* part with [him]" (167). Of course, Pamela does not have to compromise and choose between B. and her virtue, but she does demonstrate,

forcefully, her disgust and rejection of living with a polygamist. In a similar way, Pamela's greatest fear – that B. will leave her and give custody of her son to the Countess – manifests itself through her confidence in the married Viscountess, the Dowager's sister: "So I was not afraid of *her* Love to my *Billy*" (154). Uncharacteristically, Pamela, whose child is by law the property of B., eschews her usual decorum when she comes face to face with the Countess for the first time by an unusual show of ownership that further disrupts, through its dramatic expression, the reader's impression of Pamela as a passive and silent sufferer. A few pages later, Pamela's shift in tone highlights that her jealousy "*is* uppermost" (158) despite her best efforts to repress it, and when news reaches her that B. is with the Countess at Tunbridge, the accented "Countess is *certainly* one of the Party" (168) confirms her resentment and feeds her suspicion.

Three more changes are made during and immediately after the trial scene that continue to alter her characterization and increase the drama of the conflict. The first is Pamela's response to B.'s demand that she explain herself and her unusual behavior. Her reply is colored with exceptional warmth: "You *will* [know] presently, Sir" (173). The second change adds rhetorical effect toward the end of her defense and a condescending tone: she knows it "*must* be to no Purpose" to expostulate with him (180). In this passage, Pamela blames herself for B.'s wandering eye, but at the same time she suggests that a sermon, apart from being ill-timed, would be useless because B. must first want to reform before "Divine grace can touch [his] Heart" (180). The final revision is made after the trial scene when B. tells Pamela about his first platonic meeting with the Countess. B. declares that he is "incapable of meaning any thing but what is honourable" (201) by the meetings, but Pamela's aside is now peppered with sarcasm: "*(No to be sure!)*" (201).

Naturally, Pamela's "rebellion" is fleeting – she lives happily ever after with her reformed rake – but the heightened dramatic tone leaves enough evidence in its wake to suggest that she is not a complete pushover. In fact, her outspokenness in these instances shows that her character develops beyond that of a single-minded, one-dimensional prude. By increasing the tension, her anger and frustration find expression despite her physical and social vulnerability as a woman. This is, in effect, the closest readers will come to seeing Pamela's defiant pre-hymeneal personality in the sequel.

If Pamela's development as a character is not sufficiently evidenced by these typographical changes, then it is certainly confirmed in the revisions that make her a strident advocate for women's education. To begin with, three examples increase the rhetorical effect and draw greater attention to the fact that undereducated mothers are ultimately responsible for their children's moral, economic, and social success. This is a concept she gleaned from her study of Locke's *Thoughts* and, in a letter to B., she emphasizes that most women can teach their children "*this*" and "*that*" but where will "*they*" – meaning mothers – "come by their Knowledge?" (343). Her criticism was explicit enough before the added italics, but the intentional exaggeration is less circumspect in its feminist interest. As Pamela continues to exploit Locke's educational ideology as a smokescreen for educating women to better educate their children, she uses Miss Goodwin, who "gives all the Promises of becoming a fine young Lady," as her example (343). Valuable time, Pamela more vehemently asserts, has been "*lost*" (343), and Miss Goodwin's hitherto incomplete education, Pamela fears, might not provide her with the prestige and power she would have otherwise achieved in adulthood. With another typographical shift, Pamela openly questions, with increased intensity, why "Girls" are

not “intitled to the same *first* Education...as Boys” (343). Such parity, she argues, will not only make these women better teachers but better wives, and a “*first*” education is vital in order for a woman to fulfill both roles. Pamela’s argument, as subtle as it may be, becomes more radical when foregrounded with “bold Comparisons” (346) that contrast her acquaintances and the genteel couples in her neighborhood. With these examples, she illustrates that many women, even with a traditional education, make “*more* than an equal Figure with the Gentlemen” (346). Thus, instead of simply maintaining what for Pamela’s character was a less antagonistic radicalism, Richardson’s added emphasis surprisingly makes her a more direct opponent of women’s public and domestic oppression.

On the whole, seventy-three percent of the revisions in volume IV adjust Pamela’s language and enhance her character in some way; however, this is not to say that Richardson neglected his secondary characters. The heroine may be the focus of revision in all four volumes, but considerable emendations are continually made to those with whom she corresponds or frequently interacts: B. and Polly Darnford, in particular. Naturally, the purpose and impact of the variants is determined by each character’s role within the narrative. All the same, characterization is altered. Richardson’s changes to style and adjustments to propriety are representative of his lifetime efforts to further gentry his text grammatically, syntactically, and rhetorically. In many ways, then, the revisions make all of the sequel’s characters more engaging, and relieve, at least in part, Richardson’s anxiety to please the taste of an incredulous bourgeois readership.

B.



Compared to Pamela, there are not many adjustments made to B.'s character in volume IV, but with 77 variants his style is the most altered after the heroine's. Many of the emendations consist of minor corrections, single-word exchanges, elevated language, and an improved syntax for the sake of clarity or emphasis. The revisions with the most impact on his characterization, however, show a greater amount of forethought and deliberation. In other words, Richardson chose his words carefully, in all likelihood, to influence how the reader would interpret B.'s character. Of course, B.'s genteel pretentiousness is still telegraphed, but in the final volume his language is adjusted to silently efface his irascible temper and recover his stoic ethos. At the same time, Richardson surprisingly reversed some of B.'s smug gentility with a more informal, conversational tone. This does not mean that B. speaks in the register of his servants, but that, because they are taken too far, a few instances of his affected, labored, and mannered style are revised. Similar to the nuanced changes that flesh out Pamela's character, B.'s slight characterization becomes more full-bodied by the contrast; that is, there is more harmony between character, style, and tone in this variety that somewhat displaces the tedious monotony of his typically measured speech.

In order to retain B.'s gentlemanly ethos, and to keep pace with Pamela's changing style, Richardson made a number of grammatical revisions, single-word changes to elevate and correct, and continued to implement standard usages. Corrections to grammar include a couple of pronoun adjustments, namely "as our other" becomes "as your other" (125) and the faulty "*Half* of them is enough" is "*Half* of it is enough" (171). One of Richardson's signature revisions is illustrated in the swap from "that" to "which" (189, 203, 211, 211, 282); "richer" becomes "richly" (214); the past

tense “was” is “were” (214); “additional” is the more accurate “additionally” (219); and “that” becomes “who” (219). The emended single-words include the more precise “necessary Character” to “necessary Qualification” (7); the ambiguous “*Circumstance*” that is used to refer to Pamela’s pregnancy is altered to the less euphemistic “Condition” (23); “as” is elevated to “since” (87, 87, 280); when B. compares the beauties of Pamela to those of the Countess Dowager, the confusing “inimitable” is simplified to “incomparable” (210); “incapable” is the exact “unable” (216); “a Youth” is “the Youth” because speaking more specifically (308); and “me” is “one” (124) because B. speaks generally about himself. A number of revisions also illustrate Richardson adopting conventional or standard usage, namely several examples of “an” to “a” and one “Rivaless” to “Rival” (185). A typical Richardsonian overcorrection also shows up in B.’s incorrect use of “further” to “farther” (217). Corrections such as these may be typical and appear superficial, but they provide additional insight into the anxiety Richardson suffered over presentation and interpretation. Granted, these grammatical inaccuracies, single-word emendation, and revisions for standard usage do not impede meaning. The overall effect of the changes, however, is that B.’s language is both consistent with his social class and as linguistically stable as Pamela’s. Moreover, as a printer, Richardson was not indifferent to correctness and the lofty goal he established for his novel and the criticism he received likely exacerbated his editorial fervor. As some of his correspondence indicates, correcting and editing his first novel became for him very much like the elephant in the room or the albatross around his neck.

Similar to corrections and more precise substitutions, Richardson also elevated some of B.’s language to serve as an additional complement to Pamela’s, thus making

him appear to be, with greater consistency, her intellectual superior. Although she is his inferior by birth and education, Pamela's prose style, much of it improved in revision, often surpasses his with its greater rhetorical power. Some of this is resolved after revision, and like Pamela, B.'s studied "conversation" loses much of its spontaneity. One instance in particular is B.'s opinion of Italian and English operas: "in order to throw in a Glut of minuitish Airs, collected from an Author, the Contraste has always been broken thereby, and the Opera damn'd, without knowing the Reason" becomes the scripted "in order to introduce favourite Airs, selected from different Authors, the Contraste has always been broken thereby, and the Opera damn'd without every one's knowing the Reason" (87). B.'s plain and simple diction, evidenced by "throw," "Glut," "minuitish," and "collected," is replaced with deliberate language, such as "introduce," "favourite" and "selected," not to mention the addition of the pronoun "one's" that removes a slight obscurity from the clause. Another adjustment corrects Pamela's sloppy paraphrase by making it more representational of what B. actually says: "But he says, I shall myself better consider it, and be more a Mistress of the Subject and he shall the better attend to my Reasonings, when they are put into Writing: and surely, my Dear, said he, you may" is corrected to "But he said, You will yourself, my Dear, better consider the Subject, and be more a Mistress of it, and I shall the better attend to your Reasonings, when they are put into Writing. And surely, *Pamela*, added he, you may" (125). While these changes replace what seems like the instantaneous recording of events with mature deliberation, one revision in particular alters both B.'s casual style and characterization to a significant degree. For instance, "What Brutes are such passionate Wretches as me, when compar'd to such Angels as my *Pamela*" becomes more reserved and calculated "What an

inconsiderate Brute am I, when compar'd to such an Angel as my *Pamela*" (129). Here, upon greater deliberation, B.'s affected self-reproach becomes a well-mannered *mea culpa* designed to whitewash his character rather than condemn him. Instead of a "passionate" wretch who overreacts when Pamela asks his permission, in an artful way, to take care of the illegitimate Miss Goodwin, readers of the second edition see that his gratuitous outburst is merely "inconsiderate."

The remaining elevated phrases and clauses are minor compared to the longer revised passages, but they continue to illustrate Richardson's attention to detail with a complete grammatical representation of meaning that was undoubtedly stylistically motivated to embellish characterization. In addition to adding consistency to B.'s character, a high style keeps him at a safer distance from his social inferiors. For example, "I will give" is "which I will give" (129); "uncommon Scenes between us" is "uncommon Scenes which passed between us" (187); "as now to leave you" is the polished "as I now do, to leave you" (191); "in order to give it up" becomes "in order to my giving it up" (203-204); "give a Preference to either" is "tell to which to give the Preference" (211); "to make myself" is the refined "endeavour to make myself" (217-18); "latter is aim'd at" to "latter is observ'd" (218); the preposition at the end of the clause is moved to the beginning when "which I have this Moment heard of" is "of which I have this Moment heard" (222); and "it will be too easy a Matter to put her out of her right Mind" is improved with "it will be no difficult Matter to put her out of her right Mind" (276). These revisions do not contrast with B.'s usual style, nor do they appear to have been added indiscriminately. In fact, they support his characteristic affected language by making his smoother though idiomatic statements wordy and cumbersome. This cold

correctness, therefore, increases his ceremonious tone, urbanity of manner, and overburdened style.

Richardson's obsession with minutiae extended beyond correcting and elevating B.'s language to include sentence-level revisions that improve, embellish, and amplify, all of which illustrate that Richardson saw a direct relationship between the genteel status of his characters and their formal linguistic personae. That is, he revised grammar and style in order to augment the significance and status of his text and its characters. For example, "a little out of Humour, than that I *am*" is adjusted to "a little out of Humour with you, than that I *am*" (24); "speaking by Art" is a more precise "speaking musically" (88); "express the Passions" is inflated to "express the Variety of Passion" (88); B.'s praise of Pamela's well-turned cheeks affects both the reader's interpretation and appreciation of them when they are revised from the best B. has seen "in my Life" to the best he has seen "in my Life, in any Lady's" (212);<sup>58</sup> B.'s redundant use of "my Lady" is removed when "Her CHIN, my Lady" becomes "Her CHIN" (213) and "Lady" is replaced again when "And, my Lady, charming as your TEETH are" becomes "As to TEETH, charming as your Ladyship's are" (213); the careless syntax in "I believe, she might say something like it in Passion to him" is tightened to "I believe, she might, in a Passion, say something like it to him" (216); "upon Terms perhaps too inconsiderate on one Side" is improved grammatically to "upon Terms, which you would think too inconsiderate on one Side" (217); "Only that you (without Cause, as I thought) gave me great Disgusts" is reorganized to a more deliberate "Only that you gave me great Disgusts (without Cause,

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<sup>58</sup> B.'s flirtatious comparison of Pamela's cheek with the Countess Dowager's is one of the known stop-press variants that Richardson made to the first edition of *Pamela II*. A minor revision is made once more in the second edition. For a discussion of this and additional stop-press variants, see Rivero's introduction (lxix).

as I thought) (217); tense is corrected when “do” becomes “have done” (220); and the conversational “between us was, now I begin to think, necessary” is a more artificial “between us, I now begin to think, was necessary” (224). Curiously, B., whose conversation is recorded by Pamela in her letters, speaks as eloquently as she writes. In many instances, his natural speech is replaced by a stilted dialogue, thus making it indistinguishable from hers. It appears that an improved grammar and syntax increasingly becomes the yardstick by which one’s social class is to be measured, and Pamela’s transition from the cottage to the manor is meant to be effected stylistically rather than with changes in plot.

Although Richardson typically revised B.’s style in a more formal direction, this is reversed in some cases because the original language was starched to the point of affectation. As a result, a series of variants relax and clarify B.’s register instead of elevate and formalize it. In effect, these changes remove the awkward and ambiguous to make B. appear less pretentious and his diction more precise. For example, “their Fortunes require it not of them” is a looser “their Fortunes inable them to live without it” (7); “himself, and can judge contemptibly of his Auditors” becomes the idiomatic and nuanced “*himself*, and can think meanly of his *Auditors*” (7); the obscure “Reasons altogether generous” is expanded to “Reason altogether in your Favour” (24); B.’s dissertation on opera is altered from the unnecessarily wordy and artificial “let the Musick express, as I may say, Love and the Tender, ever so much, it will come out heavy and tiresome; if the latter prevail, it will surfeit with Jig and Minuit” to the simplified and less technical “let the Musick be composed ever so masterly in that Style, it will become heavy and tiresome; if the latter prevail, it will surfeit with its Levity” (87); likewise, the

lofty and ornate “yet the Concatention of Sounds is, by this Means, so artfully contrived, as that the Cadences or Dialogue of the Basses shall unite and delight the Ear with their Opposites, the highest Tenors and Trebles” is emended to the spare and intelligible “yet the Harmony of the Chords of the Thorough Base, which then accompanies the Voices, delights the Ears of discerning Judges” (88); and, finally, the inflated “most arduous” is eased to the “most important to you to conceal” (178). Hence, some of B.’s most forced and exaggerated language is replaced with a clearer, conversational discourse. Even still, B. retains much of his grand style throughout the narrative, but rather than seeing these variants as an arbitrary or miscalculated attempt to simply alter B.’s idiom, Richardson likely hoped to re-connect B. with his readers. I would argue, therefore, that they are emblematic of an effort to trim back B.’s larger-than-life figure stylistically. Indeed, his stylized manner in many of these examples is as cringe-worthy as some of Pamela’s more embarrassing moments. Certainly, Richardson is not just adding a contrasting style on a whim, but, as editor, he is taking more rigorous control over his character. Part of this control is to moderate the language that draws too much attention to itself to the point that it upsets the credibility of the narrative.

The final substantive changes Richardson made to B. affect his characterization by enhancing his stoic ethos, minimizing hints of his patriarchal oppression, and establishing the credibility of his reformation. The first two variants adjust affected language by omitting an ostentatious display of affection and a cant term of endearment. For instance, B.’s loving embrace is altered from “Well then, my Dearest, said he, clasping his kind Arms about me, we will forgive another” to a more respectable because less intimate “Well then, my Dearest, said he, we will forgive one another” (27), and in a

paragraph loaded with endearing epithets, “your dear Head” becomes a reserved “your Head” (185), thus adding a hint of decorum and propriety to B.’s otherwise uncharacteristic display of affection. Another two revisions emend nuanced language that is self-incriminating. Indeed, the removal of prejudicial rhetoric shows that Richardson gave a greater amount of forethought and deliberation to the words B. uses to describe himself and his actions. For example, “my Hastiness and inconsiderate Harshness, I will coolly consider of this Matter” is moderated and understated as “my Hastiness, I will coolly consider of the Matter” (129). B.’s indifferent apology, if this is an apology at all, still smacks of insincerity, but most importantly readers are encouraged to see his outburst in the same way he does, as neither “inconsiderate” nor harsh. In a similar way, B.’s determination to give Pamela’s “Uneasiness a fair Hearing” is revised to “Uneasiness a Hearing” (218). The presence of the adjective in the original phrase overstresses B.’s impartially; indeed, he doth protest too much his objectivity. By removing it, however, the focus is aimed at Pamela’s “Uneasiness” before her “trial” instead of drawing the reader’s attention to B.’s unique role as her prosecutor and judge.

The final substantive revision is to a pivotal paragraph of central thematic importance. The underlying premise illustrated in *Pamela II* is the heroine’s power to reform even the most degenerate and immoral characters. Naturally, the reformed rake is the most troublesome and liable to relapse. It appears, therefore, that Richardson’s goal was to convince readers that Pamela had, in the end, effected B.’s reformation. The original passage echoes the promise B. made to change his ways in volume II, and, in doing so, leads one to question the editor’s conclusion at the end of volume IV that B.



“continued to be one of the best and most exemplary of Men” who devoted himself to “privater Duties” (2nd, 430):

You shall therefore, my *Pamela*, from this Instant, be my Guide; and, only taking care, that you do not all at once, by too *rigorous* Injunctions, damp and discourage the rising Flame, I will leave it to you to direct it as you please, till, by degrees, it may be deem'd worthy to mingle with your own. (1st, 394)

Here, as in volume II, B. passively puts his spiritual welfare into Pamela's hands, and then in the same breath he prescribes limits and cautions lest she “discourage the rising Flame.” Such a declaration so obviously lacks the conviction of true penitence that Richardson offered stronger proof in revision:

I would not, my best Love, make this Declaration of my Convictions to you, till I had throughly [sic] examin'd myself, and had Reason to hope, that I should be enabled to make it good. And now, my *Pamela*, from this Instant, you shall be my Guide; and, only taking care, that you do not, all at once, by Injunctions too rigorous, damp and discourage the rising Flame, I will leave it to You to direct it as you please, till, by degrees, it may be deem'd worthy to mingle with your own. (2nd, 358)

Accordingly, and after mature reflection, B.'s introspective analysis of his conscience gives greater credibility to, and offers additional evidence for, his intended moral improvement. Granted, B. still limits Pamela's capacity to act as his moral compass and spiritual advisor, but at least now he promises to play an active role in his own recovery. Thus, by these additions, B.'s character, though emotionally detached, is more positively depicted. Two examples of his overly sentimental actions and language are cut, his hubristic nature is somewhat softened, and an otherwise implausible plot resolution is

strengthened by his tacit acknowledgment of guilt, his subsequent self-analysis, and his sincere wish to reform.

In addition to the substantive variants that alter B.'s characterization, five italics are added that telegraph his approval of Pamela's exemplary obedience to his "injunctions," two emphasize his obligations as a gentleman, and three others minimize negative aspects of his character. The majority of typographical changes underscore Pamela's strict obedience to B.'s 48 commandments imposed on her as his wife in volume II, which she later calls the "noblest and earliest Curtain-lecture that ever Girl had" (III, 71). For instance, "*me*" (IV, 171) not only adds rhetorical effect but compliments, at the same time, Pamela's silent suffering. The suppression of her anxiety leading up to the trial scene, in strong contrast with B.'s passionate and frequent outbursts, is praised by B., who knows that Pamela is "displeased" with him and yet she refuses to appear anything but, as he warned her, "Sweetness and Complaisance" (5th, II, 322). Similarly, "*so uncommon, yet so like yourself*" (2nd, IV, 185) provides additional balance and continues to flatter Pamela's observance of B.'s "Rules," namely that "I must bear with him, even when I find him in the wrong" (5th, II, 321). What's more, it is her characteristic submissiveness and "passionate Fondness" (2nd, IV, 176) that B. admires when he emphatically admits that "*I revere you now*" (191). Moreover, additional significance is assigned to B.'s debts of honor. For example, "*will*" (176) signposts his duty to seek satisfaction from the "Informants" who tell Pamela about his clandestine meetings with the Countess and "*can*" (192) not only adds parallel structure but accents his pledge to restore the Dowager's honor. Finally, the once accented "Will" (27) is reversed in order to understate B.'s demand that Pamela cheerfully and wholly agree with

his refusal to let her breastfeed their children; “*that*” is further nuanced to highlight B.’s hope that “*the unbelieving Husband shall be saved by the believing Wife*” (357); and “*too*” is shrewdly minimized to diminish B.’s admission that he is “*little accustomed to Restraint*” (357). In many ways, these variants complement the substantive emendations Richardson made to B.: the nuanced expressions illustrate his esteem for Pamela’s compliance in the face of crisis, his responsibilities as a gentleman are foregrounded, and his character whitewashed. Although rigid gender divisions are more pronounced in the process, B. is please with Pamela’s conformity to his “*Rules.*” Likewise, his odd prejudice to breastfeeding, his masculine virtue, and his desire to reform are adjusted by degrees and show an effort to shift appearances. Taken altogether, they suggest that Richardson attempted to nurture a positive image of his hero, or, at the very least, one that was not so disapproving.

#### Polly Darnford

The character with the most variants after Pamela and B. in volume IV is Polly Darnford, and the changes replace much of her individual vitality with uncharacteristic formality. In other words, her voice, in many ways, is indistinguishable from Pamela’s. Polly’s adjusted characterization is no doubt a result of her audience (she is, at times, writing to her parents), an effort to mature her character, prepare her for the role of wife and mother, and thus make her a more suitable friend and correspondent for the exemplary heroine. As Pamela becomes distinguished by her morals as well as her intellect, Polly, too, is given a similar intellectual distinction that, for Richardson, is the great equalizer between the low-born heroine and her high-born friends. Polly’s letters are also audience specific. That is, Richardson appears to have consciously shaped

Polly's discourse based on her readers – Sir Simon and his wife, Lady Darnford. This is illustrated, in part, by corrections to grammar and emendations to standard usages, but Richardson also removed redundancies, substituted a number of single-words that correct or elevate diction, formalized style, revised affected language, and cleaned up genteel improprieties. Pamela still writes to her friend, but the conversation is largely one-sided. Indeed, the details of Polly's married life and her eventual death in childbirth are only given a single sentence in the novel's conclusion. The variants, then, have a larger impact on her character than might be expected, making Polly, above all, a more suitable correspondent for her aristocratic parents and a closer friend to the conventionally gentrified Pamela. The very nature of the changes also suggests that the reader is supposed to compare the two women and see that the heroine's virtue as well as her intellect is chiefly responsible for her social mobility.

The changes with the least impact on Polly's character are grammatical improvements, namely adjusted tense and an expanded contraction, and a number of corrections, including what might be compositorial errors. While these revisions improve her style overall and elevate her character, they are more characteristic of Richardson's persistent tendency to correct his own authorial blemishes. The initial rawness of epistolary writing is distinguished by such grammatical and syntactic irregularities.<sup>59</sup> However, to leave the colloquialisms and inflections of natural speech runs counter to Richardson's overwhelming reliance on a character's style to signify their social position.

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<sup>59</sup> In two different letters to Sophia Westcomb, Richardson described letter writing as “artless freedom” (Carroll 65) and “Impulses *embody’d*” (68). Similar sentiments are expressed throughout Richardson's correspondence, with Lady Bradshaigh in particular, who commented on the epistolary style thus: “I own, in familiar letters, I think too severe a Correction is a great fault, for shou'd they not appear extempore, and just as the thoughts flow'd at the time of Writing?...Simplicity has its Charms, and I would not aim at more” (32).

It was, in all likelihood, necessary for Richardson, for the sake of narrative consistency, to emend and standardize even Polly's idiosyncrasies. For example, "has" becomes "have" (121); "was so good" is "has been so good" (108); "won't" is expanded to "will not" (119); the missing pronoun in "and am" is corrected to "and I am" (50); the compositorial error in "thai Lady and Lord *Davers*" is corrected to "that Lord and Lady *Davers*" (117); "an" is standardized several times to "a"; "that" is "which" (49, 113, 115); "on" is a more exact "at" (49); "that" is "who" (110); "me" is accurately changed to a nominative "I" (111); and "was pretended" is the subject specific "he pretended" (108). Certainly, consistent global revision in a text showcasing Pamela's assimilation into the upper-class has a clear social intention. Accordingly, close attention to the variants shows Richardson working to legitimize his text and its characters. After all, the rustic heroine may write better than her social superiors, but with so much emphasis on rhetoric one hardly expects that her correspondents should go uncorrected.

A number of redundancies are removed and single-words revised in order to strengthen Polly's voice and solidify her social position. Indeed, the changes seek to support and encourage, with slight variation, that she is the daughter of a baronet and the future wife of Lord G. The careless repetition of Mrs. and Mr. B., for instance, is replaced with a pronoun when "Mr. B." becomes "he" (108); two revisions are made that eliminate Polly's overuse of "Indulgence" by replacing it with "Favour" (118) and "Goodness to me" (118); and the superfluous "Fondness to her" becomes "Fondness" (119). These examples of the informality of her writing, much like those in Pamela's, present a challenge to the "high life" atmosphere Richardson wanted to promote. The omissions are more compatible with the elevated tone of the novel and help to identify Polly,

however inconspicuously, with the nobility and its more prevalent formality. Similarly, single-word corrections and emendations frequently substitute the familiar for the formal, including “the Character of Pride” to “the Censure of Pride” (48); “Design” to “Expectation” (49); “worthy” to honest” (50); “not be out” to “not be abroad” (111); “as” to “since” (120, 250); “exasperates” is a more precise “aggravates” (244); and “tho” is “however” (245).<sup>60</sup> Again, like all of the changes to Polly’s character in volume IV, there is a greater consistency of tone that sanitizes her diction. This, no doubt, was part of Richardson’s larger attempt to draw awareness to her social status and her audience. Such scrupulous attention to word choice makes an obvious comment about the person Richardson imagined to be a suitable friend and correspondent for his heroine.

In addition to cleaning up redundancies and altering Polly’s diction with a polished vocabulary, there is also an improved syntax nearly identical to Pamela’s that often disrupts the natural rhythm of Polly’s familiar style. In effect, her more energetic and idiomatic language becomes stilted and illustrates the same scripted, deliberate prose that Richardson used to signify each character’s status. Now, Polly’s uncharacteristic reserve strikingly resembles the heroine’s, minus, of course, the superlative morality, the preaching, and the gratuitous self-praise, and, like Pamela, as Polly matures, the tighter and more labored her sentences appear. For example, the vague and generic clause “as many Enemies as Persons; and as many more, as those Persons had Friends” is given greater detail with “as many Enemies as she had discarded Servants; and as many more, as those had Friends” (48); “their” is a more thoughtful “his or her” (48); the colloquial

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<sup>60</sup> One change in particular does not elevate Polly’s language; instead, it alters her description of the Countess Dowager from “prudent” to “reserv’d” (121). This adjective is obviously more fitting given the Dowager’s utter disregard for her reputation. In another instance, an error appears to have been introduced. The “Doctor” who recommends poor families for Pamela to relieve is erroneously called “Donor” (50).

“If any one of them is the least out of Order, her Care and Tenderness for them ingage the Duty, and the Veneration, and Gratitude, of all the rest” becomes the measured “If any of them are the least indisposed, her Care and Tenderness for them engage the Veneration and Gratitude of all the rest” (48); and the awkward “and to some, (of whose Prudence she is most assur’d in laying it out in the way they best can judge of) Money” is the more intelligible “and Money to some, of whose Prudence she is most assur’d in laying it out in the way they best can judge of” (49). Moreover, when Polly writes about Pamela’s Sunday “Duties,” the solemnity of the occasion is omitted, but the substitution of “excellent” for “lovely” adapts the language to the ceremony: “and with the Seriousness, Harmony, and Good-will, that this lovely Method contributes” becomes “and with the Harmony and Good-will that this excellent Method contributes” (50); the idiomatic “as in the Country, in a Body, superior as well as inferior Servants” is slightly improved with “(as they used to do in the Country) superior as well as inferior Servants” (51); “and have the Grace to imitate her” is a refined and elegant “and how happy are they who have the Grace to follow it” (51); the informal “and he had got her” is altered to “and he had her” (52); “than he ought” is “than he ought to have been” (110); “regard to this Circumstance” is “regard to the Circumstances she is in” (111); “sought his worthy Principal” is “hasted to congratulate his worthy Principal” (112); the flow of Polly’s prose is further broken by the change from “that they” to “Insomuch that they” (114); the familiar “Pleasantry always gives me Joy” is the literary “Facetiousness always gives me Pleasure” (117); similarly, “if I may so say” is “if I may so call it” (245); and the sloppy phrase “Nursery pass for an Excuse from writing on upon those Subjects” becomes the elevated and organized “Nursery excuse her from proceeding upon those Subjects” (120).

In addition to weighing the characteristics of Polly's audience and shaping her writing accordingly, these global revisions continue to illustrate Richardson's shorthand way of designating a character's superior social status. In doing so, however, spontaneity is continually sacrificed for premeditation, and, in this case, Polly's voice, lacking the arrogance of Lady Davers, starts to blend with Pamela's. Polly may still write, as she claims in a letter to her parents, "without any manner of Connection, just as things come uppermost" (120), but she does so with additional forethought to style. Ultimately, it appears as if Richardson overcompensated for Pamela's humble birth by giving her Polly as a friend and correspondent, and then used Polly's character to draw greater attention to Pamela's natural superiority. That is to say, though Polly is Pamela's better by birth and education, they are both on the same level stylistically, which, in all four volumes, is touted as a key determinant in the heroine's moral, economic, and social status.

Additional substantive revisions to Polly's character tend to moderate her affected and needless praise of the heroine, giving her additional credibility as Pamela's friend and distinguishing her voice amongst the endless chorus of flatterers. From Richardson's correspondence, it is clear that fulsome praise for the heroine was a frequent revision he felt compelled to make. Even though Polly does not clasp Pamela in her arms, she often makes comments about her friend that may have appeared offensive to Richardson's contemporaries because fundamentally unnecessary. After all, much of the novel seems like a competition to see who can praise Pamela the most. On second thought, Richardson likely believed so too, given the evidence of revision. For example, the aside "(and we have often admir'd and applauded her for it)" (1st, 73; 2nd, 47) is omitted; the overly dramatic "raises her admired Pen" becomes "raises her Pen" (2nd, 52); the overstated



“for I don’t believe there is such a happy Couple” is a more sensible “since there is hardly such another happy Couple” (107); further praise of Pamela’s “Pen” is adjusted from “I have not Mrs. *B.*’s Pen; so cannot draw these affecting Scenes of Joy, as she could have done” to “I cannot draw these affecting Scenes of Joy, as Mrs. *B.* could have done” (112); another omission, “and excellent Intentions” (1st, 277; 2nd, 245), is made because affected; and “upon her Frugality, to have sav’d so much Money” is the less flattering “for having sav’d so much Money” (2nd, 50). Despite Richardson’s general tendency to reverse the flattery, one variant significantly increases it. In doing so, however, Polly’s praise sounds more sincere. To say that Polly exaggerates when she imagines the good Pamela could do if she were “vested with the Robes of Royalty” (51) is an understatement. This is another example of Richardson working hard – perhaps too hard – to impress upon the reader Pamela’s inherent gentility. In the original passage, the criticism of birth equals worth is noticeable even to the half-conscious reader:

...who acts from the Impulses of her own Heart, unaided by any human Example. And how can one avoid thinking of Inspiration in this Case; or that she was dropp’d down, when the creating MIND was forming Angels, (forgive the Enthusiasm, which the Contemplation of her innumerable Excellencies raises) to be received into bodily Organs, and to live among Men and Women, in order to shew what the first of the Species was designed to be? (1st, 77)

After revision, however, Polly emphasizes Pamela’s nobility of spirit even more. The language is elevated and exaggerated to loftier heights and suggests that the heroine’s virtue overturns the accident of a noble birth. Instead of a title, Pamela has inherited a sublime and princely quality of the soul. This is the most forced argument yet to justify her social mobility, but after a key revision the eulogy has a greater degree of honesty:

...who acts form the Impulses of her own Heart, unaided, in most Cases, by any human Example. In short, when I contemplate her innumerable Excellencies, and that Sweetness of Temper, and universal Benevolence, which shine in every thing she says and does, I cannot sometimes help looking upon her in the Light of an Angel, dropp'd down from Heaven, and receiv'd into Bodily Organs, to live among Men and Women, in order to shew what the first of the Species was designed to be. (2nd, 51-52)

Here, Pamela is also described as an angel in human form, but in addition to possessing “innumerable Excellencies,” she has a “Sweetness of Temper” and a “universal Benevolence” that shines like a nimbus over all she does. Most importantly, though, Polly’s apology for her “Enthusiasm” is conspicuously absent. In a way, this makes her shameless promotion of Pamela’s greatness less artificial than the original. Indeed, if one has to qualify or defend such praise, as some of *Pamela*’s characters do, the more it smacks of hypocrisy. Consequently, Polly, even in her the most unrestrained moment, shows a genuine affection for Pamela that is missing when the heroine is surrounded by her usual crowd of admirers. By making fewer compliments, those that remain are set in greater relief and seem more sincere. Beyond making the sincerity of Polly’s praise genuine, the revisions strengthen her relationship with Pamela. It happens often that others carelessly throw compliments at the heroine as if it were a matter of course. Polly, on the other hand, is rarely this pretentious, and she is even less so after revision.

The final adjustments to Polly’s character are minor revisions to matters of propriety, namely inelegant expressions that, when changed, provide Polly with a greater degree of female decorum. Despite the fact that Polly’s letters are written to the vulgar Sir Simon, boorish references to coaches, apartments, breastfeeding, and B.’s taste in women are smoothed over in the same way that the heroine’s attention to ill-mannered

and superfluous details are cut from *Pamela I*. For example, during her London visit Polly's stay in the "best Apartments" is a more sensible "best Apartment" (47); the subtle praise for Pamela and the impolite hint at B.'s income is emended from "his dear Lady are resolved to accompany me in their Coach and Six" to "his Lady are resolved to accompany me in their Coach" (118); a second implication, "Coach and Six," is likewise shortened to "Coach" (120); and Richardson's former euphemistic impulse to describe breastfeeding is altered from "to perform that Office herself" to the unmannered and plain "to suckle it herself" (119). In the first edition, Polly writes that B. formerly had a "Taste" for seducing women in "Upper Life," but her earlier flippant tone is more reserved and disapproving when "for his Taste, when at the worst, always lay, it seems, above the Vulgar" becomes "for, it seems, when he was at the worst, he never made the Vulgar the Subjects of his vile Attempts" (110). Finally, Polly's former familiar tone makes its way erroneously into a letter to her parents and, for the sake of good manners, it is adjusted from "You may guess at our Hurry; for I have been Three Days writing this Letter, Piece by Piece" to the businesslike "I have been Three Days writing this Letter, Piece by Piece" (114). These variants combine Richardson's concern for manners and decorum in polite conversation and bring Polly's character more in line with what appears to be his idea of genteel discourse. Over all, her writing becomes more like Pamela's – serious, intelligent, correct, and suitably tailored to her audience. Thus, the changes to Polly's characterization stress her gentility, her friendship with Pamela, and her social decorum, but they also help elevate the heroine. Indeed, if Pamela writes as well as Polly, and their styles are nearly indistinguishable in volume IV, then Pamela is purged of the final element and last signifier of her lower-class birth – her linguistic

solecisms. Evidence of Pamela's past, including her parents, are eventually written out, and, surprisingly, Richardson completed this erasure without the artificial *deus ex machina* of Kelly's *High Life* and Fielding's *Joseph Andrews*.

Without a doubt, Polly's variants in volume IV assume a serious tone, but lingering evidence of her waggish personality can be seen in the italics introduced into the second edition. Naturally, Richardson's use of typography is varied, including general emphasis and rhetorical effect, but for Polly its primary use is to animate her personality with the spirit of satire. For instance, "*with me*" (117) is reminiscent of her earlier repartee with Sir Simon, and she openly taunts him over his fear that B. will attempt to seduce her; "*why*" (117) continues the joke, and she emphatically teases him that his concern for B.'s rakish tendencies is only a ruse to demand she return home to Lincolnshire; "*Man*" (246) signposts Polly's contempt at Lady Davers's proposal that she marry Jackey, as in he knows not "how to behave as one" (246);<sup>61</sup> and two instances of "*when*" (247) are stressed to further highlight his additional faults, namely that he is uninhibited and vain. The remaining two italics are introduced for general emphasis. The first, "*Tenth Part*" (107), serves two purposes: it simultaneously accents the success of Pamela and B.'s companionate marriage and signifies that her sister's union with Mr. Murray will be happy even if it is only a fraction as affectionate as Pamela and B.'s. The second, "*owns*" (121), is an effort to foreground Pamela's only admitted fault – jealousy – and better prepares the reader for the masquerade and trial scenes. Although these are relatively minor typographical adjustments, they help, in some measure, to restore Polly's

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<sup>61</sup> Earlier in the same sentence, Richardson reversed the order of the adjectives Polly uses to describe Jackey: "obstinate and tenacious" is "tenacious and obstinate" (246). The variant seems indifferent, but the order may indicate which fault he possesses in the greatest degree.

characteristic wit in the wake of her newer, more sophisticated style and improved syntax. The nuanced typeface allows Polly's satirical, teasing voice to resurface, and her outspoken character continues to provide readers with a female figure of some independence beyond the waspish Lady Davers.

#### The Editor

Finally, in the guise of *Pamela's* editor, Richardson revised the conclusion by streamlining and improving the novel's closing remarks, blunting the level of self-scrutiny, and adding a didactic paragraph to resolve a subplot never fully concluded within the larger narrative. More specifically, Richardson increased the editor's *gravitas*, omitted an open invitation to critics, and included a passage that explains Jackey's "abominable folly" (372). His marriage to a "common Woman" (342) is a lesson that parallels the moral of the prodigal son and explores the role of a parent or guardian in their child's marriage. In this way, the variants help to shape the conclusion according to the novel's immediate context and purpose. In other words, they continue to foreground the sequel's elevated tone, the ubiquitous themes of repentance and redemption, and the focus on filial obedience.

Because Pamela's letters do not provide a resolution in the traditional sense, narrative closure is only possible with subsequent observations by the editor, whose style is more reserved and unaffected after revision. The conclusion originally begins with an obligatory apology for the protracted, disorganized volumes, a suggestion that there are additional letters held in reserve, and a joke about trying the reader's "Patience":

Altho' it will be seen, and confess'd, (notwithstanding the Sheets, which compose these Two additional Volumes, might have been easily formed into Three) how difficult it

was to reduce Materials so ample within the Compass which the Editor had assigned them; yet, being unwilling to deserve a Suspicion, that the Extent of this Work was to be measur'd but by the Patience of its Readers, He thinks proper to conclude in this Place: Subjoining, in order to elucidate the Whole, a brief Note of the following Facts. (1st, 469)

In this passage, Richardson-as-editor still maintains the reality of his fiction and implies, as advertised in the *Daily Gazetteer* on May 30, 1741, that he alone retains “Materials” “which *no other Person can have*.”<sup>62</sup> Unwanted attention is also drawn to the sequel’s rather confusing organization. It is a wonder if Richardson wrote this to excuse the hurried ending or if he truly had an “ample” glut of ideas that he wanted Pamela to impart. Regardless, after revision, the forced apology, the “difficult” collation, and the claim to possess additional letters are omitted, though the editor’s trite, self-mocking joke remains:

The Editor thinks proper to conclude in this Place, that he may not be thought to deserve a Suspicion, that the Extent of the Work was to be measured but by the Patience of its Readers. But he thinks it necessary, in order to elucidate the Whole, to Subjoin a brief Note of the following Facts. (2nd, 430-31)

Here, the editor’s style moves from the familiar to the formal. Clearly, he hopes to establish a different relationship with his readers. Like the titular character, he, too, is a teacher, and the best way to “elucidate the Whole” is from a professional distance. Thus, like the novel itself, the language in the opening paragraph is less labored and affected. The editor mimics the austere tone of the narrative and, without such an intimate and

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<sup>62</sup> *Daily Gazetteer* 30 May 1741: n.p. Gale. Web. 1 Apr. 2011. The veiled threat of a “Third” volume, which would have increased the novel to five, was likely made to discourage future imitators.

awkward preamble, better prepares readers for additional moralizing after they have digested the novel.

Additional revisions in the conclusion follow a similar strategy: they clarify, refine the style, and remove affectation. For instance, Pamela's "Rules" originally "in that Book" becomes the clearer "laid down in that Book" (430); Lady Davers is no longer "a resolv'd and an honourable Relict" to her husband, but simply "an honourable Relict" (431); "Mr. Andrews, and the happy good Woman his Wife, lived together in the calm, conscious Sweetness, set forth in their Letters" is a less mannered "Mr. Andrews, and his wife, lived together in the sweet Tranquility, set forth in their Letters" (431); it is clear that Mr. Longman works for B. until he dies when the phrase "succeeded him in it" becomes the more explicit "succeeded him in it, after his Death" (431); a greater awareness of propriety is observed after Longman's death when "That, at last, dying rich" is adjusted to "That, dying rich" (431), and the sense that he overstayed his welcome in this life is omitted; "when she found them fill'd" is the precise "and finding them fill'd" (432); and "among them, according to their Proximity of Blood" is a more intelligible "among them, in greater Proportion as they were more nearly related" (432). Naturally, these adjustments follow the same pattern of revision that Richardson used for the "Important and Entertaining Subjects" of his novel, and they are necessary to legitimize his portrait of "GENTEEL LIFE" (title page) because they support his goal of maintaining consistency and propriety.

By far the largest revision to the conclusion is an additional paragraph that happily resolves the subplot of Jackey's miserable marriage and, at the same time, continues to preach *Pamela's* cornerstones of repentance, redemption, and filial duty.

Unfortunately, there is no evidence outside of the narrative to suggest why Richardson decided to turn his famous coxcomb into the prodigal son, so one can only speculate whether it was done for thematic reasons or because a curious reader requested a resolution.<sup>63</sup> Regardless, the passage successfully functions either way, or perhaps as both simultaneously, because it tidies up an unresolved episode and serves as yet another positive example in a novel committed, in part, to redeeming wayward sinners. Following the New Testament parable, the patriarch, B., “by his Spirit of Prudence,” “save[s] [Jackey] from utter Ruin” after he suffers “Dishonour...and great Devastations in his Estate” (431). Beyond its likeness to the biblical story and its fit with the novel’s theme of atonement, this paragraph also overlaps with a major theme found in all four volumes: filial obedience. Jackey’s repentance is followed by the renewed matriarchal authority of Lady Davers, who, after the convenient death of his first wife, recommends a woman of “Prudence and Virtue” (431) for his second. Jackey’s obstinacy and strength of will is punished by a mercenary marriage to a termagant widow and illustrates that it was his duty to consult a parental authority on the suitability of the match. The conclusion teaches that Jackey achieves conjugal happiness once he conforms to the social values of society and governs himself by stricter rules and formal manners.<sup>64</sup> In *Pamela*, then, moral teachings emerge everywhere, even outside of the narrative. In this way, the conclusion functions as more than a simple summary account of the lives and deaths of

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<sup>63</sup> If this revision was simply made to tie up loose ends, then it is likely Richardson would have also included a brief sketch for other minor characters, such as Sir Jacob and the Countess Dowager, both of whom could easily provide fodder for additional edifying examples of virtuous conduct encouraged by the behavior of the heroine.

<sup>64</sup> This anticipates Richardson concern with companionate marriage and the undue pressure brought to bear on children by their parents in his second novel, *Clarissa*. A positive example in *Pamela II* is Polly Darnford’s prerogative to refuse Mr. Murray based on their incompatibility. Later, she accepts her father’s recommendation that she marry Lord G., based on compatibility and mutual affection.



key characters at the novel's end. Like the text, it helps to explicate the moral, namely that providence rewards those who atone for their sins and live a life of pious conventionality.

### Conclusion

Richardson's careful attention to detail is extended beyond his chief letter writers to include the sequel's tertiary characters. The changes are minor but significant, and a sign of Richardson's persistent pursuit of verisimilitude. Of course, Richardson wanted his text to read smoothly, so the revisions were primarily made for grammatical correctness, clarity, and the sake of propriety, but there are also a number of inconsistencies. For instance, Jackey speaks with more eloquence, but he is a poor letter writer and an even worse speller. At the same time, the rough Mrs. Jewkes, a former "Inn-keeper's House-keeper" (5th, I, 137), has her style noticeably lowered, yet she still writes a better letter than some of her social superiors. Moreover, Mr. Andrews, Pamela's father, has a shifting register that clearly affects gentility, and, though Sir Simon's style is less idiomatic, his crude epithets for his daughter Polly are decorously restrained. In these cases, the changes outstrip each of their characters; indeed, it seems odd that Mrs. Jewkes can write and spell better than the son of a Lord and that Sir Simon has the forethought to tame his tongue when angry. For every discrepancy, however, there is greater harmony. For example, the Countess of C.'s grammar and style are corrected, and, in like manner, Sir Jacob's language is adjusted, elevated, and more consistent. As well, the local gentry and aristocracy who visit Pamela and B. speak with additional clarity and precision, and, finally, B.'s mother is given some loftier expressions. Ultimately, despite some minor idiomatic inconsistencies, Richardson's supporting characters are made to speak and act

according to their social status. Although it is perhaps the simplest way of dramatizing social propriety and etiquette, such variants show a desire to express as clearly as possible not only the sense of the text but its importance as well. After all, Richardson's instructional lessons were intended to set the standard for virtue and gentility and his characters to serve as a benchmark for good behavior.

In addition to adjusting the language and style of tertiary characters in volume III, Richardson's commitment to refining the continuation is all inclusive; that is, the style of every tertiary character in volume IV also undergoes an adjustment of some kind. This is often evidenced by a strict grammatical propriety, a tendency to make meaning clearer, a polished syntax, and an elevated style. However, these revisions only slightly impact the characterization of Pamela's upper-class acquaintances; indeed, the genteel status of the Countess Dowager, Lady Davers, and Pamela's neighbors is retained, but, in many cases, they are more mannerly. Beyond a greater consistency of style, Richardson also tightened up the loose ends of his plot. The majority of the changes clear up minor discrepancies in the Dowager's account of her affair with B., namely where they met, how often, what they did, and why she waited so long to offer an explanation to Pamela for her conduct. In addition to excusing the Dowager's indecorous behavior, this strengthens and corroborates B.'s side of the story, increases his credibility, and absolves him of infidelity. She clarifies that many of their meetings were in "publick" where they would meet by "Accident" and exchange only "distant Civilities" (278). Moreover, and to varying degrees, the Dowager, Lady Davers, Lady Towers, and the Dean all remind the

reader of how great Pamela is with their fulsome praise.<sup>65</sup> At the same time, some of the more affected cheerleading done by Mr. Andrews and Lady Arthur is emended and omitted respectively. Even the language of Mr. Turner's threat on B.'s life, intended to secure Pamela's silence regarding his role as her informant, is markedly elevated. Such changes certainly alter characterization, if only in small ways. Now, with few exceptions, readers can expect that "Persons of *Figure* and *Quality*" (title page) will speak accordingly and with greater consistency regardless of their birth.

Richardson's revisions to the second edition of *Pamela II*, taken as a whole, reveal an obvious, systematic pattern of change. Over the course of both volumes, the variants clearly indicate that Richardson's overarching intention was to emphasize Pamela's moral authority and the text's power to edify, instruct, and entertain. This underlying goal for revision comes to affect every aspect of the novel, and it begins with an elevated language and a high style intended to further obscure Pamela's social mobility and seamlessly incorporate her into the ranks of quality. Many examples of "writing to the moment" in the first edition are replaced by a scripted, inflated rhetoric in the second. Without a doubt, the stylistic revisions accent the novel's didactic tone and provide a more consistent, genteel characterization.<sup>66</sup> Further adjustments satisfy the reader's thirst for moral instruction. Indeed, there are plenty of changes that emphatically illustrate how Pamela uses her intellect and middle-class values to reform the social deviants of all ranks. As a result, *Pamela in her Exalted Condition* assumes, to a greater

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<sup>65</sup> One of Richardson's shortcomings, of which he was aware, was his ignorance and inconsistent use of titles. For example, in volume III Pamela addresses one of B.'s Bedfordshire neighbors as Mrs. Towers. In volume IV, however, Pamela calls her Lady Towers.

<sup>66</sup> Richardson wrote to Lady Bradshaigh in December 1753 to excuse "the low Style" of *Pamela I* by arguing that his heroine needed time to "form a Style" (Carroll 250). As Ball argues, and the variants suggest, Richardson needed this time to develop, too.

degree, the sanctity of a holy text. This is not to say that the novel is perfect – there is plenty to offend the sensibilities of contemporary class conscious readers – but that improvements made to its form better express its content. Accordingly, religious themes are highlighted, characters develop and reform, and Pamela the “pretty Preacher” becomes Pamela the great divine. Thus, the text is more emblematic of her character. The secular novel spreads the truths of religious texts, making it, like its heroine, a moral touchstone in a much higher and wider sense.

CHAPTER SIX: FALLING SHORT: *PAMELA II*'S PARATEXTS, TEXT, AND THE  
 "SPIRIT" OF THE PASSAGES

Paratexts

In Chapter 3, I examine the tension created between the table of contents (henceforth, ToC), the illustrations, and the revised text in volumes I and II of the octavo. In this chapter, I analyze the extra-textual aims of the ancillary matter and the revised text of volumes III and IV and how they, too, could possibly influence, or complicate, the reader's interpretation of the novel. The competing discourses in the first half of the octavo are so obvious that it is hard to see the paratexts functioning as simple adjuncts to the story. Instead of literary and artistic co-operation working as an interpretational aid, they resist and even attempt to rewrite the narrative. The same can be said of the text, the ToC, and the illustrations of *Pamela II*. In the text, Pamela appears to be everything Richardson planned her to be: she is a "good Wife, a tender Mother, a faithful Friend, a Kind Mistress, and a worthy Neighbour" (Carroll 54). Although her social mobility is still a frequent topic of conversation, every character, even the most resistant, is eventually reconciled to her marriage, thanks, in part, to her "*born Dignity*" and "*born Discretion*" (III, 296).<sup>1</sup> Yet, before encountering the text, "the Editor of the *TWO FIRST*" (1st, III, title page), in a clear attempt to control the reader's interpretation of characters and events, offers his own analysis in the ToC.<sup>2</sup> In most cases, the "editor's" summaries embellish the narrative by exaggerating a given characters merits while at the same time

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<sup>1</sup> Unless otherwise noted, all quotes in this chapter are from the octavo edition of *Pamela II*. All quotes from the table of contents are from volume I of that text.

<sup>2</sup> Although Richardson's authorship was widely known by the time *Pamela II* was published, he continued to claim he was the novel's editor despite that fact that he was unable to maintain, as he told Aaron Hill, "the umbrage of the editor's character to screen myself behind" (Carroll 42).

minimizing their flaws. What's more, and despite the editor's claim, the ToC does not "give an easy and clear View of what [*Pamela's* letters] contain" (I, i). On the contrary, it gives "an easy and clear view" of how Richardson wanted these letters read. Similarly, the engravings are intended to complement and reinforce textual meaning, but they often fail to fuse the image with the text. Instead, they offer an idealized view of Pamela and B. without the dramatic tension. Only when they depict some of the novel's most moving and intimate moments do the illustrations capture the heavy sentiment. Thus, they, to a degree greater than the ToC, contrast with the text. With image and written word at odds, it follows that it is difficult to form a decisive view of the characters, especially in a work that promises closure. In place of a complete resolution, there is a sense that Richardson was overreaching. It appears as if his impatience led him to abandon his commitment to raise the "Heroine into Dignity and High Life by just Degrees" (Mullett 69) and instead he catapulted her there. As a result, the paratexts continue to prove troublesome by offering incomplete or contradictory views even after Richardson had firmly established the low-born Pamela into a "genteel and usual Married Life" (Carroll 53).

Curiously, but perhaps not surprisingly, Richardson maintained that he was indifferent to the idea that readers would stop short of the narrative. He was hopeful if not overconfident that his ToC, "An EPITOME of the *Work*" (title page), could stand-in for the narrative. As in *Pamela's* octavo, a ToC is published with the second edition of *Clarissa*.

The explicit purpose of the *Clarissa* paratext is virtually identical to the one used in

*Pamela*:

But instead of those Prefaces, the following TABLE of CONTENTS is given; which will not only point out the principal Facts, and shew the Connexion of the Whole; but will enable the *youthful Readers* of both Sexes to form a

judgment as well of the *blameable* as of the *laudable*  
 Conduct of the principal persons; and consequently teach  
 them what to avoid, and what to imitate, in a Work that  
 ought not to be considered as a *mere Amusement*, as a *light*  
*Novel*, or *transitory Romance*. . . . (2nd, I, iii-iv)<sup>3</sup>

Clearly, even before 1749, Richardson was aware of the benefits of an extra-textual frame of reference, though he would not have called it that. In a letter to Aaron Hill, who was concerned that a ToC would impact *Clarissa*'s sales, Richardson expressed his hidden agenda. He created the summaries for fallible readers, who he expected would undoubtedly examine the ToC that accompanies the text:

...I chose in my Second Edition to give a little Abstract of the Story, that it might be clearly seen what it was, and its Tendency; and to obviate as I went along, tho' covertly, such Objections as I had heard (as I have done by the Italicks) altho' I made many Persons Masters of the Story to my Detriment as to sale...I am not to expect that the World will bestow Two Readings, or One indeed, attentive one, on such a grave Story as Clarissa....(Carroll 125-26)

Here, the tone is remarkably similar to what Richardson assumed in his *Pamela* correspondence. It appears that he never had a high opinion of his readers' judgment, the majority of whom, he at one time remarked, "were but in hanging-sleeves" (42). These fanciful readers, he anticipated, were in need of correction, "covertly" of course, by a subjective frame of reference. With the aid of appended paratexts, then, those who read to be entertained can also be edified, if necessary, and have their misreadings corrected, and those who read for instruction but "would not chuse to read [the] tedious Volumes over again" (126) have recourse to the editor's ToC and its "clear view." Richardson's *Clarissa* correspondence helps to show what he wanted for *Pamela* all along – for it to be taken seriously as an instructional text despite its popular, subversive narrative. As a

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<sup>3</sup> *Clarissa*. 2nd ed. 7 vols. London: S. Richardson, 1749. Gale. Web. 11 Oct. 2011.

result, he created two distinct accounts of textual events – the narrative, which by its very nature, Richardson admitted, encourages “Objections,” and the ToC, in which the editor attempts to prevent them.

Unlike the contradictory points of view between Pamela and B. that are given in the ToC to volumes I and II, all of the letters in volumes III and IV are summarized with omniscient certainty. Despite the fact that the text of *Pamela II* is a first-person narrative offering multiple viewpoints, there is only one perspective offered in the ToC – Richardson’s. As the novel’s editor, he trespasses into the sequel with an all knowing third-person account that effectively accents the specific character traits he intended readers to absorb, priming them, in effect, with his one-sided, “correct” reading. In other words, it becomes a powerful, influential framing device. Readers are repeatedly bombarded by a combination of descriptive adjectives and abstract nouns before they ever set their eyes on the text. As his correspondence clearly shows, Richardson, in fact, hoped to accomplish such an effect, declaring in the octavo that this “copious INDEX” (I, i) is all any serious reader needs. In this way, the ToC was ultimately designed to be a key to meaning or, best case scenario, a proxy for the novel. Despite its promise, the ToC does not help the novel answer “*the End of [its] Publication*” (i) because there are points of contradiction between this paratext and the sequel’s narrative. Characters in the novel may be, in the end, primarily of one opinion, but readers, it is probable, are not, especially after encountering three different accounts of the same story.

In the ToC to volumes III and IV, Richardson-as-editor takes the narrative away from the characters, assumes the role of narrator, and acts more like the author than one in possession, as he claimed, of a found manuscript. The first paragraph in particular is



under his complete control. In this passage, his interpolation is both incontestable and subtly directive. While this paratext of a paratext is not out of context, creating, as it does, a transition between volumes, there is neither letter nor journal to describe these events:<sup>4</sup>

*The good old Couple, arriving at the Bedfordshire Mansion, were received by Mr. B. with great Demonstrations of Esteem and Respect and by their beloved Daughter with Transports of dutiful Joy: And having resided there, till every thing was in Order for their Reception at the Kentish Farm, they set out to take Possession of it, accompanied by the happy Pair, who staid with them a Fortnight: And then returning to Bedfordshire, Mrs. B. writes to acquaint them with their safe Arrival, and to the following Effect. (xvii)*

The action itself is not particularly interesting, but the content of the passage is not as important as the reader's engagement with it. Plot, as Samuel Johnson told Thomas Erskine on April 6, 1772, is immaterial: "Why, Sir, if you were to read Richardson for the story, your impatience would be so much fretted that you would hang yourself. But you must read him for the sentiment, and consider the story as only giving occasion to the sentiment" (175).<sup>5</sup> Richardson's overt use of editorial privilege in this passage, along with others in the ToC, distills the "tedious" plot and spoon-feeds the sentiment to its readers. At the same time, it sets the tone for the entire ToC and manipulates one's reading of the text. For example, Mr. and Mrs. Andrews are "*The good old Couple*," Pamela, "*their beloved Daughter*," greets them with "*Transports of dutiful Joy*," and B. receives them with "*great Demonstrations of Esteem and Respect*." A few of the sequel's outstanding themes are also laid out. Together, the newlyweds are foregrounded as a "*happy Pair*," establishing them, despite their social inequality, as a model for

<sup>4</sup> See also the editor's interruption in volume I that narrates the confrontation between B. and Mr. Andrews after Pamela's abduction (I, 144-156).

<sup>5</sup> Boswell, James. *Life of Johnson*. Ed. G.B. Hill. Vol. 2. Oxford: Clarendon Press, 1934. Print.

companionate marriage. Separately, Pamela's filial duty is emphasized, and, in addition to an admirable reverence for his in-laws, B.'s generosity is made patently obvious when he gifts her parents the farm. Beyond directing the readers' judgments, this paragraph is also a microcosm for the second half of the novel. To read the ToC, therefore, is to be told at the outset how to read the story, and that, regardless of the overlapping voices in the novel, the editor, standing as he does between reader and text, has the first and final word.

By assuming this extra-textual authority, Richardson was able to exaggerate Pamela's character traits and consistently frame her as the exemplar. Instead of relying exclusively on the authority that the text itself can provide, the editor uses the ToC to assist the narrative and foreground Pamela's most pronounced "high life" virtues.<sup>6</sup> In order to ensure that readers "get it," repetition is used, and Pamela is given characteristics that are not so apparent in the letters. In the ToC to volume III, she is portrayed as "prudent" (I, xix, xx, xxiv, xxvi); "grateful" (xxii); "generous" (xix, xx, xxi); "forgiving" (xix); a good "example" (xix, xx, xxi); "pious" (xxiii); "charitable" (xxiv); "affectionate" (xxvi); and "obliging" (xxvi). Of course, these descriptions of Pamela are given without the benefit of reading the text, but even if the narrative does not support this view of the heroine, the ToC is intended to provide proof for even the most critical of readers. The very nature of the ToC suggests that Richardson was undecided or even unsure that the narrative alone was sufficient, and this leads to an undervaluing of both the letters and his readers. However, with Pamela's new, elevated identity established ahead of the text,

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<sup>6</sup> While Pamela retains the same qualities in the sequel that she is given in *Pamela I*, her exaggerated virtue and affecting behavior as a servant are complemented by a genteel prudence and delicacy as B.'s wife.

readers are conditioned to interpret the novel according to the authority of the editorial persona and not just the documentary evidence collected for their benefit.

In addition to the endearing epithets, the ToC forces rather than reinforces Pamela's status as the novel's exemplar by exceeding the text in its admiration of the heroine. Because information is extracted, condensed, and, in some cases, even exclusive to the ToC, the prolific praise of Pamela's excellence can be found, to some degree, in nearly every summary of the letters to volume III. For instance, in Letter II, Pamela's father writes that his "present happy Situation" (comfortably settled on the Kentish farm) is "all the Reward of [Pamela's] Virtue" (xvii). By Letter V, he remarks that all of his "*Kentish* Neighbours admire and bless her and her Consort" (xviii). The revered Lady Betty "praises [Pamela's] Story as the best she had ever heard" and declares, before ever meeting Pamela, that she has a "good Heart" (xviii). Lady Davers extols her "good Example and Conduct" in Letter XIX (xx), and in Letter XXXII, marvels at her "exemplary Delicacy" and her "Family Management" (xxiii). In the same letter, the novel's "downright *Billingsgate*" (*Pamela Censured* 22) is further "affected" by the heroine's "cheerful Piety" (I, xxiii) and, as a result, she condescends to publicly acknowledge Pamela as her sister. Finally, Polly Darnford, the editor explains, "Felicitates [Pamela] on the Efficacy of her Example, as well upon Enemies as Friends" (xxi) and praises her as a "good Wife" (xxii). By forcing Pamela on his readers in this way, Richardson likely wanted to do more than just "point out the principal Facts." The repetition of how other characters view the heroine and their approval of her behavior is a deliberate attempt to make Pamela and her social elevation appear more conventional

than it is. However, her irrefutable, ubiquitous goodness not only smacks of improbability, but it also undermines the alleged verisimilitude of Richardson's fiction.

The praise for Pamela does not stop with her correspondents and acquaintances; indeed, the editor frequently mines Pamela's letters for instances he thinks best illustrate the heroine's middle-class moral excellence. As early as Letter III, Pamela's filial duty is accented when the editor declares that "she *must* write to [her parents], and cannot help it, if she would" (xvii). At the same time, readers are told that Pamela's "Felicity" is "Augmented" by their "Comfort" (xvii). In Letter VII, Pamela's genteel concern for propriety is underscored by an anxiety that the letters describing her "grand Trials" were read by gentlemen (xviii). By Letter XIII, Pamela gives what is called a "moving Relation" in honor of her "late excellent Lady" (xix), and in Letters XIV and XX, readers told that she "generously" extenuates Sally Godfrey's affair with B. (xix-xx). Furthermore, the editor emphasizes her "forgiving Conduct" to Mrs. Jewkes and how Pamela's "Example" has reformed the penitent servant. In Letter XVII, readers should see that Pamela's gift to Mrs. Jervis is a "moving Instance of her Bounty and Affection" (xx), and the "Purity of her Notions" are reflected in Letter XXXII by "The exemplary Delicacy of her Sentiments" (xxiii). Pamela's Sunday "Duty" is telegraphed as having "good Effects" on all of the servants (xxiii), she wins over Sir Jacob, the last of Pamela's naysayers, with her "condescending and moving Behaviour," and Sir Simon is likewise convinced by her "moving manner" (xxiv) to let Polly stay with her in London. In Letter XXXVII, readers are intended to see how Pamela's "charitable Visits and Bounty" to her poor neighbors reflect her "prudent Management" of B.'s money (xxiv). In the same letter, when Pamela prevents Jackey from seducing her maid, the editor interprets this as

“prudent, instructive, and resolute Conduct” (xxv). Moreover, Sir Jacob leaves London “highly delighted with her” (xxv), and Pamela’s “conjugal Delicacy” is suggested by the “prudent and affectionate Returns of a good Wife” (xxvi). These words and phrases help condition readers, through repetition and the sentiment they express, to respond to the text in a particular way. It appears Richardson’s strategy was to familiarize readers with Pamela’s middle-class values first, based on his own interpretation, and then encourage them to read habitually rather than thoughtfully. The ToC clearly prioritizes Richardson’s perspective of the novel and attempts to influence one’s perception of Pamela, her social mobility, and her “high life” ethos. All the same, this is a heavy-handed approach. By not relying on the readers’ own judgments, “*who have not, nor perhaps have Leisure to peruse [the letters]*” (i), his objectivity is called into question: the “*entertaining and instructive Variety to be found in the Work*” (i) is framed in such a way that signifies it is closed for debate.

In addition to foregrounding how great the titular heroine is, the ToC also defends of one of the novel’s most offensive characters: B. Popular contemporary views of the novel’s hero were first expressed by the anonymous author of *Pamela Censured*. Later, B. is criticized, in one way or another, in *Pamela*’s parodies and unauthorized sequels. Like the continuation, the ToC is a re-imagining or a re-vision of the first two volumes, and it tries to undermine existing views with an alternative frame. In an unsent letter to Cheyne, Richardson revealed his plan to help redeem B.’s character in the minds of readers, namely by exaggerating his “inlarged and generous Heart” (Carroll 49). B., for example, is described as “generous” (I, xvii, xx, xxi, xxvi), “tender” (xvii, xxvi), “noble” (xx), and “polite” (xxvi). This is a conscious effort to alter general opinion by showing

B.'s rehabilitated character. More importantly, though, to manipulate the reader's response, B.'s own account of his rakish behavior in volumes I and II is called an "affecting Story" (xxii). The "Violence of [his] Passion" is tempered by Pamela's "surprising Docility, Merit, and Beauty" (xxii), and, as a result, "affords instructive Lessons to the Sex, how to avoid the Stratagems of Rakes and Libertines" (xxii). Furthermore, in order to ultimately absolve the hero of at least one count of attempted rape, B. "Disavows any Intention to offer Violence to [Pamela's] Honour, when he concealed himself in the Closet" (xxii). That is to say, it is B.'s, and, consequently, the editor's, word against Pamela's. Because B. is able to explain his "Conduct on that Occasion" (xxii), Pamela's point of view of earlier events is, at best, mistaken, or, at worst, she is what *Pamela Censured* called a cunning "Town Lass" (32) who used her sexuality to entrap him. Regardless of how one views Pamela's character in light of this new information, these statements imply that the editor agrees with B.'s corrected "History" (I, xxii). The authority the editor assumes in the ToC indicates that he has read the letters, he has checked the facts, and, as the title page asserts, he is prepared to stand by the "TRUTH" of the text as he has presented it. Although B. admits that he was once a man of "Intrigue," his "Contempt of his former wicked Courses" is, readers are told, "sincere" (xxii), and, therefore, Pamela was never in any real danger. Thus, readers are to believe that the infamous figure B. cuts in volumes I and II was misrepresented by Pamela in her letters. This is made possible, in large part, by the novel's editor, who is evidently more informed than any reader can possibly be.<sup>7</sup>

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<sup>7</sup> Aside from Lady Davers's censure of B.'s "intriguing Spirit" (xviii) and his former "libertine Notions" (xx), the only negative portrayal of his character in the table of contents to volume III is an obscure reference to the breastfeeding debate. In this case, B. asserts the "extraordinary Prerogative of a Husband,

In addition to the novel's hero, another one of *Pamela's* characters who Richardson's contemporary readers loved to hate was Lady Davers, and, like B., the indelicate, offensive figure she cuts in the first half of the novel is significantly re-framed by the content highlighted in the ToC. In stark contrast to her conduct in volume II, Lady Davers is not only "highly delighted" (xxiv) with her sister-in-law, but she is also "good" to her in public (xxiii), "tender" with her in private (xxiii), "extols her for reclaiming" B. (xx), "Admires her greatly" (xix), and approves of her conduct to Miss Goodwin (xx). In order to further telegraph Lady Davers's new found regard and to prove that she "Admires [Pamela's] Family Management" (xxiii), she even worships with the heroine at her "Evening Duties" (xxiii), an activity in which the entire B. household participates with the exception of B. himself.<sup>8</sup> Above all, however, the editor presents Lady Davers as Pamela's mentor into "high life." At times, she even acts the role of surrogate mother. For example, Lady Davers "Insists" that Pamela correspond with her "in the same free Manner she used to do with her Parents" (xviii), and, to help prepare her protégé for her sudden social elevation, she "mentions the Subjects she would have her write upon" (xviii). Lady Davers's role from censorer to mentor is accented further by giving "her Opinion how [Pamela] ought to imploy her Time, in order to do Credit to her Elevation" (xviii). By corresponding with Pamela, the editor points out, the novel's "*Billingsgate*" condescends and therefore compliments the heroine, given their history, in the most

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which, *in a particular Instance*, he insists upon" (xxv, italics mine). The editor's promise of an "easy and clear view" must therefore be taken *cum grano salis*, for, without some familiarity with the narrative, a potential reader browsing the ToC would have no idea what this "particular Instance" is referring to. The same can be said about Pamela's pregnancy, described cryptically as "Circumstance" and "Occasion" (xxv).

<sup>8</sup> B. permits this activity but does not participate until his complete reformation near the end of the narrative. The "Confirmation" of his reclamation is signaled by what Pamela calls his "*pious Assurances*" (IV, 401).

believable and impactful way that she can. Indeed, Pamela even requests, as one might from a mentor or mother figure, “that her Conduct will be under her Ladyship’s watchful Eye” (xix). Thus reconciled, Lady Davers expresses regret when she “accounts for her own passionate Behaviour to [Pamela] formerly at the Hall” (xxiii), illustrating for the reader that even Pamela’s severest critic is rehabilitated.

Rehabilitated or not, Lady Davers is still framed in the ToC to volume III as the voice of the anti-Pamelists; her objections, however, are summarily silenced by the authority of the editor. Not only does she reproach Pamela for forgiving Mrs. Jewkes and show contempt for B.’s libertine past, but she is the only character crass enough to call him to “account for his Attempt upon *Pamela* in [the] Presence of Mrs. *Jervis*” (xxii). She also takes exception to “her Lord’s frequently calling PAMELA *Sister*” (xxii), and, sandwiched in between her instructions and praises for her sister-in-law, she objects, as does Sir Jacob, to the dangerous social precedent B. sets by marrying his mother’s waiting maid. Pamela, of course, “defends” her “forgiving Conduct to Mrs. *Jewkes*” (xix), B. accounts for his actions and “clears up [two of these points] to their Satisfaction” (xxiv), and Lady Davers’s objection to the word “*Sister*,” if one reads the narrative, is really not a point of contention at all.<sup>9</sup> The novel’s characters are satisfied with these explanations, and readers, it is implied, should be as well. By effectively silencing Lady Davers in the ToC, the editor is able to present these positive portraits of the hero and heroine as incontestable. Consequently, he uses these closed-ended debates

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<sup>9</sup> As it turns out, Lady Davers’s objection is really much ado about nothing. She suspects that Lord Davers’s affection for Pamela is a mocking affectation. Her accusation of his feigned fondness is turned back on her, and she is ultimately taken to task for her seeming indifference to the heroine.



to silence the text's internal critics, but the ultimate goal is to use his omniscient authority to correct misreadings and silence the novel's cynical readers as well.

While some of the summaries in the ToC are an accurate reflection of the narrative, there are occasions when the editor's interpretation of events contradicts, or, at the very least, obscures the "clear view" he promises *Pamela's* readers. In many of these instances, a character's insulting, judgmental, and even condemnatory description of others is framed as a "pleasant" or "humorous" observation, harmless "Reflections," or equivocal "Conversations," though they are far from it. To begin with, Polly Darnford's personal attacks on her sister and Mr. Murray's courtship are called "pleasant Observations" (xxii). Yet, in the novel, Polly's outburst implies that she is not only bitter with both of them, but truly disgusted by their hypocrisy: Nancy formerly despised Mr. Murray while he courted Polly, and he, the "*chattering Magpye*," is able to effortlessly "transpose his Affections" from one sister to the other (III, 262). In another example, while Polly and Nancy exchange cutting insults in the novel, the editor makes light of the situation in the ToC by suggesting that Sir Simon attempts a "humorous Interposition" (I, xxiv) between them. There is really nothing "humorous" about it, even by Sir Simon's standards: "What! sparring, jangling again, you Sluts! – O what fiery Eyes on one side, and contemptuous Looks on t'other! ... So, *Polly*, because you have been able to run over a long List of humble Servants, you must insult your Sister, must you? – But are you really concern'd, *Polly*? – Hay!" (III, 409). Here, the sibling rivalry between the Darnford sisters is at its fever pitch, and Sir Simon's "humorous Interposition" only amplifies their jealousy, inequality, and ambivalence toward each other. Later, the editor, perhaps interested in making a sale, promises more of the baronet's lowbrow humor in Letter

XXXVI. Because Sir Simon knows B.'s reputation as a rake, coupled with some earlier hints that suggest he might attempt to assault Polly's virtue, it is unlikely that the baronet's "humorous Condition, on permitting her to go [to London]" (I, xxiv) to visit Pamela is made with as much tongue-in-cheek raillery as the editor claims: "But he will insist upon it, he says, that Mr. *B.* signs some Acknowledgment, which I am to carry along with *me*, that I am intrusted to his Honour and yours, and to be returned to him *Heart-whole* and *Dutiful*, and with a Reputation as unsully'd as he received me" (III, 417). Naturally, no document is produced, but the implication itself, that Polly may be seduced or raped by B., is no laughing matter.<sup>10</sup>

Similarly, and in order to further reinforce Pamela's exemplary status, the ToC either contradicts or heavily disguises her disapproving statements to maintain the illusion of moral, spiritual, and matrimonial harmony promised not only by the title page, but by the ToC itself. In contradicting or offering such a distorted view of the main text, the editor continues to forestall objections with an authority that transcends the novel. For example, he claims that Pamela, eager to know the ins and outs of a "polite Courtship," "humourously describ[es] her own" (I, xxii) to Polly Darnford. The reality of the original narrative, however, and even Pamela's brief account in the sequel, prove otherwise:

For, alas! my dear Miss, your poor Friend knows nothing of this. All her Courtship was sometimes a hasty Snatch of the Hand, a black and blue Gripe of the Arm, and, Whither now! – Come, to me, when I bid you! – And Saucy-face, and Creature, and such-like, on his Part – with Fear and Trembling on mine; and – I will, I will! – Good Sir, have Mercy! At other times, a Scream, and nobody to hear or

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<sup>10</sup> Although Sir Simon's tone remains high-spirited throughout this exchange, he nevertheless warns B. near the end of Letter XXIV that "the Devil's in you, if you'd attempt to abuse such a generous Confidence" (174).

mind me; and with uplift Hands, bent Knees, and tearful  
Eyes – For God’s sake, pity your poor Servant! (III, 194)

This, as Pamela remarks, is “hard Treatment” indeed (194). The editor’s effort to sell the novel as a text that can instruct and delight is one thing, but it is quite another to take his word for it in this case. In another instance, Pamela’s controversial opinion relating to the “Clergy’s Treatment of one another, and [her thoughts] on the Subject of Pluralities and Dispensations” is equivocally framed as a “Conversation” (I, xxiii). The fact that a debate on simony is included in the narrative suggests its importance to Richardson, but this “Conversation,” in which Pamela is a chief participant, was also criticized by a group of clerics whom Aaron Hill called “Reverend Mistakers” (Sabor 195).<sup>11</sup> What Hill read as “Reflections in support of their Honour” (195) was seen by some as disrespectful. Such a strong critical reaction may explain the editor’s misleading summary of what this letter contains.

Three more misleading summaries are present in volume III’s ToC, beginning with Letter XXXVII and Pamela’s “Account of the free Behaviour and Conversation of Four rakish Gentlemen Visitors” (I, xxv) whom, in the text, she calls “Libertines and Foxhunters” (III, 461). The heroine’s “Reflections upon what passed” (I, xxv) is really more like a diatribe against drinking, “Dogs, Horses, Hunting, Racing, Cock-fighting...Swearing, and Cursing” (III, 459) and contains some of the most bitter invective Pamela has written to date. In the novel, she comes off as a hypocritical prude; at every turn she extenuates B.’s faults, but criticizes others’ mercilessly. In the ToC,

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<sup>11</sup> Because Richardson considerably revised this “Conversation” in the second edition, Pamela’s criticism of clerical practices is more than just a point of contention within the table of contents. Richardson’s anxiety to correct misreadings not only led to textual revision, but it also impacted his editorial summary of the novel’s letters in the ToC.

however, she is framed as contemplative, one who studies “Persons of *Figure* and *Quality*” (title page), questions, criticizes, and documents her experiences “In her EXALTED CONDITION.”<sup>12</sup> Two more examples of Pamela’s seemingly innocuous “Reflections” in the ToC are particularly severe in the novel. First, the editor frames Pamela’s censure of her maid as “Her Reflections upon her *Polly’s* Weakness” (I, xxv). Polly’s weakness is, in fact, her near seduction and ruin at the hands of Pamela’s nephew, Jackey. The heroine’s response, given her former situation, is surprisingly cruel, and she uses the occasion to draw attention to her own virtuous example and exemplary conduct:

...[Polly] seems to abhor the Thoughts of Mr. *H.* – But as there proves to be so little of real Love in her Heart, (tho’, even if there had, she would have been without Excuse) is she not the wickeder by half for that, Miss? To consent, and take *Earnest*, as I may say, to live with a Man, who did not pretend to marry her! – How inexcusable this! – What a Frailty! – Yet, so honestly descended, so modest in Appearance, and an Example so much better – forgive me to say – before her! – Dear, dear! how could it be? (III, 464)

Both the narrative and the ToC frequently praise Pamela for her forgiving nature, yet Polly’s “Frailty” is “inexcusable.” As a character, Polly is not presented as being half as wicked as Mrs. Jewkes or Lady Davers, but because she is nearly flattered into exchanging her virtue for money, Pamela never entirely forgives her. As in the case of Pamela’s bitter “Reflections” on the “Four rakish Gentlemen,” the editor omits the

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<sup>12</sup> In this way, Richardson’s sequel is much closer to the one envisioned by Alexander Pope and William Warburton. In a letter dated December 28, Warburton wrote that “Mr. Pope and I, talking over your work when the two last volumes came out, agreed, that one excellent subject of Pamela’s letters in high life, would have been to have passed her judgment, on first stepping into it, on every thing she saw there, just as simple nature...dictated. The effect would have been this, that it would have produced, by good management, a most excellent and useful satire on all the follies and extravagances of high life” (Barbauld, I, 134). Indeed, *Pamela II* does just that, though without the panache of Pope. The heroine passes judgment on many of her new acquaintances, and she frequently criticizes social, cultural, and religious institutions, including education, masquerades, and the clergy.

disapproving, condemnatory aspects of her personality from the ToC, including her own “Weakness” for self-flattery. In the second example, found in the same letter, Pamela gives her “Reflections” (I, xxv) on Jackey’s behavior and the poorly spelled letter he gives to her “excusing himself, at her *Polly’s* Expense, for his Intrigue with her, and to thank [Pamela] for not exposing him to his Aunt” (xxv). Like the editor, Pamela, too, is guarded, and she chooses her words carefully because Jackey is, after all, “Lord *Davers’s* Nephew” (III, 475). Nevertheless, she still manages to criticize Jackey’s “Class of People”: “Pretty Fellows” who, “if they may happen to *write* better, hardly *think* better, or design to *act* better,” should “...never *approve* or *condemn* but in *Leading-strings*” (474-75). Although the ToC is just a summary of the “*the most material Passages*” (I, i), it deliberately misrepresents some of the more controversial, awkward, or embarrassing events and minimizes their significance. The editor offers a misleading, sentimental, and even, at times, superficial view of character and text. Consequently, readers are put in leading-strings and their attention directed to “*the [novel’s] principal Matters*” (i), thus making it less likely that they will generate their own thoughts and form their own conclusions.

As in volume III, the editor continues to foreground, above all, Pamela’s greatness in volume IV by distilling for readers the proper sentiments they should absorb from the narrative. Surprisingly, Lady Davers, of all the heroine’s correspondents, is Pamela’s chief cheerleader. Not only does she imitate Pamela’s “Example” by making changes in her family management (xxvii), but she praises her “Power,” as a good wife, “to make a good Husband” (xxvii). What’s more, she “extols the conjugal Purity and Decorum, as well in Word and Behaviour, which is observed between [Pamela and B.]”

(xxvii), and states, with certainty, that B. “can never have such another Wife” (xxviii). Polly Darnford’s letters praise the heroine just when Lady Davers leaves off. For example, in letters to her mother posted from London, Polly “Describes the Happiness of Mr. and Mrs. B.,” her “consummate Prudence” in particular (xxvii). Moreover, Polly observes the “graceful Ease, and true Dignity” with which Pamela performs her “*Sunday Duties*” (xxvii); indeed, they are executed “without the least Intermixture of Enthusiasm or Ostentation” (xxvii). Before leaving London, Polly writes her mother one last time to comment on Pamela’s “Felicity” and calls her an “obliging” wife (xxviii). Pamela’s most fulsome valentines, however, come from B., who, despite asserting the “Prerogative of Parents and Husbands over their Daughters and Wives” (xxvi), “never loved any Lady as he loves his *Pamela*” (xxxii). The editor makes a point to tell readers that B. “admires and applauds her Conduct” (xxxi) during his dalliance with the Countess Dowager and that “should she be taken with [the smallpox]” he flatters her with his “kind Assurances of the Continuance of his Affection” (xxxii). The editor undoubtedly believes that he can reform fallible and skeptical readers by presenting the heroine’s first and most vehement detractors, B. and Lady Davers, as Pamela’s most enthusiastic converts. He makes it clear that he best understands the content of *Pamela*’s correspondence, and, with his all-knowing persona, he emphasizes the heroine’s unique qualities by drawing special attention to them. This is accomplished whether or not the person reading the ToC bothers to read the text.

The editor further illustrates Pamela’s greatness in the final volume through his subjective evaluation of the heroine’s letters, acting as both ideal reader and reader’s guide. With the ToC, Richardson gave readers early knowledge of his characters in an

attempt to direct their reactions, and this is most explicit in the editor's omniscient, exemplary interpretation of Pamela's character. He extracts obscure examples of Pamela's excellence from her letters, examples that are either points of contention or vehicles for moral instruction, and highlights them in order to forestall any misguided assumptions. For instance, in Letter XVII, Pamela writes to B., in case she dies during childbirth, in a "grateful and moving Manner" (xxviii). Here, in addition to stressing Pamela's gratitude, the editor's interpretation also suggests there is no other way to read this letter, and, what's more, that if readers are not suitably moved, then they have read incorrectly. Pamela, "very thankful for [her Ladyship's] Goodness to her" (xxix), gives what the editor calls "moving Particulars" to Lady Davers as she describes her father's "thankful Joy" on seeing his grandson (xxix), thus overtly stating the proper sentiments one should feel before the letter is read. In the same letter, Pamela's "maternal Tenderness for her *Billy*" (xxix) is telegraphed literally and typographically with broken dashes on either side to emphasize her motherly tenderness. Moreover, in Pamela's interactions with B., she exhibits "noble Conduct and Sentiments" (xxx) after the trial scene, is "generous" in her "Affection" to him, "prudent" in her behavior, and has a high "Regard for his future Happiness" (xxx). In many cases such as this, the meaning of the letter and the dramatic events it describes are not rewritten, but rather rigidly controlled. In Letter XLI, for instance, Pamela has a number of "present Felicities" that she shares with Polly Darnford to draw greater attention to her marital bliss, and, in the same letter, she boasts about the "strong Sense she has of the Duty of visiting and comforting the Sick" (xxxii) to underscore her characteristic and "exalted" conduct. Volume IV begins to wind down when Pamela, ever thankful (xxxiii), "Mentions gratefully the Excursions

Mr. B. has taken with her to the Sea Ports” (xxxiv), but intense emotions are signaled once more when she gives the “affecting Particulars of a Conversation between [her and B.]” and shares, in a letter to her parents, her “inexpressible Delight” (xxxv) at his reformation. The editor exaggerates the sentiment once more when Pamela “Most pathetically bewails the Death of her beloved Mrs. *Jervis*, and of *Jonathan*” (xxxv), two characters whose roles are marginal in the sequel and practically non-existent in volume IV. The ToC concludes by prioritizing, in the final two letters, Pamela’s “instructive Conversation” with “several of the Neighbouring Ladies” (xxxvi) and the “intelligent Manner” in which she, through her “NURSERY TALES, calculated for the Instruction of her attentive Little-ones” instills the “principal DUTIES of CHILDREN from INFANCY to MANHOOD” (xxxvi). These are some of the editor’s more overt attempts to influence one’s interpretation of the novel because they are the most subjective. With authority, he boldly offers his closed-ended analysis of Pamela’s letters, establishing, in the process, the “clear view” from which one is to interpret their meaning.

As well as exaggerating Pamela’s excellence, the editor offers an additional watered down characterization of B. in volume IV. As in the first three volumes, Richardson, masquerading as the novel’s editor, worked particularly hard to whitewash *Pamela*’s hero, and anyone who has read the novel knows that editorial intervention is necessary to support a new reading of his character. The editor attempts this, for instance, by framing B.’s “Dispute” with Pamela “on the Subject of a Mother’s Duty to nurse her own Child” as a “tender Quarrel” (xxvi) when in the narrative it is really a battle of wills. Similarly, the editor extracts plenty of examples from Polly’s letters home to help recover B.’s reputation, namely his “polite Tenderness” (xxvii) to Pamela during her pregnancy,



his “considerate Contrivance to have a Midwife” (xxviii) on hand during Billy’s birth, the “joyful Gratitude of [his] Tenants” (xxviii), and, of course, his “polite Conduct” (xxviii) to Pamela after she delivers him an heir. Moreover, B. sets the example for gentlemen everywhere when his “polite conduct” at home, according to Lady Davers, is only matched by his “moderate Conduct in Parliament” (xxix). Pamela’s praise for B. is underscored in much the same way. The editor accents B.’s “Kindness to her” (xxx), his “tender Behaviour to her” (xxx), his “tender Reception of her” (xxx), his “tender Leave of her” (xxx), and his “kind Intentions to travel with her” (xxxii). What’s more, B. is “greatly moved” (xxx) by her behavior during the trial scene and “Promises [he can] account to her for every Step he has taken” with the Countess Dowager (xxx), which he does “to the Satisfaction of all Parties” (xxxii) – readers, it is implied, included.<sup>13</sup> Here, the editor’s agenda appears clear enough: to influence how readers perceive B. by altering any preconceived notions they may have formed of his character. His rakish behavior is, once again, excused at Pamela’s expense. Her “little Spice of Jealousy” (xxviii), according to the ToC, makes her imagination run wild when really the Countess’s “Honour is untainted” (xxx), though “bad Consequences” from their being together so often “*might* have followed from their intimacy” (xxxii, italics mine). The ToC, then, makes it look as if Pamela was mistaken, reinforces B.’s integrity, and deters an “incorrect” reading. This new frame of reference from which to interpret B.’s

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<sup>13</sup> The editor likewise frames this event at the novel’s conclusion as an “Affair” that was “so happily concluded” (IV, 491).

character gives the impression that he is not only worthy of Pamela, but that he deserves the reader's respect as well.<sup>14</sup>

Like B., Lady Davers's new relationship with Pamela is further established by the editor in the ToC to volume IV; indeed, her character is positively framed to bypass or correct any underlying ambiguity in the narrative. The editor not only softens her haughty tone to give a stronger sense of familiarity between her and Pamela, but, more importantly, he offers his own interpretation of her Ladyship. Accordingly, it seems readers are expected to align themselves with his judgment because differing opinions are, in effect, closed to debate. Lady Davers "pleasantly gives," for example, the names Pamela is to choose for the "half a Dozen fine Boys" (xxvii) she is expected to have. Of course, the veracity of this statement cannot be impugned without regard to the text, but even in that case the editor makes it clear that his way of reading is the correct way. In the same letter, when Lady Davers "Upbraids" her for not "subscribing her Letter with the Word *Sister*," it is done, according to the editor, "in a polite and tender manner" (xxvii). Furthermore, she is "greatly moved by [Pamela's] affecting Periods" during her fit of jealousy (xxix), and she even offers to rage against her brother in Pamela's defense, if necessary, like a "Hurricane" greater than "the Storm she formerly raised at the Hall" (xxx). Because the editor lacks faith in the reader's judgment, he also highlights "her Ladyship's Goodness" (xxvii), notes that she is "generous and tender" (xxviii), and

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<sup>14</sup> B.'s character is not entirely pulled from the fire in the table of contents, though his lesser qualities are eclipsed by his "polite" and "tender" behavior. Between encomiums, the editor observes B.'s "anger" when he is tricked by Pamela to let Miss Goodwin live with them (xxix), his "captious Behaviour" when Pamela intercepts a letter directed to him from the Countess Dowager (xxix), and his "slighting Expression of her *Billy*" (xxx). B. also "requires [Pamela] to write to him her Opinion of Mr. *Locke's* Treatise" (xxxiii-xxxiv) and, finally, "In pursuance of his Commands" Pamela begins her "Observations" on Locke (xxxiv). The fact that B. still "commands" appears as if the editor did not intend for B.'s "thorough Reformation" (xxxv) to alter the "Prerogative of Parents and Husbands over their Daughters and Wives" (xxvi), and his temper, so pronounced in *Pamela I*, is still extant.

willing to be of “Service” (xxix). Additionally, she “Takes exceeding kindly her Compliment” (xxxiii) when Pamela obliges her sister-in-law in a domestic matter. On the surface, the ToC was designed to turn *Pamela* into a reference guide, but the editor’s omniscience, visible as it is, shifts authority from the text to the ToC, where the editor attributes greater merit to characters than is perhaps their due. In doing so, he provides his own fixed interpretation of letters that, in context, will produce multiple readings.

By its very nature, the ToC is a summary of each letter taken out of its original context, but *Pamela*’s editor uses it to screen indelicate or unbecoming aspects of the heroine’s character. In a few cases, he offers cryptic, fragmented information that either obscures or attempts to alter the meaning of Pamela’s letters. As a result, readers are given a misleading impression of her opinions, and, consequently, her character. For example, in Letter II, the editor summarizes Pamela’s arrival in London, where she “Gives the Character of two Gentlemen of the Law” (xxvi). In the narrative, however, her censure of B.’s former acquaintances is not so sedate. She describes Mr. Turner and Mr. Fanshaw as two “modish Gentlemen” who are “very free, and very frothy, in their conversation” and “so forward, so opinionated, so seemingly insensible of rebuke” that Pamela frankly admits she does not “over-much like them” (IV, 7). Of course, she apologizes for being so “bold” and pleads that her correspondents, Lady Davers in particular, “command me to write freely” (7), but her overt disdain is not so much as hinted at in the ToC. One’s familiarity with the text can testify to the editor’s reluctance to provide additional details, but he balks at an opportunity to emphasize Pamela’s thoughts on supposed town “wits.” Here, the summary looks more like an attempt to minimize Pamela’s spite than it does a guide to the novel’s “*material Passages.*”

Similarly, in Letter VII, Pamela mocks these gentlemen with uncharacteristic contempt, believing, as she does, that she owes them a “Spite” (48), by mimicking their conversation and peppering it with sarcasm and irreverence. The editor, on the other hand, expresses this as a joke. Pamela, he overtly suggests, “Humourously describes the foppish and fluttering Conversation and Behaviour of the two young Lawyers” (I, xxvii). Upon first reading, the parody is a welcome relief from the novel’s didacticism, but coming from Pamela, Richardson’s exemplar, rather than an established virago like Lady Davers or Mrs. Jewkes, it puts her character in a different light. Undoubtedly, there is something about Pamela’s anger, brashness, and unexpected behavior in the text that does not fit with her abstract qualities catalogued in the ToC, namely that she is prudent, forgiving, and pious.

Unlike Lady Davers, who, the editor feels, can make “smart Observations” (xxxii), threaten, and censure with impunity, Pamela’s unbecoming behavior is given significantly less attention. Once again, text and paratext conflict when, for example, the editor summarizes Letter XLI. Pamela, he claims, “Humourously describes the bashful Behaviour of [Mr. Adams]” when he asks for “her Consent to address *Polly Barlow*” (xxxiii). In the narrative, however, Pamela assumes a smug tone that is condescending, and she seems to forget, in this case, the great respect she professes to have for the clergy. First, she criticizes the “strange Simperings, and Bowing, and Courtesying” (IV, 277) between the would-be lovers. Second, instead of “Humourously” describing anything, she sneers at Polly’s “Officiousness” and Mr. Adams’s “Complaisance” (277). Finally, she tells Miss Darnford “I put on a statelier and more reserv’d Appearance than usual, to make them avoid Acts of Complaisance for one another, that might not be proper to be

shewn before me” (277). The “bashful Behaviour” of Mr. Adams, then, has more the appearance of fear than timidity, especially when face-to-face with an intimidating, “statelier and more reserv’d” Pamela than he is perhaps used to. Clearly, for the sake of further sanitizing Pamela’s character, some of her frank, critical, and opinionated discourse is concealed behind what appear to be humorous reflections, opinions, and observations.<sup>15</sup> It is no surprise that the editor does not frame some of these obscure terms as instructional, but he does not suggest that they are in any way unorthodox either. In doing so, it is not entirely certain how he hopes readers will interpret them, but, by obscuring the “clear view,” it is more apparent how he hopes readers will not interpret them – as incongruous with Pamela’s character and the narrative’s didactic goal.

In all four volumes of the octavo, Richardson also included engravings, which he likely hoped would complement the ToC and further reinforce a correct reading of the primary text. As early as 1739, when he published an edition of *Aesop’s Fables*, Richardson wrote that he understood the “alluring Force which Cuts or Pictures, suited to the respective Subjects, have on the Minds of Children” and that they would “excite their Curiosity, and stimulate their Attention” (Keymer and Sabor 152). Surely, if Richardson believed that children could benefit from *Aesop’s* “Cuts and Pictures,” then adults could as well, and Richardson’s attempt to instruct *Pamela’s* readers still in “hanging-sleeves” is further evidenced by Hayman and Gravelot’s octavo illustrations. Richardson preferred

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<sup>15</sup> Richardson-as-editor emphasizes and interprets many of Pamela’s “Reflections” well enough in the ToC, and he even tells readers that she “Utterly dislikes” Masquerades (xxvii-xxviii) and that she “Exclaims bitterly against” them (xxix). Nevertheless, her censure and criticism is not always so explicit. To Richardson’s credit, though, to do so might have completely evaporated the novel’s rather thin, somewhat forced plot. A reader must, after all, have something to look forward to.

his readers, according to Thomas Keymer, to be “authorially governed” (72).<sup>16</sup> Keymer is talking specifically about *Clarissa*, but it can be argued that when one picks up any of Richardson’s three novels, one is, in fact, not a “free agent” but “a careful subordinate prepared to work his way through the text, filling in its gaps and indeterminacies in response to the text’s internal signals” (72). For Richardson, then, the engravings were not simply included for entertainment. On a deeper level, they were meant to supplement the narrative with unequivocal, incontrovertible authority. Together, text and paratext were expected to offer “Instruction with Entertainment, so as to make the latter *seemingly* the *View*, while the former is *really* the End” (Carroll 47). Put another way, the union of word and image was supposed to “promote the cause of religion and virtue” (41), support Pamela’s first-person narrative, and offer a fixed, conclusive reading of the novel by showing fallible readers whatever it was they were missing. The illustrations, however, are surprisingly ambivalent. Like the contrast between text and paratext in volumes I and II, those in volumes III and IV are also at odds, and the potential for multivalent readings is actually increased as a result.

There are fifteen visual paratexts in volumes III and IV of the octavo that fail to capture what Richardson called the “*Spirit of the Passages*” (2nd, I, xxxvi). While this lack of “spirit” could be attributed to the engravers, it was most likely Richardson who chose the subjects, especially since he was hoping to attract “Young Minds” by “blending and enlivening the serious Part with some soft and tender Pencillings” (Carroll 47-48). The “Pencillings” in *Pamela II* are undoubtedly as Richardson wanted them, “soft and tender,” so Hayman and Gravelot cannot be held entirely responsible for the omission of

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<sup>16</sup> Richardson’s *Clarissa and the Eighteenth-Century Reader*. New York: CUP, 1992. Print.

a “warm Scene or two” (232). Interestingly, their work is unevenly split in the continuation. Hayman designed five of the illustrations, all of which are in volume III, and Gravelot designed ten, eight of which appear volume IV.<sup>17</sup> This may suggest that Gravelot, who was the more experienced, was also more aware of what Richardson wanted. Eaves’s contention that all of *Pamela*’s engravings are “as excellent as even fastidious Richardson could have desired” (353) is an accurate assessment if one looks at quality alone. When compared to the professional work of Hayman and Gravelot, the designs and engravings found in *Pamela*’s imitators look like hackwork.<sup>18</sup> In particular, the illustrations in *The Life of Pamela*, which predate those published in the octavo, fail to visually depict the “elegant Perfection of Amiableness” (2nd, I, xxxvii) that embodies Pamela’s character. However, one thing these plates have over Richardson’s octavo, besides being the first to offer readers a glimpse of the heroine, is how successful they are in depicting Pamela’s rise from rags-to-riches. While they are not nearly as aesthetically appealing, lacking, as they do, Hayman and Gravelot’s precision and attention to detail, they do capture the “*Spirit of the Passages*,” and provide, as Lynn Shepherd puts it, “a powerful, if covert, pictorial equivalent to the transformation of the heroine” (71).<sup>19</sup> It may be said with confidence that only Richardson’s most impressionable and fanatical readers could say the same about the octavo engravings.

In *Pamela II*, there is no doubt that both the text and the engravings work together to contextualize the heroine’s exalted condition, but the narrative, to varying degrees, is

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<sup>17</sup> See Hammelmann, page 51.

<sup>18</sup> The unauthorized *Life of Pamela*, with engravings by John Carwitham, appeared in 1741, as did Mary Kingman’s pirated and illustrated edition of *Pamela*, published serially in twenty installments, and the anonymous *Pamela in High Life*, also published by Kingman, contained a frontispiece. See Chapter Five in Keymer and Sabor’s *Pamela in the Marketplace*.

<sup>19</sup> *Clarissa’s Painter: Portraiture, Illustrations, and Representations in the Novels of Samuel Richardson*. New York: OUP, 2009. Print.

misrepresented by each illustration. In other words, the meanings that can be construed from the plates are significantly different from the perspectives offered in the letters of Mr. Andrews, Polly Darnford, B., and, particularly, Pamela. Plate 15, for instance, offers an anti-Pamelist reading of the novel's subtitle by attaching a tangible, material value to Pamela's virtue. On the surface, the engraving portrays the idyllic setting that Richardson-as-editor contextualizes at the beginning of the sequel's ToC. Accordingly, Pamela's parents are shown in possession of their "sweet Farm, and pretty Dwelling" (I, xvii). Mrs. Andrews sits unobtrusively looking on while Mr. Andrews and B.'s steward, Mr. Longman, exchange greetings. The overarching sentiment is one of leisured tranquility, sponsored wholly by the reformed, generous, and noble Mr. B. However, when the editor refers to this scene in the ToC as "the Reward of their Child's Virtue" (xvii), this prompts a reassessment of Pamela's character. Here, it is implied that her virtue is really, as Fielding's *Shamela* suggests, "vartue," and her pretence to chastity a performance to con B. for all he is worth. The "sale" or exchange that takes place in volume II with Pamela's marriage is, in a symbolic way, finalized in this plate by the handshake between her father and B.'s agent. In this context, B.'s gift of a large house and an estate worth 250£ a year to his in-laws not only speaks to his vast wealth, but to Pamela's, and, consequently, a woman's, material value on the particularly dehumanizing marriage market.<sup>20</sup> A less cynical but nonetheless contrasting view is offered by the text. In his letter to Pamela, Mr. Andrews writes how he hoped to make Mr. Longman his "Friend" (IV, 11), but his idea of friendship is to, in a sense, launder money into B.'s

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<sup>20</sup> In volume I, B. guarantees Pamela compensation if she will become his mistress. The farm in Kent is part of this payment. Because it is associated with a form of prostitution, it is difficult to see this gift as something other than a vulgar, mercantile exchange for Pamela's virginity.



V. III. p. 11



15 Vol. III. p. 11.: Hayman Mr. Andrews greets Mr. Longman

hands as payment for the farm. The illustration perpetuates relaxation and ease, but in the narrative Mr. Longman is offended when asked to “cook the books”: “Why, dost believe, Goodman *Andrews*, said he, that I would do such a thing? – Would not his Honour think, if I hid one thing from him, I might hide another?” (11). Of course, the text makes it clear that Pamela’s father is motivated by good intentions, and the rest of his letter clears up any misunderstanding, though this occurs after readers have been partially, if not entirely, alienated from the text by either one, or both, of the paratexts. Indeed, readers have three different overlapping and competing discourses – the editor’s summary, the text, and the illustration – to choose from. Hayman’s seemingly innocuous design actually widens the interpretational gap in favor of the anti-Pamelists. As a result, Richardson’s attempt to guide the reader with a visual frame immediately puts the heroine, and perhaps the entire novel, at a critical disadvantage.

Plate 16 offers another contrast between the sequel’s framing apparatuses and the text, undermining Richardson’s attempt to establish his novel as one of domestic and conjugal tranquility. Instead, Hayman’s engraving shows a scene of violence and unrest. Sir Simon, who suffers from a “kind of rambling Rheumatism” also known as the “Flying Gout” (94), is reclining with his swollen foot elevated in front of the fireplace. In his hand he holds a book, and his arm is drawn back ready to throw it across the room at his frightened daughter, Polly. The door to the room is wide open, which not only gives the illustration a sense of space but also suggests that Polly has just walked in. Her fear and surprise are punctuated by a defensive posture – one arm is raised to protect her face, and the other is at her side so she can keep herself balanced and out of the fireplace if she is struck. The violence depicted in Hayman’s plate, the summary in the ToC, and the text do

not, as Janet Aikins argues, “mutually reinforce each other” (151).<sup>21</sup> In fact, according to the editor, this event is hardly worth mentioning:

[Pamela] sends her Ladyship a Copy of a Letter from Miss *Darnford*, in which that young Lady, after mentioning her Papa’s flinging a Book at her Head in a peevish Fit, acquaints her with Mr. *Peter’s* Account of the great Change which [Pamela’s] Example has wrought upon Mrs. *Jewkes*. (I, xix)

Here, the event is a parenthesis. The reader’s attention is drawn to Pamela’s “Example” instead of Sir Simon’s “Fit,” and the editor’s cavalier summary frames the baronet’s aggression as playful, though Hayman portrays Polly’s fear as genuine enough.

Compared to its visual equivalent, Polly’s letter in the narrative is similarly flippant and dismissive in its tone:

For once, in a Pet, he flung a Book at my Head, because I had not attended him for Two Hours: And, He could not bear to be slighted by little Bastards, that was his Word, that were father’d upon him for his Vexation! (III, 94)

Readers are already well acquainted with Sir Simon’s ““Liberties of Speech”” (105) in volume II, including his love for the *double entendre*, but his vulgarity is not half as shocking as his violent temper.<sup>22</sup> Ultimately, the editor dismisses the event as a prelude to more important information – Pamela’s reformation of Mrs. Jewkes – and Polly’s point of view, though she criticizes the power of fathers and husbands over their daughters and wives, is largely indifferent. Indeed, her chief reason for writing is to praise Pamela.

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<sup>21</sup> “Re-presenting the Body in *Pamela II*.” *New Historical Literary Study: Essays in Reproducing Texts, Representing History*. Eds. Jeff N. Cox and Larry J. Reynolds. Princeton: Princeton UP, 1993. 151-177. Print.

<sup>22</sup> Richardson revised some of Sir Simon’s offensive language in the second edition of *Pamela II*. See Chapter Five.



*F. Hayman inv.*

*H. Gravelot scul.*

16 Vol. III. p. 94.:

Hayman

Sir Simon throws a book at Polly

Consequently, a proper balance between these competing discourses is unachievable, especially as one has too much spirit and the others inevitably fall short.

Plate 17 also falls short of capturing the spirit of the text. In Letter XX, Pamela “Rallies” (I, xx) Sir Simon for throwing a book at Polly’s head, and by Letter XXII, he “Humorously” demands “Satisfaction” from B. (xxi). The humor is pervasive in the narrative, and it reads well on paper, but it is smothered by Hayman’s subdued, formal, and idealized image. Visually, there is continuity: the setting shifts from the baronet’s Lincolnshire estate to B.’s Bedfordshire mansion. Logistically, Hayman’s depiction is accurate: B. is seated in his closet with a letter in his left hand while Pamela stands over him, bending slightly forward, and he holds her left hand in his right. B. assumes a half-serious aspect and Pamela has a half-smile on her face. They stare into each other’s eyes with mutual affection, and, without the benefit of the text, one might interpret this as an example of their “conjugal Purity and Decorum” (xxvii). In other words, it appears as if Pamela has interrupted B. with a show of affection or to ask him a question, and, characteristic of previous “interruptions,” she is given his full attention over more pressing matters. Despite the obvious tender exchange represented in the illustration, the editor asserts that B. is “espousing [Sir Simon’s] Cause against his own Lady” and that he “puts *her* into Fear” for lecturing the baronet (xxi). Shepherd calls this plate the first of three “matrimonial recriminations” that, over the course of the novel, “become more serious and more overt” (94).<sup>23</sup> While this may be true for the text, when it is B.’s turn to act the tyrant, the narrative is willing but the engravings are weak. For instance, B. writes to Sir Simon that he could feel Pamela’s “Pulse fluttering under my Finger, like a dying

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<sup>23</sup> The three images that Shepherd examines in this context are B.’s half-serious rebuke of Pamela in Plate 17, the breastfeeding debate in Plate 22, and Pamela’s “trial” depicted in Plate 26.

Vol. III. p. 161



F. Hayman del.

H. Goussier scul.

Bird" (III, 161), and that her "charming Eye...quiver'd at my over-clouded Aspect, and her Lips half-drawn to a smile, trembled with Apprehension of a Countenance so changed from what she left it" (161). B.'s "great Complaints" against her, as he describes it, make her look "round with her half-affrighted Eyes, this way and that, on the Books, and Pictures, and on me, by Turns" (161). Granted, it is impossible to fit this entire scene into a single engraving, but Pamela's emotional distress and B.'s "stiff and stately" (161) demeanor, though feigned, are clearly not visually represented. Marcia Allentuck argues in her examination of the engravings in *Pamela I* that they "lack the psychological truths of the text" (886). The same can be said in this case, and readers are offered a typical if not banal scene from a "genteel and usual Married Life." Polly's fright depicted in Plate 16 undercuts the humor, if a scene of domestic violence can be funny, and here Hayman has likewise failed to capture the *jeu d'esprit* of the novel's only running joke. Despite Aikins's confident claim that in Plate 17 "we see B. reprimanding Pamela with Sir Simon Darnford's letter of complaint" (164), there is, in fact, no visible sign of B.'s "matrimonial recriminations" (III, 186) in this example.

Hayman's design for Plate 18 is one of the octavo's most strikingly disconnected illustrations because the scene, as depicted, is not to be found in the text. Paradoxically, this may have been exactly what Richardson wanted so *Pamela's* hero could save face. The engraving appears at a critical point in volume III when B. tells his side of Pamela's story. Present at B.'s "trial" are Lord and Lady Davers, the Countess of C., and, of course, Pamela. In the image, all three ladies are seated, thus visually solidifying Pamela as their social equal. B. sits on Pamela's right, and Lord Davers, in the center of the illustration, stands over her, leans to his left, and stares intently at B. He looks visibly

Vol. III. p. 228.



*F. Hayman inv.*

*H. Gravelot sculp.*

18 Vol. III. p. 228.: Hayman Mr. B. tells the history of his passion



intrigued instead of offended by the tale of his brother-in-law's rakish past, perhaps even taking a vicarious pleasure in his freedoms. Lady Davers, who sits across from B., holds up her arm in an imperious gesture that interrupts her brother's story. B., Pamela, and the Countess are all focused on her. B. looks slightly amused, as if he is pleading his case to a jury of his peers in a coffee house rather than to a parliament of women. Pamela, always paying deference to Lady Davers, tilts her head curiously to her left in a supplicating and submissive gesture. She looks uncomfortable, and the fan in her left hand is open and ready, perhaps, to hide her blushes. The Countess looks at Lady Davers approvingly, apparently pleased by her censure. In contrast to this subdued discussion, B. has no choice but to paint a very unflattering picture of himself in the narrative. He recalls how years ago he looked forward to the day he could "take as much Delight" in Pamela another way as his late mother took in her "Accomplishments" (228).<sup>24</sup> In an obvious effort to suppress criticism, the editor's summary of B.'s "account" in the ToC is framed as an evening's diversion; indeed, B. "entertains them with a History of the Commencement of his Love for [Pamela]" (I, xxii) in the ToC while the details of his long-term plans to seduce and abandon his mother's waiting maid lie buried in the text. The engraving, likewise, deflates the narrative tension. Everyone's supposed censure and disgust at B.'s methodical plan to "nip [Pamela's] Bud by the Time it begins to open" (III, 228) is not only misrepresented, but has no textual equivalent. In other words, it is particularly difficult to pinpoint the exact moment in the narrative Hayman has captured because there is nothing in the text to signify the logistics of the scene – the placement of

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<sup>24</sup> It is indeed ironic that this day has come, though not on B.'s terms.

the characters, Lady Davers's interruption, or even what she says.<sup>25</sup> This can be explained, in part, by a caveat in Pamela's letter:

I will as little as possible, my dear [Polly], interrupt this affecting Narration, by mentioning my own alternate Blushes, Confusions, and Exclamations, as the naughty Gentlemen went on; nor the Censures and *Out-upon-you's* of the attentive Ladies, and *Fie, Brother's*, of Lord Davers. (228)

Clearly, the conspicuous omission of criticism lets B. off the hook, but its absence also offered Hayman a chance to assume a greater role in the image's creation. He was, however, either unwilling or unable to take full advantage of this opportunity, and the paratexts fall far short of the libertine spirit contained in B.'s "History." On the surface, the reader, like Polly, is left to fill in the blanks in a very Shandean way: "As to our occasional Exclaimings and Observations, you may suppose what they were" (229). Then again, the free-thinking that Pamela seems to encourage is forestalled by paratexts that not only discourage criticism but, in this case, continue to whitewash B.'s character by drawing attention away from the text.

Instead of capturing the sentiment, "the psychological truths of the text," Plate 19 follows the already familiar paratextual routine of rehabilitating B.'s character by illustrating his benevolence on a larger scale. Concurrent with Richardson's efforts to accent Pamela's exalted condition, there is also a sense that B.'s generosity is forced. Undoubtedly, Gravelot's first illustration in the sequel does little more than impose upon the reader's credulity. In addition to attempted rape and kidnapping, B. does, after all,

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<sup>25</sup> The opposing page and the engraving's heading both indicate 228 as the source, but there is nothing in the text, with the exception of a short paragraph on 225, to corroborate the scene in Hayman's illustration. Jackey, Pamela tells Polly on 225, is out riding with Colbrand, and this accounts for his absence from the conversation, but the rest must have been of Hayman's, or Richardson's, own imagining.



19 Vol. III. p. 361.: Gravelot Mr. B. awards Mr. Adams a living

orchestrate the robbery and assault of Mr. Williams as well as have him jailed “on an Action of Debt” (I, 268). All immorality aside, and it is literally excused, rationalized, and overlooked, B. is depicted, with the usual pomp and circumstance, awarding Mr. Adams the living formerly held by Mr. Williams. Both the text and the image present this as a grand, if not somewhat contrived, semi-public gesture, but the spirit of the narrative, the sentiment – appropriately signified by hyphens and exclamation marks – is replaced by an artificial, mannered formality. Indeed, no one is visibly moved but Mr. Adams, whose “Countenance and his Eyes gave Testimony of a Gratitude that was too high for further Expression” (III, 361). Pamela looks on approvingly, comporting herself with a staged, genteel decorum, though in her letter she describes herself as “delighted” and “affected” (361). Others on hand to witness the moment, Lord and Lady Davers, Jackey, and the Countess, are pushed into the background. Virtually indistinguishable in the image, they are mere passive observers, spectators of B.’s grandstanding generosity. Similarly, Richardson’s ideal readers are strong-armed into accepting this irrefutable change in B.’s characterization because they witness it on the page. Ultimately, the effusion of sensibility in the text is sacrificed to further contextualize B.’s liberality, and Richardson used his authorial and editorial authority to advocate for him.

In Plate 20, Hayman’s final design for the octavo, skeptical readers in particular are directed to recognize that Pamela’s “*born Dignity*” and “*born Discretion*” transcend her social status. In addition to discrediting the idea that birth equals worth, the illustration invites cynical readers to see their own ignorance manifested in the boorish Sir Jacob Swynford. It could be argued, then, that this is the sequel’s most successful plate. This is not to say that text and image are wholly united for the first time, but that

readers are bullied, by analogy, into acknowledging and accepting Pamela as Mrs. B. Indeed, Plate 20, above all others, “invites us...into the visual discourse” (Aikins 161). In this instance, Jackey, the novel’s aristocratic fool, is no fool at all.<sup>26</sup> His glance, directed at the viewer, breaks “the two-dimensional surface” (161) and creates a metafictional moment. As a result, all distinction between viewer and fictional character is momentarily erased. While Jackey looks directly at readers, he gestures toward the baronet standing at the center of the image. The obvious implication is that readers are to join the characters in their ridicule of the baronet, but, in a sense, they may also be encouraged to see a little of Sir Jacob in themselves. This suggests that their unwillingness to accept Pamela’s social mobility likens them to the novel’s last holdout – a man blinded by his pride and his prejudice. In fact, when Pamela masquerades as Lady Jenny, the Countess’s youngest daughter, she fools her new uncle into believing she is a “Lady indeed!” (III, 377). Naturally, he is charmed, at first sight, by her physical beauty, seeing, no doubt, the inborn “Dignity” and “Discretion” that is so characteristic of the gentry. He surveys her “Head to Foot,” turns her around, and concludes “she is a Charmer” (377), but the joke is most decidedly on him. This case of mistaken identity is meant to further prove that there is no difference between the waiting maid with a “Pagan

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<sup>26</sup> There is some contention whether the grinning figure is Jackey or Lord Davers, but the general consensus suggests the former. Logistically, it makes sense that Lord Davers would be the figure standing in the background near his wife and the Countess. B. is obviously the figure next to Pamela, and Sir Jacob is easily identified as the engraving’s centerpiece. In “Hayman and Gravelot’s Anti-Pamela Designs for Richardson’s Octavo Edition of *Pamela*,” Stephen Raynie suggests that Jackey’s character is not sophisticated enough to “appreciate the theatrical quality of this scene” (90). Normally this would make sense, but his function in the illustration is more like that of the Shakespearean fool. He shatters the illusion of the fictional world represented by the engraving and purposefully draws attention to the image as a work of art. In doing so, he enters the viewer’s reality and encourages self-reflection. Raynie also hints that this may not be a character from the text at all because the “features of the smirking figure seem much sharper than the more boyish and rounded countenance of Lord Jackey in the following design” (90). The artistic vision and skill of the illustrator may in some measure account for this, especially since Plate 20 was designed by Hayman and Plate 21 by Gravelot.

Vol. III. p. 377



E. Havard del.

H. Gravelot scul.

20 Vol. III. p. 377.: Hayman Sir Jacob surveys Pamela

Name” (380) and a maiden lady. Thus, Sir Jacob and, consequently, the novel’s hitherto incredulous readers are meant to recognize, yet again, that Pamela’s value should not be predicated on her birth but her merit. It appears as if Richardson and Hayman overtly tried to laugh both character and critic out of their “haughty Humour” (369) and prove, as conclusively as they could, that Pamela is worthy of her exalted condition.

Gravelot’s design for Plate 21 is a rare, successful blend of text and paratext that creates a tangible, lasting image of the heroine in the mind of Richardson’s ideal reader. It is unusual to see the ToC, the narrative, and the engravings work so well together because they frequently contrast in content and effect. In this case, however, they act in tandem and build off each other to strengthen her moral and social authority. In the ToC, the editor highlights Pamela’s “prudent, instructive, and resolute Conduct” upon “Her Discovery of an amorous Intrigue between Mr. *H.* and her *Polly Barlow*” (I, xxiv). He also stresses that Jackey’s behavior is particularly “ungenerous and ridiculous” (xxv) on this occasion. This is further supported by the text of Pamela’s letter. She writes to Polly Darnford that he “shunn’d me, as a Thief would a Constable at the Head of a Hue and Cry” (III, 446), but she takes “Courage” (447) and is “resolved” to confront him (448). Jackey, in his usual manner, stammers, stalls, and finally offers excuses. The trifecta is achieved when, in a secluded area of the garden on B.’s expansive Bedfordshire estate, Pamela is shown sitting in judgment of the would-be rake. In the engraving, the shamefaced Jackey, with his head bowed in submission, hands Pamela the smoking gun – Polly’s signed pledge to become his kept mistress. Furthermore, on behalf of women everywhere, the smiling statue of a female figure in the center of the image seems to look on approvingly. This is *Pamela*’s text and paratext at their didactic best. As a rule, the



21 Vol. III. p. 451.: Gravelot Jackey and Pamela in the garden



typically unrelated image undermines the content of the letter. Certainly, three different descriptions of a single event will often emphasize competing details and offer varying affective responses. In these examples, though, Pamela's abstract qualities become progressively concrete until the editorial summary, the narrative, and the engraving verbally and visually solidify her bourgeois values of virtue, merit, and propriety. Additionally, she has clearly transitioned from the socially impotent servant girl to the lady of the house when she can dispense her own brand of domestic justice to the son of a Lord, and he thanks her for it.<sup>27</sup>

Unlike the successful blending of text and paratext in Plate 21, Plate 22, the first to appear in volume IV, complicates the perspectives given by Pamela and the editor by forcing readers to re-imagine the scene. It has been argued that the illustrations rarely frame events or characters from the position of the letter writer.<sup>28</sup> This, in turn, suggests that the engravings, and the ToC for that matter, could be evaluated at a remove or, as stated in the octavo's preface, in lieu of the narrative. As a result, much of what the characters do or say in the text is intended to be replaced or accompanied by whatever readers encounter in the paratexts. By their very nature, then, the engravings, *Pamela* "in the flesh" so to speak, are meant to be privileged by fallible readers over a verbal representation in their mind's eye. This is the case in the visual rendering of Pamela and B.'s disagreement about breastfeeding. The editor refers to this disagreement as a

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<sup>27</sup> Of course, Jackey is more embarrassed by his abortive seduction of Polly than anything else. Although Pamela shames him into contrition, he is certainly not afraid of her. Rather, he works with her to settle the matter in order to prevent her telling B. or, whose wrath he fears most of all, Lady Davers.

<sup>28</sup> This is argued, to varying degrees, by Allentuck, Raynie, Sabor, and Shepherd, but only Sabor examines the series of engravings as a whole, and his study of *Pamela II*'s illustrations is rather perfunctory. In addition to using only a select number of the images to support their arguments, no one combines a reading of the illustrations in tandem with the table of contents and the text to show how all three can impact or complicate interpretation.

*Vol. IV. p. 29.*

22 Vol. IV. p. 29.: Gravelot Mr. B. and Pamela discuss breastfeeding

“tender Quarrel” (I, xxvi), but Pamela is struck “all in a Heap” (IV, 29). B.’s check, from her point of view, is “so seriously given, my Heart was full” (29), and her disappointment manifests itself in tears.<sup>29</sup> Instead of overwhelming the reader with the intensity of Pamela’s emotional and physical response, the image focuses on the moment of “tender” exchange. B.’s lecture, during which he reminds her “I don’t love to speak twice my Mind on the same subject” (30), is reconstructed in a very stylized way. He takes Pamela’s “Hands,” draws her “kindly to him,” and kisses her “Cheek” (29), signifying that their “quarrel” is a non-issue. Because the engraving is largely ungoverned by the text, it significantly deflates Pamela’s resentment and whitewashes B.’s character. In fact, there is no indication, visually, of the marital discord B. creates when exercising his “Prerogative” as a husband. Shepherd argues that this image has two narratives, “the superficial narrative of discord, but also a stronger and deeper narrative of harmony and compatibility” (96), but she is only half right. The discord is far from “superficial” in the text, deliberately understated in the ToC, and subtle, at best, in the illustration.<sup>30</sup> Richardson was well aware of an engraving’s power to control how a reader perceived his characters, and here, rather than the true “emotive unities of the text” (Allentuck 880), one sees only the “harmony and compatibility” of Pamela’s “genteel and usual Married Life.”

In Plate 23, Pamela and B. at a masquerade, Gravelot’s illustration brings to life the greater context and content of the scene, but, like many of the others, this image

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<sup>29</sup> In his dissertation, Peter Sabor argues that Gravelot captures the moment before “B.’s reproaches have destroyed her self-confidence” (264), but, according to the narrative, B. approaches her and takes her hands simultaneously or immediately after she is “struck” and reduced to tears. I do, however, agree with Sabor’s interpretation that the engraving is “misleadingly harmonious” (264).

<sup>30</sup> The image is so ambiguous that, without the text, it is impossible to determine the occasion. Indeed, Gravelot offers a canvas which could be decorated with a number of different imaginative scenarios that indicate, least of all, marital discord.

focuses too much on elevating Pamela's character and falls short of capturing the spirit of the passage as a result. It is perhaps necessary to point out once more that *Pamela's* illustrations are, aesthetically speaking, "excellently handled" (Eaves 355), and they no doubt enrich one's reading of the novel. In Richardson's opinion, Hayman and Gravelot were the "Best Hands" (Carroll 52) for the job, so it is unclear who is responsible for the novel's uninspired realizations.<sup>31</sup> Given Richardson's reputation, it is possible there was a degree of micromanaged intervention, but, since no correspondence between the triumvirate is extant, this is purely speculative.<sup>32</sup> Regardless, the bulk of the engravings are only thumbnails of plot that challenge the text's interpretive supremacy, and this is certainly the case with Plate 23. Surrounded by the usual "Antick Figures" and "ludicrous Forms" (IV, 108) that populate a masquerade, Pamela is literally and figuratively the center of the illustration. In the narrative she is, at this point, very pregnant, but visually,

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<sup>31</sup> According to Shepherd, Gravelot's engravings for Pierre de la Place's 1750 French translation of Fielding's *Tom Jones* prove that he was "capable" of mirroring "the experience of reading the text" (77), and this, she claims, makes Richardson's involvement in the creative process all the more likely. In his dissertation, Peter Sabor also praises the illustrations in the French translation and suggests that Gravelot, "unfettered by any authorial demand," could have "rendered his designs for *Pamela* with much greater animation" (273). Sabor says the same about Hayman's "splendid design" for Christopher Smart's *The Hop Garden*, namely that this piece offers proof of Hayman's "ability to render a lively scene effectively" (273). The talent of each artist is not in question, but rather the degree to which each might have been restrained by Richardson. Neither Shepherd nor Sabor discuss how different *Tom Jones* and *The Hop Garden* are from *Pamela* in terms of either form or content, so their critical judgments are, to a degree, taken out of context. One could assume that a text such as *Tom Jones* would naturally call for "greater animation" and "vigour" (273) than would the sober and chiefly didactic *Pamela*. Although Shepherd and Sabor take into account Richardson's fastidious personality and the meticulous and borderline obsessive care he took in revising his work, they appear to overlook the different demands of each text and how that may have influenced the illustrations.

<sup>32</sup> In her dissertation, Janine Barchas argues that "Convention thus allocated to Richardson definitive artistic control over the particulars of the commissioned illustrations for his *Pamela*" (41). "Convention," she asserts, meant that a contract was drawn up between the artist and the publisher in which the illustrator designed the engravings as the publisher would direct (39). Unfortunately, no such contract exists between Gravelot, Hayman, and Richardson that can definitively confirm such a custom was followed in the case of *Pamela's* octavo. See *Form's Content: The Interpretive Impact of Graphic Design in the Novels of Samuel Richardson, Master Printer*. Diss. University Chicago, 1995. Ann Arbor, UMI, 1996. *Proquest*. Web. 12 Dec. 2011.

Vol. IV. p. 108



23 Vol. IV. p. 108.: Gravelot Pamela and Mr. B. at a masquerade

even if tightly laced, she is slimmer than Polly Darnford, who stands beside her.<sup>33</sup> The contrasting image impacts how the reader sees Pamela – as sexless and as exemplary as the Virgin Mary in this case. Furthermore, the illustration minimizes Pamela’s witty exchange with several partygoers. The image depicts a particularly tense moment when Pamela is challenged by two ladies, “one in a very fantastick party-colour’d Habit, with a Plume of Feathers, the other in a rustick one, with a Garland of Flowers round her Head” (108). In the text, these women come to insult Pamela by drawing attention to the “ludicrous” figure she makes as a pregnant Quaker. The heroine’s tone is surprisingly reminiscent of the haughty Lady Davers and worth quoting in full:

The Party-colour’d one came up to me: Friend, said she, there is something in thy Person, that attracts every one’s Notice: But if a Sack had not been a profane Thing, it would have become thee almost as well.

I thank thee, Friend, said I, for thy Counsel; but if thou hadst been pleased to look at home, thou wouldst not have taken so much Pains to join such Advice, and such an Appearance, together, as thou makest! (108)

In the engraving, however, Pamela’s dismissive, outstretched hand is the only indication of this witty rebuff, and the image obviously maintains a significant ambiguity for the sake of propriety. Thus, readers are directed, repeatedly, to re-imagine some of the novel’s most intense moments until they see, literally, Richardson’s stripped down, subjective perspective as the most important.

Despite its shortcomings, Plate 23 illustrates the masquerade’s subtext. Both the narrative and the ToC make it clear for readers that this is a pivotal scene, but the

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<sup>33</sup> Because her letters are not dated, there is no clear indication of how far long Pamela is at this point in the narrative. However, in her letters immediately following the masquerade, she talks about her growing “Anxieties and Apprehensions” (113), writes a letter to B. “(*Not to be delivered to him, but in case of her Death*) (I, xxviii), and, by the next letter, little Billy is born (III, 126). This suggests the final trimester, at the very least.

engraving privileges spectacle and position. In other words, it appears that the duo of Richardson and Gravelot concluded it was more important to show a virginal Pamela in her exalted condition interacting with the upper-class in a public setting rather than accurately represent the “emotive unities” offered in the text and the ToC. There is, however, a subtlety at work in the illustration that shows emotional potential. In the ToC, the editor coddles the reader. Pamela, he states, is “very apprehensive, on seeing Mr. B. everywhere followed by a fine Lady in a Nun’s Habit” (I, xxviii). If this is not enough foreshadowing, he also makes it a point to mention that “All the little Doubts and Jealousies (which are supposed natural to [Pamela’s] Temper) [are] excited on this Occasion” (xxviii). In the text, Pamela also focuses her attention on the nun, “a fine Person of a Lady, with a noble Air” (IV, 107), and notices how often she is seen nearby or speaking with B. The image, by its very nature, limits the imaginative possibilities and can only highlight certain characteristics of the scene. What Gravelot emphasizes has already been discussed, and the emotional effects are dulled as a result, but there is a sly attempt to integrate Pamela’s jealousy by using her body. Her head is turned toward the insulting woman in the “party-colour’d Habit” and at an angle with her outstretched arm, but she appears to metaphorically have one eye fixed on B., who stands next to the nun in the far left corner of the plate, and one eye on her “party-colour’d” antagonist. Pamela’s slanting shoulder creates a slight S curve so that her body faces B., and, despite her turned head, he is clearly in her periphery, just as he has been in the text during the night’s event. Clearly, Hayman and Gravelot’s *Pamela* illustrations are not nearly as subtle as a narrative series of William Hogarth’s, such as *A Harlot’s Progress*. For *Pamela*, it appears as if they were meant to idealize the content, not further complicate it

with ambiguity. Naturally, this leaves little room for visual metaphors, symbols, or effects that might add additional, unintended meaning to the image. Here, however, Pamela looks offended enough with her contracted brows and hand gesture, but there is also the sense that Pamela's jealousy is figuratively present, and her resentment, justified as it is, is simply aimed in the wrong direction.

Three of Gravelot's designs in volume IV, Plates 24, 28, and 29, successfully promote the sequel's ideology of femininity, maternity, and domesticity, and, therefore, are best examined together. Instead of focusing on Pamela's social mobility, these illustrations squeeze as much sentiment out of the text as they possibly can and emphasize, above all, Pamela's maternal instinct. Given the fact that both the text and the paratexts spend all of volume III and the first third of volume IV concealing, as much as they can, Pamela's pregnancy, the engravings are especially surprising. Readers cannot "see" a pregnant Pamela, but she is shown repeatedly, Plate 25 included, as a mother.<sup>34</sup> In Plate 24, for example, the editor draws attention to her "maternal Tenderness for her *Billy*," and the "moving Particulars of her Father's thankful Joy, on his first seeing the Child" (I, xxix). In addition to this guide from the ToC, the text, too, drowns readers in a deluge of melodramatic sentiment. Everyone, from Mr. and Mrs. Andrews to Pamela and B., is suitably moved, and each contributes an emotional response that helps readers interpret the visual world – a tableau of maternal and domestic bliss – waiting for them in the illustration. This engraving follows the text carefully, and it is easy to see, in all three

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<sup>34</sup> This obviously speaks to the engravings overarching purpose of idealizing Pamela and B.'s characters rather than representing the narrative as is.



Vol. IV. p. 145



H. G. &amp; Co. delin.

24 Vol. IV. p. 145.: Gravelot Mr. and Mrs. Andrews at the cradle

of these examples, a stronger fusion of word with image. Polly Darnford and B. look on from a safe distance while Pamela and Billy's nameless nurse observe Mr. and Mrs. Andrews, kneeling on either side of the cradle, praying for a blessing upon their grandson. The scene is very idyllic, and it shows that Gravelot was literally capable of depicting the novel's sentiment when, presumably, he was allowed to – whenever narrative contention, it appears, was not an issue. The important thing, however, is that fallible readers see these plates, experience some emotional sensitivity, and have their approach to the novel subtly reshaped as the novel transitions from Pamela in “high life” to Pamela in the nursery.

Pamela's “maternal Tenderness” and domesticity are further constructed in Plate 28 when her “smiling, crowing” Billy (372) is given preference over her diligent study of Locke's *Thoughts*. The scene is simple: a radiant Pamela, who, it is shown, exudes the tenderness of motherhood, sets aside her pen to receive her baby, whose arms reach out for her. Here, her “foolish Fondness” (372) is clearly the dominant theme of the engraving, and the text successfully blends “the Subject [she is] upon” with her role as a mother (372). In a series of letters to B., Pamela dissects Locke's *Thoughts* in order to catalogue her own bourgeois approach to raising children. In this particular letter, she makes it clear that a child's punishment is the “Papa's Task” (372); indeed, she writes “Surely, surely, I can never beat your *Billy*” (372), and if Gravelot's image of idealized motherhood is any indication, she never will. In combination with the text, this plate shows that Pamela is a very hands-on parent, and, if she has her way, not even the child's punishment will be left to the care of a dubious paternal substitute. Finally, as if on B.'s behalf, the bust of a male figure at the center of the engraving looks on approvingly. The

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disembodied head of a patriarch endorses Pamela's behavior and emphasizes her role in the promotion of maternal excellence. In both the text and the illustrations, Pamela has already established the standards against which all daughters, servants, and wives are to be measured. Now, in the sequel, she also sets the standards of motherhood.

In Plate 29, the novel's last engraving, Richardson's vision of a "genteel and usual Married Life" is fully realized. Pamela, the *materfamilias*, is depicted as the epitome of traditional femininity, maternity, and domesticity. She is shown in the nursery at story time surrounded by her six children, two nurses, and two nursery maids. The conspicuous absence of B. marks this as the principal female preserve, and Pamela now has two rooms that she can call her own – the closet and the nursery. In the text, she continues to apply her characteristically middle-class hands-on approach to parenting, which includes "the first parts of Education" (Carroll 54). The engraving, like Plates 24 and 28, is strikingly faithful to the narrative. In fact, the heroine describes the scene in her letter to Polly Darnford, and Gravelot follows it as written:

Miss *Goodwin* imagine you see, on my Right-hand, sitting on a Velvet Stool [...] *Billy* on my Left [...] My *Davers*, and my sparkling-ey'd *Pamela*, with my *Charley* between them, on little silken Cushions at my feet [...] and my sweet-natur'd promising *Jemmy* on my Lap; the Nurses and the Cradle just behind us, and the Nursery Maids delightedly pursuing some useful Needle-work... (IV, 474-75)

Because the illustration does not reject the text, or vice versa, it is a paratextual postscript that helps frame how readers should "see" *Pamela*. In other words, both the image and the text are surprisingly light on ambiguity and, together, "show" and "tell" the fruits of virtue's reward. Marcia Pointon points out that a scene like this, "any group of beautiful women and children, richly attired and posed in a well-furnished interior," is a clear "sign

*Vol. IV p. 474 - 475*

29 Vol. IV. p. 474.: Gravelot Pamela in the nursery

of the status, property and power of succession of the father and householder” (160).<sup>35</sup> In other words, Pamela’s virtue is rewarded, in addition to her six exemplary children, with abstract “status, property and power” as well – everything that the engravings have, in one way or another, exhibited. The image also emphasizes the importance of the moment. Like Plate 24, readers experience the sentiment twice – verbally and visually – so they are, ideally, fully engaged. The engraving is successful because, unlike many of the others, it is wholly governed by Pamela’s letter rather than the often misleading perspective of the illustrator. As a result, the image is not in competition with the text. On the contrary, instead of an attempt to influence a specific, subjective reading of the narrative, this illustration gives presence to the event and the characters. Granted, Gravelot’s depiction of Pamela’s didactic “NURSERY TALES” (I, xxxvi) is not the first engraving to capture the spirit of a “genteel and usual Married Life.” It is, however, the last image in the octavo, and its placement allows the heroine’s edifying “Behaviour in married life” (Carroll 45), which comprises the entire sequel, to linger in the reader’s imagination.

Plates 24, 28, and 29 clearly show that Gravelot was capable of capturing the “*Spirit of the Passages*,” but in Plates 25, 26, and 27 the narrative is once more idealized visually, and the images direct one’s reading by contrasting with the text. Plates 25 and 26 in particular appear as if Richardson and Gravelot deliberately exploited the difference between the verbal and the visual in order to elicit a different response from the reader. In Plate 25, for example, Pamela’s jealous anxiety, supposedly strong enough to drive her mad, is minimized in an effort to evoke greater sympathy for her. The text represents her

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<sup>35</sup> *Hanging the Head*. New Haven: Yale UP, 1993. Print.

as defiant: “Go, you naughty Lady! thought I: — But I durst not say so. And go, naughty Man, too! thought I” (IV, 178). In the engravings, however, Pamela looks haggard and visibly stressed. She has an expression of agony and worry on her face. Indeed, instead of depicting her anger, annoyance, and disturbed mental state – “tremble, tremble, tremble, went my Feet” (176) – the illustration shows her reaching out in a supplicating gesture with both arms as if pleading with B. to have mercy on her. The Countess Dowager’s sister, the Viscountess, sits in the background at the center of the illustration and studies the heroine with concern, but she is not the only one in the scene who seems to know that Pamela is suffering. The cherub over the fireplace looks sympathetically away as if too ashamed to witness the spectacle unfolding before him. Little Billy sits on the Countess’s lap, and she gazes affectionately at B., who is staged to appear more like a proud father than an adulterous husband. As a matter of fact, with his hands pointing at the child, he beams with more pride in his son in the image than he does at this point in the text. This, in turn, suggests Pamela’s fear that B. has been unfaithful is delusional. As a result, the dramatic tension building up to the trial scene is significantly deflated. The Countess may show a considerable amount of attraction, staring at B. with a fond tenderness, but here he is showing off his son rather than playing the rake. This illustration, then, hides behaviors more apparent in the text in order to encourage sympathy for Pamela and her “Distress” (I, xxx) while simultaneously suggesting that B.’s infidelity is unfounded. Accordingly, it seems as if readers are once more expected to accept what the engraving offers at the expense of what Pamela writes.

Like Plate 25, Plate 26 is also at odds with the text in its attempt to impose upon readers a distorted or false image of Pamela and B. that clearly contrasts with the



25 Vol. IV. p. 178.: Gravelot The Countess Dowager holds Billy



narrative. Plate 26 is Gravelot's illustration of the trial scene, the most dramatically charged moment in the entire sequel, and the last of B.'s "matrimonial recriminations." In the text, Pamela is determined and rational, while B. is, at first, defiant and impatient. This intensifies the idea of a courtroom setting, though it is a topsy-turvy world where the guilty sit in judgment of the innocent. Pamela, standing at her bar, gives her deposition, and B., sitting in his armchair, is both her "Accuser, as well as [her] Judge" (202). Visually, however, Richardson and Gravelot chose, or rather created, a moment of "harmony and compatibility" well before the scene's "happy" ending. As a result, the engraving prematurely deflates the tension of the sequel's most important, and arguably only, crisis. Undoubtedly, Pamela and B. appear to have reconciled their differences at least three pages ahead of the scene's conclusion. Once again this suggests that, in many cases, the illustrations are privileged over the text. In examples like this, it really seems as if the paratexts are more important than the passages they describe, and the letters are relegated to a supplemental role. Even the editor makes light of the serious situation. In the ToC, he describes Pamela's letter from B.'s point of view. For instance, like B., the editor mentions her "whimsical Bar, and Apparatus for her Trial, as she calls it" (I, xxxi). He, as B. does, also draws attention to Pamela's mental fitness. B. is already "apprehensive for her Intellects" (xxxix), and her behavior increases his "Concern for her Head" (xxxix). Of course, the conflict is resolved, but the moment of crisis has not yet been reached before readers have the rug pulled out from under them by an idealized and highly sentimentalized image of marital conflict. Logistically, the stage is set according to Pamela's account: she leans on the high-backed chair she calls her bar while B. reaches out to her over the chairs' back. Nevertheless, formality and propriety

Vol. IV. p. 210.



H. Gravelot inv. sc.

26 Vol. IV. p. 210.: Gravelot Pamela on trial

are emphasized over Pamela's tearful plea for a separation and B.'s chiefly physical displays of affection.<sup>36</sup> When compared to the emotionally chaotic narrative, it is a sterilized portrait of "conjugal Purity and Decorum." Indeed, Pamela looks peaceful, passive, and innocent; B. gazes tenderly yet confusedly at her with his head tilted slightly to the left, and he gently touches her arm with his right hand. Both of their poses are truly disconnected from the narrative and heavily romanticized, but the contrast would not be so shocking if the illustration was positioned even a page later than it is, or, more appropriately, after B. "confesses his Error" (xxx).

Another illustration near the end of the octavo is framed by the ToC as "humorous," but, given Pamela's point of view in the text and Gravelot's visual interpretation, it functions as little more than another example of Pamela in her exalted condition. In Plate 27, the editor's "authority" is clearly undermined by Gravelot's fusion of word with image. In the engraving, Polly Barlow and Mr. Adams appear as two young lovers who have "found out a Language between [them], that is full as significant as plain *English Words*" (IV, 277), but the sentiment is far from comical. Certainly, Mr. Adams's romantic notions of love can be seen in his doe-eyed, upturned gaze, and Polly, when she serves him a cup of tea, pays him "as much Respect and Officiouness, as if she could not do too much for him" (277), but Pamela's disapproving look and "reserv'd Appearance" (277) is enough to negate all the humor. Her rigid posture and sour expression immediately sets a reproachful tone. In the text, she makes snide remarks, censures their behavior, offers her advice to Mr. Adams, and even interrupts him. She has, in other

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<sup>36</sup> In all four volumes, B. often touches, grabs, or embraces Pamela to show his affection. Near the end of this scene in particular, Pamela describes how he "came round to me at last, and took me in his Arms" (214).



27 Vol. IV. p. 277.: Gravelot Pamela, Mr. Adams, and Polly at tea

words, fully assumed the authority given to her by marriage: Mr. Adams asks Pamela's permission to marry her servant, not B.'s, and her "statelier" (277) air and regard for propriety strikes enough fear into the young clergyman that he stammers his way through the interview. It is therefore hard to imagine that either Richardson or Gravelot had the reader's amusement in mind while designing this illustration. It would appear to be the opposite, in fact. Like all illustrations featuring Pamela, this image is responsible, to a large extent, for framing how readers "see" her character. Thus, it works, as the others, to secure her status as the ideal rather than feature her as part of the comic relief. Granted, Plate 27 is not a moment of crisis, not for the heroine anyway, but how she is depicted is nonetheless essential. Above all, there is an evident and earnest concern that Pamela's socially elevated position be recognized in the engravings.

A ToC and accompanying illustrations can enhance the reading experience of almost any book, but the paratexts for the octavo offer conflicting or idealized interpretations of the letters from the outside and within. Such apparatuses are traditionally viewed as supplementary to the text; indeed, Richardson viewed them as such. In *Pamela*, however, they quickly become interlopers and threaten to dominate the text by offering a "clear[er] view" while distorting the "*Spirit of the Passages they were intended to represent.*" Most writers would see this as a distraction that ultimately dulls the vibrancy of their writing, a re-imagining that erroneously shifts a particular interpretation of the text, or, at the very least, an extraneous decoration. In the case of *Pamela*, it is, paradoxically, none of the above and all of the above at the same time. Instead of closing the gap, the paratexts often widen it. As a result, the narrative is overshadowed instead of reduplicated. Naturally, this puts meaning in flux, as if

Richardson actively resisted or denied himself the degree of despotic authority he wanted over his own novel. In place of the “emotive unities of the text,” readers are repeatedly given a watered down, idealized version of events extracted from the larger narrative and diluted for easy digestion. Thus, the ancillary matter, in many places, is not only disconnected from the text, but in competition with it. Although Richardson hoped to direct readers with authoritative paratexts, the novel’s three frequently shifting perspectives make it difficult to authenticate a single interpretation, let alone the one his correspondence attests he was aiming for. It is quite possible, then, that Richardson’s heavy-handed cure for *Pamela*’s fallible readers was more debilitating than the disease.

### Text

The third edition’s paratextual additions, while a significant testament of Richardson’s attempt to control readers’ interpretations, are not the only thing unique about the octavo. In addition to the novel’s physical appearance and extra-textual apparatuses, Richardson continued to revise and polish the text of his sequel. The revisions to volumes III and IV show that the octavo is a terminal text; that is to say, it is far enough removed from the first edition and contains the substantive variants that are also found in the second, but, unlike *Pamela*’s duodecimos in which the changes typically carry-over, the octavo contains approximately 138 variants that are not found in any other edition of the novel.<sup>37</sup> It can be argued that these emendations affect characterization, but at the same time they are not wholesale enough to suggest a radical re-vision of the sequel or *Pamela*’s characters. Nevertheless, it appears that Richardson

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<sup>37</sup> This number does not include the 40 typographical changes made to the novel’s italics, which I also discuss.

was not entirely comfortable with the continuation even after he made a number of comprehensive changes that are shared by the second and octavo editions.<sup>38</sup> This is further evidenced by the octavo's unique variants, which include minor corrections, grammatical niceties, elevated language, and a polished syntax – minute changes that continue to augment, to some degree, Pamela's "high life" ethos and, at the same time, reveal that Richardson was still responding to his critics and their personal attacks.<sup>39</sup> This chapter, then, examines the interpretive impact of the revisions exclusive to volumes III and IV of the octavo, speculates why Richardson made them, and how they continue to illustrate his ultimate goal of reconciling Pamela's social mobility by emending the language.

*Pamela's* stylistic changes are, as the evidence suggests, Richardson's principal means of distinguishing his heroine from a common servant, and thus are an attempt to facilitate Pamela's socially awkward and subversive transition from the humble cottage to the stately mansion. This, I have argued, is the primary motive behind Richardson's revisions to all four volumes of *Pamela*. In the octavo, the unique variants are very much a part of this rhetorical strategy, though on a smaller scale compared to the second edition. Nonetheless, these stylistic changes were certainly important to Richardson.

Indeed, one need only look through his correspondence to see how preoccupied he was,

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<sup>38</sup> This suggests that the first edition of *Pamela II* was the copy-text Richardson emended for the second edition, and, consequently, that the second edition was the copy-text for the octavo – the text it most closely resembles in form and content. This challenges Peter Sabor's argument that Richardson was working on the revised second edition while the octavo was still in the press and that this edition was not printed until after the octavo was complete. Even if Richardson did not use the second edition as his copy-text for the octavo, it seems unlikely that he would shelve all four volumes of an expensive text, which he was eager to publish, until he was done revising, printing, and publishing the second edition of *Pamela II*, which Sale argues was not called for or advertised until January 1743.

<sup>39</sup> In his dissertation, Peter Sabor examines several of Richardson's octavo revisions, but these changes can also be found in the second edition. My discussion of the octavo's variants includes only those that are unique to the "corrected" third edition of the sequel.

at different times, with revising all three of his novels, regardless of whether or not he followed the advice offered by his correspondents:

...I must request your free and candid Correction of any Passages in [*Clarissa*]...I beg, you will not tell me any thing you shall approve of: But only, what you think exceptionable; what you think would be better if otherwise said: What may be spar'd: What seems to be repeated too often: —These would be real Benefits to me because it is in my Power now to alter and amend. (Carroll 69)

This excerpt from a letter Richardson wrote to Sophia Westcomb dated October 16, 1746 is representative of those in which he practically begged friends and acquaintances for feedback – a practice that became routine in the wake of the public and private criticisms he received after publishing the second edition of *Pamela* in 1741 – and illustrates, in the process, that Richardson was habitually eager to correct, “alter and amend” his texts. In addition to such open solicitations in which he hoped to improve the style and content of his novels, Richardson was particularly disturbed by the idea that his readers would doubt the probability of his fiction, his “former Piece” – *Pamela* – in particular:

...[in *Clarissa*] I could wish that the *Air* of Genuineness had been kept up, tho' I want not the letters to be *thought* genuine; only so far kept up, I mean, as that they should not prefatically be owned *not* to be genuine: and this for fear of weakening their Influence where any of them are aimed to be exemplary; as well as to avoid hurting that kind of Historical Faith which Fiction itself is generally read with, tho' we know it to be Fiction. Then as to what you are pleased to hint, that I pursued in my former Piece [of *Pamela*] the excellent Plan fallen upon lately by the French Writers, I would only observe that all that know me, know, that I am not acquainted in the least either with the French Language or Writers... . (85)

In this letter dated April 19, 1748, Richardson wrote to William Warburton, who wrote the preface appended to volume IV of the first edition of *Clarissa*, and revealed more



than a concern with the didactic “Influence” of his novels. He was also rather protective of their “*Air*” of authenticity, and he was offended by Warburton’s implication that *Pamela* could in any way be compared with that of “French Writers.”<sup>40</sup> In other words, Richardson was, among other things, a bit of a perfectionist, and his “former Piece,” which he had revised six times by 1748, was, as he understood it, being criticized as “extraordinary” and “miraculous” (*Clarissa*, IV, ii). The fact that Richardson was quick to anger when he thought *Pamela* was being abused may explain, in large part, why he revised his first novel so extensively – readers were still finding fault.<sup>41</sup> Because of Pamela’s social class, her character fell short of the culture’s idea of a genteel standard, so, to make her worthy, Richardson attempted to mask or at least moderate the circumstances of her birth by elevating her language. Therefore, as it appears in 1748, seven years after he first revised *Pamela*, Richardson acknowledged, yet again, that his intention was to create a credible “History” that was neither “extraordinary” nor “miraculous” and, above all, not French.<sup>42</sup> Ultimately, as the revisions show, Richardson

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<sup>40</sup> It is possible that Richardson misunderstood Warburton’s comments in the preface and took as an insult what was meant as a compliment, namely that Richardson’s work was a tactful reflection of French precedent – a more “faithful and chaste copy of real *Life and Manners*” (*Clarissa*, IV, iv). At the same time, however, Warburton may have slyly suggested that *Pamela* was influenced by the eponymous and low-born heroine in Marivaux’s *Marianne*, which, predating *Pamela*, was published in 1731 and then translated into English in 1737. For Warburton’s preface, see volume IV of *Clarissa*. 1st ed. 7 vols. London: S. Richardson, 1748. Gale. Web. 11 Oct. 2011. The preface is also reproduced in Ioan Williams’s *Novel and Romance 1700-1800: A Documentary Record*. New York: Barnes and Noble, 1970. Print. Warburton is not the only contemporaneous reader of *Pamela* to see a connection with *Marianne*. In his verse epistle *On Nobility*, published in 1744, William Whitehead makes a connection between Richardson’s heroine and the “fair Marchioness, that *Gallia* pours / (Exotic Sorrows) to *Britannia*’s Shores” (McKillop *Printer and Novelist* 45-46).

<sup>41</sup> Of course, Richardson largely ignored *Pamela* for a number of years while writing *Clarissa* and *Grandison*, though two new editions of *Pamela* are printed with minor revisions in 1746 and 1754. During this time, however, he was still thinking of his first novel and planned as early as 1753 to give *Pamela* his “last correction” (Carroll 245) before his death. See Chapter Four.

<sup>42</sup> See in Carroll’s *Selected Letters* Richardson’s unsent replies to Stephen Duck and George Cheyne in which Richardson not only acknowledged his familiarity with the “French Marvellous” (53) but also his disgust with “that sort of Management” (53). Richardson’s “Postscript” in volume VII of *Clarissa* also

appears to have believed that a greater degree of verisimilitude – confirmation of Pamela’s “*born Dignity*” and “*born Discretion*” through language instead of birth – would improve *Pamela*’s “*Air of Genuineness*,” restore readers’ “*Historical Faith*” in his fiction, and, in turn, better edify them.

Richardson’s pursuit of “*Genuineness*” for *Pamela* continues in volume III of the octavo, where there are 61 changes to the language overall. The majority of the variants are global, representative of previous revisions, and not exclusive to any particular character; however, many of them also lack Richardson’s characteristic and habitual thoroughness. For instance, nearly fifty percent of the emendations are either “a” to “an” or “an” to “a.” In both cases, Richardson revised, with more irregularity than ever before, his characters’ use of the article “an” before words beginning with “h.” This is not to say that these revisions are errors, but that they are surprisingly erratic compared to other editions. Pamela’s use, for example, fluctuates from “what a Happiness” to “what an Happiness” (III, 5) and “such a high Degree” to “such an high Degree” (17), then back again from “an hundred” to “a hundred” (462) and “an Hint” to “a Hint” (466). Pamela’s father, Mr. Andrews, and Lady Davers’s use of the article is more consistent, namely “a Hundred Pounds” to “an Hundred Pounds” (32) for the former, and “a hundred times” to “an hundred times” (36) for the latter. For other characters, however, this trend is reversed. Sir Jacob Swynford’s use of the article is altered when “an Hundred” becomes “a Hundred” (378, 379) and B.’s use is emended from “an high Opinion” to “a high Opinion” (239) and “an Hundred Souls” to “a Hundred Souls” (388). Given Richardson’s past and very close attention to minutiae, and the nuances of his characterizations, this

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reveals he was familiar with French writers, Marivaux in particular, and that he was eager to compare the differences between what romances do, or do not do, and the superiority of his own work (366).

type of change is usually consistent. Typically, as I have argued, its regular use would suggest that the language of *Pamela*'s characters is more sophisticated because such usage corresponds with previous changes that add consistency to the novel and its characters, Pamela in particular. But, in the octavo at least, they could be viewed as indifferent. Then again, they could just as well be evidence that the octavo was indeed "tedious at the Press" (Carroll 52) and that Richardson was, in fact, too busy overseeing its printing to notice the inconsistency.

Despite this irregularity, Richardson was more thorough when revising "an" to "a" in the octavo than "a" to "an," particularly when used before the word "one." This type of change may have no more than a passing interest, but nonetheless illustrates what Richardson thought at the time was "better if otherwise said." In this case, the article is consistently applied and used by Pamela (III, 428, 451, 497), Lady Davers (126), the Countess of C. (275, 397), Lady Towers (276), and Jackey (366). These revisions may or may not have fluctuated based on Richardson's knowledge and familiarity with "high life." He was, after all, writing from a middle-class perspective, and many of his word substitutions, "an one" to "a one" for instance, could be indicative of a growing knowledge of polite society and how those in an exalted condition wrote to one another.<sup>43</sup> In any event, they are characteristically Richardson's, being of a kind with earlier revisions, and continue to illustrate the different ways he tinkered with *Pamela*'s language, even if such tinkering appears unnecessary to the modern reader.

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<sup>43</sup> Some of Richardson's correspondents consistently used articles as we do today, though his use is irregular. See Barbauld's *Correspondence* with the caveat that the letters were emended by her under pressure from the bookseller Richard Philips and published by five different printers with, perhaps, unique house styles. See William McCarthy's "What Did Anna Barbauld Do to Samuel Richardson's Correspondence? A Study of Her Editing." *Studies in Bibliography* 54 (2001): 191-223. *JSTOR*. Web. 20 Dec. 2011.

The expansion of eight contractions is another global change to volume III that creates a formalized speech pattern more consistent in *Pamela II* than the octavo edition of *Pamela I*. The fact that the sequel's focus is on Pamela's exalted condition and her association with "Persons of *Figure and Quality*" may account for the regularity with which these changes are made. Indeed, the important thematic roles that servants such as Mrs. Jervis and Mrs. Jewkes play in *Pamela I* are significantly reduced in the continuation. Furthermore, Pamela neither speaks like a servant nor speaks to her servants, with the exception of Polly Barlow, an obligatory letter to Mrs. Jewkes, and a short conversation with Mrs. Jervis. If she does mention the lesser, household servants in her correspondence, it is only in passing when she eccentrically catalogues who was present or absent at a particular meeting or event.<sup>44</sup> Therefore, Pamela's "'em," an idiom perhaps more characteristic of the servant class in the novel, is expanded to "them" (425) in order to further foreground her intellect and obscure her low birth.<sup>45</sup> Her colloquial use of "'tis" is also emended to "it is" (449). As well, Mr. Andrews, B., and Lady Davers each have an "'em" that becomes "them" (10; 380; 67). The former is likely a shorthand attempt to gentrify Pamela's father now that he has been made a gentleman of sorts, and the latter two, in all probability, were made to maintain the genteel image of B. and his sister. Additional expansions support the slight elevation of Pamela's father when, in two instances, "I'm" is "I am" (12, 33). Finally, although his frequent vulgarity suits him for an idiomatic use of language, Sir Simon's "'twas" becomes "it was" (154). These

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<sup>44</sup> In the lifetime edition of *Pamela II*, many of the heroine's references to servants are revised or omitted to the point that they are all but written out. After all, Pamela cannot be too intimate or familiar with them once she becomes their mistress.

<sup>45</sup> It is important to note that not every contraction is expanded in the octavo, but secondary characters, such as Sir Jacob and Sir Simon, use them more often than Pamela. How frequently she uses them depends on who she is writing to and the tone of her letter.

variants continue to suggest that Richardson was elevating his characters through language, or at least making them more representative of their class. Certainly, contractions are used in the speech of all classes, and Pamela frequently writes them when they are part of the dialogue, but they are expanded when used in letters addressed to “Persons of *Figure* and *Quality*” in order, perhaps, to better reflect *Pamela*’s “Genuineness” and cater to the class conscious sensibilities of those Richardson appeared to be revising for.

The rest of the substantive variants in volume III are local, and, while polishing the language appears to be the primary focus, the results are of surprisingly dubious improvement. What should come as no surprise, however, is that the majority of these revisions are to Pamela’s style, though slight adjustments are also made to Lady Davers, Polly Darnford, and Sir Simon. All the same, there is no significant change in characterization with these alterations, though each character is perhaps more consistently genteel as a result. Typical grammatical changes to Pamela’s writing include, for example, “Acknowledgement on” to the more standard “Acknowledgements, of” (73); “to me” is substituted with “for me” (75), though presumably without effect; a possible error is introduced when “he ventured” becomes the unusual “he in ventured” (89); “keep” is now “kept” (106); and “from a Lady” is “to a Lady” (485). Pamela’s style is likewise altered when “bespeak the attention of you both” is “bespeak both your attention” (80);<sup>46</sup> “and seemed going” is a more accurate “and again was going” (448);

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<sup>46</sup> This variant is one of several that were revised in both the octavo and second editions. The first edition has “bespeak both your Ladyships Attention” (66) and was likely emended the first time to correct a redundant form of “Lady.” Beyond polishing the text, the reason for the second revision is not so evident.

“Speech used, towards one” is pared down to “Speech, towards one” (91);<sup>47</sup> a recognizable, routine change is marked by “dear Gentleman” to “Gentleman” (113); “goes out to any Distance” is cut to “goes out” (496); “and then think” is shortened to “and think” (515); and a superfluous turn ancillary is omitted when “Gloom, as he said, over” becomes “Gloom over” (287). Finally, Richardson tinkered with word order when the phrase “descended, nevertheless, presumes” becomes “descended, presumes, nevertheless” (186) and “permitted to him, no doubt, previous to” is “permitted to him, previous, no doubt, to” (440). As with previous revisions, it is reasonable to assume that Richardson was revising in an attempt to improve what he had already written. Although these variants pale in comparison to the number of emendations this text shares with the second edition, they nonetheless continue to draw attention to Pamela and illustrate, regardless of how indifferent they appear, what Richardson believed was “better if otherwise said.”

In addition to Richardson’s deliberate and constant attention to Pamela’s style, he also made minor adjustments to secondary characters, and, in the process, the variants reveal he had a clear interest in refining their language and tightening their sentence structure as well. Indeed, revisions made to both of Pamela’s chief correspondents, Lady Davers and Polly Darnford, and Polly’s father, the rakish Sir Simon, provide further examples that they have developed stylistically, too. For instance, Lady Davers’s redundant “ever” (64-65) is removed, and Richardson, often unsure how to correctly use the subject and object form, swapped “me” with “I” (121) probably thinking that the latter sounded more elevated. A presumable lapse on Richardson’s part has Pamela

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<sup>47</sup> This is the second variant of Pamela’s that was revised twice, once in the second edition and again in the octavo. The first edition has “Speech, to one” (75), which is more formal in subsequent editions.

misquoting a passage in a letter from her sister-in-law when the conditional “She would” is mistakenly changed to the hypothetical “She should” (103). The verb is not reconciled with its earlier use (57), so it is impossible to tell if we are to read this as an error, a mistake on Pamela’s part, or if Pamela is attempting to correct Lady Davers’s English. It is most likely the former since Pamela, though not above pedantry, would not risk insulting her, and Lady Davers never takes notice of the silent correction.

Equally remarkable, or perhaps more so, are three adjustments to Polly’s language. Two variants in particular received an unusual amount of Richardson’s attention because revised twice. While they appear to be no more than an attempt to polish, Richardson obviously obsessed over them. In the second edition, the clause “will contribute to make her keep her good Purposes” (2nd, 76) is the more urbane “will be efficacious to her keeping her good Purposes” (8o, 96) in the octavo, but it was originally the clumsy “will be efficacious to her to make her keep her good Purposes” (1st, 79) in the first edition of *Pamela II*. A single-word also seems to have plagued Richardson. He initially changed “confirm” (1st, 126) to “invigorate” (2nd, 121), but he settled on “stimulate” (8o, 153) for the octavo, with each word, apparently, more suitable than the one before. Polly’s final adjustment was most likely made for the sake of propriety. In both the first and second editions, she casually refers to her future brother-in-law as “*Murray*” (1st, 348; 2nd, 330), omitting his title and insulting him by devaluing his birth and rank. The correction, “Mr. *Murray*” (8o, 419), is found only in the octavo.<sup>48</sup> This suggests, depending on which edition one reads, that Polly has a greater degree of contempt for him. Apart from her parents and Pamela, Polly always refers to others with

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<sup>48</sup> This includes the lifetime edition of 1762, which is based on the second edition.

genteel formality; indeed, it is always “Mr. B.,” “Lady Davers,” and even the foppish Jackey is duly referred to as “Mr. H.” Perhaps, in this instance, Richardson wanted to subtly emphasize Polly’s resentment of a man who could so easily court one sister as well as the other and so punctuated it with disrespectful familiarity.

In the process of improving the style, two of the three changes to Sir Simon’s language were also revised twice. The second edition is altered from “for our Skins are only” to “and our Skins only are” (2nd, 124; 8o, 156) in the octavo, but both are an improvement over the first edition’s vague “and ours only are” (1st, 129). Similarly, Richardson appears to have struggled with the word order of a specific clause, though it is, on the surface, unclear why it would command so much of his attention. The second edition is revised from “bids me, or which is worse, tells my own Daughter to bid me” to “bids me, or tells my own Daughter, which is worse, to bid me” (2nd, 124; 8o, 156). Both of these clauses are different from that found in first edition, though every word is the same: “bids me, or tells my own Daughter to bid me, which is worse” (1st, 129). The former two are improvements over the first edition, but it is impossible to determine why Richardson was so apprehensive of a clause that has so little impact on one’s reading of the novel. Moreover, Richardson’s shortening of Sir Simon’s culinary metaphor regarding the “polite *Double Entendre*” (8o, 158) is just as incomprehensible, though it is revised only once. Instead of describing words with double meanings as “the Salt, the Sauce,” they are given less flavor when simply illustrated as “the Sauce” (158). The energetic reworking and minute attention to detail of even secondary characters is characteristic of Richardson, but the reworking of passages that are seemingly indifferent is not his usual method. In fact, they do little to aid the cause of virtue and not all of them



increase the novel's "*Air of Genuineness.*" However, the changes to Lady Davers, Polly, and Sir Simon do show Richardson's struggle, through trial and error, to tighten the structure of his novel at the sentence level – a fastidious polishing of what are, ostensibly, some of the least impactful minutiae of volume III.

Richardson continued to guide the reader's interpretation in the octavo edition of his sequel with additional italics that affect characterization. Most of the variants in this edition, as in all others, are to Pamela's typography, and they often contain supplementary meanings beyond the words themselves that tend to subtly flesh out her character. Richardson italicizes to visually illustrate quotes, to enhance rhetorical or structural effect, and to emphasize in order to set off a particular piece of the text from the rest of the content. 17 changes in all either add or remove Pamela's italics. Three instances, "*chuse*" (74), "*blessed Lady*" (305), and "*else*" (450), are examples of Pamela quoting others, but they also add nuanced expression to their respective passages. When she quotes B. "frequently upbraiding" (74) her because she will not "*chuse*" their entertainments the suggestion is that he has an interest beyond her "constant Compliance with every thing he proposed" (74) and, in turn, visually underscores for readers that she has more agency than a slavish, wifely obedience. The change to "*blessed Lady*" appears to emphatically redirect the heroine's habit of self-praise to the cook-maid, excusing, to a greater degree, her self-reporting flattery in a way that her qualifying statement, "as it seems she calls me at every Word" (305), could not. The last quote, "*else*," is a correction of Pamela's rhetorical back-and-forth with Jackey. In the first and second editions, this word, though part of Jackey's original clause, was not italicized. With the complete quote set apart in the octavo, it is more obvious that Pamela is deftly using Jackey's own words

against him, thus further highlighting, through the confrontation, her intelligence, strength of character, and uncompromising morality. Naturally, Pamela's chief character traits are still comprehensible to a careful reader who is not directed by the typography, but the overall effect is lacking without it.

The rhetorical and structural effect of *Pamela's* changing typography is evidenced by seven variants that have little impact on the overall meaning of the novel; nonetheless, they appear to have been introduced with the intent to accentuate the subtle meanings of Pamela's written and spoken words. Three appear to have been made for the purpose of re-formatting the octavo, namely removing the italics from "Madam" (63), "my dearest Lady" (118), and "dearest Miss" (136) because they were moved from the closing salutation to the body of Pamela's letters. Two of the other four typographical changes are part of the poem on poverty that Pamela transcribes. These variants suggest that emphasis was made for parallelism. For example, "*Backward*" and "*Bold*" (431), not stressed in the second edition, now complement the previous line's "*Easy*" and "*Cold*" (431). These italics help to stress the poem's didactic aim, or, at the very least, this particular stanza's goal of idealizing the lower-class and reconciling them to their "rural Sphere" (431).<sup>49</sup> The last two typographical variants for rhetorical effect include the removal of italics from one example, "mentioning" (439), and the addition of another, "*he*" (450). In the former, Pamela lectures Polly on the duplicity of men and puts undue stress on their never "mentioning" marriage to the extent that it disrupts the rhetorical flow of her nuanced and edifying speech. In this case, the emphasis was likely removed

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<sup>49</sup> These lines do not appear in the first edition because the poem was significantly revised by Hill. It is unknown whether it was Hill or Richardson who decided how the poem should be visually represented. See Chapter Five.

because it did not “help to convey the impression of a literal transcription of reality” as Richardson’s italics typically do (Watt 197).<sup>50</sup> In the case of the latter, Pamela is speaking generally of “contemptible” men (III, 450), but, in case it was not clear enough initially, the additional emphasis aims her universal condemnation directly at Jackey, and she points to his cavalier attitude toward seduction and abandonment as the libertine standard. While the changes made to re-format the visual presentation of Pamela’s letters do not directly enhance the meaning or the significance of their respective passages, others arguably do by adding a tone characteristic of conversation that conveys additional meaning and implication.

Pamela’s characterization is further supplemented with a subtle though significant use of typography for general emphasis that, in many cases, highlights her pretentious moralizing. Six italic variants are added or removed from a phrase or clause in order to draw attention toward or away from a particular passage.<sup>51</sup> Sometimes, however, more is not necessarily better. For example, “*was*” (29) is accented to stress Pamela’s pride in her native poverty. Ostensibly, it is the fact that she was born “poor and lowly” (29), she vehemently reminds her parents, that set her upon “the right way of Thinking” (29), but this is also another opportunity for Pamela to pat herself on the back while she hands out moral platitudes. Her boasting is compounded when, in order to call more attention to the fact that she forgives Mrs. Jewkes, Pamela emphatically insists she is “*proud*” (83) that she was able to show mercy to the “poor, low, creeping, abject” servant (83). In the same paragraph, the use of italics for emphasis is reversed in order to make Pamela appear less

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<sup>50</sup> Watt, Ian. *Rise of the Novel: Studies in Defoe, Richardson, and Fielding*. 1957. 2nd ed. Afterword W.B. Carnochan. Los Angeles: UCP, 2001. Print.

<sup>51</sup> There are seven variants if a correction made because of faulty parallelism, “*when every*” to “*when every*” (42), is counted. This particular revision is discussed in Chapter Five.

spiteful and her forgiveness more believable. In other words, she pities the woman more than she hates her: “so far was I from being guilty of intentional Meanness, in forgiving” (83). By minimizing “intentional,” Pamela draws less attention to the fact that she could, if she chose, avenge herself upon the “*Self-mortify’d*” (83) Mrs. Jewkes. In another example, the removed italic softens Pamela’s reprimand of Polly Barlow and distances the heroine from an embarrassing similarity she shares with her servant. After Pamela catches her waiting maid in *flagrante delicto*, she scolds her thoroughly, but Polly’s short-lived dalliance with Jackey is not so different from Pamela’s struggle, while still a servant, with B.<sup>52</sup> Perhaps that is why Richardson removed the emphasis from “this” (439), as in “do you think this [prostitution] is the Way” to “emulate my good Fortune” (439). The implication that Polly is going about it all wrong, which is exacerbated by the accented typography, is reminiscent of *Shamela*, and the implication may recall in the minds of critical readers how mercenary Pamela’s motives appear in volumes I and II. In spite of the variant, the association with *Shamela* is still there, but, without the emphasis, the impression of the sentence is changed. Pamela’s intonation is not so condemnatory or reproachful as if she were raising her voice in anger, and the suggestion that her “Way” – holding out for marriage to a gentleman in order to achieve “good fortune” – is the correct path for all servants to transcend their class is significantly minimized. Furthermore, in what appears to be a direct response to the “Reverend Mistakers,” Pamela underscores that she “*did* take the Liberty to say” (337-38), during the dispensation scene, that “the Fault was in human Nature” (338) and not the clergy. In this

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<sup>52</sup> See Terry Castle’s *Masquerade and Civilization: The Carnavalesque in Eighteenth-Century English Culture and Fiction* for a discussion of the parallels between Pamela and Polly’s attempted seductions.

instance, the added emphasis seems to be aimed at the novel's critics more than any objections hinted at during the narrative's polite discussion. And, finally, in a reversal of his usual practice, Richardson highlighted an affectionate display between Pamela and B. during a particularly tender moment. Following a visit to Miss Goodwin at the dairy house, Pamela states how she puts her arms "round *his* Arm" (513). By emphasizing her sensitivity and compassion regarding B.'s guilty conscience over his rakish past, B.'s exaggerated emotional response and Pamela's "inexpressible Goodness" (513) are more believable. Richardson's embellishment of Pamela's character with italics is only one material feature unique to the octavo, but they are important variants that subtly alter characterization while they anticipate, forestall, and directly respond to critical objections made both inside and outside of the narrative. Italics, then, like the engravings and the table of contents, help guide and even direct one's reading of the novel as well as enhance its characters.<sup>53</sup>

There are 78 changes unique to volume IV of the octavo, and they follow Richardson's tendency to elevate and formalize the language. As in volume III, a number of grammatical niceties are corrected, including tense issues and expanded contractions, but single-words are also refined or become a more precise equivalent, and awkward, idiomatic, or otherwise vague or incomplete passages are polished and fleshed out. Although these are minor refinements, Richardson likely believed they were better representation of "high life" conversation. He was, after all, attempting to mimic a style

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<sup>53</sup> Certainly, Pamela is not the only one whose characterization is supplemented by italics, though it is her letters that Richardson chiefly revised in each edition. Lady Davers, Jackey, Mrs. Jervis, the Countess of C., and Polly Darnford all have at least one change, but only the Countess of C.'s variants have an effect on characterization, namely in minimizing her criticism of Sir Jacob (370) and emphatically complimenting Pamela (385). Five others consist primarily of examples where the use of italics for emphasis is reversed because, presumably, unnecessary or erroneous due to faulty parallelism.

that he was fundamentally unfamiliar with. Indeed, Lady Bradshaigh's annotations to her copy of *Clarissa* indicate that even as late as 1748 Richardson's best guess was not always correct.<sup>54</sup> Nevertheless, they provide evidence of his careful, obsessive concern that his characters appear to be "Persons of *Figure* and *Quality*," Pamela in particular, in order to maintain the reader's "Historical Faith" and the novel's "*Air* of Genuineness."

As many as 55 of the 78 variants in volume IV are adjustments to Pamela's grammar and, ultimately, add greater consistency to her exalted character. Approximately 16 of the 55 changes are small-scale revisions that fix, formalize, or otherwise standardize Pamela's language as a result. These include moving a preposition from the end of a clause to its beginning when "(which I had before a Notion of...)" becomes "of which I had before a Notion..." (IV, 5); the revision of double possessives such as "Mr. *Arthur's*" to "Mr. *Arthur*" (6) and "Lord's" to "Lord" (88); verb tense adjustments including "bid" to "bad" (187, 190) and "was" to "were" (329); a single correction of a "that" to "which" (159); a typical adjustment of "an" to "a" preceding the word "one" (66, 332, 363), and "an" to "a" before "h" is adjusted with greater regularity than in volume III, namely to "a high" (302, 488) and "a harsh" (375). Three contractions are also expanded and introduce additional formality into Pamela's writing: "you'll" to "you will" (2, 91) and "'tis" to "it is" (11). Here, it seems, Richardson was correcting with the eye of an editor. At the same time, it appears that he was enhancing *Pamela's* verisimilitude and working to convince his earliest and most tenacious critics that a steadfast virtue, when accompanied by a correct and formal style, is worthy and more representative of an exalted condition.

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<sup>54</sup> Barchas and Fulton point out in *Annotations* that Richardson often responded to Lady Bradshaigh's "correction" of a character's "coarse expressions" (28) with surprise: "'Do you think so, Madam?'" (28).

In addition to improving Pamela's grammar, Richardson also made 20 single-word changes that formalize, elevate, and correct her style down to the minutest detail – quality control at a higher level not seen in volume III of the octavo. For example, “Oh” is the more formal and poetic “O” (7) rather than an expression of emotion; “mistrust” is the more exact “distrust” (23) because based on Pamela's experience rather than her general sense of unease; “but” is a stronger “yet” (113); “Rivaless” is the more conventional “Rival” (189, 192); “charming” is “lovely” (192) and focuses more on the Countess Dowager's physical beauty than her abstract allure; “learnt” is the formal “taught” (309); “is” becomes the corrected subjunctive “be” (376); “court” is the more appropriate “covet” (381) because Pamela is discussing a child's love of “Playthings” (381); “or” becomes “and” (470) in order to suggest that there is a closer connection between “Birth *and* Quality” (470, italics mine), as if it is impossible for them to be mutually exclusive; “Reason” is swapped with “Prudence” (486) during one of Pamela's nursery tales because the character, Profusiana, is more cautious than rational; “Fortune” is substituted with “Estate” (486) because Profusiana is a Lady. At the same time that Richardson appears to be aiming for greater precision and accuracy, he also made a number of corrections, including an assumed editorial license with Locke's *Thoughts*. For instance, Locke's “infect” is revised to “affect” (335) and “Mind” is “Minds” (386) to match its plural counterpart “Scholars”; Pamela's “Child” is “Children” (361) for the sake of parallel structure; “and my” is “and of” (404) to correspond with the preceding preposition; “these best” is corrected to “the best” (406); “for me” is a presumably indifferent “of me” (423); “*Lady's*” is “*Ladies*” (446) because “Men” is the antecedent; and “Because we” is “But we” (449) since the sentence offers a contradiction.

These and the other formal adjustments and corrections made consistently across editions are evidence, it could be argued, of Richardson's unease with his first novel and his relentless pursuit of perfection. Pamela's greatest and indeed her only shortcoming – her birth – can never be entirely overcome, but, as Pamela's character evolves, there is a strong tendency to make amends for her status by illustrating her intellect and an expectation that her refinement, if not her virtue, will help recommend her to the “polite” world.

The remaining 23 changes to Pamela's style continue the general tendency to elevate, improve, or otherwise attempt to stylistically reconcile readers to her new class status. Surprisingly, as contemporary criticism reveals, some readers were more offended by *Pamela's* low style than its subversive erosion of the class system. In 1741, for instance, *Pamela's Conduct in High Life* was promoted as “regularly digested by a Gentleman more conversant in High Life than the vain Author of *Pamela, or Virtue Rewarded*.” Similarly, the anonymous author of *The Life of Pamela* suggested that Richardson was a faulty “Mechanick” whose “shocking Abuse of Lord Davers, who is known to be Gentleman of very great Parts” showed that Richardson, “knowing nothing of the Behaviour and Conversation of the Nobility, imagine[s that] every LORD is a FOOL” (249). The author of *The Life* was critical of Pamela, too, in another footnote to the text, namely that she is “made to talk...with as much Boldness as if she had follow'd the Camp with a Gin-Cag...Such monstrous Inconsistencies must be shocking to a judicious Reader, and destroy the Character...” (340). Furthermore, a series of particularly vitriolic attacks were made by Lady Mary Wortley Montagu, who, though it occurs some years later, lamented in 1752 the “very extraordinary (and I think undeserved) success of



Pamela” (Halsband, II, 470).<sup>55</sup> In 1755, she wrote to her daughter and complained of the “low style and absurd incidents” in *Pamela* and *Clarissa*: “two Books that will do more general mischief than the works of Lord Rochester” (III, 9).<sup>56</sup> Her most pointed attack, however, like those of “the High-Life Men” and the anonymous *Life of Pamela*, was aimed at Richardson himself:

I believe this Author was never admitted into higher Company, and should Confine his Pen to the Amours of Housemaids, and the conversation at the Steward’s Table, where I imagine he has sometimes intruded, tho oftner in the Servants’ Hall. (III, 96)

Accordingly, as Michael McKeon puts it, Richardson was, by a consensus of his critics, guilty of “status inconsistency” and “linguistic incompetence” (412).<sup>57</sup> The personal attacks and critical remarks could very well account for even the smallest revisions made to *Pamela* between 1741 and Richardson’s death in 1761, and, at the same time, illustrate, in a tangible way, Richardson’s self-conscious preoccupation with increasing the “*Air of Genuineness*” in his novels.<sup>58</sup> It is probable Richardson had these accusations

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<sup>55</sup> *The Complete Letters of Lady Mary Wortley Montagu*. Ed. Robert Halsband. Oxford: Oxford UP, 1967. Print. According to a letter from Lord Hervey, dated July 16, 1741, Lady Mary read *Pamela* shortly after it was published, though which edition (the fourth was available on May 5, 1741) Hervey sent her has not been determined (II, 244-45). The fact that she repeatedly refers to *Pamela* in her correspondence years after first reading it is an indication that it struck a nerve. There are no surviving comments that indicate she read the sequel. She also continued to refer to *Clarissa* years later, suggesting that she may have read it more than once. Richardson’s third novel, *Sir Charles Grandison*, as her letters indicate, seemed to be her least favorite, and Charlotte Grandison the character she disliked the most (III, 96).

<sup>56</sup> Lady Mary’s opinion of Richardson may, in part, be accounted for by the fact that she was Henry Fielding’s second cousin, and, as her letters indicate, she was more partial to his style of writing. Although she ruthlessly criticized Richardson, she wrote to her daughter that he had “no Idea of the manners of high Life” (II, 97), she was also clearly moved by his novels. Despite their “low” style, she declared in 1755 that “I heartily despise him, and eagerly read him, nay, sob over his works in a most scandalous manner” (III, 90).

<sup>57</sup> *The Origins of the English Novel, 1600-1740*. Johns Hopkins UP: Baltimore, 1987. Print.

<sup>58</sup> Because he responded in kind, it can be assumed that Richardson was aware of the advertisement published by “the High-Life Men,” but there is nothing in his correspondence to indicate that he read *The Life of Pamela* or that he was aware of Lady Mary’s disparaging remarks on *Pamela*. Somehow, however, he did have a familiarity with Lady Mary’s correspondence and used an epigram from one of her letters with remarkable accuracy in Letter 10 of volume I of *Sir Charles Grandison*: “To say Truth, I have never

of “inconsistency” and “incompetence” in mind as he revised *Pamela* over the years. In the octavo in particular, a few of Pamela’s more informal expressions are, to a degree, formalized. For example, in her dissertation of “The Distress’d Mother” Pyrrhus does not go to the temple “all Joy and Transport” but “with Joy and Transport” (IV, 83); “breaks out into Notice” is the less colloquial “breaks into Notice” (347); and Billy’s “Studies...in which he is most likely to excel” is elevated to “his Genius...in which it is most likely to excel” (349). Though insignificant in number, these variants carry on Richardson’s apparent artistic aim of solidifying Pamela’s new condition with a literary style.<sup>59</sup> The evidence here suggests that Richardson was determined to show Pamela’s capacity to explicate literature and Locke’s *Thoughts* with a studious air.

Improvements to Pamela’s style make up the remainder of the variants, and the majority consists of Richardson’s usual polishing – an effort to reinforce the sequel’s promise of verisimilitude as prominently displayed on the title page: “FAMILIAR LETTERS” between “Persons of *Figure* and *Quality*.” Minor refinements include the correction “where a Mother is unhealthy” to its plural “where Mothers are unhealthy” (12) in order to correspond with the pronoun “they” used in the same sentence; “even should that one be ungrateful” is revised for parallel structure to “even should that one be thought ungrateful” (74);<sup>60</sup> the nonessential clause in “Mr. *B.* says, sometimes,” is made

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had any great Esteem for the generality of the fair Sex, and my only Consolation for being of that Gender has been the assurance it gave me of never being marry’d to any one amongst them” (II, 33). Richardson was also told by Lady Bradshaigh how incorrect his assumptions were when she pointed out the flaws in his style. Therefore, if this was the prevailing criticism years after *Pamela* was published, it is probable Richardson was conscious of public opinion and revised accordingly.

<sup>59</sup> It is important to remember that this chapter’s focus is on the revisions exclusive to the octavo and that there are literally hundreds of similar examples that are shared between this text and the second edition to support such an argument.

<sup>60</sup> This particular variant, like a few others in volume III, was revised twice. The first edition of *Pamela II* has “even should that be ungrateful” (88).

dependent with “Mr. *B.* sometimes says” (100) and, while ostensibly indifferent, the variant does make the sentence clearer. Speaking of her servant, Polly Barlow, Pamela’s declaration “that if an honest Husband should offer” is sharpened to “if she had the Offer of an honest Husband” (125);<sup>61</sup> “thought I” is fleshed out to “thought I to myself” (245) as is “on your Generosity to me” when adjusted to “on what now appears to be your Generosity to me” (247); “that” is the grammatically complete “that is” (256); a redundant “I” is removed when “but I could not” becomes “but could not” (259); Richardson assumes editorial license again and Locke’s “50 or 100” is written out to “Fifty or a Hundred” (342); Pamela no longer visits the nursery “three Hours every Day” but rather “three Hours in a Day” (379); “who a better” is expanded to “who makes a better” (466); and the repetitious “having already sent” is improved to “having sent” (471). No doubt what Pamela said and how she said it were important to Richardson as well as censorious readers who seemed to expect greater verisimilitude. The heroine’s style, therefore, is not just a mark of her intelligence but a shorthand way of illustrating her new, social respectability. As a result, even minor inconsistencies that could indirectly associate her with her former backwardness, or associate Richardson with a “clumsy and often inaccurate way of writing” (Watt 29), are slowly refined over time.

In addition to the usual polishing, some improvements affect characterization in subtle ways that are, of course, more noticeable in the second edition’s variants; nevertheless, the octavo’s revisions give Pamela more authority, show her disordered mind and vulnerability building up to the trial scene, and delicately scale back an instance of her characteristic over-sermonizing. For instance, Pamela’s hedging in another part of

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<sup>61</sup> This is another variant that was revised twice and, it would seem, an improvement over the first edition’s more relaxed and redundant “that if a good honest Husband should offer” (133).

her critique of “The Distress’d Mother” is adjusted from “inseparable, I think” to “inseparable” (IV, 80), and thereby grants her more authority and conviction because her position is not qualified. One variant likely intended to evoke sympathy for Pamela is expanded from “and his happier Countess” to “altho’ at the same time I may see his happier Countess” (168). Here, the addition emphasizes Pamela’s anxiety that B. will separate her from Billy and the Countess Dowager will raise him as her own. It also makes Pamela more pitiable since she will have to disguise herself, as in a romance, to see her baby, but she is willing to experience the emotional pain of seeing her usurper in order to do so. Pamela’s goal “to instil Virtue” into the minds of her children is a more assertive and industrious undertaking when revised to “that I may endeavour to instil Virtue” (193); “Mind, perhaps” is a more definite “Mind” (304) because Pamela is certain that pride, in the poor, shows a “natural Bravery of Mind, that...the Frowns of Fortune cannot depress” (304). Instead of a casual “tempted or compell’d,” Pamela’s children will surely not be “tempted, much less compell’d” (335) to “study” an “*indispensable*” subject (335). “That even I would sooner” is the reordered and emphatic “That I would even *sooner*” (363); “when first she saw” is a less poetic and unaffected “when she first saw” (404); and the exaggerated and preachy “has given more Encouragement to the profligate, and more Discouragement to the sober” is a more modest “has given Encouragement to the profligate, and Discouragement to the sober” (466) by the omitted and redundant use of the adjective “more.”<sup>62</sup> Clearly, Richardson’s revisions to the octavo edition of *Pamela II* are similar to those found in the second

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<sup>62</sup> This is yet another variant that was revised twice by Richardson without a clear indication, beyond polishing Pamela’s prose, of why he labored over it more than others. The first edition has “more Encouragement to the Profligates of the other, and more Discouragement to the sober” (445).

edition: they concentrate almost exclusively, in one way or another, on the heroine's language in order to make her intellectually, socially, and morally superior in spite of her humble origins. For Richardson, then, Pamela's improved style was, in effect, a sponge, to use Fordyce's marriage metaphor, with which he endeavored, in a single stroke, to elevate her, as well as his own, character.<sup>63</sup>

Pamela was obviously Richardson's focus in the octavo, but the rest of volume IV's variants continue to correct, elevate, or expand incomplete thoughts so that the rest of the novel's characters may appear "*more conversant in High Life.*" Slight adjustments are made to Polly Darnford, B., Lady Davers, Pamela's father, Lady Towers, and the Dean. Globally, Richardson carried on revising everyone's use of "an" to "a" before "one" and "h." Polly's use of the article in particular is consistent with three variants of "an one" to "a one" (283, 284) as well as one adjustment from "an half" to "a half" (286). An identical correction is made to Pamela's father, who also, it seems, must write like his social superiors (27). The rest of the variants are localized, though a tense correction of Polly's, "was" to "were" (59), is typically a comprehensive change. Additional grammatical niceties are cleaned up, including Lady Davers's trouble with possessives and plurals: "Man's" to "Man" (38) and "forbid" to "forbids" (51). Polly's "oh" becomes "O" (44) to match Pamela's usage and "answer some present Exigence" is emended to the plural "answer present Exigences" (60). In a compliment to Pamela, Lady Towers's

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<sup>63</sup> See "Sermon IV: On Female Virtue" in *Sermons for Young Women*. Brookfield: Pickering & Chatto, 1996. Print. In this sermon, Fordyce is condemning novels that "lead to a false taste of life and happiness" by rewarding wicked men, guilty of the "foulest injuries" to women, with marriage: "and holy wedlock [is] converted into a sponge, to wipe out at a single stroke every stain of guilt and dishonour, which it was possible for the hero of the piece to contract" (156). Ironically enough, Fordyce praises Richardson's work, *Clarissa* in particular, when, it can be argued, Pamela's marriage to B. not only rewards his "crimes" but, accordingly, teaches female readers "that it is their business to get husbands at any rate, and by whatever means" (156).

“I have generally observ’d” is “I have observ’d” (463) and, following in a separate clause, “whenever” is corrected to “when” (463). Of course, a number of changes elevate the language, namely B. and Lady Davers’s emended “tho” to “although” (15; 169); Polly’s “furnish’d in every part” is “furnish’d throughout” (56); “Money to some, of whose Prudence she is most assur’d in laying it out in the way they best can judge of” is refined to “Money to others, who being Persons of Prudence, can best judge how to lay it out for their own Services” (60);<sup>64</sup> and “till all is over” is “till all be over” (129). Finally, B.’s “through” is a more emphatic “throughout” (103) and the Dean’s “and in being” is expanded to “and delights in being” (455) in order to support and emphasize Pamela’s censure of wicked, irredeemable rakes. These, like many of the variants in volume III, do little to alter characterization. Then again, Richardson may not have intended for them to do so. Instead, it is highly probable that he wanted to retain their characterization but consistently adjust their style. It is impossible to know exactly what Richardson was aiming for, but given the public censure of his novel, as well as the concern he exhibited in his correspondence, he was most likely working to please the taste of a discriminating audience who, like Lady Mary, ostensibly resented reading his novels.

The last of the variants that are unique to the octavo are semi-substantive italics that telegraph, visually, a nuanced tone that subtly affects characterization and even heightens the drama. In the first half of the volume, the typographical shifts are principally added for emphasis and rhetorical affect, and Pamela is made, at different points, emphatically insubordinate and self-righteous. In the latter half, the typography builds the tension as the trial scene approaches and, as the volume winds down,

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<sup>64</sup> Both variants are an improvement over the first edition’s rather clumsy “and to some, (of whose Prudence she is most assur’d in laying it out in the way they best can judge of) Money” (75).

corrections scale back Pamela's preaching, and, finally, make her character more ceremonious, even going so far as to overtly suggest a similarity between her and Lady Davers.

The different functions of italics in volume IV are varied, but they are almost always used by Richardson as a unique literary device. For example, during their dispute over breastfeeding Pamela gives B. a backhanded compliment that is reminiscent of her pre-marital defiance, but the accented "*me*" (32) adds a greater degree of boldness to her character and her insult. More importantly, the typography powerfully illustrates not only her disappointment but how aware she is that, as his wife, B. has the final word over what she can or cannot do with her own body and her own child. Five additional italics are part of Pamela's critique of the "The Distress'd Mother" and "The Tender Husband." In one instance, Richardson assumes editorial license and de-emphasizes "*thou*" (83) by adding italics so that it corresponds with the quoted passage's typography. In another, Pamela stresses the immorality, particularly that Hermione's love for Pyrrhus, while she sighs for Orestes, is a bad example for women to follow: "true Love bears not the Thought of any Object, but that *one* it sighs for..." (74). Pamela's "*alias*" (90) is another example of her censure, this time of "The Tender Husband." She vehemently objects to Lucy disguising herself as Fainlove in order to cheat Mrs. Clerimont. It is likely the act of duplicity itself that Pamela objects to, but it could also be, in part, the sexual ambiguity of a cross-dressing woman that offends her. After all, Pamela is taken aback when Mrs. Jewkes squeezes her hand and tries to kiss her in volume I. Another moral flaw that Pamela criticizes also creates a rhetorical effect when she objects to Lucy's acts of "Wickedness for Wickedness sake" (91). As it turns out, according to Pamela, Lucy is not motivated by

any love for “*his*,” meaning Clerimont’s, “particular Person, more than *any* other” (91). While three examples of the octavo’s emphatic criticism are reserved for the cross-dressing, morally dubious Lucy, Pamela, as expected, finds fault with the entire play, as the final italic added to her critique emphasizes: “nor, indeed, is there so much as *one* just or generous Design pursued throughout the Play” (97).

Additional italics exclusive to the octavo heighten the drama as the novel builds toward the trial scene with typographical revisions that emphasize or minimize in order to create a different literary effect. For instance, Pamela quotes and draws attention to Turner’s use of “*yet*,” as in the Countess Dowager is “not *yet* culpable” (160), in order to visually aid the tension surrounding the sequel’s greatest conflict. With the change, B.’s budding affair with the Dowager, in direct contrast with the novel’s paratexts, is more likely, and Pamela’s suspicions and anxiety are telegraphed to the reader. Her jealousy is further foregrounded by typography when, at B.’s request, the Dowager sings an Italian song: “very prettily; *too* prettily, I thought” (181). This variant highlights Pamela’s mania to a certain degree – she constantly measures herself by the beauty and accomplishments of the Countess until she rationalizes and accepts, however erroneously, B.’s alleged adultery. Moreover, Pamela’s tears of joy upon hearing herself praised by B. in front of the Countess are minimized to “too soon” (205) most likely because Pamela is attempting to appeal to his reason, not his sympathy. She is aware, as B. explains earlier in the volume, that he will not be moved by tears (35). In another instance, Pamela’s “your” (212) is minimized because she would not be too forward in forcing a complete religious devotion on B. too soon, as the passage suggests, because B.’s willing acceptance of “Divine Grace” is required to effect it. The last italic with an impact on Pamela’s



characterization in volume IV is made to her brief discussion of tea table etiquette.<sup>65</sup> She compliments Lady Davers and herself at the same time, even going so far as to suggest that they share similar sentiments of “high life” behavior. Indeed, she says tea is a “womanly” office, and in a man’s hand it is “unseemly” (276). This follows Lady Davers’s way of thinking, who, Pamela says, “keeps me in Countenance” (277). Consequently, Pamela categorically and rhetorically asks “who doubts *her* Politeness?” (277), and thereby forcefully claims a bit of Lady Davers’s pretension for herself. By drawing more attention to this “polite” behavior, Richardson may be responding to critics who claimed he knew “*nothing of the Behaviour and Conversation of the Nobility.*” Surely, here at least, he firmly established his knowledge that, in a genteel household, the male servants do not attend their mistresses at tea. Overall, these variants indicate that *Pamela*’s typography has a subtle but thematically significant meaning. It appears that Richardson was visually guiding or even manipulating the reader’s interpretation of *Pamela*’s characters. By adjusting the novel’s typography, he added yet another layer of complexity. Pamela in particular is fleshed out with additional nuanced language that produces a slight shift in her personality and even accents her unbalanced mental state. In addition to adding another level of interpretation to Pamela’s character, dramatic tension, markedly absent in much of the sequel, is momentarily, if only subtly, heightened, and readers can look forward to the text’s main conflict, presumably, with greater anticipation and uncertainty.

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<sup>65</sup> There are other italics introduced that bear mentioning. Two of Pamela’s italics are corrected for parallel structure when “*Passions*” (201) complements “*Reason*” and “his” (374) is minimized because of faulty parallelism; Lady Davers’s “*that*” (153) emphasizes her love and honor for Pamela; Polly Darnford’s “*truly*” (134) stresses how great a landlord B. is to his tenants when they pool their money to buy him an engraved gilt plate to serve as a basin for Billy’s christening; emphasis is removed from B.’s “lawful” (19) because seemingly erroneous; and Mr. Andrews’s “*and*” (27) is italicized because part of the closing salutation of his letter to Pamela.

In many cases, Richardson's harshest critics make it easy to generalize about his practices as a reviser: on the surface, the revisions suggest that he was responding in a conciliatory way toward those who objected to the novel's style; in the process, some show a significant change in characterization. Elizabeth Brophy argues that most of Richardson's revisions were stylistic, but her claim that they "seem to have been made to satisfy his own judgment rather than to answer criticisms of *Pamela*" (10) is misinformed.<sup>66</sup> Richardson wrote to Lady Bradshaigh in 1754 that "in the minutiae lie often the unfoldings of the Story, as well as of the heart" (Carroll 289). It is the "minutiae" that Richardson revised. No matter how indifferent they may appear to a modern reader, Richardson even labored over the same variants in subsequent editions to get them right. Rather than a fussy, "elderly and ailing man" simply revising to satisfy a personal "artistic concern" (Brophy 10), Richardson's adjustments to the novel's finer points, however slight, are more likely his reaction to readers' personal attacks and their objections to *Pamela*'s "low" style. Surprisingly, given how often Richardson emended his texts, there are no manuscripts. All we have is what he cryptically discussed in his extant correspondence and the glosses in Lady Bradshaigh's copies of *Clarissa* and *Sir Charles Grandison*. Instead of a smoking gun, the only hard evidence we have are the texts, in which, I argue, he typically incorporated the advice of others without acknowledging he had done so, and he often responded to critics indirectly. Indeed, he worked not only to maintain his first novel's "Air of Genuineness" stylistically, which some scholars have dismissed out of hand, but to defend his own character by

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<sup>66</sup> *Samuel Richardson: The Triumph of Craft*. Knoxville: University of Tennessee Press, 1974. Print.

reconciling, within all three of his novels, the “status inconsistency” and “linguistic incompetence” with what he, and others, thought “would be better if otherwise said.”<sup>67</sup>

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<sup>67</sup> In addition to Elizabeth Brophy, who dismisses Richardson’s revisions as “so minor that they defy explanation” (10), Stuart Wilson, who simply footnotes Eaves and Kimpel’s “Revisions,” and Eaves and Kimpel, who sometimes contradict themselves, claim that Richardson rejected “most” of the public and private criticisms, yet only Eaves and Kimpel offer any evidence, however inconsistent it may be. See Wilson’s “Richardson’s *Pamela*: An Interpretation.” *PMLA* 88.1 (1973): 91 n3, Eaves and Kimpel’s *Biography*, pages 91 and 142, and their introduction to the Riverside edition of *Pamela*. Boston: Houghton Mifflin, 1971. xv-xvi. Print.

## CHAPTER SEVEN: VIRTUE “MORE CONVERSANT IN HIGH LIFE”

It is disheartening to think that one of the greatest writers of the eighteenth-century was, in many ways, bullied into revising his first novel. In the wake of ongoing critical and personal attacks, Richardson often turned to friends and acquaintances for advice, but this compounded the problem when it became clear everyone had their own idea of how he should proceed.<sup>1</sup> It is obvious that he followed some of his correspondent’s suggestions, and others, it appears, may have a tenuous connection, but the majority of *Pamela*’s revisions indicate that Richardson responded indirectly to critics and in subtle ways, including systematically and silently emending the novel’s “low” style.<sup>2</sup> *Pamela II*’s variants in particular illustrate that he revised in an effort to capture a more accurate representation of “high life,” and he did so with the help with an upper-class reader, Lady Bradshaigh.<sup>3</sup> This further reveals how important the sequel’s “*Air* of

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<sup>1</sup> In 1748, Richardson sent an abstract of *Clarissa* to Joseph Spence, a friend of Pope’s, and asked for his feedback. Spence’s reply is full of criticism of a different sort: “I have a moral feeling for you, of another sort; on seeing how much you suffer from the contrariety of advices that have been given you. Such a multitude of opinions can only serve to confuse your own judgment, which I verily believe would direct you better, without any help, than with so much” (Barbault, II, 320). In other words, Spence feared for the integrity of the novel and encouraged Richardson to rely on his own better judgment rather than the advice of others.

<sup>2</sup> One such example of Richardson’s subtlety is Lady Davers’s somewhat backhanded compliment to Pamela’s education. Richardson and his correspondents referred to unauthorized continuations as “engraftments,” such as Kelly’s *Pamela’s Conduct in High Life* and Fielding’s *Shamela* (Carroll 44; 133), and he, Richardson, may have veiled his contempt for them in a seemingly innocuous comparison made by her Ladyship: “But I’ll tell you what has been a great Improvement to you: It is your own Writings...reading constantly and thus using yourself to write...every thing you heard or read became your own; and not only so, but was improved by passing thro’ more salubrious Ducts and Vehicles; like some fine Fruit grafted upon a common Free-stock, whose more exuberant Juices serve to bring to quicker and greater Perfection the downy Peach, or the smooth Nectarine with its crimson Blush” (8th, III, 53). *Pamela* is presumably the “fine Fruit” that authors “grafted” their works to so that their texts, the “common Free-stock,” could ripen to “quicker and greater Perfection.” Lady Davers’s simile, if Richardson intended it to be so aptly applied, has its merit.

<sup>3</sup> By the time Richardson started composing *Clarissa*, he was writing, with regularity, to some of the century’s well-known intellectuals, many of them women, so it is possible their knowledge of polite society was of some use to Richardson as he revised *Pamela*, too. Austin Dobson mentions Mrs. Donnellan in particular as one whom Richardson frequently consulted. In a letter to Anne Dewes, for example,

Genuineness” was to Richardson, and how it was necessary, “for fear of weakening [its] Influence,” for readers to believe the promise on *Pamela*’s title page, namely that these are “Persons of *Figure and Quality*” who are writing “UPON THE MOST Important and Entertaining Subjects, In GENTEEL LIFE.” After twenty years of revision, then, Richardson’s efforts culminate in the last edition of *Pamela* that can with certainty be attributed to him.<sup>4</sup> These volumes follow his well-established pattern of confirming the heroine as a member of the privileged class through language. As a result, her character is more consistent and her status significantly “exalted” – stylistically. The lifetime revisions of *Pamela II*, therefore, illustrate Richardson’s continued and concentrated effort to please critics by liberating the novel from its defects: improprieties, affectations, and “*monstrous Inconsistencies*” of style. Accordingly, this chapter examines the interpretive impact of Richardson’s lifetime revisions to the sequel, speculates on the influence that critical objections and friendly suggestions may have had on the emendations, and illustrates how characterization is changed as a result.

After reading Henry Fielding’s *Joseph Andrews* in 1742, Dr. Cheyne wrote to reassure Richardson it was a “wretched Performance” that “will entertain none but Porters and Watermen” (Mullett 88), but it is just as easy to classify *Pamela*’s readers,

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Richardson, appealing to Mrs. Donnellan, pleaded his ignorance of “high life” and disparaged himself in an apparent attempt to draw compliments and comments upon his latest work (*Grandison*) from them both: “How should I, a man, a very ordinary man, unlearned, all my early years employed to get a mechanic business for a livelihood...touch those subjects as they require, the scenes, most of them, in high life?” (Carroll 218). See Dobson’s *Samuel Richardson*. St. Clair Shores: Michigan, 1968. 116. Print.

<sup>4</sup> According to Sale, the fourth and fifth editions of *Pamela II* that appeared as a set with the sixth and seventh duodecimo editions of *Pamela I* are reissues of the second edition, possibly from leftover sheets (33). The next edition of *Pamela II* that Richardson revised and published is called the eighth edition, also known as the lifetime edition, in order “to bring them into general conformity with Vols. I and II” (34). The lifetime edition of the sequel retains the changes in volumes III and IV of the second edition, and, of course, all of the changes this text shares with the octavo, the 138 textual revisions unique to that text excepted.

the majority of whom, as Alan McKillop points out, were comprised of “obscure clergymen and anonymous or pseudonymous correspondents” (426).<sup>5</sup> Of course, *Pamela* was praised by a small coterie of literati, including Cheyne, Hill, Pope, Allen, and Warburton, but, as Richardson’s correspondence shows, the majority of the novel’s supporters were from the middle-class. If he did not already know, Richardson might have been surprised to find that *Pamela* was just as popular with humbler readers as *Joseph Andrews*. As rumor has it, the villagers of Slough gathered at the blacksmith’s to hear *Pamela* read aloud and ““were so delighted [with her wedding] as to raise a great shout, and procuring the church keys, actually set the parish bells ringing”” (McKillop “Wedding Bells” 323).<sup>6</sup> If this little piece of *Pamela* folklore has a kernel of truth to it, then Lady Mary’s pithy observation that *Pamela* was “the Joy of the Chambermaids of all Nations” (Halsband, II, 470) has more merit than her apparent disgust with the heroine’s social mobility suggests. Indeed, one of the major critical objections to *Pamela* since 1741 was its style, along with the charge that Richardson appeared more familiar with the language and behavior of housemaids, stewards, and servants. It cannot be said with certainty if *Pamela* ever appealed to porters, watermen, and chambermaids, but Richardson’s revisions to his sequel were surely not made for their benefit. *Pamela*’s “Air of Genuineness” was in question, in part, because of its absurdity, namely the fact that B. marries her when he can simply take what he wants, but mostly because she and others are not stylistically or convincingly “exalted.”

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<sup>5</sup> “The Personal Relations between Fielding and Richardson.” *Modern Philology* 28.4 (1931): 423-433. *JSTOR*. Web. 13 Jan. 2012.

<sup>6</sup> For an exploration of the origin and evolution of this legendary story that has become a significant part of *Pamela* folklore, see McKillop’s “Wedding Bells for *Pamela*.” *Philological Quarterly* 28 (1949): 323-325. *Proquest*. Web. 3 Jan. 2012.

After *Clarissa* and *Grandison* were published, Richardson and his critics often compared *Pamela* unfavorably to her “sisters.” For example, Albrecht von Haller’s review, translated from German into English, appeared in the *Gentleman’s Magazine* in two parts during June and August, 1749. In the “*Character of Clarissa by an ingenious Foreigner*” and “*Remarks on the History of Clarissa*” respectively, Haller praises *Clarissa* at *Pamela*’s expense: the former has for its “heroes...persons of distinction whose minds may be supposed to have received much greater improvements from education than that of a country girl” (245). In the second half of his review, he remarks that “The chief ornament of *Clarissa* is the description; there are some in *Pamela* which are excellent, but those of her younger sister [*Clarissa*] are more frequent, more elevated, and more animated” (347). In other words, *Clarissa* is just “more elegant, and at the same time greatly more useful” (245).<sup>7</sup>

A more recent and very public objection to *Pamela*’s style that appeared after Haller’s review was *Critical Remarks*, a pamphlet published in 1754 shortly before the last volume of *Grandison*. The author of *Remarks*, a self-styled “LOVER of VIRTUE” (title page), accuses Richardson of all but murdering the English language:<sup>8</sup>

That your writings have in a great measure corrupted our language and taste, is a truth that cannot be denied. The consequences abundantly shew it. By the extraordinary success you have met with, if you are not to be reckoned a classical author, there is certainly a very bad taste prevailing at present. Our language, though capable of great improvements, has, I imagine, been for some time on

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<sup>7</sup> The *Gentleman’s Magazine* published a response to Haller’s review that is believed to have been written by Richardson, so he was undoubtedly aware on this occasion that his second novel was praised at the expense of his first. In his reply, Richardson ignored the remarks on *Pamela* choosing instead to focus on Haller’s objections to *Clarissa*, presumably because, by 1749, Richardson was already well aware of *Pamela*’s shortcomings. See Sale’s *Bibliography* 107-108; McKillop’s *Samuel Richardson: Printer and Novelist* 252; and Eaves and Kimpel’s *Biography* 291.

<sup>8</sup> See McKillop’s introduction to *Critical Remarks on Sir Charles Grandison*, page v.

the decline, and your works have a manifest tendency to hasten that on, and corrupt it still further. (3-4)

Here, he is writing more specifically about Richardson's neologisms, but he also objects to *Pamela's* "idle tittle-tattle, and gossiping nonsense" (56). It is "flimzy stuff" that is too long, "[you] never know when [you] have said enough," and he argues that *Pamela's* sequel, along with the multivolume *Clarissa* and *Grandison*, destroy "the credit of the author" (56) because swelled to increase his profits. Instead of suggesting Richardson revise his novels, or offering, as the "engraftments" did, to rewrite it himself, he proposes a less diplomatic solution: "the best, perhaps, the only way to correct *Grandison* and *Pamela*, would be to make them pass thro' the fire" (57). He concludes by declaring "your writings have corrupted our language and our taste...the composition of them all, except *Clarissa*, is bad" (57), and the characters, exempting *Clarissa* again, are "faulty, ridiculous, or unmeaning" (58).

The most scathing and most recent attack of them all, however, was Fulke Greville's *Maxims, Characters, and Reflections*, published in 1756. The *Critical Review* for April of that year quoted in full Greville's personal attack, which Richardson obviously read.<sup>9</sup> In addition to insulting Richardson's readers, this paragraph mixed praise with censure, but ultimately concluded that Richardson, based on his writing, was uneducated and lacked the breeding of a gentleman. Greville's criticism is such a good representation of many public and private personal attacks aimed at Richardson that it is worth quoting at length:

There is a certain author who...has written what has had merit enough to get into all hands, and defect enough to be

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<sup>9</sup> See Richardson's letter to Lady Bradshaigh, in which he admits that "there may be Justice in the most unfavourable Part of it" (Carroll 325).



flung out of all. It is his great praise, his honour, that he is condemned by sensible men, and applauded by weak women; for the first are often as ignorant of the powers of the heart, as the last are of those of the understanding. He is in many particulars the most minute, fine, delicate, observer of human nature I ever met with; the most refin'd and just in his sentiments; but he often carries that refinement into purity [sic], and that justness into tastelessness...this writer professes infinite powers both of delicacy and reason, but he possesses not the judicious faculty of directing those powers. He is deficient in TASTE: hence he is irregular and false in his notions of the manners he treats of: he plainly shews that he has neither from nature nor education the kind of intelligence, which should guide him in the pursuit he attempts: his understanding seems to be hampered and confined, it wants enlargement, freedom, or to say all in one word, TASTE; his men of the world are strange debauchees, his women ridiculously outrees, both in good and bad qualities...you see plainly that the writer is not A MASTER [:] deficiencies, stiffness, improprieties, break in upon you at times, and shock you: and you grieve that he does not please you more – or less. (62-64)<sup>10</sup>

Even if these and earlier critical remarks made by Richardson's contemporaries were not indelibly written on his memory, and it is likely they were, he was constantly reminded of his novels shortcomings; indeed, a common complaint shared by Richardson's critics is, above all, that *Pamela* and, according to Horace Walpole, "those deplorably tedious lamentations, *Clarissa* and *Sir Charles Grandison*, which are pictures of high life as conceived by a bookseller, and romances as they would be spiritualized by a Methodist teacher" (Lewis, VI, 271) are too low.<sup>11</sup>

It is possible, therefore, that this new mix of censure and admiration following the publication of *Grandison* helped solidify Richardson's plans to give *Pamela* his "last

<sup>10</sup> *Maxims, Characters, and Reflections, Critical, Satyrical, and Moral*. London: J. and R. Tonson, 1756. Gale. Web. 24 Jan. 2012.

<sup>11</sup> *Horace Walpole's Correspondence with Sir Horace Mann*. Eds. W.S. Lewis, Warren Hunting Smith, and George L. Lam. Vol. 22. New Haven: Yale UP, 1960. Print.

hand” (Slattery 30). The fact of the matter is, just as Richardson had anticipated in his letter to Hill in 1740, many readers were offended by Pamela’s “prattling Impertinence” (Sabor 34). At the same time, however, Richardson received just as much praise, if not more, for *Pamela* from his correspondents during the 1750’s. In particular, he was encouraged by Lady Bradshaigh to organize and published a new edition when, in 1753, she brought to his attention one of the novel’s glaring inconsistencies: “I lately heard it wonder’d at, that there happen’d so many mistakes both in *Clarissa* and *pamela* with regard to the *Titles* of several characters” (Sabor 396-97). Her letter undoubtedly piqued Richardson’s interest, who wrote her to ask “Were other Mistakes mentioned, as to those Pieces? – Why should your Ladyship forget them? Praises may do us Hurt: But it is our own Fault, if we are not the better for detected Error” (Carroll 245). As a result, Lady Bradshaigh and Richardson exchanged a series of letters in which she eventually agreed to annotate her four volume copy of *Pamela*.<sup>12</sup> Although it is now lost, her edition was almost certainly Richardson’s primary source for the 523 revisions found in the lifetime edition of the sequel.

In addition to information gleaned from Richardson’s correspondence that suggests Lady Bradshaigh was responsible for some of the revisions to the lifetime edition, the annotations she made in her copies of *Clarissa* and *Grandison*, which deal primarily with style and matters of propriety, offer additional evidence that the variants in *Pamela II*, both substantive and semi-substantive, were a collaborative effort between them. Richardson admitted his “Ignorance of Proprietys” (Carroll 245) and that he was largely unfamiliar with the niceties of upper-class life, including titles and forms of

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<sup>12</sup> See Chapter Four.

address, which are by far the most numerous of the changes. This is followed by a less affected language, an elevated, “exalted” style that is, presumably, more representative of “Persons of *Figure* and *Quality*,” and corrections to matters of propriety. Characterization is, stylistically at least, more consistent with each character’s social class over all, though perhaps Mr. Andrews’s character is overstrained by a few variants to compensate for Pamela’s rather surprising degree of gentility. This includes, of course, Richardson’s trademark adjustments to grammar, the omission of redundant or superfluous words and phrases, as well as a smoother syntax. There are also a few minor revisions to the novel’s preface and conclusion. In the former, these consist of a handful of streamlining omissions, and in the latter, there are slight adjustments to the language and a repetitious, stylistic affectation is removed.

The modest preface of *Pamela II*, even when first published, is rather perfunctory compared to the prefatory material Richardson appended to volumes I and II; nevertheless, it evolves in interesting ways. The preface to the second edition, which is reprinted in the eighth with minor revision, is nearly identical with that of the first, but Richardson’s attempt to date the novel’s events between the years 1717 and 1730, and his claim that this “*will be collected from several Passages in the Letters*” (1st, III, iv), is omitted. This suggests that Richardson had originally planned to make topical references to people or events during the reign of King George I, but at some point abandoned this plan. At the same time, it might be that Richardson painted himself into a corner, so to speak. Publishing these dates resulted in inquiries that he was unwilling or unable to answer. In particular, he was questioned by the “Anonymous VI Ladies” about the heroine’s identity, whether or not the story was real, and if not, who the author was.

Richardson's only response was to quietly drop this layer of pretense from the preface to subsequent editions. The preface is omitted entirely from the third edition and the reissued fourth and fifth editions, but restored in the eighth. First, the novel's subtitle, "VIRTUE REWARDED," is removed (III, iii), probably because redundant when sandwiched between the title page and the intertitle on page 1.<sup>13</sup> Second, Richardson omits a veiled reference to his *Familiar Letters*, "some Designs of another Nature" (ii), because he had come to regard it as hackwork. In a letter to Stinstra dated Jun 2, 1753, Richardson told him "the little Volume of Letters" was not "worthy of your Notice" (Carroll 233), nor was it, apparently, worth mentioning to the readers of *Pamela*'s newest edition. Third, a cryptic reference to "the High-Life Men" is still present, "*the Reasons whereby he was provoked*" into writing *Pamela II* (III, ii), but Richardson's insincere concern for the "Publick," the reason, he claimed in the preface, to have written the sequel in the first place, is deleted (ii). Fourth, an omission removes affected praise for Pamela, "*the incomparable Lady, who is the Subject of these Volumes*" (ii), but the fifth and final revision that replaces this eulogy is at odds with the title page and the novel as a whole: "*the Gentlemen, who are the principal Persons in the Work*" (iv). The title *Pamela: or, Virtue Rewarded* is a complex statement in itself, but even more convoluted, contradictory, and confusing when the preface claims that the novel is about "Gentlemen" and not a servant girl's rise from rags-to-riches by the power of her immoveable chastity. Many of these changes streamline the preface by purging it of redundant, obsolete, or otherwise unnecessary information that, while it may hold an interest for a reader in 1741, is dated by 1761. The final revision, however, is inexplicable; indeed, how does

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<sup>13</sup> The pagination between the second and eighth, lifetime edition is virtually identical, and, unless otherwise noted, there are no differences in the passages cited in this chapter.

one read the novel after encountering Richardson's claim that the main characters are men despite having women as its principal letter writers and the titular character a fifteen-year-old girl of humble birth? Is this, according to Richardson, a more pertinent reading of his novel? The answers to these questions are, of course, beyond the scope of this study, and, given a significant lack of evidence, any answers to said questions would be tentative at best.

It is hard to imagine that Lady Bradshaigh helped Richardson revise the preface for the eighth edition, but, for lack of evidence to the contrary, it is possible that she did. What can be corroborated, however, is that she had a direct influence on at least one stylistic alteration that Richardson made to titles and forms of address used between his "Persons of *Figure* and *Quality*." As early as December 1753 Lady Bradshaigh offered to find "faults," and she sent Richardson, at his request, her annotated *Pamela* in March 1761.<sup>14</sup> The result is the largest global change to the eighth edition and has far reaching interpretive effects. On the surface, these simple revisions increase the novel's "Air of Genuineness," as almost certainly improved by Lady Bradshaigh, and are another response, however belated, to the objection made by the anonymous author of *The Life of Pamela*, namely that the heroine talks "like a Philosopher in one Page and like a Changeling the next" (185). In other words, all characters are more consistently "exalted," Pamela especially. Richardson corrected her lapses in propriety approximately 291 times in both volumes, and the variants illustrate that either Lady Bradshaigh or Richardson looked hard to find them.<sup>15</sup> The most common adjustment is Pamela's overuse of "Miss."

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<sup>14</sup> See Chapter Four.

<sup>15</sup> In addition to Pamela, each character's use of titles and forms of address are revised consistently, including tertiary characters such as Sir Simon, Mr. Andrews, Mr. Longman, and Lady Arthur. Sir Simon

For example, a redundant “Miss” is often omitted, substituted with another noun or a similar pronoun, such as “young Lady,” “Friend,” or “she,” or it is expanded to include the woman’s surname, e.g., “Miss *Darnford*”; “Miss *Stapylton*”; “Miss *Cope*”; “Miss *Sutton*.” Similarly, “Gentleman” and “Gentlemen” are revised to “Man,” “Men,” the equivalent noun or pronoun, such as “Husband” or “he,” or the man’s title and surname, such as “Mr. B.,” “Mr. Turner,” or “Mr. Adams.” Finally, Pamela’s over formal use of “my Lady” is also revised to “Madam,” substituted with a surname, or omitted altogether. These changes undoubtedly give the impression that Pamela is “*more conversant in High Life*.” Richardson’s glaring ignorance was apparent to many of *Pamela*’s readers, pointed out to him by Lady Bradshaigh without abandon, and most likely what provoked Lady Mary to write that he was more familiar with the “Lowest Class of People” (Halsband, III, 96) than polite society’s established social codes.

Pamela’s formal or incorrect use of titles is also corrected, though to a lesser extent than her mode of address; nevertheless, as Richardson revised his sequel, Pamela’s “high life” ethos became more pronounced and more consistent – with Lady Bradshaigh’s help – and he was able to socialize her within her new class stylistically. For instance, “Mrs. *Towers*” is consistently “Lady *Towers*” in volume III, though for some inexplicable reason Pamela uses “Mrs. *Towers*” exclusively in volume IV. Without being able to consult Lady Bradshaigh’s copy of *Pamela*, there is no way to determine if this was her mistake or Richardson’s. Mrs. Arthur is unfailingly Lady Arthur, though at one point Pamela calls her “Lady *Anne Arthur*” (IV, 382), and the clumsy and incorrect “my Lady Countess” is more appropriately “the Countess of *C.*” (42). Perhaps the most

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and Mr. Longman, for example, refer to B. as “Mr.” rather than erroneously as “the ’Squire” (III, 135; 10) while others use “Man” or an equivalent instead of “Gentleman.”

important adjustment to titles for the sake of propriety is the way Pamela refers to B.'s servants. These changes occur in volume IV when, in earlier editions, Pamela takes an impolite interest in documenting and discussing the domestics, as if she were still one of them. Mr. Colbrand and Mr. Jonathan, for example, are simply Colbrand and Jonathan (2, 3, 191). For Pamela, the exalted Mrs. B., to address any servant but Mrs. Jervis, a gentlewoman born, with such respect and formality is so absurd that it probably made Lady Bradshaigh cringe.

Many of the changes to titles and forms of address serve a dual purpose; that is, in addition to correcting or refining one of Pamela's most frequent social blunders they also excise a considerable amount of cant affectation from the novel. Many of the characters in *Pamela II* still compliment one another *ad nauseam*, but, with the help of Lady Bradshaigh, Richardson was able to noticeably trim a number of Pamela's empty because overused compliments and expressions. The most frequent and impactful change is the omission of the adjective "dear" or "good," as in "the dear Gentleman" or "my good Lady." Pamela's standard term of endearment for B. becomes more sincere because controlled and more genuine because less reflexive when a significant number are omitted from both volumes. This is less often the case in the affected epithets Pamela uses for Lady Davers, Polly Darnford, Miss Goodwin, and even Sally Godfrey, but there are a number of excisions made nonetheless. For example, "good" or "goodness" is omitted five times (III, 48, 74; IV, 231, 259, 262), and "my dearest Miss" (III, 102) is omitted from a clause along with several instances of "dear Miss." These revisions continue Richardson's traditional recension of unbecoming "tender Expressions" and, in turn, strengthen those that are retained.

In addition to removing affected forms of address, there are additional revisions that curb Pamela's exaggerated praise or self-righteousness and thereby give her a greater degree of poise and decorum. Richardson's vision of an upper-class lifestyle, as it is represented in *Pamela II*, is a community in which seemingly empty compliments are passed around from one person to another in endless succession. Lady Bradshaigh, in all probability, was responsible for correcting and restraining this quixotic ideal. Pamela's obsequious praise, for example, is reduced by further omissions to the affected and redundant adjective "dear" in both volumes, including "dear Thought" to "Thought" (III, 108); "my dear worthy" to "my worthy" (114); "Their dear Master's Service" to "Their Master's Service" (241); "dear Brother" to "Brother" (253); "his dear Papa" to "his Papa" (IV, 154); and "dear happy" to "very happy" (309). Other variants illustrate a focus on Pamela's flattery of others, a behavior that makes her character appear more like a sycophantic toady than a Lady. In volume III, for instance, Pamela's praise of the clergy is reduced from "burning and shining Lights" to a more modest "shining Lights" (III, 153); the inflated "noble Guests" is "Company" (256), later "departing Company" (380-81), and finally "worthy Guests" is "worthy Companions" (380) suggesting that "Guests" is too low; "charming Letters" are now "agreeable Letters" (366); "your honoured *Mamma*" is "your *Mamma*" (106); and "your kind and unmerited Regard for me" becomes "your unmerited Regard for me" (116). These revisions to Pamela's flattery may appear slight, but when removed in combination with cant names and excessive praise there appears to be a concerted effort to further solidify Pamela as a member of polite society. This, in turn, shows that Richardson, by the time of his death, was indeed



more familiar with the customs and behavior of “high life” as it was actually lived by a member of the endogamous, restricted class.

Additional artificial emotion and ecstatic praise that is more characteristic of Pamela the servant than reflective of her exalted condition is revised or omitted to establish a genteel decorum and mature the heroine at the same time. For example, the uncharacteristic and demonstrative “Lady *Davers* caught me in her Arms” becomes the more restrained and decorous “Lady *Davers* took my Hand” (249). Omitted from the same passage is the Countess of C.’s uncharacteristic gesture: “and [she] saluted me too” (249). The original variant reflects that Richardson was eager to whitewash Lady *Davers*’s character in the sequel and prove, however ineffectively, that she is not a “downright *Billingsgate*” (*Pamela Censured* 22). However, like some of the variants that attempt to whitewash B.’s character in earlier editions, such changes are often forced. The idea that Lady *Davers*, who always stands on ceremony, would, in a fit of rapturous joy, embrace the heroine is out of character and clearly not part of the genteel re-imagining that Richardson and Lady Bradshaigh had for *Pamela II*. A longer omission of affected praise further illustrates this point:

And with great Modesty [Mr. Adams] came. But neither of the Gentlemen knew how to speak, at first, before Lady *Davers*, who is so majestick a Lady, and has so majestick a Character *too*, that every one has an Awe upon him in her Presence. (III, 258)

Instead of bringing Lady *Davers* and Pamela closer together, as it seems Richardson intended to do in his sequel, this passage actually sets them further apart. Pamela is still acting the servant rather than the mistress – she is awed by her sister-in-law’s majesty as if she were still a Lady’s waiting maid – and the thought that “Gentlemen” would be

tongue-tied in Lady Davers's presence is another absurdity that was most likely corrected by Lady Bradshaigh.

In order to further telegraph Pamela's proper "high life" behavior, several more instances of her sycophantic flattery are rescinded that make her character more reserved. In volume IV, for instance, this most often includes the omission of affected adjectives. Pamela, for example, describes her father's joy upon seeing his grandson, but it was perhaps too much that she describes him "down on his reverend Knees" and the adjective is omitted (IV, 124); the unnatural repetition of "charming, charming" is simply "charming" (137) and "(added the charming, charming Man)" is "(added he)" (185). Another adjective is revised once for the second edition and then omitted from the eighth when "his dear Life" (1st, 171) becomes "his precious Life" (2nd, 144), and is finally paired down to "his Life" (8th, 144). Sally Godfrey, whom Pamela never tires of praising despite the fact that she is a fallen woman, is no longer an "excellent Lady" but just a "Lady" (254); the Countess Dowager's "lovely Face" becomes "Face" (279); "your noble Sister" (346) is omitted; "charming and distinguish'd a Circle" becomes "distinguish'd a circle" (400); and "worthy Heart" is "Heart" (412). Finally, adjectives and all are omitted from the excised clause "...to such noble and good God-papa's and Mamma's" (131). In addition to having Lady Bradshaigh's annotated copy of *Pamela* at hand to make his heroine "*more conversant in High Life,*" Richardson had also, by 1761, matured as a writer. Cutting adjectives to reduce immoderate praise does not only affect Pamela's character; it also streamlines the narrative and removes a significant amount of redundancies. More importantly, though, it appears as if Richardson had given up trying to force so many value judgments on his readers; that is, Pamela is not as often telling the

reader how to feel or think about others to the point that one is inclined to deny them the praise she so routinely gives. Consequently, readers can better judge the characters based on their actions and their merits rather than how they appear to the heroine.

In the lifetime edition, Richardson continued to revise Pamela's self-reporting vanity. That he did so was most likely to make her character appear more conservative and mature. In particular, an indecorous passage in Pamela's letter to Lady Davers, in which she cheerily describes how much the townspeople worship her, is removed: "But they say, they cannot help it: And one honest Man said, That every-body's Hearts sprang to their Lips as soon as I appeared, and they could not keep their Words in" (III, 220). Passages such as this, and Pamela's description of a "majestick" Lady Davers, suggest that Richardson, in the 1740's at least, had a reverence for the upper-class that bordered on hero worship. His god-like elevation of the gentry and aristocracy may in fact substantiate his critics' claims that he had "no Idea of the manners of high Life" (Halsband, II, 97). Also deleted is Pamela's self-serving self-indictment of which she undoubtedly expects to be acquitted. Because Pamela is thought to have the "perfectest Character" (8th, IV, 40) Lady Davers and her coterie task her with exposing her "secret Foibles" (41), but Pamela falls into the trap of "Acquittal with Applause" (41) by offering some rather weak, affected "Failings" (42). The following, her spitefulness, is omitted from the lifetime edition:

Let me then, in the first Place, as to the Self-accusation of my *Spitefulness*, refer to your Ladyship, and those of my noble Friends who have read my Papers, to the Character I gave in them of poor Mrs. *Jewkes*; also to honest Mr. *Colbrand's* Character, as I gave it, when I suspected he was to be employ'd for the worst Purposes;

both of which, tho' not untrue in the main, are so drawn as to shew a very spiteful Nature in the Characterizer. (44)<sup>16</sup>

This fault finding serves a larger thematic purpose beyond simply fishing for compliments from Lady Davers: Pamela also accuses herself of having a “little Tincture of *Jealousy*” (44), and this is supposed to explain her mania surrounding B.’s dalliance with the Countess Dowager. However, her spitefulness, had it remained one of her principal faults, would undercut her forgiveness of B., and indeed her forgiveness of everyone associated with abusing, kidnapping, and imprisoning her, including Lady Davers.

A few other instances of flattery offered by various characters for Pamela and B. are also revised or omitted and significantly reduce the amount of artificial praise. For example, Lady Davers’s “you charming *Pamela*” becomes “*Pamela*” (III, 284); Sir William G., who later marries Polly Darnford, has his only piece of conversation deleted from the novel because Pamela shamelessly repeats it, namely that “Mr. *B.* was all that was polite and noble, and it was no Wonder that every body pronounc’d us both the charmingest Couple they had ever seen” (248).<sup>17</sup> Polly’s poetic pandering “Every rising Sun adorns you with some new Rays, and sets not, without leaving you brighter than he himself can hold it” is simply a punctuated “Excellence” (326). There are three revisions that further soften Pamela’s vanity by modifying the language used between her and the Countess Dowager, including “She had heard me so much praised, that she quite long’d

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<sup>16</sup> Two additional references to Pamela’s “*Spitefulness*” are also excised to complement this larger revision: “I am naturally of a Spiteful, saucy Temper” becomes “I am naturally of a saucy Temper” (43), and the punctuated “—*Spitefulness*—” (45) is omitted.

<sup>17</sup> There is also an omission that further complements this revision, namely Mr. Martin’s clumsy attempt at raillery: “And indeed I see no such extraordinary Excellence; do you, Sir? (to his Friend) in that Gentleman” (248).

to see me” to “she hoped I would excuse the Liberty she had taken: But the Character given of me by Mr. *B.* made her desirous of paying her Respects to me” (152). In this example, the style is elevated and the Dowager’s eagerness to meet Pamela, and, consequently, Pamela’s enthusiasm to report it, is presented as a formality and somewhat indifferent. The second revision, another compliment from the Dowager, though quite stiff, is omitted: “Mrs. *B.* answers her Character, said the Countess; she wants no Ornaments” (153).<sup>18</sup> The third, in addition to diluting the flattery, also corrects a mistaken title: “You are a generous Lady” is “You are very obliging” (IV, 280). Finally, an instance in which Pamela fishes for compliments is partially omitted. Lady Davers and the Countess of C. want to attend Pamela’s evening service, but instead of readily complying, Pamela acts embarrassed, “I was much abashed” (III, 248), and makes them insist before she reluctantly yields:

Nay, my dear Ladies! said I; and sat down on the  
first Chair.  
Nay, my dear *Pamela!* return’d my Lady, shew us  
the Way.  
If I must, I must – But I was much abashed. (248)

This passage is still peppered with compliments for the heroine from both Lady Davers and the Countess of C., but they no longer have to unnecessarily insist that they attend and Pamela no longer criticizes herself to force from them additional praise and attention. It is the nature of the epistolary method that makes it difficult for Pamela to report what others say about her without giving the impression that she is conceited and vain, but in

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<sup>18</sup> This parallels an earlier omission in which B. indecorously and subtly reproaches Pamela in mixed company: “You have taken no Pains, my Dear, in your Dress To-day” (152). Pamela’s reply, “The Ladies will excuse it, Sir; I am so often in the Nursery, when you are absent” (153) is also omitted.

the lifetime edition she is conspicuously more reticent, or at least appears to be so, to share the excessive praise that the novel's early critics objected to.

In conjunction with variants that adjust Pamela's praise for others and for herself, there are more substantial cuts that also reduce her exaggerated self-righteousness, a major critical objection that appears to have influenced many of Richardson's changes, particularly in volumes I and II. Pamela's hypocritical, self-serving lecture on religious "Over-gloominess," that is to say over-righteousness, for example, is omitted:

I said, That this Over-gloominess was not Religion,  
I was persuaded; but either Constitution or Mistake; and I  
was sorry always, when I met with it; for tho' it might  
betoken a pious Mind, it certainly shew'd a narrow one,  
and I fear'd did more Harm than Good. (253)

When he wrote this paragraph, Richardson had apparently forgotten the heroine's weakness for religious "Over-gloominess" in volumes I and II, and the omission in the lifetime edition may be an indirect response to the more recent criticism in the anonymous pamphlet *A Candid Examination of the History of Sir Charles Grandison*, which accuses Pamela of religious hypocrisy; indeed, she often uses, so the pamphlet claims, "Language that would better become an old Nurse" (11), and the omission clears up an important inconsistency in her character. Also deleted is her affected apostrophe to death when she fears, prematurely, that her parents will die:

O Death! Death! thou mayst knock at the Doors of  
Tenements so frail, and so beloved: We cannot help  
ourselves: But we will not let thee in, if we can possibly  
avoid it; for the Lives of such dear Parents are a Part of my  
own Life: And, if God see fit, I cannot spare them! Indeed I  
cannot! (IV, 371)

Here, there is more of her "Over-gloominess" and exaggerated self-righteousness, not to mention another memorial to poverty in her reference to "Tenements." This passage,

perhaps, was too characteristic of the kind of sighing and groaning that Lady Davers objects to in another revision (III, 252):

But I have seen, added her Ladyship, very humorously,  
such wry Faces...as quite dishearten'd me; for I thought,  
after such an Exercise, that it would be a Sin to go to Bed  
with a Smile upon one's Face, or without sighing and  
groaning at such a Rate, as must rob one of all the  
Comforts of Life.

But I have seen, added her Ladyship, perhaps, such  
characteristic wry Faces...as was enough to dishearten such  
a one as me, and make one think it would be a Sin to go to  
Bed with a Smile upon one's Face, or without sighing and  
groaning.

Both of these passages, though it said with more solemnity after revision, could be read as a criticism of Pamela and the grosser examples of her smug morality and virtuousness.<sup>19</sup> One instance in particular that Richardson retrenched is part of the dispensation scene, a revision he probably made to further answer the criticism of the “Reverend Mistakers.” Pamela’s sanctimonious moralizing is qualified by a statement that reveals her views of the clergy and pluralities are not her own but rather the sentiments of B.’s mother:

Forgive me, looking all round me, and curt’sying,  
when I cast my Eye on Mr. *B.* for entering so deeply into  
this Subject. I have often heard my excellent Lady, who  
had a great Veneration for good Clergymen, talk to this  
Purpose, with a Lady who had very different Sentiments  
from hers; and I have not been used to forget any thing that

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<sup>19</sup> One such example is Pamela’s overreaction at finding a transcription of Cowley’s verses from “The Thief” under her cushion at church. According to Lady Davers, Pamela should feel flattered instead of offended: “What should you be vex’d at, my Dear?” (III, 221). Pamela, however, is so upset that she did not attend service that afternoon and declares it a sad thing that the “Church should be profan’d by such Actions, and such Thoughts, as ought not to be brought into it” (222). However true this may be, the occasion puts Pamela in the pulpit. While entrenched behind her lectern and raised by her soapbox, she incredulously plays the victim as Lady Davers pays her lip service by routinely praising her “Prudence and natural *Dignity*” (223) as well as her “*Delicacy*” (226).

fell from her Lips. Mr. *B.* and Lady *Davers* bid me proceed;  
 I could not, my Lady said, have had a better Instructress.  
 (277-78)

Pamela's apology implies that Richardson was aware he offended some readers with her holier-than-thou opinions, including the hypocritical declaration that "a Gentleman, a Scholar, [and] a Philosopher" should be content with 100£ a year (274-75) when B. gives her 200£ annually in pin money. In revision, then, Richardson simply has her beg off responsibility by channeling B.'s mother in order to exonerate her of both "Over-gloominess" and exaggerated self-righteousness.

It is certainly possible that Richardson still had the "Reverend Mistakers" in mind when he continued to modify or omit passages that take up the sensitive topics of religion and the clergy. In particular, a series of revisions restore a bit of dignity to Mr. Adams's character, remove affected praise, and clear up matters of propriety. In the first instance, Mr. Adams, who erroneously calls Pamela "Your Ladyship," self-deprecatingly excuses himself from dining with her "noble Guests" because of his social status.<sup>20</sup> His modesty and reserve, much like Pamela's, is emphasized and, of course, praised, in this case by the Countess of C.:

Your Ladyship, said he, will excuse me: I did not  
 think myself Company for such noble Guests as were there.  
 A Gentleman and a Scholar is Company, said the  
 Countess, for the first Quality. (249)

This mannered exchange is replaced with "He bowed" (249) in the lifetime edition, and the omission removes a number of presumably impolite social niceties. A second revision that immediately follows is another example of retrenched praise. Pamela considers Lady

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<sup>20</sup> A similar revision, "your Ladyship, (so he call'd me)" to "you" (279), is effected when Mr. Williams also mistakes Pamela's title.



Davers and the Countess's condescension to be an example of "Nobleness" when they give Mr. Adams permission to dine with them, but the flattery is omitted when adjusted from "Well, Sir, said I, you see the Nobleness of these Ladies. They come now to be obliged to you, for your good offices" to "Well, Sir, said I, these Ladies come now to be obliged to you for your good Offices" (249). A third revision in the next paragraph removes an example of slapstick impropriety. Lady Davers rallies Pamela for the flattery contained in her "Nobleness" remark:

My Lady tapp'd me on the Neck – Genteelly said!  
This was like my Sister, her own Self. Mr. *Longman*, said  
she, how do you? – We are come to be Witnesses of my  
Sister's Goodness, and the Family Decorum. (249)

The affected tap is omitted along with her celebratory "Genteelly said" and "Family Decorum," hitherto neglected, is restored as the focus of the passage when the whole paragraph is modified to simply "Mr. *Longman*, said my Lady, how do you? – We are come to be Witnesses of the Family Decorum" (249). Finally, a larger passage is omitted in which everyone follows Pamela's lead and suggests that Lady Davers and the Countess of C. have never attended service before and do not know how to behave:

Let us follow you *Pamela*, said she: We must learn  
of you what we are to do.

I led to the little Closet, with as much Presence of  
Mind as I could, and my two Ladies followed me; and Mrs.  
*Jervis*, and Mrs. *Worden*, and Mrs. *Lesley*, stood just  
without, the Door being half shut, for their Ladies sake.

I should have said, we were not at Church in the  
Afternoon. – And when I do not go, we have the Evening  
Service read to us, as it is at Church; which Mr. *Adams*  
performed now with his usual Distinctness and Fervour;  
and the Ladies seem'd not at all uneasy, altho' we had a  
Meditation besides. (249)

Here, Pamela does not appear to be self-confident, violates propriety with her regard for servants, and implies that her companions do not share her enthusiasm for worship. Upon revision, however, she retains her “Presence of Mind,” disregards the servants, and tactfully avoids commenting on her guest’s degree of piety as measured, presumably, against her own “Over-gloominess”:

I should have said, we were not at Church in the Afternoon.  
– And when I do not go, we have the Evening Service read  
to us, as it is at Church; which Mr. *Adams* performed now  
with his usual Distinctness and Fervour. (249)

Hence, these revisions put the focus on the evening service, the “Family Decorum,” by restraining Pamela’s exaggerated piety, empty compliments, mannered behavior, and Lady Davers’s indecorous raillery.

The rest of the significant revisions to the lifetime edition include minor stylistic adjustments that correct grammatical errors, polish clumsy syntax, and clarify information; additional changes elevate the language to further establish Pamela and her correspondents in their exalted conditions; and others remove improprieties, such as Pamela’s impolite regard for her servants. All of these variants, in one way or another, continue to improve and add greater consistency to *Pamela*’s characters while giving the overall impression that Richardson is “*more conversant in High Life.*” Anything, in short, that Richardson or Lady Bradshaigh believed would satisfy the prejudices of genteel readers or complement the exalted and didactic tone of his sequel.

In order to elevate his characters and add greater class consistency, Richardson corrected a large number of grammatical niceties in the second edition; consequently, there are only a few global corrections to grammar introduced into the eighth that complement earlier revisions. Verb tense and expanded contractions, for example,

include “give” to “gave” (12); “since I have begun it” is “since I begun it” (241); “she’s” is expanded to “she is” (75); “thou’rt” to “thou art” (94); and “em” is expanded twice to “them” (318).<sup>21</sup> In volume IV, an error first introduced into the second edition is corrected from “gave” to “give” (IV, 144) and “’tis” is expanded to “it is” (406). Slack nouns and pronouns are replaced and made more specific, including “his” to “Mr. B.’s” (III, 115); “said my Lady” is “said Lady *Davers*” (249) because there is more than one “Lady” present; “her” becomes “you” (254) and “your” (254); and “it” is a more exact “your Letter” (254). Single-words are also adjusted, including a residual “Rivaless” that is standardized to “Rival” (IV, 152); “that” is correctly “which” (393) and “of which” (402); Pamela’s erroneous “Morning” service in the second edition is corrected to “Evening” (III, 240); two instances of “Ladies” is changed to “Women” (III, 379, 382) because Pamela discusses the sex generally, and “Lady” is “Woman” (392) for parallel structure with “Man.” A few clauses with clumsy syntax are also emended, namely the confusing “that Mr. *Murray* could not possibly deserve you, who was so easy to part with you” to “that Mr. *Murray*, who was so easy to part with you, could not possibly deserve you” (255); the awkward “Now, Miss, do these Instances come up to your Questions? Do they or do they not” is “Do these Instances come up to your Questions, my Dear? or, Do they not” (400); and “even while she doubts to meet the Affirmative one from him she wishes for” becomes “even while she is not sure of meeting with the Affirmative one from him whose Affection she wishes to engage” (IV, 404). These revisions, while less impressive in themselves, continue to illustrate, in light of those already noted, that Richardson was concerned with correct and formal language, that his characters appear

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<sup>21</sup> In one instance, a contraction is introduced: Sir Jacob’s “here is” becomes “here’s” (III, 308).

consistent with their social class, and that *Pamela* appeal to more than porters, watermen, and chambermaids.

By 1761, after he had the benefits of genteel correction, it is clear that Richardson was attempting to bring his first novel more in line with his later compositions: this includes, of course, additional revisions with the general effect of elevating the language. For instance, “he got up” is “he arose” (III, 141) and “rose” becomes “arose” (IV, 124). The obviously low “Body” is revised five times from “Body as me” to “Creature as I” (III, 168); “that a body” to “that one” (378); “Body” to “Creature” (386); “if a Body’s Weakness” to “if one’s Weakness” (IV, 23); and, in order to elevate as well as restore propriety, Pamela’s unthinking “good sort of Body” is altered to “good sort of Woman” (27). This change was most likely effected because wet nurses are not chattel, and Pamela, who often preaches good manners to servants, appears less like a proud mistress and more like one who remembers her humble origins. A similar change is B.’s use of “Slut” that is emended to a more neutral “Creature” (23) and “jealous Slut” is “jealous Rogue” (141). The latter may be fine when a gentleman addresses a saucy servant, but when that gentleman makes a servant his wife, and that wife is as exemplary as Pamela, it is no doubt beyond the bounds of propriety. Pamela’s “taking each by the Hand” becomes the formal “laying my Hand upon the Hand of each” (36); “as quick as himself” is “as quick as he was” (141); the heroine’s attack of the “Vapours” is adjusted from “nasty” to “wretched” (148); B.’s vulgar “I thought you’d have had your Jewels” is a more dignified “I thought you’d have been better dress’d” (151); “every one” is the starched “Observers” (263); “which she prevail’d upon me to give her” is the ceremonious “which she consulted me upon” (413); “I can see that” is the more stilted “I

can observe that” (415); “There is going no further” becomes an affected “There is no going further” (341); and the relaxed “talks upon all Subjects much” is the reserved “talks much upon all Subjects” (385). These variants, to varying degrees, elevate the characters, in Richardson’s shorthand way, by improving her language and are, in all likelihood, a response to the prepossessions and prevailing attitudes toward his novel at the time. However slight or subtle, Richardson’s final adjustments, in conjunction with those already discussed, make his characters stylistically and hence more distinctly “Persons of *Figure and Quality*.”

The most significant revisions are to matters of propriety that were made, in all likelihood, to answer *Pamela II*’s critics and add a greater degree of verisimilitude; indeed, Richardson appears to have deliberately sought and attained, through Lady Bradshaigh principally, additional refinement and regularity for his first novel. As a result, a more urbane and genteel tone is introduced and the consequent inconsistencies made less apparent. The most frequent changes are excisions to superfluous and no doubt vulgar details that mention servants, including “and Mr. *Longman*, and Mrs. *Jervis*, were there” (III, 248); “attended by Mr. *Colbrand* and *Abraham*” (368); “and *Arthur* the Gardener, and his Wife, with *Benjamin*, are to keep House in the Country” (IV, 2); and “attended by Mr. *Colbrand*, *Abraham*, and *John*” (35). Though it is typical of Pamela to record minute particulars, the travel and seating arrangements of servants and herself are also omitted, namely “...and *Polly*, and *Rachel*, in the Coach; Mr. *B.* and myself in the Chariot. The other Maids are to go down with Mrs. *Jervis*” (195) and “placing Miss and me on the Front-seat, and himself on the other, with Miss’s Maid-servant, a genteel, prudent young Body, whom her Lady would fain have left in the Stage Coach, to avoid

the Honour of sitting with Mr. B.” (36-37).<sup>22</sup> Finally, although they are not servants, Pamela’s backhanded compliment to Mr. Williams and her former adjunct Mr. Adams as good examples of two men of a “low Condition” but generous minds is also silently omitted from her dissertation on Locke’s *Thoughts* (296).

Another group of revisions made for reasons of propriety include some of Pamela’s more indecorous, indelicate, or otherwise offensive comments. For instance, the heroine’s reference to lodging in Soho Square is omitted (III, 60). This may seem a slight and insignificant alteration to an obsolete topical reference, but the area, though still retaining a wealthy population, was, by 1760, increasingly becoming home to brothels, including Mrs. Cornelys’s Carlisle House on the east side (Cruikshank 167-68);<sup>23</sup> the adverb in “I was very much” is removed (III, 148) in order to make her appear less urgent about why Sir Simon will not let Polly visit her in London, i.e., because of B.’s libertine past; Pamela’s weak excuse and blatant passive-aggressive behavior, in which she makes B. come and get her when the Countess Dowager arrives, is beyond the bounds of propriety, uncharacteristic, and therefore omitted: “I would not be so officious as to be below to receive them” (152); her gauche aside in the clause “Mr. *H.* or Lord *Jackey*, (as we call the Gentleman, who will always be young)” is refined to simply “Lord *Jackey*” (209); the forced, impolite attempt at humor in “Thus, my dear Miss, had we a Dispute

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<sup>22</sup> One instance of Lady Davers’s ill-mannered attention to such details is also omitted, in particular her intention of sending her maidservant, Beck, and Mrs. Jewkes’s replacement, Mrs. Oldham, to Pamela “in a Chaise and Pair” (2nd, IV, 253). Richardson’s attention to detail, as the writer of *The Life of Pamela* suggests, was so annoying that a gentleman “wondered the Author had not told us the exact number of pins *Pamela* had about her when she set out for Lincolnshire, and how many rows of those pins she bought for a penny” (186).

<sup>23</sup> It is tempting to speculate how Pamela would respond to living a few doors down from a brothel. It is also tempting to wonder what B.’s business would be while lodging in the area, especially since Pamela has not entirely reclaimed him yet. Cruickshank, Dan. *London’s Sinful Secrets: The Bawdy History and Very Public Passions of London’s Georgian Age*. New York: St. Martin’s, 2009. Print.

about you” (255) is omitted lest it be interpreted as genuine; and Pamela’s raillery of Sir Simon and “his many-colour’d Gums” is softened to “his Gums” (291). Because the heroine protests too much against pretentious piety, her punctuated declaration, “Indeed I have not!” (249), is omitted, and another parenthetical, “Then, added her Ladyship (for she was in a pleasant Vein)” is excised, perhaps, to further imply that hypocritical “Over-gloominess” is no laughing matter (253). Indeed, Lady Davers hardly seems to be joking, but even if she is, it is ill-mannered for Pamela to say so. In another passage, Pamela’s officious claim that Mrs. Jewkes will be leveled with her social superiors upon her death (IV, 251) is also excised, though Pamela’s opinion that the repentant woman will be “richer than an earthly Monarch” (251) remains. This variant implies that either Pamela believes heaven has a social order or Richardson was so eager to please his upper-class readers that he was careful to exclude anything that might offend their genteel sensibilities, including the idea that death is a social leveler. As a former servant, Pamela’s comment that “Our Servants were not common Servants, and deserved any civil Distinctions” is more than a bit pretentious and thus emended to “good Servants deserved any civil Distinctions” (263); Sally Godfrey’s self-imposed exile in Jamaica was, according to Pamela, “certainly the Resolution to retrieve” her fault, but, upon revision, banishment is not so definitive an expedient for the forgiveness of sins and the adverb is omitted (262). Despite Pamela’s good intentions, her proposal that B. should escort the Dowager across the channel is also omitted, as there are grounds for thinking, because wholly indecent: “if it would be agreeable to her Ladyship, I made no doubt he would, with as high a Pleasure, as I should receive in his doing so, attend her Ladyship on board, and see her safe on the other Side” (280). Finally, Pamela qualifies her statement about

dancing undoubtedly to please a genteel taste when “For the Dancing of itself will answer both Parts, that of good Breeding, and that of Exercise” becomes “For the Dancing of itself, with the Dancing-master’s Instructions, if a well bred Man, will answer both Parts, that of Breeding, and that of Exercise” (300). In other words, the dancing-master must be a well bred man in order to properly instruct a gentleman’s children. Overall, these revisions and omissions are surely polite improvements over previous editions.

Consequently, Richardson killed two birds with one stone: he improved his novel by making it more realistic and more distinctive, and, in doing so, he purged it of what, it can be argued, would give offense to a genteel taste. At his death, *Pamela*’s characters, like Richardson, were clearly “*more conversant in High Life.*” This, in turn, further expresses Richardson’s characteristic silent response to contemporary criticism that was both personal and aesthetic.

Additional revisions reinforce a genteel decorum by removing impropriety from the indelicate behavior of secondary characters as well, namely B., Polly Darnford, and the Countess Dowager. Richardson was concerned with consistency and between him and Lady Bradshaigh they were able to excise some of the more ill-mannered or over-mannered conduct from more than just the heroine. For example, Sir Simon’s incorrect accusation that B. rather than Pamela has catalogued his faults is omitted: “*Dismounted Spectacles, arch Mouth, Gums of shining Jet,* and such-like fine Descriptions; are these yours, or your Lady’s? I’d be glad to know that, Mr. B. (III, 135). While this is merely Sir Simon acting up to his character, and keeping up the running joke, it was evidently too coarse to be included in the lifetime edition. B., who has been warned by Sir Simon from showing too much attention to Polly, has his liberal, ambiguous, and, above all, indecent



“salute” of Polly and Pamela omitted: “And he saluted Miss and me too” (IV, 124-25). Moreover, two instances of Polly’s flirtatious and therefore improper praise and censure of B. are omitted, respectively: “Oh! you are a charming Man!” (36) and “bold Gentleman, as I know you have been” (36). Finally, the Countess Dowager’s ultimately innocuous though suggestively revealing “I never heard from his Lips the least indecent Expression” is edited for content to “I never heard from him the least indecent Expression” (274). At the same time these and Pamela’s variants remove impolite behavior, suggestive content, or enhance the novel’s artistic merit with greater consistency, they also invariably alter characterization. Though he still has a rakish bent, B. is subtly tamed instead of absurdly and repeatedly saluting his “Two Nonpareils” (36). Similarly, Polly is not so reckless as to play the coquette with B. under Pamela’s nose, and the Dowager, who has an emotional attachment to B., is likewise neutralized. Accordingly, though subtly, these revisions show Richardson suppressed material that was obviously risqué or at odds with a genteel, “high life” ethos and the final view he had for his first novel.

If, as it is perceived, Richardson’s goal in revising his sequel was to make it conform to a genteel taste, then even slight adjustments to the novel’s typography merit examination, especially since Lady Bradshaigh’s copy of *Clarissa* indicates she suggested typographical emendations to Richardson.<sup>24</sup> There are 14 changes to italics in the lifetime edition, the majority of which are added for emphasis; others remove the accent from the word with curious implications; and still others are introduced for rhetorical effect or a quotative function. In the case of the latter, an error is introduced

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<sup>24</sup> See Barchas and Fulton’s *Annotations*.

when Sir Simon's "her" (III, 137) is minimized and faulty parallel structure introduced.

Conversely, Pamela's "*her*" (IV, 393) corrects faulty parallelism and "*her*" (395) is introduced to signal a quote. In the case of the former, there are slight adjustments to characterization that are introduced with the emphasis or de-emphasis of a word.

Pamela's character in particular is subtly altered, but there is also a change each to B. and Polly Darnford that enhances and retrenches their characters respectively. For example, Pamela's minimized "no" interestingly suggests that Richardson, or Lady Bradshaigh, was eager to play down the heroine's low birth, "which is no Disgrace" (III, 23), and, as a result, Pamela is not so emphatically proud to compare her low birth and good actions against those of her social superiors who have nothing to boast of but their breeding.

Furthermore, Pamela's bashfulness and embarrassment at being noticeably pregnant is accented by the fact that she declares she "looked *so* silly" (162) after Lady Davers teases her and reproaches B. for letting her tight-lace in her condition. Another italic, "*Improvements*" (IV, 37), is added as a more distinct euphemism for her pregnancy; her devotion to B. and his 48 commandments, numbers 37 through 40 in particular, is underscored when she proclaims that "I will be ingenious to find Excuses or Extenuations for him" (144) if he leaves her for the Countess Dowager; "*so* proud, and *so* pleas'd" (148) highlights her joy at a momentary renewal of B.'s affection for her; and "her *Sister* saluted *me*" (152) emphasizes Pamela's jealousy by the comparison of the Countess Dowager's behavior with that of the Viscountess, the Dowager's sister. In another example, during the trial scene, "will" is minimized and, as a result, Pamela is not as confident or certain that B.'s mind "will" be, some day, blessed with "Motives of Religion" (183). Here, perhaps, Richardson was hoping to increase the dramatic tension

by not prematurely revealing B.'s expected and complete reformation. Finally, Pamela's "Over-gloominess" is given a lighter touch when she emphatically and self-deprecatingly calls herself one of those "thoughtful *Futurity-Pokers*" (III, 386) and admits, however subtly, that she worries too much about the afterlife.

Naturally, B. and Polly's characters are not as nuanced typographically as Pamela's; nevertheless, they are similarly altered by light touches. B.'s "*Crime*" (III, 128), for instance, is stressed with tongue-in-cheek most likely to make his feigned anger with Pamela regarding her sermonizing though playful letter to Sir Simon more apparent and entertaining to the reader. On the other hand, the italics are removed from Polly's "may be" (325) and suggests, with less intensity and hence more respect, that B. is wrong for thinking he knows the reason Polly is angry with her sister, i.e., that Mr. Murray is complimenting and addressing Nancy now instead of her. This, consequently, slightly reduces an instance of Polly's waspish personality, a chief character trait that, as Donald Ball has remarked, anticipates Richardson's later creations of Anna Howe and Charlotte Grandison.<sup>25</sup> Both of these changes, and indeed the sequel's italics overall, show the lighter side of Pamela, Polly, and B.'s characters by stressing or reducing their piety and raillery. These and a handful of other revisions, including the reduction of Pamela's "Over-gloominess," show that one of Richardson's goals for revision may have been to somewhat lighten the novel's rather somber mood. If this is the case, then Lady Bradshaigh's influence may have been at least partly responsible.

The conclusion to the lifetime edition, however slightly, continues the overarching goal of reducing affection, elevating the language, and removing

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<sup>25</sup> See "'Pamela II: A Primary Link in Richardson's Development as a Novelist.'"

improprieties, indicating that *Pamela II*, like the eighth edition of *Pamela I*, was a cover to cover revision. In addition to retaining the changes made to the second edition, the first thing a reader encounters in the lifetime's conclusion is, as Peter Sabor points out in his dissertation, the omission of a "stylistic affectation" (351), namely "That" which prefaced each new paragraph.<sup>26</sup> Additionally, there is an altered form of address that complements a few of the texts revisions, specifically "her Spouse," which any reader would know to be B., is emended to "he" (431). In one example, the style is elevated from "so happily concluded" to a more affected "concluded so happily" (430), and in another, the informal "where the good old Gentlewoman then died" is replaced by a more dignified "The good old Gentlewoman died first" (431). Other revisions further reduce the artificial style and indecorous praise for Pamela and B. For instance, "the great and good Examples" they set is restrained to "the good Examples" (431), and instead of "the honourable Family" they are simply "the Family" (432). Given the textual evidence, and Richardson's goal to appear "*more conversant in High Life*," it is no surprise that a tinge of the "high life" ethos that was introduced into the lifetime edition is carried over into the "editor's" conclusion. It is thus Richardson responded to critics and thereby gave a new dignity to his first novel and a sense of his own development as a writer.

That Richardson's intention was to tidy up matters of propriety is almost certain, but how successfully volumes III and IV of his lifetime edition satisfied disgruntled readers is not so easily measured after his death.<sup>27</sup> Of course, Richardson may have had

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<sup>26</sup> Curiously, this is the only change that Sabor finds in the conclusion. It is possible, then, that the lifetime edition he examined is somehow different from the copy I examined at the William Andrews Clark Memorial Library in Los Angeles.

<sup>27</sup> Following Richardson's death, *Pamela*'s octavo edition was re-issued in 1772, and, without a publication history from the novel's inception to the end of the century, it is unknown which edition the rest of the

several reasons for a final revision of his first novel, such as cleaning up grammatical errors and, as in volumes I and II, comprehensively elevating Pamela's character, but in the sequel there is also, I argue, a personal reason. *Pamela*, since 1741, was critically maligned as the lowest and most tasteless of his three novels. It appears, then, that the most probable reasons for these changes and excisions is equally divided between matters of artistry and matters of criticism, and the two often go hand in hand. He eliminated or retrenched what a critical reader, then as well as now, may be inclined to call inferior: the improprieties, affectations, and "*monstrous Inconsistencies*" of characters that are, allegedly, "Persons of *Figure* and *Quality*." Accordingly, and as he evolved as a writer by gaining knowledge through his correspondence with some of the century's literati, he revised over a number of years, both before and after completing two additional novels, in an effort, with *Pamela II* at least, to silence his most outspoken critics. Thus, *Pamela*'s "status inconsistency" and "linguistic incompetence" (McKeon 412), though not entirely resolved, is, presumably, less evident as the text was made to conform to the genteel taste of its most, as Richardson put it, "high-bred" readers (Carroll 325).

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eighteenth-century reissues are based on. To complicate matters, the fourteenth edition, published in 1801, was significantly revised by Richardson and his daughters, making it difficult, if not impossible, to assess contemporary reader response to the lifetime edition of *Pamela* because it was replaced, according to the booksellers note prefaced to the 1801 edition, by a new, more authoritative text. Furthermore, Eaves and Kimpel's examination of the fifteenth edition, published in 1810, reveals additional revisions, presumably made by Richardson's daughter, Anne ("Revisions" 77). In addition to explicating the basic elements of *Pamela*'s history, a complete publication history of the book has much it can contribute to the study of the novel, including what it may reveal about *Pamela*'s reading audience after Richardson's death.

## CONCLUSION

This study began with a series of questions: why did Richardson revise *Pamela*; what, according to his correspondence, might have been his intent; and, more importantly, what is the impact of the variants and how do they affect one's interpretation of the novel and its characters? I believe these questions have been thoroughly explored in this dissertation, though they have not been answered with any sense of finality. Indeed, there is still plenty of work to do, especially in the wake of Cambridge University's forthcoming complete edition of Richardson's works and correspondence – twenty-five volumes in all of updated and scholarly edited material that will undoubtedly prove invaluable for future studies of the eighteenth-century novel and Richardson scholars alike. In particular, a comprehensive collection of the extant manuscripts of Richardson's correspondence, including those in private collections, may shed additional light on the revisions he made to all three of his novels and reveal not only Richardson's views of contemporary criticism and how it may or may not have influenced the changes, but the views of his correspondents as well. While this study cannot benefit from the updated material, it does expand upon what is currently available in order to offer an explanation, an exhibition, and an interpretation of the revisions to all four volumes of *Pamela* published in Richardson's lifetime: the results are significant.

First, Richardson as an author was constructed by his critics as one without much to offer, particularly because he was a middle-class tradesman without the traditionally cultivated intellect of a university education. I have shown how prevalent this opinion was in the eighteenth-century, but similar attitudes also carry over into nineteenth- and even twentieth-century criticism. For example, Leslie Stephen's view of Richardson 128

years after his death is a good representation of the *ad hominem* attacks Richardson was bombarded with by his contemporaries: “Here is a man, we might say, whose special characteristic it was to be a milksop” and one “who lived an obscure life in a petty coterie in fourth-rate London society, and was in no respect at a point of view more exalted than that of his companions” (I, x).<sup>1</sup> *Pamela*, Stephen continues, is “beyond all comparison the worst of [Richardson’s] works...that succeeds neither in being moral nor amusing” (xxix). It does, however, successfully try the patience of its readers with “a truly amazing fertility in a specially feminine art” that “[w]e have all suffered from...for [its] pouring forth indefinite floods of correspondence” (xxix). To a lesser degree, at the turn of the century, G. H. Maynadier, in his introduction to volume I of *The Complete Works of Henry Fielding*, also takes the opportunity during his retelling of the history of *Joseph Andrews* to personally insult Richardson.<sup>2</sup> Instead of referring to him as the author of three novels, Richardson was, rather, responsible for “undesignedly” directing “the path of fame” of a much better novelist, his literary rival Henry Fielding (xv). Furthermore, Richardson, though a good letter writer, “was a fat, prosy printer about fifty years old, when certain publishers urged him” to write *Pamela*, a “dull” moral tale that “cannot make us feel to-day the charm which Richardson unquestionably would have us feel” because Pamela “jumps at the chance of bettering her social position” (xv-xvi). George Saintsbury perpetuates a similar image of Richardson in his preface to the Everyman edition of *Pamela*. Here, reflecting the attitudes of Richardson’s contemporaries,

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<sup>1</sup> Introduction. *The Works of Samuel Richardson*. Vol. 1. London: H. Sotheran, 1883. ix-iv. *Google Books Search*. Web. 10 Jan. 2012.

<sup>2</sup> Introduction. *The Works of Henry Fielding*. Vol. 1. New York: G.D. Sproul, 1903. xv-xxiii. *Google Books Search*. Web. 10 Jan. 2012.

Saintsbury suggests that Richardson should have focused on what he knew best – his printing business:

Until his books made him famous he saw little, if anything, of that higher society which nevertheless even the earliest of those books endeavoured partly to depict. He has not acquired, and never did acquire, the close approximation to easy speech and writing...[that] others were carrying further in informal letters... Though the reverse of illiterate, he cannot have been very widely read, and from sixteen to fifty he had been strictly confined to business and to low middle-class life in London. (I, viii)<sup>3</sup>

It is, in large part, this kind of personal, class and gender conscious criticism that Richardson silently responded to by revising his first novel. He had, perhaps, something to prove to his readers after he was made aware of his linguistic failures and tried to remedy his ignorance with stereotypical markers of status and culturally ideal behavior.

Second, according to his correspondence, Richardson received criticism, as Peter Sabor concludes in his dissertation, “with the utmost seriousness” (17). Richardson, for example, was made aware of critical objections to the novel’s low style shortly after it was first published. An anonymous correspondent wrote to praise the novel, but he also offered a number of suggestions, many of which are found in the second edition of volumes I and II. In addition to this influential letter, others arrived from anonymous, pseudonymous, and friendly correspondents that were full of compliments and censure, and Richardson reacted with cold indifference, mild amusement, blushing embarrassment, or outright anger. He was also undoubtedly aware of an assortment of published criticisms, including reviews, advertisements of spurious sequels, pamphlets, and parodies. Evidence that Richardson was familiar with these critiques and that he was

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<sup>3</sup> Introduction. *Pamela*. By Samuel Richardson. Vol. 1. New York: E.P. Dutton, 1933. vii-xi. Print.



uneasy with their subjective readings can be found in references to these texts in his correspondence, and a number of subsequent revisions to different editions testify to their influence. Some of the more disapproving responses most likely encouraged him to publish the expensive octavo edition of *Pamela*, particularly for those who thought him and his novel “low.” What’s more, in the years following *Pamela*’s publication, critics often compared his first novel with his more mature works, *Clarissa* and *Grandison*. The revisions, consequently, reveal that Richardson revised in order to maintain the “Air of Genuineness” that was supposedly weakened by *Pamela*’s linguistic improprieties and vulgar idiom. Improvements to language, then, become the best *prima facie* evidence to distinguish Pamela from the lower sections of society and facilitate her integration into the social elite. This, at least, is the overt goal of the lifetime edition. Richardson wrote to Lady Bradshaigh that he intended to “give Pamela my last correction, if my life be spared; that, as a piece of writing only, she may not appear, for her situation, unworthy of her younger sisters” (Carroll 245). In other words, he was aware that his first novel required polishing if it was going to satisfy class-conscious readers, and he was even more determined to “correct” in ways that signaled his characters were, as promised, “Persons of *Figure* and *Quality*.”

Third, the variants introduced into the texts have, depending on the edition, far reaching interpretive effects. In fact, the changes to characterization compound over time as previous emendations remain and complement successive revisions in *Pamela*’s duodecimos. After examining these variants, a number of conclusions can be reached. First, Richardson preferred to adapt and improve rather than omit. Indeed, grammatical niceties are corrected, sentences are readjusted, expanded, and polished more often than

they are discarded, social and linguistic improprieties are emended, and a number of informal single-words are replaced by their more formal equivalent. Second, and as a result of the first, characters are redefined in the most subtle and simple way – stylistically. In many ways, this demonstrates Richardson’s attempt to, what he called, restore readers’ “Historical Faith” in his fiction. In other words, Richardson prided himself on verisimilitude and the “*Air of Genuineness*” his fiction offered. Therefore, he avoided answering readers’ objections to the heroine’s social status by surprising them with a high-born Pamela in his sequel, as “the High-Life Men” ultimately did. As things stood with critics, whose regular complaints were to the novel’s low style, it is unlikely that even this would have pleased them. B.’s language, for example, though he is born a gentleman, was considered inconsistent with his character. Richardson, therefore, in response to various critics, elevated *Pamela*’s prose under the assumption that a character’s worth is unambiguously signaled by established, prescriptive linguistic codes. Fourth, Richardson’s use of typography often influences meaning and impacts characterization. Physically altering a previously static typeface for emphasis was clearly, for Richardson at least, meant to guide readers to a better understanding of a given character’s use of language. Though italics are not considered substantive variants, Richardson used them to add a degree of interpretative nuance to the words of his key characters. Fifth, not all of the revisions are obvious improvements. In these cases it is not a question of whether or not Richardson’s first intention was best, but whether or not the text is improved. On the whole, the answer is yes, but some examples are certainly indifferent, or at least insignificant, and in others it appears Richardson overcompensated for previous errors.

Finally, larger, steady patterns of revision emerge over time and most of them are aimed in the same direction – elevation and consistency – but, surprisingly, they reach their highest point in 1742 with the publication of *Pamela*'s octavo edition. This text, at least volumes I and II, is significantly revised, contrary to Eaves and Kimpel's evaluation ("Revisions" 69), and many of the variants are of a kind with the duodecimo revisions. The paratextual additions, however, are much bolder. The table of contents, for instance, is a powerful framing device Richardson-as-editor included with the expectation that readers would absorb his watered down analysis of characters and events, but his point of view is subjective and cannot always be corroborated, as the narrative makes abundantly clear. In other words, the editor is reliable insofar as he is familiar with the story, but he is not the all-seeing and all-knowing authority he presumes to be. At the same time, the engravings Richardson commissioned are more than just a clever marketing ploy; they are not irrelevant or simply decorative diversions used to promote sales. In fact, they were assigned page numbers so that the binder could insert them to the left or the right of the passage each one visually represents. Instead of limiting possible readings with this juxtaposition, as it seems Richardson intended, the engravings, paradoxically, expand them by depicting Pamela, contrary to her social position in the text, as an emblem of the gentry, and her courtship and impending marriage as a matter of course. Such ancillary matter, like the revised preface, introduction, and conclusion in the duodecimos, is far from ephemeral. They all leave, to varying degrees, lingering traces of Richardson's own prescriptive analyses in the minds of *Pamela*'s readers and undoubtedly affect how they approach the text. If Richardson intended for us to "think now one way, now another, of the very same Characters" (Carroll 248) in *Grandison*, perhaps he also hoped to

“occasion many Debates upon different Parts of [his] Management” (257) in the revised editions of *Pamela* as well.

*Pamela Reworded* offers a unique look at the revisions Richardson made to all four volumes of *Pamela* in his lifetime. In addition to exhibiting the variants, I have also speculated why he revised and have attempted, when possible, to measure the impact Richardson’s contemporaries had on the revisions. More importantly, however, I hope I have articulated what Richardson achieved with his emendations, particularly how characterization is changed as a result and what kind of hero and heroine readers can expect to find in subsequent editions of *Pamela*. Of course, other studies have commented on Richardson’s revisions, but my account emphasizes the motives and the results that affect both our interpretation and our appreciation of the novel. The revisions made over twenty years vary in purpose, but there is an explicit focus on elevating the language and enhancing the heroine’s status. The emended characterization of the titular character complements additional changes that add greater consistency to the novel’s “high life” characters as well, namely B., his immediate family, and his acquaintances. It is possible that B. was never meant to be a likable character, (Richardson himself did not like him), but the variants highlight how he has been softened, and the impact is marked. The changes to other characters are just as discernible, and visualizing this transformation is facilitated by the revision narrative. There is still much that can be done with a bibliographic study of *Pamela*, but I expect this study has illustrated how composition and publication history can inform literary analysis.

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