

SAMUEL RICHARDSON'S REVISIONS TO PAMELA (1740, 1801)

Ashley Brookner Bender

Thesis Prepared for the Degree of

MASTER OF ARTS

UNIVERSITY OF NORTH TEXAS

August 2004

APPROVED:

Alexander Pettit, Major Professor
Thomas R. Preston, Committee Member
Deborah Needleman Armintor, Committee

Member

Brenda Sims, Program Coordinator of
Graduate Studies

James T. F. Tanner, Chair of the Department
of English

Sandra L. Terrell, Dean of the Robert B.
Toulouse School of Graduate Studies

Bender, Ashley Brookner. *Samuel Richardson's Revisions to Pamela (1740, 1801)*.

Master of Arts (English), August 2004, 33 pp., references, 10 titles.

The edition of *Pamela* a person reads will affect his or her perception of Pamela's ascent into aristocratic society. Richardson's revisions to the fourteenth edition of *Pamela*, published posthumously in 1801, change Pamela's character from the 1740 first edition in such a way as to make her social climb more believable to readers outside the novel and to "readers" inside the novel. Pamela alters her language, her actions, and her role in the household by the end of the first edition; in the fourteenth edition, however, she changes in little more than her title. *Pamela* might begin as a novel that threatens the fabric of class hierarchies, but it ends—both within the plot and externally throughout its many editions—as a novel that stabilizes and strengthens social norms.

Copyright 2004

by

Ashley Brookner Bender

TABLE OF CONTENTS

RICHARDSON'S REVISIONS OF *PAMELA*.....1
WORKS CITED.....33

The death of Lady B at the opening of Samuel Richardson's *Pamela* (1740) appears to be a devastating event for the heroine. Pamela, an upper servant before her lady's death, finds that the position she once filled no longer exists. She says, "Much I fear'd, that as I was taken by her ladyship to wait upon her person, I should be quite destitute again, and forc'd to return to you and my poor Mother, who have enough to do to maintain yourselves" (1801.I.1; cf. 1740.I.1).¹ Pamela not only fears her loss of position in the household but is also aware of the greater social implications of her loss of employment. She understands that she cannot maintain a stable place in society if she has no stable place in the household. But, as Robert A. Donovan notes, what originally "precipitates a crisis for Pamela, both because it permits the unwelcome attentions of Lady B's son and because it leaves her without a clearly defined position in the household" instigates Pamela's transformation of herself and, thus, her place in society.² This instability actually gives Pamela the opportunity to remake herself in the image of an aristocratic lady. She now has the freedom to move from the servants' quarters with Mrs. Jervis into the master suite with Mr. B. Yet Pamela never fully divests herself of her origins until the fourteenth edition.

Thus the edition of *Pamela* that a person reads will affect his or her perception of Pamela's ascent into aristocratic society. Pamela's language in the fourteenth edition changes so that she becomes more gentrified through the revisions of the novel just as she becomes more gentrified in the novel. What occurs in the narrative also occurs meta-narratively. Pamela's written language—her letters and journal—allows her to move fluidly through the social ranks because she is able to construct a new self that is elevated in status (in language and actions) and that exemplifies the one aspect of her character that the upper classes will admire and even seek

¹ References to the first edition are to the copy held by the National Library of Scotland. References to the fourteenth edition are to the Garland reprint series, *The Flowering of the English Novel*, which republished the text of the 1801 edition in 1974.

² Robert A. Donovan, "The Problem of *Pamela*; or, Virtue Unrewarded," *SEL* 3 (1963): 384.

to emulate: her virtue.³ Once Pamela and Mr. B marry, he takes Pamela's virtue (literally and figuratively), and Pamela settles into her new role as Mrs. B as though she had never been a servant.

Richardson's revisions to the fourteenth edition of *Pamela*, based on his final revisions and published posthumously in 1801, change Pamela's character from the 1740 first edition in such a way as to make her social climb more believable to readers outside the novel and to "readers" inside the novel (Mr. B, Lady Davers, etc.). Pamela alters her language, her actions, and her role in the household by the end of the first edition; in the fourteenth edition, however, she changes in little more than her title. *Pamela* might begin as a novel that threatens the fabric of class hierarchies, but it ends—both within the plot and externally throughout its many editions—as a novel that stabilizes and strengthens social norms.

Richardson's revisions began long before the fourteenth edition was published. Duncan Eaves and Ben T. C. Kimpel suggest that "Richardson's last and most elaborate revisions" began around 1753; he asserted that he wanted to "give Pamela [his] last Correction, if [his] Life be spared; that, as a Piece of Writing only, she may not appear, for her Situation, unworthy of her Younger Sisters."⁴ Quite a few of Richardson's previous revisions were extensive: the second edition contains approximately 841 substantive changes from the first, and the fifth duodecimo and sixth octavo editions contain 950 and 633 changes from immediately preceding editions, respectively.⁵ But the fourteenth edition contains 8400 alterations from an interleaved copy of

³ According to Christine Roulston, Pamela "has been stripped of everything [and] has nothing left but her interior self. This self, made present through writing, becomes a model of subjectivity that does not depend, in Michael McKeon's terms, on a correspondence between 'outward circumstance and inward essence.'" Pamela has only an interior self, so she is able to construct an exterior self that embodies those characteristics normally associated with a lady of the aristocracy (*Virtue, Gender, and the Authentic Self in Eighteenth-Century Fiction: Richardson, Rousseau, and Laclos* (Gainesville: U P of Florida, 1998) xii.).

⁴ T.C. Duncan Eaves and Ben D. Kimpel, "Richardson's Revisions of *Pamela*," *Studies in Bibliography* 20 (1967): 61, qtd. 77.

⁵ *Ibid.*, 64, 67, 69.

the sixth octavo consisting of single words, phrases, and entire passages that Richardson both added and removed.⁶ Eaves and Kimpel consider the effect these changes had on Pamela's character only in order to point out the changes from Pamela's "country habit" to her "country-gentry habit":

It cannot be said that the [character] of Pamela . . . [is] fundamentally altered, but an effort is made to keep [her] more consistent and to prepare the reader for the idealized characters of third and fourth volumes. Richardson was evidently conscious of the gap between the servant girl . . . of the beginning and the fine lady . . . of the end, and tried to bridge it. The gap proved unbridgeable⁷

Phillip Gaskell observes that in the fourteenth edition, "scarcely a sentence of the original text remained unaltered, and this time Richardson not only continued to refine the tone of his novel but also and more fundamentally he attempted to shift its whole moral balance."⁸ "Perhaps," he suggests, "for Richardson the main purpose of the final revision was its improvement of the characters of Pamela and Mr. B."⁹ Gaskell's study, much like Eaves and Kimpel's, looks at the various stages of revisions on a broad scale by comparing each edition or stage of revision to the immediately preceding edition or stage.¹⁰ This has resulted in a comparison of the fourteenth and the sixth octavo editions in both studies since Richardson based most of his final revision on the text of the octavo.¹¹ Yet the first and fourteenth editions are, as these three critics variously acknowledge, the most important editions of the novel as they give

⁶ Eaves and Kimpel's study does not include "obvious misprints, changes in italics, spelling, punctuation, capitalization, or paragraphing, or the expansion of contractions" (62).

⁷ *Ibid.*, 88, 85.

⁸ Phillip Gaskell, "Richardson, *Pamela*, 1740," in Gaskell, ed., *From Writer to reader: Studies in Editorial Method* (Oxford: Oxford U P, 1978) 65.

⁹ *Ibid.*, 75.

¹⁰ Gaskell looks at the three main stages of the novel by comparing the first edition (1740), the sixth octavo edition (1742), and the fourteenth edition (1801). Eaves and Kimpel examine each authorial edition: the first through the seventh duodecimo editions (1740-1761), the sixth octavo edition, and the fourteenth edition.

¹¹ See Eaves and Kimpel pages 73-78.

readers the original and final authorial intentions.¹² The fourteenth edition incorporates many of the changes made to previous editions, and it also includes many new revisions. Thus an examination of the trends in revisions between the first and the fourteenth editions will illuminate the changes to Pamela from her conception in 1740 to her final authorial manifestation in the 1801 edition. Analyzing the Pamela whom Eaves and Kimpel say “Richardson [originally] imagined” will increase our understanding of “the Pamela he thought he should have imagined” and the impact that she made on her novel.¹³

Eaves and Kimpel and Gaskell note that many of the changes that Richardson incorporated from previous editions elevate Pamela’s diction and elocution. Grammatical alterations and changes in phraseology give Pamela a mature and sophisticated style that she lacks in the first edition. Richardson often changed incorrect past participles to comply with correct usage, such as “wrote” to “written” in the phrase “has written a letter” (1801.I.296; cf. 1740.II.2).¹⁴ The past tense “was” is often changed to the subjunctive “were,” as in “Mrs. *Jervis* uses me as if I were her own Daughter” (1801.I.9; cf. 1740.I.9). Eaves and Kimpel observe that Pamela’s “colorful idioms” tend to be replaced with more refined expressions. “My Heart went pit-a-pat” changes not only to “my heart fluttered” in the first volume as Eaves and Kimpel point out, but it also changes to “my heart fluttering” in volume two of the fourteenth (1801. I.26, I.300; cf. 1740.I.28, II.6).¹⁵ “Naughty” often becomes “wicked.” Richardson changed “here” to “hither”; “there” to “thither”; and “where” to “whither.” “Curchee” becomes a less colloquial “curt’sy.” Mr. B “salutes” Pamela more than he “kisses” her. Pamela uses “classed” language

¹² Gaskell, 63; Eaves and Kimpel, 88.

¹³ Eaves and Kimpel, 88.

¹⁴ Eaves and Kimpel present a detailed account of these and other revisions in their study. My discussion of these revisions is brief as Eaves and Kimpel and Gaskell discuss them in more detail.

¹⁵ Eaves and Kimpel, 79.

on occasion, for example where she refers to herself with third person pronouns (1801.II.40; cf. 1740.II.72).

Richardson also altered the manner in which Pamela tells her story. Eaves and Kimpel observe that he eliminated many “he said” or “she said” clauses.¹⁶ This makes passages of dialogue quicker and less bogged down by unnecessary speaker tags that the reader can often figure out on his or her own. Where he did not omit such clauses, Richardson changed many of them to a variety of alternatives: “replied he,” “said he,” “he was pleased to say,” “answered he,” or “he answered.” Pamela uses more transitions, especially in the sections where she is summarizing previous entries in her journal. These additional passages help the reader follow Pamela’s thoughts. To the first summary of her packets, among other phrases, she adds, “There was also in this parcel,” “however,” “also,” “I had also expressed,” “was also farther expressed,” “Then they contain,” “And then again I lament” (1801.I.302-303).

Eaves and Kimpel remark disparagingly that “Pamela almost dies as a character shortly before her marriage.”¹⁷ While Pamela does continue to exhibit her spirited nature from time to time, the revisions do suggest that Pamela has lost much of the spontaneity that is compelling in her character in the first edition. Removing “well” and the adverbial use of “so” at the beginning of sentences and between clauses makes Pamela’s language more elegant and dignified. “So” gives Pamela the appearance of working through a thought process at the moment of speech by outlining the causal relationships between her actions and her thoughts. She says, “He turn’d from me in great Wrath, and took down another Alley, and so I went in with a very heave Heart” in the first edition, but in the fourteenth she omits “so” (1801.I.321; cf. 1740.II.31). Thus the first edition more specifically makes a connection between Mr. B’s anger and Pamela’s “heavy

¹⁶ Ibid., 80.

¹⁷ Ibid., 80.

heart.” The reading of the first edition uses an adverb in a way that suggests it is a conjunction, and it lacks the precision of “and therefore.”

“Well” creates pauses in Pamela’s speech and writing, which gives the impression of Pamela thinking of what to say before she speaks. Pamela’s responses are quicker and more to the point in the instances where Richardson omitted this word. Pamela ultimately appears more self-assured in the fourteenth edition, especially where “well” had previously given her a greater sense of resignation in the first edition. “Well, added I, I am quite ready,” she tells Mrs. Jewkes once she has packed after her banishment from the Lincolnshire estate (1740.II.34). The fourteenth edition only reads, “I am quite ready, Mrs. Jewkes” (1801.II.2) Pamela says a few paragraphs later, “I think I was loth to leave the house” (1801.II.3; cf. 1740.II.35). The combination of this later comment and “well” in the first edition more effectively shows that Pamela “was loth to leave” by adding a longer pause when saying she was ready, as if she might have been physically ready but was not emotionally ready to leave.

Removing or moderating Pamela’s exclamatory interjections at the beginning of sentences diminishes her sense of urgency certain situations. It lessens the emotional impact that events have on her and makes her appear more composed under duress. He frequently removed “O” (or a variation thereof). In a single passage after she reads the letter from the gypsy, Pamela exclaims, “O how shall I find Words to paint my Griefs”; “O what a black dismal Heart must he have!”; “Oh! this is indeed too much”; and “O the wretched, wretched Pamela!” (1740.II.7-8). Only the final “O” remains in the corresponding passage of the fourteenth edition. Pamela may be quite frightened after reading the gypsy’s letter in the fourteenth edition, but she no longer works herself into a frenzied state of terror. Richardson also deleted “Alas” from some of her dialogue (1801.I.305, 307; cf. 1740.II.13,15). Where Richardson did not remove her

exclamations, he often replaced them with milder phrases. For example, “Good Sirs! Good Sirs!” of the first edition becomes “Mercy on me!” in the fourteenth (1740.I.242; 1801.I.244).

Just as Richardson examined his language and characters as he revised his novel, so, too, does Pamela take more time to consider her situation in the fourteenth edition before she actually sits down to write about it. Pamela and Richardson are both separated from their original inspirations for writing. His revisions and her reactions are less impulsive and more calculated in design. In fact, many instances in the fourteenth edition overtly demonstrate that Pamela has contemplated her experiences before she writes about them. Joe Bray notes “a general change here from present reaction to reflection on the past.”¹⁸ This greater emphasis on the “past, experiencing” self distances Pamela from her experiences and emotions by focusing less on her “present, narrating self.”¹⁹ She no longer consistently writes “to the moment” and trades her immediate responses for more deliberate reflection. Pamela removes herself from the moment of experience to a future moment in which she comments on the actual experience. Her distanced position from the fourteenth edition prohibits the reader from becoming involved in the seemingly first-hand experience of seeing Pamela’s thoughts as she thinks them. The reader, and Pamela, is removed from the immediacy of the action. Mrs. Jewkes no longer “tells” Pamela that she must go down to meet Lady Davers, or Lady Davers “will” come up (1740.II.225). In the fourteenth edition Pamela says that Mrs. Jewkes “told” her to go down, or Lady Davers “would” come up (1801.II.166). The intensity of Pamela’s vivid, present-tense language is lost in the shift to the past tense. The past-tense verb in the fourteenth edition prohibits the reader from becoming involved in the seemingly first-hand experience of seeing Pamela’s thoughts as she thinks them. Consider the following passages:

¹⁸ Joe Bray, *The Epistolary Novel: Representations of Consciousness* (London: Routledge, 2003) 79.

¹⁹ *Ibid.*, 79.

Dear-heart! I wish, thinks I, you would spare these Compliments; for I shall have some Joke, I doubt, passed upon me by-and-by, that will make me suffer for all these fine things. (1740.II.217)

Dear ladies! thought I, I wish you would spare these compliments; for I shall have some jest, I doubt, pass'd upon me, by-and-by, that will make me suffer for them. (1801.II.160)

Richardson omitted Pamela's impetuous outbursts in the fourteenth edition, attenuating the immediacy of her emotions and stifling her spontaneity. The removal of the following passages hinders the reader from receiving a detailed account of what Pamela thought and felt at each moment in the novel.

O thank you, thank your Honour a Million of Times!— (1740.II.35)

O may my thankful Heart, and the good Use I may be enabled to make of the Blessings before me, be a Means to continue this delightful Prospect to a long Date, for the sake of the dear good gentleman, who thus becomes the happy Instrument in the Hands of Providence, to bless all he smiles upon! (1740.II.125-24)

Did I say too much, my dear Parents, when I said, he was, if possible, kinder and kinder!— O the blessed Man! How my Heart is overwhelm'd with his Goodness!

(1740.II.204; 1801.II.151)

Pamela is more detached from the intricacies of her experiences and is incapable of conveying the force of her emotions at the time of the initial experience. Instead of recording an exact description of events (including how she felt at every moment), Pamela only records recollections of her trials. Where the first edition reads more like what Ian Watt calls a “minute-by-minute content of consciousness,” the fourteenth edition becomes a memory of the past retold

from a later point in Pamela's life.²⁰ Pamela moves further away from the moment of experience and consequently details or "remembers" less. The scenes are less vivid, the details less tangible.

Pamela's account of her first Sunday back in Bedfordshire loses 286 words in which she describes her afternoon activities and ruminates "upon all these Favours and Blessings in the Light, wherein I ought to receive them" (1801.II.280; cf. 1740.II.350). Pamela does not tell us that "when we came home, which was about Dinner-time, he was the same obliging, sweet Gentleman; And, in short, is studious to shew, on every Occasion, his generous Affection to me" after her chariot ride the day following her wedding (1801.II.140; cf. 1740.II.190). She, instead, moves from their previous conversation in the chariot to their conversation after dinner. Pamela does not as intricately describe her bundles or her country outfit; her guineas at the beginning of the novel are no longer "golden"; and Mr. B still wears a dressing gown when he rushes out of the closet to molest her, but it is no longer "silver" (1801.I.2, 72; cf. 1740.I.2, 74).

Omitting such detail allows Pamela to be more succinct in her narration. She removes superfluous descriptors, such as "dear" and "poor." A few of her passages retain the same sense in the fourteenth as they do in the first edition, but they are condensed.

We left the company, with great Difficulty, at about Eleven, my dear Master having been up all Night before, and we being at the greatest Distance from Home; tho' they seem'd inclinable not to break up so soon, as they were Neighbours; and the Ladies said they long'd to hear what would be the End of Lady *Davers's* Interview with her Brother.

My Master said, he fear'd we must not now think of going next Day to *Bedfordshire*, as we had intended, and perhaps might see them again. And so we took

²⁰ Ian Watt, *The Rise of the Novel: Studies in Defoe, Richardson, and Fielding* (Berkeley: U of California P, 1957) 192.

Leave, and set out for Home; where we arriv'd not till Twelve o'Clock; and found Lady *Davers* had gone to Bed about Eleven, wanting sadly that we should come home first; but so did not I.

Mrs. Jewkes told us, That my Lady was sadly fretted, that I had got away so; and seem'd a little apprehensive of what I would say of the Usage I had receiv'd from her.

(1740.II.271-72)

Richardson shortened this passage to

We left the company, to their regret, at about eleven. It was twelve before we got home.

Mrs. Jewkes told us that Lady *Davers* sat up till eleven; and often expressed her impatience for our return; threatening us both. I was very glad to hear she was retired to rest. She had expressed, it seems, a good deal of vexation, that I had escaped her; and was a little apprehensive of the report I should make of her treatment of me.

(1801.II.206).

Pamela substitutes the phrase “to their regret” for her previous explanation, which expresses “their regret” and why the company wanted them to stay. She no longer reports Mr. B’s decision to remain longer in Lincolnshire. Since she has already expressed that they “left the company,” she omits “And so we took Leave, and set out for Home,” a detail that readers of the fourteenth edition can assume.

Pamela moves, in the fourteenth edition, from the middle of the action to the periphery from which she can observe, contemplate, and then share her story. Richardson’s conversion of dialogue and paragraphs into paraphrase or summary allows his heroine to write about events from a future perspective, separating her from her past experiences. She less frequently

immerses herself, and consequently the reader, within the action in the fourteenth edition than she does in the first edition. She will sometimes summarize an entire scene as if the particulars are no longer tangible but the idea or impression of the event is still present in her memory. Pamela forgets the particulars of the scenes in the distance of past and memory so that we are only left with a general idea of what actually occurred. She tells the reader what occurred as opposed to showing or demonstrating to the reader what happened.

The lively discussion of whist at Sir Simon Darnford's is one of many episodes Pamela abbreviates in this manner (1801.II.200; cf. 1740.II.259). She shortens her thorough 574 word discussion of the conversation to a brief 180 words, less than one-third the original length. The once spontaneous heroine obsesses less over specifics. Pamela is not surrounded by the action as if it is occurring as she tells it; instead, she recounts the whist game as if it were a memory:

This introduced a pretty conversation, tho' a brief one, in relation to the game at whist. Mr. B. compared it to the English constitution. He considered, he said, the *ace* as the laws of the land; the supreme welfare of the people.—We see, said he, that the plain, honest-looking *ace*, is above and wins the king, the queen, and the wily knave. But, by my Pamela's hand, we may observe what an advantage accrues when all the court-cards get together, and are acted by one mind.

Mr. Perry having in the conversation, observed, that it is an allowed maxim in our laws, that the king can do no wrong—Indeed, said Mr. B., we make that compliment to our kings indiscriminately; and it is well because it should remind a prince of what is expected from him: but if the force of example be considered, the compliment should be paid only to a sovereign who is a good man, as well as a good prince; since a good master generally, thro' all degrees of men, makes good servants. (1801.II.200)

The entire conversation, except for a few of Mr. B's lines, is gone. The droll banter between Mr. B and Mr. Perry from the first edition is lost in the dull and reconfigured scene. There is a clearer distinction between the time of the event and the time when Pamela wrote about the event. Her impulsiveness, where it is not omitted, is lessened by the different vantage point from which she writes.

Pamela has now entered the world of the gentry, and her former friends, peers, and family no longer hold a central role in her life. They may still be present, but they are secondary to her new concerns as an aristocratic lady. Pamela "must endeavour to act not unworthy" of her new station, so she must separate herself from those people she was once equal with in social standing (1801.II.239; cf. 1740.II.306). Her detached perspective helps her distance herself from her fellow servants, especially Mrs. Jewkes, and eventually from her parents. Mr. B less frequently is "my master" and more often "my husband" or just "Mr. B." As the new mistress of B-hall, she would debase herself by too often referring to her husband by the same title as the other servants. It is no longer "my dear Master's Interest to have such good Servants" but "their [Mrs. Jervis, Mr. Longman, and Jonathan] dear Master's" (1801.II.142; cf. 1740.II.193). She dwells more specifically on the fact that the servants now serve her in the fourteenth edition, as opposed to doing the serving herself, when she emphasizes Abraham's presence at breakfast and his withdrawal at B's command (1801.II.77; cf. 1740.II.116). Mrs. Jewkes tells "her master"—not Pamela's or their master—that she pitied Pamela (1801.II.207; cf. 1740.II.273).

Pamela's treatment of Mrs. Jewkes in the fourteenth edition becomes the means through which she is able to distance herself effectively from her former peers. Mrs. Jewkes is the most prominent servant in the novel; and by setting herself apart from her, Pamela distinguishes herself from the servant class that she left behind. She no longer confides in Mrs. Jewkes the day

before the wedding, and Mr. B must prod her for information regarding Mrs. Jewkes's involvement in the Lady Davers affair (1801.II.123; cf. 1740.II.165). Richardson excludes Pamela's kind comment about how Mrs. Jewkes "was very good in the whole Affair" towards the end of the dinner at Sir Simon's (1801.II.204; cf. 1740.II.268-69). She is more reserved with her friendly displays of emotion to Mrs. Jewkes. The Pamela of the first edition does not allow Mrs. Jewkes to kiss her hand after the wedding ceremony and instead put her "Arms about her Neck, for I had got a new Recruit of Spirits just then, and kissed her; and said, Thank you, Mrs. Jewkes, for accompanying me" (1740.II.176). The fourteenth edition reads, "Mrs. Jewkes, by surprize, snatched my hand, and kissed it at the chapel-door; had she kissed my cheek, I should not have been displeas'd. I had got a new recruit of spirits just then; and taking her hand—I thank you, Mrs. Jewkes, said I, for accompanying me" (1801.II.131). Pamela's benevolent condescension in the fourteenth edition contrasts her openly affectionate display in the first edition.

Goodman and Goody Andrews are also victims of Pamela's new behavior. Pamela's mother has an even less significant place in the fourteenth edition as Pamela occasionally replaces an address to both of her parents with just "my father" or "my dear father" (1801.II.42; cf. 1740.II.75). She addresses Letter XVIII to just her father in the fourteenth, not both of her parents (1801.I.38; cf. 1740.I.40). Nor does Pamela go to "my dear father's and mother's" but instead leaves Lincolnshire just for "my father's" (1801.II.3; cf. 1740.II.35). Pamela alters her attitude towards her parents as well. She tells them near the end of the novel, "My Desire is, that you will send me all the Papers you have done with, that I may keep my Word with lady *Davers*; to beg the Continuance of your Prayers and Blessings; and to hope you will give me your Answer about my dear Benefactor's Proposal of the *Kentish* Farm; . . ." (1740.II.352). Her tone

is different in the fourteenth edition. She once desired and hoped; she now commands and expects: “You *will* be so good as to send me all those you have done with, that I may keep my word with Lady Davers. *I am sure* of the continuance of your prayers and blessings. *Be pleased also* to give me your answer about my dear Mr. B.’s proposal of the Kentish Farm” (1801.II.281; my emphasis).

What is more surprising is that Pamela does not require her parents’ presence at the end of the novel to make her happy. She says in the first edition, “I have now but one thing to wish for, and then, methinks I shall be all in Ecstasy; and that is, Your Presence, both of you, and your Blessings; which I hope you will bestow upon me every Morning and Night, till you are settled in the happy manner my dear Spouse has intended” (1740.II.317). Her parents, who were so important in the first edition, are now less significant than either Lord and Lady Davers and Pamela’s desire to use her money since she acquires no interest on it. Pamela successfully makes a break with her past and the people with whom she once associated. The future Mrs. B makes it quite clear that she is no longer part of the servant culture. She is better than her former peers and she makes sure that the reader knows this.

Pamela uses her language to her advantage in the fourteenth edition by giving herself the appearance of a composed speaker. She no longer over-indulges in the pathos so often ridiculed by the anti-Pamelists. Many of the omissions in the fourteenth edition cut short Pamela’s self-indulgent discussions about her emotions as they relate to her trials or to other events in the narrative. Pamela’s massive contribution to her journal on the day of her wedding lost approximately 1,566 words by the fourteenth edition. Included in these cuts are praises to Mr. B; a conversation between Pamela and Mr. B; a conversation in which Mr. B, Pamela, Mr. Williams, and Mr. Peters attempt to cover up the fact that Mr. B and Pamela are about to get

married; Pamela's prayer after the wedding; more praises to Mr. B in which Pamela hopes her "future conduct would not make [her] unworthy" of her new husband's "kind Opinion, and good Wishes"; detail about a toast to the bride and groom after the ceremony; Pamela's unease when seeing her room prepared for "a Guest"; extra detail in which Pamela encourages Mrs. Jewkes to sit and dine with her; another conversation regarding Pamela's "bashful Sweetness" in which Mrs. Jewkes begins a story to help ease Pamela's mind, but Pamela makes her stop because Mrs. Jewkes' "chastest Stories will make a modest person blush"; some more of Pamela's exclamations regarding her lack of knowledge in how to act around Mr. B; more praise for Mr. B; praise from Mr. B to Pamela; a few more paragraphs of detail; one entry in which she still tries to "subdue [her] idle Fears and Apprehensions"; and a final entry where she continues to postpone her wedding-night in favor of more prayers. Richardson completely altered other paragraphs in this section that he did not omit. Pamela's praises to Mr. B when he "[supplies] the want of the Presence and Comfortings of a dear Mother; of a loving Sister, or of the kind Companions of [Pamela's] own sex" and Mr. B's reply become a short discussion between the two characters about Pamela's need to stop doubting herself.

Pamela's character in the fourteenth edition has a greater sense of decorum, of what is appropriate and inappropriate behavior for her new station. She begins to use her language according to the situations in which she is placed. Some of the revisions that cause her diminished spontaneity and distanced position from the text actually result in Pamela's greater awareness of decorum. In the revised scene at Sir Simon's, for example, in which she tells the company of her encounter with Lady Davers, Pamela follows Mr. B.'s injunction that "she suffer not any sudden accident to ruffle her temper" and allow her "discomposure . . . to spread all round the" company (1801.II.157). Her narration offers fewer details concerning the incident,

and she is more apt to tell what happened when people specifically ask her and less frequently volunteers information unprompted.

In losing some of her spontaneity, Pamela gains the appearance of using more controlled emotions at appropriate times. She is much less melodramatic. The omission of her impulsive outburst, for example, limits her effusiveness so that when she does exclaim or cry out, these instances stand out more to the reader. They are more apparent because they do not occur as frequently. Pamela maintains her composure more often and does not “suffer [every] sudden accident to ruffle her temper” (1801.II.157). She no longer makes the readers “quite sick at heart at all this passionate extravagance,” which she finds so disdainful in *Lady Davers* (1801.II.192; cf. 1740.II.250). Omitting many of her exclamations makes her appear more composed in her responses, as in her reaction to the gypsy’s letter. Pamela uses reserved displays of emotions that are fitting with the character of a lady. When Mrs. Jewkes tells her that she is to return to her father and mother, she says, in the first edition, “And can it be, said I!,” but the fourteenth edition reads, “And can it be? said I” (1801.I.322; cf. 1740.II.32). Pamela’s reaction moves from extreme astonishment and shock to a more subtle response of surprise and disbelief. Removing the exclamation point after “And he gave her five guineas” gives Pamela the appearance of caring less about money (1801.I.84; cf. 1740.I.86).²¹ Other instances in the text add exclamatories in places where they did not previously exist. But many of these enhance Pamela’s character. Richardson emphasizes Pamela’s surprise when Mrs. Jewkes catches her with her papers by replacing a comma with an exclamation point.

Mrs. *Jewkes* came upon me by Surprize, and laid her Hands upon it; (1740.II.9)

Who but Mrs. Jewkes should come upon me by surprize! (1801.I.301).

²¹ Henry Fielding criticizes Pamela’s materialism in his parody, *Shamela* (1741). Some earlier readers of *Pamela*, including Fielding, objected to the heroine’s materialism.

Even Pamela's anxiety about Sally Godfrey becomes mild curiosity in the fourteenth edition. She "*wonder[s] whether poor Miss Sally Godfrey be living or dead*" in both editions, yet in the first she uses an exclamation point and in the fourteenth she only uses a period (1801.II.252; cf. 1740.II.321). The period makes the comment read as a passing thought that Pamela had while writing. Richardson's small revisions to the scene when Pamela goes to wait on lady Davers changes the tone of her desire to know more about Sally Godfrey. She says in the first edition,

I had once a good mind to have asked her Ladyship about Miss *Sally Godfrey*; but I thought it was better let alone, as she did not mention it herself. May-be, I shall hear it too soon. But I hope not!--- I wonder, tho', whether she be living or dead! (1740.II.332)

But in the fourteenth she says,

I had once a good mind to have ask'd her ladyship about Miss Sally Godfrey; but I thought it was better let alone, since she did not mention it herself. I wonder, tho', whether she be living or dead. (1801.ii.263)

"May-be, I shall hear it too soon. But I hope not!---" demonstrates Pamela's apprehensions over learning more about Sally; thus its omission lessens the urgency of Pamela's statement.

Pamela's diminished anxiety over Sally Godfrey is not only better decorum because she is less emotional, but it also shows that Pamela, though she may be curious, does not concern herself with other people's private matters unless those people want to share them with her, as B eventually does in the case of Sally Godfrey. She avoids the grossness exhibited by her Lincolnshire neighbors when they beg to hear about her conflict with Lady Davers.

Richardson abated Pamela's religious zeal in the fourteenth edition as well. He frequently omitted "God" or changed it to "Heaven." Pamela does not fall down on her knees in

thankfulness after the wedding ceremony. Nor does she kneel and pray by the back door and the pond when Mr. B. leaves her to welcome the company. She does not “bless God for permitting my then so much desired Escape” (1740.II.217). The fourteenth edition only says, “He did so [went to get the company]; and as soon as I beheld them, I hastened towards them to shorten the distance” (1801.II.160). Richardson cut (or replaced with more secular musings) small phrases, complete sentences, and entire paragraphs where Pamela praises or thanks God.²²

Richardson may have made these changes at the suggestion of his friend Aaron Hill, who thought limiting these passages might be less distasteful to persons “fashionably Averse to the Subject,” but in doing so, he gave Pamela a more aristocratic air.²³ As Pamela becomes a lady in the plot of the novel in a more exaggerated way—she begins acting and speaking more like a lady—so too is Richardson becoming more familiar with the language and habits of the aristocracy. He becomes a gentleman as Pamela becomes a lady. Henry Fielding and others frequently mocked Richardson after the publication of the first edition for having no idea how the aristocracy actually behaved. He pretended to insider knowledge of the upper classes that he—a bourgeois printer—could not have. Richardson often acted in response to negative criticism, and after the success of *Pamela* in 1741, he had more contact with, and thus learned more about, the aristocracy.

²² One such example is the following passage from volume two of the first edition: Henceforth let not us poor short-sighted Mortals pretend to rely n our own Wisdom; or vainly think, that we are absolutely to direct for ourselves. I have abundant Reason, I am sure, to say, that when I was most disappointed, I was nearer my Happiness. For, had I made my Escape, which was so often my chief Point of View, and what I had placed my Heart upon, I had escaped the Blessings now before me, and fallen, perhaps headlong, into the Miseries I would have avoided! And yet, after all, it was necessary I should take the Steps I did, to bring on this wonderful Turn! O the unsearchable Wisdom of God!— And how much ought I to adore the Divine Goodness, and humble myself, who am made a poor Instrument, as, I hope, not only to magnify his Graciousness to this fine Gentleman and myself; but to dispense Benefits to others? Which God of his Mercy grant! (1740.II.126)

²³ qtd. Eaves and Kimpel, 65.

Richardson distances Pamela from the fervently religious ideologies of the bourgeoisie and lower classes and places her within the more acceptable religious bounds of the aristocracy. Lady Davers actually scoffs at Mr. B's religious observations, which are comparatively mild to Pamela's: "Egregious preacher! said she: my brother already turn'd *puritan!*" (1801.II.220; cf. 1740.II.286). And she tells Pamela, "thou hast made a rake a preacher!" (1801.II.220; cf. 1740.II.286). Richardson frequently points out that the gentry are not as interested in the religious matters that Pamela, her parents, and their social class embrace. The chapel at the Lincolnshire estate had been a storage unit for centuries until Pamela requests the use of it for her wedding. Attending church is a spectacle for many of her Bedfordshire neighbors; they attend for gossip, not the Gospels. Pamela is still more religious than her new peers in the fourteenth edition, but reducing her religious chatter brings her much closer to the religious behaviors of the gentry (and it gives them an easier target to shoot for when they learn from Pamela's example).

In the first edition, Pamela is like Plato's form of forms. She sets herself apart from other characters and becomes practically inaccessible by the reader because no one is as good as Pamela thinks she is. Her claims that she does not want to appear "vain" do not stop her from continually telling the reader how wonderful everyone believes she is in the first edition. She does, as a matter of fact, look like a "vain hussy," and she oversteps the bounds of decorum. She embarrasses both herself and the reader. Yet in the fourteenth edition, Pamela is only a representation of the form, a human being who tries to do the right thing. Pamela's readers can more easily follow her example because she is not so excellent.

Richardson's heroine is more modest in the fourteenth edition. Richardson cut or softened praises in the scene where Mr. B reads Pamela's psalm to the company. "The Ladies

said, It was very pretty; and Miss *Darnford*, That somebody else had well observ'd, that I had need to be less concerned than themselves . . ." becomes a simple "The ladies seem'd pleas'd, and Mr. Williams proceeded" (1801.II.96; cf. 1740.II.138). "Why, said my master, it is turn'd with beautiful Simplicity, thus" becomes "This, said my master, is Pamela's version" (1801.II.97; cf. 1740.II.139). "My Master told me afterwards, that I left the other Ladies, and Sir *Simon* and Mr. *Peters*, full of my Praises; so that they could hardly talk of any thing else: one launching out upon my Complexion, another upon my Eyes, my Hand, and, in short, for you'll think me sadly proud, upon my whole Person, and Behaviour; and they all magnify'd my Readiness and Obligingness in my Answers, and the like" becomes a concise "My master told me afterwards, that I left the other ladies, and Sir *Simon* and Mr. *Peters*, so full of *admiration*, was his word, both of my person and behaviour; that they could hardly talk of any other subject" (1801.II.61; cf. 1740.II.96). Richardson removed other praises:

Mrs. *Peters* whisper'd Lady *Jones*, as my Master told me afterwards; Did you ever see such excellence, such Prudence, and Discretion? Never in my Life, said the other good Lady. She will adorn, she was pleas'd to say, her Distinction. Ay, said Mrs. *Peters*, she would adorn any Station in Life. (1801.II.61; cf. 1740.II.95)

But, said he, I must observe, as I have an hundred times, with Admiration, what a prodigious Memory, and easy and happy Manner of Narration this excellent Girl has! And tho' she is full of her pretty Tricks and Artifices, to escape the Snares I had laid for her, yet all is innocent, lovely, an uniformly beautiful. You are exceedingly happy in a Daughter; and, I hope, I shall be so in a wife. (1801.II.76; cf. 1740.II.114)

Pamela is still exemplary and good in the fourteenth edition, and she is still praised very often, but she is not so unduly lauded as to make her a paragon. Pamela does not attempt to elicit

praise from Mr. B for following his “dress code.” Rather than tell him, “I have, Sir, said I, obey’d your first kind Injunction, as to dressing myself before Dinner,” she, instead, waits for him to notice himself: “You are a sweet, obliging girl!” he says, “I see you have begun with observing one of my injunctions, as you call them” (1801.II.158; cf. 1740.II.214). Pamela does not seem as self-centered and artful. She also disclaims some of her praises by saying that she does not deserve them. Mr. B tells Pamela some of the company’s praises, which she attributes, in both editions, to his “favour” (1801.II.58; cf. 1740.II.91). But directly before this comment in the fourteenth edition she says, “But that could not be so!” (1801.II.58). She never denies that she deserves the praise in the first edition. Pamela again says, “And upon my disclaiming a right to this extraordinary compliment” at supper after her escape from Lady Davers (1801.II.202; cf. 1740.II.264). Pamela does not refute the company’s commendation of her character in the first edition.

Pamela has a habit in the first edition of being self-abasing. She continually calls herself a “creature” or a “hussy,” and she always makes sure to point out her unworthiness of Mr. B’s condescension and God’s blessings. Pamela is not as “poor” (as in pitiful and penniless) in the fourteenth edition as she is in the first. She does not ask her parents to “forgive the little vain Slut” their “daughter,” and she comments not on Mr. B’s “regard for my Unworthiness” but on his “regard for me” (1801.II.57, 308; cf. 1740.II.91, 382). Cutting some of her excessive praise of Mr. B also helps mitigate this tendency. Pamela checks her contradictory habits of extreme humility and egoism of the first edition and becomes, in the fourteenth edition, a much more moderate, well-mannered character. She does not disregard the rules of etiquette.

Pamela is more deferential to her betters in the fourteenth edition.²⁴ She makes it very clear that she understands and recognizes her position in relation to her betters. She addresses Mr. B as “sir” in the fourteenth edition more often, even when she disagrees with him. Using “sir” also makes her more polite: she addresses her betters properly. He calls her papers treasonable, and in the fourteenth edition she replies, “Treasonable! sir, said I” (1801.I.304; cf. 1740.II.12). She tells him a few paragraphs later, “I hope, sir, said I, that I have a *just* judge” (1801.I.307; cf. 1740.II.14). And again when he asks how her father came to have her papers she says, “Mr. Williams, sir” in the fourteenth edition but only “By Mr. *Williams*” in the first (1801.I.307; 1740.II.15).

Pamela more frequently asks Mr. B’s permission in the fourteenth edition and tells him what to do less often. Mr. B “embolden[s]” her “to become an humble Petitioner” in the first edition, but in the fourteenth edition, she asks if he “will permit me . . . to become an humble petitioner” (1801.II.141; cf. 1740.II.193). She does not do so without his consent. Pamela took a copy of Mr. B’s letter in both editions, but in the fourteenth she does so “by his leave” (1801.II.145; cf. 1740.II.199). She orders him again “not [to] be angry with her [Lady Davers] on my account” in the first edition where she, in the fourteenth “must entreat [him] not to be angry with her” (1801.II.196; cf. 1740.II.253).

She likewise waits for a command before she speaks. This may, in part, be a result of Mr. B’s rule that she not share too much of her tribulations with company so as to not upset them. But it also shows that Pamela is much more aware of her position because she speaks when people request her to do so. She does not instantly relate a story without knowing that her listener is curious. When Sir Simon jokes with her for calling Mr. B master, she instantly replies

²⁴ Eaves and Kimpel suggest that Richardson “makes his heroine more sympathetic and less subservient” in the fourteenth edition. (84). When she is less subservient, it is only within the bounds of etiquette because she follows the appropriate codes of conduct.

in the first edition, “I, Sir, said I, shall have many reasons to continue this Style, which cannot affect your good ladies” (1740.II.93). In the fourteenth edition, Pamela replies because Sir Simon was “seeming to expect that I should make some answer” (1801.II.59). Pamela points out that the company at the Darnford residence prods her to tell her story of the Lady Davers affair: she “by his command, related all that had passed”; she was “the less scrupulous in my relation, from the hint of Mrs. Peters and Mrs. Jones”; she “was the less earnest to disguise the truth” because B told her to “be not afraid . . . to acquaint me with all you suffered”; and another of Mr. B’s answers “farther encouraged me in telling all that had passed” (1801.II.202-202). She insists that she only tell so much because others have asked her to do so.

The scene at Sir Simon’s displays Pamela’s increased deference to Lady Davers. The fact that she refrains from giving particulars until others urge her to do so shows that she respects her sister-in-law’s position. She also leaves out some of the more unflattering details by “palliating her violence” (1801.II.201). Pamela does not outright say that Lady Davers gave her “a little slap of the hand” (1740.II.262). Lady Davers insists that Pamela “speak [her] mind freely” in the fourteenth edition, yet Pamela does so without the injunction in the first edition. And she later “acquainted her with that dreadful attempt, and how I fell into fits” “at her [Lady Davers’] request” (1801.II.257-58; cf. 1740.II.326-27). Rather than offer to serve Lady Davers, a behavior unbecoming of her new station, Pamela instead offers to leave so that Lady Davers will not have to dine with her (1801.II.224; cf. 1740.II.290). Again, this regard for Lady Davers, much like Pamela’s new habit of speaking when it is commanded or expected, demonstrates the heroine’s greater consciousness of social roles and boundaries. These other people are her superiors (definitely before her marriage and in a sense afterwards), and she abides by social customs when she respects her “betters.”

Pamela knows her place in the household and makes a greater attempt in the fourteenth edition to pay her respects to Mr. B and the other gentry, but she does so in a way that is not offensive either to her betters or to the reader. She follows custom and moves into her new position in a much more suitable manner. Pamela requests and receives more instructions in the fourteenth edition. She calls Mr. B by his name in the fourteenth edition because “he says, I must speak to him, and write of him, as my husband and lover both in one” (1801.II.161). Pamela tells Mr. B in the first edition that she “will never do any thing of this kind [offer charity] without letting [you] know what I do,” yet in the fourteenth she says that she will refrain from giving charity “without making you first acquainted with it, and having your approbation.” She makes it clear that she will spend her money only at his consent and approval. She sends two guineas to a poor person in town not because she pleases but because “he bid me” (1801.II.150; cf. 1740.II.203). Pamela requests further instruction from Mr. B in her first outing in the chariot with him. She adds to her remark about taking over the family accounts, “and I will apply myself to learn what I may be defective in, to enable me to be a little useful to you, sir, in this particular” (1801.II.28). She later says, that she will fill up the “sweetest” part of her days not with “agreeable conversation” but with Mr. B’s “instructive conversation” (1801.II.29; cf. 1740.II.62).

Pamela does not always defer to Mr. B, but these instances occur in his absence. For example, as Pamela comments on her rules from Mr. B, she adds, “*A hard lesson, I doubt, where one’s judgment is not convinced. We all dearly love to be thought in the right, in any debated point. I am afraid this doctrine, if enforced, would tend to make an honest wife a hypocrite!*” to rule 24. To rules 27 and 29 she adds, “*who is to be judge*” and questions Mr. B’s sanctions. She inserts a pert, “*Very lordly!*” to rule 28. Pamela might question Mr. B’s judgment, but since she

does so in the privacy of her journal and does not directly confront him, she is actually following rule 6: “I must bear with him, even when I find him in the wrong” (1801.II.252). This task “may be a little hard” as she says, but she is following the rules of propriety.

Pamela’s character in the fourteenth edition reflects the growing trend of sentimentalism in fictional narratives as Richardson increases his heroine’s ineffability, thus giving his heroine habits and manners commensurate with the upper classes. The “new” Pamela uses her words more effectively. She can say less but mean or imply more. The instances in which Pamela’s excessive dialogue is turned into an action—blushing or not being able to speak at all—convey greater meaning and have a greater impact on the reader—and her most important reader, Mr. B. Mr. B tells her in both editions, “your heart speaks at your eyes in a language that the words *indeed* cannot utter. You most abound when you seem most to want!” (1801.II.151).²⁵ Indeed, it seems as if Pamela takes this to heart and puts it to better use in the fourteenth edition. At another point in the chariot ride, Pamela says, “I was silent. I felt myself blush. I looked down. I was afraid I had said too much” (1801.II.38). Mr. B must urge her to reply. In the first edition, however, she neither blushes nor remains silent but instantly responds. Pamela also puts her silence to work when she is in company. Pamela “hesitated, as if looking for a place near the door” when dining with company; she said, “but hesitatingly, I shall be proud to deserve their indulgence,” and she “could only curt’sy to this high compliment” from Mrs. Peters (1801.II.59). Pamela regularly demonstrates her sentimental sensibilities that Richardson’s novels popularized. And in doing so, she acts more like the lady she becomes than she does in the first edition because she demonstrates her restraint, modesty, and good manners so important to aristocratic decorum.

²⁵ The first edition actually reads, “your Language is all wonderful, as your Sentiments; and you most abound when you seem most to want!—” (1740.II.204).

In order to move up in society, Pamela cannot alienate her readers—especially the primary intertextual reader, Mr. B. Pamela learns when to use her emotions appropriately to elicit the desired effect. Because they are fewer, her emotional outpourings actually become cathartic in the fourteenth edition. She realizes early in the novel that she is not writing her letters for her parents although her “Dear father and mother” are the addressees. Either Mr. B has confiscated the letters, or Pamela cannot send them. She writes only for a local audience—herself and any other person who might find her letters. The only possible audience left for Pamela, then, is Mr. B. Pamela is more rhetorically subversive in the fourteenth edition than she is in the first because she separates herself from her origins; and by doing so, she limits at least her novelistic audience. In the fourteenth edition, Pamela persuades her intertextual readers—Mr. B and his aristocratic circle of friends—by matching her ethos to that of her theirs. According to Christine Roulston, she “already appears to be speaking from the position of the bourgeoisie, despite her lower social position.”²⁶ Pamela alienates herself from the culture and class from which she came in an attempt to move closer to the class to which she aspires.

Pamela does attempt to distance herself from the other servants in the first edition—such as when she associates lewd behavior, which she abhors, with the lower classes (1801.1.9; cf. 1741.I.10)—but Pamela cannot separate herself from her low origins while she still has the ability to communicate with others from her own class. Nancy Armstrong asserts, “in making a romance that sought to unite the extremes of the social hierarchy, Richardson had to erase virtually all socioeconomic markings before the male and female could enter into an exchange.”²⁷ So by making Pamela’s language more like that of the upper classes, Richardson removes the markings that distinguish her from her betters. Pamela must consequently find a

²⁶ Roulston 19

²⁷ Armstrong 114

new means for defining herself within the ambiguous social position that she holds.²⁸

Richardson accomplishes this task to an extent in the first edition when Mr. B seizes Pamela's letters. He keeps Pamela from communicating with her family and hinders her ability to define herself according to her origins. She is still a part of the servant culture. Pamela's new language, however, gives her the means to separate her wholly from her past. She uses a discourse in which her fellow servants do not and cannot participate. Pamela defines her new self with an upper-class language and essentially makes herself a part of that culture. She subtly calls attention to the differences between herself and her peers. So what may be unpleasant to readers of the first edition becomes hidden behind a veneer of language that allows Pamela to more effectively move up the social ladder by first distancing herself from her past.

Pamela has already shorn herself of her lower-class burdens, and she must now begin her makeover from servant to the future Mrs. B. Pamela's writing suggests that she already has advantages over her peers because she has skills—reading, writing, and casting accounts—that many of them do not. She has acquired many of the outward symbols of the aristocracy before we even meet her.²⁹ Carolyn Williams points out that the “Pamela who captivated Mr. B was transformed by three years of Mrs. B's tuition in to a genteel beauty with superb table manners, a graceful walk, and a delicate touch on the harpsichord. Mr. B may be a Pygmalion of sorts, but he is no Professor Higgins: that role has already been performed by his mother.”³⁰ It is true that Lady B's tutelage gave Pamela many of the skills she might not otherwise have acquired. It is

²⁸ Christopher Flint argues that “without knowledge of parental participation in the story, [Pamela] no longer feels linked to the sources of her self-definition” (499).

²⁹ Fainting, or what Ian Watt terms Pamela's “sociosomatic snobbery” and blushing, which she does more in the fourteenth edition than in the first, are skills in the sense that “her whole set of values, her whole range of actions . . . [are] expressive of her social aspirations” (Watt, 162; Donovan, 387). Fainting and blushing are behaviors distinctive of the upper classes, not the servant class. Pamela's ability to spend so much time writing is itself a classed activity that implies that she has leisure time to spend on other endeavors besides her work, which other than her waistcoat for Mr. B we hear very little about.

³⁰ Carolyn D. Williams, “Pamela and the Case of the Slandered Duchess,” *SEL* 29 (1989): 530.

also true that Pamela cannot officially become a lady without Mr. B. Mr. B also instigates, in a sense, Pamela's ascent. After one of his early attempts on her virtue, she tells him that he has overstepped his boundaries and offered "the greatest harm in the world: you have taught me to forget myself and what belongs to me, and have lessen'd the distance that Fortune has made between us." Mr. B has unknowingly made the first move. His attempt combined with his separation of Pamela from her family "makes her doubt or forget her 'self' by separating her from the knowledge that she comes from a particular family with a particular set of moral values."³¹ Mr. B inadvertently gives Pamela the freedom to "lessen the distance" between them herself because she no longer has a point of origin—a family and its values—with which to define herself. Pamela "forgets" herself—her original role in the family and household—and "what belongs to" her—the values encompassed by that family—and is thus capable of creating a new self: Richardson's heroine uses her language as an attempt to write herself into the social order.

Richardson's revisions allow Pamela to class herself with her language instead of money. Acquiring certain skills and behavioral patterns appropriate to the upper class is not enough to make Pamela part of that class. She has already suffered the fear of losing her place in society, and in order to avoid finding herself in such a precarious situation again, she must find some way to appear more valuable to Mr. B. Unfortunately, Pamela has only a few guineas. She does have some clothes that could be sold for money, but these items are not enough to buy her way into the aristocracy even if she could do so as a woman in the patriarchal system. She might be a member of the lower classes, but she acts and speaks like a member of the gentry. The more B reads Pamela's letters and journal, the more he actualizes her narrative, taking her out of the self-classed realm of her writings and placing her into the realistic aristocratic discourse in which he

³¹ Flint, 498.

participates. Pamela entices Mr. B with her created self. Her more advanced rhetoric and language in the fourteenth edition essentially makes her a better salesperson because she is able to communicate with B in his own patterns of discourse.

The changes in Pamela's language cause the events that lead up to her marriage to Mr. B to operate as little more than an audition in which she must convince her future husband that she will act out her character convincingly. "Pamela's constitution of herself is shown as directly dependent on forms of duplicity and disguise," and her language more effectively functions as a costume, or disguise, than any of her sartorial changes.³² Pamela wears her rustic outfit for most of the novel while at the same time speaking the language of the upper classes. Her clothing might be more visually stimulating to Mr. B who tells Pamela, "you must disguise yourself to attract me," (1801.I.65; cf. 1741.I.66) but it is her words and language that make the clothes so arousing because she seems to be a lady in servants clothes. Pamela appears as a lady—not a servant—dressed in rustic clothing because her language and her actions give her the appearance of a woman from the gentry. Her rustic attire initiates a sort of erotic role-playing game that is not consummated until the wedding night.

What is more important to B than Pamela's external appearance, however, is whether or not she can actually perform this role so as to convince his family and neighbors that his condescension in marrying her is a worthwhile venture. Pamela offers a more convincing performance in the fourteenth edition because her language more closely resembles that of the upper class. She can support her actions—and her clothing—with her words. Both Pamela's clothing and language become more subversive in the fourteenth edition because she uses the former as a means to hide the social aspirations of the latter. She continually reminds the reader that she is happy being poor, yet she is more than eager to return to Mr. B after she reads his

³² Tassie Gwilliam, *Samuel Richardson's Fictions of Gender* (Stanford: Stanford University Press, 1993) 115.

letter. She disguises her desire—another upper-class activity—by visually appearing as if she does not want to rise socially. Pamela does not use her clothes so much as her language to elevate herself. Her language becomes a more effective tool in manipulating her way into the upper classes because it is a more convincing costume.

Pamela proves to Mr. B through her “try-out” that she is capable of fulfilling the role of his wife by first performing the role of an upper-class woman. Indeed, her audition is not officially over until the night before their wedding. Mr. B tells her, “now do I see you are to be trusted with power, from the generous use you make of it!” (1801.II.117; cf. 1740.II.160). But Pamela’s ability to act the role does not ensure or guarantee that she will get the part. Pamela must have something that the aristocracy wants. Pamela, therefore, simultaneously acts out her virtue and embellishes it—makes it more valuable through her written accounts—in order to complete her transformation.

Richardson’s revisions to the fourteenth edition make Pamela appear more valuable by writing her into the role of an upper class lady; in doing so, he makes her virtue appear more valuable as well. No character in the novel, whether of the lower or upper classes, is as virtuous as Pamela, yet all of them, as far as Richardson is concerned, should be. Pamela often remarks that it is the masters, not the servants, who should set good examples for others—especially those lower on the social scale. Not only does she have the virtue supposedly intrinsic to the aristocracy, but she also acts the part of an upper-class woman, thus embodying the ideal aristocrat. Pamela has taken the virtue of the aristocracy, made it her own, and, as a result, made it a marker of the lower classes, not the upper classes. In what Nancy Armstrong calls a process of feminization, Pamela has commandeered the virtue that was supposedly inherent in the

aristocratic culture “for the emergent social group.”³³ Were she just a servant who happened to be virtuous, she would do little harm to anyone. She might make an impact on the servants that she deals with on a regular basis, but outside of this circle she would still be nothing more than a servant. Pamela’s virtue is no longer the virtue of just a servant girl; it is the virtue of a person who can assume a position in the aristocracy. She is an example for everyone, not just the servant class.

The combination of Pamela’s language in the fourteenth edition, her self-classification, and her virtue makes her potentially dangerous to the gentry: the servant can out-perform the master at his own role. Pamela’s exemplary status is more threatening to Mr. B in the 1801 edition because Pamela’s language and actions more closely resemble his own. She intimidates Mr. B because she endangers his sense of self in relation to the social order: Pamela “challenges his sense of decorum. It irks him that a member of the servant class behaves with superior moral discernment and galls him that a ‘slut’ can better play the part of a lady than members of his own class.”³⁴ Hence Pamela’s virtue becomes an even more effective bartering tool in her tug of war with Mr. B. It should be the aristocracy’s, and they want it back. What begins as something that only a member of the lower class has becomes an object admired and eventually appropriated by the upper class. Pamela may steal the language of Mr. B and Lady Davers, but in doing so, she distances herself from her virtue and her low origins.

Richardson’s revisions of the fourteenth edition reinstate those social and gender institutions and hierarchies that he at first appears to subvert. In order for Pamela effectively to become a member of the upper class, she essentially has to buy into the social order. Pamela capitalizes on the authoritarian, and therefore dominant, modes of discourse as a way to enact her

³³ Armstrong, 97.

³⁴ Flint, 496.

rise knowing full well that she will never be able to escape that discourse once she becomes a member of the gentry. Once she knows she will become the new Mrs. B, she says, “He shall always be my master; and I shall think myself more and more his servant” (1801.II.79; cf. 1740.II.118). As Pamela becomes more and more a lady as an effect of Richardson’s revisions of the novel, the novel as a whole also reifies the plot structure and the class system. Richardson makes Pamela more lady-like, distances her from her origins, and pushes her towards the upper class. He demonstrates the impossibility of those from the lower classes moving up in society by making Pamela start out closer to the class she eventually achieves. Flint suggests that

because Richardson intends her to be a paragon, the ‘example’ of her sex, there can be little actual change or revelation of personality. In fact, what seems most important about her role in the novel is the degree to which she can remain essentially the same while not only contending with vast external changes in her condition and in her relation to her master, but also engendering moral change in those about her.³⁵

Richardson’s revisions to the fourteenth edition of *Pamela* consequently make a very important social statement: much as Pamela eventually buys into the social hierarchies that she at first subverts, so too do the revisions to the novel help stabilize those institutions and hierarchies that it once challenged with the first edition.

³⁵ Flint, 505.

WORKS CITED

- Armstrong, Nancy Armstrong. *Desire and Domestic Fiction: A Political History of the Novel*. New York: Oxford U P, 1987.
- Bray, Joe. *The Epistolary Novel: Representations of Consciousness*. London: Routledge, 2003.
- Donovan, Robert A Donovan. "The Problem of *Pamela*; or, Virtue Unrewarded." *SEL* 3 (1963): 377-95.
- Eaves, T.C. Duncan and Ben D. Kimpel. "Richardson's Revisions of *Pamela*." *Studies in Bibliography* 20 (1967): 61-88.
- Flint, Christopher. "The Anxiety of Affluence: Family and Class (Dis)order in *Pamela; Or, Virtue Rewarded*." *SEL* 29 (1989): 489-513.
- Gaskell, Phillip. "Richardson, *Pamela*, 1741." in Gaskell, ed. *From Writer to reader: Studies in Editorial Method*. Oxford: Oxford U P, 1978.
- Gwilliam, Tassie. *Samuel Richardson's Fictions of Gender*. Stanford: Stanford U P, 1993.
- Roulston, Christine. *Virtue, Gender, and the Authentic Self in Eighteenth-Century Fiction: Richardson, Rousseau, and Laclos*. Gainesville: U P of Florida, 1998.
- Watt, Ian. *The Rise of the Novel: Studies in Defoe, Richardson, and Fielding*. Berkely: U of California P, 1957.
- Williams, Carolyn D. "*Pamela* and the Case of the Slandered Duchess." *SEL* 29 (1989): 515-533.