The "Power...to Alter and Amend": Textual Production and Editorial Actions in Samuel Richardson's "Clarissa".

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THE "POWER . . . TO ALTER AND AMEND": TEXTUAL PRODUCTION AND EDITORIAL ACTIONS IN SAMUEL RICHARDSON'S CLARISSA

A Dissertation
Submitted to the Graduate Faculty of the Louisiana State University and Agricultural and Mechanical College in partial fulfillment of the requirements for the degree of Doctor of Philosophy in The Department of English

by
Steven Robert Price
B.S., University of Wisconsin-Oshkosh, 1990
M.A., Arizona State University, 1993
August 1998

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Dedicated to my parents,
Robert Price and Donna Siems
and
to the memory of Dr. Josephine A. Roberts,
Read Professor of English,
Louisiana State University

"Encouragement and approbation
bring to light talents
that otherwise would never have appeared."
Clarissa, II: 113
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This dissertation is a study of texts, focusing on how texts are constructed (through both words as well as physical attributes) and how they are edited after their initial composition. The scope of this dissertation is limited to Samuel Richardson (1689–1761) and his rare 1750 third edition of Clarissa and to the characters in Clarissa and their familiar letters. I argue that the altering of a text is a negotiation of power between the editor and the author, and that editors advance their personal agendas by undermining the intentions of the author.

In Chapter 1, I explain the relevancy of textual studies to literary criticism. In Chapter 2, I examine how Richardson, master printer as well as author, constructs Clarissa as a "material text," meaning that he builds plot, characterization, and his didactic message through the text's linguistic as well as physical features. In Chapter 3, I address the familiar letters constructed by characters within Clarissa. Although the material details of these fictional letters--including handwriting and seals--cannot be seen by readers of the novel, they can still be conceptualized in the mind and interpreted for their visual meaning. In Chapter 4, as a transition to the editing of texts, I summarize the eighteenth- and twentieth-century editorial theories most relevant to Clarissa. In Chapter 5, I evaluate Richardson's role as editor of Clarissa, focusing on the textual apparatus he constructs around his novel.
Richardson exploits the editorial role in a manner not seen in other eighteenth-century novels, using the apparatus to control readers' interpretations. In Chapter 6, I discuss the characters in *Clarissa* as editors, showing how they frequently alter and even forge/rewrite letters after their initial composition. These editorial actions, which I refer to as "fictional editing," expand the narrative beyond the initial act of writing and complicate the issues of characterization, gender, and subjectivity inherent in the familiar letter. In Chapter 7, I conclude by suggesting additional concerns for textual/literary critics, including the implications of lost physical details in electronic texts.
CHAPTER 1
TEXTUAL PRODUCTION AND EDITORIAL ACTIONS IN CLARISSA:
INTRODUCTION

You don’t know what you have brought upon yourself, by your Desire to reperuse the first Volume (as I call it) of Clarissa. . . . But I must request your free and candid Correction of any Passages in it. . . . 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.—Samuel Richardson to Sophia Westcomb (13 October 1746)¹

This dissertation grew out of a printing anomaly. A typographical blemish. An error. While completing my initial reading of the first volume of the third edition of Samuel Richardson’s Clarissa (1750), I came across a curious typographical display. At the conclusion of her 22 March letter to her closest friend Anna Howe, Clarissa Harlowe describes the fatigue that she endures because of the family strife at Harlowe Place.² What grabbed my attention was the formatting of the letter’s last sentence. The passage, as constructed by Richardson, master printer as well as epistolary author, contained more than words conventionally formatted in a neat, linear line. Rather, in the middle of Clarissa’s lamentation that “Mistinesses” obstruct her sight and ability to write, Richardson appears to insert an illegible two-letter word (“on”?) in the superscript position between lines, above the word “to”:
The very repetition of this fills me with almost equal concern, to that which I felt at the time.

I must lay down my pen. Mistinesses which give to my deluged eye the appearance of all the colours in the rainbow, will not permit me to write on.

Wednesday, Five o' clock.

I will now add a few lines—My Aunt, as the

Figure 1.1
Mistinesses Passage
(I: 323)

I highlighted the odd display of the "to" / "on" with my trusty orange highlighter, and in the margin of my copy of the AMS Press facsimile third edition I asked, "Printing Tech?"

I was not sure what was going on with Richardson's text, but I found the visual representation of Clarissa's fatigue quite interesting. Adding to my curiosity, I found that no other critics had noticed the textual oddity. Even two critics who recognized many other textual minutiae in Richardson's works—William Merritt Sale, Jr. and O M Brack, Jr.3 lacked a reference to the "Mistinesses" passage. At the 1996 South-Central Society for Eighteenth-Century Studies (SCASECS) conference in New Orleans, I speculated on the meaning of Richardson's visually embellished page:

As you can see, Richardson's compositor manipulates the type by transposing an O and perhaps a lower case H above the word "to." The third edition text visually records two separate movements of Clarissa's pen and hand, just as
actual handwriting would. While we are not yet reading handwriting per se, the manipulated type does translate Clarissa's exhausted physical state onto the typographic text. In consequence, we experience a visual moment similar to Clarissa's: a mistiness of sorts covers our eyes as it did Clarissa's when we must initially pause and puzzle over the unexpected typography.

The visual text and the fictional plot intersected too well, I wanted to believe, for the "Mistinesses" passage to be anything but a typographical detail consciously constructed by Richardson. However, unsure of the printing method behind the "to" / "on" image, I qualified my explication at SCASECS by noting that I had yet to see the visual display in any other copies of the third edition—or in any other edition of the novel, for that matter.

Additional research has led me to conclude, somewhat regretfully, that the odd appearance of the "Mistinesses" passage cannot be attributed to Richardson. With Brack's assistance in examining other copies of the third edition, I reached the conclusion that the blemish is limited to the version of the third edition used by AMS Press for its facsimile—the copy, once owned by Mirabeau, housed at the University of Kentucky Library. The cause of the typographical anomaly? More than likely, two sheets of paper with damp, excess ink coming into contact with one another. Normally, after making an impression, the pressman arranges for the sheet to be hung and dried in the drying room. Because ink sets rather than evaporates, excess ink from the imposition can cause problems, in that it will not
set in the usual amount of time (similar to a paint splatter on the window sill remaining damp after the paint on the wall has dried). When the still-damp sheet is taken down and placed with the other sheets in its gathering, the viscous excess ink tends to act like a glue. In the case of the "Mistinesses" passage, two sheets, printed on both sides, likely adhered to one another, with the excess ink leaving behind a reverse image of the two stray letters. Thus, Clarissa's visual "Mistinesses" are the result of an error, albeit an error that by coincidence creates a compelling visual text.

While Clarissa's "Mistinesses" may have momentarily led me astray, the pursuit was not entirely unproductive, since it caused me to begin looking for other typographically significant passages in Clarissa. What I found serves as the basis for this dissertation. Richardson constructs a novel that is more than just words printed on the page. Rather, he visually embellishes his epistolary novel with oddly constructed em dashes, abundant italic letters, and different type font sizes; he foreshadows important themes with intricate printer's ornaments; and he experiments with type fonts rarely used in conventional eighteenth-century novels. Richardson's interest in the visual text finds its way into the narrative of Clarissa, where characters frequently comment on and describe their paper, pens, seals, and handwriting. While we as readers may not necessarily see the actual letters of Clarissa, Anna, Belford, and
Lovelace, Richardson makes sure that we are cognizant of their physical details.

After I began looking for typographically embellished passages, I also noticed that Richardson’s text undergoes many changes between editions. For instance, Richardson announces in his preface to the third edition that type font sizes have been increased for easier reading (I: ix). More significantly, Richardson also notes in the preface that “it has been thought fit to restore many Passages, and several Letters, which were omitted in the former [editions] merely for shortening sake” (I: ix). Again recognizing the usefulness of visual details, Richardson marks the third edition restorations with marginal bullets, or what he refers to as “full-points.” Richardson makes hundreds of changes to the third edition linguistic text of Clarissa, ranging from changes in punctuation and single words to the addition of entire letters. Some alterations produce obvious changes in meaning and allow us to speculate as to Richardson’s plan in emending his text; other alterations are so minute and their effect on meaning so minimal that we can only marvel at Richardson’s incessant desire to tweak and fine tune his very long novel.

Richardson’s interest in altering his text also finds its way into the actions of the fictional characters in Clarissa. Characters such as Clarissa and Lovelace constantly revise and manipulate original texts by copying, summarizing, and quoting from letters that they receive.
More malevolently, the fictional characters sometimes intercept, steal, alter, and even forge letters. As with Clarissa itself, original versions of letters can be compared and contrasted to revised, subsequent versions. The verifiable changes give us insights into the ways in which texts are constructed and reconstructed to meet the changing needs of various audiences. I became aware of the importance of textual details in Clarissa because two random sheets of paper inadvertently stuck together in the drying room of Richardson’s print shop in Salisbury Court.

This dissertation, then, is a study of texts, focusing on how texts are constructed (how meaning is formed through words as well as physical attributes) and how they are manipulated, or edited, after their initial composition. The scope of this dissertation is limited to Richardson and his rare 1750 third edition of Clarissa and the characters in Clarissa and their familiar letters. I argue that the altering of a text is a negotiation of power between the editor and the author, and that editors advance their personal agendas by undermining the intentions of the author. A general goal of this study is to show that texts are more than a series of words on a page. Rather, texts are also verbal and physical signifiers of an author who constructs meaning at a particular moment in time, under specific circumstances, typically for a target audience. A text becomes an extension of the author’s mind and thoughts, and in the case of familiar letters in Clarissa, as I will
show, also an extension of the author's body. To alter a
text, then, involves not only the emendation of words but
also the manipulation of a representation of the author.

Because the constructing and editing of texts figures
so prominently into Clarissa's plot, I base my reading of
the novel primarily on eighteenth- and twentieth-century
editorial theory. Two writers in particular have shaped my
understanding of the text with their pragmatic, useful
approaches. Samuel Johnson provides the most thorough
eighteenth-century examination of the editorial practices
contemporaneous to Richardson in his "Proposals for Printing
.. . The Dramatick Works of William Shakespeare" (1756) and
his "Preface" to Shakespeare (1765). Peter L.
Shillingsburg, in "An Inquiry into the Social Status of
Texts and Modes of Textual Criticism" (1989), "Text as
Matter, Concept, and Action" (1991), and Scholarly Editing
in the Computer Age: Theory and Practice (1985; 1996), has
helped me to rethink my definition of the text and to
understand that texts consist not only of strings of
linguistic signs but also of conceptual and material
components. Additionally, Shillingsburg's diplomatic
analysis has helped me to untangle the controversies that
shape twentieth-century editorial theory.

By focusing my study on the construction and alteration
of texts, I am able to situate Clarissa within the period in
which it was written. Because Richardson writes his novel
with the didactic, moral needs of his eighteenth-century
audience in mind, I believe that a thorough understanding of the novel requires it to be placed as much as possible within its cultural background. Thus, I examine eighteenth-century printing techniques, evaluate textual alterations from the perspective of eighteenth-century editing, and interpret the familiar letters written by the novel’s characters as cultural artifacts. As a result, I am able to view the novel, as best I can, as a contemporary reader of Richardson’s.

Before summarizing the content of each of the chapters in this study, let me first discuss the central concerns that inform my overall argument. First, a practical objective of mine is to show the relevance of textual studies to literary criticism. For myself, there is something settling about the concrete answers I can uncover through textual studies. I may not always understand why Clarissa has early sympathy for Lovelace or what motivates Lovelace in his deceit of the Harlowe family, but I can always define the book through its essential material features—for instance, the first volume of Clarissa’s third edition can be described as 12°: A6 B-O12 P6 Q2; pp. xii + 328. Similarly, it is refreshing for me to collate multiple editions and to find the changes Richardson makes to Elizabeth Carter’s “Ode to Wisdom”; or, as was the case with Clarissa’s “Mistinesses” passage, to confidently state that Richardson had no conscious role in the typographical
anomaly. The difficulty for me has always been the perceived gulf that separates textual criticism from literary criticism. The traditional paradigm is that textual critics are concerned only with the text itself and that literary critics are concerned with the text’s meaning. The overlap between the two disciplines has been minimal, primarily limited to literary critics interpreting the text established by the textual editors.

Studying Richardson and Clarissa, however, has helped me to draw the two seemingly divergent fields together. Richardson constructs a text with more than words and linguistic meaning—interests of the literary critic. Rather, because of his background as a master printer, he also creates a text rich in material details, including diverse type fonts and printer’s ornaments—both traditionally thought to be the interest of the textual critic. In Clarissa, textual and literary concerns intersect, because Richardson uses material features to develop thematic meaning. In other words, Richardson embellishes the meaning of his words with textual features such as strategically placed italic letters or atypically formatted footnotes which accentuate characterization. Textual and literary concerns also intersect when characters in Clarissa change the textual status of their familiar letters through revision and forgery. In these frequently occurring instances, the multiple versions of the texts cause the tension that drives the novel’s often uneventful
plot. *Clarissa* is not only about letter writing but also about what happens to letters after their initial composition. By recognizing textual concerns, the literary critic can uncover this thematically significant component of Richardson’s novel. Both textual and literary concerns fill the pages of *Clarissa*, and both must be acknowledged and interpreted for Richardson’s novel to be fully understood.

The second main concern of this study is the way in which fictional characters in *Clarissa* construct subjectivity through the composition of familiar letters. By “subjectivity,” I simply mean the presentation of one’s emotional and mental state as colored by one’s experiences. My use of the term “subjectivity” is informed by the work of the French linguist Emile Benveniste, who explains that the abstract concept of subjectivity is concretized through discourse: “it is literally true,” he writes in *Problems in General Linguistics*, “that the basis of subjectivity is in the exercise of language.” As Benveniste suggests, subjectivity is created from a position of power. That is, speaking subjects invoke language and thereby control their self-representations. While Benveniste emphasizes spoken, verbal discourse, I purposely limit my analysis of subjectivity in this study to that which is constructed through writing. Because the construction of subjectivity involves the negotiation of power, struggles arise in *Clarissa* to control epistolary discourse. For instance,
Clarissa fights to retain her pens and paper at Harlowe Place, Lovelace uses extensive deceit to insure that significant letters never reach their intended audience, and both characters write incessantly, recognizing that depicting oneself from the position of subject is much preferred to accepting one's fate as the object of another's discourse. As shown in Clarissa, those who can write and protect the integrity of their written documents are the ones who ultimately control the depictions of their own subjectivity.

As readers of Clarissa, we encounter the subjectivity of the characters only through their familiar letters. The eighteenth-century familiar letter was a unique text in that, when properly written, its depiction of the writer's subjectivity was considered so convincing that readers would accept it as an almost literal substitute for the actual letter writer. Richardson, for instance, praises Sophia Westcomb's epistolary self-representation when he writes to her:

While I read [your recent letter], I have you before me in person: I converse with you, and your dear Anna. . . . I see you, I sit with you, I talk with you, I read to you, I stop to hear your sentiments, in the summer-house: your smiling obligingness, your polite and easy expression, even your undue diffidence, are all in my eye and my ear as I read.--Who then shall decline the converse of the pen? The pen that makes distance, presence; and brings back to sweet remembrance all the delights of presence.6
Richardson’s praise of the familiar letter’s ability to recreate the various “delights of presence” should, I believe, be read as more than a hyperbolic statement. The way in which the familiar letter was constructed, with linguistic as well as material details, allowed readers to see it as a heightened, emphatic signifier of subjectivity.

Concerning its linguistic text, or words, the familiar letter was valued for its openness and honesty. In popular eighteenth-century style books such as John Hill’s *The Young Secretary’s Guide* (1698), Robert Dodsley’s *The Preceptor: Containing A General Course of Education* (1748), and Hugh Blair’s *Lectures on Rhetoric and Belles Lettres* (1783), young letter writers were advised to write letters spontaneously in order that their true emotions and sentiments could be expressed. Revision of a letter suggested artfulness, affectation, and even deceit. According to the style books, topics for familiar letters should reflect daily life, since the merit of the familiar letter came not from extraordinary subjects but instead from ordinary events expressed with a natural style. The tone of the familiar letter should take on characteristics of a conversation between respectful friends, with grace, ease, and simplicity being chosen over a studied or contrived manner. The content of the familiar letter, then, while acknowledging decorum, should above all else provide the reader with a faithful, unfeigned statement of the inner-thoughts and sentiments of the letter writer.
What greatly distinguished the familiar letter from other forms of writing was its material features. The distinct and diverse physical attributes of paper, pens, family seals, and handwriting, I believe, account for the heightened subjectivity readers attributed to the familiar letter. A reader holding a familiar letter in manuscript form possesses an artifact that has been touched, manipulated, and acted upon by the letter writer. The material features of the familiar letter record the presence of the letter writer in a way not possible in less personal types of writing. The most significant material feature of the familiar letter, especially in *Clarissa*, is the visual appearance of the handwriting. Eighteenth-century handwriting, less prescribed and regimented than the Elizabethan secretarial hand, allowed for a limited degree of personal variation, and the idiosyncrasies were thought to signify traits of the writer's personality and inner-character. Consequently, the visual, material text of the familiar letter is filled with ink blots, singular letter formations, family seals, creased and crumpled paper, and other features that make each document a unique artifact of the letter writer. Each eighteenth-century familiar letter, in a sense, takes on a linguistic and material personality of its own based on the person writing the letter.

In *Clarissa*, familiar letters are dynamic texts. As I mentioned earlier, letters are intercepted, forged, and summarized, and in these editorial actions, both the
linguistic and material features are frequently changed. The emendation of texts is of interest to literary critics because when familiar letters are altered, the subjectivity depicted through the text is also altered. When Lovelace steals Anna's indice letter, which I will discuss in Chapter 3, and revises her sentiments and attempts to duplicate her handwriting, he creates a new portrayal of Anna—her representation becomes Lovelace's rather than her own. Thus, fictional editors engaged in deceitful editing become appropriators of subjectivity. The ability of characters to maintain control over their epistolary self-representations is a major component of Clarissa's plot—one that is accessible by investigating the textual status of the novel's familiar letters.

The final main concern of this study cannot be completely answered: who is Samuel Richardson? Despite a number of informative biographical studies of Richardson, including those by Alan McKillop, William Merritt Sale, Jr., and T. C. Duncan Eaves and Ben D. Kimpel, relatively little is known of Richardson, especially of his inner-thoughts, personality, and motivations. For better or for worse, Richardson lacked a Boswell to record the subtle details of his conversations and experiences. Richardson was a complex man, and a difficult figure to categorize. Johnson, despite his many endeavors, can always be labeled a moralist; Boswell, a biographer; Fielding, a novelist. Richardson though, defies easy categorization. For instance, after
spending the majority of his adult years as a middle-class London printer, Richardson turned to authorship. Lacking formal education and social standing, Richardson often considered himself an outsider to the likes of Fielding and Defoe. At times, Richardson seems to overcompensate, filling the pages of *Clarissa* with literary allusions and Latin quotations—even though he himself could not read Latin. Richardson appears anxious about his place in society, but this is an anxiety he never overtly expresses or explains in his letters.

Richardson is a rare figure in eighteenth-century literature, and literature in general, in that he functions as both master printer as well as author, allowing him to control the production, and consequently the linguistic and material content, of his three epistolary novels (*Pamela* (1740), *Clarissa* (1747–48), and *Sir Charles Grandison* (1753–54)). Other authors such as Defoe and Smollett were not so lucky, with the final texts of their novels often left to the discretion of compositors, printers, and book sellers. With control over the entire production process, Richardson is able to fine tune his linguistic text; to create thematically significant visual displays with type fonts, printer's ornaments, and formatting; and to authorize the spending of money for engraved plates, additional pages, and an extensive series of appendices that other authors would not be able to include in their literary works.
In this study, I will also examine Richardson as an editor--of his own novels as well as the texts of other authors. Richardson is an enigmatic editor whose editorial actions can best be seen in the third edition of Clarissa, where he revises the linguistic and the physical text in order to correct the misreadings of his various correspondents. Additionally, he claims in the third edition to restore passages that were removed from the first two editions. While his restorations to the third edition suggest concern for a definitive text that exemplifies the intentions of the author, elsewhere his editing is more dubious. For instance, while inserting quotations from other authors into Clarissa, Richardson silently alters words and emends the meaning to fit his own authorial needs. Also, in the editorial apparatus he constructs around Clarissa, which includes a table of contents and a collection of moral sentiments gathered from the novel, Richardson revises the meaning of the novel, in effect contradicting the authorial text. In these instances, Richardson-the-editor acts in opposition to Richardson-the-author. In examining Richardson’s editorial actions, as well as the editing of his fictional characters, I pay particular attention to the sex of the editor and how it influences the texts produced. From this perspective, Richardson sometimes appears more closely aligned with the rakish values of characters such as Belford and Lovelace than the didactic author would like to admit. Richardson’s
motivations as an editor are not always clear, and because of the interpretive limitations associated with any discussion of intention, I sometimes raise questions for which I do not always have answers.

This study of Richardson, his characters, and their interactions with texts is divided into two parts, with the first half discussing how texts are produced and the second half investigating what happens to texts after their initial composition. In Chapter 2, I examine how Richardson constructs Clarissa as a "material text," meaning that he builds plot, characterization, and his didactic message through the text’s linguistic as well as physical features. I categorize Richardson as an author in this chapter, with the understanding that his skills as a printer help him to accentuate meaning. Richardson, as was common in the early eighteenth-century novel, valued the realism of his narrative, and consequently he creates fictional letters in Clarissa that imitate the content prescribed in popular letter-writing style books. In his physical text, although print environments are often viewed as visually generic and mundane, Richardson often alters eighteenth-century printing conventions in order to suggest the idiosyncratic physical details found in manuscripts of real letters. Richardson’s attention to linguistic and physical features helps him build epistolary verisimilitude that adds credibility to the didactic content of the novel’s fictional letters.
In Chapter 3, I move from Richardson's material texts to the fictional texts created by characters within the novel. While we as readers cannot hold the actual letters written by Clarissa, Lovelace, and others in our hands, as we can Clarissa itself, we can imagine the fictional letters in our minds. Richardson helps readers to conceptualize the fictional letters, which I refer to as "abstract material texts," by creating characters who frequently describe their handwriting, paper, ink, and seals. Although the material details of these abstract letters cannot be seen by real readers of the novel, they can still be conceptualized in the mind and interpreted for their visual meaning. The chapter examines the characters' differing reactions to linguistic and physical texts and examines why physical texts are accepted by the characters as more reliable signifiers of subjectivity.

Chapter 4 serves as a transition from the construction of texts to the ways in which both Richardson and his fictional characters alter texts after their initial composition. In the chapter, I summarize the editorial theories most relevant to Clarissa. Using twentieth-century textual critics, I stress the generally accepted precept that written works change as they progress from version to version and edition to edition. The instability of the text creates a form of indeterminate meaning similar to that which is frequently discussed by deconstructionist literary critics. In order to avoid an anachronistic look at
Richardson, I also discuss backgrounds to eighteenth-century editing. Here, I highlight Samuel Johnson for his clear and detailed discussion of mid-eighteenth-century editing in his "Proposal" (1756) and "Preface" (1765) to his edition of Shakespeare. Johnson divides the role of editor into two primary functions, both undertaken by Richardson as well as the characters in his novel: 1) correcting the text and 2) commenting on / explaining the text. Similar to Richardson's, Johnson's editorial theory was typically more impressive than his editorial practice. The chapter closes with a general look at Richardson, examining why he chooses to label himself an editor. As my opening epigraph to this chapter suggests, the "Power . . . to alter and amend" is appealing to Richardson in that the editorial role offers him a voice and a form of control inaccessible to authors.

In Chapter 5, I discuss Richardson's role as the editor of Clarissa, focusing on his commentary. I emphasize that editing is a creative process involving not only the preparation of texts but also, and more germane to the discussion of Clarissa, the production of meaning. In the chapter, I examine the textual apparatus that Richardson constructs around his novel, including the "Names of Principal Characters," the "Preface" and "Conclusion" to the third edition, the "Index of Contents" at the end of each volume, and the "Collection of Moral Sentiments" found at the conclusion of Volume VIII. I also discuss the footnotes and intertextual quotations that Richardson-the-editor

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embeds within the novel itself. Richardson uses the various features of his textual apparatus to control readers' interpretations, at times overtly announcing the way in which the text should be read. Richardson exploits the editorial role in manner not seen in other eighteenth-century novels, and in effect his powerful editorial voice becomes a character in *Clarissa* that readers must recognize and interpret.

Finally, in Chapter 6, I discuss the characters in *Clarissa* as editors. After many letters in *Clarissa* are first written, characters subsequently examine, annotate, alter, collate, and "publish" them in different ways. These editorial actions, which I refer to as "fictional editing," expand the narrative beyond the initial act of writing and complicate the issues of characterization, gender, and subjectivity inherent in the familiar letter. Characters, especially Clarissa, attempt to establish subjectivity through their writing of familiar letters, and when editors alter their texts, the epistolary representations of their subjectivity are also altered. Consequently, characters vie for the opportunity to edit texts in *Clarissa*, because with the ability to edit comes the power to control events and lives. The ability to establish and perpetuate oneself as an editor, then, is a central component of *Clarissa*'s plot.

**Notes to Chapter 1**

2 Samuel Richardson, *Clarissa; or, The History of a Young Lady* (London, 1751), ed. Florian Stuber, Margaret Anne Doody, and Jim Springer Borck, 3rd ed., 8 vols. (facsimile rpt; New York: AMS Press, 1990), I: 323. Future references to *Clarissa* will be from this edition and will be parenthetically cited by volume and page number.

For a convincing argument in favor of the third edition as copy-text, see Florian Stuber, "On Original and Final Intentions, or Can There Be an Authoritative *Clarissa*?" *TEXT: Transactions of the Society for Textual Scholarship* 2 (1985).


6 Samuel Richardson to Sophia Westcomb, circa 1746. See Carroll, 65.

CHAPTER 2
FINDING MEANING IN "HEM--HEM":
RICHARDSON'S CONSTRUCTION OF MATERIAL TEXTS IN CLARISSA

Who knows a "text-only" critic who lives by his precept, and wholly ignores what is outside the text, or really writes as though there is nothing?
--Marilyn Butler

The Text As Object in the Eighteenth Century

In discussing the inability of the "epistolary stile" to be "reduced to settled rules," Samuel Johnson states in Rambler 152 (31 August 1751) that "a letter has no peculiarity but its form." No great advocate of what he elsewhere sarcastically refers to as "the great epistolick art," Johnson defines the letter not by its content, which he believed could always be expressed through other genres, but by its physical features. Always observant, Johnson hints at the importance of the seals, the ink, the paper, the quills, the handwriting, the superscriptions, and so on, in producing meaning which distinguishes epistolary writing from other types of communication.

The physical form of the text, regardless of the genre, was recognized during the eighteenth century as a significant component of the text's overall meaning. Laurence Sterne's Tristam Shandy (1760-67), with its marbled and blank pages, Shandian dashes, inconsistent use of type fonts, and other typographical jokes, may be the most notable example of a printed work that accentuates the visual text as well as the words. Similarly, though less
overtly than Sterne, Alexander Pope manipulates formatting and type fonts in his footnotes to The Dunciad Variorum (1729) to create pages that, similar to the words in the poem, visually critique the Moderns. Finally, John Locke considered the appearance of the text so influential that he believed that it mediated between correct and incorrect interpretations. For instance, in An Essay for the Understanding of St. Paul’s Epistles (1707), Locke asserts that “chop’d and minc’d” formatting of biblical verses, “as they are now Printed,” allows “those . . . of a quicker and gayer Sight [to] see in them what they please.” In equating form with content, Locke suggests that inappropriate formatting can ultimately encourage religious dissension. Recognizing that the physical properties of a text are “read” and interpreted like words, Sterne, Pope, and Locke create works which rely on the visual appearance of the words as much as on the meaning of the words themselves to communicate with their eighteenth-century readers.

The importance of a text’s physical presentation is sometimes lost to twentieth-century readers who confront a drastically different material text than the contemporary readers of Sterne, Pope, and Locke. While there are exceptions (the pattern poems of John Hollander, for example), today’s printed page is traditionally known for its regular and linear—unexceptional—format, what Joel A. Roth describes as “page after unrelieved page of blocks of type.” Often, the greatest material concern for readers
today is whether to invest in a hard-bound or a paperback version of a book. In contrast, eighteenth-century readers faced a much more complicated decision at the book seller’s counter. Discussing the wide range of book sizes available to him in 1757, Lord Chesterfield writes that "Solid folios are the people of business with whom I converse in the morning. Quartos are the easier mixed company with whom I sit after dinner; and I pass my evenings in the light, and often frivolous chitchat of small octavos and duodecimos."⁸ As Chesterfield suggests, book size in the eighteenth-century served as a material indicator to the contents of the book. For instance, important histories were traditionally bound in "Solid folios," and they would never be mistaken for the "frivolous chitchat" of romance novels typically bound as less expensive duodecimos. Form and content were oftentimes inextricably linked in early-modern print material, and to overlook the influence of either component risks misunderstanding the eighteenth-century author’s meaning.

Samuel Richardson, a master printer as well as an author, recognized the influence that both the physical object and the linguistic text (or the words and punctuation in a particular sequence) had on his eighteenth-century audience. Writing to his friend Edward Young in 1754 regarding a series of sermons Young wished to print, Richardson says of the content, “I see nothing, dear and reverend sir, to alter in your dedication.”⁹ However,
Richardson finds the material form of the sermons more problematic, asking Young: “Print it, you say; but in what size, page, type, &c.? Do you intend the piece to be in the nature of a pamphlet, or bound book?” Like Chesterfield, Richardson understands that material elements including book size, font type, and binding affect the perceived meaning of the written word. To insure that the physical form of the work complements the intended meaning, Richardson then calls on Young to consider and revise the material details of his printed sermons.

In his correspondence with Young, Richardson acts as a printer, but as an author, he addresses similar typographic issues while producing Clarissa. In addition to emending the novel’s linguistic text based on responses from his readers, Richardson also revises elements of the third edition material text, including type font size. In the “Preface” to the novel’s third edition (1751), Richardson explains his changes, stating:

Fault having been found, particularly by elderly Readers, and by some who have weak Eyes, with the Smallness of the Type, on which some Parts of the Three last volumes were printed (which was done to bring the Work, that had extended to an undesirable Length, into as small a Compass as possible) the present Edition is uniformly printed on the larger-sized Letter of the three made use of before. But the doing of this, together with the Additions above mentioned, has unavoidably run the Seven Volumes into Eight.¹⁰

Richardson’s apology for the extra volume grows from an interest in keeping Clarissa financially accessible to the
middle-class reader. Though he would more than likely disagree with Chesterfield about the content of the duodecimo third edition being "frivolous chitchat," the smaller format, despite the added length of the additional volume, provided average readers with a relatively inexpensive text. For more affluent readers, Richardson also produced concurrently with the third edition a fourth edition with the same linguistic text but a more impressive octavo format. After receiving a copy of the octavo as a gift, Samuel Johnson appears moved by the elegant and expensive material form, writing to Richardson that "Though Clarissa wants no help from external Splendour I was glad to see her improved in her appearance." The "improved . . . appearance" of the octavo fourth edition, Johnson suggests, complements the already significant linguistic text, and this combination of form and content produces, according to Johnson, "the Edition by which I suppose Posterity is to abide." The production history of the third edition demonstrates that, for Richardson, being an author means creating not only the words on the page but also material forms of the book which are appropriate for the needs of his diverse audience.

The regularity and unexceptional appearance of many printed works today tempts literary critics to overlook the significance of a book's physical features, such as type fonts, page size, and formatting. Consequently, the material form of a book is often dismissed as a meaningless,
transparent container for the meaningful words. However, for Richardson, and for other eighteenth-century authors as well, the words, their physical presentation, and even the larger form of the book itself all carry meaning. Therefore, when studying Richardson, a more inclusive definition of the text must be developed, one that recognizes the importance of material features in relation to the words on the page.

**Theoretical Background to the Material Text**

Textual studies, where the book is most rigorously analyzed as an object, provides the tools needed to interpret the material form of a literary text. Unfortunately, textual and literary studies have traditionally been seen as mutually exclusive, each with goals antithetical to the other. For instance, regarding the divergent goals of the two disciplines, Sir Walter Greg states that "Bibliography is the study of books as tangible objects. It examines the materials of which they are made and the manner in which those materials are put together. . . . It is not concerned with their contents in a literary sense." Fredson Bowers, a student of Greg, concurs, asserting that the words on the page are "significant in the order and manner of their shapes but indifferent in symbolic meaning."

Despite the obvious differences between textual and literary studies, a number of textual critics have recently emphasized the importance of the physical text in
interpreting literary meaning. The recent growth of the sociological approach to texts, where literary works are viewed in terms of what D. F. McKenzie calls their “physical forms, textual versions, technical transmission, institutional control, their perceived meanings, and social effects,” begins to join the two traditionally divergent disciplines. For instance, in his influential Panizzi Lectures, which directly advocate a sociological approach to texts, McKenzie succinctly states that “forms effect meaning.” Similarly, Peter L. Shillingsburg writes that “the physical object is a version of the work that itself generates meaning. . . . [T]he linguistic text generates only a part of the meaning of a book; its production, its price, its cover, its margins, its type font all carry meaning that can be documented.” Finally, although G. Thomas Tanselle disagrees about the need for a sociological approach, he believes that the physical characteristics of printed words must be evaluated, explaining that “their precise form, selection, and arrangement are the result of a manufacturing process, which must be understood if the text is to be understood.” Although these three textual critics often differ with one another on issues of editorial theory and methodology, they all agree that a literary work consists not only of the words on the page but also of the container or object which carries the words. Like the “artifact” to which this redefined text is often compared,
both the material text and the linguistic text must be evaluated for the literary work to be completely understood.

This physical / linguistic textual dichotomy, suggested by Richardson in his letter to Edward Young, has been discussed by a number of editorial critics, most cogently by Shillingsburg.\textsuperscript{21} In "Text as Matter, Concept, and Action," Shillingsburg arrives at a definition of the "Material Text," my focus in this chapter, by combining the document ("the physical 'container'") with the linguistic text ("a sequence of words and word markers").\textsuperscript{22} In simplest terms, the material text consists of the object as well as the words that readers possess: a pamphlet of Young's sermons, a duodecimo third edition of \textit{Clarissa}, and so on. Readers hold the material text of \textit{Clarissa} in their hands and draw impressions not only from the words but also from the book's physical attributes, including "paper and ink quality, typographic design, size, weight, and length of [the] document."\textsuperscript{23} Typographic elements are also applicable to the literary study of \textit{Clarissa}, and so to Shillingsburg's catalogue I would more specifically add emblems, types fonts, and pointing. As I will demonstrate in Chapter 2, Richardson frequently manipulates the physical elements of his material text, thereby embellishing his fictional narrative.

When critics discuss \textit{Clarissa} in terms of the material text, they most often emphasize the novel's textual history. T. C. Duncan Eaves and Ben D. Kimpel,\textsuperscript{24} William Merritt Sale,
O M Brack, Jr., Florian Stuber, Shirley Van Marter, and Mark Kinkead-Weekes report that Richardson engaged in a preliminary five-year composition process, during which time he received feedback on early manuscript versions of the novel from acquaintances including Edward Young and Colley Cibber. After revising the circulated manuscripts based on his readers' advice, Richardson published the duodecimo first edition of Clarissa in three installments in 1747 and 1748. Having anticipated a demand for a subsequent edition, Richardson printed extra copies of the third installment (volumes five, six, and seven), and in 1749 these were published with revised versions of the first four volumes as the second edition. The third edition of 1751—very rare, with as few as a dozen copies remaining extant—adds an eighth volume and is the most materially significant of the five editions published in Richardson's lifetime. According to his "Preface" to the third edition, Richardson "thought fit to restore many Passages, and several Letters, which were omitted in the former" editions, and he typographically distinguishes the supposed restorations with marginal bullets, or what he refers to as "Dots or inverted Full-points" (I: ix). For instance, in Volume I, the first addition to the novel partially appears:

- But least of all can I bear that you should reflect upon my Mother. What, my dear, if her meek-
- ness should not be rewarded? Is the want of reward, or the want even of a grateful. . . . (I: 180)

The marginal symbols found in the third edition create a
textual apparatus of sorts which allows critics to trace Richardson’s composition process. Additionally, the visual cues link physical form with linguistic content, thus providing a brief example of why the third edition of *Clarissa* is so useful in an examination of literary materiality.

When critics analyze *Clarissa’s* content for thematically significant materials texts (in other words, for letters with important physical as well as linguistic meaning), they generally focus on two particular letters, both from Volume V. The first, commonly referred to as the “indice letter,” contains the linguistic text of Anna’s 7 June letter to Clarissa, in which Anna outlines Lovelace’s offenses (V: 30–46; Figure 2.1). Lovelace intercepts the letter and alters the physical text by adding typographical indexes (pointed fingers) in the left margin, denoting passages that “call for vengeance upon the vixen writer” (V: 30). The second, Clarissa’s “Mad Paper” X, is written in her delirious state following the rape (Figure 2.2). Contained in the linguistic text of the disjointed note are ten fragmented, random thoughts, including “Then farewell, Youth, And all the joys that dwell With Youth and Life! And Life itself, farewell” and “I could a Tale unfold—Would harrow up thy soul!—” (V: 308). In constructing the physical text, Richardson rotates the later passage, along with two others, into a skewed position—almost upside down. Consequently, readers see a page in which the vertical /
Let. 4. Clarissa Harlowe.

ations— Because, truly, I might have it to say, if challenged, that I knew not where to find to you!— I am ashamed of myself!— Had this been at first excusable, it could not be a good reason for going on in the folly, when you had no liking to the house, and when he began to play tricks, and delay with you.— What! I was to mistrust myself, was I?— I was to allow it to be thought, that I could not keep my own secret?— But the house to be taken at this time, and at that time, led us both on— like fools, like tame fools, in a string.— Upon my life, my dear, this man is a vile, a contemptible villain— I must speak out!— How has he laughed in his sleeve at us both, I warrant, for I can’t tell how long!

And yet who could have thought, that a man of fortune, and some reputation [This Doleman, I mean; not your wretch, to be sure!]— formerly a rake indeed— [I enquired after him— long ago; and so was the easier satisfied]— but married to a woman of family— having had a palsy-blow— and one would think a penitent— should recommend such a house [Why, my dear, he could not enquire of it, but must find it to be bad] to such a man as Lovelace, to bring his future, nay, his then supposed, bride to?

I write, perhaps, with too much violence, to be clear. But I cannot help it. Yet I lay down my pen, and take it up every ten minutes, in order to write with some temper— My mother too in and out— What need I (she asks me) lock myself in, if I am only reading past correspondence!— for that is my pretence, when she comes poking in with her face sharpened to an edge, as I may say, by curiosity that gives her more pain than pleasure— The Lord forgive me; but I believe I shall huff her next time she comes in.

Figure 2.1
Indice Letter
(V: 33)
The History of Vol. 5.

Paper X.

Lead me, where my own thoughts themselves may lose me;
Where I may doze out what I've left of Life,
Forget myself, and that day's guilt!

Cruel Remembrance! — how shall I appease thee?

— Oh! you have done an act
That blots the face and blush of modesty;
Takes off the role
From the fair forehead of an innocent Love,
And makes a blushing there!

Then down I laid my head,
Down on cold earth, and for a while was dead;
And my freed soul to a strange somewhere fled!

Ah! deceitful soul! said I,
When back to its cage again I saw it fly;
Fool! to return her broken chain,
And row the galley here again!
Fool! to that body to return,
Where it condemned and destitute is to mourn!

O my Miss Howe! if thou hast friendship, help me,
And speak the words of peace to my divided soul,
That war within me,
And raises every sense to my confusion.
I'm tottering on the brink
Of peace; and thou art all the hold I've left!
Assist me — in the pangs of my affliction!

When Honour's lost, 'tis a relief to die;
Death's but a sure retreat from infamy.

Then farewel, Youth,
And all the joys that dwell
With Youth and Life!
And Life itself, farewel!

For Life can never be sincerely blest.
Heav'n punishes the Bad, and proves the Best.

After all, Belford, I have just skimmed over
these transcriptions of Dorcas; and I see there are method

Figure 2.2
Mad Paper X
(V: 308)
horizontal orientation normally read from is disrupted. Richardson's vertically aligned verse, the two skewed verses, and the irregular right margin typographically portray a disordered handwriting and Clarissa's loss of mental control following the rape. Although the two frequently cited examples show how typography, as a component of the physical text, influences meaning, there are many other thematically significant material texts throughout the entire eight volumes of Clarissa's third edition.

In Clarissa, Richardson constructs meaning, and guides readers' interpretations, through physical as well as linguistic content. While a printer's ornament, a series of italicized letters, or an oddly constructed em dash may not invoke the flourish of the indice letter or Mad Paper X, they are no less significant in meaning than their better-known material counterparts. For Richardson, the master printer as well as author, these typographic elements are more than printer's conventions with predefined, static uses. Rather, like his emendations to the words in the third edition linguistic text, Richardson revises printing conventions and diversifies the uses of typography, and in doing so, he adapts the medium of print to his specific needs as a moralistic author of fiction. By accentuating form as well as linguistic content, Richardson creates dynamic material texts which challenge his readers actively to engage the novel's didactic meaning.
In the discussion that follows, I will divide Clarissa's material texts into two categories in order to show how Richardson constructs material texts for didactic purposes. Primary material texts are the letters themselves, comprised of the linguistic content and the physical document—essentially, the visual presentation of the fictional narrative. Secondary material texts are supporting items, including Richardson's printer's ornaments and footnotes. As complements to the larger narrative, the secondary material texts provide subtle instructions for reading Clarissa's letters. Secondary material texts, as visual displays, tend to be larger and physically more distinct, and thus they provide the most accessible point of entry into this discussion. For instance, upon opening Volume I of Clarissa to the first page, readers encounter a large printer's ornament and then, after reading the title, see the ornamental initial "I" which begins the actual linguistic text.

Printer's Ornaments

According to William Merritt Sale, Jr., "Very few of the books that came from Richardson's press carried the phrase in the imprint: 'Printed by S. Richardson.' In only one volume does his name appear in a colophon." To distinguish works printed by his shop, Richardson used wood block ornaments at the beginning and end of volumes and initial letters (also known as factotums) for the first word of a volume's linguistic text. Although competing printers
in Dublin were known to have created imitations of Richardson's ornaments for use in pirated editions,\textsuperscript{33} Richardson's ornaments were otherwise unique to his shop. While printers most commonly used ornaments as a means of identifying works from their press, the ornaments that Richardson affixes to \textit{Clarissa} also frequently show thematic parallels to the narratives contained in their respective volumes. With their visual meaning, Richardson's ornaments resemble the heavily symbolic emblems popular in the sixteenth and seventeenth centuries. Richardson's ornaments in \textit{Clarissa} lack the motto and epigram typically found with the icon in emblem books, but they nonetheless often have a significant epigrammatic message which can be drawn from their visual imagery.

Richardson encourages readers to interpret his ornaments by presenting within \textit{Clarissa} two important scenes of emblems being read. In Volume V, Lovelace obtains a marriage license, and in a self-revealing interpretation for Belford, describes its seal as containing "Two crossed Swords; to shew that Marriage is a State of offence as well as defence: [and] Three Lions; to denote, that those who enter into the State, ought to have a triple proportion of courage" (V: 270). In Volume VII, Belford reads the emblem etched on the coffin Clarissa purchases before her death. Providing an interpretation consistent with the emblem books, Belford writes to Lovelace that "The principal device . . . is a crowned Serpent, with its tail in its mouth,\textsuperscript{36}
forming a ring, the emblem of Eternity" (VII: 311). Readers of the AMS Press facsimile third edition of Clarissa can see an impression of the emblem, similar to the popular Renaissance symbol of the ouroboros, stamped on the outside boards, a decision encouraged by Margaret Anne Doody, Associate Editor of the Clarissa Project. Although this aesthetic detail would not have been found in eighteenth-century editions, where books were generally bound in calfskin, without visual embellishments, the emblem overtly defines Clarissa as a visually significant text.

With their thematically important emblematic meaning, Richardson’s ornaments provide alert readers with instructive visual prefaces to Clarissa’s content. For instance, the ornaments on the first page of Volume I introduce readers to the novel’s general motifs (Figure 2.3). The headpiece contains the profile of a woman’s head at the center. Her long hair suggests the beauty of Clarissa while her serious, almost severe, expression establishes the tone of the “History” which follows. Intertwined flowers and leaves surround the woman’s profile, accentuating her beauty but also connoting the inevitable decay which accompanies a flower. Through the use of the overdetermined headpiece, Richardson establishes the theme of life on earth as a transient state, even for the most beautiful and dignified person. Therefore, before readers encounter the first word of the linguistic text, Richardson begins visually to mold their interpretation of his novel.
AM extremely concerned, my dearest Friend, for the disturbances that have happened in your Family. I know how it must hurt you to become the subject of the public talk; And yet upon an occasion so generally known, it is impossible but that whatever relates to a young Lady whose distinguished merits have made her the public care, should engage every-body's attention. I long to have the particulars from yourself; and of the usage I am told you receive upon an accident you could not help; and in which, as far as I can learn, the Sufferer was the Aggressor.

Mr. Diggs the Surgeon, whom I sent for at the first hearing of the Rencounter, to enquire, for your fake,
The ornamental initial on the first page of the novel also begins to control reading strategies. Within the block that contains the ornamental initial, directly above the letter "I," is an open book. Conventionally signifying wisdom or knowledge in the emblem books, the visual image reiterates the meaning presented in the linguistic text of the title which reads, in large, double pica and great primer bold capitals, "THE HISTORY OF CLARISSA HARLOWE." The ornamental initial and the linguistic text of the title define Clarissa as an elevated, important work, not to be mistaken by readers as a frivolous and uninstructive romance, popular during the eighteenth century. The timelessness of the bound and perhaps printed book within the ornamental letter also provides readers with a corrective to the eventually decaying flower of the headpiece. Whereas life on earth is transient, the book of history remains as an inscribed artifact, recording in its pages the lives of those that came before. In other words, a person's voice, in this case, that of Clarissa, is perpetuated through the written text. The ornamental initial on the first page of Clarissa prepares readers to think beyond the immediacy of the writing-to-the-moment events portrayed in the epistolary narrative and to anticipate a major Richardsonian theme of the novel: the Christian paradox that life continues after death. Later in the novel, for instance, and also in letters to Aaron Hill and Lady Dorothy Bradshaigh, Richardson stresses that
Clarissa’s death on earth must not be viewed as a tragedy, since “future hope” (VIII: 279) and “future rewards” (VIII: 287) await her in Heaven.

Richardson uses only two other headpieces in Clarissa, and both show parallels to the narrative events depicted in their particular volumes. In Volume II, which concludes with Clarissa and Lovelace fleeing Harlowe Place, Richardson presents a unique headpiece, one not seen in any other volume (Figure 2.4). On the outer margins of the ornament, two mature birds eat from a cornucopia of flowers on the left side and fruit on the right side. Based on popular emblem books, the flowers and fruit respectively symbolize beauty and good works, both characteristic of Clarissa, and the cornucopias conventionally represent wealth, synonymous with the Harlowe family. As the birds eat, they are nourished by the flowers and fruit, just as the Harlowes hope to have their hunger for social status and wealth nourished through their daughter’s economically advantageous marriage to Roger Solmes. Richardson’s ornamental initial accompanying the headpiece in Volume II complements this motif of hunger and nourishment (Figure 2.4). On each side of the letter “A” sit two young birds staring upward at a basket of flowers, awaiting nourishment from absent parents. Clarissa, like the young birds in the ornamental initial, must overcome her own parents’ negligence in Volume II, including their forced marriage with Solmes, their denial of pens and paper, and their acquiescence to threatened...
LETTER I.

Miss Howe, To Miss Clarissa Harlowe.

Wednesday Night, March 22.

NGRY!—What should I be angry for? I am mightily pleased with your freedom, as you call it. I only wonder at your patience with me; that’s all. I am sorry I gave you the trouble of so long a Letter upon the occasion (a); notwithstanding the pleasure I received in reading it.

I believe you did not intend reserves to me: For two reasons I believe you did not: First, because you say you did not: Next, because you have not as yet been able to convince yourself how it is to be with you; and persecuted as you are, how so to separate

(a) See Vol. I, Letter xxxvii. for the occasion: And Letters xxxviii., xli. of the same volume, for the freedoms Clarissa apologizes for.
violence from her brother James. The images in the headpiece and the ornamental initial establish parental duty as a central concern of the volume. As alert readers discover, the consequences of parental negligence are exemplified after Clarissa flees Harlowe Place at the end of the second volume.

In contrast to the mature birds’ consumption of fruit and flowers in the margins of the headpiece to Volume II, the center contains an image similar to the standard emblem for the Holy Spirit. The positive image depicts a bird in flight, with bright rays of light radiating from the center of the oval surrounding the bird. Above the oval, a smiling angel peers over the optimistic scene. John Bunyan, interpreting a similar emblematic image of a bird in flight, writes in epigram forty-three (1686) that “The birds of all sizes and varieties which fly in the sky represent men who shall possess heaven.” By centrally positioning this positive image within his headpiece, Richardson reestablishes and privileges his Christian theme of future rewards. The headpiece reminds readers that regardless of the hardships the young birds or the young heroine, Clarissa, might face, both are protected and ultimately rewarded through future life—an important point for Richardson’s audience to remember when reading about Clarissa’s oppressive family in the linguistic text of Volume II. The dichotomized images of consumption and hope in the headpiece also prepare readers for the multiple
points of view presented in an epistolary novel. For instance, Clarissa’s account of her escape (II: 322-34) contrasts drastically with Lovelace’s deceitful plan (II: 340-43). Richardson’s ornaments to the second volume prepare readers to expect conflicting accounts and to recognize that those accounts do not necessarily arrive with equal moral authority.

Richardson’s third ornamental headpiece, depicting two angels symmetrically sitting on either side of an open book, is also his most commonly used, occurring in Volumes III, IV, VI, and VIII (Figure 2.5). The positive connotation of the angelic headpiece offers reassurance to readers who focus too much on Clarissa’s earthly hardships, including Lady Dorothy Bradshaigh, who called for a “happy Ending” to the novel and her sister, Lady Elizabeth Echlin, who actually composed an alternative conclusion with Clarissa and Lovelace married. Although the two angels are distinguished from human beings by their wings, each also possesses distinctly human features, including hair, fingers, and clothing on the lower body. With one hand, each angel supports a perched bird. Unlike the voracious
birds found in the headpiece to Volume II, these two look
toward a large basket of flowers but do not consume. With
the other hand, each angel touches the edge of the book, its
open text clearly displaying its own headpiece and
tailpiece, suggestive of the material form of Clarissa
itself. (Viewing the headpiece with a strong glass shows
the "text" to be composed of points; no words are present.)
Overall, the headpiece exudes order and control through the
symmetrical formatting, the trained appearance of the birds,
the gathered flowers, and the regular, repetitive
arrangement of the printed lines of "text" within the book.

Significantly, though, each of the four volumes that
the ornament prefaces is marked in the linguistic text (the
narrative) by disruption or lack of order. For instance, in
Volume III, Mr. Harlowe invokes his "Curse" (III:258) upon
Clarissa, withdrawing his paternal protection and breaking
the common hierarchy of familial relations. Volume IV
contains scenes of disrupted social order in which the
security of different women is compromised. First, Lovelace
threatens rape against Anna Howe and her mother during their
planned trip to the Isle of Wight (IV: 255); then, Lovelace
stages a fire near Clarissa's apartment, allowing him to
view her "almost disrobed body" (IV: 367). In Volume VI,
the social order completely erodes as Lovelace, with the
help of Dorcas and Sinclair, rapes Clarissa (VI: 174).
Finally, in Volume VIII, Clarissa's death (VIII: 7) and the
subsequent details signify the collapse of all that has been portrayed as virtuous and good.

Although disorder appears to reign in each of these narrative examples, Richardson's headpiece to the volumes suggests the opposite interpretation. The headpiece depicts a scene of idyllic harmony surrounding the open book. A cornucopia of flowers and intertwined vines fill the block; even the birds, shown as consumers of beauty and wealth in Volume II, are now controlled and orderly, perched atop the angels' hands. By centering a Clarissa-like book amidst the ordered scene, significantly anchored by the Christian angels, the headpiece implies that the chaotic events in Clarissa, like the birds themselves, might be part of a larger, organized system. Because of the immediacy of epistolary writing, Mr. Harlowe's curse and Lovelace's violence may initially appear to defeat Clarissa—after all, she dies. With frustration, Richardson describes impatient readers who misinterpret the narrative in this way, writing to Elizabeth Carter that such readers "professed so much love to Clarissa, as to deny her her triumph, and to grudge her her Heaven." Richardson believed in the Christian system of "future rewards," and in this context, Clarissa ultimately emerges as the victor. After death on earth, the virtuous Clarissa enters Heaven, a place of harmony like that depicted in the headpiece.

To make this point clearer to readers, Richardson made numerous changes, "restorations," to the linguistic text of
the third edition, most notably in his attempts to increase the vilenesse of Lovelace. However, Richardson recognized the inadequacies of his linguistic text, because readers could misinterpret the words and consider Lovelace appealing or Clarissa at fault. While Richardson uses his linguistic "restorations" to the third edition to correct these misreadings, he also uses the headpieces of the material text to provide interpretive guidance for the readers. Thus, unlike perhaps any other figure in British literature, Richardson, as master printer as well as author, is able to link the printer's ornament with the authorial linguistic text.

Footnotes

Because the printer's ornaments lack a linguistic text, traditional, content-oriented readers might be prone to minimize their significance. Within Clarissa, Richardson employs another secondary material text which is more difficult for readers to overlook. Through marginal footnotes, Richardson continues to suggest interpretations of his linguistic text and to define what he considers the most effective reading strategy for the novel. In this section, I will examine both the visual appearance as well as the linguistic text of the footnotes. Because Richardson's footnotes to Clarissa are separated from the body of the novel, situated at the bottom of the page, they visually redefine the epistolary text, and materially expand the limits of the page. Richardson's footnotes exist beyond
the traditional bounds of a page of fiction, and the presence of even the simplest footnote—for instance, "(a) P. 22, 23." (I: 69)—forces readers to look to the margins for content. Without reading a single word of the footnote, readers can nonetheless see that meaning is located outside the main linguistic text. Like the epistolary genre itself, Richardson’s footnoted page becomes a materially significant site of multiple voices and potentially conflicting facts.

Richardson identifies a linguistic / material reading strategy for footnotes in his 7 November 1748 letter to Aaron Hill. Referring to Alexander Pope, Richardson writes that he “could not trust his Works with the Vulgar, without Notes longer than the Work, and Self-praises, to tell them what he meant, and that he had a meaning, in this or that Place. And thus every-one was taught to read with his eyes.” Richardson correctly alludes to two different reading strategies produced by Pope’s heavily annotated linguistic texts—for example, The Dunciad Variorum (1729). First, Pope can “tell [the readers] what he meant” through the linguistic text of the notes. Second, Pope can also visually instruct his readers by materially marking “this or That place” where significant meaning is located, thereby forcing his readers to attend to visual cues “with [the] eyes.” Although Richardson criticizes Pope’s use of footnotes, he himself encountered enough “Vulgar” readers needing to be “taught” that he undertook the strategy himself in Clarissa.

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One critic in particular, Mark Kinkead-Weekes, finds the emergence of Richardson's authorial voice in his footnotes to *Clarissa* particularly disruptive and unsuccessful. In his analysis of Richardson's footnotes, Kinkead-Weekes analyzes them only as linguistic texts, concluding in his limited reading that they reflect Richardson's hardened distrust of his readers and that they make the novel "seem cruder and clumsier than it really is." Linguistically, footnotes like the one in Letter 26 of Volume II (II: 156-58) do appear heavy-handed. Here, Richardson linguistically provides a counter-explication for readers who have misinterpreted Lovelace's treatment of Rosebud; speaking directly to his readers, Richardson states that "This explanation is the more necessary to be given, as several of our Readers (thro' want of due attention) have attributed to Mr. Lovelace, on his behaviour to his Rosebud, a greater merit than was due to him" (II: n., 258). From an examination only of the linguistic text, Richardson appears to privilege, as Kinkead-Weekes suggests, one reading of the scene—his own. Passive reading would seem to be encouraged, as Richardson offers the "correct" reading in his linguistic note. However, a passive readership contradicts the eighteenth-century didactic principle subscribed to by both Richardson and Johnson. For knowledge to be internalized, these two moralists believed that readers needed active contemplation of the linguistic and material texts before them. As Johnson's *Rasselas* laments,
nothing is gained when one is only "an idle gazer on the light of heaven."  

Analysis of the material components of the footnote to letter 26 shows how Richardson physically constructs the note to encourage active reading. In Letter 26, rather than correcting those readers in "want of due attention" only with overt linguistic statements, Richardson promotes a more effective reading strategy by creating an atypical material text (Figure 2.6). Richardson physically divides the footnote onto two pages, thereby complicating the reading process and causing readers to devote additional attention to the footnoted text. The footnote begins on the recto page 157 and continues onto verso page 158 for fourteen more lines, forcing the reader to turn the leaf to complete the reading; then, the reader must turn back to page 157 to finish the body text. The reading experience is further complicated by the reference within the footnote to "Vol. I. Letter xxxi" (II: 158), a letter of Lovelace's from the previous volume which readers can choose to reread. Because Richardson manipulates the formatting and visual presentation of the conventional page, he motivates readers to engage actively with the linguistic and material texts. Like Pope's visual footnotes "read with [the] eyes," Richardson's footnote causes the reading of Clarissa to become an overtly physical activity--while turning pages, one can even imagine having to get up and retrieve a previous volume.
This vile Joseph Leman had given a hint to Betty, and the to me, as if Lovelace would be found out to be a very bad man, at a place where he had been lately seen in disguise. But he would see further, he said, before he told her more; and he promised secrecy, in hope to get at further intelligence. I thought it could be no harm, to get you to inform yourself, and me, of what could be gathered (a). And now I see,

(a) It will be seen in Vol. I. Letter xxxiv. that Mr. Lovelace's motive for sparing his Rosibud was twofold. First, Because his Pride was gratified by the Grandmother's desiring him to spare her Grand-daughter. Many a pretty Rogue, says he, had I spared, whom I did not spare, had my Power been acknowledged, and my Mercy in time implied. But the Debellare Rosibud shou'd be my motto, were I to have a new one.

His other motive will be explained in the following passage, in the same Letter. I never was so bountiful, for so long together, says he, since my matriculation. It behoves me so to be. Some way or other my report [at this little Inn] may be found out; and it will then be thought that my Rosibud has attracted me. A report in my favour from simplicity in amiable, may establish me, &c. * Accord-

LETTER XXVII.

MRS. HOWE, TO MRS. CLARISSA HARLOWE.

Friday Noon, March 31.

JUSTICE obliges me to forward this after my last on the wings of the wind, as I may say. I really believe the man is innocent. Of this one accusation, I think, he must be acquitted; and I am sorry I was so forward in dispatching away my intelligence by halves.

Accordingly, as the Reader will hereafter see, Mr. Lovelace finds, by the Effects, his expectations from the contrivance he set on foot by means of his agent Joseph Leman (who plays, as above, upon Betty Barnes) fully answered, tho' he could not know what passed on the occasion between the two Ladies.

This explanation is the more necessary to be given, as several of our Readers (tho' want of due attention) have attributed to Mr. Lovelace, on his behaviour to his Rosibud, a greater merit than was due to him; and moreover imagined, that it was improbable, that a man, who was capable of acting so generously (as they supposed) in this instance, should be guilty of any atrocious villainy. Not considering, that Love, Pride, and Revenge, as he owns in Vol. I. Letter xxxii., were ingredients of equal force in his composition; and that Resistance was a stimulus to him.

I have

Figure 2.6
Atypically formatted footnote (II: 157–58)
Before turning back the page while reading the footnote to letter 26, readers must first negotiate Richardson’s loud and potentially distracting typography, found only six lines above in Anna’s letter of 31 March. In bold capitals, difficult to avoid visually, Anna’s linguistic text proclaims “JUSTICE” and two lines later continues “Of this one accusation [against Lovelace, regarding his treatment of Rosebud], I think, he must be acquitted” (II: 158). Ironically, although Richardson chides readers who lack “due attention” in the footnote, his typography actually encourages the reader’s attention to wander—Anna’s second statement is, after all, located only two lines from Richardson’s note. The inattentive reader—or the reader who is attentive to the material text and to typography—is thus confronted by two conflicting messages in close physical proximity to one another: Richardson asserts in the footnote that Lovelace is at fault, and Anna believes he must be acquitted. Richardson, like Pope in his footnotes, also attempts to “tell [the readers] what he meant,” but because of his formatting of the footnote and Anna’s letter, he actually compromises the authority of his own explication and cognitively challenges the reader to weigh the conflicting reports. Richardson creates multiple voices and requires readers to consider the authority and merits of each reading, thereby complementing the dialogic nature of the epistolary genre itself. Therefore, rather than being clumsy linguistic crib sheets which dictate meaning, as

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Kinkead-Weekes suggests, Richardson's footnotes, as secondary material texts, help to insure that the reading of his didactic / moral novel remains an active experience, both visually and cognitively.

**The Familiar Letter**

By constructing his pages with secondary material texts, such as the printer's ornaments and the footnotes, Richardson provides readers with visual cues which accentuate Clarissa's themes and which subtly develop the reading strategies necessary for properly understanding the novel's didactic content. In other words, Richardson's secondary material texts help to prepare readers for the over 500 familiar letters, or primary material texts, that comprise the novel's narrative.

Although the epistolary novel thrives in the eighteenth century, the linguistic content of these novels does not always follow the epistolary conventions of the period. For instance, both Tobias Smollett's *Humphry Clinker* (1771) and Francis Burney's *Evelina* (1778), like Clarissa, are purportedly printed from original--real--letters. However, after an obligatory greeting, these texts, as was typical in most epistolary novels, tend to slide into the narrative plot and dismiss even the most basic precepts of epistolary content. Essentially, these are letters by name only, serving as forerunners to chapter divisions. The fictional letters that Richardson linguistically and materially constructs in Clarissa, though, are different.
Richardson recognizes that the realism of his letters in *Clarissa* will be limited because they occur within a fictional context where the needs of the narrative often contradict eighteenth-century letter writing conventions. Consequently, Richardson sets reasonable goals for the impact on readers of his fictional letters, telling William Warburton in 1748 that:

> 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.\(^5\)\(^3\)

Richardson pragmatically acknowledges that readers will know that *Clarissa*’s letters are fictional. As an author concerned with both the “Influence” of his fiction as well as with retaining the “Historical Faith” of the fictional texts, Richardson attempts to construct letters which “should not prefatically be owned not to be genuine.” In other words, Richardson strives to build epistolary verisimilitude which will enhance the integrity of his novel’s didactic meaning. With his attention to both the linguistic and material components of the epistolary text, Richardson constructs fiction which demonstrates a greater affinity to real eighteenth-century familiar letters than any other fictional writer of his time.

In many ways, the linguistic content of *Clarissa*’s letters conforms to eighteenth-century epistolary
conventions. Richardson identifies an ideal standard for epistolary content within the novel itself, when Lovelace recalls telling Clarissa: "I love Familiar-letter writing . . . above all species of writing: It was writing from the heart (without the fetters prescribed by method or study) as the very word Cor-respondence implied" (IV: 269). Lovelace’s definition of the familiar letter, actually a self-conscious and contrived synthesis of Clarissa’s own prior statements, identifies a number of epistolary traits discussed in eighteenth-century style books, including William Bradford’s The Secretary’s Guide (1737), Robert Dodsley’s The Preceptor (1748), and Hugh Blair’s Lectures on Rhetoric (1783). Although Lovelace’s use of the Latin etymology in “Cor-respondence” may grammatically be incorrect,54 the idea of responding from the heart does identify the goal of an exemplary familiar letter. A heart-felt letter to a close friend was considered spontaneous, and from this spontaneity came truthfulness and an honest image of the letter writer’s inner character. Importantly, then, the familiar letter was thought to present an unfeigned signification of the letter writer’s subjectivity. More specifically, Dodsley states that “Letter-writing rejects all Pomp of words, and is most agreeable, when most familiar.”55 He adds, “tho’ lofty Phrases are here improper, the Stile must not therefore sink into Meanness.” The correspondence between friends, then, when properly written, brings delight. At the same time, because the thoughts must
be significant and not “mean,” letters also hold didactic, instructive potential. Richardson links epistolary and novelistic ideals in his “Preface” to Clarissa’s third edition, stating that the letters “will entertain and divert; and at the same time both warn and instruct” (I: vii). The epistolary genre is linguistically ideal for Richardson because its entertaining content and instructive potential suit his moral aims.

No character of Richardson’s creates more exemplary letters than the seventeen-year-old Clarissa. “I love writing,” she tells Anna in her second letter of the novel (I: 17). Clarissa’s 10 March letter illustrates how didactic content supplements the delight she experiences through the familiar letter. Clarissa begins by tersely critiquing a number of lines from Anna, and then writes:

> whenever I am cool, and give myself time to reflect, I will love you the better for the correction you give me, be as severe as you will upon me. Spare me not therefore, my dear friend. (I: 182)

Stylistically, Clarissa’s thoughts are couched in simple, unaffected language; and though the style reflects conversation—-an important aspect of the familiar letter—-it never sinks “into Meanness.” The content is honest and forthright, and it acknowledges the importance of friends speaking “without fetters.” The instructive potential of letter-writing is also evident, for Clarissa learns about herself through the physical act of sitting down to read and write. In this manner, Clarissa’s contemplation, and other
character's similar acts, parallels the reader's interactions with the printer's ornaments and the footnotes. Although Clarissa's thoughts might not be considered extraordinary, by subscribing to epistolary standards she provides readers with a model of how they can effectively approach the other letters within the novel.

Clarissa's exemplary familiar letters demonstrate Richardson's ability to retain "Historical Faith" within the linguistic text of his novel. Richardson, a self-described "scribbler" who in a 1753 letter to Johannes Stinstra admitted that "From my earliest Youth, I had a Love of letter writing," understands and imitates in his fiction the eighteenth-century principles of epistolary content. However, reproducing the material element of a familiar letter within the fictional narrative is more problematic for Richardson. In creating letters as material texts, Richardson's biggest obstacle in retaining the "Historical Faith" of his readers is the medium of print, because the manufactured, technological appearance of print draws attention to the manufactured, fictional state of the letters themselves. For instance, a physically significant element of the epistolary genre which Richardson cannot adequately reproduce in print is the formatting of the superscriptions and the subscriptions to the letters. Both Bradford and John Hill, in The Young Secretary's Guide (1698), explain that as a mark of respect toward the recipient, the writer should leave a large space between the
Following the convention on the printed page is difficult for Richardson, since blank lines on a typeset sheet translate into unused paper and additional costs. Although he includes the declarative information, Richardson breaks convention by uniformly placing it within one line of the body of the letter--much like typical twentieth-century letter collections. This spatial element is therefore lost, and readers knowledgeable about epistolary conventions must overlook the print limitation. However, because Richardson's goals are realistic--seeking only that the letters "should not prefatically be owned not to be genuine"--he often works within the print environment to create physical texts which mimic or enhance other significant elements of the eighteenth-century familiar letter. By recreating important epistolary traits within the print environment, Richardson retains the didactic potential inherent in the material features of the familiar letter.

**Typography and the Familiar Letter**

Rather than allowing the print environment to undermine his epistolary verisimilitude, and consequently to minimize the didactic influence of his letters, Richardson varies and diversifies his typographical presentation, often manipulating or breaking eighteenth-century printing conventions in order to accentuate epistolary conventions. Richardson recognizes that typography (generally defined as
the appearance of printed material) involves more than practical concerns such as setting words with the most economical or efficient type fonts, sizes, and appearances. Rather, Richardson, with his unique background as master printer and author, understands that the visual appearance of typographical features carries its own meaning that readers interpret along with the words themselves. An 1898 Blackwell’s Magazine description of typography as “nudges and leers conveyed to the reader by capital letters, italics, dashes and asterisks” points to the subtle thematic meaning inherent in typographical images—meaning that Richardson, as I will show, was aware of one hundred and fifty years earlier. Richardson uses each of the typographical elements identified in the brief Blackwell’s catalogue with regularity in Clarissa, but I would add font type and pointing to the list. As the quotation suggests in its reference to “nudges and leers,” typography visually brings an element of subjectivity, or characterization, to the linguistic text. Consequently, by constructing a material text with unique, even experimental, typographical features, Richardson creates visually rich printed pages which complement the characterization presented in the linguistic texts of Clarissa’s well-written familiar letters. Thus, the print form, with its bounds expanded by Richardson, does not necessarily pose an obstacle to epistolary verisimilitude.
The typographical element used most extensively by Richardson in *Clarissa* is the italic letter. Although John Smith, Richardson’s contemporary, declares in *The Printer’s Grammar* (1755) that “At present that [italic] Letter is used more sparingly,” in *Clarissa*, a page without a single italicized word is rare. From the italicized “your” (I: 1) found on the novel’s first page to Belford’s italicized maxim that the “End of Travel is Improvement” (VIII: 276) found on the last page of his “Conclusion” in Volume VIII, readers discover in the linguistic text a diverse and abundant display of italics. Discussing the proper use of the italic letter, Smith states that “The chief, and almost only use for which Italic was originally designed, was to distinguish such part of a book as may be said not to belong to the Body.” Richardson uses the italic letter as a visual mark of distinction in Lovelace’s first letter of the novel (I: 195-206), where he digresses seven times by quoting poetic lines from an anonymous poet as well as from Otway, Dryden, Cowley, and Shakespeare. In each instance, Richardson distinguishes the intertextual quotations with italic letters. Similarly, when Lovelace inserts into his own letter Clarissa’s note to Dorcas, in which she secretly requests the servant’s assistance in escaping from Lovelace’s “illegal confinement” (VI: 4), the seventeen lines, certainly not intended by Clarissa to “belong to the Body” of Lovelace’s letter, are marked in the conventional manner with italic letters.
Joseph Moxon identifies a second use for the italic font, one frequently utilized today, stating in *Mechanick Exercises on the Whole Art of Printing* (1683-84) that “Words of great Emphasis are also Set in Italick.” Again following typographical conventions, Richardson applies this visual accent to his linguistic text on virtually every page of his novel. For instance, in Volume II, Clarissa comments on Anna’s plan for them both to flee Harlowe Place and states, “If, my dear, you can procure a vehicle for us both, you can perhaps procure one for me singly” (II: 249).

Similarly, with italic letters again accentuating contrasting terms, Belford attacks Lovelace following the rape of Clarissa by stating “[you] will hardly be thought credible, even by those who know thee, if they have seen her” (V: 293).

One of the more thematically significant examples of italic emphasis occurs in Volume I when Clarissa disavows any affection for Lovelace. Struggling to maintain personal control and to marry no one, Clarissa reports to her mother that, “I know not my own heart, if it be not absolutely free” (I: 99). Clarissa’s initial statement is typographically significant for its lack of italics and lack of visual emphasis. The main point in Clarissa’s plea—that she wants to marry no man—is actually found seven lines later in the paragraph and is marked by the visual cue of an exclamation point: she writes to her mother, “Let not your
Clarissa be precipitated into a State she wishes not to enter into with any man!" However, on five different occasions, Mrs. Harlowe uses a variation of Clarissa’s initial statement as the rationale for her daughter marrying Roger Solmes, whom Clarissa despises. Mrs. Harlowe reminds her daughter in the first instance, “your heart is free” (I: 110), and Richardson visually accentuates the statement with all italic letters. Mrs. Harlowe’s linguistic text is essentially the same as Clarissa’s, but Richardson advises readers of the mother’s manipulation of Clarissa’s meaning through the italic font. By juxtaposing the mother’s italicized statement with Clarissa’s unitalicized words, Richardson expands the typographical convention of italic emphasis into a literary device. Because the traditional narrator who might identify Mrs. Harlowe’s subtle agenda does not exist in epistolary fiction, Richardson must find a non-linguistic substitute, and he does this through manipulation of the statement’s material appearance. Much like a third-person narrator in a non-epistolary novel, the italic element of Richardson’s printed page enhances the characterization of Mrs. Harlowe by visually reporting the mother’s unarticulated agenda. Through Richardson’s linguistic and physical texts in this passage, readers see Mrs. Harlowe contriving to force a convenient marriage between her daughter and Solmes.

In a second example of characterization through italic typography, Richardson breaks eighteenth-century printing
conventions and uses the specialized font to incorporate
dialogue into his epistolary novel. In her 12 April letter
to Anna, written after she flees Harlowe Place, Clarissa
explains Lovelace's deceit while they hid together at St.
Albans, including his ironic plan that she portray herself
as a daughter who attempted to marry without the consent of
her family. She then concludes:

as he said, a tear with it. While he assured me, still
before them [a vile wretch!] that I had nothing to
fear from meeting with Parents who so dearly loved
me.—

How could I be complaisant, my dear, to such a man
as this?

When we had got into the chariot, and it began to
move, he asked me, whether I had any objection to go
to Lord M's Hertfordshire Seat? His Lordship, he
said, was at his Berkshire one.

Figure 2.7
Italic line
(III: 19)

The most distinct feature of the passage is the
italicized line, physically set off from the rest of the
linguistic text by the em dash and by the white space above
and below the line. When viewed in conjunction with the
other typographic elements in the passage, Richardson's
manipulation of the italic convention is clear. Rather than
connoting emphasis, as the italic letters in Mrs. Harlowe's
"your heart is free" example, the intensity of these italics
is undermined by the pause generated through the em dash
following "me" and by the non-assertive question mark at the
end of the italicized line. Clarissa's italicized statement
contrasts both typographically and linguistically with her
more emphatic "vile wretch," a statement so strongly worded that it requires an exclamation mark and must be set apart with crotchets, [or square brackets], defined by Smith as signifying "words to be omitted." Richardson's typography creates the context for Clarissa's thoughts to Anna, and from the visual cues, readers see that her italicized statement is not assertive and emphatic, as convention would have it, but instead more of a quiet aside, or hushed dialogue, between confidants. Through the typography, Richardson's linguistic text takes on conversational characteristics, as the written words, embellished with meaning by the typographical presentation, reflect the tone and manner of the spoken word. This material text, then, constructed with atypical typography, accentuates an important epistolary element while also depicting the actions, thoughts, and subtle meanings of Richardson's characters.

A second typographical feature used by Richardson, equally diverse and equally important to characterization, and immediately visible when opening the pages of Clarissa, is his pointing or punctuation. Points—such as periods, commas, em dashes, and so on—can be categorized as components of both linguistic and material texts. Eighteenth-century authors and printers primarily saw pointing as a linguistic tool having its basis in oratory, and thus the various points found in written texts show parallels to the cadence of speech. For example, Dodsley
summarizes in *The Preceptor* (1754) that "A Comma stops the Voice while we may privately tell one [pause], a Semi-colon two; a Colon three: and a Period four." Expanding on the importance of pointing for the audience, Bradford writes that "Due Pointing ... assists the Reader, both as to a right 'Pronunciation, by the raising and falling of the Voice ... and is of no less Use to Others, who shall hear Us read, or see our Writing." Significantly, Bradford not only emphasizes the rhetorical importance of the points, but he also identifies pointing as a material concern, visible to those "who ... see our Writing."

Richardson's most significant use of pointing as a typographic device that carries material meaning independently from the words occurs in his use of the em dash. No letter writer in *Clarissa* relies on the em dash more than Lovelace. The following example from Lovelace's 18 June letter to Belford, in which he recounts his inability to answer Clarissa's charges concerning the rape, illustrates how the em dash visually supplements Lovelace's incoherent linguistic text:
The History of Vol. 5.

I dreaded my future view—how could I avoid looking like a fool, and answering, as before, in broken sentences, and confusion?

What—What—a—What has been done—I, I, I—cannot but say—Must own—Must confess—Hem—Hem—Is not right—Is not what should have been—But a—But—But—I am truly—truly—sorry for it—Upon my soul I am—And—And—will do all—do every thing—Do what—What ever is incumbent upon me—all that you—that you—that you shall require, to make you amends!—

O Belford! Belford! Whose the triumph now!—

Hers, or Mine?

Figure 2.8
Excessive em dashes
(V: 324)

Lovelace's linguistic text, a rambling, incoherent, single sentence riddled with repetitions such as "What . . . What . . . What" and "I . . . I . . . I," records his disjointed and troubled conversation with Clarissa. Earlier in the novel, the utterance "Hem--Hem" had linguistic meaning, when Lovelace uses the sound as a signifier to mark the moment that Joseph Lehman should begin executing Clarissa's escape from Harlowe Place: "If you hear our voices parleying," Lovelace tells Lehman on 8 April, "keep at the door till I Hem, hem, twice: But be watchful for this signal" (II: 340). Following the rape, however, Lovelace's control dwindles, and his linguistic text collapses into a collection of fragmented, nonsensical statements. In this
later passage, "Hem--Hem" signifies nothing in terms of linguistic content, as do the statements "--But a--But--But" and "I am--And--And." Grammatically, Lovelace's single sentence also falters, with the conjunctions "and" and "but" linking em dashes (nothing) rather than words or clauses, and an exclamation point incorrectly signifying Lovelace's exasperation rather than an emphatic statement. At the point when Lovelace must accept personal responsibility for his actions against Clarissa, when he "Must own--Must confess," even the simplest word escapes him; consequently, the "Hem--Hem" he utters in the linguistic text serves as a poor and obviously unconvincing euphemism for what the reader knows Lovelace is attempting to make amends for: the rape of Clarissa.

In the absence of conventional content in the linguistic text (that is, coherent words), Lovelace's inarticulate passage relies on the em dashes to convey meaning and characterization. First, the em dashes act as linguistic substitutes for the words Lovelace never utters by visually representing pauses or breaks in his verbal discourse; in this manner, the em dashes act much like Laurence Sterne's more well-known Shandian dash. In Richardson's epistolary novel, however, the em dash takes on added importance. Because the use of the familiar letter does not permit the presence of a narrator's voice--the instructive "I" of Tristam Shandy, for instance, who leads the reader through the intricate lives of Walter Shandy,
Uncle Toby, Dr. Slop, and Parson Yorick—the typographic em dash must serve as a visual substitute. The em dash concretely denotes what is not there, both the lack of Lovelace’s words as well as the narrator’s descriptions of his physical actions. Consequently, silence, abrupt starts and stops, and even nervous gestures are all implied in Lovelace’s em dashes.

Second, the em dashes found in Lovelace’s inarticulate passage act as material, visual marks carrying meaning independently from the words in the passage. Just as Lovelace’s linguistic text collapses under the pressure of his crime against Clarissa, so too does the appearance of his physical text. Completely inarticulate after uttering “Hem—Hem,” the typographic text continues with two linked em dashes, an atypical pointing mark with no conventional linguistic meaning but with visual meaning suggestive of the longer pause Lovelace needs to regain his composure. Of course, facing the heroic and virtuous Clarissa, no amount of time will suffice, and Lovelace’s linguistic text then presents his fragmented and morally hollow statement, “Is not right.” In all, twenty-eight em dashes litter Lovelace’s one-sentence attempted explanation, causing readers to see a passage that appears unstructured and incomplete. In this way, the material text of the inarticulate passage illustrates both linguistically and visually Lovelace’s greatest fear which he divulges to Belford in the preceding sentence when he asks “How could I
avoid looking like a fool . . . ?" (V: 324). The typically eloquent and controlled Lovelace literally appears before the reader as a guilt-ridden, fallen man. Thus, when he asks Belford "Whose triumph now!—HERS, or MINE?" (V: 324), the visual appearance of Richardson's material text provides an obvious answer: Clarissa's Job-like patience and inner-virtue triumph over Lovelace and his absurd typography.

Richardson's extended use of the em dash, as seen in Lovelace's inarticulate passage, is unconventional for an eighteenth-century printer. As a pointing symbol, the dash is not mentioned as an acceptable mark in the eighteenth-century style books previously cited, and as a printer's device, neither Moxon nor Smith identify it as a primary mark. In two separate extended passages, however, both again involving Lovelace's letters to Belford, Richardson not only overuses the em dash, but he also manipulates the typographical sign by redefining its visual appearance. The first instance occurs in Volume IV (IV: 182-98), when Lovelace critiques four letters from Anna to Clarissa which he has intercepted. Typographically, the em dashes used by Lovelace are now printed as two or three linked hyphens and also as a conventional em dash. The first two paragraphs where the new typography is used contain all three varieties (Figure 2.9): for instance, two linked hyphens follow "no doubt"; three linked hyphens follow "her Love" and "'tis very right"; and two conventionally depicted em dashes visually frame Lovelace's exclamation, "Ardor, Jack!"

68

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I am said, to doubt her Love—Have I not reason?
And she, to doubt my Ardor.—Ardor, Jack!—Why,
'tis very right—Women, as Miss Howe says, and as
every Rake knows, love Ardors!
She apprises her of the Ill Success of the Application
made to her Uncle—By Hickman, no doubt!—I must
have this fellow's ears in my pocket, very quickly, I
believe.

Figure 2.9
Inconsistent em dashes
(IV: 182)

The second instance occurs in Volume VI (VI: 38-52),
after the rape, when Lovelace describes an argument with
Clarissa concerning her housing arrangements. In these
fourteen pages, the em dash is even more varied, printed as
two, three, five, and six linked hyphens, and also as a
conventional em dash, two linked em dashes, and three linked
em dashes. Richardson's em dashes in a sense explode as
they fill his pages with a diverse typographical display.
For instance, in the second example, Lovelace recounts an
emotional conversation with Clarissa in which she makes
references to suicide, hatred toward him, and terror at his
presence. Within a single page (VI: 40; Figure 2.10), the
typographic text contains five different versions of the em
dash: a conventional em dash follows "If I were not"; three
linked em dashes follow "I will sit down"; three hyphens,
the most frequently used in the passage, occur throughout
the final two paragraphs; five hyphens follow "there she
stopped"; and six hyphens follow "speak out" and "you cannot
avoid me."

69

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Let me ask you, Madam, what meant you, when you said, "that, were it not a sin, you would die before you gave me that assurance?"

She was indignantly silent.

You thought, Madam, you had given me room to hope your pardon by it?

When I think I ought to answer you with patience, I will speak.

Do you think yourself in my power, Madam?

If I were not—And there she stopped—

Dearest creature, speak out—I beseech you, dearest creature, speak out—

She was silent; her charming face all in a glow.

Have you, Madam, any reliance upon my honour?

Still silent.

You hate me, Madam! You despise me more than you do the most odious of God's creatures!

You ought to despise me, if I did not.

You say, Madam, you are in a bad house. You have no reliance upon my honour—You believe you cannot avoid me——

She arose. I beseech you, let me withdraw.

I snatched her hand, rising, and pressed it first to my lips, and then to my heart, in wild disorder. She might have felt the bounding mischief ready to burst its bars——

You shall go——To your own apartment; if you please——But, by the great God of Heaven, I will accompany you thither.

She trembled——Pray, pray, Mr. Lovelace, don't terrify me so!

Be seated, Madam! I beseech you be seated!——

I will sit down——

Do then, Madam——Do then——All my soul in my eyes, and my heart's blood throbbing at my fingers ends.

I will——I will——You hurt me——Pray, Mr. Lovelace, don't——don't frighten me so——And down she sat, trembling; my hand still grasping hers.
Prior to Lovelace's two extended passages, the substitution of hyphens in place of an em dash occurs only sparingly in an occasional footnote. Sale makes no mention of the odd typography in his bibliographical description of Clarissa's first or third editions, and T. C. Duncan Eaves and Ben D. Kimpel do not identify in their biography of Richardson any extenuating circumstances surrounding the novel's production which would account for the unique typographical display. Two possible explanations for Richardson's unique typography come to mind. First, the diverse appearance could be the result of the excessive number of em dashes Richardson's text requires. A large percentage of the letters in both Volumes IV and VI belong to Lovelace, and since the em dash is such an integral component of his characterization, the compositor could possibly have emptied his case of the symbol and temporarily had to resort to alternative fonts. Second, the compositor could simply have made errors in setting the type.

However, in the case of Richardson and Clarissa, I find these possibilities unlikely. Richardson took great pride— even obsessive interest—in the production and revision of his novel. With the exception of one volume of the second edition where he employed two other presses, Richardson oversaw and closely monitored the printing of Clarissa in his own shop. Richardson appears to have read proofs carefully, and he is known to have made at least one stop- press correction to an error found in the third volume of
the first edition. As an author and printer concerned with both the linguistic text and physical appearance of his novel, Richardson had many opportunities to emend the em dashes if he had wanted to do so. Rather than the em dashes being the result of compositorial error, I believe that Richardson the master printer purposefully creates the unique visual displays with the em dashes. The resultant material texts embellish the characterization of Lovelace with subtle though significant details.

Both extended examples of diverse em dashes occur at times of heightened tension and frustration for Lovelace. In the first example, after intercepting four letters from Anna to Clarissa, Lovelace expresses his disdain for their failure to willfully submit to his rakish plans. The second example follows the rape and Clarissa's fifth escape attempt, and the content of the passage is best summarized when Lovelace admits to Belford how "Confoundedly out of humour [I am with] this perverse woman" (VI: 38). Typically, like a stage director, Lovelace controls whatever situation he encounters (as seen in his directions to Lehman regarding Clarissa's escape from Harlowe Place (II: 340-43), or in his detailed staging of the meeting between Clarissa and Captain Tomlinson (V: 193)). However, Lovelace's control over Clarissa is tenuous and typically limited to control over minute details. For example, Lovelace intercepts letters bound for Clarissa and alters their linguistic texts, temporarily keeping Clarissa from
receiving advice from Anna. Yet, despite these brief victories, Lovelace never convinces Clarissa to marry or conquers her virtue. Because of the limited, first-person point of view from which each of the letters in the novel is told, Lovelace’s frustration is rarely presented through the linguistic text of his letters. Lovelace does not want other rakes like Belford to see his insecurity or vulnerability, and thus he typically uses bantering and humour to displace his annoyance toward situations and people he cannot control. For instance, to combat Anna’s arrogance toward him, Lovelace decides that she must be in love with him; explaining the possibility to Belford, Lovelace writes:

> Common fame says, That Hickman is a very virtuous, a very innocent fellow— a male-virgin, I warrant!— An odd dog I always thought him.— Now women, Jack, like not Novices. Two maidenheads meeting together in Wedlock, the first child must be a Fool, is their common aphorism. (V: 137)

Not until the end of the novel, following Clarissa’s death, does Lovelace appear in his letters as a man defeated by his inability to conquer Clarissa’s virtue with his vile plans.

Because Lovelace’s linguistic texts hide his emotional state, Richardson depicts Lovelace’s frustration through the unconventional em dashes. In the diverse pointing and typography found in Lovelace’s two extended passages, Richardson disrupts the printing convention of the em dash, creating a disjointed display that parallels the disruption of Lovelace’s power and control. Regularity and predictability are normally associated with a printed page,
and readers expect an em dash to appear in a consistent and controlled way each time it is used. Even if readers are not aware of the conventions presented in Hill’s and Bradford’s style books or in Moxon’s and Smith’s printer’s guides, they can see in the various presentations of the em dash that something is atypical and amiss in Lovelace’s writing.

Linguistically and materially, Lovelace’s pointing in the two extended passages becomes random and nonsensical, thereby providing a visual depiction of his growing inability to control the minute details of his own life. For instance, “Dearest creature, speak out—” (VI: 40), Lovelace begs Clarissa in the second extended passage, noting his pause with three hyphens; he continues, “I beseech you, dearest creature, speak out.—,” this time, ending the statement with six hyphens before admitting to Belford that Clarissa “was silent.” Lovelace uses the three hyphen / six hyphen combination again six lines later: “You say, Madam, you are in a bad house. You have no reliance upon my honour—You believe you cannot avoid me——,” after which Clarissa “arose” in hopes of withdrawing from the room. These two brief examples provide the only semblance of a pattern to Lovelace’s diverse typographical display, and they are indicative of Lovelace’s growing anger as he recounts how each of his pleas met with disdain from Clarissa. In both instances, Clarissa acts in opposition to Lovelace’s desires, and Lovelace responds in his linguistic accounts with what visually appears as a longer, more
emphatic disruption of the conventional em dash. Lovelace reveals his frustration not through his words, where he frequently conceals his true emotions, but instead through the visual presentation of his pointing.

In addition to supplementing the characterization of Lovelace, the various em dashes help Richardson build the epistolary verisimilitude which he finds so important. Concerning the appearance of Richardson's punctuation, Angus Ross states that it "sometimes leads to visual muddle." Rather than producing the ineffective images described by Ross, Richardson's typography, I argue, creates pages with unique visual displays that are suggestive of an individual's handwriting. The qualitative difference in appearance created by Richardson's use of two hyphens, five hyphens, six hyphens, and so on, presents an unexpected and even disconcerting visual display for the readers: for instance, in the second passage, how are the pauses for five hyphens to be read? For six? What meaning is to be derived from the anomalous exclamation mark followed by three hyphens (VI: 40)? The reading experience in Lovelace's two typographically diverse passages, as well as in his inarticulate passage and Mrs. Harlowe's italic example discussed earlier, becomes an act of deciphering the linguistic and visual idiosyncrasies that deviate from expected conventions, much as readers do today when attempting to read handwriting in a scrawled letter. Richardson typographically creates peculiar visual displays
with idiosyncrasies which are unique to Lovelace, much as small details such as serif formation and line density in actual handwriting are unique to the individual writer.

What Richardson's readers saw in Lovelace's unique pages was a display that would strike them as atypical both in terms of typography as well as eighteenth-century handwriting. Not only is the em dash an uncommon typographical symbol according to the printer's grammars, but it occurs in eighteenth-century epistolary manuscripts less frequently, though more consistently, than seen in Lovelace's passages. For instance, while the eighteenth-century poet Christopher Smart frequently incorporates the em dash into his letters, his usage is nonetheless controlled, with the symbol typically noting a parenthetical thought or casually announcing the end of a sentence, sometimes being paired with a period and other times appearing as a single mark. Samuel Johnson rarely uses the em dash in his letters, even refraining from the more colloquial, casual usage of Smart in a 17 June 1783 letter to John Taylor written only hours after suffering what he refers to as a "paralytick stroke" which left him unable to speak. Richardson uses the em dash as much as anyone, yet not even his letters demonstrate the extremely dense usage seen in Lovelace's three passages. Therefore, as visual statements of his character, the handwriting / typography of Lovelace's letters in a sense cannot be deciphered, because the cultural antecedents from which readers would draw the
meaning of the em dashes simply do not exist. Lovelace creates visual signifiers, such as five linked hyphens, which signify nothing, and in this way, he places himself outside the acceptable bounds of eighteenth-century cultural conventions, both in his handwriting as well as in his actions described in his linguistic texts. Just as an exemplary hand indicates Clarissa’s positive character, atypical and unconventional typography / handwriting depicts Lovelace as a rebellious character whose thoughts and actions stand opposed to eighteenth-century cultural standards.

The print environment for Samuel Richardson, then, is more than just a medium for presenting the words to his readers. Richardson recognizes that the typographic details of the printed page, such as printer’s ornaments, italic letters, and em dashes, carry meaning just as do the words on the page. By building a text which is both linguistic and visual—the material text which readers hold in their hands—Richardson creates a work which actively engages his readers’ minds as well as their visual senses. Rather than passively observing line after line of monotonous type, readers of Clarissa must actively decipher an abundant typographical display of ever-changing italic letters and em dashes. The letters in Clarissa may be fictional, but by requiring readers to interpret linguistic as well as material features, Richardson effectively recreates an authentic epistolary reading experience. As I will show in
the next chapter, Richardson's fictional characters demonstrate a similar concern with both linguistic and material features as they construct familiar letters, and subjectivity, within the novel itself.

**Notes to Chapter 2**


10 Samuel Richardson, Clarissa; or, The History of a Young Lady (London, 1751), ed. Florian Stuber, Margaret Anne Doody, and Jim Springer Borck, 3rd ed., 8 vols. (facsimile rpt; New York: AMS Press, 1990), I: ix–x. Future references to Clarissa will be from this edition and will be parenthetically cited by volume and page number.

For a convincing argument in favor of the third edition as copy-text, see Florian Stuber, “On Original and Final Intentions, or Can There Be an Authoritative Clarissa?,” TEXT: Transactions of the Society for Textual Scholarship 2 (1985).


15 McKenzie, 5.

16 McKenzie, 4.


See, for instance, Tanselle, "Printing History and Other History," 270; and Ezell, 3.


Shillingsburg, "Text as Matter," 54.


William Merritt Sale, Jr., *Samuel Richardson: A Bibliographical Record of His Literary Career with Historical Notes* (New Haven: Yale University Press, 1936), 53.

Brack, 305–08.


The third edition of *Clarissa* is particularly difficult to find in North America. The National Union Catalogue lists copies at the Yale Beinecke Library (imperfect) and at the University of Vancouver. Other copies can be found in
the Berg Collection of the New York Public Library and at the University of Kentucky (this copy, apparently owned by Mirabeau, was used by AMS Press for its facsimile reproduction).

31 Oxford English Dictionary, 2nd ed., s.v. “typography”: “the arrangement and appearance of printed matter.”


33 Sale, Master Printer, 251–53.


Wither’s collection contains four emblems with the serpent consuming its own tail while forming a ring. The epigram to illustration XL, book two, is consistent with Belford’s reading, stating “The Circled Snake, ETERNITIE declares” (102).

35 Correspondence with O M Brack, Jr., Textual Editor of the Clarissa Project. 13 November 1996.


37 Richardson defines Clarissa’s genre in a 3 May 1750 letter to David Graham, stating that “I had the Presumption to design [Clarissa], a History of Life and Manners, and not a mere Novel or Romance.” See Selected Letters of Samuel Richardson, ed. John Carroll (Oxford: Clarendon Press, 1964), 158. Unless otherwise noted, all references to Richardson’s letters will be drawn from this edition.

38 Concerning the immediacy of epistolary writing, Lovelace states to Belford: “I love to write to the moment” (IV: 362); similarly, Clarissa reminds Anna “You have often heard me own the advantages I have found from writing down everything of moment that befals me” (III: 203).

39 In his 10 May 1748 letter to Aaron Hill, Richardson states that he “intend[s] another Sort of Happiness” for Clarissa, what he describes as a “triumphant Death.” See Carroll, 87.
Richardson to Lady Dorothy Bradshaigh, 15 December 1748: “To have given her her Reward here, as in a happy Marriage, would have been as if a Poet had placed his Catastrophe in the Third Act of his Play, when the Audience were obliged to expect two more.” See Carroll, 108.

For fruit as a symbol of good works, see Francis Quarles, Emblemes (1635), 248. Indexed in Diehl, 16.

For the cornucopia as a symbol of wealth, see Wither, 166, 248; and Claude Paradin, The Heroicall Devices of M. Claudius Paradin (London, 1591), 205. Indexed in Diehl, 56.

Indexed in Diehl, 29.

Alluded to by Richardson in his letter of 26 October 1748 to Lady Bradshaigh. See Carroll, 90.


Richardson to Elizabeth Carter, 17 December 1748. See Carroll, 117.

See, for instance, Richardson to Lady Bradshaigh, 15 December 1748. See Carroll, 103-17.

Richardson to Aaron Hill, 7 November 1748. See Carroll, 100.

Kinkead-Weekes, 161, 162.


In Tristam Shandy, Vol. IV, Chap. X, Laurence Sterne divides footnotes between recto and verso pages, but I do not recall such formatting elsewhere in fictional texts.

The reading experience is similar to what J. Paul Hunter describes as an “eye-jumping, mind-boggling jumble” when discussing Pope's Dunciad Variorum. See Hunter, 61.

Richardson to William Warburton, 19 April 1748. See Carroll, 85.

Bruce Redford calls the etymology “inaccurate but suggestive.” See Redford, The Converse of the Pen: Acts of


Dodsley describes letter writing and speaking as parallel activities, stating in The Preceptor that “What I have said of the Stile of your Letters, is intended as a Direction for your Conversation also, of which your Care is necessary, as well as of your Writing” (108–09). Similarly, Hugh Blair describes the content of the familiar letter in Lectures on Rhetoric and Belles Lettres (London, 1783; Philadelphia, 1844), lecture XXXVII, as “conversation carried on upon paper, between two friends at a distance” (414) For a summary of Dodsley and Blair, see Redford, 4–5.

57 Richardson to Edward Young, 1744. See Carroll, 61.

58 Richardson to Johannes Stinstra, 2 June 1753. Carroll, 230. See also The Richardson-Stinstra Correspondence and Stinstra's Prefaces to Clarissa, ed. William C. Slattery (Carbondale and Edwardsville: Southern Illinois University Press; London and Amsterdam: Feffer and Simons, 1969), 27

59 William Bradford, The Secretary's Guide, or Young Man's Companion (Philadelphia, 1737), 88. Although not printed in England, a substantial amount of the information presented in Bradford's guide is lifted from English versions. Bradford's discussion of subscriptions, for instance, follows John Hill's word for word until the last few lines. Because Bradford's guide closely parallels English guides in content and philosophy, I will continue to quote from it below.


62 One exception can be seen in II: 244, where the formatting on Anna Howe's subscription to Clarissa uncharacteristically gives the appearance of the respectful distance called for in Hill and Bradford:
Adieu! and Heaven direct for the best my beloved creature, prays 

Her Anna Howe.

Although the effect may only be the unintentional result of the compositor's left/right justification, its material and visual presentation nonetheless adheres to the eighteenth-century convention.


67 Smith, 105.


69 Dodsley, xlii.

70 Bradford, 29.

71 I owe thanks to Steven Raynie for pointing out this second occurrence of “Hem—Hem” to me at the 1997 SCASECS conference.

72 For discussions of the Shandian dash, see Hunter, 44–50; and William Holtz, “Typography, Tristam Shandy, the Aposiopesis, etc,” in The Winged Skull: Papers from the Laurence Sterne Bicentenary Conference, ed. Arthur H. Cash...
and John M. Stedmond (Kent, OH: Kent State University Press, 1971), 251–52.

73 For instance, "(b) See p. 50---56." (V: 247) and "(a) For the account of Mrs. Townsend, &c. see Vol. IV. p. 152---154." (V: 248).

74 Sale, A Bibliographical Record, 45–58.


76 Brack, 315; Sale, A Bibliographical Record, 53.

77 Sale, A Bibliographical Record, 46–47.

Brack believes that machine collation of a number of copies from the various editions could yield further examples of Richardson having corrected his text at the press. Because the third edition is so rare, with as few as twelve copies remaining extant, machine collation has yet to be undertaken. See Brack, 315.

78 Lovelace intercepts Anna’s letter (V: 30–46) critical of his actions and marks passages “which call for vengeance upon the vixen writer” (V: 30) with the indice sign (pointing finger). Then, Lovelace forges a response (V: 154–60), altering passages to read more in his favor.


81 Johnson to John Taylor, 17 June 1783, Letters of Samuel Johnson, IV: 149. For a facsimile page from the letter to Taylor, as well as other pages, see Redford, Letters of Samuel Johnson, IV: 226a.

82 Carroll retains Richardson’s “heavy punctuation” in his edition (11).
CHAPTER 3
A "WITNESS ON RECORD":
THE CONSTRUCTION OF SUBJECTIVITY IN CLARISSA

Bibliographers, philologists, literary historians, and traditional textual critics grow ridiculous figures in the eyes of many literate persons because of this passion they have for details that seem ancillary to the experience of literary works.—Jerome J. McGann

The Abstract Material Text

In Chapter 2, I examined how Samuel Richardson constructs a text. I discussed Richardson's Clarissa in terms of not only the linguistic words which generate the plot and characterizations, but also in terms of the physical document through which the words are visually presented to the reader. This examination of what Peter L. Shillingsburg refers to as the "Material Text" shows that Richardson, within and around his very long three thousand page linguistic text, constructs a thematically significant material structure. Unfortunately, the importance of a text's physical details is sometimes lost to a twentieth-century reader who typically confronts a lackluster and undistinguished printed page. In Clarissa, however, Richardson creates a dynamic and rich physical text. As a master printer, he revises many printing conventions specified in eighteenth-century manuals, thereby diversifying typographical usage in order to adapt the medium of print to his specific needs as an author of didactic fiction.
While recent textual studies by Shillingsburg,2 D. F. McKenzie,3 G. Thomas Tanselle,4 and Jerome J. McGann5 provide literary critics with the new background necessary to investigate the material details of literary texts, another form of the material object can be found in Clarissa which has yet to be theorized, or even discussed, by either textual or literary critics. Within Clarissa, Richardson creates what I will call “Abstract Material Texts,” or texts with material features that paradoxically, for readers of the novel, have a conceptual rather than a concrete existence. The abstract material text is described to readers by either a character or a narrator, is recorded only in the linguistic text, and while the fictional characters can see, hold, touch, and have access to the object, in actuality it “exists” only as a conceptual idea within the readers’ minds.6 For instance, when a character such as Belford describes for Lovelace the paper, ink, and handwriting found in a letter of Clarissa’s, he creates an abstract material text for the readers, including Lovelace. While the material features of Clarissa’s letter cannot actually be seen, they can be mentally conceptualized, and thus interpreted as signifiers of fictional characterization, in the readers’ minds.

Two premises inform my discussion of the abstract material text. First, my point of reference in this chapter is the real readers holding Clarissa in their hands; consequently, an abstract material text is frequently a
material text to a character in the novel. While these texts may only exist in the readers’ minds, they nonetheless can be analyzed for their material details. Second, my formulation of the abstract material text requires acquiescence to Richardson’s fictional premise, explained on the third edition title page, that the letters in Clarissa are based on authentic manuscripts. The antecedents, then, for the abstract material texts are the supposed manuscripts themselves.

Richardson constructs his abstract material texts with a wide variety of material details related to the familiar letter, thus creating the formal realism typically found in the early eighteenth-century novel. Throughout Clarissa’s eight volumes, for instance, Richardson frequently describes the paper used by characters while writing letters. However, because the paper itself cannot be presented through the typographical manipulations discussed in Chapter 2, the object must be conceptualized in the reader’s mind. For example, Lovelace tells Belford that he has “filled a sheet,” and Anna describes to Belford how a note in Clarissa’s memorandum book is “written on the extreme edge of the paper” (VIII: 222). Additionally, paper is described at various points in the novel as “torn in two pieces” (II: 88), “unopened” (II: 88), “creased and rumpled” (III: 174), “burnt” (III: 191), and “blistered with tears” (V: 314), causing the ink to run on the page. For added realism, Richardson also describes the seals affixed to the paper.
For instance, Lovelace describes the Howe family as having "ostentatious Sealings" (V: 147), and Clarissa's final packet of letters dispersed after her death is noted as "sealed with three seals of black wax" (VII: 355).

Richardson most frequently includes descriptions of characters' abstract handwriting. For instance, Mowbray criticizes the appearance of Lovelace's and Belford's shorthand as "cursed Algebra" (VIII: 41) and "hellish Arabic" (VIII: 43); additionally, Clarissa's hand is at various times described as "delicate" (V: 162) and "charming" (VI: 206). Handwriting can also be conceptualized through references to pens, as when Clarissa describes her "trembling pen" (VIII: 334) following the rape, or when Lovelace attempts to conceal a poorly written forgery by suggesting to Anna that "My crow-quills are worn to the stumps" (V: 160). These references to the pen not only create abstract material texts—readers can visualize the crooked or unfamiliar handwriting, even though they do not have access to the manuscripts that display the words produced by the "delicate hand" or the "trembling pen"—but they also reiterate that handwriting is the result of a process involving the hand, pen, paper, and mind. Though technologically simpler than the typography discussed in Chapter 2, handwriting is a technological process that in addition to presenting a linguistic text also inscribes material meaning on the page. This material meaning, whether abstract or literal, often influences
characterization or subjectivity, as when Lovelace says of Clarissa's hand, "Her delicate and even mind is seen in the very cut of her letters" (V: 154). When this even mind is disturbed by the trauma of rape, Clarissa's handwriting reflects her physical state: for example, Mrs. Norton writes to her, "you appeared, both by [crooked] handwriting, and the contents, to be so very ill" (VII: 341).

Each of these brief examples exemplifies physical details which readers of Clarissa cannot see—details which take form only when conceptualized in the mind. However, abstract material texts in Clarissa can also contain linguistic elements accessible to readers, as in the brief note of 24 March that Clarissa receives from her mother, available to readers of the novel under the premise that Clarissa has transcribed the letter for Anna. In the letter's eight line linguistic text, Clarissa's "unhappy Mother" (II: 49) explains why Clarissa, given her defiance of the family, must expect abusive treatment from her sister, Arabella. "This Answer I received in an open slip of paper" (II: 49), Clarissa writes in reference to the linguistic text as she introduces her transcription of the note. Like many of the letters in Clarissa, the linguistic text of Mrs. Harlowe's note is supplemented with details describing its physical features. Continuing her introduction to the transcription, Clarissa writes that the note "was wet in one place. I kissed the place; for I am sure it was blister'd, as I may say, by a Mother's tear!—
She must (I hope she must) have written it reluctantly" (II: 49). Unlike the typographical details discussed in Chapter 2, material features such as the "bliister’d," "wet," and "open slip of paper" are visible to readers of Clarissa, and Anna, only as abstract ideas; Clarissa and her mother are the only people who actually see the original manuscript of the 24 March note. Only when the material details are interpreted does Clarissa seem confident of the note’s meaning, sensing that her mother must have written it "reluctantly." The abstract material details give readers a context to the linguistic content, and thus, as this example shows, the entire abstract material text, and not just the words on the page, must be considered when reading the letters in Clarissa.

Critical Background

Despite the prevalence of abstract material texts in Clarissa, critics of the novel have yet to discuss material details of familiar letters in an abstract context. For instance, although Margaret Anne Doody emphasizes material objects located in Clarissa’s fictional landscape in A Natural Passion: A Study of the Novels of Samuel Richardson, she does not examine the letters themselves as objects. Instead, Doody initially focuses on "house imagery" in Clarissa, or objects such as rooms, doors, walls, the coffin, and so on, noting that the objects "reflect psychological states." When Doody later discusses imagery in terms of what the readers perceive, she correctly asserts
that "Clarissa has much more to offer the visual imagination than Pamela"; however, Doody limits her discussion to Richardson's use of tableau scenes, comparable, she asserts, to the works of Hogarth or a number of other contemporary painters. While, in both instances, Doody correctly identifies Richardson's attention to formal, concrete details, she nonetheless exemplifies the critical tendency to overlook the most obvious of all material objects in Clarissa: the letters. The abstract letters themselves, as constructed by Richardson, should not be dismissed as mere containers which lack their own meaning as physical objects. As I will show in this chapter, the "visual imagination" of the reader can also give form to the novel's abstract material texts, and these conceptual details, like the house imagery discussed by Doody, "reflect psychological states" that help to motivate the novel's plot. Given that the letters are the most important objects in Richardson's epistolary novel, the chapter that follows will expand the scope of Doody's argument by analyzing epistolary objects "visible" in the readers' minds.

When critics discuss the letter as an object in Clarissa, typography is most often their main focus. Consequently, the discussions are limited to material, visible texts, and the abstract material texts, accessible only in the minds of the readers, are overlooked. Ian Watt, for instance, discusses how Richardson's typography affects Clarissa's narrative, and he arrives at conflicting
appraisals. On one hand, Watt finds the print environment ideally suited to the epistolary genre, stating that "On the stage, or through oral narration, the intimate and private effect of the letter form would be lost: print is the only medium for this type of literary effect." Describing the material text held by the readers, Watt later cites Richardson's effective use of "italics, large letters, and the dash" which "help to convey the impression of a literal transcript of reality." On the other hand, Watt alludes to the inherent limitations of the print environment, asserting that "Nothing has any of the individuality, the margin of error, the assertion of personal idiosyncrasy, which even the best manuscript retains." Like other critics, Watt has difficulty reconciling how a realistic novel such as Clarissa, purportedly based on manuscript letters, can retain its realism on the printed page. In Clarissa, however, the ambivalence toward print can be set aside, because Richardson does not rely solely on conventional typography to present his fictional letters. Richardson overcomes print limitations by redefining typographical usage, as I discussed in Chapter 2, and by constructing abstract material texts that replicate the idiosyncrasies of handwriting, paper, and pens. Because Watt grounds his discussion in the material text, he cannot adequately treat abstract details that depict the "intimate and private effect[s]" he values in epistolary writing. Print, as a
material text, is not "the only medium" in which Richardson presents his letters.

Too often, the inability to identify the abstract material text in Clarissa causes critics to become engrossed in unnecessary controversy. The most frequent cause of critical contention involves the effectiveness of Richardson's typographical presentation of Clarissa's Mad Paper X (Figure 2.2). Critics who analyze only Richardson's material text inevitably become sidetracked by the inability of Mad Paper X's typographical display to do more than just suggest Clarissa's disjointed handwriting. Exemplifying how circular this argument can quickly become, Frances Ferguson unconvincingly explains that the "skewed and unjustified lines of print" in Mad Paper X are:

both mimetic and antimimetic at the same time. . . . [T]he typographical arrangement of the words converts the letter into a kind of display of itself, announcing "this is handwriting," but the very announcement of what the letter is—or would be—acts to point to the obviousness of the fact that the type is not handwriting.

Ferguson's inability to arrive at a more definitive conclusion arises from her insistence on reading only the material text. Like Watt, Ferguson wants to locate the "idiosyncrasy" and "literary effect" which are suggested by the oddly formatted page. However, as skillful as Richardson was as a master printer, the printed page of the eighteenth-century material text is limited in what it can visually accomplish, and even "skewed and unjustified lines"
cannot replicate Clarissa's handwriting. Ferguson and others are correct in wanting to comment on the physical appearance of Clarissa's letters, because Richardson's novel repeatedly shows that material forms such as handwriting carry thematically significant meaning. As paradoxical as it may seem, though, the most important physical details are not always visible in the material text. Rather, as I have shown, Richardson frequently describes physical details such as handwriting through an abstract material text. When critics acknowledge these conceptual texts, the limited critique of the typographical page can be avoided.

With the help of a final critical example, I will demonstrate how a complete emphasis on the material text can lead to suspect readings of Clarissa. In her analysis of Mad Paper X, Terry Castle discusses authorial process, handwriting, and the destruction of subjectivity, what she refers to as "Clarissa's mutilation of her own discourse." However, the text from which Castle draws her conclusions is not necessarily Clarissa's own. Concerning the visual depiction of Mad Paper X, Castle asserts that the typographic presentation shows how "Clarissa abolishes regular penmanship." Castle's use of the term "penmanship" is ambiguous, but if she means Clarissa's formatting of the page, or the "disorderly fragments of discourse" and the "skewed" lines she mentions as examples, then she fails to recognize that these physical features cannot definitively be attributed to Clarissa. Both Castle and Ferguson dismiss...
Lovelace’s statement to Belford, affixed to the end of Mad Paper X, that the servant Dorcas has transcribed each of Clarissa’s Mad Papers (V: 308). Consequently, in a genealogical description of the Mad Papers, Dorcas, and not Clarissa, is the fictional character immediately responsible for producing the “disorderly” and “skewed” lines that Lovelace, Belford, and the readers of Clarissa encounter. Neither Lovelace’s nor Belford’s linguistic texts offer any information describing Clarissa’s original manuscript of Mad Paper X which would substantiate the appearance of the physical text Dorcas produces in her transcription. Mad Papers I and II, in contrast, are described in editorial prefaces as “Torn in two pieces” (V: 303) and “Scratch’d thro’” (V: 304), and Lovelace reiterates this information in his introduction of the letters to Belford (V: 302). Only through conjecture, though, can it be assumed that Clarissa, and not Dorcas herself, wrote Mad Paper X with the skewed and unjustified lines.

Further, if by “penmanship” Castle means handwriting, then again, in the example of Mad Paper X there is no descriptive evidence from which to draw her conclusions. While Clarissa’s handwriting is variously described throughout the novel as “delicate” (V: 163), “neat” (VIII: 201), and when overcome by trauma, “crooked” (VII: 341), no descriptive passages related to handwriting are presented in the linguistic texts related to Mad Paper X. Castle’s conclusion that Clarissa’s violence toward her letters
"recapitulates a phantasmic imagery of sexual violence"²⁰ is largely valid, but the most credible evidence to support this claim is found in the texts directly attributable to Clarissa, in the "Torn" and "Scratch'd" abstract material texts of Mad Papers I and II, not in the typographical oddity of Mad Paper X. While the material text of Mad Paper X may be "notorious"²¹ for its typographical presentation, because of its suspect connections to Clarissa herself, it is actually an invalid text from which to investigate material concerns relating to subjectivity.

Castle’s conclusions, and Watt’s and Ferguson’s as well,²² are based on Richardson’s material texts, and they are greatly influenced by his typographical manipulations. In many novels, the material text may be the literary critic’s only source of evidence from which to draw conclusions about subjectivity. However, this is not the case in Clarissa, because Richardson embeds within his abstract material texts many physical details, including handwriting, seals, and paper, which affect everything from the textual history of the fictional letters to issues of plot and characterization. Unfortunately, literary critics have been hesitant to investigate these abstract material elements, perhaps fearing to become the “ridiculous figures” delving through minute details that Jerome J. McGann ironically refers to in the epigraph which opens this chapter. While the material text of Mad Paper X may grab the reader’s attention, the less obvious abstract material
details found throughout the novel also help to depict the personality and physical and mental states—the characterization—of the letter writer. The reading of *Clarissa* that follows, then, will focus on the novel’s abstract material texts and will examine how the characters not only create letters but also how they construct themselves through the use of both linguistic and material elements.

**Instability of the Linguistic Text**

In *Clarissa*, letters are copied, sent, received, shown about, discarded, and answered; and more deviously, they are hidden, intercepted, forged, and altered. Given these possibilities, the credibility of the familiar letters is always an issue. Therefore, when John Preston notes that *Clarissa* is "about writing and reading," his statement should be qualified with the additional observation that the novel is also about the stability and reliability of the familiar letters. Though Richardson idealistically praises the familiar letter in his own correspondences, his novel can be read as a critique of the genre’s linguistic and material components. Recognizing that Richardson constructs both material and abstract material texts allows for a more thorough evaluation of how textual stability affects literary subjectivity.

Although Richardson found great merit in letter writing, his narrative in *Clarissa* nonetheless forces readers to question the reliability of epistolary linguistic
texts. Because Clarissa is normally forthright, her 22 August letter to Lovelace (known as the “Father’s House” letter) provides an example of language’s inherent ambiguity and its susceptibility to misunderstanding. “I have good news to tell you,” Clarissa writes to Lovelace as she outlines her future plans:

I am setting out with all diligence for my Father’s House. I am bid to hope that he will receive his poor penitent with a goodness peculiar to himself; for I am overjoyed with the assurance of a thorough Reconciliation, thro’ the interposition of a dear blessed friend. . . . . You may possibly in time see me at my Father’s. (VII: 275-76)

Hindsight may make the Christian “Allegory or Metaphor” (VII: 234) of Clarissa’s letter obvious, but initially, both Lovelace and Belford misread Clarissa’s linguistic text. Lovelace reads the text literally, and writes to Belford that “it is evident she loves me still, and hopes soon to see me at her Father’s” (VII: 187). Later, after reading the letter in Clarissa’s presence, Belford also incorrectly interprets the linguistic text, stating to her, “Indeed, Madam, I can find nothing but that you are going down to Harl owe Place to be reconciled to your Father and other Friends” (VII: 251). Not until Clarissa offers a context for the linguistic text, telling Belford that “A religious meaning is couched under it” (VII: 251-52),25 are the two men taught the underlying, Christian meaning of the “Father’s House” linguistic text.
Belford attributes the misreadings to their "Stupidity" (VII: 252). Lovelace, however, unwittingly provides a more useful explanation when he identifies the context from which he had initially read Clarissa's letter, categorizing her as "a meek person, and innocent, and pious" (VII: 304). For Lovelace and Belford, an unreliable linguistic text emerges because of the faulty assumptions they bring to the interpretation (as real readers occasionally also do). Even knowing the abuses Clarissa has suffered, Lovelace and Belford do not believe that she could embed deceit into her linguistic text. Clarissa, though, knowing that Lovelace wants (at least at that moment) her forgiveness and acceptance, does just that by ambiguously suggesting that her return to Harlowe Place is imminent. Lovelace ought to be leery of linguistic texts, he himself having self-consciously manipulated a number of Clarissa's idealistic statements, including his sarcastic definition of letter writing as "writing from the heart (without the fetters prescribed by method or study)" (IV: 269). However, neither Lovelace nor Belford questions the reliability of the verbal content of the "Father's House" letter, and thus they learn that the linguistic text of the familiar letter can be an unreliable statement of the writer's heart. Even the virtuous Clarissa can produce a linguistic text filled with what Samuel Johnson describes as "fallacy and sophistication."²⁶
Clarissa's "Father's House" letter demonstrates the inherent indeterminacy of meaning in the linguistic text of the familiar letter. However, indeterminate meaning can also be produced manually through the physical alteration of linguistic texts. Because a correspondence often relies on insecure seals and third-person posts for delivery, the linguistic texts of familiar letters are susceptible to manipulation and corruption, what textual critics refer to as nonauthoritative variants. In other words, the writer's unstable linguistic text can be changed without his / her knowledge, and the meaning of the corrupted text can be significantly altered. Richardson presents the linguistic text as a transient feature which even the venerable Clarissa can alter, emending “the words her and she, for him and he” (VIII: 112) in a Bible passage contained in her Will. While I will say more about linguistic texts altered by editorial actions in Chapter 4, Clarissa's emendation of the biblical text demonstrates the ease through which the linguistic text--words placed in a particular order--can be manipulated.

In Volume VII, Richardson's narrative suggests the serious consequences of manually invoked linguistic instability, a point I will return to in Chapter 6. When Clarissa considers using Lovelace's letters in the published version of her "Tragical Story" (VII: 26), Belford alters the linguistic texts of the extracts he presents to Clarissa for approval. On 4 August, Belford admits that he has

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physically emended Lovelace’s letters, telling his friend that “I have changed or omitted some free words [including Lovelace’s sexually charged description of the Fire-Scene]” (VII: 72). Later, on 31 August, Belford explains how he altered a text orally, telling Lovelace that “I re’d to her such parts of your letters as I could read to . . . a woman of so fine a mind; since four parts out of six of thy Letters . . . appeared to me, when I would have re’d them to her, most abominable stuff” (VII: 296). In both instances, the editorial corruptions modify the wording and meaning of the linguistic text presented to Clarissa, either through alteration or omission, and in both instances, the instability of the linguistic text leaves Clarissa with distorted information. Although Belford assures Clarissa that “you will hereby see the justice he does to your virtue in every line he writes” (VII: 67), by exploiting the instability of the linguistic text he denies Clarissa access to the harshest of Lovelace's “abominable” statements, such as the following sexualized descriptions of her during the fire scene at Mrs. Sinclair’s: “more than half-undrest . . . petticoats in her hand” (VII: 365), “trembling, and ready to faint, with nothing on but an under-petticoat, her lovely bosom half open” (VII: 366), and “bared shoulders and arms, so inimitably fair and lovely. . . . The scanty coat, as she rose from me, giving the whole of her admirable shape, and fine-turn’d limbs” (VII: 368). Clarissa does not question the stability of the linguistic texts presented to her, and
thus her posthumously published "Tragical Story" includes these suggestive passages. Richardson, unlike Clarissa, recognizes the instability of linguistic texts and uses this textual trait, as I will show, to motivate the plot of his novel.

**Reliability of the Physical Text**

Richardson defines the physical, material object as a more reliable signifier of meaning than the linguistic text in his 2 June 1753 autobiographical letter to Johannes Stinstra, his German translator. Richardson admits to having utilized an epistolary persona while writing letters in his youth, and tells Stinstra that "I was not Eleven Years old when I wrote, spontaneously, a Letter to a Widow of near Fifty, who . . . was continually fomenting Quarrels and Disturbances, by Backbiting and Scandal, among all her Acquaintance." Then, defining the parameters of his persona, Richardson explains that "I collected from the Scripture Texts that made against her. Assuming the Style and Address of a Person in Years, I exhorted her; I expostulated with her. But my Handwriting was known." While autobiographically accounting for his own fondness for letter writing, Richardson again illustrates the potential for the linguistic text to be manipulated. Richardson recognizes that for his guise to succeed, he must satisfy not only the woman's prejudices with "Scripture Texts," but that he must also manipulate the linguistic text as if he were "a Person in Years." Like Clarissa deceiving Lovelace
in the "Father's House" letter, Richardson directs his attention toward the vulnerable linguistic text in an effort to mislead the widow. According to Richardson, his letter fails not because his feigned linguistic text was detected, but because he did not account for the material details of his apparently well-known handwriting. The material, physical element of the letter resists manipulation, and unlike the words on the page, the handwriting designates Richardson as the author of the letter. Recognition of the material inadequacies of Richardson's letter allows the widow to see his feigned linguistic text.

Within Clarissa itself, the physical texts of the fictional letters, often presented as abstract material texts, are also depicted as having more reliable meaning than the linguistic texts. Frequently, Richardson privileges the material over the linguistic elements, allowing the physical component of the abstract material text to carry more significance than the actual words in that text. For instance, after Clarissa flees Harlowe Place, Anna attempts to write to her, despite being forbidden to do so by Mrs. Howe. In the letter of 19 April, Anna recounts her mother's reaction to her defiant attempt, telling Clarissa that "I have been beaten--Indeed 'tis true. My Mother thought fit to slap my hands to get from me a sheet of a Letter she caught me writing to you; which I tore, because she should not read it, and burnt it before her face" (III: 191). In this instance, Anna's letter
becomes an abstract material text for Clarissa, as well as for the readers of the novel, for no one has access to the letter except through the sparse physical details Anna provides; all that remains of the letter after Anna’s outburst are the torn and burned conceptual remnants. Oddly perhaps, for an epistolary novel, the linguistic text of the letter is never presented. Typically, Richardson makes the linguistic text of a lost letter available through a secondary source: for instance, Anna would have made a draft of the letter, or she would provide an abstract of what she had written. Although both the linguistic and material components of Anna’s burned letter are shown as vulnerable, the material nonetheless continues to signify meaning. The words of Anna’s burned letter are completely altered, to the point that they signify nothing and carry absolutely no meaning. While the remnants that remain may lack specific meaning, they point to Anna’s actions, with the conceptual remains of the letter helping to characterize Anna as contentious and obstinate toward her mother.

The linguistic text is again subordinated to the material at the end of Clarissa during the debate at Harlowe Place concerning whether Clarissa will be granted “a last blessing” (VII: 348). In her letter to Clarissa of 31 August, Mrs. Norton recounts the meeting at Harlowe Place in which she and Colonel Morden lobbied the Harlowes for leniency, including the blessing, on Clarissa’s behalf. Because of Clarissa’s physical absence, Morden cites a
recent, though undated, letter from Clarissa to Anna as
evidence of her sincere need for the blessing. The extended
commentary from Mrs. Norton to Clarissa which follows not
only explains the letter's convoluted textual history, but
it also emphasizes a number of abstract physical details
used in an attempt to sway the Harlowes' emotions.
According to Mrs. Norton, Morden:

told them, That he had the day before waited upon
Miss Howe, and had been shewn a Letter from you to
her, and permitted to take some memorandums from
it, in which you appeared, both by hand-writing,
and the contents, to be so very ill, that it
seemed doubtful to him, if it were possible for
you to get over it. And when he re'd to them that
passage, where you ask Miss Howe, 'What can be
done for you now, were your friends to be ever so
favourable? and wish, for their sakes, more than
for your own, that they would still relent;' and
then say, 'You are very ill--you must drop your
pen--And ask excuse for your crooked writing; and
take, as it were, a last farewel of Miss Howe:
Adieu, my dear, adieu,' are your words. (VIII:
341)

The taking of "memorandums" from a letter suggests the
recording of the linguistic text, but in this instance,
Morden focuses more on the physical details he observes in
Clarissa's letter. The conventional linguistic text of
Clarissa's recorded by Morden is slight, limited to her
interrogative, its corresponding answer, and to her
farewell. The remaining linguistic text, Clarissa's
reference to dropping the pen and to her "crooked writing,"
creates a vivid abstract material text which validates the
severity of her illness.
The syntax of Morden's linguistic text depicts his privileging of the material elements. For instance, the linguistic "contents" to which Morden initially refers are subordinated to the material "handwriting" by its syntactical placement between the two commas, creating an unrestrictive, incidental element. In *The Printer's Grammar* (1755), John Smith defines the paired commas as equivalent to the parenthesis, a pointing mark which "inclose[s] such parts of a Period as make no part of the subject"; resembling a modern grammar text, Smith adds that the sentence "would loose [sic] nothing of the sense or substance, were the . . . inclosed matter taken away." A similar syntactical construction appears earlier in the volume when Anna laments Clarissa's degenerated physical state, telling her "I cannot express how much your staggering lines, and your conclusion, affect me!" (VII: 330). In both instances, the syntactical construction of the sentences reflects the subordination of the linguistic component to the material. Both Morden and Mrs. Norton note, comment on, and are affected by the material elements of Clarissa's letter, with the linguistic texts being mentioned only incidentally as unrestrictive elements.

Sadly, in terms of the novel's tragic outcome, the characters in *Clarissa*, like critics who ignore details of the physical text, do not always recognize the significance of material elements—abstract or literal. In fact, Morden and Mrs. Norton are the only two people at Harlowe Place who
observe the material details of Clarissa's letter. Both characters exhibit the wisdom to accept Clarissa's handwriting (conceptual handwriting to Mrs. Norton) as reliable evidence of Clarissa's ill-health. Because the linguistic text in Clarissa is often depicted as unreliable and unstable, even when a credible linguistic text is presented, as is the case with Clarissa's letter, characters other than Morden and Mrs. Norton question its validity. For instance, both Clarissa's sister and her brother seem intent on finding "fallacy and sophistication" in their sister's letter as they question the sincerity of her linguistic text. After hearing Morden's report, according to Mrs. Norton, Arabella responds that "Nobody could help being affected by your pathetic grief—but that it was your talent" (VII: 343); and James questions "What was there . . . in what was read, but the result of the talent you had of moving the passions?" (VII: 343). Clarissa's letter is not accepted as "writing from the heart," but instead its effectiveness is attributed to her learned epistolary skills. The inability of Arabella and James to conceptualize the important material details of Clarissa's letter motivates the novel's plot: their resultant animosity toward their sister effectively keeps her from returning home or from receiving the family's unqualified blessing. Abstract material details, then, may be reliable signifiers of subjectivity and characterization, but only when they are recognized and accepted by the readers.
Epistolary Subjectivity

While I discussed how Richardson physically constructs his text in Chapter 2, I will here examine the significance of epistolary material elements within Clarissa's narrative. Belford's 8 September letter to Lovelace, on the day following Clarissa's death, illustrates how material and linguistic components of a text are seen as indicators of a person's character. Emphasizing material details of a parcel of posthumous letters Clarissa has left for distribution, Belford tells Lovelace:

No wonder, while able, that she was always writing, since thus only of late could she employ that time which heretofore, from the long days she made, caused so many beautiful works to spring from her fingers. It is my opinion, that there never was a woman so young, who wrote so much, and with such celerity. Her thoughts keeping pace, as I have seen, with her pen, she hardly ever stopp'd or hesitated; and very seldom blotted out, or altered. It was a natural talent she was mistress of, among many other extraordinary ones. (VIII: 17)

Although no particular text is specified, in nostalgically remembering Clarissa's letters, Belford creates in his mind abstract material texts. Belford refers to Clarissa's letters as "many beautiful works," and in doing so, he would seem to be recalling both the linguistic texts, which he earlier notes will bring "pleasure" (VII: 73), as well as their material details, routinely praised throughout the novel for the "delicate" and "charming" appearance of her handwriting. These same material details also allow readers of the novel to form abstract material texts in their minds.
Although the readers actually see only the rather unimpressive lines of type on the material text of page seventeen, Volume VIII—certainly not as "notorious" or visually stimulating as Mad Paper X—conceptually they also have visual access to Clarissa's impressive physical display.

The abstract image of Clarissa's linguistic text and handwriting provides readers with insight into her outstanding character. According to eighteenth-century style books, the quality of a person's letters was indicative of the letter writer's character, as exemplified when Robert Dodsley suggests in "To a young Gentleman at School" (1754) that "an Air of good Breeding and Humanity . . . ought constantly to appear in every Expression, and give a Beauty to the Whole [letter]."³³ Like Belford, Dodsley touches on the elusive term "Beauty," and also like Belford, Dodsley's use of the term incorporates both linguistic and material elements: "Expressions" and "the Whole." In Chapter 2, I discussed how Clarissa's linguistic texts, her "Expression[s]," conformed to eighteenth-century conventions; she also, however, adapts her material details to standard practices. For instance, because she "seldom blotted out" and "hardly ever stopp'd or hesitated," Clarissa's material presentation addresses the aesthetic principle advocated by John Hill: "fair Writing, without blots or unseemly dashes," he writes in The Young Secretary's Guide (1698), "is best acceptable, as giving an
Invitation to the Eye, and Delight to the Mind of the Reader." Dodsley also praises such an organized, thoughtful letter writer, telling his student that the resultant letter “will rise like a well-contrived Building, beautiful, uniform, and regular.” The most accessible avenue for readers seeking the “Beauty” of Clarissa’s material details is in her handwriting. While Belford and the other characters have direct visual access to Clarissa’s “delicate” hand, readers of the fictional text must, with the exception of two signatures and the Musical Plate, which I discuss at the end of this chapter, conceptualize the material details presented in the linguistic text.

The material display of the handwriting was seen as an important indicator of a person’s inner character or subjectivity. P. J. Croft describes how handwriting signifies both personal and period traits, stating in Autograph Poetry in the English Language that:

Its capacity for endless personal variations on an underlying pattern that is itself being constantly modified gives handwriting its twofold character, as a manifestation both of the period and of the individual— a manifestation not the less revealing for being in both respects largely unconscious. All handwriting combines personal and period characteristics in varying proportions.

In regard to the cursive hand, like the one employed by Clarissa, Croft suggests that “The essential fascination of the cursive lies in their spontaneous revelation of the individual: they respond readily to the demands of the individual temperament and the pressures of the moment.”

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At the time of *Clarissa*’s publication, handwriting represents an “unconscious,” and thus it would seem an unfeigned, revelation of the individual. The eighteenth-century hand, in terms of methodology, lies between the rigid conventions of the Renaissance and the freeform hand that emerges in the nineteenth century. The eighteenth-century form allowed just enough personal variation in handwriting that the writer’s inner character, it was thought, could be deduced from the visual details of the handwriting itself. By the nineteenth century, little is made of Jane Austen’s heavily-inked, rather harsh-appearing handwriting or even William Wordsworth’s illegible hand; but for the eighteenth-century reader, the temperament and subjectivity of a character such as Clarissa are seen in the material details of her conceptual handwriting.

Demonstrating the relationship between handwriting and subjectivity, Lovelace describes the appearance of Anna’s hand as a function of her personality. Writing to Belford, Lovelace explains that:

> Miss Howe’s hand is no bad one; but is not so equal and regular [as Clarissa’s]. That little devil’s natural impatience hurrying on her fingers, gave, I suppose, from the beginning her handwriting, as well as the rest of her, its fits and starts, and those peculiarities, which, like strong muscular lines in a face, neither the pen, nor the pencil, can miss. (V: 154)

Like the stable and telling “strong muscular lines in a face,” the material details of a text—the “peculiarities”—also point toward a person’s true character. Anna’s
impatient nature corresponds to the "fits and starts" of her writing process and is ultimately transcribed into the "peculiarities" of her handwriting. The abstract material text of Anna’s handwriting, contained within Lovelace’s linguistic text, illustrates Anna’s "impatience" through the references to her abrupt, choppy hand. The material details then, "visible" to readers as conceptual ideas, accurately record not only the letter writer’s words, but they also record important details of her inner character.

In Clarissa, the material elements of a text are generally depicted as reliable indicators of a person’s character—of subjectivity. For instance, after Lovelace intercepts Anna’s vitriolic letter of 7 June to Clarissa (V: 30–46) (known as the "Indice Letter," because of the pointed finger marking statements which "call for vengeance upon the vixen writer" (V: 30)), he forges a second version of the letter and sends it to Clarissa (V: 154–60). Anna eventually detects Lovelace’s manipulations, and she reminds Clarissa that the reliability of the material details (abstract details to the readers) could have provided a warning: "The Hand, indeed," she writes on 9 July,

is astonishingly like mine; and the Cover, I see, is actually my Cover: But yet the Letter is not so exactly imitated, but that (had you had any suspicions about his vileness at the time) you, who so well know my hand, might have detected it. (VI: 178)

Anna’s rejoinder to Clarissa reiterates that handwriting, as a material element, records not only words but also unique
characteristics of the letter writer which cannot be reproduced. Lovelace may be able to imitate Anna’s linguistic text in his forged version, with his own additions conveniently “underscored” for Belford (V: 154); Lovelace can even attempt to disguise his tampering through attention to material details, taking “care to keep the Seals entire, and to preserve Covers” (V: 154). Like the handwriting which undermined Richardson’s feigned letters to the widow, though, Anna’s handwriting is also marked with distinct personal features—which Croft refers to as the “personal variations.” When a material detail such as the handwriting is examined, Anna reminds Clarissa, its corruptions should be evident, especially to one “who so well know[s her] hand.” The indice letter demonstrates that material details, often available to readers of Clarissa as conceptual elements, provide the characters with more reliable signifiers of subjectivity than the linguistic texts found in the same letters.

The subjectivity depicted in the material details is accentuated in Clarissa because characters often describe their process of writing and include details which record their actions, demeanor, and physical state. In Volume I, for instance, Clarissa writes to Anna, “I am excessively uneasy. I must lay down my pen” (I: 150), and with similar fatigue, she later explains, “I lay down my pen here” (I: 277). Similarly, although no text of any kind is produced, Clarissa tells her confidant in the next letter, “I had
recourse to my pen and ink; but I trembled so, that I could not write, nor knew I what to say, had I had steadier fingers" (I: 285). The process of composition is emphasized, even when no text is ultimately produced, because within the abstract material details of these three examples are inscribed elements of Clarissa's character: her apprehension, anxiety, and troubled emotional and physical states.

The process of epistolary writing, recorded within Clarissa's abstract material texts, parallels the model of subjectivity set forth by the linguist Emile Benveniste. In Problems in General Linguistics, Benveniste succinctly notes that "the basis of subjectivity is in the exercise of language." Kaja Silverman, summarizing Benveniste's model, reiterates the importance of discourse in creating subjectivity, suggesting "the impossibility of isolating language from discourse, or discourse from subjectivity" (my emphasis). In other words, a speaker or writer such as Clarissa creates a series of signs, and when these signs are "exercise[d]" through communication, a discourse occurs which produces meaning and subjectivity. Commenting on the status of the pronouns "I" and "you" as signifiers of subjectivity, Silverman states that "They are . . . only intermittently activated" and that they "have only a periodic meaning." In spoken discourse, roles change—speakers continuously become listeners and vice versa—and according to Silverman, "In the interval between [the] two
discursive instances, these pronouns lose all their value." The spoken, verbal discourse to which Benveniste and Silverman refer is ephemeral; that is, after it signifies, the spoken word dissipates and the concept of the subject must be recreated through further discourse. Anna identifies a similar paradigm when she advises Clarissa to write to Lovelace, rather than speak to him in person, regarding marriage settlements and licenses. Because Clarissa is concerned about becoming offensive, Anna tells her that "speaking is certainly best: For words leave no traces; they pass as breath; and mingle with air; and may be explained with latitude. But the pen is a witness on record" (IV: 80). Anna accurately describes the process of dissipation which occurs in verbal communication, and she also identifies a significant difference between spoken and epistolary discourse.

While the two forms of discourse are similar in that the role of letter writer and recipient changes in an active correspondence, they differ because of the materiality and subsequent permanence of the written form. The materiality, spontaneity, and openness of a familiar letter led eighteenth-century readers to view the text as an almost literal signification of the letter writer rather than just a series of words on paper. Hugh Blair identifies the powerful subjectivity found in familiar letters when he states that "the merit, and the agreeableness of epistolary writing, will depend on its introducing us into some
acquaintance with the writer. There, if any where, we look for the man, not for the author." Richardson finds epistolary subjectivity even more literal, suggesting that familiar letters actually function as physical substitutes for the writer. In his 1746 letter to Sophia Westcomb, Richardson writes, "While I read [your letter], I have you before me in person: I converse with you . . . . I see you, I sit with you, I talk with you, I read to you, I stop to hear your sentiments, in the summer-house." The ability of the written form to retain a more permanent signification—to become a "witness on record"—was evident to eighteenth-century readers, as demonstrated when Hugh Blair echoes Anna's thoughts to Clarissa, asserting that "An imprudent expression in conversation may be forgotten and pass away; but when we take the pen into our hand, we must remember, that Litera scripta manet [the handwriting having been written remains]." The material details produced with the pen and the hand permanently record thoughts and discourse, and thus the subjectivity signified through the exercise of language within the familiar letter also remains.

The subjectivity inscribed into both the linguistic as well as material features of a familiar letter helps clarify Lovelace's zealous reactions toward Clarissa's correspondence. Lovelace wishes to possess Clarissa's letters, because to control the linguistic and material product of writing is to control subjectivity. Early in his quest for epistolary documents, Lovelace has no access to
linguistic texts because of Clarissa’s precautions, and thus he learns to pay attention to the scant material details which he can uncover. Lovelace recognizes a “Harlowe seal upon” a letter Clarissa receives (III: 247) and comments to Belford that another letter for her arrives “in a blank cover” with a sealing of “black wax” (IV: 36). As Lovelace’s desire for possession of the letters increases, so does his attention to the material elements: recognizing the minute details of Clarissa’s epistolary precautions, Lovelace informs Belford that Clarissa “wafers her Letters, it seems, in two places; pricks the wafers; and then seals upon them” (IV: 47).

In Richardson’s novel, Clarissa’s subjectivity in the material forms of her epistolary discourse is so emphatic that Lovelace prefers autograph manuscripts—original, in her handwriting—of Clarissa’s texts rather than transcriptions. Lovelace privileges the subjective value of the handwriting, paper, and ink found in the texts Clarissa has handled over an exact transcription of the linguistic text. For instance, after Dorcas and Lovelace gain access to Clarissa’s letters in her mahogany chest at Mrs. Sinclair’s, Clarissa’s unsent answer to Lovelace’s marriage proposal is found in her Settlement Letter. Dorcas transcribes the linguistic text from the torn pages and presents the second-generation linguistic text to Lovelace (IV: 216). Both Lovelace and the readers have access to the words—the linguistic text—depicting Clarissa’s optimistic
consideration of Lovelace's offer because the transcribed letter is presented in the novel's linguistic text (IV: 216–20).

Lovelace forwards the transcribed linguistic text to Belford (and effectively to the readers as well) and then makes an important distinction regarding Clarissa's intention. Lovelace explains to Belford that Clarissa "has not given it or sent it to me.--It is not therefore her answer. It is not written for me, tho' to me. Nay, she has not intended to send it to me. . . . By this action she absolutely retracts it" (IV: 223). I will say more about authorial intention in Chapter 4, but it can be noted here that in Lovelace's opinion, Clarissa invalidates her linguistic text through her unwillingness to send the letter. Clarissa's intention is suggested to Lovelace by the lack of material details which he possesses. Had Clarissa "given it or sent it," Lovelace knows that he would hold material as well as linguistic signifiers of Clarissa's subjectivity. Instead, because the letter is "not written for [him]," Lovelace has access only to the transcribed linguistic text and to material features related to Dorcas (her handwriting, pen, and paper). The transcribed linguistic text becomes separated from an essential source of subjectivity, the material form of the letter, and without this component, Lovelace must admit that Clarissa's letter "is not her answer."
Without a complete and valid form of subjectivity to guide him, Lovelace's perception of Clarissa becomes one of a "Rebel" who is "meditating plots" against him, and against this person, Lovelace anxiously considers how to "tempt her" (IV: 223). However, in a moment of honesty that follows, Lovelace discusses with Belford the change that overcomes him when he is physically with Clarissa:

> And yet I don’t know how it is, but this Lady, the moment I come into her presence, half-assimilates me to her own virtue. . . . [T]he instant I beheld her I was soberized into awe and reverence: And the majesty of her even visible purity first damped, and then extinguished, my double flame [of passion and deceit]. . . . How can this be accounted for, in a Lovelace! (IV: 226)

Clarissa's "majesty" and "purity" are so influential that, at this point in the novel, they are able to temporarily transform Lovelace as he becomes "soberized into awe and reverence." Lovelace's changed subjectivity, however, only occurs when Clarissa is materially "visible."

The same transformation in Lovelace's character occurs when he is in the presence of the material features of Clarissa's Settlement Letter. Because of the inadequate subjectivity inscribed in the transcription of the Settlement Letter, Lovelace seeks the original, autograph manuscript. After Clarissa mentions the torn version to him, Lovelace tells Belford that "I earnestly pressed her to let me be favoured with a sight of this paper, torn as it was. And after some hesitation, she withdrew, and sent it to me by Dorcas" (IV: 246).52 With Clarissa out of the room

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and the original manuscript in his possession, Lovelace's "sight" of the letter becomes an act of voyeurism—epistolary voyeurism in this case. Clarissa is gone, absent, yet through the material form of the letter, she remains. Interaction with the document which bears the material marks of Clarissa's subjectivity—the manipulations of ink and handwriting upon the paper—moves Lovelace in a manner drastically different than the transcribed linguistic text. "I perused it again," he tells Belford, and relating the change in his perception, he states that "It was in a manner new to me, tho' I had read it so lately: And, by my soul, I could hardly stand it. An hundred admirable creatures I called her to myself" (IV: 246). Clarissa's subjective presence within the material features of the Settlement Letter transforms Lovelace. Most notably, Lovelace has access to Clarissa's exemplary handwriting, which Anna eloquently describes to Belford following Clarissa's death:

The hand she wrote, for the neat and free cut of her letters (like her mind, solid, and above all flourish) for its fairness, evenness, and swiftness, distinguished her as much as the correctness of her orthography, and even punctuation, from the generality of her sex. (VIII: 201)

As expected from an eighteenth-century reader, Anna links the material features of Clarissa's handwriting (abstract details for readers of the novel) with her friend's inner character: the "neat and free cut of her letters" parallel the "solid" and unpretentious qualities of her mind. The
material features supply Lovelace with a more reliable and valid form of subjectivity than the transcribed linguistic text alone, and he responds accordingly. The "awe and reverence" Lovelace initially directs toward Clarissa's physical being are now directed at her epistolary / material subjectivity. Rather than a "Rebel" who is "meditating plots" in the linguistic transcription, Clarissa now becomes, to Lovelace, "an hundred admirable creatures."
Lovelace's reaction to the material details--abstract material details to readers of the novel--shows the powerful influence of the subjectivity and characterization embedded in the material details of the eighteenth-century familiar letter.

**Autograph Manuscript in Print**

Richardson recognizes that not all readers will conceptualize material details to the same extent. Without conceptualization, an element of subjectivity and characterization will be lost. Consequently, Richardson supplements his abstract material texts with typographically embellished pages that provide readers with concrete, visual points of reference upon which they can base their conceptual images. Richardson helps his readers conceptualize material details by creating what I will call the "autograph manuscript in print." That is, given the technological limits of an eighteenth-century print house, Richardson produces typeset pages that visually suggest autograph, handwritten manuscripts of familiar letters. In
constructing these metonymic representations, Richardson builds the credibility of his novel’s didactic message by raising the possibility that the letters in Clarissa could be based on authentic documents.

For instance, in the first edition, Richardson sets Clarissa’s signatures to her final letter to Anna and to her Will with a Grover’s cursorial, a late seventeenth-century typeface modeled after Italian handwriting. Signatures in every other letter appear in roman small capitals. Presumably, Richardson hopes to foreground the two thematically significant letters and to accentuate the message of Christian patience which Clarissa extols prior to each signature. However, Richardson resets the atypical signatures in the third edition with the more consistent roman small capitals (VII: 408 and VIII: 113). I believe that Richardson does so not because of a more conservative approach to type fonts, as has been argued, but because he realizes that in one instance the typographically-embellished signature contradicts the letter’s narrative context. In Clarissa’s final letter, readers actually encounter Belford’s transcription of Clarissa’s signature, a signature she herself wrote only with the assistance of her friend Mrs. Lovick due to her grave illness. Belford witnesses Clarissa’s belabored attempt to conclude the final letter, and he offers the following emotional description for Lovelace:
She dictated the Farewel part, without hesitation; and when she came to the blessing and subscription, she took the pen, and dropping on her knees, supported by Mrs. Lovick, wrote the Conclusion; but Mrs. Lovick was forced to guide her hand. (VII: 407)

Belford then explains that he "endeavoured to imitate the subscriptive part" in his transcription, or the version presented to readers. Visually, then, the decorative ligatures and precise, narrow width of the Grover faces in the first edition fail to reflect Clarissa's incapacitated, weakened state.

A second example, found in both the first and third editions of Clarissa, demonstrates how Richardson more effectively provides readers with a concrete point of reference for their conceptual images. In her 24 March letter to Anna, Clarissa laments her impending, arranged marriage to the contemptible Roger Solmes. To cope with her "angry passions" (II: 50), Clarissa tells Anna how she reperuses the poem "ODE TO WISDOM. By a LADY," which has been circulating the neighborhood. Clarissa describes the poem as "not unsuitable to my unhappy situation" (II: 50), an accurate statement given the poem's plea for support to Pallas Athena in stanza nine:

By Thee protected, I defy
The Coxcomb's Snee the stupid Lye
Of Ignorance and Spite:
Alike contempt the leaden Fool,
And all the pointed Ridicule
Of undiscerning Wit. (II: 53)
In her letter to Anna, Clarissa encloses the text of the sixteen-stanza ode as well as the harpsichord accompaniment for the last three stanzas which she herself has composed. Like Anna, readers of Clarissa have access to the poem and its music, the latter presented on an engraved foldout leaf measuring twice the size of a standard duodecimo page.

The dynamic textual history of the "Ode to Wisdom" is worth briefly mentioning here, because it illustrates the instability of linguistic texts and also points to Richardson's willingness to alter the works of other authors, a point I will address further in Chapter 6. In actuality, Elizabeth Carter, a member of the Bluestocking Society—a mid-eighteenth-century circle of female intellectuals—and a close friend of Samuel Johnson, wrote the poem, and Richardson inserted the verses into Clarissa's first edition (December 1747) without her knowledge. Not only did Richardson questionably appropriate the ode, but he also altered the linguistic text. Carter voiced her disapproval to the publisher and editor Edward Cave, also a friend of Johnson's, who printed a second version of the poem, retitled "To Wisdom. A nocturnal Ode," in the December 1747 number of the Gentleman's Magazine. As a preface to the poem, Cave included an editorial disclaimer stating that the text previously "appeared in Clarissa with several faults." Richardson initially planned to include the entire sixteen-stanza ode in Clarissa's second edition (1749). However, given Carter's displeasure, he canceled
the leaf on which the ode began but retained the final three stanzas and the musical plate, offering the following appeal to Carter: "it is hoped, that the Lady will not be displeased with the continuing of those, for the sake of the Music, which we will venture to say is set in so masterly a manner as to do credit to her performance." Richardson eventually apologized to Carter, and in the third edition he restores the canceled stanzas with her consent. Richardson makes further emendations to the ode, though, including two substantive alterations to the engraved plate: he changes "the" of line one to "Thee," and in line two, he capitalizes "Thee," both of which more overtly accentuate the ode's concluding didactic praise of God. While Richardson makes additional emendations to the ode between the duodecimo third and the concurrently printed octavo fourth edition, most notably in a less extravagant formatting, the third edition musical plate contains the most significant manipulation of type fonts which embellish Clarissa's subjectivity.

Readers of the third edition find the first thirteen stanzas of the "Ode to Wisdom" set in the standard pica roman font (Figure 3.1). However, compared to pages from elsewhere in the novel, Richardson emphasizes the poem by altering the formatting of the stanzas. In contrast to the typical third edition page, Richardson expands the vertical distance between each line of the "Ode to Wisdom" with leading—a blank strip of wood or lead inserted between
Lect. 9. Clarissa Harlowe.

O D E
TO
W I S D O M.

By a L A D Y.

I.

T H E solitary Bird of Night
Thro' the thick Shades now wings his Flight,
And quits his Time-fhook Tow'r;
Where shelter'd from the Blaze of Day,
In philosophic Gloom he lay,
Beneath his Ivy Bow'r.

II.

With Joy I hear the solemn Sound,
Which midnight Echoes waft around,
And sighing Gales repeat.
Fav'rite of PALLAS! I attend,
And, faithful to thy Summons, bend
At WISDOM's awful Seat.

III.

She loves the cool, the silent Eve,
Where no false Shews of Life deceive,
Beneath the Lunar Ray.
Here Folly drops each vain Disguise;
Nor sport her gaily-colour'd Dyes,
As in the Beam of Day.

IV.

Figure 3.1
"Ode to Wisdom," title page
(II: 51)

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lines of type by the compositor, often to make the printed text more legible. As a result, the twenty-line measurement grows from an average of 82 millimeters on the standard page to an average of 100 millimeters for the “Ode to Wisdom,” thereby adding approximately an extra page of type. In addition, the relatively short iambic hexameter and iambic octameter lines, formatted with left margin justification, create exceptionally large white space on the right margins. The increased vertical spread of the lines and the large amount of unused paper cause the thirteen stanzas to run to a generous and uncluttered four duodecimo pages. Richardson further accentuates the poem by setting the last three stanzas on the engraved folding plate, tipped in as a recto page facing stanzas eleven through thirteen. Because of the significant added expense associated with commissioned music, engraving, extra paper, and an oversized foldout leaf (left blank on the opposite side), Richardson clearly found it important to highlight the “Ode to Wisdom” for his readers.

Aside from the musical notes themselves, which Janine Barchus convincingly describes as “augment[ing] [the] noble characterization of the heroine,” the engraved script font stands as the most distinct feature of the foldout plate (Figure 3.2). Script fonts rarely appeared in England during the mid-eighteenth century, with neither Caslon’s nor Baskerville’s specimen sheets containing a script face. Richardson’s display, then, certainly would have visually
Andante

XIV.


A no more to fable Names confide My Thoughts direct their Flight.

Thoughts directed their Flight:

Beneath Her clear discerning Eye

The visionary Shaded fly

Of folly painted Show.

She sees thro' every fair Disguise

That, What Virtue's sole joys,

As Vanity and Woe.

Figure 3.2
Musical Plate
(II: 54)
held his readers' attention. Although the engraved script font in the musical plate appears as regular as a conventional typeset page, the font nonetheless suggests actual handwriting. Richardson's engraver constructs the script font with realistic traits of an eighteenth-century hand, including visual parallels with quilled letters. For instance, the heavily inked serifs on the descenders of the capital letters A, H, I, M, N, R, S, and T, give the appearance of excess ink common at the beginning of a pen stroke. Also, the heavy contrast between fat and lean strokes, as seen in the lower case e, o, and g, as well as in the vertical rule separating stanzas fifteen and sixteen, is consistent with quilled letters. Comparison of the engraved script font with eighteenth-century autograph manuscripts identifies other parallels. For instance, the smooth continuity of the engraved letters parallels the repetitive vertical strokes seen in the poet Thomas Gray's (1716–71) handwriting. Additionally, the heavily inked descender serifs and the formation of a number of letters, including the capitals A, T, and F, occur in John Gay's (1685–1732) handwriting, described by P. J. Croft as "thoroughly of its period."63

By recognizing important features of handwriting, Richardson builds the visual verisimilitude lacking in the conventional appearance of the pica roman font. Consequently, through the engraved script font, Richardson presents readers with a visual example of Clarissa's
exemplary handwriting, described in the novel prior to her rape as "delicate" (V: 154) and "charming" (VI: 206). For eighteenth-century readers, the quality of a person's handwriting was a material indicator of the person's inner character and emotional state. After Clarissa's death, for instance, Anna equates "the neat and free cut of [Clarissa's] letters" with "her mind," telling Belford how both are "solid, and above all flourish" (VIII: 201). Readers hear of Clarissa's "solid" and unassuming character throughout the novel, but the script font allows them momentarily to see her through an image of her handwriting. As a result, the text of the printer temporarily displaces the text and characterization of the author. Because the musical plate occurs early in the second of eight volumes, its script font provides readers with a concrete example upon which to base their conceptual images of Clarissa's handwriting and character later in the novel.

Richardson's musical plate, as an autograph manuscript in print, symbolically represents a handwritten manuscript page. More specifically, Richardson creates in the musical plate a metonymic substitution for Clarissa's fictional handwriting. In contrast to the metaphorical substitutions, discussed in Chapter 2, that occur in Lovelace's em dash passages (substitutions based on the perception of similarity between the printed page and a handwritten manuscript page), the metonymical substitution is a more powerful characterization device for Richardson because of
its direct association with Clarissa. Richardson exploits the interpretive value of the engraved script font and uses its fine, elegant, yet unassuming lines, as a visual indicator of his heroine’s upstanding yet humble character. Other nonlinguistic components of the musical plate heighten the association with Clarissa and encourage readers to acquiesce to the metonymic substitution. For instance, the plate promotes not only cognitive and visual readings but also, should the musical text actually be translated onto the strings of a harpsichord, tactile and audio readings. Clarissa undergoes a metonymic expansion as she can be seen, heard, and in a sense felt (the sensation of harpsichord strings upon the fingers). As in the metaphoric substitutions, the metonymic handwriting of the engraved script font only temporarily displaces the novel’s conventional typography, thereby allowing readers’ perceptions to slide back to the standard pica roman font without prejudice and without negating the autograph manuscript verisimilitude. With its realistic features, Richardson’s engraved script font accentuates the potential reality of Clarissa’s hand. Like Lovelace, Anna, or Belford, readers encounter Clarissa’s subjectivity through the material display of her handwriting. A plausible manuscript page temporarily emerges from the typography, and Clarissa’s fictional thoughts acquire subjective validity as they temporarily could be the real thoughts of a real person.
The eighteenth-century familiar letter was unique in its ability to present linguistic as well as material signifiers of subjectivity. Richardson, unlike any other epistolary novelist, recognized this potential and worked to incorporate realistic traits—linguistic and material—of the familiar letter into his typeset, fictional text. The abstract material texts he creates in lieu of actual letters allow readers to interpret material signifiers of characterization, and they also maintain the credibility of the fictional premise that the letters in Clarissa are based on authentic documents. Despite the care used by Richardson to construct his novel and by his characters in Clarissa to construct their own familiar letters, both types of texts are susceptible to alteration and manipulation following their initial composition. In the second half of this study, then, with an emphasis on editorial actions, I will examine the implications of textual changes on meaning, credibility, and subjectivity. As I will show, both Richardson and his fictional characters are affected by textual change.

Notes to Chapter 3


6 Shillingsburg describes a “conceptual text,” but he is talking about a version of a real work, what he calls the “ideal form of the Work” or one that “probably does not last very long.” I, on the other hand, am looking at the concept of a work that exists only in the fictional landscape. See Shillingsburg, “Text as Matter,” 51, 52.


For a convincing argument in favor of the third edition as copy-text, see Florian Stuber, “On Original and Final Intentions, or Can There Be an Authoritative Clarissa?,” TEXT: Transactions of the Society for Textual Scholarship 2 (1985).

8 Margaret Anne Doody, A Natural Passion: A Study of the Novels of Samuel Richardson (Oxford: Clarendon Press, 1974), 188.

9 Doody, 216–17.


12 Watt, 197.

13 Watt, 197.
For a summary of the arguments of John Preston, Terry Castle, and Frances Ferguson, see Stephanie Fysh, "The Technology of the Letter: Reading Clarissa's 'Paper X,'" unpublished.


John Preston offers a similarly ambivalent reading of typography, stating that in print, "signs mean what they are. Typography . . . is a form of mimesis. [Richardson's] novel is not an imitation of life, but rather of writing." At the same time, he suggests that typography is "a deliberate reminder of the unreality of writing" (which would seem to be anti-mimetic). See John Preston, *The Created Self: The Reader's Role in Eighteenth-Century Fiction* (London: Heinemann, 1970), 46.


Regarding Clarissa's destruction of her letters, Lovelace reports to Belford that "Just now Dorcas tells me, that what she writes she tears, and throws the paper in fragments under the table" (V: 302).

Frank Howard Wilcox also discusses the typographical manipulation of Mad Paper X, stating that "The very form bears witness to the perturbation of the writer; the letter is made up of disconnected phrases, each set off in a paragraph, and the whole thing is hurried and incoherent." See Frank Howard Wilcox, "Prévosts Translations of Richardson's Novels," *University of California Publications in Modern Philology* 12 (1927): 389.

For instance, in a tentatively dated 1746 letter to Sophia Westcomb, Richardson writes "What charming advantages, what high delights, my dear, good, and condescending Miss Westcomb, flow from the familiar correspondences of friendly and undesigning heart!"

Similarly, in his 10 October 1754 letter to Lady Echlin, Richardson states "I have often sat by in Company,
and been silently pleased with the Opportunity given me, by different Arguers, of looking into the Hearts of some of them, through Windows that at other times have been close shut up. This is an Advantage that will always be given by familiar Writing." See Selected Letters of Samuel Richardson, ed. John Carroll (Oxford: Clarendon Press, 1964), 64, 315–16. Unless otherwise noted, all references to Richardson's letters will be drawn from this edition.

25 Clarissa advises Belford to "Read but for my Father's House, Heaven, . . . and for the interposition of my dear blessed friend, suppose the Mediation of my Saviour (which I humbly rely upon); and all the rest of the Letter will be accounted for" (VII: 252).

26 In the "Life of Pope," Johnson shows his disapprobation of letter writing when he writes: There is, indeed, no transaction which offers stronger temptations to fallacy and sophistication than epistolary intercourse. . . . A letter is addressed to a single mind, of which the prejudices and partialities are known; and must therefore please, if not by favouring them, by forbearing to oppose them.


28 Concerning her use of Lovelace's letters, Clarissa tells Anna: "I have nothing to apprehend of this sort, if I have the justice done me in his Letters, which Mr. Belford assures me I have: And therefore the particulars of my Story, and the base Arts of this vile man, will, I think, be best collected from those very Letters of his" (VII: 46).

29 See The Richardson-Stinstra Correspondence and Stinstra's Prefaces to Clarissa, ed. William C. Slattery (Carbondale and Edwardsville: Southern Illinois University Press; London and Amsterdam: Feffer and Simons, 1969), 26. In his autobiographical letter to Stinstra, Richardson also recounts that at the age of thirteen, three "young Women, unknown to each other, having an high Opinion of my taciturnity, revealed to me their Love-Secrets, in order to induce me to give them Copies to write after, or correct, for Answers to their Lovers' Letters: Nor did any one of them ever know, that I was the secretary to the others." See Slattery, 27.
Smith states that “Gentlemen who know to write without confining their language to Parenthesis, now make no use of them, but put their intercalations between two Comma’s.” See John Smith, The Printer’s Grammar (London, 1755), English Bibliographical Sources, Series 3: Printer’s Manuals (London: Gregg Press Ltd., 1965), 105.

In addition to Belford’s letter, Clarissa also writes one each “To her father, To her Mother, One to her two Uncles, To her Brother, To her Sister, To her Aunt Hervey, To her Cousin Morden, To Miss Howe, To Mrs. Norton, and lastly to [Lovelace]” (VIII: 17).


Dodsley, 107.


Croft, I: xviii.

Previewing the emergence of the less formal, more personal style found in the eighteenth century, R. B. McKerrow notes in An Introduction to Bibliography (Oxford: 1928) that toward the end of the sixteenth century, a growing number of literary documents “are in cursive hands of various degrees of informality and carelessness.” Quoted in Philip Gaskell, A New Introduction to Bibliography (New York and Oxford: Oxford University Press, 1972), 361.


Terry Eagleton describes the shift from language to discourse, stating that "Language is speech or writing viewed 'objectively', as a chain of signs without a subject. 'Discourse' means language grasped as utterance, as involving speaking and writing subjects and therefore also, at least potentially, readers or listeners." See Eagleton, 115.

Silverman, 43.

Silverman, 44.

Blair, 414.

Richardson to Sophia Westcomb (1746?). See Carroll, 65.

Blair, 415.

For instance, Clarissa reminds Anna that "Mr. Lovelace is so full of his contrivances and expedients, that I think it may not be amiss to desire you to look carefully to the Seals of my Letters, as I shall to those or yours" (III: 297).

Samuel Johnson, A Dictionary of the English Language, 1st ed., s.v. "wafer": "paste made to close letters"; s.v. "to prick": "to fix by the point." In other words, Clarissa double seals her letters, first gluing the folded sheet shut and then pricking the seal for added security.

Clarissa explains to Anna her reason for tearing her letter, stating that on Sunday night, "at parting [Lovelace] kissed my hand with such a savageness, that a redness remains upon it still" (IV: 194–95).

Lovelace's desire for the autograph manuscripts is not limited to Clarissa's texts. For instance, in reference to a letter from Anna to Clarissa (Volume IV, letter xvii), Lovelace states "I must endeavour to come at this Letter Myself. I must have the very words: Extracts will not do" (IV: 182).


Cave minimizes the scope and significance of Richardson's emendations by referring to them as "several faults." In the final three stanzas of the first edition text, Richardson makes at least thirty-four alterations to the ode's accidentals and substantives. Concerning accidentals, Richardson generally emends Carter's enjambed lines to end-stopped lines, creating a more disciplined and rigid poetic verse. Concerning substantives, Richardson tends to capitalize important words, thereby more overtly emphasizing his own didactic message. Richardson also changes words, with Carter's "intellectual life" becoming "Intellectual Light" and "the" becoming a personified "THEE!" The text of the Gentleman's Magazine and a first edition of Clarissa from the University of Colorado-Boulder (PR 3664 C4 1748) were used for my collation.

Sale's speculation regarding the nonextant cancellandum is convincing. See William Merritt Sale, Jr., Samuel Richardson: A Bibliographical Record of His Literary Career with Historical Notes (New Haven: Yale University Press, 1936), 52.


Richardson simultaneously published the octavo fourth and the duodecimo third editions in 1750, with the more expensive fourth edition apparently printed as a gift for friends.

In the octavo fourth edition, Richardson removes the engraved foldout leaf and replaces it with a standard octavo leaf (I: 362). Additionally, Richardson replaces the engraved script font of the third edition musical plate with standard pica Roman type. My comments are based on examination of an octavo fourth edition from the Noel Collection, Louisiana State University at Shreveport.
The exact cost for the musical plate is unknown, although Ross believes that the plate was produced at "considerable cost" (1514, n. "L54). In a 18 December 1747 letter to Elizabeth Carter, Richardson refers to the "trouble" and "expense" of producing the musical plate. Quoted in Janine Barchus, "The Engraved Score in Clarissa: An Intersection of Music, Narrative, and Graphic Design," Eighteenth-Century Life 20 (1996): 5; and Eaves and Kimpel, Samuel Richardson: A Biography, 215.

Interestingly, the musical plate continues to raise production costs in modern editions. Jim Springer Borck, Project Director and Text Coordinator for the Clarissa Project, reports that AMS Press incurred "considerable additional cost" when printing the musical plate for its 1990 facsimile reprint of the third edition. Because the plate requires separate printing and must be glued by hand onto a bound stub, the machine-press book requires effort similar to that which Richardson employed in the hand-press era. Interview with Jim Springer Borck, 25 November 1997.

Barchus, 10. Barchus argues that the formatting of the engraved plate imitates popular musical lesson books. My central argument differs, in that I see the engraved script font evoking images not of other printed texts but of manuscript handwriting.


Croft, I: 64.

Following the rape, Clarissa's handwriting is described as "trembling" (VII: 334) and "unstead[y]" (VII: 337).
CHAPTER 4
THE "UMBRAGE OF THE EDITOR'S CHARACTER": BACKGROUND TO RICHARDSON THE EDITOR

Let us now be told no more of the dull duty of an editor.—Samuel Johnson (1756)²

Textual Change

In the previous two chapters, I examined the production of texts by both Samuel Richardson and the fictional characters in Clarissa, and I emphasized the importance of recognizing the material as well as linguistic features of these texts. In the following chapters, I will investigate what happens to the texts after their initial production. It is a complex sequence. For example, Richardson revises his novel for publication; Lovelace alters both the material and linguistic features of a letter of Anna's before sending it on to Clarissa; Clarissa and Anna compare different versions of the same letter in hopes of arriving at the "true" text. Each of these actions can be viewed as editorial functions, and thus in the remainder of this dissertation I will examine ways in which editing—even when it occurs in the text as a fictional activity of the novel's characters—alters texts, creates new texts, and consequently becomes a voice in itself, a source of power and control. First, in Chapter 4, I will provide a brief overview of the eighteenth- and twentieth-century editorial issues relevant to Clarissa, with an emphasis on Samuel Johnson's editorial theory and practice. Then, in Chapter 5, because Richardson often refers to himself as the editor
of Clarissa rather than the author, I will examine the editorial role he plays in the production and presentation of the novel's third edition. Finally, in Chapter 6, I will discuss how Richardson's characters in Clarissa invoke power and attempt to control either their own lives or the lives of others through their editorial manipulation of epistolary texts—manipulations that I will refer to as "fictional editing."

The indeterminacy and instability of the text, which I discussed in the last chapter, is a commonly held editorial tenet. As texts are transmitted from manuscript to print, and from edition to edition, changes to both the material and linguistic features of the texts are inevitably introduced. The likelihood of this textual instability causes Jerome J. McGann to contend that "The textual condition's only immutable law is the law of change." Most modern editors agree with McGann on the issue of textual change—a significant consensus, given the frequent editorial skirmishes prompted by many other issues, including authorial intention and copy-text. Concurring with McGann, fellow socio-historical advocate D. F. McKenzie states in his Panizzi Lectures that "change and adaptation are a condition of survival"; "any recorded text," McKenzie clarifies, is "bound to be deformed by the processes of its transmission." Socio-historical editing accounts for issues of publication (and consequently sources of change), and so
it is not surprising that McGann and McKenzie would both suggest the indeterminacy of texts.

More traditional editors outside the socio-historical school, however, also discuss the tendency for texts to change from generation to generation. For instance, William Proctor Williams asserts that “a doctrine of textual original sin should be one of the creedal statements of literary scholars. Not only do all texts have lives, but these lives tend to go from bad to worse” (and thus the need, in the opinion of traditional editors, to remove the nonauthorial corruptions).4 Although often at odds with both McGann and McKenzie, G. Thomas Tanselle also concurs with his fellow textual editors on this issue, reminding editors interested in copy-text that “successive editions based on earlier editions become increasingly divergent from the earliest edition.”5 The concept of textual change, however, predates these three twentieth-century editors. Samuel Johnson, for instance, writes in the “Preface” to his 1765 edition of Shakespeare that “my first labour is, always to turn the old text on every side.”6 Although in practice Johnson had only limited access to “the old text,” that is, to the plays of Shakespeare’s First Folio which he identified as being the least corrupted by outside influences, in theory Johnson recognized that texts change as they encounter economic restrictions, amanuensises, compositors, printers, and book sellers. Authors may be in control of a text during the initial period of composition,
but once a text—be it a poem, novel, or even personal letter—leaves the author’s desk, the text often becomes influenced by factors outside the author’s control.

**Background to Editorial Theory**

An unwritten precept that frequently informs twentieth-century editorial theory—if not most editorial theory—is that previous attempts at editing are undoubtedly flawed, corrupt, and demand correction. Therefore, editors must also be viewed as a potential source of textual instability and unreliability. Upon opening almost any modern scholarly edition, readers will find a prefatory statement explaining why the latest edition is an improvement over all preceding editions. Thus, for instance, Florian Stuber convincingly extols the merits of selecting *Clarissa’s* third edition, heretofore overlooked in modern scholarly texts, as copy-text for the 1990 AMS Press facsimile reprint.

In general, twentieth-century editing attempts to improve each version of a work by establishing and presenting the text which best represents the intentions of the author (the authorial text). I will examine the complexities surrounding authorial intention in Chapter 6. Here, though, I should point out that until recently, modern textual critics have distanced themselves from unraveling the meaning of the text and concentrated instead on the accurate establishment of the text itself, attempting to determine the author’s punctuation and words and to remove nonauthorial corruptions from their new editions.
Demonstrating this emphasis on the authorial text, G. Thomas Tanselle accurately describes the overriding goal of many modern editors: "Scholarly editors may disagree about many things," he writes, "but they are in general agreement that their goal is to discover exactly what an author wrote and to determine what form of his work he wished the public to have." A brief survey of other influential editors shows agreement on the need to recreate authorial texts: A. E. Houseman (1921) states that textual criticism is "the science of discovering errors in texts, and the art of removing them"; W. W. Greg (1950) suggests that editors should "choose whatever extant text may be supposed to represent most nearly what the author wrote and to follow it with the least possible alteration"; and Fredson Bowers (1970), an advocate of Greg's approach, holds that "The recovery of the initial purity of an author's text . . . is the aim of textual criticism."

The predominant twentieth-century paradigm operating in each of these editorial statements is Greg's theory of copy-text. Greg argues that editors should choose as copy-text (the text used as the basis for the edited text) the earliest extant version of a work. For the pre-modern periods, in works such as the Renaissance plays with which Greg was concerned, the earliest extant text would generally be the printed first edition. Since prepublication forms of the text, including autograph manuscripts, typically do not exist for the early periods, Greg believed that the earliest
printed version would be the closest representation of the nonextant manuscript. For the modern period, where prepublication forms of a text are more common, advocates of Greg’s theory will typically turn to the manuscript as the copy-text. Thus Bowers, a student of Greg’s, uses manuscripts as the basis for his edition of Hawthorne (1962). I should note that Bowers was handled roughly by reviewers, including James Thorpe, who argued that a work was only a “potential” text until it reached the public. Thorpe privileged the printed text, and more importantly, unlike Greg, emphasized the production process as a valid contributor to a literary work. Out of Thorpe’s argument grew McKenzie’s “sociology of the text” and McGann’s subsequent adaptations.

Greg’s theory of copy-text divides a text into accidentals (spelling and punctuation) and substantives (the actual words and their meaning). He suggests that if textual variants are found between the copy-text and subsequent editions, then the copy-text should be adhered to in the choice of accidentals while substantives may be emended if external evidence demonstrates that they better represent the author’s intentions. An eclectic text results, one which may never have physically existed and which may combine passages from a number of different editions. D. C. Greetham describes the eclectic text as the “‘text that never was but by implication, ought to have been, in the best of all possible worlds.’” Despite the

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editorial intrusion necessary to construct this synthesized text, the eclectic or ideal text is thought to best exemplify the final product which the author would have chosen barring any economic, societal, or compositorial obstructions. Greg’s theory of copy-text is often misunderstood,¹⁵ frequently mistaken as a rigid, New Critical attempt to remove the thoughts and opinions of the editor from the editorial process. Greg, however, notes that his theory is not a substitute for critical judgment but is, instead, a guide to assist the editor in making difficult decisions: he succinctly states that “It is impossible to exclude individual judgment from editorial procedure,”¹⁶ and at least twice he identifies the editor’s “liberty”¹⁷ to choose among variant readings. Although Greg sets forth guidelines for emendations, his method still requires an informed editor, one who evaluates the evidence--textual evidence as well as external evidence--and seeks to understand what the author was attempting to accomplish.

Because of the development of formal editorial theories and methods in this century, when twentieth-century editors look back at eighteenth-century editing practices, they typically do so with disdain. Robert E. Scholes, for instance, refers to editorial theory prior to Samuel Johnson as “an amorphous mass of scarcely formulated notions.”¹⁸ With similar disregard, McGann describes eighteenth-century editorial practices as “plural, personal, and (finally) unmethdical.”¹⁹ Certainly, individual cases exist that
illustrate the erratic editing described by Scholes and McGann: Nahum Tate's emendation of Shakespeare to create a happy ending to King Lear (1681) and Thomas Bowdler's omission of "whatever is unfit to be read aloud by a gentleman to a company of ladies" in his own edition of Shakespeare (1818) are well-known. Twentieth-century editors are not the only advocates of a rational, organized, and consistent editorial method, however. At least in theory, eighteenth-century editing often shows parallels to modern practices, if not in terminology then in substance.

Although an examination of eighteenth-century editorial methodology will provide a context for understanding Richardson's production of Clarissa, only by employing an anachronism can we refer to a person actually "editing" a text in the eighteenth century. Johnson cites definitions for "Edition" and "Editor" in his Dictionary, but he does not include the verb "Edit." The OED clarifies the omission, pointing out that the verb "Edit" is actually a back-formation from "Editor," and apparently was not coined until the 1790s. Although neither Johnson nor Richardson could technically have "edited" or engaged in "editing" during the 1750s, Johnson offers a glimpse at the editor's general role in his definition of that same noun: "Editor: Publisher; he that revises or prepares any work for publication." The "Publisher," according to Johnson later in the Dictionary, is "One who makes publick or generally
known"; and the "Reviser" is an "Examiner" or a "superintendent."

In his references to publishing and revision, Johnson suggests the parallels between editors and authors. Like an author, the editor has the responsibility to examine a text, the authority to make changes, and the prerogative to present the text to the public. It should be noted that unlike the OED, Johnson does not stipulate that an editor can only prepare the work "of another person" for publication. Rather, Johnson’s definition suggests that in the eighteenth century the roles of author and editor can converge and that an author can serve as the editor to his own work. At some point—a point I will attempt to locate later in this chapter—authoring stops and editing begins, and both activities contribute to the creative product presented to the reading public.

Johnson outlines eighteenth-century editorial practices in two essays appended to his own edition of Shakespeare: "Proposals For Printing, by Subscription, The Dramatick Works of William Shakespeare" (1756) and the "Preface" (1765) to this edition. Johnson’s essays on editing are still germane to twentieth-century editorial theory. For instance, The Center for Scholarly Editions (CSE), in its "Introductory Statement," describes Johnson’s "Preface" as "salutary reading for editors." While Johnson certainly was not the first editor to standardize, or at least explain, the principles on which he edited an author such as
Shakespeare, in these two essays he nonetheless provides the most thorough eighteenth-century examination of editing practices.

Johnson defines his paradigm for editing in the second paragraph of the "Proposal," dividing the editor's role into two components: "The business of him that republishes an ancient book," Johnson writes, "is, to correct what is corrupt, and to explain what is obscure." According to Johnson, the first function of the editor is to act as an emendatory critic who attempts to reconstruct a corrupted text. Similar to Greg, Bowers, and Tanselle in his first point, Johnson seeks the most authoritative text, or as he states in his "Life of Thomson," a text "as its author left it." There is a reason that Johnson needs to provide this corrective. In early editions of Shakespeare, texts tended to be based on the edition established by the previous editor, and Johnson recognizes that transmission of this sort tends to perpetuate errors and often introduces new corruptions. To recover the most authoritative version of Shakespeare's texts, Johnson sets forth a rational and practical plan in the "Proposal":

The corruptions of the text will be corrected by a careful collation of the oldest copies, by which it is hoped that many restorations may yet be made: at least it will be necessary to collect and note the variations as materials for future criticks, for it very often happens that a wrong reading has affinity to the right."

In a number of ways, Johnson's theoretical plan for recovering the authoritative text parallels the practice set

First, Johnson avoids basing emendations to the copy-text solely on editorial intuition or "conjecture," a strategy which he often questions for accuracy.28 Rather, Johnson intends to locate corruptions through collation of multiple texts, a task he defines as the comparison of "one thing of the same kind with another."29 Showing his usual pragmatic approach, Johnson admits in the "Preface" to the tediousness of eighteenth-century, non-mechanical collation, stating that "The duty of a collator is indeed dull, yet, like other tedious tasks, is very necessary."30 In theory, Johnson believed in comprehensive collation, as did other eighteenth-century editors including Alexander Pope (1725)31 and Lewis Theobald (1733),32 because for an editor to make accurate emendations, he must have a foundation of empirical evidence: as Johnson states, the editor "must have before him all possibilities of meaning, with all possibilities of expression."33 In practice, however, Johnson was negligent in collation, even "sadly remiss,"34 not because of ignorance about the need for a scholarly method, but because of practical limitations in acquiring texts. For instance, in the "Preface," Johnson admits to his subscribers that "I collated such copies as I could procure, and wished for more, but have not found the collectors of these rarities very communicative."35 In terms of twentieth-century editorial principles, Johnson lacked the textual resources
necessary to collate the ten to twenty copies of a specific edition generally suggested by William Proctor Williams, nor could he assemble "all the potentially relevant forms of his texts . . . by purchase or loan" as prescribed in the editorial statement of the Center for Editions of American Authors (CEAA). Despite his negligence in practice, in building his editorial theory around the collation of texts, Johnson demonstrates his progressive understanding of how an authoritative edited text should be constructed under optimum conditions.

Secondly, in seeking to collate specifically the "oldest copies" of Shakespeare's plays, Johnson suggests the importance of the base text in building an eclectic, ideal edition. Although Johnson does not define his own theory of copy-text, per se, his emphasis on the "oldest copies" parallels Greg's recommendation that the earliest extant text in an ancestral series be used as the basis of an edited edition. At least in theory, Johnson's edition of Shakespeare privileges the authority of the First Folio as copy-text, recognizing it as the "most Shakespearean" of the early printed editions. In practice, however, Johnson is again limited in the application of his theory. As clearly as Johnson knows that in most cases the First Folio should be used as copy-text, the relative scarcity of these texts forces him to look at previous eighteenth-century editions as the basis for his own edition--editorially, a suspect practice. Bertrand Bronson has summarized Johnson's
methodology regarding both copy-text and emendations, stating that “Johnson took a play as printed by [Lewis] Theobald or [William] Warburton or both and worked through it again with an eye to obvious stumbling blocks, collating, where difficulties appeared, primarily with the First Folio and such quartos as were within reach; altering textual minutiae as he saw fit.” In a practical sense, then, when Johnson refers to the “old texts,” he is referring to his collation of editions by Theobald and Warburton as much as to the works closest to Shakespeare. Johnson’s use of copy-texts much later in the ancestral series of Shakespeare’s plays is at best a precarious editorial method, because it encourages the perpetuation of corruptions introduced by Theobald and Warburton. However, the fact that Johnson looks back to the First Folio at all demonstrates an advanced editorial theory and, more importantly, an awareness that texts subjected to the passage of time have a tendency for corruption.

Finally, like a twentieth-century editor, Johnson shows a hesitancy to alter the text without solid evidence of the change’s authority. Although he does not particularly sound like an editor in the following statement from the “Preface,” Johnson nonetheless sets forth a general precept for emendations when he writes: “I have adopted the Roman sentiment, that it is more honourable to save a citizen, than to kill an enemy, and have been more careful to protect [Shakespeare’s text] than to attack [through emendment].”
Unlike the majority of Shakespeare's editors who precede him, Johnson exhibits discretion when making textual emendations, because he acknowledges the improbability of accurately correcting the text. For instance, in the "Preface," Johnson admits that "every day encreases my doubt of emendations." Johnson recognizes that editors too often emend texts not for the sake of the text itself but in order to elevate their own status as editors. Thus, he warns readers in the "Preface" that "The allurements of emendation are scarcely resistible." To avoid what Warburton calls the "rage of correcting," Johnson exercises a judicious caution when emending the text, using the "least amount of violence" whenever possible.

Johnson can be conservative in his recovery of the text because he sets realistic editorial goals. Rather than attempting to create a single, definitive text, Johnson recognizes (as do many twentieth-century editors) that his edition is just one in an ongoing progression of Shakespeare editions. In other words, Johnson accepts the indeterminacy of his edition. When Johnson indicates that he will "exhibit all the observable varieties of all the copies that can be found," and make this evidence available to future editors, he is proposing the use of a textual apparatus, which is also an essential component of the approach advocated by Greg, Bowers, and Tanselle. Johnson's apparatus allows future editors to critique his emendations, and as he states in his "Proposal," "if the reader is not
satisfied with the editor's determination, he may have the means of chusing better for himself." Emending a text is a precarious endeavor for Johnson, and he recognizes that no amount of editorial "violence" can halt the ongoing transformation of Shakespeare's works.

While Johnson ambivalently completes the editorial function of emending texts, he more enthusiastically—and adeptly—undertakes what he identifies as the second half of the editorial role: the annotation of the text ("to explain what is obscure"). In the paradigm that dominates twentieth-century editorial theory, annotation, or commentary on the meaning of the text, has been subordinated in importance to the reconstruction of the text itself. The Center for Scholarly Editions (CSE), for instance, demonstrates its privileging of the text itself over the text's meaning when it states that "By not insisting on annotation that goes beyond the discussion of textual cruxes, the CSE is reflecting its sense of priorities: the first responsibility of an editor is to establish a text." Similarly, the Center for Editions of American Authors (CEAA) dedicates less than a full page to its section titled "Preparing Explanatory Annotation." Theories of emendation bring notoriety and the texts produced bring prestige to individual editors, and in a sense, this is where the "power" of twentieth-century editing is located. Thus, for instance, Fredson Bowers is remembered for establishing the texts of Thomas Dekker's plays (1953–61) and Hans Walter
Neither editor retains his status because of his exemplary annotation of the works.

A similar unbalanced dichotomy between emendation and annotation can be seen in eighteenth-century editing. Valuing the didactic potential of the works he edits, Johnson critiques his contemporaries for neglecting the meaning of the text. Sounding much like recent twentieth-century critics of the traditional Greg-Bowers approach, Johnson writes in the “Proposal” that “All the former criticks have been so much employed on the correction of the text, that they have not sufficiently attended to the elucidation of passages obscured by accident or time.” For Johnson, annotation of Shakespeare’s plays with “illustrative,” “judicial,” and “emendatory” notes is, and ought to be, the primary pursuit of the editor. The explanatory function is such an integral component of Johnson’s editorial method that he illustrates the term “editor” in his Dictionary with a quotation encouraging annotations: the passage from Addison and Steele’s Spectator states, “When a different reading gives us a different sense, or a new elegance in an author, the editor does very well in taking notice of it.”

Johnson’s enthusiasm toward annotating a text was surprising, since the commentary of an eighteenth-century editor was often the most likely component of his edition to be disparaged. Addison’s passage quoted by Johnson, for
instance, is actually a critique of editors who over-annotate. The passage from *Spectator 470* (Johnson incorrectly cites the text as *Spectator 450*) reads in full:

> When I have expected to meet with a learned note upon a doubtful passage in a Latin poet, I have been only informed, that such or such ancient manuscripts for an *et* write an *ac*, or of some other notable discovery of the like importance. Indeed, when a different reading gives us a different sense, or a new elegance in an author, the editor does very well in taking notice of it; but when he only entertains us with the several ways of spelling the same word, and gathers together the various blunders and mistakes of twenty or thirty different transcribers, they only take up the time of the learned reader, and puzzle the minds of the ignorant. ⁵⁹

Other editors were also regularly accused of writing unnecessary or self-serving commentary during the eighteenth century. In *The Canons of Criticism* (1758), for instance, Thomas Edwards describes editors who write meaningless notes for the purpose of meeting a length requirement, stating that "The Profess'd Critic, in order to furnish his quota to the bookseller, may write Notes of Nothing; that is, notes, which either explain things which do not want explanation; or such as do not explain matters at all, but merely fill-up so much paper."⁶⁰ With similar disdain for annotators, William Kenrick, a harsh critic of Johnson's edition, asserts: "Indeed, nothing is more usual with commentators in general, than to display their own sagacity on obvious passages, and to leave the difficult ones to be explained by the sagacity of their readers."⁶¹
Johnson elevates the status of the annotator by prescribing diplomatic and utilitarian guidelines for his notes, a significant change from previous editors, whose notes were often haphazard, unhelpful, or pretentious. Johnson aims at instructing his readers through his annotations (with Shakespeare’s plays inherently providing delight). In the “Preface,” for instance, Johnson writes: “I have endeavoured to be neither superfluously copious, nor scrupulously reserved, and hope that I have made my authour’s meaning accessible to many who before were frightened from perusing him.”

In keeping with his principle that readers must actively contemplate material for knowledge to be internalized and for useful benefits to be derived (Rasselas, for example, laments that he is only “an idle gazer on the light of heaven”), Johnson avoids portraying himself as the all-knowing authority on Shakespeare’s plays. Rather than dismissing the notes of previous editors, or repeating their sentiments as his own, Johnson includes annotations from previous editions, primarily the readings of Pope and Warburton. Johnson even admits to not knowing the meaning of a “few passages,” telling Charles Burney (8 March 1758) that “where I am quite at a loss, I confess my ignorance, which is seldom done by commentators.” Just as he accepts that the text he presents is not definitive, Johnson also describes his annotations as only “one reading of many probable.”

Johnson was well-aware of the criticism an editor faces,
having withstood the attack of William Kenrick⁶⁶ and having
drawn attention in the “Preface” to “how much paper is
wasted in confutation.”⁶⁷ The weaving of Johnson’s own
indeterminate readings with the notes of other editors,
therefore, not only forces readers to actively consider and
question Johnson’s meaning, but it also potentially helps
him to avoid the often vicious attacks of other Shakespeare
editors.⁶⁸

Johnson envisioned his edition of Shakespeare, with its
reconstructed text and annotations, not as a definitive text
but as the most complete text possible. When reason and
judgment led Johnson to an emendation, he would alter the
text, and when a reading seemed unclear, he would venture an
interpretation. For Johnson, editing is a process of
uncovering authors and their meaning, and he recognizes
himself as just one component in that process of succession.
For instance, he tells his subscribers in the “Proposal”
that “in this edition all that is valuable will be adopted
from every commentator, that posterity may consider it as
including all the rest, and exhibiting whatever is hitherto
known of the great father of the English drama.”⁶⁹ Johnson
suggests that a text of Shakespeare is more than an author
and his words; rather, the text also reflects each of the
editors who interacts with the linguistic and material
features. The text that is produced by this collaboration
of the author and editors becomes the site of multiple
voices: in the case of Shakespeare’s plays, not only
Shakespeare’s voice but also those of editors such as John Heminge and Henrie Condell (editors of the First Folio of 1623), Nicholas Rowe, Alexander Pope, Lewis Theobald, Sir Thomas Hanmer, William Warburton, Samuel Johnson, and so on. Johnson ultimately describes an edited text that is polyphonic, and it is to his credit as an editor and reader of Shakespeare that he is able to add his own voice to the ever-transforming text without destroying the voices of those editors who spoke before him.

**Samuel Richardson: Editor**

Samuel Richardson’s name is absent from my catalogue of editors listed above. Today, Richardson is regarded as an eighteenth-century author, the creative force behind three of the best-known epistolary novels in English: *Pamela*, *Clarissa*, and *Sir Charles Grandison*. Those familiar with Richardson’s background will point out that he was also a master printer who operated a successful shop in London’s Salisbury Court during the 1730s and 1740s, and who produced a wide range of texts, including papers for the House of Lords and the House of Commons, periodicals such as the *Daily Journal* and the *Plain Dealer*, non-fiction works by Daniel Defoe, and a diverse collection of literary works including, among others, Susanna Centlivre’s *The Gamester*, Thomas Morell’s *The Canterbury Tales of Chaucer*, and an edition of Jonathan Swift’s *Gulliver’s Travels*. Some might even choose to label Richardson as a letter writer, pointing out that his extant correspondence with, among others, Lady
Dorothy Bradshaigh, Edward Young, and Sophia Westcomb exemplifies many of the best traits of the eighteenth-century familiar letter. Few if any, however, would initially identify Richardson as an editor.

Admittedly, Clarissa has undergone a large amount of scrutiny regarding textual issues, ranging from the particular matter of Richardson's revisions in his manuscripts and printed texts to the more general, overriding issue of proper copy-text in modern editions. However, in these discussions, Richardson's role is defined as that of an author creating original, fictional material. For instance, Mark Kinkead-Weekes, in the earliest detailed discussion of Richardson's revisions to Clarissa through the first three editions, questions the validity of Richardson's editorial premise.71 Based primarily on Richardson's handwritten memorandum (found in the Forster Collection) that records changes to the second edition, Kinkead-Weekes concludes that the changes to the third edition are not really editorial "Restorations," as Richardson suggests both on the title page and in his prefaces, but instead newly written, authorial additions designed to correct misreadings.

T. C. Duncan Eaves and Ben D. Kimpel, in "The Composition of Clarissa and Its Revision Before Publication," offer a broader analysis of Richardson's authorial methodology, examining his correspondence for hints of what Clarissa's manuscripts might have contained.72
Again dismissing Richardson's editorial role, they claim that only five revisions of substantial length to the second and third editions can confidently be categorized as restorations from manuscripts, with the implication being that Richardson is not an editor restoring a text but instead an author creating new material. Both the Kinkead-Weekes and the Kimpel and Eaves articles are limited by their insistence on viewing the production of Clarissa as solely an authorial task, focusing on whether Richardson-the-author wrote a passage first in manuscript or later as an addition to a revised edition. In truth, with no manuscript pages of Clarissa extant, we cannot definitively account for the timing of Richardson's initial composition and additions. To focus only on Richardson's textual emendations to the second and third editions of Clarissa means overlooking what it meant to be an eighteenth-century editor. These critics are concerned only with the establishment of the text—an overemphasis which Johnson criticized in eighteenth-century editors. Rather than dismissing Richardson's claims to be an editor simply because his restorations can be shown to be textually invalid, I believe it is more useful in understanding Clarissa's production to investigate not only Richardson's authorship but also his role as editor.

The definition of "editing" that I will use in the remainder of this study is an extension of Samuel Johnson's definition, which I cited earlier in this chapter: "Editor:
Publisher; he that revises or prepares any work for publication." While it may be anachronistic to describe Richardson as engaged in "editing," he certainly "revises or prepares" the third edition of *Clarissa* "for publication" by constructing, as I will discuss in Chapter 5, a textual apparatus which includes often-overlooked editorial devices such as the two sonnets which frame the third edition, the "Names of Principal Characters," the "Preface" and "Conclusion" to the third edition, the "Index of Contents" at the end of each volume, and the "Collection of Moral Sentiments" found at the conclusion of Volume VIII. Unlike editors who emphasize the establishment of the text, Richardson, like Johnson, shows tremendous concern for the second element of editing: commentary on the meaning of the text. This focus on meaning necessitates the expansion of Johnson's formal definition of the editor. Therefore, in this chapter I will operate under the premise that the act of preparing the text for publication is also an act of preparing ideas, concepts, and in Richardson's case, moral tenets, for the readers. A second premise behind my working definition is an extension of Johnson's thoughts on the parallels between authorship and editing. Editing is not always objective nor infallible, and it does not always present the ideal text intended by the author. Rather, like authors, editors invoke their own subjectivity in preparing a text for publication, and the editor's biases and personal
agenda influence the text and the meaning presented to the reading audience.

The difference between authorship and editing, I argue, lies in the timing or the moment at which the action occurs. Like Hershel Parker, I define initial creative actions (what Parker calls the "creative mode") as authorial: for Richardson, these activities include the composition of early drafts of Clarissa sent to Edward Young and others for critique. Changes made to the text following the initial creative moment (what Parker calls the "editorial mode"), which can still create meaning, I define as editorial: in Clarissa, these include the restorations to the third edition, marked with the full-points, as well as the creation of the editorial apparatus designed to correct the misreadings which greatly troubled Richardson-the-author. Because at least seven years pass between Richardson's initial composition of Clarissa and his revision of the third edition (1751), and because commentary from a large number of correspondents encourages Richardson to review and revise his initial creative thoughts, I feel justified in viewing Richardson's later actions as editorial.

Both authorial and editorial activities, it should be noted, can function as creative endeavors. For instance, in his introduction to AMS Press's facsimile third edition, Florian Stuber notes how intrinsically linked the authorial and editorial roles can be:
Richardson's assumed relation to his fiction—that of an editor to epistolary manuscripts—is not simply a pose. Central to Richardson's vision and activity as a literary artist is the truth that a writer is in essence an editor, that is a reader and re-writer, a reviser, of text. 

Similarly, Hershel Parker notes that "a book can be the result of more than one creative process," and in Chapter 5, I will show that meaning in the third edition of Clarissa is produced by an editor as well as by an author. Because a work such as Clarissa is so fully informed by Richardson's editorial methodology, the texts of both Richardson-the-author and Richardson-the-editor must be addressed. Authorship entails an editing process, and to dismiss either role, especially in the case of Richardson, is to distort the production process of a novel such as Clarissa.

Because both the authorial and editorial roles are so closely allied, it is worthwhile to investigate why Richardson would choose to label himself an editor. To answer this question requires understanding Richardson's goals in producing Clarissa for a reading audience. Similar to Johnson in his belief that literature should advance moral ends, Richardson believes that his novels have the potential to entertain as well as to instruct. For Johnson, Shakespeare's works are worth editing because of the practical benefits they bring to his readers. In his "Preface," Johnson describes Shakespeare as "the poet that holds up to his readers a faithful mirrour of manners and of life." From Shakespeare's realistic depiction of human
behavior, readers derive entertainment: Johnson states that "Nothing can please many, and please long, but just representations of general nature"; and, readers also benefit from instruction: Johnson writes that "In the writings of other poets a character is too often an individual; in those of Shakespeare it is commonly a species. It is from this wide extension of design that so much instruction is derived." Richardson describes his edited third edition of Clarissa as providing readers with similar instruction and delight. For instance, while explaining the proposed third edition changes to his admirer and French translator J. B. de Freval on 21 January 1751, Richardson suggests that "These additions, and a table of sentiments, collected from the work, shew it to be more than a mere amusement, and that it is designed to be a piece of life and manners." Richardson privileges the portrayal "of life and manners"—what he more specifically describes on the title page as "Private Life"—because it is through these details that readers will find parallel examples applicable to their own lives. Richardson prepares Clarissa for publication because of the moral and instructive benefits he believes the text will bring to his readers.

Despite Richardson's goals of producing a didactic work, the fictional genre was often disparaged as an ineffective vehicle for moral texts. As Johnson points out in Rambler 4 (31 March 1750), an essay that critiques the early novel, fictional works are susceptible to a dangerous
mingling of positive and negative characterizations. I quote Johnson’s criticism of ill-defined characters in full, because his belief that virtue and vice should not be mixed informs the revisions that Richardson—the-editor makes to the third edition of *Clarissa*. Johnson writes in *Rambler* 4 that:

> It is of the utmost importance to mankind, that [the mixing of virtue and vice] should be laid open and confuted; for while men consider good and evil as springing from the same root, they will spare the one for the sake of the other, and in judging, if not of others at least of themselves, will be apt to estimate their virtues by their vices. To this fatal error all those will contribute, who confound the colours of right and wrong, and instead of helping to settle their boundaries, mix them with so much art, that no common mind is able to disunite them.8 2

According to Johnson, authors of fiction compromise the usefulness of their work because of the excessive art which they use to join virtue and vice. When readers cannot discern a text’s moral example and instead can only ambivalently marvel at a character whom they find both appealing and revolting—a character like Lovelace, for instance—then the work, according to Johnson, loses its instructive value.

Richardson distances himself from the Johnsonian criticism directed at fictional, authorially produced works by defining *Clarissa* on the title page to the third edition as an edited work with “Many Passages and some Letters . . . restored from the Original Manuscripts.” The editorial premise creates the perspective from which readers are to
interpret the text. In the context of eighteenth-century editing, Richardson builds his novel's credibility by accurately establishing the text: because the letters of Clarissa Harlowe and others are useful to readers, they deserve to be "restored" to a more authoritative state. Therefore, the editor of Clarissa is not drawing a character as an author would, but instead, according to the title page, presenting the real texts of real people. Rather than using "art" to create characterizations, the unnamed editor of Clarissa uses selection to present to the reader "The most Important concerns of private life" as well as "An ample Collection of such of the Moral and Instructive sentiments .. . as may be presumed to be of general Use and Service." In the collection of letters known as Clarissa, the editorial premise suggests real, authentic letters and therefore a more credible and useful text for the readers.

In addition to legitimizing Clarissa as more than a fictional novel, the editorial role offers Richardson a form of power not usually associated with authors. In his August 1741 letter to Aaron Hill in which he discusses his own "assuming and very imprudent" "Preface" to Pamela, Richardson acknowledges the privileged status and authoritative voice that the editor possesses, stating that "I therefore . . . struck a bold stroke in the preface you see, having the umbrage of the editor's character to screen myself behind."83 Despite Richardson's suggestion that the editor's role is only a fictional guise, the act of
commenting on a text, as Richardson does in his prefaces and footnotes, is in fact one of the two primary editorial roles described by Johnson. The "umbrage" or fictional persona which Richardson claims to hide behind may give him confidence to speak assertively, but the actual power behind his "bold stroke[s]" and "assuming and very imprudent" comments is sanctioned by the editorial role. Eighteenth-century editors are expected to comment on the texts they edit. Thus, in Clarissa, Richardson’s editorial voice allows him to annotate, explain, and control the interpretations of his novel with far more freedom than an author is typically granted.

To adequately situate Richardson as an editor, it must be noted that although he describes Clarissa as an edited text, a certain ambivalence underlies the categorization. For instance, in a 15 December 1748 letter to Lady Bradshaigh, Richardson assertively justifies his own authorial text of Clarissa. Mocking Lady Bradshaigh’s suggestion for a happy ending to the novel, Richardson writes:

To have given [Clarissa] her Reward here, as in a Happy Marriage, would have been as if a Poet had placed his Catastrophe in the Third Act of his Play, when the Audience were obliged to expect two more. . . . Ah; Madam!—And do you thus call upon me?—Forgive an interrupting Sigh; and allow me a short Silence."

In his retort, Richardson appears to value his authorial power more than he might elsewhere admit. The suggestion of
an alternative ending by Lady Bradshaigh is a usurpation of the author’s voice, and Richardson is unwilling to acquiesce in the plan. (Gender roles may be significant here, since there are other instances of Richardson inviting feedback from his female correspondents only to deny their readings in his responses. I will address this in Chapter 5.)

Richardson’s ambivalence toward the loss of his authorial voice is perhaps best seen in his 20 November 1752 letter, again to Lady Bradshaigh, where he discusses his recurring problem of prolixity, this time in Sir Charles Grandison (the third of Richardson’s three novels described on the title page as “edited”). In grotesque terms, Richardson describes his frustration at having to figuratively amputate passages of his text:

I am now going over it again, to see what I can omit: this is all the worst of my tasks, and what I most dreaded. Vast is the fabric; and here I am under a kind of necessity to grasp it all, as I may say; to cut off, to connect; to rescind again, and reconnect. Is it not monstrous, that I am forced to commit acts of violence, in order to bring it into seven twelves volumes, which I am determined it shall not exceed, let what will happen? (my emphasis).85

Although he describes only a narrow view of the editorial role—the selection of materials—Richardson’s frustration at the loss of the authorial text is nonetheless apparent in his striking diction: the editorial task is “dreaded”; deleting passages is equated with cutting off a limb or part of the self; and editorial actions are called “monstrous,” with the entire process akin to “acts of violence.”86
Richardson speaks of editing as a violent task, and in a sense, the thematic and didactic necessity in *Clarissa* of portraying himself as an editor is a dismembering of his own authorial self.

I point out Richardson's occasional ambivalence toward the editorial role because, as I will show in the next chapter, the text of *Clarissa* created by Richardson-the-author did not always produce the interpretations he intended. Consequently, Richardson-the-editor frequently uses an editorial apparatus to correct and control the misreadings, and an understanding of Richardson's ambivalence toward this editorial role is necessary to fully understand his commentary.

**Notes to Chapter 4**


12 For a summary, see Greg, "The Rationale of Copy-Text," 29.


14 Greetham, 334.

15 For a useful summary of responses to Greg’s theory, and a rebuttal to mistaken assumptions, see G. Thomas Tanselle, "Greg’s Theory of Copy-Text, 167–229.


17 Clarifying that editors must sometimes make decisions not explicitly governed by editorial theory, Greg first states that "I suggest that it is only in the matter of accidentals that we are bound (within reason) to follow [the copy-text], and that in respect of substantive readings we have exactly
the same liberty (and obligation) of choice as has a classical editor, or as we should have were it a modernized text that we were preparing”; later, Greg suggests that “If the punctuation is persistently erroneous or defective an editor may prefer to discard it altogether to make way for one of his own. He is, I think, at liberty to do so.” See Greg, “The Rationale of Copy-Text,” 22, 30.


22 Samuel Johnson, A Dictionary of the English Language, 1st ed., s.v. “Editor.”


28 For instance, in the “Preface,” Johnson writes that “The collator’s province is sage and easy, the conjecturer’s perilous and difficult” (105).


30 Johnson, “Preface,” 94.

31 Johnson acknowledges that Alexander Pope “collated the old copies [of Shakespeare’s texts], which none had thought to examine before” (“Preface,” 94).
In his "Preface," Lewis Theobald identifies the labor-intensive nature of eighteenth-century collation, stating that "I have thought it my duty in the first place, by a diligent and laborious collation, to take in the assistance of all the older copies." See Beverly Warner, ed., Famous Introductions to Shakespeare's Plays: by the Notable Editors of the Eighteenth Century, Bibliography and Reference Series, no. 171 (New York: Burt Franklin, 1968), 74.


Williams, 62.


Scholes, 171.

For Johnson's method in ascertaining the authority of the First Folio, also see Bronson, xxxv.

Bronson, xviii.

Twentieth-century editors frequently express caution about emending a text. For instance, Hershel Parker states that in certain situations, "an editor's job is not to edit, but to edit as little as possible, bowing always to the authority of the author—whenever ... the author knows what he is doing." See Parker, Flawed Texts and Verbal Icons: Literary Authority in American Fiction (Evanston, IL: Northwestern University Press, 1984), 82.

Similarly, G. Thomas Tanselle points out that in Greg's "Rationale of Copy-Text," alterations are not made to a text simply because they are found in the copy-text; rather, according to Tanselle, "Greg's emphasis is on the use of reason and discretion" ("Greg's Theory of Copy-Text," 177). Tanselle later quotes Greg, who states that "while there can be no logical reason for giving preference to the copy-text, in practice, if there is no reason for altering its reading, the obvious thing seem to be to let it stand" ("Greg's Theory of Copy-Text, 178).
Thomas Edwards identifies a number of "canons" of editing based on his perusal of William Warburton's edition of Shakespeare. In his satirical attack he comments on editors who concentrate on building their own reputations rather than an accurate text. For instance, in Canon I, he writes that "A Professed Critic has the right to declare, that his Author wrote whatever he thinks he should have written; with as much positiveness, as if he had been at his elbow"; in Canon II he states: "He has a right to alter any passage, which he does not understand"; and in Canon XI he suggests that "[The editor] may make foolish amendments or explanations, and refute them; only to enhance the value of his critical skill." See Thomas Edwards, The Canons of Criticism, and Glossary, being a Supplement to Mr. Warburton's Edition of Shakespeare. Collected from the Notes in that celebrated Work, and proper to be bound up with it, 6th edition (London: 1758).

A wide range of twentieth-century editors suggest the impossibility of arriving at a single, definitive text. For instance, Peter L. Shillingsburg states that "The word definitive should be banished from editorial discussion. Scholarly editions can be no more than valuable access routes to the work of art." See Shillingsburg, Scholarly Editing, 90.

Similarly, Jerome J. McGann writes that "a scholarly project must be prepared to accept an initial (and insurmountable) limit: that a definitive text, like the author's final intentions, may not exist, may never have existed, and may never exist at any future time." See McGann, A Critique, 89–90. McGann reiterates his dismissal of a definitive text in The Textual Condition, stating that "no single editorial procedure--no single 'text' of a particular work--can be imagined or hypothesized as the 'correct' one" (62).

Also, G. Thomas Tanselle, in seeking to clarify Greg's theory of copy-text, states that: Greg, precisely because he recognized the role of imagination and judgment, would never have expected two editors to make all the same choices and emerge with identical texts. What the
scholarly editor is striving to do is to put his
critical judgment at the service of recognizing
what the author intended, and no one, including
the CEAA editors, would claim that any one attempt
at this is the final or 'definitive' one.

Finally, The Center for Scholarly Editions explains
that their emblems of approval signify:
"An Approved Edition" and "An Approved Text," not
"The Approved Edition" and "The Approved Text";
they carry no implication that the texts involved
are the only responsible or valuable ones that can
be prepared. Because critical editions involve
judgment, it is not unlikely that two careful
scholars may disagree about certain readings in a
critical text.
See The Center for Scholarly Editions, 586.


49 In "Greg's Theory of Copy-Text," Tanselle explains how
Bowers' main contribution to Greg's theory is the
incorporation of a more useful apparatus, and how the
apparatus has become an integral part of CEAA scholarly
editions (186).


51 The Center for Scholarly Editions, 585.

52 Center for Editions of American Authors, 10–11.

53 The Dramatic Works of Thomas Dekker, ed. Fredson Bowers, 4

Hans Walter Gabler, with Wolfhard Steppe and Claus Melchior,

55 Jerome McGann is the primary spokesperson calling for
textual studies to explicate a text's meaning as well as
seek out textual corruptions. In "The Monks and Giants,"
for instance, he writes that "Textual studies do not pursue
emendations and corruptions (or their absence) as the
justifying end of the discipline. The first obligation of
textual studies is to elucidate the meaning of what has
taken place." See McGann, "The Monks and the Giants:
Textual and Bibliographical Studies and the Interpretation
of Literary Works," in Textual Criticism and Literary
Interpretation, ed. Jerome J. McGann (Chicago and London:
Tanselle disputes McGann's claim that the Greg-Bowers school is not adequately concerned with textual meaning, countering that McGann's article:

presents a useful (if rather melodramatic) statement of the role of textual criticism in literary study, depicting textual criticism as a broad field of historical scholarship, in which the production of editions is only one of many agenda (a view I agree with, though McGann believes I do not).


57 In his "Preface," Johnson writes that "The notes which I have borrowed [from previous editors of Shakespeare] or written are either illustrative, by which difficulties are explained; or judicial, by which faults and beauties are remarked; or emendatory, by which depravations are corrected" (102).

58 Samuel Johnson, A Dictionary of the English Language, 1st ed., s.v. "Editor."


60 Edwards, Canon XXIII, 179.


66 Concerning Johnson's edition of Midsummer Night's Dream, Kenrick writes:

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Had our editor nothing to offer better than this? And hath he so little veneration for Shakespeare, as so readily to countenance the charge against him of writing nonsense? Did you, Dr. Johnson, ever read the scene, wherein this passage occurs, quite through? I almost venture to affirm, that neither you nor Dr. Warburton ever could have read it through with any attention. (21)


68 Johnson himself critiques the editors of Shakespeare that precede him, saying of William Warburton:

His notes exhibit sometimes perverse interpretations, and sometimes improbable conjectures; he at one time gives the authour more profundity of meaning, than the sentence admits, and at another discovers absurdities, where the sense is plain to every other reader. (“Preface,” 98)


70 For the most complete list to date of the works printed by Samuel Richardson, see William Merritt Sale, Jr., Samuel Richardson: Master Printer (Ithaca: Cornell University Press, 1950), 145–250.


74 For a brief discussion of Hershel Parker’s dichotomy of the “creative mode” and “editorial mode,” see Shillingsburg, “An Inquiry,” 58.

75 Eaves and Kimpel point out that the first reference to Clarissa in Richardson’s correspondence occurs in a 20 June 1744 letter from Edward Young. They cite the summer of 1742 as the earliest date when Richardson could have begun composing Clarissa (though they find this early date doubtful). See Eaves and Kimpel, “The Composition,” 416.

76 Stuber, “Introduction,” 16.

77 Parker, 50.


Richardson to Aaron Hill, August 1741. See Carroll, 42.

Richardson to Lady Dorothy Bradshaigh, 15 December 1748. See Carroll, 108–09. Richardson refutes Lady Bradshaigh’s plan at length (see Carroll, 106–09).

Richardson to Lady Dorothy Bradshaigh, 20 November 1752. See Carroll, 220–21.

Richardson expresses similar sentiments in his 5 July 1753 letter to Alexis Claude Clairaut, regarding what Richardson considers to be inappropriate deletions to a French translation of Clarissa: “I knew not, that such Mutilations were allowable, except the Translation had been called an Abridgment.” See Carroll, 237–38.
CHAPTER 5
"THE OBSERVATIONS THAT FOLLOW ARE MORE THE TRUTH":
RICHARDSON AS EDITOR OF CLARISSA

Do you think, Sir, that the Letters and Passages I have omitted [from Sir Charles Grandison] for the Sake of Shortening, take off from the Appearance of Genuiness? May not Principals in a Story or Correspondence, be supposed to allow an Editor such Liberties?"—Samuel Richardson to Johannes Stinstra, his German translator (20 March 1754)

Introduction

In this fifth chapter, I will discuss Samuel Richardson as the editor of Clarissa. Rather than perpetuating a common misperception of editing as being concerned only with the establishment of the text, I will focus on the editor's ability to comment on, critique, and explain the texts he edits—the editorial function that Samuel Johnson considered the most important. I will move beyond Kinkead-Weekes' and Eaves and Kimpel's dismissal of Richardson's "restorations" and instead discuss how Richardson uses editorial commentary to control readers' interpretations of Clarissa. With this redefined editorial perspective, and with the historical background developed in the previous chapter, I will show that Richardson's references to editorial actions on the third edition title page are more than a fictional guise—Richardson does in fact function as an eighteenth-century editor of Clarissa.

Richardson presents his editorial commentary through a diverse textual apparatus which he constructs around his novel. In addition to a brief examination of often-
overlooked editorial devices such as the two sonnets which frame the third edition and the "Names of Principal Characters," I will focus on the major components of Richardson's apparatus: the footnotes and intertextual quotations embedded within the novel itself, the "Index of Contents" at the end of each volume, and the "Collection of Moral Sentiments" found at the conclusion of Volume VIII. In these latter editorial devices, Richardson most overtly attempts to guide the readers' interpretations of the novel. Richardson's commentary can be situated along a spectrum, ranging from innocuous page references in the footnotes designed to help readers link letters, to misleading summaries of letters in the "Index of Contents," and to silent alterations of the authorial text in the "Collection of Moral Sentiments" that contradict the meaning of letters presented in the novel itself. Richardson refers to an editor's "Liberties" to manipulate a text in the epigram which opens this chapter, and in the editorial devices catalogued above, this ability to invoke editorial control can best be seen. In the various components of his apparatus, Richardson establishes a voice of authority which he often directs at female readers. With this in mind, I pay close attention to how a gender-influenced agenda affects Richardson's editing.

Richardson's Editorial Apparatus

Because Richardson's editorial actions are most accessible in his textual apparatus, I will briefly define
that device. Today, an apparatus is generally defined as a supplement to the primary text, providing additional information on textual matters or meaning. Typical information found in the apparatus includes textual notes, substantive and accidental variants, press variants, line-end hyphenation, commentary, or a historical collation. The apparatus can be seen as a distillation of important aspects of the primary text which, according to G. Thomas Tanselle, "enable[s] the reader easily to focus on all the editor's decisions."³

While the editor, then, in a sense speaks through the apparatus, its marginalized status tends to mute the editorial voice. D. C. Greetham accurately describes the less-than-emphatic physical construction of the modern apparatus, pointing out that the editorial device is "usually printed in smaller type, and sometimes placed in the back of the book, or even in a different volume."⁴ Such is the case in the third edition of Clarissa, with the footnotes located at the bottom of the page and set in small pica type, less-readable than the larger pica type of the primary text. Also, Richardson places two of the more thematically significant components of his apparatus (the "Index of Contents" and the "Collection of Moral Sentiments") at the end of their respective volumes—a marginalized position, according to Greetham. However, Richardson redefines his apparatus as the site of an authoritative, thematically-important editorial voice, one
not to be neglected by readers. For instance, the "Index of Contents" is described in the headnote as "a Recapitulation, that will enable the Reader . . . to enter into the succeeding Volume with the Attention that is bespoke in favour of a History of Life and Manners" (I: 325). Consequently, the physical disparity between the apparatus and the primary text of Clarissa creates a visually distinct, independent, and important subtext to the novel. In Richardson's apparatus, the editor comments on material found within the primary, authorial text, and thus a multilayered, polyphonic discourse is constructed, one which parallels the epistolary discourse within Clarissa where, for instance, Anna Howe reads a letter of Clarissa's and then offers commentary in a letter of her own.

Richardson's apparatus to the third edition of Clarissa consists of two main components: 1) full-points, or a textual apparatus and 2) commentary, or an apparatus related to meaning. Concerning the textual apparatus, Richardson writes in his "Preface" to the third edition that:

it has been thought fit to restore many Passages, and several letters, which were omitted in the former merely for shortening sake. . . . These are distinguished by Dots or inverted Full-points. And will be printed separately, in justice to the Purchasers of the former Editions.  

In addition to marking the restorations to the third edition with the visually obvious and overt marginal full-points, Richardson also printed a chronological listing of the new passages separately under the title Letters and Passages.
Restored (1751). Together, the full-points and Letters and Passages Restored serve as a record of the changes made to Clarissa between the first and third editions. As I have previously discussed in Chapter 2 and Chapter 4, much has been written on the status of Richardson's textual restorations, including analysis by Kinkead-Weekes, Eaves and Kimpel, and Van Marter. My concern with Richardson's full-points is not with the validity of the restorations but instead with their effect on readers of the novel. As an editor, Richardson has the ability to select the material presentation of Clarissa. Rather than choosing a clear-text form, with emendations or restorations noted in a table at the end of the work, Richardson instead creates a synoptic apparatus,\(^6\) one in which variants from all versions of the text are noted, through the use of symbols, within the text itself.

Richardson's synoptic textual apparatus is simple, utilizing only the full-points, but the effect is nonetheless significant. As the most visible signifier of Richardson-the-editor within the novel itself, the full-points suggest to readers that Richardson is conscientious and forthright regarding the integrity of his text: as an editor, he wants readers to have access to Clarissa in its entirety. Richardson's concern for textual accuracy extends beyond the fiction of Clarissa to literature in general. For instance, in his 19 March 1751 letter to Thomas Edwards,
Richardson praises Edwards' recent edition of *The Faerie Queene*, emphatically stating: "Your Spenser too, they tell me--O that Spenser, Milton, Shakespeare, may be handed down in their own unborrowed Lights to latest Times!"7 By praising Edwards' reconstructed edition, Richardson acknowledges a common truism among editors: that the passage of time brings textual corruption. In his own novel, Richardson's strategy for reconstructing his corrupted text--for returning it to its status as "unborrowed Light"--follows the twentieth-century Greg-Bowers-Tanselle school: Richardson returns to the manuscript (at least he suggests that he has) for his copy-text, and he emends the substantives that have been altered because of economic and publication-related pressures,8 marking the changes with the full-points. As visual signifiers of emendations, the full-points enhance Richardson's editorial credibility, helping him to appear as an objective, trustworthy editor intent on restoring the letters and keeping his readers informed of the status of the text before them.

Richardson's textual apparatus, however, is not as objective or complete as it might at first appear. Shirley Van Marter collates Richardson's revisions to *Clarissa's* second, third, and fourth editions,9 and in her two articles she offers a useful description of the inadequacies of Richardson's textual apparatus.10 First, Van Marter identifies inconsistencies between those passages Richardson
marks with full-points and those recorded in *Letters and Passages Restored*, noting that:

Unlike what we might expect . . . these two records are not identical. In *Letters and Passages Restored*, Richardson collects 127 separate passages, 27 from the second edition, the remainder from the third. With his dotting technique he identifies 168 items, including all of the 127 gathered in the supplementary volume.¹¹

Pointing out a second problem with the full-points, Van Marter states:

The smallest unit that Richardson marks [with full-points] is at least one printed line of text, but he certainly does not record all his changes of this magnitude, for he actually makes 739 revisions of one printed line or more: 375 in the second edition, 364 new ones in the third.¹²

As Van Marter points out, the full-points and *Letters and Passages Restored* function as a textual apparatus recording only some of Richardson’s many emendations. Consequently, it is a guide that is not all-inclusive and one that readers cannot fully trust. Although she does not identify it as such, Van Marter’s work foregrounds Richardson’s subjective editing: as an editor, Richardson takes “Liberties” with his text and makes choices concerning what material to include in his textual apparatus. This is not to say that Richardson is editing deceitfully. Rather, I point out the inconsistencies in his textual apparatus as an example of how editorial actions need to be scrutinized, analyzed, and carefully read rather than simply accepted as objective, definitive announcements by the editor.

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Less frequently discussed than Richardson's textual apparatus, yet more significant for understanding his role as editor of Clarissa, is Richardson's second apparatus: the commentary appended to the novel. Like Samuel Johnson, who cautioned readers in his "Proposal for Printing . . . The Dramatick Works of William Shakespeare" (1756) about critics who "have not sufficiently attended to the elucidation of passages obscured by accident or time," Richardson values the usefulness of editorial annotations to the extent that he builds a varied and extensive apparatus of commentary around the third edition of Clarissa. Richardson's commentary falls into three categories: 1) items created by someone else, but included in the edition by Richardson-the-editor, including Thomas Edwards' "Sonnet to the Author of Clarissa" and John Duncombe's poem "To the Author of Clarissa"; 2) an item possibly created in collaboration between Richardson and another person: the "Collection of Moral Sentiments"; and 3) items created by Richardson himself, including the "Names of Principal Characters," "Preface" to the third edition, "Postscript," "Table to the Preceding Sentiments," "Index of Contents," footnotes and intertextual quotations. While Richardson's editorial apparatus suggests objectivity in its regular organization, thoroughness, and scientific trappings, upon close examination, his apparatus often presents subjective thoughts from an editor committed to controlling readers' interpretations. In a sense then, as I will show in this
chapter, Richardson becomes a character in his own novel when he presents himself to readers through his editorial commentary.

**Minor Components of Richardson’s Apparatus**

Before proceeding to my discussion of the major components of Richardson’s apparatus, a brief discussion of the less familiar, often overlooked components will provide a general overview of Richardson’s editorial goals and methods. Richardson uses his editorial power of selection and chooses two anonymous poems (at least no names are included with the texts) as a framing device for the eight volumes of the novel. The opening poem from the first volume, Thomas Edwards’ “SONNET To the Author of CLARISSA,” is located on the verso page opposite the title page to the third edition. As a poetic form, the sonnet, popular until the time of Milton, is rare in the eighteenth century. Thomas Gray writes a “Sonnet on the Death of Mr. Richard West” in 1742 (though it was not published until 1775), but few other examples can be found in the eighteenth century, and the form only has a resurgence with the Romantics. Consequently, Richardson’s inclusion of the sonnet brings an air of tradition and decorum to his novel. The placement of the poem in direct sight of the title page, as well as the dignified tone of the sonnet form, helps to accentuate the poem’s meaning. Previewing the didactic content of the novel which will follow, the middle stanza of the sonnet reads:

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Thy moral page while virtuous precepts fill,
Warm from the heart, to mend the Age design'd,
Wit, strength, truth, decency, are all combin'd
To lead our Youth to Good, and guard from Ill.

Because Richardson visually highlights this poetical commentary, readers—especially "Youth"—are conditioned to read the novel with an eye for morality, virtue, truth, and so on. Thus, when readers scan to the recto title page, they have in their minds a focused concept of "The most Important CONCERNS of PRIVATE LIFE" which the title page proclaims will be addressed in the novel.

The second poem, John Duncombe's "TO THE Author of CLARISSA," is located toward the end of volume eight, following Belford's "Conclusion" and Richardson's "Postscript" and preceding the "Contents of Vol. VIII," "A Collection of Moral and Instructive Sentiments," and the "Table to the preceding Sentiments." Duncombe writes his poem predominately in heroic couplets, the form used not only by Chaucer but also by Dryden and Pope. The use of the popular neoclassic form, in contrast to Edwards' use of the sonnet, suggests the contemporary relevance to Richardson's readers of the poem and the novel which it frames. Richardson's placement of the second poem (an addition to the 1751 third edition) is again effective, because the poem's content serves as a summary of the novel's plot as well as a validation of Richardson-the-author's adherence to the "Christian System."15 The particularly instructive third stanza, addressed to "ye Fair" readers, describes the limited opportunity for human life to thrive on earth:

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Tho' sprightly Youth its vernal bloom bestow,
And on your cheeks the blush of Beauty glow,
Here see how soon those roses of a day,
Nipt by a frost, fade, wither, and decay!
Nor Youth nor Beauty could Clarissa save,
Snatch'd to an early, not untimely grave.
But still her own unshaken Innocence,
In the dread hour of death her bosom warm'd
With more than manly courage, and disarm'd
The griefly king: In vain the tyrant try'd
His awful terrors—for she smil'd, and dy'd.
(VIII: 302)

Most telling in Duncombe’s lines is his positive reiteration of Clarissa’s death-scene, where he notes that “she smil’d, and dy’d.” For readers who might still question Richardson’s authorial decision to allow his heroine to die (those readers not convinced by either the events of the novel or Richardson’s explanation in the “Postscript”), Richardson—the-editor includes the poetic lines of an outside reader whose “Future rewards”-based reading of the novel parallels the author’s intended meaning.

Because the two poems emphasize the content of Clarissa rather than praising the merits of the author, they appear as objective statements from readers concerned with delineating the main points of the novel rather than with promoting the agenda or accomplishments of the author. Richardson builds similar objective status into the other minor components of his editorial apparatus. In the “NAMES of the PRINCIPAL PERSONS” (I: xii), a one page, two column table at the beginning of the novel that provides readers with succinct descriptions of thirty-eight characters, Richardson chooses factual, impartial descriptions instead of biased,
leading thoughts which might better serve his overall didactic aims. For example, offering no subtle hints of Lovelace’s evil character, Richardson describes him as “[Clarissa’s] Admirer.” Similarly, Anna Howe is objectively described as “The most intimate Friend, Companion, and Correspondent of Clarissa.” With the exception of references to “A worthy Divine,” “An humane Physician,” “An honest and skilful Apothecary,” and “the infamous Sinclair,” only nonjudgemental facts are given by Richardson. This straightforward approach in an early editorial component builds Richardson’s status as an objective editor concerned with providing readers with useful and telling descriptions of each character.

The “TABLE to the preceding Sentiments” at the end of volume eight (VIII: 397—98) is even more extreme in its objective appearance. Richardson presents the “Table” in an organized, regular layout with two columns per page. The only content found in the table is abstracted terms and their corresponding page numbers: “Church. Clergy -- 319,” “Education -- 333,” and so on. Suggesting the objectivity of a dictionary, the table is a distillation of eight volumes of epistolary letters into four columns of abstractions void of any editorial or authorial voices. Although Richardson-the-editor lacks such objectivity elsewhere in his apparatus (especially in the “Collection of Sentiments” which accompanies the “TABLE to the preceding Sentiments”), in his “Table” he appears as an editor concerned
only with presenting to readers a novel which is organized, forthright, and easy to use.

Richardson's Footnotes

A more substantial component of Richardson's editorial apparatus, certainly more complicated in its attempts to control readers' interpretations, is his footnotes. In Chapter 2, I discussed the visual significance of Richardson's footnotes as material texts. Here, I will look more closely at their use as editorial tools, as sites for Richardson's editorial commentary. As Peter W. Cosgrove points out, a footnote is generally regarded as an "objective," "anonymous tool"16 with scientific connotations; in other words, the footnote typically presents facts and objective17 information without traces of the editor's biases. Richardson's footnotes in the third edition of Clarissa, however, are comprehensive signifiers of his editorial actions in that they contain both objective and subjective commentary.

Richardson develops the objectivity of his footnotes to Clarissa through the use of scientific trappings, including conventional, regular placement of the footnotes at the bottom of the page and call-out letters embedded in the fictional letters.16 In fact, the majority of the footnotes in the third edition can be categorized as objective, factual notes designed to assist the reader in better understanding the primary text. The most common type of footnote in Clarissa is the textual reference, where
Richardson-the-editor identifies the antecedents for other letters or episodes mentioned by the letter writer: for instance, "(a) See Letter x." (VIII: 155) and "(a) See Vol. I. p. 6." (VIII: 205). Richardson's second type of objective footnote is an annotation to a secondary text or relevant fact, much as an editor of a classroom edition might do today: for instance, a footnote identifies "the tyrant Tudor" as Henry VII (II: 13), and for details on "Trophonius's Cave," readers are told to see the "Spectator, Vol. VIII. No 599" (II: 16).

The third type of objective footnote also involves annotation of facts, but this time the editorial tool functions as a literary device, supplying information which Richardson-the-author cannot realistically include due to limitations of the epistolary genre. For instance, narrative cohesiveness is a problem in epistolary fiction because of the break which occurs when a letter ends. Changes in time, mood, the letter writer, or the recipient all produce gaps between letters, and without a narrator to smooth the transition from epistolary moment to epistolary moment, the overall unity of the novel suffers. To combat this epistolary limitation, Richardson-the-editor assists the author with timely footnotes such as "(a) See the next Letter" (II: 74) and "(a) Mr. Lovelace accounts for this, Vol. I. Letter xxv" (II: 106) which help to link the intermittent texts.
Occasionally, the editorial footnote not only explains the author’s text but also presents information not addressed in the letters themselves. In this way, Richardson embellishes his novel with the epistolary equivalent of a third-person narrator. For instance, in a 6 July letter from Clarissa to Anna, Clarissa cannot adequately account for the blush that overtakes Lovelace’s face during a discussion of their lodging at Hamstead: "how was it possible," Clarissa asks,

that even that florid countenance of his should enable him to command a blush at his pleasure? For blush he did, more than once. . . . [And it was] unstrained—for, and natural, as I thought—But he is so much of the Actor, that he seems able to enter into any character; and his muscles and features appear entirely under obedience to his wicked will (b). (VI: 158)

Clarissa’s knowledge of Lovelace’s schemes is limited, and in this instance, so too is the reader’s, because Lovelace has not, and will not, account for this blushing in a letter of his own. Because the traditional narrator who might clarify Lovelace’s actions and psychological motivation does not exist in epistolary fiction, Richardson-the-editor must become a third-person, omniscient narrator who speaks not from the primary text but from the margin, within the footnote.19 Answering the question posed by Clarissa, Richardson’s editorial commentary explains that:

(b) It is proper to observe, that there was a more natural reason than this that the Lady gives for Mr. Lovelace’s blushing. It was a blush of indignation, as he owned afterwards to his Friend Belford, in conversation; for the pretended Lady Betty had mistaken her cue, in condemning the
Richardson—the-editor creates an objective footnote with factual, credible details that clarifies the cause of Lovelace’s otherwise ambiguous blush. Additionally, the footnote provides a site for pseudo-conversation to take place, in this instance the reported conversation between Lovelace and Belford. In this way, the footnote expands the limits of the epistolary genre beyond the conventional first-person bounds of the familiar letter.

The majority of Richardson’s objective footnotes in Clarissa were initially written for the first edition of 1747–48. In the third edition, in response to the misreadings of his correspondents including Lady Dorothy Bradshaigh and Colley Cibber, Richardson added additional notes (marked with full-points) designed to make Lovelace appear more villainous and Clarissa more justified in her actions. While the new, third-edition footnotes are still grounded in verifiable facts from the primary text, Richardson’s narratological agenda causes the overall impression of the notes to become more subjective and biased than those written for the first edition. Therefore, like other components of Richardson’s editorial apparatus, his footnotes are not as straightforward and objective as they first appear.

For example, in the second volume, three of Richardson’s new footnotes reiterate Lovelace’s negative
role in Clarissa’s flight from Harlowe Place. In the first, after Clarissa learns that she will be denied a correspondence with Anna and will be detained against her will at Uncle Antony’s, Richardson’s footnote redirects blame for the Harlowes’ plan toward Lovelace:

(a) These violent measures, and the obstinate perseverance of the whole family in them, will be the less wondered at, when it is considered, that all the time, they were but as so many puppets danced upon Mr. Lovelace’s wires, as he boasts in Vol. I. Letter xxxi. (II: 27; each line of the footnote marked with full-points)

As in his purely objective footnotes, Richardson here alludes to a specific moment in the text and provides a straightforward textual reference. However, Richardson now slants the otherwise factual information in an effort to prejudice the readers’ perceptions of Lovelace. While the Harlowe family is “violent” and “obstinate,” the cause of their indiscretions against Clarissa lies in “Mr. Lovelace’s wires.” In this new footnote, Richardson begins to control the readers’ interpretations more assertively.

In the other two “puppet wire” footnotes, Richardson-the-editor combines his roles as critic of Lovelace and third-person omniscient narrator. Lovelace’s effort to subvert the Harlowes’ plan to remove Clarissa to Uncle Antony’s brings about the second footnote. In the authorial text, Lovelace introduces the rumor that he is prepared to ambush the Harlowes and kidnap Clarissa; they in turn decide to keep Clarissa at home where, unbeknownst to them, she can more easily be abducted by Lovelace. Exonerating Lovelace
of ulterior motives in this matter, Clarissa incorrectly tells Anna in her letter of 6 April that Lovelace could not have foreseen the consequences of his scheme. Rather than allow readers to be misled similarly by Lovelace’s plan, Richardson corrects Clarissa in a new footnote:

(a) She was mistaken in this. Mr. Lovelace did foresee this consequence. All his contrivances led to it, and the whole family, as he boasts, unknown to themselves, were but so many Puppets danced by his wires. See Vol. I. p. 200. (II: 253; footnote marked with full-points)

Richardson’s editorial intrusion here is actually rather extreme. Not only does Richardson subjectively speak against Lovelace, as in the previous example, but he also undermines the authorial characterization of Clarissa by announcing that “She was mistaken.” In the primary text, the author could not portray Clarissa as knowing about Lovelace’s manipulative plan. To do so would compromise the plot’s tension and also make Clarissa a knowing accomplice in her own downfall. Richardson-the-editor, however, in preparing a didactic text for publication, cannot allow readers to make the same error as Clarissa. Richardson’s didactic agenda therefore requires that the editorial footnote clarify Lovelace’s “contrivances” and Clarissa’s error. With his marginal editorial voice, Richardson presents a revised, less ambiguous version of the authorial plot.

In the third of his “puppet wire” footnotes, Richardson embellishes the authorial plot to an even greater extent.
The editor's final footnote in the sequence clarifies Clarissa's vague reference to "some plots or machinations" (II: 274) of Lovelace about which the Harlowe family claimed to have had advance notice. The footnote to Clarissa's 7 April letter to Anna, written only four days before her escape with Lovelace, reads:

(a) It may not be amiss to observe in this place, That Mr. Lovelace artfully contrived to drive the Family on, by permitting his and their agent [Joseph] Leman to report machinations, which he had neither intention nor power to execute. (II: 274; footnote marked with full-points)

Similar to the "blush of indignation" footnote, this commentary embellishes the novel's plot with information not accessible to readers in the letters themselves. Lovelace never admits to Belford, nor anyone else, that his "machinations" (such as the supposed plan to kidnap Clarissa on her journey to Uncle Antony's) were beyond his power or intention to perform. Therefore, because no one in the Harlowe family questions Lovelace's ability to carry out the kidnapping plan, Richardson must supply information about Leman in the editorial footnote. Again serving as an omniscient, third-person narrator, Richardson expands the story beyond the familiar letters, beyond the information supplied by individual characters. Editing becomes a creative enterprise which supplements Richardson's epistolary fiction, and in this way, the distinction between the editor and the author becomes less pronounced.
The relationship between Richardson and his readers is also recast in these three footnotes. As editorial narrator, Richardson establishes a voice of authority in a formerly subordinated space—the footnotes. Whereas objective footnotes privilege the primary text by refocusing readers’ attention on other significant letters, Richardson’s narratological footnotes shift authority from the primary text (and the author) to the footnotes themselves (and the editor). The editor in Clarissa is no longer a silent, transparent preparer of a text. Instead, the editor brings to the text an authoritative voice which not only annotates the author’s work but which potentially can also eclipse the primary text by essentially rewriting the meaning of the letters. Given the divided authority Richardson creates in his narratologically significant footnotes, readers of Clarissa must interpret and evaluate all the information they encounter, both inside and outside the conventional margins of the novel.

The final type of footnote found in Clarissa shows the extent to which Richardson—the-editor is willing to privilege his own editorial voice over that of the novel’s fictional letters. Rather than simply annotating or reporting facts, certain new footnotes to the third edition are personal statements addressed directly to “the Reader” of Clarissa. For example, after explaining Lovelace’s self-serving concern for the young girl known as “Rosebud,” the editor states that “This explanation is the more necessary
to be given, as several of our Readers (thro’ want of due attention) have attributed to Mr. Lovelace ... a greater merit than was due to him” (II: 157; footnote marked with full-points). Also, with a similar critique of his audience, the editor offers the following annotation regarding Lovelace’s conspiracy with Leman: “It is easy for such of the Readers as have been attentive to Mr. Lovelace’s manner of working, to suppose, ... that he had instructed his double-faced agent to put his sweetheart Betty upon alarming Miss Hervey” (II: 305; footnote marked with full-points). Typically, these direct appeals attempt to prescribe the “correct” meaning of the authorial text. Unlike an editor such as Samuel Johnson, who accepts the probability that a single text will produce multiple readings, Richardson advocates one correct reading--his own--in the footnotes specifically addressed to the readers. Richardson’s footnotes, then, often attempt to provide determinate readings to letters which, as I discussed in Chapter 2 and Chapter 3, are often indeterminate in linguistic text, material text, and consequently in meaning.

Footnotes specifically addressed to the readers are most concentrated in the third volume (no less than six of these additions appear). Richardson’s attention to his audience is understandable, since he must combat the frequent criticism which Clarissa received for having fled Harlowe Place with Lovelace at the end of the second volume. For instance, Richardson’s first footnote to the third
volume (an addition) shows frustration as he criticizes readers for being too quick to judge Clarissa's actions:

"(a) Clarissa has been censured as behaving to Mr. Lovelace, in their first conversation at St. Albans, and afterwards, with too much reserve, and even with haughtiness. Surely those who have thought her to blame on this account, have not paid a due attention to the Story" (III: 14; footnote marked with full-points).

Noticeable in Richardson's next new footnote is not only his resentment at misreadings but also his increased attention to the sex of his audience. After Lovelace describes his abhorrence of marriage to Belford, he admits that Clarissa is a "Charming creature," one whom he might actually consider marrying; he then qualifies his momentary rapture with a bracketed request: "[But I charge thee, that thou let not any of the Sex know my exultation (a)]" (III: 77). To Lovelace's parenthetical thought, Richardson-the-editor appends the following footnote specifically directed to female readers (the first time he has done this):

(a) Mr. Lovelace might have spared this caution on this occasion, since many of the Sex [We mention it with regret] who on the first publication had read thus far, and even to the Lady's first escape, have been readier to censure her for over-niceness, as we have observed in a former Note, p. 14. than him for artifices and exaltations not less cruel and ungrateful, than ungenerous and unmanly. (III: 77; footnote marked with full-points)

Curiously, both Lovelace and Richardson are concerned with the response of their female readers and both utilize
crotchets, or square brackets, to temper their condescending remarks. More importantly, both Lovelace and Richardson speak from positions of power, with the former controlling events like a stage director and the latter using the redefined marginal space of the footnote to suggest the determinate meaning that "many of the Sex" failed to recognize.

If, however, Richardson's editorial goal in the footnote is the promotion of a morally useful interpretation, then his gendered response to female readers undermines this goal. Rather than using his editorial power to condemn Lovelace, Richardson actually directs his authoritative voice toward a critique of his female readers. In the footnote, Richardson grammatically subordinates his didactic interpretation and its condemnation of Lovelace's "artifices" to his sarcastic suggestion that Lovelace "might have spared this caution," to his hyperbolically regretful aside, and to his summary of the female's incorrect readings. The criticism of Lovelace's behaviors comes at the end of the long, compound sentence and is further de-emphasized by the awkward construction of Richardson's "than . . . than . . ." syntax. Consequently, Lovelace's deceitful and manipulative behavior is minimized in Richardson's editorial footnote. While Richardson still appears eager to promote a determinate meaning for his novel, his editorial agenda is complicated by the gendered commentary.

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In Richardson’s next new footnote, two pages later, the
gendered editorial commentary becomes more blatant. As
Lovelace continues his 13 April letter to Belford, he
describes his ongoing seduction of Clarissa as an exemplary
trial for all women: “Is not then the whole Sex concerned
that this trial should be made? And who is it that knows
[Clarissa], that would not stake upon her head the honour of
the whole?” (III: 85). To the beginning of this important
letter, Richardson attaches the following gendered footnote:
“(a) The particular attention of such of the Fair Sex as are
more apt to read for the sake of amusement, than
instruction, is requested to this Letter of Mr. Lovelace”
(III: 79). Richardson apparently uses this gendered
commentary to draw attention to a letter which shows
Lovelace as dangerous and manipulative. The footnote is
curious, though, both for its snide, condescending tone as
well as for its containing no information directly related
to the novel, such as letter references or page numbers.
Lacking conventional annotative information, the footnote is
unnecessary as an editorial tool, since Lovelace’s
outrageous and inflammatory statements tend to grab
attention on their own. In the precautionary statement,
Richardson appropriates the marginal space of the footnote
and redefines it as a site of authority from which he
critiques not the novel itself but instead his female
readers.
Both this footnote and the one two pages earlier have extra-textual implications, because in effect Richardson-the-editor is annotating not the text of Clarissa but instead his female reading audience. That is, in the gendered footnotes, Richardson tries to control not the meaning of his novel but rather the actions and thoughts of his female readers. While an annotative footnote typically recreates a facet of the text by distilling information, Richardson here attempts to create the ideal female reader: attentive and discriminating precisely because she is also in agreement with him concerning the correct interpretation of the text.\textsuperscript{21} I will address this issue of editorial control over female subjectivity further in Chapter 6 when I discuss how Clarissa is manipulated and controlled by the editing of Lovelace and Belford. For now, I would reemphasize that Richardson does not always limit his editorial commentary to objective statements of fact. Rather, Richardson’s gendered commentary critiques the audience as well as the text itself. Consequently, the editorial footnote becomes a site of conflict over meaning, power, and control between Richardson and his female readers.

Richardson’s Intertextual Quotations

Richardson invokes editorial “Liberties” when constructing his footnotes, and his privileged status allows him to comment, with authority, on the text as well as on his readers. A second type of editorial liberty is
exhibited by Richardson in his selection and manipulation of intertextual quotations found throughout the pages of *Clarissa*. Richardson inserts a diverse assortment of quotations into his novel, including poetic lines from Samuel Butler, Abraham Cowley, and Milton; dramatic lines from Nicholas Rowe and Thomas Otway; classical and biblical passages; and a large number of anonymous quotations from "the Poet," "another Poet," and so on. Dryden is the most frequently cited author (and the favorite poet of Lovelace) and Shakespeare the second most popular. The quotations used by Richardson number over one hundred, ranging from one line of an unnamed poet (I: 202) to fifteen lines of Shakespeare (VII: 16).

Typically, Richardson makes an effort to integrate the quotations seamlessly into the narrative, as in Lovelace's citation of a passage from Dryden's *Albion and Albianus: An Opera* (1685) while greeting Captain Tomlinson:

```
The rosy-finger'd morn appears,
   And from her mantle shakes her tears:
The Sun arising, mortals chears;
   And drives the rising mists away,
   In promise of a glorious day.
   Excuse me, Sir, that I salute you from my favourite Bard. He that rises with the Lark, will sing with the Lark. (V: 63)
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Occasionally, however, the quotations are contrived, with few or no references to the borrowed lines from any of the characters. In Lovelace's 22 August letter to Belford, for instance, he abruptly cites lines from Nathaniel Lee's *Mithridates, King of Pontus: A Tragedy* (1678):
I hasten to her. But, that I may not add to her indisposition, by any rough or boisterous behaviour, I will be as soft and gentle as the dove herself in my addresses to her.

That I do love her, O all ye host of heaven,
Be witness!—That she is dear to me!
Dearer than day, to one whom sight must leave;
Dearer than life, to one who fears to die!
The chair is come. I fly to my Beloved. (VII: 148)

In this second example, the quotation appears to be merely inserted between Lovelace’s two sentences as it lacks any connection to the immediate text of the narrative which it interrupts: the addressee of Lovelace’s letter suddenly shifts from a specific person, Belford, to “ye host of heaven”; the quotation refers “to one whom sight must leave” even though Lovelace will soon meet with Clarissa; and most importantly, the inserted lines disrupt Lovelace’s simile in which he describes himself with bird-like qualities—“I will be as soft and gentle as the dove. . . . I fly to my Beloved.” The lines from Nathaniel Lee create a break in Richardson’s narrative, and in this way, the quotation appears to be anti-authorial, or in opposition to the narrative unity of the primary text.

When readers encounter quotations in Clarissa, whether they be smoothly integrated or abrupt, the initial assumption is that Richardson, having prior knowledge of the works, recollected the lines during the process of composing his narrative and simply inserted the borrowed text into his own text. Richardson promotes such a reading by attributing
a similar method of composition to Lovelace. For instance, after hearing Clarissa speak, Lovelace recounts that "indeed at the time she spoke them, these lines of Shakespeare came into my head . . ." (IV: 339); later, before invoking another quotation, Lovelace tells Belford that "These lines of Rowe have got into my head . . ." (V: 16). Both Lovelace and Richardson quote heavily, and the assumption for both is that their recitations are spontaneous and based on a familiarity with the text being quoted. By invoking the thoughts of other authors, Lovelace and Richardson elevate their own authority by suggesting the learned breadth of their reading and knowledge.

For Richardson, however, the insertion of quotations into Clarissa is not always a spontaneous action. Instead, Richardson frequently draws quotations not from his own memory but instead from a number of contemporary commonplace books. For instance, at least forty-three quotations in Clarissa have been identified in Edward Bysshe's Art of English Poetry (1702, etc.). The second section of Bysshe's poetical handbook, titled "A Collection of the most Natural, Agreeable, and Sublime Thoughts, viz. Allusions, Similes, Descriptions, and Characters, of Persons and Things; that are to be found in the best English Poets," contains 2693 quotations; from these, Richardson draws selections from, among others, Dryden, Shakespeare, Butler, Addison, Congreve, Otway, and Rowe. The appearance of the same quotations in both Bysshe and Richardson is not
coincidental. Instead, Richardson obviously consults the handbook for passages, typically citing the same number of lines as Bysshe (that is, when Bysshe cites four line from Rowe, Richardson cites the same four lines). In at least one instance, Richardson even replicates an error, as he transcribes Bysshe's incorrect attribution of a Dryden quotation to Shakespeare (V: 134).26

Richardson's use of Bysshe is curious, for though it was the most famous of all the eighteenth-century quotation collections, it was also the most infamous, having been satirically placed on the desk of Hogarth's inept and impoverished "Distressed Poet" (1736).27 A. Dwight Culler summarizes the ambivalent reputation of Bysshe's collection among eighteenth-century writers, stating that:

there must have been few Englishmen of literary interests in the first half of the century and not many more in the second who did not occasionally turn to Bysshe. They would hardly have kept it open on the desk beside them unless in dire distress, for Bysshe is the sort of book one consults surreptitiously and keeps locked in a drawer when not in use. We may be sure, none the less, that it was always there. The great Doctor Johnson owned a copy and Goldsmith, as befits his second rank, owned two. Bulwer-Lytton owned it, Richardson used it, Walpole and Oldys and Scott refer (not too seriously) to it, and Fielding insists that it is required reading for the modern poet.28

Not surprisingly, given the dubious reputation of Bysshe's handbook, Richardson never mentions his reliance on the collection in his own correspondence or prefatory essays. For Richardson to admit using the crib sheets would
compromise his authority by calling into question his knowledge, education, and literary background.

Richardson's use of Bysshe's collection is more complicated than an author simply transcribing material into his own text. In none of the quotations drawn from Bysshe does Richardson use the material verbatim. Rather, as an editor, Richardson selects a quotation related to his text and emends the material before placing it within his own novel. In some instances, Richardson's alterations consist only of minor changes to accidentals, but they are editorial emendations nonetheless. For instance, after Lovelace refers to Clarissa's "excellencies" in Volume III (III: 328), he recites for Belford a quotation from Dryden which can also be found in Bysshe's *Art of Poetry.* Before inserting the quotation into Lovelace's letter, Richardson first makes the following alterations: capital letters are emended to lower case letters in "fabric," "temple," "birth," "deity," "pile," and "god," and the semicolon and colon at the end of lines two and three are inverted. The typographic changes to "temple," "deity," and "god" are significant as they suggest Lovelace's more anti-Christian, pagan reading. Richardson silently edits the quotations, such as Dryden's, contained in Bysshe; that is, he offers no table of emendations, no notes, and not even a passing reference in his letters, which would form a record of his editorial changes.
Providing a fictional parallel to his own silent emendations, Richardson depicts Lovelace altering a line of Shakespeare's in Volume VI. After Clarissa is jailed for her failure to pay room and board to Mrs. Sinclair, Lovelace pleads with Belford to rectify the situation. Hoping for "tolerable news" in the next letter, Lovelace emends King Richard III's famous line and begs: "A line! A line! A kingdom for a line!" (VI: 241). No reference to the correct text is necessary here, because the copy-text was well known. Richardson surely expected readers to recognize the emendation, and he uses the editorial manipulation to build his characterization of Lovelace as irreverent toward authority, in this case, the authority and elevated status of Shakespeare's text. Richardson's emendations to quotations in Bysshe are not so obvious. Thus, while the use of quotations may build the credibility of the author, silent emendations to the lines call into question the integrity of the editor.

Although John Carroll notes that Richardson emends quotations found in Bysshe, neither he nor any of the other critics who discuss Richardson's use of the Art of Poetry have looked closely at the impact of these emendations on Clarissa's narrative. At times, Richardson's alterations are essentially stylistic, with the emendations having minimal effect on overall meaning. The Dryden quotation from Albion and Albianus cited at the beginning of this
section, for instance, shows only slight variations in
accidentals when compared to Bysshe’s fourth edition (1710):

Richardson
The rosy-finger’d morn appears,
And from her mantle shakes her tears:
The Sun arising, mortals chears;
And drives the rising mists away,
In promise of a glorious day. (V: 63)

Bysshe
The rosy-finger’d Morn appears,
And from her Mantle shakes her Tears:
The Sun arising, Mortals chears,
And drives the rising Mists away,
In Promise of a glorious Day.32

Richardson’s left justification of the first line has no
influence on the meaning of the passage, and his use of a
semicolon at the end of line three only minimally affects
the cadence of the passage if read aloud. His use of lower
case letters in each of the nouns except “Sun” (a common
tactic of Richardson’s, as he prefers to emphasize words
through the italic font rather than with capital letters)
eliminates the elevated personification from the passage but
has little impact on the overall meaning.

In other instances, Richardson’s silent editorial
emendations affect not only the meaning of Bysshe’s passages
but also the plot and characterization which the quotations
supplement. For instance, in the Lee quotation from
Mithridates, King of Pontus also cited at the beginning of
this section, Richardson more substantially deviates from
the same quotation found in Bysshe’s fourth edition (1710):

Richardson
That I do love her, O all ye host of heaven,
Be witness!—That she is dear to me!
Dearer than day, to one whom sight must leave;  
Dearer than life, to one who fears to die!  
(VII: 148)

Bysshe
That I do love you, O all you Host of Heav’n,  
Be Witness! That you are dear to me!  
Dearer than Day to one whom Sight must leave,  
Dearer than Life to one who fears to die;  
O thou bright Pow’r be judge whom we adore,  
Be witness of my Truth! be witness of my Love!  

As in the Dryden quotation, Richardson makes stylistic emendations to Lee’s passage, again using lower case letters in place of capitals in “witness,” “day,” “sight,” and “life,” and adding an em dash to the second line and a comma to the third line. The lower case letters bring a more colloquial tone to the passage, the em dash personalizes the quotation with Lovelace’s signature mark (see Chapter 2), and the comma again slightly alters the cadence of the passage if read aloud. Overall, though, the changes to accidentals again have little significant impact on Lee’s meaning.

However, Richardson also silently alters substantives in Lee’s text which change the meaning of the passage and subtly reinforce Lovelace’s irreverent character traits. First, in line one, Richardson alters the object of the speaker’s “love” from “you, or “the “Host of Heav’n,” to “her,” implied to mean Clarissa. The “love” professed by the speaker is thereby directed toward immediate, earthly pleasures of the flesh rather than toward the future, higher calling of Heaven (emphasized by Richardson as a major lesson of the novel). Second, a symbolic denigration of
"heaven" occurs with Richardson’s use of the lower case “h” in line one. Consequently, the alteration of “you” to “ye” in the same line produces a mock-heroic, satirically elevated tone. Most significantly, Richardson shortens the passage by two lines, imposing closure on Lee’s thoughts by inserting an exclamation point in place of the semicolon at the end of line four. In effect, the speaker ends the revised quotation with a reference to himself: he is the “one who fears to die,” understandably because of his disregard for Heaven. The exclamation point qualifies the speaker’s pronouncement of fear, creating a satirical flourish in which he flaunts his disregard of religious and societal values. In terms of the narrative, the quotation’s revised content parallels Lovelace’s characterization; Richardson’s substantive emendations depict Lovelace as a self-important character willing to overshadow both Clarissa and the “host of heaven.” Only an empowered character would cite the lines included in the primary text. In a sense, then, Richardson’s editorial power is transferred to his character, who is portrayed as willing to subvert the “Christian System” advocated by Richardson-the-author.

Although Lovelace’s character is strengthened by the editorial emendations to Bysshe’s lines, a gendered form of editing disempowers, rather than empowers, female characters in a second altered quotation. With a final example of intertextual manipulation, I will continue the examination begun in the previous section concerning the possibility of
editors being guided by a gender-influenced agenda. As Richardson prepares a quotation of Edmund Waller from Bysshe for inclusion in Volume IV, gender appears to influence his editing. In his 25 May letter to Belford, Lovelace sets forth his impressions of the ideal, subservient wife.

Lovelace writes:

I would have her look after me when I go out ... and meet me at my return with rapture. I would be the subject of her dreams, as well as of her waking thoughts. I would have her think every moment lost, that is not passed with me: Sing to me, read to me, play to me when I pleased. (IV: 248).

Concerning mistresses and the care of illegitimate children, Lovelace adds that an exemplary wife will:

Be a Lady Easy to all my pleasures, and valuing those most who most contributed to them; only fighting in private, that it was not herself at the time. Thus of old did the contending wives of the honest patriarchs; each recommending her handmaid to her Lord, as she thought it would oblige him, and looking upon the genial product as her own. (IV: 248).

Lovelace justifies his philosophy of marriage with a quotation, announcing to Belford that "The gentle Waller says, Women are born to be controul'd" (IV: 248).

Before inserting the quotation into the primary text, however, Richardson emends the passage. Originally, as presented in Bysshe, Waller's line from the poem Of Love read "For Women born to be controul'd." Richardson makes a quantitatively slight, though significant, change to the linguistic text, emending the preposition "For" to the verb
"are." Qualitatively, the emendation changes a conditional statement concerning only certain women to a statement of fact, suggesting that all women, by birth, should be subjected to patriarchal prerogative. Consequently, Richardson's editorial emendation provides Lovelace with supplemental authority to justify his oppressive view of a wife's subordinate place in marriage. Given Richardson's stated intention in the "Preface" to warn women against "the base arts and designs of specious Contrivers" (I: viii), it can be argued that Richardson expected his readers to take Lovelace's thoughts ironically. Jerry C. Beasley, however, argues convincingly that Richardson affirms patriarchal power in Clarissa as well as in his other novels. Thus, Richardson's emendations with gender-related effects cannot be so easily dismissed.

As Johnson, Greg, Tanselle, and others have pointed out, editing should not naively be accepted as a purely objective activity. The inherently subjective nature of editing must be acknowledged, and so too the consequences of these biased actions must be considered. Richardson's editorial emendations to the works of other authors demonstrate how control over a text and meaning can quickly evolve into control over larger issues, such as gender and empowerment. I have previously argued that editorial actions are actions of power over a text, and that editors have "Liberties" to alter a text according to their personal agendas. In the case of Richardson's editorial emendations
to Lee's quotation, he benignly operates under an authorial agenda, molding Lee's material to better fit the context of the authorially-produced narrative in Clarissa. However, in the example from Waller, Richardson appears to operate under a more malign patriarchal agenda, and he uses his editorial power to endorse the status quo for women. My goal here is not to indict Richardson-the-editor, but instead to illustrate the potential for editors to invoke a gendered form of power and control over not only texts but also over the philosophies and lifestyles advocated by these texts.

Richardson's Table of Contents

Editors act as intermediaries between authors and readers. Richardson functions as both author and editor in Clarissa, and in his dual capacities he has a unique opportunity to control readers' interpretations from two different positions of power. In Clarissa, the editorial and authorial roles intersect in Richardson's "Contents," an index of letters and succinct letter summaries affixed to the end of each volume of the third edition, where the editor directly comments on the authorial text. As I will show in this section, Richardson's commentary in the table of contents is indicative of an editorial agenda which seeks to control meaning. At times, the editorial summaries complement the meaning of the authorial text; at other times, the summaries differ drastically. Because of these conflicting approaches toward the author's text, Richardson's editing is not always forthright and the
intended meaning of the author's text is not always preserved. In this section, then, I will discuss how Richardson builds his editorial credibility and how the need to control meaning undermines his editorial integrity.

Richardson originally compiled the "Contents" for the novel's second edition (1749), where the summaries of each of the novel's letters prefaced the first volume (v—xlviii). Within each letter's summary, Richardson highlights important passages from the novel with italic letters, believing that these responses answered objections made by his critics. In his 12 July 1749 letter to Aaron Hill, Richardson describes the editorial abstractions in the table of contents as not only complementing the authorial meaning of Clarissa but also as conflicting economically with his authorial goals: "I chose in my Second Edition," he tells Hill, "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."³⁶ The "Contents" allow Richardson "to obviate . . . covertly"; that is, as an editor, he silently invokes control over the letters' meaning, seeking to bring the interpretations of his critics into agreement with the intended meaning of his authorial text. The table of contents is still a marginalized component of the apparatus --especially in the third edition, where individual tables are moved to the back of each volume. However, as was the case in his footnotes, Richardson recasts the marginal space

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into a space of authority from which he can redirect interpretations. Richardson's reference to monetary sales is in response to Hill's earlier warning that the compiling of a table of contents "twas dangerous" and in conflict with authorial goals because "mean Book-poachers" will have their "superficial Curiosity" satisfied by the summaries. However, had Richardson been truly concerned with the "Contents" jeopardizing the economic value of his novel, he would not have published it separately as a six-penny pamphlet, advertised in the St. James Evening Post, 13–15 June 1749.

Instead, I believe that Richardson, rather than regretting his decision to index and summarize the letters, is more concerned with mediating between the author and his text, and the table of contents gives him an avenue to do so. In the third edition of Clarissa, Richardson attempts to make the "Contents" more useful by altering their material format. As he announces in his "Preface" to the third edition, "it has been judged advisable to add (and that rather than prefix) to each Volume its particular Contents" (I: x). Richardson then explains that the revised format "will enable the Reader to connect in his mind the perused volume with that which follows; and more clearly shew the characters and view of the particular correspondents" (I: x–xi). In the public forum of the "Preface," Richardson defines the "Contents" as a unifying tool, pragmatically designed to "connect" individual
volumes. Only in his fragmented thought following the semicolon does Richardson announce his interest in advocating a particular meaning for the primary text. However, in the private discourse of his letter to Hill, Richardson explicitly identifies his editorial agenda in creating the table of contents, stating that the editorial device will "Help [readers] to their Recollection, and to their Understanding of it, in the Way I chose to have it understood." Unlike Johnson, who edits Shakespeare under the premise that his own reading is but one of many possible, Richardson privately admits that he mediates in an effort to promote a correct, determinate reading--his reading.

Although Richardson-the-editor seeks control over meaning, he disguises this agenda by building the objectivity of the table of contents. From its first page at the end of Volume I, Richardson's "Contents" exhibit characteristics of an objective editorial apparatus (Figure 5.1). For instance, the brief introduction which Richardson prefixes to the table of contents provides readers with a logical justification for its inclusion. After explaining his altered formatting, Richardson states that the "Contents" will:

serve not only for an INDEX of the principle Historical Matters, but as a Recapitulation, that will enable the Reader, without anticipating Events, to enter into the succeeding Volume with the Attention that is bespoke in favour of a History of Life and Manners; and which, as such, is designed for more than a transitory Amusement. (I: 325).

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CONTENTS of Vol. I.

It is thought fit in this Edition, instead of prefixing the whole Contents to the first Volume (as was done in the last) to subjoin to each its particular Contents: Which will serve not only for an INDEX of the principal Historical Matters, but as a RECAPITULATION, that will enable the Reader, without anticipating Events, to enter into the succeeding Volume with the Attention that is bespoken in favour of a HISTORY of LIFE and MANNERS; and which, as such, is designed for more than a transitory Amusement.

Lett. I. MISS Howe, To Miss Clarissa Harlowe. Delights from her the particulars of the Encounter between Mr. Lovelace and her Brother; and of the usage she receives upon it: Also the whole of her Story from the time Lovelace was introduced as a Suitor to her Sister Arabella. Admires her great qualities, and glories in the friendship between them.

II. III. IV. Clarissa, To Miss Howe. Gives the requested particulars.---Together with the grounds of her Brother's and Sister's ill-will to her; and of the animosity between her Brother and Lovelace.---Her Mother connives at the private correspondence between her and Lovelace, for the sake of preventing greater evils. Character of Lovelace, from an Enemy.---Copy of the preamble to her Grandfather's Will.

V. From the same. Her Father, Mother, Brother, briefly characterized. Her Brother's consequence in the family. Wishes Miss Howe had encouraged her Brother's address. Endeavours to find excuses for her Father's ill temper, and for her Mother's passiveness.

VI. From the same. Mr. Symmes, Mr. Mullins, Mr. Wyserley, in turn, proposed to her, in malice to Lovelace; and, on their being rejected, Mr. Solmer. Leave given her to visit Miss Howe for a few days. Her Brother's inconstant behaviour upon it.

VII. From the same. The harsh reception she meets with on her return from Miss Howe. Solmer's first visit.

VIII. From the same. All her family determined in Solmer's favour. Her aversion to him. She rejects him, and is forbid going to church, visiting, receiving visits, or writing to any body out of the house.

Vol. I.
By classifying the apparatus as an "INDEX" and a "RECAPITULATION," Richardson suggests that he will merely repeat in a more orderly and concise manner useful information from the primary text. When Richardson alludes to his editorial agenda—that the text must be read as "more than a transitory Amusement"—the subtle reference is again unassumingly buried at the end of the compound sentence following the semicolon.

The entries within the table of contents are also constructed with objective characteristics. For instance, the hanging indentation at the left margin isolates the capitalized Roman numeral which identifies each letter and brings an organized connotation to the page. Following the Roman numeral, Richardson’s formatting retains its consistency with a citation naming the letter writer and recipient of each letter. Elsewhere in the "Contents," Richardson demonstrates comprehensive editorial attention to minute details by clarifying the transmission of non-sequential letters. For instance, after Clarissa writes to her sister on 29 July asking for a last blessing, five days pass before Arabella responds on 4 August; because eleven other letters are presented between Clarissa’s request and her sister’s response, Richardson offers the following notation for Arabella’s letter: "XXIII. Arabella, To Clarissa. In Answer to her Letter, N° xi. requesting a Last Blessing" (VII: 430). The summaries themselves are concise, appear complete, and, coupled with Richardson’s frequent use
of fragmented sentences, they exhibit an air of detachment, like notes recording important factual information. The overall organization, attention to details, succinct statements, and scientific trappings of the various Roman numerals give the impression that Richardson-the-editor objectively distills factual information in his table of contents.

Despite their objective appearance, however, Richardson’s summaries are subjective interpretations of the author’s text. By exercising editorial selection (another example of the “Liberties” an editor has in preparing a text for publication), Richardson decides which elements of the various letters to emphasize, and in doing so, he controls the didactic message presented in the table of contents.

First, Richardson uses the “Contents” to define Clarissa’s genre and the audience he sees the text accommodating. Throughout his summaries of the letters, Richardson expands on his introductory statement to the table of contents, where he reminds readers that Clarissa “is designed for more than a transitory Amusement.” In Richardson’s view, Clarissa ought to be read for its lessons and advice, and he uses the table of contents not only as a summary of the letters but also as an index to those passages that he considers to be the most instructive. To facilitate didactic learning, Richardson constructs his entries for each letter around key words and succinct, fragmented summaries for easy consultation. For instance,
parents can use the "Contents" to find "Useful observations in general life" from Anna Howe's "Severe censures of the Harlowe family, for their pride, formality, and other bad qualities" (II: 347). Or, they can find more specific advice pertaining to courtship in a later letter, where Anna offers the "Lesson both to Parents and Children in Love-cases" that "Handsome men seldom make good Husbands" (II: 347). While Richardson also identifies a "Lesson to Children" (III: 351) as well as numerous other precautionary notes to parents, including "An instruction to Mothers" (VI: 428), the didactic lessons outlined in his table of contents are primarily aimed at young women readers. For young women being courted, Clarissa's regret after having fled Harlowe Place with Lovelace can serve as a "Caution ... [to] her Sex with regard to the danger of being misled by the eye" (IV: 378). In the pages following Clarissa's rape, Richardson stresses the utilitarian nature of his heroine's tragedy by noting in the table of contents the "Uses to be made of it to the advantage of her Sex" (VII: 429). Even Lovelace can offer valid advice to young women, as Richardson points out when he summarizes that Lovelace "makes several other whimsical, but characteristic observations, some of which may serve as cautions and warnings to the Sex" (VI: 428).

Richardson not only subtly defines the genre and audience of his novel in the table of contents, but he also uses strong adjectives and telling details to establish
prominent traits for each of the main characters. In the summary of Anna's first letter in Volume I, for instance, Richardson refers to Clarissa's "great qualities" (I: 325). In creating this first impression of his heroine, Richardson-the-editor uses his own words rather than a direct quotation from Anna's letter. Richardson-the-editor chooses what meaning he will distill from the text, and in creating his concise definition of Clarissa's character, he also defines the dominant traits from which Clarissa's future actions should be read. Similarly controlling the initial impressions of other family members, Richardson refers to "her Brother's and Sister's ill-will" (I: 325), "her father's ill temper" (I: 325), "Her Brother's insolent behavior," and "Arabella's malice" (I: 326).

Richardson's negative characterization of these minor characters in the table of contents is understandable, since establishing the antagonism of the Harlowe family in the first volume lends Clarissa's character the motivation necessary for embracing Lovelace. Less expected is Richardson's subtly negative portrayal of Anna--Clarissa's genuine and trustworthy confidant. In at least three instances, Richardson's commentary makes reference to Anna's "humour": her "Humorous description of Mr. Hickman" (II: 347), her "Humorous story of game-chickens" (III: 350), and "Her humorous treatment of Hickman" (IV: 379). Rather than praising Anna for her quickness of repartee or her ability to say something funny (which would more likely have been
signified with the common eighteenth-century term "wit"), Richardson uses the term to quietly denigrate Anna for her overzealous actions. Johnson defines "humorous" in his Dictionary as "Full of grotesque or odd images" and secondarily as "Capricious; irregular" behavior. Both negative denotations can apply to Anna's actions in the primary text, but only if limited details of each incident are selected by the editor. For instance, in Volume II, Anna unflatteringly depicts Hickman, her suitor, as "a sort of fiddling, busy, yet, to borrow a word from you, unbusy man: Has a great deal to do, and seems to me to dispatch nothing" (II: 7). In Volume III, Anna describes her violent actions toward a game-chicken: "I was once so enraged at a game-chicken that was continually pecking at another (a poor humble one, as I thought) that I had the offender caught, and without more ado . . . wrung his neck off" (III: 211). And in Volume IV, she recalls her impatience toward Hickman for his overcautious attention to Lovelace's marriage proposal papers: "I had no patience with him," Anna tells Clarissa, "and snatched them back with anger" (IV: 154).

Richardson's commentary, in each instance, could have portrayed Anna in a more positive manner. In the first, for example, Anna also praises Hickman for being "humane and benevolent" (II: 8); in the second, Anna protects the less fortunate game-chicken—as she also tries to protect Clarissa; and in the third, Anna's overzealous reaction reflects her concern for Clarissa as much as her disdain for
Hickman. Richardson-the-editor, however, elects to highlight Anna’s anti-feminine aspects—her impetuosity, anger, and brashness. The commentary associated with Anna demonstrates how an editor like Richardson can control information and opinions, in this case, evaluating a character with criteria based on her sex.

While the character references discussed above are brief, Richardson spends much more time setting forth Lovelace’s character in the summary of his first letter. A single negative term will not adequately define Lovelace’s evil nature, and thus Richardson presents a catalogue of Lovelace’s faults in the first sentence of his summary: "Pride, Revenge, Love, Ambition, or a Desire of Conquest, his avowedly predominant passions" (I: 327). In his extended summary, Richardson also presents examples of Lovelace’s negative actions, including a reference to "His early vow to ruin as many of the Fair Sex, as he can get into his power." Following these fairly objective descriptions, poetic embellishment overtakes Richardson’s commentary as he explains how Lovelace “Breathes revenge against the Harlowe family,” how he “Glories in his contrivances,” and how he “Is passionately in Love with Clarissa.” Interestingly, Richardson’s synopsis of Lovelace rings with echoes of Satan and Paradise Lost, most explicitly in its use of the abstract terms “Pride,” “Revenge,” and “Ambition.” Richardson’s version of Satan’s council from Book II of Paradise Lost completes his extended
summary: where Satan discusses future plans with Moloch, Belial, Mammon, and Beelzebub, Lovelace "Warns Belford, Mowbray, Tourville, and Belton, to hold themselves in readiness to obey his summons, on the likelihood there is of room for what he calls glorious mischief."

At times, Richardson-the-editor seems unsure that his commentary alone will adequately lead readers to the interpretation he desires. In these instances, Richardson overtly enters the text and speaks through a more authoritative editorial voice. The same editorial voice occasionally emerges in Richardson's footnotes. As was the case in that textual apparatus, the distinct commentary found in the "Contents" also frequently addresses the inattentive readers who have criticized Clarissa. For instance, although Richardson's summary of Clarissa's 17 May letter includes a telling and unmistakable reference to her having assertively "repulse[d] [Lovelace] on a liberty he would have taken," to such an extent that "He is enraged" (IV: 378), Richardson cannot avoid restating the proper interpretation by announcing: "[A Note, defending her conduct from the censure which some have passed upon her as over-nice.]

Richardson's overt entrance into the table of contents is even more extreme in his summary of Anna's 7 June indice letter to Clarissa, perhaps the novel's most important letter. Richardson first summarizes the content of the letter, explicitly emphasizing Anna's admiration of
Clarissa: "In it she acquits Clarissa of Prudery, Coquetry, and undue Reserve. Admires, applauds, blesses her for the example she has set her Sex, and for the credit she has done it, by her conduct in the most difficult situations" (V: 355). Following this conventional summary, Richardson then adds the following reiteration, atypically set completely in an italic font:

This Letter may be considered as a kind of Summary of Clarissa's trials, persecutions, and exemplary conduct hitherto; and of Mr. Lovelace's intrigues, plots, and views, so far as Miss Howe could be supposed to know them, or to guess at them.

The linguistic text—specifically the words—of Richardson's second note expands, though only slightly, on "the most difficult situations" vaguely mentioned in the first. In the second note, the editor reiterates the didactic potential of the primary text by supplementing his initial summary with a positive reference to Clarissa's "exemplary conduct." The negative references to Lovelace's "intrigues, plots, and views" remind readers that he, and not an inherent fault in Clarissa's morality, has brought about her dangerous situation. However, based only on its content, the second note is rather weak, grounded merely on what "Miss Howe could be supposed to know . . . or to guess." The vagueness of both the first and second notes is due to an incongruity between authorial and editorial goals. The didactic, instructive interpretation advocated by Richardson—the-editor in the first note is compromised by
his inability to specifically name "the credit [Clarissa] has done" or "the most difficult situations" which Lovelace has put her through. To do so would jeopardize the plot and intrigue constructed by Richardson-the-author. While the second note expands the information, the authorial necessity of protecting the plot brings more vague commentary from the editor.

The authority and power of the second note come not from the linguistic text but instead from the decisive tone produced by its grammatical construction and material presentation. The atypical use of complete sentences, a hanging left indentation, and the italic font differentiate the statement from other passages in the table of contents and suggest a different editorial voice. Despite the minimal content in the second note, Richardson's invocation of a new editorial voice brings added authority to the table of contents. Rather than hiding behind the "umbrage of the editor's character," as Richardson admits to doing in his "Preface" to Pamela, Richardson here seems to jump forth from the text; he draws attention to himself, exudes confidence, and more forcefully announces the way in which this letter in Clarissa must be read. Richardson again redefines the editor's authority, taking a marginalized, largely empty note and transforming it into an effective interpretive tool. While the details of the note may be scant, the implied main point for readers is clear: Clarissa, with her "exemplary conduct," must be read...
sympathetically, and Lovelace, full of "intrigues," must be condemned.

While Richardson's overt, personal commentary suggests his disdain for Lovelace, his editorial thoughts toward the same character elsewhere in the "Contents" are less emphatic. In other summaries involving Lovelace's letters or his actions, Richardson's editorial selection sometimes makes it difficult for readers to see Lovelace's villainy. For instance, after Clarissa's escape from Harlowe Place, according to Richardson's summary, she "call[s] upon Lovelace to give her a faithful account" of his actions; although Lovelace lies to Clarissa regarding his deceit during the escape (III: 97–100), Richardson's summary mentions only "His confession and daring hints" (III: 348). References to several other notable and thematically significant statements of Lovelace are also conspicuously absent from Richardson's summaries. For instance, in Letter XIX of Volume III, Lovelace provides himself with a memorable epigram when he quotes from Pope the opinion "That every woman is a Rake in her heart" (III: 106). Although a reference to Lovelace's comment would complement the authorial depiction of him as dangerous to women, Richardson instead only vaguely mentions in the "Contents" that Lovelace "Exults in his capacity for mischief" (III: 348). Similarly, although Lovelace openly admits his premeditated willingness to injure Clarissa, mentioning to Belford in his letter of 3 May that "There may possibly be some cruelty
necessary" (IV: 13), Richardson mentions only Lovelace’s
depictive discussion of cruelty to animals: he notes in
the table of contents that Lovelace “endeavours to palliate
his purposes by familiar instances of cruelty to birds,
etc.” (IV: 377).

Richardson’s hesitation at providing specific details
of Lovelace’s profligate behaviors could be dismissed as
another sign of the tension that exists between his
editorial and authorial roles. In other words, Richardson-
the-editor must limit the information summarized, because if
too much of the plot is given away in editorial commentary,
readers will have no need for the text of the novel itself.
However, Richardson’s editorial actions in three of the
novel’s rape-related episodes point to a second explanation:
an editor manipulating information to protect a personal
agenda. Richardson’s commentary for each of the three
letters is marked by vague, almost euphemistic, descriptions
of Lovelace’s violence toward women. In the first, although
Lovelace devises an elaborate plan to rape Anna and her
mother during their shipboard passage to the Isle of Wight
(IV: 253–56), even suggesting that “There is no fear of
being hanged for such a crime” because of his “money [and]
friends” (IV: 260), Richardson notes only “His projected
plot to revenge himself upon Miss Howe” (IV: 381). In the
second, as striking as the brief announcement of Clarissa’s
rape in Letter XXXII is in the primary text of the novel,
Richardson’s editorial reference to the event in the “Contents” is almost invisible to readers:

**Contents of Vol. V.** 357

XXIX. XXX. Lovelace, To Belford. Copy of the Licence; with his observations upon it. His scheme for annual marriages.—He is preparing with Lady Betty and Miss Montague to wait upon Clarissa. Who these pretended Ladies are. How dressed. They give themselves airs as of quality. Humorously instruct them how to act up to their assumed characters.

XXXI. XXXII. From the same. Once more is the charmer of his soul in her old lodgings. Brief account of the horrid imposture. Steele his heart by revengeful recollections. Her agonizing apprehensions. Temporary distraction. Is ready to fall into fits.—But all her distress, all her prayers, her innocence, her virtue, cannot save her from the most villainous outrage.

XXXIII. Belford, To Lovelace. Vehemently inveigh against him. Grieves for the lady. Is now convinced, that there must be a world after this, to do justice to injured merit. Befees him, if he be a man, and not a devil, to do her all the poor justice now in his power.

XXXIV. Lovelace, To Belford. Regret that he ever attempted her. Aims at extenuation. Does he not see, that he has journeyed on to this stage with one determined point in view from the first? She is at present stupefied, he says.

Figure 5.2
“Contents,” Volume V, letter XXXII (V: 357)

Richardson’s de-emphasized formatting of the summary buries the reference to Clarissa’s rape (euphemistically called “the most villainous outrage” (V: 357)) at the end of the paragraph primarily summarizing Letter XXXI, following a polite description of the events leading to the rape itself. And in the third, after Lovelace explains his plan to recapture Clarissa by dressing as a woman—Mother H—and luring her into a sexual attack (VI: 12–13), Richardson refers, again euphemistically, only to Lovelace’s “new contrivance to take advantage of the Lady’s intended escape” (VI: 425).

Richardson’s undiscerning, casual attitude toward the subject of rape, exemplified in his euphemistic descriptions
such as the "projected plot," "the most villainous outrage," and "A new contrivance," parallels that of two of his characters, Lovelace and Belford. Following Lovelace's rape of Clarissa, both male characters euphemistically describe the crime: Belford refers to Clarissa's rape as "her violation" (V: 292) and "the outrage" (V: 293); and Lovelace calls his rape "the affair" (V: 291), "the thing" (V: 300), "a cause so common, and so slight" (V: 301), and "a mere notional violation" (V: 352). Consequently, while the motivation of each person—Richardson, Lovelace, and Belford—for using the less emphatic terms may differ, the expressed attitudes of each toward the rape are very similar. Richardson, Lovelace, and Belford are vague and incomplete in describing matters of gender and violence. All three speak from positions of power in a patriarchal society that does not fully understand the sense of brutality and violation that occurs with the rape of a woman. Like the two characters from his novel, Richardson minimizes the violence and consequences of the rape by renaming the deed and ignoring its severity in his editorial commentary. Richardson, by failing to define the rape of Clarissa as a violent, immoral attack, not only aligns himself with Lovelace but also calls into question the editorial credibility of his table of contents.

My purpose here is to point out that editorial commentary, because it involves the presentation of meaning, is not always a benign, value-free activity. Even in the
"Contents," objectively organized with consistent headings, scientific trappings, and detached, fragmented statements, Richardson still chooses what information to include. Richardson’s summaries are incomplete, and in selecting only the details from the plot that he finds most important, he controls the meaning presented to the readers. Complicating the selection process, Richardson acts as both author and editor. Thus, Richardson-the-editor’s attention to authorial goals may contribute to the situation when his editorial commentary in the "Contents" contradicts his overt, stated disapproval of Lovelace. While Richardson may not mean to minimize Lovelace’s violence toward Clarissa, the fact that he does demonstrates the power that an editor holds over meaning and the perceptions of his readers. The influence that an editor has over texts as well as issues of gender and violence will be important in the next chapter, where characters such as Lovelace and Belford edit with the intention of controlling Clarissa.

Richardson’s "Collection of Sentiments"

In the compilation of aphorisms, cautions, and quotations which has come to be known as the "Collection of Sentiments," Richardson most clearly acts as an editor, independent in his objectives from the author. As the compiler of this material, Richardson is also a gatherer of meaning, and to insure that the meaning he presents complements his editorial agenda, Richardson will occasionally compromise the integrity of the authorial text
in two ways: 1) by taking passages out of context and 2) by altering the text. In this final section, then, I will evaluate Richardson's silent emendations in the "Collection of Sentiments."

While Richardson-the-editor is still concerned with emphasizing the didactic, instructive messages presented in *Clarissa*, he now focuses his attention on the "Sentiments" of the novel rather than on the plot. That is, Richardson privileges the passages themselves, taking them out of the context of the story in an effort to emphasize the meaning they offer. Consequently, the plot becomes fragmented, uncohesive, and infrequently mentioned. For instance, Richardson privileges his own editorial, didactic message over the intrigue of the author's unfolding plot when he figuratively shouts Lovelace's fate, inserting the statement "Lovelace lived not to repent!" into the collection using a bold, gothic font type (Figure 5.3). Because the "Collection of Sentiments" is the component of Richardson's editorial apparatus least influenced by the authorial role, it offers a unique document through which to evaluate his editorial manipulations of the novel and its meaning.

Richardson places the "Collection of Sentiments" at the end of Volume VIII, following the "Conclusion" supposedly written by Belford (VIII: 251–76), Richardson's own "Postscript," in which he refutes "Several Objections . . . to different Parts of the preceding History" (VIII: 277–99), the sonnet "To the Author of *Clarissa*" (VIII: 300–03), and the
38. -Sentiments, &c. extracted from
are taught to fear, can exceed what I now feel, and have felt for this
week past, vii. 375.
What a dreadful thing is after-reflection upon a perverse and unnatural
conduct! viii. 68.
Heavy must be the reflections of those, who, on the loss of a
worthy friend, have acts of unmerited unkindness to that friend to
reproach themselves with, viii. 89.

Repentance. Contrition.

What is it that men propose, who put off Repentance and Amend-
ment, but to live to sense, as long as sense can relish, and
to return when they can sin no longer? iii. 246.
That Contrition for a guilt, under which the guilty, till detected,
was easy, is generally to be ascribed to the detection, and not to a due
sense of the heinousness of the guilt, vi. 58.
Repentance, I have a notion, says Lovelace, should be set about
while a man is in good health and spirits, vii. 375.
What is a man fit for [not a new work, surely!] when he is
not himself, nor master of his faculties? Lovel. ibid.
Hence, as I apprehend, it is, that a death-bed repentance is sup-
pposed to be such a precarious and ineffectual thing, Lovel. ibid.
As to myself, proceeds he, I hope I have a great deal of time before
me, since I intend one day to be a reformed man, vi. 316.

Lovelace lived not to repent!

I have very serious reflections now-and-then; yet am I afraid of
what I was once told, that a man cannot repent when he will— Not
to hold it, I suppose is meant—I have repented by fits and starts a
thousand times, Level. ibid.
Laugh at me, if thou wilt, says Belford, but never, never more will
I take the liberties I have done; but whenever I am tempted, think
of Belton’s dying agonies, and what my own may be, vii. 192.
The most hopeful time for Repentance is when the health is found,
when the intellects are untouched, and while it is in a person’s power
to make some reparation to the injured or milled, vii. 194. See also
iii. 114.
Reparation should always follow Repentance, vii. 263.
That Repentance, which precedes the suffering that follows a wrong
step, must generally be well-grounded and happy, viii. 28.
Repentance, to such as have lived only carelessly, and in the omis-
sion of their regular duties, is not so easy— a task, nor so much is
their power, as some imagine, viii. 114. See also v. 357.
No false colouring, no glosses, does a truly penitent man aim at,
[See Remorse. Religion.


That Reproof that favours more of the cautioning friend, that
of the satirizing observer, always calls for gratitude, i. 258.
Reproofs, to be efficacious, should be mild, gentle, and unproaching
ibid. 89.

Figure 5.3
Gothic type font
(VIII: 384)

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"Contents of Vol. VIII (304–08). In his "Preface," Richardson describes the "Collection of Sentiments" as a non-authorial text: "An ingenious Gentleman having made a Collection of many of the Moral and Instructive Sentiments in this History, and presented it to the Editor, he thought the design and usefulness of the Work could not be more strikingly exhibited, than by inserting it (greatly enlarged) at the end of the last volume" (I: xi). The introduction of the "ingenious Gentleman" would at first seem to be a fictional guise to account for the didactic collection. However, I agree with Sale and Eaves and Kimpel, who assert that this anonymous compiler was in fact Solomon Lowe, an admirer of Richardson's who believed that a fictional text such as Clarissa would benefit from an index like those in the Tatler and Spectator. In May, 1748, Lowe wrote to Richardson, enclosing the beginning of an index to Clarissa. Richardson expanded Lowe's initial text, though unfortunately, with the early version nonextant, it is unknown which entries were written by Lowe. Eventually, Richardson compiled indexes for both Pamela and Sir Charles Grandison, and, combined with the "Collection of Sentiments" from Clarissa's third edition, they were published on 6 March 1755 in 410 duodecimo pages as A Collection of Moral and Instructive Sentiments. Although Richardson's sentiments today are frequently dismissed as "a curiosity of literature," they were extremely popular in Richardson's
day, with Johnson offering the compliment that there are
"few sentiments that might not be traced up to Homer,
Shakespeare & Richardson." [5]

As he did in the "Contents," Richardson formats the
"Collection of Sentiments" with an objective appearance,
emphasizing the didactic importance of the information
presented. The title page (Figure 5.4) is bordered at the
top with a printer's ornament containing at its center a
stoic woman's silhouette. Much older than the young lady's
silhouette found on the first page of Volume I which I
discussed in Chapter 2, this image suggests Clarissa's aging
during the preceding eight volumes. The young bird atop the
ornamental initial complements the woman's portrait by
suggesting the young minds that will be nurtured by the
wisdom of Clarissa's experiences found in the maxims of the
"Collection of Sentiments." Richardson formats this
component of the editorial apparatus like a lexicon, with a
heading followed by practical examples that concretize the
abstraction. In all, the "Collection of Sentiments" fills
eighty-seven duodecimo pages and contains 134 headings,
ranging from "Adversity. Affliction. Calamity. Misfortune." (VIII: 309-10) to "Youth" (VIII: 395-96), including the
longest entry, "Advice and Cautions to Women" (VIII: 310-
15). Under the heading, Richardson chronologically orders
each reference, although if a single reference contains
multiple citations, Richardson will occasionally list them
nonchronologically (for instance, "Calamity calls out the

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A COLLECTION
OF SUCH OF THE
Moral and Instructive Sentiments,
CONTAINED IN THE
PRECEDING HISTORY,
As are presumed to be of
GENERAL USE and SERVICE.
Digested under Proper HEADS.

With References to the Volume, and Page, where each Sentiment, Caution, Aphorism, Reflection, or Observation, is to be found.


GREAT allowance ought to be made for the warmth of a spirit embitter'd by undeserved disgraces, vol. i. p. 214.
People in Misfortune are apt to construe even unavoidable accidents into faults or neglects, ii. 145.

Adversity is the state of trial of every good quality, ii. 149.
People in Adversity should endeavour to preserve laudable customs, that so, if sunshine return, they may not be losers by their trials, ibid. iii. 44.

When Calamities befal us, we ought to look into ourselves, and fear, ii. 238. 246.

Misfortunes are often sent to reduce us to a better reliance than that we have been accustomed to fix upon, ii. 245. v. 338. 339.
No one is out of the reach of Misfortune. No one therefore should glory in his prosperity, ii. 245.
fortitude that distinguishes a spirit truly noble, vii. 318. See also iv. 64, vi. 119." (VIII: 310)). In addition to the consistent formatting, Richardson suggests the objectivity of the apparatus with the scientific trappings of exact page references and numerous "See also . . ." citations.

The objective appearance lends credibility to Richardson’s statement on the first page of the "Collection of Sentiments" that the didactic maxims are "CONTAINED IN THE PRECEDING HISTORY" (VIII: 309). The implied premise behind the "Collection of Sentiments," then, is that the apparatus is a straightforward compilation of passages taken directly from the primary text of Clarissa. At times, Richardson does accurately transcribe the text of the novel, as shown in a maxim from Lovelace cited under "Anger. Displeasure":

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Nothing can be lovely in a man’s eye, with which he is thoroughly displeased (V: 12).
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Nothing can be lovely in a man’s eye with which he is displeased (VIII: 315).
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Richardson—the-editor removes the adverb "thoroughly" from the collected passage, but other than creating a less-emphatic thought, he retains the basic meaning of the original statement. Also, Richardson is capable of objectively summarizing action, as shown in his distillation of Clarissa’s thoughts in an entry under "Advice and Cautions to Women":

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For some doubts perhaps such a man might have of the future conduct of a creature whom he could induce to correspond with him against parental prohibition, and against the lights which her judgment threw in upon her. (V: 196)

"Collection"
Clarissa apprehends that Lovelace might have ground to doubt her conduct, from having been able to prevail upon her to correspond with him against paternal prohibition, and the light of her own judgment. (VIII: 313)

In the passage from the "Collection of Sentiments,"
Richardson embellishes the urgency of Clarissa's statement by adding the strong verb "apprehends." Additionally, he denigrates Lovelace's character by making him the active cause of Clarissa's indiscretion, emending the verb "induce" to "prevail." Although the diction and organization of the passage has been slightly altered, the didactic point, regarding the necessity for submission to parents and reason, remains the same in the collected passage.

However, Richardson's maxims, aphorisms, and textual examples are not always representative of the narrative, and the integrity of the original meaning does not always remain intact. Instead, as was the case with the quotations taken from Bysshe, Richardson exercises his editorial "Liberties" and manipulates the primary text; he rewrites sentiments, emphasizes morals only implied in the actual narrative, and even adds his own new thoughts to the purportedly uncorrupted examples. At no point in Clarissa or in his own personal correspondence does Richardson allude to his editorial emendations and manipulations. The meaning of the
text presented by Richardson in the "Collection of Sentiments" is drastically different, at times, from the meaning presented in the letters of Clarissa, Anna, Lovelace, and Belford. Richardson's ability to silently emend the text, as I will show, speaks to the power which the editor possesses.

One strategy employed by Richardson in the "Collection of Sentiments" to promote his didactic editorial agenda is to keep the text intact but to dismiss the context when citing a passage. In other words, although the text cited in the entry is essentially the same, the context in which the statement initially occurs in the authorial text is ignored, effectively causing the meaning of the passage to change. For instance, under the heading of "Love at first Sight," Richardson includes the following statement, with only two minor emendations to the accidentals (adding an upper-case "A" at the beginning of the sentence and a comma after "themselves"): "All women, from the Countess to the Cook-maid, are put into high good humour with themselves, when a man is taken with them at first sight, Lovel. v. 165" (VIII: 356). The reference to Lovelace as the speaker of the statement is atypical for Richardson, although even this detail does not provide readers with the complete narrative context. Following the quoted material, Lovelace continues in the primary text with the statement that "Be they ever so plain [No woman can be ugly, Jack!] they'll find twenty good reasons, besides the great one (for Sake's sake) by the help
of the glass without (and perhaps in spite of it) and conceit within, to justify the honest fellow's caption" (V: 165). In Richardson's quotation, "All women" are faulted for their tendency toward self-indulgence. Yet in the primary text of his 10 June letter, Lovelace is ironically disparaged, not "All women," because of his overconfident tone and rakish attitude.

Although Richardson generalizes about women in this entry, later in the "Collection of Sentiments," in an entry under "Reflections on Women," he criticizes Anna Howe for doing the same: "Women, according to Miss Howe [some only she must mean] are mere babies in matrimony; perverse fools, when too much indulged and humour'd; creeping slaves, when treated with harshness, ii. 16" (VIII: 379). Richardson's inconsistency, I believe, points to a privileging of his didactic editorial point over the integrity of the author's text. That is, he finds his own editorial generalization acceptable because it allows him to advance his didactic point warning women against self-indulgence. However, by removing the quotation from its initial context and subverting the authorial meaning in an effort to advance a caution to women, Richardson provides Lovelace with an authoritative didactic voice in the "Collection of Sentiments." Lovelace in effect becomes a character to heed rather than to avoid.

In the previous example, Richardson shows his willingness in the "Collection of Sentiments" to present
meaning which differs from that in the authorial text. In Richardson’s second strategy for promoting his didactic editorial agenda, he alters not only the meaning but also the text itself. At times, Richardson’s emendations to the primary text are rather minor, though they nonetheless alter the authorial meaning. For instance, in an entry under “Advice and Cautions to Women,” Richardson emends a rhetorical question of Clarissa’s into an assertive statement of fact: “Young Ladies should endeavour to make up for their defects in one part of their education, by their excellence in another, viii. 208” (VIII: 315). Whereas in the primary text Clarissa can only suggest the advice to Anna, in the second, Richardson-the-editor’s slight change to the accidental allows him to state the didactic information with more credibility. Additionally, Richardson’s willingness to alter the authorial text extends to direct quotations, as seen in the following example from a conversation of Clarissa’s as reported by Lovelace:

```plaintext
primary text
You, Sir, I thank you, have lowered my Fortunes:
But I bless God, that my Mind is not sunk, with my Fortunes. It is, on the contrary, raised above Fortune, and above You; (V: 129)

“Collection of Sentiments”
How glorious it is for a woman reduced to the greatest distress by an ungrateful Lover to say, as Clarissa does, “you, Sir, I thank you, have lower’d my fortunes; but, I bless God, my mind is not sunk with my fortunes: It is on the contrary, raised above you!” (VIII: 357)
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In the passage from the "Collection of Sentiments," Richardson's subjective language introducing the statement provides a new context for the quotation. As is common in the early novel, the fallen woman becomes "glorious" and valued for her perseverance. Regarding the direct quotation itself, the loss of capital letters in "mind" and "fortunes" in a sense restores the voice to Clarissa, as the capital letters are signifiers of Lovelace's writing. Also, the deletion of the third "fortune" from the original quotation (an allusion to the personified power who controls events) places blame for Clarissa's fall solely with Lovelace. Richardson's emendations illustrate his willingness to silently alter and control the meaning of the authorial text, even when dealing with directly quoted material. In this instance, the editorial changes complement and accentuate the authorial text as Lovelace is depicted more overtly as the cause of Clarissa's hardships.

Richardson's editorial emendations to the authorial text are not always as benign as those in Lovelace's previous statement. At times, the rewritten text presented in the "Collection of Sentiments" advocates a didactic message which differs from that suggested by the authorial text. For instance, under the heading "Advice and Cautions to Women," Richardson endorses the status quo for women when he expresses the sentiment that "The practical knowledge of the domestic duties is the principal glory of a woman, viii. 204" (VIII: 315). However, examination of the statement's
antecedent in the authorial text uncovers a drastically different meaning. In her 12 October letter to Belford, Anna praises the merits of the now deceased Clarissa, including her skills as “an excellent OECOMONIST and HOUSEWIFE” (VIII: 203). According to Anna, Clarissa advocated a pragmatic approach to household duties, believing that a woman should not neglect “those more necessary, and therefore, not meaner employments, which will qualify her to be a good Mistress of a family, a good Wife, and a good Mother” (VIII: 204). From this statement, Richardson derives his maxim for the “Collection of Sentiments,” although his flourish of “the principal glory” is not found in Anna’s letter. More troubling than Richardson’s embellishment is his dismissal of Clarissa’s important qualifying thoughts. Rather than describing women as fit solely for domestic duties, Clarissa instead advanced a more progressive view of women’s capabilities, having believed that “All that a woman can learn . . . above the useful knowledge proper to her Sex, let her learn” (VIII: 203). Nowhere in the “Collection of Sentiments” does Richardson—the-editor include Clarissa’s thoughts on education—not even under “Education” (VIII: 333–34) or “Learning” (VIII: 352). Richardson uses his editorial powers of revision to form a didactic message differing from that in the authorial text, which presents Clarissa’s initial statement. Unlike the authorial text, which frequently seems to advocate new and at least slightly more powerful roles for women, the
"Collection of Sentiments," with its revised texts, suggests that women continue to conform to the eighteenth-century status quo.

Richardson further undermines Clarissa’s voice in the "Collection of Sentiments" when he comments on her thoughts regarding the reformation of rakes. Given that a stated authorial goal of Clarissa is to dispel the notion “That a reformed Rake makes the best Husband” (“Preface,” I: viii), it is surprising that the “Collection of Sentiments” devotes less than a column to the heading “Reformation. Conviction. Conversion” (VIII: 381–82) (just slightly more than the space allotted to “Comedies. Tragedies. Music. Dancing” (VIII: 320)). Midway through his entries under the heading, following Clarissa’s statement that “There is more hope of the Reformation of a man of sense, than of a fool” (VIII: 381), Richardson overtly enters the text with the same distinct editorial voice used in both the footnotes and the “Contents.” Critiquing Clarissa’s thought, and consequently also discrediting the authorial text, Richardson—the-editor announces: “But this is a delusive hope, and has been the cause of great mischief; for who thinks not the man she loves a man of sense? The observations that follow are more the truth, and deserve to be well considered” (VIII: 381–82). If Clarissa’s statement is indeed dangerous, and thus not of “General Use and Service” as proclaimed on the title page to the “Collection of Sentiments,” then it follows that the editor would simply choose not to include the statement.
Richardson, however, uses the "delusive" sentiment to enter the text overtly and to invoke his own editorial power by proclaiming where in fact "the truth" can be found.

Although Richardson asserts that "The observations that follow are more the truth," the statements that he presents as counterexamples to Clarissa's are not always accurate representations of the primary text. The "truth" Richardson identifies, then, is sometimes an editorial construct. For instance, the second maxim cited by Richardson—"The man of parts and abilities, who engages in a baseness, knowing it to be so, is less likely to be reclaimed, than one who errs from want of knowlege, or due conviction, vi 124" (VIII: 382)—is not located in the primary text, neither on the page cited nor on the surrounding pages. In addition to blatantly inserting his own statements, Richardson also silently emends authorial texts. For instance, although Anna views Belford's reformation cautiously—"If your reformation be sincere," she tells him, "you will not be offended that I do not except you" when describing rakish behaviors (VIII: 175)—Richardson makes her statement more emphatic: "The sincerity of that man's Reformation is hardly to be doubted, who can patiently bear being reminded of his past follies" (VIII: 382).

Similarly recasting "the truth," Richardson takes a flippant, equivocal statement uttered by Lovelace during his "Tryal" at the hands of Lord M and his cousins (VI: 203–28) and turns it into a credible maxim. Even though Lovelace
admits to Belford that his comments were designed as manipulative prattle (VI: 211), Richardson confidently announces that "Lovelace himself observes," that "Women think, that the reclaiming of a man from bad habits . . . is a much easier task than in the nature of things it can be" (VIII: 382). Lovelace's sentiment is essentially the same as Clarissa's "man of sense" statement objected to by Richardson: the one faults women for being deceived by men of "sense" and the other for succumbing to men with "bad habits." Despite their similar content, Richardson-the-editor endorses Lovelace's statement as "the truth," when in fact, a main point of the authorial text is that for Lovelace, there is no truth: he is willing to alter any text, any thoughts, and any person's actions in order to satisfy his own desires. In undermining Clarissa's initial statement, Richardson constructs the editorial space of the "Collection of Sentiments" as a site of authority--his authority. However, Richardson's need to create a powerful editorial voice--one that usurps the privileged position of his title character Clarissa--leads him to acquiesce to Lovelace's rhetoric, to the extent that he assigns authority to the rake's indeterminate, ambiguous statement and accepts it as "the truth." In this last instance, Lovelace becomes Richardson-the-editor's spokesman, and both men are positioned in opposition to Clarissa.

In a novel such as Clarissa, which is filled with indeterminate linguistic and material texts, and
consequently with indeterminate meaning, Richardson’s announcement of having located “the truth” is troubling. In fact, Richardson’s main point concerning the reformation of rakes, following his editorial outburst, is no different from that presented in Clarissa’s text which he criticizes: reformation is a difficult if not unlikely task, and any woman who thinks otherwise is endangering herself. However, rather than subordinating himself to Clarissa and emphasizing her authorial, didactic point, Richardson-the-editor appropriates her information by positioning himself as the more credible, authoritative speaker. In the previous examples from the “Collection of Sentiments,” Richardson silently emends the texts and information presented. Therefore, without consulting the actual letters in the primary text, readers are unaware of Richardson’s editorial changes. From this position of unchecked power, Richardson must choose whether to faithfully edit the authorial text or whether to privilege his own editorial voice. Both choices are made in the “Collection of Sentiments,” demonstrating that a text prepared for publication by an editor is by no means guaranteed to be an ideal representation of the authorial text.

Conclusion

Like many eighteenth- and twentieth-century editors, Samuel Richardson was more impressive in his editorial theory than in his practice. Richardson understood that earlier texts in an ancestral series tend to contain fewer
corruptions, and so to bring credibility to his novel, he (reportedly) consults manuscripts in order to restore missing letters to Clarissa's third edition. He also understood that authorial texts sometimes require explication of difficult passages, and thus his apparatus to Clarissa contains expansive commentary. However, in practice, Richardson's editorial method creates as many new difficulties as it solves. The text Richardson establishes is dubious: his "restorations" have been shown to be questionable and his use of full-points incomplete. His commentary, while at times objective and complementary to the authorial text, is inconsistent at best: his interpretations frequently distort or alter the meaning of the primary text and his editorial voice often overpowers the author's text. Consequently, Richardson's commentary adds another level of interpretation to the novel which must be addressed by the readers.

While Richardson's edited text is not exemplary, it is useful for observing an editor's interactions with an author's words and thoughts. Editing for Richardson is a creative endeavour grounded in the presentation of meaning—sometimes a reiteration or explanation of the author's meaning and, at other times, meaning as the editor would have it expressed. As an editor who constructs a wide-ranging apparatus, Richardson becomes a character in his own novel who speaks from formerly marginalized places in the apparatus. Readers must analyze and interpret the editorial
material Richardson presents, for while his didactic thoughts are often germane and useful, his editorial work is not always reliable.

I have pointed out and discussed Richardson’s faulty editing—his contradictory agendas, subjective commentary, insistence on prescribing determinate meaning in a text filled with indeterminacy—because characters within Clarissa’s fictional landscape engage in similar editorial activities. While Richardson’s inconsistent editing may jeopardize his credibility as an editor, the consequences for characters in Clarissa can be even more extreme. As I will discuss in the next chapter, familiar letters in Clarissa are subjected to “fictional editing” with an assortment of outcomes, ranging from accurately established texts to the letter writer’s subjectivity being altered because of illicit textual corruptions.

Notes to Chapter 5


2 Richardson uses the term “Liberties” again in his 19 November 1757 letter to Lady Dorothy Bradshaigh. Concerning the preparation of their correspondence for eventual publication, Richardson asks: “Shall I send your Ladiship two or three of ye Books, to see what I have taken Liberties with, and for yr additional Erasures, or Omissions, or Alterations?” See Selected Letters of Samuel Richardson, ed. John Carroll (Oxford: Clarendon Press, 1964), 336. Unless otherwise noted, all references to Richardson’s letters will be drawn from this edition.


7 Carroll, 176.

8 Richardson explains these pressures in the Preface to the third edition:

Fault having been bound, particularly by elderly Readers, and by some who have weak Eyes, with the Smallness of the Type, on which some Parts of the Three last Volumes [of the second edition] were printed (which was done in order to bring the Work, that had extended to an undesirable Length, into as small a Compass as possible) the present Edition is uniformly printed on the larger-sized Letter of the three made use of before. But the doing this, together with the Additions above-mentioned, has unavoidably run the Seven Volumes into Eight. (I: ix–x)

9 O M Brack points out that Van Marter does not distinguish which copies she collates, thus apparently working under the assumption that every copy of each edition is the same. For Richardson the master printer, Brack suggests that “this assumption is unlikely to be true.” See O M Brack, Jr., “Clarissa’s Bibliography: Problems and Challenges. A Bibliographical Essay,” in *Letters and Passages Restored*, vol. 2 of *Richardson’s Published Commentary on Clarissa, 1747–1765*, ed. Florian Stuber, Margaret Anne Doody, Jim Springer Borck, and Thomas Keymer, 3 vols. (London: Pickering & Chatto, 1998), 309.

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For attributions to the two poems, see William Merritt Sale, Jr., *Samuel Richardson: A Bibliographical Record of His Literary Career with Historical Notes* (New Haven: Yale University Press, 1936), 57.

In his “Postscript” which precedes Duncombe’s poem, Richardson sets forth an elaborate authorial statement in response to what he describes in the headnote as “Several Objections that have been made, as well to the Catastrophe as to different Parts of the preceding History” (VIII: 277). To reform what he perceives as misreadings concerning Clarissa’s fate, Richardson spends the greatest amount of time defending his authorial decision to deny Clarissa the “Fortunate Ending” (VIII: 277) which many readers had requested.

More concerned with his didactic message than with a Romantic plot, Richardson subscribes to the theory of “future Hope” (VIII: 279), and he tells his readers that “The Author of the History (or rather Dramatic Narrative) of Clarissa, is therefore well justified by the Christian System, in deferring to extricate suffering Virtue to the time in which it will meet with the Completion of its Reward [in Heaven]” (VIII: 280).


Cosgrove defines “Objectivity” as “thinking uncontaminated by prejudices personal, professional, national, or ideological” (131).

For instance, “you must remember (a), that” (I: 281).
Identifying the marginalized status of annotations, Thomas E. Toon states that "Annotations in modern books are literally marginalized by the text or, perhaps it is more accurate to say, by the editors of the text. They seem somehow outside the text, that is, other than (or different from) the text." See "Dry-Point Annotations in Early English Manuscripts: Understanding Texts and Establishing Contexts," in Annotation and Its Texts, ed. Stephen A. Barney (New York and Oxford: Oxford University Press, 1991), 74.


Richardson's heavy use of quotations may be an overcompensation for his self-perceived lack of education. In his 3 May 1750 letter to David Graham, for instance, Richardson laments that "The very great Advantage of an Academical Education I have wanted." See Carroll, 158.

Alan Dugald McKillop, the first to note that many of Richardson's quotations came from eighteenth-century conduct books, states that Richardson draws material from Gildon's Art of Poetry (1718) and the Thesaurus Dramaticus (1724), as well as from Bysshe. See McKillop, Samuel Richardson: Printer and Novelist (Chapel Hill: University of North Carolina Press, 1936), 141.
Carroll identifies that the many proverbial statements uttered by Lord M are largely drawn from a 1678 collection of John Ray's proverbs. See Carroll, "On Annotating," 63.

25 Bysshe's *Art of English Poetry* is divided into three sections: I) Rules for making verses; II) A Collection of the most Natural, Agreeable, and Sublime Thoughts, viz. Allusions, Similes, Descriptions, and Characters, of Persons and Things; that are to be found in the best English Poets; and III) A Dictionary of Rhymes. Culler points out that section II fills four-fifths of the book and consists of 2,693 quotations contained under five hundred topics (867).


28 Culler, 864.


32 Bysshe, 286, s.v. "Morning."

33 Bysshe, 257, s.v. "Protestations of Love."

34 Bysshe, 477, s.v. "Woman."

35 Beasley states that: "In the end, Richardson repudiates the world's corruptions, affirming the redemptive idealism of patriarchal ideology by causing Clarissa to trust her fate to heaven and to the ultimate source of that idealism, God the Father." See Jerry C. Beasley, "Richardson's Girls: The Daughters of Patriarchy in *Pamela*, *Clarissa*, and *Sir Charles Grandison*," in *New Essays on Samuel Richardson*, ed. Albert J. Rivero (New York: St. Martin's Press, 1996), 41.

Aaron Hill to Richardson, 10 July 1749. See Carroll, Selected Letters, 125, n. 17.

Carroll, Selected Letters, 125, n. 17; Sale, Bibliographical Record, 25. Sale points out that Lady Bradshaigh was unable to purchase a copy of the pamphlet from Rivington’s book shop in January 1750.

Richardson to Aaron Hill, 10 July 1749. See Carroll, Selected Letters, 126.

Samuel Johnson, A Dictionary of the English Language, 1st ed., s.v. “humorous.”

Milton was a frequent topic of discussion in literary circles around the time of Clarissa’s publication. In 1750, William Lauder published his claims that Milton had plagiarized Renaissance Latin poets in writing Paradise Lost. Lauder initially convinced Samuel Johnson of his claims, with Johnson even supplying a preface for Lauder’s An Essay on Milton’s Use and Imitation of the Moderns in his Paradise Lost (1750). After John Douglas exposed Lauder’s fraud in his pamphlet Milton Vindicated, Johnson issued a retraction (1751).

Also in 1750, Johnson wrote A Prologue to Comus to aid Milton’s granddaughter, and in 1751 he composed four Rambler essays concerning the verse form in Paradise Lost.


Richardson errs in the first sentence of his summary, describing the indice letter as “A Letter to Miss Howe from Clarissa” (V: 355). In fact, the letter is from Anna to Clarissa, as Lovelace states in the primary text, telling Belford: “A Letter is put into my hands by Wilson himself—Such a Letter! A Letter from Miss Howe to her cruel friend!” (V: 29).


In Of the Characters of Women: An Epistle to a lady (1735), Pope writes: “But every woman is at heart a Rake.” See Ross, 1515 (fn. 1, L115).

The full title is “A Collection of Such of the Moral and Instructive Sentiments, Contained in the Preceding History,
As are presumed to be of General Use and Service" (VIII: 309).

46 Richardson offers a similar explanation in the Forster Manuscripts, writing on 3 May 1750 that:

A Gentleman to whom I had not at the time the Pleasure to be known, having amused himself with collecting many of the moral Sentiments scatter’d thro’ the Volumes [of Clarissa], of which he was so good as to make me a Present, I think to enlarge his Collection, and insert it at the End of the Work [in the third edition]. (XV, 2, f. 85)

See Sale, Bibliographical Record, 95–96.


48 Forster MSS., XV, 2, f. 101. See Sale, Bibliographical Record, 96.

49 Sale, Bibliographical Record, 95–97.

50 Eaves and Kimpel, 422.

51 “Marginalia in Mrs. Piozzi’s copy of Boswell’s Life, quoted in Powell’s edition of Birkbeck Hill, IV, 524n.” See Eaves and Kimpel, 588, n. 94.
CHAPTER 6
"I HAVE CHANGED OR OMITTED SOME FREE WORDS":
FICTIONAL EDITING AND EDITORIAL INTENTION IN CLARISSA

Editors edit because texts often fail to do what editors want them to do. There are differences of desire among editors that lead them to do things in different ways—to value some aspects of text over others, to admit into the text some things but not others.—Peter L. Shillingsburg

Unfortunately editors are not always people who can be trusted.—M. L. West

Introduction

In the previous chapter, I discussed Samuel Richardson's role as an eighteenth-century editor of Clarissa. Through an examination of his diverse textual apparatus, including footnotes, intertextual quotations, a table of characters, and the "Collection of Moral and Instructive Sentiments," I demonstrated that Richardson's editorial actions are not always faithful to the primary text, whether that text be the novel itself or the work of another author. Examples of Richardson's dubious editing include silently altering texts and presenting passages out of context. While Richardson's emendations can often be traced to his authorial need to protect the novel's plot, his silent editorial manipulations are not always benign. Richardson frequently emends meaning to the extent that he creates an essentially new text, one which contradicts the meaning of the original. Gender appears to inform Richardson's editorial actions as he advocates the status quo for women in his commentary, despite more progressive
representations of women in the primary text. Although the term "edited" often carries an implicit authority, Richardson’s actions demonstrate that edited texts are not always accurate texts. As I argued in the last chapter, editorial corruption must be anticipated and examined, because deceitful editors affect not only the status of the text but also the voice and representation of the author.

In this chapter, using the background developed in Chapter 4 and Chapter 5, I will discuss the characters in Clarissa as editors. My examination of what I will refer to as "fictional editing" requires a shift in traditional assumptions concerning the narrative design of Richardson’s novel. Critics often describe Clarissa as a novel about writing—an accurate, yet limited, assessment given the characters’ many self-conscious references to paper, pens, seals, handwriting, and transmission. Additionally, critics frequently attribute the appeal of Clarissa to the “writing to the moment” immediacy of the novel’s familiar letters. While the writing of letters certainly figures prominently in the novel, I find the emphasis on initial composition shortsighted. As I will show, after many letters in Clarissa are first written, characters subsequently examine, annotate, alter, collate, and “publish” them in different ways. These editorial actions, I argue, expand the narrative beyond the initial act of writing and complicate the issues of characterization and subjectivity inherent in the familiar letter. As was the case with Richardson-the-
editor, a character's sex informs fictional editing. Both male and female characters vie for the opportunity to edit texts in Clarissa, because with the ability to edit comes the power to control events and lives. Editorial prerogative in Clarissa must be invoked and sustained, and, as I will show, the ability to perpetuate oneself as an editor assures characters that their interests and, more importantly, their subjectivity will be protected.

Literary Criticism and Fictional Editing

Because of the traditional separation of textual and literary studies, few critics have examined the editing of characters in Clarissa. As I discussed in Chapter 2, the best-known editorial / textual studies of Clarissa, including those by T. C. Duncan Eaves and Ben D. Kimpel, Mark Kinkead-Weekes, Shirley Van Marter, and Florian Stuber, focus on Richardson's own composition process and the history of the book. Although two important literary studies of Richardson and the eighteenth-century novel suggest the importance of editorial actions in Clarissa's plot, both fail to specifically address editing because of their overemphasis on the initial, authorial composition of letters. John Preston, in The Created Self: The Reader's Role in Eighteenth-Century Fiction, sounds much like a textual critic when he describes Clarissa as a novel "made up of documents, and the documents are what the book is about"; later, after introducing the indice letter, he
states that "The book begins to seem to be about the literary evidence itself, letters rather than people." Preston limits the production of these "documents" and "literary evidence" to authors engaged in the act of writing: "In this novel the only activity rendered with immediacy is that of letter-writing. The characters exist within the limits of letters." As a result of his overemphasis on the author, Preston fails to account for the many letters in Clarissa that characters other than the author revise and alter following the initial composition. Preston's dismissal of subsequent editorial actions is significant, because, as he correctly notes, characters "exist" through their letters. Consequently, as I will emphasize in this chapter, the altering of texts affects representations of subjectivity as well as words.

Like Preston, Terry Castle, in Clarissa's Ciphers: Meaning and Disruption in Richardson's "Clarissa," also discusses characters as writers and readers, with no reference to them as editors. Castle's diction, like Preston's, vaguely suggests editorial concerns without addressing them directly. Discussing the indeterminacy of meaning in the epistolary genre, for example, Castle writes:

Letters fail to disclose transparent meanings in Clarissa: again and again we watch readers construe them variously—misreading according to desires and prejudices, extracting private meanings, none of which may have anything to do with the letter writer's intentions. Estranged from its authorial source, the letter becomes a profoundly indeterminate structure: it conveys no essential significance, but allows itself to be
perused creatively—its "Hints" drawn out, its meaning(s) supplied—by its reader.\textsuperscript{5}

Castle attributes the indeterminate meaning of epistolary texts to linguistic causes, describing how once a text leaves the author, the meaning of the words is open to interpretation by the individual reader. In other words, Castle's explanation is similar to W. K. Wimsatt and M. C. Beardsley's theory of the intentional fallacy (discussed below), which says that the author's intended meaning cannot be recovered definitively. However, as I will discuss in this chapter, the indeterminacy of epistolary texts in Clarissa is not only a linguistic phenomena. Rather, indeterminacy grows not only from the nature of language but also from the physical vulnerability of the epistolary genre. The familiar letter, as seen in Clarissa, is an unstable text because its material construction (wax seals, no envelopes) and its manner of transmission (unsecured posts, unreliable third parties) encourages duplicitous readers to intercept letters and to alter words and meaning. Although Castle correctly views characters in Clarissa as readers, she nonetheless overlooks the fact that they, while reading, can also act as editors who consciously manipulate texts in order to "extract private meaning" and to gain power by undermining "the letter writer's intentions." In other words, fictional editors in Clarissa externally encourage textual indeterminacy by intercepting and revising important letters.
When literary critics discuss elements of fictional editing in *Clarissa*, the infrequent references generally describe the action in generic terms, without reference to either eighteenth- or twentieth-century editorial theory and without evaluating the impact of the editing. For instance, Florian Stuber briefly digresses in his insightful introduction to the AMS Press facsimile third edition to describe Anna Howe as "editing Clarissa’s text, rewriting Clarissa’s letter [and] quoting significant phrases."\(^6\) Glen M. Johnson, within his discussion of Richardson’s footnotes, mentions Lovelace’s use of "underscoring" to highlight "added passages from his forged letter from Anna Howe to Clarissa."\(^7\) Kevin L. Cope briefly notes that "Clarissa and her colleagues never stop indexing and enumerating."\(^8\) More importantly, Cope also recognizes that not all editors are conscientious and forthright, referring to "A rascal like Lovelace [who] misemploys editorial prerogative" in his misquoting of the bible and the libertine Shaftesbury.\(^9\)

Curtis Wayne Bobbitt offers the longest extended examination of fictional editors in his 1989 unpublished dissertation, "Internal and External Editors of Samuel Richardson’s *Clarissa*."\(^10\) Bobbitt describes how characters "edit the novel’s narrative present" with six basic techniques: redirecting letters, commenting on style and content, abridging or summarizing letters, altering letters or presenting them out of their chronological order, cross-referencing letters, and footnoting.\(^11\) Because Bobbitt, like
Stuber and Johnson, accepts editors as benign textual influences, he fails to examine the consequences of characters’ editorial actions. For instance, Bobbitt describes Belford (incorrectly) as an editor who rarely alters letters “except through omission.” Editorial omission can significantly alter a letter’s meaning with deleterious consequences, however, as when Belford manipulates extracts in order to convince Clarissa to use Lovelace’s accounts of key episodes in her collected letters: Belford admits to Lovelace that “I have changed or omitted some free words. The warm [sexualized] description of her Person in the Fire-Scene, as I may call it, I have omitted” (VII: 72). Not all editors nor editorial actions are harmless, and thus critics must thoroughly examine the consequences of an editor interacting with a text.

The tendency for literary critics to accept the integrity of edited texts may be a consequence of the separation of literary and textual studies. Many edited texts arise out of chaotic situations of newfound manuscripts, lost versions, corruptions, and nonauthorial intrusions. Editors bring order to the chaos, and from their efforts come new “definitive,” “corrected” texts. However, literary critics have only limited access to the editorial method behind these texts, as editors often summarize their work with brief, incomplete editorial notes. As a result, general readers with restricted knowledge about the edition tend to accept the quality of an edited text.
In *Clarissa*, however, the method behind edited familiar letters is much more accessible: for instance, Lovelace underlines passages he alters and Anna uses brackets to note material denied to her mother. Fictional editing expands the narrative beyond the initial letters, but not always with benign results. Deceitful editors and unstable texts fill the pages of *Clarissa*, and to fully understand how characters and texts influence one another, the novel must be examined from the editorial level.

**Editorial Theory and "Intentions"**

In twentieth-century terminology, characters in *Clarissa* gain editorial power by undermining the intentions of a letter writer. To understand this ambiguous term, W. K. Wimsatt and M. C. Beardsley's concise, early definition from "The Intentional Fallacy" is useful: "Intention is design or plan in the author's mind."\(^{13}\) Wimsatt and Beardsley problematized the concept of authorial intention with their 1946 pronouncement warning critics to avoid the intentional fallacy, where the "design or plan" of the author, as it relates to the meaning of the text, is wrongly assumed to be recoverable. The text, they argued, can and should be interpreted through internal evidence of language rather than external statements from the author, because authorial statements are not necessarily trustworthy. Their closing remark that "Critical inquiries are not settled by consulting the oracle"\(^{14}\) has had a lasting influence on literary as well as textual studies.
Modern textual theory values the scientific objectivity of the New Critics, but editorial theorists have not been as comfortable with the diminished status of the author. In general, textual critics see literary works as informed by outside influences—primarily authors, but also printers, compositors, publishers, and so on. Consequently, textual theorists have been hesitant to accept a text as a "nearly anonymous" work, as described by the New Critic John Crowe Ransom. The need to include authors and their intentions in discussions of literary works has led textual critics to reformulate the definition of authorial intention into more particular components which, some will argue, do not violate Wimsatt and Beardsley's intentional fallacy.

Thus, the concept of authorial intention has become one of the most complicated and controversial topics in twentieth-century editing. G. Thomas Tanselle's catalogue of intentions demonstrates the allusiveness of the concept:

T. M. Gang differentiates between "practical intention" (intention "to achieve a certain result") and "literary intention" (intention to convey "a certain significance"); John Kemp distinguishes between "immediate intention" (that which a man "intends, or sets himself, to do") and "ulterior intention" ("that which he intends or hopes to achieve as a result of doing what he does"); Morse Peckham discriminates between "mediated intention" ("a statement or other sign") and "immediate intention" ("metaphorical extension of mediated intention into the area of 'mind'"); and Quentin Skinner, borrowing terms from J. L. Austin's How to Do Things with Words (1962), speaks of "illocutionary intention" (what a writer "may have been intending to do in writing what he wrote") and "perlocutionary intention" ("what he may have intended to do by writing in a certain way"), as well as of "intention to do x" (a
Tanselle next describes in more detail Michael Hancher’s "programmatic intention," "active intention," and "final intention." The discourse on intentions extends beyond Tanselle’s catalogue: for example, John R. Searle posits "prior intentions" and "intentions in action,“ Hershel Parker refers to "original intention" and "new intention," and Peter L. Shillingsburg offers a simple yet useful dichotomy of "intention to do" ("to record a specific sequence of words and punctuation that [the author] thinks verbalize his meaning") and a Wimsatt- and Beardsley-like "intention to mean" ("inconclusively recoverable through critical interpretation").

Despite the proliferation of definitions associated with authorial intention, two basic schools of intention exist today. The first, a more traditional approach set forth by W. W. Greg, Fredson Bowers, and most recently Tanselle, privileges the author. Although they often acknowledge in New Critical fashion that intentions cannot be definitively recovered, advocates of the authorial orientation place the author’s intentions at the center of their textual paradigm: James D. Thorpe states that "the ideal of textual criticism is to present the text which the author intended" (although "this ideal is unattainable in any final and complete and detailed sense"); Bowers holds that "The recovery of the initial purity of an author’s text

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... is the aim of textual criticism;" and Tanselle asserts that "Scholarly editors ... are in general agreement that their goal is to discover exactly what an author wrote and to determine what form of his work he wished the public to have." This traditional school of intention identifies the author as the authoritative source of the text. Other influences such as printers, compositors, amanuensises, publishers, and so on, are viewed as subordinate assistants to the author, and their work is judged on its conforming to the author's intentions. (As I discussed in Chapter 4, manuscripts or first editions are generally accepted as the most valid signifiers of authorial intention). Editors who privilege the author view passages which fail to reflect the author's intentions as corruptions which must be emended or noted in an apparatus.

The second school of intention locates authority for the text not with the author but instead with the entire sociological construct that produces the work, including the author, publisher, printer, and compositor. Critics such as Jerome McGann, D. F. McKenzie, Hershel Parker, Donald Pizer, and Donald Reiman stress that intentions cannot be confined to the author alone. McGann, for instance, the primary spokesman for the sociological approach to texts, refers to "nonauthorial intentions" and describes the construction of a text as a collaborative process: "The point is that author's intentions are always operating along with nonauthorial intentions, that each presupposes the other,
and that no text ever came into being, or could come into being, without interactions between the two. In the sociological school, the author does not have autonomy. Rather, texts emerge when the intentions of the author, printer, publisher, and so on, intersect. While traditional editors strive to produce a single text which best exemplifies the wishes of the author, sociological editors value multiple versions of a text, with each representing a particular textual moment (what Donald Pizer refers to as a "cultural artifact").

Both schools of intention are relevant to a discussion of fictional editing in Clarissa. However, the two alone cannot account for the production of the novel's fictional letters. While the two schools identify numerous sources of textual production, including the author, printer, and publisher, absent from both is a self-referential acknowledgment that editors also create versions of a text, a significant omission when discussing Clarissa, with its plot motivated by the editorial manipulation of letters. Both schools in a sense commit what E. Talbot Donaldson coined the "editorial death-wish," in that they overlook the editor as a source of texts, dismissing him as an almost invisible influence and accepting his work as benign and value free. In truth, though, as my opening epigraph from M. L. West suggests, bad editors do exist, and editors occasionally produce inaccurate, invalid, and incorrect texts—in both the real world as well as in the fictional
landscape of *Clarissa*. Richardson's own editing, as I showed in the last chapter, exemplifies how easily editorial actions can alter meaning, and the scarcity of critical attention paid to the quality of Richardson's textual apparatus points to the need for critics to look more closely at editors as producers of texts. In this chapter, then, I will supplement the authorial and the sociological approaches with an investigation of the editor as a source of texts. More specifically, I will examine what I am calling "editorial intentions" as they pertain to the fictional editing of characters in *Clarissa*.

**Fictional Editing and *Clarissa***

Two premises inform my examination of the fictional editor as a source of texts in *Clarissa*. First, the genre of the texts under consideration increases the significance of characters' editorial actions. To a greater extent than other genres, the familiar letter is defined by the initial moment of composition. As I discussed in Chapter 2, an apparent spontaneity and an unrehearsed, unrevised, honest portrayal of the letter writer's inner thoughts mark a well-written familiar letter in the eighteenth century. For instance, Robert Dodsley, in his advice "To a young Gentleman at School" (1754), stresses that an epistolary correspondence between friends should exhibit "an easy Complaisance, an open Sincerity, and unaffected Good Nature." He adds that "A letter should wear an honest, cheerful Countenance, like one who truly esteems, and is
glad to see his Friend; and not look like a Fop admiring his own Dress." 
Similarly, Hugh Blair, in his Lectures on Rhetoric and Belles Lettres (1783), announces that the "first and fundamental requisite" in a successful letter "is . . . to be natural and simple. . . . All nicety about words, betrays study." 
In Clarissa, because of the value ascribed to unrehearsed thoughts, characters frequently comment positively on correctly written, unrevised letters. Clarissa, for instance, recognizes the value of her initial composition in the last letter of Volume I, admitting to Anna that "I cannot say, that I am pleased with all I have written--Yet will not now alter it." After Clarissa's death, Anna praises her friend for the immediacy of her writing, telling Belford that "she hardly ever stopp'd or hesitated; and very seldom blotted out, or altered. It was a natural talent she was mistress of, among many other extraordinary ones" (VIII: 17). Any editorial emendations made to the text of a familiar letter, then, are noteworthy, because in changing the text, the editor undermines the integrity of timebound thoughts, feelings, and emotions. When editors alter fictional letters, they create new texts, ones reflective of the editor's rather than of the author's initial thoughts.

As I discussed in Chapter 3, eighteenth-century readers viewed the familiar letter, with its spontaneous, honest linguistic text and its idiosyncratic physical details, as an almost literal signifier of the letter writer rather than
just a series of words on paper. More so than other genres, then, familiar letters signify authorial subjectivity, and for this reason, they are more prone to the intentional fallacy. William Proctor Williams, for instance, questionably suggests in An Introduction to Bibliographical and Textual Studies that the personal qualities of epistolary writing makes the author's intended meaning more easily recoverable: he writes that "letters, diaries, commonplace books, and similar documents may give some indication of ideas the author had before he set pen to paper." I would argue, however, that despite the unique traits of the epistolary genre, familiar letters must be approached as any other text when considering intentions. Thus, intentions "to mean" are still unrecoverable in any conclusive or reliable sense. Richardson illustrates this point in Clarissa's "Father's House" letter, which I discussed in Chapter 3. Lovelace misinterprets Clarissa's letter, believing that she will return to Harlowe Place to reconcile with him and her family, because he does not recognize Clarissa's intention to construct meaning ironically.

My second premise, then, is that editorial intention "to mean," like the same authorial intention, is also unrecoverable. We cannot conclusively say that Richardson intended to recharacterize Lovelace as a heroic figure through his manipulation of intertextual quotations any more than we can definitively assert what Johnson meant through
his reference to Cardinal Wolsey in “The Vanity of Human Wishes.” However, editorial intention “to do” is recoverable. Where concrete, textual evidence of an editor’s actions are available (through collation of the edited version with the authored version), conclusions can be drawn concerning the effects of the editor’s intention to emend the text. The indice letter, where Lovelace serves as an uninvited editor after intercepting Anna’s 7 June letter of warning to Clarissa, provides a useful example. After marking “places which call for vengeance upon the vixen writer” (V: 30), Lovelace emends “cursed” passages with statements kinder to his own reputation, “underscor[ing]” (V: 154) the revisions in his transcription to Belford. For instance, where Anna euphemistically identifies Clarissa’s housing at Mrs. Sinclair’s as “one of those genteel wicked houses, which receive and accommodate fashionable people of both sexes” (V: 34) (that is, a brothel), Lovelace emends the passage to read “the house [is] a very genteel house, and fit to receive people of fashion” (V: 159). Lovelace’s intended meaning in producing an alternative text cannot be ascertained. However, collation of the two versions identifies Lovelace’s editorial intention “to do,” and from the variants, valid conclusions can be drawn: the emendations misrepresent Sinclair’s lodging to Clarissa, and the revised text encourages Clarissa to remain at Sinclair’s, where she is susceptible to Lovelace’s other schemes. Because the editor’s actions are verifiable, when
I comment on editorial intentions later in this chapter, I am referring to editorial intention "to do" rather than "to mean."

Foregrounding the editor's intention "to do" allows me to isolate and better understand the narrative tension that motivates Richardson's plot. As I have suggested, Clarissa is more than a novel about writing. Instead, Clarissa is a novel that examines what happens to people and letters after the texts are first composed. The letter writer initially signifies his / her authorial intention to place certain words in a particular order. If a fictional editor emends the letter, then a new editorial intention "to do" is juxtaposed with the original text. When editors create multiple texts, Richardson often uses footnotes and page references to the other versions of the letter to encourage readers to investigate the conflicting intentions "to do."

From the variance in displayed intentions arises the tension associated with the novel's epistolary texts, as each character must vie for the right to retain autonomy over his / her version of the letter. This textual struggle has implications beyond the epistolary text itself. Given the unique subjectivity signified by the familiar letter, uninvited editorial intrusions jeopardize more than words. Linked to the texts of familiar letters are elements of power, control, and creation of the self which I will investigate in the remainder of this chapter.
Anna Howe as Editor

Characters engage in various types of fictional editing in *Clarissa*, including collecting, annotating, altering, summarizing, and extracting letters. By creating characters who edit, Richardson expands the bounds of the epistolary novel beyond the confines of initial letters. When letters are edited, Richardson juxtaposes authorial meaning with editorial meaning, and the disparity between the two creates the unique tension that drives *Clarissa*’s often uneventful plot. In the remainder of this chapter concerning fictional editing in *Clarissa*, I will examine the methodology of the novel’s four major fictional editors, beginning with Anna, Clarissa, and Lovelace, and concluding with an extended analysis of the most influential fictional editor, Belford. I will also look at a number of textually significant episodes from *Clarissa* and evaluate how fictional editing is used to undermine intentions and to alter representations of subjectivity.

Anna Howe is the most conventional editor of the four major characters, engaging in a wide range of editorial activities which are often influenced by her strong personality. Like Samuel Johnson, Anna frequently comments on texts, though her pert remarks occasionally offend Clarissa. On 27 February, for instance, Anna annotates Clarissa’s preceding letter, criticizing the “arrogance” and “temper” of James, Jr., and categorizing the entire Harlowe family as “too rich to be happy” (I: 55, 56). After
paraphrasing a passage in which Clarissa laments Lovelace’s improper treatment from the Harlowes, Anna assuredly remarks “you are in danger. . . . Your native generosity and greatness of mind endanger you” (I: 61). Taken back by this bold commentary, Clarissa initially questions Anna’s need to act as an editor when reading a familiar correspondence: “I did not think it necessary . . . to guard against a Critic, when I was writing to so dear a Friend” (I: 63). Later in the same letter, Clarissa recognizes the instructive benefits of candid commentary (as did Johnson), and she asks Anna to continue her editorial analysis: “Judge me . . . as any indifferent person would do,” she requests. Just as Theobald or Pope may have felt the sting of Johnson’s commentary, Clarissa admits that she “may at first be a little pained” by Anna’s honest though unabashed remarks; in the end, however, she realizes that the “kind correction will give [her] reflection that shall amend” (I: 65).

A second personality trait, impatience, also influences Anna’s editing, causing her to spend the least amount of her time with minute editorial concerns. For instance, Anna engages in descriptive bibliography less frequently than Clarissa, known for her thoroughness and exactness. Anna’s occasional references to material details, however, provide Richardson with a narrator whose subtle descriptions embellish the moment of initial composition. For instance, amidst the commotion of Clarissa’s Uncle Antony courting Mrs. Howe, Anna describes the material state of her paper as
a function of the situation, explaining to Clarissa in the 18 April letter that “I have written thro’ many interruptions: And you will see the first sheet creased and rumpled, occasioned by putting it into my bosom, on my Mother’s sudden coming upon me” (III: 174). Similarly, Anna’s occasional references to the transmission of a letter or idea help Richardson expand the discourse beyond the Anna / Clarissa correspondence. For instance, Anna complicates the epistolary narrative when she reports neighborhood gossip, concerning Arabella’s fondness for Lovelace, with the editorial note that “Betty . . . told it to one of her confidants: That confidant, with like injunctions of secrecy, to Miss Lloyd’s Harriot—Harriot to Miss Lloyd—Miss Lloyd to me—I to you—with leave to make what you please of it” (I: 88).

As an editor, Anna is most concerned with the acquisition and distribution of texts—in other words, with various forms of epistolary publication. Despite her spirited and bold commentary, Anna is extremely loyal to Clarissa, and her commitment to her friend also influences her editing. Anna initially functions as a local publisher of Clarissa’s letters, determined to accurately present Clarissa’s story to the neighborhood, thereby helping Clarissa retain autonomy over her self-representation. In the novel’s first letter, for instance, Anna asks Clarissa, “Will you oblige me with a copy of the Preamble to the clauses in your Grandfather’s Will in your favour; and allow
me to send it to my Aunt Harman?” (I: 4). Following Clarissa’s rape, Anna advocates the publication of Clarissa’s letters for a broader audience, realizing that were the “Tragical Story . . . published under feigned names, it would be of as much use as honour to the Sex” (VII: 26).

In compiling letters, Anna, like conventional twentieth-century editors such as Greg, Bowers, and Tanselle, values authorial texts and skeptically views outside textual influences. First, when Anna’s mother subjectively edits a letter from Uncle Antony and refuses to read to her passages “which bore hard upon” herself (IV: 156), Anna steals the original and accurately transcribes the authorial text of Uncle Antony for Clarissa. Second, Anna also distinguishes between authorial and non-authorial material texts. After being jailed, Clarissa’s health deteriorates to the point that she can no longer write her own letters, and thus Mrs. Lovick, her “widow gentlewoman” (VI: 292), acts as her amanuensis, recording Clarissa’s thoughts in a letter to Anna. Anna reacts not to the words but to the non-authorial material details, announcing in her 20 July reply to Clarissa how “shocked” she was “at the receiving of [a] letter written by another hand” (VI: 317). As a proponent of authorial texts, Anna requests that Clarissa “send . . . a few lines, tho’ ever so few, in [her] own hand, if possible” (VI: 317). Finally, while Anna values the authorial text, as an editor she also recognizes
the importance of recording all non-authorial textual variants. Thus, like Johnson and also like many different twentieth-century editors, Anna advocates the use of a textual apparatus to insure that different versions of a letter can be reconstructed. For instance, although Anna elects to censor a letter that she reads to her mother (a letter she writes for Clarissa), she records the oral emendations, telling Clarissa that she will "put . . . between hooks, thus [ ], what I intend not to read to her" (VI: 141).

Anna possesses many of the traits one would expect in a successful editor, given her commitment to accurate texts, her loyalty to Clarissa, and her ability to honestly comment on her friend's merits as well as faults. While Anna expresses interest in serving as Clarissa's posthumous editor and publisher, her ability to do so within the larger cultural environment outside the neighborhood of Harlowe Place is limited. Despite Anna's editorial skills, the sociological construct she operates in privileges male editors and editors with higher cultural standing. Consequently, Anna's ability to retain editorial control over the Anna / Clarissa correspondence becomes a key issue of the novel. I will return to this point later in the chapter.

Clarissa Harlowe as Editor

While Anna's editing is influenced by her personality, Clarissa's editing is informed by immediate events.
Throughout her trials, including her courtship, her imprisonment by both her family and Lovelace, and her rape, letters provide Clarissa with the only commodity over which she has control and her only means of retaining authority over her self-representation. Because letters allow Clarissa to express who she is and who she wants to be, at a time when the Harlowe family and Lovelace use her as a pawn for advancing their own agendas, she pays close attention to their minute details. More so than any other character, Clarissa acts as a descriptive bibliographer, noting the physical condition of her paper, pens, handwriting, and seals. Clarissa most frequently comments on material details of her letters during the first half of the novel, when she actively fights to retain control over her marital status, and by extension over her body and mind. A brief catalogue demonstrates the wide scope of Clarissa’s editorial descriptions: after receiving on 8 March a perturbed response from her father, Clarissa notes that he sends the letter “without superscription, and unsealed” (I: 163); concerning her headstrong brother’s reaction to her plea for sympathy, she comments that “My Brother has taken my Letter all in pieces” (II: 33); after sending her mother a similar plea, she describes the brief response as “an open slip of paper; but it was wet in one place. I kissed the place; for I am sure it was blister’d, as I may say, by a Mother’s tear” (II: 49); and she self-consciously points to her physical condition in a 25 August letter to Anna,
remarking that “I am very ill— I must drop my Pen--A sudden Faintness overspreads my heart--Excuse my crooked writing” (VII: 235). As was the case with Anna, Clarissa’s descriptive bibliography, especially in this last instance, acts as a substitute for the absent epistolary narrator. The material details expand the limited perspective of the epistolary narrative, allowing readers to consider not only the writer’s thoughts but also her physical condition and the setting in which she writes.

Also more than any other character, Clarissa tracks the transmission of letters, particularly in the second volume, where issues of wealth and power figure prominently. While the grandfather describes the Harlowe family in the preamble to his will as being “very rich” (I: 28), and while he passes a significant portion of his estate to Clarissa at his death, she has no access to the money, having “given the whole [of her bequeathal] into [her] Father’s power” (I: 7). Despite her theoretical wealth, all that Clarissa personally possesses are her letters, and she pays close attention to their textual history. Clarissa’s notes regarding the transmission of letters range from brief references—almost footnotes—to long summaries. For instance, when forwarding letters from her mother and sister to Anna, Clarissa briefly announces that “I transcribed this Letter, and sent it to my Mother, with these lines” (II: 48); similarly alluding to her supplementary editorial activities of extracting and transcribing, Clarissa refers to “two Letters from Mr.
Lovelace” (II: 68), and she tells Anna that “His Letters, and the copy of mine to him, shall soon attend you: Till when, I will give you the substance of what I wrote to him yesterday” (II: 69).

By recording the transmission of letters, Clarissa not only tracks the whereabouts of her only accessible commodity, but she also assists the readers—both Anna and the readers of the novel—in recalling the often convoluted textual history informing many of the letters. For instance, in a long textual summary before fleeing Harlowe Place, Clarissa identifies the contents of three parcels of letters being forwarded to Anna:

one of which contains the Letters you have not yet seen; being those written since I left you: In the other are all the Letters and Copies of Letters that have passed between you and me since I was last with you; with some other papers on subjects so much above me, that I cannot wish them to be seen by any-body whose indulgence I am not so sure of, as I am of yours. . . . In a third division, folded up separately, are all Mr. Lovelace’s letters written to me since he was forbidden this house, and copies of my Answers to them. (II: 152)

After describing the three parcels of letters, Clarissa clarifies that she will not be forwarding anything of monetary value: “I was going to put up what little money I have, and some of my ornaments; but they are portable, and I cannot forget them” (II: 153). Clarissa’s frequent editorial attention to the minute details of her letters points to her redefined value system, one where the
composite picture painted by a collection of letters outweighs the pragmatic usefulness of money.

Following her rape, as she approaches death, Clarissa acquiesces to Anna’s suggestion to publish her letters, thereby providing herself with a posthumous extension of her voice and subjectivity. As an editor concerned with publishing, Clarissa’s approach resembles the New Scholarship of Hershel Parker, who attempts to “see the work in the context of its creation in order to best understand what the author was trying to do and to see that effort in relationship to what the author did do—the text which he produced.”29 Clarissa frequently attempts to examine, explain, or understand the situation which informs the writing of her letters or their publication. For instance, Clarissa explains to Dr. Lewen how the publication of her letters represents a retribution—a form of power—against Lovelace unavailable through eighteenth-century law. After accurately anticipating how she would have “Little advantage in a Court,” Clarissa speculates to Dr. Lewen that her published papers “may be of more efficacy to the end wished for . . . than my appearance could have been in a Court of Justice” (VII: 213, 215). Clarissa also aligns her editing with Johnson, viewing her collection as an instructive tool that might dissuade young women from attempting to reform a rake. She defines her story for Anna as “a warning to all,” and then, generalizing her narrative for a larger audience through the use of third-person pronouns, describes the
context that informs her letters, including how women tend to "prefer a Libertine to a man of True Honour; and how they permit themselves to me misled . . . by the specious, yet foolish hope of subduing riveted habits, and, as I may say, of altering natures!" (VII: 336).

While I will discuss the publication of Clarissa’s letters in more depth later in this chapter, I should note here that both Anna and Clarissa operate under the premise that the “Letters and Materials preserved . . . will set [Clarissa’s] whole story in a true light” (VII: 211). Both women value editorial accuracy, though Clarissa is more concerned with the correctness of the general idea and Anna with the exactness of the text. Thus, in compiling her “true” story, Clarissa emphasizes her self-portrayal rather than the integrity of the text, and she accepts that her objective representation may be viewed negatively: “Not that I am solicitous,” she tells Anna, “that my disgrace should be hidden from the world” (VI: 177). Although Anna and Clarissa would seem to form an ideal editorial partnership—one concerned with the text itself and the other concerned with the text’s meaning—the gendered sociological construct in which the two women operate limits their ability to maintain authority over their editing. Clarissa’s illness and subsequent death further reduces the women’s power. The ability of Anna and Clarissa to retain personal control over their letters while operating within a publishing culture
that favors the male editor is a topic I will return to later in this chapter.

**Robert Lovelace as Editor**

If Anna and Clarissa are distinguished by their conscientious editing, then Lovelace is their editorial antithesis. Of the four major characters in *Clarissa*, Lovelace would appear to be the one least involved in editing. Quantitatively, this generalization may be true; Anna and Clarissa certainly spend much more time tracking, compiling, and commenting on letters. Qualitatively, however, Lovelace's rakish, deceitful forays into editing are among the most significant textual episodes in the novel. When Lovelace edits a text, his actions adversely affect not only the text itself but also the lives of those associated with the text.

One reason for Lovelace's lack of recognition as an editor is his cavalier attitude toward textual matters. Occasionally, Lovelace mocks the editorial role, as he also mocks other sources of authority, including Lord M (his uncle) or the British courts. First, for instance, in his 9 June letter to Belford, Lovelace footnotes his own text with a long, convoluted, self-congratulatory reminder of his deceit toward Clarissa (Figure 6.1). The footnote, set in more efficient small pica roman type, still fills two-thirds of the duodecimo page. Lovelace appropriates the typically anonymous marginal space and uses it not to clarify a text but instead to promote his own libertine values, proudly
The dear creature, said I, may well be concerned to see me. If you, Madam, had a Husband who loved you as I love her, you would not, I am confident, fly from him, and expose yourself to hazards, as she does whenever she has not all her way—and yet with a mind not capable of intentional evil—but Mother-spoilt! This is her fault, and all her fault: and the more inexcusable it is, as I am the man of her choice, and have reason to think she loves me above all the men in the world.

Here, Jack, was a Story to support to the Lady; face to face too [a]!

And here, Belford, left thou, thro’ inattention, shouldst be surprised at my assurance, let me remind thee (and that, thus, by way of marginal obserbation, that I may not break in upon my Narrative), that this my Intrepidity was but a consequence of the measures I had previously concerted (as I have from time to time acquainted thee) in apprehension of such an event as has fallen out. For had not the dear creature already passed for my Wife, before no less than four worthy gentlemen of family and fortune? And before Mrs. Sinclair, and her household, and Miss Partington?—And had she not agreed to her Uncle’s expedient, that she should pass for such, from the time of Mr. Hickman’s application to that Uncle; and that the worthy Captain Tomlinson should be allowed to propagate that belief? as he had actually reported it to two families (they possibly to more); purposely that it might come to the ears of James Harlowe; and serve as a foundation for Uncle John to build his Reconciliation-scheme upon? And canst thou think, that nothing was meant by all this contrivance? And that I am not further prepared to support my Story?

Indeed, I little thought, at the time that I formed these precautionary Schemes, that she would ever have been able, if willing, to get out of my hands. All that I hoped I should have occasion to have recourse to them for, was only, in case I should have the courage to make the grand attempt, and should succeed in it, to bring the dear creature [and this out of tendernefs to her; for what attention did I ever yet pay to the grief, the tears, the execrations, the tears of a woman I had triumphed over?] to bear me in her sight; to expostulate with me; to be pacified by my pleas; and by her own future hopes, founded upon the Reconciliatory-project, upon my reiterated vows, and upon the Captain’s assurances—Since, in that case, to forgive me, to have gone on with me, for a week, would have been to forgive me, to have gone on with me, for ever. And then had my eligible Life of Honour taken place; her trials would all have been then over; and she would have known nothing but gratitude, love, and joy, to the end of one of our lives. For never would I, never could I, have abandoned such an admirable creature as this. Thou knowest, I never was a forbid villain to any of her inferiors—Her inferiors, I may say—For, who is not her inferior?

* See Vol. III. Letter xlii. towards the conclusion, † See Vol. IV’s Letter iv. || Ibid.
asking in the note, "what attention did I ever yet pay to the grief, the execrations, the tears of a woman I had triumphed over?" (V: 86). Richardson himself encourages readers to view Lovelace's note as a mock editorial gesture by footnoting the footnote. Because Lovelace commands the conventional call-out letter [a] at the beginning of his note, Richardson must announce his three letter references with symbols, and thus the already visually absurd primary note is littered with the typographical signs *, †, and ‡.

Lovelace also displays his cavalier attitude toward editing in his annotations to the frequently cited indice letter (Figure 2.1). After intercepting Anna's 7 June letter to Clarissa and marking passages he finds offensive with the index symbol (a pointed finger), Lovelace forwards the original document to Belford, introducing his annotated text with the following hyperbolic statement:

 Thou wilt see the margin of this cursed Letter crouded with indices. I put them to mark the places which call for vengeance upon the vixen writer, or which require animadversion. Return thou it to me the moment thou hast perused it. Read it here; and avoid trembling for me, if thou canst. (V: 30)

In effect, Lovelace appropriates not only Anna's letter but also the editorial role. As commentator, Lovelace critiques the text, but more importantly to him, he also celebrates his own power over Anna and Clarissa, epitomizing editors who, according to William Kenrick in the October 1765 Monthly Review, "do honour to themselves." With elevated,
archaic diction—"thou," "wilt," and "hast"—and a mock-heroic call for "animadversion" and "vengeance" upon the "vixen," Lovelace elevates his own stature. Lovelace also points to his perceived superiority over Anna and Clarissa with his use of the index sign. The typographical symbol of the pointed finger was rarely used in eighteenth-century printing, with neither Joseph Moxon nor John Smith referring to it in their printer's guides; of the popular letter writing style books, only William Bradford mentions the symbol, relegating it to the end of his catalogue of "Marks used in Writing," just prior to his discussion of the seldom used obelisk, section, and caret marks. Lovelace uses an extravagant symbol when a more conservative mark could have been used: Richardson, for instance, identifies "restored" passages to the third edition with the unassuming full-point. Further, he uses the index sign excessively, pointing out ninety-eight offensive passages in the course of Anna's sixteen page letter. Considering Anna and Clarissa's lack of power and their inability to maintain control over the letter, Lovelace's celebratory comments come across as self-absorbed arrogance. This is of little concern, of course, to a rake who uses the editorial role to glorify himself.

Despite his lack of recognition as an editor, Lovelace does in fact engage in a significant number of editorial activities—though they, like his commentary on the indice letter, often arise from self-serving motives. Like
Clarissa, Lovelace traces the transmission of letters. Unlike Clarissa, however, who records transmission as a way of maintaining control over epistolary self-representations, Lovelace records transmission as an intermediate step towards ultimately controlling Clarissa herself. For instance, as Lovelace plots to deny Clarissa a correspondence with Anna—and in doing so, to deny Clarissa protection and support—he records for Belford the textual history behind Clarissa’s short note of 8 June which he has intercepted: “She sent Will. with a Letter to Wilson’s, directed to Miss Howe, ordering him to enquire if there were not one for her there. He only pretended to go, and brought word there was none; and put her Letter in his pocket for me” (V: 21). Lovelace similarly records material details of letters, again as a component of his larger plan to undermine Clarissa’s security. After carefully analyzing Anna’s original version of the indice letter, for instance, Lovelace plans to rewrite the “places which call for vengeance” in his favor before forwarding the new, forged version to Clarissa. The forgery requires attention to Anna’s peculiar material details, and thus Lovelace explains to Belford that “I am always careful to open Covers cautiously, and to preserve seals entire. I will draw out from this cursed Letter an alphabet” (V: 50).

While Lovelace may pay attention to the material form of a letter, he does not value the integrity of the authorial text. For instance, when editing the indice
letter before passing it to Clarissa, Lovelace alters Anna's words, creating a new version of the letter. Proud of his emendations, and demonstrating the power that the editor holds over the author, Lovelace asks Belford: "Hast thou a mind to see what it was I permitted Miss Howe to write to her lovely friend? Why then read it here, as extracted from hers of Wednesday last, with a few additions of my own. The additions underscored" (V: 154). Similarly, after later intercepting a 9 June letter from Anna to Clarissa, Lovelace attempts to read the note without breaking the protective seal. Folds in the paper leave a number of words inaccessible to Lovelace, and he supplies them himself through conjecture—an editorial strategy frowned upon by Johnson. Lovelace transcribes the letter for Belford (and for readers of the novel), again recording his nonauthorial, corrupted additions, this time "between hooks" (V: 148). Although readers do not have access to Anna’s original letter, Lovelace’s conjectures seem feasible. However, his casual dismissal of the unreadable passages as "only . . . a few connecting words" (V: 148) is nevertheless inaccurate. A number of his additions involve Anna’s subjective statements of value or degree, including "[It is of very] great importance" and "[I hope the] villain has it not" (V: 149). Exhibiting a form of editorial arrogance, Lovelace assumes that he can identify Anna’s intended meaning—a dangerous assumption according to both Johnson in the eighteenth century and Wimsatt and Beardsley in the
twentieth century. Consequently, Lovelace’s emendations, based not on a reliable copy text but instead on personal conjecture, undermine the accuracy and authority of his edited transcription.

Lovelace operates under what Peter L. Shillingsburg terms the aesthetic orientation, an editorial approach where the best text is determined by personal taste rather than by any concern for the author’s intentions to create a particular text. Shillingsburg defines the aesthetic orientation with “one of the older jokes in editing circles” that applies to Lovelace’s actions: “to search out those words that the editor either does not understand or does not like and replace them with words that he does.”32 Perhaps Richardson wanted readers to find dark humour in Lovelace’s lack of respect for textual integrity. However, the consequences for Clarissa of Lovelace’s aesthetic editing are far from humorous. When Clarissa reads Lovelace’s emended version of the indice letter, the revised content convinces her to stay at Mrs. Sinclair’s rather than to plan with Anna’s help an immediate escape. Having kept Clarissa in his presence through editorial power, Lovelace then extends his control to her body, drugging and raping her with Mrs. Sinclair’s assistance. In Clarissa, the aesthetic editor, operating under a libertine agenda, is indeed a dangerous editor.
John Belford as Editor

Much more difficult to situate on the editorial continuum is the enigmatic John Belford. Curtis W. Bobbitt, offering the only other extended discussion of Belford’s editing, accepts Belford as a benign, reformed confidant and editor to Clarissa. In his unpublished 1989 dissertation, Bobbitt explains that “Belford’s character improves morally as a direct result of his contact with the letters he collects.” Later, Bobbitt describes Belford’s editorial actions in more specific positive terms:

Belford never uses footnotes, nor does he often alter letters (except through omission). His summaries and commentaries illustrate moral issues and correspond to his own reformation of character. Whereas Anna and Lovelace as internal editors often comment on stylistic elements of letters, Belford reacts exclusively to moral subjects. Belford also carefully considers his specific audience when he annotates or summarizes letters that he shares or sends.

While Bobbitt accurately describes the scope of Belford’s editorial actions, he fails to examine the texts that Belford creates—a serious oversight when discussing the accomplishments of an editor. As I will show, an “omission,” which Bobbitt parenthetically dismisses, can adversely affect a text as much as Lovelace’s conscious rewriting of the indice letter. Further, I will show that while Belford “carefully considers his specific audience” when annotating or summarizing, he does so not to clarify the text but instead to adapt the text to the audience’s agenda. Using an editorial method that alters

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representations of subjectivity, Belford creates new versions of a number of significant letters in order to elicit specific responses from Clarissa and Lovelace. In examining Belford's editing, then, I will evaluate the impact of his corrupted texts. Additionally, while examining Belford's intentions "to do," I will consider whether he is truly reformed or whether he uses editorial power—more specifically, editorial voyeurism—to satisfy his rakish desires in a manner acceptable to Clarissa and the general public.

Belford first assumes his role as fictional editor following Clarissa's description of her rape in Volume VI, just prior to her arrest for debt, when Lovelace requests from him the return of sensitive letters. Identifying the editorial role of compiling texts, Lovelace announces with troubled braggadocio, "Having put secrets of so high a nature between me and my Spouse into thy power, I must, for my own honour, and for the honour of my Wife and my illustrious Progeny, first oblige thee to give up the Letters I have so profusely scribbled to thee" (VI: 230). Lovelace's request points to the fact that editorial power transcends texts. By possessing potentially embarrassing letters, Belford holds power over Lovelace and his self-representation. In his request to Belford, Lovelace justifies his rape of Clarissa by redefining the violent act with socially acceptable consequences—marriage and a child. Letters which depict Lovelace's rakish plans undermine the
redefined status of his relationship with Clarissa, and thus Lovelace recognizes that he cannot allow even his closest friend Belford to possess the texts. Belford retains his editorial power and never returns the letters. Thus, the last fifth of the novel, especially the time following Clarissa’s death, is dominated by Belford and his editorial pursuits.

Clarissa explicitly defines Belford as a fictional editor in a series of letters in which she sets forth the guidelines for the posthumous publication of her story. Initially motivated by Anna and Mrs. Howe to make public the particulars of her tragedy (for instance, VI: 187), Clarissa realizes that she lacks full knowledge of Lovelace’s plots and that her ill health will make the writing of her story difficult. Seeing didactic value in the publication of her letters, Clarissa decides that Lovelace’s accounts of the events preceding the rape will suffice. In explaining her decision to Anna, Clarissa defines Belford’s initial editorial role:

I have nothing to apprehend of this sort, if I have the justice done me in [Lovelace’s] Letters, which Mr. Belford assures me I have: And therefore the particulars of my Story, and the base Arts of this vile man, will, I think, be best collected from those very Letters of his (if Mr. Belford can be prevailed upon to communicate them). (VII: 46)

Satisfied with Belford’s editorial compilation of Lovelace’s letters (I will discuss the textual validity of Belford’s extracts below), Clarissa expands Belford’s editorial role in her final will. Having made Belford her
executor, Clarissa also empowers him to collect all the letters related to the last year of her life. Specifying the purpose of Belford's editing—in effect, announcing the parameters of his intentions "do do"—Clarissa stipulates in her will:

> And as Mr. Belford has engaged to contribute what is in his power towards a compliment to be made of all that relates to my Story, and knows my whole mind in this respect; it is my desire, that he will cause two copies to be made of this collection; one to remain with Miss Howe, the other with himself; and that he will shew or lend his copy, if required, to my Aunt Hervey, for the satisfaction of any of my family. (VIII: 108–09)

Clarissa's request to Belford is simple enough: collect the letters and prepare them for a limited, private publication. She complicates Belford's editorial role, however, by invoking the issue of authorial intention, whereby Belford's collection must conform to her "whole mind in this respect." Like Lovelace in his plea to Belford, Clarissa also recognizes the power of the editor to influence subjectivity, asking Belford in an earlier letter "To be the protector of my memory" (VII: 70). Clarissa, in transferring power to her editor, envisions, perhaps naively, a relationship in which the editor privileges the author's intentions and the author's text. In other words, Clarissa assumes that Belford will act as a Johnsonian editor, or to phrase it anachronistically, as a proponent of the Greg-Bowers-Tanselle school, choosing copy texts most influenced by her and removing nonauthorial corruptions from
her texts. How closely Belford follows Clarissa's mandate must be examined.

As a fictional editor, Belford strives to please both Clarissa and Lovelace, and as a consequence, he becomes an agent not only for their texts but also for their competing personal interests. In offering to help Clarissa following her rape, Belford assures her that he can now separate his responsibilities to Lovelace from his newly formed commitment to her. Anticipating her concern over his friendship with her adversary, Belford tells Lovelace how he asks Clarissa:

> Cannot I be serviceable by message, by letter-writing, by attending personally, with either message or letter, your Father, your Uncles, your Brother, your Sister, Miss Howe, Lord M. or the Ladies his Sisters?—Any office to be emp'y'd in to serve you, absolutely independent of my friend's wishes, or of my own wishes to oblige him? Think, Madam, if I cannot? (VI: 350)

Rhetorically, Belford's solicitation suggests his doubts at being able to distance himself from Lovelace's interests. The negative construction of the first and last sentences, the less-emphatic reliance on questions rather than definitive statements of fact, and the use of the em dash, connoting tension, all allude to Belford's lack of assurance. Further compromising the reliability of his offer, Belford next mentions to Lovelace how he also tried to serve as Clarissa's "Banker" by dropping "behind her chair . . . a Bank Note of 100 L" (VI: 351). Belford's financial offer has, despite Clarissa's impoverishment,
echoes of a libertine maintaining a kept woman—for instance, of Belton and Thomasine (IV: 131; VI: 322). Clarissa declines the money, but, in effect, through the subtle, concealed manner of his offer, Belford regresses into his rakish past, relying on monetary power to convince Clarissa of his sincerity. As a result, Belford’s ability to act independently of Lovelace or of his rakish past must be questioned.

As an editor, Belford, unlike Clarissa or Anna, rarely engages in descriptive bibliography or shows much interest in the particulars behind the transmission of letters. When Belford does discuss a letter’s material features, his description often focuses on Clarissa rather than on her text itself, as seen in his detailed notes about the process of composition in her 6 September letter to Anna: “She dictated the Farewel part, without hesitation; and when she came to the blessing and subscription, she took the pen, and dropping on her knees, supported by Mrs. Lovick, wrote the Conclusion; but Mrs. Lovick was forced to guide her hand” (VII: 407). Belford foregrounds the sublime characteristics of Clarissa’s physical state at the expense of textual accuracy, admitting to Lovelace in an introductory note to his transcription that he emends Clarissa’s original text: “I have endeavoured to imitate the subscriptive part; and in the Letter made pauses, where, to the best of my remembrance, she paused. In nothing that relates to this admirable Lady, can I be too minute” (VII: 407). Belford
edits the transcription from an aesthetic perspective—a questionable approach in terms of textual integrity, as demonstrated in Lovelace’s aesthetic editing of the indice letter. To Clarissa’s original letter, Belford adds seventeen em dashes denoting her belabored pauses (VII: 408), and in doing so, he subordinates the accuracy of the transcription to his description of Clarissa and the transcription’s pathos.

Complicating his role as descriptive bibliographer, Belford earlier admits to gaining a form of voyeuristic, sublime pleasure from Clarissa’s pain. “As she is always writing,” Belford tells Lovelace, “what a melancholy pleasure will the perusal and disposition of her papers afford me!” (VII: 73). Expanding on the source of his “pleasure,” Belford enthusiastically explains that:

Such a sweetness of temper, so much patience and resignation, as she seems to be mistress of; yet writing of and in the midst of present distresses! How much more lively and affecting, for that reason, must her style be; her mind tortured by the pangs of uncertainty (the events then hidden in the womb of Fate). . . . (VII: 73)

As in visual voyeurism, the reading of Clarissa’s letters offers Belford the safety of distance. The epistolary form allows Belford to experience Clarissa’s “sweetness,” “patience,” and “resignation” in “present” time, without the danger of her returned gaze. Also paralleling visual voyeurism, Belford subtly sexualizes his viewing of Clarissa’s subjectivity with his references to her “resignation,” her status as “mistress,” and the
identification of "the womb." The role of editor gives Belford access to Clarissa’s letters and to her subjectivity in a socially acceptable manner. Whereas Lovelace fulfilled his desire for Clarissa through libertine plotting and sexual violence, Belford invokes his editorial prerogative, granted by Clarissa herself, and gains "melancholy pleasure" from her texts. While Belford may not physically appropriate Clarissa, he nevertheless appropriates the linguistic representation of her subjectivity. Belford’s strong interest in Clarissa’s physical actions demonstrates that, as an editor, he has a personal agenda that involves more than the publication of Clarissa’s story.

In addition to his brief forays into descriptive bibliography, Belford engages in two primary editorial activities: compiling letters and then preparing them for publication, both public and private. Belford becomes a collector of letters at Clarissa’s request, as she decides to present her personal story to the Howes and to her own family. Because Belford has previously assured Clarissa that Lovelace "has done [her] character all the justice [she] could wish for, both by writing and speech" (VII: 64), she entertains the possibility that Lovelace’s accounts of painful events will serve in place of her own limited recollections. With this purpose in mind, Clarissa asks Belford to collect "a faithful Specimen from [Lovelace’s] Letters or Accounts to you, written upon some of the most interesting occasions" (VII: 64). Later in her request,
Clarissa defines the editorial method she expects Belford to employ and also specifies the letters she wishes to examine:

the passages I wish to be transcribed (making neither better nor worse of the matter) are those which he has written to you, on or about the 7th and 8th of June, when I was alarmed by the wicked pretense of a Fire; and what he has written from Sunday June 11. to the 19th. (VII: 65)

Belford performs his role as epistolary compiler with passionate, even obsessive, enthusiasm. After gathering the extracts within a day, Belford presents them to Clarissa in his letter of August 3–4 (VII: 67). Clarissa reviews the extracts and determines that Lovelace’s accounts will suffice (a decision I will evaluate below). Then, she asks Belford to serve officially as executor to her will and as compiler of her story, the later task poignantly described by Clarissa as being “the protector of my memory” (VII: 70). With Clarissa’s endorsement, Belford expands his role as collector of letters. Displaying a zeal not generally recorded in editorial statements, Belford tells Lovelace that “I should one day have all these Letters [of Clarissa’s] before me” (VII: 74), including the “unkind one she had from her Sister” (VII: 74). Although Belford’s statement is void of noticeable sarcasm, his words nonetheless suggest his recognition of a shift in editorial power. Where Lovelace once collected Clarissa’s letters through guise and deceit, Belford now obtains her texts in a socially acceptable manner, empowered by the contract between himself and Clarissa as expressed in her last will.
The libertine code insures Lovelace power only over fellow rakes, like Tourville, Mowbry, and Belton. Belford, on the other hand, possesses the authority of a sanctioned editor, and as a result, he has, or will have, access to Clarissa’s most private texts.

Belford’s desire for letters and texts grows as the novel progresses. Equipped with socially validated editorial power, Belford expands his collection beyond the bounds initially defined by Clarissa. For instance, with the help of Mrs. Lovick, Belford gathers a copy of Clarissa’s “Meditation,” entitled “Poor mortals the cause of their own misery” (VII: 93–94), without her knowledge or expressed consent. Belford also begins collecting Clarissa’s verbal observations. For instance, after Clarissa comments on “poor Souls who have never thought of their long voyage [after death] till the moment they are to embark for it,” Belford admits to Lovelace that “indeed, when I went home, that I might engraft [her thoughts] the better on my memory, I entered them down in writing” (VII: 258–59). Although Belford justifies his noncommissioned editorial action on didactic grounds, his recording of Clarissa’s thoughts without her consent still compromises her own autonomy and control over her personal story. Finally, Belford’s increasing desire for a greater number of texts causes him to invoke more explicit power against Lovelace. On at least two occasions, Belford requests that Lovelace return letters to him: first, Belford concludes his
letter describing Belton’s death with the request, “I will, however, add another word, after I have desired the return of this” (VII: 195); later, after writing a series of letters which include a description of Clarissa’s coffin, Belford writes, “I shall detain Will. no longer, than just to beg, that you will send me back this packet, and the last. Your memory is so good, that once [sic] reading is all you ever give, or need to give, to any-thing” (VII: 316). In both instances, Lovelace acquiesces and returns the letters, apparently recognizing that Belford now holds the key to Clarissa’s subjectivity. After the rape, Lovelace’s power is diminished, and only by respecting Belford’s wishes and his sanctioned editorial authority to obtain letters will Lovelace be allowed even cursory glances at Clarissa’s texts.

Belford’s intense interest in gathering Clarissa’s letters is troubling, especially given the honest self-representation signified in her epistolary texts and his admitted pleasure from viewing this represented subjectivity. Richardson appears to anticipate reader responses of this sort, as he footnotes Belford’s request to Lovelace for the return of the packets with the following explanation:

(a) It may not be amiss to observe, that Mr. Belford’s solicitude to get back his Letters was owing to his desire of fulfilling the Lady’s wishes, that he would furnish Miss Howe with materials to vindicate her memory. (VII: 316)
In his apology, Richardson attempts to reposition Belford’s act of compiling letters within the parameters of his socially acceptable contract with Clarissa. Despite Richardson’s intervention, Belford’s enthusiastic expansion of his role as compiler cannot be dismissed. Associated with the collection of letters are issues concerning autonomy and the construction of subjectivity. The implications of Belford’s expanded editorial role as compiler will become more pronounced when he begins to publish the collected texts.

Belford’s second primary function as fictional editor is to act as both the public and private publisher of Clarissa’s collected letters. By public publishing, I mean Belford’s preparation of Clarissa’s letters for Anna Howe and the Harlowe family, as Clarissa mandates in her last will. The novel that we know as Clarissa, given the fictional premise announced on the title page that the “Letters are restored from the Original Manuscripts,” can be seen as a later version of the collection that Belford prepares for public presentation. While we know that Richardson is the real author / editor / creator of Clarissa, the fictional context of the novel requires us as readers to attribute the presentation of the letters themselves to Belford. Consequently, I will examine how Belford, the internal editor, prepares the texts he collects.
As the fictional editor preparing the collection for the public, Belford creates no footnotes and unlike Clarissa and Anna, he pays little attention to epistolary transmission or to the material details of the letters. Belford’s most significant action affecting the public presentation of the collection is his decision to extract certain letters—that is, to include only limited sections. Belford creates two types of extracts in Clarissa. First, he chooses one person’s account of an episode over another person’s, thereby silencing one letter writer and giving a public voice—and a form of epistolary empowerment—to the other. For instance, in Volume III, although both Clarissa and Lovelace describe their flight from Harlowe Place, Belford chooses to include Clarissa’s account and to omit Lovelace’s (III: 49). Second, Belford omits portions of a letter even when no other account is available, consequently limiting the public voice of that letter writer. For instance, toward the end of the novel, Belford attempts to control the growing length of the collection by deleting what he considers less important passages, as he does in Clarissa’s letter to Mrs. Norton of 24 July (VI: 385).

Belford provides his general criteria for selecting passages to extract or omit when introducing the novel’s first extraction, cited above, from Volume III. In the editorial headnote to Lovelace’s letter, Belford explains:

Mr. Lovelace, in continuation of his last Letter (No. iii.) gives an account to his Friend (pretty much to the same effect with the Lady’s) of all
that passed between them at the Inns, in the journey, and till their fixing at Mrs. Sorlings's. To avoid repetition, those passages in his Narrative are only extracted, which will serve to embellish hers; to open his views; or to display the humourous talent he was noted for." (III: 49–50)

Belford here establishes himself as a reader-friendly editor interested in making the collection as efficient as possible while nonetheless retaining the integrity of the content. The vague comparison between the two letters under consideration—"pretty much to the same effect with the Lady's"—characterizes Belford as an easy-going editor who will refrain from obtrusive or definitive commentary concerning the meaning of the texts. Initially, Belford appears to be an objective editor, willing to privilege the letters themselves rather than his own editorial voice or personal agenda.

However, closer examination of Belford's extractions—evidence of his intention "to do"—suggests that he subtly manipulates texts in order to advance an agenda that favors Lovelace. Quantitatively, Belford's extractions are only slightly skewed in favor of Lovelace's accounts. Of the thirty-three total letters extracted, Lovelace's texts are chosen over Clarissa's eleven times while Clarissa's texts are chosen eight times. Additionally, five of Clarissa's letters are extracted with no other texts cited compared to three for Lovelace. Interestingly, although Volume V is almost entirely devoted to the correspondence of Lovelace and Belford, only one extraction is made, suggesting
Belford’s tendency to prefer Lovelace’s texts over Clarissa’s.

Qualitatively, Belford’s extractions are more significantly skewed in favor of Lovelace. For instance, although both Lovelace and Clarissa describe the scene when Lovelace conspires to remove Clarissa from Mrs. Sinclair’s by taking her to see a performance of *Venice Preserved*, Belford omits the material from Clarissa’s letter of 19 May. Defending the deletion, Belford states in his editorial note that “She then gives the particulars of the conversation which she had overheard between Mr. Lovelace, Mrs. Sinclair, and Miss Martin; but accounts more minutely than he had done, for the opportunity she had of overhearing it, unknown to them” (IV: 147—48). Despite the more substantial information found in Clarissa’s version (she “accounts more minutely” than Lovelace), Belford chooses to include Lovelace’s less detailed account. In Lovelace’s letter, his wit distorts the severity of his dangerous plotting as he glories in his ability to orchestrate and control the events of the evening. With a play on words, for instance, Lovelace tells Belford that “We are equally happy--Preparing for the Play”--both the drama of *Venice Preserved* as well as his own drama involving the manipulation of Clarissa. Showing the extent of his control, Lovelace proudly continues, “Polly has offered her company, and is accepted. I have directed her where to weep” (IV: 146). As the editor, Belford controls Lovelace’s characterization,
granting him the status of the speaking subject and allowing his personality and self-confidence to control, and potentially to minimize, the readers' reactions to the scene. By selecting Lovelace's account, despite its limitations, Belford denies Clarissa the opportunity to supply not only more minute details but also commentary that could provide a reassessment of Lovelace's wit.

Even when Lovelace's text is not chosen, Lovelace tends to benefit from Belford's editorial decisions. For instance, when Lovelace gives specific details of his plans to deny Clarissa her freedom in a letter of 8 May, Belford chooses not to extract particular passages from the text, offering instead a brief summary of how Lovelace:

relates several of his contrivances, and boasts of his instructions given in writing to Dorcas and to his servant Will. Summers; and says, that he has provided against every possible accident, even to bring her back if she should escape . . . ; and hopes so to manage, as that, should he make an attempt, whether he succeed in it, or not, he may have a pretense to detain her. (IV: 45).

By relating Lovelace's "contrivances" in the third person, Belford undermines the "writing to the moment" intensity of the epistolary text and consequently minimizes the severity of Lovelace's plots. More significantly, Belford's oblique reference to an "attempt" euphemistically camouflages Lovelace's interest in raping Clarissa. Belford's summary--an editorial decision made without explanation or rationale--protects Lovelace's portrayal by inadequately representing the significance of the original text.
Although Lovelace benefits in this last instance from the omission of a part of his text, Clarissa typically does not fare as well when the editor omits her texts. Editorial extractions involve the endorsement of one voice over another. When Belford chooses to include Lovelace's version of an event over Clarissa's, the loss of voice for Clarissa is similar to that which occurs when her parents remove writing materials from her bedroom chamber or when Lovelace steals her letters while she attends Venice Preserved. Each situation limits Clarissa's ability to create and control her self-representation. Lovelace can overcome Belford's editorial extractions because he has other avenues related to his class and gender which allow him to define himself. Clarissa's autonomy, on the other hand, is in large part limited to her ability to engage in and to publish her epistolary correspondence with Anna.

Thus, when Belford omits Clarissa's accounts, she loses her ability to depict herself and Lovelace from the subject position. For instance, although Clarissa recounts for Anna important details following the rape, Belford omits her text, announcing in an editorial note that:

The Lady next gives an account, Of her recovery from her delirium and sleepy disorder. . . . Of the guilty figure he made; Of her resolution not to have him; Of her several efforts to escape. . . . And of other particulars; which being to be found in Mr. Lovelace's Letters preceding, and the Letter of his friend Belford, are omitted. (VI: 175)38

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Although Belford appears objective as he provides readers with alternative texts to supplement the material omitted from Clarissa’s account, the two letters he cites fail to illustrate Lovelace’s “guilty figure” as described by Clarissa. In his summary, Belford refers to his own letter of 29 June describing Clarissa’s first escape following the rape and to Lovelace’s response of 30 June. Belford, while upset with Lovelace, never directly criticizes his friend, falling instead into a philosophical lamentation of libertine values (VI: 98); he concludes his letter with an approval of Lovelace, telling his friend “I must add, that, as well for thy own sake, as for the Lady’s, I wish ye were yet to be married to each other” (VI: 98). Lovelace, rather than describing his own “guilty figure,” instead posits himself as the victim of Clarissa and women in general. First, Lovelace laments, “It is certainly as much my misfortune to have fallen in with Miss Clarissa Harlowe, were I to have valued my reputation or ease, as it is that of Miss Harlowe to have been acquainted with me” (VI: 100). Then, after he dismisses the rape as “this unhappy—Accident” and describes how the event “stung [him] to the very soul” (VI: 102), Lovelace positions himself as a passive victim of feminine guile, announcing to Belford that “I was under the power of fascination from these accursed Circes” (VI: 103). Although readers can certainly find unintentional irony in Lovelace’s pose, Belford’s choosing of his account nonetheless de-emphasizes Lovelace’s
culpability in the rape. More importantly, Belford's editorial selection denies Clarissa the opportunity to speak as subject about Lovelace's rakish behaviors. The ability to speak through epistolary texts denied to her, Clarissa remains in the subordinated position as object of control, not only to Lovelace but now also to the editor Belford.

The implications of Belford's limiting Clarissa's ability to present her self-representation are seen in a seemingly minor editorial omission from Volume IV. After Lovelace makes an early attempt on 9 May at stealing a letter that has fallen from Clarissa's hand, Clarissa recounts the event for Anna: "We are quite out again. I shut myself up from him. The offense indeed not very great--And yet it is too. He had like to have gotten a Letter. One of yours. . . . He did not read a line of it. Indeed he did not. So don't be uneasy" (IV: 56). Clarissa recognizes that many readers might find the event trivial or "not very great." However, because the epistolary text offers Clarissa and Anna their only means of communicating and expressing their selves, Lovelace's act is significant to her. Anna would certainly recognize the seriousness implied in Clarissa's quiet aside, "And yet it is too." At the point in the letter when Clarissa describes Lovelace's actions, Belford omits her text, offering readers a simple explanation: "She then gives Miss Howe an account of his coming in by surprise upon her: Of his stuttering speech: Of
his bold address: Of her struggle with him for the Letter, &c." (IV: 56).

Belford’s summary again appears objective, suggesting to readers that he omits Clarissa’s text to avoid undue repetition of content already offered in Lovelace’s previous letter. Lovelace’s account of the “struggle,” however, is idiosyncratic at best, filled with sexually-charged descriptions that damage the portrayal of Clarissa’s subjectivity. What Belford euphemistically dismisses as a “bold address” is in fact Lovelace’s objectification of Clarissa. In his own letter of 9 May, Lovelace describes how Clarissa’s presence arouses him, admitting that “clasping her closer to me, I gave her a more fervent kiss than ever I had dared to give her before” and that he “burn[s] with a desire to be admitted into so sweet a correspondence” (IV: 50). Clarissa becomes a sexualized object of Lovelace’s male gaze. Lovelace projects his arousal onto Clarissa herself, as her letter becomes “ravished” (IV: 50) while she is “gasping” and “ready to faint with passion” (IV: 51). By selecting Lovelace’s account, Belford appropriates his gaze, and consequently Belford, and by extension his readers, are free to view voyeuristically Clarissa’s sexually-charged image. There is no danger of having the gaze broken, because Belford omits Clarissa’s account. Belford’s editorial decision denies Clarissa the opportunity to invoke her own subjectivity for her public audience, and therefore in her own life and
posthumously in her own published text, Clarissa remains the object of manipulation and control.

In addition to his editorial role preparing Clarissa’s letters for the public, Belford also acts as a private publisher, collecting and preparing texts directly for both Clarissa and Lovelace. Belford addresses competing needs in his two audiences, as he must somehow satisfy Clarissa’s femininity and morality and at the same time accommodate Lovelace’s masculinity and libertine values. As I will show, Belford cannot maintain the integrity of the texts he edits and at the same time satisfy both parties.

In one instance, Belford briefly functions as Clarissa’s private editor prior to her official request in Volume VII that he serve as collector of her letters and executor of her final will. The brief episode is important, because it establishes Belford’s willingness to alter the content of a letter based on his perceived needs of the audience. On 18 July, as Belford and Clarissa discuss her recent arrest, he refers to Lovelace’s “outrageous Letter” (VI: 295) describing the episode; Clarissa asks to see the letter after learning that Belford has the text in his possession. In recalling this situation for Lovelace, Belford explains his editorial dilemma:

This puzzled me horribly: For you must needs think, that most of the free things, which, among us Rakes, pass for Wit and Spirit, must be shocking stuff to the ears or eyes of persons of delicacy of that Sex. . . . Something like this I observed to her; and would fain have excused myself from shewing it: But she was so earnest, that I undertook to read some parts of it,
resolving to omit the most exceptionable. (VI: 295–96)

Though Belford is willing "to omit the most exceptionable" passages in the oral version presented to Clarissa, he records his emendations and retains the integrity of the text when corresponding with Lovelace. For instance, Belford explains that "I omitted thy curse upon thy relations, whom thou wert gallanting" (VI: 296), referring to Lovelace’s derisive remarks about Lord M, Lady Sarah, Lady Betty, Cousin Charlotte, and Cousin Patty in the original letter (VI: 240). Later, when reference is made to Sinclair and her consorts (VI: 241), Belford again omits lines for Clarissa, explaining to Lovelace that "I passed over thy charge to me, to curse them by the hour; and thy names of Dragon and Serpents, tho’ applicable; since, had I read them, thou must have been supposed to know from the first, what creatures they were" (VI: 299). Belford justifies his editorial omissions on the grounds of decorum --his concern that the content might offend Clarissa’s feminine sensitivity. As he admits in the second alteration, though, Belford also uses his editorial power to protect Lovelace’s reputation. We as readers have access, through the footnote of the external editor, Richardson, to the complete text of Lovelace’s “furious Letter” (VI: 296). Clarissa does not, and this lack of a definitive text affects her knowledge not only of Lovelace’s character but also of Belford’s editorial methodology.
Confident of Belford's sincerity, both as a person and as an editor, Clarissa then makes her official request for him to act as her editor and executor. Clarissa asks Belford for two sets of extracts, specifying that "the passages I would wish to be transcribed (making neither better nor worse of the matter) are those which he has written to you, on or about the 7th and 8th of June, when I was alarmed by the wicked pretense of a Fire; and what he has written from Sunday June 11. to the 19th" (VII: 65). The first set of requested transcriptions includes letters fifty-eight and fifty-nine of Volume IV and letters one through four of Volume V; the second set includes letters seventeen through nineteen, twenty-two through thirty-two, and thirty-four through forty-three of Volume V. Belford quickly begins transcribing the thirty total letters, and by the next day completes his work, concluding the transcriptions with the following editorial note to Clarissa: "you will hereby see the justice [Lovelace] does to you in every line he writes" (VII: 67). From a non-editorial perspective, Belford is correct in this statement, since the passages that he prepares for Clarissa include negative references to Lovelace stealing and annotating the indice letter (V: 29–30), his admission of having set the aforementioned fire (V: 183), his rakish desire for multiple, annual marriages (V: 270–71), his willingness to use force in revenging himself on Clarissa and the Harlowe
family (V: 283), and his voyeuristic gazing through the keyhole of Clarissa’s door following the rape (V: 330).

From an editorial perspective, however, Belford’s claim that Lovelace’s letters benefit Clarissa is inaccurate. Because Belford serves as private editor to both Clarissa and Lovelace, he cannot accommodate both parties with one text. Therefore, Belford creates second versions of Lovelace’s letters to please Clarissa. Belford identifies his dual obligations in his letter to Lovelace of 4 August, when he explains to his friend that “I have actually delivered to the Lady the Extracts she requested me to give her from your Letters. I do assure you that I have made the very best of the matter for you” (VII: 72). Despite Clarissa’s stipulation that Belford “make . . . neither better nor worse of the matter” (VII: 65) in his transcriptions, Belford admits that he has “made the very best” for Lovelace. Specifying his editorial manipulation of Lovelace’s letters, Belford continues: “I have changed or omitted some free words. The warm description of her Person in the Fire-Scene, as I may call it, I have omitted” (VII: 72). In this instance, readers receive no footnoted page reference from the external editor for Lovelace’s original letter of 8 June—so in a sense, Richardson and Belford act complicitly. Still, the scene is memorable enough that readers could either recall the specifics of Lovelace’s striking description or find the letter itself, opportunely located at the end of Volume IV. Clarissa, on the other
hand, lacks the ability to examine the unedited copy text. Consequently, possessing only Belford’s corrupted transcription, Clarissa is denied access to Lovelace’s sexualized descriptions of the fire scene.

Although Belford fails to specify his exact emendations, an examination of the passages in Lovelace’s letter containing “free words” or a “warm description” shows the significance of the lines potentially lacking in the transcribed version. Upon first seeing Clarissa after she hears the cries of “Fire! Fire!”, Lovelace describes her as clutching Dorcas for support and as “sighing, trembling, and ready to faint, with nothing on but an under-petticoat, her lovely bosom half-open” (IV: 366). Earlier in the letter, Lovelace also describes Dorcas with sexualized language, as “more than half-undrest, her petticoats in her hand, unable to speak distinctly” (IV: 365). Demonstrating his masculine ability to redefine subjectivity, Lovelace creates a subtly pornographic lesbian image of the two embracing women, each lacking language and each with her breasts partially exposed. Suggesting his own heterosexual appeal, Lovelace next explains how Clarissa, after seeing him, “panted, and struggled to speak . . . and down was ready to sink” (IV: 366). Lovelace also alludes to his own sexual prowess, noting that “I clasped [Clarissa] in my arms with an ardor she never felt before . . . Oh Jack! how her sweet bosom, as I clasped her to mine, heaved and panted! I could even distinguish her dear heart flutter, flutter, flutter against
mine; and for a few minutes, I feared she would go into fits" (IV: 366–67). Despite what Lovelace reports as Clarissa's apparent near climax, he describes himself as unsatisfied, asking Belford: "But what did I get by this my generous care of her, and by my successful endeavour to bring her to herself?—Nothing (ungrateful as she was!) but the most passionate exclamations" (IV: 367). Lovelace concludes the sexualized episode by describing how both he and Clarissa had momentarily forgotten the fire: "I, from the joy of incircling the almost disrobed body of the loveliest of her Sex; she, from the greater terrors that arose from finding herself in my arms, and both seated on the bed, from which she had been so lately frightened" (IV: 367). Seven pages later, Lovelace concludes the letter with one last sexualized statement, objectifying Clarissa first as a classical figure and then as a sexual being: "I love her more than ever! . . . Never saw I polished ivory so beautiful as her arms and shoulders; never touched I velvet so soft as her skin: Her virgin bosom—O Belford, she is all perfection!" (IV: 374).

After reading Belford's corrupted transcriptions of Lovelace's letters, Clarissa accepts them in lieu of her own accounts, telling Belford that "I was so well satisfied of my Innocence, that, having not time to write my own Story, I could entrust it to the relation which the destroyer of my fame and fortunes has given of it" (VII: 70). Admittedly, if "Innocence" is the criterion, then the removal of the
passages above—all showing no culpability on Clarissa's part—would not have affected her positive reading of the transcriptions. Nonetheless, denied an accurate text, Clarissa cannot know of Lovelace's sexualized descriptions of her actions during the fire. By acquiescing to Lovelace's letters based on Belford's edited texts, Clarissa unknowingly allows Lovelace to define her subjectivity. In Lovelace's description of the fire scene, Clarissa becomes a sexualized figure, an image to be gazed upon by future readers, including Lovelace and Belford. Consequently, Clarissa's body undergoes another form of appropriation, though unbeknown to her, because of her lack of a definitive text. In this instance, rather than controlling Clarissa's physical body through an arranged marriage or through rape, Belford the editor intervenes to allow the textual appropriation to take place.

Having access only to Lovelace's transcribed texts (unlike Belford, Lovelace, and even we, the public readers, who can view the original, unedited letters), Clarissa is unaware of Belford's editorial method and his willingness to alter texts to protect Lovelace. Belford not only admits to deleting and changing words in the fire scene letter (VII: 72), but he also admits to similar editorial alterations in subsequent letters he presents to Clarissa. For instance, in his 31 August letter to Lovelace, Belford tells his friend that:

I re'd to her such parts of your Letters as I could read to her; and I thought it was a good
test to distinguish the froth and whipt-syllabub in them from the cream, in what one could read to a woman of so fine a mind; since four parts out of six of thy Letters, which I thought entertaining as I re'd them to myself, appeared to me, when I would have re'd them to her, most abominable stuff, and gave me a very contemptible idea of thy talents, and of my own judgment. (VII: 296)

In this instance, and in the fire scene letter as well, Belford first justifies his editorial alterations on the grounds of decorum, suggesting his attention to the delicate needs of his female reader, Clarissa. However, in both instances, Belford also quietly alludes to a second justification for altering the texts: his interest in protecting Lovelace. For instance, in this second example, even though Belford finds Lovelace’s text “abominable” and “contemptible,” he chooses not to make this information available to Clarissa. Similarly, while discussing with Lovelace the benefits of his corrupted fire scene transcription, Belford tells his friend that “[Clarissa] acknowledges, that if the same decency and justice are observed in all your Letters, as in the Extracts I have obliged her with (as I have assured her they are) she shall think herself freed from the necessity of writing her own Story: And this is an advantage to thee which thou oughtest to thank me for” (VII: 72–73). As an editor, Belford alters letters not with copy text or any valid editorial concern in mind. Rather, like Lovelace altering words and meaning in the indice letter, Belford operates from the aesthetic orientation, accepting passages that suit
Lovelace's needs and emending those words and passages that he, as the empowered editor, does not like.

Belford's demonstrated intentions "to do" suggest his inability to act independently of Lovelace, an editorial concern he addresses in an apology to Lovelace for sharing extracts of his writing with Clarissa. Three days after telling Lovelace that the extracts had been forwarded to Clarissa, Belford attempts to justify his actions to his friend:

I hope thou art not indeed displeased the Extracts I have made from thy Letters for her. The letting her know the justice thou hast done to her virtue in them, is so much in favour of thy ingenuousness (a quality, let me repeat, that gives thee a superiority over common Libertines) that I think in my heart I was right; tho' to any other woman, and to one who had not known the worst of thee that she could know, it might have been wrong. If the end will justify the means, it is plain, that I have done well with regard to ye both; since I have made her easier, and thee appear in a better light to her, than otherwise thou wouldst have done. (VII: 90–91)

Although Belford suggests that he has accommodated the conflicting interests of both Clarissa and Lovelace, his skeptical reference to "the means" and his opaque fear that "it might have been wrong" suggests his concern over having mislead Clarissa. Illustrating his subordinated position to Lovelace, Belford obsequiously seeks Lovelace's approval for his editorial actions: "I hope thou art not indeed displeased." Further, as only a libertine would seem willing to do, Belford praises Lovelace for his exemplary rakish values, elevating him above "common Libertines" and
applauding him for his "ingenuousness." However, still concerned with Lovelace’s displeasure, Belford makes further conciliatory concessions later in the letter: “But if, nevertheless, thou art dissatisfied with my having obliged her in a point, which I acknowledge to be delicate, let us canvas this matter at our first meeting: And then I will shew thee what the Extracts were, and what connexions I gave them in thy favour” (VII: 91). Having admitted his editorial bias in favor of Lovelace, Belford can only unassuredly announce his independence one sentence later, telling Lovelace, “I am my own man, I hope” (VII: 91). Despite the statement, Belford’s reformed status must be questioned, since he continues at this late stage of the novel to seek approbation from Lovelace.

As an extension of his desire to please his libertine friend, Belford transfers his own editorial power as a compiler, granted by Clarissa, back to Lovelace. Following his rape of Clarissa, Lovelace becomes a fallen Satanic figure and is consumed by his own evil. Consequently, he loses the ability to edit and control texts, as shown when Anna and Clarissa invoke their own editorial power to reconstruct the indice letter or when Belford requires him to return packets of letters. Although Anna and Clarissa act as editors to undermine Lovelace, they realize that editorial privilege typically lies with the male, and thus Clarissa transfers control of her letters and her self-representation to Belford. (Anna makes an effort to retain
some control over the publication of Clarissa’s story, but her power is limited; in fact, Anna never questions Belford’s actions.) Although Lovelace can no longer commandeer letters at will during the later stages of the novel, Belford makes important texts available to him, thereby acting as Lovelace’s private publisher. Not only does Belford show Lovelace the extracts, but he also forwards to his friend sensitive texts that Clarissa never intended for him to see, including her intimate deathbed letter to Anna (VII: 405); letters of reconciliation to Clarissa from Mrs. Norton (VIII: 9–12), Arabella (VIII: 12–12), and Uncle John (VIII: 13–14); and her posthumous letters to her family (VIII: 22–33). In a follow-up note to Clarissa’s posthumous letters, Belford specifies his editorial intention in forwarding sensitive letters to Lovelace: “It is my design to make thee feel. It gives me pleasure to find my intention answered” (VIII: 33). Taken literally, Belford uses Clarissa’s private texts to force Lovelace to see the tragic consequences of his abuse of Clarissa. However, given his ongoing willingness to subordinate himself and his editorial power to Lovelace, Belford’s statement alludes to his desire to please his friend. Though Lovelace causes Clarissa’s death, he maintains his ability to peruse her letters through Belford’s editorial assistance. In effect, both Belford and Lovelace continue to gaze voyeuristically upon Clarissa, even after her death.
The consequences for Clarissa of Belford’s continued commitment to Lovelace are severe. As I have already pointed out, when Belford emends Lovelace’s letters, he alters the linguistic representation of Lovelace and Clarissa. In other words, Belford—the-editor, operating under a libertine aesthetic orientation, changes the subjectivity created through the epistolary correspondence. Not only is Clarissa’s self-representation altered, but more importantly, her autonomy—the ability to define one’s own self—is undermined and removed from her control. Thus, even after her death, Clarissa’s self-representation remains in the control of male prerogative.

Notes to Chapter 6


4 Preston, 53.

5 Terry Castle, Clarissa’s Ciphers: Meaning and Disruption in Richardson’s “Clarissa” (Ithaca and London: Cornell University Press, 1982), 20.


9 Cope, 22.


11 Bobbitt, 57.

12 Bobbitt, 67.


14 Wimsatt and Beardsley, 487.


17 Parker, 60.

18 Shillingsburg, Scholarly Editing, 35, 34.


For a convincing argument in favor of the third edition as copy-text, see Florian Stuber, "On Original and Final Intentions, or Can There Be an Authoritative Clarissa?," *TEXT: Transactions of the Society for Textual Scholarship* 2 (1985).

27 In the note to her executor affixed to the beginning of her will, Clarissa admits to having "altered and added to" (VIII: 96) the document. In a will, contemplation and careful thinking would have been expected.


31 Bradford describes the index sign as "a Note like a Hand, with the Forefinger pointing out at something that is Remarkable" (31).

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Clarissa tells Anna that “I know not by what means several of his machinations to ruin me were brought about; so that some material parts of my sad Story must be defective, if I were to sit down to write it” (VII: 46).

Clarissa later explains to Belford that “It will be an Honour to my Memory, with all those who shall know, that I was so well satisfied of my Innocence, that, having not time to write my own Story, I could entrust it to the relation which the destroyer of my fame and fortunes has given of it” (VII: 70).

Belford first collects a “Meditation” in Volume VI, and he tells Lovelace that “The Lady is not to know that I have taken a Copy” (VI: 391).

In total, Clarissa has fifteen of her letters extracted to eleven for Lovelace. Of the other six extracted letters, five belong to Belford and one belongs to Thomas Doleman.

Belford also uses an editorial catalogue to summarize Clarissa’s account of her arrest in letter XCIV (VI: 385).

Earlier, Lovelace identifies the strategic importance of telling one’s own story, announcing to Belford that “It is much better, Jack, to tell your own Story, when it must be known, than to have an adversary tell it for you” (VI: 224).

When Belford begins collecting letters after Clarissa’s death, Anna tells him:

I will throw into your hands a few materials, that may serve by way of supplement, as I may say, to those you will be able to collect from the papers themselves. . . . All these together will enable you, who seem to be so great an admirer of her virtues, to perform the task; and, I think, better than any person I know. But I make it my request, that if you do any-thing in this way, you will let me see it.—If I find it not to my mind, I will add or diminish, as justice shall require. (VIII: 196)
CHAPTER 7
CONCLUSION

Pardon me, Sir, but I was before of opinion that you in your Belford had drawn your own picture, that you had seen the world and loved her, but afterwards escaped out of her inticements.
—Johannes Stinstra to Samuel Richardson (24 December 1753)

As to the Knowlege I seem to have had of the wicked Hearts and Actions of such Men as Lovelace, which engages your Wonder, I have been always as attentive to the Communication / I may say to the profligate Boastings / of the one Sex, as I have been to the Disguises of the other. I will only add on this subject, that I never was a Belford.
—Richardson to Stinstra (20 March 1754)

The epigraphs to this chapter, taken from the brief though informative correspondence between Samuel Richardson and Johannes Stinstra, his German translator, point to a number of issues discussed in this dissertation. First, Stinstra's assumption that Richardson, like Belford, once led a rake's life suggests other parallels between the two, including the fact that both men acted as editors and that both men at times used editing to protect Lovelace and a status quo which favored the male. Then, Richardson's denial of any resemblance to Belford exemplifies the way in which self-representations are negotiated in epistolary discourse. In Richardson's correspondence as well as in Clarissa's fictional letters, writers work to present their experiences and emotions through their own voices—an action I define in the early chapters as the construction of subjectivity. Next, Stinstra's apparent misinterpretation illustrates the indeterminate meaning of the linguistic
text, as also seen in Clarissa’s “Father’s House” letter. Finally, Stinstra, by assigning biographical meaning to Belford’s characterization, walks head-on into the theoretical snare known today as authorial intention. In reading Belford as a point of intersection between Richardson’s real life and the fictional landscape of Harlowe Place, Stinstra attempts to ascertain Richardson’s “intention to mean.” Consequently, Stinstra piques Richardson’s vanity and commits what Wimsatt and Beardsley in 1946 coined the “intentional fallacy.” We cannot be certain whether or not Richardson’s denial is reliable, but his rebuttal to Stinstra shows the dangerous ground treaded by critics who attempt to ascertain what an author means in his own mind.

In this study, I have tried to avoid Stinstra’s interpretative error by using editorial theory and by focusing on how texts are constructed and manipulated. By focusing on the status of the texts, I am able to investigate the actions, or the verifiable “intentions to do,” of Richardson and his characters in Clarissa. Richardson, Clarissa, Anna, Belford, and Lovelace all construct texts and alter them following their initial composition. From these actions, signified in the various versions of the novel and the fictional letters, I am able to draw conclusions concerning the effects of the author’s and editor’s intention to create a particular text. Richardson may not have the libertine past of Belford, but
examination of his editing within *Clarissa* shows that both men edit in order to control the interpretations of their readers. Although Richardson and Belford both announce objective editorial theories, their editorial practices often fail to meet their stated goals. For instance, both men sometimes take passages out of context, omit essential information from summaries, and alter texts in a manner that significantly changes the original authorial meaning.

Critics today continue to overlook Richardson's editing as a fictional guise announced on the title page of *Clarissa*, but Richardson actually does serve as an editor of his novel, and his actions have real life consequences. For instance, Richardson’s constant editorial tinkering in each edition of the novel created the need for ancillary texts which contained the new or revised passages. Consequently, *Clarissa* became something of an eighteenth-century literary fad, as readers supplemented their initial copy of the novel with separately printed copies of *Remarks on Clarissa* (1749), *Letters and Passages Restored* (1751), and *A Collection of Moral Sentiments* (1755). More adversely, Richardson’s silent editing of lines from Elizabeth Carter’s "Ode to Wisdom" altered the authorial meaning of the poem, an act of editorial appropriation which Carter was able to counter only with the help of the publisher Edward Cave. Within the novel itself, characters also assert editorial power, and the consequences of deceitful editing are even more severe. Lovelace, as a fictional editor, controls the
transmission of Clarissa’s texts, subsequently gaining control of her thoughts and ultimately her physical body. Likewise, Belford, as compiler of Clarissa’s letters, controls her textual self-representation by altering the subjectivity depicted in her familiar letters. Editorial actions are a central component of Clarissa’s plot, yet without an emphasis on texts and textual status, readers typically overlook these recurring thematic elements.

Clarissa is an ideal text for looking at textual construction and editorial actions. Richardson, because of his multifaceted role in the production of the novel, ranging from commentator and printer to author and textual editor, has the ability to control the novel’s material as well as linguistic texts. Consequently, changing the text is a decision that Richardson makes himself, rather than one made by booksellers or printers with nonauthorial agendas. Clarissa undergoes significant and frequent alterations, providing the textual / literary critic with numerous examples of Richardson’s “intentions to do.” Richardson spent his life constructing texts—as an author, editor, epistolary correspondent, and printer—and so it is not surprising that he creates characters in Clarissa who, in effect, enthusiastically emulate him.

While my textual / literary approach has helped me to understand how the status of the text influences meaning in Clarissa, an approach of this sort also raises a number of issues that require further examination in another study.
First, after seeing how the sex of the editor in Clarissa influences the text produced, I began to consider how gender might influence real-life editing. Recent scientific evidence has shown differences in the ways that men and women communicate. So perhaps there are also differences in how men and women edit. I believe it would prove worthwhile to investigate the editorial approaches advocated by male and female editors to see if gender has an impact on editorial theory. As an extension to this line of inquiry, it would be interesting to examine the practical implications of gender on editing, primarily whether the texts produced by male editors are any different from the texts produced by female editors. Twentieth-century editing is rarely described in gendered terms, but perhaps this is simply because the majority of textual editors today, especially editorial theorists, are male. Given that editing imposes control not only over words but also over an author’s voice and sometimes his/her self-representation, it seems appropriate to investigate whether in fact there is a parallel between the gender-influenced fictional editing depicted in Clarissa and today’s real editing.

A second concern generated by this study is related to Richardson. Namely, I still wonder who this enigmatic figure really is. Richardson can be placed in many different, and sometimes contradictory, categories. For instance, he functioned as a businessman, as a government printer, as an aesthetically-concerned printer, as a
fictional author, as a moralist, and as a letter writer. He conversed with all classes of society, from the apprentices in the print shop to Samuel Johnson and members of the Literary Club. I wonder, then, who is this author who speaks of empowering Clarissa yet disempowers, in real life, Elizabeth Carter; who invites his female correspondents to critique his novels only to disparage their constructive comments; who revises his novel to make Lovelace more villainous, only to temper his portrayal in appendices to the novel; and who silently alters texts other than his own, in a manner similar to Belford and Lovelace. My frustration arises from an interest in knowing Richardson’s “intention to mean.” I want to know what Richardson hoped to accomplish through these contradictory actions. Was he protecting the patriarchal status quo? Was he simply protecting his fictional narrative at the expense of his didactic message? Unfortunately, Richardson’s meaning, as Stinstra learned in his reading of Belford, can never be recovered in any definitive sense.

However, more remains to be learned about Richardson’s recoverable “intentions to do,” especially about his textual emendations displayed in Clarissa’s lesser-known, later editions. Currently, the 1750 third edition is accepted as the last version of the novel in which Richardson made substantial changes to the text. Consequently, the octavo fourth edition, also printed in 1750, and the duodecimo fifth edition of 1759, the last edition printed during
Richardson’s lifetime, are dismissed as having few textual variants. However, during my own examination of the musical plate from a fourth edition housed at the Noel Library (Louisiana State University Shreveport) and the 1759 fifth edition, I found a number of significant changes to formatting and substantives from the third edition—changes that again alter the meaning of Carter’s poem. Given Richardson’s propensity for altering his text, I do not find these emendations surprising. Ideally, an updated and complete mechanical collation of each of the five editions of Clarissa published during Richardson’s lifetime is needed—a collation that includes multiple versions of each edition, so that stop-press corrections can also be detected. Comparison of the five editions of Clarissa is an enormous task, but it is a task that will be made easier with the continued development of flatbed scanners and computerized collating programs. While Richardson’s changes to the last two editions may be less numerous than those to the third, I believe that significant emendations will still be found. From these signifiers of “intention to do,” perhaps more conclusions can be drawn concerning what Richardson was trying to accomplish in altering his novel.

More generally, this study raises questions about the nature of texts—about how they are constructed, interpreted, and negotiated. In constructing his text, Richardson was technologically advanced for his time, employing engravers, utilizing an atypical number of fonts,
and formatting pages with innovations that broke the conventional linear appearance of the printed page. Richardson viewed Clarissa as a dynamic, ever-changing document, and thus the printed word was by no means a permanent word for him. Richardson wanted his readers to find a specific moral message in his fictional text, and when his correspondents disappointed him with “incorrect” readings, Richardson emended his text. Consequently, the text for Richardson was a work-in-progress, influenced by the author, printer, editor, and reader. Jim Springer Borck is correct, then, when he refers to Clarissa as “a long literary fragment” and points out that the novel’s development was halted only by Richardson’s death.4

Interestingly, today’s technology allows writers to construct linguistic and physical texts in much the same way as Richardson. With the relative ease of modern desktop publishing, a person can function as both author as well as printer. Computers encourage authors to construct dynamic linguistic texts, as revisions can be made easily with the help of “copy,” “insert,” and “delete” keys. After a simple “save,” a new version of the text is electronically created. The physical appearance of the text is especially accessible to the modern author. Whereas Richardson had to turn to an engraver to develop Clarissa’s script font for the musical plate, today’s writer simply turns to the word processor. Technology replaces the composing stick and type case with the font manager, and as a result the author / compositor

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can set a passage in 12 point Script and seconds later have the same passage reset in 8 point Old English Text or 16 point Times. More and more, publishing houses are expecting authors to produce camera-ready texts, and thus, in a sense, the compositor's table has been moved into the author's office or home. However, should the author so choose, current laser printers operating at 1200 dpi replicate the high resolution and definition of the photo-engraved plate in a rotary press, and so even the print shop can be moved into the author's home. Given the accessibility of today's technology, the modern text remains a dynamic work-in-progress, independently controlled by a multi-talented author / printer, much like it was for Richardson.

However, twentieth-century technology also allows for the construction of a text drastically different than Richardson's texts: the electronic text. The implications of the quickly growing electronic text will require the attention of both textual and literary critics. The text for Richardson was an object for readers to hold in their hands, and he relied on the visual appearance of the material text to convey meaning. Richardson recognized how the unique physical traits of paper, wax seals, ink, and handwriting carried meaning in familiar letters, and thus he carefully attempted to imitate these epistolary physical traits within the print environment of Clarissa. Even the size of the book had subtle meaning for Richardson's readers, and consequently Richardson chose the more
expensive, striking octavo format for the 1750 fourth edition which he presented to close friends.

Through modern technology, it is now possible to construct an electronic text which lacks the conventional physical qualities found in paper, binding, experimental type fonts, and handwriting. Peter L. Shillingsburg and Jim Springer Borck have both discussed the benefits of electronic editions, concurring on the following points: 1) they offer the chance to search large texts rapidly for specific words, creating in effect an electronic concordance; 2) their use of a universal marking system (either SGML or HTML) facilitates searches and also allows everyone, regardless of the computer type or system software being used, to access the text; and 3) their use of a tree-structured format allows readers to trace variants from edition to edition.\(^5\) Another obvious benefit to electronic texts is that a large number of texts can be made available to an expanded audience through CD ROM technology and the internet. The Gutenburg Project, for instance, has set the lofty goal of providing 100,000 free electronic texts on the World Wide Web by the year 2000.\(^6\)

While the physical book is not yet in danger of becoming extinct, textual and literary critics will need to consider the implications of the newly emerging electronic text. For instance, attention needs to be paid to how technology alters the reading process. The tree-structure format of the electronic text offers readers the chance to
negotiate multiple versions of a text simultaneously. For instance, in a complete electronic Clarissa (one that would include all five editions published in Richardson's lifetime), readers could perform a Boolean search for the word "coffin," and then examine not only where the word occurs in the third edition but also see how the placement of the word may have changed in any of the other four editions. While this capability certainly allows for very specific, particular readings, at the same time it also alters the concept of a text being a single work. A novel such as Clarissa, when formatted electronically, becomes the product of all of its editions—a super eclectic text. Readers will no longer read only the first edition or the third edition but will encounter a composite Clarissa. In a sense, "the text" becomes defined by the reader of the electronic version, since the reader can easily choose to read a passage from any edition or combination of editions. With modern technology, Richardson may be responsible for the words of Clarissa, but readers become responsible for the organization of the text they read.

While electronic technology holds tremendous possibilities concerning the presentation of the linguistic text, it is handicapped in its ability to present material features of a text. For instance, in the electronic third edition of Clarissa being constructed by Borck at Louisiana State University, printer's ornaments, ornamental initials, and even the marginal bullets that distinguish the edition
are unable to be replicated through HTML. Shillingsburg, in his critique of the Gutenburg project (at one point referring to it as a "textual junkyard"), emphasizes its lack of editorial principles but also points out how material details are lost in the electronic environment:

Its texts are unreliable, for they are insufficiently proofread, inadequately marked for font and formatting, and they come from who knows where, their sources unrecorded. . . . Texts are assumed to consist of letters and punctuation in a series, regardless of font or format. In order to ensure that texts can be read by anyone anywhere, all formatting, font specifications, and special typographic effects are eliminated.

Shillingsburg only hints at the negative implications of the lost material features, suggesting that something important is lost when "font and formatting" and "special typographic effects" are neglected in order to standardize a text into its "letters and punctuation in a series." However, the impact on the reading process of the loss of material features in an electronic text deserves expanded attention.

Critics, both textual and literary, will need to consider the essentialness of material features to a text. For instance, is Laurence Sterne's Tristam Shandy still Tristam Shandy without the marbled pages, engraved frontispiece, and numerous typographical embellishments? Similarly, is Richardson's Clarissa still Clarissa without a script font, em dashes, and italic letters? My own answer is "no," but the far-reaching potential for presenting linguistic texts electronically appears to outweigh the
material drawbacks in the eyes of many critics who want easy access to the texts.

It should be noted that improved technology may shortly allow an electronic text to be integrated with visual images of its original manuscript or printed pages. Currently, when texts are scanned for conversion to HTML or SGML, an image of the page is made by the scanner. Ideally, when the electronic text was produced, this image would be linked to the linguistic text, and with a simple click of the mouse, the reader could move between the electronic text and the image of the original page. Storing a text image on a website or hard drive is difficult, since each image can require upwards of 100K of memory. For a 3000 page novel such as Clarissa, the memory requirements currently preclude an electronic text that includes text images. However, CD ROMs utilizing blue light lasers, able to hold 100 times the data of conventional red light lasers, are under development and may allow the electronic text to retain a visual representation of its material features. Until this technology becomes economically feasible, though, critics will need to recognize the material limitations of the electronic text.

For me, the most appealing aspect of Clarissa is its many dynamic features. Because of the extraordinary length of the novel, I recognize new details and find new instances of the interconnected plot each time I approach the text. Each new reading brings with it new meaning. And of course,
Richardson is always changing the text and its physical presentation through each of the five editions he published in his lifetime. Perhaps because of Richardson’s willingness to let the novel change and develop, Clarissa continues to grow and expand today with new editions and new commentary appearing regularly. This dissertation about constructing and editing texts, then, is just one contribution to the ongoing discourse Richardson began when he first wrote to Edward Young, Aaron Hill, and Colley Cibber in 1744 and asked for their initial thoughts on his manuscript of Clarissa.

Notes to Chapter 7


2 Richardson-Stinstra Correspondence, 71.


6 Shillingsburg, 161.
7 Shillingsburg, 161.
8 Shillingsburg, 161.
9 Borck, personal interview.
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