CLARISSA
AND HER READERS

New Essays for
The *Clarissa* Project

Edited and Introduced by

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and

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ACKNOWLEDGMENTS

This book comes out of a larger scholarly effort, *The Clarissa Project*, one of great significance for eighteenth-century scholars and their students. In 1990, AMS Press published in eight volumes the Third Edition of Samuel Richardson's *Clarissa*. The AMS reprinted edition, introduced by Florian Stuber, was to be followed by other volumes designed to contain representative materials published about Richardson's novel and critical responses of the novels' readers over the last 250 years. This volume of new critical essays on *Clarissa* represents the introduction to the remainder of the publishing project. Its contributors were chosen by the editors and by the members of *The Clarissa Project* board for their critical and scholarly talents and for their fresh points of view on Richardson and his greatest novel. We value the brilliant insights of scholars and critics who came to this project with new and original vision. The essays are not only "new" and previously unpublished essays on *Clarissa*, but they often represent a "new" critical project for their authors.

This volume has been long in the making, and acquired a history along the way that has deepened our understanding of the difficulties that we face in our lives and in our work. There are many colleagues to thank, but one stands out particularly. Florian Stuber, the General Editor, has truly made *The Clarissa Project* his life work. His unflagging dedication to the production of this volume, his passionate commitment to its scholarly and critical mission, and his heroic refusal to rest until its completion has informed every page.

From the start, Margaret Anne Doody and Jim Springer Borck were also significant contributors to the conception of and the production of this collection. Margaret Doody's enthusiastic suggestions for contributors were reinforced by her own contribution of hard textual work. Jim Borck's careful and constant support, and his balanced and cheerful optimism, were always appreciated.

We would also like to thank the other members of *The Clarissa Project* board, Janet Aikens, O M Brack, Jr., John Dussinger, Jocelyn Harris, David Hensley, Tom Keymer, Siobhán Kilfeather, Peter Sabor, and Ann Van Sant for their suggestions

Janice Broder

LADY BRADSHAIGH READS AND WRITES *CLARISSA*: THE MARGINAL NOTES IN HER FIRST EDITION

Lady Dorothy Bradshaigh's marginal notes in her volumes of Samuel Richardson's *Clarissa or, the History of a Young Lady* (1747–48) and Richardson's replies to some of the notes document the multiple ambiguous roles of author and reader. In many ways, Lady Bradshaigh was very much the kind of reader Richardson hoped for; she was an involved reader who took *Clarissa* seriously as a didactic work. Yet, unlike Robert Darnton's exemplary eighteenth-century French reader, Jean Ranson, who was so besotted with Rousseau that he raised his children according to Rousseau's doctrine and even named one of them Emile,[1] she was never an unconditionally accepting reader. Even while she was deeply immersed in the first volumes of Richardson's serially published novel, she wrote to Richardson hoping to influence its outcome; later she wrote notes in her own volumes, concluding with an ending for *Clarissa* radically different from the more predictable and simplistic one she had first suggested. Along with Lady Bradshaigh's correspondence with Richardson, her marginalia chronicle her transformation from a Richardsonian-schooled reader of *Clarissa* who desired influence to an independent writer confident of her own power.

I. The Annotated Volumes

"Do:Bradshaigh," inscribed on the flyleaf of every volume of Lady Dorothy Bradshaigh's first-edition volumes of *Clarissa*, proclaims not only ownership but announces a revisionist authorship as well. Signing her name directly on top of Samuel Richardson's "From the author," Lady Bradshaigh has made it difficult indeed to read Richardson's words, his assertion of authorship.[2] (See Figure 1.) This superimposition of her signature over his inscription is symbolic of the claim to textual power made by Lady Bradshaigh's annotations throughout her volumes. As Patricia Marks observes, "The relationship between author and reader could hardly be more emblematically declared."[3]

These annotated volumes in which Richardson replied to some of Lady Bradshaigh's notes are part of the power struggles of life and text that Lady Bradshaigh and Richardson waged in the margins, in correspondence, and no doubt in person. Lady Bradshaigh's marginalia, ranging from a few words to comments that completely cover several flyleaves, reveal a genteel woman reader deeply engaged with Richardson's text, actively considering possibilities for the plot, and ultimately rewriting *Clarissa*. The flyleaf inscriptions foreground the problem of dating Lady Bradshaigh's numerous notes and determining during which of several readings the notes were written. Although all volumes are inscribed by the author, Richardson did not know Lady Bradshaigh until after she had read up to the first part of volume

four of *Clarissa* and, using the pseudonym "Belfour," had written to him in October 1748 about his plans for the next volumes. Richardson's correspondence reveals that he sent the incognita Lady Bradshaigh a copy of the fifth volume in late October of 1748, ahead of the publication date.[4] It therefore seems fairly certain that the annotated first four volumes contain notes from a second reading or from subsequent readings. Judging by content, some of the notes in the later volumes appear to be from rereadings as well.

The fact that we inherit the volumes all of a piece obscures the accumulation of layers of writing, but we can date Richardson's responses with some certainty. A few months before he died, Richardson asked to see Lady Bradshaigh's annotated copies of *Pamela* and *Clarissa*. Because Richardson was too ill to write legibly, he drafted a letter early in March 1761 for one of his daughters to copy and send to Lady Bradshaigh. The letter, the draft of which survives, explains the reasons for his request:

> Meantime, the four Vols. of Pamela being almost out of Print, and a new Edition called for, and being delighted to hear, that your Ladiship has remark'd upon that Piece and Clarissa, he directs me to express his earnest Wishes, that you will favour him with the Perusal of your Observations, with Liberty to add to new ones of his own such of your Ladiship's, as may make y^e^ future Edition more perfect than otherwise it can be.[5]

Although Richardson says he intended to use Lady Bradshaigh's observations as he revised for new editions, he did not live long enough to do so; the last edition of *Clarissa* that he saw through the press was that of 1759.[6]

As Florian Stuber discusses in his introduction to *The Clarissa Project*, the changes Richardson made between editions give testimony to his painstaking care as an editor. That a proposed emendation Richardson wrote in the margins of Lady Bradshaigh's third volume was not carried out in his subsequent editions lends weight to the supposition that when Richardson saw Lady Bradshaigh's volumes in 1761, it was for the first time. When Clarissa writes in April to ask her sister Arabella to send 50 guineas from her escritoire and says she is enclosing the key, Lady Bradshaigh points out that Clarissa cannot send the key: "I thought the key of her escritoire had been left in the hands of her relations." Richardson responded with a note undoubtedly intended as an instruction to himself for a future edition: "If so, omit [of which I enclose y^e^ key]" (III.49; 3.75, brackets Richardson's). That phrase is still present in the third edition, probably indicating that Richardson had not yet seen Lady Bradshaigh's comment. Therefore, if any changes Richardson made in his 1751 or 1759 editions were based on suggestions from Lady Bradshaigh, the changes must have been suggested by her in correspondence or in person. It was, however, Richardson's habit to ask people for advice and then to follow very little of the advice he was given.

II. Clarissa's Reader and Richardson's Correspondent

At the same time that the annotated volumes record Lady Bradshaigh's responses as a reader of *Clarissa*, they are also part of the evidence of a personal relationship with Richardson built on the mutual love of power play. Documentation of this relationship takes the form of correspondence, marginalia, and painted portraits. As does the correspondence, Lady Bradshaigh's marginal notes and Richardson's responses to them reveal the battle for control of the text of *Clarissa*; toned down in the notes, coquetry on her part and rakishness on his play a large part in the correspondence.

Apart from the brashness of offering unasked-for plot advice to an author, it was a bold step by eighteenth-century standards for Lady Bradshaigh to initiate correspondence with Richardson, a man whom she did not know. Clarissa's early discussion of her careful correspondence with Lovelace may have crossed Lady Bradshaigh's mind as she considered putting pen to paper to write to Richardson. She took fullest advantage of the avenues of influence available to her. Signing herself "Belfour," she used the written equivalent of a masquerade costume, deriving power from disguise. As an incognita, she was freer to express herself than she would have been if Richardson had known her identity. She flirted with Richardson, flattering him, describing what effect his writing had on her, and making demands for the outcome of future volumes. Having requested that Richardson avoid the "fatal catastrophe" to satisfy those "who feel for the virtuous in distress," she wrote

> Now, Sir, I must inform you, that I do blush most immoderately, which I rejoice to feel; for I must be mistress of a consummate assurance, in offering to put words in the mouth of the ingenious Mr. Richardson, without a blush of the deepest dye.
>
> I have pleaded only in behalf of Clarissa; but you must know, (though I shall blush again,) that if I was to die for it, I cannot help being fond of Lovelace. . . .
>
> • • •
>
> Perhaps you may think all this proceeds from a giddy girl of sixteen; but know I am past my romantic time of life, though young enough to wish two lovers happy in a married state. As I myself am in that class, it makes me still more anxious for the lovely pair. I have common understanding, and middling judgment, for one of my sex, which I tell you for fear you should not find it out; but if you take me for a fool, I

> do not care a straw. What I have said is without the least vanity, not but modesty would have forbid; but that you only know me by the name of BELFOUR.[7]

In this introductory letter, Lady Bradshaigh set the tone for their relationship; she revealed little about herself but made certain to present herself as a woman of sentiment, modesty, understanding, and judgment. In letting Richardson know that she was happily married, she ostensibly explained her desire to see Clarissa and Lovelace similarly wed. But perhaps more importantly, she made it clear that although she used the language of flirtation in writing to an unknown man about her blushes and her involuntary fondness for a libertine, the correspondence was not meant to be a provocative invitation and her personal reputation should not suffer.

In his first extant letter to Lady Bradshaigh, Richardson picked up the gauntlet she had thrown and responded to her bid for textual control and to her flirtatious tone. Addressing Lady Bradshaigh's request for an alteration in his novel, Richardson used his prerogative as author of *Clarissa* to try to maintain textual power. Quotations from unpublished later volumes that he knew Lady Bradshaigh could not possibly have read added weight to Richardson's discussion of why *Clarissa* could only proceed according to his plan. He tempted her to write again and yet warned her that there was danger in doing so: "And if you will favour me with a Letter upon [volume five]—Yet you must take care how you favour me too—Men are naturally incroachers." Richardson concluded his letter, "And it would be difficult in me to deny myself the Hope of such a Correspondent to the End of my Life."[8] Richardson's hopes were fulfilled, for he and Lady Bradshaigh met in March of 1750 and continued to correspond until his death in 1761.[9]

Especially before they met, the two correspondents used their letters self-consciously to create their own characters, writing their own sort of epistolary novel.[10] Each was as preoccupied as the other with image, and they worked painstakingly at their written self-presentations. In addition to portraying herself as a happily married country gentlewoman, Lady Bradshaigh showed herself to be a properly sentimental reader. Contemporary readers valued a literary work's ability to affect their emotions; they told people about their responses to novels and preserved written records of them. Readers as diverse as Sarah Fielding, Anne Donnelan, Thomas Edwards, Henry Fielding, Lady Mary Wortley Montagu, and Laetitia Pilkington recorded their reactions to *Clarissa*. Many extant letters catalog indignation at the Harlowes, attraction for and revulsion from Lovelace, and tears shed over Clarissa. Edwards called *Clarissa* "a touchstone by which I shall try the hearts of my acquaintance, and judge which of them are true standard"; in his "Éloge de Richardson," Diderot called *Clarissa* his "pierre de touche."[11] Because of the premium placed on having the "right" responses as exemplified in Edwards's and Diderot's words,

telling others about emotional responses involved a certain amount of self-consciousness; this must have been particularly true if one were reporting to the author of the work that had evoked those sentiments. Given this climate, Lady Bradshaigh was careful to present herself in her letters to Richardson as a woman of sensibility. Even while she refused to reveal her name, she gloried in detailing her emotional responses to *Clarissa*, trying to prove she was the best kind of reader.

The familiar letter is particularly suited for divulging personal information, and autobiographical writing is inevitably self-creation. If Richardson's auto-biographical sketch in his letter to his Dutch translator, Johannes Stinstra, is our source of information about Richardson's early life, his second extant letter to Lady Bradshaigh furnishes our information about his adult life.[12] Whether Richardson's information is objectively accurate or not, it is part of the image of himself that Richardson wanted to construct for himself and for his correspondents. As John Traugott phrases it, the stories Richardson told Stinstra "show us how he fancied himself in a world where short, fat moralists can easily be transmogrified into more interesting figures."[13] In his letters to Lady Bradshaigh, Richardson insisted that his knowledge of his fictional characters was superior to hers, that he was the authority in every sense of the word. Richardson knew how to write about Clarissa's earthly suffering because he was something of an expert on the subject; in addition to telling Lady Bradshaigh of his two happy marriages, and of his children, he wrote of his ill health, and especially of the deaths of many loved ones in a short period of time.

Once she had read the final volumes of *Clarissa*, Lady Bradshaigh was extremely disappointed that Richardson did not take her advice and alter the ending. Still incognita, in January of 1748–49, she wrote Richardson a letter rather gloriously cataloging her emotional response to the story as he wrote it: the last volumes disturbed her sleep and caused her several times to burst into tears. In the same letter she tantalized Richardson with the mention of missed opportunities for intimacy. Again using the language of courtship, she wrote:

> I do not think any thing could hire or engage me to read over again what I have read within these few Days. You see, Sir, how unworthily you have bestowed your Favours; I always told you so. It might have been otherwise, it might have been that some one of the Volumes would for my Life have adorned my Toilette.
>
> . . . I have called you all sorts of Names, both good and bad, sometimes loving, sometimes hating, tho' at all times admiring.[14]

It is not Richardson who might have had a permanent place at Lady Bradshaigh's toilette; it is his volumes in his stead. But because of the close association of Richardson with his volumes, the letter says in effect that Richardson himself might have been admitted to Lady Bradshaigh's toilette, to the place where she appears without a mask and without public costume and demeanor. However, Richardson was not to be allowed this degree of intimacy after all because his words displeased Lady Bradshaigh.

All this time, Lady Bradshaigh had the advantage of knowing more about Richardson than he knew about her. Not only was Richardson unaware of his correspondent's identity, but in her letters, she told him remarkably little about herself compared to the disclosures he made about himself and his family. She retained this advantage throughout protracted negotiations about a first meeting.

Whether it was because he was flattered to receive letters from someone of Lady Bradshaigh's social rank, or pleased to offer confirmation that *Clarissa* was a powerful work, Richardson showed Lady Bradshaigh's letters to at least seven people and read some letters to Joseph Highmore.[15] Thus, Highmore was inadvertently primed to play his part in the eventual meeting. Having learned from Richardson that Highmore had in his London studio paintings for prints illustrating *Pamela*, a portrait of Clarissa "whole length, in the Vandyke taste," and a family portrait of the Harlowes including "the accusing brother, the accused Sister . . . as represented in the beginning of vol. I," Lady Bradshaigh could not possibly resist a visit to the studio when she was in London.[16] Her curiosity was rewarded when Highmore also showed her Richardson's portrait, and Lady Bradshaigh got to see an image of her correspondent. At that point, she was one up on Richardson, who still had no clue about Belfour's identity. However, Highmore was suspicious that the woman so interested in the portraits of *Clarissa* and her author was in fact the Belfour whose letters he had heard, and he managed to lure her back to his studio for another visit with the promise of the *Pamela* paintings and the hope of discovering more about her.

Although Highmore's interference was ultimately responsible for the face-to-face encounter Richardson and Lady Bradshaigh said they wanted, both correspondents appear to have been annoyed by his meddling. Undoubtedly, thinking about a meeting that could not help but change their intimate textual relationship must have been difficult; perhaps Highmore was a convenient target for relieving anxiety. In any case, Lady Bradshaigh rose to Highmore's bait. Even though Highmore had shared the information he had—that the woman in his studio was indeed Richardson's incognita, that she was from Lancashire, and that she had a last name that started with B,"—Richardson chose not to surprise her at Highmore's studio. After ensuing confusion and pique about who knew what when, Richardson and Lady Bradshaigh—who finally revealed her name to Richardson—resumed their game of voyeurism in St. James's Park.

For some time before Lady Bradshaigh's visit to Highmore's studio, she and Richardson had been playing a hide-and-seek game of going to St. James's Park on fine days in hopes of recognizing each other there. Describing himself ostensibly so that Lady Bradshaigh might distinguish him, Richardson said that when he walked in the Park hoping to see his correspondent, "his eye [was] always on the ladies," with his gaze directed first to a woman's hoops or feet and then "(the last beheld) her face."[17] Once Lady Bradshaigh had seen Richardson's portrait, she recognized him in the Park, but passed by four times without revealing her own identity or speaking to him. Their flirtatious behavior was of a piece with their letter-writing in its attraction and backing off and then discussing near misses. The multiple elements of observation involved in Lady Bradshaigh's watching Richardson watch her to see which woman in the Park might turn out to be his correspondent bear a connection to the paintings of each other that Lady Bradshaigh and Richardson were to own several months later. Instead of keeping her part of their original accord to meet in the Park, Lady Bradshaigh agreed to meet him, but at her lodging rather than in the Park—that is, on her turf, not on his and not on neutral turf.

Once Lady Bradshaigh and Richardson met and dispelled the mystery of identity, the erotic elements in their correspondence that had seemed to thrive on intrigue found an added home in tokens: Richardson's volumes and portraits of one another. Once again, Lady Bradshaigh used books as proxy for Richardson in order to tease him. As we will see, the case of the Richardson and Bradshaigh portraits was a little different. Like the volumes, the portraits were tokens onto which erotic elements were transferred; they also provided an element of imagined voyeurism for their owners.

About a year after their meeting, Lady Bradshaigh wrote to Richardson in response to finding an edition of *Pamela* that Richardson had sent awaiting her when she returned home: "Upon opening the box, I felt a strange confused sort of blush, occasioned by modesty, mingled with pleasure, gratitude, and some anger." The physical presence of Richardson's volumes caused the complicated sentiments that Lady Bradshaigh was eager to document. Her anger was likely due to Richardson's having gone to expense and trouble on her behalf and to her not wanting to incur obligation. Ultimately, however, "gratitude and thankfulness" won out as *Pamela* was transformed by Lady Bradshaigh into Richardson's "daughter" with whom she could never "be long out of humour," and as Harriet Byron, "the youngest of the three [daughters] began to prattle" to Lady Bradshaigh in such a very "agreeable manner, as extinguished every unpleasing sensation."[18] Although Richardson in the form of *Clarissa* was possibly denied an eternal place at Lady Bradshaigh's toilette, his other two "daughters" successfully shared her home. In this letter, as before, having teased Richardson with harsh words, she ended with praise, thus mimicking coquettish behavior.

Richardson and Lady Bradshaigh each had a painting of the other that functioned as a surrogate for the absent correspondent. Although Lady Bradshaigh could fabricate whatever relationship she wanted to between Richardson and volumes of his text, by definition there exists an undeniable relationship between portrait subjects and their tangible images. Recall Clarissa's own devastation at the news that her family had taken down her full-length portrait "in the Vandyke taste" as a dramatic reminder of this close connection. In March 1750, Richardson asked if he might have a copy made of a painting by Edward Haytley of Lady Bradshaigh and Sir Roger on the lawn in front of Haigh Hall.[19] In the foreground of Haytley's conversation piece, Sir Roger stands near his chair; Lady Bradshaigh is seated to his right; between the Bradshaighs and gazing up at Sir Roger, sits his dog. In Joseph Highmore's rendition of the painting for Richardson, the canine companion does not appear; instead, Lady Bradshaigh's pet fawn Fanny stands nuzzling at her right side. This substitution of Lady Bradshaigh's pet for Sir Roger's no doubt made the painting more special to Richardson since he was on much closer terms with her than he was with her husband. Highmore thus negotiated a balance between making the painting more intimate for Richardson and maintaining propriety by painting both Bradshaighs and not just a single portrait of Lady Bradshaigh. The conversation piece also allowed Richardson to boast of friendship with the couple whose impressive Lancashire estate was displayed in the background. Richardson placed the painting over his fireplace.

If Richardson was going to have a portrait of the Bradshaighs, Lady Bradshaigh was going to have a portrait of Richardson. Only a few months later, she asked Richardson if she might commission Highmore to paint his portrait "in your study, a table or desk by you, with pen, ink, and paper; one letter just sealed, which I shall fancy is to me." Having imagined that much, she left the rest up to Richardson and Highmore.[20] The result was the now well-known full-length portrait of Richardson standing with his right hand in his waistcoat pocket. Richardson's body is turned very slightly, and his face is not quite full-front. His left hand rests on the corner of a desk, and Richardson casually holds the letter specified by Lady Bradshaigh between his thumb and forefinger. He wears the same clothing as he wears in the portrait Highmore showed Lady Bradshaigh months before, the portrait by which she recognized Richardson in the Park. Highmore's painting of the Bradshaighs is incorporated into the portrait of Richardson and hangs on the study wall over the fireplace behind him. Not only does Highmore's portrait of Richardson show him in his role as Lady Bradshaigh's correspondent as she requested, but the inclusion of her portrait and the Bradshaigh estate shows him to be her admirer as well. It shows, after all, a Richardson who can gaze at her painted likeness at will. Furthermore, both paintings played a role in Richardson and Lady Bradshaigh's continuing erotic game: each correspondent could regard and be regarded by the

other's image privately and without the other actually present. In order to keep Richardson's identity from visitors, Lady Bradshaigh changed the name on the portrait to Dickenson;[21] by substituting the nickname "Dick" for "Richard," she simultaneously disguised Richardson to others and made him more familiar to herself.

Lady Bradshaigh placed Richardson's portrait near her writing desk so that she could "not look up without viewing [Richardson's] picture." She "had some hopes the looking upon it, as [she] writ, might have restrained, or at least kept [her] within bounds," but she found that Richardson's "smiling face" was inspiration rather than a curb.[22] If Richardson's volumes substituted for Richardson himself, this painting did so even more emphatically. Although Lady Bradshaigh told Richardson that his image failed to regulate her writing as she had thought it might, having Richardson reading over her shoulder, as it were, must have kept him and his ability to judge present in her mind. Instead of restraining her expression, Richardson's seeming omnipotence encouraged it by providing an imagined audience worthy to be challenged for control. And Lady Bradshaigh wrote to make sure her real correspondent knew that his painted representation lost that battle.

Because of the difficulty of dating Lady Bradshaigh's marginal notes, it is not possible to say for certain whether she wrote any of them with Richardson's portrait nearby or not. Nevertheless, Lady Bradshaigh evidently inscribed her marginalia with an awareness of the possibility of observers. Having remarked on Lovelace's "comical wickedness" (III.168; 3.176), Lady Bradshaigh wrote, "I wish I cou'd help laughing at him. I often check myself, as if he cou'd see me" (III.168; 3.177). Superficially this comment reflects Lady Bradshaigh's tendency to enter the alternate reality of the text as the epistolary format encourages and, conversely, to imagine the characters as part of her actual world.[23] But the note about moderating her response to the text because of a possible observer, even a fictional one, more crucially points out the fact that Lady Bradshaigh wrote some of her marginalia with the sense of an audience. The possibility of being monitored seems to have been tantalizing in some way, but only if she could control what was seen.

When Lady Bradshaigh agreed to permit Richardson himself to become the real audience for her marginalia, she expressed self-consciousness about his possible responses:

> [H]ad I thought of that [your reading the volumes], I wou'd have been more Correct, for I am very sure you will not be able to read half of it, and perhaps I shou'd have left out some things, and have added others. But take them as they are. . . . What will you say to the last leafe in Clarissa I wonder? I cou'd not help it, perhaps it may be absur'd, but it pleased me.[24]

Although she speaks of possibly omitting some things and adding others, she draws Richardson's attention to the last leaf: she clearly wanted his response to her alternate ending and did not choose to excise it. As we will see, that ending, which pleased her, offers her most considered and most radical rewriting of Richardson's text.

In her marginal notes, Lady Bradshaigh used her sense of entitlement to claim authority over Richardson's text and to correct what seemed to her to be his social gaffes visited on the Harlowes. A genteel woman with well defined ideas about etiquette and the manner in which one should conduct oneself, Lady Bradshaigh was sensitive to the portrayal of the relationships between the nouveaux riches Harlowes and their servants. For example, servants should not participate in family matters. Lady Bradshaigh found it "absurd" that Betty, Arabella's officious servant who relays messages to Clarissa once she is confined to her chamber, would be present during the Harlowe family bickering. Betty reports to Clarissa that her Uncle Antony and Aunt Hervey have been sent for and that the family is gathering to decide what to do about Clarissa's refusal to marry the loathsome Solmes. Betty also reports that Clarissa has been called a "vile, artful creature," and has been accused of scheming about her inheritance. Lady Bradshaigh commented: "Betty to be present when all these things were said. Absurd!" But Richardson defended what may have been an attack on his lack of knowledge by claiming that Betty's presence helps to convey the sort of people the Harlowes are; the Harlowes are just the sort of people who would argue and discuss such matters in front of servants. "Do you think so, madam? Characters considered," replied Richardson (II.96; 2.93).

Lady Bradshaigh appears at times to be writing a conduct book in the margins of *Clarissa*. What Richardson intended as Clarissa's consideration of her servants, Lady Bradshaigh saw as unnecessary trouble. When Anna told Belford that out of consideration for servants' hard work and late hours, Clarissa (who slept only six hours a night) used to have her fire laid and a burning taper ready to light it with in case she got up early, Lady Bradshaigh wrote: "It was an odd choice to [starve?] herself upon a trifling consideration. For women servants may be allow'd with convenience to go to bed some hours before their principals. Housemaids I mean" (VIII.21; 7.388).

An architectural detail about the private spaces of Harlowe Place is an initial clue for Lady Bradshaigh that members of the Harlowe family do not get along well with each other. Early in volume one Clarissa tells Anna that she "found [her] mamma and sister together in [her] sister's parlour." Clarissa wanted to speak privately with her mother, but her mother remained in Arabella's parlour, and out of curiosity and malice, Arabella would not leave. Before any real discussion could take place, Solmes's presence was announced. Lady Bradshaigh commented, "Every one a Parlour. What an uncommon & unnecessary thing. Looks like a devided

family" (I.141; 1.140). At the same time that the division of space is an accurate reflection of familial discord, Lady Bradshaigh's words might also be taken as comment on how little Richardson knows about life among those of the Harlowes' social standing. Is it Richardson's mistake or the Harlowes' pretentiousness that has built the "uncommon" and "unnecessary" individual parlours?

Taken together, these notes about Harlowe family private life can be read as not just criticism of the Harlowes, but of Richardson as well. Viewed this way, the marginalia are of a piece with Lady Mary Wortley Montagu's more strongly worded critique of Richardson: "I believe this Author was never admitted into higher Company, and should confine his Pen to the Amours of Housemaids, and the conversation at the Stewards' Table, where I imagine he has sometimes intruded, thô oftener in the Servants' Hall. . . . He has no Idea of the manners of high Life."[25] It is one thing for Lady Mary to write these cutting words in a letter to her daughter, and quite another for Richardson's friend and epistolary confidante to let him read this indictment of ignorance of domestic decorum in the margins of her *Clarissa*.

Perhaps it was Lady Bradshaigh's social standing that made her sensitive to issues of entitlement, even as represented in forms of address. She owed her title to her husband's inheriting his father's baronetcy in 1747, the year the first volumes of *Clarissa* were published and about sixteen years after she married him. Despite debts incurred by Sir Roger's father, which the Bradshaighs felt morally obligated to pay off, she was able to "make an appearance proper to her station."[26] In a letter to Anna dated 13 April, Clarissa writes, "Lady [Lovelace] calls me, at every word, perhaps in compliment to himself" (3.94). To this seemingly small detail, Lady Bradshaigh responded: "what cou'd he call her but a young Lady. She *had* a right to it as being a gentleman's daugr. But every body is now call'd Young Lady. Very improperly. There is no distinction between gentlemen & Tradesmen" (3.94).[27] Or between a country gentlewoman and her printer/author friend?

Lady Bradshaigh's attention to issues of manners has a more important basis, however, than the smug satisfaction of knowing when other people behave contrary to the established rules. Interpreting the code of characters' behavior is part of interpreting the novel. In *Clarissa*, she viewed the ability to read social clues as a form of self-preservation; were Clarissa adept at this sort of interpretation, she might have been spared. Lady Bradshaigh identified instances in which characters' bad behavior, no matter what their social class, might have been a clue to Clarissa that she was in danger. To take an extreme example, if Clarissa were less delicate and more experienced, she might have perceived that she was in a brothel and that Mrs. Sinclair was not an ordinary landlady, but rather a bawd participating in Lovelace's schemes. Saying that the house was crowded, Mrs. Sinclair asked that Miss Partington share Clarissa's bed. Clarissa

denied the request, offering instead to give up her bed entirely, and she later reported to Anna that she had thought it a "particular" incident. Lady Bradshaigh thought that Clarissa should have found it more than particular. Mrs. Sinclair's request was "a most impertinant request & not likly to be made by one who letts lodgings, and therefore might give reason to suspect something" (III.338; 3.328). A better detective than Clarissa, Lady Bradshaigh recognized immediately that the dresses of the pretended Lady Betty Lawrence and Miss Charlotte Montague "were ill-judged to visit a Lady in such unhappy circumstances" (VI.150; 6.53). Had Clarissa been able to recognize the women as impostors, she might not have been tricked into returning to Mrs. Sinclair's with them and might have seen through Lovelace's scheme. It is only in retrospect that Clarissa can tell Anna that she misread the social and sartorial clues and "had not the least suspicion, that they were not the ladies they personated; and being put a little out of countenance by the richness of their dresses, I could not help, fool that I was! to apologize for my own" (VI.150; 6.53).

Lady Bradshaigh thought that Clarissa's delicacy and inexperience, the qualities that made her desirable, put her at risk because they prevented her from imagining what could really happen to a young woman in bad company in London. In the aftermath of the fire plot, Lady Bradshaigh wrote, "cou'd she think what she cannot think. The woman leaving her so made the plot plain. how shou'd she put confidence in [Lovelace]. He knows she did love him, & he knows his behaviour will make her hate him" (V.12; 4.310). Not even Clarissa's best friend fully comprehended Clarissa's delicacy, and so Anna's early advice to accept Lovelace as a protector if the circumstances were right was actually dangerous counsel for her to give. Lady Bradshaigh remarked, "In this advice, she never considers the delicacy of a Clarissa, who cou'd not suppose he had any dishonourable views" (III.91; 3.115).

III. Clarissa Lives: Lady Bradshaigh's Revisionist Conclusion

The outcome of Richardson's novel, and especially whether it would end with the marriage of Clarissa and Lovelace, was the focus of concern for many other eighteenth-century readers besides Lady Bradshaigh. Notably, her sister, Lady Elizabeth Echlin, wrote a lengthy alternative ending for *Clarissa* for her own amusement shortly after *Clarissa* was published. She too became a correspondent of Richardson's, and she sent the ending to Richardson in the winter of 1754–55.[28] Lady Echlin's proposed changes for *Clarissa* call for modifications in characters and some change in plot—most importantly, the omission of the rape. Although Lady Echlin's *Alternative Ending* offers a significantly less naive Clarissa than Richardson's and a repentant Lovelace, it does not call for a major change in the kind of novel Richardson wrote as Lady Bradshaigh's does. Clarissa and Lovelace do not marry, and Lady Echlin's still-tragic ending includes

the deaths of both characters. Her Clarissa never recovers from the strain of the fire-scene and flight to Hampstead; before she dies, she reconciles with Lovelace and with her family. Her Lovelace dies of a wound inflicted by James Harlowe.

At the end of volume seven—on the last printed page, on the flyleaf, and inside the back cover—Lady Bradshaigh wrote an alternate ending that differs in very important ways from the earlier recommendations she sent to Richardson and from some of her proposals for plot changes throughout the seven volumes. Her lengthiest response in the books, it is this writing that she mentioned in particular in her comments to Richardson about letting him read her volumes. In formulating her suggestions for plot changes, she considered how best to convey moral values; she readjusted Richardson's scale of justice and meted out that reward or punishment in life rather than after death. Most significantly, she would still keep Clarissa alive, but Clarissa and Lovelace are no longer the "lovely pair" Lady Bradshaigh was concerned for in her first letter to Richardson. In fact, Lady Bradshaigh reasoned that "Many will say, had Clar[a]. lived she might have been prevail'd upon to marry Lovelace, for which reason, I wou'd have spar'd her Life, to have proved the contrary." Clarissa will serve as "Example & Benefit to her fellow creatures," while Lovelace is to be "a warning, in linguring out a miserable life." In common with Lady Echlin's ending for the novel, Lady Bradshaigh's would spare Clarissa the "last outrage," which Lady Bradshaigh would have

> attempted, but not executed, & that succeeded by the prison scene, her illness, & even to the making her will & every other preparation for death. But by a reconciliation with her friends, her mother's being suffer'd to attend her, accompany'd by M[rs] Norton, & the good Doc[r]. Lewen, together with the skill of her Doc[r]. added to her youth & good habit of Body. She shou'd in time have recover'd her health, and have liv'd to her hearts content, a private life, in the neighborhood of her dear Miss Howe, & to the edification of all around her.

These changes give Clarissa an earthly reward that she is denied in Richardson's work. In addition to reconciliation with her mother, the changes allow her the solace of friends, something Lady Bradshaigh's notes elsewhere reveal that she is concerned about.[29] As Richardson's novel opens with Anna's letter, Clarissa is the subject of "public talk" and renowned for her "distinguished merits." In the ending proposed by Lady Bradshaigh, Clarissa lives a happy life of quiet retirement. Although she is no longer a saint, Clarissa is still a good example, though her sphere of influence is perhaps a smaller one than at the novel's outset. In keeping Clarissa alive, Lady Bradshaigh

radically changes the kind of influence Clarissa can have. That Clarissa lives proves she is stronger than the maimed Lovelace and that she has unquestionably won the sexual contest he set in place. Rather than keeping Clarissa alive solely because she was fond of the amiable girl, Lady Bradshaigh proposed to keep her alive specifically to renounce the very ending she once wished for and to offer a more progressive one instead. What a relief it might have been for young female readers to find that they did not have to, in Traugott's words, "die at nineteen themselves to be paragons."[30]

Lady Bradshaigh explained that "The last outrage, & the death of Lovelace, gives too great a Tryumph to that wicked Bro^r. & sister. To disappoint whom, shou'd have been a principal point." She wrote that she did not care what happened to James and Arabella "so long as they are substantially unhappy." Lady Bradshaigh would have James "marry unhappily, die soon, & leave a worthy son, under the direction of Clarissa, who shou'd also be Mrs Hickman's adviser in the management of her children." Thus, Clarissa can be an influence for the next generation as well as for her own, for the fictional characters as well as for real readers. Spared the final outrage and permitted to live single, she can raise children without having to do anything so physical as conceive them or give birth to them, and she can remain the divine Clarissa on earth.

At the beginning of their correspondence, Richardson taunted Lady Bradshaigh in an attempt to show her that his Clarissa must be rewarded in heaven and not on earth, must not be allowed simply to live out her life with only the minor daily events that many of her readers probably experienced. Paradoxically, Richardson's exemplar to her sex must be far removed from everyday life; she must be an example that no one could follow. Richardson asked Lady Bradshaigh to imagine an ending in which Clarissa did not do anything extraordinary, and he concluded that such a life would not be "worth troubling the World about."[31] Clarissa might "escape the Perils of Child birth" and produce several offspring. He badgered, "How many Children shall we give her? Five? Six? Seven? How many, Madam? Not less I hope."[32] He threatened that even if the children were to escape "the manifold Hazards of the Infantile State," there would be no guarantee that they would turn out well. For Richardson the pessimist, there are hazards lurking at every turn; survive one peril only to confront a new menace. If the children mature into respectable adults, Clarissa might face the problem of ensuring that they find worthy matches.[33] In truth, none of the risks Richardson raises is fantastic, and that is just the point. Eighteenth-century readers could expect to face them as a matter of course, but Richardson deemed Clarissa too good to experience such a life.

Lady Bradshaigh seems a little unsure of how she would like Lovelace to be treated. On one hand, she wanted him crippled and miserable; on the other, she wanted him to repent, to marry "prudently"—if not passionately. Lady Bradshaigh proposed that Lovelace

persist in his efforts to gain the hand of Clarissa, and "not succeeding lead a melancholy life, for some time, [and] at last receive a challenge from James Harlowe who had been in Scotland. . . ." James should wound Lovelace in a duel, making him "a cripple." The maiming of Lovelace and his prudent marriage to a woman who can nurse him suggest some sort of sexual wounding as punishment for his youthful rakish behavior. Lady Bradshaigh's sense of ideal justice required the recognition that men's rakish behavior is not without consequences.

And yet, Lady Bradshaigh would not give Lovelace an entirely bleak future. Lovelace should become "a sincere penitent, from frequent reviews of his past Life, & from the letters of the most excellent Clarissa." Clarissa should have "a sort of distant friendship with Lovelace, to his *soul* I mean, for in the condition I will suppose him, he never cou'd think of persecuting his adored Clarissa with farther addresses." Lovelace "shou'd marry prudently for a good nurse, & have one son to keep up the family." Presumably, along with Lovelace's sincere penitence, it was her concern with lineage that encouraged Lady Bradshaigh to propose that Lovelace, like James Harlowe, have a son to continue the family line—perhaps despite his injury.

Once she granted Lovelace life in order to show Clarissa not marrying him, Lady Bradshaigh had to insist on the rake's reformation that she had once rejected as a childish idea. On the last printed page of volume five, Lady Bradshaigh wrote that she wondered how she could ever have wished Clarissa to marry Lovelace even if he were capable of reform:

> Did I ever wish Clarissa to marry Lovelace? How I hate myself for it. I was set upon a reformation. What a childish notion. Clar^a never cou'd have been happy with a Lovelace. Tho he had in time reform'd. Her reflections on what was pass'd, must have riveted an everlasting hatred towards him. (See Figure 2.)

Even with its contradictions, Lady Bradshaigh's final rewriting of *Clarissa* is well thought out by comparison with her earliest request for a happy ending. Lady Bradshaigh imagined what Richardson could not: a Clarissa who is both extraordinary and capable of leading an exemplary quiet existence. As amended by Lady Bradshaigh, her edition of Richardson's *Clarissa* closes with a resolution that pleased her. No matter what Richardson argued and no matter what critics have made of *Clarissa* over the years, in her own volumes, at least, Lady Bradshaigh won the struggle for the textual last word.

Notes

1. Thanks are due Jan Fergus, Carol Flynn, Cynthia owenthal, and Janice Thaddeus for their very generous and helpful ɔmments on earlier drafts of this essay. Robert Darnton, "Readers espond to Rousseau: The Fabrication of Romantic Sensitivity," *The reat Cat Massacre and Other Episodes in French Cultural History* New York: Basic Books, 1984), 215–56. Richardson's Pamela and larissa had real-life namesakes as well. In late eighteenth-century ew England, Dorothy and Stephen Barton named two of their aughters after Richardson's heroines: Pamela Barton and Clarissa arlowe Barton. Premarital pregnancy was common in New England the time. Pamela Barton was not pregnant at marriage as her ıother had been, but her sister, Clarissa Harlowe Barton was. Another larissa Harlowe Barton, Dorothy and Stephen's granddaughter, is etter known to us as Clara Barton, the founder of the American Red ross. Clarissa Harlowe became a traditional name in the Barton ımily; Ulrich notes that "by the early nineteenth century, there were least four Clarissa Harlowes among Dorothy and Stephen's descenants (Laurel Thatcher Ulrich, *A Midwife's Tale: The Life of Martha allard, Based on Her Diary 1785–1812* [New York: Knopf, 1990], 57–58, 11, 39). I thank Sherri Broder for calling this source to my tention.

2. Volume 1 also bears the date "1748." Lady Bradshaigh's ɔlumes are now part of the Robert H. Taylor Collection of the Rare ooks Library at Princeton University. I would like to express my ıanks for being allowed access to them. Among the owners of the ɔlumes have been W. A. Mackinnon, Lady Bradshaigh's daughter's escendant; Commander Arthur Avalon Mackinnon of Mackinnon, ıd Lady Mackinnon; and the late T. C. Duncan Eaves. Princeton cquired the volumes in 1989. I have reproduced annotations as osely as possible. Where I have had to make a best guess, I have ıclosed the questionable word or words in brackets with a question ark. It seems to be a quirk of Lady Bradshaigh's handwriting that ıe frequently used an uppercase letter when lowercase would be ore usual, especially letters D, H, I, L, and R. See Samuel Crompton, Richardson's 'Clarissa' Annotated," *Notes and Queries,* 5th ser., 8 1 Aug., 1877): 101; T. C. Duncan Eaves and Ben D. Kimpel, *ımuel Richardson: A Biography* (Oxford: Clarendon Press, 1971), 34 n55. Crompton, the first to publish an article about the the ɔlumes, misidentifies Lady Bradshaigh. A. J. H. set the record raight in "Lady Bradshaigh, Richardson's Correspondent," *Notes ıd Queries* 164 (18 Mar., 1933): 192–93. In their biography of ichardson (220–21), Eaves and Kimpel explain that Dorothy radshaigh "and her sister, Elizabeth, who married Sir Robert Echlin, Bart., were the daughters and heiresses of William Bellingham of Levens, Westmorland. Her half-sister, Elizabeth Hesketh, was married to Edward Stanley, eleventh Earl of Derby. . . . In 1731 Dorothy Bellingham had married Roger Bradshaigh of Haigh, near Wigan, in Lancashire, who in 1747 had inherited his father's baronetcy." I am completing work on an article that will make the full text of Lady Bradshaigh's and Samuel Richardson's notes available to other scholars.

3. Patricia H. Marks, "Lady Bradshaigh's Copy of Clarissa," *Princeton University Library Chronicle* 50 (1989): 287.

4. John Carroll, ed., *Selected Letters of Samuel Richardson* (Oxford: Clarendon Press, 1964), 97 (hereafter cited as *Letters*). Eaves and Kimpel and Carroll date the letter to Lady Bradshaigh 26 Oct. 1748, while Anna Laetitia Barbauld (ed., *The Correspondence of Samuel Richardson*, 6 vols. [London; 1804], 4.185) dates it 6 Oct. 1748. As Richardson's letter is a response to a letter of Lady Bradshaigh's dated after 6 October, the misdating is clearly Barbauld's. John August Wood asserts that the extant Richardson–Bradshaigh letters "represent perhaps only one-third of those Richardson and Lady Bradshaigh exchanged" ("The Chronology of the Richardson–Bradshaigh Correspondence of 1751," *Studies in Bibliography* [1980]: 183).

5. [Martha] Richardson to Lady Bradshaigh, no date, Forster Collection, XI, f.270, Victoria & Albert Museum. This letter prompts Lady Bradshaigh's response, dated 16 Mar. 1761. I am grateful to Jan Fergus for her transcription of Richardson's draft of this letter and for her transcription of Lady Bradshaigh's response (Forster Collection, X1, f.276), cited below. Richardson recovered enough to write his own notes in Lady Bradshaigh's volumes, but he mentioned that he wrote "with Pain" (VI.388; 6.249).

6. The first edition of *Clarissa* was published in three installments: vols. 1 and 2 on 1 Dec. 1747, vols. 3 and 4 on 28 Apr. 1748, and vols. 5, 6, and 7 on 7 Dec. 1748. The second edition set consists of new vols. 1–4 with the vols. 5–7 that were first published in Dec. 1748; Richardson knew as he was printing vols. 5–7 that a new edition would be called for, and he printed enough copies to serve as the third installment and to make a set with the new volumes. The third edition was published in 1751 in 8 vols. 12mo. and in 7 vols. in octavo (the octavo edition was referred to as the "deluxe fourth"). The last edition for which Richardson was responsible was the 1759 edition in 8 vols., with very few changes and duplicating the pagination of the 1751 12mo. edition. Page references in the text refer first to those of the 1751 edition, then to the first edition.

7. Barbauld, 4.178; 4.180–181 (hereafter cited as *Correspondence*). The letter from Lady Bradshaigh to Samuel Richardson is dated 10 Oct. 1748.

8. Letters, 97. The letter is dated 26 Oct. 1748.

9. For a full discussion of the friendship between Richardson and Lady Bradshaigh, see Eaves and Kimpel ch. 10. Their relationship and readers' emotional involvement with *Clarissa* was parodied in Katherine Tynan, "The Romance of a Bookseller," *Cornhill Magazine,* n.s. 22.131 (1907): 678–89.

10. For discussions about the ways in which Richardson and Lady Bradshaigh took on the parts of Lovelace and Clarissa, see Eaves and Kimpel ch. 10, and Carol Houlihan Flynn, *Samuel Richardson: A Man of Letters* (Princeton: Princeton UP, 1982), 207 ff. As Flynn points out, Richardson would seem to have been the more successful impersonator.

11. *Correspondence,* 3.3; Edwards's letter is dated 26 Jan. 1749; Denis Diderot, "Eloge de Richardson," *Oeuvres Esthétiques,* ed. Paul Vernière (Paris: Editions Garnier Frères, [1959]), 41.

12. This letter to Stinstra, dated 2 June 1753, can be found in *Letters* (228–35) and in William C. Slattery, ed., *The Richardson–Stinstra Correspondence and Stinstra's Prefaces to 'Clarissa'* (Carbondale: Southern Illinois UP, 1969), 21–44.

13. John Traugott, "*Clarissa*'s Richardson: An Essay to Find the Reader," *English Literature in the Age of Disguise,* ed. Maximillian E. Novak (Berkeley: William Andrews Clark Memorial Library, U of California P, 1977), 172.

14. Microfilm at Princeton University's Firestone Library of Lady Bradshaigh's letter from Forster Collection, call #: 3907 17 1326; page of letter is numbered both 118 and 128; also *Correspondence,* 4.243 with some changes in accidentals. The letter is dated 11 Jan. 1748–49.

15. Eaves and Kimpel say that Richardson lent his correspondence with Lady Bradshaigh to Astrea, Minerva, and Urania Hill; Catherine Talbot; Frances Grainger; Anne Dewes; and Mary Delany (Eaves and Kimpel, 225). Warren Mild notes that Richardson read some of Lady Bradshaigh's letters to the Highmores (*Joseph Highmore of Holborn Row* [Pennsylvania: P. Mild, 1990], 293).

16. *Correspondence,* 4.255. The letter to Lady Bradshaigh is undated; it answers hers of 11 Jan. 1748–49.

17. *Letters,* 136. The letter from Richardson to Lady Bradshaigh is dated by Carroll late Nov. or early Dec. 1749.

18. *Correspondence,* 6.76. The letter, dated 17 Mar. 1751, is appended to one started 9 Feb. 1750 (i.e., winter of 1750–51 and a little over a year since Lady Bradshaigh and Richardson met).

19. For details about the Richardson and Bradshaigh portraits and the circumstances under which they were painted, see Mild, ch. 8 ("Mr. Richardson and Mr. Highmore").

20. *Correspondence,* 6.23; 6.23–24. The letter is dated 3 June 1750.

21. *Correspondence,* 6.72n.

22. *Correspondence,* 6.50; 6.51. The undated letter follows one from late Nov. 1750 in Barbauld's arrangement and has at the end a continuation dated 28 Dec.

23. For example, Lady Bradshaigh is ready to join in the novel's epistolary enterprise. When Clarissa asks her confidante Anna Howe, "*For who can touch pitch and not be defiled?*" Lady Bradshaigh provides the answer that Anna does not: "Clarissa Harlowe" (VI.376; 6.240).

24. Lady Bradshaigh to [Martha?] Richardson, 13 Mar. 1761, Forster Collection, XI, f.276, Victoria & Albert Museum. While this letter is addressed "Dear Madam" and is clearly to a Richardson daughter, probably Martha, according to Eaves and Kimpel, Lady Bradshaigh addresses Richardson in the paragraph from which I quote above (704).

25. Robert Halsband, ed., *The Complete Letters of Lady Mary Wortley Montagu,* 3 vols. (Oxford: Clarendon Press, 1965–67), 3.96, 3.97. The letter to Lady Bute is dated 20 Oct., n.s. [1755].

26. "BETHA," Letter in the *Gentleman's Magazine* 74 (1804): 899–900; quoted in Eaves and Kimpel, 232.

27. The paragraph to which Lady Bradshaigh responds was omitted in the second edition, in keeping with Richardson's more general revisions in forms of address. In subsequent editions, Lovelace no longer refers to Clarissa as "Lady," but calls her instead "woman," "person," "sweet creature," and "Fair one." See Florian Stuber's "Introduction" to *Clarissa* (1751), 3rd ed., ed. Florian Stuber, Jim Springer Borck, and Margaret Anne Doody, 8 vols. (rpt; New York: AMS Press, 1990), I.19–21. That Richardson was engaged in substantial revision of forms of address provides evidence that the paragraph was not omitted as a response to Lady Bradshaigh's note. Furthermore, evidence suggests that Richardson did not see Lady Bradshaigh's notes until 1761. For discussions of changes Richardson made between editions, along with Stuber's "Introduction," see Shirley van Marter, "Richardson's Revisions of 'Clarissa' in the Second Edition," *Studies in Bibliography* 26 (1973): 107–32 and van Marter's "Richardson's Revisions of 'Clarissa' in the Third and Fourth Editions," *Studies in Bibliography* 28 (1975): 119–52.

28. Lady Elizabeth Echlin, *An Alternative Ending to Richardson's 'Clarissa,'* ed. Dimiter Daphinoff, Swiss Studies in English (Bern: Francke Verlag, 1982).

29. For example, she would spare Mrs. Norton's son his illness so that Clarissa might "have had the comfort of her good Norton in attendance" (VI.384; 6.246). Later at Mrs. Norton's 14 Aug. letter to Clarissa, Lady Bradshaigh writes, "Surely it is wrong to make everybody unable to stir from home who cou'd be of any comfort to her. I cannot see why. I feel at this moment as if I was just going to write privately to enforce the necessity of M^{rs} Norton's attendance" (VII.111; 6.366).

30. Traugott, "*Clarissa*'s Richardson," 169.
31. *Letters,* 106. The letter is dated 15 Dec. 1748.
32. *Letters,* 107.
33. *Letters,* 107, 108.

Figure 1: Close up of flyleaf of volume one of *Clarissa* (first edition).

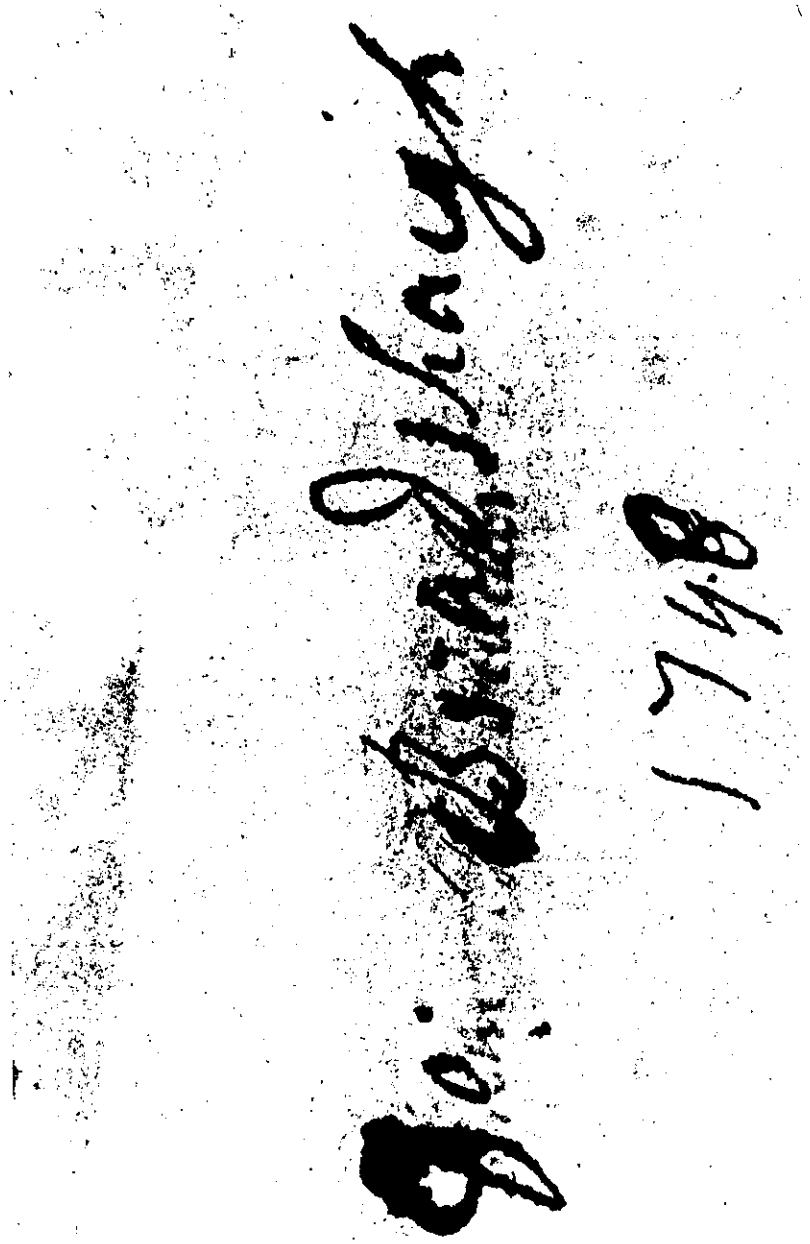
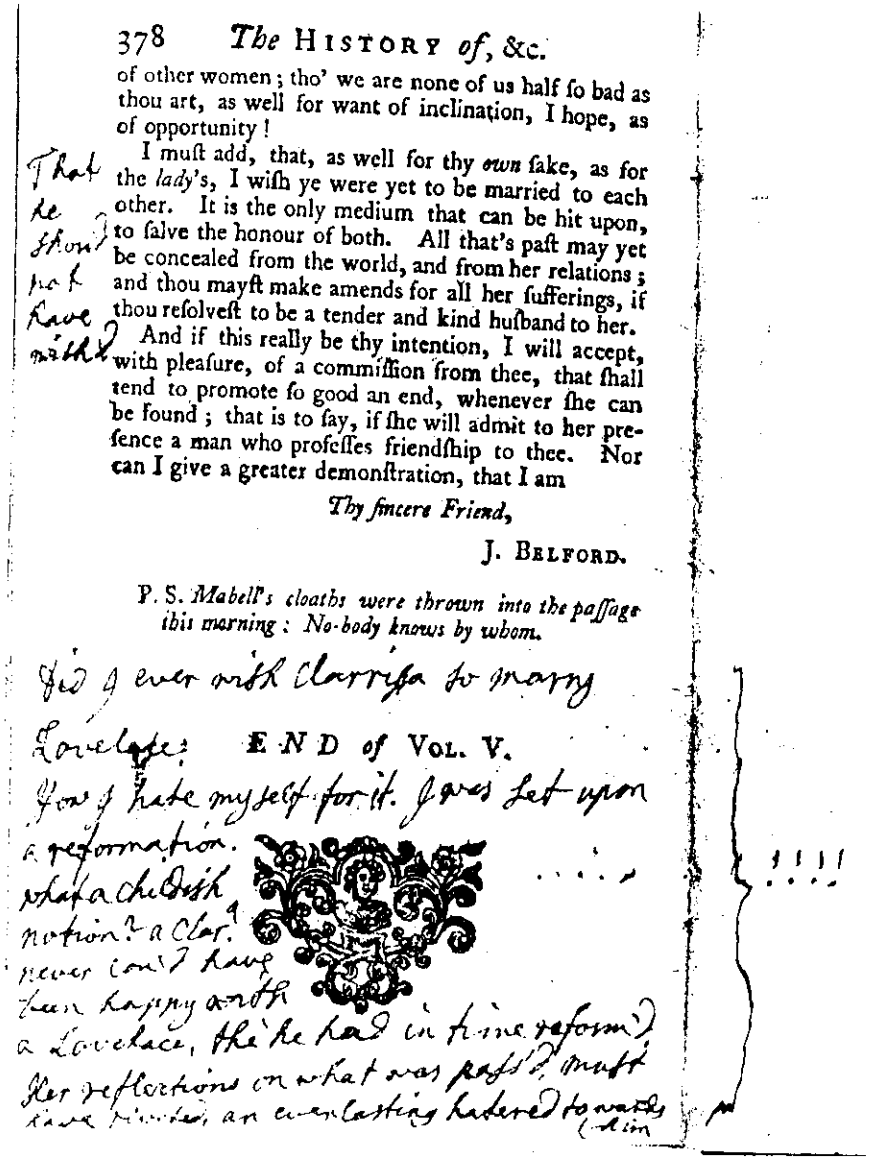


Figure 2: End of volume five of *Clarissa* (first edition).



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of other women; tho' we are none of us half ſo bad as thou art, as well for want of inclination, I hope, as of opportunity!

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. It is the only medium that can be hit upon, to ſalve the honour of both. All that's paſt may yet be concealed from the world, and from her relations; and thou mayſt make amends for all her ſufferings, if thou reſolveſt to be a tender and kind huſband to her.

And if this really be thy intention, I will accept, with pleaſure, of a commiſſion from thee, that ſhall tend to promote ſo good an end, whenever ſhe can be found; that is to ſay, if ſhe will admit to her preſence a man who profeſſes friendſhip to thee. Nor can I give a greater demonſtration, that I am

Thy ſincere Friend,

J. BELFORD.

P. S. *Mabell's cloaths were thrown into the paſſage this morning: No-body knows by whom.*

END of VOL. V.