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Works of Another Hand: Authorship and English Prose Fiction Continuations, 1590 – 1755

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Abstract

This dissertation explores the development of prose fiction continuations from Sir Philip Sidney's *Arcadia* to the novels of Samuel Richardson. Examining instances in which a text was continued by someone other than its original author, I ask precisely what this distinction means historically: what factors create a system of literary value in which certain continuations are defined as 'spurious,' and how does the discourse surrounding these texts participate in changing attitudes toward authorship, originality, and narrative closure? My work thus contributes to recent critical efforts to historicise authorship and literary property, using prose fiction examples that have not previously been discussed in this context.

Analysing the rhetorical strategies found within paratextual materials such as prefaces, dedications, and advertisements, I establish how writers of continuations discuss the motivations for their works, how these are marketed and received, and how the authors of the source texts (or their representatives) respond to them. Through close reading, the dissertation traces the development of persistent metaphors for literary property across these texts, focusing on images of land, paternity, and the author's 'spirit.' The introductory chapter addresses these metaphors' significance, defines the main elements of continuations, and situates them within the historical context of a growing print marketplace and developments in copyright law. The dissertation then presents a series of case studies of the most documentarily-rich instances of continuation across the period. Starting with *The Countess of Pembroke's Arcadia*, published posthumously in an incompletely-revised form, Chapter 2 shows how its gaps allowed other writers to continue the story, while Chapter 3 studies the metaphorical approaches to authorship taken in the continuations' paratexts. Chapter 4 examines two Restoration texts, *The English Rogue* and *The Pilgrim's Progress*, which combine the *Arcadia* continuations' concern about the author's honour with issues of commercial competition. The intersection of profit, reputation and copyright protection brought out in this chapter is reflected in the subsequent discussion of the career of Samuel Richardson. Chapter 5 shows him responding to public challenges to his authorial control following the success of *Pamela*, whereas Chapter 6 explores the more private assertions of

authority taking place within Richardson's correspondence during the publication of *Clarissa* and *Sir Charles Grandison*. Finally, my conclusion summarises the subsequent legal and critical privileging of original over continuation, emphasising the historical contingency of this process.

The broad chronological scope of the dissertation allows the frames of all these texts to inform each other for the first time, crossing the established critical boundary between the 'romance' and the 'novel.' This approach reveals continuities as well as differences, enabling me to construct a more nuanced picture of Early Modern approaches to prose continuations and authorial ownership. In establishing links between law and literature, the project also provides an important historical context for contemporary debates about copyright, fanfiction, and literary property.

Declaration

This is to certify that the work contained within has been composed by me and is entirely my own work. No part of this thesis has been submitted for any other degree or professional qualification.

Signed:

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This dissertation is dedicated to my parents and sister, with love and thanks for all of their support over the years.

Table of Contents

Chapter 1

Introduction

Alas, Madam! (continued he) how few books are there of which one ever can possibly arrive at the last *page! Was there ever yet any thing written by mere man that was wished longer by its readers, excepting Don Quixote, Robinson Crusoe, and the Pilgrim's Progress?*
– Samuel Johnson (Piozzi 281)

1. Continuations and Authorship: Some Definitions

Despite Dr. Johnson's pronouncement, the number of seventeenth and eighteenth-century books that were 'wished longer' by their readers far exceeded this short list of three. Many of those readers, in fact, went beyond mere wishing by actually writing continuations to popular texts, adopting their characters, settings, and plots. Today, writing of this type proliferates on the Internet under the name of 'fanfiction' – amateur works set within the worlds of existing media properties. While some content creators welcome this level of engagement, a number of prominent authors have been vocal in their disapproval. On 3 May 2010, for example, popular historical novelist Diana Gabaldon published a blog entry detailing her view of fanfiction: 'My position on fan-fic is pretty clear: I think it's immoral, I *know* it's illegal, and it makes me want to barf whenever I've inadvertently encountered some of it involving my characters.' She then expands on this literally visceral reaction, describing stories written about her characters ('the intimate creations of my imagination and personality') as being akin to a stranger having sexual fantasies about her husband or young daughter, 'break[ing] into [her] house,' or 'camp[ing] in [her] backyard without permission.' Gabaldon's opinion of fanfiction demonstrates the highly-charged, emotional discourse that often results when one author's work is continued by another. Posts like hers raise questions about the boundaries of literary property, the relationship between authors and the characters they create, and the role an author might claim in the subsequent reception of his or her published work: all questions that will be explored in this dissertation.

The strong response that Gabaldon's statements received from writers and supporters of fanfiction – leading to several further posts clarifying her position, and

finally to the deletion of the entire episode – may signal that we are now living in a period of transition, when legal and critical opinions about these issues are once again being negotiated. In fact, many such defences of fanfiction look to the pre-copyright past to provide a precedent for their engagement with existing texts. Sheenagh Pugh's *The Democratic Genre*, for instance, begins with references to stories of Robin Hood, Robert Henryson's fifteenth-century continuation of Chaucer's *Troilus and Criseyde* in *The Testament of Cresseid,* and the plays of Shakespeare and his Restoration successors. Statements that Virgil's *Aeneid* is fanfiction of Homer's *Iliad*, or that Shakespeare 'stole his plots' abound in these sorts of discussions. As the diversity of these examples demonstrates, establishing a lineage for fanfiction often involves a very generalising view of literary history. In this dissertation, I will work to revise such broad claims through a detailed study of prose fiction continuations and the discourse surrounding them in another period of transition, in the seventeenth and early eighteenth centuries. This allows me to trace the roots of the strongly possessive attitudes, and indeed many of the specific metaphors of violation and invasion, that are expressed in Gabaldon's posts.

By focusing specifically on cases of continuation by someone other than the writer responsible for the 'original' text, I necessarily engage throughout with the definition and extent of authorship. The idea of the author is at play in any discussion of a continuation as 'genuine' or 'spurious,' of whether its events will be accepted as the 'authorised' and 'canonical' version of what happens to a given set of characters. As one of Samuel Richardson's correspondents wrote, 'I find there is a Second Part of Pamela Advertised. If it is by the Author of the First I shall expect it with Impatience and Pleasure. If it is the Work of another Hand, I am resolved never to look into it' (Forster MS XVI 1.16). If the 'author function,' as Michel Foucault has influentially theorised, brings 'unity' to a set of texts and marks off their boundaries (284-6), then a different author must result in *dis*unity. Unlike the forms of traditional culture with which Pugh begins (in which stories of Robin Hood or King Arthur circulated and were reshaped without any names being attached to them [26]), all of the texts I will discuss were written in response to works attributed to known biographical individuals, and all of them find various ways of dealing with this fact. My work therefore participates in the recent critical effort to historicise the notion of

authorship, inaugurated by Foucault's 'What is an author?'. In that essay, Foucault suggests that there was a time, vaguely dated to before 'the seventeenth or eighteenth century,' when literary texts circulated without an 'author function': that is, without the author's name serving as a special classificatory category that defines the nature and status of the text, setting it apart from others (284-5).

Critics following Foucault have built on these assertions to provide a more nuanced history of the author-function and literary property: Joseph Loewenstein, for instance, has discussed the development of the idea of 'possessive authorship' in the career of Ben Jonson, while Brean S. Hammond has traced what he calls a 'prehistory' of copyright in the seventeenth century. Much of this work to date, however (going back to Harold Ogden White's classic study of *Plagiarism and Imitation During the English Renaissance*, and including the collection *Plagiarism in Early Modern England*, Laura Rosenthal's *Playwrights and Plagiarists*, and Marilyn Randall's *Pragmatic Plagiarism*), has focused on the disputed distinction between plagiarism and imitation – specific forms of intertextual relationship that cannot be translated wholesale to the writing of continuations. Although they may also involve imitation of style, continuations do not require it, and (unlike instances of plagiarism) they must announce themselves *as* continuations in order to be effective. In their unique combination of repetition and difference – what the preface to *David Simple, Volume the Last* would call 'putting known and remarkable Characters into new Situations' (vi) – continuations sit adjacent to, without fully fitting into, the history of debates about plagiarism and imitation, and are only rarely discussed as a discrete mode.

Where critical accounts (including those of Hammond, Rosenthal, and Paulina Kewes) do comment on forms of appropriation beyond direct textual borrowing, such as the adaptation of plots and characters, they have done so almost exclusively in the domain of the theatre. Prose fiction, on the other hand, has been largely neglected, particularly before the turn of the eighteenth century. Kewes sketches a literary history that justifies this tendency, finding that attitudes towards literary property change 'in response to the changing status' of different genres, with drama being the dominant form of the seventeenth century and poetry of the eighteenth:

> Our period provides few instances of prose fiction coming under

> scrutiny. This is not to say that writers of novels, novellas, romantic fiction, and the like, were wholly exempt from censure if their work was perceived to be derivative; however, given the relative generic novelty of such writings, there seems to have been greater scope for 'novelty' of subject-matter, language, and style....By contrast, in the modern world, the majority of plagiarism charges involve novels. This is because prose fiction is much the most profitable and popular of literary forms. ('Historicizing Plagiarism' 14-5)

Similarly, Paul Budra and Betty Schellenberg, introducing the sole collection of essays on literary sequels to date, argue that it is generally 'the ascendant form that is likely to be responded to as charismatic and produce a demand of extension,' again equating the Renaissance with the theatre in their table of such forms (12). However, while it is certainly true that drama was the more commercially-prominent form of writing in the Early Modern period, this does not mean that it existed in isolation. Even before the novel had properly 'risen,' the works of prose fiction discussed in subsequent chapters served as both bestsellers and cultural touchstones, and sparked debates over authorial ownership that merit closer examination.

Moreover, a study of prose fiction continuations poses problems different from those related to dramatic or poetic appropriation, highlighting questions of narrative rather than style. In delineating precisely what I mean by a prose 'continuation,' I follow Budra and Schellenberg's focus on the 'chronological extension of a narrative' (7). This extension is implicit in the word 'sequel,' although I generally follow period usage in calling these texts 'continuations' (or, in the case of the bridging passages inserted into the *Arcadia*, 'supplements').[1] 'Sequel' only begins to assume its modern meaning in the mid-eighteenth century, at the same time when (as detailed in my Conclusion) it takes on pejorative connotations. This concentration on sequence and continuity delimits the scope of my study: Francis Quarles's *Argalus and Parthenia* and Lady Mary Wroth's *Urania*, for example, are not continuations of Sir Philip Sidney's *Arcadia*, although they are clearly inspired by it: the former retells a single subplot from the story in a different form, while the latter alludes to it without sharing any narrative elements. The major aspects of continuations, according to these criteria, emerge as an emphasis on (or a resistance

[1] While 'prequels' also expand the chronological range of the text, I have not come across any significant prose examples of this within the period.

to) closure, and the adoption of common characters and settings.

By 'continuing' a prior text, continuations necessarily question the very idea of narrative closure. Whether this is accomplished through authorial fiat or the conventional endings in marriage or death, the text is always capable of going on past the '*last* page' anticipated by Johnson. In some cases, such as the publication of Sidney's incomplete *Arcadia,* continuations seek to tie up loose ends in an economical and satisfactory manner (see Chapter 2). In others, however, texts initially presented as formally finished (such as Samuel Richardson's *Pamela*) can be seen as potentially serial, capable of being re-opened into further narrative. Such a resistance to closure is frequently associated with the romance: in *Inescapable Romance,* Patricia Parker characterises the genre as one which 'both projects and postpones or wanders from a projected ending' (13); it 'keeps its fiction going and defers, like the storytelling of Scheherazade, the fateful moment of' resolution (37). In moving from seventeenth to eighteenth-century continuations, however, my study seeks to bridge the traditional gap between the 'romance' and the 'novel.' Indeed, as J. Paul Hunter argues in 'Serious Reflections on Further Adventures,' eighteenth-century novels are also frequently 'additive, digressive, lumpy, and resistant to closure defined in the generally accepted sense,' and these are not faults but rather 'intentional, inevitable, and significant to their working power' (278). In addition to challenging such critical standards of completeness, I hope that my work will also allow serial fiction – even when it becomes so retrospectively, through the later addition of continuations – to be seen as a part of the history of prose fiction, rather than as an aberration resulting from publishing practices somehow extrinsic to the creative process.

Another defining feature of continuations is the characters they share with their source texts. These are not simply general archetypes (such as a disguised princess or a virtuous servant) but the same people with a common past, who become recognisable through their proper names. This may seem too obvious to be worth stating, yet it appears to be a point of confusion for critics writing about character adaptation: thus Hunter, for example, sees Sophia Western as an adaptation of Clarissa Harlowe because the two encounter some similar incidents (282). Elizabeth Judge writes that 'It must have been especially difficult given the uncertain contours

of the new genre of the novel for contemporary readers to know whether' the authors of continuations 'had kidnapped the same characters or whether they were...creating original characters of their own' (50-1). In fact, I would argue, the name of the character is what cuts through this apparent difficulty: it signals the nature of a text's engagement with a precursor, distinguishing continuations from more general imitation. One might therefore posit a 'character function' which, in the case of a continuation by a different writer, serves as a unifying principle rivalling that of the 'author function.' It creates what Abigail Derecho terms an 'archive' encompassing all texts related to those characters. A 1749 review of a continuation called *The History of Tom Jones in his Married State* draws attention to these conflicting principles of authorship and character, arguing against the belief that, 'when a work is generally well esteemed[,]...any thing that carries the same name, or seems to be a continuation of the work, will be in more or less request, if but for the sake of compleating, and taking all in, which is wrote on the subject' (25-6).

The multiplicity of continuations I study, however, shows that further stories about familiar characters *were*, in fact, in significant 'request' throughout the period. This is because fictional characters are more than named signifiers within the text or, as Martin Price argues, functions of narrative that exist only in so far as novels require them (37). Followed over the course of an extended narrative, they can be imagined to possess a past or future, conferring on them some of the attributes of 'real' people. Characters therefore hold a privileged position in discussions of continuations; according to Gabaldon they are the sole aspect of a text that should never be open to appropriation:

> The central – the only truly vital part – of a story, and what makes it unique, is the character or characters. Everything else springs from that. In essence, a story *is* its characters. Therefore, while all kinds of things in a piece of writing can flow throughout the collective consciousness and inspire new work – theme, style, form, setting, mythical archetype, ideas of any kind….a character is *not* merely an idea. He or she is a real thing, and no less real for having no bodily presence. They do exist, even though they are embodied only in words.

Some Early Modern authors, like Gabaldon, display what Judge calls a 'custodial and affective' interest in their characters as people (43): John Bunyan is protective of

'his' pilgrims in *The Second Part of the Pilgrim's Progress*, while Richardson fears that his characters would be 'depreciated and debased,' or even murdered, by a rival continuation (see Chapters 4 and 5). For readers, too, accuracy of characterisation serves as a primary criterion for judging the success of a continuation, and can be discussed in highly emotional terms. Even critics seeking to offer an impartial literary-historical account can change tone abruptly when evaluating characterisation: thus A.D.G. Wiles complains that Gervase Markham in his *English Arcadia* 'has profaned these noble characters [Helen and Amphialus]; and what is worse, he suddenly breaks off his account of them, leaving these evil implications upon them' ('Continuations' 124-5). Paul Salzman criticises Anna Weamys's *Continuation of Sir Philip Sydney's Arcadia* for similar reasons, noting that the princesses are '"transmigrated" almost unrecognizably' in Weamys's hands, so that 'the reader is disturbed to see' it (*English Prose Fiction* 131). Such attachment to characters by both authors and audiences is evident in the interactions between Richardson and his readers, who wept and pleaded for Pamela, Clarissa, and Clementina. Yet it is not exclusive to the greater psychological realism attributed to the novel, as the earlier examples of the *Arcadia* and *The Pilgrim's Progress* demonstrate. While Hunter and David A. Brewer argue that characters in the eighteenth century became more 'portable,' with an 'independence and detachability' that allowed them to move more readily between texts (Hunter 282, Brewer 78), I have not observed any direct correlation between character 'complexity' and the writing of continuations.

Although the cast of characters serves as the most obvious indication that one works continues another, the details of setting around them also play a role. This is particularly true in the case of *The Countess of Pembroke's Arcadia* – one of the few Early Modern romances to be titled, not after its protagonists, but the country where it is set. Sidney portrays it with some geographical specificity (Lindenbaum, *Changing Landscapes* 77; Ringler 376), and it is treated as such by the writers of the continuations, who recall and expand on aspects of Arcadia's history and customs. More generally, continuations require certain assumptions about fiction itself as a kind of alternate reality. This is what we mean we talk of a fictional 'world,' even in works (such as Richardson's *Pamela*) that appear to have a recognisably quotidian setting. In *Narrative as Virtual Reality*, Marie-Laure Ryan terms this process textual

'immersion,' 'the experience through which a fictional world acquires the presence of an autonomous language-independent reality populated with live human beings' (14). Although Ryan does not see such immersion as a factor prior to the nineteenth century – before that, 'The visibility of language acted as a barrier that prevented readers from losing themselves in the story-world' (4) – the existence of continuations seems to argue otherwise. It also implies that immersion and interactivity (the process of engaging with a work on the surface level, as an artificial textual object) are not the disparate poles that Ryan portrays. As many of the examples in this dissertation show, readers who become writers of continuations care deeply about what happens within the narrative world and to its people, reacting to it 'as though' it were real. Yet the experience of constructing their own fictions in response means that they do not lose sight of the fictional nature of that world, taking place through language and having been created by an author. Indeed, the very specificity of characters or setting that marks these texts as continuations is connected to the author-function. Thus, 'Arcadia' shifts from being the generalised pastoral realm of classical and Renaissance literature to a particular country, in a particular book by Philip Sidney: a self-contained fictional world with a known creator.

The fact that all writers of continuations must begin as readers of the source text means that each continuation is also a record of reading and reception. They make explicit what many critics, beginning in the mid-eighteenth century, have tried to suppress – that books have their starting-point in other books, rather than in an *ex nihilo* act of original creation. The writing of continuations thus breaks down the boundaries between passive consumption and active production of literature. The phenomenology of reading theorised by Wolfgang Iser provides a useful basis for discussing this process, since it describes all reading of literary texts as to some extent active and collaborative, involving imaginative extrapolation and the filling of 'gaps' in the story (11-2). Although Iser foregrounds cases in which he believes authors to be consciously controlling this process for their own ends, continuations show that readers frequently have minds of their own. With Sidney's posthumously-published *Arcadia*, for example, the author's death creates several very obvious narrative 'gaps' that (in his absence) needed to be filled by others. Yet even texts not visibly incomplete always contain some room for extrapolation. Iser's chief example

is serial fiction, in which readers are asked 'to imagine the continuation of the action' and thus become 'co-authors' (16). While this tendency is heightened when works are published in instalments, however, even readers of a single volume must move through a text over a period of time, potentially formulating predictions and endings of their own. In the case of Richardson's *Clarissa* (Chapter 6), such speculation led to arguments with the author and the writing of narratives proposing an alternate sequence of events: Richardson complained that his readers had already formed 'a Catastrophe of [their] own; and are therefore the more unwilling to part with it' (*Selected Letters* 103). Many of the writers I discuss describe being swept away by their imaginations while reading the source text: James Johnstoun writes of the *Arcadia* that 'I was carried with such pleasure in perusing the same, that I could never find an end of reading: while at length my braine [was] transported with the Idea's of [Sidney's] conceit' (aa1r); upon reading *Clarissa*, Dorothy Bradshaigh found that 'Every thought relating to this affair takes possession of me like infatuation; for I am drawn from one thing to another, spite of all resistance' (Barbauld 4.202). While the figure of the author may serve as the original source of inspiration or an inhibiting factor in this process (motivating the 'resistance' that Bradshaigh describes), it can never control it entirely.

2. Authority and Commerce in the World of Print

While following their development, I do not presume to specify a precise 'birth' for these forms of engagement between authors and readers. Clearly the role of the author is already in evidence when we see Henryson responding, not to a general Troy myth, but to the question, 'Quha wait gif all that Chauceir wrait was trew?' (113) – thus raising some of the same questions of truth and author/ity felt in many of the cases I discuss. Yet, while adaptations of existing stories and materials certainly predate the Early Modern period, the development of print increased authorial attribution and allowed for faster and more precise intertextual relations (Mack 9). Robert L. Mack's observation that the 1580s and 90s in England saw the beginning of more 'specific responses to particular authors and to particular works' applies to parodies, yet it holds true for continuations as well (75). The telescoping effects of

wider dissemination can be clearly seen in the appended timeline (Appendix A). Before print, a century passed between Chaucer's *Troilus and Cresyede* and Henryson's *The Testament of Cresseid*; fifteen years between the publication of the *Arcadia* in 1590 and its first printed continuation; five months between *Pamela* and the first volume of *Pamela's Conduct in High Life.* The end of interest in particular texts also comes faster over the course of the period – there were apparently no Sidney continuations written after 1650, or *Pamela* continuations after 1743. If classical imitation depends on a sense of historical distance and rupture, as Thomas M. Greene argues in *The Light in Troy* (37), then continuations participate in a speeding up of the literary conversation between contemporaries and recent predecessors, facilitated by a growing print marketplace.

As recent studies by Harold Love, Arthur F. Marotti and Margaret Ezell have shown, print never entirely replaced manuscript in the Early Modern period. Yet the coexistence of the two media led to a reconfiguration of the relationship between authors and readers. Peter Stallybrass notes that the very idea of a 'manuscript' is dependent upon printing – before its invention, 'there was writing, no end of writing, but no manuscripts' (218). The division between print and manuscript was by no means absolute: the work of Heidi Brayman Hackel and William Sherman demonstrates that Early Modern readers frequently made extensive marginal comments and otherwise modified or appropriated their printed books. Yet there is a general sense in which print was configured as public and manuscript as private, the print text as fixed and 'closed' and the manuscript as 'open' to emendation. Walter Ong argues that 'Print encourages a sense of closure, a sense that what is found in a text has been finalized, has reached a state of completion'; it creates a disjuncture between authors and readers and between the text and other texts (132-3). Gerald L. Bruns also writes that 'a text is generally said to be finished when it succeeds into print (whereupon it is called a "work"). Print closes off the act of writing and authorizes its results' (113). This authorisation relates not only to the text, but to its producer: as Roger Chartier notes, by the end of the seventeenth century dictionary definitions began to link authorship with print publication: 'The term "author" presupposed printed circulation of works and, in return, recourse to the press distinguished the "author" from the "writer"' (39-40). Without print, Elizabeth

Eisenstein asks, 'how could modern games of books and authors be played?' (121).

These differences between manuscript and print affected the relationships between continuations and their source texts. As argued above, print allowed a greater number of readers to have access and respond to a more-or-less identical text. While the *Arcadia* remained in manuscript, it was subject to a process of constant rewriting and flux, so that John Harington, for instance, could make a copy that was quite liberal in altering some passages and phrasings (Kay 10). Once fixed in print, however, it became open to a very different kind of response. All of the continuators studied in this dissertation most likely read their source texts in their printed form, while composing their own additions in manuscript – emphasising the physical difference between the author's 'work' and their own 'writing,' and showing it to be literally the product of 'another hand.' However (with the exception of *The Historie of Arcadia*, a politically-sensitive text that remained in manuscript), all of the *Arcadia* continuations were eventually published in the same print medium as Sidney's romance and often within the same volume, thus putting them on an apparent footing of equality for future readers. Richardson would find this equivalence between identical print products particularly threatening, fearing that customers would choose to purchase the rival *Pamela's Conduct in High Life* rather than his own continuation, and encouraging his readers to write him manuscript letters instead (see Chapters 5 and 6). By the mid-eighteenth century, the distinction between 'professional' writing in print and 'amateur' writing in manuscript was firmly established, and is only now beginning to break down with the rise of ebooks and online publishing. The history of prose fiction continuations is necessarily also the story of these differences in material form, which come to mark the difference between the continuation as an independent text by an 'author' and an ancillary after-effect composed by a 'reader' turned 'writer.'

Perhaps the paradigmatic scene of Early Modern continuation-writing, and the response of a living author to a published rival text, occurs in Miguel de Cervantes' *Don Quixote*. From the perspective of the chronology constructed in this dissertation, Cervantes' Spanish text – the first part of which was published in 1605, and the second (reacting to the appearance of a 'spurious' continuation by the pseudonymous Alonso Fernandes de Avellaneda) in 1614 – appears out of place, in the same way as

the nature of his narrative prefigures much later developments in English prose fiction. As Michael McKeon notes, the two parts of *Don Quixote* enact what 'in the English context is spread over a much greater period and range of works' (292). On the Continent, both prose romances and continuations of the type I examine were being written from at least the beginning of the sixteenth century (Hinrich); Cervantes' text, therefore, arrives at the tail-end of and parodies this fashion. Avellaneda's work, now lost, serves largely as a pretext for the elaborate self-referential manipulations of text and reality within Cervantes' own Second Part. Just as the first part 'explores the paradoxes of the writer, the work, and the audience, testing the conventions which allow prose fiction to create a world' (Salzman, *English Prose Fiction* 281), the second is closely concerned with what it means to write, read, and publish a continuation.

Early in the story, learning that Cervantes has published an account of his previous adventures, Don Quixote asks whether he intends to continue it:

> 'Does the author promise a second part?' 'Yes...but...some people say that second parts are never good, while others observe, that too much already hath been written concerning Don Quixote...tho' there is a third sort more jovial than wise, who cry, "Quixote for ever! let the knight engage, and Sancho Panza harrangue; come what will, we shall be satisfied."' 'And how does the author seem inclined?' said the knight. 'How?...to set the press agoing, as soon as he can find the history...thereto swayed by interest, more than by any motive of praise.' 'Since the author keeps interest and money in his eye,' said Sancho, 'it will be a wonder if he succeeds; for, he'll do nothing but hurry, hurry...and your works that are trumped up in a haste, are never finished with that perfection they require.' (393-4)[2]

Moreover, near the end of the narrative, the heroes learn of another Second Part (Avellaneda's) that has already been published and read by the people they encounter. This continuation is shown to be inferior because it does not accurately represent Don Quixote and Sancho – the former is no longer in love with Dulcinea and the latter is 'a simpleton without the least vein of humour or pleasantry; and, in short, quite different from the Sancho described in the first part of the history' (670-1). It must therefore, they conclude, be an account of some *other* personages passing under the characters' names. By presenting the other Quixote and Sancho as

[2] All quotations are taken from the 1755 translation by Tobias Smollett, as the earliest English translations do not include the ending of the Second Part.

imposters, Cervantes playfully challenges the expectations of character adaptation described above, by which a character with the same history and name is assumed to be the same person, even in a different text.

The difference between the 'true' and 'false' Quixotes is not merely a question of characterisation but of authorship. The characters conclude by wishing for a law to be passed 'prohibiting any person or persons from presuming to meddle with the affairs of the great Don Quixote, excepting Hamet, his original author; in the same manner as Alexander decreed that no painter but Apelles should draw his portrait' (672). (This image of the 'original' author as Apelles, the mythical master painter, will return several times in this dissertation, particularly in regard to the *Arcadia*.) The ending of the book, which soon follows, makes an even firmer exclusive claim to the central character. Unlike the first part (which promised a possible continuation), it concludes with as much finality as possible, with the burial of Don Quixote and a notarised certificate confirming his death, so 'that no other author, different from Cid Hamet Benengeli, should falsely pretend to raise him from the dead, and write endless histories of his atchievements' (741). Cid Hamet then finishes by hanging up his pen out of the reach of any 'presumptuous and wicked' future writers:

> For me alone was Don Quixote born, and I produced for him; he to act, and I to record; in a word, we were destined for each other, maugre and in despight of that fictitious Tordesillian author, who presumed, or may presume, to write with his coarse, aukward ostrich quill, the atchievements of my valiant knight; a burthen too heavy for his weak shoulders, and an undertaking too great for his frozen genius. Advise him, therefore, if ever thou shouldst chance to be in his company, to let the wearied and mouldering bones of Don Quixote rest in his grave, without seeking to...drag him from his tomb, where he really and truly lies extended at full length, and utterly incapable of making a third sally. (742)

David Quint argues that the Second Part's treatment of its rival implies that, if only Avellaneda had 'possessed the wit and skill to make a successful imitation of the *Quijote*, there would be little to choose between his and Cervantes' works' (3). Yet the 'Tordesillian author' is shown to be incapable of writing about Quixote *both* through his own lack of talent and the Second Part's superior claim to be, as its preface states, 'a work of the same artificer, and composed of the same materials with

the first' (371). By burying his hero, he means to ensure that he is both first and last to write about him, definitively closing his text.[3]

Cervantes' attempts to dismiss Avellaneda as a 'fictitious' author following a pair of false heroes, and yet still troubling Don Quixote's rest, suggests the ways in which a continuation may challenge the authority of a single author to tell the 'truth' about what happens to a given set of characters. As Quint writes, 'As a fiction, the *Don Quijote* of Avellaneda is as true as the *Don Quijote* of Cervantes....Insofar as both texts are fictional artifacts, well or indifferently made, they are both counterfeits, and the reader can only choose between the two on the basis of their respective literary merits' (3). By the same logic, there is nothing inherently 'spurious' or 'fake' about a text like John Kelly's *Pamela's Conduct in High Life*: it delivers exactly what it promises, a continuation of the story of Pamela after her marriage, and its publishers never sought to claim that Richardson had written it (see Chapter 5). Describing it in those terms, as most modern critics still unquestioningly do, presupposes the very notions of authenticity that Richardson was seeking to champion, but which were by no means universally established in the period – otherwise, Kelly's sequel would never have posed a threat after Richardson's was available. The existence of multiple versions of a character's future life serves to undermine the already unstable definitions of truth and fiction within Early Modern prose, discussed by McKeon and Lennard Davis. While some continuations (such as those to the *Arcadia*) coexist fairly happily despite their contradictions, other instances involved intense competition between several incompatible accounts all claiming to be 'true.' This was particularly keen in the case of a story like *Pamela*, which claims a foundation of documentary historicity that, as seen in Chapter 5, left it particularly vulnerable to appropriation through alienation from its author (McKeon 94, 123).

As typical of his style, Cervantes' treatment of these topics is full of multiple layers of parody and self-parody: his prefatory statement that 'There may be too much even of a good thing,' for instance, is immediately followed by an advertisement for 'the Second Part of Galatea' (371). Yet it serves to illustrate many

[3] Of course, this strong claim for authorial right is complicated by the fact that the 'author' Cid Hamet Benengeli is himself a fictional construct: he and the Don were therefore indeed created 'for' each other by Cervantes, who is here implicitly claiming ownership of them both.

of the issues that would be faced by the writers I study. None of them would be so direct or metafictional in their approach; indeed, one anonymous correspondent cautioned Samuel Richardson, in composing his own continuation to *Pamela*, that 'nothing shou'd be in the Body of the Work like the Reflection, which Cervantes cou'd not forbear upon the Imitation of his Don Quixote' (Forster MS XVI.1.53). However, Cervantes' 'Reflection' does suggest several theses about continuations that will be central to this dissertation:

> 1) That readers wish to hear more about familiar characters ('let the knight engage, and Sancho Panza harrangue; come what will, we shall be satisfied').
>
> 2) That such characters, however, have a special relationship to their creator which should forbid another author from writing about them.
>
> 3) That continuations are generally inferior to the first part because
>
> 4) they are motivated by financial 'interest' rather than aesthetic goals that might win them 'praise.'

This last is at the root of a belief, felt in several of the cases I examine, that – particularly when written by a 'professional' writer seeking to earn a living from publishing his or her work – a continuation must be the product of a '*distinctively* inorganic, or morally tainted, relation among artist, narrative object, and audience' (Budra and Schellenberg 6). As Sancho states, 'Since the author keeps interest and money in his eye...it will be a wonder if he succeeds.'

Such economic motives matter because, in entering the print marketplace, these texts necessarily became commodified as objects of exchange. This could lead to commercial competition between multiple continuations (as between Avellaneda's and Cervantes'), resulting in vociferous public debates between rival authors and/or publishers that included accusations of theft, fraud, or infringement (see Chapters 4 and 5). Given the quasi-legal nature of such language – the sense that there is a question of ownership or profit at stake – one might expect continuations to have figured in the early debates over literary property, particularly after the passing of the first Copyright Act (also known as the Statute of Anne) in 1710. Yet, as detailed in my Conclusion, the legal protection of features like character, setting, and plot has

only fully taken shape within the last hundred years: to look for it earlier is to fail to find it. With the exception of *The Third Part of the Pilgrim's Progress* (discussed at the close of Chapter 4), no continuation was apparently ever brought before a court. The copy-protection arrangements of the seventeenth and eighteenth centuries considered these texts as independent works, and there was no bar to their publication. The case of the *Arcadia* continuations provides an illustrative example. The records of the Stationers' Company, which regulated rights to 'copies' among the English book trade in this period, show not only both parts of Gervase Markham's *English Arcadia* but also Richard Belling's *Sixth Booke* and William Alexander's supplement to Book 3 being entered, transferred, and generally treated as copies in their own right, even when (as with Belling and Alexander's works) these were owned by the same men as the *Arcadia* and published within the same folio volume. As late as 1675, when it might be supposed to have been fully incorporated into the text, there is a record of the rights to Alexander's supplement being transferred in a separate entry to the rest of the *Arcadia* (Arber 2.502).

The publication of the *Arcadia* itself, as discussed in Chapter 2, involved a complex negotiation of authorship, with the correct presentation of Sidney's work being disputed between Fulke Greville and the Countess of Pembroke. Yet the question of its legal *ownership* was answered with a name that seldom figured in this debate: William Ponsonby (and later his heirs), who had entered it for his copy in the Stationers' Register. In 1586, Ponsonby had warned Greville that 'ther was one in hand to print, Sir Philip sydneys old arcadia asking me yf it were done, with yor...consent or any of his frends' (Garrett 104-5). Sidney's relations were able to exert their political influence to stay this publication, which they felt violated the author's 'honor,' and apparently rewarded Ponsonby with the rights to an authorised edition (Loewenstein, *Author's Due* 45-8). Ponsonby went on to publish both the 1590 quarto overseen by Greville and 1593 folio overseen by the Countess of Pembroke, followed by the 1598 edition that consolidated Sidney's literary works. When a pirated Edinburgh edition of the *Arcadia* appeared in 1599, it was Ponsonby, not any of Sidney's literary executors, who took legal action against it. He pursued the case from the Star Chamber to the Stationers' Court, where it was finally settled in 1602 (Judge 101). The decision spells out the stakes in this case for Ponsonby and

the trade: 'The sale of the' Edinburgh *Arcadia* had 'hindred the said wm Ponsobie (whose Copye yt is) and Done against the Decrees of the Courte of starchamber and contrarye to thordinances of the Companie of Stac*ioners*' (Judge 110). In contrast, a letter addressed to Robert Sidney (the author's brother) by his servant Rowland White gives a very different perspective on the issue: 'The "Arcadia" is now printed in Scotland, according to the best edition, which will make them good cheap, but is very hurtful to Ponsonbye, who held them at a very high rate. He must sell as other men do, or they will lye upon his hands' (Plomer, 'Edinburgh Edition' 196). White evidently thought the sale of the *Arcadia* would be of interest to Robert Sidney, but presents this as very much Ponsonby's business problem, not requiring any action in response. If the text had been obviously corrupted, that might have been a concern, but since it has been printed 'according to the best edition' (of 1598), its low price is, if anything, a benefit for the circulation of Sidney's work. Indeed, Michael Brennan suggests that Robert Sidney himself owned a copy of the Edinburgh folio (101).

This case shows the distinction that generally existed between the 'author' and 'proprietor' of a given work, and the important role played by publishers in debates over literary property. The author's honour or reputation might be invoked in such debates – as with Greville's interference in the publishing of the *Arcadia* – but this was largely done by agents other than the author him or herself. While the Copyright Act of 1710 did away with the monopoly of the Stationers' Company on owning copyrights, it preserved the author/proprietor distinction by 'Vesting the Copies of Printed Books in the Authors or Purchasers of such Copies' (Ransom 108; Feather 51-62). As the first copyright statute, this has often been seen as a pivotal moment, marking a break between the lawless appropriation of earlier centuries and today's regime of authorial property. In practice, however, most arrangements between authors and booksellers changed little, with copyrights continuing to be sold outright and the majority of authors (with a few prominent exceptions) having little say in the subsequent publication of their works. The eighteenth century saw a number of legal cases – several of which will be discussed in the Conclusion – that sought to clarify the nature and length of literary property (whether perpetual or term-limited by the statute), calling on the discourse of authors' rights in order to do so. Yet these cases were fought by publishers on behalf of authors already long-dead, as

reflected in their collective nickname as the 'Battle of the Booksellers.'

The resulting development of copyright has been studied extensively by a number of legal and book historians (including Benjamin Kaplan, Ryman Lee Patterson, John Feather, Mark Rose, and Loewenstein), and I will not recapitulate it in detail. For my purposes, it is important to note that none of these cases involved continuations, remaining concerned solely with 'piracy' or the wholesale reproduction of books. One question raised in these debates, however, is relevant for a discussion of continuations, and helps to clarify how eighteenth-century legal experts might have viewed such works. This involves the 'use' that could be made of a literary property following publication, a concept preserved in current Anglo-American copyright law as 'fair use' (or 'fair dealing'). Eighteenth-century definitions of 'use,' however, were much more various than the limited conditions stipulated today. The plaintiff's side in the case of *Tonson v. Collins* maintained that 'Every purchaser [of a book] has a right to use, but nothing farther,' while arguments against perpetual copyright suggested that reprinting a book in its entirety could also constitute a legitimate 'use' of it (*English Reports* 96.170-2). Between these two extremes lay multiple other kinds of 'use' – including the creation of related texts – which both sides could draw on to define what they meant by literary property, or to construct a slippery-slope argument. Justice Willes in *Millar v. Taylor* held that 'All the knowledge, which can be acquired from the contents of a book, is free for every man's use...if by reading an epic poem, a man learns to make an epic poem of his own; he is at liberty' (*ER* 96.217). Justice Aston concurred that the purchaser had the 'ultimated use' of 'the doctrine and sentiments which the work contains. He may improve upon it, imitate it, translate it; oppose its sentiments: but he buys no right to publish the identical work' (*ER* 96.226). Although 'The purchaser of each individual volume has...no right to make new books,' making new books here means 'multiplying copies of the old,' not imitating them (*ER* 96.181). Infringement of the author's rights thus depends on the invariability of the reproduced text that printing is supposed to ensure, viewing the book as a fixed and final product. Unlike inventions, it was argued, books were not 'capable of improvement at every copy made' (*ER* 96.173). A non-identical text (such as a continuation) was a different work, and therefore, the counsel concluded, 'The proprietors of' one book 'were not injured by

the sale of' another 'which resembled their composition,' although they would be injured 'by the sale of the [composition] itself' (*ER* 96.189).

3. The Metaphors of Literary Property

Thus far the legal status of continuations. There were other sorts of injury, however, which might apply to authors rather than proprietors – injuries against what is often termed their 'moral,' rather than economic, right. Such moral rights are pertinent to discussions of the legitimacy of continuations, even in a period with no relevant copyright protections. Being concerned with the work as a reflection of its author's unique personality, they encompass a number of rights in addition to simple reproduction, including the right of attribution and the right to protect the integrity of the work against any changes or additions that (as the Berne Convention of 1886 would definite it) 'would be prejudicial to the author's honor or reputation.' This model generally relies on the notion of the author as an individual, and thus can be only awkwardly applied to cases of joint or collaborative authorship. As David Saunders writes, 'At stake is the protection of a sphere of personality that is taken to lie beyond the material domain of property and thus to persist regardless of whether or not the property in the work has passed to someone other than its creator': this 'libidinal' relation 'can never be broken because the work is an inalienable extension of the author's person, part of his or her integrity as a human being' (Saunders 30, 186). Such an understanding of authors' rights first gained legal recognition in Napoleonic France as the *droit moral*, and Saunders repeatedly cautions against conflating it with the pragmatic and economic basis of British copyright, arguing that 'The copyright owner is a form of legal personality that emerged prior to and quite independently of the aesthetic persona' (237). Yet, even if moral rights did not enter into the copyright debate in Britain (and my Conclusion describes several cases in which they did), ideas about the personal connection between author and work certainly coexisted with, and predated, the Battle of the Booksellers. Indeed, in the absence of significant economic rights for authors, such a personal connection was often what was meant by what Hammond calls 'the ur-conception of proprietary authorship' (21). This conception might intersect with economic claims, yet it is more

concerned with the reputation or fame of the author as reflected in the work, which might be damaged by lack of attribution or, on the other hand, association with a work that the author did *not* write.

Such a view of authorship was founded on, and defined through, a fundamentally metaphorical approach to literary property. Metaphors seem to be necessary when attempting to discuss an immaterial, intellectual form of property, and they are reached for by both authors and lawyers throughout the period. One eighteenth-century justice, in fact, complained of the overly 'subtile' and 'metaphysical reasoning' that had long 'exercised the ingenuity of the Bar' (*ER* 96.218). Joseph Loewenstein writes that 'These debates jitter with laughter because they are haunted by the specter of incorporeal property, the uncanny daemonism of thought' (*Author's Due* 15) – a property that can only be defined with reference to something else. Mark Rose calls this web of metaphorical discourse the 'unconscious of copyright': a conceptual model that gains strength through repetition, influencing judgments made on an outwardly legal or economic basis ('Copyright' 8). In tracing the most significant of these metaphors over the course of this dissertation, I have found that (even if some of their valances change over the centuries), the tropes themselves remain remarkably consistent, down to the language used by present-day critics and authors like Gabaldon, who reach semi-consciously into this established historical well. Among the most prominent images for authorship that I will discuss are land, paternity, and the work as a distillation of the author's 'spirit.' Although they conceptually related, these metaphors all convey a slightly different understanding of the nature of literary property, and of what it means for that property to be violated.

The comparison to land 'provided a reassuring sense of weight and tangibility to the otherwise elusive and intangible concept of literary property' (Rose, 'Copyright' 8), grounding it in something 'real.' Although images of texts as gardens or fields are much older, Loewenstein dates the first comparison of copyright and land ownership to Richard Atkyns's *The Original and Growth of Printing* in 1664, seeing it as a 'key "moment of theory"' in the history of intellectual property (*Author's Due* 199-200). An important definition of real property was also articulated in this period in John Locke's *Two Treatises of Government* (1690). Locke argues

that, while all things begin in a state of nature, they become property once people appropriate them for their own use through labour:

> Every Man has a *Property* in his own *Person*. This no Body has any Right to but himself. The *Labour* of his Body, and the *Work* of his Hands, we may say, are properly his. Whatsoever then he removes out of the State that Nature hath provided, and left it in, he hath mixed his Labour with it, and joined to it something that is his own, and thereby makes it his Property. It being by him removed from the common state Nature placed it in, it hath by this labour something annexed to it, that excludes the common right of other Men. (245-6)

Applied to literature, this concept may seem to support the writing of continuations: the source text acts as the field to which the continuation-writer contributes labour, 'join[ing] to it something that is his own' and thus creating a new property that contributes to the general progress of literary cultivation. Indeed, Rosenthal and Kewes describe it being used in this way by Restoration playwrights adapting older works, 'represent[ing] earlier and foreign plays as the raw material that the new writer must refine into a finished product' (Rosenthal, *Playwrights and Plagiarists* 43; Kewes, *Authorship and Appropriation* 126). Yet the idea of 'natural' resources becomes ambiguous when applied to writing, which is inherently artificial: it is equally possible to say that the previous text does not exist in a pristine 'state of nature' but has already been 'enclosed' by an author who holds a personal right to it. When Gabaldon describes fanfiction authors as breaking into her house or camping in her yard, she is drawing on beliefs of a home as one's castle, and the unauthorised continuation as a violent invasion of a private space. If the text is imagined as an enclosed plot of land, another author's work on it is an *infringement*, a crossing of boundaries.

Land ownership and enclosure were political issues throughout the Early Modern period, as, from the sixteenth to the nineteenth centuries, communal grazing lands increasingly moved into private hands. This conflict provided a rich source of analogies for the discussions of literary property taking place at the same time. Thus Henry Fielding, in the chapter on plagiarism in *Tom Jones* (1749) writes that 'The Antients may be considered as a rich Common, where every Person who hath the smallest Tenement in *Parnassus*, hath a free Right to fatten his Muse,' while relationships between 'Modern' writers are distinguished by demarcations of property

and theft (3.133). Joseph Yates, arguing against perpetual copyright in the case of *Tonson v. Collins,* maintains that 'The act of publication has thrown down all distinction, and made the work common to every body; like land thrown into the highway, it is become a gift to the public' (*ER* 96.185), a part of what is now termed the 'public domain.' William Blackstone retorted that 'It is more like making a way through a man's own private grounds, where he may stop at pleasure; he may give out a number of keys, by publishing a number of copies; but no man, who receives a key, has thereby a right to forge others, and sell them to other people' (*ER* 96.188). A friend of Richardson's described the authors of *Pamela* continuations as 'Poachers in Literature' (Forster MS XVI.1.50), a metaphor (borrowed from the work of Michel de Certeau) that Henry Jenkins also uses in the title of his seminal study of fan culture, *Textual Poachers*. Figured as 'poachers,' the *Pamela* continuators and modern fanfiction writers are imagined not to remain within the public commons but infringe on privately-held land, taking something away for their own benefit.

A related horticultural metaphor retains the threat of invasion, but works in the opposite direction: if the work is considered not as an entire estate but as a plant within it, then it is vulnerable not only to theft but to grafting, binding the new text into the body of the old. Grafting could be combined with taking away: Quarles describes his *Argalus and Parthenia* (1629) as 'a *Sience* taken out of the Orchard of Sir *Philip Sydney*...which I haue lately grafted vpon a Crab-stocke, in mine owne: It hath brought forth many leaues, and promises pleasing fruit, if maleuolent eyes blast it not in the bud' (A3r). Quarles, however, is using this '*Sience*' to create his 'owne' text, which may be read independently of the *Arcadia*. In the case of continuations, the relationship is more intimate, with the new text resembling a scion added to the stock of the old. The result may be symbiotic, as when supplements to the *Arcadia* are incorporated into the same folio volume, filling rifts in the text. In other instances, however, the grafting may be resisted by the author of the source text, who seeks to disclaim any unauthorised addition that might threaten to work backward toward the root, affecting the integrity and reputation of the original. Thus Richard Head proclaims that he had no hand in the latter parts of *The English Rogue,* while Richardson resists 'scandalous Attempts of Ingrafting upon his Plan' in *Pamela*, and describes *Joseph Andrews* as containing 'hints and names taken from that story, with

a lewd and ungenerous engraftment' (*Selected Letters* 133).

This resistance to addition as well as theft shows that what is at stake in discussions of continuations is not a solely economic understanding of property. An author, after all, can be thought of as not merely occupying territory; as one 1735 pamphlet argues, 'he may be said rather to create than to discover or plant his Land; and it cannot be said, that an Author's Work was ever common, as the Earth originally was to all the World' (1).[4] The author thus acquires a semi-divine status, joining the real-estate conception to an older metaphor for literary property – that of paternity, which, as Mark Rose argues, 'could be understood as [a reflection] of the original divine act of begetting, God's creation of the universe by sending his spirit into the void' ('Copyright' 4, 9). According to Rose, the paternity trope is fundamentally incompatible with the commodification of literary property, which is better served by the image of land: there is a moral difficulty in portraying the work-as-child as a property to be bought and sold ('Copyright' 9). Eighteenth-century writers, however, seem to have had no trouble in using both ideas of property simultaneously – the same 1735 pamphlet that extensively employs real-estate analogies also states that 'If there be such a Thing as Property upon Earth, an Author has it in his Work. A Father cannot more justly call his Child, than an Author can his Work, his own' (1). As Richard G. Swartz argues, paternity, commerce and copyright also came together in the frequent references to an author's patrimony, his patriarchal responsibility to earn an inheritance for his family. One might therefore sell a copyright for the family's benefit in the same way as apprenticing a son or marrying off a daughter, while maintaining rights of paternity and being concerned over the work's continued use and reputation.

The paternity trope, which compares the work to a child of the author's brain, combines labour – in this case, the labour of childbirth – with the creation of something new. Sidney uses it in the dedication to the *Arcadia*, describing the romance as 'this childe, which I am loath to father' (¶3r). The editor's preface to the 1593 edition of the *Arcadia* argues that, while 'the fathers vntimely death preuented the timely birth of the childe' and thus the text as published 'do[es] not exactly and in

[4] *A Letter from an Author to a Member of Parliament Occasioned by a Late Letter Concerning the Bill Now Depending in the House of Commons, For the Encouragement of Learning, &c.*

euery lineament represent' him, 'the greatest vnlikenes is rather in defect then in deformity' (¶4v), while Greville later describes the book as containing 'Pictures of himselfe' (245). In a kind of 'print-made immortality' (Eisenstein 121), the work – bearing the name of its 'father' – thus has the power to resemble or 'represent' its author through their affinity. This is because the concept of literary paternity also encompasses the idea of the work as containing the author's 'spirit': as Rose notes, the image is of 'the author impregnat[ing] the womb of his brain with an emanation of his own spirit' in a form of parthenogenic reproduction ('Copyright' 4). This image is vividly expressed in Milton's *Areopagitica* (1644):

> Books are not absolutely dead things, but doe contain a potencie of life in them to be as active as that soule was whose progeny they are; nay they do preserve as in a violl the purest efficacie and extraction of that living intellect that bred them....A good Booke is the pretious life-blood of a master spirit, imbalm'd and treasur'd up on purpose to a life beyond life. (4)

As evident in this quotation, the idea of 'spirit' moves beyond its seminal roots to notions of inspiration and haunting, which recur throughout this dissertation. The spirit that animates a work is a reflection of the 'soule,' 'intellect' or personality of its author; as such, it is not open to appropriation or imitation. No amount of labour or craftsmanship can equal it unless (as in some of the *Arcadia* continuations) through direct 'inspiration' by the author's ghost. The authorial 'spirit' of a work thus becomes a criterion for evaluating the success or (more usually) failure of a continuation, from eighteenth-century literary reviews to more recent criticism. Wiles quotes an anonymous commentator in *The Retrospective Review* of 1820, stating that even the best of the *Arcadia* continuations must fail because 'Like all other imitations, they want the spirit of originality; and, however closely they resemble their precursor in its outward accompaniments, have little of its peculiar and inward character' ('Continuations' 80). Agreeing with this assessment, Wiles is in no doubt of where this 'peculiar and inward character' lies: 'Sidney's style is deeply impregnated with his warm, serious, and complex personality. This impregnation – the peculiar, the unique essence of his style – no man can imitate with any real degree of success' ('Continuations' 83).

As shown in the quotations above, all of these different conceptions of

authorship weave in and out of the texts I discuss. Each of them can also be specifically applied to a discussion of continuations. The setting or, more generally, 'world' of the text can be imagined as the author's land, entered by another writer who may explore and expand the map of the territory. Characters, on the other hand, are the author's 'children' and therefore reflections of his or her personality. Thus Richardson sees the heroines of his novels as his textual daughters, requiring his protection from those who would abuse or abduct them (Maruca 141-3). While writing his novels, he explains, 'I am all the while absorbed in the character. It is not fair to say – I, identically I, am any-where, while I keep within the character' (*Selected Letters* 286): yet, in a God-like fashion, this absorption also allows him to be *every*where, permeating the resulting text. Viewing characters as a special function of literature that is not open to appropriation, Gabaldon similarly writes that

> Characters – good characters, 'real' characters – derive their reality from the person who created them. They *are* the person who created them, refracted through the lens of that writer's experience, imagination, love, fear, and craft. Another writer seeking to duplicate that character might equal – or conceivably surpass – the craft; they can't touch the essence.
> When you mess with my stuff, you're not messing with my characters – you're messing with *me*.

Gabaldon's description of characters as a 'real thing' arising from her personality does not only make an aesthetic statement about their 'good' level of psychological development, but aligns them with tangible, 'real' property. It thus allows her to claim exclusive ownership of them, combining the notions of personal and property rights.

4. Methodology and Outline

In the following chapters, I will trace these conceptions of literary property across over a century and half of literary history, focusing on how the writers of continuations discuss the motivations for their work, how such continuations are marketed and received, and how the authors of the source texts (or their representatives) respond to them. To that end, much of my evidence will be drawn from paratextual materials such as prefaces, dedications, advertisements and letters.

My work thus participates in the recent critical interest in Early Modern paratexts, as represented by the collection on *Renaissance Paratexts* edited by Helen Smith and Louise Wilson, and Michael Saenger's *The Commodification of Textual Engagements in the English Renaissance,* which studies paratexts as an early form of advertising. While such paratexts are often conventional rhetorical exercises, the very form of those conventions can tell us a great deal about how Early Modern writers and commentators conceptualised literary continuation. As Francis Kirkman – one of the most playful manipulators of prefatory rhetoric featured here – argues, 'It as an Errour, when the Preface or Epistle is unread for they ought in my opinion to be twice read over: both before and after the reading of the Book, or else the intent and design of the Authour is unknown' (*Unlucky Citizen,* A1r). In paying such close attention to prefaces and epistles, I follow the strategy of Richard Helgerson in his own work on Early Modern authors and authorship:

> The thousands of individual gestures they made in presenting themselves provide the only access to those systems. Our task will be to avail ourselves of that access, to move from gesture to system and back again, hoping that in the circling (not to say 'circularity') of argument that is an inevitable part of most humanistic research we will come better to understand...*what* it means and *how* it means. (16-7)

In order to best approximate how these 'individual gestures' would have been encountered by their contemporaries, primary texts are cited (where practicable, and enabled by databases such as Early English Books Online and Eighteenth Century Collections Online) from Early Modern sources with original spelling and punctuation.

As this is not predominantly a study of continuation as a formal phenomenon, I pay only limited attention to the *contents* of these works, as opposed to their framing. Where I do move from paratext to text, my focus is largely on how they configure the authority or 'truth' of their source text, and on questions of narrative closure. Unlike some earlier critics, I am not interested in evaluating the literary quality of these works or their 'success' or 'failure' as continuations, but rather the historical criteria by which such judgments come to be made. Similarly, this dissertation is not intended as a complete survey of serial fiction within the period, and thus leaves out texts (such as Aphra Behn's *Love Letters Between a Nobleman*

and His Sister, Eliza Haywood's *Love in Excess*, or Sarah Fielding's *David Simple*) that were continued only by the author herself. I focus on prose fiction for the reasons stated earlier in this introduction, but also in the interests of limiting the scope of the project. I am aware, however, that a parallel history could also be drawn in other genres – using George Chapman's and Henry Petowe' s completions of Marlowe's *Hero and Leander* as an example of continuing a posthumous unfinished work, for instance, and Samuel Butler's *Hudibras* (described in an article by George Wasserman) as an example of Restoration competition and oppositional continuation. In addition, I am conscious of the absence of Daniel Defoe, whose *Robinson Crusoe* and *Roxana* were both subject to different forms of continuation, and of the glancing treatment of texts like *Tom Jones in his Married State*.[5] However, I believe that the case studies I examine represent the most interesting, documentarily-rich instances in which a text was continued by someone other than its first author, and thus provide the best surviving basis for analysing Early Modern ideas about the ownership of stories and their constituent elements.

I begin my study at the close of the sixteenth century, with the publication of *The Countess of Pembroke's Arcadia*. Although, as argued earlier, this period does not definitively mark the beginning of either authorship or continuations, it was a time when the English literary market began to assume the form it would take in the following centuries, with the incorporation of the Stationers' Company in 1557 and a growing demand for new books that gave authorship a commercial element. Prose fiction in English was also gaining currency, with Sir Philip Sidney's romance being one of the most popular, and most continued, examples. The incomplete, posthumous state in which it was published created a special set of circumstances, leaving a number of opportunities for other writers to fill in the gaps and continue the story, with several of those continuations coming to be published within subsequent *Arcadia* volumes. Sidney himself has often featured in historical accounts of authorship, such as Kevin Pask's *The Emergence of the English Author*: anything but anonymous, his life cast a broad shadow over his works, and he was among the first to have his biography written as a 'life of the poet.' To engage with the *Arcadia* was

[5] For discussion of the *Roxana* continuations, of which there were at least six of varying length, see P.N. Furbank and W.R. Owens, 'The "Lost" Continuation of Defoe's *Roxana*' and Nicholas Seager, 'Prudence and Plagiarism in the 1740 Continuation of Defoe's *Roxana.'*

therefore inevitably to engage with the ghost of Sidney, with the consequences of his death, and the meaning of his status as the work's author. Chapter 2 discusses how the *Arcadia*'s posthumous nature and gaps affected its publication history, how these gaps were filled by later writers, and how they incorporated Sidney himself into this process through the figure of Philisides. Chapter 3 then examines the various approaches to authorship taken in the continuations' paratexts, which frame the project of continuing the *Arcadia*.

While the *Arcadia* material works out the issues of authorship inherent in continuations in remarkable detail, it is largely concerned with the author's reputation, fame, or honour. As discussed above, the commercial aspects of publishing the *Arcadia* were largely left to Ponsonby and his heirs, and, although many of the *Arcadia* continuations include bids for aristocratic patronage, none of them appeal directly to the marketplace. One exception, however, was Gervase Markham, who was unsuccessful in seeking patronage and later became known as a prolific 'hack' author. My discussion of his *English Arcadia* at the end of Chapter 3 thus leads into the following chapter on disputes between authors and publishers in the Restoration, which combine questions of reputation with commercial considerations. This begins with *The English Rogue*, a multi-part picaresque narrative published in four instalments between 1665 and 1673, which was involved in a complex negotiation of claiming and disclaiming between Richard Head and Francis Kirkman. Both Head and Kirkman were booksellers as well as authors, and their conflict constitutes a significant early instance of a more openly market-driven discourse of authorship, without losing sight of the importance of 'making a name' in print. The second half of this chapter is devoted to *The Pilgrim's Progress* and its several continuations, by John Bunyan and others. Bunyan's religious allegory may seem worlds apart from the scurrilous narrative of *The English Rogue*, but it coexisted with it as a bestseller in the Restoration literary marketplace, and was drawn into similar conflicts over authorship and ownership. Although this subject has not yet received much attention in Bunyan studies, Bunyan's construction as an author – alongside Nathaniel Ponder as the 'proprietor' of the work – also provides an important precedent for the copyright disputes of the eighteenth century.

The final third of the dissertation examines the career of Samuel Richardson,

which joined commercial concerns and copyright protection with more intangible considerations about the continuing moral rights of an author over his work. Chapter 5 discusses the success of *Pamela* and the vogue for related texts that rapidly followed. Claiming to be composed of actual letters, with Richardson acting only as the 'editor,' *Pamela* raised questions about both its heroine's and its author's truth and virtue. It led to multiple continuations all claiming to be equally 'true,' challenging the author's control over his text and compelling him to write his own sequel. The rhetoric used in Richardson's advertising campaign against his rivals, whom he dismissively termed the 'High Life Men,' demonstrates the rights he felt he had to the story's 'Plan' and 'Characters,' as well as how multiple conceptions of such rights could exist within the same period. Following on from this, Chapter 6 explores the more private assertions of authority taking place within Richardson's correspondence during the publication of *Clarissa* and *Sir Charles Grandison*, arguing that this form of reader interaction reflected and contrasted with his public struggle for ownership. Finally, my conclusion outlines the subsequent legal and critical privileging of original over continuation, and of 'oppositional' continuations over those that seek to prolong the reader's pleasure, leading back to the fanfiction debate with which I began.

Some of these episodes are reasonably familiar in existing criticism – Gavin Alexander's *Writing After Sidney* includes a chapter on the *Arcadia* continuations, while the *Pamela* material has recently been examined by Thomas Keymer and Peter Sabor. Others, including the manuscript *Historie of Arcadia*, *The English Rogue* and the continuations of *The Pilgrim's Progress*, have been studied much less widely. My chief contribution, however, is in bringing this broad range of texts together for the first time and allowing their paratextual frames to inform each other, enabling me to build a more complete idea of Early Modern approaches to prose continuations and literary property. This redresses the lack of continuity in previous treatments of this topic, which vary between generalising survey and isolated studies of a single period or text. David A. Brewer's valuable analysis of *The Afterlife of Character*, for instance, focuses exclusively on the middle of the eighteenth century, seeing the type of 'imaginative expansion' found in continuations as a 'new reading practice'

inaugurated by the political stability of the 1720s (26).[6] My own account implicitly challenges a number of Brewer's assertions by tracing the development of this practice much further back in time, finding that the posthumous reaction to Sidney shows many of the characteristics of author-centred response that he sees as being inaugurated by Sterne.

While this study charts a broadly chronological course with definite endpoints, it does not always tell a teleological story of development. Indeed, the 'rise of the novelist' (as a proprietary author with rights over a setting and cast of characters) has proven as problematic to map as the 'rise of the novel.' Just as I do not draw a sharp line between romance and novel, my research reveals significant continuities as well as differences in attitudes towards continuations. I have also been careful not to start, as many critics still offhandedly do, with the idea of private literary property as a natural given, which belatedly finds protection with the Copyright Act and later legislation. Instead, my project focuses on what Early Modern readers and writers actually practice, and how they and others discuss those practices, without (as Brewer does, among others) characterising their views as 'alien or wrongheaded,' or the modern copyright regime as 'self-evident' (10, 23). Through a detailed study of the primary sources in which such disputes took place, I am able to present these writers as neither immoral pirates flaunting unwritten laws of copyright, nor as being naively unaware that a text or characters might belong to an author. Instead, my work reveals them as less transgressive poachers than wanderers across a literary landscape, whose boundaries and pitfalls – like the obstacles of Bunyan's pilgrimage – they are simultaneously dreaming into shape around them.

[6] Brewer believes that it was at this point that fictional texts were no longer being read *a clef* for political meaning, thus allowing imaginative expansion to take place. The example of *The Historie of Arcadia*, however (discussed in Chapter 3), shows that these two forms of reading were hardly incompatible.

Chapter 2

The Absent Author and the 'Perfect-Unperfect' *Arcadia*

Nor is't, where things are left undone, a sin,
To seek to end what greater ones begin.
– Commendatory verse to *A Continuation of Sir Philip Sydney's Arcadia* (¶5v)

1. Publishing the Incomplete Text

Any writers who responded to the printed version of *The Countess of Pembroke's Arcadia* also had to respond to its author's premature death in 1586. In *Writing After Sidney*, Gavin Alexander calls this 'the most important event in [Sir Philip Sidney's] literary career' (xix); prior to that, his works had had only a limited audience in manuscript. The extensive outpouring of grief that accompanied Sidney's funeral addressed him primarily as a statesman, courtier, model of knighthood, or patron of the arts, with most of the eulogists apparently unaware of his literary activities (Kay 5-7, Baker-Smith). The subsequent publication of his works, however, created Sidney as a canonical author – a status made all the more prominent by its ghostly and mediated nature. Unlike the authors discussed later in this study, who sought to personally assert their own authority over their works, Sidney's authority depended in large part upon his death, and was asserted on his behalf by others. Posthumous publication served to authorise the volumes bearing his name as monuments to the dead hero, while highlighting the incompletion that defined both Sidney's tragically short life and his works. Sidney was thus at the centre of *The Countess of Pembroke's Arcadia*, yet, as Alexander describes, his death also left his texts 'especially open' to other writers' interventions (xix-xx). This was particularly the case with the *Arcadia* itself, the incompletely-revised narrative that John Florio paradoxically termed 'perfect-unperfect.' Published in thirteen editions and multiple issues between 1590 and 1672, the *Arcadia* was one of the most popular English romances of the seventeenth century, testifying to Sidney's inimitable abilities. Yet the gaps apparent in its printed form also seemed to invite, even require, some form of continuation. The texts discussed in this chapter all address this central contradiction inherent in continuing a much-admired, yet incomplete work. They find

various strategies of praising Sidney while filling the gaps in his work and – often simultaneously – representing his absence within their fictions.

A shorter version of the *Arcadia* in 'Five Books or Acts,' now known as the *Old Arcadia*, was first composed between 1577 and 1580 and circulated in manuscript among the author's circle (Robertson xvi, Woudhuysen 299-355). Sidney's father's secretary, Edmund Molyneux, praised this version by writing that 'nothing could be taken out to amend it, or added to it that would not impaire it' (Garrett 113). This is a conventional compliment on the self-sufficiency of a literary work, yet, by the time the remark was published as part of Holinshed's *Chronicles* in 1587, it was already singularly unsuited to the *Arcadia*. Sometime before his death, Sidney had begun to substantially rewrite the story, altering its structure to begin *in media res* in imitation of Heliodorus, and greatly expanding it to include retrospective narration of the heroes' previous adventures and a civil war in which the heroines are held captive by their cousin Amphialus. Already longer than the entirety of the earlier version, this *New Arcadia* breaks off partway through Book 3, in the throes of a battle to free the princesses and in the middle of a sentence. A great deal of speculation has surrounded this ending to the revised text – whether Sidney had simply set it aside and been unable to resume before being killed, had written himself into a corner from which it was impossible to regain the pastoral setting with which the original version concludes, or had left the unfinished sentence as an almost deliberate mark of incompletion and disjuncture (Alexander 48). The fact remains that, after Sidney's death, it was the incomplete *New Arcadia* for which his friend Fulke Greville sought publication: as he wrote to Sidney's father-in-law, it was 'fitter to be printed then that first...notwithstanding even that to be amended by a direction sett doun undre his own hand how & why' (Garrett 105). Although the manuscript *Old Arcadia* was read and cited by some Elizabethan authors, after the printing of Sidney's work it came to be forgotten until its rediscovery in the early twentieth century (Alexander xxvi).

From the beginning of its publication history, the *Arcadia* was thus subject to interventions and additions, as well as debate over what those interventions ought to be. The *New Arcadia* first appeared as a quarto volume in 1590, which was overseen by Greville with the assistance of John Florio and Matthew Gwinne (Skretkowicz, 'Introduction' lviii-lix; J. Davis, 'Multiple Arcadias' 403). This edition included

Sidney's dedication to his sister (likely written to accompany the *Old Arcadia* in manuscript) and a note informing readers that its elaborate system of chapter divisions and numbered headings did not originate with Sidney, but had been 'aduentured by the ouer-seer of the print, for the more ease of the Readers.' The arrangement of the eclogues, though 'they were of Sir *Phillip Sidneis* writing,' had also required editorial involvement (sig. A4v). The paratexts therefore emphasise both the authorial nature of the text *and* the need to modify it for effective print consumption. However, apart from a note that the arrangement of the eclogues had been 'left till the worke had bene finished,' there is nothing in the front matter to suggest that the text is incomplete. Only the heading summary for the brief final chapter echoes its abrupt ending: '1 The Combattants first breathing, 2 reencounter, and' (fol. 359v). The book concludes with the last half-sentence of Sidney's revision – 'Whereat ashamed, (as hauing never done so much before in his life)' (360v).[1] It is left unpunctuated and followed by three asterisks and an ornament – techniques for marking the close of printed books (as described by William Sherman, 'Beginning of "The End"' 71), which signal that the text has ended although the story has not. Greville's edition thus presented the revised *New Arcadia* as an independent text left unfinished at the author's death, suppressing the remainder of the manuscript material related to the narrative.

This 1590 version of *The Countess of Pembroke's Arcadia,* however, was not the one that would be reprinted throughout the seventeenth century. In 1593, another *Arcadia,* 'Now since the first edition augmented and ended,' was produced under the stewardship of the Countess of Pembroke herself. Patricia Pender explores Mary Sidney's important role in the creation of Sidney as an author and her 'strategic self-fashioning as Philip Sidney's most worthy literary executor and heir' (66). In some ways, in fact, Mary Sidney Herbert was her brother's first continuator. Her completion of the translation of the Psalms that Sidney began was the most ambitious extension of his work, with 107 of the 150 poems being written by Mary Sidney. In the prefatory dedication to the *Psalmes*, titled 'To the Angell Spirit of the most excellent Sir Phillip Sidney,' she writes:

[1] The text also includes a number of small lacunae, such as knights' *imprese* left blank and the epitaph for Argalus and Parthenia, left empty within a frame of printer's lace (311v).

As goodly buildings to some glorious ende
cut of by fate, before the Graces hadde
each wondrous part in all their beauties cladde,
Yet so much done, as Art could not amende;
So thy rare workes to which no witt can adde,
in all mens eies, which are not blindely madde,
Beyonde compare above all praise, extende. (110)

As many of the other writers following Sidney would do, the Countess describes her brother's unfinished works as being beyond emendation or addition, in the course of justifying an attempt to do just that. Although she characterises her completion of the *Psalmes* as 'presumption too too bold,' that presumption is simultaneously a measure of her 'zealous love,' having no 'No further scope to goe, / nor other purpose but to honor thee.' A number of critics (including Margaret Hannay, Mary Ellen Lamb, and Suzanne Trill) have discussed the ways in which Mary Sidney's writing was authorised by her being, as she signs this poem, 'the Sister of that Incomporable Sidney.' In describing 'this coupled worke' as 'by double int'rest' Sidney's, Mary Sidney 'capitalises on the notion of having inherited his poetic gifts' (Trill 203). She take up his mantle through her direct communion with Sidney's angelic spirit: 'What is mine / inspird by thee, thy secrett power imprest. / So dar'd my Muse with thine it selfe combine' (110). Mary Sidney thus describes a special relationship to her brother's work, 'exempt from her own strictures on the impossibility of adding to his works, because she believed that only she could fully comprehend each work's idea or fore-conceit and bring it to a conclusion' (Alexander 89). Although other writers would go on to use similar metaphors, she claims a unique title to them through her Sidney lineage and literary inheritance.

What was true of the *Psalmes* was doubly true of the *Arcadia*: as both its dedicatee and editor, Mary Sidney had considerable rights over the work. She thus, in some measure, comes to replace the absent Sidney in providing its final text – indeed, Pender goes so far as to argue that 'At least for the 1593 and 1598 editions...the author of *The Countess of Pembroke's Arcadia* was the Countess of Pembroke' (70). The stock transferral of ownership in Sidney's dedication ('done onely for you, only to you'), reflected in the work's title, became literalized as the Countess took on the role of her brother's literary executor: as the 1593 preface states, 'It is now by more then one interest *The Countesse of Pembrokes Arcadia:* done, as it was, for her: as it

is, by her' (¶4r). Published in the prestigious folio format, this edition's frontispiece prominently features the Sidney family porcupine along with an emblem of a pig rejecting a bush of marjoram, symbolising readers who are not equipped to properly appreciate Sidney's writing (Corbett and Lightbown 59-65). The 1593 edition explicitly sets itself against the 1590 quarto in its presentation of the work, implying that the earlier editors represent such un-understanding readers (J. Davis, *Invention* 162).[2] As the preface 'To the Reader' signed by 'H.S.' (Hugh Sanford, Pembroke's secretary and one of the editors), states:

> The disfigured face, gentle Reader, wherewith this worke not long since appeared to the common view, moued that noble Lady, to whose Honour consecrated, to whose protection it was committed, to take in hand the wiping away those spottes wherewith the beauties therof were vnworthely blemished. (¶4r)

As in 'To the Angell Spirit,' Sanford uses the image of a partially-standing building to describe the state of Sidney's works and the impossible-yet-necessary labour that they require:

> But as often in repairing a ruinous house, the mending of some olde part occasioneth the making of some new: so here her honourable labour begonne in correcting the faults, ended in supplying the defectes; by the view of what was ill done guided to the consideration of what was not done. (¶4r)

Accordingly, this version not only corrects and clears away the 1590 editorial interventions, but expands the printed text to incorporate more of the material left behind by Sidney. As well as filling gaps like the Argalus and Parthenia epitaph, the 'composite' folio effectively added the last three books of the *Old Arcadia* to the *New Arcadia*, thus supplying an ending for the story. Unlike Greville, who portrayed the *New Arcadia* as a separate fragment, the 1593 editors evidently saw the two states as comprising a single, essentially complete but unperfected text.[3]

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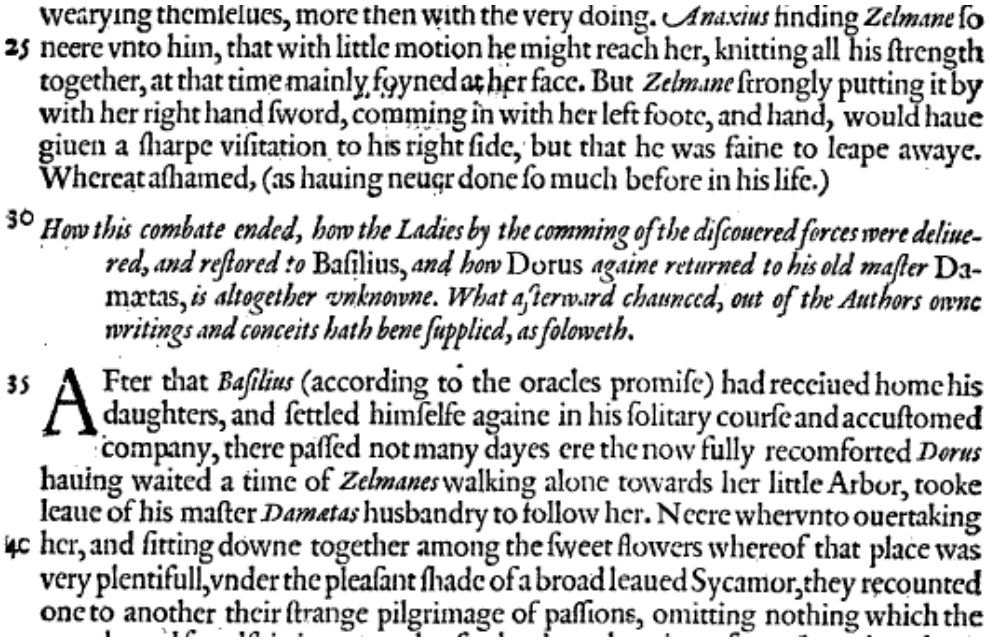
[2] Joel Davis provides a survey of the philosophical and political differences that may have been behind the rival editions of the *Arcadia* in 'Multiple Arcadias and the Literary Quarrel between Fulke Greville and the Countess of Pembroke,' expanded and modified in his *The Countesse of Pembroke's Arcadia and the Invention of English Literature*.

[3] Modern editors have debated which version more accurately represents the final state of Sidney's papers. William Ringler and Jean Robertson assumed two separate manuscripts for the *Old* and *New* versions, and thus (like Greville) saw them as separate works. More recently, Victor Skretkowicz has argued that the 1593 edition best reflects a single working manuscript of the *Old Arcadia* that became the *New Arcadia* – the earlier books heavily rewritten and the later still in process of revision (see the textual introduction to his edition of the *New Arcadia*, 'Building Sidney's Reputation: Texts and

The result of this 'composite' edition was to create a lacuna between the half-sentence ending the revised material and the third book of the *Old Arcadia*, where the two are combined into a single, lengthy 'Book 3.' The visual evidence for this gap is minimal in 1593 and the following two editions (1598 and 1605), with an emphasis on continuity: the incomplete sentence is given a full stop, followed by a brief italic note stating that 'How this combate ended, how the Ladies by the comming of the discouered forces were deliuered, and restored to *Basilius*, and how *Dorus* againe returned to his old master *Damaetas*, is altogether vnknowne. What afterward chaunced, out of the Authors owne writings and conceits hath bene supplied, as foloweth' (Ff3r).



wearying themselues, more then with the very doing. *Anaxius* finding *Zelmane* so neere vnto him, that with little motion he might reach her, knitting all his strength together, at that time mainly foyned at her face. But *Zelmane* strongly putting it by with her right hand sword, comming in with her left foote, and hand, would haue giuen a sharpe visitation to his right side, but that he was faine to leape awaye. Whereat ashamed, (as hauing neuer done so much before in his life.)

How this combate ended, how the Ladies by the comming of the discouered forces were deliuered, and restored to Basilius, *and how* Dorus *againe returned to his old master* Damœtas, *is altogether vnknowne. What afterward chaunced, out of the Authors owne writings and conceits hath bene supplied, as foloweth.*

AFter that *Basilius* (according to the oracles promise) had receiued home his daughters, and settled himselfe againe in his solitary course and accustomed company, there passed not many dayes ere the now fully recomforted *Dorus* hauing waited a time of *Zelmanes* walking alone towards her little Arbor, tooke leaue of his master *Damœtas* husbandry to follow her. Neere whervnto ouertaking her, and sitting downe together among the sweet flowers whereof that place was very plentifull, vnder the pleasant shade of a broad leaued Sycamor, they recounted one to another their strange pilgrimage of passions, omitting nothing which the

Fig. 1 – the Book 3 lacuna, 1593 (note continuous line numbering)

As Alexander observes, 'The editorial comment… focuses not on the state of Sidney's papers but on the fictional events' (xxvi). The gap is portrayed as the site of material that must have taken place within the world of the characters, but the account of which has vanished into the absence of Sidney's death, and so must remain 'altogether vnknowne.' Apparently working in line with Sidney's 'determinations,' Books 3 to 5 are lightly revised to conform more closely to the *New*

Editions of the Arcadia' and 'From Alpha-Text to Meta-Text: Sidney's *Arcadia*'). For further discussion of these two theories, see Woudhuysen 303-17 and Alexander xxv-xxvii.

Arcadia, which includes inserting references to Amphialus's rebellion, making the princes less sexually guilty, and removing most of the arch narrative asides.[4] On reading the text, however, the disjuncture is obvious – it is not simply a matter of relocating the characters to their starting positions, but of a total change in genre and tone between the tortures and epic battles of the unresolved captivity episode, and the poem-studded pastoral comedy of the *Old Arcadia.*

For the editors of the 1593 folio, what ultimately unites these two halves is Sidney himself: in both Sanford's preface and the bridging note, the authorial nature of the *Old Arcadia* material is the main reason for including it. Its attribution is what confirms that, abrupt as the break may be, these events are what 'afterward chaunced' to the *Arcadia*'s characters. Taking a combative stance against unnamed critics, Sanford writes:

> Though they finde not here what might be expected, they may finde neuerthelesse as much as was intended, the conclusion, not the perfection of Arcadia: and that no further than the Authours own writings, or knowen determinations could direct. Whereof who sees not the reason, must consider there may be a reason which hee sees not. Albeit I dare affirme hee either sees, or from wiser judgements then his owne may heare, that Sir Philip Sidneis writings can no more be perfected without Sir Philip Sidney, then Apelles pictures without Apelles. (¶4r).

Sanford's syntax is somewhat confused, but it is clear that, in working toward a sense of textual completeness, this edition defines that completeness to be everything intended by Philip Sidney, so far as – and 'no further' than – his 'own writings, or knowen determinations' can supply. As Victor Skretkowicz writes, the 1593 edition 'was designed to minimize the reader's attention to its unfinished state, encouraging public belief in this edition as a testament to Sidney's unprecedented achievement in possessing, even if not fully executing, the idea or vision of the work in its entirety' ('Building Sidney's Reputation' 122). Its editors maintain that this can be best achieved within the Sidney-Pembroke family, who have the most knowledge of Sidney's 'determinations' and understanding of his work. Moreover, Mary Sidney's interest in consolidating her brother's literary remains extends beyond the story of the

[4] Critical opinions differ as to whether these changes were undertaken at the Countess's sole initiative, based on the written 'direction' from Sidney alluded to by Greville (Robertson lxi), or made by Sidney himself in a single working manuscript of the *Arcadia* (Skretkowicz).

Arcadia: Sanford notes that 'Neither shall these pains be the last...which the euerlasting loue of her excellent brother, will make her consecrate to his memory' (¶4r). Having printed all that could be salvaged of the *Arcadia*, the next edition in 1598 was advertised as containing 'sundry new additions / of the same Author' ('Certaine Sonnets Neuer before Printed,' the *Defence of Poesie, Astrophil and Stella*, and the *May Lady* masque).

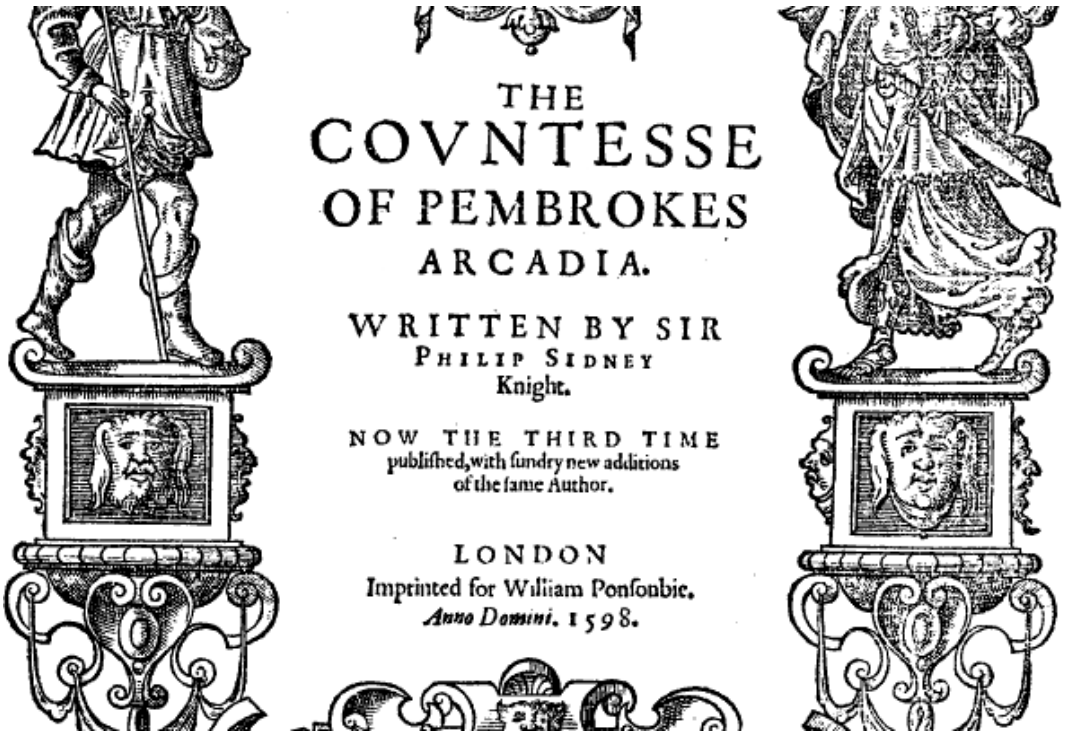

THE
COVNTESSE
OF PEMBROKES
ARCADIA.
WRITTEN BY SIR
PHILIP SIDNEY
Knight.
NOW THE THIRD TIME
publiſhed, with ſundry new additions
of the ſame Author.
LONDON
Imprinted for William Ponſonbie.
Anno Domini. 1598.

Fig. 2 – the 1598 title page (detail)

It had effectively become a collection of Sidney's works, the diversity of genres united by the figure of the 'same Author' and the editorship of his sister. Arthur F. Marotti considers the folio as not only memorialising Sidney, but also 'establish[ing] the authority of printed literature, especially of collected editions in the prestigious folio format' over the course of the next century (236), while Pender emphasises the crucial role that Mary Sidney plays in this creation of the author function (74). It is perhaps no accident that further, non-Sidneian additions to the *Arcadia* first came to be printed together with the folio edition in 1621, the year of Mary Sidney's death.[5]

[5] Bent Juel-Jensen posits that Sir William Alexander's supplement to Book 3 was written with the Countess's approval (295-6) and Hannay mentions that Alexander 'probably knew the countess' (125-

Mary Sidney's editorial decisions and her secretary's preface (which would be included in all seventeenth-century *Arcadia* editions except that of 1613) set out the terms through which readers would subsequently approach Sidney's concluded-yet-incomplete text. As late as 1725, in publishing *Sir Philip Sidney's Arcadia Moderniz'd,* Mrs. D. Stanley echoes Sanford's pronouncement that 'Sir Philip Sidneis writings can no more be perfected without Sir Philip Sidney, then Apelles pictures without Apelles': in preparing her 'moderniz'd' version, Stanley chooses 'entirely to pass over any Additions that have been made to him, how necessary soever a Supplement to Part of the Third Book may be thought, it being my Opinion, that Sir *Philip Sidney* alone was capable of finishing what Sir *Philip Sidney* began' (b1v). At the site of the Book 3 lacuna, she includes her own italic note that demonstrates continuing confusion over the state of Sidney's draft:

> I don't know whether it will be expected of me to supply the Gap that was by the accidental Loss of several loose Sheets here left in this Story; but be that as it may, I must beg to be excus'd; Sir *Philip Sidney*'s Invention may be imitated, but scarce equall'd, or at least I own myself incapable of so great a Task: I shall therefore leave my Readers to raise the Structure of a Supplement in their own Imaginations, and give them an Opportunity of trying the Strength of their Fancies, as also the Pleasure of adding something to Sir *Philip Sidney*, and...proceed to the Sequel of the Story, as it is reassum'd from his own Writings. (397)

Professing herself to be incapable of supplying a 'Supplement' to the great author's work, Stanley leaves the creation of it as an exercise for her readers' imaginations. Just as Diana Gabaldon's critique of fanfiction states that 'What you do in the privacy of your own imagination is a matter of total freedom; what you do in public is not,' Stanley sees the reader's imaginings as implicitly secondary to the author's original act of invention. A century earlier, however, two other readers had already experienced 'the Pleasure of adding something to Sir *Philip Sidney*' – not only in the privacy of their own thoughts, but in print and, indeed, within the body of the later *Arcadia* folios.

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6), but there is no evidence to support either of these assertions. On the contrary, Alexander never 'dedicated any works to [Mary Sidney] or showed any acquaintanceship with her during her lifetime' (Lamb 70).

2. Across the Book 3 Divide

The fact that the 1638 edition of the *Arcadia* includes not one but two Book 3 supplements, advertised as selling-points 'annexed to this work, for the Readers benefit,' suggests that its publishers foresaw reader dissatisfaction with the incomplete state of the narrative – dissatisfaction not limited to regret over the author's untimely death. In the years between 1593 and 1638, when the *Arcadia* was at the height of its popularity (going through eight editions in multiple issues), it was clearly not seen solely as a memorial to Sidney the accomplished philosophical and political thinker, a work of exquisitely-crafted rhetoric to be quoted and admired. As Peter Lindenbaum and Heidi Brayman Hackel's surveys of reader annotations demonstrate, at least some of its audience must also have been reading it for the plot, as a story filled with characters and incidents. Lindenbaum describes this type of reading as 'proto-novelistic,' resisting the presentation of the text as a 'a monument to a dead cultural hero' ('Cultural Monument' 89). However, in taking the 1655 edition as the volume's 'final state' 'to whose condition all the earlier sixteenth- and seventeenth-century editions can be said to have aspired' (82-4), Lindenbaum ignores the ways in which earlier publishing decisions would, in fact, have actively encouraged a plot-oriented approach. In particular, the writing and publication of multiple supplements and continuations flagged up the incompletions in the narrative even as they attempted to fill them, demonstrating reader demand for a continuous and full account of the *Arcadia*'s events – even if this was not written entirely by Sidney.

The two supplements bridging the narrative gap created by the composite *Arcadia* were written by Sir William Alexander (later Earl of Stirling) and James Johnstoun. They were first printed in 1616 and 1638 respectively, although a reading of their paratexts suggests that they were probably composed rather earlier.[6] In his *Anacrisis: or A Censure of Some Poets Ancient and Modern,* an essay from about 1634, Alexander describes his admiration of Sidney and how 'Long since, being

[6] The Alexander supplement was initially printed separately, sometime between 1616 and 1618, as a ten-page insert for the 1613 edition – details of its complex publication history are provided in Wiles, 'The Date of Publication and Composition of Sir William Alexander's Supplement to Sidney's "Arcadia,"' and Mitchell and Foster, 'Sir William Alexander's *Supplement* to Book III of Sidney's *Arcadia*.'

young, I adventured a Piece with him' (Garrett 199). While (as discussed in the next chapter) protestations of youth were common among the continuators, they also seem to have been genuine. Alexander's age thus argues for a date much closer to the 1599 Edinburgh piracy of the *Arcadia* (which Alexander, living in Scotland, may well have purchased) than 1616, when he was a mature 39. While nothing else is known about Johnstoun or his career, he is described on the 1638 title page as being (like Alexander) a 'Scoto-Brit,' and his supplement contains a dedication begging favour from 'K. JAMES THE SIXT, KING OF Scotland, &c.' [7] It was thus certainly written prior to King James's death in 1625, at least thirteen years before the supplement's eventual publication. However, James was generally called the 'King of Scotland' (rather than the earlier form 'of Scots') by his subjects following his accession to the English throne in 1603 (Kerrigan 112). Johnstoun's supplement therefore probably dates to between 1603 and 1625, although it may have been inspired by the same Edinburgh *Arcadia* as Alexander's.

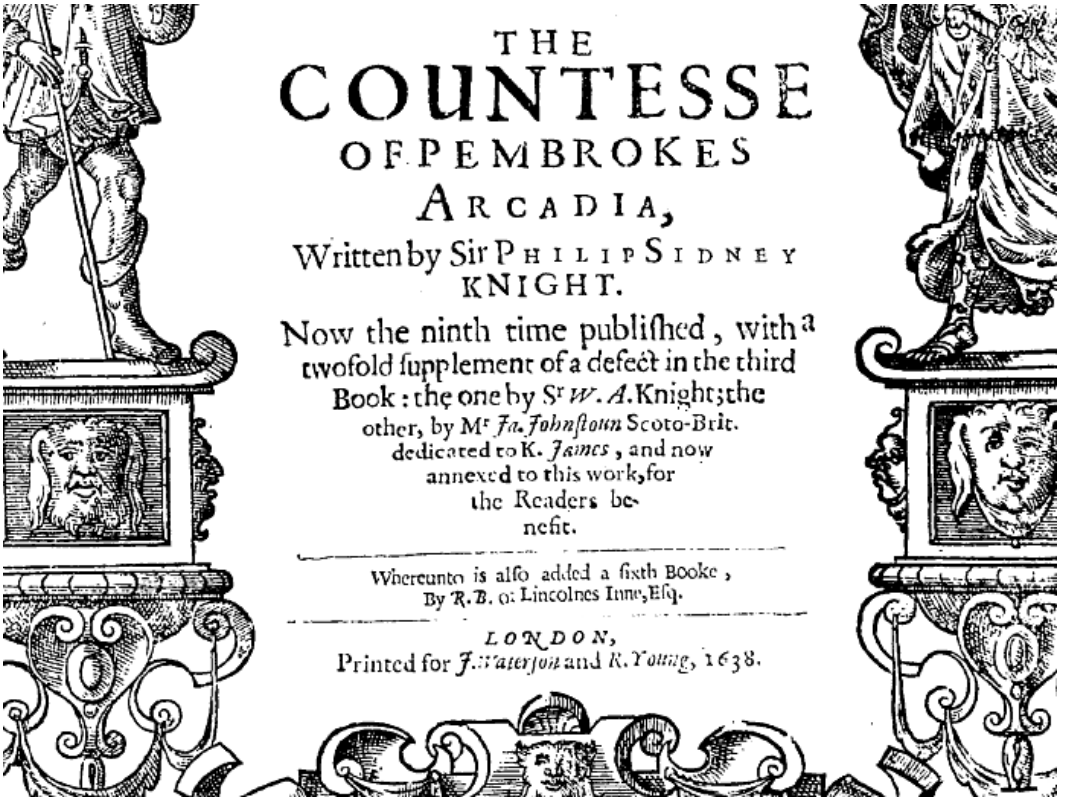
THE
COUNTESSE
OF PEMBROKES
ARCADIA,
Written by Sir PHILIP SIDNEY
KNIGHT.
Now the ninth time publiſhed, with a
twofold ſupplement of a defect in the third
Book: the one by Sr W. A. Knight; the
other, by Mr Fa. Johnſtoun Scoto-Brit.
dedicated to K. James, and now
annexed to this work, for
the Readers be-
nefit.
Whereunto is alſo added a ſixth Booke,
By R. B. of Lincolnes Inne, Eſq.
LONDON,
Printed for J. Waterſon and R. Young, 1638.

Fig. 3 – the 1638 title page (detail)

[7] A.D.G. Wiles advances a number of possible James Johnstouns, but this is a common Scottish name and none have been persuasively identified ('Continuations' 185n1).

It is possible, though not certain, that Johnstoun was influenced by the example of the more prominent Alexander to compose his own supplement; whether or not they were aware of each other's attempts, the two 'find very similar solutions' to the problem of bridging the narrative gap (G. Alexander 277). Both supplements take up the story, as William Alexander would write in his *Anacrisis*, 'beginning at the very half Sentence, where [Sidney] left with the Combat betwixt Zelmane and Anaxius, and continuing till the Ladies were returned to their Father' (Garrett 199). In that sentence, Anaxius steps back under Zelmane's onslaught, 'Whereat ashamed, as having never done so much before in his life [...]' (1590, 360v). Both Alexander and Johnstoun accomplish a turn in the plot within this same sentence, as Anaxius prepares to resume the attack only to be 'suddenly arrested by a sound' (W. Alexander Ee2r) or hear 'the sounding alarme' (Johnstoun aa2r), causing him to abandon the field. As Gavin Alexander writes, the suddenly interrupted fight mirrors the interrupted nature of Sidney's text: it 'draws attention to the rhetorical nexus surrounding a broken sentence that the retrospective view gives sense to, and so reads as not accidental' (43). By immediately ending the confrontation and moving on to the final battle begun by the looked-for arrival of Musidorus, both the supplement writers also signal the terms of their engagement. Whereas Anaxius and Zelmane had already been duelling for several pages, and were so evenly-matched that the scene (like other extended encounters in the *Arcadia*) might have continued at some further length, Alexander and Johnstoun turn the half-sentence into a herald of conclusion, immediately beginning a movement toward the final books. While they use slightly different narrative devices to effect 'the transition back to the pastoral world' of the *Old Arcadia* (G. Alexander 278), both supplements are characterised by their economy. Paul Salzman judges that 'In the space of thirty pages Alexander has little scope for development' (*English Prose Fiction* 124), and Johnstoun offers the same justification in his preface:

> I am sure otherwise to have a warrant in his owne writings for my invention. The language, so far as I could, I have borrowed from himselfe; and if I be more compendious [i.e. brief, succinct] herein, than need were, I am bound within the limits of his owne conceits, which I durst not exceed. (aa1v)

If, as Salzman writes, 'The small rent in the seam of the century's best-loved book

was, if not invisibly mended, at least carefully sewn together' (*English Prose Fiction* 125) with texts that came to be literally 'bound within the limits' of the *Arcadia*, then it was clearly important that the thread used both matched Sidney's colours (so as to claim a 'warrant in his owne writings') and was as short as possible.

Yet, if the general effect of the supplements is to better link the *New* and *Old Arcadia* material into a unified whole that 'helps us to see the composite *Arcadia* as having more of a shape than many would allow it' (G. Alexander 278), William Alexander's work also suggests a more ambitious project. In the explanatory note appended to his supplement, Alexander admits: 'I have onely heerein conformed my selfe to that which preceeded my beginning, and was knowne to be that Admirable Authors owne, but doe differ in some things from that which followes' (Ff5v). Alexander describes his text as 'this imperfect parcell (designing more)'; what more he designed is suggested in the *Anacrisis*, where he writes that he had been 'Intending further, if I had not been otherways diverted, meerly out of my Love to the Author's Memory...to have altered all that followed after my Addition, having conformed my self only to that which went before' (Garrett 199). For Alexander, there was clearly a distinction between the revised *New Arcadia* material, which 'was knowne to be that Admirable Authors owne,' and the books appended in the 1593 edition, which could be altered for the purpose of better honouring Sidney. Although the main manifestation of this (as discussed below) is the death of a character named Philisides, excising the brief mentions of him in the latter books would not have been a very labour-intensive task. In 'intending to have altered all that followed after [his] Addition,' Alexander may instead have meant to rewrite the entirety of the last three books in order to bring them into line with the *New Arcadia* as continued by his supplement, believing that the author's 'Memory' would have been better served by this revision.

Such an attitude toward the final books may have been prompted by the fact that, although the 1593 edition is announced as 'augmented and ended,' the finality of that ending was questioned almost from the first. This problem was central in the war of words that erupted between Sanford and John Florio, one of the editors of the 1590 quarto (Yates 195-209). After indicting 'the disfigured face' with which the *Arcadia* first appeared, Sanford's preface further attacks those who do not understand the

editorial reasoning of 1593: 'There are that thinke the contrary: and no wonder. Neuer was *Arcadia* free from the comber of such *Cattell*' (¶4r). This may initially seem to be a prescient attack against the *Arcadia*'s continuators, who would seek to 'perfect' the text in the author's absence, yet Sanford's critique is almost certainly still aimed at the 1590 editors. Florio, at least, seems to have taken the preface as a personal insult.[8] As well as including jibes at Sanford in his Italian dictionary, Florio also publically questioned the 'end' supplied for the *Arcadia* in the 1593 edition. Dedicating the second part of his Montaigne translation to Sidney's daughter and Penelope Rich, Florio ends with a criticism of the folio's textual editing, cryptically hinting at the manuscripts behind the two editions ('and though it were much easier to mend out of an originall and well corrected copie, than to make-vp so much out of a most corrupt, yet see we more marring that was well, then mending what was amisse'). The choice of dedicatees suggests that the editorship of the *Arcadia* may have reflected wider personal differences between Sidney's survivors (Alexander 139-40, Yates 199). Florio's chief complaint, however, is that 'that perfect-vnperfect *Arcadia*, which all our world yet weepes with you, that your all praise-exceeding father…[and] your worthy friend…lived not to mend or end it: since this end wee see of it; though at first above all, now is not answerable to the precedents' (R3r). Florio argues that, rather than simply leaving a gap in the narrative, Sidney's death rendered the entire project of publishing an 'ended' *Arcadia* unworkable. Although they were 'above all' in the *Old Arcadia*, the last three books cannot plausibly be attached to the *New*. Far more about the story is left 'vnknowne,' therefore, than the 1593 editors acknowledge.

Maurice Evans argues that, apart from Florio (whom Evans dismisses as biased, given his involvement in 1590), 'no critic until modern times is on record as complaining about the lack of unity of the work'; unaware of its textual history, seventeenth-century audiences were able to read the published *Arcadia* 'without objection' (13). Yet from the 1613 edition onward, a fuller explanation of the Book 3 gap was included, calling such unity into question. 1613 is the only edition to omit Sanford's preface, which this passage was perhaps meant to replace, and the first to

[8] The references to flowers and 'Roses' in Sanford's preface may also refer to Florio and his wife, Rose (Skretkowicz, 'Introduction' lix).

have Alexander's supplement bound in with some copies.[9] In copies lacking the supplement, a cancel page after sig. Ee4 begins:

> Thus far the worthy Author had reuised or inlarged that first written Arcadia of his, which onely passed from hand to hand, and was neuer printed: hauing a purpose likewise to haue new ordered, augmented, and concluded the rest, had he not bene prevented by vntimely death. So that all which followeth here of this Work, remayned as it was done and sent away in seuerall loose sheets... without any certain disposition or perfect order. Yet for that it was his, howsoeuer depriued of the iust grace it should haue had, was held too good to be lost: & therefore with much labor were the best coherencies, that could be gathered out of those scattred papers, made, and afterwards printed as now it is, onely by hir Noble care to whose deare hand they were first committed. (Ee5r)

This passage describes a 'first written Arcadia' circulated in manuscript, but goes on to treat it largely as an unrevised draft, 'without any certain disposition or perfect order.' Sidney's authorship is once again emphasised – the added text is included 'for that it was his' – as is his sister's Isis-like agency in editing the 'scattred papers,' and the necessary imperfection of the result. Most importantly, however, this account of Sidney's revision process actually contradicts Sanford's claim to offer 'the conclusion, not the perfection of Arcadia.' As it continues:

> What conclusion it should haue had, or how far the Work haue bene extended (had it had his last hand thereunto) was onely knowne to his own spirit, where only those admirable Images were (and no where else) to bee cast.
> And here we are likewise vtterly depriued of the relation how this combat ended [...]: all which vnfortunate mayme we must be content to suffer with the rest. (Ee5r)

The 'vnfortunate mayme' in Book 3, which may be closed by 'a supplement of a defect in the third part of this History' (as Alexander's bridging passage was titled), is thus not the only incompletion in the composite *Arcadia*. Since Sidney never completed his revision, we cannot know (even given the prophecy that frames the plot) exactly how he would have ultimately chosen to end his rewritten work. The lacuna in Book 3 thus opens up a space for later writers that extends in its wake to include the conclusion of even an 'augmented and ended' *Arcadia*. This gap is

[9] Skretkowicz theorises that the preface was left out in 1613 because Sanford was in disgrace for interfering with the personal lives of the Sidney family ('Textual Criticism' 45), although this is conjecture, and his preface is present in all seventeenth-century editions thereafter.

widened by the fact of Sidney's death, which must place his 'owne conceits' in the realm of the 'altogether vnknowne,' to be extrapolated only from the extant text.

The ending of the original *Old Arcadia* had served as an abrupt retreat from the eucatastrophe of the plot and an ironic gesture toward the tradition of continental romance continuations, with their proliferation of side-narratives and progeny. None of the plot-lines mentioned are crucial, while the suggestion of writerly boredom adds to the narrator's display of *sprezzatura*:

> But the solemnities of these marriages, with the Arcadian pastorals full of many comical adventures happening to those rural lovers, the strange story of the fair queens Artaxia of Persia and Erona of Lydia, with the prince Plangus's wonderful chances, and the extreme affection of Amasis, king of Egypt, bare unto the former, the shepherdish loves of Menalcas with Kalodoulus's daughter, and the poor hopes of the poor Philisides, in the pursuit of his affections, the strange continuances of Klaius's and Strephon's desire, lastly the son of Pyrocles named Pyrophilus, and Melidora the fair daughter of Pamela by Musidorus, who even at their birth entered into admirable fortunes, may awake some other spirit to exercise his pen wherewith mine is already dulled. (Robertson 417)

This is the sort of generational continuation that Gervase Markham, 'alluding his beginning from Sir *Philip Sydneys* ending,' and thus accepting it *as* an ending, would write in his *English Arcadia* (see Chapter 3). Yet the ending advertised on the title page of the 1593 composite edition alters these final lines to include additional characters, whose fates are actually central to the revised *Arcadia* but left unresolved. The gesture toward 'some other spirit' thus changes into a real invitation: a suggestion of incompletion at odds with the fulfilment of the oracle and the promised weddings. This gave an opportunity for other continuation writers to try (as William Alexander may have hoped to do) to provide a more conclusive ending for the *Arcadia* as a whole.

3. Making an End

Richard Belling's *A Sixth Booke to the Countess of Pembroke's Arcadia* (first published in 1624 and included in the folio from 1627) was the first of these

concluding continuations.[10] The *Sixth Booke* makes its relationship clear in the title: it is not a separate story but the last part of a whole. In his preface, Belling states that he has 'added a limme to *Apelles* picture' (A3r) – a spelling that could mean both 'limn' and 'limb,' adding strokes to a portrait in order to complete the depicted figure. As Gavin Alexander writes, this 'allusion to Sanford's preface collapses the difference between the incompletion of the revised *Arcadia* and the open-endedness of the "old" and 1593 *Arcadias*.' Alexander concludes that, since 'Sidney had not wished to continue the *Arcadia* beyond Book V, and it was not on any view in need of a sixth book[,] Bellings is adding a limb to the wrong Apelles picture' (277). As we have seen, however, the way toward a post-Book 5 continuation had been already been opened by the collapsing of this distinction in the folio's own paratexts.

The problem of an ending for the romance is neatly summarised by Sidney himself, in the debate between Musidorus and Pyrocles that occurs in Book 1 of the revised *Arcadia*, after Pyrocles confesses his love for Philoclea and his plan for approaching her:

> The beginning being so excellent, I would gladly know the ende [said Musidorus]. Enioying, answered Pyrocles, with a deepe sigh. O (saide Musidorus) now set ye foorth the basenes of it: since if it ende in enioying, it shewes all the rest was nothing. Ye mistake me (aunswered Pyrocles) I spake of the ende to which it is directed; which end ends not, no sooner then the life. (1593, D6v)

Pyrocles suggests both the conventional 'ends' to which a heroic story may lead: either consummation in marriage, or the finality of death. The former does not 'end' the hero's love, yet it deprives it of an 'end' in the sense of purposeful direction, which serves as the foundation of narrative. The *Arcadia* stops short of such a conclusion, since it finishes with death averted and (for both central couples in the revised version) consummation still to come, not to mention the fragmentary nature of the other subplots. In completing the composite *Arcadia*, therefore, Belling takes the threads listed in the final lines of the romance as a programme, resolving as many of them as possible. He avoids only Philisides (probably because he is following a copy, such as the Dublin edition of 1621, that includes Alexander's supplement), and the fortunes of the children Pyrophilus and Melidora, 'which would be outside the

[10] The author's name is also spelled Bellings or Beling(s); I refer to him as 'Belling' as this is the form used in the 1624 Dublin quarto of the *Sixth Booke*.

economy of his work' (Wiles, 'Continuations' 136). In fact, like the supplements of Alexander and Johnstoun, Belling's *Sixth Booke* is characterised by a narrative economy that drives all the plotlines toward closure. Where the supplements' goal is reaching a state compatible with the second part of the text, however, Belling's is a conclusive ending: opening with a double wedding, he moves the characters toward a state of unnarratable, 'unspeakable blisse' (B3r-v), while also including a tragic conclusion for the story of Plangus and Erona. Gavin Alexander characterises this 'tidying-up operation' as leaving the work 'no longer riven by loose ends and conflicting interpretations' (276), but the textual closure that Belling aims for is fundamentally narrative rather than interpretative.

The endings nest inside each other: the story of Amphialus and Helen is concluded during a tournament to honour the princes' weddings; in the course of narrating his adventures, Amphialus relates the fates of Plangus, Erona and Plexirtus; and a final pastoral interlude discusses Kalodulus' daughter and the loves of Strephon and Claius, all within about 25,000 words. The twin urges of the narrative are described by Basilius when he tells Helen that 'The sweetly delivered strangenesse of [her] storie, would still ravish the hearers with a desire of a further cause of attentivenesse, did not a greater desire in us vvho know your vertues, hasten to heare the end of your much pittied distresse' (G3v): the haste wins out. Wiles remarks that the deaths of Artaxia and Plexirtus 'seem...rather sudden, as though the continuator wanted to sweep them away and get on to the end' ('Continuations' 137), and this is characteristic of the *Sixth Booke* as a whole. On hearing the straightforward new prophecy that unites Helen and Amphialus, even the characters are disbelieving that '*Apollo* would leave so plaine a way for us to track out the footsteps of his obscure misteries' (E1r). The result is a reversal of generic expectations: 'The reader, awaiting further complication, instead receives simplification as the various stories of absence are woven together to complete the picture' (Rankin 202). The only digression involves Amphialus' retrospective narration of his adventures and misfortunes (which introduces several new characters), but this is necessary to motivate his change of heart regarding Helen (K4v). As Jennifer Klein Morrison notes, by modelling the events of his story so closely on Sidney's, Belling creates 'the impression of replaying the entire span of the original work in the process of bringing

it to a close' (113). This recapitulation creates a circular movement that prevents the spiralling outward of narrative: the *Sixth Booke* ends with stability restored and Basilius on his throne, returning to the equilibrium disrupted by his original retreat, with which the *Arcadia* began (116).

The *Sixth Booke* departs from the project of closure only in that, uniquely among the continuations, it includes a section of pastoral eclogues. Although the *Arcadia*'s final paragraph lists 'the Arcadian pastorals full of many comical adventures happening to those rural lovers,' in Sidney's work eclogues only appear *between* books, concluding with a few lines of prose that look forward to the next book's action. Belling's final passage of prose, however, breaks from this pattern with the appearance of the usurper Tenarus – which the characters, mistaking main plot for pastoral interlude, at first take for 'some Shepheardish invention' – who comes to restore Helen's kingdom to her (O2r). In the space of a few lines, Helen and Amphialus set off for Corinth (in a nod to generational continuations, it is noted that within a year they have a 'much-promising son' whom they name 'Haleamphilus' following the portmanteau model). Their departure is followed by that of Euarchus, Pyrocles, Philoclea, Musidorus, and Pamela, 'leaving *Basilius* and *Gynecia*, when they had accompanied them to the frontiers of *Arcadia*, to the happie quiet of their after life' (O2r). Although Sidney's narrative does take in other countries, the frontiers of Arcadia here become the border at which the reader is forced to stop, marking the final lines of the text. Belling 'avoids the narrative possibilities that the journey of the newlyweds presents' (Morrison 116); instead, we are left with characters living in 'happie quiet,' to whom things do not happen.

Anna Weamys's *A Continuation of Sir Philip Sydney's Arcadia* (1651) shares many of the aims of Belling's *Sixth Booke*. Indeed, Patrick Cullen (Weamys's modern editor) suggests that she may have known Belling's continuation because of the similarities between them, although the evidence for this is slight (xxxvi-iii). Weamys's continuation, however, includes more narrative tension than Belling's. The *Sixth Booke* opens with a double wedding, with most of the Helen/Amphialus plot related retrospectively. In Weamys's *Continuation*, there is still action to come – while Belling does not permit the heroes to even participate in the tournament honouring their wedding (D3v), Weamys separates them from their brides to war

against Plexirtus, helping Plangus to rescue Erona. The culminating battle itself, however, is handled with great brevity, and the bulk of Weamys's text is taken up with the minutiae of travel and wedding preparations. The chief result of the martial episode is Euarchus' warning about the threat of further delay, which is effectively the threat of further narrative:

> Young Princes, I came now to remember you how often you have been by several accidents, frustrated of your desired Felicity: you see a little blast alters your happiness into a world of sorrows. Therefore harken to my counsel....Do not linger away the time in Courtship: that is as bad as to be carelesly rash. Finish therefore the knot, that no crosses or calamities can unfinish, without further deferrings. (H2v-3r)

Marriage is a force of conclusion, a bulwark against any further 'crosses or calamities': a quadruple – following the arrival of the shepherds with Urania, quintuple – wedding thus finishes the story. This is followed by the spontaneous deaths of those (Claius and Philisides) who have no one to marry, so that their plotlines may also come to a stop. Weamys, like Belling, ends with the general dispersal of characters from Arcadia:

> Then after all Ceremonies accomplished, they retired severally to their flourishing Kingdoms…where they increased in riches, and were fruitfull in their renowned Families. And when they had sufficiently participated of the pleasures of this world, they resigned their Crowns to their lawfull Successours, and ended their days in Peace and Quietness. (N4r)

Her ending is even more conclusive than Belling's: she collapses the lifespan between enjoying and death, denying the possibility of any further adventures. Since none of the second generation is named, they exist only to emphasise the smoothness of the succession and do not suggest any narrative potential. 'Ended their days in Peace and Quietness' is about as final a line as can be imagined.

Although both Belling and Weamys focus on narrative closure, the differences between their works are instructive. While the retrospective narration in Belling's *Sixth Booke* overlaps only slightly with the timeline of the *Arcadia*, much of Weamys's work takes place during, not after, the plot of the romance. Belling begins by pointing readers to the 'eloquent Story' of the 'never-enough renowned Sir *Philip Sidney*' for the princes' previous adventures, opening his narrative with an immediate sense of movement that resembles Alexander and Johnstoun's supplements: '*Basileus*

therefore having beheld with the eye of successe, the accomplishment of his misinterpreted Oracle, hastened...to his Court of *Mantinia*' (B1r). Weamys's opening, on the other hand, is based not on 'therefore' but 'meanwhile':

> In the time that Basilius…with Genecea…and his two renowned daughters…were retired from the Court to a private lodge…In the time that Pyrocles…disguised himself to an Amazonian Ladie…And Musidorus…put on Shepherds weeds…And when Cupid displayed his quivers throughout his circle…Then Prince Plangus, son to the King of Iberia, at the first view of Erona…was made a Prisoner to her who was a Prisoner….Then he became an humble suitor to Artaxia, Queen of Armenia, under whose custodie the fair Ladie was... (A1r-A2r)

While Belling moves straight into the story, Weamys gives a full explanation of each of the characters and their background (elided in the quotation above). Since she includes so much retelling of Sidney's plot, Morrison likens her *Continuation* to a chapbook abridgement that might be read without reference to the *Arcadia* (192). Moreover, since (unlike Belling) Weamys does not follow either of the Book 3 supplements, Cullen goes so far as to suggest that Weamys 'makes the somewhat daring manoeuvre of not accepting' the 1593 editorial policy and continuing the plot of the *New Arcadia* only, moving the characters directly from the captivity episode to the happy resolution (xlii, xxxvi).[11] The chief aim of these critics seems to be rescuing an early woman writer from accusations of merely 'derivative' authorship – Cullen writes that she 'wishes her work to be seen as not solely a "continuation" but also an independent work: her own new *Arcadia*' (xliii). However, the 'independence' of Weamys's *Continuation* is as much an effect of publishing as of narrative scope: the timing of its appearance as a tiny octavo volume in 1651 meant that it could not be a 'sixth book' in the same way as Belling's.

Between 1621 (when Alexander's supplement was first printed with the volume) and 1638, the *Arcadia* had been steadily accreting 'additions.'[12] Unlike the works added in the 1593 and 1598 folios, these did not expand Sidney's authorial canon, but rather supplemented the incomplete plot of his romance. Belling's *Sixth*

[11] Weamys cannot have read only the 1590 *Arcadia* – she refers to events from the final books (such as the arrival of Euarchus), though without describing them in detail.

[12] In other ways, the successive reissues were highly conservative – most were page-for-page reprints, and no material added in a previous edition was ever subsequently left out. Apart from 1613, for instance, Sanford's defensive preface (complaining of 'The disfigured face…wherewith this worke not long since appeared to the common view') was included in all editions up to 1674, although it must have appeared increasingly anachronistic.

Booke was first published as a separate quarto, but it was included within the next London edition of *Arcadia* only three years later (and advertised on the title page from 1629). The fact that the *Sixth Booke*'s formatting changes so little from quarto to folio, and yet is so consistent with the rest of the volume, shows the extent to which the independent publication modelled itself on the *Arcadia* – almost as though Belling, or his publishers, always had such incorporation in mind. Yet, while it is included in its proper place after Book 5, Belling's work remains *A*, rather than *The*, *Sixth Booke* – the only part of the *Arcadia* to be headed with an indefinite article. Belling adds to Apelles' picture, but, unlike painting, one continuator's work does not necessarily erase the existence of a gap. The death of Sidney as original author left space open for continuations, but it also meant that, although some of them may have 'had their Sidneian parentage legitimated' through incorporation into editions of the *Arcadia* (Alexander 273), none could ever be entirely definitive. W. Martyn, who wrote one of the commendatory verses to the separate quarto publication of Belling's *Sixth Booke*, admits his own hopes to have continued the *Arcadia*:

> And doe I envie this? Yes sure I do
> So farre, as to have had the glorie too
> T'have finisht such a worke. But since 'twas left
> For thee alone, tell me (of faith bereft)
> Where you two spake together...

Though ceding the superiority of Belling's claim, left to him 'alone,' Martyn still wishes to borrow 'some little portion' of Sidney's muse in order to praise him (A3r). So long as Sidney's muse may be tracked down by aspirants, therefore, more endings to the *Arcadia* could potentially be written.

The contingency of the continuations came to a head in the 1638 edition, which first included a 'twofold supplement of a defect in the third Book.' Morrison describes this edition as 'a kind of seventeenth-century version of interactive media': 'Readers are invited to examine both versions and ultimately decide which one, if either, they will follow. Thus the 1638 edition stands as a testimonial not only to the contested state of the text, but also to the way it which readers accepted the text as a site of contestation, subject to various readers' responses' (186-7). While Johnstoun's supplement may fit into the body of the *Arcadia* on the level of story, however, in bibliographic terms its inclusion clearly presented problems. Rather than competing

with Alexander's supplement in the middle of the Book 3 lacuna, Johnstoun's bridging passage is relegated to an unexpected place at the end of the volume, following Sidney's poems, the *Defence* and the *May Lady* masque, with only notes to direct the reader to where 'Sir *Philip Sidney's* worke, so far as it was given forth by himselfe, ends at pag. 326 with these words' and afterward, '*Sir Philip Sidney's second part beginneth at pag.* 347 *lin. 5*.' The placement given to Alexander over Johnstoun may have been due to priority in publication, or to Alexander's higher social status: by 1638, while still named on the title page as a 'Knight' (like Philip Sidney himself), Alexander had been made Earl of Stirling. The fact remains that two supplements, in this case, were clearly a crowd: although it is advertised on the title page, Johnstoun's remains tagged on as an afterthought, outside the sequential flow of the narrative in which Alexander and Belling are included; it is not even 'given the dignity of pagination' throughout its subsequent publication history (Wiles, 'Date of Publication' 80n2). The 1638 edition therefore testifies both to the appeal of adding to the *Arcadia* and to the problems inherent when the same gap was filled multiple times.

Weamys's *Continuation* was published four years before the next edition of the *Arcadia* appeared in 1655. By that time, however, the publishers (William DuGard, George Calvert, and Thomas Pierrepont) were not looking for a second 'sixth book' to add to the two supplements and one continuation already contained within the volume. Instead, the 'Additions' incorporated in 1655 sought to explicate rather than continue the narrative – they include a table of the principal characters, a frontispiece portrait of Sidney as a knight in antique armour, and an account of his life and death by 'Philophillipos.'[13] The figure of Philip Sidney, which served as the initial criteria for inclusion into *The Countess of Pembroke's Arcadia*, thus came to preside more prominently over the later editions of his work. As Dennis Kay writes, 'With the Restoration came a change of taste that was to lead to a marked decline in Sidney's literary reputation. As a man, as a pattern of national heroism, on the other hand, he was revered: he was refashioned in the image of the Restoration ideal' (29-30). There was a growing interest in his biography: Greville's 'Dedication to Sir

[13] The next two editions (1662 and 1674) left out the portrait but kept the biography and index. These three editions also include an apocryphal poem called 'A Remedy for Love,' which is discussed by Stephen Dobranski (94-5).

Philip Sidney,' composed in about 1610, was first published in 1652 as *The Life of the Renowned Philip Sidney,* and Sidney was included in William Winstanley's collection of *England's Worthies* in 1660. On the other hand, 'observations about his writings became less numerous and less specific,' and he was no longer held up as an active example to emulate (Kay 30). Only two further editions (in three duodecimo volumes) appeared in the eighteenth century, now titled *The works of the Honourable Sr. Philip Sidney, Kt. In prose and verse* (1725 and 1739). In 1725, D. Stanley also published her '*Moderniz'd*' version of the *Arcadia*, which attempted to translate it into contemporary language.[14] In her preface, she claims that she has been 'very careful not even in the minutest Point to vary from his Tract, either in the Thoughts or in the Story, and have followed him so closely as entirely to pass over any Additions that have been made to him' (b1v). In other ways, however, Stanley departs markedly from the 1593 editorial policy, since she not only updates Sidney's prose but omits all of his poetry: 'As to the leaving out of the *Eclogues*, I have the Opinion of most of my Subscribers for it; and...it is to them alone I think my self accountable' (b1v). Sidney may be revered and beyond addition, yet his work as it stands is clearly not sufficiently readable for Mrs. Stanley or her subscribers, and can be trimmed accordingly.

Stanley's modernized *Arcadia* represents the culmination of the more 'antiquarian... approach' taken in the Restoration editions: as Gavin Alexander writes, 'Sidney's works had become a museum, commanding veneration but not demanding dialogue' (337). Weamys's work was probably the last *Arcadia* continuation to be composed (the manuscript *Historie of Arcadia,* discussed in the next chapter, may have been written at about the same time), its publication in octavo akin to a kind of pre-extinction insular dwarfism. As Alexander concludes, 'The job of responding to Sidney in the period 1586-1640 had been almost too well managed' – the 1638 edition, with its sixth book and bridging passages, 'declared that nothing else needed to be done ' (337) In the years since the *Arcadia*'s publication, multiple writers responded to what 'needed to be done' in order to fill the gaps in Sidney's unfinished

[14] Another reworking, an abridgement called *The Famous History of Heroick Acts; Or, the Honour of Chivalry, Being an abstract of Pembroke's Arcadia* by 'J.N.,' appeared in 1701. J.N.'s preface describes the romance as 'in a manner covered all over with Weeds' and thus in need of rewriting (A2r). Detailed discussion of these two texts is included in Pigeon, 'Prose Fiction Adaptations.'

romance, yet their very success meant less cause for further intervention. If, as Stephen Dobranski argues, incomplete works 'reinforced Renaissance practices of active reading' (2), then the growing completeness of published editions may have encouraged a more passive view of the *Arcadia*. The primary justification for these texts – that they were completing, if not 'perfecting,' Sidney's work – had been removed.

4. The Death of Philisides

The preceding record of the *Arcadia*'s reception may seem to suggest that paying tribute to Sidney-the-man and continuing his story were contradictory impulses, with the former predominating at the beginning of the *Arcadia*'s success (while publication was still overseen by Sidney's sister) and at its end, when it fell out of step with changing literary tastes. Even while continuations were actively being written in the mid-seventeenth century, however, the idea of the *Arcadia* as a memorial to its author was never entirely absent. Indeed, Sidney's commemoration in the *Arcadia* volume went beyond the paratexts to be included within the story itself, enabled by the character of Philisides (*Phili*p *Sid*ney). Along with 'Astrophil' – meaning 'Star-lover' in Latin, as 'Philisides' does in Greek – this was one of the personae under which Sidney wrote poetry, and was addressed both during his lifetime and by eulogists after his death. Its inclusion within the romance thus had special significance for the *Arcadia* and its continuations. Philisides is not simply another character whose fate is left undecided at the end of the story and needs to be wrapped up – he carries an emblematic weight out of keeping with his minor role within the narrative. By bringing this representation of the author on stage in their texts, the continuation-writers were able to pay tribute to Sidney while depicting him as both present and absent, symbolically referring to the cause of the *Arcadia*'s incompletion even as they attempt to finish it.

Appearances by the author were a common trope of the pastoral, including Sidney's model in Jacopo Sannazaro's *Arcadia* (Ringler 418). Unlike other, more prominent uses of a poetic persona, however, Sidney's Philisides is a marginal character who does not significantly affect the course of the plot. As Edward Berry

writes, 'Sidney placed his own self-image off-centre,' an act that 'might be said to unite self-assertion with self-mockery' (72). In the *Old Arcadia*, he is a melancholy shepherd in the eclogues, singing songs about his unrequited love. The role of Philisides then changes significantly in the revised *Arcadia*, probably reflecting Sidney's altered perception and presentation of himself. His songs are assigned to other characters; instead, he appears in Pyrocles's retrospective narration as an Iberian knight at a tournament, his pastoral aspect now merely an unusual jousting costume. His pages are dressed as shepherds,'His own furniture was drest ouer with wooll' and 'His *Impresa* was a Sheepe marked with pitch, with this woord *Spotted to be knowne*' (1593, Q4v).[15] Among the ladies watching the tournament 'There was one (they say) that was the *Star* whereby his course was onely directed' – italicised as a proper name, this seems to be a clear allusion to Penelope Rich, the Stella of the sonnets. Philisides' own name is withheld throughout this description, as though readers ought to know it already, and its significance is emphasised with what Alexander calls a 'the typographical equivalent of a fanfare of trumpets' (xxviii): the first instance of the name is set as '*PHILISIDES*' in all seventeenth-century editions. Yet this is the character's only appearance, and the episode is apologetically dismissed by Pyrocles as 'an vnnecessary discourse' detracting from the main story (Q5r).

By the time the *Arcadia* came to be published, however, Philisides gained greater importance as a posthumous representation of the author: as Gavin Alexander writes, 'Sidney becomes his personae after his death' (xxxviii). Sanford's preface describes Arcadia itself as a space for honouring Sidney (conflating the book and the country that it depicts), and this is reflected in the treatment of Philisides. The 1593 edition restores all of his poems to the eclogues, even when this leads to internal inconsistencies. Philisides is now *both* the shepherd-knight and the lamenting pastoral lover: 'Since both represent Sidney, the 1593 editors are happy to reunite them' (Alexander 15). An additional poem, titled 'The lad Philisides,' is also inserted into the eclogues, even though it is set in England and was probably never intended for the *Arcadia* (Ringler 496-7). 'The poor hopes of the poor Philisides in the pursuit of his

[15] The description of the tournament probably reflects Sidney's own role in the Accession Day Tilts (in which he may even have appeared as 'Philisides' in 1577 [Berry 80]), and this particular device has been attributed to him (Coulman).

affections' also form one of the narrative threads left open at the end of the narrative. As originally written by Sidney, these lines may have suggested the continuance of the poet's hopeless love beyond the bounds of the romance. Once history provided its own ending to Sidney's story, however – an ending almost immediately made literary though numerous eulogies and accounts of the author's death – the inclusion of Philisides became part of a personal tribute to Sidney, and was recognised as such by several of his continuators. Imitating life as well as art, the three narratives that take up the Philisides thread all choose to resolve it in a similarly final fashion.

The two Book 3 supplements both follow clues in the text to place Philisides at the eventual rescue of the princesses from captivity, as one of the mysterious knights accompanying Musidorus – either the Knight of the Sheep, dressed all in green with an *impresa* of a sheep, or the Knight of the Pole, dressed in white with stars surrounding an empty space for the Pole Star. In Alexander's supplement, the shepherd-knight is identified as the Knight of the Sheep, who is no sooner introduced into the general melée than he is injured in a manner directly reminiscent of Philip Sidney at Zutphen: he 'was exchanging blowes with *Annaxius* with no disaduantage, when suddenly a Dart (none knew to whose hand the honour of it was due) did wound him in the thigh' (Ee2v). While less anachronistic than a Spanish musket would have been, the source of this 'Dart' (often used poetically as the weapon of both love and death) in a sword-fight remains mysterious, almost as though it comes flying in from outside the *Arcadia*. Like Sidney, Philisides does not die immediately, but vanishes from the narrative for the remainder of the battle and the reunion of the heroes and heroines. Only after all this plot activity is finished, 'The Knight of the Sheepe was constrayned (his wound bleeding in great abundance, which being made by an impoysoned Dart, had inflamed all his bodie) to retire.' That night, he sends a message to his two companion knights that he is dying: 'Deare friends...I see I haue acted my part, and the Curtaine must quickly bee drawne. Death, the onely period of all respects, doth dispense with a free speech' (Ff2r). His depiction of himself as an actor underscores the metafictional nature of this scene, in which death can provide the only 'period' for Sidney's unfinished sentence.

Alexander goes on to have Philisides relate his life-story, explaining how the Iberian jouster of Andromana's court came to also be the melancholy shepherd of

Arcadia. His story, like Sidney's, is full of lacunae: he is inspired by the deeds of Pyrocles and Musidorus, but 'the report whereof craues a longer time, and a stronger breath then the heauens are like to afford mee'; as Philisides travels to Arcadia, he adds, 'What passed in my way I passe: perchance others may remember' (Ff2r). The object of his unhappy love is then revealed to be Philoclea, for whose sake he remained in Arcadia and became 'knowne...by the name of *Philisides*' (Ff2v). Maurice Evans notes that 'It is a nice touch to make Sidney in love with his own Philoclea' (864). In fact, one of the few authorial intrusions retained in the *New Arcadia* (and the careful rewriting around it suggests this is no accident) is a direct address from narrator to character in Book 2: 'And alas (sweete Philoclea) how hath my penne til now forgot thy passions, since to thy memorie principally all this long matter is intended?' (K3v). Philoclea was identified with Penelope Rich in a series of *Imaginary Epistles* written between her and Sidney, and other seventeenth-century readers also saw the *Arcadia* as a monument to her (Lamb 110). A manuscript page giving 'The interprtation of the choiceste names in Sr Phil. Sydnes Arcadia,' held in the Beinecke Library, ends with a note explaining that 'Arcadia was written by Sr Ph: Signey [sic] for \the/ loue he bore vnto my Lady Penelope Deuoreux who he wold haue maried; but afterwards \she/ ma=ried vnto my Lo: Ritche.'[16] Alexander's identification, therefore, emphasises the *roman à clef* interpretation of the *Arcadia* as a concealed love-story in the same genre as *Astrophil and Stella*, underlined by Philisides' claim to have hidden meanings in his songs – 'pour[ing] forth my plaints before her; but neuer to her' (Ff2v).

Alexander thus explains Philisides' military venture as an attempt to gain Philoclea's admiration, so that he might be brave enough to declare himself to her: 'Though professing a generall desire of glorie, yet for a particular end; and happie end, since I end for her' (Ff2v) – a different sort of 'end' than that sought by his romantic rival, Pyrocles. He finishes by soliciting a promise of secrecy, which granted, Philisides dies in a noble and beatific manner:

> Then contentment, budding forth in his countenance, flourished in a smile: and hauing kissed his friendes, desiring to liue in their memorie...Hee died as ioyfully as hee left them sorrowfull, who had knowne him a mirrour of courage, and courtesie of learning and

[16] Osborn fb69, reproduced at http://brbl-dl.library.yale.edu/vufind/Record/3558617 .

> armes; so that it seemed, that Mars had begotten him vpon one of the Muses. (Ff2v)

This description closely parallels those of Sidney's death-bed scene, with the desire to suppress knowledge of his love for Philoclea perhaps paralleling his supposed wish to destroy the *Arcadia* itself (Greville 19-20). The final elegiac note, uniting Philisides' aspects in poetry and chivalry, clearly has more to do with memorials to Sidney himself than with his character. In describing this death, in fact, Alexander is departing from his scrupulous consistency with the *Arcadia*'s plot, since Philisides appears alive in the appended books. Alexander's endnote states that he 'differ[s] in some things from that which followes, specially in the death of *Philisides*, making choise of a course, whereby I might best manifest what affection I beare to the memorie of him, whom I tooke to be alluded unto by that name' (Ff5v). In the *Anacrisis,* he also states that his plans for rewriting the end of the *Arcadia* stemmed from his 'Love to the Author's Memory, which I celebrated under the name of *Philisides*' (Garrett 199). Sidney's death thus authorises Alexander's project of patching and revision, even though this means that Sidney/Philisides himself must be removed from the scene. Philisides thus becomes the most direct manifestation of the ways in which the continuators, as Elizabeth A. Spiller writes, 'make the death of Sidney the means for continuing his unfinished tale' (240).

Johnstoun, too, takes Philisides' role as the justification of his project. In his preface, he attempts to distinguish between the perfection and imperfection of the *Arcadia* by describing his work as 'a little complement, of what was rather desired than wanting in him: desired, I say, because there is nothing missing but himself' (aa1r). Since Sidney's death is the only flaw in the *Arcadia*, an allegorical treatment of that death becomes the only way of both dramatising and patching the flaw: 'Yet his person is so well represented in his worke, that if he any wayes could be absented from the assertion of the Ladies liberty, it was needfull, because he left in the midst; that by that want his want should be livelier deciphered' (aa1r). Sidney's work on the revised Book 3 thus becomes recast as a chivalrous quest to rescue the captive princesses (though, by the same logic, it was Sidney himself who caused them to be imprisoned), from which he could only be 'absented' by death. The use of authorial persona means that 'his person is...represented in his worke' more literally than usual:

Sidney may be dead, but he has left behind a ghostly image in Arcadia for his continuators to encounter. Using the earlier metaphor of the two halves of the romance being stitched together, Sidney himself becomes the thread linking the supplements to his text.

Johnstoun differs from Alexander in identifying Philisides as the Knight of the (Pole) Star – a reading that also has some textual evidence behind it, since Philisides is in love with a 'Star.' Fighting bravely in the vanguard of the battle to free the ladies, he is also 'stricken in the thigh, with a forked and impoisoned, dart,' causing Musidorus to grieve for his 'pastoral sports, and singular valor...and great expectation of prowess: who now in the most flourishing time of his age, beeing intercepted at his first militarie essaies, made his fall seem the more lamentable' (aa3r-v). As in Alexander's supplement, Philisides is not explicitly named until much later in the narrative, but the allusion to Sidney is clear. Following the composite *Arcadia*, he is both a shepherd and a knight, although (as with Sidney at Zutphen) this is his first trial in real combat. Johnstoun also resembles Alexander in postponing Philisides' death until late in the supplement, following the rescue of the princesses. The separation between author and persona is again most explicitly breached in the description of Philisides' death and burial. In the course of this, Johnstoun cuts himself short lest he offend the modesty of a character who is no longer quite fictional: 'The ceremonies of his funeral, which were performed in most sumptuous and magnificent manner, with all the particulars thereof, I willingly overpass, lest I transgress his will therein: but because [Musidorus] was first Actor there, so far is necessary to observ' (bb1r). In fact, Sidney's 'sumptuous and magnificent' funeral had already been minutely described in several publications, and even depicted pictorially (Bos et al.); Johnstoun may not have wished to repeat this material in his supplement. Unwilling to 'transgress' what he sees as Sidney's will, he excuses the inclusion of the episode as being 'necessary' only because a central character participates in it.

In other ways, however, the death scene serves as a prominent pause within the brief span of the supplement. Musidorus is already on his way to be 'returned home to his master Dametas,' in keeping with the plot of the appended books, when he is delayed 'by the pitiful estate of the Knight of the Star':

> Who (as is said) beeing wounded with the terrible stroke of a baneful dart, when all help of physick had been assaied, yet the poison and deepness of the wound, had so tainted and bruised the bone, that his best relief was to have wanted the whole. Which was no sooner understood by the worthie Knight, but wishing rather to bee altogether dissolved, than live in part, having the wound of his mind opened with the hurt of his bodie, and lamenting that the thred of his virtue, not the cours of his life, should bee cut, hee was gathered to the noble number of Mars his children; and dying in the bed of honor, was buried in the everlasting monuments of fame, desired of all, and hated by none. (bb1r)

As in Alexander's version, the poison on the dart serves to explain the rapid nature of Philisides' decline – Sidney died of gangrene. The additional refusal of amputation, however, is significant here: Gavin Alexander suggests that 'There is a measure of "if only" about it: why was amputation apparently not considered' in Sidney's case (276)? Yet, although Johnstoun draws upon accounts of Sidney's deathbed, the main import of amputation seems to be metatextual: where Belling speaks of adding a limb to Apelles' picture, the limb in question here is Sidney's own. As Gavin Alexander writes:

> The chief target of this passage is an equation between the whole and yet partial works and the whole and yet interrupted Sidney: he will not 'live in part' and so dies whole, before his time; his Arcadia lives 'in part' but should be viewed as a whole from which something is lacking rather than a fragment. (276)

The maimed body is a metaphor for the maimed text, just as the publication of an author's works served to reanimate his textual corpus.[17] 'Wishing rather to bee altogether dissolved, than live in part,' like Philisides, the dying Sidney had apparently asked Greville to burn the unfinished *Arcadia* entirely (19-20). In this context, Gavin Alexander argues that 'Johnstoun's supplement is designed to stitch the prosthetic ending from the "old" *Arcadia* to the body of the "new"' (276). I would modify this reading to say that Johnstoun's text – and the appearance of Sidney within it – is itself the prosthesis, designed to mimic the main body of the *Arcadia* in order to heal the wound left by its author's death.

[17] The idea of textual incompletion as a wound had already been used by Mary Sidney in her poem 'To the Angell Spirit,' in which she describes Sidney's translation of the Psalms as a 'halfe maimed peece' whose injuries are transferred to the Countess herself in her grief: 'Deepe wounds enlarg'd, long festred in their gall / fresh bleeding smart' (110).

In contrast to Alexander and Johnstoun, Anna Weamys never explicitly states that Philisides is intended to represent Sidney in her *Continuation*. Weamys has more plot justification for depicting his death: although she may focus mainly on continuing the *New Arcadia*, her handling of this development does not contradict anything in the appended books. In fact, Philisides appears in Weamys's *Continuation*, not as an Iberian knight, but solely as the melancholy shepherd of the *Old Arcadia*. After all the marriage subplots have been successfully resolved, Pyrocles and Musidorus spot him lamenting among the shrubbery:

> Since she is tyrannous, why should I live to endure her torments? my Superiors triumph in their Loves: my Fellow shepherds can boast of theirs: it is wretched Philisides, oh it is I that am singularlie miserable, made so by a beautifull, yet cruel Mistriss; the [Princes] knew him to be Philisides the despairing Shepherd by his sorowfull subject; and he rising from under an hedge, discovered himself to be the same: there the [Princes] leaving him in a forlorn posture, hastened to their other companie. (K3v-4r)

Philisides' 'poor hopes' thus provide a counterpoint to the general happy resolution: the lamentation is picked up and left in midflow, and there is a sense that he is a permanent fixture of the Arcadian gardens, like an ornamental fountain. Yet on the last pages of Weamys's *Continuation*, 'There was found *Philisides* the despairing Shepherd dead' on top of the half-dried monument which Musidorus has built for Claius, himself dead after being deprived of Urania (N2v).

Unlike the battle scenes in Alexander and Johnstoun, Philisides' death here is caused 'by no other practices than a deep melancholly that over-pressed his heart' (N2v-N3r). Cullen suggests that 'Weamys's Sidney…is not the Sidney dying at Zutphen, but the literary Sidney, the Arcadian Sidney, and so his death is fictionalized in terms of his fiction, not his life; he dies as he portrayed himself in the *New Arcadia*, as a lover and a poet, and a poet with a secret love' (liv). Of course, it was in the *New Arcadia* that Sidney's portrayal of himself actually surrounded his secret love with the trappings of knighthood and jousting. Cullen argues that Weamys's approach may instead reflect 'the stereotype of the female "romantic" reader of Sidney as opposed to the male "heroic" reader of Sidney' (lvi). In describing the order of a funeral performed according to the dead man's final wishes, Weamys also differs from historical reality to include a more prominent female

element. Unlike the modesty of Johnstoun's supplement, her Philisides desires 'to have the tears of the *Arcadian* Beauties shed at my Funeral, & sprinkled on my Hearss' (N3r). Although Sidney's actual funeral would have excluded female mourners, even Sidney's own sister (Hannay 58), Weamys's version of the funeral appropriately focuses on the participation of women, suggesting Weamys herself as one of the beauties 'burying him with plentie of tears' (N3v).

Where the supplements have him pronounce a dying speech to his knightly companions, Weamys's Philisides leaves a letter engraved on a stone tablet, which reveals that, although he did not purposefully end his life, he knew death was coming and did not resist it: 'For why should I live to be despised of her, whom above all the world I honoured?' Even in death, the identity of the cruel beloved (and of Philisides' rival) is never revealed:

> I will forbear to name her, because my Rival shall not triumph in my death, nor yet condemn me for coveting so rare a Person…My Breast is the Cabinet where [her name] is fixed, and if you rip that open, you will find it; though perhaps not so perfect as I could wish it were, the Cabinet melting into tears for its unkindness. (N2r-v)

For Cullen, this is a benevolent metatextual gesture: 'In her coda of closures, she leaves only one tale incomplete, and that is Sidney's own; she encloses the fragmented precursor in closures, but leaves some space open for him in her ending as he had for her' (lv). It is also possible, however, that by 1651 Weamys was not fully aware of this character's allegorical import, or did not know enough about his life to guess at his mistress. The 'Life and Death' published with the 1655 edition points out the generation gap complicating any attempt to interpret the *Arcadia* as a *roman à clef*:

> I dare confidently averr that the wards of this lock are grown so rustie with time, that a modern key will scarce unlock it, seeing in eightie years and upward (such the age of this book from the Nativitie thereof) many criticisms of time, place and person, wherein the life and lustre of this storie did consist, are utterly lost, and unknown in our age. (b3v)

Taken together, these two passages make for a striking image. The locked cabinet – a word often used in this period to refer to the interpretation of hidden meanings (Patterson 7) – becomes literalised as the author's body, the search for personal

allegories as an invasive post-mortem on a wounded text that is ‘not so perfect as [Sidney] could wish it were.’

Weamys’s inclusion of a funeral in the midst of the wedding celebrations ending the *Continuation* admits multiple interpretations. As Cullen writes, ‘The placement of Sidney/Philisides in the midst of this coda of completions can certainly be read in terms of an agonistic literary relation: the strong poet is murdered by the belated one, her triumph over his incompleteness asserted by the emphatic completeness of her own multiple endings.’ He concludes, however, that ‘The major point of Weamys’s giving her precursor the last narrative seems to me memorial and celebratory’ (liv). Spiller points out that, whereas in an agonistic model ‘Anna Weamys would have to kill Sidney in order to begin her narrative,’ she instead kills him to end it and ‘lay Sidney to rest’ (247). His death is the catalyst for the final ending of a story that, with the lengthy retrospective narration of the Urania plot, was beginning to verge on superfluity. ‘Thus were there [sic] Nuptials finished with sadness,’ Weamys writes, combining both the possible endings of marriage and death, and thus, in only a few more final lines, closes the text (N3v). In Alexander and Johnstoun’s supplements, too, the death of Philisides represents both a task and a limit to his continuators’ work – something that must take place to unite the *New Arcadia* with the *Old* and to explain their disjuncture. Elegists addressing Sidney as Astrophil or Philisides can imagine him living on in the immortal Arcadian realm represented in his art (as in Spenser’s ‘The Ruines of Time’: ‘So there thou liuest, singing euermore, / And here thou liuest, being euer song’ [C2v]), but those who continue the *Arcadia* feel the need to definitively close his story. Those continuations that do not depict the death of Philisides simply never mention him, adding to the weigh of that death as his sole possible function in the narrative. Although Spiller does not discuss all of his (dis)appearances, she argues that these textual deaths are emblematic of the way that ‘The abruptness of the ending of Sidney’s life becomes the justification for a textual continuation of his work’ – only by dying can he be reborn in another (231). This rebirth, however, is the temporary one of a ghost on the stage: he lives only long enough to see the gaps in his unfinished work completed, exorcised by the success of his haunting.

These texts demonstrate the ways in which the supposedly unfillable silence of Sidney's death came to be filled by those who followed after him. The publishing of such a complex, influential, yet incomplete narrative created a special set of challenges and opportunities. Dobranski argues that the printing of incomplete works paradoxically brings attention to a text having been 'created by an "author," a single individual who oversaw the production,' even as they simultaneously call for increased reader participation in filling the blank space (6). Although Dobranski focuses on instances of deliberate omission, the same was true of Sidney's posthumous work. In 'Authority and the Death of the Author,' Jeremy Hawthorn observes that

> The author is most missed when he or she leaves an incomplete work. In one sense, this is a little puzzling. If the death of the author is so liberating, should it not be even more liberating when an author dies leaving a work that can not only be interpreted as the reader wishes, but can even be partly written in accordance with what each reader prefers? (78)

Hawthorn concludes that this liberation does not actually take place: 'Readers' reactions to attempts by other writers to complete literary works left unfinished at their authors' deaths suggest that we (and "we" is both ordinary readers and academics) conventionally accord enormous authority to authors *vis-a-vis* the right to fix and complete literary texts' (80). Yet the large output of creativity following the appearance of the *Arcadia* argues that this obedience to singular authority has not always been as firm as Hawthorn suggests.

Even Fulke Greville, who chose to publish the *New Arcadia* as a separate fragment without attempting to provide an ending for it, could not subsequently resist speculating about the course the story might have taken:

> If the infancie of these Ideas, determining in the first generation, yield the ingenuous Reader such pleasant & profitable diversity…let him conceive, if this excellent Image-maker had liv'd to finish, and bring to perfection this extraordinary frame of his own Common-wealth: I meane, the return of Basilius, from his dreames of humor, to the honor of his former Estate; the marriage of the two sisters with the two excellent Princes; their issue; the warres stirred up by Amphialus; his marriage with Helena; their successions; together with the incident Magnificences, pompes of state, providences of councells in treaties of peace, or aliance, summons of warres, and orderly execution of their disorders; I say, what a large field an active able spirit should have had

> to walk in, let the advised Reader conceive with grief. (17-8)

As Gavin Alexander notes, Greville's flight of fancy has more to do with his own ideas about the moral purposes of literature than with anything presaged in Sidney's work (229). The 'perfection' of the *Arcadia* here becomes almost infinitely deferred – it includes not only storylines predicted in the text, such as the marriages of the protagonists and Helen's love for Amphialus, but a potentially endless succession of characters and events, expanding chronologically and geographically. Since Sidney did not live to complete his 'fore-conceit,' the 'advised Reader' is left to 'conceive' for him or herself just how far it might have extended. The result did, in fact, leave a 'large field' for other 'active able spirit[s]' to walk in – a description that, through the ambiguity of Greville's phrasing, might apply both to Sidney and to an ideal reader following him into Arcadia (Alexander 228).

This chapter has examined how the *Arcadia*'s gaps and incompletions were presented in its published form(s), and the ways in which they were discussed and filled by subsequent writers. In addition, the character of Philisides allowed for an allegorical representation of the missing author, whose ghost presided over his unfinished text. I will now turn to look closer at the paratexts of these works, which address the issues inherent in continuation more directly. Through a reading of these framing devices, the following chapter further explores how the continuation-writers (and others seeking to promote their works) approach their relationship to Sidney, and how this affects the nature of their own authorship. As well as the four supplements and continuations already mentioned, this discussion includes two additional texts – the anonymous *Historie of Arcadia* and Gervase Markham's *English Arcadia* – that do not entirely share the others' emphasis on closure, and go beyond 'completing' the *Arcadia*. As Greville does in his imagination, they expand the story far beyond its projected bounds, yet still never lose sight of the ghostly figure of Sidney at its origin.

Chapter 3

Approaches to Authorship in the *Arcadia* Continuations

Then pardon, O most sacred happie spirit,
That I thy labours lost may thus reuiue,
And steale from thee the meede of thy due merit,
That none durst euer whilest thou wast aliue,
And being dead in vaine yet many striue:
Ne dare I like, but through infusion sweete
Of thine owne spirit, which doth in me surviue,
I follow here the footing of thy feete,
That with thy meaning so I may the rather meete.
-- *The Faerie Queene,* Book IV, Canto II (28)

Thus Edmund Spenser describes his own continuation of Chaucer's 'Squire's Tale,' which he believes to be incomplete because 'wicked Time...That famous moniment hath quite defaste,' leaving Chaucer's works 'deuourd, and brought to nought by little bits' (28). Sidney's *Arcadia* was a much more recent unfinished work, in 'bits' because of the author's death rather than decay brought about by time. Yet the metaphors used in Spenser's disclaimer, with its description of following the author's footsteps and being infused with his 'spirit,' will be familiar after reading the paratexts of the *Arcadia* continuations. Like many Early Modern prefaces, they use modesty tropes as a rhetorical technique, invoking the reader's sympathy and understanding by acknowledging potential flaws.[1] It is significant, however, that all these texts treat their relationship to the *Arcadia* – and their authors' relationship to Sidney – as something particularly in need of explanation, and even of apology. While many of the images used are conventional in Renaissance discussions of imitation (summarised by G.W. Pigman), they take on additional valences by being applied to this particular form of intertextual relation. These paratextual frames therefore serve as an important source of evidence for Early Modern attitudes toward authorship in relation to the writing of continuations.

To say that the paratexts are frequently deferential is not to conclude that they lack all form of authorial self-assertion. Philip Sidney is certainly a central figure in them: if, as Raphael Falco argues, Sidney was cast as the authorising forefather of

[1] Although he focuses primarily on nonfiction works, Kevin Dunn provides a valuable analysis of the Early Modern modesty topos and its rhetorical roots in *Pretexts of Authority*.

seventeenth-century English literature, then the sense of belatedness was particularly keen for those who sought to directly continue his work. Dobranski captures some of the resulting paradoxes, however, when he writes that the existence of these continuations enacts 'both a dispersal and intensification of Sidney's authorial authority':

> These texts, in advancing the identity of their individual authors, chipped away at any claim Sidney might have had to exclusive control over Arcadia's pastoral world. But at the same time, especially when surveyed collectively, the *Arcadia*'s sequels bolstered Sidney's reputation by keeping alive his name and looking back to his book as their starting point. (71-2)

In fact, rather than (as Dobranski argues slightly earlier) 'adopt[ing] a subservient tone' and 'consciously forfeit[ing] [their] own identity for the sake of Sidney's' (70), all but one of the continuations include an attribution of authorship, as well as a note from that author addressing the nature of the work and his or her goals in composing it.[2] In addition, a number of commendatory verses are included in Belling and Weamys's texts specifically to praise and promote the continuator's work. Clearly, their subservience is a more complex matter than it may initially appear: although the *Arcadia* may have served as their motivating factor, the continuations are not simply after-effects of Sidney's work. The paratexts are careful to separate out the original text from the continuator's contribution, thus claiming as well as disclaiming credit – if they do not 'steale from [Sidney] the meede of [his] due merit,' they are still insistent upon their own.

1. Sidney's Ghostly Footsteps

James Johnstoun's dedication to his Book 3 supplement serves to introduce many of the issues faced by the continuators, in a way highlighted by the slippages in his syntax. Johnstoun begins as a reader of the *Arcadia*, and ends up transformed by it:

> Having, Sir, at some idle houres oft and oft evolved the worke of Sir *Philip Sidney*, intituled his *Arcadia*, I was carried with such pleasure

[2] The sole exception is the manuscript *Historie of Arcadia*, discussed below, which was likely anonymous for its political content. It still, however, contains a significant preface.

> in perusing the same, that I could never find an end of reading: while at length my braine transported with the Idea's of his conceit, brought forth a little complement, of what was rather desired than wanting in him…True it is, that whatsoever is wanting in him, can no more be filled up but by himselfe, than one man can invest anothers mind: yet I have assayed to play the Ape, albeit I cannot represent the author. (aa1r)

As Gavin Alexander notes, Johnstoun translates the revised text's incompletion 'into a matter of readerly practice' (274) – the unfinished status of the work is replaced by the endless pleasure of reading it, and Johnstoun is so possessed that his text is 'brought forth' as an inevitable consequence. Like Sanford in his preface, Johnstoun stresses a distinction between what is 'desired' and 'wanting' in the *Arcadia* even as he shifts from using one word to the other. This allows him to speak of a lack in the text without casting aspersions on the 'perfection' of what *is* there. His work can thus be a 'complement,' something that completes, while also remaining a 'compliment' to the original. What is both 'desired' and 'wanting' is finally the dead Sidney, whom (as discussed in the previous chapter) Johnstoun brings on stage in the figure of Philisides. However, he must try to 'represent' the author in more ways than one. If only Sidney can complete the *Arcadia,* then the task of imitating the work becomes recast as the 'Ap[ing]' of Sidney himself, a self-deprecating use of an established metaphor for imitation (Pigman 3-4). This is as close as Johnstoun can come, although he acknowledges the final impossibility of 'invest[ing] anothers mind': he may seek to imitate Sidney, but he remains a separate individual.

Johnstoun's use of modesty tropes is complicated by their presence in a dedication addressed to King James VI. Both admiring and continuing Sidney thus serve Johnstoun's purposes in seeking royal preferment. Somewhat ambiguously, he recommends the supplement to his

> Majesties owne tryall; who, beside the great accompt your Majesty hath of the Writer, could better supply your selfe his default, than any other that I know; if at least so much time were permitted to your Majesty, from other serious and important affaires of your Realme, as to peruse the same. (aa1v)

The writer in 'great accompt' at first seems to be Sidney, whom James was known to admire, and Johnstoun appears to be inviting the King to compose his own, superior *Arcadia* continuation (supplying its 'default') in between affairs of state. Yet 'the

same' text he is to peruse turns out to be Johnstoun's supplement, which 'hath need of your Majesties protection' if it is to see the light. Rather deftly, Johnstoun suggests that the King 'by the beames of [his] countenance can abundantly cleere, what cloudes the obscurity of my present fortune may bring to the flourishing fame of Sir *Philip Sidneys* memory.' In other words, failing to promote Johnstoun's fortunes would posthumously insult Sidney by association. Moreover, Johnstoun emphasises the display of his own 'travell and diligence herein': although Sidney provides him with the language he has 'borrowed,' the very limits of the task make it more difficult, leaving Johnstoun 'bound within the limits of his owne conceits' (aa1v).

Writing the other bridging passage, William Alexander encountered similar challenges in properly describing his own role. In a note attached to the end of his supplement, Alexander writes, 'If this little Essay have not that perfection which is required for supplying the want in that place for which it was intended, yet shall it serve as shadow to give luster to the rest' (Ff5v). As addressed in the previous chapter, Alexander had initially harboured grander ambitions: 'Long since, being young, I adventured a Piece with him…intending further…to have altered all that followed after my Addition':

> And though being there but an Imitator, I could not really give the Principall it self, but only as it were the Pourtrait, and that done by too gross a Pencil, *Non cuivis homini contingit adire Corinthum* [Not every man has the good fortune to go to Corinth]. It were enough to be excellent by being Second to *Sidney*, since who ever could be that, behoved to be before others. (Garrett 199)

Like Johnstoun, Alexander represented Sidney within the story as Philisides: here, however, the whole of the *Arcadia* becomes the 'Principall' (original) of which his text is a copy or 'Pourtrait.' The pictorial metaphors here recall Sidney's definition of poetry in the *Defence of Poesie* as 'an Arte of *Imitation*' or *mimesis*: 'that is to say, a representing, counterfeiting, or figuring forth...A speaking *Picture*' (495). Mimetic writing imitates nature, not other poetry, yet this extension of Sidney's idea is in keeping with the *Defence*'s earlier description of the poet creating 'another nature' in his writing, 'making things either better then Nature bringeth forth, or quite anew...not inclosed within the narrow warrant of her gifts, but freely ranging within the Zodiacke of his owne wit' (492). For Sidney, this god-like role of the poet is

manifested in his ability to affect real change despite writing fiction: 'not onely to make a *Cyrus*, which had bene but a particular excellecie...but to bestow a *Cyrus* vppon the world to make many *Cyrusses*' (495). As Gavin Alexander writes, 'Sidney has wanted literature to produce results, had wanted the *Arcadia* to impel its readers to imitate it' by living 'the life of a virtuous hero.' The authors following after him, however, seek a purely literary form of imitation by taking Sidney's textual world as their object (271). They may not achieve the 'perfection' needed to complement the *Arcadia*, yet if they can 'give luster' to Sidney, then Sidney also gives lustre to them.[3] As William Alexander states, by imitating Sidney, they are effectually jumping the queue of other writers, inviting comparison with no one else.

The preliminary materials to Richard Belling's *Sixth Booke* present a fuller treatment of the challenges and benefits of continuing Sidney's work. The independent quarto published in Dublin in 1624 (now extant in a single British Library copy, which is reproduced online) includes extensive paratexts that were not transferred to its London issue within the *Arcadia*. Indeed, this volume's framing imitates the publication of *The Countess of Pembroke's Arcadia* much as Belling imitates Sidney's style. Belling begins with a dedication to Elizabeth Cary, Viscountess of Falkland, which, while less intimate, resembles Sidney's dedication to his sister in its metaphors of birth and transferal of ownership. Like Sidney, who dismissively describes the *Arcadia* as not for 'severer eyes...being but a trifle, and that triflingly handled' and thus requiring his sister's protection (¶3r), Belling acknowledges the 'many faults' of his work and turns them into an elegant compliment to the Viscountess's 'clemencie': 'As it could be given to none more desirous to excuse the errours of weake well meaning endevours so your Honour could no where light on a fitter subject for the practise of that vertue' (A2r-v). There follows a letter 'To the reader' (like Sanford's, though in this case written by the author himself), while the end of the book includes a set of love poems by Belling, with a note that they had 'come to the hands of...the Authours deere friend, & therfore thinking them too good to perish, hath causd them here to be annexed to his booke' (O3r) – akin to the collection of Sidney's poems appended to the *Arcadia*

[3] In Mary Sidney's 'To the Angell Spirit,' Sidney's 'lightning beames give lustre to the rest' of the joint work (110).

from 1598.[4] The major difference is in the inclusion of a set of four commendatory poems between the epistles and the text: Sidney himself seemed to require no commendation.[5] Although they have been previously ignored by critics who read Belling's text only in the folio version (which omits all but the reader address), these framing devices serve an important function in articulating his relationship to Sidney.

Given that the commendatory verses are intended to praise Belling and promote his work, they demonstrate how Belling's contemporaries would have perceived a successful continuation. Several of them stress the similarities between Belling and Sidney in both 'matter' (continuing the story of Arcadia) and style. As W. Martyn writes:

> So like in all
> Was matter, phrase, and language which did fall
> From thy chaste pen, that surely both being gone
> Next age will write your characters in one. (A3r)

This is, in fact, something like what happens once Belling's continuation comes to be included in editions of the *Arcadia*, creating 'one' continuous text. Martyn takes it further, however, with the 'characters' forming the names of Sidney and Belling also merging into one another. This looks forward to the collaborative model adopted in the commendatory verses to another contested site of authorship, the folio of Francis Beaumont and John Fletcher's plays published in 1647: 'For still your fancies are so wov'n and knit; / Twas FRANCIS-FLETCHER, or IOHN BEAUMONT writ' (b1r). Sidney and Belling collaborate diachronically rather than synchronically, but the link between their works enacts a similar blurring of identity. In another verse, H. Delaune also seeks to erase the differences between Belling's and Sidney's authorship:

> Thus much Ile say, That if this age were blest
> Againe by him, whose soule is now at rest,
> The ne're enough admired Sidney, and
> He to thy Booke would but vouch safe his hand,
> Thou hast therein such wittie smoothnesse showne,
> Is out of doubt it would be thought his owne. (A4v)

The sole aspect that separates Belling from the authentic original here is the

[4] I have been unable to further identify this 'friend' and 'kinseman' of Belling's (named as 'Sir R.C.') or the authors of the other commendatory verses.

[5] The Latin verses first included with the *Arcadia* of 1655 were actually selected from among the eulogistic poems composed just after his death, rather than written to preface the work: their addition reflects the more biographical focus of the late editions, as discussed in Chapter 2.

handwriting, yet even in praising their equality, Sidney still emerges as the clear superior. The greatest commendation of Belling's work becomes that Belling has not written it, as Sidney is imagined rising from the grave in order to take credit for the *Sixth Booke*. In Martyn's poem, in fact, Belling's writing itself becomes a site of haunting:

> I read thy booke on[e] night late, and did feare
> Still as I read, I saw appearing there
> Sir Philip Sidney's ghost; yet look't about,
> And nothing could espie might breed that doubt,
> But thy sweet harmelesse Booke. (A3r)

The compensating description of Belling's 'harmelesse Booke,' like that of his 'chaste pen,' evokes images of potential transgression through their negation, suggesting that the project of continuation is not unproblematic for the commendatory-verse writers. Martyn's vision of doubled authorship is an uncanny one, heightened by the night-time scene and the writer's fear.

What did it mean for Sidney's ghost to appear in the *Sixth Booke*? It may be tempting to see a link to the Catholic beliefs of Belling, his dedicatee (although Elizabeth Cary's conversion did not become public until later), and presumably the Irish commendators, in contrast to the strong Protestantism of Sidney himself. While belief in ghosts could serve as 'a clear marker of confessional and cultural boundaries,' however, literature made the border between life and death more permeable than religious orthodoxy might suggest (Marshall 234, 257). Ghosts were a common feature of Elizabethan and Jacobean plays, for instance, and 'most dramatists who placed ghosts on the stage did not unduly agonize over their precise ontological status' (257). Writing, in particular, could confer a type of 'print-made immortality' (Eisenstein 121), allowing the author to be imagined as both dead and buried *and* living on in his textual monument. Thus the numerous commendatory verses to the Beaumont and Fletcher folio collapse the distinction between the authors' bodies (whose decomposition is vividly described) and the book itself, within whose covers they are 'bound':

> Wonder! who's here? *Fletcher*, long buried
> Reviv'd? Tis he! hee's risen from the Dead.
> His winding sheet put off, walks above ground,
> Shakes off his Fetters, and is better bound. (C2r)

Given Sidney's posthumous fame, those reading his works were particularly aware that they were, in Stephen Greenblatt's famous phrase, speaking with the dead. As Gavin Alexander describes, Sidney was revived in multiple works of 'prosopography,' 'a trope that conjures the voice and form of those absent, dead, or imagined into some sort of rhetorical presence' (Alexander xxxvi) – a ghost called up through the written word.

However, Belling's commendators are aware of the difficulties of this formulation in praising a work that was not, in fact, written by Sidney. As Delaune writes, '*If* this age *were* blest / Againe by him, whose soule is now at rest…' (emphasis added). Sidney is dead, his soul is at rest, and thus he cannot actually return to give Belling's *Sixth Booke* his imprimatur. The bridging note in the *Arcadia*, after all, states that 'What conclusion it should haue had, or how far the Work haue bene extended...was onely knowne to his own spirit, where only those admirable Images were (and no where else) to bee cast.' Sidney's 'spirit' therefore, must be made to come alive within the work itself, so that Belling's agency might be bound up with his through ghostly 'inspiration.' Martyn asks for the address where Belling and Sidney 'talked together'

> that so, before to morrow
> I might in honour of thy worke, but borrow
> Some little portion of his sacred Muse,
> That might to me like flames, and spirit infuse:
> For none but such, can reach that height of glory
> Which thou hast got, by this immortall story. (A3r)

Sidney thus goes from being a singular ghost to the more immanent presence of his 'Muse,' which is capable of being split into 'portions' or sparks setting his continuators alight. That supernatural spark is a prerequisite for writing after him – or even, in Martyn's view, for writing about those who write after him. Rather than Sidney coming alive to transcribe Belling's work into his own 'hand,' therefore, it is the inspired continuator who crosses the boundary of death to perform an act of paranormal stenography.

Richard Belling himself, however, does not accept these metaphors. If his writing is so close to Sidney's as to be indistinguishable from it (the reason for Martyn's fear of ghostly visitation), this is through Belling's own labour rather than

passive possession by Sidney's spirit. In his preface, which engages in an intertextual dialogue with the commendatory verses, Belling insists that his purpose is far from literary forgery:

> Yet let no man judge wrongfully of my endeavours: I have added a limme to *Apelles* picture; but my minde never entertain'd such vaine hopes, to thinke it of perfection sufficient to delude the eyes of the most vulgar, with the likenesse in the workmanship. No, no, I doe not follow *Pythagoras* his opinion of transmigrations: I am well assur'd divine *Sidney's* soule is not infus'd into me, whose Iudgment was only able to finish, what his Invention was only worthy to undertake....Let it suffice I place Sir *Philip Sidney's* desert (even in mine owne esteeme) as farre beyond my endevours, as the most fault-finding censor can imagin this assay of mine, to come short of his *Arcadia* (A3r).

Where the commendators join Belling and Sidney, Belling uses the same terms to separate them out again, emphasising the resulting gulf. Despite the humility of the tone he adopts, this serves to transfer primary agency for the *Sixth Booke* from Sidney to Belling himself. As he notes, 'To strive to lessen the greatnesse of the attempt, were to take away the glorie of the action' (A3r). For Belling, it is the artistic difficulty of imitating the Arcadia that makes it worth doing, rather than the possibility of taking down Sidney's ghostly dictation.

The title page of the *Sixth Booke*, in both the quarto and folio versions, features the Latin phrase '*Sat, si bene; si male, nimium*,' which I would translate as 'If done well, it is sufficient; if badly, too much'.[6] This articulates the economical purpose of Belling writing a 'sixth book' to the *Arcadia*: always in some measure extraneous, it must earn its place through successful execution. The Latin lines with which he chooses to end his work are equally significant for Belling's presentation as an author. Directly following the happy ending, he quotes: '*Stat. Thaeb. / Tu longe sequere & vestigia semper adora / Sidnei*-------' (O2v). The history of this phrase, in fact, is virtually a history of literary imitation. It originates at the end of Statius' *Thebaid* (an epic poem of the first century), which concludes with instructions from the writer to his book:

> *vive, precor; nec tu divinam Aeneida tempta,*
> *sed longe sequere et vestigia semper adora.*

[6] I have not found this exact phrase in another context, but it recalls '*Sat cito, si sat bene*' ('Quickly enough, if well enough') from St. Jerome, quoted on the title page on Henry Petowe's continuation of *Hero and Leander*.

> *mox, tibi si quis adhuc praetendit nubila livor*
> *occidet, et meriti post me referentur honores.*
>
> Live, I pray; and essay not the divine Aeneid, but ever follow her footsteps from afar in adoration. Soon, if any envy still spreads clouds before you, it shall perish, and after me you shall be paid the honours you deserve. (308-9)

From classical times, the topos of *vestigia* (footsteps) was popular in describing imitation (Pigman 19-21). Echoes of this *Thebaid* passage are used by Chaucer in the envoy to *Troilus and Criseyde* (giving a longer list of predecessors to follow, which includes Statius himself), and by Dante in Canto XXI of his *Purgatorio*, in which the shade of Statius tries to kiss Virgil's feet. Belling thus situates himself within a long line of literary imitators, while his added 'Sidnei' (seemingly quoted from the *Thebaid* itself) recasts the trope to his own context, substituting the name of the author for the work. Trailing off with a long dash and followed by a large FINIS, the Latin tag combines the conclusive resolution of the *Sixth Booke* with a sense of imitation as an ongoing process.

In fact, there was a precedent for using this quotation to relate specifically to Sidney. John Dickenson's 1594 romance *Arisbas* opens with an epistle devoted to the praises of 'Sweet Astrophil' that enacts a tentative approach to Sidney, acknowledging Statius's envoy and adapting its imagery:

> I hope that it shall not minister iust occasion of offence to any, that my blushing Muse reuerencing the steps wherein he traced, and houering aloofe with awe-full dread, doth yet at last warily approach, and carefully obserue the directions of so worthie a guide, & in part, glance at the vnmatchable height of his heroique humor.
> Did not Statius charge his Thebaide to attend with like reuerence, on the loftie foote-steps of the royall Aeneide? (A4r)

Dickenson's work was published thirty years before Belling's; thirty years *after* Belling, a similar form of the phrase appeared on the title page of the *Theophania*, a royalist political romance published anonymously in 1655: 'STAT. THEB. / --- *Nec divinam SYDNEIDA tenta / Sed longe sequere, & Vestigia semper adora.*'[7] This reappearing allusion suggests a self-conscious tradition of imitation – of Sidney, and

[7] As well as imitating some incidents from the *Arcadia*, the *Theophania* includes a flattering portrait of Sidney's nephew Robert, the second Earl of Leicester, and was possibly written by someone associated with the family (Pigeon, 'Introduction' 12).

of literary precedents more generally. Belling implies as much when he writes that 'custome might as well excuse the offence' in his project (A3r).

In writing a continuation, Belling was following Sidney's footsteps more literally than the other writers using the trope. As a literary knight seeking glory from a great attempt, this may be taken as his *impresa*: a type of chivalric motto for which Sidney was famous, defined by a contemporary manual as 'an enterprise, taken in hand with a firme and constant intent to bring the same to effect' (qtd in G. Alexander 155). As Abraham Fraunce describes, *imprese* were often taken from classical authors through a special form of appropriation: by possessing 'a similar viewpoint,' the user of an *impresa* has 'the power virtually to usurp what belongs to others' (156). Belling can thus 'usurp' the literary relationship between Statius and Virgil, transferring it to contemporary literature. He also sets out the terms by which his own success might be judged. The goals of *vestigia*-type imitation are both successful following and the choice of a worthy precursor, whose steps might lead through particularly challenging terrain. As Delaune concludes in praising him: 'No better steps thou couldst have tract then His. / Go on, and time, with Sidney's fame, shall crowne Thee' (A4v). This combines the part of Statius's conclusion that Belling quotes with the part he does not, which concerns the future reputation of the *Thebaid* itself. As another of the commendatory verses notes, the reception of Belling's work is inseparable from its relationship to Sidney:

> 'Tis true, th'attempt was great; nor blame I that,
> Since greatest actions left as patternes bee
> For imitation, which t'have offer'd at
> So well as thou hast done, will honour thee.
> And if thy Booke misse of the due applause,
> Th'unimmitable president's the cause. (A2v)

The idea of imitating positive examples from literature, articulated in Sidney's *Defence of Poesie*, is here once more transferred to writing itself: Sidney's 'greatest action' becomes not his life but his work. This poem also encapsulates the contradictions inherent in conceptions of literary imitation, since Sidney is praised both for leaving a pattern for followers and for being 'unimmitable.' To a continuation writer, Sidney's renown is thus a double-edged sword – it is an honour to approximate him, yet one also risks being overshadowed by him.

For Belling, the risk is potentially greater because of his nationality: he is Irish, and in later life would play a major role as a politician and historian of the Irish Confederation. On the *Arcadia* folio title page in 1629, Belling is described as 'R.B. of Lincolnes Inne, Esq.,' which has caused some modern commentators to assume that Belling composed the text while still a student at the Inns of Court (Morrison 108, Ó hAnnracháin). However, Belling's work, particularly in the 1624 Dublin quarto, has much stronger associations with Ireland than with London or the law. It seems no coincidence that the quarto followed so soon after the first Dublin edition of the *Arcadia* in 1621 – as with the Edinburgh edition of 1599, the dissemination of Sidney's romance seems to have inspired local continuators (G. Alexander 274). Elizabeth Cary, to whom Belling's volume is dedicated, lived in Ireland between 1622 and 1625, after her husband was appointed as Lord Deputy there (Hodgson-Wright). Belling's dedication to her repeatedly implies that Cary was connected with his *Sixth Booke* from its inception: it was 'so auspiciously begun' that 'in its infancie it was vowed to' her. He concludes that 'The desire I had (seeing it was all I could do) to acknowledge your many favours, mov'd mee, when this addition was scarse begun, to intend it for your Hon:' (A2v). While this is both flattery to a patron and an imitation of Sidney's dedication to his sister, it still leads me to suppose that (unless he had previously known Cary in England) Belling began and concluded the work following his return to Ireland.[8]

The rest of the quarto's preliminaries, moreover (all of which, except the author's preface, were left out of the London folio), emphasise the link between Belling and Ireland. His 'kinseman' 'R.C. Kt.,' who writes the first two poems, credits Belling with a renewal of Ireland's ancient reputation for literature, damaged in the recent colonial upheavals:

> This Isle, sometimes the nurse of sacred Arts,
> Wasted by warre, and overgrowne with weedes
> Of ignorance, that had ore'run all parts,
> Did still (I see) retaine some living seeds
> Of that old learning, which soft peace doth nourish,
> And now begin afresh to spring and flourish. (A3v)

Belling's writing will evidently be a benefit for 'my countries good' and 'thy

[8] The association between the families continued: Belling's father, Sir Henry, acted as Viscount Falkland's emissary to England in 1628 (Ó hAnnracháin).

Countries blisse' (A3v, A4v). Moreover, the derivative nature of his work, as treated elsewhere in the poems, is negated in some measure by Belling's nationality. Speaking into a 'high silence' of national literature, he can be both a renewer of the 'old learning' and a generic pioneer:

> Thou art the first who with thy well-tun'd reed
> Awak'd thy countries Muse, and led thereby
> Into the pleasant fields of Arcady
> Her flockes, her Pastors, and the sportfull crue
> Of all her youth that shall thy steps pursue. (A3v-4r)

The metaphor of following footsteps, used repeatedly for Belling's relationship to Sidney, is here transferred to Belling himself as the initiator of an Irish romance tradition, leading his countrymen into Arcadia.

Philip Sidney himself had 'maintained a strong interest in the English colonial venture in Ireland': his father was Lord Deputy in the 1560s and 70s, and Sidney was briefly there with him, afterwards writing a *Discourse on Irish Affairs* (Rankin 197-8). In the plot of the *Sixth Booke*, Deana Rankin sees Belling responding to a political allegory already present within the *Arcadia*; by 'rework[ing] the stock imagery of the English colonial enterprise in Ireland... [Belling] exorcised Sidney's spectres and restored courtly order to the Arcadian world' (199, 204). This would be a very literal way of transporting his country into Arcadia, but it is not fully justified by Belling's text; in fact, the main nationalistic and civilising drive of the work is not its content, but its very existence. Where Sidney became seen as the 'centre-point and founding father' of English literature (Alexander 75, Falco), Belling's *Sixth Booke* represents an Irish appropriation of his text as a symbol of national equality: if an Irish writer can imitate and conclude Sidney's romance, Irish letters are not inferior to the English. The fact that both the Book 3 supplements were written by Scots (one of them identified solely as a 'Scoto-Brit.') and the *Sixth Booke* by an Irishman suggests not only the wide popularity of the *Arcadia*, but its appeal as a proving ground for writers outside the English literary centre in London. In this context, it is significant that the only paratext retained in the folio publication of the *Sixth Booke* is Belling's modest preface, in which he admits 'That he should undergo that burden, whose mother tongue differs as much from this language, as Irish from English; augments the danger of the enterprise, and gives your expectation perhaps an assurance what

the event must be' (A3r). As Rankin notes, this is a simile, rather than an admission that Irish is actually Belling's native language (18) – the national difference serves as a symbol for the stylistic distance between himself and the illustrious Sidney.[9] Yet at the same time, as expressed elsewhere in the paratexts, this distance 'augments' both 'the danger' and the potential glory of Belling's attempt.

2. Anna Weamys, Gender and Possession

While Johnstoun, Alexander, and Belling all acknowledge the obstacles facing them in trying to approximate Sidney, Anna Weamys had an even wider chasm to cross. Her *Continuation of Sir Philip Sydney's Arcadia* (1651) includes framing materials similar to Belling's: there is a dedication by the author to two aristocratic women (Anne and Grace Pierpoint, daughters of the Marquess of Dorchester), a letter from the stationer to the reader, and five commendatory poems from different writers, probably solicited for the edition by Weamys's clergyman father (Cullen xix). In her brief dedication, Weamys calls the text a 'confused Theam' and asks the Pierpoint sisters 'charitably to believe, that my ambition was not raised to so high a pitch, as the Title now manifests it to be, until I received Commands from those that cannot be disobeyed' (¶3v). Perhaps this command came from the dedicatees themselves or from her father; alternatively, such a disavowal of agency would be in keeping with the rhetoric of a dedication, and was similarly employed by Sidney, Belling, and Gervase Markham (below). Apart from these conventional gestures of modesty, Weamys's text – attributed on the title page to 'a young gentlewoman, Mris A. W.' – is largely mediated through the contributions of others. These paratexts all share common approaches in how they present Weamys's work and its connection to the *Arcadia*, focusing (as the title page does) largely on the twin facts of Weamys's youth and gender.

Several of the other continuation writers also stress their youth at the time of composition: William Alexander describes attempting his supplement as a young man, while the author of the manuscript *Historie of Arcadia* excuses the work as

[9] Belling's family was descended from the 'Old English' who came to Ireland in the twelfth century, and retained a strong sense of identity separate from the Irish-speaking native population.

'these too forward buds of my immature genius,' confessing that it might be better 'rather, to endeavoure the ripening of my youthfull iudgment, by a serious view of other mens writings, than to expose the untimely fruits, of my unripe studies, to the view of any' (1). In the preface to his *Sixth Booke*, Belling states that 'To add to Sir *Philip Sidney*, I know is rashnesse; a fault pardonable in me, if custome might as well excuse the offence, as youth may prescribe in offending in this kinde' (A3r). Born c. 1603, Belling would have been about 20 years old at the time the *Sixth Booke* was written and published (Ó hAnnracháin). Today, fanfiction is also often stereotyped as the province of younger writers, a 'training wheels' stage that does not require the creation of original settings or characters. However, one must not carry such generalisations uncritically into the seventeenth century. Belling's 'kinde' of offence may also comprise – or be compounded by – writing a romance, an amorous genre that (despite Sidney's elevation of it) was frequently denigrated by association with youth. Sidney himself began the *Arcadia* in his mid-twenties, describing it as the product of 'a young head, not so wel staied as I would it were, (and shall be when God will)' (¶3r-v). In any case, the antecedent of Belling's 'fault' is clearly 'rashnesse' – approaching such an inimitable text demonstrates youthful, reckless courage, rather than the timidity of a fledgling author.

Being a woman was a potentially greater disadvantage for a romance continuator. Despite the 'cultural perceptions of romance as "women's reading" and cultural constructions of romance as a feminine genre,' seventeenth-century conduct books tended to discourage actual women from reading such texts, let alone writing them (Hackett 10). As one such conduct book, written by Thomas Powell in 1631, states: 'Instead of reading Sir Philip Sidney's *Arcadia*, let them learn the grounds of good huswifery. I like not the female Poetess at any hand' (qtd in Lamb 113). The dangerous link between reading and writing, with the possibility that women may move from one to the other, is thus made explicit. The preface to Margaret Tyler's translation of a Spanish romance (*The Mirrour of Princely Deedes and Knighthood*, 1578) defended her unfeminine subject matter by using dedications and addresses to female readers as a precedent: 'If men may and do bestow such of their trauails upon Gentlewomen, then may we women read such of their works as they dedicate vnto us, and if we may read them, why not farther wade in them to the search of a truth… It is

all one for a woman to pen a storie as for a man to addresse his storie to a woman' (A4r-v). Tyler's logic, however, was far from universally accepted. The first original English romance by a woman, Lady Mary Wroth's *Urania* (written by Sidney's niece), was embroiled in a scandal that led to its recall, in which Edward Denny's attack against Wroth was couched in strong terms that 'foregrounded her gender and the unfitness of romance as a genre for women writers' (Hackett 108). In comparison, the prefatory matter to Weamys's *Continuation* has attracted some critical attention for its unusually positive approach to female authorship, symbolised by F. Vaughan's call in the final poem to **'**Lay by your Needles Ladies, take the Pen, / The onely difference 'twixt you and Men' (¶7v).[10] However, women's authorship is not a given in these poems but, like the idea of continuing Sidney's *Arcadia* in general, a problem that the commendatory verses seek to explain and resolve.

This leads them predominantly toward conceits that directly 'play on the idea of the author's being a woman who is continuing a man's work' (Cullen xxiv). 'F.L.' notes the strong connection between Weamys's identity and her writing, arguing that men's commendations of women's work are presumed to be dishonest since they result from 'Courtship' rather than honest assessment: 'Taking our praises level from that sight / Of what you are, more than from what you write.' To combat this, he attempts to separate the two, instructing the reader to view 'the Virgin there, and here the Art, 'gazing not 'on both United, but on Each' separately, and concluding that Weamys's work would excite admiration even if the author herself were not beautiful (¶6r). For other commendators, however, Weamys's status as a woman – her appeal as a *young* woman writing in an eroticised genre – is an inescapable part of her authorship. The stationer, Thomas Heath, takes particular care to present both her 'person' and 'style' to the gaze of a presumed-male 'ingenious Reader':

> Lo here Pigmalion's breathing statue, Sir Philip's fantasie incarnate: both Pamela's Majestie, and Philoclea's Humilitie exprest to the life, in the person and style of this Virago. In brief, no other than the lively Ghost of Sydney, by a happie transmigration speaks through the organs of this inspired Minerva. If any Critical ear, disrealish the shrilness of the Note; let it be tuned to Apollo's Lyre, and the

[10] Cullen theorises that the author of this poem is not Francis but rather Frances Vaughan, a woman with connections to another of the commendators, although she had died in 1650 (xxvii-xxix). The poem's first line has provided the title for an influential anthology of Early Modern women's writing, edited by Suzanne Trill, Kate Chedgzoy, and Melanie Osborne.

> harmonie will soon be perceived to be much better; and the Ladie appear much more delightfull to her Musidorus. (¶4r-v)

While other continuators may depict themselves as romance heroes attempting a difficult quest, Weamys is explicitly described as an analogue to Sidney's central female characters, embodying as well as portraying them in her work. She is Galatea, given breath (literally 'inspired') through a man's art, and conveying his voice imperfectly through her shrill 'organs.' The stationer's letter begins: 'Marvel not to find Heroick Sidney's renowned Fansie pursued to a close by a Feminine Pen: Rather admire his prophetical spirit now as much, as his Heroical before.' Sidney is thus praised for the ability of his *Arcadia* to predict – even create – the existence of Weamys herself.

Sidney's ghost is more 'lively' in the *Continuation* than in Belling's *Sixth Booke*: the preliminaries to Weamys's work rely heavily on the concept of 'transmigration' or metempsychosis that Belling so roundly rejected. Attributed to Pythagoras and the Platonists, this was a current trope in Early Modern literature: Shakespeare jokes about it in *As You Like It* (3.2) and Donne wrote an unfinished satirical poem using the device in 1601 (published 1633). In its comic version, metempsychosis might carry the soul from rocks to fleas, but the boundary between Sidney and Weamys is great enough that James Howel, commending her, must speak in the conditional:

> If a Male Soul, by Transmigration, can
> Pass to a Female, and Her spirits Man,
> Then sure some sparks of Sydney's soul have flown
> Into your breast, which may in time be blown
> To flames… (¶8r)

Vaughan's poem more confidently asserts a general passing of the creative torch from male to female writers, as represented by Weamys's continuation: 'When in Sydney's death Wit ebb'd in Men, / It hath its Spring-tide in a Female Pen' (¶7v). Other commendators, however, are less certain that Sidney has died at all, making Weamys into his vessel rather than his successor:

> His gallant generous spirit, a reprieve
> From's sleeping dust hath purchas't, Deaths malice
> Defying with a timely Metempsychosis.
> He breathes through female Organs, yet retains

> His masculine vigour in Heroick strains.
> Who hears't may some brave Amazon seem to be,
> Not Mars but Mercury's Champion, Zelmane .
> And well he may: for doubtless such is she,
> Perfection gives t' Arcadia's Geographie. (¶6v)

The commendators complicate Weamys's femininity, therefore, explaining the phallic contradiction of her 'Feminine Pen' by presenting her as a 'Virago' who has her 'spirits Man[ned]' by an infusion of Sidney's spirit. Sidney's own text provides a model for this transgressive mixture of male and female: not Pamela and Philoclea, but the 'brave Amazon' Zelmane. Although consistently referred to as 'she' and described erotically as the object of male desire, Zelmane is actually Prince Pyrocles, who gives up his masculine role in order to pursue Philoclea: a type of cross-dressing that Lamb and Hackett see as typifying Sidney's entrance into the feminine world of romance (85; 111). By insisting on Sidney's continued 'masculine vigour' upon his reincarnation, this poem echoes Pyrocles' motto in his disguise ('*Never more valiant*'), while also justifying Weamys's choice of an apparently 'Heroick' subject.

The conclusion of this poem, however, muddies the agency behind the *Continuation* – and the *Arcadia* itself – still further: 'Arcadia thus henceforth disputed is, / Whether Sir Philip's or the Countesses' (¶6v). While the title of Weamys's work replaces *The Countess of Pembroke's* with *Sir Philip Sydney's Arcadia*, this poem transfers the authorship back again, connecting Weamys's continuation with Mary Sidney's editorial work in completing the 1593 edition. While Weamys is inferior in social rank, their works and their legitimacy as authors appear to be intimately linked because they are both women, each reciprocally authorising the other. Like the Countess's editing, Weamys's project is also motivated by the need to finish the text, to give 'perfection' to 'Arcadia's Geographie.' In another poem (whose avowed purpose is not to raise readers' expectations too high through excessive praise), 'H.P.M.' describes the project of continuation using heavily gendered terms, adopted from the *Arcadia*'s original paratexts. He promises that Weamys

> handsomly will set
> An end to what great *Sydney* did beget,
> But never perfected, these Embryons she
> Doth Mid wife forth in full maturitie.

> Nor is't, where things are left undone, a sin,
> To seek to end what greater ones begin.(¶5v)

Like the Countess of Pembroke in her editing, Weamys serves as midwife (though not mother) to the unfinished textual embryo begot by the masculine Sidney. The last two lines spell out what other continuators and their commendators only imply: it is the *Arcadia*'*s* incompletion that prevents attempts to continue it from being a transgressive 'sin.' The poem's conclusion, moreover, points to the essential and insurmountable distinction between Sidney and Weamys as, ultimately, the only judgment that can be made about them. In reading their works, the writer instructs critics 'not with a Frown compare them, but a Smile': 'Then this of both, let nothing else be said, / This *Sydney's* self did write, but this a *Maid*' (¶5v). While superficially similar to the distinction that Belling draws between his own work and Sidney's, the result here is far more condescending toward Weamys's efforts: the fact that her *Continuation* was written by a '*Maid*' is intended to lower expectations rather than grant her greater credit.

3. Transgressing Sidney's Desire: The Historie of Arcadia

Written at about the same time as Weamys's, a lesser-known text takes a very different, and more extensive, approach to the *Arcadia*. Unlike Belling and Weamys, who seek to wrap up Sidney's story within a single 'book,' *The Historie of Arcadia, or an Addition to and a Continuance Of Sir Phillip Sydney's ARCADIA: usually stylede, The Countesse of Pembrokes ARCADIA*, a manuscript held in the Beinecke Library at Yale (Osborn MS b.107), is divided into *four* books, almost as many as the *Arcadia* itself. It was likely composed by an unnamed royalist sometime after 1649 and before the Restoration.[11] Whereas Weamys focuses on conclusion, 'Peace and Quietness,' *The Historie of Arcadia* is directly engaged with the political issues of the day and their historical roots, participating in a subgenre of political romance that became popular during the Civil Wars and Interregnum. In *Censorship and*

[11] This manuscript was first fully described by Jennifer Klein Morrison in Chapter 4 of her doctoral dissertation (152-82); my discussion of it is indebted to hers, which remains the only detailed analysis of the text. An edition of it, together with other *Arcadia* continuations, is forthcoming from Pickering & Chatto in 2014.

Interpretation, Annabel Patterson examines how, during the troubled reign of Charles I, romance changed 'from being an attractive but untrustworthy alternative to the serious' and 'came to be redefined as serious, as a way of perceiving history and even a means of influencing it' (160). The choice of genre itself was seen as making a 'statement about one's relation to the party in power,' with romance associated with royalism (Potter 74). These political romances worked in a form popularised by the *Arcadia*, and some, like the *Historie*, openly acknowledge their debt to Sidney.

The *Arcadia* itself was retrospectively searched for allegorical meanings: it was 'constantly being reread during the seventeenth century; that is, reinterpreted, as the historical context and needs of the audience changed' (Patterson 24).[12] This was partly fueled by Sidney's use of the pastoral genre, which had associations with hidden messages: as Sidney himself writes in the *Defence of Poesie*, 'Is the poore pype disdained, which sometime out of *Melibeus* mouth, can shewe the miserie of people, vnder hard Lords, or rauening Souldiours?' (F2v). In the *Arcadia*, the shepherds' eclogues are also described as 'sometimes vnder hidden formes vttering such matters, as otherwise they durst not deale with' (B2r). An anonymous manuscript poem called 'A Draught of Sir Philip Sidney's Arcadia,' written at the height of the Civil Wars, sees the romance as part of a tradition beginning with Virgil, who 'Least truth too plaine should danger call, / Did sport it in a Pastoral' (Buxton 68). The *Arcadia* is thus interpreted as a detailed coded warning of future events, 'A feign'd discourse framed to shew / Things that are reall' (68). These parallels are attributed to the conscious agency of the masked 'Author,' which requires informed reading to be fully understood:

> And here our Author is soe wise
> Hee walks the world in a disguise.
> Unmaske him, and you'l clerely see

[12] The *Arcadia* also played a role in the controversy surrounding the the *Eikon Basilike*, a book of meditations supposedly written by Charles I before his execution, which included a prayer spoken by Pamela in Book 3. Elizabeth Spiller even argues that 'the *Eikon Basilike* becomes through the Pamela prayer a kind of covert romance continuation to Sir Philip Sidney's *Arcadia*' (230). Milton's *Eikonoklastes* strongly attacked the King for using 'a Prayer stol'n word for word from the mouth of a Heathen Woman praying to a heathen God' (D1r-v) and noted that 'it was a trespass also more than usual against human right, which commands that every Author should have the property of his own work reservd to him after death as well as living' (D2r). This has been seen as a crucial early statement on authors' rights and the virtue of originality against plagiarism, although the main thrust of Milton's attack is generic: a romance like the *Arcadia* is not an appropriate source for prayers. Elizabeth Magnus discusses the case in 'Originality and Plagiarism in *Areopagitica* and *Eikonoklastes*.'

> The rise, growth, fall of *Monarchie*. (68)

The 'Life and Death' first prefixed to the 1655 edition of the *Arcadia* also suggests that it conceals hidden value for readers who can see 'through and under' its surface: 'And as the antient Egyptians presented secrets under their mystical hieroglyphicks...so all the *Arcadia* is a continual Grove of moralitie; shadowing moral and politick results under the plain and easie emblems of Lovers' (b3r-v). Unlike other commentators, however, the biographer does not attempt to elucidate what those hidden 'moral and politick' meanings might be. The date of publication in 1655 did not encourage plain speaking: works that directly harness the *Arcadia* to a political cause, like the 'Draught' and the *Historie*, appeared only in manuscript.

The *Historie of Arcadia* begins with a page-long preface 'To the Reader,' which helps to explain its double purpose of continuing the *Arcadia* and responding to its political context. The anonymous author offers this explanation obliquely, stating that he, too, wishes for understanding readers familiar with the forms of decoding described above: 'such, and such only, who, like industrious bees, can gather honey, nor only out of such sweete flowers, as the former part of this history, but even out of such weeds, as these my greene studies' (1).[13] While the work was likely anonymous for political reasons, the author claims that he has refrained from 'incerting [his] name' out of modesty, 'least it might heareafter, cause, any subsequent labours of mine to be rejected, because it was subscribed to so despicable a booke as this.' As noted earlier, he refers multiple times to his own youth and 'greene' immaturity, writing that his work

> should not have had so earely a springe, if I had not bene incited thereto, by the Author, of the Countesse of Pembrokes Arcadia; who in the close of his History, doth seeme to invite some other, to the continuance of relatinge those occurrences, which his greater employments did abridge him of time, to consummate: to fulfil therefore, in some parte, his desire, I have adventured to proceed...hoping that this my slender fabricke, may stand the more firmely, because the foundation of it was layed, by so excellente an Artificer. (1)

The language used here is similar to the other continuations – Alexander had also

[13] Given the text's strong interest in and knowledge of military strategy, and in the absence of further evidence, I, like Morrison, have assumed the author to be male. The preface also speaks of 'other mens writings,' although this could be using 'man' in the universal sense.

described his supplement as something he 'Adventured,' while Weamys calls her continuation 'this most unworthie Fabrick' (¶3r), in the Early Modern sense of 'a product of skilled workmanship' or 'an edifice; a building' (OED). However, while the conclusion of the *Arcadia* (which suggests that its loose threads 'may awake some other spirit to exercise his pen') is often cited by modern commentators as a reason for the subsequent writing of so many continuations, the *Historie*'s author is the only one who explicitly refer to it as an invitation, as well as a sign of incompleteness caused by Sidney's other 'employments.' He thus justifies his project by appealing to write at Sidney's own incitement or 'desire,' basing his structure firmly upon Arcadian foundations.

Indeed, the *Historie* begins in the recognisable form of a sixth-book continuation, 'consummat[ing]' the *Arcadia*'s various loose threads. Even in manuscript, it models itself on the presentation of the printed text, with neatly-ruled margins, headings for each book and a running title of 'ARCADIA LIB VI [etc.]'. It begins precisely at the moment where Sidney's text ends, with Basilius awakening from the sleeping potion and learning that 'every pointe of the prediction, which was delivered unto him at Delphi, was now fulfilled' (2). After a joyful reunion, the scene moves swiftly from the pastoral retreat to the capital of Mantinea, where 'Hymens rites [are] speedily celebrated' before the princes go to help Plangus rescue Erona (3-4). Thus far, the *Historie* seems to strongly resemble the continuations of Belling and Weamys, since its sixth book is largely 'concerned with resolving the various narratives left unfinished or predicted at the close of Sidney's work' (Morrison 172). The battle for Erona, even the subsequent wars in Iberia and Laconia, all have their 'foundation' in the events of the romance. Yet as the military and naval strategies of these conflicts are minutely described, there is a sense that the *Arcadia*'s pastoral landscape has been left behind along with its shepherds, replaced by a distinctly modern world of musketeers, broadsides and cathedrals. The turn is indicated by a new oracle given to Basilius at the end of Book 6, when he returns to Delphi and asks to 'be informed of the destiny of Arcadia, for the future' (61). Basilius prays that the oracle might not be 'couched in such ambiguous sentences, as formerly,' and indeed, this prophecy is far from ambiguous: in 32 rhymed couplets, it details all the subsequent events of the story (and of British history from the reign of Elizabeth),

ending with a rebellion that 'both King and Kingdome will destroye' (62). Unlike the prophecy that features in the *Arcadia*, this one is not recalled again until the work's final lines, and has no effect upon the plot. Instead, the oracle 'functions as a narrative signal that we are starting over again and entering the domain of history; it serves at a dividing line between the events determined by Sidney's text, and those that are generated by the Osborn author' (Morrison 176).

This is because, as the writer acknowledges in his preface, he has not confined himself to continuing the plot threads left open in invitation by Sidney:

> The bounds of whose desire I have presumed to passe, since the various passages, and transactions of the Arcadian state, were, after the decease of King Basileus, quite metamorphosed, from amorous expressions and most delightfull straines of poesie, in pastoral enterludes; into serene counsells and politicke consultations, which afterwards produced both forraine and domestike actions...which harsh subiect, I hope, may as well, or at least in some measure, render my imperfect sentences, and rough style excusable; as I doubt not, but your candour, will make a favourable construction of my presumption, in transgressinge Sr Phillip Sidney's desire. (1)

The *Historie*'s author never directly alludes to the allegorical nature of the text, and, unlike the readers cited above, he does not claim to have discovered such allegories within the *Arcadia* itself. In fact, he sets his work apart from Sidney's, not only in skill and 'style' but in subject matter, leaving his audience to draw their own 'favourable construction' of his reasons. He also makes an interesting rhetorical move by attributing the changing genre of his work to the subsequent 'passages, and transactions of the Arcadian state,' as if he were giving a factual record of events in a real country. This explanation for 'transgressinge Sr Phillip Sidney's desire' prefigures strategies used later in the period, by writers who seek to overcome the source text's authority by appealing to the historicity of their work.[14] However, a reading of the text soon shows that this is only a cover for its real purpose: the author is less concerned with the 'Arcadian state' than with the history of Britain in the years following Sidney's death. The change in focus between the *Arcadia* and the *Historie* reflects not only a change in author but radically altered historical circumstances, which demand a different kind of romance and a different kind of *Arcadia*

[14] See Chapter 5, where continuations to *Pamela* claim that they, rather than Richardson, are able to tell the story of what 'really' happened to her.

continuation.

By the end of Book 6, the *Historie*'s author has 'not only 'wrap[ped] up the unfinished business of Sidney's romance' but generally cleared the ground for his allegory (Morrison 174). Basilius's death is swiftly followed by that of Musidorus, with the widowed Pamela inheriting the Arcadian throne to become a parallel for Queen Elizabeth. Her daughter Melidora, for whom Sidney had predicted 'admirable fortunes,' also falls sick and dies just after the birth of her brother Irenicus (James VI/I), 'as it were disdaining that any of Pamela's children should be lesse than a prince' (64). The *Historie*'s three subsequent books each cover a single monarch's reign – Book 7 for Pamela/Elizabeth, 8 for Irenicus/James, and 9 for Aristanax/Charles. Significant events, such as the death of Mary Queen of Scots, the Overbury scandal, and the marriage of Charles to Henrietta Maria, are all described in chronicle-like detail. The events of the *Arcadia* become increasingly remote in the process, although some effort is occasionally made to recall them (such as the appearance of a biblically-aged Amphialus as an analogue for Gustavus Adolphus of Sweden, 185-7). By Book 9, not a single named character remains from the *Arcadia*, freeing the story to take the form of a minute account of the war between Aristanax and Diabolotuchos (Oliver Cromwell), full of repetitive descriptions that take little account of narrative form and justify the author's excuse for his 'rough style.'

It may seem from this that the *Historie* had begun with the goal of continuing Sidney and then wandered into political allegory, but in fact the seeds of this progression are planted from the first lines: the sleeping potion is described as waging a 'tyrannicall usurpation over Basileus,' over which he wins 'the pristine government of him selfe' (1). Both phrases are repeated countless times throughout the *Historie*, as multiple rulers attempt to overcome 'tyrannicall usurpation' in order to restore their subjects to their 'pristine obedience' – only Aristanax is finally unable to do so. Even in Book 6, which falls outwith the bounds of the historical allegory, events are made to serve as relevant precedents. When Andromana (having poisoned her husband to seize the Iberian throne) loses the battle against Plangus and kills herself, the author stresses the episode's didactic message: 'The divine iustice making the death of her soveraine, which she thought would settle the kingdome wholy in her owne hands, to prove the chiefe motive to her destruction, whose example I hope will

prove beneficial to after ages' (36). These 'after ages' clearly refer to the author's own country, not to Arcadia. As Morrison argues, 'Part of the work of the *Historie of Arcadia* is the accumulation of...evidence to argue that history bears witness to the eventual and inevitable punishment of all traitors, rebels and regicides' (178).

The focus on monarchy underpins the structure of the *Historie*, since each of its four Books closes with a royal death: 'It is genealogy, the inheritance of the throne by the next descendent, that drives the "natural" perpetuation of the narrative' (Morrison 169-70). This rightful succession is broken only at the end of the text, where the facts of history finally and completely overwhelm the continuation of the story. As the last of the King's supporters is executed, 'he toulde all that were present that Elpistos [Charles II] was undoubtedly the rightfull heire, to the Arcadiane diadem, and openly proclaimed him king of Arcadia.' Yet his succession is 'hinder[ed]' by 'the grandees at Mantinea,' who

> sett forth an Edicte, which strictly charged all men, upon paine of deathe, not to proclaime Elpistos, or any man else, king of Arcadia; where they turned the royal fabrike of Monarchiale government, into a confused chaos of Democracie and fulfilled the tenoure of what the oracle to Basileus delivered at Delphos; by the end both of the king, and kingdome of Arcadia
>
> wherewith this my history also, of Arcadia
>
> shall have an end.
>
> FINES (255)[15]

The *Historie* ends, like the *Arcadia* itself, with a rupture, though here it is the king's death rather than the author's that puts a decisive period to the story. As Lois Potter writes, 'For this author at any rate, Arcadia's existence *as Arcadia* is totally dependent on its monarchical form of government. The "confused chaos of Democracie" is simply not material from which to make romance...in the manner of Sidney' (94). Although Elpistos's escape suggests a possible continuation, a new reign and new Book, these final lines decisively deny it: unlike other political romances of this period (such as *Panthalia* or *The Princess Cloria*), the *Historie* was not updated to reflect later events, and does not look forward to a Restoration except through its warnings to regicides. Perhaps, as Morrison suggests, it was composed shortly after the King's execution in 1649, when such a happy ending was difficult to

[15] Underlined letters in this passage indicate reconstructions where the paper edge has been torn.

foresee (171). Much earlier in the narrative, the Laconian king had expressed a wish to Basilius that Arcadia 'may flourish, under the protection of you and your heires, so long time untill time it selfe shall be no more' (45). The brutal interruption of the succession seems to constitute just such an end of history, beyond which narrative time is no longer possible.

The *Historie of Arcadia*'s own subsequent history indicates that, if read at all, it was read largely for such political messages. Although we do not know precisely who wrote it, the manuscript's flyleaves bear an extensive record of its ownership over the eighteenth and nineteenth centuries. The Rev. John Bryars (d. 1729) describes it as:

> an Allegorical History of the Grand Rebellion begun; 1640. Suppos'd to be written by one of the Lord Digby's family; as I was told, by my Aunt Elizabeth, Daughter of Sir Charles Holt, of Warwickshire, who made me the present of it, as a Curiosity, belonging to that noble Family; to which, by the mother's side, she was nearly related. [16]

Thomas Martin, an antiquary from later in the eighteenth century, follows him in titling it 'The History of Arcadia / or an allegorical account of the Grand Rebellion begun 1640. By one of the Lord Digby's Family. &c.' The back pages include a key to the many people and places mentioned in two separate hands, probably those of John Bridges (who had possession of it after Bryars) and then Martin (Morrison 154). For these eighteenth-century readers, the allegorical nature and historical background of the text – in particular, its last and least readable section detailing the 'Grand Rebellion' – were evidently much more significant than its status as 'an Addition to and a Continuance' of the *Arcadia*. The political message of the text, which its author initially subsumes beneath the wish to fulfill Sidney's 'desire,' thus ends by not only 'transgressinge' but entirely overtaking the bounds of the *Arcadia*.

4. Gervase Markham's Masterless Book

While it remained obscure following its composition, *The Historie of Arcadia* shows that the task of continuing Sidney did not necessarily have to be confined to

[16] For an examination of the manuscript's provenance and possible attribution within the Digby family, see Morrison 154-6.

the openings left in his text. In fact, a similarly ambitious extension of the romance had already been undertaken in Gervase Markham's *English Arcadia*, the first part of which was published in 1607. Markham's narrative is not a 'sixth book' but a next-generation sequel, involving the 'admirable fortunes' of the children Melidora and Pyrophilus (as well as Helen and Amphialus in the frame story), and setting them in a plot virtually independent of Sidney's. Its second part, appearing in 1613, is advertised only as '*The end of the first Booke*' (on its last page) or 'a compleate end of the first HISTORY' (in the title). While a provisional happy ending is achieved at its conclusion, many complications and the entire framing plot remain unresolved. Clearly, Markham had a sizeable undertaking in mind, which might have equalled or surpassed the *Arcadia* itself in length: it would never have fit between the covers of the folio, and does not aim to.

Whether through adverse critical reception or lack of financial incentive, however, Markham never continued the story any further. Markham's dependence on these factors sets him apart from the other continuators of the *Arcadia*, who claim to be motivated primarily by the need to finish the *Arcadia*, as William Alexander writes, 'meerly out of...Love to the Author's Memory' (Garrett 199). Intended to extend rather than complete Sidney's work, Markham's continuation does not have the same elegiac function. The prefaces to his *English Arcadia* are far less concerned with the circumstances of Sidney's death, and instead take a combative tone to explicitly defend the idea of continuation in general. Although it was chronologically the earliest of the *Arcadia* continuations, the *English Arcadia* therefore serves as a fitting end to my discussion of them, since its paratexts not only encapsulate many of the problems I have previously addressed, but also prefigure the more judgmental approach to continuations that would become prevalent later in the period. Markham himself, now best known as a prolific 'hack' writer, embodies the move from patronage to a print literary marketplace, from the aristocratic Sidney and his followers (whose dedications appeal to patrons rather than purchasers) to the professional authors discussed in subsequent chapters. Markham's career also demonstrates that this 'professionalisation' of literature did not always proceed in a linear fashion, but was complicated by the local circumstances affecting individual authors.

As Lori Humphrey Newcomb argues in *Reading Popular Romance in Early Modern England*, prose romances (and their authors) at the turn of the seventeenth century were increasingly split between 'elite' and 'popular' categories, even when this did not accurately reflect their actual readership. Newcomb focuses particularly on the construction of Robert Greene, the popular author of *Pandosto* and *Menaphon* (later retitled *Greenes Arcadia*), as the 'other' to Sidney's elite authorship of the *Arcadia*. Gabriel Harvey, for instance, believed that *Menaphon*'s new title 'only cheapened Sidney' by association (Alexander 264), writing: 'The Countesse of Pembrookes Arcadia is not greene inough for queasie stomackes, but they must have *Greenes* Arcadia: and I beleeve, most eagerlie longed for *Greenes* Faerie Queene' (Garrett 130). Newcomb does not mention Markham in her study, but her arguments are just as valid for his work. Although his *English Arcadia* would not have the enduring success of *Greenes*, it was similarly 'popular' in the sense of being less 'literary' than Sidney's. As with Greene, this configuration occurred through a combination of deliberate position-taking and external circumstance: as Newcomb writes, 'In the early modern period, when authorial roles were volatile and controversial, writers found it extremely difficult to predict how effectively they could define or control their reputations' (26). While Greene died in 1592 and much of his popular 'rebranding' (like Sidney's posthumous canonisation) occurred posthumously, Markham was alive to witness his changing cultural position, and attempts to negotiate it in the prefaces to the *English Arcadia.*

Like Greene, Markham was unable to 'secure regular patronage' (Newcomb 49) and ultimately had to rely on his own name to authorise his texts in the marketplace. In the 1590s, the period when Markham claims his *English Arcadia* was written, he had been closely associated with the Earl of Essex and his circle, including Frances Walsingham Sidney, Penelope Rich and John Florio (Gittings 30-37, Poynter 11). Given that Essex had, in many ways, positioned himself as Sidney's successor – inheriting his sword, taking over his role in the Accession Day tilts, and marrying his widow – an *Arcadia* continuation might have been designed to please him. The preface of Markham's second volume, in fact, suggests that the book resulted from a commission: 'For that power which did (and there was great reason it euer should to do) gouerne all the powers within mee, by a forcible commandement

bound mee to doe what is done, the name and methode being neither of mine election' (A3v). Markham similarly described his long poem *Devoreux* as 'commaunded by those which may compell'; Robert Gittings interprets this as 'a probable allusion to the powerful ladies of the Essex group,' noting that the *English Arcadia* likely had the same origin (34). By 1607, however, Essex had been executed and Penelope Rich had just died, leaving Markham patronless and needing to be strategically coy in his allusions to the disgraced Essex (whom he does not name). It seems that he sought for an alternative: the first part of the *English Arcadia* was originally entered in the Stationers' Register as 'The *Countesse of BEDFORDES Arcadia | begynninge where the Countesse of PEMBROOKES endes'* (Arber 3.133). Lucy Harington, Countess of Bedford, a Sidney relative and poetic patroness, was 'seen by many as the new Countess of Pembroke' after the Earl of Pembroke's death restricted Mary Sidney's resources (Alexander 141). The Register entry thus sets up the relation between Sidney's and Markham's texts as a parallel between their dedicatees – there might, potentially, be an *Arcadia* for every literary countess in England.[17] Markham himself was related to the Haringtons, and may have relied on that connection to secure Bedford's approbation (Steggle). Yet, for whatever reason, the effort to position his work within the same artistocratic milieu as Sidney's failed. Markham's romance was ultimately published, not only bearing a generic-sounding title that has never been adequately explained, but also without a dedication.[18]

This was apparently a material disadvantage for Markham. His preface makes veiled references to patronage, which only become more defensive in the second volume. In 1607, Markham writes that he has 'aduentured to cast into the world this Orphan, which how-euer it was once begot by noble parents, and bosomed in the most celestiall eares that euer was worthie to retaine noble mysteries, is now like a

[17] In 1625, James Caldwell published *The Countess of Marres Arcadi*a, a book of religious meditations whose preface claims that 'The Countesse of Pembrokes Arcadia is for the bodie; but the Countesse of Marre her Arcadia is for the Soule.' There were also *The countesse of Mountgomeries Eusebeia*: *expressing briefly, the soules praying robes* (by Robert Newton, 1620), *The countesse of Lincolnes nurserie* (by Elizabeth Clinton, 1622), and Mary Wroth's *The Countess of Montgomeries Urania* in 1621 (Boswell and Woudhuysen 231).

[18] Gavin Alexander posits that the *English Arcadia*'s title reflects how 'Arcadia has been Englished' by hybrid romances combining classical pastoral with English names and settings (265), but Markham's work is not noticeably a part of this trend. The title, along with Markham's *English Horseman* (1607), *English Husbandman* (1613) and *English Housewife* (1615) may also have served as an attempt to create an authorial brand identity, similar to Greene's.

vagabond inforst to begge, and liue vpon miserable charitie' (A4r). In the second volume he complains of the treatment his work has received at the hands of critics:

> Censure, which is the whipping Beadle to punish maisterlesse bookes, seeing the first part of this booke walke abroad without any liuery of Dedication on his backe, tiranously ceaz'd him, and neuer left till he brought him to the house of Correction to be iudged by the maisters of all criticall opinions. (A4r)

In dedicating the *Arcadia* to his sister, Sidney had described it as 'bearing the livery of your name,' which would offer the text 'protection' in 'walking abroad' (¶3r). Without such livery, Markham's book – outcast from the 'noble' hearing of the Essex circle – is not only an orphan but a 'maisterless' vagabond, and thus liable to arrest, public whipping, and forced labour in a House of Correction under the Poor Law of 1601. In an attempt to compensate, the second volume is dedicated to 'MAISTER *Francis Darlow* , of Graies-Inne Esquire,' seeking his defence of what is again referred to as 'my weake Orphan Booke.' Despite not being an aristocratic patron, Markham hopes that Darlow might have some influence 'amongst great men, and in great societies (where my wits-whipping post is onely erected)' (A4r). There is, however, a note of desperation in this address: it is as this point that Markham alludes to Essex and his 'forcible commandement...the name and methode being neither of mine election.' Markham is combatting accusations of 'ostentation' by arguing (as Weamys would do) that he was only following orders, and thus abjuring a measure of agency for the result. Yet, since Markham's former patron must remain unnamed and no others were forthcoming, it is Markham himself who must ultimately step forward to assume the guardianship of his orphaned book and defend both 'the name and methode' of it.

He does so in his two prefaces, responding to an apparent army of anonymous detractors. In all the publications I have previously discussed, the possibility of disapproval is only glancingly acknowledged, with the authors and their commendators using various rhetorical strategies to sidestep potential objections. Markham's *English Arcadia*, in contrast, enters the world with a sense of embattlement. As Michael Saenger notes, such expectations of hostile critics in prefaces are often intended to win over actual readers to the book's side, and should not be taken literally (59-60). However, the precise nature of the objections that

Markham addresses, and the zeal with which he addresses them, are still remarkable. Markham does not simply use modesty tropes, praise Sidney, or discuss the unfinished nature of the *Arcadia* – he addresses his critics head-on, openly confronting the problems that might attend a continuation. As he writes in 1607, what has 'so much retained me any time this halfe-score yeares from the publication of this morall Historie' was 'the imputations of arrogancie immitation, affectation, and euen absurd ignorance, which I euer feared Enuie would vniustly lay vpon me' (A2r). By claiming that he originally composed the text in an aristocratic environment and then delayed publication by ten years, Markham is implicitly denying accusations of hurried profiteering on Sidney's success. What prevented him from publishing it earlier, he writes, was not so much the literary 'censures' with which it might meet, as the 'imputations' cast upon Markham because of its relationship to the *Arcadia*. It is this relationship that he attempts to clarify in the prefaces, claiming to be an accused criminal 'araignd at the barre of bitternesse' and making 'this defence for the crimes which crueltie may suggest against me' (A2r). It soon becomes clear that Markham's 'crimes' lie in the shadowy area of literary property, and thus constitute an important early discussion of authorial rights.

The first imputation that Markham answers is that of arrogance in calling his work *Arcadia*: as he argues, 'For the Title, thogh it be only excellent in the most excellent creature that first taught vs the sound of excellent writing, yet hath it likewise beene vsed by others in sundrie pamphlets, without either pride or ostentation, men taking libertie to lay their hystories in Countries by them most affected' (A2r). This mixing of terms demonstrates the ambiguity of 'Arcadia' in this period, which might have multiple valences as 1) the title as well as setting of Sidney's renowned work, 2) a general pastoral realm, inherited from classical writers, but becoming increasingly associated with Sidney, and 3) an actual region in ancient Greece, and thus open to anyone as a setting 'to lay their hystories.' As Markham points out, Arcadia was not Sidney's exclusive domain: Sannazaro had written an *Arcadia* in the fifteenth century, which provided Sidney with the format of eclogues linked by prose passages (Robertson xx). Samuel Daniel's *The Queenes Arcadia*, a 'pastoral drama…with the barest hint of an allusion to Sidney in the form of its title' was printed in 1606, a year before Markham's first part (Alexander 264); Greene's

Menaphon (also set in Arcadia) has already been mentioned. For Markham, even if one were to privilege Sidney as 'the most excellent creature that first taught vs the sound of excellent writing,' there are still multiple *Arcadia*s, and there is no reason why his cannot be one of them.

However, Markham is not simply setting his work in a certain part of ancient Greece – he is, as the title page of the first part proclaims, 'Alluding his beginning from Sir *Philip Sydneys* ending,' borrowing characters and background from the earlier romance. Thus, he goes on to offer further justification for his project:

> Next for mine allusion and imitation, which beareth a colour of much greater vain-glorie: mine excuse must onely bee the worthinesse of former presidents, as Virgill from Homer, Ariosto from Baiardo, famous Spencer from renowned Chaucer, and I with as good priuiledge, from the onely to be admired Sir Philip Sydney, whose like, though neuer age hath or shall present to memorie, yet shall it be renowne to the meanest that indeuour to liue by the crummes of his Table: who were our age but blest with his liuing breath, he would himselfe confesse the honie hee drew both from Heliodorus, and Diana. (A2r-v)

As Belling would do with his Statius quotation, Markham here situates himself within a long tradition of imitation, ranging from ancient to modern and foreign to English examples. Indeed, Markham comes close to collapsing any essential difference between original and imitative writing, presenting literary history as a sequence of borrowing between equally 'famous' and 'renowned' authors. When Sidney himself is raised from the dead, his 'liuing breath' serves not to 'inspire' Markham, as in the other continuations, but to admit his own sources. As Gavin Alexander writes, 'Markham wants to see Sidney not as an unapproachable monument, self-created and inimitable, but as a writer among writers, taking his place in a continuum of reading and writing and encouraging Markham to do the same' (271).

These two arguments seem to have been controversial ones, since Markham continues to belabour the same points six years later, in the second part of the *English Arcadia*. In an epistle addressed 'To the vnunderstanding Reader,' Markham repeats the accusations earlier levelled against his text. The first of them is still that

> The name showes the naturall pride of the parents; as if none should be cal'd Alexander that could not conquer the world, nor any Iacob that could not deceiue his brother; nor this Arcadia , except by many degrees it could exceed the whole world both in words and inuention:

> Forgetfull how many God-brothers, and selfe-like Pamphelts had past through the world with the same title.

Markham here reclaims paternity of his 'orphan' book in order to argue the point; he equates book titles with other proper names, which are repeatable, abstractable, and not subject to exclusive ownership even by their most famous bearers. He then goes on to address the question of imitation:

> Another sayes, the alusion is not tollerable; as if pooremen should not borrow from the rich, or that vertue should euer liue so alone, that no man should dare to bee her imitator. Nay, saies a third, the great high-treason of all, is to make Noble Sir Phillip Sidney acquainted, either with Diana, or else Heliodorus, as if the excellency of his minde had disdained that which first brought it to perfection (Iudiciall reading) ô no, were he on the earth, he would repine at their curiosity, and tell them, that his contemplatiue labour first brought him to actiue worthinesse. (A4r-v)

Adopting Sidney's own voice, Markham once more denies the possibility of a great original work that does not arise from previous sources. As in the first preface, his view of the literary world is a densely intertextual one, but it is not devoid of hierarchies and notions of literary property, of rich and poor and the paying of debts. As F.N.L. Poynter writes, Markham (born a gentleman) 'had a sincere respect for the social hierarchy as an essential element in the natural order of things' (30): his point of view is aspirational, not revolutionary, as he wishes to join Sidney in the literary field. Like William Alexander, Markham also links imitation of Sidney's writing with the imitation of virtue advocated in the *Defence of Poesie*. In an extension of humanist educational principles, he equates reading and writing with the contemplative and active lives, with the model writer moving from one to the other. This passage thus illustrates Raphael Falco's argument that, while Sidney's own career did not successfully combine the competing ideals of action and contemplation, he was posthumously presented as the embodiment of their union (64). This allowed Sidney to serve as a precedent for 'professional writers' seeking to prove that literature was a "'fit occupation'" – particularly those who (like Markham) were anxious about their own social status and therefore 'needed the example of a perfect gentleman to validate their activities' (64).

Markham's attempt to gain 'renowne' by 'indeuour[ing] to liue by the

crummes of [Sidney's] Table,' however, was evidently not very successful. Not only did the sale of his works fail to secure his livelihood, but he seems to have faced a great deal of combined social and literary snobbery. In 1618, Ben Jonson told William Drummond that 'Markham (who added his English Arcadia) was not of the number of the Faithfull, i.e. Poets, and but a base fellow' (1.133). His reputation in succeeding centuries has been that of a prolific, self-plagiarising hack writer – it is often remembered, for instance, that he was forced to sign an agreement with the Stationers' Company not to publish any more books on animal husbandry (Steggle). This seems to have tarnished his romance effort by association: Rankin in her discussion of Belling's *Sixth Booke*, for example, dismisses him as 'the ubiquitous Gervase Markham' (195). Even Jennifer Klein Morrison, who devotes a chapter to analysing his work, writes:

> Given Markham's reputation as England's first 'hackney writer,' it is perhaps not surprising that he wrote a continuation to Sir Philip Sidney's *Arcadia*… Writing a sequel to the best-selling prose fiction work of the 1590s would seem to be just the sort of thing that a hack writer would do, the quintessential act of derivative creativity driven by a strong economic incentive. (52-3)

Morrison's lack of surprise reflects the typical modern attitude toward literary property and continuations, which would develop over the century and half following the publication of the *English Arcadia*. Based on the evidence of his prefaces, however, the proto-professional Markham was already facing such prejudices in the early 1600s, prefiguring the problems that would attend the combination of authorship with money. The metaphorical approaches taken by the other *Arcadia* continuators, with their repeated emphasis on audacious emulation and ghostly inspiration, needed to be adapted in response to this changing context. The resulting struggles between (in Pierre Bourdieu's terms) economic and cultural capital, which were faced by Markham's continuation-writing successors in a growing literary marketplace, will form the subject of the following chapters.

Chapter 4

Rogues and Impostors: Two Restoration Disputes

Cle[rimont]: A knight liue by his verses? he did not make 'hem to that ende, I hope.
Davp[hine]: And yet the noble SIDNEY liues by his, and the noble family not asham'd.
– Ben Jonson, *Epicoene* (544)

Despite the conflation attempted in this passage, Ben Jonson knew that it was a very different thing for Sidney to 'liue by his verses' as an aristocratic author published posthumously, than for an active professional attempting to earn his keep.[1] The question arose: could writers hope for both immortality and a 'living' from their works, or were they required to feel 'asham'd' of them? In *Self-Crowned Laureates*, Richard Helgerson explores the 'matrix' of possible 'authorial roles' available to writers at the turn of the seventeenth century – 1) amateur, 2) professional, and 3), set against them both, the limited and classical-influenced category of 'laureate' that Jonson tried to claim for himself (16, 21). An author's position within this matrix was far from stable, however, being subject to constant reconfiguration. Sidney, for instance, defined by Helgerson as 'that most nearly laureate of amateur poets,' lived as an amateur and was recast as a laureate (though never a professional) following his death (31, 104). By depending on oppositions, self-definition by authors within this emerging system required constant assertions of difference. This is clear in Jonson's dismissal of Gervase Markham as 'not of the number of the Faithfull, i.e. Poets, and but a base fellow.' Jonson had levelled the same insult at Samuel Daniel from the opposite direction: where Markham was too professional, Daniel was too amateur, with Jonson carving a space for himself as a true poet between these 'dilettantes and hacks' (Helgerson 21). As Helgerson writes, 'The readiness with which such anathemas come to Jonson's lips testifies to his sense of the perilous exclusivity of the term [of 'poet'] in the period (23).

As the market for literature – and the volume of material that supplied it – grew over the course of the next century and half, these definitions of authorship became increasingly 'perilous.' With the decline of aristocratic patronage, presaged

[1] For Jonson's literary relations with the Sidney family and appropriation of the Sidney legacy to create a poetic lineage for himself, see Falco 124-55.

in Markham's *English Arcadia*, Restoration writers needed to depend upon their own resources to assert the dignity of their trade. Like the Elizabethan and Jacobean authors discussed by Helgerson, they had to employ the associations of classical authorship to describe a print literary system with no equivalent in antiquity (Helgerson 5). The potential pitfalls of authorship changed also. As described by Paulina Kewes and Brean S. Hammond, plagiarism and other violations of literary property came under increased scrutiny in the late seventeenth century. Whereas Markham's *Arcadia* continuation had apparently suffered criticism for arrogance and overreaching (or at least, these are the criticisms that Markham chooses to address), the accusations now were of infringement, theft, and shoddy workmanship. Professional writers were particularly subject to such accusations: paradoxically, 'Those with the greatest economic stake in writing as property come under the most suspicion for refusing to recognize proper(ty) boundaries' (Rosenthal, *Playwrights and Plagiarists* 32). Gerard Langbaine, for instance, explains his accusations of plagiarism against Aphra Behn by stating that 'She has often been forc'd to it through hast...it having been formerly her unhappiness to be necessitated to write for Bread' (18).

Although most of the current work on these issues relates to Restoration drama, they were equally pressing for authors of prose fiction, and particularly of continuations. While the writers of the *Arcadia* texts describe the potential challenges and rewards associated with imitating a renowned author like Sidney, none of them – not even Markham – directly mention the subject of financial profit. By the eighteenth century, however, as Betty Schellenberg writes, 'The sequel is so intimately associated with early print fiction that writers of sequels speak of the phenomenon as always already there, as a notoriously commodified underside of the world of letters from which they disassociate themselves' ('Measured Lines' 26). This chapter examines two Restoration cases, involving *The English Rogue* and *The Pilgrim's Progress*, in which we can see these connotations taking shape. Although (as discussed in the Introduction) neither the Licensing Acts of the Restoration nor the Copyright Act of 1710 addressed such forms of appropriation directly, there is a growing sense that publishing a continuation might lead to unearned economic gains for the sequel-writer, and losses for the source text's author and/or 'proprietor.'

Whereas William Ponsonby and his heirs had either ignored or exploited the existence of continuations (by incorporating them as valuable 'Additions' to the *Arcadia*), other publishers found them a commercial threat. This was particularly the case when, rather than clustering around a renowned, posthumous predecessor like Sidney, multiple continuations arose among living authors who each advanced competing claims to reputation and ownership over their fictions. For them, the question of 'transgressinge' an author's 'desire' (as in the preface to *The Historie of Arcadia*) was thus no longer a theoretical consideration, but a real source of conflict.

1. Owning the English Rogue

Although now almost forgotten, *The English Rogue* was one of the most successful prose fiction works of the late seventeenth century, combining the genres of picaresque tale and criminal pseudo-autobiography. Its production shows a complex negotiation of interests at work, demonstrating how the rhetoric of authorship, ownership, and reputation might be applied to continuations in the context of the Restoration book trade. The two known writers involved, Richard Head and Francis Kirkman, both worked as booksellers, and both were thus predisposed to see books in commercial as well as aesthetic terms. Indeed, the professions of author and bookseller were, as Lisa Maruca argues in *The Work of Print*, never as separate in this period as they were later reified to be. As will be shown in the case of *The English Rogue*, a bookseller might commission or author texts, as well as arranging their printing and sale. By filling all of these roles, Head and Kirkman provide a particularly vivid illustration of literary professionalism in the Restoration, as well as its precariousness – both were frequently on the verge of bankruptcy, repeatedly moving premises or altering their business models with varying degrees of success. This has caused them to suffer in the estimation of later critics: F.W. Chandler, for instances, describes the two as 'poor-devil hacks who set pens to paper for hire alone....While Head may have been only half disreputable, Kirkman was beneath contempt, and his treatment of Head is indicative of what his other dealings doubtless were' (211). A more detailed examination of their works, however, shows that – in contrast to the stark opposition made by Chandler – the questions of 'hire' and

reputation were actually closely intertwined, and both Head and Kirkman were highly concerned about them. To 'own' a work like *The English Rogue*, in fact, was to combine the terminologies of property and 'credit.'

To see how the nature of Kirkman's 'treatment' of Head, and Head's response to it, relates to the question of continuation requires tracing the complex bibliographical history of *The English Rogue*, published in four parts between 1665 and 1671.[2] In 1665, Richard Head produced what became Part One of *The English Rogue, Described in the Life of Meriton Latroon, a Witty Extravagant* – a narrative of scurrilous adventures drawing on the Spanish picaresque tradition. In *The Lives of the Most Famous English Poets*, his friend William Winstanley suggests what Head's contemporary reputation might have been, describing how, being chronically short of money, Head 'betook him to his Pen; and wrote the first part of the *English Rogue*: which being too much smutty, would not be Licensed, so that he was fain to refine it, and then it passed stamp' (208). This first, unlicensed edition was published by Henry Marsh. Despite – or more likely because – of being 'smutty,' it was highly successful and three further issues appeared the following year. The publisher by this time was Francis Kirkman: Marsh had died in the Plague of 1666, and Kirkman took over his former partner's estate to try and recoup his debts (Bald 27). One of the properties he inherited was *The English Rogue*, and his and Head's careers would be closely connected for the next several years – the two collaborated as booksellers, for instance, by publishing Winstanley's *Poor Robin's Jests* in 1667. The same year, a revised version of *The English Rogue* was finally licensed, Head having 'refine[d]' it to remove some of the more objectionable material.[3]

While not required for licensing, Head also made major changes to the ending at this time, leaving the work more open to continuation. The original edition had included a preface signed by the titular rogue hero, Meriton Latroon – the 'Actor' of the story, described as an acquaintance of the anonymous 'Author' transcribing his

[2] The following summary of its publication history is based on Strickland Gibson's 'Bibliography of Francis Kirkman.'

[3] Paul Salzman lists the expurgations (largely of obscene poetry) in 'Alterations to *The English Rogue*,' although he notes that a great deal of erotic content still remains. The *Dictionary of National Biography* assumes an earlier, still more scandalous draft that was suppressed prior to or soon following publication (Pritchard), but it seems more probable that the unlicensed 1665/1666 editions represent the 'smutty' version to which Winstanley refers.

experiences. Latroon proceeds to tell his tale in the first person, concluding the narrative repentant and settled in India, with his rogueries apparently behind him. However, the revised version makes this ending far less decisive, even as it shifts abruptly from first to third person. The narrator promises that '*I*...shall e're long discover what further progress *he* made there in his Cheats...*We* shall likewise inform you what company he kept; Rogues of all sorts and sizes...and how far he out-did them all' (emphasis added). The Rogue is finally to arrive in London during the Plague and lose 'his most nefarious and wicked life' in the Great Fire (1667, 129). Rather than the incompletions and invitations of the *Arcadia*, here we have a living author directly promising to continue his narrative in a second part, with an outline of what this continuation will entail. Having seen four editions sell rapidly, Head must have expected significant reader interest in such a sequel, which would both finish the Rogue's story and bring it up to date with recent events. However, Head never delivered the advertised continuation, and the move from the singular 'I' to the plural 'we' in the concluding paragraphs foreshadowed *The English Rogue*'s subsequent history.

The intrusion of an authorial voice at the story's conclusion reflected other changes in the licensed version. Although *The English Rogue* never bore any attribution on its title page, the licensed edition includes an engraved frontispiece portrait of Head in the classical pose of an Author with pen, book, and globe, being crowned with a laurel, and a punning verse praising his 'Head peece that is thronged with wit':

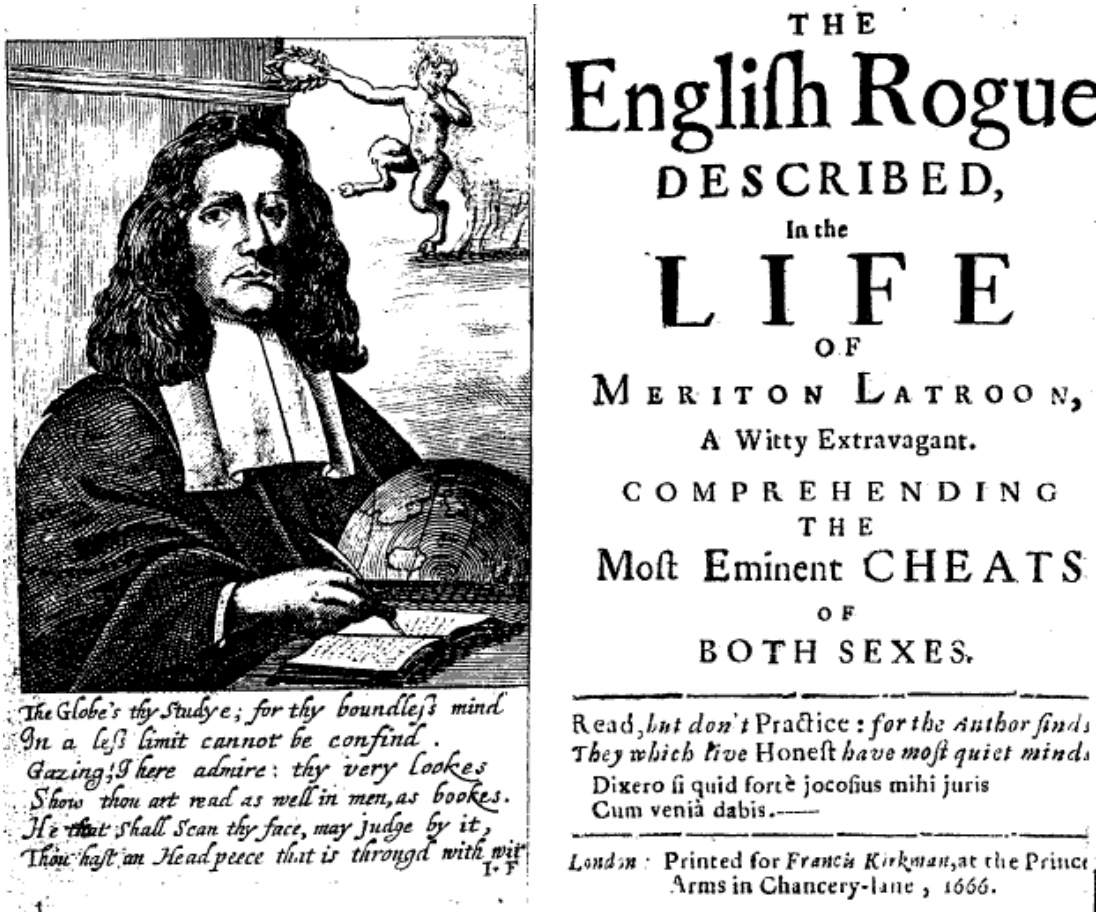

Fig. 4 – Title page and portrait, licensed edition (dated 1666 for early 1667)

The preface is now signed by Head rather than Latroon, and expands its statements about his writing process. Despite the widespread borrowings detected in his work by later critics (Moseley, Lanner), Head repeatedly insists upon his originality, which allows him to fully 'own' the resulting text. He claims that he has imitated, not other works, but (in terms similar to Sidney's *Defence*) directly from nature in order to serve a moral purpose: echoing the poem below his portrait, Head writes that he has 'given an accompt of [his] readings, not in Books, but Men.' The necessity resulting from Head's financial troubles is thus recast as evidence for the quality of his writing, which allows him to gain greater credit as an author:

> When I undertook this Subject, I was destitute of all those Tools (Books, I mean) which divers pretended Artists make use of to form some Ill-contrived design. By which ye may understand, that as necessity forced me, so a generous resolution commanded me to scorn a *Lituanian* humour or Custom, to admit of *Adjutores tori*, helpers in a Marriage-bed, there to engender little better then a spurious issue. It is a legitimate off-spring, I'll assure yee, begot by one singly and soly,

> and a person that dares in spight of canker'd Malice subscribe himself...*Richard Head.* (A2v-3r)

For Head in this preface, the only 'legitimate' text is one with a single and undisputed author. As shown by the work of Kewes and Jeffrey Masten, collaborative authorship was a vexed issue in this period. The commendatory verses to the first folio of Beaumont and Fletcher (the most famous pair of co-authors) attempted to resolve it by describing their collaboration as a marriage, their works 'Got by Two Fathers, without Female aide' (d3v). Although Head uses the same metaphor here, however, he recasts co-authorship as a foreign and unconventional *menage-à-troi* arrangement. It casts doubt on the writer's virility, producing 'pretended,' bastard work that (unlike Head's) cannot be legitimated 'singly and soly' by the name of its author-father.

Yet Head was not destined to maintain such single-handed control of his textual product. Instead, when Part Two of *The English Rogue* appeared in 1668, it included a lengthy preface by the publisher, Francis Kirkman. A bookseller, writer, and collector of printed drama, Kirkman had a longstanding association with fiction, translating and composing several continuations to Continental romances over the course of his career. Himself an avid reader (as detailed in his autobiography, *The Unlucky Citizen*), he was therefore familiar with the idea of serial literature catering to consumer demand. *The English Rogue*, a popular work with a picaresque structure that could allow it to be carried through into multiple volumes, was clearly a tempting proposition at a time when Kirkman was struggling financially (Bald 28). As he writes in the preface to Part Two, 'The First Part of this Book being so generally well received, I was induced to procure it to be prosecuted in a Second; and to that end I often solicited the Author to proceed according to his promise.' Head was apparently deterred, however, because too many readers mistook him for the title character, 'lookt on him as a dangerous person, and shun'd and avoyded his company' (A4r). This identification between author and protagonist is not surprising, considering the slippages of voice between 'Author' and 'Actor' in the original preface, as well as the suggestive correspondences between Latroon's and Head's biographies.[4] As Kate Loveman notes, Head initially courted this type of interpretative game through his

[4] Both were born in Ireland, for example, fleeing to England after their fathers were killed in the Irish rising of 1641 (Pritchard).

strategies of ambiguity and mystification, in order to 'entice readers' looking for biographical gossip (42). It is possible that, by this time, the confusion became more harmful to Head's reputation than beneficial to the work's sales – although it is equally possible that Kirkman is simply continuing the game as form of advertising.

Indeed, although Kirkman takes it upon himself to defend Head in his preface, he does so in a rather backhanded manner – he acquits Head only of 'most of those enormities contained therein,' and claims that he was far more likely to be cheated at cards (by the clever Kirkman) than to cheat himself (A4r). The semi-autobiographical nature of the narrative evidently did not bother Kirkman, in so far as composing a sequel was concerned – basing it on his own life did not give Head greater proprietary rights over the story. In fact, after the moral message of *The English Rogue* 'proved answerable in the sale of the book,' Kirkman had offered his 'assistance in acquainting [Head] with [his own] experience' to insert into the next part, making Meriton Latroon a composite figure. This greater range of experiences, Kirkman argues, would only increase the book's practical use-value for purchasers, adding that 'What hath cost me so dear, I here (for publick good) present to you for a small price; for I'le assure you I have oftentimes had a Fee given me for my Advice in one of these many Cases' (A8v-B1r). Following Head's refusal to participate in the project, Kirkman states:

> I apply'd my self to another, a brother of the same trade; a professed Author, and one who hath been happy enough in the sale of many of his writings; him I courted into a complyance with my desire, and perswaded to begin to write somewhat to the purpose...I gave him my best instructions, and laid my ground-work well enough, as I hoped to have him proceed: But so soon as he knew my intention of making his writing a part of (by joyning it to) The Rogue, with some anger he left it, and refused to proceed. (A5r-v)

While the identity of this second figure is unknown, Kirkman's description gives an important glimpse into the Restoration literary trade: the publisher chooses another successful professional ('professed') writer as what would now be called a 'ghost,' and convinces him to accept a commission with detailed specifications. Yet the sticking-point was evidently the intended publication together with, and as part of, *The English Rogue*: it seems the unnamed author felt his own reputation might be damaged by public association with such a notorious work. Undeterred, Kirkman

sought a more reliable author for the sequel: he writes that, 'He having thus laid down the Cudgels, I then took them up my self' (A5v). The incident illustrates Maruca's argument about the important role that booksellers in this period might play in the creation of the texts they published: for Kirkman, there is evidently very little difference between commission and composition, and he goes on to use the 'instruction' he had given the previous writer as the basis for 'the greatest part of [his] Treatise' (A5v).

Although he is continuing another's work, Kirkman boldly takes up his own authorial voice in this preface, stating 'I have written as I would have spoken'; like Head, he insists that he has not borrowed 'Sentences out of any Authors' (B1r-2v). He concludes his preface with an 'account of [his] particular method' as a continuator: 'The Author of the first Part having left his Rogue...an Inhabitant in the East-Indies, I was obliged to lay my Scene there, and go thither to finde him' (B3r). This gives Kirkman scope to give an account of local customs and bring on six other English travellers, who all tell their own stories. In doing so, however, he has not been able to actually complete the account:

> I have had so much work to do in bringing these Companions to our Rogue in the Indies, and relating what they are (in which I have spent much oyl and labor) that I cannot this bout, bring him over to England as is expected; but I'le assure you (if you accept this, as I question not) that in the third Part (which I intend shall be the last, part whereof I have already written) I shall attend him through other Countreys...and so to England, where he and his Company may do such acts as shall raise wonder in the Readers. But let this suffice at present. (B3v)

The narrative exceeds the bounds of Head's initial promise, leading Kirkman into a promise (and advertisement) of his own. The parenthetical asides act as nudges to his readers, calling for their complicity to this spinning-out of a roguish tale through their commercial and critical 'accept[ance]' of it. Kirkman assures them that the next part would be the 'last,' but, whether owing to the scale of the story or the temptation of further sales, Latroon's final homecoming continued to recede – when Part Three appeared three years later, it was immediately followed by a Part Four, with an apology to the readers for the long wait but still no decisive conclusion to the Rogue's life and story.

The prefaces to these Parts Three and Four, as originally published in 1671,

constitute a highly complex site of authorship. They are signed by both Head and Kirkman, and their language shifts continuously between first-personal singular and plural. The preface to Part Three at first appears to be voiced by Head alone:

> Before my leaving this *Kingdom* of *England*, I promised, in my first Part of the *Witty Extravagant*, a continuation thereof; but I dealt with you, as some *Debtors* do with their *Creditors*, promise that fairly, and speedily, which they intend not to pay in haste; however, though I frustrated your expectations, yet you were supplied (when I was absent) in part, by a *Friend*, who to cancel the *Debt*, hath made good my Promise; who not only supplied the first design of the *English Rogue*, but hath continued it in this with his ingenious endeavours, not excluding my willingness to be his weak Assistant and Co-adjutor.[5]

The fact that Head did not write the sequel himself is here recast as a consequence of his absence abroad; Kirkman's continuation thus becomes a selfless gesture of paying a friend's outstanding debts to his readers, who 'credited' than a second part would be forthcoming. Moreover, since Kirkman has continued the story, Head loses his pre-eminence as the 'original' author and is now his junior partner in the venture: having once disavowed any '*Adjutores tori*' to his work, he becomes a 'weak...Co-adjutor.' The preface continues, 'I hope, *Gentlemen*, you will never reckon on it the less, because we have equally club'd to its Composition': a disclaimer that reflects the way in which, as Kewes argues in *Authorship and Appropriation*, collaboration gradually came to be devalued in this period as a sign of creative insufficiency. Pre-Restoration collaborators like Beaumont and Fletcher continued to be held in high esteem, since their work 'was not viewed as the product of mercenary professionalism. Rather, it was idealized in terms of friendship, fellowship, and emulation' (Kewes 146) – a paradigm with which the Part Three preface attempts to associate Head and Kirkman. For later writers, however, it was no compliment to be called the 'new *Fletcher* and *Beaumont*': the devaluation of collaboration paralleled the debate over plagiarism, with both 'reflect[ing] a growing esteem for solitary and independent composition' (Kewes 144, 178).

This parallel is illustrated by the fact that the preface to Part Four leaves the question of collaboration in order to return to that of creative method and originality. The instances of plagiarism noted by twentieth-century critics seem not to have gone

[5] Since these editions of Parts Three and Four are not readily available, the prefaces are transcribed from Gibson 87-93.

unnoticed by Head and Kirkman's contemporaries, since the preface defends the authors from the accusation:

> You cannot imagin the charge and trouble we have been at, in raising this building, which we must acknowledg was erected upon an old foundation. From the actions of others we gather'd matter, which materials we methodized, and so formed this structure. We challenge nothing but the order; it may be called ours....What remarkable stories, and strange relations we have taken up...we have so altered by augmentation or deminution, (as occasion served) that this may be more properly called a new composition, rather than an old collection, of what *witty Extravagancies* are herein contained.

They argue that, while the story may not be entirely original, its use is a legitimate instance of appropriation, arranging old materials through labour into a new structure, and thus making them their 'own.' Originality is thus seen as a commercial as well as literary asset, assuring the authors' ownership of the result – it 'may be called ours' and marketed as a new work. If this instalment is different enough from other books to be a genuine work of authorship, however, it is also similar enough to the earlier parts of the *English Rogue* to appeal to a proven audience: 'What unexpected success we have obtained in the publication of the former parts, will keep us from despairing, that in this we shall be less fortunate than in the other...this is a younger brother to the former, lawfully begotten, and if you will compare their faces, you will find they resemble one another very much.' Albeit no longer 'begot by one singly and soly,' the sequel's lawful parentage in the same, proven stock remains a mark of quality for purchasers and an assurance of good sales. This is perhaps why, even if Head was not actually involved in the composition, Kirkman still felt it was necessary to attach his name to the enterprise as a form of authentication.

In later editions, however (1674 for Part Three, 1680 for all four parts together), the signature changes to Kirkman's alone. The Part Three preface remains much the same, but it is shortened to omit all references to Head or to collaboration, and the same 'I' that referred to Head now presumably belongs to Kirkman. In the preface affixed to the 1672 edition of Part One and the 1680 edition of Parts One through Four, Kirkman's account alters slightly yet again. He returns to the story that readers believed the author to be the Rogue himself, which 'caused him to desist from

prosecuting his story in a Second Part' (1680: A3r).[6] As a result:

> He having laid down the Cudgels, I took them up, and my design in so doing, was out of three considerations, the first and cheifest was to gain ready money; the second, I had an Itch to gain some Reputation by being in Print...; and the third was, to advantage the Reader...by acquainting him with my experiences. These were the reasons for my engaging in the Second Part, and the very same reasons induced me to joyn with the Author in composing and Writing a third and fourth Part in which we have club'd so equally, and intermixt our stories so joyntly, that it is some difficulty for any at first sight to distinguish what we particularly Writ. (A3r-v)

This is a particularly direct statement of Kirkman's motivations – always playful in its manipulation of prefatory rhetoric (he claims that he would not have written a preface at all except that he 'had a blank page' and wished that readers 'should have all possible content for [their] money'), and yet serious in its aims to sell the book and construct a suitable authorial role for himself. As a literary professional, his goals are evenly balanced between the three poles of earning 'ready money,' gaining 'Reputation,' and 'advantag[ing] the Reader,' which he sees as complimentary rather than exclusive. To combat the potential stigma of collaboration, Kirkman gives an idealised portrayal of the supposed co-authorship of Parts Three and Four, recalling the Beaumont and Fletcher preliminaries in his description of their stories 'joyntly' and 'equally' intermixing into an indistinguishable whole. The result is that, as with Belling's imitation of Sidney in the *Sixth Booke*, it becomes difficult, if not impossible, to tell what each 'particularly Writ.' The division of agency is not entirely equal: although unnamed, Head remains designated as 'the Author' directly or indirectly responsible for the entirety of *The English Rogue.* Yet it is Kirkman whose lively voice speaks in (and signs) the preface, offering himself as the person who must receive financial 'encouragement by your speedy purchasing of what is already Written' if there is to be a 'fifth and last part' (A3v).[7]

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[6] Head's (or 'Head's') preface to Part Three had also alluded to the social consequences attending from the assumption that 'I was the Actor as well as the Author,' but does not state that this deterred him from writing the second part – instead, it is another danger that the author(s) bravely face(s) for the reader's benefit.

[7] In fact, this fifth part never materialised. A 'complete' edition of 'The Four PARTS. To which is added a Fifth PART, compleating the whole History of his Life' did appear in 1688/9, printed for J. Back; however, as Salzman notes, this is in fact only 200 pages long: 'It rearranges material from the complete early editions, adding a few incidents to provide an end for the narrative. Neither Head nor Kirkman could be responsible for any abridgement at this late stage' (*English Prose Fiction* 236n64).

Head's later publications, on the other hand, provide a rather different perspective on the matter. In 1675, he identified himself on the title pages of two other works (*Proteus Redivivus, or, The Art of Wheedling* and *The Miss Display'd*) as specifically 'the AUTHOR of the First Part of the *ENGLISH ROGUE*.' This acknowledges that *The English Rogue* is a work in multiple parts, but distinguishes between their authorship. In *Proteus Redivivus*, Head also includes a lengthy diatribe addressing his role in the *Rogue*. He again defends his own morality, arguing that he cannot be held responsible for readers' misinterpretations – he owns the text, but not the 'bad use' that others may make of it:

> I need not urge more arguments to prove the honesty of my Intention in Printing the *Witty Extravagant*, and that my principal aime was not private advantage, but the general benefit of every individual Person, and that it should not be imputed as a fault in me, if any make a bad use thereof, or wrong construction. (A3v-4r)

Unlike Kirkman, Head portrays 'private advantage' and 'general benefit' as incompatible aims for an author, constructing a binary with himself on the more 'honest' and selfless side. He then goes on to give his version of events surrounding the publication of Part Two, denying any involvement in Parts Three and Four:

> According to the promise made in my *Postscript* to the first Part of the *English Rogue*, I purposed to have finisht that Book in a *Second Part*... but the Cudgels were snatcht out of my hands before I had fairly laid them down, I intending to have had but one more bout at the same Weapons, and so have compleated the *Rogue*, but seeing the *Continuator* hath allready added three *Parts* to the former, and never (as far as I can see) will make an end of pestering the World with more *Volumes*, and large *Editions*, I diverted my intention into this Subject. (A4r-v)

This is clearly a direct response to Kirkman's prefaces, since where Kirkman describes himself taking up the satirical 'Cudgels' that Head had laid down, Head considers them to have been unfairly 'snatcht out of [his] hands.' He accuses

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Kirkman was not heard from after 1680, and Head is presumed to have drowned in 1686; once they were both gone, their works were evidently subject to such forms of appropriation. Prepared without either of them, the abridged edition gives no indication of the authorship of the various parts, describing the 'author' abstractly in the singular, and includes only a foreword once again explaining the moral purpose of the work, signed 'M.L.' (Meriton Latroon). The author of *The English Rogue* thus ends as he began, an anonymous abstraction needed to voice the couplet of instruction that generally appeared on the title page ('*Read*, but don't *practice*: for the Authour finds, / They which live *Honest* have most quiet minds'), and inevitably conflated with the first-person narrator.

Kirkman of having continued the story at far greater length than originally intended. By flooding the market with his continuations and reissues, Kirkman is depriving Head of the opportunity to finish the text he started.[8]

Concluding with another defence of his originality, Head is particularly insistent that *Proteus Redivivus* is an independent work to which he has full rights of ownership: 'I have been at no small pains in the Method and Contexture: what I have Collected hath been out of the Choicest *French* and *English Authours*, not so much as casting an eye upon any Copy of the aforesaid *Continuator*, that might any ways assist me in this Composure' (A4v). Although (in contrast to the first part of the *English Rogue*) Head does here admit to selecting his materials from other books, he is adamant that Kirkman's continuation is not one of them – not only did he not co-write it, as Kirkman claims, but he has not even read it. He discusses Kirkman himself with an attitude of injured pride and sarcasm, objecting to the damning-with-faint-praise character assassination that Kirkman undertook in the preface to Part Two:

> I would not willingly do him any prejudice, though I have been injur'd, and abused by him, and his instigating others, yet his unkindness I repay with respect, and would not be indebted to him for that Character he gave me in his second Part of the *Rogue*, but that I fear I should wrong his *Reputation* by ill wording his *Encomium*; wherefore I shall be silent, and refer you to his *Unlucky Citizen*, and *Books of Knight Errantry, &c.* which lowdly speak his *Panagyrick;* as for those *Yelping Curs* he formerly kept, I shall not vouchsafe a backward look upon them, whilst they snarle undeserved Malice, and bark non-sense at my heels. (A4v-5r)

In refusing to retaliate on Kirkman's own terms, Head implies that Kirkman's works of autobiography and chivalric romance provide a sufficiently damning assessment of his tastes, character, and '*Reputation*.' The mention of Kirkman's '*Yelping Curs*' and 'instigating others' implies a wider quarrel, in which other members of the book trade may also have taken a part.

Whether Head was actually involved in the composition of Parts Three and Four is a disputed subject among the critics who have discussed it. The fact that Parts Three and Four are more tightly structured than the rambling Part Two, bringing back

[8] The reference to 'large *Editions*' may refer to the eventual expansion of the Part One text, possibly by Kirkman, from fifty chapters to seventy-six (Salzman, *English Prose Fiction* 222).

some characters from Part One, leads C. W. R. D. Moseley and (more tentatively) Salzman to suppose Head's participation (102; *English Prose Fiction* 223n60). This may, however, reflect a modern critical prejudice in favour of the 'original' author, who is supposed to know his own story better than a continuator. Even Chandler, who condemns the entire work outright, notes that Head's first part is the best of it: it 'possesses sufficient unity to hold the reader's interest,' and 'had it been concluded in the same vein and in a second part as Head intended, it might not have been deserving of unqualified blame' (212). On the other hand, Moseley argues that 'Head's own tardy disclaiming of authorship need not be taken too seriously in view of the shifting monetary and literary alliances of the time' (102n5). Yet what exactly was it – apart from a personal quarrel with Kirkman – that made Head later wish so vocally to disclaim his ownership of the majority of a commercially successful work? Head's denials, of course, (as with prefaces in general) must be read as a rhetorical exercise in a particular mode, rather than a direct expression of genuine feeling. The suggestion of a publishing quarrel may even have been a deliberate strategy to boost sales; Saenger writes that 'It is rarely possible to distinguish a true author-printer struggle from a fictive one, because presenting the text as the product of such a conflict is a useful lie both for the author, who wishes to remain aloof, and for the publisher, who wishes to dramatize his text' (20). Yet such a manoeuvre could have easily backfired in this case: as Loveman argues, it may instead have inclined readers to see both Head and Kirkman (given their ever-changing stories and evident familiarity with roguery) as potential cheats (44). Salzman concludes that 'It seems strange...that Head so firmly dissociated himself from such a popular enterprise'; 'A falling out between Head and Kirkman is no reason for Head to claim the authorship of the perhaps slightly notorious Part One, but not of the equally popular Parts Three or Four' (*English Prose Fiction* 223n60).

To address this central problem, it is necessary to define the exact stakes – in the spheres of both law and reputation – that Head could be supposed to have in *The English Rogue.* Initially published unlicensed, the text's controversial and 'smutty' nature might have made ownership of it a matter for potential prosecution as much as a right. As discussed by Jody Greene in *The Trouble With Ownership*, the Licensing Act of 1662 had directly linked stationers' copyright to censorship. Studying cases of

authorial accountability in this period, Greene in some measure substantiates Foucault's famous claim that 'Discourses really began to have authors...to the extent that authors became subject to punishment, that is, to the extent that discourses could be transgressive' (285). She argues that there was a 'dispersion of legal liability for printed works' in the Restoration, meaning that 'anyone and everyone involved in the production and distribution of undesirable printed material' – including printers, booksellers, and readers – could theoretically be liable to punishment. In practice, however, the individual author 'held a privileged place in the calculus of responsibility': the prosecution of printers and booksellers was largely intended to uncover the author, whom Roger L'Estrange, regulator of the press following the Restoration, described as 'the Fountain of Our Troubles' (25). L'Estrange's investigations generally moved in a single direction: 'Anyone willing to help L'Estrange locate the author, no matter how culpable he or she is in the production of the work, will be exonerated, and perhaps even rewarded. Failure to assist L'Estrange in his plan, however, will produce dire consequences' (34). Thus, if the unlicensed *English Rogue* had come to L'Estrange's notice, Kirkman as the named agent might have been forced to testify, with the option of giving up Head or facing punishment himself. An anecdote in Kirkman's preface to Part Two, however, relates how

> the Author of the first Part being with a Friend at an Ale-house...he accidentally was talking about the Book, and relating to his Friend the trouble he underwent at the first publishing thereof, by reason it was not then licensed. Yes, said his Friend, I remember that some of the Clergy were very much offended, and you as well as the Printers, were like to have suffered Imprisonment....Yes, said the Author, I was forced to absent my self for some days, till the heat of the matter was over. (B1r-v)

While this account suggests that both Head and 'the Printers' may have risked imprisonment for the work, only Head is described as leaving the city for his safety, and Kirkman himself (although he is happy to list his other run-ins with press regulation), does not feature in the discussion he narratives.

The threat of such prosecution may account for Head's later eagerness to separate himself from the character of the Rogue and insist on the salutary moral message of the work, and his disclaiming of 'wrong' interpretations and continuations alike. As Greene argues, a consequence of literary property is that 'Authors who

insist on a proprietary relationship to their works are punishable for every subsequent, illicit appropriation to which their printed work is exposed,' and this was particularly a problem for works involving criminal or controversial subjects (2005, 11). On the other hand, the legal force of this threat may have been less severe than Greene assumes – D. F. McKenzie's surveys of the London book trade find that only 11% of publications in 1668 bore some form of license, and that 'where one can find it, there is also enough evidence of mild fines, remission of penalties, merciful release…to suggest that, for all the officially declared concern, infringements of the licensing laws were normally not harshly punished ('1668' 118, 139). Instead, Kirkman's account of Head's legal troubles may simply serve as yet another advertisement of the book's scandalous contents – just as, later in the preface, he boasts of a Puritan divine who (believing it to be unlicensed for political and religious content) naively bought copies for his entire congregation (B1r).

However, *The English Rogue*'s unlicensed publication did complicate its status as literary property, since it could not be officially registered with the Stationers' Company prior to its revision. While the majority of publications at this time (including ephemera unlikely ever to be reprinted) did not incur the expense of registration, McKenzie finds that it was usually undertaken for more valuable texts potentially open to piracy ('1644' 131). *The English Rogue* was certainly one of the latter, as a bestseller published in substantial quarto editions priced at three shillings each (Loveman 42). However, although both Head and Kirkman were booksellers as well as writers, Kirkman was not actually a member of the Stationers' Company, and thus could not register any works in his own name. Entries were undertaken by Kirkman's publishing partners, so that when *The English Rogue* was finally licensed and registered in 1666, it was entered for Richard Head, who *was* a member of the Company (Bald 32). This, then, was another instance in which Kirkman needed to rely on the use of Head's name. Ironically, the lack of a Copyright Act (which would end the Company's monopoly on owning copies) made Head one of the few seventeenth-century authors who could claim legal control over the dissemination of their texts. Although what would now be termed 'derivative works' were not generally covered by stationers' copyright, Head might at least have prevented Kirkman – who already had a history of misusing others' copies – from continuing to

reissue Part One of *The English Rogue*.[9] However, the question seems never to have arisen, and the transferral of rights from Marsh's estate to Kirkman (before the work was ever licensed and properly registered) was allowed to stand *de facto*. Instead, the battle between Head and Kirkman is fought exclusively on the field of reputation, a form of 'ownership' not regulated by the Stationers.

An author like Head might not seem to have a great deal of reputation to protect, considering the obscene and plagiaristic nature of his work. Indeed, he initially published it anonymously, although his preface puns on the word 'head' and concludes with a couplet reading, 'When I read o're what I have writ, then shame / O'respreads my face, because it stabs my Name' (1665, A6v).[10] This serves both to provide a clue to the writer's identity as a playful puzzle for the reader, and admit that it might be a source of 'shame' if widely known. Following the success of the work, however, the authorship of *The English Rogue* came to possess its own value. This process is described in 'The Rogue Discovered,' a commendatory poem printed in 1666 to sell the editions published that year:

> Nor can I pass the *Author*, whose just fame
> Will live 'ith' *English Rogue*, without a name.
> Were it prefixt, *Wit* had obtain'd its end;
> For but to speak thy Name, is to commend.[11]

This is a typical example of seventeenth-century commendatory verse-writing, which often praises the author of a given work together the work itself. In this case of anonymous publication, however, the author's 'name' becomes a more abstract entity which, even when when it is not actually present, somehow constitutes its own advertisement. The author-function floats free, without being attached to a biographical individual: tautologically, the author of *The English Rogue* is 'the Author of *The English Rogue*.' As the poem's conclusion suggests, this sort of renowned-yet-anonymous author can subsequently serve as an umbrella figure encompassing other works:

> Hence I shall think, that when

[9] As he explains in his preface to Part Two, Kirkman had previously fallen foul of copyright by being involved in a venture selling pirated plays. Kirkman maintains that he was an innocent victim left to take the fall for this scheme (see Gibson 58-9).
[10] The puns (A2r-v, A4r) are pointed out by Loveman (42).
[11] Gibson potentially attributes this poem to Kirkman himself (126); even this paeon to the author, therefore, would have been most designed to benefit his publisher.

> Some other piece has by some other Pen
> Been quaintly drawn, 'twill be of most the vogue,
> This is the Author's of the *English Rogue.*

If being the author of *The English Rogue* was an effective advertisement – as, given the attributions of his later works, Head himself admitted – then, even after he had revealed his identity, Head risked having texts he had *not* written (such as Parts Two, Three, and Four) attributed to him.

As Max W. Thomas argues in 'Eschewing Credit,' getting recognition for one's labour was not the only problem for Early Modern authors: in some cases, disowning authorship could be as important as owning it. The metaphor of debased coinage was often used to condemn false attribution: the problem 'is not that it takes away any particular property from a particular writer, but rather that it renders it impossible to know just what the coin of that writer is made of' (286). Following a model of authorship as paternity, these are illegitimate texts, which use the names of fathers to which they are not entitled. In a preface to his *Poems* of 1656, for example, Abraham Cowley suggests that authorial paternity is a limited resource: he complains that another writer had 'fathered [a] *Bastard* upon such a person, whose stock of Reputation is, I fear, little enough for maintenance of his own numerous *Legitimate Off-spring* of that kinde' (A1r). Head articulates the same concern about how his literary offspring might reflect upon him: in his preface to Part One, he writes that the work 'should have been buried in silence, (fearing lest its Title might reflect on my Name and Reputation) had not a publick good interceded for its publication, far beyond any private interest or respect' (A2v). Head, unlike Kirkman, never outright admits to writing for money; his portrait associates him with the classical, disinterested ideal of authorship. He repeatedly presents the publication of *The English Rogue* as a benevolent gesture, a gamble in the only currency that matters – that of reputation. The first child has evidently done well enough that (despite the confusion between himself and the protagonist) Head subsequently remains willing to own it; he will not, however, undertake to do the same for Kirkman's productions.

Kirkman himself was also highly aware of the importance of names in print: in an article on 'Francis Kirkman's Counterfeit Authority,' Greene describes his very identity as being constituted by publication (18-32). Kirkman's autobiography, *The*

Unlucky Citizen, relates how title pages could be used to confer a higher social status upon an author: placing 'the honoured Word *Gent*.' in large type

> did as much entitle him to Gentility, as if he had Letters Patents for it from the *Heralds-Office*...this is a very great Itch in some people...and now it is grown to so common a Custom, that *Booksellers* usually title their Authors *Gentlemen*...that are onely poor mercenary fellows, that the Book may have the better esteem, may sell the better. (181-2)

Both parties in this case are being 'mercenary,' seeking to earn a living from books, yet the author has an 'Itch' toward apparent gentility for himself, whereas the bookseller is manipulating that language of gentility in order to increase sales. Having inhabited both roles, Kirkman frankly joins the reputation-seeking of an author with the commercial motives of a bookseller. While Saenger argues that 'One of the most fundamental tensions' in Early Modern prefatory rhetoric 'is between respectability and marketing' (38), Kirkman seeks to break down this binary. Although he discusses his profit-motives more openly than Head, Kirkman too is interested in a kind of fame, avowing an 'Itch to gain some Reputation by being in Print.' Upon taking over the first edition from Marsh, he amended the title page to read 'printed for Francis Kirkman,' and his name (along with the protagonist's) was thereafter the only one *The English Rogue* bore. At a time when only 39% of books carried a bookseller's name, this looks like a deliberate choice on Kirkman's part – as Loveman notes, a publisher, as well as an author, might have a certain fame or brand identity associated with him (McKenzie, '1644' 131; Loveman 37).[12]

The dispute between Kirkman and Head thus necessarily employs the discourses of both reputation and commerce, as each tries to define his own position through and against the other. It would be reductive, therefore, to dismiss either one of them as mere hacks interested only in exploiting their readers – indeed, their small stock of reputation would have made them all the more determined to protect it. *The English Rogue* itself, it should be noted, does not make many concessions to a popular readership, containing many classical allusions and Latin tags rather than the simple vocabulary of chapbooks, and being priced above the reach of all but wealthy buyers (Winton 84, Loveman 42). Any prestige the volume had, moreover, was due

[12] The statistic refers to 1688; McKenzie notes that, of the 61% of publications that did not name a bookseller, 'very few had any reason to conceal their origins' ('1644' 131).

to both its contents and their presentation – Kirkman professed his pride in the engraved illustrations he had commissioned for the book, which further increased its selling price (Winton 84). In editions after 1670, one of these illustrations often replaces Head's portrait on the frontispiece, but it is worth considering that even that portrait, with its emblematic portrayal of Head's authorship, might have been originally commissioned by the publisher. In her reading of *The Unlucky Citizen,* Maruca describes Kirkman as being particularly comfortable with his position as 'simultaneously a fabricator of engaging tales *and* a producer of potentially lucrative commodities, not only embracing both roles, but seeing little difference between them' (68). The same attitude clearly informs his part in *The English Rogue*, in which he self-consciously plays with these different roles. Head, on the other hand, appears to come down more firmly on the side of reputation, presenting himself as a disinterested figure of the Author concerned with his own integrity and that of his work, even as he continues to seek an uncertain income from writing and publishing. Despite their actual borrowings, all of Head and Kirkman's prefaces are clearly concerned with defining the proper boundaries between texts. In the conflict playing out across their prefaces, we can thus see not only a struggle for control of the English Rogue's story, but the tensions that were coming to define professional authorship as a trade, negotiating the slippery, intangible nature of literary property and personal 'credit.'

Instead of an aristocratic patron, Kirkman had dedicated his initial continuation of *The English Rogue* to all 'the Booksellers of London,' making a clear statement that his allegiances lay with the commercial marketplace, rather than the older forms of patronage to which he lacked access. In this dedication, Kirkman defines the multiple meanings of 'credit' that might apply within the book trade:

> The first part of this Book hath (notwithstanding many oppositions) done its business, being generally liked and approved of...therefore I doubt not of the sale, and I hope it will be so far from staining your Reputations, that on the contrary, you may reap credit; besides, as you may gain credit, so you will have profit by the sale, and that I know will be a very great inducement to you. (1671, A3r-v)

'Credit' and 'profit' – reputation and commerce – here take on an ideally reciprocal relationship. By advertising a Second Part, moreover, Kirkman describes a win-win

proposition, offering a proven commodity by which booksellers might maximise sales while minimising risk of 'opposition.' His logic demonstrates the growing appeal of serial fiction in the literary marketplace, justifying the indefinitely-deferred conclusion of *The English Rogue*. Of course, given such incentive, many authors chose to compose continuations to their own works, with Aphra Behn's three-part epistolary novel, *Love Letters Between a Nobleman and His Sister* (1684, 1685, 1687), being one contemporary example. Head was apparently willing to cede the 'Cudgels' to Kirkman rather than flood the market with variant *English Rogues*, yet he complains of the theft of this commercial and aesthetic opportunity. What happened, however, when (as in the earlier case of *Don Quixote*) the 'original' author insisted on composing his own sequel, leading to alternative continuations of the same text? The remainder of this chapter examines a situation of this type involving *The Pilgrim's Progress*, in which both author and publisher took active steps to address such rival continuations.

2. Pilgrims in Vanity Fair

From a modern perspective that places a sharp divide between secular and sacred works, it may seem odd to approach John Bunyan's *The Pilgrim's Progress* in the same context as a scurrilous narrative like *The English Rogue*. An allegorical dream-vision viewed by its religious readers as the closest thing to Scripture, the story sees Christian and Faithful roundly reject the temptations of fame and fortune offered by the hawkers of Vanity Fair, and one might expect Bunyan himself to do the same. Yet from its first publication in 1678, *The Pilgrim's Progress* was also one of the major bestsellers of its time, coexisting with Head and Kirkman's texts in the Restoration literary marketplace.[13] A valuable literary property as well as a doctrinal statement, it caused even Bunyan, the preacher and dreamer, to become caught up in paratextual disputes over authorial ownership. In this he was assisted by his publisher, Nathaniel Ponder, and impelled by the several unauthorised continuations

[13] Ian Green lists 'thirteen editions of part 1 in ten years and at least another ten in the next forty years, and at least fourteen editions of part 2 in just under fifty years' (424); N.H. Keeble supposes that 'the 22 seventeenth-century editions of *The Pilgrim's Progress* probably represent over 30,000 copies' (*Literary Culture* 128).

that sprung up around his work.

Certainly, neither claiming authorship nor participating in the fashion for serial fiction initially appears to be among Bunyan's concerns. If, as its Oxford editors conclude, *The Pilgrim's Progress* was composed during the period of Bunyan's first imprisonment, then at least six years passed before he allowed it to be printed (Wharey and Sharrock xxi-xxxv). Although its verse preface is titled 'The AUTHOR's Apology,' Bunyan's rhetoric works against this assertive typesetting. He notes his hesitations about publishing a text 'in such a mode' and describes its composition as an involuntary process: while writing an entirely different book, 'Before I was aware, I this begun' and 'fell suddenly into an Allegory' (A3r-v). As Michael Davies writes in *Graceful Reading*, Bunyan is 'at pains to deprecate' the 'creative and contrived aspect' of his work: 'Far from being a conscious fictional creation, *The Pilgrim's Progress* is emphatically presented, rather, as being authored by a more appropriate kind of spiritual inspiration' (188). Barbara Johnson points out, however, that these prefatory statements should not be taken to mean that Bunyan was literally an 'unconscious artist': on the contrary, they are a deliberate strategy to diffuse objections to the fictional nature of his work, and to guide its proper interpretation (39). One might even say that the preface positions Bunyan himself as a kind of continuator, 'inspired' by the work of the great original Author, God.

While Bunyan goes on to make demands of his own readers, these do not include the further writing of fiction in response. Instead, Bunyan insists that Christian's progress should make Christian readers undertake their own, internal journeys of interpretation and self-analysis: the imitation of virtue rather than the imitation of writing. To that end, he employs various strategies to prevent his audience from focusing on the 'fictional' surface story alone, including extensive marginal notes providing explanations and Biblical references. As Davies writes, these 'prevent an absorption into the fictional realm of *The Pilgrim's Progress* for its own sake' (267); they prevent, that is, precisely the kind of immersive reading described in Chapter 1 as most likely to lead to the composition of continuations. While the vivid narrative of Christian's adventures has certainly made it possible for readers over the centuries to engage solely with the surface plot, Bunyan was particularly concerned to forestall this. The verse conclusion of *The Pilgrim's*

Progress cautions the reader to 'take heed / Of mis-interpreting' by 'playing with the out-side of my Dream.' In fact, the only circumstance in which Bunyan alludes to a continuation is if the reader fails to follow his guidance and discards the message of *The Pilgrim's Progress* as 'dross': 'But if thou shalt cast all away as vain, / I know not but 'twill make me Dream again' (300). Nothing could be further from the kind of sentiment expressed by Kirkman in the preface to his continuation of *The English Rogue*: 'If you desire that [the next part], you must give me encouragement by your speedy purchasing of what is already Written, and thereby you will ingage, *Your Friend, Francis Kirkman*' (A3r-v). Failure, not success and reader desire, would motivate Bunyan's continuation – he gives the warning of a preacher, rather than the advertisement of a bookseller.

Yet, almost in spite of himself, publishing *The Pilgrim's Progress* involved Bunyan in the same world of competing books in which figures like Kirkman participated. As an uneducated Baptist minister, he was accused of resorting to plagiarism in composing his work. As Johnson observes, this accusation places *The Pilgrim's Progress* within 'a literary tradition' rather than the Scriptural one of his original preface, in which the text relates directly and solely to the Bible (24). Bunyan answers the charge of plagiarism in an 'Advertisement to the Reader' prefixed to his next allegory, *The Holy War* (1682), on the title page of which he is first identified as 'JOHN BUNYAN, the Author of the *Pilgrims Progress*.' Bunyan writes:

> Some say the *Pilgrims Progress* is not mine,
> Insinuating as if I would shine
> In name and fame by the worth of another,
> Like some made rich by robbing of their brother.
> Or that so fond I am of being Sire,
> I'le father Bastards. (399)

The language of commerce and authorial reputation is here applied to Bunyan's work for the first time, as metaphors of theft and illegitimacy (already conventional in the discourse of authorship) are employed to combat the idea that Bunyan has appended his name to another man's work. Indeed, it is that very name that is brought into evidence at the close of the poem:

> Witness my name, if Anagram'd to thee,
> The Letters make - *Nu hony in a B.*
> JOHN BUNYAN. (400)

While bees are also a traditional figure in discussions of imitation, they are generally used to symbolise the skilled gathering and distillation of others' ideas (Pigman 3). Bunyan, on the other hand, insists that his is *new* honey, with only a single source. That source is no longer the Bible or the voice of God, but the author himself:

> It came from mine own heart, so to my head,
> And thence into my fingers trickled;
> Then to my Pen, from whence immediately
> On Paper I did dribble it daintily.
> Manner and matter too was all mine own,
> Nor was it unto any mortal known
> 'Till I had done it. Nor did any then
> By Books, by wits, by tongues, or hand, or pen,
> Add five words to it, or wrote half a line
> Thereof: the whole, and ev'ry whit is mine. (399)

The detailed journey of ideas from heart to page demonstrates the singular origin of both 'Manner' and 'matter,' entirely free of contributions from either the 'Books' or 'tongues' of others, recalling Head's protestations of originality. Bunyan goes on to insist that the same is true of *The Holy War*, concluding that he is not motivated by personal glory but to prevent the misuse of his name by those who would 'scandalize' it (400). Although the composition of *The Pilgrim's Progress* may have been divinely inspired, the human writer John Bunyan here comes forward to take decisive ownership of it ('ev'ry whit is mine') and protect his reputation as its sole author.

Meanwhile, the commercial rights to *The Pilgrim's Progress* were being defended by Bunyan's publisher, Nathaniel Ponder. Prior to the work's publication, Ponder had taken care to have it (alone of Bunyan's corpus) officially licensed and registered with the Stationers' Company in his own name (Wharrey and Sharrock xxi). As described above, the Licensing Act of 1662 had tied entry in the Register, which protected a copy against piracy, with state censorship overseen by the Surveyor of the Press. As with *The English Rogue*, though for different reasons, such censorship was potentially an issue for the book – particularly given Bunyan's own periods of imprisonment and the fact that some of his previous publishers had faced prosecution for disseminating nonconformist texts (Forrest and Sharrock, *Holy War* xvi; Sharrock, 'Introduction' xxvii). However, although Ponder's own catalogue contained a large number of similar publications and his *Dictionary of National Biography* entry states that he 'worked under the constant threat of investigation and

prosecution,' Ponder's only known encounter with press regulation occurred in 1672 (Lynch; Keeble, *Literary Culture* 114). No difficulties seem to have arisen about the licensing of *The Pilgrim's Progress*: its genre as a fictional dream vision may have made it appear uncontroversial, and an overburdened licenser likely missed its topical applications (Keeble, *Literary Culture* 118, 120). Still, any risk that Ponder ran in publishing Bunyan's work would have made him all the more determined to protect his literary property in it following its enormous success.

The lapse of the Licensing Act between 1679 and 1685 allowed for greater press freedom, including the publication of most of Bunyan's other major works (Hill 54). Ironically, however, it left Ponder at a disadvantage in defending his rights as copy-holder. In January 1680, Ponder announced in a newspaper that he was suing a printer called Thomas Bradyll (spelled 'Bradwell' in the newspaper) for selling pirated copies of Bunyan's work.[14] The lapse of licensing ultimately prevented him from obtaining any legal redress, so such a publicity campaign may have been Ponder's best course of action.[15] In the fourth edition of *The Pilgrim's Progress* the same year, an 'Advertisement from the Book-seller' complains that

> The *Pilgrims Progress*, having sold several Impressions, and with good Acceptation among the People, (there are some malicious men of our profession, of lewd principles, hating honesty, and Coveting other mens rights, and which we call *Land Pirates*, one of this society is *Thomas Bradyl* a Printer, who I found Actually printing my Book for himself...) but in truth he hath so abominably and basely falcified the true Copie...that they have abused the Author in the sense, and the Propriator of his right, (and if it doth steal abroad, they put a cheat upon the people.) You may distinguish it thus...This Fourth Edition hath as the third had, The Authors Picture before the Title, and hath more than 22 passages of Additions, pertinently placed quite thorow the Book, which the Counterfeit hath not.

While Ponder is unquestionably the 'Propriator' who has rights over the work (it is '[his] Book'), however, he notes that the Author's 'sense' is also being 'abused' by the piracy. Bunyan's revisions to the text help to distinguish the 'true Copie'; although these are actually minor in the fourth edition, Ponder insists that they are

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[14] *True Domestick Intelligence or News Both from City and Country*. Friday, January 23, 1678/9: Issue 58.

[15] A summary of the court case is given by Frank Mott Harrison; it is also in John Lilly's *Modern Entries* (67), and, as one of the few cases relating to literary property before 1710, was frequently referred to as a precedent in the eighteenth-century copyright debate.

'placed quite thorow the Book' to prevent easy appropriation.[16] The famous frontispiece portrait of Bunyan as the Dreamer surrounded by figures from his narrative also serves to differentiate and authorise the text.[17]

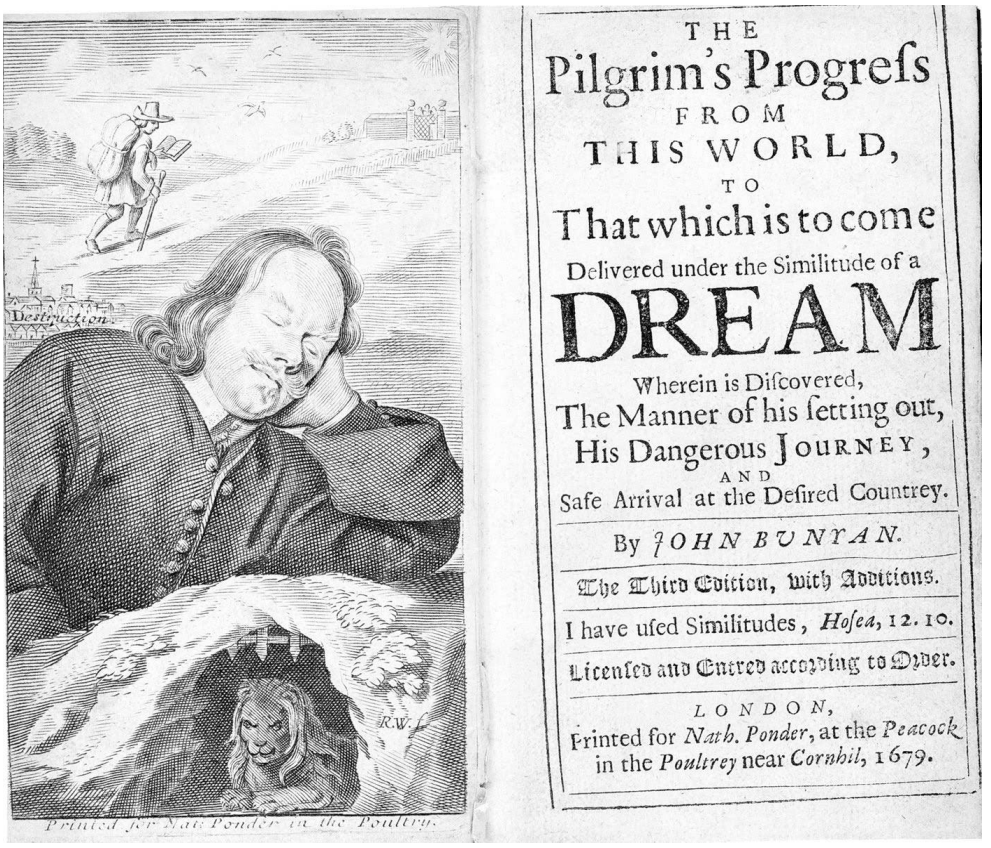

Fig. 5 – The sleeping portrait

Bunyan's testimony on behalf of Ponder's edition is purely symbolic: there is no record of the author actually being called to testify in the court case against Bradyll (Harrison 277). However, when the *Second Part of the Pilgrim's Progress* was published in 1684, it contained a note on the first page signed 'John Bunyan,' which states: 'I appoint Mr. *Nathaniel Ponder*, But no other to Print this Book.'

Pirated editions like Bradyll's were not the only unintended consequence of the text's popularity. In 1682, 'T.S.' (Thomas Sherman) published a work called *The*

[16] The additions, mainly of marginal notes, are discussed James Blanton Wharey and Roger Sharrock (ci-cii), who note that they may not be authorial (civ). In fact, their survey of title-pages shows that *all* of Ponder's issues of *The Pilgrim's Progress* claimed to contain additions, which (as in the case of the *Arcadia*) is in keeping with Early Modern forms of book advertising.

[17] Anne Dunan-Page provides some details of the picture's background and subsequent history, noting that the portrait suggests the generic boundaries being crossed in the volume by positioning Bunyan somewhere between an 'author' and a 'divine' (27). Editions of Bunyan's *Second Part* also include a sleeping portrait featuring a new set of characters (Wharey and Sharrock cxiv-v).

Second Part of the Pilgrim's Progress, with an extended title that mirrors Bunyan's (*The Second Part of the Pilgrims Progress, from this present world of wickeness* [sic] *and misery to an eternity of holiness and felicity exactly described under the similitude of a dream, relating the manner and occasion of his setting out from, and difficult and dangerous journey through the world, and safe arrival at last to eternal happiness*). His dedication of the book to God also echoes Bunyan in fearing purely plot-based readings by an audience motivated by 'Curiosity' to 'sport and play with the shaddow' rather than 'entertain the substance' (A3r). Sherman describes his own life as a pilgrimage, in which his work is 'an instrument of doing good to [his] fellow pilgrims,' establishing authority from autobiographical experience in a way similar to Bunyan's *Grace Abounding* (A3v-4r). There follows a commendatory poem 'To the Ingenious AUTHOR Of this SECOND PART Of the Pilgrims Progress' (signed 'R.B.'), and then 'The Authors Apology for his BOOK.'

Thus far, the text appears to be a 'Second Part' that omits any mention of its predecessor. In the 'Apology,' however, Sherman writes that the popularity of 'Novels, Romances and Plays...whilst Tracts of Divinity are also wholly slighted and neglected' has caused some 'eminent and ingenious' religious writers to couch their 'plain Truths' in a style that would appeal to a broad range of readers. Although he is never named, it appears that Bunyan is one of these:

> And this consideration was the Motive which put the Author of the First Part of the Pilgrims Progress, upon composing and publishing that necessary and useful Tract, which have deservedly obtained such an Universal esteem and commendation. And this Consideration likewise, together with the importunity of others, was the Motive that prevailed with me, to compose and publish the following Meditations in such a method as might serve as a Supplyment, or a Second Part to it: Wherein I have endeavoured to supply a fourfold Defect, which I observe, the brevity of that discourse necessitated the Author into: First their is nothing said of the *State* of *Man* in his first Creation: Nor Secondly, of the Misery of Man in his Lapsed Estate before Conversion, Thirdly, a too brief passing over the Methods of Divine Goodness...And fourthly, I have endeavoured to deliver the whole in such serious and spiritual phrases, that may prevent that lightness and laughter, which the reading of some passages therein, occasion in some vain and frothy minds. ([*4]v-[5]r)

Sherman is here speaking the language of earlier seventeenth-century continuation prefaces: like Kirkman, he lists his own motivations for undertaking the work, and

like the *Arcadia* continuators, he refers to his text as a 'Supplyment...to supply a fourfold Defect.' Yet while Sherman considers that these defects are caused by the excessive 'brevity' of *The Pilgrim's Progress*, the gaps he notes are doctrinal and stylistic rather than narrative. Although he generally commends Bunyan's work, Sherman's intention is to improve upon it in both language and theology. In fact, despite Sherman's description of his 'method,' the *Second Part* is not strictly speaking a continuation of *The Pilgrim's Progress* at all, but rather a full-scale rewriting, intended not to supplement but to replace it with a more theologically-sound and less suspiciously romantic account of the soul's journey (Davies 294-8). The *Second Part* therefore differs from other continuations in its fundamentally anti-fictional orientation; Davies writes that Sherman is 'voicing profound concerns about the dangers of accepting Bunyan's allegory in terms of narrative "froth" alone—a reading for the "story" which, according to Sherman at least, Bunyan has manifestly failed to discourage' (297). It is significant, however, that this warning is couched in the shape of a continuation: the *Second Part*'s presentation and marketing clearly seek to exploit readers' interest in sequels to popular texts, just as religious allegory seeks to appeal to the 'vain and frothy' readers of fiction.

Despite several further editions, there is no evidence of Nathaniel Ponder ever addressing this text: Sherman's rewriting never claims to be by Bunyan, and does not seem to have constituted an infringement of Ponder's rights as proprietor.[18] However, the year after the *Second Part* appeared, Bunyan's *One Thing is Needful* (1683) included an advertisement from Ponder warning readers that

> THIS Author having Publish'd many Books, which have gone off very well: There are certain Ballad-sellers about *Newgate*...who have put the two first Letters of this Author's Name, and his Effigies to their Rhimes and Ridiculous Books, suggesting to the World as if they were his: Now know, that this Author publisheth his Name at large to all his Books; and what you shall see otherwise he disowns.

Other works at this time, therefore, were seeking to capitalise on Bunyan's popularity by usurping his authorial identity. While such appropriation has caused his initials and portrait ('Effigies') to lose the power that Ponder had earlier attributed to them,

[18] A 'second edition with additions' was published for Thomas Malthus in 1683 and 1684, and in Edinburgh in 1684 and 1696. Ponder had previously published two of Sherman's other tracts, which are advertised alongside the fourth edition of *The Pilgrim's Progress* in the 1680 Term Catalogue (Forrest and Sharrock, *Mr. Badman* xi).

the author's full signature ('at large') continues to be invoked as an authenticating gesture.

When Bunyan published his own *Second Part* in 1684, its verse preface seems to be a direct response to Sherman and these other derivative texts.[19] Titled 'The Authors Way of Sending forth His Second Part of the Pilgrim,' it constitutes a dialogue between Bunyan and his book, itself figured as a pilgrim or group of pilgrims. The book objects:

> *But how if they will not believe of me*
> *That I am truly thine, cause some there be*
> *That Counterfeit the Pilgrim, and his name,*
> *Seek by disguise to seem the very same.*
> And by that means have wrought themselves into
> The hands and Houses of I know not who. (A2v)

Since Bunyan conceives reading *The Pilgrim's Progress* as an act of hospitality, a spurious continuation becomes a deceptive guest, inveigling its way into readers' homes through false attribution. As he replies, echoing the terms of Ponder's earlier advertisement, these texts misappropriate not only his book's title but his own authorship:

> 'Tis true, some have of late, to Counterfeit
> *My* Pilgrim, to their own, my Title set;
> Yea others, half my name and Title too;
> Have stitched to their book, to make them do;
> But yet they by their *Features* do declare
> Themselves not mine to be, whose ere they are. (A3r)

Such a strategy to 'make them do' implies an improved status and marketability for these texts through the invocation of the popular *Pilgrim's Progress*. Bunyan returns to the conventional bastardry trope in disclaiming continuations that not only lack the '*Features*' of the genuine Bunyan text, but have no acknowledged author-father. Unlike Bunyan, these writers do not properly 'own' their texts since they publish under stolen names and initials.

The poem continues to set out the criteria by which readers might distinguish

[19] Wharey and Sharrock refer to the appearance of 'spurious "Second Parts"' that forced Bunyan to 'resume his dream' in 'sheer self-defence.' However, they appear to base this entirely on Bunyan's own statements, and cite only the one continuation by Sherman (cxii-cxiii). I assume that Bunyan is probably conflating Sherman's work with the more ephemeral 'Rhimes and Ridiculous Books' denounced by Ponder.

genuine from counterfeit, all of which are directly dependent upon Bunyan's authorship. First, there is the style that Sherman criticised for lacking 'serious and spiritual phrases,' but which instead becomes an inimitable mark of quality, defining the author's own against the spurious: the book speaks in 'thine own native Language, which no man / Now useth, nor with ease dissemble can' (A3r). The final proof, however, can only come from Bunyan himself. If any continue to doubt of the book,

> Send them for me
> And I will Testifie, you Pilgrims be;
> Yea, I will Testifie that only you
> My Pilgrims are: And that alone will do. (A3r)

Bunyan thus becomes the chief and only possible witness of the book's quality and truth – a question of truth particularly acute when readers' souls might be jeopardised depending on what they believe or welcome into their homes.

After all the justifications of his first 'Apology,' Bunyan's assertiveness as an author here is remarkable. He mentions some of the objections put forward against *The Pilgrim's Progress* by critics like Sherman, including that 'he laughs too loud,' the allegory is too 'dark' to understand, or the 'method' comes too close to 'Romance.' However, instead of responding to these at length, he only advises the book to 'leave such [readers] to their choice' as there is no accounting for taste (A4v-5r). The first part's popularity makes Bunyan confident that his sequel will find an audience despite such nay-sayers: he lists at length the many languages and countries in which *The Pilgrim's Progress* (repeatedly referred to as 'my *Pilgrim*') has been successful: 'Yet more, so comely doth my *Pilgrim* walk, / That of him thousands daily sing and talk' (A3v). Therefore, Bunyan writes,

> my *Second Part*, thou needst not be
> Afraid to shew thy Head...
> 'Cause thou com'st after with a Second store,
> Of things as good, as rich, as profitable. (A4r)

The phrasing recalls the preface to Parts Three and Four of *The English Rogue*, in which the author(s) advertise the text's similarity to its successful predecessors. These commercial associations give a new weight to the words 'rich' and 'profitable.' Indeed, the 'Hearty Prayer of the Author, *JOHN BUNYAN*' at the conclusion of the

verse preface seems to be evenly balanced between the spiritual benefit to his readers and the financial risk:

> And may its buyer have no cause to say,
> His Money is but lost or thrown away
> ...And may it perswade some that go astray,
> To turn their Foot and Heart to the right way. (A6r)

As Roger Sharrock writes, in publishing the sequel Bunyan 'could not help being aware of his new stature and responsibility as a writer with a public' (*John Bunyan* 139-40) – not least because this stature had been challenged by others seeking to usurp or undermine his authority. While it may have begun as a divinely-inspired meditation, by this point the two parts of *The Pilgrim's Progress* and their author seem to have firmly taken their place within the competitive literary marketplace.

If (as many critics have assumed) Bunyan was motivated to write his own continuation by the appearance of Sherman's, he responded by stealing back the title that had been stolen from him. Where Sherman had imitated the book only superficially, Bunyan composes a *real* second part of the story, repeating the successful elements of *The Pilgrim's Progress* through the medium of a narrative continuation, which no longer apologises for its fictionality. The *Second Part* relates the pilgrimage of Christian's wife, Christiana, along with her children and companions. This links it to the earlier text through family relationships and events, as Christiana traverses a landscape bearing the traces of Christian's journey and encounters characters who have met him. As Sharrock describes it, 'Like most sequels, it is an antiquarian tour in which memories of former greatness are recalled....With the passage of years Christian and Faithful have grown in heroic stature, and everyone along the king's highway seems to know about them' – 'everywhere in this world there are memories and traces of the past' (*John Bunyan* 140, 153). In fact, Michael McKeon sees this use of memory as a direct response to the subversive potential of the spurious continuation, drawing a connection with the second part of *Don Quixote*: 'The subject of Part II of *The Pilgrim's Progress* is nothing other than the documentary objectivity of "the first part of the Records of the *Pilgrims Progress*,"' which characters within the narrative have accessed as a text, and which is repeatedly referred to and cited in the margins (313). This allows the two texts to 'support and bear witness to each other' through their interrelation

(Austin 494), supplanting the more tenuous links of Sherman's *Second Part*.

Bunyan's sequel both fills a narrative gap noted by readers of *The Pilgrim's Progress* (Christian's abandonment of his family) and expands its doctrinal meaning. Johnson argues that the continuation demonstrates the appeal of the story as fiction: Bunyan 'capitulates to the will of his readers and returns to the question of Christian's wife and children. This concern with character rather than doctrine signals the shift from allegory to novel, from religion to literature' (246). Yet such a binary opposition ill-suits Bunyan's text, since Christiana's story also constitutes a thematic and theological complement. While rebutting Sherman's stylistic criticism, Bunyan's continuation does address some of his concerns: whereas the first part depicts a man's individual journey, the second focuses on female characters and the church community in order to 'complete the picture of Christian life in the world' through the model of a marriage (Schellenberg, 'Sociability' 313).[20] Michael Austin considers that the two parts parallel the structure of the Old and New Testaments, existing in a similarly typological relationship with each other. The verse preface supports such a reading, since Bunyan presents the *Second Part* as an interpretative gloss upon the first, a 'Key' that will retrospectively aid in understanding it:

> Besides, what my first *Pilgrim* left conceal'd,
> Thou my brave *Second Pilgrim* hast reveal'd
> What *Christian* left lock't up and went his way;
> Sweet *Christiana* opens with her Key. (A4v)

Austin argues that this 'narrative logic of typology' means that 'a sequel might differ radically from its original in style, tone, theme, and argument, yet at the same point be considered a perfectly logical continuation of the earlier work....Apparent contradictions between the two works can be resolved by assuming unity at the outset and interpreting one work in light of the other' (488). It is significant, however, that the site of this 'unity at the outset' is located in the author – Austin notes that typology requires readers to assume both 'a common authorship' and 'a common authorial intention for both texts' (494). Such a 'point where contradictions are

[20] For more on these aspects of the *Second Part* and Bunyan's changed personal circumstances, see Betty Schellenberg, 'Sociability and the Sequel: Rewriting Hero and Journey in *The Pilgrim's Progress*, Part II,' and Kathleen M. Swain, 'Mercy and the Feminine Heroic in the Second Part of *Pilgrim's Progress*.' Keeble sees the continuation as more culmination than revision, arguing for 'The Unity of *The Pilgrim's Progress*' as a single text.

resolved' into a coherent doctrine is also precisely how Foucault characterises the 'author function' (286). This is what unites the disparate halves of the text into a single 'canon,' and it is why Bunyan insists that he is the sole possible witness to the *Second Part*'s authenticity.

Critical discussions of Bunyan's first and second part have generally accepted this typological relationship by presenting them as a completed diptych, the form in which they continue to be reprinted. Yet while *The Pilgrim's Progress* allowed for further dreaming only in the case of interpretative failure, the *Second Part* explicitly leaves the door open for additional sequels. Although, as Margaret Bridges argues, the dream-vision form creates a strong expectation of closure in the narrator's awakening, Bunyan all but abandons the premise in the *Second Part* (83, 94). Instead, he seems to blur the boundary between dreaming and waking, replacing inward experience with geographical specificity:

> Now it hath so happened, thorough the Multiplicity of Business, that I have been much hindred, and kept back from my wonted Travels into those Parts whence he went, and so could not till now obtain an opportunity to make further enquiry after whom he left behind, that I might give you an account of them. But having had some concerns that way of late, I went down again thitherward. Now having taken up my Lodgings in a Wood about a mile off the place, as I slept I dreamed again.
> And as I was in my Dream, behold, an aged Gentleman came by where I lay... (1-2)

The gentleman (Mr. Sagacity) and Bunyan then proceed to discuss the city they see before them, exchanging news about Christian as though he was a mutual acquaintance. The narrative is now authenticated, not as a record of a personal vision, but through, as McKeon notes, an 'oddly literalistic' move toward historicity (313). Christian and his family seem to be real figures, and Bunyan and his dreams serve as the reader's point of access to them. This allows him to end the *Second Part*, not with the decisive rupture of awakening, but the potential of a further relation:

> As for *Christian'*s Children, the four Boys that *Christiana* brought with her, with their Wives and Children, I did not stay where I was, till they were gone over. Also since I came away, I heard one say, that they were yet alive...Shall it be my Lot to go that way again, I may give those that desire it, an Account of what I here am silent about; mean time I bid my Reader *Adieu*. (223-4)

As well as the direct promise of continuation in the fates of Christiana's four sons, the multiple pilgrims joining Christiana's group all have their own stories to tell, 'implying a potentially unlimited multiplication of equally significant and narration-worthy pilgrimages' (Schellenberg, 'Sociability' 319). The possibility of further instalments combines the commercial impetus of continuation-writing (giving readers what they 'desire') with Bunyan's allegorical goals, since each story serves as a gloss upon the former and encourages further stories/pilgrimages. The *Second Part* concludes with the death-bed scene of Stand-fast, who asks that his own wife and children may be told 'of *Christian*, and of *Christiana* his Wife, and how *She* and her Children came after her Husband,' in order to encourage them to follow in his footsteps (221). By representing the act of receiving the story within the text, Bunyan thus manages to combine the promise of further narrative with the goal of active imitation in Christian life.

His publisher's later statements suggest that Bunyan may in fact have begun work on another continuation, but if so, it was not completed by the time of his death in 1688. However, *The Third Part of the Pilgrim's Progress* (first published in 1693) fully exploited the powerful draw of the original author, justifying Bunyan and Ponder's complaints that his name, title, and image were being stolen. While this text by 'J.B.' never directly claims to be by Bunyan, it does everything possible to suggest it, fully incorporating the author within its modes of self-advertisement.[21] The title page copies the 'sleeping portrait' of *The Pilgrim's Progress* as well as its title, and features Bunyan's name in large type as the subject of an appended biography of 'the Author of the First and Second Part; this Compleating the whole Progress':

[21] Harrison suggests that the 'J.B.' actually stood for Josiah (or Joseph) Blare, one of the publishers of *The Third Part* (285). However, Ponder's previous denouncement of chapbooks published using Bunyan's initials suggests that no correspondence with a real name is necessary.

THE
Pilgrim's Progreſs
FROM
THIS WORLD
TO
That which is to come:
The Third Part.
Delivered under the Similitude of a
DREAM.
SHEVVING
The ſeveral Difficulties and Dangers he met with, and the many Victories he obtained over the World, the Fleſh, and the Devil.
TOGETHER,
With his happy Arrival at the Celeſtial City, and the Glory and Joy he found to his Eternal Comfort.
To which is added,
The LIFE and DEATH of
John Bunyan,
Author of the Firſt and Second Part; this Compleating the whole Progreſs.
LONDON: Printed By E. Millet, for J. Deacon, at the Angel in Gilt-ſpur-ſtreet without Newgate; J. Back, at the Black Boy on London-bridge; and J. Blare, at the Looking-glaſs on London-bridge, 1693.

Fig. 6 – The Third Part, title page and frontispiece

The 'Life and Death' (which claims to be by a close friend of Bunyan's) continues the conflation between the former two parts and the third. It describes their composition entirely in the passive voice, which does not clearly assign authorial agency:

> And now to make him more known and noted in the World, out comes his First Part of his *Pilgrims Progress*...which gained much Approbation and Applause, and in which his Name shall live to the end of the World; since which a Second Part, and now this Third is extant, compleating the whole, wherein are such Lively Representations of things Figured out to the mind, that it cannot but be very pleasing and delightful, as well as profitable, to a Godly life. (38)

As with the *Arcadia*, this is a posthumously-published continuation, yet it exists in a very different relationship to its source. The *Third Part* claims to be an essential part of the text, emerging from the same process, and in no way inferior to the rest of the 'whole.' Its preface advertises that

> It is a piece so Rare and Transcending what had hitherto been Published of this kind, that I dare, without any further Apology, leave

> it to the Censure of all Mankind, who are not Impartial, or Byassed: And so not doubting but it will render Comfort and Delight, I subscribe my self, as heretofore, your Souls hearty well Wisher, and Fellow Labourer in the Vineyard of our Lord Jesus,
> *J.B.* (A4r-v)

The 'as heretofore' strongly suggests that the speaker is Bunyan, particularly since the appended 'Life' also calls him 'A Painful and Faithful Labourer in Christ's Vineyard' (3). However, it is difficult to imagine even the more confident Bunyan of the *Second Part* ever engaging in such blatant promotion of his own work.

The text also includes two commendatory verses to a 'Worthy Friend, the Author of the Third Part of *The Pilgrim's Progress*' (signed 'B.D.' and 'L.C.'), each praising the work in the terms of Bunyan's Apology: 'This is a Dream, not fabl'd as of old; / In this Express the Sacred Truths are told' (A5r); 'You write so plainly, that the weakest mind, / Under Similitudes, may comfort find' (A6r). However, they also engage in more obvious forms of advertising: 'This Book has my voice, / And is of all in this kind the most choice' (A6v). As in the preface, it is unclear whether the first two parts of *The Pilgrim's Progress* are to be considered together with the *Third Part*, or among the previous works of that 'kind' which it surpasses. However, the poems' intent is certainly to persuade the audience to buy and read this particular book. To that end, one of the poems uses language that would have been quite foreign to Bunyan:

> As well in every Part the Scene is laid,
> That it to Charm the Reader may be said,
> With curious Fancy, and create delight,
> Which to an Imitation must Invite. (A5v)

While the 'Imitation' in this case is a pilgrimage, the terms of praise are that of literature – and particularly of romance – rather than religion. Indeed, as Davies argues, the *Third Part* seeks to tone down the more radical and restrictive aspects of Bunyan's teaching, so that, for example, 'Bunyan's doctrine of law and grace is replaced by...fasting and temperance' (347). The language and allegory are also simpler and less demanding of interpretation, thus appealing to a potentially broader market.

At the same time, however, the *Third Part* attempts to gain an audience by exploiting the familiarity of Bunyan's successful text. Its opening recalls that of *The*

Pilgrim's Progress, combining the summarising of a sequel with a continued usurpation of Bunyan's voice:

> After the two former Dreams concerning *Christian,* and *Christiana* his Wife, with their Children and Companions Pilgrimage from the City of *Destruction* to the Region of Glory; I fell asleep again, and the Visions of my Head returned upon me: I dreamed another Dream, and behold there appeared unto me a great multitude of People...travelling from the City of *Destruction.* (B1r)

As well as formal similarity in the repetition of common phrases (such as 'Now I saw in my Dream') and occasional marginal notes, the pilgrimage, like that of Bunyan's *Second Part,* features many places and characters from the first part of *The Pilgrim's Progress*. Despite the change in doctrinal emphasis, Davies writes that 'the book is true to Bunyan's allegorical world,' as the protagonist, Tender Conscience, passes through all the physical landmarks experienced by the previous pilgrims and recalls the events of the prior two instalments (347). As Johnson argues, the *Third Part* 'is a clear attempt to profit from Bunyan's phenomenal success, but it also correctly diagnoses what readers were hungering for,' with a superficially-similar narrative that skims the surface of Bunyan's allegory and focuses on 'characters rather than doctrine' (248).

However, while Davies may be correct that Bunyan would have considered the diminished theological rigour of the *Third Part* 'as much an outright abuse of his original creation as Thomas Sherman's bogus *Second Part*' (347), the work was attacked on very different grounds by Ponder. The advertisements in the 1693 edition of Bunyan's *Second Part* include a note, apparently inserted at the last minute, reading: 'The Third part of the *Pilgrim's Progress* that's now abroad, was not done by *John Bunyan,* as is suggested. But the true Copy left by him, will be Published by *Nath. Ponder*' (A1r). A fuller explanation is given in that year's edition of the first part, printed for Ponder's son Robert. It contains an Advertisement for the *Second Part* and for *Grace Abounding,* described as '*JOHN BUNYAN*'s Life...written by his own Hand...To which is added, The Remainder of his Life to his Death, by the Hand of a Friend.' The Advertisement goes on to note that

> *The Pilgrims Progress*; The THIRD PART; in a Dream: Printed in 1692. is an Impostor, thrust into the World by a Nameless Author, and would insunuate to the *Buyers*, that 'tis *John Bunyan's,* by adding a

> false Account of his Life and Death, not compleating the Work, as is said, *&c.* The Skeleton of *his* Design, and the Main of the Book, Done by him, As a Third Part, remain with *Nath. Ponder*; which, when convenient time serves, shall be Published. (A1v)

Davies suggests that 'With the theological differences so evident, it is hardly surprising that Nathaniel Ponder...disclaimed this *Third Part* as an outright "impostor"' (347). However, Ponder's advertisement never mentions incompatibilities in doctrine (which no critic would remark upon until the nineteenth century), and is instead predicated on the facts of the text's production. A *Third Part* by a 'Nameless Author' is incapable of 'compleating the Work' and necessarily inferior to a skeleton draft left to be edited by Bunyan's literary executor; the biography is also a 'false Account,' and should be substituted by Ponder's edition of *Grace Abounding.*

Ponder thus takes on a role similar to that of Fulke Greville and Mary Sidney in posthumously publishing Sidney's works and defending their integrity from unwelcome addition, although his commercial motives are closer to Ponsonby's. Ponder was clearly eager to protect his rights over the Bunyan canon; the same year, he refused to sell his copies for inclusion in Charles Doe's folio collected works (Harrison 284). His editions of Bunyan texts often include a catalogue of the author's other writings, and (as seen earlier) he frequently spoke out against impostors appropriating Bunyan's name and image. By publishing his most successful texts, Ponder's reputation became inextricably connected to Bunyan's, so that fellow bookseller John Dunton refers to him as '*Nathaniel* (alias *Bunyan*) *Ponder*' (437). However, as Frank Mott Harrison writes, 'In the closing decade of the century, Nathaniel Ponder had been hard put-to in conserving his property: so popular had Bunyan's writings become (272). Not only did *The Third Part* appear, but its advertisements include the same publisher, Josiah Blare, selling 'The Pilgrims Progress, and all the Works of that Laborious Minister, Mr. *John Bunyan*.' Ponder was apparently unable to prevent the publication.

In 1697, however, Ponder once again sued the printer Thomas Bradyll at the Court of Chancery. Although Harrison considers that, given the final lapse of the Licensing Act in 1695, 'Ponder's monopoly had ceased,' he still pursued this case as

the text's legal copyright holder (272).[22] As summarised by Harrison and Henry Plomer, the main accusation was that, while printing editions of the first and second parts of *The Pilgrim's Progress* and *Grace Abounding* for Ponder, Bradyll had made extra copies and sold them off on the side to make a profit. In the midst of this business dispute between publisher and printer, however, Ponder also chose to accuse Bradyll of having either written or commissioned, as well as printed, *The Third Part of the Pilgrim's Progress* (Plomer, 'Lawsuit' 66). According to the extant records of the case, Ponder's witnesses (three fellow booksellers, whose testimony was generally unhelpful) were asked:

> doe you know that the Def[endan]t did Cause new booke called the third p[ar]te of the pilgrims progresse taken out of the sayd Booke the pillgrims progresse to be written and Imprinted the draught of which was taken out of the s[ai]d Booke soe as afores[ai]d entered and to which the Comp[lainan]t is intitled and an Impression of a greate quantity thereof and to what quantity sold declare you/ (P.R.O. C24/1201/41)

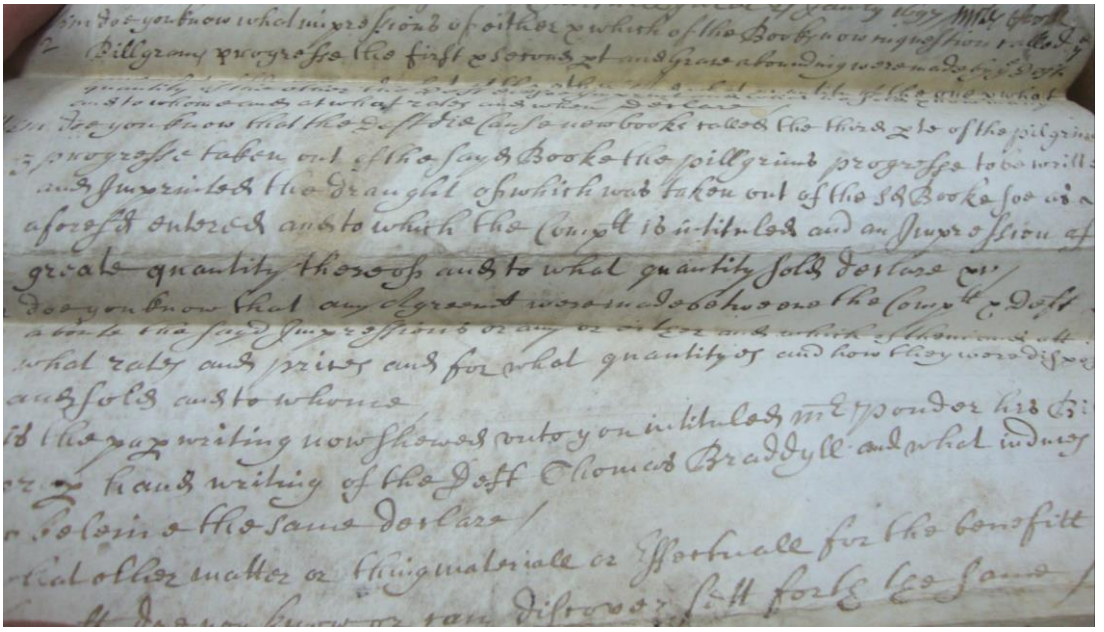

Fig. 7 – Questions put to booksellers testifying in Ponder v. Bradyll (National Archives)

Bradyll denied any involvement with *The Third Part*. The accusations concerning it seem almost gratuitous, considering that he appears in the case exclusively in his role

[22] Michael Treadwell discusses other cases of individual stationers treating copyrights as common-law property even after final lapse of Licensing Act (773), although Joseph Loewenstein notes that 'trade confidence in traditional protections virtually collapsed' after 1695 (*Author's Due* 213).

as a printer, and none of the witnesses chose to address them. It is crucial, however, that Ponder brings up *The Third Part* in order to claim that it contains a 'draught...taken out of' a work to which, as proprietor, he is legally 'intitled.' Although the continuation may be a 'new booke,' Ponder argued that 'by transporting a great part of the original work, especially the titles, [*The Third Part*] hindered the sale of the plaintiff's copies' (Plomer, 'Lawsuit' 65). Hidden within this obscure Chancery case, therefore, we have the first recorded statement in which a narrative continuation constitutes not only an offense against an author's intentions, but a violation of literary property and a commercial threat.

The publisher's efforts to expose the *Third Part* as a fraud were ultimately unsuccessful, as was his attempt to assemble and publish an authorised continuation out of the 'Skeleton' left by Bunyan. The *Third Part* evidently sold well and, from the middle of the eighteenth century, was frequently bound with the first two parts as a single volume containing the complete *Pilgrim's Progress*.[23] Its authorship was questioned only a hundred years later, when, Susan Cook suggests, it fell out print because of new conceptions of 'authorial authenticity' (202). Yet, years before the introduction of authorial copyright and the late eighteenth-century discourse of original genius, we can already see Nathaniel Ponder – acting out of his own self-interest as a publisher – being highly concerned with the authenticity and integrity of Bunyan's work.

The publication history of *The Pilgrim's Progress* shows how closely commercial and theological concerns could combine in the Restoration literary marketplace. Sherman's *Second Part* and the anonymous *Third Part* serve very different purposes in rewriting Bunyan's doctrine and continuing his story, but both seek to gain an audience by playing up a connection with the bestselling text. At the same time, even for a religious writer like Bunyan, defending the genuineness of his vision meant taking ownership of his writings in the language of literary property – although it was left to Ponder to actually pursue the matter in court. While in the case of *The English Rogue,* Head and Kirkman variously took on the roles of both author and publisher, their prefaces do tend to position Head as the former and Kirkman as

[23] 'No fewer than fifty-nine editions of [*The Third Part*] had appeared before the end of the eighteenth century' (Wharey and Sharrock cxvi n2).

the latter. With *The Pilgrim's Progress*, the division between 'Author' and 'Proprietor' (which would be reflected in the Copyright Act of 1710) was more complete. This granted Bunyan a level of detachment from the wrangling over his works, while Ponder was able to invoke his name when necessary to validate his ownership of the copy. The nature of Bunyan's authorship, and his rights over 'his' pilgrims, therefore, took shape in the space between the claims made by these two men.

Although they may initially appear worlds apart, both of the episodes discussed in this chapter demonstrate how a literary property regime in transition affected the writing and publication of prose fiction continuations. The kind of distant admiration accorded to Sidney in the *Arcadia* texts is no longer possible for these authors (and/or publishers) as they actively seek to demonstrate their own integrity, and that of their works, while also securing their position in the marketplace. While they differ in their details, the disputes over *The English Rogue* and *The Pilgrim's Progress* both raise the central questions of profit, reputation, and 'credit.' These key terms are used to delineate the differences between a real or stolen literary property, a real or 'nameless' author, a real or 'spurious' continuation. As argued in the Introduction, the Copyright Act (while offering some protection against piracy) was ill-equipped to provide an answer to these questions, which would continue to be hotly debated in the paratexts surrounding literary works in the eighteenth century. This occurred most notably in the case of Samuel Richardson's runaway epistolary bestseller, *Pamela; or Virtue Rewarded*, which forms the subject of the next chapter. The multiple texts published in response to it aptly combined issues of both 'virtue' and 'reward': the economic motivations of *The English Rogue* together with the moral stakes of *The Pilgrim's Progress*.

Chapter 5

Samuel Richardson vs. the 'High Life Men'

Witness the Labours of the press in Piracies, in Criticisms, in Cavils, in Panogyrics, in Supplements, in Imitations, in Transformations, in Translations, &c, beyond anything I know of.
– Solomon Lowe to Samuel Richardson (Forster MS XVI.1.78)

Whatever criteria are applied, Samuel Richardson's *Pamela* is often referred to as the first English novel. The vast body of continuations, imitations, adaptations and responses that accumulated after its publication in 1740 might therefore appear as inevitable witnesses to the overwhelming impact of the new genre. In other ways, however, *Pamela* does not represent a complete break with the past, but rather a culmination of the issues I have hitherto been discussing within a new context. Richardson's career – beginning with *Pamela* and continuing in the next chapter with *Clarissa* and *Sir Charles Grandison* – offers a particularly vivid illustration of an author's attempts to claim an originatory 'authority' over a fictional work, and of the kinds of challenges that might arise to such authority. Those challenges, from the 'AntiPamelists' and the *Pamela* continuations respectively, are described in the first two sections of this chapter. I then discuss the importance of Pamela-the-character to the discourse surrounding the continuations, with its metaphors of murder, kidnap, and debasement. The final section demonstrates the ongoing difficulty of establishing an authorial role between the poles of morality and commerce, and Richardson's involvement in the development of new ideas relating to copyright and literary originality.

At first sight, the *Arcadia* and *Pamela* provide particularly fitting bookends for a discussion of prose continuations. Dennis Kay writes that 'The transition of genres could hardly be neater. Richardson and the novel took over from Sidney and the romance, and many of the characteristics of responses to Sidney in the preceding generation were smoothly transferred to Richardson' (32). This apparent neatness is due not only to the fact that both works led to the writing of multiple continuations, but because *Pamela* itself can be seen as the last in the wave of reactions to the *Arcadia*. Richardson helped to print the fourteenth edition of Sidney's *Works* in

1724-5, and its last eighteenth-century reprint was published in 1739, a year before Richardson's novel. Gillian Beer argues that the 1725 edition, which included Richard Belling's *Sixth Booke* in its third volume, might 'particularly have drawn to Richardson's attention to the possibility of extending and rethinking Sidney's great work' (23). Unlike Belling, however, Richardson did not choose to continue the *Arcadia* – indeed, his work may be seen as a type of *dis*continuation within a new generic form and social context. Beer and Margaret Dalziell argue that, by giving his servant heroine the name 'Pamela' (a name 'apparently invented by Philip Sidney, and strongly associated with the romance tradition from then on' [Beer 29]), Richardson suggests Pamela's future rise in rank through affinity with Sidney's princess, invoking romance conventions at the same time as he seeks to reject them. In Richardson's second part, Pamela's name is addressed directly and 'tied to the question of her equivocal class status as well as to the question of the book's own genre' (Beer 36). Prior to meeting her, the boorish Sir Jacob Swynford exclaims, '*Pamela*—did you say?—A queer sort of Name! I've heard of it somewhere!—Is it a Christian or a Pagan Name?—Linsey-wolsey—half one, half t'other—like thy Girl—Ha, ha, ha' (3.316). The romance 'Pamela' is balanced by the everyday surname 'Andrews,' reflecting the hybrid, 'Linsey-woolsey' nature of the 'new species of writing' (*Selected Letters* 41) that Richardson was consciously trying to create.

The aristocratic connotations of the name, however, would have been undermined for some early readers by Richardson's way of pronouncing it: '*Pam*ela' rather than (as in Alexander Pope's earlier use in verse) 'Pam*ela*.' As Keymer and Sabor write, 'For readers determined to prove the ignorance and vulgarity of the novel, Richardson's accenting...was a solecism at odds with the etymologically correct accenting of the poets, and made offensively audible his perversion of established convention' (8). Among other writers, Henry Fielding mocks the naming controversy in *Joseph Andrews*: the Andrews family might be discovered 'by one Circumstance; for that they had a Daughter of a very strange Name, *Pamĕla* or *Pamēla*; some pronounced it one way, and some the other' (285).[1] Richardson's

[1] Of the published poems written about *Pamela* in the summer of 1741, most tend to use the old pronunciation, as does the satirical *Pamela: or, the Fair Impostor* (1743), while the extract from *Pamela Versified* published in October 1741 follows Richardson (*Pamela Controversy* 1.181-191, 195-196, 206-260).

friend Aaron Hill went so far as to create an alternative Greek etymology for the name, which would make Richardson's pronunciation the correct one (Forster MS XVI.1.39). Eventually, the altered emphasis of the name came to symbolise the novel's triumph over its romance predecessor: by 1804, Anna Laetitia Barbauld writes, the novel had effectively 'changed the pronunciation of the name'; Sidney's *Arcadia*, meanwhile, 'is a book that all have heard of, that some few possess, but that nobody reads' (1.lxxviii, xviii).

The early mockery of Richardson's pronunciation, however, showcases the differences between the reception of the *Arcadia* and that of *Pamela*, rather than the smooth transition that Kay suggests. Like the source texts studied in previous chapters (including the *Arcadia*), *Pamela* was a major success of its day, but its day was the mid-eighteenth century. The nature of the response to it reflects the features of a rapidly-expanding literary market: in their seminal recent study, Thomas Keymer and Peter Sabor stress 'the importance of the *Pamela* controversy as both an indicator of, and an agent in, the emergence of a thriving, dynamic, and fully commercialized marketplace for print' (4-5). Indeed, the speed and volume of the '*Pamela* Controversy' itself are remarkable: it involved a large number of named and anonymous writers, and was effectively over within two years of the novel's first publication. In *Licensing Entertainment,* William Warner has written about the ways in which the '*Pamela* media event' (as he calls it) anticipates the features of the modern bestseller. In contrast to a work like the *Arcadia*, which was presented as the supreme monument to its author's talents, the reception of *Pamela* was more ambiguous: it was criticised as much as it was praised. The French *Lettre sur Pamela* (1742) describes this often-puzzling aspect of the bestseller phenomenon: 'Personne n'en parle avantageusement; mais tout le monde le lit, j'oferai même dire qu'il est lû avec plaisir, on n'ose s'expliquer ouvertement' (*Pamela Controversy* 1.207).[2] 'Tout le monde le lit' is a self-fulfilling prophecy, leading to the often-cited examples of ladies holding up copies of the novel to each other, 'to shew they had got the book that every one was talking of' (Barbauld 1.lviii), and 'it being judged in Town as great a Sign of want of Curiosity not to have read *Pamela*, as not to have seen the

[2] Further references to the six-volume collection of materials related to *The Pamela Controversy*, edited by Keymer and Sabor, are abbreviated '*PC.*'

French and *Italian* dancers' (qtd in Keymer and Sabor 28). The *Pamela* controversy, more than the response to any other text I have discussed, thus assumes the features of a 'self-sustaining' system, in which new entries respond to the expanding archive as a whole, rather than directly to *Pamela* itself (Keymer and Sabor 15). Constituting a 'controversy,' as well as a 'vogue,' the texts around *Pamela* thus involved not only the commercial imperatives of Kirkman's continuations to *The English Rogue*, but the oppositional and corrective nature of Thomas Sherman's *Second Part of The Pilgrim's Progress*, which aimed to address the doctrinal and moral 'Defects' of Bunyan's story.

1. Pamela's *Truth and Virtue*

Such criticism of Richardson's novel, which divided its reception into 'Pamelist' and 'AntiPamelist' camps, came from several fronts. Most of it, however, can be connected to what Michael McKeon terms the two central poles of the early novel: epistemological 'questions of truth' and social 'questions of virtue.' In *Pamela*'s – and Pamela's – case, the two become nearly impossible to separate, leaving the reputations of both Richardson and his heroine open to challenge (McKeon 378). By publishing it as a collection of letters with himself only the anonymous 'editor' (going so far as to change the wording of an early advertisement to avoid any reference to *Pamela* being a novel [Keymer and Sabor 26]), Richardson had, after all, made several claims of 'truth' for his work. It was not only more verisimilar or truth-*like* than the older romances, 'written to *NATURE*' and resembling the '*General Conduct of Life*' (*PC* 1.123), but it was based on real historical events. Writing to Hill, Richardson gives an account of the incident that inspired the story, but remains vague on the details – the time is distant, the relator is dead, he had heard it in passing, and even the county where it took place is not specified (*Selected Letters* 39-40). In the preface to Volume 3, the 'Editor' addresses the widespread speculation regarding Pamela's identity by appealing to the privacy of 'the incomparable Lady, who is the Subject of these Volumes,' stating only 'what has been already hinted, That the Story has its Foundations in Truth...And that there was a Necessity, for obvious Reasons, to vary and disguise some Facts and

Circumstances' (*PC* 1.125-6). A number of real-life antecedents for Pamela were suggested, leading to publications like *Memoirs of the Life of Lady H-----, The Celebrated Pamela* (1741). The more serious question, however, was not whether it was possible for a well-born man to seduce and finally marry a servant-girl, but precisely the ill-defined gap between the story's 'Foundations in Truth' and the status of the documents in which it was related.

As McKeon writes, 'The claim to historicity in *Pamela* is inextricable from its epistolary form' (357). The widespread appeal of reading other people's letters at this time, in fact, was that they promised a 'truth' beyond that of a historical account, with intimate access to character and genuine feeling (Day 103). Beginning with the publication of Charles I's letters as *The King's Cabinet Opened* (1645) and continuing with the subsequent development of the Post Office (as described by James How in *Epistolary Spaces*) volumes of 'familiar letters' became increasingly popular. These could be the genuine correspondence of notable individuals, or miscellaneous collections like *The Post-Boy Rob'd of His Mail* (1706), whose publisher (the enterprising John Dunton) advertised for readers' own correspondence to be included in the next volume (Day 61). Opened cabinets and robbed postboys offered an illicit voyeuristic thrill, and this is dramatised in *Pamela*, where the writing and interception of Pamela's letters forms a crucial part of the plot. Just as these earlier collections had taken care to explain the provenance of their documents, the status of Pamela's letters as physical objects is frequently reiterated. She schemes to obtain pen and paper, buries her journal in the garden, smuggles it out through Parson Williams, conceals it under the clothes she wears, and finally sees it circulate among her new social circle. In the very first letter, her tears fall on the pages as she writes: 'O how my Eyes run!—Don't wonder to see the Paper so blotted!' (11). The lack of blots in the actual printed book, as Albert J. Rivero notes, testifies to its nature as a copy, but it is still (its 'editor' insists) an exact reproduction of an authentic artefact (213).

This combination of tears and printed pages returns us to questions of truth and virtue, and their intersection, in the case of Pamela, in the problem of her sincerity. A letter might be really a letter, after all, and yet (despite its tear-stains) not a true account of its author's feelings. As Christina Marsden Gillis writes, the

promise of published correspondence is that 'The reader is to be enticed into reading what was ostensibly intended to be "conceal'd." What is private is more true' (81). At the same time, however, the popularity of printed volumes of letters meant that it was no longer unusual for people at this time (including Richardson and his own correspondents) to write with publication in mind.[3] This leads Ruth Perry to ask, for example: 'Who can say whether Alexander Pope's letters were real or fictional, written and sent as they were with an eye toward future publication?' (79). Positioned somewhere between private and public documents, eighteenth-century 'familiar letters' could thus be read along two widely divergent lines, 'on the one hand, the pure, *un*dressed, expressive ideal; on the other, its impure, *ad*dressed, manipulative antithesis' (Keymer, *Richardson's Clarissa* 15). In the same way, Pamela's letters 'can only deliver their message of authentic, rather than performed, virtue if they are overheard, or intercepted' (Warner, *Licensing Entertainment* 191). Thus, in the later part of the narrative, she must force herself to forget that Mr. B. will eventually see her writing, professing each time that he will not ask to do so again.

Both Pamela herself and the novel's prefatory materials (expanded in its second edition) repeatedly emphasise the frankness and ideal transparency of Pamela's writing. According to Hill's foreword, it offers 'the fair Writer's most secret Thoughts,' in which 'she Pours out all her Soul...without Disguise; so that one may judge of, nay, almost see, the inmost Recesses of her Mind. A pure clear Fountain of Truth and Innocence, a Magazine of Virtue and unblemish'd Thoughts!' (5, 8). This ocular access is only possible because the 'editor' gives us the text substantially *un*edited: as Hill writes, this is '*Pamela* as *Pamela* wrote it; in her own Words, without Amputation or Addition' (9). The heroine's virtue – her credit and the extent to which she can be credited – thus also becomes an epistemological problem, tied to the genuineness of the documents in which she tells her own story (McKeon 358). John B. Pierce discusses how authority and historicity are used within the novel to establish Pamela's truth, and therefore virtue, against Mr. B.'s accusations that she is

[3] Toward the end of his life, Richardson (with assistance from Lady Bradshaigh) began to revise his own correspondence to that purpose, redacting names and altering phrasings, as reflected in the Forster Collection of Richardson's letters now held in the National Art Library. Bradshaigh wrote that she had 'all along had a view to these letters becoming publick' (Forster MS XI.1.241). As discussed in the following chapter, Richardson also frequently circulated copies of the letters he received among his correspondents.

writing a mere romance. That 'therefore' is the crucial element: as Pierce writes, 'Pamela's claims to an authoritative truth...is problematic, since she does not differentiate [in the distinction made by Patricia Meyer Spacks] between the truths of representation and doctrine, the facts of the referential and the estimates of the ethical' (12). In other words, both the prefatory puffs and the novel are founded on the claim that, so long as Pamela's letters accurately report the 'facts' of her experience, Pamela's motives must also be beyond reproach – that the view the letters give into the 'Recesses of her Mind' will reveal a 'pure clear Fountain of Truth *and* Innocence' (emphasis added).

This creates a weak point that AntiPamelist writers would exploit in their accusations of hypocrisy, showing how the same 'facts' could permit a very different interpretation. The title page of *The Virgin in Eden* (1741), for instance, proclaims 'Pamela's Letters proved to be immodest Romances painted in Images of Virtue': if the 'Letters' are proved to be only 'Romances,' then their 'Virtue' must also be a pretence only skin-deep. Henry Fielding had also exposed both the heroine and her story as a 'sham' in his *Shamela*, the earliest of the AntiPamela publications (April 1741). The parodic mode allows Fielding to mock the documentary claims of the novel by reproducing them, with the title page announcing that *Shamela* consists of 'exact Copies of authentick Papers delivered to the Editor...In which, the many notorious FALSHOODS and MISREPRSENTATIONS [sic] of a Book called *PAMELA*, Are exposed and refuted.' At the conclusion of the work, Shamela's husband hires an author who '*does that Sort of Business for Folks*' and '*can make black white*, it seems' to write the expurgated version of their story called *Pamela* (341). This hack-author will dupe his audience in the same way that Shamela dupes Mr. Booby, both of them conspiring to tell fictions in print by giving them out for a truth: 'Although [the editor's] purpose is to deceive and make money, he knows how to mask his intentions' behind the double covers of editorship and morality (Rivero 212). Fielding thus ends by switching the target of his satire from character to author: if Pamela's letters are 'immodest Romances painted in Images of Virtue,' then it is the 'editor' (not the fictional Pamela) who painted them. In exposing the story of *Pamela* as a fiction, these publications therefore also accuse Richardson himself of being a liar.

The attack was continued in *Pamela Censured* (1741), which is particularly vicious in its critique of the 'HALF-EDITOR, HALF-AUTHOR' (22). It mocks the title page and prefatory materials as conceited and deceptive, and denies *Pamela*'s claims of generic originality: it is in no way 'the First of that Kind,' but was preceded by a number of earlier moral novels and romances (*PC* 2.20). One of them, *La Paysanne Parvenue*, is praised for being 'a plain Tale...recommended and received as such':

> but Pamela is first a Series of Letters from a Girl to her Parents, which it is presumed are offered to us as Originals, and then immediately we are told it is a Narrative which has it's Foundation in Truth, and Nature; now what can any Man that would reduce this to the Language of his own Opinion and Judgment call it, but, a Romance form'd in Manner of a literary Correspondence founded on a Tale which the Author had heard, and modell'd into it's present Shape. (20)

In *Factual Fictions*, Lennard Davis argues that this text demonstrates the period's 'profound ambivalence' about categories of truth and falsehood by 'refus[ing] to say outrightly that *Pamela* is entirely a fiction' (179). In the final lines quoted, however, the censurer seems to have no trouble in accurately defining what *Pamela* is, and he is comfortable enough with openly fictional works like *La Paysanne Parvenue*. What he is actually attacking is the bad faith that allows Richardson to have all the pleasures of creating a fiction, while still making high-minded claims about historical truth. Richardson's '*Fancy*' must have provided 'Embellishments' and '*Imaginary Characters*' in which the author is supposed to take near-masturbatory delight, and thus, 'However *true* the *Foundation* may have been, yet a few *Removes* and *Transitions*, may make it deviate into a *downright Falsehood*' (22). As a novel, *Pamela* would be a fiction; as a novel pretending to be made up of real documents, it is a falsehood.

The author of *Pamela Censured* is further outraged because the editorial pretense allows Richardson to praise his own work in a way inconsistent with traditional forms of authorial modesty. In his preface to *Pamela*, the 'editor' places himself in the role of a commendator, writing that he is assured of the work's success because '*his own* Passions...have been uncommonly *moved* in perusing these engaging Scenes' and 'because an *Editor* may reasonably be supposed to judge with an Impartiality which is rarely to be met with in an *Author* towards his own Works'

(4). Richardson defends this 'assuming and very impudent preface' in a letter to Hill, with a clear awareness of the effect of paratextual material on reception: 'Knowing that the judgments of nine parts in ten of readers were but in hanging-sleeves, [I] struck a bold stroke in the preface you see, having the umbrage of the editor's character to screen myself behind' (42). *Pamela Censured* sees through this screen, however, 'from several Sentences undesignedly dropt where the Current of your own agreeable Flattery has carried you beyond your Depth':

> FIRST then as *Editor*, you launch forth into all the extravagant Praises that ever could enter the Heart of a young Author....In this Disguise you take full Aim, and by presenting your Readers with a *Prologue* to your own *Praise*, you would *prepossess* them with *Applause* and fondly *surfeit* on the *Eccho*. The many Elogia in your Preface...are but an Abstract of what fulsome Praises an Author wou'd privately entertain himself, or indeed look like what the Booksellers are very often forced to say to make a bad Copy go off. (23-4)

The paratextual advertising is thus a sign not only of inordinate authorial 'Vanity' but the concealed commercial motives of a bookseller. It seeks to dupe readers into buying the work based on its 'Air of Consequence and assur'd Success,' which 'may prevail upon many, who search no farther than the Surface to believe it to *be* what it is *represented*' (26). Just as Pamela is supposed to do in an antagonistic reading of the novel, the 'editor' uses a pose of 'feigned modesty' to report his own praises (Loveman 184); like Shamela, he is prostituting himself through false protestations of virtue. Richardson subsequently chose to remove the extensive prefatory materials from later editions, writing that 'Indeed the Praises in those Pieces are carried so high, that since I cou'd not pass as the Editor only, as I once hoped to do, I wish they had never been Inserted' (*Selected Letters* 52).

Yet Richardson continued calling himself the editor of *Pamela*, even after he could no longer plausibly 'pass' as one. In fact, although his identity may have been leaking out within the book world in the spring of 1741 (Keymer and Sabor 23), Richardson was content to remain anonymous at that stage of the controversy. This disavowal puzzles Lennard Davis, who asserts that it cannot be merely a conventional gesture of humility: 'Richardson, so full of pride and pomposity, cannot be imagined to have shielded himself under the aegis of editorship merely to prevent the applause which he seemed to have courted so strenuously anyway' (177). Yet rather than

reflecting a general cultural confusion about categories of truth and fiction, as Davis supposes, the disclaiming of authorship served Richardson's purposes in several ways. As argued above, it aided his strategies of self-promotion, even though these eventually backfired. Moreover, adopting the unmediated voice of a fifteen-year-old girl facilitated the moral aims of the novel. Richardson hoped that 'if written in an easy and natural manner, suitably to the simplicity of it, [*Pamela*] might...possibly turn young people into a course of reading different from the pomp or parade of romance-writing, and...might tend to promote the cause of religion and virtue' (*Selected Letters* 41). Richardson's adherence to the documentary conceit weakened over time, yet, even when *Clarissa* was published in 1748, he asked William Warburton not to mention the work's fictional nature in his preface. For Richardson, maintaining the ambiguity would contribute both to the novel's 'exemplary' message and the readers' suspension of disbelief:

> I could wish that the *Air* of Genuineness had been kept up, tho' I want not the letters to be *thought* genuine; only so far kept up, I mean, as that they should not prefatically be owned *not* to be genuine: and this for fear of weakening their Influence where any of them are aimed to be exemplary; as well as to avoid hurting that kind of Historical Faith which Fiction itself is generally read with, tho' we know it to be Fiction. (*Selected Letters* 85)

Both *Clarissa* and *Sir Charles Grandison* were accordingly '*Published by the* EDITOR *of* PAMELA' or 'By the Editor of PAMELA and CLARISSA,' with 'S. Richardson' listed only as the proprietor the work was printed 'for' (Eaves and Kimpel 220, 401). At this point, however, Samuel Johnson wrote to Richardson objecting to both the mendacity and tenuousness of the editorial pose, asking 'What is modesty, if it deserts from truth? Of what use is the disguise, by which nothing is concealed?' (Barbauld 5.284). According to his biographers, 'Richardson, in the third edition [of *Grandison*], sensibly became less modest and dropped the sentence' (Eaves and Kimpel 401). By that point, however – as the remainder of this chapter and the next will explore – much had happened to alter his view of what it meant to be the author and/or proprietor of a novel.

Apart from cutting back on his prefatory advertisements, there is no record of Richardson responding to the AntiPamelist attacks when they first appeared. After all, the controversy helped to sell books, and was likely at least partly responsible for

Pamela's commercial success (Keymer and Sabor 14).[4] As Keymer and Sabor observe, despite his revisions to later editions of the text, Richardson did not actually 'do much to remove these ambiguities of representation, or to mute other controversial features of the work, including its erotic content' (14). Although he sometimes fretted over moral misreadings (particularly in the case of *Clarissa*, as discussed in Chapter 6), this was the price to pay for the complexity and ambiguity of his work. In fact, the dispute over the truth and morality of Pamela's story was, in many ways, a consequence of *Pamela* itself. As a narrative told in letters, it presents an inherently subjective and biased account for the reader to interpret, without mediation by an omniscient author.[5] The reader of epistolary fiction is made to take an active role, 'participat[ing] in the creative work of the story' by inferring the characters' actions and motivations for him or herself (Day 6). Moreover, as several critics have pointed out, *Pamela* actively incorporates its own critique: 'Throughout the vast body of early writing about the novel, no allegation is made against Pamela's character, conduct or narrative that is not unmistakably implied, and in most cases openly articulated, within the original text,' as Pamela is accused of being a liar, a hypocrite, and a romancer (Keymer and Sabor 14; Keymer, *Richardson's Clarissa* 31). Such challenges to the reader, Keymer argues, are a crucial part of Richardson's didactic method, even as they leave him vulnerable to misinterpretation by hostile critics (*Richardson's Clarissa* xviii). According to Warner, by highlighting the possibility that letters will not arrive at their intended destination, *Pamela* demonstrates the potential for miscommunication and misreading implicit in the 'media culture' in which Richardson was working (*Licensing Entertainment* 198-9). Yet despite the interceptions, Pamela continues to write and to filter the events of the novel through her own voice: by the end, she wins over not only Mr. B., but all the characters who read the narrative to see things her way, providing an example for readers outside the novel to emulate. Pamela manages to have her text circulate without losing control over its interpretation, as Richardson, in the wider arena of the

[4] This was noted by contemporary readers, leading to accusations that Richardson or his publishers had actually been involved with the composition of *Pamela Censured* as a publicity stunt (Keymer and Sabor 14).

[5] Keymer expands on this aspect of Richardson's novels in the 'Preface' to *Richardson's Clarissa and the Eighteenth-Century Reader* – it is even more acute in *Clarissa*, where the events are narrated from multiple perspectives.

literary marketplace, would not be able to do.

The fact that it was told in letters, containing such suggestive links between their diegetic and extradiegetic circulation, also had consequences for *Pamela*'s status as literary property. In an interesting historical coincidence (which has not, to my knowledge, been previously discussed by Richardson scholars), the height of the *Pamela* controversy in the summer of 1741 was also the date of a court case – *Pope v. Curll* – that first established the status of letters under the Copyright Act of 1710. This case involved Alexander Pope suing the bookseller Edmund Curll for publishing Jonathan Swift's correspondence, some of which had been written to or by Pope. Pope cited the Statute of Anne to claim 'sole and absolute right,' not only over the letters 'whereof the property is vested in [Pope] as author thereof,' but also over those he had received from Swift – although he seems aware that the former claim is the more defensible, subsuming the latter within it (qtd in Rose, *Authors and Owners* 146-148). Curll's response argues that personal letters are not covered by the statute, and are alienated from their authors through their circulation in the post. Thus, since 'all the letters...were...actually sent and delivered by and to the several persons by whom and to whom they severally purport to have been written and addressed[,]...the complainant is not to be considered as the author and proprietor of all or any of the said letters' (150). The ruling in the case was that letters were, in fact, protected under the statute. However, the Lord Chancellor added, this applied only to the writer of a letter, not its addressee or later possessor:

> I am of the opinion that it is only a special property in the receiver, possibly the property of the paper may belong to him; but this does not give a licence to any person whatsoever to publish them to the world, for at the most the receiver has only a joint property with the writer. (*English Reports* 26.608)

An injunction was thus granted 'only as to those letters, which are under Mr. *Pope's* name in the book, and which are written *by him*, and not as to those which are written *to him*' (*ER* 26.608). As Rose writes, in ruling that a letter is owned by the writer and not the receiver, 'the notion of the essentially immaterial nature of the object of copyright was born': 'Not ink and paper but pure signs, separated from any material support, have become the protected property' (*Authors and Owners* 60, 65).

This case provides a significant context for the controversy that was then

surrounding Richardson's epistolary novel. Only by acknowledging himself as the author of *Pamela*, as he was eventually forced to do, would Richardson have an author's full rights over the work. While he was claiming to be the editor of actual documents, he had only a receiver's property in the text – worse, like the notorious Curll, he was seeing other people's letters into print for his own profit. He did not necessarily have any special right to do so, apart from the monopoly granted by his physical possession of the (supposed) letters themselves. Of course, this was a rhetorical rather than a legal quandary: the claims of epistolary fictions to be based on real documents were by this point conventional, and it is doubtful to what extent they would have been believed by readers (Day 204). However, it was to have an important effect on the kinds of claims that could be made for *Pamela* and for the texts that responded to it. By publishing his novel anonymously, Richardson ran into similar problems as Richard Head had done in claiming *The English Rogue*, and this was compounded by the documentary conceit, which displaced the originatory role of the author-as-creator into that of a mere editor. As Keymer and Sabor write, 'Even when recognized as merely conventional...the claims to authenticity that multiplied and competed around *Pamela* subtly eroded Richardson's authority over his own imagined world. They violated the integrity of this world, destabilizing its grounded assumptions, and rendered its distinctive features plural or blurred' (53). If *Pamela* was made up of real letters, after all, then other collections of the characters' papers could just as plausibly be 'discovered' and published. Fielding's pretence of offering Pamela's authentic correspondence in *Shamela* was a brief and facetious one, and did not call for an immediate response. However, more serious attempts to usurp Richardson's documentary authority soon arose, coming to a head in mid-1741 with the advertising war over the publication of John Kelly's two-volume continuation, *Pamela's Conduct in High Life,* and the others that followed it.

2. 'Genuine' and 'Pretended' Continuations

Richardson later wrote, with a mixture of annoyance and pride, that 'the History of Pamela gave Birth to no less than 16 Pieces' (Keymer and Sabor 1). Of all the unauthorised texts that sprung up around *Pamela*, however, *Pamela's Conduct in*

High Life seems to have caused him the most distress. The reasons why Kelly's text appeared as a much more substantial threat than a parodic take-down like *Shamela* emphasise the most important features of literary continuations, and are thus particularly significant for my argument. In a letter to his brother-in-law, John Leake, (which he later indexed as 'History of the true and spurious Continuation of Pamela'), Richardson describes the events leading up to its publication, in which Richard Chandler, one of a consortium of booksellers behind *Pamela's Conduct,* came to visit him to discuss the proposed continuation. As Keymer writes, this letter (quoted at length in Appendix B) is remarkable for 'the precision with which, in the dialogue between colleagues steeped in the trade and its ways, it defines events in relation to the commercial and ethical norms of contemporary print culture' (*PC* 4.x). Richardson's response recalls the mudslinging of Head and Kirkman's dispute over *The English Rogue*; at the same time, however, it sounds distinctly modern in its terms. It closely parallels the indignation expressed by Diana Gabaldon at the thought of fanfiction being written about her characters (as cited in the Introduction), including the violent metaphor of the story being 'basely Ravished out of [his] hands,' and the suggestion that Kelly's text, if well-written enough to stand on its own, should have its serial numbers filed off and 'publish'd under some other Title.' Richardson's reaction, I would argue, demonstrates such a novelist's possessiveness over his or her story and characters being given its earliest and most complete expression, with many of the metaphors described in the Introduction being brought into play. As Keymer and Sabor write, 'Most striking about Richardson's account of events, with its angrily disrupted prose, is his sheer outrage. There is furious eloquence to his images of ravishment, debasement and engraftment, which swarm with lurid connotations: sexual despoliation; pecuniary corruption; monstrous, invasive propagation' (57).

The letter also shows, however, that Richardson's view of his rights was not universally shared. Keymer and Sabor describe Chandler and Kelly as 'unprincipled (or differently principled) opportunists,' though they admit that 'Chandler may genuinely have convinced himself...that there was no moral objection to his plan' and was 'genuinely surprised by Richardson's anger' (57). As described in the letter to Leake, Chandler had first gone to John Osborn, one of the two booksellers to whom

Richardson had sold two-thirds of *Pamela*'s copyright, to find out if there were any plans for a continuation. Approaching a co-proprietor in this way must have seemed reasonable to him, and perhaps to Osborn; it is only Richardson who protests the 'Insignificance' of whatever Osborn told him, 'when he might have consulted me, and had my Answer from my own Mouth.' As the author, Richardson sees himself holding a unique place among the three co-proprietors, the only one who could give or withhold permission in this case. Chandler believes that the proprietors of *Pamela* hold reproduction rights only over the two volumes themselves (consulting Osborn as a courtesy), whereas Richardson believes that his authorship confers rights over the entire 'Plan' and set of 'Characters,' present and future. The suggestion that Richardson might complete the continuation started by Kelly and publish it under his own name comes straight from the playbook of Francis Kirkman – it is a compromise that preserves both authors' labour, yet Richardson 'rejected with the Contempt it deserved.' Throughout the meeting, Richardson attempts (unsuccessfully) to convince Chandler of the 'Baseness' of his proceedings, which, he argues, is 'the Light it wou'd appear in to every Body.' However, this is far from a foregone conclusion for Chandler, who accuses Richardson of acting like a 'Dog in the Manger.' The two thus have sharply opposed views of the principles involved, demonstrating the different views of literary property – each motivated by self-interest – that could exist within a given time period. As Joseph Loewenstein writes of eighteenth-century copyright cases, 'The arguments...suggest that at any given cultural moment the institutions regulating intellectual property may conflict; they suggest, that is, that rival reifications of the cultural status of intellectual property may coexist' (*Author's Due* 21). The fact that, to modern critics, Richardson appears as the morally-justified author and Chandler as the Grub Street opportunist only reflects one side's eventual victory in the debate.

In the public quarrel that subsequently erupted between the Chandler and Richardson camps, these duelling conceptions are writ large, intensified by the demands of advertising rhetoric. In the letter to Leake, Richardson admits that the advertisements for *Pamela's Conduct* were 'publish'd only to draw me into Controversy, to make that foolish Piece sell,' yet apparently he was not able to resist the provocation, and made good on his threat to 'Advertise against them.' Chandler

also made good on his to 'give [Richardson] Advertisement for Advertisement': at the height of the conflict, it was not unusual to see 'columns of competing advertisements' from the two camps in the same periodical, up to four to a page (*PC* 4.xiv). The space of the debate therefore shifted to include not only the paratexts of the books themselves but other broadly-circulated publications, emphasising the omnipresence of the *Pamela* controversy within the world of print. Over the course of the summer and autumn of 1741, leading up to the publication of volumes one and two of *Pamela's Conduct in High Life* (May and September) and then Richardson's own continuation (December), such advertisements were repeatedly placed in most of the major newspapers, including the *Daily Gazetteer*, *London Daily Post and General Advertiser*, the *Craftsman*, *Common Sense* and the *Champion*. Some were in the regular form of forthcoming-book announcements, while others were general warnings addressed 'To the PUBLICK.' Their frequency, similar phrasing, and competing claims no doubt led to a degree of consumer confusion – as was surely intended by Chandler and his associates – over which version of *Pamela* to buy, and which version of the 'truth' to believe.

The first advertisements for volume 1 of *Pamela's Conduct* appeared at the end of May, closely paralleling those that had promoted *Pamela* itself. The book is 'Published from her *Original Papers. To which are prefix'd,* Several curious Letters written to the *Editor* on the Subject.'[6] While neutral in tone, this opening salvo makes a claim that Richardson felt compelled to answer. Placed just above it in the *London Daily Post and General Advertiser* is another advertisement reading:

> *To the PUBLICK*, CERTAIN Booksellers having advertis'd the Publication of a Pocket Volume, intituled, *Pamela's Conduct in High-Life*; Publish'd, as pretended (with equal Truth and Honesty) from her Original Papers; The Author of the Two Volumes, intituled *Pamela, or Virtue Rewarded*, of which Piece this Performance is intended to pass as a Continuation) in order to assert his Right to his own Plan, and so prevent such an Imposition on the Publick, thinks himself oblig'd to declare,
> That this pretended Continuation of that Piece was undertaken without his Knowledge, carried on against his Remonstrances, and without any other Acquaintance with the story, than what they have been able to collect from the Two Volumes, so kindly receiv'd; And that his own

[6] *Common Sense or The Englishman's Journal*, Saturday, May 30, 1741; *London Daily Post and General Advertiser*, Monday, June 1, 1741.

> Continuation will be printed with all convenient Speed, from Materials in his Hands, which no other Person can have, and which, but for such an Invasion of his Plan, he should hardly have found Leisure to digest and publish.
> The Genuine Continuation will be publish'd by Mr. Charles Rivington in St Paul's Church-Yard; and Mr. John Osborn in Pater-noster Row; Proprietors of the Two Volumes.

In the *Daily Gazetteer* for 4 June, this advertisement is repeated with a more voluble use of italics and capitals (his 'OWN CONTINUATION...which *no other* Person *can* have'), and adding the names of the consortium of 'Undertakers...to this *worthy Ingraftment*...with their *Honest Work*.'

Aside from its furious sarcasm, Richardson's response is an argument based on narrative authority, dismissing Kelly's work as being only a 'pretended Continuation.' This is the same conceptual framework that lies behind modern critical descriptions of 'spurious' or 'fake' sequels – it presupposes that the 'authenticity' of a fictional text can derive only from its author. Importantly, it is at this point that Richardson first describes himself as the 'Author,' rather than the editor, of *Pamela.* To do so means abandoning the documentary conceit of 'Original Papers' that the Chandler camp – with a 'Truth and Honesty' surely 'equal' to Richardson's own – have now appropriated. Yet the idea of there being a level of 'truth' behind the story does not entirely disappear; instead, it shifts from the documents to the author. The implication is that only Richardson knows the authoritative version of what happened to Pamela, not because he has her letters in his possession, but because he is their creator. By being written without his knowledge or consent, and 'without any other Acquaintance with the story, than what they have been able to collect from the Two Volumes,' *Pamela's Conduct* cannot provide an accurate account of Pamela's later life. The 'Materials in [Richardson's] Hands, which no other Person can have' thus double as the supposed letters, and as Richardson's own conceptions and 'Plan' for the story. By September, advertisements for 'The Third and Fourth Volumes of Pamela; or, *Virtue Rewarded*. By the Author of the Two First' contained a note warning that 'The Two Volumes just publish'd, entitled *Pamela's Conduct in High Life*...are not written by the Author of the Two First Volumes,' thus making this the

essential point of distinction.[7]

The strategy of the Chandler camp throughout this campaign, however, was to audaciously turn all of Richardson's claims on their heads. In a long advertisement in *Common Sense* (18 July 1741, reprinted 25 July and 1 August), they parody the terms of Richardson's proclamations, writing that '*The Proprietors of Pamela's Conduct in High Life* Think fit, once for all, to give the following Answer to the Impertinent, Vain, Self-sufficient and Scurrilous *pretended* Author of *Pamela, or Virtue rewarded*' (Eaves and Kimpel 138). This seeks to undermine Richardson's authority in multiple ways. Not only do they go on to attack his work, alleging that *Pamela* has '*burlesqued the Scriptures*' and insulted 'the Reverend Clergy' – it is not even properly his, but only something that the '*pretended* author' arrogates to himself. Apparently Chandler was indeed, as Richardson wrote to Leake, 'giving out; that I was not the Writer of [*Pamela*]...but [it was] written by one of my Overseers, who was dead, and that I *could not* for that Reason continue them.' By displacing the author function on an alternate figure, now dead, the publishers of *Pamela's Conduct* assert the same right to posthumously continue the work as the *Arcadia* continuators. Richardson is forced into a defensive position, writing his own sequel in order to prove that the author of *Pamela* is still living.

Even if he can do so, however, the advertisements assert that his work will still lack the authority to trump Kelly's. Richardson had thought that separating the authorship of *Pamela* and *Pamela's Conduct* would reveal the second work to be a fake 'pass[ing] as a Continuation.' Chandler and his associates, however, present its lack of ties to Richardson as a virtue, and Richardson's vanity and 'Self-sufficiency' – his overconfidence of his own ability to finish the story – as a vice. In paraphrasing Richardson's statement that *Pamela's Conduct* is 'published from original Papers, *without the Consent, or even Knowledge*, of the...Author of Pamela,' the advertisement thus turns this from a damning blow into a selling-point. The advertisement for the second edition of *Pamela's Conduct*, on 3 October, goes so far as to state that 'This genuine Edition was thought Necessary to be done by another Hand, and is not by the Author of Pamela' (*PC* 1.xxiii). Although it does not specify

[7] *London Daily Post and General Advertiser* 17 September 1741; *Daily Post* 23 September 1741; and others.

by whom this was 'thought Necessary,' the superiority of the 'genuine Edition' is implied. This is owing to the fact that (even if he did not steal the novel from a deceased overseer) Richardson lacks the social qualifications to describe Pamela's elevation. The 'Original Papers' of *Pamela's Conduct* have been 'regularly digested by a gentleman more conversant in High Life than the vain Author of Pamela, or Virtue Rewarded' (Eaves and Kimpel 137). By late October, the advertisements culminate in the claim that *Pamela's Conduct* is 'the only Genuine Edition of the Continuation of Pamela.'[8] Nothing could be further from the humble stance taken by the *Arcadia* continuations a century earlier, in which it was the continuator's work that risked being vain or insufficiently qualified.

As witnessed by the repeated references to 'Original Papers,' the documentary conceit was never entirely abandoned in this clash of sequels, even when the authored nature of both *Pamela* and *Pamela's Conduct* was most prominently emphasised. The claim that *Pamela's Conduct* consists of 'Original Papers regularly digested' encapsulates this form of double-talk. As Keymer and Sabor describe, Chandler's advertisements were 'holding Richardson mercilessly to the pose of authorial disavowal that he was now struggling to discard' (63). Richardson's own continuation, finally published in two volumes in December, thus had to operate on the same equivocal level. His preface describes the vast 'Choice of Materials' available from the correspondence of Pamela and her family, so that the editor took great trouble to 'digest and publish the Letters' in order to conclude the work within two volumes (124) – again, a formulation that emphasises authorial labour at the same time as disavowing it. The 'ADVERTISEMENT' at the end of Volume 4 states:

> THERE being Reason to apprehend, from the former Attempts of some Imitators, who, supposing the Story of PAMELA a Fiction, have murder'd that excellent Lady, and mistaken and misrepresented other (suppos'd imaginary) CHARACTERS, that Persons may not be wanting, who will impose new Continuations upon the Publick.
> It is with a View to some Designs of this Nature, that the Editor (who...both hates and would avoid all Occasion of Offence or Reflection) gives this publick Assurance, by way of Prevention, that all the copies of Mrs. *B.*'s Observations and Writings, upon every Subject hinted at in the preceding Four Volumes...are now in *One Hand Only*; And that, *if ever* they shall be published, (which at present

[8] *London Evening Post*, 20-22 October 1741.

> is a Point undetermined), it must not be, till after a certain Event, as unwished, as deplorable [i.e. the 'real' Pamela's death]:
> And *then*, solely, at the Assignment of SAMUEL RICHARDSON, of *Salisbury-Court, Fleetstreet*, the Editor of these Four Volumes of *PAMELA*; or, VIRTUE REWARDED. (*PC* 1.130)

In one of the moves that make the precise ontological status of the *Pamela* texts so difficult to untangle, Richardson here first names himself as the 'Editor' of *Pamela* under whose sole 'Assignment' it may be printed, at the same time as he makes a strong appeal to historicity: Richardson's monopoly over the Pamela archive depends on his control of physical documents. The author of *Pamela's Conduct* is supposed to have *both* mistaken a real person for a fictional character, and 'murder'd' her by depicting her death.

Several of Richardson's correspondents at this time advised him that it would be more dignified to ignore Kelly's continuation, rather than to engage with it as he was doing. One anonymous gentleman, who had previously written to Richardson with constructive criticism of the novel, sent him a letter in July lamenting that 'The repeated Advertisements out about Pamela in High Life, which does not deserve so much Notice, makes me in pain for the Author of ye Original Pamela' and 'anxious for the Author's Reputation' – 'he may rest assured, the Public so distinguish between the original Pamela, and the attempted Imitation in High Life, as may well give Vanity.' He advises Richardson that the best response would be to take time over his own continuation (which 'it will be a Task to finish' suitably), rather than rush it into print: 'For tho it is waited with Impatience, yet if it is finished up to Expectation, no premature Imitation will hurt ye Profit of the Printer, nor the Credit of the Author' (Forster MS XVI.1.53). Ralph Courtville, a colleague of Richardson's, also wrote: 'It was with no small Concern, that I saw your Advertisemt against those Poachers in Literature,' wishing that Richardson had simply announced the appearance of his own third volume, 'and I am certain no One pretender could have hurt you.' Otherwise, 'By what is now pass'd Curiosity will Oblige many to see Both' (Forster MS XVI.1.50). The authorial distinction between *Pamela* and *Pamela's Conduct* upon which Richardson insisted would hold, these readers promised, if only Richardson would behave himself with the detachment befitting the true author.

The idea that readers might be compelled to 'see Both' continuations or prefer Kelly's over Richardson's was precisely what was most worrying about *Pamela's Conduct*. Elizabeth Judge compares such 'fake' second parts to knock-off designer handbags that debase the value of the 'authentic' product (34). Not only that, I would argue, but their very existence may cause consumers to question the system of authenticity that elevates the designer-branded item over a virtually-identical counterfeit. In the same way, there was a dangerous lack of difference between Richardson's text and Kelly's. *Pamela's Conduct* was not only Richardson's strongest competition on artistic grounds (as Margaret Doody acknowledges [76]); it was advertised as being 'Printed on the same Letter as *Pamela, or Virtue Rewarded*,' also in a 'neat pocket volume' and for sale at the same price.[9] Contemporary court cases over perpetual copyright argued that cheap reprints did not damage the market for the original text if they were issued in a different size and price point, and Keymer and Sabor make the same argument about much of the *Pamela* material (53-4). *Pamela's Conduct*, on the other hand, fully justified Richardson's fear (expressed in the letter to Leake) that it 'would by the Bookseller's Interest and Arts, generally accompany [his own] Two [volumes].' The Dublin reprint of Kelly's continuation, for instance, was bound to match the Dublin edition of *Pamela*; by being printed in the same size and type, the two might be bound together, 'thereby materially uniting [them] as a single cohesive set' (Keymer and Sabor 239n19, 55).[10] This demonstrates what Warner calls 'the abstract uniformity of the print medium,' in which books are defined by their materiality as much as by their authors (*Licensing Entertainment* 227). The indistinguishability between source text and continuation praised in the commendatory verses to Belling's *Sixth Booke* of the *Arcadia* therefore serve as a threatening force here. While Richardson's friends assured him that there could be no comparison between the two, at least one library catalogue lists only *Pamela* and Kelly's continuation, 'as though the purchaser had contented himself with the spurious sequel, ignoring Richardson's continuation when it later appeared' (Keymer and Sabor 55). There was thus every danger that *Pamela's Conduct* might have

[9] *Common Sense or The Englishman's Journal*, Saturday, May 30, 1741; *London Daily Post and General Advertiser*, Monday, June 1, 1741.

[10] Indeed, the continuation was not the only work that tried to attach itself to *Pamela* in this way: the same year, another bookseller advertised 'The pleasures of conjugal love revealed....of the same Letter and Size with Pamela, and very proper to be bound with it' (qtd in Kreissman 6).

cornered the market by the time Richardson's own sequel arrived.

Aaron Hill suggested that this blurring of boundaries might be combatted by continuing *Pamela* still further, into a fifth and sixth volume, which 'would prevent yt poor and sole Resemblance, between *High Life*, & *Pamela*, that Each is comprehended in *4* Volumes' (Forster MS XIII.2.53). In response, Richardson points out that Hill is, in fact, committing the same mistake himself – by talking of four and four volumes, he is forgetting that *Pamela's Conduct* contains only *two* volumes, which claim to be the third and fourth. Hill clarifies:

> what I meant, when I mention'd 4 volumes, & 4 volumes, (speaking of *High* Life, & of *Pamela*) was not that I misreckon'd ye number of ye 1st, – But, That if *Genteel Life* contain'd *6* Volumes – & *High Life* was shut up at ye *4th*, Even ye unjudging, who might, else, receive *Their* Two & *your* Two, as Fellows, by ye Interest & Art of some Booksellers, would be able to ask for ye *Six* Volumes, & distinguish, that Books, which ended at *4*, cou'd be none of them. (Forster MS XIII.2.54-55)

Although he never seriously considered such an undertaking, Richardson did continue to insist that *Pamela* was a single, unified work in four volumes, to which *Pamela's Conduct* was an extraneous appendage. In fact, Richardson's continuation (usually called *Pamela 2* or *Pamela in Her Exalted Condition* by critics) has no proper title of its own. Keymer and Sabor suggest that this is because the 'High Life Men' has usurped the more natural and memorable name from Richardson's own paratexts ('which celebrate Pamela's rise "from low to high life"'), leaving him with a 'starchy second-best wording' (55). Richardson himself, however, insisted that these third and fourth volumes were still *Pamela; or Virtue Rewarded*, and not a separate work. He often refers to 'the 4 volumes of Pamela' (*Selected Letters* 51), and in subsequent editions all four were reprinted together.

Richardson sought to justify the belated expansion of the novel by insisting that it was, after all, part of a pre-existing artistic 'Plan.' Writing to George Cheyne, he defends the lack of incident in the latter half by insisting that 'the four Volumes were to be consider'd as one Work. The two First were to include the Storms, the Stratagems, and all that could indanger Virtue, and ingage the attention of the Reader, for its Distresses – The succeeding of course were to be more calm, serene, and instructive' (*Selected Letters* 54). Betty Schellenberg echoes this view when she

argues that the two halves of *Pamela* 'comprise a coherent movement' deliberately seeking to 'deflect conflict and draw the unidirectional line of individualistic desire into a static social circle' ('Enclosing' 75-6). As with the two parts of *The Pilgrim's Progress* (which Schellenberg reads in a similar way), unity is emphasised through cross-reference: 'Together with frequent reviews of her "poor Papers" (3:32), the heroine's memory is...used to link the sequel with its precursor and to insist upon the continuity of past and present' ('Enclosing' 80).[11] Florian Stuber goes so far as to argue that the continuation is 'written in Imitation of the Manner of Cervantes,' in that it adopts Cervantes' strategies for dealing the prior appearance of a spurious sequel. Although many of Stuber's connections are somewhat tenuous, it is certainly true that the second parts of both *Pamela* and *Don Quixote* focus on 'the fact that most of the characters have read the previously written part, and both the central characters are conscious of that fact' (Stuber 56). Since such an obsessive return to the events of the previous installment was also visible in Bunyan's *Second Part of the Pilgrim's Progress* – a work that no one has yet read as indebted to *Don Quixote* – it may instead be an independently-arising strategy, seeking to reestablish control over their textual worlds through both authorial and narrative continuity.

The critical view of Richardson's continuation as a defensive manoeuvre was inaugurated in 1804 by Barbauld, who wrote that 'A great part of it aims to palliate, by counter criticism, the faults which had been found in the first part. It is less a continuation than the author's defence of himself' (1.lxxvii). Owen Jenkins sees it as primarily a response to the criticisms in *Shamela*, but *Pamela's Conduct* was clearly the more direct instigating factor. Keymer and Sabor note that, based on the letter to Leake, 'when Richardson saw advance sheets of Kelly's material they struck him not only as theft but also as egregious misreading, and as subverting his enterprise so thoroughly as to compel reply' (76). On reading the pages, Richardson writes, he 'saw all my Characters were likely to be debased, & my whole Purpose inverted.' Thus, 'Not only did *Pamela's Conduct* require Richardson to reassert his right of property over *Pamela*'s world; it also required him to enter into interpretative battle

[11] A contrary view is taken by Terry Castle, who argues that the sequel 'attempts to erase the memory of its own charismatic original' and 'is analogous to an act of repression' of its own past (*Masquerade and Civilization* 137-9). Although Pamela does succeed in her new sphere of life, however, it is difficult to accept this interpretation given the constant rereading of her journal that occurs throughout the text.

over the novel's messages and meanings' (Keymer and Sabor 76). The anonymous gentleman who wrote to Richardson had cautioned him against anything 'in the Body of the Work like the Reflection, which Cervantes cou'd not forbear upon the Imitation of his Don Quixote.' While such a direct metafictional reference would be a 'Blemish,' however, this did not apply to the work's paratexts (which 'may say what the Writer pleases of the Imitation'), or to more implicit comparisons:

> I don't mean, that no Incident shou'd have any resemblance; for tho like Incidents sometimes cause a Charge of Poverty in Invention, yet the Different Event of, or a shining instead of a barely unblameable Behaviour in a like Incident, may show Superior skill in ye Author. (Forster MS XVI.1.53)

By appearing after Kelly's continuation, Richardson's text might therefore invert the usual comparisons between original and imitative work – whereas similarity in plot might normally 'cause a Charge of Poverty in Invention,' it would here become a sign of the author's superior moral and artistic handling. As Keymer and Sabor write, 'The final irony in this history of imitation and theft is that Richardson may in the end have closed the intertextual loop by imitating his imitators, or stealing back from the thieves....*Pamela's Conduct* stood before him not only as a misreading to be contested but also as a fund of ideas to be reworked.' They argue that, in this case, 'parasitism could in the end be made to yield a kind of symbiosis; engraftment could nourish the root' (80-2). Without *Pamela's Conduct*, Richardson's sequel would (as he repeatedly insists) literally never have been written. The text is therefore a direct response and a claiming back, an attempt to have the last word on *Pamela.*

If *Pamela's Conduct* was the most prominent threat to Richardson's authorial control, however, it was far from the only one. Even before Richardson's continuation was finally published, it had been joined by other versions of Pamela's life, in which the concept of authoritative truth is still further undermined. The anonymous *Life of Pamela*, a third-person retelling of the heroine's biography, was serialised between May and December, coinciding with the height of the Richardson/Kelly feud and participating within it. A footnote early in the narrative, for instance, questions Richardson's authority as to the 'real Facts' of the case: 'Whoever put together the other Account that has been published of *Pamela*, was entirely misinformed of the Cause of Mr. *Andrews's* Misfortunes.' This, together with

the mention of Pamela's siblings

> are some of the Parts of this young Woman's Story which have been supply'd by the Compiler's Invention, when he knew not the real Facts; for Mr. *Andrews* and his Wife never had any Child but *Pamela*. We shall rectify a thousand more Mistakes that have been made in the Work, as will plainly appear in the following Sheets, for which we have the best grounded Authority from the original Papers now in the Hands of the Reverend Mr. *Perkins* of *Shendisford Abbey*. (2)

Here, we see the most extreme instance of how the historicity conceit could work against Richardson's authority. Pamela's story is still real and still told in 'original Papers' with a reliable provenance, but *Pamela* itself is reduced to an 'other Account' whose 'Mistakes' are due to the bungling of a misinformed 'Compiler.' Although above it is only mistaken in detail, a later footnote goes further to criticise the vanity of 'The Author of some Letters which *Pamela* never saw' (185). Calling Richardson an 'Author' rather than an editor here serves to discredit him, and underline *The Life of Pamela*'s own claims to authenticity.

The precise basis of this text's documentary historicity, however, remains oddly difficult to pin down. The footnote go on to state that

> The Story of *Pamela* in general is a pretty and worthy Example, for which Reason we were resolved, in this genuine Account of her Life, to rescue her Character from the ridiculous Absurdities that have hitherto attended it; and hope she will now appear with a little more Consistency than to be talking like a *Philosopher* in one Page and like a *Changeling* the next: As we hope her Master will be found to talk a little more like a Gentleman. Nor shall we load our Readers, with a Heap of trivial Circumstances, which, tho' they may be true, it is very idle to trouble the Public with. (185-6)

The *Life of Pamela* is a 'genuine Account,' in other words, not because it is based on 'original Papers' but because it lacks the stylistic faults and 'Absurdities' found in Richardson's novel. The same equivalence between authenticity and quality is drawn in the text's comparisons of *Pamela* and *Pamela's Conduct*. By completing Pamela's biography with events drawn from *Pamela's Conduct*, the author of *Life of Pamela* fulfils Richardson's fears by giving the two equal narrative weight, noting at one point that 'For the Account of this Incident we are oblig'd to *Pamela's Conduct in High Life*, the Author of which is certainly possess'd of some authentick Memoirs of this Family, and it is an ingenious Writer at least' (416). There is ultimately little

difference, it appears, between possessing ‘authentick Memoirs’ and being ‘an ingenious Writer.’

By the autumn of 1741, these various claims of authenticity were becoming rather ‘dizzying,’ as more and more texts cashed in on the proliferation of *Pamela*s (Keymer and Sabor 64). On 29 September, the anonymous *Pamela in High Life*, published by Mary Kingman, was advertised in the *London Daily Post and General Advertiser* as ‘Carefully extracted from Original Manuscripts, communicated to the Editor by her Son.’ Both Richardson and the Chandler camp were forced to respond, with their competing advertisements in the *London Evening-Post* for 8-10 October each promising the only ‘Genuine Edition’ of the sequel (*PC* 4.xxiii). Neither defined, at this point, on what their claims of genuineness were based. Indeed, it would be hard to reconcile the various statements being made about the historicity of Pamela’s story into a coherent epistemological framework, as all of them engaged in various levels of truth and fiction. However, we should not conclude from this, as Lennard Davis does, that eighteenth-century readers would have found it ‘literally impossible’ to know whether or not *Pamela* was true (180). As Loveman notes in a useful corrective, ‘At the risk of stating the obvious, *Pamela* was recognised as a story which had been designed to entertain; readers were intrigued by the tale’s relation to truth,’ but did not experience any ‘profound disquiet about distinguishing fact from fiction’ (175). Instead, the assertions of historical veracity become a literary game of one-upmanship begun by Richardson himself, in which possession of facts or documents is simply a way of staking one’s claim to readers’ attention. Ultimately, as in *The Life of Pamela*, it is little more than a shorthand for literary quality. While Richardson and his supporters continued to insist that only his authorship could determine the ‘truest,’ most authoritative, canonical account of Pamela’s life, consumers were presented with as many alternative *Pamela*s as standards by which to judge among them.

3. Character Assassination

As evident in the competing advertisements quoted above, at the centre of all this controversy was not only the ‘character’ of Pamela as an virtuous innocent or a

hypocritical liar, but 'the public struggle for ownership of Pamela's future' as a character within a fiction (Keymer and Sabor 50). Throughout the letter to Leake, Richardson complains of the twin infringement of his 'Plan' and 'Characters,' showing that his concern is divided between the overall purpose and shape of the work and the figures who populate it. While the letter speaks of 'Characters' in the plural, however, in practice there was a single character who formed the crucial element of the novel. Indeed, the fact that proper names in the eighteenth century were often set in italics meant that it was often typographically impossible to distinguish between 'Pamela' and *Pamela*. As discussed earlier, the morality of both the novel and its author depended on the nature of the protagonist. Richardson himself identified strongly with Pamela; the composition of the lengthy first draft apparently took him only two months, with Richardson's biographers describing him 'possessed by Pamela' during this time (Eaves and Kimpel 90). *Pamela* is focused almost entirely through the heroine's first-person voice, without the authorial asides that might be inserted by a novelist like Fielding. As Richardson later wrote, 'I am all the while absorbed in the character. It is not fair to say – I, identically I, am any-where, while I keep within the character' (*Selected Letters* 286). Hill likewise believed that the novel's authorship was unmistakable, because 'whatever Pamela, thought, said, or did, it was, All, Transfusion of your own fine Spirit' (Forster MS XVI.1.37).

With the novel's publication, however, Richardson's relationship to Pamela changes from identification to guardianship. He becomes the 'editor' who frames and presents her narrative through the paratexts, and then the 'author' who defends it in his advertisements. The metonymy by which Pamela is *Pamela* means that the paternal figure of authorship here becomes Richardson's protection of his textual daughter – indeed, his correspondence frequently refers to his heroines as his children (for example, Barbauld 5.131). As Judge and Maruca both point out, this recasts the perceived crime of texts like *Pamela's Conduct* as being kidnap, rather than theft. At issue, Maruca writes, is 'the abduction of a helpless woman, her subsequent loss of reputation, and the shame and dishonor this would bring on her father's – Richardson's – house' (141). This explains the outrage he feels at others' attempt to 'depreciate,' 'debase' and 'basely Ravish' her, terminology carrying a freight of

sexual violence that echoes the plot of the novel itself (Keymer and Sabor 57). Just as Mr. B. abducts Pamela to his Lincolnshire estate rather than let her return to her parents, the continuations are kidnapping Richardson's character and placing her in new situations against her 'father's' wishes.

In fact, Pamela's centrality as a character allows her to escape her context more than any of the cases I have previously discussed. The earlier Pamela, Philoclea, Pyrocles and Musidorus had to be written about within the pastoral Greek setting of the *Arcadia*, but, as Keymer and Sabor note, the various versions of *Pamela* cannot even agree on what year the story takes place (53). Her debut at court ranges from the reign of Charles II (in *Pamela in High Life*) to that of Queen Anne (in *Pamela's Conduct*), while Richardson insists that 'the most material Incidents (as will be collected from several Passages in the Letters) happen'd between the Years *1717* and *1730*' (*PC* 1.126). The game of documentary authenticity means that these texts can take each other to task for inaccuracies: *The Life of Pamela*, for example, notes that, while the author of *Pamela's Conduct* accurately describes Queen Anne's court, he 'has been guilty of great Anachronism here, for *Pamela* was not married 'till the Year *1726*' (451). On one hand, this scrupulous dating testifies to the level of verifying detail required by the historicity conceit. Yet the variation between the texts also shows that the date of Pamela's wedding is ultimately irrelevant – apart from a few historical details, the world in which the novels are set is the 'real world' of their contemporary audience. Moreover, Pamela herself remains recognisably the same character, whether she lives in the Restoration or the mid-eighteenth century.

Pamela thus demonstrates the greater 'independence and detachability' that David A. Brewer and J. Paul Hunter see as typical of the eighteenth-century novel, allowing characters to 'move from one text to another as if searching for more appropriate ground' (Brewer 78; Hunter 282). Judge argues that Pamela's detachability shows she is 'a fully realized character' (50), and there is a tendency (following Ian Watt) to associate the greater importance of characters in the eighteenth century with the growing psychological realism of the novel. However, while the evolution of the novel may have changed the emphasis of prose fiction continuations, it did not (as we have seen) inaugurate their composition. Adaptation of characters from one text to another was certainly possible before the eighteenth

century, whether with Sidney's Pamela and Philoclea, the rogue Meriton Latroon, or Bunyan's pilgrims. In Pamela's particular case, I would argue that her popularity was based on the mix of rags-to-riches archetype and complexity that she embodied. Her primary features – lowly origins, superlative virtue, and marriage into high society – are abstractable enough to be either easily repeated (in stories of the 'second Pamela' or 'the true Pamela') or reversed (in Eliza Haywood's and James Parry's *Anti-Pamela*s). On the other hand, the novel's epistolary form allows an in-depth but one-sided look into her psyche, leaving her motives to be analysed and questioned by readers. This is what Susan Greenstein terms a 'social response to character,' in which 'we construct our versions of characters out of the available data, as we do our ideas of real people, forming opinions about them as part of the process' (526). While the 'available data' was drawn from Richardson's text, readers (as shown above) did not always yield to his authority in drawing their conclusions. Even fifty years later, Barbauld expresses a doubt about Pamela's disinterestedness: 'But the author says, she married Mr. B. because he had won her affection, and we are bound, it may be said, to believe an author's own account of his characters' – although this 'may be said,' however, Barbauld remains unconvinced (1.lxiv).

If Pamela was viewed, by Richardson and his readers, as in some measure a real person who could be kidnapped or maligned, she was a person with a full biography, past and future. Some of the details of that biography (such as her arrival in her mistress's household at the age of twelve) could be inferred from Richardson's narrative, while others (such as the number of her children) were imagined by later writers. The conception of Pamela's story as a biography – as in the title of the third-person retelling, *The Life of Pamela* – also placed restrictions upon it. If her life and correspondence made up the texts, her death or 'murder' served as their necessary endpoint. This reflects the way that, as Hunter argues, eighteenth-century novels were often centred around an individual, 'follow[ing] the shape of one human life rather than being contained by a thematic issue or conflictual circumstances,' meaning that 'the sense of an ending usually depends on human endings and not formal ones' (282). In other words, the endlessness promised (according to Hunter) by these novels' loose structure and the migration of characters between them is finally limited by the length of a single life: 'The text's end coincides with that of the character, so

that the form, and formal ending, is defined by that expectation' (283). Pamela's story could continue after her marriage, which takes place only two-thirds of the way through the original novel, but it could not be expected to continue after her death.

Richardson had played upon this fact in seeking to prevent continuations: in the postscript to the second part of *Pamela*, he writes that he cannot publish any more of her letters since the real Pamela is still alive, and in the later case of *Sir Charles Grandison*, claims that he is unable to continue the narrative because it is set so close to the present day: 'Most of the Persons then must be left alive at the Conclusion of the Story, or I must have a murdering Pen indeed' (*Selected Letters* 296). This idea of formal ending as murder is frequently invoked in the *Pamela* debate. Urging Richardson to write volumes 5 and 6, for example, Hill writes that

> as The High Life men have kill'd her (or *murder'd* her, as you better express it) too soon – They will hardly be Conjurers enough to call up Her *Ghost* – or w[oul]d be afraid to do it, if Able, out of a just Apprehension It shou'd fright 'em out of their wits, in Revenge of Poor Pamela's Injuries. (Forster MS XIII.2.54-55)

By offering an account of Pamela's life 'to the Time of her Death,' *Pamela's Conduct* (as well as *The Life of Pamela* and *Pamela in High Life*) promised a satisfying sense of completeness, yet also closed off future avenues for continuation, allowing Richardson to claim a future monopoly on her correspondence.[12] Kelly and his publishers, however, responded in typical fashion by inverting the trope: the second volume of *Pamela's Conduct* states that they '*have been obliged to* Kill Pamela, that neither Mr. R----n or his accomplices might be guilty of Murdering Her' (*PC* 1.xxi). The distinction between 'kill' and 'murder' seems to be that the latter is done wantonly or prematurely, by someone who lacks the authority to determine the length of Pamela's life. In the letter to Leake, Richardson had argued that it was wrong 'that a Writer could not be permitted to end his own Work, when and how he pleased' – in the case of *Pamela*, this necessarily also applies to 'ending' his character.

Since Richardson's authority to do so was not universally granted, however,

[12] Richardson's insistence on this, 'by way of Prevention,' may have been intended to forestall future publications by the Chandler camp, subverting the limits of Pamela's life by reaching back into the archive: *Pamela's Conduct* includes a note that some of Pamela's thoughts on 'Literature' have been omitted, 'though it is possible that we have hereafter publish them under the Title of *Select Letters*' (314).

Pamela's fictional biography emerges as curiously both singular and plural – Pamela is unique enough to be abducted or 'murdered,' yet multiple enough to be murdered more than once. As argued in the Introduction, what ties all these versions of Pamela together is her name: 'Pamela Andrews' marks the 'character function' by which everything from *Pamela in High Life* to erotic paintings of Pamela rising from her bed are all understood as referring to the same figure. Even when Fielding changes the name in *Shamela*, he makes sure to provide an explanation for how it would be sanitised by Shamela's hired biographer into the 'Pamela' that readers know (341). While many authors in the period created imitations of Pamela or anti-types like Haywood's Syrena Tricksy, only characters actually called 'Pamela Andrews' could share in or add to the biography of that character. It is interesting to note, however, that – despite Pamela's most famous act being her marriage – her name *after* that event remains one of the most prominent gaps in Richardson's story. One of the ways in which the continuations differ is in their filling of that gap: Richardson signals his continued dedication to protecting a living person's privacy by calling her 'Mrs. B.,' as does *Pamela's Conduct*, while *Pamela in High Life* quickly gives Mr. B. a title, and *The Life of Pamela* uses 'Belmour.' These differences suggest the way in which Pamela's later life becomes plural, fracturing into conflicting and incompatible accounts, yet all pointing back to the Pamela of the first two volumes.

By far the most well-known expansion of Mr. B.'s name remains Fielding's use of 'Mr. Booby.' In *Shamela*, it clearly signals his terms of engagement: it is both comical and yet, by not contradicting the givens of Richardson's novel, suggests that his 'Mr. B.' was really a 'Booby' all along. The fact that Fielding retains the name in *Joseph Andrews* symbolises its status as a limit case, existing between the brief parodic inversion of *Shamela* and the more extensive, 'straight' continuations of Richardson's text. Critics discussing the novel's relationship to *Pamela* (including Martin Battestin, Robert Donovan, and Bernard Kreissman) have concluded variously that it is a parody that evolved into an independent novel, a parody throughout, or an independent novel framed by parody.[13] As suggested above, the number of Pamela's siblings was another disputed point between the various continuations. Here, Joseph is Pamela's brother, and the early part of the story features a parallel of her

[13] The debate is briefly summarised by Sabor in '*Joseph Andrews* and *Pamela*.'

tribulations, with Joseph's virtue being attempted by his mistress, Lady Booby. The gender reversal is in itself parodic: as McKeon suggests, 'Adrift from its moorings in female experience, Joseph's heroically passive resistance soon becomes rather silly' (400). This alternative version of *Pamela*, however, is soon replaced by the unconnected, picaresque adventures of Joseph, Fanny and Parson Adams. The connection to Richardson does not reappear until the end of the novel, when Pamela herself appears as Mrs. Booby, together with her husband. This Pamela is clearly intended to share in the past and memories of Richardson's character, but while she is less distorted than Shamela, her portrayal does mock the high-minded complacence of Richardson's second two volumes, in which (for instance) Pamela prevents her husband's nephew from marrying her own lady's maid (Kreissman 22, Haslett 219).[14] Taking the parts of the novel together, the *Andrews* of Fielding's title can thus be seen as *both* a generic surname for a proto-Tom Jones wandering hero, and an explicit reference tying it to *Pamela*. Although Rivero writes that, through the concluding discovery of Joseph's parentage, 'The kinship to Richardson's heroine is erased' (216), his beloved Fanny is simultaneously revealed to be Pamela's sister. The Boobys, like Richardson, are ultimately unable to sever their connection to these inferior relations.

Whether classified as a continuation or a parody, *Joseph Andrews* was certainly the most successful of the *Pamela* spin-offs: Andrew Millar offered Fielding almost 200 pounds for it, and it sold 3500 copies within the first year (Keymer and Sabor 19-20). It was also the last of the prose fiction responses, arriving several months after the flurry of continuations published in late 1741 and serving, in Keymer and Sabor's words, to 'draw a line under the whole affair' (64). They call *Joseph Andrews* 'a clever embellishment of the spurious continuation mode' and argue that 'Richardson clearly saw it as an exercise of just this kind...resuming the terms of his attack on *Pamela's Conduct*' (65). However, the mixed mode of *Joseph Andrews* – which adapts elements from *Pamela* without directly calling itself a continuation – does not seem to have constituted a threat on the same level as *Pamela's Conduct,* and no advertisements ever appeared against it. The personal

[14] Although *Joseph Andrews* was completed less than two months after Richardson's continuation, Sabor notes that Fielding would have had an opportunity to see a part of the draft, or even read it in its entirety, before writing this final section ('*Joseph Andrews* and *Pamela*' 173-4).

quarrel between Richardson and Fielding flared up only several years later, when, in 1749, *Tom Jones* and *Clarissa* competed for the most popular novel of the year (Michie 41). It is then that Richardson's letters become full of bitter asides about Fielding's craft and personal morality, dwelling on the literal and aesthetic illegitimacy of 'that spurious brat Tom Jones' (*Selected Letters* 133). It is also then, with the Richardson/Fielding rivalry that would define later accounts of the 'rise of the novel' beginning to take shape (Michie 41, 45), that Richardson feels the need to retrospectively define his own authorship against Fielding's. His criticisms of Fielding at this time also serve as disguised self-congratulation: 'So long as the world will receive, Mr. Fielding will write. The Pamela, which he abused in his Shamela, taught him how to write to please, tho' his manners are so different. Before his Joseph Andrews (hints and names taken from that story, with a lewd and ungenerous engraftment) the poor man wrote without being read' (*Selected Letters* 133). In other words, Richardson claims that Fielding's works are motivated purely by desire of fame and profit, and that he has stolen all the successful elements of his fiction from Richardson, whether through imitating his technique or directly borrowing 'hints and names.' Indeed, he had not only 'taken' them from Richardson's story, but yoked the two together through their family relationship. *Joseph Andrews* is 'a lewd and ungenerous engraftment' that expands upon its source but contributes nothing to it but immorality, turning 'Pamela B.' into 'Pamela Booby.'

4. Its Own Reward: Profit, Copyright, and Originality

Richardson's attacks against Fielding participate in the oppositional authorial self-definition described at the beginning of the previous chapter, with Richardson establishing himself as a true author in contrast to Fielding as a talentless hack. At the height of the *Pamela* controversy, however, the 'other' to Richardson's authorship was not Fielding, but the writers of the several 'High Life' continuations. As we have seen, it was not enough for Richardson to insist that his continuation was the only 'true' one because he was the author of both sets of volumes. The *Pamela* controversy therefore raises questions about what exactly it means to be an 'original' author, and how that authorship is configured within the literary marketplace. Indeed,

while Maruca and Judge both argue that Richardson's custodial, moral interests in his characters trumped financial and legal considerations, the two were actually closely connected (Maruca 140; Judge 57). *Pamela* itself, after all, was not only the story of a young girl's virtue but the scene of very considerable reward: while no exact figures exist, Keymer and Sabor estimate that 20,000 copies were sold within the first year (not including piracies and Dublin reprints), with a rapid succession of editions (20). More than any other texts studied in this dissertation, Richardson and the authors of the other *Pamela* sequels – particularly *Pamela's Conduct* – were in direct competition for the attention and disposable income of this potentially large audience. The dispute therefore had commercial and legal implications, and functioned as an important site of contestation regarding authors' links with those spheres.

Social class was one significant factor affecting an author's relationship to money, particularly in the case of Pamela's future in 'High Life.' Having made his own fortune from the middle-class profession of printing, Richardson was always aware of his uneasy position with respect to the aristocracy. His letters display a mix of deference and defensiveness when dealing with his social superiors, including the ladies who would become part of his intimate circle – Lady Bradshaigh, for instance, offered corrections in his depiction of upper-class manners, including the use of titles in *Clarissa* (Barchas 12). His seeking advice in that case likely resulted from the scars of the *Pamela* campaign, in which the 'High Life Men' (true to their name) had attempted to disqualify him on account of his social status: *Pamela's Conduct*, they advertised, was written 'by a gentleman more conversant in High Life than the vain Author of Pamela' (Eaves and Kimpel 137).[15] That this form of snobbery against Richardson was prevalent is shown in a letter from Lady Mary Wortley Montagu to the Countess of Bute: although she admits to enjoying his novels, Montagu writes, 'I beleive this Author was never admitted into higher Company, and should confine his Pen to the Amours of Housemaids and the conversation at the Steward's Table, where I imagine he has sometimes intruded, tho' oftner in the Servants' Hall....He has no Idea of the manners of high Life' (3.96-7). Richardson's defence against this was to say that 'High Life' was not worth knowing much about. His novels are frequently

[15] John Kelly's actual biography, including his upper-class roots and downwardly-mobile trajectory, are detailed in Keymer and Sabor, chapter 2.

critical of aristocrats, and Hill was likely following his lead in distinguishing between the 'High Life' sequels and Richardson's own continuations in '*Genteel Life*.'[16]

On the other hand, Richardson also implies that the 'High Life Men' are not aristocratic at all, but motivated solely by financial necessity and hopes of profit. John Kelly is described in the letter to Leake as 'a Bookseller's Hackney, who never wrote anything that was tolerably received'; the advertisements by the Chandler camp are 'scurillous Papers...scattered about the Town, by Persons who can say any thing, and have no other View in it, than to promote the Sale of a wretched Performance.' Modern commentators have tended to adopt Richardson's assessment: Keymer and Sabor, for example, describe the *Pamela* texts as 'A Grubstreet [sic] grabfest in which a hungry succession of entrepreneurial opportunists and freeloading hacks...moved in for a slice of the action' (2). In his advertisements, Richardson makes much of the fact that *Pamela's Conduct*, as well all the other *Pamela* continuations, appeared anonymously, writing that 'when any Person who is above Scandal and scandalous Practices, shall say any thing worthy of Notice, and set his Name to what he publishes, he shall receive a proper Reply.' As in the Restoration disputes discussed in the previous chapter, the author's 'good name' is here literally in question. The publishers of *Pamela's Conduct* retort that, unlike Richardson, they *have* 'Signed' their advertisements, and object to his 'in a most flagrant Manner striking at, and endeavouring to Stain, their Characters, which stand *at least in as fair a light* as that pretended Author's.' As they point out, Richardson himself also remained anonymous until his own continuation was published. After he had finally stepped forward as the 'editor' and author, however, Richardson's ability to publically 'own' his work served as another aspect distinguishing him from the other continuators.

He underlines this fact by, apart from the letter to Leake, never referring to Kelly directly: all his responses are to the 'High Life Men' as a group, including Kelly and the consortium of booksellers marketing the text. As Maruca writes, this term 'labels the work as a collaborative production,' reading it as 'further evidence

[16] Indeed, 'High Life' thereafter became something of a byword for unauthorised and unnecessary continuations of popular works: *The Theatre of Fun, or Roderick Random in High Life* was published in 1784, showing the continued currency of the reference. Fielding concludes *Joseph Andrews* with a satirical jab that Joseph will not 'be prevailed on by any Booksellers, or their Authors, to make his Appearance in *High-Life*' (303).

that [Richardson] saw textual creation as extending beyond the single originary source of the author' to include printers and publishers (139). To me, however, Richardson's description of *Pamela's Conduct* as collaborative (as well as lumping it together with the other 'High Life' continuations) seems to be a clear way of dismissing it as a work of authorship. When Chandler suggested that Richardson 'join [his] Materials to their Author's and so let it come out under [his] Name,' Richardson tells Leake that he 'rejected' the proposal of collaboration 'with the Contempt it deserved.' Richardson does not view Kelly as a legitimate author at his own level – solitary, original, depending on booksellers only for distribution – but as a mere 'Bookseller's Hackney' acting on commission, with no ideas of his own. Keymer and Sabor describe Richardson's response to *Pamela's Conduct* as a 'mutual defence against Chandler's invasion on one front and Kelly's on the other' (77), as though the sequel constituted separate threats from its author and proprietor, one creative and the other commercial. Yet Richardson seeks to erase this distinction between them, disallowing Kelly any independent creative impulse at all.

Richardson himself, of course, was not averse to seeking material rewards from his work. He retained one-third of the copyright in *Pamela* and the full copyright to his subsequent novels, making him directly interested in their sales. Keymer and Sabor write that Richardson's 'multiple role as author, printer, and co-proprietor of *Pamela*...intensified suspicions' about his motives: 'Beneath many attacks on the heroine's allegedly mercenary character lay analogies with its thriving author, as though both were hypocritically engaged in converting...fictions of virtue, into personal profit' (14, 21). In some ways, Richardson bore out these suspicions: he tells Chandler, for example, that he will not collaborate in Kelly's project because he does not wish to share the proceeds: 'If, contrary to my Inclination, I was obliged to continue it, I would suffer no one to be concern'd in it; having a young Family of my own that was intitled to All I could do for them.' He is generally anxious, however, to show that profit is not his only motivation. Justifying the lack of incident in the second two volumes of *Pamela*, Richardson writes, 'I expect not the Demand the two former had: But...I am contented to give up my Profit, if I can but Instruct' (*Selected Letters* 53). This ambivalence and equivocation about profit would continue throughout his career. Regarding the tragic ending of *Clarissa*, he writes: 'I am not at

all concerned about the Sale; I mean as to the Profits of the sale; tho' neither in Circumstance nor Philosophy absolutely above attending to that Part' (87). In publishing a collection of moral sentiments drawn from his novels, Richardson takes care to 'assure' his correspondents 'that this collection was set about, and carried through (and a very painful and laborious task it was) more with a view to do good, than to profit. I could not expect a great sale of it, though it is the pith and marrow of nineteen volumes, not unkindly received' (Barbauld 5.48). This concern with his 'nineteen volumes' is a persistent motif in Richardson's correspondence. It reflects both a printer's approach to measuring his output, and a fear that he may be seen as churning out vast quantities of product by the volume, rather than creating self-contained literary works. Thus, he repeatedly claims that the notorious length of his writing is not sign of 'Avarice' or of trying the patience of the reading public, noting that he would have had a greater profit by fitting each story within two or four volumes (*Selected Letters* 329). He is reluctant to write a sequel to *Pamela*, he tells Leake, because a continuation would be presumed to have commercial motives by definition: 'It was treating the Public too much like a Bookseller to pursue a Success till they tired out the buyers.' As in the case of *The English Rogue,* the image of the mercenary bookseller is contrasted to the author undertaking his 'painful and laborious' task for altruistic, instructive reasons.

These double-edged discussions of writing for reward reflect eighteenth-century anxieties related to the growth of professional authorship. The expansion of the literary marketplace and the decline of patronage – described by Alvin Kernan in his survey of the paradigmatic career of Samuel Johnson – meant that these authors were living in a world inherited from Francis Kirkman, while still adapting a model of authorship based on writers like Sir Philip Sidney (invoked through Richardson's use of the name 'Pamela'). The commercialisation of literature only sharpened the need to distinguish between 'hacks and true authors,' as critics engaged in the 'endless task of creating boundaries and defining legitimacy' (Rosenthal, *Playwrights and Plagiarists* 5, 13-4). It is tempting to assume that this process of separating the wheat from the chaff depended purely on literary quality, but in fact (as in the case of Richardson and Kelly) it could have as much to do with social factors and the self-definitional needs of particular authors. Writing thus became one of those peculiar

irregular verbs: *they* are profiteering hacks, *I* support my family with my literary labours. As Catherine Ingrassia notes, Alexander Pope – one of the key proponents of boundary-policing – skilfully employed his copyrights and 'profited handsomely from the same literary marketplace he attacks in the *Dunciad*' (11). While Richardson was sometimes critical of Pope's writing, his successful negotiation of authorial roles may well have served as an example for Richardson to follow.

The image of the unsuccessful writer, on the other hand, was also being reified at this time through association with the geographical locale of Grub Street. In his study of this cultural phenomenon, Pat Rogers outlines the pervasive associations between hacks and poverty, theft, lower-class unruliness, and the 'retailing of shoddy stolen goods' (44). The very word 'hack' was associated with hire and prostitution: 'To be a hack...was to traffic commercially in something fundamentally admirable, and thus to sully it. It was to do for literature what prostitutes did for sex' (219), to be Shamela rather than Pamela. Indeed, the same comparison continues in modern criticism. In concluding that 'Fielding wrote *Shamela* and *Joseph Andrews*, as Richardson suspected, to cash in on the enormous success of *Pamela*,' Rivero compares him to Moll Flanders, the prototype of scheming anti-Pamelas like Haywood's Syrena Tricksy (215); Keymer and Sabor apply the same comparison to Kelly, who was 'treating the property of wit as Moll Flanders treats bundles of linen' (79). Grub Street writers were associated with thieves because, in working quickly to supply the needs of booksellers, they were suspected of frequently resorting to plagiarism. Openly seeking economical capital thus meant forfeiting a measure of cultural capital, even as cultural capital often led to greater economic gains for 'writers of status' (Zionkowski 4). Against the 'leveling nature of exchange value' – in which, for instance, two volumes of *Pamela's Conduct* cost the same as two volumes of *Pamela* – these new professional writers were 'mystifying the nature of writing in their time' by 'either circumvent[ing] or disrupt[ing] certain disruptive aspects of literature's function as commodity' (Zionkowski 4). As Laura Rosenthal concludes, 'In spite of (or perhaps because of) the commodification of writing, the idealized literary career (re)emerged as that of the gentleman-scholar who could transcend the marketplace but nevertheless claim property in his writing' (*Playwrights and Plagiarists* 5). This is the sort of ideal authorship that Richardson

wanted to establish for himself – both a professional deserving to be recompensed for his work and a gentleman with disinterested moral motives. To do so required defining Kelly, the other 'High Life Men,' and finally Fielding as his shadowy anti-types, inferior in both social standing and artistic aspirations.

The question of profit from literature also played a role in the mid-eighteenth-century legal debate that sought to define the proper term and theoretical basis of copyright. Opponents of perpetual copyright in this debate often appealed to the disinterestedness of the true author as opposed to the mercenary interests of booksellers. One tract, for example, calls copy-money (the payment received for transferral of rights) 'An invention which has tended much to degrade the author's character, and to render him subservient to booksellers and printers':

> It was well observed by a late honourable person in England, 'That he could never entertain so disgraceful an opinion of learned men, as to imagine, that nothing would induce them to write, but an absolute perpetual monopoly: That he could not believe they had no benevolence to mankind; no honourable ambition of fame; no incitement to communicate their knowledge to others; but the most avaricious and mercenary motives. From authors so very illiberal, the public would hardly receive much benefit. (Parks 14-6)

Supporters of perpetual copyright, on the other hand, argued that authors could not be expected to work out of 'benevolence' alone. In the decision of *Millar v. Taylor*, Lord Mansfield concludes that 'It is just, that an author should reap the pecuniary profits of his own ingenuity and labour' (*ER* 96.252). As Alexander Wedderburn stated in an earlier case, 'From the industry of the author, a profit must arise to somebody....The printer and other mechanic artists concerned in the impression are paid for their parts; the author who is the first mover ought in justice to be paid too' (*ER* 96.170). Richardson's sometime-friend, William Warburton, laments in his pro-copyright tract of 1747 that current statutory protections are not sufficient, and '*Letters* are now left, like *Virtue*, to be their own Reward' (926).

Richardson's career is particularly interesting in this context, since retaining part or full copyright in his works allowed him to reap more of the profits from their popularity than a typical novelist of the time could hope to receive. Prior to the publication of *Pamela*, he had sold two-thirds of the copyright to John Osborn and Charles Rivington for twenty guineas (Keymer and Sabor 19). As a printer,

Richardson had sometimes owned part-shares in copyrights (Eaves and Kimpel 19), and his publication of his own novel was along the same commercial lines. By the time volumes 3 and 4 of *Pamela* appeared, however, Richardson entered them in the Stationers' Register 'entirely in his own name' (145), with Osborn and Rivington acting only as distributors; even if all four volumes composed a single literary work, it seems, they could be divided into separate copyrights. The novel's sales, together with the appearance of multiple continuations, likely solidified Richardson's sense that (as he wrote to Leake) he would 'suffer no one to be concern'd in it.' When, in the deluxe octavo edition of 1742, Richardson's name appears on the title page for the first time, he is listed not as the author (although his authorship was by now well-known) but in a privileged position as the owner of the book, which is 'Printed for S. RICHARDSON' (Eaves and Kimpel 146).

At the same time, Richardson, Osborn and Rivington also sought the unusual expedient of securing a Royal License for all four volumes of *Pamela*, dated 13 January 1741/2 and published at the front of the book from the octavo edition onward. The License states that the co-proprietors are 'desirous of reaping the Fruits of their great Expense and Labour, and of enjoying the full Profit and Benefit, that may arise from Printing and Vending of the same' and therefore

> We, being willing to give Encouragement to so useful an Undertaking ...do, by these Presents, so far as may be agreeable to the Statute in that Case made...grant unto them...our License for the sole Printing, Publishing, and Vending of the said Work...; strictly forbidding all Our Subjects within Our Kingdoms and Dominions to reprint or abridge the same, either in the like, or in any other Volume or Volumes whatsoever, or to import, buy, vend, utter, or distribute any Copies thereof reprinted beyond the Seas...as they will answer at their Peril. (*PC* 1.132)

The Royal License was a mark of status: it was generally used for 'multi-volume reference works like the *Universal History* and *Biographia Britannica*' that had truly involved 'great Expense and Labour,' and would itself 'have been expensive to obtain' (Keymer and Sabor 39). It established *Pamela* as a 'useful' work of 'great Service to the Publick' and worthy of royal attention: an unprecedented claim for a novel. The License was given for a term of fourteen years, which did not substantially extend the rights the proprietors already held under the Copyright Act, and only 'so

far as may be agreeable to the Statute.' However, unlike the Copyright Act, the License applied to all the King's 'Kingdoms and Dominions,' including Ireland and America, and to abridgements. Although unauthorised Dublin editions of Richardson's works continued to be published despite it, the Royal License demonstrates his wish to take all possible steps towards securing his literary property.

Richardson thus united in himself the dual roles of 'author' and 'proprietor,' which had hitherto largely remained separate in the legal discourse of copyright. At the same time, he was a pioneer in establishing the author as a special kind of proprietor, with broader moral rights in a work that supported, yet extended beyond, his legal control of reproduction. Richardson's part in the eighteenth-century literary property debate has not previously been acknowledged by critics. As a printer, an author, and an owner of copyrights, however, he lived at the centre of the London book world at a time when the nature of copyright was being debated in print and in the courts. Richardson's circle in the 1740s included Warburton (author of *A Letter from an Author, to a Member of Parliament concerning Literary Property* and friend of Pope), the publisher Andrew Millar (plaintiff in the landmark cases of *Millar v. Kincaid* and *Millar v. Taylor*), and Edward Young (author of *Conjectures on Original Composition*, discussed below). All of them were vocal advocates of authors' common law or natural right to their creations, and it is unsurprising to find Richardson in the same camp.

Richardson's views of copyright were influenced by the infringements of it that he encountered: even after obtaining the Royal License, he struggled with Irish piracies of his work, particularly the continuation of *Pamela* and *Sir Charles Grandison*. In the latter case, Richardson had already made arrangements for a Dublin edition when rival publishers contrived to obtain sheets from his printing house prior to publication (Eaves and Kimpel 377-382). In September 1753, Richardson responded with a pamphlet titled *The Case of Samuel Richardson, of London, Printer; With regard to the Invasion of his Property in The History of Sir Charles Grandison, Before Publication, By Certain Booksellers in Dublin* (in Parks). Maruca argues that this text is focused on the physical theft of the printed sheets taken from within (as Richardson insists) 'his own House' – an invasion and theft of tangible, rather than ideal, property (132). While she denies that Richardson had any idea of

his work as purely 'intellectual property' (140), however, I see the complaint as finely balanced between his material possession of the work as its printer, and his moral rights as its author. As Richardson writes:

> The Editor, who had also great Reason to complain of the Treatment he met with in his *Pamela*, on both Sides the Water, cannot but observe, that never was Work more the Property of any Man, than *this* is his. The Copy never was in any other Hand: He borrows not from any Author: The Paper, the Printing, entirely at his own Expence, to a very large Amount; Returns of which he cannot see in several Months...The Work, Copies of which have been so *immorally* obtained, is a *moral* Work: He has never hurt any Man; nor offended [the Irish booksellers].

While it is true that he continues to call himself the 'Editor and sole Proprietor' of *Grandison* rather than its author (Maruca 131), by denying any creative borrowing and invoking the debate over authors' rights in his closing plea, Richardson makes his actual role very clear. As he concludes:

> If there is no Law to right the Editor and sole Proprietor of this new Work (*New* in every Sense of the Word), he must acquiese; but with this Hope, that, from so flagrant an Attempt, a Law may one Day be thought necessary, in order to secure to Authors the Benefit of their own Labours...At present, the *English Writers* may be said...to live in an Age of *Liberty*, but not of *Property*.

Privately, Richardson also complained of these crimes against 'the Benefit of Authors, and Proprietors of Copies,' and hoped that the law might be changed 'to get something done for the Security of Authors (tho' it will be too late to do me Service) from Depredations of this Nature, this very black Nature' (*Selected Letters* 279, 295). He had published three long novels, Richardson wrote toward the end of his life, 'And for what? To propagate, instead of virtue, theft, robbery and abuse, from the wild Irish, and to be forced to defend a property all my own; that is to say, neither a compilation, nor borrowed from any body' (331).

Richardson's involvement in all stages of publishing *Grandison* and his status as the novel's legal 'Proprietor' intensified his feeling, expressed even years later, that he had been 'so shamefully invaded in a Property so *singularly* his own' (Forster MS XI.1.242). It is evident in the above quotations, however, that his 'singular' possession of his novels also depends on their being '*New* in every Sense of the Word.' As he moves from speaking as an editor to speaking as an author, the

'Original Papers' on which his novels are based take on a new meaning. Richardson's lack of borrowing from others is a point so important that he makes it repeatedly in different contexts. Of *Clarissa,* he wrote that he 'hoped it wou'd be allowed to be a New, and in some sort, an Original Piece' (*Selected Letters* 55), while with *Grandison,* he goes even further: 'And this I can say, I borrow not from any body, no, not from myself' (218). He thus anticipates the critical tendency to praise Richardson's freshness and originality, as opposed to the learned Fielding (Eaves and Kimpel 116-7). In 'Richardson: original or learned genius?' Jocelyn Harris discusses this tradition and corrects it with evidence of his actual wide reading, but it is important that Richardson chooses to base his property claims on these grounds. As Mark Rose describes, he serves as 'a kind of emblem of the link between the book trade, concerned with property, and the discourse of originality' (*Authors and Owners* 116-7). It is Richardson's experiences as a printer and copyright owner that allow him to speak of his work as property, but his creative role as an author that gives him the moral authority to do so.

In this context, Rose points to Richardson's close friendship with Young, author of the *Conjectures on Original Composition in a Letter to the Author of Sir Charles Grandison* (1759) – a text now seen as prefiguring the Romantic cult of original genius and the decline of imitation (Woodmansee). The *Conjectures* adapt many of the images of imitation commonly used by seventeenth-century authors, including architecture and the *vestigia* topos, but turn them to a very different purpose. Young writes, for instance, that 'Suppose an *Imitator* to be most excellent...yet still he but nobly builds on another's foundation; his Debt is, at least, equal to his Glory; which therefore, on the ballance, cannot be very great. On the contrary, an *Original*, tho' but indifferent...yet has something to boast' (11). According to Young, it is better not to follow the 'sacred footsteps of great examples' but rather cross 'into fresh untrodden ground' (55). Any system of literary value based on the *Conjectures*, therefore, would make impossible the defences of continuations discussed in Chapter 3.

As well as serving as the dedicatee and printing the finished work, Richardson had suggested the topic to Young and commented on the essay in draft form (Rose, *Authors and Owners* 117; *Selected Letters* 331-335; McKillop; Phillips). While Alan

D. McKillop and Eaves and Kimpel argue that most of Richardson's suggestions are moral and religious in nature (393-4; 433), he also made contributions to Young's discussion of originality. He writes, for instance, that Young needs to clarify the difference between *mimesis* or imitation of nature, which is necessary for a true depiction of life, and mere artistic imitation:

> Should there not be here some distinction of *imitators of other authors*, and imitation of nature, in which respect poetry is called one of the imitative arts? The tame imitator of other poets is a copier of portraits, the true genius a noble painter of originals, to whom nature delights to sit. (*Selected Letters* 333)

This comparison between portrait and 'principal' was also made in the *Arcadia* continuations: William Alexander, for example, had described himself as 'but an Imitator' who 'could not really give the Principall it self, but only as it were the Pourtrait' (Garrett 199). By insisting on the difference between *mimesis* and imitation, however, Richardson draws a sharper line between them – he does not allow for cases where one writer's 'portrait' is retouched and improved by another. When it comes to authorship, too, Richardson seeks for a better and more restrictive definition:

> Suppose, sir, when you ask, What does the name of poet mean? you answer after some such manner as this—'*It means a maker*, and, consequently, *his work is something original, quite his own.* It is not the laboured improvement of a modern cultivator bestowed on a soil already fertile, and refining on a plan already formed; but the touch of Armida's wand, that calls forth blooming spring out of the shapeless waste, and presents in a moment objects new and various, which his genius only could have formed in that peculiar manner, and his taste only arranged with that peculiar grace.' (*Selected Letters* 334)

While the discussion of *mimesis* and definition of a poet as a 'maker' recalls the terms of Sidney's *Defence of Poesie*, Richardson differs from Sidney by having his anti-type in mind, reflecting the expansion of the literary world between the sixteenth and eighteenth centuries. Whereas Sidney aimed to defend writing in general as a worthy endeavour, Richardson seeks to distinguish between worthy and unworthy writing, between poets and non-poets.

In his definition of poetry, Richardson employs the established metaphors of land and cultivation explored in the Introduction. Although the imagery is the same,

however, we can see him part company with Locke's concept of property-through-labour. Such 'laboured improvement' is contrasted with a proto-Romantic, *ex nihilo* act of creation: the 'blooming spring' that Richardson describes is not crafted out of the 'waste' where it arises, but rather comes into being all 'in a moment.' The same idea is expressed in Young's finished treatise: 'An *Original* may be said to be of a *vegetable* nature; it rises spontaneously from the vital root of Genius; it *grows*, it is not *made*: *Imitations* are often a sort of *Manufacture* wrought up by those *Mechanics, Art*, and *Labour*, out of pre-existent materials not their own' (12). Young's 'not their own' and Richardson's '*quite his own*' both link such uniqueness with property and ownership: 'original writing constitutes the only legitimate form of literary property and original writers are the only legitimate owners' (Rosenthal, 'Author as Ghost' 38). Young writes that the true author always avoids 'borrowed riches': 'His works will stand distinguished; his the sole Property of them; which Property alone can confer the noble title of an *Author*' (54). Indeed, Rosenthal goes so far as to argue that 'In Young's *Conjectures*, originality has little meaning in itself, but rather functions as a signifier of difference, permitting and upholding the distinction between "true" authors and those who "only" write for money,' and thus marking the boundary 'between popular and high culture' ('Author as Ghost' 36-7). This is the same distinction that Richardson seeks to emphasise in his suggestions; throughout his career, as I have shown, he was concerned with being on the right side of it. Although his letter to Young does not directly refer to his own writings or the response to them, the description of the imitative cultivator 'refining on a plan already formed' does recall his term for the rights he claimed to have in the 'Plan' of Pamela's afterlife. These rights must be protected from infringement by writers like Kelly, mere imitative hacks who do not deserve 'the noble title of an *Author*.'

Simon Stern argues that this conception of literary property arising from aesthetic originality, as articulated by Young in his *Conjectures*, was not reflected in the legal discourse of the eighteenth century (69-70). Critics sympathetic to Richardson often implicitly wish that it had been: Keymer and Sabor write, for instance, that 'Even after the legislation of 1710, the rudimentary nature of copyright law made it hard enough to protect an existing publication....The assumptions about copyright that would make it possible to assert intellectual property over a character

or setting were still centuries away' (52). However, Richardson's growing interest in copyright and the rights of authors seems to indicate that some of these assumptions were already emerging in the eighteenth century. Although he never directly links the *Pamela* controversy with the physical invasion of his property in the case of *Sir Charles Grandison,* his sense of injury over 'the Treatment he met with in his *Pamela*, on both Sides the Water' is not necessarily confined to pirated reprints. As with previous authorship disputes, Richardson's outrage over the works of the 'High-Life Men' remains metaphorical rather than legal, an invasion of his 'Plan' and a debasement of his 'Characters,' rather than a theft of property. On the other hand, Nathaniel Ponder's incipient sense that *The Third Part of the Pilgrim's Progress* 'hindered the sale of the plaintiff's copies' through competition is combined in this case with the moral claims of an 'original' author. As will be seen in the next chapter, Richardson responded to the *Pamela* controversy, and the failures of public advertising and book-trade regulation to protect him from it, by asserting these moral claims in a different sphere. He attempted to lock down the reception of his novels as firmly as, prior to the publication of *Sir Charles Grandison*, he had locked his printing house – allowing entrance to only a trusted few, and never leaving them unattended.

Chapter 6

Closing the Circle: *Clarissa* and *Sir Charles Grandison*

But when I came to the last *word, I even sob'd. Is this the* last, *the* last *work, of this Inimitable author?...But then, thought I, how happy am I, indulged in a free correspondence with such a writer….how can I so unreasonably repine? with these reflections, I dry'd my Tears.*
– Lady Bradshaigh to Samuel Richardson (Forster MS XI.1.95)

1. The Consulting Author

It has become a commonplace in Richardson criticism to comment on the extent to which he solicited advice about his work, as well as the rarity with which he took it. Richardson's vast correspondence, preserved and indexed as carefully as any of his novels, traces a negotiation of authority that took place over the course of his career, and served as a contrast and response to the publishing challenges described in the previous chapter. The correspondence transformed the public reception of his novels into a private conversation. Although the readers who wrote to him often began as strangers, Richardson sought to cultivate these relationships by drawing them into debate, effectively (as David Brewer and Lisa Maruca argue) creating a new kind of manuscript coterie. This established a personal rapport between author and audience, counteracting the anonymity of the marketplace that had proved so dangerous to *Pamela*, and, as this chapter will argue, allowing him greater control over these readers' interpretations and the texts that they produced.

The particular twists and turns of the correspondence were determined by the personalities of the individual participants. However, its central contradiction – with Richardson both inviting and resisting suggestions, writing epistolary novels that call for so much reader engagement, yet being so outraged by unauthorised interpretations and continuations of his work – would have a lasting legacy in the history of the novel. It is the same contradiction by which Laurence Sterne, author of the radically participatory *Tristram Shandy*, would combat spurious continuations by personally signing every copy of the genuine third volume, authorising the printed text with the handwritten name of the author (Keymer and Sabor 52). That readers became willing to comply with such a mixture of authority and invitation is evident in the fact that no

known eighteenth-century copy of *Tristram Shandy* contains a drawing on the blank page calling for a depiction of the reader's ideal Widow Wadman (Brewer 173): the very blatantness of the opening seems to have discouraged gap-filling activity. If, as Hunter argues, the eighteenth-century novel was intrinsically open in form, in other ways it was undergoing enclosure, as authors sought to define the appropriate parameters of reader response. Brewer describes *Tristram Shandy* as the turning point in this 'new balance of power' between authors and readers (155), yet I see the transition taking place earlier, within Richardson's correspondence. In their letters, Richardson and his readers work through ideas of what the authorship of a novel entails, exploring various models of collaboration and control. Their debates therefore provide a rich documentary source about the interaction between authors and readers in the mid-eighteenth century, shedding light on the transition between Early Modern views of creative imitation and emulation, and our modern conception of the distinction between creators and their 'fans.'

Interaction with his audience was consistently a part of Richardson's method. He describes the rapid composition of *Pamela* as an effect of reading each part of the draft to his wife and family friend Elizabeth Midwinter, who begged to know what would happen next to the heroine (*Selected Letters* 41). This scene of writing, in instalments to an audience of emotionally-engaged and responsive female listeners, would become typical of Richardson's writing process. Richardson's reading circle was initially limited to his family and Aaron Hill (who contributed the adulatory prefaces to *Pamela*), but this changed once he became widely known as a bestselling author. By the time the continuation of *Pamela* was in progress, Richardson was receiving advice on it from figures as diverse as his doctor George Cheyne, William Warburton, and (through Warburton) Alexander Pope. All of them proposed ideas for plot twists and thematic elements, which Richardson did not always welcome: even as he asks for specific suggestions from one correspondent, Richardson mentions wryly that another 'was so good as to give me a Plan to break Legs and Arms and to fire Mansion Houses to create Distresses' (*Selected Letters* 52). The correspondence surrounding the second part of *Pamela* established a pattern of request, response, and demurral that would be repeated often over the rest of Richardson's career.

Although Peter Sabor challenges the critical tradition that Richardson did not

follow the advice he solicited in revising his work (specifically *Pamela*), there were clearly strict limits to such participation. Sabor writes that 'Richardson's requests for assistance with the composition of the continuation of *Pamela* were not to be taken literally; and...correspondents who wrote letters describing how *Pamela* should have been written, rather than discussing the text as it stood, were instrumental only in eliciting from Richardson explanations of his intentions' ('Richardson and his Readers' 167). Detailed proposals for the continuation, such as Cheyne's 'Plan to break Legs and Arms,' were rejected outright, as were submissions of complete letters and poems: in the margin of one such letter, Richardson writes, 'Ridiculous & improbable, the whole of it!' (Forster MS XVI.1. 27). In contrast, 'The criticism of *Pamela* that Richardson accepted was generally close textual analysis,' often related to issues of style and decorum (Sabor, 'Richardson and his Readers' 169). In other words, he wished for his readers to comment on and refine his writing, but not to create new scenarios of their own. Partly as a result of being his own printer, Richardson saw his works as perpetually malleable and 'in progress' (164), continuing to ask for corrections and revising them throughout his life. However, such revisions were ultimately dependent on him, and not ceded to any other authority. On the contrary, they reinforced his ultimate control over the text, which became less a finished product than an ongoing event over which Richardson presided. Unlike the author envisioned by Justice Yates in *Tonson v. Collins*, Richardson had not, by publishing, 'thrown down all distinction, and made the work common to every body; like land thrown into the highway,' for readers to make what use of they wished (*ER* 96.185). As Jocelyn Harris writes, 'Publication grants his work only a seeming autonomy, for Richardson renews his claims to possession every time he defends or explains his aesthetic theories, every time he interprets, annotates, or re-inscribes his text' ('Introduction' lxix).

Despite their vocal and frequently tendentious responses, Richardson's readers seemed to recognise this. As in the case of *Tristram Shandy*, Richardson's invitations most often had the opposite effect: the more they are asked for corrections, the more eager his audience is to proclaim the novels too perfect to amend, or to doubt Richardson's seriousness. One typical exchange occurs with Elizabeth Echlin, who asks, 'And are you in earnest, Sir? Do you really expect correction from your

humble servant? I admire your raillery vastly' (Barbauld 5.3). Richardson responds: 'Believe me, Madam, I ask not for compliments: and let me assure you, that among my numerous faults, tenaciousness is not imputed to me as one' (5.9). Echlin's puzzled reply sums up the contradictory interpretations arrived at by subsequent critics:

> I protest I am at a loss, how to answer some parts of your last obliging favour. Give me leave to say, you have more good-nature, humility, and patience, than any other man upon earth, or you certainly are the greatest hypocrite under the sun. If I could suspect Mr. Richardson's veracity, I should look upon your submission to my inferior judgment as a polite piece of complaisance. I begin to think, you think me peremtory, and self-sufficient; if so, you resolve perhaps, to acquiese, rather than contend, with a positive woman. You are extremely indulgent, and I ought to thank you. (5.31-2)

The dance continues as Richardson denies both humility and hypocrisy, and states that he really does want debate and correction (5.35). Any author, of course, would enjoy hearing such disclaimers of their work being impossible to improve upon. Richardson's insistence, however, suggests that he *was* serious in his queries, enjoying the process of discussion both for its own sake and for the ways in which it allowed him to fine-tune his works. At the same time, however, his self-justificatory responses (which often display the 'tenaciousness' he claims to be free from) and his readers' ideas of the privileges of authorship both serve to discourage the frank criticism he claims to want. Brewer notes an 'almost total lack of extant annotated copies' of Richardson's works (apart from Bradshaigh's, discussed below). When given an interleaved copy of *Pamela* for correction, Hill's daughters protested that they could not possibly do so, as though inhibited by proximity with the author's text (Brewer 148-151).

This is particularly remarkable given that the process of consultation might seem to cede a great part of Richardson's authority as a writer. As Samuel Johnson wrote in *The Rambler* 23 (an issue likely prepared with Richardson specifically in mind [Harris, 'Introduction' xxvi]), there is a difference in how readers respond to texts seen as finished or unfinished. This difference is frequently marked, by the mid-eighteenth century, through the distinction between manuscript and print. According to Johnson, a printed text is generally viewed as 'permanent and unalterable; and the

reader...accommodates his mind to the author's design'; a reader given a manuscript draft, however, 'considers himself as obliged to shew, by some proof of his abilities, that he is not consulted to no purpose, and therefore watches every opening for objection, and looks round for every opportunity to propose some specious alternation' (135-6). The author, Johnson believes, thus loses the advantage of print and places himself in a position of equality with his readers. Inviting such a collaborative effort is at odds with the solitary, independent authorial composition advocated by Johnson and another of Richardson's correspondents, Joseph Spence. As Spence writes:

> I have a moral feeling for you…on seeing how much you suffer from the contrariety of advices that have been given you. Such a multitude of opinions can only serve to confuse your own judgment, which I verily believe would direct you better, without help, than with so much.
> I wish you would take up a resolution (which perhaps may be new to you) of neither trusting others, nor distrusting yourself, too much… Have they sufficiently considered your design and manner of writing in that piece?...Are they acquainted with your various ends in writing it; your unravellings of the story; and your winding up of the whole? Without these lights, a very good judge may give a very wrong opinion. (Barbauld 2.320-1)

The author, Spence believes, holds a privileged position in the interpretation of the text, as the only one who can be fully aware both of its intentions and overarching structure. Advice from readers must necessarily be less well-informed, and would only serve to 'confuse' the author's singular purpose.

Richardson himself, however, was more aware of these potential pitfalls than Johnson and Spence assumed. As he wrote regarding *Sir Charles Grandison*, the openness of his texts was both strategic and limited in scope:

> Something also must be left to the Reader to make out.... The whole Story abounds with Situations and Circumstances debatable. It is not an unartful Management to interest the Readers so much in the Story, as to make them differ in Opinion as to the Capital Articles, and by Leading one, to espouse one, another, another, Opinion, make them all, if not Authors, Car[v]ers. (*Selected Letters* 296)[1]

[1] Carroll in *Selected Letters* transcribes the final word as 'Carpers,' but Elizabeth Bergen Brophy argues that it is 'Carvers,' with a sense of choosing for oneself (see also Keymer, *Richardson's Clarissa* 74). This accords with my own examination of the letter (Forster MS XI.1.87).

This distinction between 'Authors' and 'Carvers' is crucial, and scrupulously maintained. Richardson wishes for attentive and 'interest[ed]' readers, who would reread his novels over and over in order to gain a full understanding of the characters and moral themes. Such a level of interest and investment would help ensure the popularity and canonical status of his works, but it requires proper 'Management' if it is to answer Richardson's goals. Edward Young, for example, recognised the benefits of the flurry of published and epistolary discussion surrounding *Clarissa*: 'Your Clarissa is, I find, the Virgin-mother of several pieces; which, like beautiful suckers, rise from her immortal root. I rejoice at it; for the noblest compositions need such aids, as the multitude is swayed more by others' judgments than their own' (Barbauld 2.27). *Clarissa* led to discussion, but not (as we will see) to the publishing of rival continuations; in the vegetative metaphor, it reproduced in virgin purity and was not forcibly 'engrafted' as *Pamela* had been. This was at least partly owing to the personal influence Richardson wielded over its reception. As Brewer argues, Richardson 'endeavored to marshal the energies of imaginative expansion without having to relinquish authorial control' by setting himself 'as the center of a virtual community modeled not on the commons but the coterie, with all the intimacy and personal authority which that ideal suggests' (121-2). Richardson must be at the centre of this community given that, as he writes, 'It is impossible that Readers the most attentive, can always enter into the Views of the Writer.' This is because of, not despite, the emotionally immersive nature of Richardson's new 'Species of Writing.' By 'every one putting him and herself into the Character they read, and judging of it by their own Sensations,' readers can arrive at a variety of interpretations, yet they cannot hope to enter the mind of the author who holds the entire novel in view (*Selected Letters* 316). In the discussions relating to the endings of *Clarissa* and *Sir Charles Grandison*, we can see both Richardson's enjoyment of this process and his determination to remain its final arbiter.

2. Clarissa Lives: Alternative Endings and Revision

The publication of *Clarissa* shows the development of this combination of engagement and control. It was the first of Richardson's novels to be widely

circulated in draft form prior to publication, and its appearance in print drew attention to this fact. In his initial preface, Richardson describes the disagreement of his early readers over how the text could be abridged, 'But no Two being of the same Mind...it was resolved to present to the World, the Two First Volumes, by way of Specimen; and to be determined with regard to the rest by the Reception those should meet with' (qtd in Keymer, *Commentary* 17). As Keymer notes, this gives the impression that 'the text remains in flux, still open to determination by its readers as well as its author' in an 'almost collaborative mode of production' (2). The importance of reader reception was also emphasised by the novel's serial publication: the first two volumes appeared in December 1747, followed by volumes 3 and 4 in April 1748, and 5, 6, and 7 that December. Keymer notes that the delay before the last three volumes may have been unforeseen, but it allowed reading time to equal narrative time and thus 'further[ed] the immediacy of involvement,' creating greater suspense (*Commentary* 42). While the seven volumes form a single completed story (rather than accumulating instalments like *The English Rogue*), the gaps in publication gave readers ample space to speculate about the novel's final outcome. As Richardson complains, they 'have formed from the Four [volumes] a Catastrophe of [their] own; and are therefore the more unwilling to part with it, in favour of that which I think from the Premises the only natural one' (*Selected Letters* 103). Richardson's correspondence in this period is dominated by readers' petitions for a happy ending, and his own lengthy arguments justifying the 'naturalness' of his plan.

Foremost among these readers was Dorothy Bradshaigh, who began a lifelong friendship and correspondence when she first wrote to Richardson under the pseudonym 'Belfour.' Lady Bradshaigh had heard rumours of *Clarissa*'s tragic conclusion: taking advantage of the fact that the final volumes had not yet been published, she pleads for Clarissa and Lovelace, begging Richardson to listen to those of '[his] advisers' who 'feel for the virtuous in distress' and do not 'delight in horror,...rapes, ruin and destruction' (Barbauld 4.178). Bradshaigh thus recognises the social aspect of Richardson's writing process and wishes to take part in it, writing, 'Let me intreat (may I say, insist upon) a turn' (4.179). The tone is finely balanced between presumption and modesty – she ventures to suggest, for instance, that Richardson might put in 'a little excuse to the reader' explaining why he has been

persuaded to change the ending, but finishes 'I do blush most immoderately…in offering to put words in the mouth of the ingenious Mr. Richardson' (4.180). Over the series of letters that follow, Bradshaigh comes up with various means by which Lovelace might be reformed and the protagonists married. This continues even after Bradshaigh reluctantly reads the fifth volume, in which Lovelace's rape of Clarissa occurs: 'Dear Sir, if it be possible – yet, recall the dreadful sentence…[I] am afraid I cannot help hating you, if you alter not your scheme' (4.201). It is at this point, when the text set in print might be presumed to be immutable, that Bradshaigh proposes a full 'scheme' of her own for an alternative ending. In this sketch, Clarissa would be persuaded to visit a sick Lovelace and finally agree to a deathbed marriage, prompting him to recover: 'Methinks I see her his wife, or wife elect, kindly attending and administering means for his recovery' (4.202-3).

Bradshaigh's affective involvement in the story is clearly very high, as she describes the physical and emotional suffering that reading it has caused her: she refuses to read the final volumes because 'I cannot see my amiable Clarissa die; it will hurt my heart, and *durably*' (4.216). This explains her breach of decorum in writing to a man she does not know – 'write I must, or die' – and the strength of the expressions she uses, threatening to curse Richardson if he proceeds with an unhappy ending (183). Such expressions, of course, cannot be taken entirely at face value: as Kate Loveman and Janice Broder note, the displays of extreme sensibility by Richardson readers are at least partly performed, designed to demonstrate that they have read the novel in the right spirit (Loveman 192, Broder 100). Having the 'correct' response thus helps to create a sense of reader community, one member of which describes *Clarissa* as 'a touchstone by which I shall try the hearts of my acquaintance, and judge which of them are true standard' (Barbauld 3.3). This does not mean, however, that the emotional involvement was not genuine. In weeping for Clarissa's fate, Bradshaigh and others demonstrate Greenstein's conception of the 'social response to character.' Although often dismissed as flawed or 'naive' by critics, Greenstein argues that this treatment of fictional characters 'as if they were real' – with motivations, a past and a future – is a vital part of the process of engaging with fiction. At the same time, however, Greenstein notes that even readers who imagine they 'had attended [Clarissa's] dying bed, and assisted at her funeral

procession' (Barbauld 3.112) seldom lose sight of the fact 'that Clarissa's history was a fiction' (Greenstein 529). While Bradshaigh is able to 'see' Clarissa as Lovelace's wife, she knows that she is simultaneously creating this vision, rather than witnessing real events. When she admits that she cannot help liking Lovelace, she speaks as one charmed by a new acquaintance, yet the fictional Lovelace can be altered in a way that real men cannot: 'a faultless husband have I made him, even without danger of relapse' (Barbauld 4.181).

If Bradshaigh can 'make' Clarissa and Lovelace do certain things in her imagination, this gives her an amount of ownership over their fates, as she 'engage[s] in a fictional elaboration and completion of character' that makes them 'hers' (Warner, *Reading Clarissa* 162). Paul St. Amour has recently argued for such a form of literary property based on personal investment rather than creation, and Henry Jenkins describes a similar idea in relation to contemporary media fandom: 'Once television characters enter into a broader circulation, intrude into our living rooms...they belong to their audience and not simply to the artists who originated them' (279). However, Bradshaigh herself never loses sight of the hierarchical distinction between her imaginings and the text of *Clarissa* as written by Richardson: when she proposes her alternative plan, her aim is to convince *Richardson* to alter the novel accordingly. Only a happy ending written by the original author, it seems, would be satisfying. Thus, her proposal is punctuated by asides like '(What an interesting scene might you there introduce!)' and 'What moving tender scenes could you draw upon such an occasion! and with what pleasure could I sob, and dedicate a deluge of tears to those scenes…!' (Barbauld 4.205). Bradshaigh's outline ending on its own is not sufficient to produce such emotional responses; they require a treatment by Richardson since, as Sarah Fielding tells him, 'No pen but your's can do justice to Clarissa. Often have I reflected on my own vanity in daring but to touch the hem of her garment' (2.61).

Bradshaigh concludes her plan by writing:

> I know not whether the above scheme be new or not, but it appears to me very delightful. I said before, I did believe you had a noble one within you; I wish you would produce it, though sure I am it would make all I have proposed appear like nothing….A picture, by being touched and retouched by an unskilful hand, might be defaced and spoiled; but a master must, by each stroke, add a new beauty, and

> heighten his piece. (4.206)

Richardson must 'produce' the noble and original ideas that he has 'within' him; Bradshaigh can only prompt him to do so, no matter how 'delightful' she may find her own proposal. We thus return to the image of Apelles' picture that cannot be perfected by anyone other than the master artist, as used by Sanford in the preface to the *Arcadia*. In Richardson's case, however, this master is still alive and available to hear Bradshaigh's suggestions. Thus, she is able to propose that 'if done properly' – by which she means, if done by Richardson – the new ending 'will be a supplement which will complete or perfect the image Richardson has *already* sketched' (Warner, *Reading Clarissa* 167). Unlike William Alexander and James Johnstoun, who wrote 'supplements' to 'perfect' Sidney's unfinished work, Bradshaigh's persuasive purpose requires the insistence that she has *not* contributed anything to the book, but only drawn Richardson's attention to what was 'in some sense, already there' (167). Bradshaigh's views of authorship serve as a marked contrast to the published *Pamela* continuations, in which it seems that any version of the heroine's afterlife would do if it was written convincingly enough, or indeed to the *Arcadia*, where (owing to Sidney's death) the author's version remained in the realm of the impossible ideal. Although Brewer's study of eighteenth-century continuations does not mention the *Arcadia*, he aptly sums up the differences between Sidney and Richardson: 'As a living author jealous of his own property, Richardson could not simply be redefined – and hence dismissed – as a gloriously pliant authorizing ghost' (Brewer 126). Richardson-the-author is accessible in a way that the dead Sidney was not, yet his work is the more unalterable for it.

As Bradshaigh comes to realise this unalterability, she is left still complaining but more resigned. 'But what you have written, you have written,' she states:

> I am far from thinking my foolish tenderness ought to be of force against *any* authority. I am humble enough to own my want of power, I have only aimed at moving you by intreaties to compassion, but you were 'Deaf as the winds, and as the rocks unshaken.' You say it was impossible to be otherwise, and I must try to believe you. Had you told me so at the first, it would have saved you an immense deal of trouble. (Barbauld 4.211, 214)

Bradshaigh thus sees that the record of her affective response (her 'foolish

tenderness'), while no doubt gratifying to Richardson, has no bearing on his ultimate 'authority' over the story. As Jane Elizabeth Lewis describes, although such pleas and descriptions of reader suffering may appear to 'challenge the integrity of Richardson's story and thus his authority,' causing pain is, in fact, a central part of his moral design. It is the basis of the hold he has over his readers, who masochistically admire his ability to inflict it: 'By imagining themselves tormented and eventually silenced by Richardson, such readers found a way both to enter the world of his novel and to praise his mastery of that world' (47-8). So long as she assumes such mastery – the fact that only Richardson can save Clarissa – all Bradshaigh has are her 'intreaties.' So long as the goal is to influence the *author*, rather than to modify the *work*, she must be, in Warner's words, 'acutely aware of how little leverage she has on Richardson': all she can threaten is to 'break the reader contract and never finish his book,' a threat that, despite her tears, she is manifestly unable to keep (*Reading Clarissa* 161).

Why, then, did Richardson not save himself such an 'immense deal of trouble'? As Warner writes,

> Richardson could have given a speedy term to [Bradshaigh]'s appeal by invoking his prerogatives as author, or informing her that the third installment had already gone to press (for this was the case). In other words, he could have immediately closed the space for debate and interplay which [Bradhaigh]'s letter opened behind the half-published novel. Instead, Richardson answers her objections point by point and encourages continuing correspondence and debate. (*Reading Clarissa* 160)

The fact that Richardson responded to Bradshaigh's letters, and at such length (beginning a correspondence that would last until the end of his life) is often seen as betraying the less attractive aspects of his character: pomposity, obsessive self-justification, a desire for avuncular epistolary flirting with women. At times, indeed, Richardson expresses frustration with the debate over *Clarissa*: during the composition process he lamented, echoing the terms of Spence's letter, 'What contentions, what disputes have I involved myself in with my poor Clarissa, through my own diffidence, and for want of a will! I wish I had never consulted any body but Dr. Young' (Barbauld 2.24).[2] The postscript to the last three volumes and the preface

[2] Since this comes in a letter *to* Young, he is naturally singled out as the only truly useful advisor.

to the 1751 edition are dismissive of those of 'the gentler Sex' who appealed 'in favour of what they call a *fortunate Ending*' through the 'very easy and trite expedient' of reforming Lovelace (Keymer, *Commentary* 55, 254). Richardson noted that *Clarissa* was preventing him from starting another fictional project: 'I am drawn into acquaintance, and into correspondencies upon it, so numerous, and that with and from people of condition, that what time I have to spare from my troublesome and necessary business, is wholly taken up' (*Selected Letters* 174). Yet there is also a note of pride in that 'people of condition,' and he clearly enjoys the process of discussing his novels with readers who take them seriously enough to debate. As his friend George Jeffreys wrote in 1750, having been permitted to see the Bradshaigh correspondence:

> Never did any Author receive so much Credit from Opposition to his Plan, as Mr. R—n; for if the Lady...had acquiesed in the original Scheme, she could not have discovered that high Opinion of the Merit of the Work in general, which is so apparent in her uncommon Zeal to adapt it to her own Taste. (Forster MS XI.2.89)

However, the nature of Richardson's 'prerogatives as author' (as Warner puts it above) is never far from the discussion. Though he was often of inferior social status to his readers, they unanimously acknowledge him as a superior authority on the three novels – a position that he establishes and defends for himself, despite all his protestations of modesty. Indeed, this authority could even overcome his sense of deference to rank. When Bradshaigh in her annotations objects to the Harlowes' maid being present during important family confrontations, Richardson retorted in the margin, 'Do you think so, Madam? Characters consider'd?' (Barchas 52). This invites Bradshaigh to reread and further 'consider' the novel in order to agree with Richardson's conclusion, based on the natures of the 'characters' rather than her personal experience of running a household. Moreover, their discussion was not always conducted with equal access to the textual evidence. In Richardson's initial replies, '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' (Broder 100). This not only affirmed the status of *Clarissa* as a unified and finished work, despite its division over seven volumes, but demonstrated Richardson's sole control over the textual

archive. As with *Pamela*, all of the letters making up the novel are 'in *One Hand Only,*' and readers like Bradshaigh can only speculate (as the advertisement against *Pamela's Conduct* had accused) 'without any other Acquaintance with the story, than what they have been able to collect from' the published volumes.

Even after all volumes of *Clarissa* appeared in print to be considered in their entirety, its already-vast archive was always capable of expansion. The 1751 third edition, for example, included over 200 pages of 'Letters and Passages Restored from the Manuscript of the History of Clarissa.' Mark Kinkead-Weekes was the first to suggest that most of these 'restorations' were actually composed expressly for the third edition, in response to criticism: along with the table of contents and extensive footnotes (first added in the second edition of 1749), their purpose was to correct what Richardson saw as the errors of early readers.[3] Taken together, the additions serve to play up Lovelace's flaws, Clarissa's virtue, and the incompatibility between their value systems, in order to 'regulat[e] the reader's experience of the novel,' guiding it toward a single meaning and a single, inevitably tragic outcome (Warner, *Reading Clarissa* 181-94, 197-9). Such authorial interference ill-accords with modern critical standards: Warner argues that Richardson '*plants evidence*' for his own interpretation in a way 'that must make any fair-minded judge and reader of this story wince' (*Reading Clarissa* 195), while Terry Castle calls his 'ongoing, petulant babble' a 'sorry attempt...to confine the meaning of Clarissa's "Story," to close off its gaps' (*Clarissa's Ciphers* 175-6). In another way, however, the changes could be seen as a form of collaboration between Richardson and his early readers: by gauging their reactions, he was able to see what 'gaps' in the novel remained and fill them himself, rather than leave them for the elaboration of others. Thus readers were indeed influencing the course of a story open to revision, but not in the way they had hoped – Richardson had listened to their concerns and sought to prevent rather than answer them, as if, Warner writes, he 'welcomed the disease of misreading so he might fortify the text with antibodies against its recurrence' (*Reading Clarissa* 146)

The disjuncture between Richardson's didactic purpose and the openness of

[3] This view has been qualified by Shirley van Marter; however, while reevaluating the extent and artistic qualities of Richardson's additions, her article does not seriously question this general assessment of his motives, except in so far as it operates on the assumption that 'good' writing cannot have been motivated by reader response.

Clarissa's epistolary form has often been noted. In writing the novel, Richardson apparently failed to realise that 'authorial "Instruction" cannot coexist happily with readerly "construction" – yet it is this last operation that the multiple-correspondent epistolary novel requires' (Castle, *Clarissa's Ciphers* 172). From Castle's poststructuralist perspective, the novel's form means that Richardson is 'absent from us, concealed behind the dense, ornate surface of his fiction, silenced by a continuous gabble of imaginary voices' (148). Since he is not part of the correspondence himself, the novel lacks 'any sense of a controlling, magus-like authorial presence' (164-5):

> The occultation of "authority" we experience here – a sense of the absence of the author – is symptomatic of the classic novel in letters.... We hear no authorial voice in the text. For in order to create the fiction of the letter itself, the epistolary novelist must forfeit the storyteller *persona*, and abdicate overt responsibility for the fiction. He or she retains no power of utterance, no means of self-presentation....The epistolary author makes no personal contact with the reader....It is hard, thus, for the reader to generate an image of the author behind the text. (167)

However, Richardson was clearly aware of this potentially subversive absence of the author, and sought to counteract it – not only though *Clarissa*'s growing textual apparatus, which would help readers understand Clarissa 'in the Way [he] chose to have it understood in' (*Selected Letters* 126), but through his growing network of correspondence. These letters, and the personal relationships that frequently resulted from them, became their own supplementary epistolary novel, 'existing in the interface, or margin, between the novels and their readers' and acting as a guide to the text (Warner, *Reading Clarissa* 145). Both his published paratexts and manuscript 'Hints of Prefaces' (subtitled 'Partly taken from Letters to the Warrington Lady,' i.e. Bradshaigh) often drew on the letters, feeding reader reactions back into the text (Keymer, *Commentary* 51). Towards the end of his life, Richardson told Bradshaigh that their correspondence 'wd. make the best Commentary that cd. be written on the History of Clarissa' (*Selected Letters* 336) – a statement he was able to make because, as the author, he is 'quite sure' of having the upper hand in the debate (Warner, *Reading Clarissa* 147). In fact, by making Richardson so present in the reception of his book, the correspondence did allow his readers to 'generate an image of the author behind the text.' In Bradshaigh's case, this image was even literal: she

obtained a portrait of Richardson and hung it over her writing desk, where, she said, it would always reprove and restrain the audacity of her pen in writing to him (Broder 105).

Another famous image of the author is a sketch made by Susanna Highmore, in which Richardson reads from the manuscript of *Sir Charles Grandison* to his visiting correspondents gathered at North End. Arranged in a semi-circle (including Highmore herself in the foreground), the group demonstrates how what Brewer calls the 'virtual community' created around Richardson's writing could also take physical form:

Fig. 8 - Susanna Highmore's drawing of the Richardson circle, as reproduced in Barbauld's 1804 edition of the correspondence.

If Richardson sought to create a 'community of thought and feeling' in his writing (Genster 145), it was an interpretative community with the author firmly at its hub. Brewer associates this crucial but 'hitherto unnecessary' authorial role with the

documentary conceit of Richardson's novels, in which the 'editor' becomes the 'gatekeeper' of the fictional archive: 'By virtue of his position as recipient and potential editor of all these letters, Richardson...becomes the rallying point around which the coterie public can form' (143). By the time of *Clarissa*, however, the documentary conceit had been all but forgotten, and the letters that Richardson collects are those sent by his readers, not his characters. The *Pope v. Curll* decision meant that he did not own the literary property in these letters, and decorum prevented him from publishing them during his lifetime. However, he does frequently pass on and recirculate the letters privately, so that the correspondents come to know each other through him: Astrea and Minerva Hill, for instance, are full of praise after reading the Bradshaigh correspondence (Forster MS XI.2.39). Richardson thus serves as the 'nexus' of discussion: as Brewer writes, he 'tellingly underscore[s] his role as a crucial intermediary without whom both the discourse and the coterie public more generally would collapse' (143-4). While characters like Clarissa and Lovelace could be reacted to 'as if' they were real, Richardson was an actual living figure, and made himself available to an unprecedented degree: 'No one wrote directly to Clarissa...or the Emily and Harriet of *Sir Charles Grandison*. They wrote to Richardson. His characters were in some sense like the people one knew, yet they were to be addressed, approved and expostulated with through the medium of Samuel Richardson' (Greenstein 529). The readerly desire for 'more' could thus be met, not through unauthorised sequels as in the case of *Pamela*, but by engaging in discussion with the only authoritative source. As one of Richardson's correspondents wrote to another, the debates themselves become a way of spinning out the story:

> I am always glad to hear the few objections that have or can be made, or imagined, to Pamela, Clarissa, or Grandison, as it obliges the excellent author to give us more of his thoughts; and *more* and *more* we are wishing and desiring to have, notwithstanding the treasure he has already furnished us with. (Barbauld 4.93)

A clear example of the gravitational force that Richardson exerted upon reader response to his novels is seen in the case of Elizabeth Echlin's alternative ending to *Clarissa*, by far the longest and most fully worked-out such narrative.[4] Lady Echlin was Bradshaigh's older sister, living with her husband in Ireland; she

[4] I estimate the text to be about 25,000 words long.

thus began on the periphery of Richardson's circle, but did not enter his immediate orbit until after her text was written, when he appealed to her for help against the Irish *Grandison* piracy in early 1754. Echlin's original 'Preface' to her narrative – probably addressed to her sister or another fellow reader – frames her motivation for composing it as a corrective. 'What I chiefly object against in Clarissas story are these points,' she begins: they include Clarissa returning to London with Lovelace ('her conduct is quite inconsistent with her character') and the 'odious invention' of the rape, which 'as you will see hereafter proved, pretty plainly I think' was unnecessary for the novel's moral design (171). Like her sister, Echlin felt a powerful affective response to the rape episode that spurred her into action:

> At perusing those parts objected against in this wofull story, my mind was strangely agitated – I felt Emotions not to be describ'd; and was too much oppresst, or distracted, to admitt a rational sensibility to take place – but my heart fired with indignation at those passages so horribly shocking to humanity. (172-3)

In evaluating the story as a whole, she combines admiration with open criticism, qualities expected of any reader willing to both finish Richardson's lengthy novel and spend time rewriting it. While Echlin hedges her critique with qualifiers, each term of praise is followed with a 'but':

> Every sensible reader must allow, this History contains many Excellent things...but tho' the work deserves admiration, it is not a faultless peice: I mean not to lessen the merit of the ingenious author, nor do I pretend to correct him – but I must freely object against some parts of the story, which in my opinion, serve only to wound good minds; & can not probably contribute, towards mending corrupt hearts. I acknowledge the authors great ability, & applaud him, for many good things written by his inimitable pen – but I absolutly disagree with him in several material points, which I presume to think faulty. (172)

Both the alternative ending and this explanation are most likely meant for the perusal of Bradshaigh, though it may have reached other similarly-minded readers of their acquaintance.[5] Echlin is modest about its literary merits, and diffident of circulation: 'what I haue wrote upon it, was to please and amuse my self; I haue not so much vanity as to imagine it can Entertain other people – being nothing more than a jumble

[5] At one point, Richardson is asked to collect part of the draft from a friend of the sisters, Diana Ashurst (Dafinoff 176).

of jll-connected thoughts – a peice of a story, badly told.' However, she wishes that she could share it an intimate setting: 'if we were so happy to be sat snug together, I shou'd with great pleasure read the whole long scribble to such a friend' (175). In the same way, during one of Echlin's infrequent visits to England, she and her sister had first read *Clarissa* together and 'this favourite subject was our daily conversation' (Barbauld 5.19).

Thus Echlin's alternative ending initially arises from a small female community of responding readers, seeking to fix an upsetting aspect of the text without any wish for wider publication. In this it has many similarities with modern fanfiction practice, and is read from that perspective by Elizabeth Judge. The difference begins, however, when Echlin, like her sister, enters into a correspondence with Richardson and is finally persuaded to send him a copy of her composition. After hearing of its existence from Bradshaigh, Richardson repeatedly begged to see the work despite Echlin's objections, eager as always to continue the conversation over *Clarissa*. In fact, Richardson's attitude towards this text, which remained in manuscript until its modern edition in 1982, may be usefully compared with his reaction to the published *Pamela* sequels. Although Judge argues that Richardson 'exhibits relatively similar levels of ire against "hack writers," accomplished writers like Fielding, and readers who presume to articulate alternative endings' (36), in fact there is a great difference in the nature of his response. Richardson's correspondence with Echlin may be slightly condescending in tone, but there is no anger and no attempt to discredit her as an author, as he had done Kelly or Fielding – largely because she never claims to be one.

In their letters on the subject, in fact, Echlin and Richardson cannot seem to agree on what to call the text in question. She first refers to it vaguely as 'all I have written concerning Clarissa,' and then repeats the motivations stated in her preface:

> It is impossible to describe what I suffered from the shocking parts of the story….I was sensible of the author's laudable intention, but shall ever think him mistaken in the method towards accomplishing his several great ends….In the midst of my intolerable vexation, I endeavoured to divert my thoughts from horrible scenes by the strength of fancy, and contented myself with supposing that I had discovered some mistakes in Clarissa's story, which were owing to your being misinformed. (Barbauld 5.18-20)

In moving from third to second person in this passage, Echlin recreates the shift in her own conception of Richardson, from the impersonal 'author' to her personal correspondent. Like several of the *Pamela* continuators, she challenges his authority as to the facts of the story, suggesting that he might be 'misinformed' as to what had really happened to Clarissa; her act of creation is thus also an act of erasure, an 'attempt to blot out of Clarissa's story some very disagreeable circumstances' and replace them (5.20). She is aware, however, that she is now writing directly to Richardson and thus must temper her criticism, concluding, 'I am afraid I shall lose an admirer, if I acquaint you with the whole chain of my self-sufficiency' (5.19-20). Such 'self-sufficiency' is a virtue when applied by modern critics seeking to prove that a particular continuation can 'stand on its own,' yet Echlin views it as a fault in a reader seeking to take on an authorial role to which she has no right. While many of Echlin's terms recall those of the *Arcadia* continuations – like James Johnstoun, for example, she is motivated to write by an inexorable process in which 'The spirit of imagination caught first hold of [her] pen' – the description of her work as a 'bold piece of stuff' and 'original piece of assurance' seeks to dismiss its vanity rather than praise its audaciousness (5.20-1). By straying from Richardson's text and seeking to alter it, she is being 'original' in a pejorative rather than heroic way.

In reply, Richardson claims that he is 'more desirous than ever of being favoured with your Ladyship's remarks on the History of Clarissa, now you have told me of what nature your objections were, and that you have given the story a different turn' (5.25). This frames Echlin's writing as a commentary on *Clarissa*, not an independent text: it is part of the discussion around the novel that Richardson wished to encourage, not a competitor to it. In his next letter, however, Richardson repeats his plea to see her 'amended History of Clarissa,' adding, 'Now I recollect, Lady B— once hinted to me, that there was a lady who had wrote it in her own way; and I thought she herself was that lady' (5.28). Echlin protests at the terminology, the suggestion that she has rewritten *Clarissa* 'in her own way' in order to replace it with a different text: 'Pray, dear Sir, call not the fragment, you desire to peruse, the amended History of Clarissa. I have only attempted to alter particular parts abruptly. It is, in short, a medley. I told you I weakly endeavoured to imitate' (5.32). Seeking after suitable terms – fragment, alteration, medley, imitation – Echlin is unable to find

one that would accurately describe her text's relationship to *Clarissa*. Even Richardson finds it hard to define, as he thereafter refers to it as both 'your History of Clarissa' (Daphinoff 176) and 'your papers on the History of Clarissa' (Barbauld 5.38): a subtle distinction, but one that marks the difference between independent work and commentary.

Once Richardson finally receives the narrative – in several instalments, just as Echlin must have originally read *Clarissa* – the relation between author and reader is temporarily reversed. Now it is Echlin who is aware that her work wants 'correction' (5.20), and Richardson who seeks to provide it. He does so in a series of inquiries that question Echlin's grasp on the characters and situations:

> What a good Man you have made Belford! But is he not a little officious...? And would Lovelace, as he appears in the Part of the Book unaltered, have borne his Intrusion, and Offers of Service to Clarissa against himself? Is not Clarissa's Terror on his Intrusion too much for the Occasion? (Daphinoff 176)

While saying that he is 'in love with [her] Dr. Christian' (a new character added by Echlin), Richardson also suggests that the process of Belford's conversion under his guidance should be 'more expatiated upon for the Reader's Satisfaction,' and asks 'But make you not Dr. Christian too narrow, when he refuses to visit...a dying sinner...?' (176-8). All this is fairly harsh, yet it treats Echlin's narrative as a text in progress, its authorial choices and character motivations to be debated as they were in the letters over *Clarissa*, with a potential for revision and improvement. Indeed, there is a hint of parodic reversal in Richardson's ultimate suggestions, as he takes on his readers' role in asking why, if Lovelace has been reformed, he and Clarissa might not survive: 'Tho' Lovelace designed Evil, he perpetrated none, in your Ladiship's Papers...If I had come into your Ladiship's Scheme, I think, I would have permitted her to live, and made her the Cause of every one's Happiness.' He proposes an encounter between Clarissa and her mother with the Bradshaigh-like aside: '(Room for affecting Scenes...),' and finally imagines a series of alternatives in which Mr. Harlowe dies, Clarissa recovers, and Lovelace ('I think your Ladiship has not quite ended him') becomes a Governor in America: 'One would not, methinks, for the Sake of Example, have *only* reformed him, to die' (177-8).

These extracts demonstrate the way in which the tone of Richardson's

remarks gradually changes – at first entering into the spirit of textual debate, but unable to resist the condescension first observed by Barbauld, who pictures him 'secretly smil[ing] at the presumption which had induced so inferior a hand to lay colours upon his canvas' (1.ccx). Where Richardson had only to keep his characters consistent and his moral purpose firm, Echlin must also have her predecessor text in mind, and Richardson is happy to point out her errors:

> You make young Norton happy in both Father and Mother. The Book makes it one of Mrs. Norton's Merits, that she was a pious and dutiful Wife to a careless and even worse than careless, Husband. But I know, that this and other Incoherencies with the Story, would have been taken care of, had your Ladiship reperused your Papers, with a View to any thing but your own Amusement at the time. (178)[6]

Echlin's writing is thus, as she had sought to disclaim, a mere private 'Amusement.' By the close of the letter, it is seen as no longer a separate text but a tribute to Richardson's own abilities: 'A thousand Thanks to your Ladiship for favouring me with the entertaining Papers. How must the Story as it stands, have interested you! What Honour, in the Pains you have taken, have you done the Writer! I admire your Piety, your excellent Heart' (177).[7] He ends with a half-apology ('I know you, Madam, will forgive the Liberties I have thus cursorily taken') and another compliment to Echlin's sensibility and moral feeling, if not her writing skills (180). Echlin and Richardson continued corresponding on other topics, but it is unsurprising that, following this, she never took an opportunity to 'reperuse' and revise her alternate ending. Its circulation apparently terminated with Richardson, as though, having been submitted to his judgment, there was nowhere else for the manuscript to go.

Echlin's sister, it should be noted, did not give up so easily: even after all their long letters, Bradshaigh wrote, 'I still think Clarissa should have lived' (Forster MS XI.1.14). Her annotated copy of *Clarissa*, which Richardson asked to see shortly before his death in 1761, contains yet another alternate ending written on the last page, flyleaf, and back inside cover. In the letter accompanying the volumes,

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[6] In fact, Richardson himself had objected to even cosmetic revision prior to his seeing the text: 'I wish you not to have it transcribed; I ever admired the first flowings of a fine imagination' (Barbauld 5.25).
[7] Echlin's modern editor, too, sees its primary 'value' in what it can tell us about Richardson's novel, and as an example – though a 'highly unconventional' one – of 'what novels do to good readers,' rather than what readers do to novels (32).

Bradshaigh points this out for Richardson's benefit: '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' (Forster MS XI.1.276). These final annotations move from Bradshaigh's opinion of the novel ('I cou'd have wished'd the two principal Characters had been suffer'd to have Liv'd') to a narration of her envisaged ending, in which the rape is 'attempted, but not exicuted' and Clarissa lives without marrying Lovelace: 'she shou'd in time have recover'd her health, & have liv'd to her hearts Content, a private life, in the neighbourhood of her Dear Miss Howe, & to the Edification of all arround her' (Barchas 140). As Broder writes, Bradshaigh 'clearly wanted [Richardson's] response to her alternate ending and did not choose to excise it' (106). Even at this late date, the debate over Clarissa's fate was apparently not yet over.

Broder portrays Bradshaigh as the exemplary resistant reader, arguing that the marginalia 'chronicle her transformation from a Richardsonian-schooled reader of *Clarissa* who desired influence to an independent writer confident of her own power'; certainly the fact that she overwrites Richardson's inscription 'from the author' on each volume's front flyleaf with her own large signature serves as a suggestive statement of reader autonomy (97). Yet Bradshaigh's challenge to Richardson's authority is not the straightforwardly antagonistic 'power struggle' of Broder's article, or the 'battle over the interpretation of the novel...each attempting to impose his or her will upon the other and claim definitive "ownership" of *Clarissa*' described by Janine Barchas in her edition of the annotations (34). Bradshaigh began, not by wresting the text from Richardson's grasp, but by trying to convince him that it was *his* will to change it; when that fails, she phrases her own ideas in the conditional ('she *shou'd* in time'). Indeed, the very provisional nature of Bradshaigh's alternative endings is marked at the end of her copy of volume 5: 'Did I ever wish Clarissa to marry Lovelace? How I hate myself for it. I was set upon a reformation. What a childish notion' (Barchas 103). Not being set in print, Bradshaigh's opinions are far more subject to change than the plot of the novel to which she is responding. Though Broder writes that 'In her own volumes, at least, Lady Bradshaigh won the struggle for the textual last word' (111), the 'at least' is significant. Richardson's readers were never entirely silenced, but they were, like Bradshaigh, reduced to manuscript annotations in the margins of his printed texts – and even then, Richardson himself

was also there, providing his answering footnotes and commentary to the last.

3. Collaboration and Authority in the Richardson Coterie

The composition of Richardson's final novel, *Sir Charles Grandison* (1750-3) fully develops the social yet hierarchical nature of Richardson's model of authorship. As Warner writes, '*Sir Charles Grandison* grew out of the debates and exigencies of the correspondence, and it never lost contact with this matrix' (*Reading Clarissa* 145). Everything from the subject of the book (the 'good man') to its plot was discussed in the letters between Richardson and his growing circle of correspondents. In the struggle over *Pamela,* Richardson claimed total control over the heroine's life and the story's 'Plan'; now, he explains that he writes without a preconceived 'plan' and thus must ask for suggestions and encouragement in order to complete a novel – at this late stage of his career, the 'candle' of inspiration is 'just burnt out' and requires a light from his readers (Barbauld 6.117-8). In the same letter, Richardson describes Charles Grandison to Bradshaigh as '*your* good man (your's he is – he owes the existence he has to you' (6.116). Indeed, Bradshaigh had to repeatedly deny rumours that she had actually co-written the novel, telling Richardson, 'You see what credit you have brought me into, however I shall take care, to render to caesar the things that are ceasars proud as I am at the *ascription*' (Forster MS XI.1.119). Such rumours arose because, rather than only seeking corrections on a ready-written draft, Richardson appealed for assistance at all stages of the project, up to and including contributions of actual text. Hester Mulso, one of Richardson's younger correspondents, was repeatedly invited to 'Set your charming imagination at work, and give me a few scenes, as you would have them, that I may try to work them into the story....I don't know how I shall order it yet' (Barbauld 3.173). Richardson wishes to please his audience, 'if I knew how' (3.198-9), and complains when suggestions are, once again, not forthcoming: 'No helps from any of you. Go, naughty, idle chits – to pretend to approve what I am about...and yet, when I hoped a finger from every one of you, to find no aid – not so much as extracts from a work ready written to your hands! Yet call me papa, boast of filial regards, and so forth' (2.286-7).

In exchange for the help that was offered, Richardson was willing to grant readers more interpretative freedom, and himself less authorial omniscience, than had

been the case with *Clarissa*. When Bradshaigh speculates on Grandison's inner life, for example:

> 'Say what I will, Sir Charles, your Ladyship asserts, had some pleasing Sensations at leaving Italy.' If your Ladiship will have it so, so let it be. The Book is now before you, That must determine us both. I don't desire to be better acquainted with his Mind, than any of his Readers. Only let them not suppose things contrary to what appears in his Letters; nor question the Veracity of a Man they think good. (*Selected Letters* 300-1)

This freedom is still not without its limits in the text itself, which must 'determine' all. Even the 'Book,' however, was now definitely based in part on reader contributions, and, as with Bradshaigh, this gives them a share of ownership in the final work. On first seeing a draft of the novel, Catherine Talbot wrote to Elizabeth Carter to express her excitement at finding it a mixture of Richardson's and their own ideas:

> Oh! Miss Carter did you ever call Pigmalion a fool, for making an image and falling in love with it – and do you know that you and I are two Pigmalionesses? Did not Mr. Richardson ask us for some traits of his good man's character? And did we not give him some? And has he not gone and put these and his own charming ideas into a book and formed a Sir Charles Grandison? (291)

The 1808 editor of Talbot and Carter's letters adds a footnote at this point, expressing surprise at what was already seen as a strange way of proceeding: 'This account of the joint plan which produced the character of Sir Charles Grandison, is curious, and the editor believes was not before suspected' (291). Other critics have shared his curiosity, wondering at a technique seemingly at odds with the ideas of inspiration and original genius being, at the same time, explored by Richardson and Edward Young. Barbauld, for instance, seeks to clear him from the imputation that he was helped 'by some of his lady correspondents' in favour of a model of singular authorship and integrity, concluding that 'The works of Richardson bear all the internal marks of having been written by one person' (1.cxxxviii-cxl).

In many ways, this assessment is accurate: although Richardson composed and disseminated *Grandison* within the social atmosphere depicted in Highmore's sketch (Fig. 8), he never lost control over it, or ceded his title as its author. By presiding at the centre of his correspondence network, he is even able to reappropriate

for his own use the metaphor of grafting that had so plagued him in the case of *Pamela*. Thus, when one correspondent advises him to write about a bad woman, Richardson replies: 'I demand your assistance...assemble your dozen devils, and take them off for me; and if I can ingraft them in my story, down they go' (5.213). Where writers like Kelly and Fielding had added their 'ingraftments' upon Richardson's narrative without permission, it is now Richardson himself who adds at his pleasure, acting as 'the arborist charged with tending to the trunk upon which readers' various engraftments were being made' (Brewer 144). His readers, too, had been taught to fear the precedent of *Clarissa*, when he had been deaf to their pleas. Although Highmore assures Mulso that Richardson only 'means to frighten you' with a proposed fatal ending to *Grandison*, she concludes with an acknowledgement of the author's supreme power over his creations:

> Let us remember he can cut their thread of life at pleasure; their destiny is in his hands, and I am not certain that our security may not provoke him to destroy them, for that has set his imagination on the glow; and he can draw instructions equally from every catastrophe, and can wind nature as he pleases; she presents him with events for every purpose, so probably, that we shall think no other than the chosen fortune could have attended them with propriety. (Barbauld 2.317)

Any outcome that Richardson devises for *Grandison* is both completely subject to his will and yet would, in retrospect, appear inevitably right to his readers. His correspondents have a voice, but little agency: indeed, Richardson's testing of reader response may have a contrary effect, by motivating him to choose an unhappy ending as more effective (and affecting). Their only recourse was to appeal to Bradshaigh, their most senior member: in a letter to her, Richardson jokes that 'I have frighted some of my adopted daughters out of their wits, in apprehension of a tragical catastrophe. One of them calls upon your Ladyship, I think she says, to tear my eyes out!' (6.212). Although Bradshaigh may have been the most outspoken of the correspondents, however, this was of course never a serious threat – her acquaintance with Richardson, after all, had begun with her failure to intercede for Clarissa. As Richardson writes to her, prior to the publication of the last volume of *Grandison*: 'Now, Madam, you will oblige me (tho' the Catastrophe, whatever it be, is decided) if you will favour me with your Choice, and your Reasons for it....I love to argue with

your Ladiship' (Forster MS XI.1.60). The correspondence was a source of inspiration and enjoyable argument, but Richardson always reserves the right to decide the 'Catastrophe' for himself.

While the composition of the novel proceeded in this productively social way, however, its publication in 1753 threw up two new challenges to Richardson's authority. The first was the Irish piracy, as discussed in the previous chapter; the second was the nature of its ending, which gave a different meaning to the struggle for the 'last word.' While Clarissa's death may have been designed to forestall continuations, *Sir Charles Grandison* is not nearly so conclusive – the protagonists are left alive, and not all of them (most notably Clementina della Porretta, Harriet's rival for the hero's affections) are settled in marriage. Richardson, always concerned about his own tendency for dilation, for once found himself accused of not having written enough. Dr. Johnson, indeed, commented on the novel's publication in instalments (though not so widely-spaced as *Clarissa*) that 'It is a kind of tyrannical kindness to give only so much at a time, as makes more longed for: but that will probably be thought, even of the whole, when you have given it' (Barbauld 5.283). German purchasers of the novel thought that their translations were incomplete (3.113), and Richardson's correspondence is filled with appeals for a sequel from a broad variety of readers. As he complains:

> I am pestered with Letters and Applications for another Volume of Grandison. The Women, in general, want to see Clementina's Story prosecuted; Emily actually married; and to know how Sir Charles and his Lady will go on, and how they will educate their Children. Unreasonable! and equally impracticable from the Time the Story takes its beginning. (*Selected Letters* 298-9)

As noted in the last chapter, Richardson sought recourse in the vestiges of a historical basis for his story by stating that it was set close to the present day, and thus the characters' fates must still be undecided. He further pursued this line of argument by publishing a pamphlet titled *Copy of a Letter to a Lady who was solicitous for an additional volume to the History of Sir Charles Grandison; supposing it ended abruptly; and expressing herself desirous to see Sir Charles's Conduct and Behaviour in the Parental Character; and to know if the Story were intended to be carried further* (1754). This pamphlet seems to serve as a kind of printed form-letter,

to be included in reply to the many similar inquiries that Richardson received. Most of these readers would subsequently claim to be 'perfectly perswaded' by it (Forster MS XI.4.32), although it was not intended to shut down the conversation entirely – enclosing it to three young ladies calling themselves 'Elvira, Philoclea and Honoria,' Richardson notes: 'But whether you are [satisfied] or not, your Opinions on the Subject, signified to me by a few Lines, will be looked on as a new Favour' (XI.3.37).

The pamphlet begins by laying out the novel's timeline in detail. Explaining why Richardson could not carry the story further, it offers the readers a brief 'Survey' of how all the characters are placed at the present moment in order to show that there is nothing more to be said about them: 'By what we have seen of *both*' Grandison and Harriet, for instance, 'we know how they will behave on every future call or occasion' (3). As well as demonstrating why the ending as it stands ought to be a satisfying one, Richardson also addresses the broader formal issues underlying the calls for another volume. Clearly the structure of *Grandison*, as with the first two volumes of *Pamela* (which also continue for some time after the protagonists' marriage), posed problems for the expectations of its readers. Barbauld considers the requests for another volume 'as proof that it was too long, and not too short. He had already continued it a whole volume beyond the proper termination, the marriage of his hero, and having done so, he might, without more impropriety, have gone on to the next point of view, and the next, till he had given the history of two or three generations' (1.cxxxii). Hunter suggests that this reflects a resistance to textual closure typical of the eighteenth-century novel: Richardson's 'inclination is to keep us going – to keep us present as a hedge against textual death and his own mortality – as long as possible' (284). Indeed, Richardson acknowledges in the *Letter* that any novel with a large cast would be unable to ever reach a truly conclusive ending:

> The conclusion of a *single story* is indeed generally some great and decisive event; as a *Death*, or a *Marriage*: But in scenes of life carried down nearly to the present moment, and in which a *variety of interesting characters* is introduced, all events cannot be decided, unless...all the actors are killed in the last scene; since persons presumed to be still living, must be supposed liable to the various turns of human affairs. (4)

While further *events* involving *Grandison*'s characters may be possible and indeed

necessary, Richardson seeks to justify ending the *narrative* of them where he did, and firmly declines the possibility of continuing indefinitely. If he had written about Grandison's progeny, 'Where, and at what age of his children, had I entered into such particulars, should I have been allowed to stop...?' (4). To do so would only create infinite labour for the ageing author; in contrast to Hunter, Richardson often complains that writing is detrimental to his health. It might also associate him with the commercially-minded continuation-writers from whom he so wished to distance himself, who write only to fill a market demand. The purpose of the pamphlet, he wrote to Echlin, was 'To shew the World, that I was willing to lay aside the Pen, before I had quite tired its Patience; having been so voluminous a Scribbler' (*Selected Letters* 302-3). In a letter to the Rev. Mr. Loftus, who had also commented on the ending, he notes that continuation is tempting – 'It would have been easier for me, while I was in possession (as I may say) of the characters, to have proceeded with them...than to have entered upon a new subject.' However, Richardson is 'tired' of writing himself, and considers it 'a fair warning to me not to incur the mortification of tiring my readers.' Yet he still ends the letter, as if unable to stop the process of consultation: 'Should I, however [resume the pen], can you find me a plan?' (Barbauld 5.159-60).

One gentleman suggested that it would have been quicker for Richardson to compose another volume than to keep to writing letters 'to excuse [him]self' (Forster MS XI.1.99). What he failed to understand, however, was that Richardson's weariness with writing fiction did not necessarily lead to a weariness with the epistolary meta-discussion from which *Sir Charles Grandison* arose. Indeed, the openness of narrative threads would serve to foster and continue that discussion. In the *Letter*, for example, Richardson writes of Clementina's potential marriage:

> Do you think, Madam, I have not been very complaisant to my Readers to leave to them the decision of this important article? I am apt to think, from what I have already heard from several of them, of no small note, and great good sense, that a considerable time will pass before this point will be agreed upon among *them*: And some of my correspondents rejoice that Clementina is not married in the book; hoping that she will never marry; while others express their satisfaction in the time given her, and doubt not but she will. (2)

Following the publication of *Clarissa*, readers could argue between themselves, and

with Richardson, over whether the ending was just; now, they might go further and decide upon the nature of that ending to their own satisfaction, without being circumscribed by a decisive authorial narrative. In another letter, however, Richardson draws a line between this kind of sociable speculation and the unauthorised continuations that he had objected to so strongly in the case of *Pamela:*

> Perhaps some other officious Pen (as in Pamela in High Life, as it was called) will prosecute the Story; But I hope it may be suffered to end where I have now concluded it. The undecided Events are sufficiently pointed out to the Reader, to whom in this Sort of Writing, something, as I have hinted, should be left to make out or debate upon. (*Selected Letters* 296)

Indeed, some of Richardson's correspondents feared that *Grandison* might appear incomplete (like the *Arcadia*), and thus in need of intervention by another author: 'There is one thing which I dread and that is it being *finished* (as they will call it) by some other, if my Papa does not publish another volume' (Forster MS XI.3.51). Richardson therefore wishes to set definite boundaries between the readers' 'debate' and the author's 'Story': one private and ongoing, the other published and finite.

In practice, however, such boundaries became increasingly blurred. Richardson wrote to Bradshaigh that he had received a 'Proposal' from 'An ingenious Gentleman,' which might neatly reconcile the readers' desire and the author's reluctance by creating a sort of round-robin continuation-by-committee written by Richardson's circle of correspondents. Each 'at his or her own Choice' would 'assume one of the surviving Characters in the Story, and write in it; and...out of more than Half a hundred, as he supposes will be sent me, I shall pick and choose, alter, connect, and accommodate, till I have completed from them, the requested Volume' (*Selected Letters* 305-6). 'I am in Earnest,' Richardson concludes, and he would continue insisting this for some time. In the case of Hester Mulso, he was willing to go as far as what Terry Eagleton terms 'bribery' (11). Richardson hoped that she would be 'dutiful' in supplying letters, because she had already suggested an ending in which Clementina would marry – although even this was hedged about with disclaimers (Forster MS XI.1.120). Richardson tries to tempt her further by writing that 'I believe, whatever I might have intended, I should be tempted to marry your favourite, and to give your reasons for so doing' (*Selected Letters* 312). Unlike

Clarissa, all possibilities in this case remain open (Richardson has not 'in any certain manner disposed' of Clementina), and Mulso is being offered the opportunity to pick the decisive path based on her extensive knowledge of the characters (Barbauld 3.214). He would only be able to proceed, however, if she writes him an actual letter set before or after the wedding: 'Give me a letter of your Clementina to your other favourite Harriet (you know her inmost soul)….You know not what use I may make of such a letter' (3.209-10).

If readers were sometimes reluctant to provide Richardson with criticism on the novels, however, it is clear they were even more taken aback by this radically collaborative model for producing an end for *Grandison*. Bradshaigh was the only one who actually wrote a letter in the person of Charlotte Grandison, perhaps encouraged by the fact that her sister, Lady Echlin, already believed that she had written all of Charlotte's letters in the published novel, asking, 'Why shou'd you object against assisting the author in writeing another vol.me [sic], when you have allready joyn'd heads, and hands throughout this History. Lady G's letters are not *his*' (Forster MS XI.1.119). Even Bradshaigh's tentative enthusiasm for the project, however, would not last long. When Richardson replies with a detailed critique of the specimen letter ('I have dealt very freely with [it], as I dare say you would wish me to do' [XI.1.124]), she answers his objections with spirit, but confines herself to the subjunctive mode in which their debates had previously operated: 'Charlotte may say it or not, just as *you please*; but I think it is not at all unlikely that she *wou'd say it*' (XI.1.130). Richardson had hoped that Bradshaigh's 'Example' would convince the other ladies to do likewise (XI.1.120), but in fact the opposite was the case. Her letter anxiously doubles back upon itself, torn between contradictory imperatives:

> I find myself more strongly Fortified by the other Ladies refusal, from whom I expected much. But, good Lord! What a Reprimand have they given to me? – Well – I care not: I know the Humility of my Heart, and you know my whole Intention; so I am easy....I hope it is as Complaisant to comply, as to refuse. You every now-and-then give me a little Tremor, for fear you should, in the bottom of your Heart, think I have done *Wrong*: But that cannot be, I am sure, you would not ask me to do what I *ought* not to comply with. (XI.1.135)

Bradshaigh had, in fact, objected to the plan from the first, though promising that 'it shall not fall to the ground for want of my hand this once' (XI.1.113). Not

only does she predict that Richardson 'will not like it, remember I tell you so' (XI.1.128), but his readers would not like it either: 'Do what you *wou'd* with it, still it wou'd appear a piece of patchwork. I shou'd often have the old author to look for. Let the vol.me be wholly your own, or I am Content'; 'I would rather take the *principal Figures* from the same hand that first chalk'd them out, be the artist *ever* so expert, there must *appear* a difference in the strokes' (XI.1.129, XI.1.106). Despite the rumours of co-authorship and the collaborative atmosphere in which it was written, *Grandison* is ultimately 'wholly' Richardson's, and his readers believe that only he is capable of finishing it. Indeed, a major reason why they desire another volume is that they do not trust themselves with the freedom to decide events that they have been given. As the three pseudonymous young ladies write, the ending of the novel is unsatisfying because

> by leaving [Clementina's future] to your Reader's Determination, it is still uncertain, for every one is not capable of disposing of a Clementina. For her Mind and Circumstances are so Delicate, that it requires a more than common Genius to form a Plan for her Happiness. What Genius, or what Pen, so proper as that which gave the World so shining a Character. (XI.3.38)

James Fitzgerald also argued, in answer to Richardson's printed *Letter*:

> 'Tis true indeed, you allow to each individual the discretionary power of judging for themselves in regard to the critical event; & in so doing, I believe, you impart to some the supreme delight of soothing their own vanity thereby; but, Sir, how few are there, in the bulk of mankind, who always exert that power so much to the Author's credit, or their own advantage, as they ought to do. (XI.3.43-4)

The 'Author's credit' is so central to this view that others would not only be unable to continue the story in writing, they would be vain to attempt it even in their imaginations. As with the debate over the ending to *Clarissa*, only Richardson is capable of supplying what his readers truly want. In fact, Bradshaigh writes that most of those desiring another volume of *Grandison* are actually lamenting the premature end of Richardson's writing career, rather than of the story itself: 'Another vol.me would be *another vol.me* of a favourite authors, from whom we are never to expect more.... Many others realy believe, like me, are only dissatisfied that you have done writing, and not with the Conclusion' (XI.1.106).

Given that the pleas for another volume are so focused upon Richardson

writing it, it is not surprising that his correspondents refused to participate in the collaborative plan. Even Bradshaigh came to feel that she had been '*Wrong*' to agree – or at least to fear that Richardson might think so, reproving herself in the author's name. In fact, Richardson professes to be indignant at the denials he receives, writing, 'I cannot but impute to those I call my Daughters, Disobedience, Prudery, and what not...But I see their Value for the Story, & their Complaisance to me!' (Forster MS XI.1.132). As he concludes in a letter to Mulso: '"You cannot write like Clementina." Have you try'd?...You must needs think—but I will say no more; so flatly denied, and your example so influential. Go, naughty girl' (Barbauld 3.215-6). This hectoring, parental tone defines the nature of his correspondence with the women he called his 'adopted daughters.' His original exhortation to them had read 'Begin, begin, dear ladies, my patronesses, my correspondents, each with her letter' (Forster MS XI.1.110); however, the word 'patronesses' has been crossed out in revision, showing that Richardson was reconsidering the relationship between himself and his readers. Unlike the patrons of the sixteenth and seventeenth centuries, they cannot lay a 'forcible commandement' (in Markham's words) on him to write the texts they wish to read. On the other hand, he is unable to command them either. By not writing the requested letters, the correspondents are acceding to Richardson's authority both more and less than he would like – all of them seem to feel, to reverse Bradshaigh's phrasing, that it would be as complaisant to refuse as to comply. Paradoxically, then, this episode demonstrates Richardson's power over his readers and the shadow his role as author cast over the reception of his works. The correspondents do not presume to challenge his control over his characters, and thus would not contribute to his proposed textual game.

For this was certainly a game, held within the privacy of Richardson's social set, where the earlier skirmish over *Pamela* had been a struggle on the public marketplace. While Lennard Davis writes that 'Even the idea of such a project should point out the very public way Richardson thought of his works' (189), it is in fact very much a coterie enterprise. The call for contributions, for one thing, was quite limited in scope, encompassing a handful of educated women from among Richardson's circle. Although this group was not exclusively female – it included men like Hill and Fitzgerald, as well as the future husbands of several of the ladies –

it became, in Schellenberg's terms, an increasingly 'feminine' conversational space: by eighteenth-century definitions, this meant 'private, affective, discreet, and accommodating' rather than 'public, intellectual, witty, and aggressive' (*Conversational Circle* 15). As evident in the quotations above, the interactions between Richardson and his female readers often proceeded in strongly gendered terms: Echlin writes, 'you resolve perhaps, to acquiese, rather than contend, with a positive woman' (Barbauld 5.31-2), while Richardson refers to uncooperative correspondents as 'naughty, idle chits.' Participating in this private reading community gave these women a voice too-often ignored in histories of the novel, yet it did not put them on a footing of equality with Richardson: as Eagleton describes, the coterie of 'adopted daughters' reenacts the patriarchical family at the same time as it produces 'a certain comradeship' beyond blood ties (13). Schellenberg examines the nature of this comradeship more fully in her study of *The Conversational Circle*, which notes the balance of authority and egalitarianism needed to create the eighteenth-century sociable ideal: 'A circular model of the social group implies that it is held together by an equilibrium between the gravitational pull of its central figure and the balanced forces of the individuals who make up its circumference' (17). This is particularly true in the case of *Sir Charles Grandison*, in which Richardson both plays upon and regulates reader desire: he 'sees his authorial self in a double role, dependent upon that feminine source of creative energy in producing his own narrative, yet needing to activate, authorize, and censor that energy' (52). Just as the family reading circle, according to Patricia Howell Michaelson, controlled interpretation by bringing women's reading under the aegis of patriarchical authority, Richardson was able to do the same with his virtual community of readers.

Although Richardson did propose publishing the collected volume of *Grandison* letters, this would be only after he would 'pick and choose, alter, connect, and accommodate': he was literally its printer, deciding what and whether to set in type. Certainly none of the correspondents ever considered publishing their responses to *Grandison* independently: they only voice their fears that some professional writer will attempt to do so. As long as the project is restricted to the coterie, however, there was no chance that Richardson might find his characters debased and his 'whole Purpose inverted' as with *Pamela's Conduct in High Life*. As Brewer notes, the

women writing the last volume of *Grandison* would have been unable to see it without Richardson's editorship, 'even though they would collectively be its authors' (144). Bradshaigh herself had predicted this result for the enterprise: 'When you have prevail'd upon your Correspondents to do as I have done, why, you will lock up our Letters, in your *choicest repository*, and be pleased that you have them to *lock up*, and that we thank you for as *Friends*, but the duce a word shall we ever see in print' (Forster MS XI.1.128). The only power readers have is the negative one of not writing letters, or not allowing Richardson to include them in the collection: as Richardson wrote to Bradshaigh, 'Each Lady shall controul me, as to what shall appear, or be dropped, in her Letter, and even finally decide, whether it shall or shall not make a Part of the Volume' (XI.1.124). Exercising that control, however, would lead to the last thing they wanted – the cessation of the writing process. Thus, when Bradshaigh presented a playful challenge to his authority, Richardson was able to put her in her place: 'Your Ladyship asks me if I would publish, if my writing ladies would give me each a letter? Remember, say you, "that we have you in our power." Well, Madam! then you will allow me to stop till you do' (Barbauld 6.132). The dialectic of participation and deference between Richardson and his readers was thus finally impossible to reconcile, creating the impasse by which no more of *Grandison* was ever written.

The fact that the idea was considered at all, however, illustrates the way that Richardson conceived his novels – not as public property, but as an interactive process, with himself firmly at the centre. As Eagleton writes, 'In creating this partially collective mode of production, [Richardson] turns his texts into pretexts – into occasions for sharply nuanced debate, forums for continuous mutual education, media for social rituals and relations' (11-2). As a printer and a veteran of the *Pamela* debate, Richardson was intimately familiar with the way print publication might divorce an author from his work, which would circulate unchecked and unchaperoned within the marketplace. As we have seen, both his practice of revision and his correspondence seek to counteract this effect of 'separation from his audience' (Bronson 315). The continual revisions serve to delay the text's being 'finished,' the moment that ends the author's involvement and hands the book (with all its remaining gaps and incompletions) into the readers' hands. The consultations,

meanwhile, give an impression of reader empowerment, and certainly the individuals involved may have been proud to be, as Bradshaigh writes in the epigraph to this chapter, 'indulged in a free correspondence with such a writer.' Yet these interactions are not ultimately democratic in nature: rather, it is the author-monarch consulting his Privy Council and then making his own decisions at pleasure. Harris argues that 'Daily popinquity destroyed the illusion of the author, collapsing the created person 'Samuel Richardson' into the real Samuel Richardson they knew so well' ('Introduction' lxx), and Richardson himself worried about 'suffering in the Opinion of my Readers, when we come into personal Conversation' (Forster MS XI.1.151). In actuality, however, personal acquaintance seems to have made readers more conscious of his authority rather than less. Eagleton goes on to state that by 'Transforming the production as well as consumption of his works into a social practice, Richardson half-converts himself from "author" to the focal point of his readers' own writings' (12). Yet this social practice does not result in the abdication of authorship or an erasing of boundaries, as much as a redefinition of what being an author of fiction means. Richardson seeks to expand this role beyond the initial period of creation, becoming the 'focal point' of, and the controlling force behind, the subsequent reception and continuation of his works.

Lennard Davis writes that, 'As is perhaps obvious, this interactive process did not become an integral aspect of the dominant technology of the novel' (190). Even if they were not 'dominant,' however, reader's responses certainly remained an important undercurrent of the growing novel canon, resurfacing with the recent prominence of the fanfiction phenomenon. I would argue, indeed, that it was Richardson who first put the 'fan' in 'fanfiction,' prefiguring the modern power dynamic by which (as Henry Jenkins describes) 'fans lack direct access to the means of commercial cultural production and have only the most limited resources with which to influence entertainment industry's decisions,' such as lobbying producers (26). Within Richardson's circle, reader participation is oriented toward affective response to the author's text, rather than the publication of new works. By presiding over this process, he works to eliminate the threatening, commercially-motivated independence of writers like Kelly and Fielding, domesticating the reception of the novels by moving it from the marketplace to his own front parlour. Seeking reader

contributions that were ‘amateur’ in both sense of the word – non-professional and motivated by love for the story – Richardson creates a community similar to the coterie manuscript culture in which works like Sidney’s *Arcadia* first took shape. It is a reenactment with a difference, however: while women like Mary Sidney and Anna Weamys felt authorised to enter print through their connection to Sidney, Richardson’s circle of ladies circulated their responses solely within their own community, avoiding the public sphere within which the *Pamela* controversy took place. Moreover, the author was so integral to the process that the debate could not continue without him: whereas Sidney’s death and the subsequent publication of the *Arcadia* served as the catalyst for responses to his work, Richardson’s death in 1761 was greeted largely by respectful silence.

Chapter 7

Conclusion: The Fall of the Sequel

Such is ye nature of ye Multitude, that they are never to be satisfied with Conclusions, whether happy or unhappy, that depend upon remote contingencies, nothing less than ye full satisfaction of a Curiosity, that has perhaps its rise from natural impatience & ye eager desire of novelty & great events, can ever give content; & indeed how shou'd it be otherwise, since these I'm now speaking of...read for no other ends *than for* meer Story.
– Frances Grainger to Samuel Richardson (Forster MS XI.3.46)

This dissertation has traced the history of fictional continuations from the end of the sixteenth century to the middle of the eighteenth, in a period of rapid development for both prose fiction and the literature industry within which these works appeared. It has examined the contexts shaping the composition of continuations, and the available evidence for how they were presented and received. By focusing on texts continued by more than one author, my argument has highlighted moments of particular tension in which the rights of authors over their literary creations were being defined. In the case of the *Arcadia*, posthumous publication meant that the text's incompletions and its author's death were at the forefront of most of the continuations. In the paratexts to these works, their writers and supporters frame them as memorials to Sidney, using humanistic ideas of the imitation of virtue to describe their relationship to Sidney's text. By the Restoration, such an association no longer seems to have been possible, with the relationship between 'original' authors and continuators instead becoming one of commercial and moral competition. This was brought to a head with the career of Samuel Richardson, who attempted to assert his originating authority within the marketplace by discrediting the rights of his competitors to be called 'authors' at all. He then sought to personally engage with readers on his own terms, making himself an active participant at the centre of debate, rather than a frontispiece portrait or an authorial ghost. Although this was an experimental approach that would not often be repeated, it demonstated how Richardson and his circle perceived the role of an author in the reception of his work. Finally and briefly, then, I would like to turn to the subsequent development of these conceptions of authorial ownership, and what they have meant for the legal and cultural standing

of literary continuations – now reified in the category of the 'sequel' – between the eighteenth century and today.

One of the questions I have asked throughout this dissertation is why continuations were written at all. As we have seen, this is a question often addressed by the continuation-writers themselves in the prefaces and other paratexts to their works. Frequently, they state that these works arose from a reader's desire to fill gaps in an existing text: whether this is literally missing sections as in the case of the *Arcadia*, the untold narrative of a character's future life, or (with *Clarissa*) a gap between reader expectations and the eventual outcome of the story. As well as motivating readers to compose texts themselves – becoming, as they often describe, possessed or swept away by the story – publishers' awareness of this desire for 'more' could also lead to a commercial imperative, creating market conditions in which a sequel to a successful work would potentially be a profitable concern.

It was in the Early Modern period, as foreseen so aptly in *Don Quixote*, that this combination of commercial motives and reader desire both flourished in practice and suffered a marked decline in theory. As William B. Warner argues in *Licensing Entertainment*, the expansion of the print marketplace led to the proliferation of serial fiction at the very same time as literary standards were turning against it (126). Warner credits Richardson and his contemporaries with elevating the status of the novel by shifting the debate from the dangers of all fiction to hierarchical distinctions between good and bad novels, between imitating Grub Street hacks and true authors (7-8). Ben Jonson's early dismissal of Gervase Markham as 'not of the number of the Faithfull' thus evolved into a widespread critical preoccupation. As Schellenberg describes, the rising genre of the literary review in the eighteenth century came to adopt the same oppositions in its discussion of literary sequels, 'helping to establish the binaries of proprietorship and theft, professionalism and hackwork, originality and imitation, that increasingly shaped discussions of authorship in the period' ('Measured Lines' 31, 28). This 'serve[d] the reviewers' purpose of finding terms of evaluation that could serve as a means of organizing the rapidly expanding universe of print' (28): particularly what was, by this time, an expanding volume of prose fiction.

The provision of pleasure for readers – the goal of most serial fiction according to Warner (*Licensing Entertainment* 64) – became the province of a growing realm of 'popular,' and therefore low-status, writing. In 'The Aristocracy of Culture,' Pierre Bourdieu describes this distinction between a 'high' aesthetic founded on detachment and artistic autonomy, and a 'popular' aesthetic based on investment and participation (237).[1] Authors such as Richardson, seeking greater cultural capital for the novel form, took pride in their difficulty and the frustration of desire. Richardson's continuation to *Pamela* reluctantly acceded to the demands of the marketplace, but without providing readers with much in the way of satisfaction. Warner sees the second part of *Pamela* as a denial of the entertainment potential of Richardson's work (*Licensing Entertainment* 230), while Castle also describes it as 'more than a disappointment. At times it seems almost to insult us, to affront our expectations, including our very desire for repetition' (*Masquerade and Civilization* 135). In the case of *Clarissa*, one reader noted that 'Had she lived thro' the last of these Volumes, I might have expected the Pleasure of a further acquaintance with her, and so have promised myself an Entertainment that no other story perhaps can give me' (Forster MS XI.2.20). However, Richardson denied the possibility of this 'Pleasure' and 'Entertainment' by killing off his heroine, closing off the possibility of any 'Clarissa in High Life.' Correspondents warned Richardson that 'your Book will sell very indifferently' with such a tragic ending (Forster MS XI.2.32). However, his positioning as a morally-instructive author required disavowing both commercial motives and reader demand: 'Whatever were the fate of his work,' he writes in the preface to the 1751 edition, 'the Author was resolved to take a different method' (Keymer, *Commentary* 254). The preface begins by citing 'one ingenious Lady' (likely Bradshaigh) who had asked, if 'it is in an author's power to make his piece end as he pleases, why should he not give pleasure rather than pain to the Reader whom he had interested in favour of his principal characters?' (253). The 'happy ending' requested by these lady readers, however, would be 'very easy and trite,' and thus in opposition to the Author's 'great end' in 'attempt[ing] something that never yet

[1] In *The Author, Art, and the Market*, Martha Woodmansee traces the development of this conception of the difficulty and disinterestedness of true art from Edward Young to late-eighteenth-century German aesthetics, and thence to the English Romantic poets.

had been done' (255). The trite and easy path of reader pleasure is thus put in opposition to the stony but rewarding path of authorial independence and originality.

These developing critical standards meant that even an author continuing his or her own work in another instalment, as Richardson had done with *Pamela*, could be open to criticism. Sarah Fielding's *David Simple, Volume the Last* (1753) contains a preface 'By a Female FRIEND of the AUTHOR' (probably Jane Collier [Schellenberg, 'To Renew' 92]) that begins: 'Sequels to Histories of this kind are so generally decried, and often with such good Reason, that a few Words seem necessary towards an Explanation of the following Design' (iii). Richardson, in his letter to Leake, writes that 'Second Parts are generally received with Prejudice' and suspected of mercenary motives. Although readers frequently assure Richardson that no other writer would be able to do justice to his characters, there is always a lurking possibility that he will be unable to do so either. One anonymous gentleman writes that he would wish for a continuation only 'if Possible to come up to the Performance of Pamela – But I dread any thing like the 4th Vol. of Gil Blas, or the Sequel to ye Beggar's Opera,' both of which were by the same authors as their precursors (Forster MS XVI 1.35). Thus, as Schellenberg suggests, a 'disjuncture' may form 'between the actual producer of the text and the author function' ('To Renew' 100n24): in other words, the writer Samuel Richardson may not measure up to the 'Editor of Pamela,' the public persona that he has himself created. An author responding to either expressed reader demand or commercial needs cannot be a creative genius working in isolation, as the 'author function' came to be defined in the eighteenth century. Commenting on *Polly* (John Gay's sequel to *The Beggar's Opera*), Jonathan Swift had extended the painting metaphor, which we have previously seen applied to the relationship between 'original' and 'imitative' texts, to compare works written by the same person: 'I have been told that few Painters can copy their own originals to perfection. And I believe the first thoughts on a Subject, that occurs to a Poets imagination are usually the most natural' (124). In his 1824 assessment of Richardson's sequel to *Pamela,* Sir Walter Scott concludes that Apelles himself had added one limb too many: 'The work met with the fate of other continuations,

and has been always justly accounted an unnatural and unnecessary appendage to a tale so complete within itself as the first part of *Pamela*' (xxiv). These values still underpin much of modern criticism: thus Margaret Anne Doody calls Richardson's *Pamela* continuation 'the Sequel that Failed' because it 'is the only one of his novels he did not really wish to write....He was driven by the necessity to negate, rather than a desire to create' and 'handicapped by his new self-consciousness and uneasy awareness of the first novel's critics' (76-7).

Whatever barriers an author might face in attempting to repeat his own previous success, however, these became nearly insurmountable once a second writer was involved. At the beginning of this dissertation, I quoted one of Richardson's correspondents stating that, if the second part of *Pamela* 'is the Work of another Hand, [he was] resolved never to look into it' (Forster MS XVI 1.16). Reactions to such 'works of another hand' could range from accusations of literary invasion or theft – most often by the authors and/or proprietors of the source text – to dismissal by the growing class of literary reviewers. Thus John Cleland's 1749 review of *The History of Tom Jones, the Foundling, in his Married State* – a work whose preface boldly states that 'the World should be satisfied that Henry FIELDING, Esq; is not the Author of this Book, nor in any Manner concerned in its Composition or Publication' – finds the disclaimer unnecessary, since the book clearly 'bears no character of his spirit, style, or invention.'[2] Cleland goes on to state the more general opinion that

> The public is...so indisposed to those second parts where the subject seems naturally ended, even when the authors themselves of the first, carry them on further, that they are commonly looked on in little better than a catch-penny light. Yet there is surely much greater reason to think that an author…will keep the chain of it on, with a greater continuity of spirit, than another who only catches a story up where the original author has thought fit to drop it, and thinks to pass his continuation under favour of the good reception given by the public to the first genuine performance….
> The first idea...that naturally occurs is, that such second parts, and especially such as are known not to be the works of the author of the first, are spurious, mercenary ingraftments; so that such a work must be excellent indeed, to overcome so strong a prejudice. (25-6)

Cleland's review serves as a culmination to the emergence of the terms and

[2] For Cleland's authorship of this anonymous review, see Epstein 189.

attitudes I have outlined throughout this dissertation. His definition of 'second parts' as 'spurious, mercenary ingraftments' initially suggests that *all* such works, regardless of authorship, are aesthetically superfluous and 'commonly looked on in little better than a catch-penny light.' However, the distinction the 'spurious' and the 'first genuine performance' does ultimately come down to the question of authorship, which alone is able to ensure a 'continuity of spirit' between different texts.

As I argued in the introductory chapter, 'Spirit' is clearly a key term in these discussions. Thus the preface to *David Simple, Volume the Last* (which obviously takes a stance in favour of continuations, at least in this particular instance) maintains that

> It is not the bringing known Characters again upon the Stage that is, or can be decried, if it is done with equal Humour and Spirit, as in their first Appearance; but it is building so much on public Approbation as to endeavour to put off a second-rate insipid Piece, void of the Spirit of the first, that ought to meet with universal Censure. (v)

As Schellenberg writes, this is to define a literary work by 'an intangible inner quality' that forms its 'essence' ('Measured Lines' 31) and thus must be present in any successful sequel. This 'spirit' is generally presumed to come from the author, an expression of their personality and creative gifts that is difficult if not impossible to imitate. Yet where the *Arcadia* continuators and their friends speak of being 'inspired' or possessed by Sidney's ghost in order to continue his work, by the mid-eighteenth century, such spirit can be transferred solely from the (original) author to his creation. Hugh Sanford's assertion that 'Sir Philip Sidneis writings can no more be perfected without Sir Philip Sidney, then Apelles pictures without Apelles' – a statement about the unfinished state of a particular great author's work upon his death – thus becomes expanded to encompass all authors staking any claim to cultural status. A 1792 review of a continuation to *The Sorrows of Werther*, for example, states that 'Sequels to works of genius by other hands are seldom successful'; another review, while praising the particular text under discussion, considers that all continuations are 'laboured and spiritless' (Schellenberg, 'Measured Lines' 36). In the distinction between art and labour

propounded by writers like Young, the original work of 'genius' is placed in opposition to the 'laboured' and imitative work of 'hands,' inspiration in opposition to merely mechanical construction (32).

In her preface to *Volume the Last*, Collier had challenged such standards of originality as applied to fiction, asking

> In what does the Novelty so much required in these kind of Writings consist? Not in Characters so entirely new, as never to have been met with or heard of!...Not in Circumstances or Situations entirely new, such being equally impossible to find. To suppose it consisted in new names is both childish and trifling. Must it not therefore be said to consist in putting known and remarkable Characters into new Situations? (vi)

These questions have always lurked behind discussions of literary originality, particularly as applied to the writing of continuations. Gervase Markham had discussed the impossibility of complete authorial independence 150 years earlier, but where he relies on a general theory of poetic imitation by which 'contemplatiue labour' on renowned forefathers brings a writer 'to actiue worthinesse,' Collier – writing at a time when a multitude of novels compete in an ever-widening marketplace – specifically addresses the problem of new 'Characters' and 'Situations.' Certainly the incidents must be 'new' to avoid total recapitulation of the prior text, but this is not incompatible with a borrowed cast of characters. The variation of names, rather than creating a new 'character function,' is dismissed by Collier as a mere 'pretended Appearance of Novelty' (iv). If complete originality is never possible in fiction without being outlandish ('what the *French* call *Outré*'), then continuations are simply more honest than most in owning their debts, while catering to readers' interest in characters with whom they are already acquainted (vi-iii). Rather than being 'debased' through use, as Richardson had feared, Collier concludes that 'A Character that once pleased, must always please, if thrown into new and interesting Situations' (v).[3]

However, such considerations never became part of the mainstream discourse of the novel, which, in its very name, claims to offer the 'Novelty' questioned by Collier. In his highly influential study of its *Rise*, Ian Watt insists on

[3] It must be remembered, of course, that this preface seeks to justify Sarah Fielding's continuation of her own work and thus avoids questions of property.

originality of plot and character as a defining feature of the genre (13-8), thus leaving continuations out of the canon of prose fiction by definition. Similarly, Walter R. Reed writes that 'A novel characteristically opposes itself to other novels. This is not to say that novelists are not formally indebted to other novelists, but that the rules of the game forbid overt acknowledgement of this debt, except in the form of parody' (7). As the novel became a subject for literary criticism, moreover, it was also evaluated according to critical values of unity and completeness – despite the fact that, as Hunter has argued, many early novels intentionally resisted these qualities. Beginning in the eighteenth century, critical definitions of the novel have read back diffuseness and open-endedness as a feature only of the romance, an overly long and bloated form out of which the superior novel evolved. From the perspective of a critic viewing a novel as a singular and final object of study, a continuation necessarily appears indulgent and superfluous, an extraneous addition to something complete and self-contained. This change can be seen in the different values assigned to the same architectural metaphor between the mid-seventeenth and mid-eighteenth centuries. Where the author of *The Historie of Arcadia* hopes his beginner's attempt 'may stand the more firmely, because the foundation of it was layed, by so excellente an Artificer' as Sidney (1), Cleland's review of *Tom Jones in his Married State* warns authors who 'like unadvised architects, run up an edifice, already compleated, a story higher than it will bear; especially with borrowed, or sorry materials, which must of course fall to the ground' (25-6). Borrowed materials are now an indication of failure rather than success, while the narrative/building is characterised by classical containment rather than baroque sprawl.

Of course, continuations did continue to be written in succeeding centuries, whether they were attempting to complete a work left unfinished at the author's death, such as Charles Dickens's *The Mystery of Edwin Drood*, or extending the adventures of a beloved character, as in numerous Sherlock Holmes adaptations.[4] As well as courting the disapproval of reviewers, however, such works were on increasingly shaky legal ground, as the critical privileging of 'original' writing

[4] In fact, *Edwin Drood* saw a curious return to the trope of the original author's inspiring ghost, with one of its continuations claiming to have been composed in a seance.

gained belated recognition in copyright law. Copyright began by protecting the commercial rights of labour, and thus defined translations, abridgements and so on as works of authorship; however, it was gradually influenced by an aesthetic discourse that 'affirmed authors' claims to their intellectual property as an extension of their unique selves' (Schellenberg, 'Measured Lines' 38).[5] Although the Continental system of 'moral rights' was not incorporated into British copyright law until recently, metaphysical discussions of the author's role were prevalent even in the eighteenth-century 'Battle of the Booksellers.' The lawyers and judges involved in these cases were clearly influenced by the metaphorical discourse I have been describing, which took place in the books and periodicals they read and among the men of letters they knew.

Lacking suitable precedents, in fact, the copyright cases relied as often on the emotional appeal of authors' rights as on legal or economic grounds. Thus Lord Mansfield, making the decision for perpetual copyright in *Millar v. Taylor* (1769), bases it simply 'from this argument – because it is just' (*ER* 96.252). He is particularly concerned that, without such protections, an author may lose control over his work's integrity and reputation – rights that few contemporary authors actually enjoyed by law, but which (as we have seen) they could still be vocally outraged to see violated:

> He is no more master of the use of his own name....He can not prevent additions. He can not retract errors. He can not amend; or cancel a faulty edition. Any one may print, pirate, and perpetuate the imperfections, to the disgrace and against the will of the author; may propagate sentiments under his name, which he disapproves, repents and is ashamed of. (*ER* 96.252)

Another justice concluded that 'The invasion of this sort of property is as much against every man's sense of it, as it is against natural reason and moral rectitude....I confess, I do not know, nor can I comprehend any property more emphatically a man's own, nay, more incapable of being mistaken, than his

[5] Translations were discussed in the *Burnet v. Chetwood* case of 1720; abridgements in *Gyles v. Wilcox* in 1740 (Rose, *Authors and Owners* 49-51; Kaplan 10-2; transcribed in *ER* 35.1008-9 and 26.490-1 respectively). Both concluded that these qualified as new books rather than piracies, since an author had 'bestowed his care and pains upon' them, showing 'invention, learning, and judgment' (*ER* 35.1009, 26.490-1). The justices in *Millar v. Taylor* noted that 'Certainly bona fide imitations, translations, and abridgments...in respect of the property, may be considered as new works' (*ER* 96.205).

literary work' (*ER* 96.222, 224). It is this very idea that authors' copyright is a 'moral and equitable right' that Justice Yates rejects in his dissent: 'This argument has indeed a captivating sound; it strikes the passions with a winning address; but it...begs the very question in dispute' (*ER* 96.231). Yates, however, was the sole dissenting voice: the argument to the passions had clearly proven sufficiently winning. Mark Rose sums up the merging of commercial and moral arguments in these deliberations: 'The claims of propriety and property reinforced and validated each other: the personal interests moralized the economic claim, while the property claim gave legal weight to the personal interests' (*Authors and Owners* 82). Indeed, this seems to be as true today as in the eighteenth century: referring to more recent cases, Alfred C. Yen concludes that the idea of 'natural law' continues to intrude even in rulings that claim to be based solely on economic arguments, so that 'It is hard to believe that the repeated statements which restrict copyright theory to economics provide an accurate description of actual copyright thinking' (165).

The 'Battle of the Booksellers' concluded with the case of *Donaldson v. Beckett* (1774), which overruled *Millar v. Taylor* and denied the existence of perpetual copyright under common law. Yet, although Trevor Ross credits this case with creating the public domain and thus inaugurating 'literature in its modern sense' (16), the decision was not as conclusive an end-point as it is sometimes portrayed. Since it was settled in the House of Lords, the ruling of the justices was merely advisory, and, thanks to the confusing wording of the questions put to them, there is some doubt as to how the five-six decision actually split (Rose, *Authors and Owners* 154-8). As Loewenstein writes, 'Although the decision stood, the uncertainty of its assessment of the status of intellectual property has persisted' (*Author's Due* 217-8). The *Donaldson* case was ultimately interpreted as a compromise that 'curtailed the author's right without rejecting it entirely': 'Even if perpetual copyright had been rejected, still an author had a natural right to property in his work' (Rose, *Authors and Owners* 108-10). Once copyright was accepted on these mixed terms, the following century and more was spent haggling over its length (111). Backed by literary figures like William Wordsworth, the 1842 Copyright Act that superseded the Statute of Anne gave

authors rights for life and a posthumous period, which has grown longer and longer ever since. It now generally stands at the author's lifetime plus 70 years; in the United States, no works will enter the public domain between 2013 and 2019.

The *Donaldson v. Beckett* case also did not settle the question of how copyright might apply to cases beyond exact reproduction. Throughout the debate, opponents of perpetual copyright had pressed on the distinction between illegal reprinting and the legitimate 'use' of a book one had purchased and read. Yates employs a slippery-slope argument, for instance, asking, 'If the buyer of a book may not make what use of it he pleases, what line can be drawn that will not tend to supersede all his dominion over it?' Would lending or private transcription be forbidden? Would commentaries? (*ER* 96.234). In *Donaldson v. Beckett*, Chief Justice DeGrey suggested that Mansfield's earlier ruling was 'self-contradictory, for if common-law perpetuity could indeed be raised upon "an equitable and moral right," "abridgments of books, translations, notes" must figure as infringements, for these "as effectually deprive the original author of the fruit of his labours, as direct particular copies"' (Kaplan 15). After the overturning of perpetual copyright, however, these arguments no longer seemed quite so contradictory, since 'judges might be led to give generous horizontal scope to a copyright which was now definitely short-lived' (Kaplan 15-6). Over the course of the next century, as Kaplan goes on to argue, laws would alter to set increasing limits over what are now termed 'derivative works' and 'fair use.' By 1856, for example, an American case argued that authors retained rights to dramatic adaptation of their novels, with this right becoming law fourteen years later. This leads Kaplan to ask if it was 'any longer clear that the story-line of a novel or the plot of a play apart from the specific envelope of narration or dialogue was incapable of protection?' (30). Presumably this had, in fact, been clear before: an adapted play might be accused of unoriginality, but not of copyright infringement.

While characters and settings continued to be difficult to isolate for copyright purposes (Kaplan 50), such elements of a fictional work gradually became subject to protection. As Rose concludes, since *Donaldson*, 'the narrative is one of steady expansion, of the enclosure of new territories' (*Authors and Owners* 133). With both 'vertical' (in time) and 'horizontal' (in scope) rights

solidified, we are now living in the world foreseen by opponents of perpetual copyright in the eighteenth century. Yates had argued that its unintended consequences would be to restrict learning and increase litigation: 'Disputes also might arise among authors themselves – "whether the works of one author were or were not the same with those of another author; or whether there were only colourable differences:" – (a question that would be liable to great uncertainties and doubts).' Courts would thus be forced to make literary judgments on originality, 'contentions most highly disfiguring the face of literature, and highly disgusting to a liberal mind' (*ER* 96.249-50). A pamphlet entry into the copyright debate, titled *An Enquiry in the Nature and Origin of Literary Property*, described the havoc that would break out if a common-law right was recognised:

> Poet would commence his Action against Poet...complaining of literary Trespasses. Juries would be puzzled, what Damage to give for the pilfering an Anecdote, or purloining the Fable of a Play. What strange Changes would necessarily ensue. The Courts of Law must sagely determine Points in polite Literature, and Wit be entered on Record. (qtd in Rose, *Authors and Owners* 130)

As Rose notes, such 'strange Changes' are now familiar in modern law courts. Despite the critical 'death of the author' announced in 1968, many actual authors have stubbornly refused to die, asserting (if not always fully understanding) their legal rights, and continuing to use the language of strongly personal possessiveness whose Early Modern roots I have discussed. Under these pressures, the recent explosion of continuation writing has largely taken place outside of the commercial marketplace, in the non-profit domain of fanfiction. These fan communities' focus on exchange and collaboration in many ways parallels the manuscript culture in which the *Arcadia* was first composed and the correspondence networks surrounding Richardson's novels. While few contemporary authors manage to control their fandom as actively as Richardson had done, the relationship between fan writers and the authors and/or proprietors of source texts remains an uncertain one. Operating in a legal and critical grey area, fan websites often include disclaimers of legal ownership, suffer takedown notices by zealous rights-holders, and have undergone frequent mockery in the press.

At the same time, however, recent years have seen a kind of limited rehabilitation of the sequel. With postmodernism celebrating the creative repurposing of existing material, what might be termed plagiarism or copyright infringement in popular fiction has been reclaimed as a technique of high art. Yet this critical reevaluation of 'derivative' writing has not entirely discarded the hierarchies of value that it inherits from eighteenth-century writers like Edward Young. For instance, parody (broadly defined) has gained some currency as the quintessential postmodern genre, as summarised by Robert L. Mack in the first two chapters of *The Genius of Parody*. Even when it is redefined as positive, however, as in the work of Linda Hutcheon, the focus is still on 'repetition with a difference,' with a clear emphasis on the second half of the equation. It is such distance and difference that are often supposed to distinguish parody from the inferior genre of pastiche: thus, Fredric Jameson describes pastiche as 'blank parody,' 'without parody's ulterior motive, without the satirical impulse, without laughter' (25). This distinction is also preserved in U.S. copyright law, where parody or critical commentary is one of the permitted forms of 'fair use.' Thus, in a landmark case concerning Alice Randall's *The Wind Done Gone* (*Suntrust v. Houghton Mifflin*, 2001), the novel won the right to publication as a 'parody,' rather than a sequel to or retelling of, Margaret Mitchell's *Gone With the Wind.* The Organization for Transformative Works, a recently-formed fan advocacy group, seeks to go beyond the parody defence by defining fanfiction as 'transformative' of its source texts. Yet, as Kristina Busse has argued, this redefinition still necessarily emphasises the original contribution involved: some works are more 'transformative' (and thus more legally defensible as products of authorship) than others.

Alongside its legal importance, *The Wind Done Gone* is one of several continuations and prequels (including Jean Rhys' *Wide Sargasso Sea* and J. M. Coetzee's *Foe*) that have managed to enter the critical canon, celebrated for their ability to revise and comment on their source texts from an oppositional or

marginal perspective.[6] Defenders of fanfiction, too, often portray it as a 'struggle' between resistant fans and popular narratives (H. Jenkins 23), recalling Harold Bloom's agonistic model of literary influence. Sheenagh Pugh distinguishes between stories that ask for 'more from' rather than 'more of' their sources, privileging the former as the superior achievement (222). David A. Brewer, as an outsider to fandom, sees 'transgressiveness' as 'precisely the point' of all such writing (202); a forgiveable generalisation, given that critical discussions of fan writing so often focus on this aspect. Abigail Derecho's brief history of fanfiction, for example (which begins with Mary Wroth and Anna Weamys in the seventeenth century), emphasises the ways in which it has 'been used as a technique for social, political, or cultural critique,' calling continuation writing 'inherently, structurally, a literature of the subordinate' (66-7, 72). Derecho is taking her cue from recent critical work on Early Modern continuations, which has sought to re-evaluate them according to the same criteria, revealing these texts as containing a 'rewriting' or 'critique' of their sources. The fact that Markham's *English Arcadia* has been interpreted as both a democratic and a conservative reaction to Sidney (by Jennifer Klein Morrison and Renée Pigeon respectively) highlights the limits of this approach. Weamys's continuation of the *Arcadia* and Lady Echlin's alternative ending to *Clarissa* have likewise been read by their modern editors (Cullen and Daphinoff) as presenting a feminist rebuke to their sources, rather than the engagement of an enthusiastic reader. While both these perspectives may be partially true, only one apparently offers an argument to justify republication. In many ways, this critical tendency is a natural consequence of the literary values I have traced: as long as a story is defined as a complete and integral whole belonging to a single author, a continuation from another hand can only be (depending on its success) an insult or a critique.

Where does this leave works that seek, simply or primarily, to continue a successful story or expand on its emotional effects – in short, to satisfy the desires of their readers? These remain relegated to the realm of the 'popular' and formulaic; the repetition of characters (easily identified by their proper names)

[6] Even in the late eighteenth century, in fact, the idea of an 'antidote' sequel providing a moral corrective was already seen as nearly capable of overcoming the requirements of originality (Schellenberg, 'Measured Lines' 37-8).

seems to bar them from meeting even minimal standards of originality. Where defences of derivative or fan writing are attempted, they usually turn to Virgil, Chaucer or Shakespeare for examples of writers manipulating existing texts, even when these do not provide an exact precedent. Gervase Markham had used a similar strategy to justify his imitation of Sidney, but Markham himself – along with Anna Weamys, Francis Kirkman, or John Kelly – have yet to be widely adopted as literary ancestors. These writers faced criticism even in their own times, belying the idea that modern conceptions of authorship, ownership, and originality came into being abruptly in the eighteenth century. Although the legal enclosure of fictional characters and settings did not become complete until relatively recently, it had centuries of cultural weight underlying it: going back to Richardson's outrage over the *Pamela* continuations, Bunyan's insistence on the genuine status of 'his' pilgrims, and the *Arcadia* continuation-writers' diffidence in approaching Sidney. This, I would argue, has given the current copyright regime its sense of rightness and inevitability, turning the question of continuing a copyrighted work into a definite and, for many authors, unquestionable moral line. Yet the history of prose continuations also reveals the motivations prompting writers to make their way into another's story – motivations that, while expressed and responded to in historically-contingent ways, may be as old as narrative itself.

Appendix A

Timeline of Principal Texts and Events

1557 – Stationers' Company incorporated.

c. 1577-80 – *Old Arcadia* composed.

c. 1582-3 – *New Arcadia* composed.

1586 -- Sir Philip Sidney dies after being wounded at Zutphen.

1590 – *New Arcadia* published in quarto edition, edited by Greville et al.

1593 – Composite text of *The Countess of Pembroke's Arcadia* published in folio.

1598 – 3rd edition of the *Arcadia* with Sidney's other works added.

1599 – Edinburgh piracy of the *Arcadia.*

1605 – *Arcadia*, 4th edition.
First part of *Don Quixote* published.

1613 – *Arcadia*, 5th edition, with expanded explanation for Book 3 gap. Some copies later have Alexander's 'Supplement' bound in.

1614 – Avellaneda's *Second Part of Don Quixote* published.

1615 – Cervantes' *Second Part of Don Quixote* published.

c. 1616-8 – Alexander's 'Supplement' printed as an insert for the *Arcadia* folio.

1621 – Dublin edition of *Arcadia*, with Alexander's 'Supplement' added.
Death of Mary Sidney, Countess of Pembroke.

1624 – Richard Belling's *Sixth Booke* published in Dublin quarto.

1627 – *Arcadia*, 7th edition, with Belling's *Sixth Booke* added. Further issues in 1628 and 1629.

1633 – *Arcadia*, 8th edition.

1638 – *Arcadia*, 9th edition, with Johnstoun's 'Supplement' added.

after 1649 – *The Historie of Arcadia* composed in manuscript.

1651 – Anna Weamys's *Continuation of Sir Philip Sydney's Arcadia* published in octavo.

1652 – Greville's 'Dedication,' originally composed c. 1610, published as *Life of Sidney.*

1655 – *Arcadia*, 10th edition: includes portrait, 'Life and Death,' Latin verses, and index.

1662 – Licensing Act passed.

Arcadia, 11th edition.

1665 – Richard Head's *The English Rogue* first published by Henry Marsh, unlicensed.

1666 – Three editions of *The English Rogue* published by Francis Kirkman, unlicensed.

1667 – *The English Rogue* expurgated, licensed and registered.

1668 – Part Two of *The English Rogue* by Kirkman published.

1671 – Parts Three and Four of *The English Rogue* by Kirkman (and Head?) published.

1674 – *Arcadia*, 12th edition.

1678 –*The Pilgrim's Progress* published.

1679 – Licensing Act lapses.

First *Ponder v. Bradyll* case.

1680 – 4th edition of *The Pilgrim's Progress*, advertisement complains of Bradyll's piracy.

Collected edition of Parts One through Four of *The English Rogue*.

1682 – *Second Part of the Pilgrim's Progress* by T.S.

Bunyan's *The Holy War*.

1684 – Bunyan's *Second Part of the Pilgrim's Progress* published.

1685 – Licensing Act renewed.

1688 – John Bunyan dies.

1693 – *Third Part of the Pilgrim's Progress* by 'J.B.'; denounced by Ponder.

1695 – Final lapse of Licensing Act.

1697 – Second *Ponder v. Bradyll* case.

1709/10 – Copyright Act/Statute of Anne passed.

1725 – Mrs. D. Stanley's *Arcadia Moderniz'd* published.

The Works of the Honourable Sr. Philip Sidney, Kt in three duodecimo volumes, partly printed by Samuel Richardson.

1739 – Reprint of *The Works of the Honourable Sr. Philip Sidney* in three volumes; last *Arcadia* edition prior to the nineteenth century.

1740 – *Pamela* first published anonymously (November).

1741 – 2nd edition of *Pamela* with prefatory advertisements (February).

Shamela and *Pamela Censured* (April).

Chandler visits Richardson to discuss *Pamela* sequel.

Volume 1 of *Pamela's Conduct in High Life* published (May).

Advertising war between Richardson and Chandler, et al. (May-October).

Pope v. Curll establishes status of letters as literary property (June).

Life of Pamela serialised (August-December).

Volume 2 of *Pamela's Conduct* published (September).

Pamela in High Life serialised (September-November).

Richardson's two-volume continuation to *Pamela* published (December).

1742 – Richardson, Osborn and Rivington granted Royal Licence for *Pamela* (January).

Joseph Andrews published (February).

Deluxe illustrated octavo edition (6th) of *Pamela* (May).

1747-8 – *Clarissa* published in seven volumes.

1749 – *Tom Jones in his Married State*; reviewed by John Cleland.

1751 – Third edition of *Clarissa*, with additional material.

1753 – *Sir Charles Grandison* published in seven volumes; disputed Irish edition.

Sarah Fielding's *David Simple, Volume the Last.*

1754 – *Copy of a Letter to a Lady who was solicitous for an additional volume to the History of Sir Charles Grandison*.

1759 – Young's *Conjectures on Original Composition* published.

1761 – Samuel Richardson dies.

1762 – *Tonson v. Collins* case inconclusive on perpetual copyright.

1769 – *Millar v. Taylor* rules for perpetual copyright.

1774 – *Donaldson v. Becket* overturns perpetual copyright in House of Lords.

Appendix B

Richardson's Letter to Leake

The letter is taken from the version transcribed by Keymer and Sabor in *Pamela in the Marketplace* (55-6), which restores Richardson's original draft, written 'in all the heat of Richardson's anger,' from his later revisions (as reproduced in Carroll's *Selected Letters*).

Having heard that [Richard] Chandler had employed one Kelly, a Bookseller's Hackney, who never wrote anything that was tolerably received...I remonstrated against it, to a friend of Kelly's. This brought Chandler to me, who when he found I resented the Baseness of the Proceeding; told me that he understood I had said, I had neither Leisure nor Inclination to pursue the Story. I told him it was true I had said so to several of my Friends who had pressed me on the success to continue it; but that was upon a Supposition no one would offer to meddle with it in which case I had resolved to do it myself, rather than my Plan should be basely Ravished out of my hands, and, probably, my Characters depreciated and debased, by those who knew nothing of the Story, nor the Delicacy required in the Continuation of the Piece. I told him that still I would decline continuing it, if he and others did not force me to it in my own Defence; but if they proceeded I must & would; and Advertise against them, as soon as they Published. He had the Impudence to propose to me, to join my Materials to their Author's and so let it come out under my Name; A Proposal I rejected with the Contempt it deserved. Next he offered to cancel 4 Sheets he had printed...and to lose 9 Guineas they had advanced to their Author, if I would continue it, for him and his Partners. I told him, that if, contrary to my Inclination, I was obliged to continue it, I would suffer no one to be concern'd in it; having a young Family of my own that was intitled to All I could do for them. And insisted that if their Piece was so well Written as he pretended (and much boasted to me, saying, they fell in nothing short of my two Volumes) he should have it publish'd under some other Title, and not infringe upon my Plan or Characters which I represented to him in the Light it wou'd appear in to every Body; and I urg'd the Insignificance of his Plea of what old Mr. Osborn had said, if he did say it, when he might have consulted me, and had my Answer from my own Mouth, and the Baseness as well as Hardship it was, that a Writer could not be permitted to end his own Work, when and how he pleased, without such scandalous Attempts of Ingrafting upon his Plan. He went from me, as I thought, convinced of this Baseness, wishing he had not ingaged in it, and saying he would consult his Partners, and give me an Answer. I never heard further from him only of his Boasts how well written their

Piece was, and how determined they were to prosecute it, braving it out that if I did Advertise against them, they had Authors who cd. give me Advertisement for Advertisement let me say what I wou'd, and that I was like the Dog in the Manger wou'd neither eat myself nor let them eat. Their Author sent me the 4 half Sheets by means of his Friend upon full Assurance I wou'd be pleased with his Performance; and by these I saw all my Characters were likely to be debased, & my whole Purpose inverted; for otherwise, I believe I shou'd not have prevailed upon myself to continue it; for Second Parts are generally received with Prejudice, and it was treating the Public too much like a Bookseller to pursue a Success till they tired out the buyers; and the Subject to be pursued as it *ought*, was more difficult and of Consequence, my Leisure, my Health and my Capacity to do it were all Objections to ye Attempt.

But, on the other hand, when it was represented to me, that *all* Readers were not Judges, and that their Volume, and another Volume after it, which they design'd...and still more and more intended possibly by them, so long as the Town would receive them would by the Bookseller's Interest and Arts, generally accompany ye [original] Two and moreover reflected upon the Baseness of their Proceedings; they likewise giving out; that I was not the Writer of the two (which, indeed I wish, and did not intend should be known to more than 6 Friends and those in Confidence) but they were written by one of my Overseers, who was dead, and that I *could not* for that Reason continue them – I set about the Work, but began not till I found their Volume in great Forwardness, and they in Earnest to proceed.

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Abbreviations used in references:
ER = English Reports
Forster MS = Richardson's manuscript correspondence
OED = *Oxford English Dictionary* (online edition)
PC = The Pamela Controversy (ed. Keymer and Sabor)

Editions of the *Arcadia*, by date:[7]

The Countesse of Pembrokes Arcadia, written by Sir Philippe Sidnei. London: Printed by Iohn Windet for William Ponsonbie, 1590.

The Countesse of Pembrokes Arcadia. Written by Sir Philip Sidney Knight. Now since the first edition augmented and ended. London: Printed for William Ponsonbie, 1593.

...*Now the third time published, with sundry new additions of the same Author.* London: Imprinted for William Ponsonbie, 1598.

...*Now the third time published, with sundry new additions of the same Author.* Edinburgh: Printed by Robert Walde-graue, Printer to the Kings Majestie, 1599.

...*Now the fourth time published, with sundry new additions of the same author.* London: Imprinted for Mathew Lownes, 1605.

...*Now the fourth time published, with some new Additions.* London: Imprinted by H[umphrey] L[ownes] for Mathew Lownes, 1613.

...*Now the fift time published, with some new Additions. Also a Supplement of a defect in the third part of this History, By Sir W. Alexander*. Dublin: Printed by the Societie of Stationers, 1621.

...*Now the sixt time published, with some new Additions*. London: Imprinted by H[umphrey] L[ownes] for Mathew Lownes, 1622.

...*Now the ninth time published, with a twofold supplement of a defect in the third Book: the one by Sir W.A. Knight; the other, by Mr. Ja. Johnstoun Scoto-Brit, dedicated to King James, and now annexed to this work, for the Readers benefit. Whereunto is also added a sixth Booke, by R.B. of Lincolnes Inne Esq.* London: Printed for I. Waterson and R. Young, 1638.

...*The tenth edition. With his Life and Death; a brief Table of the principal heads, and som other new Additions.* Printed by William Du-Gard for George Calvert and Thomas Pierreport, 1655.

...*The eleventh edition. With his Life and Death; a brief Table of the principal Heads, and som other new Additions.* London: Printed for Henry Lloyd for William Du-Gard, and are to bee sold by George Calvert and Thomas Pierrepont, 1662.

...*The Thirteenth Edition. With his Life and Death; a brief Table of the principal Heads, and some other new Additions.* London: Printed for George Calvert, 1674.

[7] Discrepancies in numbering probably caused by the Edinburgh piracy. See Juel-Jensen's 'Checklist' for all editions and issues.

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