According to Ian Watt, eighteenth-century formal realism novels adopt a narrative technique that specifies both characters' individual experience and material surroundings such as time and space in order to represent the reality of human life (33). Richardson's *Pamela*, one of the well-known formal realism novels, imitates human life substantially, portraying in particular “what is privately experienced” by a realistic protagonist (Kearney 37). Richardson's elaborate description of Pamela's private experience enables readers to feel as if they read real private letters written by a real person, thereby promoting the authenticity of Pamela's story. Most important, Richardson's depiction reflects the fervent interest in privacy that the bourgeoisie in the eighteenth century ceaselessly discussed and craved for.

As to publicity and privacy in the eighteenth century, Lawrence E. Klein indicates that there was not strict distinction between public and private but “the mobility of meanings” and overlapping layers between them (99). Scrutinizing the multi-layered uses of the terms private/public at that time, Lawrence points out that “what people in the eighteenth century most often meant by 'public' was sociable as opposed to solitary (which was 'private')” (104). In other words, Lawrence distinguishes “private” from “public” according to two factors: “perceptibility” and “accessibility” (104). Based on the concept of privacy that sets limits to perceptibility and accessibility, I propose that *Pamela* examines the matter of penetrating and guarding privacy through the story of female imprisonment. I argue that Pamela and Mr. B. endeavor to penetrate one another's private interiority, while struggling to guard their own, as if they were the accused/prosecutor who made “strong representation” to prove the truth in a public court (Welsh 8). Besides, in order to pierce each other's privacy,
Pamela and B, I argue, both control the two domestic spaces—the Bedfordshire and the Lincolnshire. Describing the private/public architectural aspects of the two spaces, Richardson astutely attests that a domestic space that is able to secure privacy might be easily converted into a public prison-court that intrudes upon privacy. To observe how Pamela and B control and convert the two spaces for the penetration, I need to adapt John Bender's penitentiary discourse from his *Imagining the Penitentiary* to *Pamela*. Bender dilates upon penitentiaries' architecture and characteristics in the context of the eighteenth-century empiricism. His discourse is helpful to grasp the private/public facets of the two spaces in *Pamela* and to explicate the strategies that Pamela and B deploy so as to penetrate each other's interiority.

Before setting forth my argument, I need to expatiate on Bender's discourse about old prisons and penitentiaries. Before penitentiary reformation, England had held old prisons that were contrived "as places of detention prior to judgment or disposition" not "as penal instruments" (Bender 11). Since old prisons were not reformatory places but "temporary lodgings" for criminals, no specific rules were operated to keep and instruct the criminals (Bender 14). Bender remarks that in old prisons, inmates experienced "commonality" while mixing together regardless of their classes (16). The boundaries of the prisons were "at once fixed and fluid," and visitors and prisoners constantly came in and out (30). One jailer had to oversee numerous prisoners so that the jailer's gaze could not function efficiently as a disciplinary gaze. Consequently, habitual chaos and attempts for prison break happened in Old Newgate (26). In order to quell chaos and eliminate inhumane circumstances, several people organized reformist committee in 1729, and ventured to reform old prisons into new prisons (18). New prisons were aimed to keep prisoners in arranged cells and reshape them into socially acceptable individuals. In pursuit of this aim, the reformist devised as new prisons penitentiaries that employed an omniscient supervisor who deployed a disciplinary gaze. Jeremy Bentham's Panopticon is the archetype of the penitentiaries.

A disciplinary gaze is significant in penitentiaries because it is through this gaze that a supervisor can transparently penetrate prisoners' behavior and interiority. Furthermore, the supervisor reconstructs prisoners' consciousness
by shaping their "sensory experience" based on the empirical logic of cause and effect (Bender 11). According to Foucault, the Panopticon imposes "time-tables, compulsory movements, regular activities, solitary meditation, [and] work in common" on inmates to tame them and form their identity (128). The Panopticon stemmed from empirical ideas that human identity is constructed through accumulated personal experiences and memories. Reshaping reality with certain rules and restrictions, the Panopticon created an imitated reality that could influence prisoners' experiences so as to reconstruct their mentality. Bender observes that formal realism novels fabricate imitated reality by building a "narrative order," endowed with specific time and space, as the Panopticon did (35). In this sense, "the eighteenth-century novel, philosophy from Locke to Bentham, and the penitentiary" share "an impetus toward realism" (Bender 11).

Bender interprets Defoe's and Fielding's novels through penitentiary discourse. He construes Defoe's Robinson Crusoe as a novel that contains penitentiary principles in that Crusoe undergoes conscious reformation while absorbing a different "sensory experience" of confinement in the island (53). Crusoe's narrative bespeaks how the process of his mental reformation is linked with the cause and effect of his own experience (53). Yet Bender approaches Fielding's Tom Jones and Amelia in a slightly different way, focusing on "free indirect discourse": a narrative technique which enables the omniscient third-person narrator to penetrate each character's interiority (203). Bender relates the narrative style to an omniscient disciplinary gaze in penitentiaries (203). The third-person narrator authoritatively divulges characters' mind and surroundings so that he can weave and control his narrative, depending on his design, naturally and realistically. In this way, Bender rereads the first- and the third-person narrative realism novels, yet curiously does not explore Pamela, the story of female incarceration written in the first-person epistolary narrative.

A closer look, however, reveals that Bender's interpretation of Robinson Crusoe has a weak point because Crusoe's consciousness in the novel is shaped by his own narrative and self-reflective gaze not by the third-person's disciplinary gaze crucial in penitentiaries. Of course, when it comes to the scene in which Crusoe attempts to remold Friday's and captive sailors' mentality with his disciplinary gaze, Bender's argument is persuasive since Crusoe himself assumes the role
of their third-person observer like the Panopticon's observer. Insofar as Crusoe goes through his own mental reformation, however, the third-person disciplinary gaze is absent throughout the text. Meanwhile, Pamela can be reread through Bender's penitentiary discourse since Pamela and B both exercise a disciplinary gaze like the third-person observer to make a way into each other's interiority.

For Pamela, the domestic space of the Bedfordshire becomes an old prison that has "liminality" (Bender 26). According to Bender, old prisons' initiates experienced both the new customs of the prisons and the existing order of the society because orders that were inside, and outside the prisons' threshold mingled together (26). Bender calls this experience a "liminal rite of passage" (26). In the Bedfordshire, Pamela undergoes this liminality in her status. Before she steps into the threshold of the Bedfordshire house, she was a girl from an unpromising middle-class family. Yet once she enters it, she starts to be educated like a gentlewoman, and her former status becomes mixed with her new one. She feels confused about this liminality, saying "it would have been no easy Matter to find a Place that your poor Pamela was fit for" (12). She cannot decide which social place she has to put herself in—the poor middle-class family or the gentry family.

Pamela cannot entirely guard her privacy in the Bedfordshire because the Bedfordshire is crowded with the household, and most of its space is accessible to their eyes. Quoting Girouard words that "it would be a mistake to see country-house history in terms of greater and greater privacy," Spacks clarifies that "not until interior halls became commonplace, a development later in the eighteenth century, did the great houses offer dependable separation of individuals from one another" (7). Even though the Bedfordshire is two stories high, and each room has private closets, the rooms are connected by a public hall and stairs. Hence, even there Pamela's privacy runs the risk of being public to B's eyes just as inmates' privacy is exposed to public eyes in old prisons. Although she has her own room, the room does not seem to secure her privacy in that she never writes her private letters there. She rather writes in the late Lady B's dressing-room or Mrs. Jervis's closet, but even these two places are not wholly private since B and Jervis can enter them. She is also coerced to expose herself out of the closet to public eyes when the lady visitors come to see her. She cannot but tremble about
Penetrating Interiority in Two Prison-Courts in Pamela

whether somebody might intrude upon her privacy: “I was forc’d to break off; for I fear’d my Master was coming; but it prov’d to be only Mrs. Jervis... And I, said I, dread nothing so much as Company; for my Heart was up at my Mouth now, for fear my Master was coming” (46). Moreover, she herself becomes public to the male servants’ sexual gaze: “but yet, methinks I can’t bear to be look’d upon by these Men-servants; for they seem as if they would look one thro’” (17).

B entertains a desire to penetrate Pamela’s body and mind simultaneously, and transforms the domestic sphere into a public prison-court where he can scrutinize and test her interiority. Attracted by Pamela’s beauty, B seems at first interested in possessing only her body, but his curiosity soon extends to the desire of grasping her private interiority. As Spacks notes that “sexual revelation and privacy” are interrelated in the eighteenth century, the intrusions of Pamela’s sexuality and private interiority indeed always take place in an interlocked way (141). When B physically approaches Pamela for the first time in the Lady’s dressing-room, he shows great interest in her private letters in which she unveils the bottom of her heart. As Pamela reports, he “read it quite thro’,” saying “you write, a very pretty Hand” (12). When B disguises himself as Nan to rape Pamela, she discloses her private “History” (200), while undressing herself. B attempts to undress Pamela when he yearns for her interiority: “I have searched every Place above, and in your Closet, for [the papers], and cannot find them... it is my Opinion they are about you; and I never undrest a Girl in my Life; but I will now begin to strip my pretty Pamela” (235). Here, it is noteworthy that B’s question about her interiority is to question her virtue: B says to Pamela that “you must disguise yourself, to attract me, and yet pretend, like an Hypocrite as you are” (57). Since B considers Pamela as a “strange Medley of Inconsistence” (75) and an “artful Gypsey” (29), he aspires to verify whether she has true virtue, thereby judging who she really is: “now, shew thy self as thou art” (73). Spacks manifests that in eighteenth century, “the yearning for privacy” was concerned with a desire to perceive “the personal integrity of individuals” (141) and to penetrate “hypocrisy” (155). For B the question toward Pamela’s virtue “cannot be unraveled from questions of truth” (McKeon, The Origins 378). Indeed Pamela’s sexuality, interiority, virtue, and her true self are interwove in the term privacy. B detains Pamela in the Bedfordshire, and puts
her body and virtue on “Tryal” (58) to judge her true self, turning the domestic sphere into a public prison-court. He, as a “Justice of Peace” (58), exercises a disciplinary gaze on her to gather enough evidence for his judgment. Meanwhile, B’s intruding upon Pamela’s interiority is a great violence to her: his “Tryal” is mere “lawless Tyranny” (166).

During the surveillance and trial, the legal and disciplinary terms prevail in the Bedfordshire prison-court: “have I robb’d you? Why then you are a Justice of Peace, and may send me to Gaol, if you please, and bring me to a Tryal for my Life! If you can prove that I have robb’d you, I am sure I ought to die!” (58). B’s primary concern is to demonstrate that Pamela is a “Baggage,” saying to Jervis, “. . . had I a young handsome Butler or Steward, she’d soon make her Market of one of them, if she thought it worth while to snap at him for a Husband” (28). In order to justify his sexual approach to Pamela he needs to demonstrate that Pamela privately behaves like a prostitute to tempt him. For Pamela, the chief concern is to evince that B deftly plans to ruin her: “Does not it imply, that he hopes to ruin me by my own Consent?” (42). She also harbors a strong desire and curiosity to penetrate his interiority not only to avoid his maneuvers but also to seize his true self because it is not only Pamela who acts like “strange Medley of Inconsistence” (75): “I can neither bear, nor forbear her! . . . But stay, you shan’t go! — Yet begone! — No, come back again” (57). Owing to his inconstant and whimsical reaction, she interrogates his interiority and intention, saying “Why, if I have done amiss, am I not left to be discharged by your Housekeeper, as the other Maids have been?” (58). Pamela observes B cannily until his covert intention is unveiled: “he would not confess them to me at such an Instant . . . But I am to see what he will do . . .” (85). Pamela and B both seek material evidence and testifiers, and contemplate one another by means of a disciplinary gaze. B watches Pamela’s behaviors and intercepts her private letters, and then demands testimony from Jervis: “Tell me, what has she told you?” (34). Likewise Pamela also secretly glances at B’s notes and copies them. The signification of her copying the notes is not confined to helping readers follow the novel’s plot. B’s handwritten notes are the best evidence to corroborate his vileness in the prison-court. Like B, Pamela gazes at him and writes down every detail in her letters. The letters do not remain as mere private writings, but develop into
authoritative case journals that can be publically circulated in and outside of the prison-court.

The Bedfordshire is not an advantageous place for B since he is also exposed to the public eyes there. As witnesses, the domestic servants can observe and then publicize his interiority. According to Bender, “the old prisons had allowed prisoners full access to narrative instruments: writing and publication, visits by auditors, normal reading matter” (202-3). In the Bedfordshire prison-court, Pamela is able to weave her narrative through letters founded on her gaze and disseminate them. Above all, B dreads being publicized and judged by people who reside in the outer world: “my Reputation might have suffer’d in your Opinion, and in that of all the Family” (34). To be publicized outwardly looms as a great threat to B because, with a ruined reputation, he might not be able to play the prestigious roles of a reliable governor in his estate as well as those of an official member in the political assembly. In the eighteenth century, the bourgeoisie believed that “honor of birth has nothing to do with internal virtue and competence,” and thus “the depravity, corruption, and incompetence of male aristocrats” rather challenged aristocratic ideology (McKeon, *Historicizing Patriarchy* 297). If B, who is the justice of his own estate and an assembly man, were to lose his reputation, people would consider his authority as “unjust tyranny of patriarchal power” (McKeon, *Historicizing Patriarchy* 297). Ultimately, Pamela’s narrative has the power to deprive him of his power over the estate and the assembly. Therefore, just as Pamela cannot “bear the Thoughts of giving up [her] Papers” (235), B also refuses to render his interiority revealed: “Do you hear, Mrs. Jervis, cry’d he again, how pertly I am interrogated by this sawcy Slut?” (59). Pamela increasingly seeks a private place where she can guard her interiority and construct her narrative. At last, B decides to abduct her to the Lincolnshire, where “his control of space” is apt to work (Varey 191).

The Lincolnshire is located in a secluded countryside, and its architectural form is “a grimly gothic version” of the Bedfordshire (Armstrong 123). B instructs Mrs. Jewkes and a giant man, his servant, to surveil Pamela, and he himself sojourns in the Bedfordshire. Although he is absent in the Lincolnshire, he is informed of Pamela’s behavior and letters by his servants. Armstrong points out that B is “invisible in person,” but “omnipresent in the form of vigilant
surrogates” (122). Now, as an invisible observer he starts to turn the Lincolnshire into the Panopticon, a penitentiary.

When old prisons were reformed to penitentiaries, their interiors were “reshaped into a powerful expository system” that comprised divided spaces and a hidden omniscient place for surveillance, “while horrific facades continued as mandatory exhibits in architectural portfolios” (Bender 21). People could see the horrific facades of the penitentiaries, and learned how dreary committing crime was, envisaging prisoners’ solitary lives. The Lincolnshire house exhibits this type of architectural structure. The facade looks solitary and fearful, and Pamela senses from the architecture a foreboding that she might suffer from ordeals and loneliness there:

"About Eight at Night, we enter'd the Court-yard of this handsome, large, old, and lonely Mansion, that looks made for Solitude and Mischief, as I thought, by its Appearance, with all its brown nodding Horrors of loft Elms and Pines about it" (108-9).

Pamela acknowledges that her jailer, Jewkes, “has very punctual Orders” to watch her: “... she locks me and herself in, and ties the two Keys (for there is a double Door to the Room) about her Wrist, when she goes to bed” (111). Pamela’s closet equipped with the barred windows also resembles a solitary cell.

As mentioned above, the Panopticon remolds “the inmate’s identity through control of narrative resources,” and explores the person’s interiority transparently through a disciplinary gaze (Bender 203). Featuring the observer in the Panopticon, B endeavors to reconstruct Pamela’s mentality and control her narrative resources in the Lincolnshire. He, as an omnipotent observer, locks her there to break her dauntless will: “THE Passion I have for you, and your Obstinacy, have constrained me to act...” (104). He wants to subjugate her obstinacy, judge her real personality, take “revenge” upon her, “decide her Fate,” (163) and eventually enforce her to accept a new identity—namely, his mistress. B instructs Jewkes that Pamela should be called “Madam.” To call somebody with a certain name means to bestow certain identity upon the person, and B’s first step to reshape Pamela’s identity as his “mistress” is to call her “Madam”. Pamela seems to notice B’s furtive intention when she says, “don't Madam me so;
I am but a silly poor Girl, set up by the Gambol of Fortune, for a May-game; and now am to be something, now nothing, just as that thinks fit to sport with me” (109-10). Jewkes also imbues Pamela with ostensibly reasonable ideas contrived to make Pamela succumb to dishonesty, imitating the penitentiary instruction that educated inmates: “Are not the two Sexes made for one another? And is it not natural for a Gentleman to love a pretty Woman?” (110). B commands Jewkes to watch Pamela closely, scrutinize her letters, and prevent the letters from reaching public audience outside the house. Without being penetrated by Pamela’s gaze, he controls the circulation of her narrative. Moreover, he tries to debase Pamela’s narrative into “horrid romancing” (Armstrong 119). As Eagleton notes that “the free utterances of the heart, once taken down in writing, may always be used later in evidence against the speaker” (48), B abases Pamela’s writing by highlighting only her harsh comments about him and not mentioning his own faults at all. In this way, B attempts to invalidate her narrative power in proving his vice, thereby securing his privacy and the decent reputation required for his political activity.

As a reaction to his control, Pamela creates her own spaces to avert his penetrating gaze: her closet, the sunflower-patch and rosebush-spot in the garden, and the inner space of her petticoat. She hides her private journals in these private spaces. The journals are Pamela’s prison diaries, and at the same time authoritative records to demonstrate B’s crime. She contrives to send her journals—the evidence of B’s crime—through Mr. Williams to her parents, and attempts a prison break. Yet, she fails to escape because of the imagined symbol of B’s disciplinary gaze: the bulls. She imagines the bulls as “the Spirit of my Master” (153), and is sensitive to their gaze, saying “staring me full in the Face, with fiery Saucer Eyes” (152). Her words help readers understand that B’s disciplinary power is embedded in every place of the Lincolnshire and that she is extremely anxious about being penetrated by the gaze. Interrogated about her virtue, she also tries to penetrate Jewkes, but almost fails: “this Woman’s impenetrable Sullenness and Silence, without any apparent Reason, from a Conduct so very contrary, bids me fear the worst” (158). Trapped in the penitentiary, she comes close to attempting suicide.

When the penitentiary is about to be her suicidal place, her journals turn the
penitentiary into domestic sphere. Reading all her letters, B feels commiseration, perceives her virtuous interiority transparently, and ruminates upon his unjust behavior. It is notable that her narrative is based on her close scrutiny of B and his servants. Therefore, when B peruses her narrative, he naturally internalizes her gaze. After he confesses his emotional confusion to Pamela, he walks with her around the pond, reciting her journals. Reading them aloud, he becomes immersed in her narrative, and envisages her fatal attempt for prison break as if he were Pamela herself:

... he got up, and walk'd to the Door, and look'd upon the broken Part of the Wall; for it had not been mended; and came back, reading on to himself, towards me; ... He was very serious at my Reflections, on what God enabled me to escape. And when he came to my Reasonings, about throwing myself into the Water, he said, Walk gently before; and seem'd so mov'd, that he turn'd away his Face from me ... when he had read my Reflections, and Thanks for escaping from myself; and he said, taking me about the Waist, O my dear Girl! You have touch'd me sensibly with your mournful Relation, and your sweet Reflections upon it. (240-41, emphasis added)

Here, he sees the pond “through Pamela’s eyes” (Soni 9). Since the pond is “the Place where [Pamela] had that dreadful Conflict” (212), it appears too “accursed Piece of Water” for him (241). Internalizing Pamela’s gaze, he expresses total understanding for Pamela’s emotion and reflection, and is eventually assured that her virtue is true. He even unbosoms himself to her: “I thought, said he, of terrifying you to my Will, since I could not move you by Love” (241). This scene is the moment when Pamela “turns the gaze back” to B, and moralizes B with her gaze (Armstrong 124). The returned gaze transparently reveals “an experience’d Truth” that Pamela is honest and virtuous, yet not hypocritical.

Even when B restarts his whimsical behavior, Pamela shows the controlling power of her narrative. She understands exactly about the empirical logic of her narrative which makes her own speech and writing reasonable, therefore powerful: “Sir, reply’d I, I could not have taken these Liberties, if you had not given me the Cause: And the Cause, Sir, you know, is before the Effect” (232). B admits Pamela’s intelligent logic, saying “you chop Logick very prettily.
What the Duce do we Men go to School for?” (232). She also knows that holding evidence and guarding private thoughts build her power against B: “O, said he . . . I can do as they do abroad, when the Criminals won't confess; torture them till they do. — But pray, Sir, said I . . . I am no Criminal; and I won't confess” (234). Foucault clarifies that confession “transcend[s] all other evidence” and through it, “the accused himself [takes] part in the ritual of producing penal truth” (39). Refusing to confess, Pamela repulses to collude in B’s attempt of reconstructing truth. Consequently, Pamela holds power over her narrative, and renders his lawless penitentiary impotent. Reshaping his mentality as a truly honorable gentleman’s, her narrative returns her penitentiary to a domestic space.

Restoring a domestic space from its previous status of quasi-penitentiary, Pamela proves herself as a suitable bride who will lead moral education in B’s domesticity: B says, “O how heartily I despise all my former Pursuits and headstrong Appetites! What true Joys, flow from virtuous Love! Joys which the narrow Soul of the Libertine cannot take in . . .” (359), and Pamela declares that she will be an “Encourager” and “a good example” to inspire her servants (332). Besides, stepping out of the domestic space, she approaches the gentry’s public gaze: “They all, I saw, which dash’d me, stood at the Windows and in the Door-way, looking full at me” (284), “They all so gaz’d at me” (285). Here, her advancement into the scope of their public gaze does not simply show that the gentry perceive and accept her as their social companion. Through the advancement, she opens a social forum among the gentry and brings the matter of morality and propriety as a public concern by performing her song and allowing B to read her psalms in front of them. Throughout the performance, B and the gentry discuss her morality and good manners, thereby justifying her elevation in class and ruminating upon their own civility. In addition, her married life includes her voluntary activity in public charity. In this sense, she participates in “civic public sphere,” which is a shared common society that allows “a wide range of men and women” to “understand their actions as ‘public’” and debate on social concerns (Lawrence 104).

Not only in civic public sphere, but also in B’s domesticity, she performs quite official works: she manages household economy, not shunting the work
on to certain servants who manage financial affairs skillfully. She writes down "a Vellum-book" (471) about financial management and distributes household wages properly. Indeed, she achieves to be the head of morality and household economy. More significant is that she still refuses to merely belong to B's property, yet leads B to admit her as a "free Agency" (446). In order to achieve these, she successfully converts B from a proud dictator to an affectionate husband who enhances conjugal relationship with mutual understanding and friendly conversation. Although some critics censure Pamela for her stooping too much to B after their marriage, her voice to articulate herself as a "free Agency" (446) should not be overlooked. Even when she is instructed with B's principles, she gives her independent voice by commenting on them:

That I must not, when he is in great Wrath with any body, break upon him, without his Leave. — Well, I'll remember it, I warrant. But yet I fancy this Rule is almost peculiar to himself . . . That if the Husband be set upon a wrong Thing, she must not dispute with him, but do it, and expostulate afterwards. — Good-sirs! I don't know what to say to this!—It looks a little hard, methinks! — This would bear a smart Debate, I fancy, in a Parliament of Women. (448-50)

She does not accept B's principles as they are, nor allow her gratitude towards B to blind her judgment on his rules. Her words that the principles are "tolerable" (451) and her critical comments on them suggest that she chooses to keep the rules as long as she thinks them acceptable. She pronounces that she decides to observe the rules not because she is blindly passive but because she has her own intentions—probably her will to make a conditional concession to B in order to maintain their peaceful marriage: "Yet, after all, you'll see I have not the easiest Task in the World. But I know my own Intentions, that I shall not willfully err; and so fear the less" (451). Pamela's decision to conform with B implies that "she will retain a distance between her judgment and her behavior" (Gwilliam 48-49).

Although Pamela overcomes B's trial, earns public sanction for her upward mobility, and receives the household's esteem, Pamela is summoned to the prison-court again by B's sister, Mrs. Davers: Davers says to Pamela, "I'll put you to another Trial" (384), converting the Lincolnshire into a prison-court. Davers
imprisons Pamela in the Parlour, bidding “shut the Door” (382), and her nephew draws a sword to detain Pamela there. Davers inquires Pamela about whether she tainted her virtue and their wedding was just a sham. Davers exerts herself to extract Pamela’s confession that Pamela and B are just bedfellows. Davers endeavors to recast Pamela’s true interiority as theatrically formed one: “... I may see how finely thou canst act the Theatrical Part given thee!” (387). Yet Pamela controls her narrative as she did with B, thus not confessing at all at Davers’s inquisition: “I was then resolv’d to try to be silent” (387). She escapes her prison by jumping out of the door, and afterwards her journals that officially demonstrate her virtue are delivered by B to Davers. As a result, Davers is also moralized by internalizing Pamela’s gaze while reading the journals, and acknowledges that Pamela is the most proper bride for B. Again, the prison-court where the tyrannical sword wields is converted into a moralized domestic sphere. This procedure looks like an echo of Pamela’s successful self-defense against B’s trial, yet its meaning is different in that it becomes another procedure to affirm the marriage. For Pamela, B and Davers’s intrusion on her body and interiority is tyrannical assault: “I was kept Prisoner by Force” (100). It is her power of gaze and narrative that converts the dreadful prison-courts into the “dear” domestic sphere (458), and her prisoner’s position into an “independent” (419) one.

So called Anti-Pamelists critics, including Henry Fielding and John Cleland, argued that Pamela is a mere hypocrite who permeates into the aristocracy by alluring the male master (Turner 84). Remarking that the virtuous and the lewd are actually the same since they all are always obsessed with sex, the Anti-Pamelists judged Pamela as a cunning prostitute who is lecherous and entirely absorbed into materialism. In fact, they criticized that Pamela loses its moral value because the novel embodies “the vein of materialism that runs through Richardson’s arriviste fantasy” and encourages pornographic fantasy on female body (Turner 84). In their view, Pamela cannot promote herself and approach the public sphere without intriguing the wealthy aristocratic master. We should not, however, hastily underestimate Pamela’s own belief about inner integrity and her struggles to stand against lawless tyranny. Incarcerated in the two houses, she ceaselessly fights against B’s intrusion upon her privacy with her gaze and narrative, and her power of controlling space. She resists the temptation of
confining herself forever in her small closet in order to live comfortably as B's mistress. She chooses to get out of the closet and reaches the public sphere as far as she can, being the head of the household and the public moral emblem who educates the gentry around the estate. Mentioning in the preface that Pamela's story had reformed, and would reform readers' mind, Richardson implied that Pamela's narrative would reach further the reading public. In this sense, Pamela is not a banal Cinderella story, but a revolutionary novel. Concerning the fact that Richardson elevated his status to be a wealthy printer from unfortunate middle-class through his integrity and diligence, we can conclude that his writing of such an innovative novel, in which a servant becomes a lady owing to her virtue, is not accidental at all. Richardson recasts a female servant, who used to be a conventional passive figure in the literary tradition, into a brave individual who ventures to defend her privacy and reaches civic public sphere.

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Penetrating Interiority in Two Prison-Courts in *Pamela* 141


Based on the judgment that Samuel Richardson has not only glittering curiosity about the private interiority of human beings, but is also gifted with profound insight about the problem of defending privacy, I construe Pamela as the story of female imprisonment that inquires into the matter of penetrating and guarding privacy.

This paper argues that Pamela and Mr. B both endeavor to penetrate one another’s private interiority, while struggling to guard their own by controlling the two domestic spaces—the Bedfordshire and the Lincolnshire. Describing the private/public architectural facets of the two spaces in the novel, Richardson shows that a domestic space, which is generally believed to secure privacy, might be easily converted into a public prison-court that intrudes upon privacy. B converts the domestic spaces into public-prison courts in order to try and scrutinize Pamela’s interiority. Against B’s tyrannical attempt, Pamela restores the domestic spaces from their previous status of quasi-prison-courts with her own power of gaze and narrative. Not complacent to confine herself in her small closet, furthermore, she eventually ventures to participate in civic public sphere as a moral emblem.

As to the methodology of reevaluating Pamela and developing my argument, I adopt John Bender’s penitentiary discourse from his Imagining the Penitentiary. Bender articulates that prison reformation, novels, and philosophy in eighteenth century shared “an impetus toward realism,” and relates the traits of prison reformation and penitentiary to formal realism novels. His illumination on penitentiaries’ architecture and characteristics is found to be helpful to grasp the private/public aspects of the two spaces in Pamela and to expatiate on the strategies that Pamela and B deploy to penetrate each other’s interiority.
Penetrating Interiority in Two Prison-Courts in *Pamela* □ 143

*Key Words* impeachment, privacy, interiority, domestic space, prison, penitentiary, Panopticon, disciplinary gaze, penetration