WISCONSIN STATE UNIVERSITY AT LA CROSSE

GRADUATE COLLEGE

Candidate: Larry Lee Ballwahn

We recommend acceptance of this thesis to the Graduate College in partial fulfillment of this candidate's requirements for the degree Master of Science.

William J. Boyle Thesis Committee Member	January 15, 1968 Date
Roger L Paleen Thesis Committee Member	January 15, 1968 Date
Henry W. Hauck Thesis Committee Member	15 January 1968 Date

This thesis is approved for the Graduate College:

James M. Erickson Dean, Graduate College	January 16, 1968 Date

THE MORALITY OF PAMELA AND RICHARDSON

ABSTRACT

Many of the objections to Samuel Richardson's Pamela:Or Virtue Rewarded have come about because of its alleged middle-class morality. Responsibility for the early propagation of this idea can be traced to Henry Fielding's brilliant satire of the work, Shamela. The purpose of this paper is to examine both the morality of Pamela and its most influential criticism in light of the purpose of the book and the personality of its author. Also examined is the effect of the epistolary form of writing on the clarity of Richardson's ideas.

Samuel Richardson wrote Pamela as an example of the value of moral behavior. Believing in the direct intervention of God, Richardson felt that virtuous actions led to success on earth as well as in heaven. Much of his justification for this theory came from his own experience. Richardson was already a successful printer when he undertook the writing of his first novel. That success, he felt, came through honest business practices and the resultant help of God.

Richardson's novel was certainly liable to the criticism of Fielding, but to make a satiric point the intended emphasis of Pamela was changed to show Pamela as a calculating female instead of an example of virtue. A close examination of Richardson's work reveals that he did espouse middle-class values, but those values were not necessarily detrimental to the purpose of his writing.

THE MORALITY OF PAMELA AND RICHARDSON

A THESIS

Presented to

the Faculty of the Graduate College

Wisconsin State University at La Crosse

In Partial Fulfillment

of the Requirements for the Degree

Master of Science

in the Teaching of Language and Literature

---

by

Larry Lee Ballwahn

January 1968

TABLE OF CONTENTS

INTRODUCTION

On November 6, 1740, a rather lengthy two-volume book, sometimes called the first novel, was published in London. Although it was offered anonymously, its author proved to be a successful middle-class publisher by the name of Samuel Richardson. Richardson's novel, Pamela: Or Virtue Rewarded, met an acceptance that can only be explained in terms of meeting a specific public need. Everyone, regardless of social class, was reading Pamela, and a clergyman, Dr. Benjamin Slocock, went so far as to proclaim its virtues from the pulpit.[1]

Richardson was fifty-one years old at the time that Pamela was published, and he had already gained success as a printer. Because he, in his own words, "pursued Business with an Assiduity that, perhaps, has few Examples,"[2] he was able to rise from a common apprentice to the printer for the House of Commons.[3]

Richardson had been approached by friends to "write for them a little Volume of Letters, in a common Style, on such Subjects as might be of Use to those Country Readers who were unable to indite for themselves."[4] Included in this book were two or three letters designed to instruct girls going into service. These letters recalled to

---

[1]Alan D. McKillop, Samuel Richardson: Printer and Novelist (Chapel Hill, Univ. of N. C. Press, 1936), p. 47.

[2]Alan D. McKillop, The Early Masters of English Fiction (Lawrence, Univ. of Kansas Press, 1956), p. 48.

[3]McKillop, Samuel Richardson, p. 298.

[4]McKillop, Early Masters, p. 50.

Richardson's mind a story similar to Pamela that he had heard much earlier, and this provided the basis for his first novel.

The question still remains as to why a busy printer would take time from his business simply to tell the story of a common servant girl. The answer lies in Richardson's personality and the fact that as early as the age of ten he was suggesting proper behavior to other people. "I was not Eleven Years old, when I wrote spontaneously, a Letter to a Widow, who . . . was continually fomenting Quarrels and Disturbances . . . . I exhorted her; I expostulated with her."[5] Richardson had a strong sense of what was right and a driving urge to present his ideas for the edification of all who would come in contact with them.

Public reaction to Richardson's book was so great that it went through five editions between November 1740 and September 1741.[6] Richardson had found a combination that suited a broad new class of readers. He had combined moral dilemma with social change; he had given hope to the common man. Pamela, Richardson's heroine, had been as weak as any human being, and yet by demanding her rights she had been rewarded. She was a moral, religious girl, and she had met society at its worst and conquered it.

Meeting the demand of an emerging middle-class society did not guarantee Richardson universal favorable opinion. Although Pope is reported to have said that Pamela would "do more than a great many of

---

[5]McKillop, Early Masters, p. 48.

[6]Wm. Merritt Sale, Jr., Samuel Richardson: A Bibliographical Record of His Literary Career with Historical Notes (New Haven, Yale Univ. Press, 1936), p. 11.

the new sermons,"[7] some people did not agree. Henry Fielding was the first of the critics to take what later became a very common view of Richardson's heroine. Fielding chose to see only the weaknesses in Richardson's writing, and these suggested material for his well-proved satiric pen. The result was An Apology for the Life of Shamela Andrews which appeared pseudonymously on April 4, 1741.[8] Shamela captured, in a much shorter work, all of the outer characteristics of Richardson's story, and with its calculating main character it influenced criticism of Pamela almost more than what Richardson had actually written.

Pamela suffered, like the Walpole government, from Henry Fielding's ability to write satire. Unlike Walpole's government, however, Richardson could not outlaw Fielding's ideas, and he was therefore plagued with them. It was Fielding who started a line of criticism that nearly obscured the quality of Richardson's Pamela.

---

[7]McKillop, Samuel Richardson, p. 50.

[8]Henry Fielding, Joseph Andrews and Shamela, Martin C. Battestin, ed. (Boston, Houghton Mifflin Co., 1961), p. xi.

THE MORALITY OF PAMELA AND RICHARDSON

To understand why Shamela had such an effect on the evaluation of Pamela, Pamela's basic story must be reviewed. In the first letter Pamela told her parents of the death of Lady B., the mistress who had trained her far above the station of a common servant. Mr. B., her son, had made assurances that, for his dear mother's sake, Pamela would be well treated. He then gave Pamela several presents, but though her parents told her to be careful, she foresaw no wrong. Advances were soon made by him culminating in a carefully described bedroom scene with Pamela fainting away just in time to save her virtue. After some time was spent embroidering a waistcoat for Mr. B. and sorting out presents from her own possessions, she started home in a coach provided by him. The trip ended not at her home, but at a second estate owned by Mr. B. There she was held prisoner by the terrible Mrs. Jewkes to await his pleasure.

Pamela attempted to escape with the aid of Parson Williams, and when this failed she gave strong thought to suicide. Saved from this by God's intervention, she was then offered a formal settlement by Mr. B. to become his mistress. When she had turned this down, he, with the aid of Jewkes, attempted another forcible challenge to her will, only to find that she again fainted. Finally a marriage took place, and the remainder of the novel dealt with her breaking into society.

A simple parody of the plot was the central item in Fielding's Shamela that made it so popular and so devastating to the moral intent of Pamela. Fielding's short book could not contain all of the subtlety of the lengthy, interwoven Pamela, and yet it managed such a creditable summary of the story that the plotting Shamela and the fainting Pamela seemed one and the same. With an emphasis on the two bedroom scenes, Fielding was able to give Pamela and her author a reputation that they have yet to recover from, and this after the popular approval of Pamela .

As a writer unsure that his intent would be clear without explanation, Richardson promised on his title page "to cultivate the Principles of Virtue and Religion in the Minds of the Youth of both Sexes."[9] Fielding, feeling that Richardson had failed, made Shamela relate of the first bedroom scene, "After having made a pretty free use of my fingers, without any great regard to the parts I attacked, I counterfeit a swoon."[10] How different this was from Pamela: "I found his hand in my bosom, and when my fright let me know it, I was ready to die; I sighed, screamed and fainted away."[11] The sentiment of these two scenes was quite different. Yet the actions of the two women were very much alike, and the results were the same, leaving the reader wondering which was the real Pamela.

Fielding further enumerated his views of Pamela in a statement by Parson Oliver:

---

[9]Joseph Wood Krutch, Five Masters (New York, Jonathan Cape & Harrison Smith, 1930), p. 120.

[10]Fielding, Joseph Andrews, p. 313.

[11]Samuel Richardson, Pamela, I (New York, E. P. Dutton & Co., 1914), p. 21.

> . . . far from having any moral tendency, the book is by no means innocent: For,
>
> First, There are many lascivious images in it, very improper to be laid before the youth of either sex.
>
> 2dly, Young gentlemen are here taught, that to marry their mother's chambermaids, and to indulge the passion of lust, at the expense of reason and common sense, is an act of religion, virtue, and honour; indeed, the surest road to happiness.
>
> 3dly, All chambermaids are strictly enjoined to look out after their masters; they are taught to use little arts to that purpose: and lastly, are countenanced in impertinence to their superiors, and in betraying the secrets of families.
>
> 4thly, In the character of Mrs. Jewkes vice is rewarded; whence every housekeeper may learn the usefulness of pimping and bawding for her master.
>
> 5thly, In Parson Williams, who is represented as a faultless character, we see a busy fellow, intermeddling with the private affairs of his patron, whom he is very ungratefully forward to expose and condemn on every occasion.[12]

Fielding's evaluation found many in agreement, and it influenced reading and criticism of Pamela, but Richardson still maintained a reputation as a moralist in his own day.

What type of a person could simultaneously gain support from the pulpit and condemnation for a basic lack of morals? Samuel Richardson was a success in the areas which he had pursued to the age of fifty. As a success he felt that he was in a position to aid others by making his proven ideas available for public consumption. After all, what was better proof of correctness than success in the eighteenth century? A self-righteous person from youth, Richardson now began, in Pamela, to offer his lessons to a waiting audience.

Richardson was interested in the public throughout his lifetime. While this interest may have been of secondary importance to his economic climb, it still was a major factor in his personality. As

---

[12]Fielding, Joseph Andrews, p. 338.

a businessman Richardson had an ability to avoid controversy, and yet his opposition to Walpole led him to an association with the True Briton, a periodical sponsored by the ill-fated Philip, Duke of Wharton.[13] Richardson certainly was concerned about the public good or else the business sense that was to make him a success would have kept him from a connection so likely to be in ill favor with those in power.

Independence was a matter of pride to Samuel Richardson. During his life he was associated with both Tory and Whig periodicals.[14] While it is possible that business determined his political connections, an examination of his writing suggests that his strong moral convictions led him to support the party that seemed best able to deal with social problems as he saw them. In each of his books Richardson attempted to show that a person must do what is right regardless of the price. Pamela, for example, resists Mr. B. even though the cost might be personally high for her. There is no reason to believe that Richardson's political decisions were not made under the influence of the same philosophy.

Religion was an innate part of Richardson's life and the basis for his views. Although early plans for a career in the clergy failed because of his father's limited economic means, Richardson maintained his religious interest throughout his life. Starting with the Scriptural exhortations at the age of ten, Richardson gave his religious advice to anyone who would listen. An orthodox Anglican, Richardson appreciated the active religion espoused by the Methodists. Such

---

[13]Wm. Merritt Sale, Jr., Samuel Richardson:Master Printer (Ithaca, N. Y., Cornell Univ. Press, 1950), p. 36.

[14]Ibid., p. 35.

things as direct intervention by God and a charitable Christianity appealed to a man who believed that individual effort and God's help were the key to mankind's improvement. By the time Pamela was written Richardson had included these views in his own philosophy. On hearing of Pamela's fear of Mr. B., Williams says, "Providence will not desert such piety and innocence . . . ."[15] The God that Richardson served, served all mankind if they were willing to apply themselves to virtuous endeavor.

Publishing was the business which enabled Richardson to gain financial success and enough time to reflect and write on society. Paralleling his convictions, the clergy constituted the largest group for which he printed.[16] He was, however, printer for the House of Commons also, and in this work, "many of the bills printed by Richardson defined the social ills of his age and set forth the means that his society proposed for eliminating or obviating some of the effects of these evils."[17] He had, then, through his business, ample opportunity to be aware of the problems of society, and, through his background, a strong opinion on dealing with these problems.

Eighteenth-century society in England was one made up of much interdependency. No one was more aware of this than Samuel Richardson. Women were dependent on parents or husbands, servants on masters, and printers on booksellers. It was the last of these that received Richardson's most concentrated attention and it was this that, in part,

---

[15]Richardson, p. 141.

[16]Sale, Master Printer, p. 125.

[17]Ibid., p. 79.

accounted for the theory of life that he was later to suggest in Pamela.

Through printing periodicals and sharing copyrights Richardson managed to keep free of the "tyranny of the booksellers."[18] In a letter to the Reverend Johannes Stinstra Richardson, speaking of printing, said, "I improved a Branch of it, that interfered not with any other Person; and made me more independent of Booksellers . . . than any other Printer."[19] This love of independent effort is reiterated and modified in a letter to a French correspondent, J. B. deTreval. "You know how my business engages me. You know by what snatches of time I write, that I may not neglect that, and that I may preserve that independency which is the comfort of my life. I never sought out of myself for patrons. My own industry, and God's providence, have been my whole reliance."[20] In the mind of Samuel Richardson people had the right to independent action and an obligation to work, with God's help, toward that end.

Richardson's ideas were recorded clearly in Pamela. The young Pamela was a servant of Mr. B. and dependent on him in every way. When her position began to demand more than she could honestly give, Pamela planned a method of living that would allow her much freedom from a master. Because of her skill in sewing she had a means of support, and she would depend on God's providence for the rest. While it was completely true that society demanded of the poorer classes a certain amount of servility, Richardson suggested that individual effort provided an honorable way of maintaining basic values. Parson Williams

---

[18]Sale, Master Printer, p. 78.

[19]McKillop, Early Masters, p. 48.

[20]McKillop, Samuel Richardson, p. 15.

was a second example of Richardson's premise. A person who must risk his entire future in order that he might defend the values necessary to his personal conception of the clergy, he nonetheless did defend them. He was completely dependent on Mr. B.; yet when his basic principles were tested he acted on them, ignoring personal peril. A virtuous young girl had the right of his aid in the eyes of God, and his worldly reward would have to wait.

Because of the believability of Richardson's main character, much has been written about his association with and understanding of women. There can be little question that from his youth Richardson's letter writing skill drew the ladies around him. Much of his correspondence after the appearance of Pamela was with women. Because of his constant interaction with women Richardson knew their social limitations. In Pamela he illustrated this knowledge, suggesting what should be done for improvement. Pamela had the problems that she did because she was a woman at a time when women had very few rights. Her conflict centered not on maintaining her virtue, for her training told her she must, but on just where her duty to her master ended, as a servant and a woman. In the end all of her efforts were needed simply to maintain her virtue, but the struggle of duty still was carried on in her mind. In taking abuse from Mr. B., Pamela says, "It is for you, Sir, to say what you please; and for me only to say, God bless your honor."[21] In spite of such servility Pamela did not give in to Mr. B.'s demands.

Richardson felt that women could exercise much control over their lives by using care before marriage. In Clarissa Richardson discussed

---

[21]Richardson, p. 61.

the conflicts involved if the daughter's choice varied from the parents', but in Pamela parental conflict was not involved. Throughout the novel Pamela made comments on the choosing of a husband. When Mrs. Jervis suggested that Mr. B. would marry Pamela if she were "a lady of birth," she answered, "Yet if I was a lady of birth, and he would offer to be rude first, as he has twice done to poor me, I don't know whether I should have him . . . ."[22] Pamela clearly had ideas about what did and what did not constitute an appropriate marriage. The fact that she could not fully live up to those ideas pointed only to her human weakness and not to the invalidity of the ideas. Pamela knew the woman's role in controlling her destiny, and while she later gave in to marriage, she never gave up the right to make her own decisions.

Late in the novel Mr. B. and his sister, Lady Davers, debated over the propriety of marriage below one's social station. Richardson made his position quite clear on a woman's means of handling the social injustice inherent in being a woman. Mr. B. explained to his sister, "a man ennobles the Woman he takes, be she who she will; and adopts her into his own rank, be it what it will: but a woman, though ever so nobly born, debases herself by a mean marriage, and descends from her own rank to his she stoops to."[23] If a woman wished to live a respectable life, she must use all of the means God provided to maintain the right of choice she had as an individual. It was her choice in marriage, above all other, that would control the adult life she must live.

---

[22]Richardson, pp. 35-36.

[23]Ibid., p. 389.

If a woman were to be expected to stand up for her individual rights, she needed a source of strength that would see her through the risk such a course entailed. Richardson, because of his background, felt that strength should come from a trust in God. An active religion and a strong faith provided courage to deny what it was much easier to give. As suggested before, Richardson felt that God would actually intervene to save a truly virtuous person.

Besides being a source of strength to Richardson, religion was the source of human moral values. Pamela was always conscious that her present behavior would be the basis for her life after death. "Our greatest happiness here, Sir, is of very short duration; and this life, at the longest, is a poor transitory one; and I hope we shall be so happy as to be enabled to look forward, with comfort, to another, where our pleasures will be everlasting."[24] Pamela's actions were calculated, to the best of her human ability, to gain that everlasting life. It was this idea that guided Richardson in expressing Pamela's virtue. "Within the Anglican fold, Richardson held that the final test of religion is its effect on moral behavior."[25] Richardson's Pamela must act in a virtuous manner if she were to live up to her religious obligations.

While it is true that Richardson believed individuals could and should better their social positions, he was clearly not advocating radical social reform. It was Richardson's feeling that the individual

---

[24]Richardson, p. 303.

[25]John A. Dussinger, "Richardson's 'Christian Vocation'," Papers on Language and Literature, III (Winter 1967), 16.

had a duty to attain and contribute to his maximum ability. This, he felt, would improve the society without any disruptive effect. Pamela, for example, strives hard through education and productive work to be a good servant. When circumstances rewarded her individual effort through a marriage with Mr. B., she consciously tried to share her good fortune through example and charity. Among her first actions after marrying Mr. B. was the sending of two guineas to a person lying ill and destitute in town.

Samuel Richardson was a successful printer and business man. Feeling that he had become such through individual effort and God's grace, he could see no reason why others could not apply the same principles with similar results. Society, Richardson felt, was not at fault for the evils of the day, but the individual was, and the individual could do something about them if he would only apply himself, making use of the religious guidelines available to him. With these ideas to establish, Richardson needed a method to make his views known.

In a time of conduct books and letter writing guides for the instruction of those moving onto unfamiliar social ground, Richardson discovered a means of providing moral instruction while also entertaining the reader. Pamela was to be an example of true virtue acting in a real world. As later critics were to show, Pamela became a little too human in Richardson's hands to clearly accomplish his purpose, yet she provided an example that many readers appreciated, as shown by the novel's popularity.

Samuel Richardson believed in the power of example. In 1734 he had written a small work called The Apprentice's Vade Mecum[26] for the

---

[26]Sale, Master Printer, p. 17.

instruction of apprentices. It, like the later Pamela, was designed to illustrate the value of proper application to personal success. An unusually large number of Richardson's own apprentices gained their freedom.[27] Their having read his work and followed his advice must have convinced Richardson of the value of his approach.

In The Apprentice's Vade Mecum the reward was clear: do your work well, cultivate moral habits, and you will become a successful printer. In writing the story of a virtuous servant girl for purposes of example, however, the results would not necessarily be so forthright. Reward in heaven was an unquestionable result of moral behavior in Richardson's mind, but a good example must be reinforced by a reward that the common man could understand. This, plus the story being based on a situation that really took place, caused Richardson to have Pamela marry Mr. B. Critics, starting with Henry Fielding, were to criticize this union, but vast numbers of readers in Richardson's day felt that Pamela was justly rewarded for demanding an identity as an individual in spite of her low social station. Pamela maintained her morality while still getting a reward that a weaker person might have sought through selling hers.

Richardson wrote Pamela to instill morality in the masses. In the words of R. F. Brissenden, "he approached the whole problem of human conduct as a moral propagandist rather than an artist."[28] Yet too much can be made of the idea that his main character accidentally took on human qualities. In a written discussion of his third and fourth volumes Richardson stated, "and if it be done in a common Narrative Manner,

---

[27] Sale, Master Printer, p. 18.

[28] R. F. Brissenden, Samuel Richardson (London, Longmans, Green, & Co., 1958), p. 15.

without those Reflexions and Observations, which she intermingles in the New Manner attempted in the two first Volumes, it will be consider'd only as a dry Collection of Morals, and Sermonizing Instructions, and that will be with mofe benefit to a Reader, found in other Authors . . . ."[29] It was Pamela's "Reflexions and Observations" which made her appear human as well as moral. When she made her views known, they illustrated not only morality, but also individual thought. While Richardson wished to instruct, his vast knowledge of women and the current social situation could not help but be reflected in an introspective work so large as Pamela.

There can be little question that Samuel Richardson really tried to "cultivate the Principles of Virtue and Religion;" yet Fielding and many critics reflecting his influence, claimed that Richardson did just the opposite. Much of the cause for this claim must be assigned to the epistolary method which Richardson used. While Richardson's preoccupation with letter writing was responsible for his being able to record his reflections, it was a method that presented problems as an artistic medium. In Pamela virtually all of the letters were written by the heroine herself. In later novels Richardson was to use the letters of several characters, but in Pamela most of the action and reaction was reported by the central participant. This meant that Pamela acted as both the main character and the author, leaving her real at one moment and quite unreal the next.[30] Unlike Fielding, who would clarify his meaning as he felt the need, Richardson was forced to allow the reader

---

[29]McKillop, Samuel Richardson, p. 54.

[30]A. M. Kearney, "Richardson's Pamela: the Aesthetic Case," Review of English Literature, VIII (1966), 79.

to make his own interpretation based on Pamela's statements. Much of the changeability in Pamela's personality came about as Richardson tried to justify the human aspects of his character in light of his stated purpose.

Pamela had stayed in the B. household longer, perhaps, than she should have under circumstances of which she was aware. This was something a woman in love might do, although it would not fit directly into Richardson's stated moral purpose. After Pamela had agreed to marry Mr. B., Richardson made her say, "And yet after all, it was necessary I should take the steps I did, to bring on this wonderful turn: O the unsearchable wisdom of God!--And how much ought I to adore the Divine goodness, and humble myself, who am made a poor instrument, as I hope, not only to magnify his graciousness to this gentleman and myself, but also to dispense benefits to others."[31] Here was the servant girl as author justifying what had gone before.

With the story being told by just one person, the reader could not get a clear picture of what was really happening. Everything received only Pamela's interpretation. Because of this the reader could not judge any situation from more than one viewpoint. Especially detrimental in this approach was the fact that the other characters in the novel were presented only to the extent that they interacted with Pamela. Mr. B. is the best example of this. In the early stages of the novel, he appeared simply as a bungling rake. While a few good qualities were hinted, examples were not provided. The obvious reason for this was that only his desires were being made known to Pamela. Pamela, and

---

[31]Richardson, p. 283.

therefore the reader, saw only the crudity of this action and not the love that motivated and even controlled it. The reader could come to know Mr. B. well only after Pamela did, and this knowledge left an impression of justification after the fact.

It was Pamela herself who received the most damaging criticism. Critics have stated time after time that her fight for virtue was simply a businessman's morality reflecting Richardson's own. The letter-journal style with its one-sided view must also take some of the blame for this. Through the epistolary form of writing the reader could get only an internal view of the character. Thoughts expressed in private, or even private desires, do not always govern actions, and it is this difference that the letter form did not show. The reader knew Pamela's most intimate thoughts, but even knowing these, there was no knowing that she hoped to gain an advantageous marriage by her behavior.

Also to be considered when discussing Pamela are the reactions of the other characters in the book toward her. The image that she projected to them was consistently one of virtue. To the B. servants and to high society, Pamela reflected her moral qualities. Even Lady Davers stated, "There is such a noble simplicity in thy story, such an honest artlessness in thy mind, and such a sweet humility in thy deportment, notwithstanding thy present station, that I believe I shall be forced to love thee, whether I will or not."[32] Richardson obviously intended the reader to accept these evaluations, but the underdrawn characters carry little weight with the reader, and again the letter-journal style failed to make Richardson's intention clear. Without the supporting evidence Pamela's actions cannot receive clear interpretation.

---

[32]Richardson, p. 422.

Failure of supporting characters in Pamela was not solely the fault of the epistolary form of writing. Samuel Richardson was not writing about the class of people with whom he was most familiar, and thus he allowed certain aspects of characterization to be weak. He was proud of his powers of "invention," but to these powers go the blame, if any is needed, for the flavor of unreality that sometimes prevails in Richardson's high-society scenes.

There was one type of character, however, that Richardson could and did draw with particular skill. Most of the criticism of Pamela came about because the critics felt that Richardson's heroine simply did not teach virtue. They said that Pamela was something other than idealized morality. She was in fact more; she was human and she was a representative of Richardson's ability to portray the female character under stress. Pamela had a strict set of moral values to which she had been taught to adhere, but she was also a woman, and much of the suspense of the novel was dependent on which influence would win out.

Pamela's portrayal of human nature was obvious early in the book. In order to characterize virtue Richardson was forced to present his heroine as perfect as possible, but Pamela was proud of her perfection: "Yet there is a secret pleasure one has to hear one's self praised."[33] Her pride came not as a part of Richardson's design, but as a reflection of his long and close association with women. In an attempt to illustrate women as he knew them, Richardson detracted from the credibility of his purpose.

---

[33]Richardson, p. 5.

A second human touch in Richardson's heroine caused many readers to miss what was actually the main emphasis in his writing. Pamela believed strongly that any attempt on her virtue was immoral and unacceptable; yet after the first actual attempt was made, she stayed in the B. household to embroider a waistcoat. She stayed, as Richardson hoped to show, because of her growing feeling for Mr. B. and her hope that he would reform. Pamela spent so much time, however, buying suitable clothes and itemizing others that the intended impression was not clear. An action that Richardson knew was typical of women caused him to cloud his main point of emphasis.

Another cause of Richardson's intended ideas not being clear to the reader was Pamela's apparent willingness to yield some of her originally stated concept of morality. After claiming to be extremely upset by Mr. B.'s advances, Pamela stated, "for, naughty as he has been to me, I wish his prosperity with all my heart, for my good lady's sake."[34] This, in addition to the length of her stay after his initial advances, led some readers to feel that a certain amount of calculation motivated Pamela's decisions. Because of the later marriage to Mr. B. these feelings were strongly reinforced.

In Richardson's earlier Familiar Letters, the most immediate source for Pamela, he had reacted to a similar situation in the morally expected way of having the beseiged servant girl go home.[35] Why, then, did he make Pamela stay in spite of the obvious implications of such behavior? The answer to this is what makes Pamela art instead of moral

---

[34]Richardson, p. 54.

[35]Wm. White, "Richardson:Idealist or Realist," Modern Language Review, XXXIV (1930), 240.

propaganda. Pamela had taken on human characteristics, and as a woman she had become susceptible to human weakness. She had fallen in love with a man alien to her background. Leaving, even to defend her principles, meant separation for good. Under the best of circumstances she could not hope for more than a chance to admire this man so much her social superior, but once she was in her home she was not likely ever to see him again. Given this situation it is surprising that she was willing to leave when she did.

It was the willingness to leave even though she realized her desire not to, that attested to Pamela's moral fortitude. "I looked up when I got to the chariot, and saw my master at the window, in his gown; I curtseyed three times to him very low, and prayed for him with my hands lifted up; for I could not speak; indeed I was not able; and he bowed his head to me, which made me very glad he would take such notice of me . . . I was ready to burst with grief . . . ."[36] When it became obvious to Pamela that the only way to preserve her morality was to leave, she left. This in spite of the fact that she might have more easily and more conventionally gone along with Mr. B.'s desires in the hope of winning his love.

The woman that Richardson portrayed was faced, like much of his reading public, with a moral dilemma: what should one do when the social standards conflict with personal desire. Richardson's answer was clear: uphold the standards. Pamela, though having the weaknesses of a woman, did not give in on what she considered to be morally right.

---

[36]Richardson, p. 87.

One of the things that gave Pamela her human qualities was her often indecisive action. Although supposedly representing the highest moral character, she could not make clear-cut decisions. Should she leave after Lady B.'s death? Could she accept presents from Mr. B.? Might she dare trust him? These questions were complicated by her allowing self-interest to govern some of her decisions. Instead of turning down presents offered by Mr. B., she accepted them even after a warning from her parents. While she sorted possessions to return to Mr. B., she appreciated their being sent along that she might turn them into money.

Pamela's character was complex and the facets were interwoven, allowing different views of her at different times. The reader was made aware, however, of certain actions that were basic to her, and these remained constant throughout the story. Whether early or late in the novel's development, Pamela showed respect and even servility as a woman and a servant, but this was governed by the demands placed upon her. There was always a point, based on her moral standards, at which she demanded her right to be an individual. Her standards were not always made completely clear because, true to life, her personality contained elements of both good and bad, but the real motivation behind this wavering inconsistency was her growing feeling for Mr. B.

Credit must be given Richardson's writing form for the intimate way in which the reader knows Pamela. Her most minute thoughts were written dramatically, placing the "reader in the position of a confidential friend."[37] It was the intimacy which tended to discredit

---

[37]Godfrey Frank Singer, The Epistolary Novel (New York, Russell & Russell, Inc., 1963), p. 84.

Richardson's purpose. On his title page he claimed that Pamela was "entirely divested of all those images, which, in too many Pieces calculated for Amusement only, tend to inflame the Minds they should instruct."[38] Yet Pamela's reflections invariably involved violation of her virtue and dramatic reactions to actual attempts. Such situations, Richardson felt, were necessary to illustrate the moral strength of his heroine, but because of the letter form his reasoning was not made clear until the completion of the first two volumes. Taken out of context, several areas seem to "inflame the Minds they should instruct."

"He went out, and I was tortured with twenty different doubts in a minute; sometimes I thought, that to stay a week or fortnight longer in this house, to obey him, while Mrs. Jervis was with me, could do no great harm: But then, thought I, how do I know what I may be able to do? I have withstood his anger; but may I not relent at his kindness?"[39] Here was a girl recording thoughts from the depth of her soul. Pamela, in her letters, knew herself well, and through those same letters the reader came to know her well. She knew what was right and what was not, but could she, a lowly servant girl, stand up against the demands of Mr. B. and her own heart?

Pamela recorded her weaknesses and her desires. The reader knew them as well as the demands being placed upon her. Could she maintain the high standards she had set for herself? Her letters "served in lieu of long descriptions of a subjective sort that often prove extraneous, and by means of the letters the reader was able to define the

---

[38]Krutch, p. 120.

[39]Richardson, p. 72.

personality of the writer for himself and to compare that with similar pictures of such a person which he might have gained from personal experience."[40] Pamela compared favorably.

As the novel Pamela grew, Richardson was faced with a real problem of unification of ideas. His writing included at least three different aims that must be brought to accord. One was his stated purpose of teaching moral values. A second was presenting his heroine realistically as he knew women. The third was to present a lifelike picture of the society in which he had placed Pamela. Without a unification of these three aspects, Richardson could not hope to provide an example that others would actually follow. If Pamela were not real, facing real problems, what application would her example have for a society who valued what was practical? Pamela's letters were designed to combine these three aspects to the best of Richardson's ability. To do this Pamela's letters contained "far more what people do write than what people should write . . . ."[41]

The letters told Pamela's every reflection, thus providing the reader with much more information than was necessary to a simple tale of manners and morals. "This woman left upon the table, in this chamber, this letter of my master's to her, and I bolted myself in till I had transcribed it: You'll see how trembling, by the lines. I wish poor Mr. Williams's release; but this letter makes my heart ache. Yet I have another day's reprieve, thank God."[42] Pamela's thoughts and

---

[40]Singer, p. 83.

[41]Charlotte Lefever, "Richardson's Paradoxical Success," PMLA XLVIII (1933), 859.

[42]Richardson, p. 177.

actions, so clearly recorded, brought out every aspect of her nature. In her fight to control her own destiny Pamela would read letters addressed to others and be strongly motivated by self-interest, but her thoughts also showed concern for others and reverence for God's part in her continued well being.

In Shamela, Fielding made Sham say in the middle of his first bedroom scene, "You see I write in the present tense, as Parson Williams says. Well he is in bed between us . . . ."[43] Shamela's comment reflected another reason why Richardson's single letter writer could not always realistically illustrate the ideas that he had in mind. The letter established, through its detailed narration, a current statement of happenings rather than a retrospective view.[44] Pamela recounted each event with such immediacy and detail that the reader relived it with her. In such personally traumatic situations as the two bedroom scenes, it seemed odd that Pamela could create them again so minutely.

Because the reader noticed the almost impossible amount of detail given by Pamela, its intended effect was somewhat negated. Richardson's characters commented often on Pamela's good memory in an attempt to suggest realism, but author statement cannot make the unreal real. To the reader involved in Pamela's struggles this defect was minor, but to the reader already steeped in the satire of Fielding the constant detail after detail detracted from Pamela's credibility, and therefore from Richardson's purpose.

---

[43]Fielding, Joseph Andrews, p. 313.

[44]Lefever, 856.

There was still another problem inherent in Richardson's choice of the epistolary form as a story-telling medium. Joseph Wood Krutch said that at certain crucial moments Pamela was "made to guard her pen and ink almost as carefully as . . . her virtue . . . ."[45] Throughout the novel Pamela was forced to explain to the reader how she had obtained materials for her voluminous writings. With much of Richardson's ingenuity being diverted to justification of his writing, it was no wonder that his theme occasionally became obscure.

Writing "to the moment" had a strong effect on the various evaluations of Pamela, but the real objection came because of Richardson's assumption that virtue would be rewarded during Pamela's lifetime. Wasn't a Christian supposed to live in such a manner as to obtain his reward in heaven? There could be no question that Richardson was aware of this; yet Pamela received her reward on earth through a marriage to someone above her social station. It was this reward that clouded Richardson's probing of social values and virtually hid from view his intended moral statements.

Samuel Richardson was working with a story that was based on fact. The factual incident had ended in marriage, convincing Richardson that it had ended so because of the woman's virtuous behavior and example. Certainly a similar story, skillfully written, would convince others with values comparable to his own. Richardson was well aware of the interests of his society.

From the beginning Richardson was credited with a deep understanding of women. Pamela, and the apparently bungling Mr. B., were primarily

---

[45]Krutch, p. 119

responsible for the view that he did not understand men. Two reasons for this view have been already given. One was that Mr. B. came from a society alien to Richardson's own and was therefore the product of invention. The second was that the letter-journal style dictated that Mr. B. not be fully developed until he came in constant contact with Pamela.

To assume, however, that Richardson did not know men was to ignore the facts. Samuel Richardson was the most successful printer of his day.[46] To become successful he had started from the bottom in dealing with men. Richardson, then, knew the psychology of both men and women. The story he was telling, plus the method he used, were responsible for making the knowledge of one more obvious than of the other.

A knowledge of the men and women comprising his society led Richardson to feel that a work on the value of moral behavior would be well accepted. He was aware that the strongest motivation of eighteenth-century man was self-interest, and, like Locke, Richardson felt that this characteristic should lead man to see the value of religion.[47] Richardson, perhaps influenced by the rising Methodists, believed in an active, earthly religion, and while self-interest might be the motivation, charity was the result. After Pamela attained her reward, her reaction was, "What is my single happiness if I suffer it, niggard-like, to extend no further than to myself? But then, indeed, do God Almighty's creatures act worthy of the blessings they receive, when they make, or endeavor to make, the whole creation, so far as in the

---

[46]Sale, Master Printer, p. 7.

[47]L. P. Curtis, Anglican Moods of the Eighteenth Century (Archon Books, 1966), p. 25.

circle of their power, happy!"[48] Richardson provided a tangible reward for virtue and a Christian use for it.

Criticism of Richardson often centered on the businessman's morals projected in Pamela. Pamela was accused of allowing her own interest to control her morality. With her marriage to Mr. B., all of her movements were seen as a calculated effort to achieve social status. Because Richardson had assumed that God was an active participant in the world's affairs, capable of rewarding virtue, he met with the charge of middle-class moral values pursued only for the sake of gain.

Henry Fielding was the earliest public critic professing a horror at Pamela's rise as a result of her virtuous actions. His Shamela was a plotting and distasteful female, interested only in personal gain at any price. Pamela was willing to take advantage of God's good will, provided that her basic moral values were not forfeited. That is the essence of Pamela's morality as opposed to Shamela's. What Pamela might have tried in order to achieve higher social status is illustrated by Shamela. What a strongly moral and religious person should have done was shown by Pamela. Pamela was an example of virtue in a person with common human weaknesses. If God chose to reward her behavior, everyone around her would be the better for it. And if the story were written, the common man would be strengthened by her example.

Fielding's criticism centered on two areas: the bedroom scenes and the final marriage. He protested, apparently, the attempted rapes and the final reward while still on this earth. A close look at his later work, however, would seem to prove that he may have had other and

---

[48]Richardson, p. 333.

stronger motivation for his biting satire. In both Tom Jones and Joseph Andrews, Fielding, like Richardson, made use of the possible rape and the rise to high society as a central element of his novels. In Joseph Andrews, for example, Fanny was twice very near to being raped. While the scenes were not minutely described as they were with the epistolary method, enough information was provided to leave little work for the reader's imagination: "found a woman struggling with a man, who had thrown her on the ground, and had almost overpowered her."[49]

Joseph, like Pamela, found his reward by a rise in social status, thus justifying his earlier noble behavior. Similarities, then, were more common than either author would admit, and while Pamela was certainly liable to criticism, as much of Fielding's motivation for Shamela must have come from financial need as from an abhorrence of Richardson's writing.[50] A parody of the popular Pamela was bound to be monetarily rewarding in a time when Fielding had much need of income.

Based strongly on Fielding's early evaluation and weaknesses inherent in the epistolary method, Richardson was chastised for bringing his businessman's ethics into his writing. Yet an examination of Richardson's business practices and ideas would have illustrated that this action would strengthen his moral position rather than detract from it. While printing for the House of Commons from "1733 to 1761 his base price remained the same."[51] This, of course, was not the action of the covetous middle-class businessman so often pictured.

---

[49]Fielding, Joseph Andrews, p. 115.

[50]Ibid., p. x.

[51]Sale, Master Printer, p. 78.

In August of 1741 Richardson wrote to James Leake after being forced to continue his work into a third and fourth volume: "it was treating the Public too much like a Bookseller to pursue a Success till they tired out the buyers . . . ."[52] Richardson's recorded thoughts and actions as well as the success of his apprentices indicated that he had little to be ashamed of in his business dealings.

Richardson's theory of business was well illustrated in Pamela. Her success in life paralleled his own very closely, but that did not necessarily indicate a lack of moral application on her part. Richardson had a definite theory of the individual's relationship to society; he followed it in his own life and he illustrated it in Pamela. Speaking of his apprenticeship Richardson said, "I served a diligent Seven Years . . . I stole from the Hours of Rest and Relaxation, my Reading Times for Improvement of my Mind . . . ."[53] Pamela displayed the same ability to apply herself. She had been educated above a common servant by Mr. B.'s mother. She had a skill in sewing and music as well as a literary background and writing ability. Pamela's education was the key to her winning Mr. B. He said to her, "Your wit, and your judgment, to make you no compliment, are more than equal to mine: you have all the graces that education can give a woman . . . ."[54] This was why Mr. B. fell in love with her, and why she deserved her move into high society.

For the rising printer or the virtuous servant, a strong self-discipline was required. Self-discipline was the strongest virtue of

---

[52]McKillop, Samuel Richardson, p. 54.

[53]McKillop, Early Masters, pp. 47-48.

[54]Richardson, p. 321.

Pamela's character. When she found herself falling in love with Mr. B. she could still withstand his demands and leave the B. household. Later, driven by her fear of what might happen, she tried to escape; failing at this she considered suicide. Pamela's ability to control her own actions then reasserted itself, an ability which she credited to God, and she decided that she could face what lay ahead.

The basis for Pamela's strength was her religion. Pamela constantly asked God's guidance and intervention, and it was to Him that she credited her various successes. When commenting on the near drowning she said, "poor Pamela has escaped from an enemy she never thought of before, and was hardly able to stand against; I mean the weakness and presumption of her own mind; which had well nigh, had not the Divine Grace interposed, sunk her into the lowest, last abyss of misery and perdition!"[55] Pamela realized the need to control her mind. Her religion provided the principles on which to base her discipline.

Pamela was considered by Lady Davers to be an opportunist simply after her brother's money. While Pamela was later able to convince Lady Davers that this was not true, she could not convince Henry Fielding. The reason she could not convince him was her marriage to Mr. B. Pamela appeared to exhibit the middle-class concept of taking advantage of every profitable situation as it arose. This, of course, she did, but based on already established facts, doing so was hardly detrimental to her character. Pamela married a man whom she loved and who loved her. Although this fact was somewhat disguised by his being her master, her later charity and wise use of her elevated position were not.

---

[55]Richardson, p. 151.

In evaluating Richardson's Pamela its reception by his peers must be kept in mind. Pamela was the most popular of Richardson's novels in his own day, and credit for this must be given to his ability to produce material akin to the public's feelings. The readers of his day accepted his sentiments as valid.[56]

The reason that Pamela met with such acclaim was that it offered hope to the eighteenth-century common man. Pamela was not a super-hero endowed with powers beyond normal human capacity. She did not draw upon some hidden greatness to bring her through the trials of life. She was simply a good person with a forthright set of principles that met the rigors of life and conquered them. Her readers knew that if they could follow her good and simple example they could hope for like success in this life and the one they were sure came after. They, too, were involved in a social struggle, and Pamela promised them that there was hope for them even though they did not, as individuals, have the characteristics of a hero.

The limitations of the eighteenth century were well known to the rising middle classes. Resistance to social mobility and the position of women were common problems. Pamela was a woman of the lower class, a status which even heroic action seldom made rewarding. Yet she was able to work honestly and morally within the social structure to a successful life. Richardson's skill lay "in the way in which he could take the received morality of the day and the axioms of conduct books and confront them with experiences which confuse and seemingly

---

[56]Robert Etheridge Moore, "Dr. Johnson on Fielding and Richardson," PMLA, LXVI (1951), 167-168.

contradict them."[57] He illustrated that a simple set of principles, available to everyone, could provide the guidelines and the strength necessary for handling the problems of actual life.

Just what was rewarded in Richardson's Pamela? A surface reading or a reading after accepting Fielding's satire as valid would indicate that self-interest and calculation were rewarded in a materialistic fashion. There were certainly aspects of the story that would lead the incautious reader to this conclusion. Richardson's viewpoint was as close and intimate as his writing style, and he did not see what his over-all story looked like from a distance.[58] If the reader did not get involved with Pamela's fate during his reading of the lengthy novel, he failed to see the minute details that jointly supported Richardson's point of view. Such facts as the mutual love growing between Pamela and Mr. B. had to be assimilated by the reader if he were to understand Richardson's point of view. Parts of Pamela's story, however, detracted from the novel's clarity.

Several specific areas were responsible for the weaknesses in Pamela. Taken by themselves these things supported the middle-class morality charges often made against the book. Pamela stayed in Mr. B.'s house and employment when she could have gone. As indicated in Richardson's Familiar Letters, moral standards and common sense would have dictated an immediate departure at the first sign that Mr. B. had less than honorable intentions. The problem, as Richardson saw it, was

---

[57]Wm. Park, "Fielding and Richardson," PMLA, LXXI (1966), 384.

[58]Henry Fielding, An Apology for the Life of Mrs. Shamela Andrews, Sheridan W. Baker, Jr., ed. (Berkeley, Univ. of Calif. Press, 1953), p. xxix.

that human desires and actions do not always coincide with established standards. What happened when personal desires came in conflict with what a person knew was right?

By finally agreeing to a marriage with Mr. B., Pamela gave the impression that she was simply holding out for better terms.[59] If the book's central conflict were simply one of maintaining Pamela's virtue, this would be true. The conflict, however, was really one of self-control. Pamela was in love with someone above her social class and the real problem was whether she should settle for the more conventional relationship in such situations or allow her behavior to be controlled by the moral standards that she believed were correct.

The impression gained from reading Pamela was not helped by the terms that Richardson chose to use in describing Pamela's fight for self-control. "Sir, your necklace, and your ear-rings, will better befit ladies of degree than me: And to lose the best jewel, my virtue, would be poorly recompensed by those you propose to give me."[60] Because Richardson was a businessman, he used businessmen's language, and the effect on the reader's impression of Pamela was unfortunate.

There could be little doubt that Richardson's purpose was that which he stated. Use of the epistolary method and the humanness of Pamela tended to detract from his example of virtue, but the reader willing to get involved in such a minutely detailed novel found a deeper meaning than that propagated by Henry Fielding. Even Shamela was "not a criticism of Richardson's ideas in Pamela but of the disparity between

---

[59]Krutch, p. 129.

[60]Richardson, p. 170.

his high standards of virtue and . . . his all too human protagonist."[61]

Pamela knew what was expected of her in her role as servant to Lady B. The role became more complicated when Mr. B. became her master. He made demands on her that no woman could have made. She was forced to find where her duty as a servant ended and her rights as a woman began. Her religion and moral training helped to establish where the line should be drawn, but the problem grew more complicated as her personal feelings became involved. She tried to choose what was best in all cases, but her human failings sometimes caused her to falter. She did, however, set a basic value which she would not concede, and it was her maintenance of this that set her forth as an example to be followed.

It was Pamela's falling in love with Mr. B. that was the real complication. Pamela knew that after all of her trials she should hate him, but it was clear throughout the novel that she could not. While imprisoned by Mrs. Jewkes Pamela heard of a near drowning by Mr. B. Even though his death would have meant the end of her imprisonment, she was concerned over his well being. Throughout the novel she was constantly worried about his reaction to things she did or said: "Sure I did not say so much! But see the lordliness of a high condition!-- A poor body must not put in a word, when they take it in their heads to be angry! What a fine time a person of an equal condition would have of it, if she were to marry such a one: his poor dear mother spoiled him at first."[62] Pamela knew Mr. B.'s weaknesses, but true to a woman

---

[61]Park, p. 382.

[62]Richardson, p. 220.

in love, she could in the same breath condemn him and make excuses for him.

To have left the B. household after Lady B.'s death would have been the easy answer. Pamela knew that this was the proper thing to do, and she could have done it. Human beings do not, however, base their actions completely on the rule books; Pamela was no exception. Not to give in to Mr. B. meant that she must fight her own inclinations, and this was the demand on her that was hard to meet. Because of her own weakness Pamela could not reject Mr. B. without any hope of seeing him again. "Well, then, thought I, this can be only to seduce me. He has promised nothing. But I am to see what he will do, if I stay a fortnight. And this fortnight is no such great matter . . . ."[63] If Pamela's only wish had been to preserve her virtue, even as a bargaining commodity, she would not have risked the stay under such circumstances. Love conquers, and Pamela hoped that the good qualities she had witnessed in Mr. B. would soon again predominate.

For Pamela to have surrendered to Mr. B.'s desires would have been the easiest course for her. Mr. B. knew her well enough that he offered not only her personal gain but also gain to her parents. Pamela never considered an offer short of marriage because she believed no other intimate relationship between a man and a woman could exist. She pictured matrimony as an estate blessed by God of which she must always remain worthy: "there is an end of all merit, and all good behavior on my side, if I have now any, the moment I consent to your proposals: and I should be so far from expecting such an honour, that

---

[63]Richardson, p. 72.

I will pronounce, that I should be most unworthy of it."[64] Pamela's moral principles were well established; while she attempted to be dutiful she could not give up what her individual conscience told her she must not.

In Samuel Richardson's long title page he did not give his definition of virtue. It is unfortunate that he did not address himself to this, as it would have clarified much of the controversy over Pamela. "Because Richardson chose physical seduction as his important symbolic act, he has been accused on the one hand of trying to satisfy vicariously desires which his circumscribed life denied, and on the other hand of a coarseness of moral sensibility."[65] Had he explained what he meant by virtue and therefore the maintenance of it, his "moral sensibility" would have been clearer.

Much emphasis was placed in Richardson's novel on Pamela's maintaining her chastity. This, then, was accepted as synonomous with Richardson's "Virtue Rewarded." Pamela did remain chaste until marriage, and this, it was felt, resulted in her reward. Chastity, however, was only a symbol of the virtue that Pamela maintained throughout the novel. It, like the material reward, was a concrete representative for the reading public. Pamela's real virtue lay in her constant self-discipline. In spite of every sign pointing to her eventual ruin, including her own inclination, she held out against it. In a time when

---

[64]Richardson, p. 172.

[65]Wm. Merritt Sale, Jr., "From Pamela to Clarissa," Essays on the Eighteenth Century Novel, Robert D. Spector, ed. (Bloomington, Indiana Univ. Press, 1965), p. 23.

women had "no legal rights whatever"[66] Pamela asserted her rights as an individual.

Pamela's reward came for a very real reason. Throughout Pamela Richardson was "at pains to demonstrate the operations of divine grace and the direct intervention of Providence to reward the virtuous . . . in this world."[67] Pamela maintained a virtue of self-control based on Christian principles, and it was by this that she earned her reward. Of her servility and tolerance of minor rudeness Richardson defended her by making her say, "I am wholly in his power, and it would do me no good to incense him; if I refused to obey in little matters, my refusal in greater would have the less weight."[68] Richardson, through Pamela, was searching for the common man's role in society, and Pamela's actions offered just such a role based on morally sound behavior.

That Mr. B., as well as his money and position, represented Pamela's reward and God's kindness was another facet of Richardson's writing made obscure by his use of the epistolary form. Because Pamela's is virtually the only viewpoint, Mr. B. could not be brought into proper perspective until they were near marriage. It was not until then that the reader would see that what appeared to be a bungling rapist was really a sensitive man who was also falling in love in spite of what he or others thought proper. A discussion between Pamela and Mr. B. about a sham marriage brought out the reasons for Mr. B.'s constantly stopping at the point where he was about to achieve his ends:

---

[66]Ralph Philip Boas and B. M. Hahn, Social Backgrounds of English Literature (Boston, Little, Brown, & Co., 1931), p. 157.

[67]Dussinger, p. 11.

[68]Richardson, p. 216.

"But what good angel prevented the execution of this deep-laid design?"

"Why your good angel, Pamela, said he; for when I considered that it would make you miserable, and me not happy . . . I, though I doubted not effecting this my last plot, resolved to overcome myself . . . ."[69] The feeling illustrated here was love, and Mr. B.'s later actions left little doubt of his motivation.

Pamela and her letters served not only as a model for the reader, but also as an example to Mr. B. His early attempts to demand what he wanted were explained by both Pamela and himself as the result of being spoiled by his mother. After Pamela won the heart of Mr. B., he openly told Mr. Williams, "I hope, from her good example . . . in time to be half as good as my tutoress . . . ."[70] Samuel Richardson believed in an examination of past behavior and in learning by example. His purpose in writing worked in the same manner with his characters as he hoped to have it work with his readers.

Richardson's title, Pamela:Or Virtue Rewarded, had real meaning for him. Pamela, in his mind, embodied all of the aspects of virtue and all of the realities of a woman. Her representation of virtue was complete, and yet it was honestly combined with the qualities of a real woman. Pamela said of her trials, "It is too mighty for me; and I must sit down to ponder all these things, and to admire and bless the goodness of that Providence, which has, through so many intricate mazes, made me tread the path of innocence, and so amply rewarded me, for what it has enabled me to do! All glory to God alone be ever given for it. . . . ."[71]

---

[69]Richardson, p. 245.

[70]Ibid., p. 282.

[71]Ibid., p. 247.

The "intricate mazes" were recorded in detail by Richardson so that God's actions would become clear to the reader as they worked through a human being.

Final consideration must be given to the virtue that was rewarded in Pamela. The maintenance of chastity has too long received credit as the virtue described by Richardson. An examination of the facts involved would indicate that Richardson had more in mind. Richardson's own personality and moral business dealings discredit the claim that Pamela was simply using her virtue as a businessman might to bargain for the best price. In Richardson's work "the sexual conflict . . . always reflects a social struggle of much wider significance."[72] To limit Pamela's virtue to a defense of her virginity is to ignore this fact.

The virtue described in Pamela was of a much broader and more significant scope. Pamela's effort to co-ordinate her human drives and the moral code she had learned represented the real conflict in Pamela. To the extent that her behavior was morally acceptable she was virtuous. Pamela's ability to do what was right in spite of her own desires was the virtue Richardson intended to reward.

Criticism of Richardson centered on his middle-class concept of virtue. The virtue he professed was the virtue of the middle class. They were a group who hoped to improve their lot in society; to do this they were forced to exercise a strong self-discipline in spite of what might be easier for them. Richardson knew from his own experience that the mind must control the passions if an individual were to improve himself, and this was what he suggested through Pamela.

---

[72]Brissenden, p. 17.

Fielding had suggested that Pamela's rise was due simply to calculated effort, but this was not true in the sense that he projected it. Since Pamela was willing to defend her principles by leaving Mr. B. if necessary, she proved that her real strength was not in calculation, but in commanding her own heart. Samuel Richardson felt that this quality was attainable only with "the assistance of Divine Grace,"[73] and Pamela's application to that Grace suggested "a laudable emulation in the minds of any worthy persons, who may thereby entitle themselves to the rewards, the praises and the blessings, by which Pamela was so deservedly distinguished."[74]

---

[73]Richardson, p. 462.

[74]Ibid., p. 463.

BIBLIOGRAPHY

Baker, Ernest A. The History of the English Novel, IV. Intellectual Realism from Richardson to Sterne. New York, Barnes & Noble, Inc., 1930. 13-102.

Boas, Ralph Philip, Hahn, B. M. Social Backgrounds of English Literature. Boston, Little, Brown, & Co., 1931. 143-176.

Bradbrook, Frank. "Samuel Richardson," From Dryden to Johnson, ed. Boris Ford, Baltimore, Penguin Books, Inc., 1957. 293-312.

Brissenden, R. F. Samuel Richardson. London, Longmans, Green, & Co., 1958.

Curtis, L. P. Anglican Moods of the Eighteenth Century. Archon Books, 1966.

Dobson, Austin. Samuel Richardson. New York, The Macmillan Co., 1902.

_____. Eighteenth Century Studies. London, J. M. Dent & Sons, Ltd., n.d. 18-33.

Dussinger, John A. "Richardson's 'Christian Vocation'," Papers on Language and Literature, III,i (Winter 1957), 3-19.

Eaves, T. C. Duncan. "Dr. Johnson's Letters to Richardson," PMLA, LXXV (1960), 377-381.

Fielding, Henry. An Apology for the Life of Mrs. Shamela Andrews, ed. Sheridan W. Baker, Jr. Berkeley, Univ. of Calif. Press, 1953.

_____. Joseph Andrews and Shamela, ed. Martin C. Battestin. Boston, Houghton Mifflin Co., 1961.

Humphreys, A. R. "The Social Setting," From Dryden to Johnson, ed. Boris Ford. Baltimore, Penguin Books, Inc., 1957-63. 15-50.

Kearney, A. M. "Richardson's Pamela:the Aesthetic Case," Review of English Literature, VIII,iii (1966), 78-90.

Kermode, Frank. "Richardson and Fielding," Essays on the Eighteenth Century Novel, ed. Robert D. Spector. Bloomington, Indiana Univ. Press, 1965. 64-77.

Krutch, Joseph Wood. Five Masters. New York, Jonathan Cape & Harrison Smith, 1930. 107-174.

Lefever, Charlotte. "Richardson's Paradoxical Success," PMLA, XLVIII (1933), 857-886.

McKillop, Alan Dugald. The Early Masters of English Fiction. Lawrence, Univ. of Kansas Press, 1956. 47-97.

_____. Samuel Richardson:Printer and Novelist. Chapel Hill, Univ. of N. C. Press, 1936.

Moore, Robert Etheridge. "Dr. Johnson on Fielding and Richardson," PMLA, LXVI (1951), 162-179.

Park, William. "Fielding and Richardson," PMLA, LXXXI (1966), 381-388.

Richardson, Samuel. Clarissa Harlowe, ed. H. Ward. London, George Routledge & Sons, Ltd., n.d.

_____. Pamela, ed. Thomas Archer. London, George Routledge & Sons, Ltd., n.d.

_____. Pamela, I. New York, E. P. Dutton & Co., 1914.

Sale, William Merritt, Jr. "From Pamela to Clarissa," Essays on the Eighteenth Century Novel, ed. Robert D. Spector. Bloomington, Indiana Univ. Press, 1965. 18-31.

_____. Samuel Richardson:A Bibliographical Record of His Literary Career with Historical Notes. New Haven, Yale Univ. Press, 1936.

_____. Samuel Richardson:Master Printer. Ithaca, N. Y., Cornell Univ. Press, 1950.

Sharpock, Roger. "Richardson's Pamela:The Gospel and the Novel," Durham Univ. Journal (1966), 67-74.

Singer, Godfrey Frank. The Epistolary Novel. New York, Russell & Russell, Inc., 1963. 60-99.

Stephen, Leslie. English Literature and Society in the Eighteenth Century. New York, Barnes & Noble, Inc., 1904 (reprint 1955). 138-177.

White, William. "Richardson:Idealist or Realist," Modern Language Review, XXXIV (1939), 240-241.

Williams, Basil. The Whig Supremacy 1714-1760. London, Oxford Univ. Press, 1939 (reprint 1952). 1-143.