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PAMELA IN CONTEXT: COMMENTARY ON ECONOMICS, THE STATE OF THE
ANGLICAN CLERGY, AND MENTAL ILLNESS

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ABSTRACT

Samuel Richardson's novel, *Pamela*, offers insight on several of the most important topics and events of eighteenth-century English culture and history. A contextual analysis of the novel reveals that it provides commentary on the economic devastation that followed the collapse of the so-called South Sea Bubble, the state of the Anglican church throughout Richardson's lifetime, and growing British anxiety about suicide and depression. By framing his novel as an instrument of pedagogy, Richardson invites readers to a fictional entertainment that also converses with the readership about life's contingencies and difficulties.

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Introduction

Writing to Samuel Richardson in 1742, having just received the latest edition of *Pamela*, William Warburton was full of praise for his friend's sensational work which, by the time he began reading, was over a year old. Warburton describes his surprise and pleasure at receiving an "obliging letter" from Richardson alongside "a fine edition of your excellent work, which no one can set a higher rate upon." But like many of Richardson's early readers, Warburton was quick to make suggestions he believed would improve Richardson's tale of a heroine who maintains her virtue despite the efforts of a looming and threatening master. He suggested that Richardson add a moment of reflection from the newly ascended Pamela on the "follies and extravagance of high-life" that would serve as a satire of the British aristocracy's seemingly ridiculous customs. The goal, he posited, was to give an outsider's perspective of a rapidly changing and confusing world. "And what could be more natural than this in Pamela," he wrote, "going into a new world where every thing sensibly strikes a stranger?"¹

In a way, Richardson was delivering his own commentary on the world he inhabited through his novel, though he focused on different aspects of British culture. Richardson's commentary becomes clear when *Pamela* is examined within its historical context and specific plot points are connected to major historical events that occurred during Richardson's lifetime. Contemporary scholarship on Richardson's work tends to focus on its broad continental impact. Scholars and other commentators are quick to point out *Pamela*'s status as one of the first English-language and psychological novels and analyze the significance of its spread across Europe as it was translated into numerous languages and adapted as an opera and play.² Others focus on Pamela as an early feminist figure, the construction of female virtue the novel's heroine embodies, or differing interpretations of her rapid ascent of the English aristocratic hierarchy.

Some focus on Mr. B's reformation from scoundrel to saved gentleman.³ A large cohort focuses on Richardson's eight revisions, or the novel's relationship to his other great work, *Clarissa*, and the inter-genre interaction between the many different versions of *Pamela*.⁴ Although some analysts consider Richardson's status and intentions in their deconstruction of *Pamela*, few, if any, attempt to view the novel's plot as a product not only of its author's goals, but also the cultural and historical climate in which the text was produced. *Pamela* takes place in the 1720s and is rife with allusions to the most pressing issues that would have weighed on the minds of aristocratic entrepreneurs like Richardson throughout the mid-eighteenth century.

For this reason, this thesis will examine the first edition of *Pamela*, published in 1740, in its historical context in an attempt to match the major events of Richardson's novel to the most significant historical topics of his day. These connections will show how the novel captures a turbulent time in English politics and society. They will also show the novel's intention to instruct its readers on how to handle these difficult times and issues. The scholarly urge to connect the life of the author to his or her work is as common as it is dubious. Attempts to draw biographical conclusions from fiction has left many a researcher stranded with only false conclusions. For this reason, I will examine the novel as a historical artifact only and will attempt to connect *Pamela* and Richardson's pedagogical efforts to three specific historical trends. These include the state of England's economy in the aftermath of the collapse of the South Sea Bubble in the 1720s, the decline of the Anglican church and clergy during Richardson's lifetime, and the Enlightenment perception of mental illness and the occurrence of suicide in England. Through an examination of these historical elements, Richardson's life, his self-professed motives, and the plot of *Pamela*, I will demonstrate that the novel can be interpreted as fiction in tune with world events that offers insight into eighteenth-century British culture and concerns. This analysis will

also reveal that the novel is concerned with the state of the British economy, offers a critical portrayal of the Anglican church as an institution while remaining supportive of its values, and asserts that individuals considering suicide should think of the act as a sin and their tribulations a path to eventual benefits.

Most importantly, however, the analysis will demonstrate *Pamela*'s significance as an instructional text during a time of national difficulty. *Pamela* parallels the changing world that Richardson inhabited and gives context to the general malaise that hung over the nation in the wake of economic, emotional, and religious decay. But it also offers its readers a template for navigating these times and upholding their values in the case of adversity and tragedy. Richardson upholds Pamela's piety, virtue, and perseverance in order to inspire these qualities in his audience as they face trials on their own. *Pamela*'s literary value and likely a portion of its popularity came at this intersection of his modern malaise and literature, where Richardson attempts to constructively address then-current trends and problems through his craft.

I will begin with an examination of Richardson's life and authorship, focusing specifically on his work as a London printer and, later, as a novelist. This section will focus on the events and processes that led to Richardson's writing of *Pamela*. It will also address the role of the epistolary novel as an instructional fictional tool that stood in contrast to popular romances. My investigation will then progress to its three sections of textual and historical significance—the portrayal of English issues related to economics, the state of the Anglican clergy, and mental illness or melancholia. The first section will focus specifically on the South Sea Bubble, its formation, and its eventual collapse. This section relates the cultural and economic devastation of the collapse to the plot of *Pamela* and the role of money in the characters' lives. The second section will describe the institutional failings and corruption of the

Anglican church during the eighteenth century. It will demonstrate that although *Pamela* is quick to point out the church's relative weakness, the novel supports Protestant and general religious beliefs as a moral guide for society. The final and longest section will examine suicide and depression in England at a time when rates of self-harm in Britain were rising. It will also address the literary concept of melancholia, which frequently cast sad or depressed characters in positions of sophistication. These trends will be related to the novel through a close reading of the scene of Pamela by the estate pond, where Richardson's heroine considers drowning herself in order to escape Mr. B.'s trap but ultimately decides to suffer on and persevere. This scene shows Richardson's pedagogy on the religious dangers of suicide, with a specific focus on the perception of overcoming spiritual tests on earth as a path to heavenly salvation. Each of these sections is written with the goal of understanding *Pamela* as an intricate primary source that portrays a cultural conception of an era of rapid change as well as an instructional novel meant to guide its readers through difficult times.

Chapter 1

Master Printer and Coincidental Novelist: The Path to *Pamela*

When analyzing Samuel Richardson's life, most scholars focus on his work and status as an author of fiction. *Sir Charles Grandison*, *Clarissa*, and *Pamela* are his three best-remembered works. These novels are frequently examined as some of the first examples of the British novel. But Richardson's professional and political lives extended well beyond his enormously popular novels. Born in an unnamed Derbyshire village in 1689, Richardson was the son of a London artisan who left the city after becoming dangerously entangled in controversial Whig political movements. Richardson eventually returned to the city and founded his printing business in 1720 near Fleet Street. He quickly became one of the city's most important and influential printers. By 1734, he employed twenty-four pressmen and apprentices alongside other laborers who managed the printing and distribution of his many publications and contracts. Scholars note that in his day, Richardson was known first as a printer, not a novelist.⁵

Richardson, like other printing house owners, acted as a manager, entrepreneur, and writer for his own printing house in London. In addition to making his material enticing to the reading public, Richardson was tasked with managing the many men that came together to work his presses. This task wasn't always easy—the men were often forced to work together, complete meticulous and detail-oriented work, and depend on each other's performance, causing tensions to run high. Yet the printshop structure had a distinct culture and etiquette that was passed from one generation of printers to another. Many included sets of rules for their employees to abide by in order to maintain high levels of production.⁶

Richardson's responsibilities as a printer extended outside the walls of his shop and the margins of his pages. As a man of the press, Richardson was involved in extensive political controversy throughout his career before making a miraculous pro-government shift. His presses

published decidedly anti-Hanoverian publications that earned him a spot on a blacklist of “disaffected printers” by 1722, only two years after the opening of his shop. Scholars are wary of assuming Richardson’s own political views, pointing out that he could have published the controversial texts for business reasons instead of genuine political sympathy. Regardless, he was almost sent to jail a year later for libel charges after his press criticized a Whig.⁷

Despite these close calls with political consequences, Richardson eventually made a 180-degree shift later in his career, a shift that saw him become a “trusted insider to the Hanover Whig establishment” by the 1730s. He was awarded several lucrative government contracts that raised his financial and social status even higher. Richardson became a leader in the London community of booksellers and printers, even leading one of the industry’s oldest and most powerful guilds.⁸ He died of a stroke in 1761 at the age of 71.

An examination of the thematic and historical implications of *Pamela* must consider the author’s process of conceptualizing and writing it. Luckily for scholars, Richardson’s inspiration, or at least his outward inspirations and motives for writing the novel, are well-documented in his correspondence with friends and editors. Richardson wrote that he developed the idea behind *Pamela* after two bookseller friends approached him to create a letter-writing manual to instruct members of the lower classes, especially those living in rural areas in England. Richardson added his own touch to their request, and made his example letters a lesson in morals for his readers as well as composition. He reportedly asked his publishers if his letters could “instruct them how they should think & act in common Cases, as well as indite.” Several of the letters were directed toward young, lower-class, “handsome” girls “obliged to go out to service” who Richardson thought might face dangers to their chastity. From this example, Richardson explained, *Pamela* was created. He began writing the novel in November 1739 and finished in February of 1740,

publishing its first pages a month later.⁹ He would later publish a sequel, titled *Pamela in Her Exalted Condition*, in addition to the many revisions of his first novel. The second novel focused on Pamela's life as a wife and mother, but was recognized as an authorial failure.

Pamela's intense and immediate popularity can be attributed, in part, to the importance and immediacy of the issues it addressed. Modern readers may not understand the intense and tragic realism of *Pamela*, which left many eighteenth-century English readers wondering if the novel was a retelling of a true story. Though scholars agree that *Pamela* is primarily a fictional narrative, there is no doubt that its plot is derived from real happenings in eighteenth-century England. Richardson himself wrote that the story of the individual who inspired *Pamela* had been relayed to him in detail by a friend in the 1720s. But scholars suggest that that alleged story only sparked Richardson's work. *Pamela* is more than a simple retelling, they argue, and Richardson likely recalled what he had heard differently after completing his massive work. Some readers argued that Richardson stole *Pamela's* plot from other narratives that featured different endings, with the Pamela-equivalent character fleeing to a convent instead of marrying her captor.¹⁰ Richardson's focus on making his novel believable and economically accurate is also supported by several authorial decisions, including his removal of a fictional proof against dueling due to the irrelevance of the topic to the average reader.¹¹ He even edited Pamela's use of local dialect in later editions—four of which were published in 1741¹²—to match her class as a servant girl after critics pointed out several flaws in the original edition.¹³

Regardless of the historical grounding of the novel, there is at least one real-life English case similar to its plot. Richardson may have heard of the case of Colonel Francis Charteris, who became rich through South Sea Bubble investments and gambling. Charteris soon developed a reputation as a certified rake in the Middlesex community in which he lived. He had his servants

procure local, vulnerable women to “work” at his manor. He then proceeded to trap the women in his home and rape them, fooling them through the use of disguises and trap doors. He raped Anne Bond after disguising his identity to lure her into his employment. Bond then reported the rape to the authorities, who tried Charteris at the Old Bailey in London. He pleaded guilty to the charges, according to trial records, but was sentenced to death on February 27, 1730. Charteris was eventually pardoned, but died of natural causes soon after.¹⁴

A history of *Pamela*’s creation must also feature the genre-based novelistic developments of the era as well as Richardson’s goals, intentions, and historical inspiration. The epistolary format Richardson used was made popular by French writers, and many instructing authors were fond of using letters in fiction that, as described by Bonnie Latimer, “sought to entertain by making the models interesting, and to instruct by enforcing moral precepts.”¹⁵ Richardson’s style is unique in that it “imagines a self *capable* of adhering to a moral precept, a self first limned out in his earliest conduct writing,”¹⁶ Latimer explains. This theme and method would carry over into Richardson’s other work, with Latimer pointing out that, “in all his writing, delight mingles with instruction.”¹⁷ He was particularly interested in the instructional use of fiction instead of the fervor and emotional indulgence of romance writing the era of sentiment. He was specifically focused, Latimer writes, on “dissociating *Pamela* as far as possible from current fiction, and in taking his position with the moralistic opponents of romance.”¹⁸ This motivation can even be found in the non-fiction publications his press produced; he printed several conduct instruction manuals at his London business.¹⁹

Richardson’s pedagogical method, inhering as it does in the epistolary form of his novel, accords well with the novel’s extensive commentary on broad societal issues such as the English economy, the state of the Anglican clergy, and depression and suicide. *Pamela* is a novel that is

deeply in tune with the more specific world of its readers. Not only did Richardson write his novel adhering to social conventions and realistic expectations, but he also used a novelistic style with a clear and recognized purpose to instruct readers. His work appeals to its target audience by matching the audience's world, combining moral instruction with a desirable form of entertainment.

Chapter 2 The South Sea Bubble, Economic Depression, And Pamela

Pamela makes the connection between money and political power exceptionally clear while highlighting the dangers and shame of the severe poverty that many British individuals suffered during the eighteenth century. Richardson's entertaining but instructional messages often center upon a point of tragedy, such as economic depression in England. One of the most culturally significant events of the eighteenth century, the collapse of the South Sea Bubble caused economic devastation and a deep national examination of the power of banks and stock-generated frenzy. Some modern scholars study the Bubble and consequent economic depression as the "first crash," the first example of speculative behavior gone completely awry in the public marketplace.²⁰ Because of the extent of the Bubble's influence and the inescapable mark it left on England's cultural and historical consciousness, an exploration of the circumstances surrounding the Bubble are necessary to understanding *Pamela*.

The South Sea Bubble began with a deal between the English government and the South Sea Company. Though the Company was founded in 1711 with the goal of trading in the western hemisphere, it became, primarily, a vessel for converting government debt. The Company and the government persuaded holders of government debt to exchange their shares for stock in the Company. In 1719, an initial exchange of shares for cash and yearly interest payments from the government in return for absorbing the country's debt raised the South Sea Company's stock significantly. The annual payments from the government insured the stocks holders would have a steady stream of revenue through South Sea Company stock. The government believed its investment to be sound, because it anticipated placing a tariff on the goods the boosted company would gather from South America.²¹ The Company then proposed to convert all national debt to shares of its stock, entering a bidding war with the Bank of England.

In an effort to manipulate the markets, South Sea Company executives bribed government officials to approve its stock conversion proposal. At the same time, it engineered its own ability to purchase government debt at lower prices, thereby increasing demand for its shares, 1720. During this period its stock price rose astronomically, and massive trading overwhelmed its managers, forcing them to temporarily shut down trading. A similar bubble in France, centered on the Mississippi Company, was also experiencing rapid growth. Shareholders in England and across Europe became wary.²² When trading began again in London, the stock experienced a massive selloff, and the Company was unable to pay its shareholders. The public discovered that Company officials had lied about the Company's overall capacity to conduct trade within its designated territory.²³ This caused an extreme drop in share price that began as early as August. By the middle of September, the stock's price was dropping rapidly, sometimes losing up to 200 points in one week.²⁴ Many Britons, who had purchased just as the stock was peaking and then were left stranded with worthless shares, were financially ruined,²⁵ and a "shareholder rebellion" ensued.²⁶ London banks and the Bank of England itself scrambled to import enough specie to meet the selling demand, but after a few relatively small payments to the Company in an attempt to sate the highest-level shareholders, they had run out once again.²⁷ The collapse of the South Sea Bubble, which inflicted major financial injury on many Britons, including famous figures such as Sir Isaac Newton, was complete.²⁸

It is the aftermath of this crash that has given it its historical relevance and has planted it firmly in modern consciousness. Many scholarly analyses of the Bubble and its effects focus strictly on the economic circumstances of its rise and fall or attempt to compare it to modern economic situations and crashes. Its relevance to *Pamela*, however, is found in the cultural implications of the economic devastation it wrought upon its victims. The Bubble's collapse

immediately led to disastrous circumstances for anyone who had invested substantial savings into it. Exchange Alley in London, once full of the bustle of a thriving market place, contained investors screaming their misfortunes and crying in the street after the collapse.²⁹ The British social elite experienced some of the most intense economic misfortunes after their investments collapsed, as their luxury goods and rural homes were quickly pawned for whatever price was available.³⁰ London's luxury goods market, which thrived as the Bubble made the city's residents rich, had now completely collapsed, and once-premium goods were sold on the street at bargain prices. Land prices, especially in the rural countryside, plummeted.³¹ Investors with families turned to their neighbors to help, only to find that they had also been ruined by the bubble.

The constant fluctuation of the Bubble itself was said to have led investors to madness and suicide even before the scheme's theatrical collapse, and newspapers contained graphic accounts of investors slitting their throats with razors or hanging themselves after succumbing to the weight of their insurmountable debts.³² Suicides became a "daily occurrence" by 1721,³³ a year that saw London's suicide rate rise by 40 percent.³⁴ The investors who didn't take their own lives often fled from their debtors, leaving children and wives behind at the mercy of collectors. The following description appeared in a September 1720 edition of the *London Journal*:

One of the family upstairs is gone off this week, disposed of his fine equipage, left his W-- and his hounds, and fled to Holland. He was a goldsmith's apprentice, and having got 50 thousand pound in about six months' time, threw off his master and his modesty together. But going out of his depth, was bit by the fall of South Sea Stock, as multitudes have been besides, is undone by a blow, and nothing left of him but what his knavery has secured from his creditors, by his running away.³⁵

The Bubble's collapse had inflicted a devastating loss on many British families, leaving many heads of households so overwhelmed by fear that taking their own lives or abandoning the families they could no longer protect seemed the only available option.

The weight of the Bubble's collapse had such a massive effect on national consciousness that it influenced every other aspect of English life. Thomas Bowles II's 1720 series of satiric engravings and playing cards titled *The Bubbler's Medley* reflects the absolute chaos that the crash unleashed on British society. The engraving is centered on the drawing of a red-faced man

behind prison bars, with a collage-like smattering of smaller illustrations and bubbles of text. "Behold a poor dejected wretch, who kept a sea coach of late, but now is glad humbly catch a penny at the prison grate," the engraving beneath the central image reads. Around the figure are images of a crowded city square, a woman encountering a wolf in the countryside, and a group of people falling—or hanging—from a tree.³⁶ The collapse of the Bubble and the financial destruction it wrought upon the nation seeped into all aspects of daily life, causing a general mood of darkness and



Figure 1: Bowles's *The Bubbler's Medely or a Sketch of the Times: Being Europe's Memorial for the Year 1720*

depression that lasted for years and is reflected in the art and newspaper coverage of the period.

Jonathan Swift's 1726 novel, *Gulliver's Travels*, sees the main character travel to the South Seas, where he is shipwrecked by a massive storm in a thinly veiled reference to England's financial

calamity.³⁷ Adding to the din of creative voices trying to make sense of the crash was a crowd of “furious” pamphleteers³⁸ and ruined men writing the accounts of their misery.³⁹ Popular imagination equated the depression’s effect to the Great Plague of London, which had ravaged the city less than a hundred years before and was still fresh in the minds of its citizens.⁴⁰

One of the works that added to the chorus of voices discussing economic depression and a citizenry plagued by unsupported speculation was Richardson’s *Pamela*. Though it was published almost twenty years following the bubble’s burst, it is set soon after the crash, and its heavy emphasis on inter-class relationships and the measurement of wealth suggests that Richardson used his novel to examine economic issues as well as social trends. Economic status is inextricably tied with the characterization and arc of Pamela, her father, and Mr. B., specifically. Money is directly equated to power throughout the novel, and each character’s contented ending is defined by the security of their economic condition. The central conflict of Richardson’s novel is derived from class norms, and this conflict is only resolved when Pamela is officially accepted into the aristocratic arena.

The class structure of *Pamela* provides the foundation for its plot. Mr. B., an eligible, rich, and powerful bachelor not anxious for a wife, would find a perfect match in the fifteen-year-old Pamela. Her status as a servant girl, however, initially prevents their union. Yet their economic stations are not as clear-cut as they may initially appear. Despite his comfortable lifestyle and local influence, Mr. B. is not yet a member of the aristocracy. Instead, he is an upper-middle class gentleman who stands at its threshold. He is intensely anxious about his status and growth as an upstanding member in the community. Pamela, on the other hand, is intensely aware of her low economic status and is only concerned with saving her meager wages for her parents. Because a marriage between the two would hurt B.’s reputation and standing, he

has complete power over her but is not able to build the relationship morally. This conflict was one of the first points of contention for Richardson's early critics, who paid keen attention to young Pamela's dialect⁴¹ and criticized Richardson when it didn't match that of a mannered, rural serving girl.⁴²

Social station drives the narrative's plot. B. attempts to rape Pamela to satisfy his desire without damaging his social status. Pamela, in her attempts to avoid his efforts, invokes her own station: "What Good could it do him to harm such a simple maiden as me? Besides, to be sure, no Lady would look upon him, if he should so disgrace himself."⁴³ Lady Jervis reminds Pamela of this dynamic when attempting to explain B.'s actions: "I believe he loves my good Maiden, tho' his servant, better than all the Ladies in the Land; and he has try'd to overcome it, because he knows you are so much his inferior," she explains.⁴⁴ Pamela finds comfort, gratification, and protection in her humble station throughout the novel. She sees it as a justification of the trials she faces and a shield against the advances of Mr. B. Many of her letters to her parents emphasize that she will take humble poverty and piecemeal textile work over the loss of her honor. "I can so contentedly return to my Poverty again, and think it less Disgrace to be oblig'd to wear Rags , and live upon Rey-bread and Water, as I use to do, than to be a Harlot to the greatest Man in the World."⁴⁵

Examples of Pamela's extreme humility throughout the beginning of the novel seem to pedestalize her virtue and establish her as the exemplary character Richardson envisions. But the novel's incorporation of class and money cannot be ignored or cast off as background, plot-supporting detail. Pamela's transformation, and correspondingly her transformation of B., is marked by economic changes. By the end of the novel, she is the head of the Lincolnshire and Bedfordshire estates, no longer their prisoner, and enjoying the grounds that once suffocated her.

The reader sees Pamela become a woman of class and manners, and in one particularly telling scene, a philanthropist. After she is helped into a chariot by a complimentary gentleman in town, she writes:

Several poor people begg'd my Charity, and I beckon'd *John* with my Fan, and said, Divide, in the further Church-Porch, that money to the Poor, and let them come to-morrow Morning to me, and I will give them something more, if they don't importune me now. –So I gave him all the Silver I had, which happen'd to be between twenty and thirty Shillings; and this drew away from me, their clamorous Prayers for Charity.⁴⁶

This public display of charity, which earns Pamela the admiration of the church congregation, is a key moment in the novel because of the changes it signifies and the moment of edification it offers. Mr. B. gives small bonuses to Pamela at some of the novel's most hopeful moments, and he instructs Pamela to be similarly charitable in her interactions with servants and the townspeople. The scene in front of the church is one of Richardson's examples of the benefits of charity—Pamela is admired because of her giving, and B.'s wealth is again displayed. One of Pamela's greatest virtues is her generosity, and as Richardson's example of good conduct, her frequent giving is meant to encourage readers to do the same.

The second notable function of this scene is the change it signifies. Though Richardson would argue that Pamela's true reward for her conduct throughout the novel is her piety and purity, there is a very real fear of poverty and debt that exists in the background of the novel, always present in the great halls of B.'s estates. Pamela's earlier justification of returning to poverty sounds naively optimistic. Though she encourages her parents with her willingness to return to her home village, a severe sense of anxiety seeps into her letters. She is keenly aware, though she never admits it outright, that the skills that served her well in Bedfordshire will be

fairly useless in the village economy. “I will get Mrs. Mumford to help me to some Needle-work; and fear not that I shall be a Burden to you, if my Health continues; and I know God will bless me,” she writes soon after deciding to leave Bedfordshire and return home to her parents.

Pamela’s consistent reminders of her willingness to return to poverty are far from reassuring.

The church scene marks the end of this anxiety for Pamela, even though B. is still concerned about his station among the elites. Pamela, by this point, has become a rich and powerful woman, marking her fulfillment of a higher station. The reader sees Pamela, who was once on the verge of returning to poverty, become a rich and generous figure, empathetic to the plight of the poor. Her social grace and generosity provide the final justification of her maintenance of virtue despite B.’s attacks. Richardson captures the lack of financial security and anxiety that many of his countrymen experienced throughout the eighteenth century. The sense of relief that the reader experiences at *Pamela*’s positive ending is not only because she has survived and transformed the treacherous B. but also because she has avoided returning to the conditions that would have been more virtuous but, eventually, equally disastrous.

Pamela’s relationship with money and the demonstrative quality of her charity were so important to the novel’s themes that at least one revisionist wrote an entire chapter for its sequel dedicated to her charity. George Psalmanazar, the famous imposter who claimed to be a native of Formosa and convinced Europe of his false ethnicity, wrote a chapter for *Pamela: in Her Exalted Condition* and subsequently shipped his work to Richardson. The chapter was titled “Pamela and her Charities,” and records have preserved Richardson’s marginal notes, which criticize it without mercy. It begins with Pamela visiting her sister-in-law Lady Davers, who bursts into tears after Pamela’s arrival and shouts, “Good God, what a miserable wretch I am!”⁴⁷ She goes on to chastise herself for enjoying the luxuries of the aristocracy, questioning how she will

explain her lavish way of living to her maker when other “poor Souls”⁴⁸ struggled around her. This realization sparks a charitable spirit within her, and she decides to become even more charitable to those around her after this significant realization and intense fear. Primarily, the scene serves as a moment of reconciliation between the two women. It was because of Pamela’s poor station and the economic gap that existed between her and B. that Lady Davers opposed their marriage in the first novel. Psalmanazar’s chapter attempts to rebuild this bridge through the same economic lens, comparing Pamela’s godly virtue, humility, and charity to Lady Davers’s former pride and narcissism. Pamela’s counsel and insight into the nature of charity and kindness is what encourages this change within Davers, as she pushes her to forgive herself for past transgressions of pride and capitalize on the spark of a charitable and humble spirit. She even warns her of the social perils of interacting and assisting people of a lower station. The chapter ends with Pamela expressing her excitement over a planned visit to Lady Davers’s estate, and the “Prospect of the good we shall by God’s Assistance, do to all her poor neighborhood.”⁴⁹

Richardson hated Psalmanazar’s proposed addition, yet it is important, because it demonstrates the ubiquity of poverty in England and the importance of Pamela’s charity to the plot of the original novel. Richardson’s marginal notes called Psalmanazar’s chapter “ridiculous” beginning in its first paragraph, and he commented next to one passage a simple three exclamation points. Despite the author’s disdain for a well-meaning addition, the chapter serves an important purpose. Psalmanazar was one of the best-known popular figures in Europe at the time, and it is considerable that he chose to focus on the charitable aspects of Pamela’s character above her other virtuous characteristics. Through this rather superfluous and dramatic chapter, the importance of money and Pamela’s use of it is emphasized. An essential aspect of her life as

a wealthy lady and as a redeeming character in Richardson's novel, Pamela's charity was clearly meant to inspire other members of higher classes to commit to helping the poor.

Pamela is undoubtedly focused on the lives of well-to-do Britons, but several minor characters who live on the outskirts of the world of the rich manage to slip into Richardson's plot. This exclusion and relegation to the outskirts of the novel, for Pamela's father Mr. Andrews, is due to poverty, and connects another character to the importance of means in an economically devastated society. Mr. Andrews has suffered significant economic loss because of the failure of a school he tried to found in the Andrews's home village, harsh creditors, and some significant debts incurred by Pamela's deceased brothers.⁵⁰ Too few children were enrolled in Andrews's school, likely because the economic state of England forced parents to remove their children from school. Pamela, living as a servant, has no money from her own family to assist in her escape from B., and it's clear that she is desperate to help her mother and father by sending home her meager earnings. B., informed of her struggle, attempts to woo Pamela by offering her riches and security that could help her family if she becomes his mistress. This economic dynamic and power struggle inform much of the novel and Mr. Andrews's character.

Mr. Andrews makes few appearances, but what is stressed for readers that he is completely powerless against Mr. B.'s grand scheme. He first appears in the novel as the recipient of his daughter's letters and sends several replies, urging her to maintain her chastity despite Mr. B.'s advances. Richardson casts Andrews primarily as an elderly and ailing father deeply concerned for his daughter's welfare. "Your Virtue has made me, I think, stronger and better than I was before," he writes.⁵¹ Andrews offers no patriarchal protection against B.'s advances, however. As soon as his line of communication is cut off and censored by her master, he is left in the dark, unable to help her and with only the unreliable claims from B. to guide his

search for her. Richardson clearly frames this power dynamic between the two men throughout the novel. B. not only has youth on his side in the battle for Pamela, but also the power of his vast wealth. Mr. Andrews, the reader learns in one later edition of the novel, is an educated man who attempted to build a school in the Andrews' home village, but failed and was left in poverty.⁵² He is a figure sunk by injustice and worthy of compassion. Pamela hears of her parents' wellbeing through John the coachman: "It is a thousand Pities, he says, that such honest Hearts should not have better Luck in the World. But this is more Pride to me, that I am come of such honest Parents, than if I had been born a Lady."⁵³ Richardson suggests that hard labor has caused Andrews to age prematurely, especially because a man of his station was not previously used to difficult manual work.

Mr. Andrews's lack of power over circumstance peaks early in the novel, when he appears, hysterical, at the Bedfordshire estate in search of his daughter after walking all night. "I am not a Beggar yet, said the poor old Man; I want nothing of (B.), but my *Pamela!*—O my Child! my Child!" he exclaims, when B.'s servants find him waiting outside their manor.⁵⁴ He has arrived too late: Pamela has already been moved by her master to the Lincolnshire estate. Mr. B. caps the situation with a taunting lie: "She is very safe, I do assure you, Goodman Andrews; and you may take my Honour for it, I would not injure her for the world."⁵⁵ When Andrews questions B. further, the aristocrat becomes angry and tells him that he can only wait for his daughter to write him, that there is no bringing her back. Andrews accepts this ruling passively, and he quietly returns home. He eventually becomes a pawn in B.'s game of ensnaring Pamela—B. often offers to bring Pamela's parents out of poverty if she'll only consent to his seduction. She refuses to comply at these early moments in the novel. B. eventually rescues Pamela's parents after his moral and spiritual transformation.

Richardson's characterization of Andrews as an impotent and powerless figure is not centered on physical strength or will. It is instead centered on wealth. B. is stronger because of the power his substantial wealth earns him. Andrews, on the other hand, frequently referred to as "the poor old man," is near penniless and is therefore unable to help his daughter. Richardson's juxtaposition of these two figures shows his attention to the economic state and implications of the British marketplace. The image of Andrews appearing at the Bedfordshire estate on the verge of madness and screaming for his daughter also reflects the effects of poverty. Readers of Richardson's novel, who themselves might have experienced economic hardship as a result of the South Sea Bubble and its aftermath, would identify with Mr. Andrews's circumstance. Andrews's situation represents the cultural and moral destruction that economic depression wrought among Englishmen of all classes, even those who were relatively well-educated and worked to make their way. It is Pamela's goodness that staves off Mr. B.'s advances and purifies his character by the end of the novel, not the old man's efforts. As the novel progresses and Pamela becomes a member of the highest class, Andrews is only redeemed when she and B. offer to pay his debts, indicating once again that power and value in the novel are closely linked with personal wealth. These two characterizations—Pamela's transformation into a high-class lady and her father's continued powerlessness in poverty—represent the reality of descending into poverty and the continued necessity of wealth and standing in England at a time when many were losing massive fortunes.

Chapter 3 Richardson and Changing Tides for the Church of England

Pamela's focus and pedestalization of Christian virtues, such as Pamela's charity or even her father's commitment to faith in times of hardship, is clear. But Richardson's novel also criticizes the state of the struggling Anglican church by adding into the narrative characters who represent the clergy. Richardson uses another inhibited male character like Andrews—Williams, a Lincolnshire clergyman—to comment on the powerlessness and potential corruption of the Anglican institution. Pamela's most likely source of help when she arrives in Lincolnshire is Williams. B. first considers arranging for his defiant servant to marry the minister, but instead of seeing him as a potential husband, Pamela looks to him for help in escaping her new confinement. Unfortunately for Pamela, his efforts to help are insufficient, and a number of misfortunes fall his way after he fails. He's robbed at night on a local road, and B. threatens to take away his parish.⁵⁶ Williams emerges safely at the end of the novel to conduct the marriage ceremony of B. and Pamela, but the reader never feels as if any of his actions or authority are respected or heeded. Because of the lack of support from a local congregation and his dire economic circumstances, he is left at the mercy of a higher class. This characterization, scholars argue, goes deeper than the story's plot and reflects a larger commentary on the Anglican clergy.

Richardson uses his narrative to speak to the dependent condition of the clergy. Carol Stewart notes that Williams's dependency serves as a representation of the failure and disorganization of the church as a whole during the 1730s. Stewart argues that *Pamela* was written, in part, to encourage anew a reverence for religion that was so quickly slipping away. This characterization was so intentional, she argues, that in the sequel to *Pamela*, Richardson specifically added a section that praised the clergy in an effort to atone for his previous low representation.⁵⁷ This is not to say that Richardson attempted to criticize the Anglican tenants of

faith, Stewart notes, but instead to make clear that the clergy were not performing their duty of communicating religious principles well to an ever-shrinking congregation. “Richardson might well have felt that his book and the example of Pamela herself were more likely to effect moral improvement and communicate an Anglican ethos to a youthful or popular audience, than an Anglican sermon or the example of the clergy,”⁵⁸ she writes. Even his inclusion of the more salacious aspects of his novel that wouldn’t have been welcomed in any other religious work, he wrote to a friend, were included to catch the attention of the youth so that they could be instructed as to proper, God-fearing conduct when passions ran high.⁵⁹ This use of sensationalism to convey moral teachings was common practice in literature of Richardson’s day.

The state of the Anglican church during Richardson’s lifetime supports Stewart’s claim, as numerous political shifts in the wake of the Glorious Revolution gripped the country and the now-recognized shift toward general modernity began.⁶⁰ Within the first twenty years of the eighteenth century, the Anglican church faced its first major division when, between 1716 and 1720, the Bangorian crisis coincided with the political “Whig schism,” throwing institutions into temporary disarray.⁶¹ This moment of instability occurred in spite of the Church’s legally preferred status, granted by the Toleration Act of 1689.⁶² The crisis saw Benjamin Hoadly, Bishop of Bangor, publish a sermon that questioned the overall authority of the church and argued for reform. Hoadly caused intense divisions within the Anglican order.⁶³ The institution’s eighteenth-century issues didn’t end there. During the 1730s, Stewart notes, it was experiencing significant corruption and appeared weak and remote. Yet the majority of England’s religious citizens still belonged to the Church of England, whose ministers gathered revenue primarily

through the ancient practice of collecting tithes from an ever-decreasing population of parishioners, which was often the cause of disagreements.⁶⁴

Significant poverty throughout the country and economic depression had caused congregations to lose faith in their spiritual and communal leaders who, in an arrangement called pluralism, were often forced to work outside the church in order to make ends meet. Many clerics were forced to run their own farms and collect their own harvests in addition to performing their religious duties. The process of advancing through the clerical ranks became a cutthroat game of money and privilege. Political conflict between Anglicans and adherents to other denominations, including Methodists and Calvinists, was common.⁶⁵ John Wesley's evangelist conversion and the founding of the Methodist order itself occurred only two years before *Pamela* was published, though Wesley argued that his new order remained within the purview of Anglicanism.⁶⁶ The instability of parishioners led to a decrease in tax revenue and church attendance, and therefore a decrease in the quality of low-level clergymen, who lacked the time and the qualifications to properly preside over their parish. The clerical state became a mockery among citizens.⁶⁷ Clergymen's fixed wages remained unchanged, no matter their volume of work nor the state of economic inflation. Government legislation allowed churches to collect more money throughout the first several decades of the eighteenth century. Most notable was the establishment of Queen Anne's Bounty, a taxation system that aimed to assist all citizens living on under fifty pounds per year but especially the poverty-stricken clergy. But during the 1730s, a law prohibiting deathbed donations to the church limited individual revenue once again.⁶⁸ A 1733 newspaper account paints the powerlessness of clergy members in a seeming sympathetic light, emphasizing their seeming inability to effect change at any level save the lives of individual parishioners: "Let (the clergy's) frequent augmentations of small livings, their

annual liberality to the destitute widows and orphans of clergymen, the respect which a worthy clergyman seldom fails to meet with; let these satisfy him, that as he can have no hopes of influencing the Legislature, so neither can he raise the Ill-will of the Gentry, or the Fury of the Mob, against the whole Order.”⁶⁹ Satiric tabloids lampooned the idea of criminal clergymen running from the law, driven by poverty to commit crimes. *The Grub Street Journal* published this notice in 1733: “ A certain clergyman has gone off along with his footman, warrants being issued against him for sodomitical practices who had considerable employment in the court and the town.”⁷⁰ One account from 1734 even told a story of an Anglican clergyman who attempted to take his own life: “On Thursday, a poor Clergyman of the Church of England attempted to hang himself on a Tree in a Ditch near the Bridge at lake Chelsea; but was happily prevented by William Draycott, of Great Chelsea, Esq. who chanced to be riding by at the Time when he was putting the Rope about his Neck.”⁷¹ Destitution visited clergymen as well as their congregations.

There was no shortage of reformers responding to the problems of the church, its adherents, and the clergy throughout the century. Thomas Secker’s efforts to reform the church are an example of this goal. He aimed to deliver a system of reform to the institution that would restore its value as a respected establishment while effectively addressing the problems it faced. Robert Ingram explains Secker’s reform efforts in a crucial age of ecclesiastical change:

In his case, (reform) meant combating those who challenged durable Christian truths. It meant promoting a new translation of the English Bible and being a generous patron of Orthodox scholars. It meant working with politicians to protect the ancient rights and privileges of the established Church...It meant giving one third of his income to the poor and badgering the rich to give as much or more to the needy...⁷²

Ingram also includes in this list a desire to expand the church's missionary reach to the colonies, and a renewed emphasis on warning parishioners of God's impending wrath. In short, Secker argued for a return to the stern and rigid values of old religion in order to purify the now-struggling church.

Richardson criticizes the ineffectual clergy as Secker did. Williams's characterization is not the only element of the novel that lends itself to this interpretation of the clergy. But while Richardson is criticizing the disorganization of the Anglican order, he is also promoting the values of religious discipline and the moral teachings of religion in general. An analysis of the religious themes and allegories in *Pamela* reveal the novel's emphasis on religious themes and doctrines. These suggest an attempt to glorify and boost religious reverence in England while simultaneously pointing out the shortcomings of many of its officials and their lack of authority.

Religion primarily serves as a transformative force throughout Richardson's novel, and religious transformation marks the novel's resolution. A key example of this is the lumber room at B.'s Bedfordshire manor, which at the opening of the novel is a nondescript and broken-down space. By the end it has been converted into the manor's own miniature chapel. John Sung Hahn points out that the room's transformation from secluded, private space to public symbol of worship matches the other transformations of the novel: B. from rake to husband and gentleman, Pamela from servant girl to lady, the garden from the site of Mr. B.'s first assault to the couple's preferred place for a stroll.⁷³ The transformation from a lumber and junk room to a chapel suggests the transformative power of religion and the transition from light to dark.

The lumber room is not the only space to undergo this type of transformation. In a more obvious reference to the novel's religious themes, the local churches are also converted from unattainable dreams to places of exultation for Pamela. One of the most unacceptable

punishments inflicted upon Pamela by the dangerous Mrs. Jewkes is being forbidden to go to church on Sundays. “Well, here is a sad thing!” she writes to her parents. “I am denied by this barbarous woman to go to Church, as I had built upon I might. And she has huffed poor Mr. Williams all to pieces, for pleading with me. I find he is to be forbid the house, if she pleases.”⁷⁴ The juxtaposition of Williams and the church forbiddance is useful, even if it is unintentional. Williams’s useless but valiant intentions are equated to Pamela’s complete loss of contact with the church, which not only serves as a place of refuge but also the possible site of rescue from B. Without being able to go to church, she is left isolated, alone, and in distress while the one possibility of forming

a bond with others has been taken from her. The church is quickly brought within reach by the end of the novel as the site where the final, most important act of transformation occurs when B. and



Pamela are married in

Figure 2: Joseph Highmore’s *Illustration of Pamela and B.’s Wedding*

a church setting. This moment represents the final victory of Pamela’s purity over B.’s evil, and the formal completion of his translation from rake to reformed man of goodness, repentant of his previous ways.⁷⁵

We can again return to the scene that sees Pamela distributing money to the poor outside the church she and B. attend towards the novel's conclusion to see another example of a revitalized and reformed setting. Here the reader not only sees Pamela's transformation from poor to rich completed, but also her acceptance into the upper echelon of British society, standing by B.'s side. Congregation members praise her conduct and make pleasant remarks on everything from her dress to her behavior. "I had the Pleasure of hearing many Commendations, as well of my Person, as my Dress and Behaviour, and not one Reflection, or Mark of Disrespect," she writes. Later, as she waits for B. to finish conversing with a fellow churchgoer, another parishioner approaches her after she has given silver to the poor. "By all that's good, you have charm'd the whole congregation. Not a Soul but is full of your Praises. My Neighbour knew, better than any body could tell him, how to chuse for himself. Why, said he, the Dean himself look'd more upon you than his book," Pamela quotes.⁷⁶ Again, a religious site is transformed to a place of relief and coronation, as Pamela receives praise from a social class that threatened not to accept her. Richardson continues to transform these dark places into prominent religious spaces and then allow some of the novel's most positive scenes, in which Pamela's virtue is truly rewarded, to take place inside them.

Richardson's defense of religious virtue as a weapon against evil is also found in the arcs of his two main characters. Many scholars comment on Pamela's angelic purity and goodness and how these contrast with B.'s outright evil at the beginning of the novel. But few have taken this characterization a step further and examined B.'s relationship with demonic or satanic references throughout the first half of the novel. Richardson's characterization of Pamela is consistently based on the religious purity, chastity, and virtuousness that the novel espouses. Her status as a submissive and responsible servant matches the characterization of the Bible's humble

servant of God. What sets her apart from her peers, however, is her beauty, which is praised by almost every other character. “Every body talks how you are come on, and what a genteel girl you are; and some say, you are very pretty,” her father writes in an early letter.⁷⁷ Her parents continually remind her to be humble despite this confidence and to give the glory of her beauty to God. Her economic station also supports this characterization. Indeed, her willingness to return to poverty in the name of religious virtues casts her as an ideal Christian heroine. Pamela is keenly aware of her own religious identity, and she often appeals to God before confronting her most trying tests. Her letters are full of meditations and reflections on her own religious goals and ideas, and her distressing situation casts her as a martyr who is willing to die for the beliefs that cause her pain. Even the couple’s wedding night, a moment that Richardson could describe with vindicated imagery and intensity, is described by Pamela with characteristic humility and understatement, unlike other wedding night descriptions of the same literary era.⁷⁸

Mr. B., on the other hand, is the satanic foil to Pamela’s angelic countenance. He experiences the same fall from grace that defines Satan; he is the prodigal son of the glorious house who descends into evil, contradicting his parents. His attempts to disguise himself in order to fool Pamela remind the reader of Satan’s biblical ability to take different forms in order to carry out his missions. Modern readers may argue that B.’s attempts to rape Pamela are a tragic failing of the standards for servant-master interactions of the time, and not the work of a truly evil character. But B. confirms his own moral depravity when, attacking Pamela for the first time, he says: “who ever blamed Lucretia? The shame lay on the ravisher only; and I am content to take all the blame upon myself.”⁷⁹ B.’s satanic parallels continue quite literally throughout the first half of the novel, with Pamela calling him “Lucifer” and directly comparing him to the devil at several points.⁸⁰ He even manipulates the line of communication she maintains with her

parents: “I beg you will write a few Lines to them, and let me prescribe the form for it; which I have done, putting myself as near as I can in your Place, and expressing your Sense, with a Warmth that I doubt will have too much possess’d you.”⁸¹ He thereby attempts to manipulate the literal structure of the novel, taking the power away from its virtuous narrator.

Richardson’s religious emphasis is again bolstered when these two opposite characters are fused together and Pamela and B. are married, representing a thematic parallel the biblical forgiveness and absorption of sin. This moment represents good removing evil and the persecuted loving the sinner despite the sin. Pamela forgives and reforms B. in a direct allusion to Christ’s biblical assumption of sin. B.’s complete transition from domestic terrorizer to dashing husband may not be the most believable shift. But this rapid change highlights Richardson’s allegory even further. Pamela’s love for him appears so quickly and after so many terrible attacks that it makes the act of forgiving her master even more miraculous, and a Christ-like action of glorification that casts her as an even more powerful heroine. B.’s transition from threatening menace to reformed husband is confirmed at two points in the novel: his own declaration of his new perspective, and his official marriage to Pamela. When Pamela returns to the manor after realizing that she loves him, she and B. discuss the possibility of their union. It is here that the reader sees B.’s first genuine moment of self-reflection and his attempt to explain his actions up to that point of the novel. “We People of Fortune, or such that are born to large Expectations . . . are generally educated wrong . . . We are usually so headstrong, so violent in our Wills, that we very little bear control,” he tells her. “In our wise Parent’s Eyes, all looks well, all is forgiven and excus’d; and for no other Reason but because we are Theirs.”⁸² B. goes on to explain the situation of the wealthy and unrestrained more thoroughly in the following paragraphs. The true importance of this passage, however, is that it represents B.’s removal from

the blinding passion and manipulation that caused him to pursue Pamela throughout the beginning of the novel.⁸³ He invokes her writing throughout his monologue as a catalyst for his moment of reflection. Therefore, Pamela's goodness has officially reformed B. and caused him to abandon and even repent his former ways.

The novel's religious parallels continue beyond this point. Because Pamela eventually marries B. and even accepts his illegitimate daughter into their new family, the novel ends on a decidedly Christian note. Pamela forgives B. and absorbs his former wrongs, represented by his out-of-wedlock daughter, Miss Goodwin, into her own character of goodness. In addition to this act of forgiveness, she and B. have children of her own. This development casts her in the revered role of the virtuous mother and features considerable development in the sequel. In having children of their own, Pamela and B. commit another, more powerful act of unity, reestablishing forgiveness and oneness through the creation of a child. Forgiveness and acceptance are critical aspects of Christianity and Christ's assumption of sin as the Bible explains it, further representing the Christian themes and parallels of *Pamela*.

Richardson's representation of the clergy in *Pamela* and the state of the Anglican church at the time the book was published was undeniably critical to the novel's pedagogical message.⁸⁴ We should recognize the Christian themes that Richardson incorporates into the text as a promotion of religion in general, even if the weakening of the church concerns him. His intent of instructing English youth on virtuous conduct outlined in the prologue of the novel is partially accomplished by including these religious themes and thereby promoting the teachings of Christianity in an engaging way. For Richardson, the church and belief are two complementary parts of his novel's message. While criticizing the church in his novel, he supports the reforming and virtue-promoting influence of Anglican conduct and beliefs.

Chapter 4

Literary, Historical, and Textual Connections of Melancholy and Suicide in *Pamela*

Richardson works religious themes into the novel's discussion of the phenomenon of melancholia and suicide in England. Matching the general narrative trends of the day, Richardson's heroine is intensely introspective and often somber when not pushed to terror. He addresses these moments with faith—Pamela reacts to her own melancholy and suicidal thoughts with appeals to God, and she perseveres by embracing religious principles. The novel's focus on Pamela's despair and thoughts of self-destruction is important because of its historical relevance. The novel's treatment of depression and suicide reflects a time in which both issues were serious societal problems. Richardson takes his discussion of suicide a step further, however, by denouncing it as an immoral and ultimately sinful act. This is another of Richardson's instructional moments—he is attempting to turn his readers away from melancholia and the consideration of suicide because of how common it seemed to be at the time.

Readers first see Pamela's shift towards total despair during her voyage to B.'s Lincolnshire estate. Tricked by B. and her driver, she is taken to the country estate instead of her parents' home, where she is confined under the watchful eye of Mrs. Jewkes and an army of other servants at B.'s command. The reader now sees Pamela's situation as one of entrapment. When she is held and continually harassed by Mr. B. in Bedfordshire, her problem appears to be whether she will decide to leave the estate and how she will return home, not if she will be permitted to leave. Her internal debates are centered on how she will fare when she returns to poverty and how she will finish embroidering an article of linen for her master before her departure. These dialogues vanish as soon as she realizes her plight at Lincolnshire. Pamela is now officially trapped, and her chastity and ability to return home are under threat. Even on the road to Lincolnshire, before her fate is known, she is trying to escape her entrapment after she

realizes she has been tricked. She appeals to innkeepers and townspeople before B.'s carefully wrought plans "deprive [her] of all hopes of freeing myself from his power."⁸⁵

Pamela's panic and desperation eventually give way to complete suicidal despair, even as she works to find an escape with the clergyman Williams and the surrounding townspeople. Richardson uses this scene to provide an internal, moralistic discourse. The reader becomes privy to her description of the thought process that eventually leads Pamela to decide against suicide. Richardson's teaching motives are visible throughout the passage. Pamela's contemplation of suicide marks the most important instance of his heroine's questioning of her own morals and desires.

We see her despondency peak after an

evening escape attempt gone wrong, when she contemplates drowning herself in the estate's pond. "Young poor Pamela has escap'd from an Enemy worse than any she ever met with, an enemy she never thought of before; and was hardly able to stand against,"⁸⁶ she later writes to her parents. After her escape attempt fails, Pamela walks toward the estate's pond, slowed by the bruises she has sustained in attempting to climb one of the estate's walls. As she approaches the



Figure 3: One of a series of engravings produced by Hayman and Gravelot that depicted the novel's plot. This particular scene depicts Pamela fishing alongside Mrs. Jewkes at the Lancashire Estate at the same pond where she eventually considers drowning herself.

pond, she considers throwing herself into it and taking her own life in order to “put a Period to all my Grievs in this World!”⁸⁷ Suicide, as Pamela characterizes it, would offer the ultimate escape from her current tribulations. But Richardson uses her internal struggle with the situation as a proof against suicide, and a justification of suffering in the name of faith.

Pamela initially considers suicide not only as an escape from her miserable condition but also a sin worth committing to maintain her honor and virtue. In imagining B.’s reaction to the news of her death, she writes: “now I do see she preferr’d her honesty to her Life, will he say, and is no Hypocrite, nor Deceiver, but really was the innocent Creature she pretended to be!”⁸⁸ After she thinks through this possibility, Pamela quickly defers to a sense of humility and self-criticism for a perceived lack of faith. “Who authoriz’d thee to put an End to it, when the Weakness of thy Mind suggests not to thee a Way to preserve it with Honour? How knowest thou what Purposes God may have to serve, by the Trials with which thou art now tempted?”⁸⁹ With this revelation, Pamela leaves the banks and returns to the house. Though the passage features little physical action and movement, it immediately stands out to the reader for several reasons. It represents one of the few moments in the novel when Pamela’s thoughts and an internal debate are placed center-stage instead of her interactions with other characters or attempts to escape. It is also one of Richardson’s longest single scenes, with little movement or action other than the struggle waged in Pamela’s mind. By the time the letter ends and Pamela has decided not to act on her suicidal urges, the reader feels as if they’ve just experienced a sermon on the necessity of worldly trials. Richardson invokes biblical terms and phrases in Pamela’s explanation: “wickedness,” “affliction,” “tempt not God’s goodness,” “divine will.” He encourages his readers to endure the darkest “sufferings,” which God will eventually turn to “benefits.” The terror and despair of Pamela’s experience, exhibited through her meditation by

the pond, often gives way to a sense of languid despondency expressed throughout the novel, even in situations when her circumstances begin to improve.

Pamela's underlying tendency toward what was known throughout the eighteenth century as melancholia or low-spiritedness, is featured at moments when she contemplates her entrapment. Her melancholia, akin to the modern consideration of depression, is made clear in several instances throughout the novel. As she rides away from B.'s Bedfordshire estate for the first time, sure that she is on her way to her parents' house with her chastity intact, she attempts to "banish the gloomy Side from my Mind; tho' too it return'd now-and-then."⁹⁰ These references to depression and self-harm appear in the speech of other characters as well: when John the coachman reveals that he has shown Pamela's letters to Mr. B, he tells her that he was "ready to hang myself."⁹¹ Pamela relates suicide to virtue during Mr. B.'s first assault: when he invokes the story of Lucretia to convince her that she will be blameless in her own rape, she asks him: "May I, said I, Lucretia like, justify myself with my Death, if I am used Barbarously?"⁹² At her lowest points, she expresses a reserved indifference to her fate or "whatever becomes" of her.⁹³ Mr. Williams, one of the novel's melancholic and sympathetic characters, is not only beaten and robbed but also spotted taking solitary walks on shady paths early in the morning. His presence inspires pity in the newly reformed heart of Mr. B.: "See there," he says to Pamela, "there's poor *Williams*, taking his solitary walk again, with his book."⁹⁴ These scenes and fragments of dialogue connect *Pamela* to the larger, cultural glorification of melancholy and melancholic figures, a trope that would lead to the glorification of mental illness and general sadness in the literature of the period.⁹⁵

Discussions of mental illness and suicide were based on a growing interest and concern about self-harm in England. Scholars throughout the twentieth century used Emile Durkheim's

Le Suicide, which attempted to illuminate the role of society in the death of victims of suicide, as a model for analyzing early modern and modern historical trends of suicide. Though his theory has been contested and expanded since its publication in 1897, the historical study of the phenomenon of suicide remains a growing field, and is applicable, in this case, to an examination of the importance of suicide in *Pamela*. From the turn of the eighteenth century onward, suicide had weighed heavily on the English conscience, so heavily, in fact, that England developed a reputation among neighboring countries as a nation plagued by a suicide epidemic, where citizens committed suicide “at the slightest provocation.”⁹⁶ This idea is expressed blatantly, even in the fiction of the period. “When we observe the English, their laws, writings, and conversation, and at the same time mark their countenances, manors and the frequency of suicide among them, we are apt to believe that wisdom and happiness are incompatible,” claims a French character in Anne Radcliffe’s *Romance of the Forest*.⁹⁷

The belief in suicide as a damnable sin persisted throughout the eighteenth century across Europe. Scholars report that in Germany, individuals committed grave crimes only to be executed and thereby avoid the damnation that would have befallen them if they were to kill themselves by their own hand.⁹⁸ Suicide remained an illegal act, yet reports of suicide continued to increase across England. The literary tendency to cast main, upper-class members of society as vulnerable and depressed supports the historical trends of citizens from every class, not only the tragic poor falling victim to melancholia and suicide. Richardson was alive and writing at a time when suicide was becoming common among victims of the South Sea Bubble crash, when those ruined financially took their own lives.⁹⁹ Foreigners argued that England’s gloomy climate was the chief reason for the supposed epidemic, but scholars argue that the English tendency to discuss suicide as a national problem led to its reputation as well.¹⁰⁰ By the 1720s, London’s

twelve newspapers were publishing detailed narrative reports of suicide instead of the basic, nondescript accounts of death by suicide that had been published from the late seventeenth century onward. They published descriptive accounts of what was often dubbed “self-murder,” while pamphleteers and city dwellers debated new laws against the act in the opinion sections of the daily newspapers.

These accounts of suicide reportedly gripped Britons and their colonial counterparts with their graphic and dramatic depictions of death. They were often accompanied by a moralistic message or sermon on the evil of the act of taking one’s own life. Kelly Maguire notes, in her history of suicide in England, that the desire for this intense and gruesome coverage was driven by increased competition for readers. She speculates that it was also related to the South Sea Bubble crash and that by learning the circumstances of the suicide, readers could often connect the victim’s death to the circumstances that caused them to take their own life.¹⁰¹ These descriptions treated suicide as a theatrical event and appealed to the emotions of an audience that found a sort of grim entertainment in the accounts. “We hear from Pangbourne, in Berkshire, of a very shocking self-murder committed there,” reads the first line of a report in a 1739 edition of London’s *Daily Gazetteer*. The victim, the story goes on to describe, “ripped himself open from the pit of his stomach to his naval” with his knife after cutting his throat in two places.¹⁰² Nevertheless, suicide was described in terms of a damnable pathology of the weak, and the civic question of suicide prevention also seemed to weigh on the mind of the eighteenth-century social conscience.

While Benjamin Rush developed an extensive plan of suicide prevention in the colonies,¹⁰³ Britons were debating their own methods across the Atlantic. “The many shocking instances of self-murder that have prevail’d of late years call aloud for the interposition of the

legislature to provide more effectually against it,” argues a letter to the editor of the *London Evening Post* in 1755. After a religious dissertation on the devil’s ability to tempt men to annihilate themselves, the author condemns victims of suicide, calling for even harsher punishments to be inflicted on them even in death. The self-murderer, whose act constitutes a “willfull state of rebellion against his god and savior,” should not be pardoned for madness but subjected to the same punishment as the murderer who kills another, the author argues.¹⁰⁴ This letter references a pamphlet on the ethics of self-murder that also begins with an acknowledgement of the frequency of suicide among Englishmen at the time. The pamphlet takes a much more active tone than the emotional letter, outlining the causes of suicide and offering methods to “fix the mind.”¹⁰⁵ These published accounts in newspapers and pamphlets are the most reliable records of suicide in England throughout the eighteenth century. This poses a problem when it comes to determining the actual number of suicides that occurred in England throughout the century. One weekly journal published thirty four reports of suicide in 1731 but only half as many the next year, which exhibits the subjectivity of news coverage and data collection of the number of victims of suicide. “The task of determining how frequently suicide was reported is next to impossible,” Maguire notes. “Papers were selective in terms of what they chose to cover and when.”¹⁰⁶

That suicide was frowned upon in the mid-eighteenth century might indicate the intense changes that were taking place across Europe. Cultural shifts sparked by Enlightenment breakthroughs in science and the general secularization of thought led to a new conception of self and the goal of human life. Christianity, as we have seen in the case of the Anglican denomination, was losing the influence over public perception of morals and propriety that it had so long enjoyed. At the same time, revolutionary philosophers like John Locke and Jean Jaques

Rousseau were writing on a secularized version of life on Earth that put a premium on personal happiness in this world, not current suffering in order to find it in the next. The Enlightenment, therefore, increased the value of personal happiness and encouraged individuals to make their own contentment in life a priority for the first time. Accompanying this idea was an updated sense of self that validated interiority and feeling as reflected in the genre of the romantic and sentimental novel. It isn't surprising, therefore, that individuals who were unable to find contentment felt the effects of their unhappiness with a greater degree of intensity than their predecessors. When life's goal became the attainment of personal happiness, the justification of suffering in the name of religious advancement no longer held the same weight in helping individuals to persevere.

This conflict -- between the religious value of suffering and the newly emphasized importance of happiness -- plays out in Pamela's mind as she sits by the pond. She considers suicide as an escape from the terrible circumstances that crush her chances of happiness completely. But her eventual decision to reenter the house represents a victory for Richardson's belief in the religious value of trials and suffering. The scene, therefore, offers another defense of the importance of religion when viewed in this intellectual context.

Changing definitions of happiness and the defense of religious faith in *Pamela* are rarely examined in detail. But a closer look at the connections between these two concepts are necessary to understanding how the novel captures the cultural attitudes of eighteenth-century England, a nation moving swiftly in the modern era while still preserving a general sense of religious dogmatism. Vivasvan Soni, one of the few scholars to examine *Pamela's* pond scene in detail, connects Pamela's victory over her suicidal urges to the enlightenment ideal of happiness. Soni argues that Pamela's survival specifically establishes the novel as a trial narrative, where

Pamela does not escape from her trials through suicide but instead engages with them and is rewarded at the end of the novel. But he mischaracterizes Richardson's use of religion to justify his decision. As Soni phrases it, "Richardson does not haphazardly insert the Christian prohibition against suicide here as a conduct-book piety for the edification of readers or as an unreflected dogma."¹⁰⁷ Richardson's religious emphasis throughout the novel, the length of Pamela's internal debate throughout the scene, and the author's supposed motives suggest that the invocation of the religious argument is deliberate and meant to edify the reader. Despite this questionable claim, Soni is correct in characterizing *Pamela's* ascent to happiness as a collision between literature and historical trends. His essay concedes that the Enlightenment hermeneutic of happiness¹⁰⁸ is incompatible with the trials Pamela faces. Even so, it is through these trials and Pamela's victory over them that the reader is instructed to "accept as necessary and even valuable the conditions that produce unhappiness."¹⁰⁹ Soni's examination of the suicide scene recognizes Pamela's inner dialogue as a collision between despair and doctrine, of inner desire and societal norms. More importantly, the scene offers the reader a glimpse of Richardson's interaction with the novel's historical context. In writing Pamela's struggle using such vivid detail and substantial length, Richardson is indicating that the issue of suicide and mental health was a prominent one in British culture at the time. The historical data supports this assessment. British suicide figures and literary trends of the time suggest that melancholia and suicide weighed heavily on the minds of mid-eighteenth-century Britons. Siding with the laws that condemned suicide as a sin, Richardson provides a religious and moral argument against it, claiming that to take one's own life is to escape only from unnecessary trials.

My own reading of *Pamela* seeks to underscore how Richardson used religion to edify his readers. Richardson indicates his goal to instruct the youth of his day in the novel's prologue.

His own religious convictions, scholars have argued, are hazy, and the reviews and endorsements that came from his print shop cannot be taken as an indication of his own religious beliefs.¹¹⁰ However, the length and intensity with which Richardson works through the problem of suicide in *Pamela* suggests that regardless of the sincerity of his religious allusions, he employed biblical themes to make an important point about British culture. The suicide rate was rising in Britain, especially in urban centers such as London. To my thinking, Richardson included this instance as a social commentary on a cultural problem and was attempting to provide a solution, albeit a stern and unforgiving one, for minds afflicted with melancholy and depression.

Richardson's obvious attention to the passage and the topic of suicide and depression were not actually unique. But his discussion of melancholy seems more based on instruction than to invite the interest of a wider base of readers or adhere to literary convention. Later eighteenth-century literature, critics have noted, stylized melancholy and the melancholic character, capitalizing on a tradition that can be traced to through the Middle Ages through the Renaissance and the plays of Shakespeare. *Pamela's* first edition was published thirty four years before Goethe's *The Sorrows of Young Werther*,¹¹¹ the highly famous controversial epistolary novel that ends with the main character's suicide. English authors, however, contemplated suicide and depression throughout the romantic era using the medium known as the melancholic novel or character. Melancholia became a "fashionable disease,"¹¹² explained by the dysfunction of the human humoral system, during the eighteenth century. Like the romanticized condition of consumption, victims of severe melancholy died without markings of their suffering, making them the perfect, emotive symbols of cathartic tragedy. Gloomy introspection and the ponderance of immortality and the natural world were seen as upper-class activities required of well-educated and sophisticated individuals. Some writers subjected the melancholic to comedy,

but others featured the melancholic person as an object of sympathy and insight. Figures of genius in literature were almost guaranteed to show some sort of melancholy. Indeed, creativity and intellectual capacity were almost infallibly said to feed on a sense of sadness or darkness within the individual.

The literary line separating comfortable and contemplative melancholy from what modern audiences would consider to be clinical depression was thin in eighteenth-century writings. Facilities dedicated to the treatment of the mentally ill didn't become prominent until the end of the century, when religious groups began to open retreats dedicated to the treatment of the insane. Other, urban facilities, however, continued to induce vomiting and bleed mentally ill patients. Medical and cultural conceptions of melancholia and mental illness were jumbled, and this is reflected in many novels of the romantic era.¹¹³

Melancholy moods worked their way into poetry as well as fiction, with the midcentury publications of the "Graveyard Poets" featuring many of the characteristics of contemplative melancholy in their mortality-focused poems. Their work further emphasizes the ubiquity and popularity of melancholy literature among readers and writers alike. At times, their work addresses similar themes and includes similar imagery to that of the pond scene in *Pamela*. Thomas Gray and his poetic contemporaries ushered in these dark subjects famously, with poems such as "Elegy Written in a Country Churchyard" by Gray. Robert Blair's "The Grave" also describes contemplative and existential themes and settings. Thomas Warton, now considered a member of this contemplative group, titled a twenty four-page 1747 poem "The Pleasure of Melancholy." "O lead me, black-brow'd/to solemn glooms/Cogential with my soul, to cheerless shades/To ruin'd seats, to twilight cells and bow'rs/Where thoughtful Melancholy loves to

muse,” he writes in his ode to a melancholic attitude. Warton’s poem blends melancholic gloom with the trademark graveyard setting.

Melancholia became a regular fixture in the contemplative environment of the pre-romantic or sentimental novel, as well, specifically the subgenre of the Gothic in prose fiction. Anne Radcliffe’s *Romance of the Forest*, published in 1791, upholds melancholy in its sweetest form as characters contemplate their mortality, shortcomings, and tragic circumstances while wandering through shaded forests and massive ruins. One of Radcliffe’s characters observes that her protagonist, Adeline “was charmed with the features of the country and desirous of amusing her melancholy, which, notwithstanding her efforts, was often too apparent.”¹¹⁴ Horace Walpole’s *The Castle of Otranto* ends with almost universal melancholy, as the novel’s two protagonists marry only because they share the same grief for lost true loves. These expressions of melancholy tend to be associated with both male and female characters, though melancholia in female characters and historical individuals was not upheld as a genius-inducing characteristic like it was for many men.¹¹⁵

Conclusion

Pamela as an Historical Artifact: Richardson's Modern Meaning

“To Divert and Entertain, and at the same time to Instruct, and Improve the Minds of the youth of both Sexes,” Richardson writes, defining his purpose for writing in the preface to *Pamela*. Richardson was a decidedly instructional writer who believed in fiction's power to literally teach its readers a lesson. In delivering “practical examples” in an engaging manner that allowed his readers to entertain themselves, Richardson believed that he could somehow preserve the old morals that were rapidly shifting around him. Its specific direction toward the “youth” and the absolutes of its plot make Richardson's motivations clear and cohesive.

Richardson's work has transitioned over centuries from a firm attempt to bring the youth of a nation back to the traditions of Richardson's generation. It now serves as a cultural artifact that captures the social climate and details several major historical events of a long and eventful century that changed English society and intellectual thought forever. Richardson's writing blends societal context with a popular genre and popular narrative, epistolary technique. Through Richardson's fiction, the reader finds traces and records of history chronicled by an author who painted major events as they were experienced. In *Pamela's* economic subtext, the reader learns of the cultural impact and longevity of the crash of the South Sea Bubble. The novel's use of money in characterization makes the importance of wealth and the terror of poverty clear. From the novel's religious scenes and characters, the reader sees the Anglican church as it appeared in the eighteenth century—corrupt, weak, and failing in the eye of the public. Remaining true to Richardson's defined moral goal, however, *Pamela* continues to uphold religious values through its characters' actions, religious metaphors, and themes. And finally, the novel's inclusion of depression, melancholia, and suicide addresses a serious topic that is often overlooked in the study of Richardson's work and history of the period in general.

Pamela's value extends outside its literary merit as one of the first English novels and a pioneering effort of domestic fiction. Examining the novel in context allows modern readers to understand the important societal issues of eighteenth-century England from the perspective of a citizen, businessman, and authoritative voice in tune with its many social strata. *Pamela*, therefore, can be analyzed as a primarily realistic novel with extensive commentary on real and important historical events, concepts, and issues. Samuel Richardson's commentary is important to a complete understanding of *Pamela* because of the novel's status as an instructional work. Through this historical analysis of *Pamela*, we learn of the significant cultural events and problems of Richardson's day and understand how they were perceived by England's literary class. But most importantly, we learn through the novel how Richardson advised his readers to handle these issues and survive significant hardship. *Pamela's* literary status and significance is therefore only complete when it is examined as a portrait of an era and as a manual for navigating that era's most dangerous potential pitfalls.

NOTES

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- 2 Adele Waldman. "The Prude Who Invented the Modern Novel" (2016).
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- 5 Thomas Keymer, "Portraying the Life," in *Samuel Richardson in Context*, ed. Peter Sabor and Betty A. Schellenberg (Cambridge, UK: Cambridge University Press, 2017), 18.
- 6 Alan D Boehm, "'The Well and Good Government of the Chappel': A Note on Printing-House Customs, c. 1680-1750," *The Papers of the Bibliographical Society of America* 103, no. 1 (March 2009): pp. 89.
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- 8 Keymer, "Portraying the Life," 7.
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- 12 Peter Sabor, "Publication History" in *Samuel Richardson in Context*, ed. Peter Sabor and Betty A. Schellenberg (Cambridge, UK : Cambridge University Press, 2017), 21.
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- 23 Patrick Walsh, "The South Sea Bubble: A Parable for Our Own Time," 6.
- 24 Malcolm Balen, *The Secret History of the South Sea Bubble*, (New York: Fourth Estate, Harper Collins, 2002), 136.
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- 27 Dale, *The First Crash: Lessons from the South Sea Bubble*, 133.

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- 32 Balen, *The Secret History of the South Sea Bubble*, 144.
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- 34 Michael MacDonald and Terrence R Murphy, *Sleepless Souls : Suicide in Early Modern England*. (New York: Oxford University Press, 1990), 220.
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- 37 Balen, *The Secret History of the South Sea Bubble*, 142.
- 38 Dale, *The First Crash: Lessons from the South Sea Bubble*, 133.
- 39 Balen, *The Secret History of the South Sea Bubble*, 154.
- 40 Balen, *The Secret History of the South Sea Bubble*, 156.
- 41 Richardson's critics categorized many of Pamela's expressions throughout the novel, such as her use of "curchee" in place of "curtsy." Richardson revised these points of slipping dialect in later versions of the novel, reflecting his constant need to please his critics. His inclusion of these low-class terms, however, may also be interpreted as a sign of the author's keen awareness of the class disparity his novel addresses. They highlight the cultural and economic gap that exists between B., a British official and a powerful landowner, and the young, poor woman he preys upon. See Keymer, "Introduction."
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- 43 Samuel Richardson, *Pamela; or, Virtue Rewarded* (Oxford: Oxford University Press, 2001), 19.
- 44 Richardson, *Pamela; or, Virtue Rewarded*, 41.
- 45 Richardson, *Pamela; or, Virtue Rewarded*, 41.
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- 48 Foley, *The Great Formosan Imposter*, 108.
- 49 Foley, *The Great Formosan Imposter*, 117.
- 50 Richardson, *Pamela; or, Virtue Rewarded*, 455.
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- 52 Richardson, *Pamela; or, Virtue Rewarded*, 14.
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- 55 Richardson, *Pamela; or, Virtue Rewarded*, 95.
- 56 Williams' robbery in a rural setting also suggests the dire economic state of many Britons, furthering Richardson's commentary on poverty and the economy in the novel.
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- 58 Stewart, "Pamela and the Anglican Crisis of the 1730s," 39.
- 59 Stewart, "Pamela and the Anglican Crisis of the 1730s," 48.
- 60 Robert G. Ingram, *Religion reform and modernity in the Eighteenth Century: Thomas Secker and the Church of England* (Rochester: Boydell Press, 2007), 8.
- 61 Robert Ingram argues that the Glorious Revolution and the turn of the century lead to a complete shift in England's societal structure in conjunction with Enlightenment beliefs. This included more representative systems of government, a consumer revolution, a social hierarchy with an even greater emphasis on propriety and manners, a decline in the long-held faith in the British monarchy, and an overall trend toward secularization. See Ingram, *Religion, Reform and Modernity in the Eighteenth Century: Thomas Secker and the Church of England*.
- 62 Ingram, *Religion reform and modernity in the Eighteenth Century: Thomas Secker and the Church of England*, 9.
- 63 Andrew Starkie, *The Church of England and the Bangorian Controversy, 1716-1721*, (Woodbridge: Boydell Press, 2007), 7.
- 64 Gordon Rupp, *Religion in England, 1688-1791* (New York: Oxford Press, 1986), 493.
- 65 Stewart, "Pamela and the Anglican Crisis of the 1730s," 7.
- 66 Ingram, *Religion reform and modernity in the Eighteenth Century: Thomas Secker and the Church of England*, 154.
- 67 Rupp, *Religion in England, 1688-1791* 495.
- 68 Stewart, "Pamela and the Anglican Crisis of the 1730s," 43.
- 69 *Weekly Miscellany* , April 14, 1733, XVIII edition.
- 70 *Weekly Miscellany* , April 14, 1733, XVIII edition.
- 71 *Universal Spectator and Weekly Journal* , May 25, 1734.
- 72 Rupp, *Religion in England, 1688-1791* 16.
- 73 John Sung Han, "A Lumber-Room of Her Own: Attics in Pamela and Jane Eyre," *Interior Spaces and Narrative Perspective Before 1850* 48, no. 4 (2014): 1.
- 74 Richardson, *Pamela; or, Virtue Rewarded*, 113.
- 75 Bowlby, "'Speech Creatures': New Men in *Pamela* and *Pride and Prejudice*," 240.
- 76 Richardson, *Pamela; or, Virtue Rewarded*, 489.
- 77 Richardson, *Pamela; or, Virtue Rewarded*, 13.
- 78 Will Pritchard, "Pamela's Wedding Night," *SEL Studies in English Literature 1500-1900* 57, no. 3 (2017): pp. 521-529, 522.
- 79 Richardson, *Pamela; or, Virtue Rewarded*, 32.
- 80 Richardson, *Pamela; or, Virtue Rewarded*, 87.
- 81 Richardson, *Pamela; or, Virtue Rewarded*, 116.
- 82 Richardson, *Pamela; or, Virtue Rewarded*, 444.
- 83 Rachel Bowlby focuses on this passage specifically in her essay 'Speech Creatures': New Men in "Pamela" and "Pride and Prejudice." She argues that in both *Pamela* and Jane Austen's *Pride and Prejudice*, the primary male characters announce their moral reformation to the women they eventually marry through elaborate speeches that cement their new identities. She emphasizes their focus on their education and early life as the genesis of their inability to restrain themselves. These speeches are important because they mark the crux of the novel—the moment when love and marriage between two conflicting characters seems possible. In Richardson's case it means

even more, as the moment when Pamela's goodness triumphs over B.'s evil. See Bowlby, "Speech Creatures': New Men in "Pamela" and "Pride and Prejudice."

84 Stewart, "Pamela and the Anglican Crisis of the 1740s," 37.

85 Richardson, *Pamela; or, Virtue Rewarded*, 105.

86 Richardson, *Pamela; or, Virtue Rewarded*, 170.

87 Richardson, *Pamela; or, Virtue Rewarded*, 171.

88 Richardson, *Pamela; or, Virtue Rewarded*, 172.

89 Richardson, *Pamela; or, Virtue Rewarded*, 173.

90 Richardson, *Pamela; or, Virtue Rewarded*, 102.

91 Richardson, *Pamela; or, Virtue Rewarded*, 119.

92 Richardson, *Pamela; or, Virtue Rewarded*, 32.

93 Richardson, *Pamela; or, Virtue Rewarded*, 39.

94 Richardson, *Pamela; or, Virtue Rewarded*, 304.

95 Clark Lawlor, "Fashionable Melancholy." Essay in *Melancholy Experience in Literature of the Long Eighteenth Century*, (Hampshire: Palgrave Macmillan, 2011), 42-55.

96 Roland Bartel, "Suicide in Eighteenth-Century England: The Myth of a Reputation." *Huntington Library Quarterly* 23, no. 2 (1960), 146.

97 Radcliffe, *The Romance of the Forest*, 403.

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100 Bartel, "Suicide in Eighteenth-Century England: The Myth of a Reputation," 3.

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105 *Old Whig or The Consistent Protestant*, August 5, 1736.

106 Paul Seaver and Kelly Maguire, *The History of Suicide in England: 1650-1850*, 7.

107 Vivasvan Soni, "The Trial Narrative in Richardson's Pamela: Suspending the Hermeneutic of Happiness." *Novel: A Forum on Fiction* 41, no. 1 (2007), 13.

108 Soni's essay argues that the events of the Eighteenth Century and the intellectual embrace of Enlightenment ideals lead to a change in the narrative of happiness that modern historians often fail to comprehend. This transition allowed individuals to covet individual happiness through overcoming the trials of life instead of simply suffering through them in the hopes of a better afterlife. "The secret achievement of the trial narrative is that it wrenches the idea of happiness free from its ground in narrative and roots it in the body and affect," he writes. See Soni, "The Trial Narrative in Richardson's Pamela: Suspending the Hermeneutic of Happiness," 6.

109 Soni, "The Trial Narrative in Richardson's Pamela: Suspending the Hermeneutic of Happiness," 13.

110 Stewart, "Pamela and the Anglican Crisis of the 1730s," 2.

¹¹¹ *Werther*'s literary influence is well documented through what came to be known as the Werther Effect, defined as the phenomena of young European men dressing like Goethe's character and proceeding to take their own lives when met with similar circumstances. The book was banned by the Catholic Church in many areas. See Bell, *We Shall Be No More: Suicide and Self-Governance in the Newly United States*.

¹¹² Lawlor, "Fashionable Melancholy," 48.

¹¹³ Lawlor, "Fashionable Melancholy" 47.

¹¹⁴ Anne Radcliffe, *The Romance of the Forest*, (New York: Oxford World Classics, 2009), 263.

¹¹⁵ Lawlor, "Fashionable Melancholy," 43.

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ACADEMIC VITA

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EDUCATION: May 2020

Pennsylvania State University | Schreyer Honors College | English and History Major, Spanish Minor

WORK EXPERIENCE

Research Assistant, Pennsylvania State University English Department

State College, PA – 2018-May 2020

- Worked closely with Dr. Carla Mulford to examine the overseas rhetorical impact of Benjamin Franklin's scientific publications
- Used university databases to evaluate primary sources from the seventeenth and eighteenth centuries
- Created an extensive annotated bibliography to assist Dr. Mulford's research with over 50 sources
- Shadowed Dr. Mulford throughout the process of researching, outlining, and writing an extensive scholarly volume
- Searched eighteenth-century Spanish publications for references to Franklin's research and ideas
- Translated early modern Spanish sources into English

Features Editor, Onward State

State College, PA – 2017-May 2020

- Wrote longform posts on historical and contemporary topics, 256 news stories in total
- Posted on social media channels to over 150,000 followers
- Covered Penn State Men's Soccer during the 2017 and 2018 seasons, Penn State women's soccer during the 2019 season
- Edited features and news articles nightly
- Reviewed local restaurants and films
- Covered breaking news
- Created multimedia graphics using Canva, Adobe Photoshop and Adobe Spark

Business Developer, Reflexion Interactive Technologies

Lancaster, Pennsylvania – 2017-2019

- Wrote speeches for executive team at keynote and venture conference
- Worked to develop original website, social media, and print content to enhance brand traction
- Traveled to Las Vegas and New Orleans to exhibit at weeklong CES and NATA conferences
- Pitched to potential clients and venture investors
- Developed long-term public relations strategies and documents such as press kits, brand guides and websites
- Helped to create the company's visual identity through branding efforts such as designing trade show booths
- Managed and grew Twitter, Instagram and Facebook accounts to boost customer interaction and generate sales leads
- Grew company's Instagram following from approximately 80 to 300 followers in less than one year
- Conducted extensive market and scientific research to understand the product's purpose, target audience and potential for future growth
- Sold three devices, including the company's second official sale, following July 2018 market launch

Business Development Intern, World Travel, Incorporated

Exton, Pennsylvania 2016– Present

- Led a rewrite of the company's request for proposal library
- Wrote blog posts on industry-related topics and sustainability in travel
- Prepared sales collateral and internal documents
- Managed social media accounts