Saint Francis of Assisi was in love with Lady Poverty. Very few now are inclined to share in the saint's affection for this particular damsel, if, indeed, she ever had a large number of devotees. The fact remains, however, that for about fifteen hundred years poverty and virtue were equated and the rich were regarded as being less virtuous or less inclined to virtue than the poor. This attitude can be seen in the parable of Lazarus and Dives and in Jesus's comment about it being easier for a camel to pass through the eye of a needle than for a rich man to enter heaven. When St. Ambrose utters his encomium on St. Agnes and praises her for preserving her virginity, or when the anonymous author of a letter to the Church at Smyrna describes the martyrdom of St. Polycarp and speaks of the dome of flame and the sweet smell from the body as it burns, it is clear that everybody expects a reward that will be given in heaven.[1] When Chaucer's Pardoner tells his story, it is also clear that there is a link, in Chaucer's mind, between greed, vice, and death.

When Pamela Andrews successfully resists the attempted rape by Squire B_____, and is rewarded by marriage and an elevated social status it seems equally clear that there has been a shift of attitudes between the time of Ambrose and the time of Richardson. It is also clear that this shift of attitudes is not due solely to the passage of time -- less time elapsed between Chaucer and Richardson than between Ambrose and Chaucer.

Both Ambrose and Richardson believe that chastity is a virtue but Richardson equates virtue that is successfully defended with the prospect of marriage and social rank. Virtue that is not successfully defended, as in Clarissa, leads to death and misery. The Ambrosian equation seems to be that death is preferable even to marriage and certainly is preferable to an unwanted marriage to a pagan.

On what basis, besides historical and geographical circumstances, can Ambrose and Richardson be distinguished? Richardson's forte was in the expression of sentiment or sensibility; something Ambrose never heard of. Richardson regarded Pamela's exhibition of moral conduct as being capable of causing a reformation in the character of Squire B_____ and bringing about his moral reclamation. When Squire B_____ goes from being a "wicked, sad man"[2] to the man that is a little later "so dear a gentleman"[3] the change is attributed to his reading of Pamela's journal:

...I found Mrs. Jewkes's bad usage of you, after your dreadful temptations and hurts; and particularly your generous concern for me, on hearing how narrowly I escaped drowning; ...and your most agreeable confession in another place, that, notwithstanding all my hard usage of you, you could not hate me...I began to repent my parting with you....[4]

Pamela's virtue and her uprightness act on her master's sensibilities and bring about his reformation.

It is possible to write about Pamela and other novels of sentiment in the light of this emphasis upon moral feeling and its relationship to psychological and philosophical ideas. This is the approach that R. F. Brissenden takes in his Virtue in Distress: Studies in the Novel of Sentiment from Richardson to Sade.[5] It is also possible to look at the novel as being shaped by religious and economic ideas and as embodying those ideas in its narrative.

If we compare Richardson's views on virtue and economic rewards with those of Ambrose or pre-Reformation writers and theologians, we find the differences that we

have already noted. The pre-Reformation, or Catholic, attitude had been to split the idea of virtue off from any intrinsic relationship to earthly reward, if one were wealthy this was more a matter of chance than of reward for virtue. The post-Reformation, or Protestant, particularly the Calvinist approach, has been to link virtue, or certain kinds of virtue, with wealth and the acquisition of material gain. This connection between Protestant ascesis and pecuniary gain can be traced to what Max Weber called the Protestant ethic (die protestantische Ethik), and which he linked to the growth of capitalism.[6] Weber was followed in his explorations of the connections between religion and economic development by R. H. Tawney's Religion and the Rise of Capitalism: A Historical Study.[7] Weber maintains that

...the supposed conflict between other-worldliness, asceticism, and ecclesiastical piety on the one side, and participation in capitalistic acquisition on the other, might actually turn out to be an intimate relationship.[8]

Tawney, like Weber, maintains that there is a relationship between economic development and religious ideas but unlike Weber he seems to see the economic side as having some priority over the religious side of the equation.[9] Despite differences in approaches between Weber and Tawney they both agree that religion and economics were intermingled and influenced each other. Granted that this is so it should be possible to see the influence of religion and economics in literature that is not primarily religious or economic. These concerns should be reflected in some way in the popular fiction of the day.

This is not to say that economic structure precedes cultural development or that religious constructs influence the development of all other cultural attributes. Culture is too complex to reduce to simple formulations of cause and effect based on one determinant factor. It should be possible, however, to look at one or more novels and see if there is a linkage between ideas of ascesis, such as described by Weber, and economic reward for the maintenance of virtue and the punishment of vice.

Weber contends that the Calvinist had to face the question "of how the individual can be certain of his own election." This was not a problem for Calvin himself, who felt certain of his salvation, but it was a problem for his followers. The Calvinist believer was faced with the fact that there was no external difference between the elect and the damned. It was therefore necessary for the believer to find a to certitudo salutis. This is a search for "infallible criteria by which membership in the electi could be known." One answer was to be found by conduct that served to "increase the glory of God." Another, which derived from the Calvinist affection for the book of Job, was that, "God would bless His own in this life."[10]

Weber also sees Puritanism as being sexually ascetic. This asceticism differs in degree and not kind from that of monasticism, but because of Puritan ideas about marriage has even more "practical influence." The purpose of marriage is procreation and the fulfillment of the commandment to "Be fruitful and multiply." In a lengthy footnote Weber discusses the ranking of possible motives for marriage and contends that the Puritan would put marriage for economic motives above marriage for emotional motives because the latter is still in service of fleshly desires while the former is based on rational motives.[11]

Do these considerations appear in Pamela, or in any other novels? The linkage of the idea of virtue with economic reward seems to appear in Richardson's Pamela and in other novels, including Sir Walter Scott's The Heart of Midlothian.

Richardson's Pamela, or Virtue Rewarded, deals with the attempts on Pamela Andrew's virtue by Squire B_____, and her eventual marriage to him, after her steadfast virtue has converted him.

Pamela, after she has informed Squire B_____ that she knows about his plans for a sham marriage, one that would make her "an undone creature, and a guilty harlot, instead of a lawful wife."[12] Squire B_____, when asked "what good angel prevented the execution of this deep-laid design" replies:

Why, your good angel, Pamela...for when I began to consider, that it would have made you miserable, and me not happy; that if you should have a dear little one, it would be out of my own power to legitimate it, if I should wish it to inherit my estate; and that, as I am almost the last of my family, and most of what I possess must descend to a strange line, and disagreeable and unworthy persons; notwithstanding that I might, in this case, have issue of my own body; when I further considered your untainted virtue....[13]

In the rhetorical ordering of this sentence one notice that four different reasons are given for not carrying out the plot. First, that it would make them both unhappy. Second, that he could not pass his inheritance along to any child. Third, he does not want any of his relatives to inherit his estate. Fourth, he has been moved by Pamela's virtue and beauty. The ordinary methods of ordering would be in terms of either ascending or descending importance, which method has Squire B_____ chosen? It would seem to be a mixed order at best. Squire B_____ thematizes Pamela by putting her unhappiness first and then his second. In the case of this first clause the rhetorical ordering indicates that Pamela's unhappiness comes before his in terms of his considerations. The second and third reasons, however, deal with economic issues, those of inheritance, and occupy at least as much space in Squire B_____'s utterance as do the purely emotional considerations. The fourth reason, not all of which is quoted here, is linked to the effect that Pamela's virtue and beauty has had on the Squire. The important thing to note, however, is that Squire B_____ is moved by economic considerations as much as by moral or emotional motives.

When Pamela is asked how she will spend her time after marriage her reply, which is too lengthy to be quoted, is that she will devote her time to the family economy, handling the bookkeeping, or family accounts; looking after the sick poor, assisting the housekeeper, entertaining his friends, reading and writing, and, finally, spending time in religious devotion.[14] Pamela will not spend all of her time in spiritual activity, she is no Mary; she is a Martha who will spend her time in the via activa. This form of activity in the world is one of the two methods of attaining self-confidence of election mentioned by Weber. As he says:

...in order to attain that self-confidence intense worldly activity is recommended as the most suitable means. It and it alone disperses religious doubts and gives the certainty of grace.[15]

Pamela, who is so proud of her relative poverty that she will not wear her mistress's clothes when she thinks of going home lest she appear too fine; is given, by Squire

B_____, a sum of two hundred pounds for her own unquestioned use and fifty pounds a year for her parents.[16] She is also entrusted with the management of the various charities that had formerly been carried out by Squire B_____'s mother. In this respect Pamela is acting in accordance with Weber's description of the Calvinist attitude that, "Man is only a trustee of the goods which have come to him through God's grace." While recognizing that this aspect of stewardship extends back into the Medieval period, Weber also contends that it was "in the ethic of ascetic Protestantism that it first found a consistent ethical foundation."[17]

Pamela is a middle class girl's fantasy. The moral of the story is that if a girl is good and pure, and purity is primarily a physical condition here, rather than something extrinsic to the preservation of Pamela's maidenhead -- were it otherwise she would not be worried about being a "guilty harlot" as the result of a sham marriage -- she will be rewarded by a marriage that takes her out of her condition of servitude and become the mistress of those with whom she was formerly employed. The aspiration of Pamela is to join the upper classes and this she does through her persistence in virtue.

Jeanie Deans in Sir Walter Scott's The Heart of Midlothian is unlike Pamela in several respects. She is more active for one thing. Pamela is a captive throughout most of her story and her attempts at escape seem rather half-hearted. Jeanie Deans upon learning of her sister's conviction for child murder decides to walk to London to see the Duke of Argyle. Jeanie is not physically attractive as Pamela is. Jeanie is like Pamela in her virtue; she is a virgin. Unlike Pamela, she is courted by two men, the Laird of Dumbiedikes and by Butler.

It is in the relations of Jeanie and her sister Effie that an interesting variation on the aspirations embodied by Pamela emerges. The virtuous Jeanie is courted by the shy, socially awkward Dumbiedikes who represents the kind of wealth and social status to which Pamela aspires. Her reward for her virtue is not her marriage to Dumbiedikes but rather marriage to Butler. This is a step away from the social fantasy of Pamela in which the servant girl becomes the mistress of the family and towards a greater degree of realism. A fully realistic story would not have ended with Jeanie's marriage and her friendship with the Duke of Argyle but would have ended on a more somber note, i.e., it would have been closer to the story of Helen Walker on which it was based. It is Effie, the beautiful but unchaste sister who achieves a social status that she does not expect; she becomes Lady Staunton and achieves a greater degree of wealth than Jeanie but not a greater degree of happiness.

Jeanie, like her father, is a Covenanter, an extreme Presbyterian. As the child of a Covenanter we should expect to find traces of those religious beliefs embedded in Jeanie's language and in her action. Claire Lamont, in her introduction to The Heart of Midlothian, has indicated a number of passages in which Jeanie speaks and thinks in terms of the Covenanting beliefs of her day. One notable passage cited by Lamont occurs just after Jeanie has gone to meet Robertson. Upon her return from this meeting Jeanie is comforted by the belief that, "her head had been covered by the prayers of the just as by an helmet."[18] Lamont does not comment upon the Biblical echo of this passage but clearly the narrator had in mind one or more Biblical passages.[19] When Jean decides to go to London she says, "I will see the king's face that gies grace."[20] This statement, which can be read as meaning that the king has one face that gives grace and another that

does not, as well as meaning that the face of the king gives grace, which seems to be Jeanie's meaning, uses the word grace which has a religious meaning that is potent to the Covenanter.

Grace, as a word, has a long history. The article in the OED occupies nearly four pages and lists twenty-one primary meanings. The sixth definition, which is grace as favour, dates back to 1100. The tenth definition, which is grace as a gift from God, dates back to about 1250. Jeanie probably had in mind the sixth definition but it is not impossible that both of the meanings were fused. The king has the capability of giving grace, i.e., favour, to Jeanie and Effie, and he also has the means of giving grace, i.e., salvation from death, to Effie.

It is interesting to note the parallel between Effie's situation, the young girl condemned to death for a crime that she did not commit, and the parallel situation of the Presbyterian believer who is uncertain of his own election. Weber quotes at some length from the Westminster Confession concerning grace and the parallels are striking between the ability of God and the ability of the king to give grace.

Chapter III, ...No. 5. Those of mankind that are predestinated unto life, God before the foundation of the world was laid, according to His eternal and immutable purpose, and the secret counsel and good pleasure of His will, hath chosen in Christ unto everlasting glory, out of his mere free grace and love, without any foresight of faith or good works, or perseverance in either of them, or any other thing in the creature as conditions, or causes moving Him thereunto, and all to the praise of his glorious grace. Chapter V (of Providence), No. 6. As for those wicked and ungodly men, whom God as a righteous judge, for former sins doth blind and harden, from them He not only with-holdeth His Grace, whereby they might have been enlightened in their understanding and wrought upon in their hearts, but sometimes also withdraweth the gifts which they had and exposeth them to such objects as their corruption makes occasion of sin: and withal, gives them over to their own lusts, the temptations of the world, and the power of Satan: whereby it comes to pass that they harden themselves, even under those means, which God useth for the softening of others.[21]

God and the king, or, in the case of Effie, the Queen, are both able to rescue men (and women) from unpleasant situations. Both have the power to grant favor (grace) as they wish and for any reason, or for no reason except that they wish it. That the Queen occupies a place analogous to God in Jeanie's thought is revealed when she writes to her father and says, "I spoke with the Queen face to face, and yet live." This echoes Jacob's cry that "I have seen God face to face and my life is preserved," and the statements in Exodus that Moses spoke to God face to face and that no man may look upon God and live (Gen. 32:30, Ex 32:11, 20).[22]

When Jeannie secures Effie's pardon she is rewarded by having her transportation back to Edinburgh provided by the Duke of Argyle. In addition she and Reuben Butler are married and provided with a living, an experimental farm for breeding cattle, near Glasgow. Her father is resettled with them. Jeanie bears three children and is engaged in her wifely duties as homemaker and farmer. Jeanie's immersion in worldly activity is in accordance with the principle enunciated by Weber.[23]

Effie, in her first letter to Jeanie, writes that "as to worldly situation, that I rank higher than I could expect or merit". She contends, however, that Jeanie is "far happier". She has lost two children and Robertson/Staunton has become moody and "terrible to himself and others".Jeanie is happy in the esteem of others while Effie feels herself to be an impostor while Jeanie has "nothing to betray -- nothing to fear". Jeanie is, in Effie's opinion, "the pure, the virtuous, the heroine of unstained faith, unblemished purity" and she has "nothing to fear from the world or its proudest minions".[24]

Effie's fate is to lose her husband, who is slain by their lost, illegitimate child, and then to lose her son who escapes from Duncan and is sold into indentured servitude in Virginia. Upon leaving her sister, Effie lives "ten years in the fashionable world" but hides "an aching heart with a gay demeanour". Eventually she retires to a Continental convent where lives and dies "in severe seclusion, and in the practice of the Roman Catholic religion, in all its formal observances, vigils, and austerities".[25]

Jeanie and Reuben are described as "happy in each other, in the love and honour of all who knew them". The pair of Jeanie and Reuben "lived beloved, and died lamented".[26]

The contrast here reveals that Effie has taken refuge in the via contemplativa, in contrast to Jeanie's immersion in the via activa. Jeanie's immersion in the daily life of the world, her child-bearing, and her interest in agriculture and in improving cattle are examples of the the immersions in worldly activity that we have seen Weber cite as one of the means of achieving the certitudo salutis that the Calvinist, who by doctrine believes in predestination and in the total freedom of God to choose whom He will regardless of any external characteristic, must seek if he, or she, is to have any peace.[27]

Scott, by giving Effie the greater material reward, has partially reversed Richardson's equation of moral worth and material gain. It is Effie and Robertson/Staunton who have embraced Catholicism. When Staunton is killed and his body undressed it is revealed by

...the crucifix, the beads, and the shirt of hair which he wore next his person, that his sense of guilt had induced him to receive the dogmata of a religion, which pretends, by the maceration of the body, to expiate the crimes of the soul.[28]

Staunton had left the Anglicanism of his father and had become Roman Catholic. (The hair shirt does seem a bit overdone though.) Scott phrases the notice of his conversion in somewhat hostile language. Jeannie regards her sister's conversion as "apostacy" while Butler thinks that "any religion, however imperfect...was better than cold scepticism, or the hurrying din of dissipation, which fills the ears of worldlings, until they care for none of these things".[29] This is Scott's final word on religion in the novel, whether it is his position or not it is the position of Butler.

The contrast then is between the purity and middle-class life represented by Jeanie and Reuben, which combines Calvinism and the life of godly activity in the world, and the guilt-ridden Catholicism of Effie and Staunton that must ultimately leave the world and seek refuge in a monastic setting. The greater material acquisitions of Effie are not matched by greater happiness, rather the reverse, and the Richardsonian aspirations to join the upper classes are exposed as unrealistic.

Scott did not parody Richardson; that fell to Henry Fielding in Shamela and in Joseph Andrews, but Fielding does not set out to destroy the novel of sensibility. The ironic and

parodic comment on the novel of sensibility, such as Pamela, and its accompanying linkage of virtue and economic reward is at its most violent not in any English author but in a pair of French novels by Donatien Alphonse François Sade, or the Marquis de Sade. These novels, Justine and Juliette, aside from the purely pornographic aspects of sadism, coprolagnia, pedophilia, sodomy, homosexuality and ordinary sex (of which there is not much), parody the situation in novels such as Pamela. A young, innocent girl is thrust out of a sheltered environment and forced to make her way in the world. She is captured by a man, or men, who attempt to dominate and coerce her sexually as well as in other ways. She attempts to defend herself, successfully in the case of Pamela, unsuccessfully in the case of Justine. In the end, after a series of adventures she is rewarded, by marriage in the case of Pamela, by death in the case of Justine.

Sade, who is at best a mediocre pornographer and a tenth-rate philosopher, parodies the situation in Pamela and in other novels by having Justine tell her story to her long-lost sister, Juliette, and her companions. In the course of her story, as she narrates it to Juliette, it turns out that she has fallen among thieves and escaped from them; saved a man's life and been raped by him; been attacked by the dogs of an "aristocratic debauchee"; gone to the home of a surgeon and been accused of being a criminal; visited a monastery and been raped by the monks; the list of horrors continues on for two pages, but always Justine is the victim, never the initiator, of the activities that she describes.[30]

The novel Justine went through several versions at Sade's hands and it is in the 1791 version that there is an ironic debunking of the novel of sensibility. The 1797 version of Justine, which apparently has not been translated into English, is joined to the novel Juliette, which contains the adventures of her sister. If Justine is les Malheurs de la Vertu, Juliette is les Prospérités du vice, as Sade has subtitled them.

Sade's posturings in his prefatory letter to Marie-Constance Quesnet, in which he contends that he is lampooning vice and praising virtue, can hardly be convincing. Juliette, or Madame la Comtesse de Lorsange, is described as lacking "that amount of depravation in the heart to have extinguished its sensibility". Juliette has attained a title, an income of "thirty thousand pounds", jewels, "two or three houses in the city", the same number in the country, the friendship of important politicians. All of this has been achieved at the cost of a few years of prostitution, the murder of a husband and a few other minor peccadilloes, including two additional murders and "three or four infanticides". This is the woman upon whom Justine's narration is supposed to act.[31]

Sade, who seems to be angry with God for having the gall to not exist, has Justine interrupt her narration of her sexual misadventures with a number of philosophical discourses which are supposed to prove that God doesn't exist, and that if He does it's all His fault for making the speaker enjoy crime, and that it is a perfectly fine thing to rape, murder, and steal till one gets tired of it. Interspersed with these discourses are the rather boring sexual adventures in which every woman looks like Venus (or some other goddess) and all of the men are Hercules or Ganymede.[32]

Juliette, upon hearing Justine's narration, is so moved by it that she is "ready to swoon". Justine is killed by a lightning bolt and the effect that this has on Juliette is to make her aware of a "warning issued me by the Eternal", and to motivate her to perform penance

and "abjure, at the Supreme Being's feet, the infamies wherewith I am soiled absolutely". Juliette then goes to Paris and takes the veil of a Carmelite. She becomes an example of piety and edification.[33]

The events that Justine has narrated, combined with the philosophical discourses, cannot be said to be edifying. The rational reaction to Justine's narration, combined with Sade's discourses, would be to throw over Virtue and to pursue a life of Vice. Sade must then be operating in an ironic mode by having Juliette experience conversion from Justine's narrative.[34]

When Sade revised Justine into the ten volume version of La Nouvelle Justine, ou les Malheurs de la Vertu and La Nouvelle Justine, ou les Malheurs de la Vertu, suivie de l'Histoire de Juliette, sa soeur [ou les Prospérités du vice] he changed the ending and some of the characters. If the end of Juliette is ever reached, one finds that at the end Juliette refuses to allow Justine, the prude, to stay in her house. Justine is thrust out of the house, killed by a lightning bolt, and her dead body sodomized by the Abbé Chabert, Noirceuil, and the rest of the company. This episode confirms Juliette's opinion that Nature [Sade's capitalization] desires crime. The party breaks up after Durand's arrival and we are told that for ten years "greatest success crowned our heroes". At the end of this time Juliette dies, presumably rich, vicious, and happy.[35]

The point of all this is that Sade has reversed the Calvinistic equation. This equation dominated Pamela. Regardless of whether Sade knew Richardson or not he did know French novels of sensibility. By reversing the formula of virtue rewarded Sade has in effect exposed Richardson's linkage of virtue and wealth.

R. F. Brissenden sees Justine as a parody of the sentimental novel but does not discuss the way in which Sade debunks this aspect of the sentimental novel.[36] Sade has, in fact, parodied the sentimental notions of generosity and benevolence. This parody is made plain through the lack of sufficient motivation for Juliette's conversion in the 1791 Justine and is stated outright in the 1797 Juliette. The motivation of Squire B_____ in deciding to reform because of Pamela's virtue is unmasked as a form of weakness. If Squire B_____ is capable of being converted by Pamela's tears, then it is because he is weak enough to be moved by them and rather than taking advantage of Pamela, as he easily could, because of his superior strength and the isolation of her surroundings.

Another example of Sade's parodic relationship to the novel of sensibility can be seen in the episode in Juliette in which Juliette, Clairwil and Olympia Borghese rape a girl and toss her and her only goat off a cliff on the isle of Capri. This contrasts sharply with an episode in François Vernes Le Voyageur sentimental, ou ma Promenade à Yverdun as described by Brissenden. In this episode the traveller encounters a poor man and his only sheep, and moved by the man's poverty gives six francs to the sheep.[37]

Poverty, rather than being a stimulus to feelings of benevolence and generosity, stimulates one, in Sade's world, to exercise power and cruelty. The Sadian inversion of the values found in Pamela is complete. The linkage between wealth and feelings of virtue and benevolence is completely destroyed. It seems to be only in the early versions of Justine, that Juliette undergoes her conversion.

Sade's debunking of sentimentality and of the notion that there is a connection between earthly virtue and earthly reward necessarily leads to a re-instatement of the older notion that there is not necessarily a reward for virtue on the earth. Sade has gone beyond this notion and at the same time truncated it. He has gone beyond it by saying that not only is virtue not rewarded but vice is rewarded and that therefore one should lead a life of vice. He has truncated it by cutting off any idea of eternal reward. In this respect he anticipates Ivan Karamazov's belief that if the soul is not immortal, then everything is permitted.

What we have seen Weber describe as the Protestant ethic with its emphasis on godly work in the world we have seen appear in pure form in Pamela. In Richardson's novel, which is on the order of a middle class fantasy, we have seen the good, pure girl marry above her station and achieve wealth. The newly rich girl does not engage in a life of luxury but takes part in that kind of activity, managing the household, dispensing charity; that is necessary for the Calvinist believer to achieve the certitudo salutis that is so necessary if life is to be endurable. Scott's novel, on the other hand, moves out of the realm of pure fantasy and towards realism by having Jeanie marry Butler. (In a fantasy she might marry the Laird of Dumbiedikes, or the Duke of Argyle.) Jeanie's Calvinist beliefs come out in her refusal to commit perjury and in her language, which echoes the Bible, and through the references grace, prayer, and so on. Sade has inverted the Calvinist formulation and parodies the idea that virtue and material reward are linked. The inversion of the sentimental and Calvinist formulae could mark a return to earlier forms of thought, but coupled with Sade's rejection of personal immortality and his atheism it serves rather to lead to his rejection of all societal and moral norms. There is no basis then for the scenes that engage the heroes of Richardson or Vernes to engage Sade's heroes. The feelings that are elicited flow out of a sense of power over the unfortunates. This is a vehement denial of everything that is in Richardson. The movement of Squire B_____'s emotion is due to his perception of the distress his actions have called to Pamela. By reading her journal he comes to love her. Sade's heroes and heroines are utterly unmoved by the cries of their victims, in fact once the victims are suffering the heroes enjoy the suffering of their victims.

The Calvinistic ethic, rejected by Sade, engendered, in Richardson and Scott, heroines that engaged in a good deal of worldly activity. They found in this activity that certitudo salutis that is lacking in either their Catholic (Effie) or antinomian (Juliette) counterparts. This activity, though it may have economic rewards, derives not solely from economic calculation but also from the penetration of the economic motivation by the ethical linkage engendered by this specific form of die protestantische Ethik. The Protestant ethic has in Richardson and Scott become the Geist of their novels. It is this spirit that separates these English writers from the French debunker of sentimentality, ethics, and morality.

[1] See Luke 16:20-25 and Matt 19:24. Ambrose's encomium on Agnes and the description of the martyrdom of St. Polycarp can be found in the Liturgy of the Hours for the feasts of those saints (The Liturgy of the Hours, Vol. 3 (New York: Catholic Book Publishing Co., 1975) 1310-12, 1396-97).

[2] Samuel Richardson, Pamela, or Virtue Rewarded (New York: W. W. Norton & Co., 1958) 218.

[3] Richardson, 263.

[4] Richardson, 262

[5] R. F. Brissenden, Virtue in Distress: Studies in the Novel of Sentiment from Richardson to Sade, (London: Macmillan, 1974).

[6] Max Weber, The Protestant Ethic and the Spirit of Capitalism, trans Talcott Parsons, Foreword R. H. Tawney (NY: Charles Scribner's Sons; London: George Allen & Unwin Ltd. 1930)

[7] R. H. Tawney, Religion and the Rise of Capitalism: A Historical Study (1926; New York: New American Library, 1961).

[8] Weber, 42.

[9]. See his Foreword to The Protestant Ethic (1(a)-11) and a lengthy footnote in Religion and the Rise of Capitalism (261-263). In the latter he discusses his and Brentano's criticisms of Weber's thesis and points out where he feels Weber errs. According to Tawney the "capitalist spirit" existed in pre-Reformation Venice and Florence. Weber ignores, according to Tawney, intellectual movements that favored capitalist development, and he also over-simplifies Calvinism.

[10] Weber, 110, 114, 164. Weber does not emphasize the idea of God's blessing on his people, but he does see a connection between the search for certitudo salutis and the worldly asceticism that he sees as having a principal part in capitalist attitudes.

[11] Weber, 158-9, 263-4.

[12] Richardson, 235. One need hardly note that Pamela is being a bit hysterical and unrealistic here, at least by contemporary standards. A fraudulent marriage in which one party is deceived by the other would hardly make the innocent party a "guilty harlot". Pamela seems to regard the preservation of the hymenal membrane as the sine qua non of chastity and in this respect seems to anticipate Quentin Compson (in The Sound and the Fury) whose conception of honor rested on Candace's preservation of her maidenhead.

Pamela's concern could also be social, not what she is, which she knows, or should know, inwardly, but what she will appear to be. The difference being that of inward, self-knowledge, and of the awareness of social perception of the self. Pamela's concern shows that she has prioritized the social awareness of her by others over her own perception of her intrinsic worth and chastity, which would exist even if the fleshly structure that is the sign of that virtue were missing.

[13] Richardson, 282-3.

[14] Richardson, 276-8.

[15} Weber, 112.

[16] Richardson, 373, 385-

[17] Weber, 170.

[18] Walter Scott, The Heart of Midlothian, ed. Claire Lamont (Oxford: Oxford University Press, 1982) xiv, 180.

[19] See Isaiah 59:17 "For he put on righteousness as a breastplate, and a helmet of salvation upon his head..." and Ephesians 6:17 ...and take the helmet of salvation...." I Thessalonians 5:8 refers to the helmet as the "hope of salvation".Quotations are from the King James Version of the Bible.

[20] Scott, xiv, 246. The statement is also a metonymy in which the king's face represents the whole being of the king and the sentence can be taken as meaning that it is the king himself that gives grace.

[21] Weber 100-1.

[22] Scott, 378.

[23] See page 5, above.

[24] Scott, 453-5.

[25] Scott, 507.

[26] Scott, 507.

[27] One of the forms of pastoral advice given to those in search of the certitudo salutis is that "it is held to be an absolute duty to consider oneself chosen, and to combat all doubts as temptations of the devil, since lack of self-confidence is the result of insufficient faith, hence of imperfect grace". (Weber, 111) That this is self-contradictory and full of logical inconsistencies seems not to have bothered too many people. (If predestination is true, what function can the devil have? How can faith be insufficient? How can God give grace other than perfectly?)

The other form of advice is that of immersion in worldly activity that we have already cited before. The one form of advice leads to a form of religious hysteria and the other seems to be a form of distraction.

[28] Scott, 501.

[29] Scott, 507.

[30] Donatien Alphonse François Sade, The Complete Justine, Philosophy in the Bedroom and Other Writings, trans. Richard Seaver & Austryn Wainhouse (New York: Grove, 1965) 736-7.

[31] Sade, Justine, 455-6, 458, 462-6.

[32] Roland Barthes in Sade/Fourier/Loyola makes the point that these people, the ones who look like Venus, Flora, Hercules, Ganymede, and so on, are subjects. They are the ones on whom the erotic experiments are performed. Barthes describes the subjects of debauchery as being a rhetorical topos. See Roland Barthes, Sade/Fourier/Loyola, trans. Richard Miller (New York: Hill and Wang, 1976) 22, et passim.

33 Sade, Justine, 738, 742-3.

34 The sentimental postulate can be seen as taking the form of a hypothetical syllogism: "If this (rape, poverty, injustice) is the reward of virtue, then I will pursue a life of

virtue". Juliette's hypothetical syllogism in the novel named after her can be formulated as: "If this (rape, poverty, injustice) is the reward of virtue, and what I have now (power, wealth, luxury) is the reward of vice, then I will pursue a life of vice". Since Sade's heroes and heroines make the Satanic choice of evil as their good the pursuit of their good is necessarily the pursuit of what others regard as evil. The first syllogism is invalid because nothing that Sade regards as good comes from it.

[35] Donatien Alphonse François Sade, Juliette, trans. Richard Seaver (New York: Grove, 1968) 1189-93. Note that Effie, in The Heart of Midlothian, spends ten years in the world before retiring to the convent where she dies. The retirement to the cloister is in effect a symbolic death and is an almost perfect analogue to Juliette's period of activity after the events of her novel.

[36] Brissenden, 66.

[37] Sade, Juliette, 991-3, Brissenden, 4-6. The man gives the money to the sheep in order to not offend the man.

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