

# The Negotiations of Sir Charles Grandison

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He that would travel for the entertainment of others, should remember that the great object of remark is human life. Every nation has something peculiar in its manufactures, its works of genius, its medicines, its agriculture, its customs, and its policy. He only is a useful traveller who brings home something by which his country may be benefited; who procures some supply of want or some mitigation of evil, which may enable his readers to compare their condition with that of others, to improve it whenever it is worse, and whenever it is better to enjoy it. (*Idler* no. 97 [23 February 1760])

Travelling! Young men travelling! I cannot, my dear, but think it a very nonsensical thing! What can they see, but the ruins of the gay, once busy world, of which they have read? ... And when this *grand tour* is completed, the travell'd youth returns: And, what is his boast? Why to be able to tell, perhaps his *better*-taught friend, who has never been out of his native country, that he has seen in ruins, what the other has a juster idea of, from reading. (*Sir Charles Grandison*)<sup>1</sup>

Samuel Johnson's "useful traveler," on the one hand, should bring home knowledge to improve his own country (intelligence-gathering, if you will); Harriet Byron's Grand Tourist, on the other, is mainly preoccupied with sight-seeing—visiting the ruins of past great civilisations. Presumably, since Italy is mainly of interest for its historical monuments, there is not much of practical benefit to the home country.

Samuel Richardson was probably the most sedentary and least travelled author in English literary history. Although we know next to nothing about his childhood except that he was born and raised in or near Mackworth, Derbyshire, it may be that his early rural years somehow helped to warp him into becoming a dedicated Cockney for the rest of his life. After that epic migration from Mackworth, Derbyshire, to the City of London (a distance of 128¾ miles), Richardson spent the remaining four decades of his life in the heart of the printing district, at

Salisbury Court, off Fleet Street, in the parish of the Church of St. Bride's. But the country still remained attractive to him for weekends of leisure; and, after his business grew, he rented places in the country—first, at Corney House, Chiswick (c. 1736); then, from 1738 to 1754, at North End; and, finally, at the end of October 1754, at Parson's Green—all places today within reach by the London tube, zone 2. In Richardson's time, however, it took over an hour to get from his Salisbury Court business and residence to either North End, Fulham (7 miles), or Parson's Green (6.3 miles).<sup>2</sup>

Whenever Richardson did undertake a journey, it was never for the sheer pleasure of being in motion or for any sight-seeing—the kind of indulgence that we see happening later in the century in such accounts as the *Torrington Diaries*<sup>3</sup>—but rather, it was mainly for the purpose of visiting friends and business associates. In his letter to Thomas Edwards, 15 August 1753,<sup>4</sup> Richardson describes an itinerary for one of his rare excursions—a trip to Bath, a distance of 107¼ miles, where he was to spend a week with his brother-in-law, James Leake, a prosperous bookseller there. Richardson solicited advice from Edwards as if from a travel agent: “I know nothing of Situations of Places, Distances, Antiquities.” On his return home during this three-week excursion, despite all of Edwards's careful instructions, Richardson unwittingly drove right past his friend's house in Buckinghamshire; and it was not until three years later, in late September 1756, that Richardson and his wife finally made their way to visit Edwards for a few days at Turrick, near the parish church of St. Peter and St. Paul, Ellesborough, Buckinghamshire. Thus Richardson tended to be unlucky in taking to the road, even when the destinations were no more than forty miles or so from his London home, in contrast to the hero of his third and final novel, Sir Charles Grandison, who performs such feats of long-distance travelling that, as Peter Sabor wittily remarked, he seems to be almost airborne in an age of horse and carriages and sailboats.<sup>5</sup>

Notwithstanding Richardson's own disinclination to travel, as an editor and printer he was in close touch with some of the most authoritative works of geography and probably shared Harriet Byron's view that a discriminating reader of travel books could glean “a juster idea” of a country than could the idle sons of the aristocracy gallivanting about on the Grand Tour. In 1725, Richardson printed the second half of Defoe's *A New Voyage Round the World*; and after also having printed the second volume of the first edition of Defoe's *A Tour Thro' Great Britain* in

1725, he subsequently edited as well as printed the second, third, fourth, fifth, and sixth editions, making a number of substantial additions to this invaluable economic account of the British Isles. In the preface to the sixth edition of Defoe's *Tour*, Richardson acknowledges his debt to John Campbell's *Political Survey of Great Britain*; and, as William Sale pointed out, he had known Campbell while the latter was editing John Harris's *Voyages*, which was printed at Salisbury Court—volume I in 1744 and volume II in 1748.<sup>6</sup>

As a moralist and social reformer, Richardson surely endorsed his friend Johnson's pragmatic rationale: "He only is a useful traveller who brings home something by which his country may be benefited"; the knowledge gained by venturing abroad could enhance the living conditions at home. One notable example of this principle at work is the letter signed "A.B." in *The Daily Journal* no. 3609 (28 July 1732), which contains a long quotation and large woodcut drawing excerpted from Awnsham Churchill's *A Collection of Voyages and Travels: Voyages and Travels lately publish'd in Folio, which was written by the celebrated Sir Philip Skippon* (London, 1732). The excerpted passage and woodcut illustration relate to the engine at Venice that was used to dredge the channels; and the letter, probably written by Richardson, recommends the use of this same machine for clearing the waterways in England. Richardson had printed only the sixth volume of Awnsham's book, the same volume from which the excerpted passage derives. As the printer of the *Daily Journal*, Richardson was thus taking this opportunity to advertise a book from his press as well.<sup>7</sup>

Besides such practical advantages to be gained from observing technology in other countries, to judge by his last novel, Richardson upheld an ideal of the enlightened Citizen of the World as international diplomat who at once protects British interests abroad and is an exemplary leader at home. As if in defiance of his own stationary life, Richardson presented a hero as a seasoned cosmopolitan. With probably an intentional pun, on 2 May 1751, Richardson wrote to Thomas Edwards:

After long, long Travelling I think I have found y<sup>e</sup> good Man [Grandison]; just found him.<sup>8</sup>

Much of Richardson's "long, long Travelling" was doubtless in the books that he knew intimately as editor and printer; his choice of Italy as the main venue abroad probably owes something to Conyers Middleton's *A Letter from Rome* (1729). Richardson printed the second

and third editions of this very controversial work, which attacked contemporary Roman Catholic religious ritual as an imitation of ancient pagan superstition.<sup>9</sup> Because of the vehemence of Middleton's assault on the Italian religion, with its patriarchal tradition and stress on miracles, Anglicans themselves came to see it as an attack on orthodox Christianity in general; and even Middleton's one-time friend William Warburton suspected him finally of being a closet deist.<sup>10</sup> Richardson, however, remained silent about Middleton's strident attack on Catholic Italy; and years later, he printed Middleton's still more skeptical book—*An Introductory Discourse to a Larger Work* (1747)—which questioned the motives of the early Church Fathers' accounts of miracles.

Yet, while rendering his most vicious major fictional character, Robert Lovelace, Richardson pointedly keeps him from committing Middleton's offences as a traveller in Italy:

Nor, when at Rome and in other popish countries, did I ever behave shockingly at those ceremonies which I thought very extraordinary: for I saw some people affected, and seemingly edified by them; and I contented myself to think, though they were beyond my comprehension, that, if they answered any good end to the *many*, there was religion enough in them, or civil policy at least, to exempt them from the ridicule of even a *bad* man who had common sense, and good manners.<sup>11</sup>

Although Richardson the printer may have helped to produce texts contemptuous of the Roman Catholic religion, Richardson the novelist, or rather the "editor," adopted the pose of a tactful, disinterested observer of Italian culture; thus, any interpretation of his political attitudes needs to take into account the context of any particular sentiment expressed.

If Middleton's books may be a valuable basis for a negative view of Italy, two other sources from Richardson's printing shop seem to be directly pertinent to the formation of the titular character of his last novel. The first is the translation of Pietro Giannone's *The Civil History of the Kingdom of Naples* (1729), by Captain James Ogilvie (Maslen 87, nos. 302-03). This is a large, authoritative history in two volumes: the first volume is 763 pages long; and the second volume is 853 pages long, with detailed indexes to each volume. Although the brief dedication (only 610 words) to John Villiers, the Earl of Grandison (d. 1766), is signed "JA. OGILVIE," a number of word and phrase frequencies seem to reveal Richardson's hand in the writing of this piece.<sup>12</sup> In his

autobiographical letter to Johannes Stinstra (2 June 1753), Richardson admitted that from the start of his career booksellers sought him out because of his willingness “to oblige them, with writing Indexes, Prefaces, and sometimes for their minor Authors, *honest* Dedication[s].”<sup>13</sup> Given his sparse record, Captain James Ogilvie surely qualifies as a “minor Author”; and this succinct address to his patron, we may argue, also qualifies as an “*honest* Dedication.”

In 1725, Captain Ogilvie had an address of Chandlie when subscribing to James Freebairn’s *The Life of Mary Stewart, Queen of Scotland and France*, published in Edinburgh. In 1728, besides subscribing to his own translation of Giannone’s *The Civil History of the Kingdom of Naples*, Captain Ogilvie also subscribed to the first volume of Joseph Mitchell’s *Poems on Several Occasions* (London, 1729).<sup>14</sup> Richardson printed the second volume of this work (Maslen 110, no. 504).

Ogilvie/Richardson begins with a high tribute to the Earl of Grandison as his benefactor, ever since he came to Ogilvie’s aid after the financial disaster of the South Sea Bubble in 1720,<sup>15</sup> and he then praises both Lord and Lady Grandison for their parental accomplishments in caring for their children’s education and happiness, especially their “accomplish’d Daughters, adorned with that Modesty, and those Graces of their Sex”: “These Felicities, my Lord, are the Fruits of Domestick Virtues, which though they don’t make such Glare,<sup>16</sup> as those that are acted upon the Publick Stage, have ever been thought to set a great and wise Man in the truest Point of Light.” To give this aspect of Grandison’s virtuous life a classical precedent, Ogilvie/Richardson cites the example of the Roman general, Scipio Africanus (234?-183 BC), conqueror of Hannibal in the Second Punic War, who retired from public life to devote himself to his family’s welfare after suffering at the hands of jealous rivals in his own city.<sup>17</sup> Significantly, Clarissa alludes to Scipio’s being falsely accused by his enemies when comparing her own scandalous predicament at the house of Mrs. Sinclair before she finally discovers her real situation of confinement in a brothel. It is hardly coincidental that Sir Charles Grandison follows this same path, as Scipio did, to heroic retirement: “My chief glory will be, to behave commendably in the *private* life. I wish not to be a *public* man; and it must be a very particular call, for the Service of my King and Country united, that shall draw me out into public notice” (pt. 3.99). After years of living abroad performing feats of philanthropy, Richardson’s protagonist

demonstrates his sincerity by shunning the “glare” of a political career and creating instead a kind of Arcadian circle at his country seat. At the end of the dedication, Ogilvie/Richardson cites Clarendon’s *History of the Rebellion*, which apostrophizes two of the greatest Royalist heroes during the English Civil War—the second Viscount Grandison, who died in the bloody siege of Bristol; and Viscount Falkland, who also gave his life in defence of King Charles. Since the fifth Viscount Grandison and first Earl of Grandison was married to Frances Cary, the daughter of Anthony, Viscount Falkland, this pairing of Royalist heroes was particularly appropriate.

Already in this 1729 document, we can see the origins of Sir Charles Grandison: the titled gentleman whose first concern is charity toward the poor and oppressed, and a private person who retires to his estate to enjoy the bliss of a happy family circle, rather than participate in the political power struggle at court. As Margaret Doody observes:

In using names of such Royalist association Richardson is suggesting a continuity between the old types of ‘honour’, ‘nobility’ and ‘gentleness’, and the newer ideal which is nonmilitary and non-political. A family name distinguished by honour in the past is not to be despised, and in Sir Charles Richardson may have meant his readers to see the true eighteenth-century descendant of the incorruptible young man presented in the pages of Clarendon, whose Viscount Grandison would certainly be a happy choice as ancestor for an Anglican hero.<sup>18</sup>

I would add to Doody’s observation on the Royalist genealogy, however, the important proviso that Richardson asserts regarding his hero: “Were he not born to a fortune, he would make one” (pt. 2.169). A very telling remark that implies financial success to be the natural effect of moral worth: again, the providence of virtue rewarded! Unlike the decadent caste system to be observed in other empires, past and present, the English ruling class that Richardson avows is continually reinvigorating itself in productive enterprises at home and abroad, and in progressive social reforms to ameliorate the negative effects of capitalistic activities.

The second book from Richardson’s press that bears on the composition of the hero in his final novel is directly connected to the same historical Grandison family: *The Negotiations of Sir Thomas Roe* (1740). From his “long, long Travelling,” Richardson seems to have combined the sterling qualities of the Earl of Grandison as

aristocratic heir and family man with the aggressive pioneering of Sir Thomas Roe as world ambassador and oracle of commerce when formulating the character of Sir Charles Grandison. The principal figure of these *Negotiations* was the nephew of Oliver St. John, who won favour at the court of James I and, in 1623, was created Viscount Grandison of Limerick in the peerage of Ireland and, in 1626, raised to the English peerage as Baron Tregoz of Highworth, Wiltshire. While serving in the government at this time, he became interested in foreign affairs and corresponded frequently with his nephew, Sir Thomas Roe, grandson of a London mayor, who rose to be an ambassador par excellence during the last years of Elizabeth and then was knighted in 1605 under King James I.<sup>19</sup> Perhaps by association of ideas, Richardson went back not directly to Viscount Grandison but to his nephew, Sir Thomas Roe (1581?-1644), whose voluminous correspondence while abroad he not only printed but scrupulously edited, digested, and even financed as one of the first projects of the Society for the Encouragement of Learning under the direction of Thomas Birch.

In his *Dedication to the King*, Richardson points out that Sir Thomas Roe's letters include numerous ones written to him from the eldest son of the King and Queen of Bohemia, the Prince Elector Palatine, Prince Rupert, and the celebrated Princess Elizabeth, eldest sister of Queen Caroline's grandmother, Princess Sophia. If the Society for the Promotion of Learning was to expect any support from the Court, it was prudent to remind the King of the family connection to the subject of this collection of letters.

Richardson's introduction recounts in some detail the brave character and achievements of Sir Thomas Roe, beginning with three expeditions during 1610-14 to the mouth of the Amazon in South America and all the way to the Orinoco River. In 1614, at the request and expense of the East India Company, Roe was commissioned by James I as lord ambassador to the court of the Mogul emperor of Hindustan in order to arrange a commercial treaty and obtain concessions for "factories" that the English merchants maintained there. By 1618, after his long stay at the court, he had succeeded in winning protection for these English merchants, both redressing past wrongs and gaining imperial assurances for the future. His pioneering work made the establishment at Sûrat the foundation of not only trade but eventually of the whole British empire in India.

Two years later, in September 1621, Roe was sent as ambassador to the Ottoman Porte (government). During his voyage through the Medi-

terranean, he encountered firsthand the rapine caused by the Barbary pirates and was determined to find ways of suppressing them. Despite his requests to be recalled, at the urgent petition of the English merchants, Roe remained at the Turkish Porte until the summer of 1628. His diplomacy in Constantinople enlarged the privileges of English merchants and, according to the secretary of state, Sir George Calvert, “restored the honour of our king and nation” (*Dictionary of National Biography*).

Although, in the early decades of the seventeenth century, the Ottoman Empire was a world power that was greatly feared by European nations, Roe’s long observation of that mysterious world enabled him to provide his correspondents with invaluable intelligence about its fundamental weaknesses:

HE made himself thoroughly acquainted, as will be seen in this volume, with the nature of the Turkish government, the maxims of their policy, the state of their revenues, the condition of their forces, the situation of their provinces, and the circumstances of the subjects in all their dominions; and the reader will probably be surprized to peruse his accounts of it, and see on what a precarious footing that empire subsists; how few resources it has in case of considerable disasters, and how likely it is to be overturned in a moment by the effects of a single, if complete, victory over their forces in a general battle.

By referring to one decisive “general battle,” Richardson seems from hindsight to have in mind the momentous event in September 1683, at the walls of Vienna, when the Austrian garrison, aided by the German and Polish armies, resoundingly defeated the Turks led by Kara Mustafa, marking an end finally to the expansionist ambitions of the Ottoman Empire. Moreover, Richardson also observes that the Ottoman regime had forfeited any chance of renewing itself by the failure of Sultan Osman to reform his country’s military system: consequently, the resulting corruption “exposed [the empire] to the danger of a sudden ruin; from which nothing but the divisions and separate interests of the Christian princes, has hitherto preserved it.” If Richardson’s implicit *Realpolitik* here seems to be at odds with the almost Quaker-like pacifism espoused in *Grandison*, we may recall Lovelace’s militaristic boast in *Clarissa*.<sup>20</sup> The phrase “the danger of a sudden ruin” implies an enemy that would like to see the downfall of that empire. Who could that be but the



relatively new British Empire that both Sir Thomas Roe and Sir Charles Grandison are serving as they penetrate the “exotic Other” of both the Turkish and Roman Catholic cultures, respectively? Margaret Doody remarks astutely the transparent rendering of Sir Charles as Protestant whig while among his Italian hosts, but also his ambivalent restraint while referring to the Jacobite Rebellion of 1745.<sup>21</sup> It is almost as if Sir Charles is a kind of double agent in Italy when representing his native country to foreigners! Richardson’s shrewd business sense as printer of many contradictory opinions probably shows through in this capaciousness of imagination.

Early in his introduction to the *Negotiations*, Richardson stresses the “experimental knowledge” that Sir Thomas gained from his years of travel (xi): “He understood, perfectly, as will be shewn afterwards, the nature and various branches of commerce throughout the world, the maxims and arts of politicks, the different interests and situations of states; and was master of all those different parts of learning and knowledge, which are necessary to enable a person to discharge the functions of an ambassador” (vi). Just as the “essence of friendship” is “communication, mingling hearts, and emptying our very soul into that of a true friend” (pt. 2.165), so Sir Charles’s aim of ambassadorship is to bridge cultural differences anywhere in the world: “Seas are nothing to him ... he considers all nations as joined on the same continent; and doubted not but if he had a call, he would undertake a journey to Constantinople or Pekin, with as little difficulty as some others would ... to the Land’s-end” (pt. 2.30).

Even if “Seas are nothing” to Sir Charles, his cosmopolitanism, nevertheless, depends on the many sailors who risked their lives in getting him to his far flung destinations. After the outbreak of the Seven Years’ War with France (1754-61), Richardson wrote with patriotic fervour to Thomas Edwards (23 February 1755) about the need to provide adequate benefits to these shamefully neglected servants of the Empire:

I cannot bear to see them torn by Violence from their Families; they who constitute the natural strength of the Nation.

To reward these brave sailors, Richardson heartily approves of the late Lord Stair’s plan to keep 6,000 of them from being disbanded after active service, and providing them with land in the American plantations instead as a bulwark against French designs on the English colonies. John Dalrymple, 2nd Earl of Stair (1673-1747), whom Richardson

endorses in this letter, was an ambassador to Paris and had organised a secret intelligence system to spy on the English Jacobites in France (*Dictionary of National Biography*). Like many other Britons at this time, Richardson was apprehensive about trying to protect his country against the enemy both within and without its borders; and he doubtless recognised the dire need of good intelligence to protect the nation against its seemingly porous borders and untrustworthy neighbours:

In a War with France, such a Coast as we have to defend, and such abandoned Disaffection in many Parts of the Kingdom, I shall always be afraid of an Invasion. How tempting to our natural Foes, the unhappy Situation of Things in Ireland! The King's best Subjects there infatuated, as I may say, and Ten Papists throughout the Kingdom to one Protestant.<sup>22</sup>

So even before the outbreak of yet another war with the Roman Catholic enemy in 1755, Sir Charles's career as ambassador at the time of the Jacobite Rebellion of 1745 seems to include yet another diplomatic precedent besides Viscount Grandison and Sir Thomas Roe—namely, the 2nd Earl of Stair.

Besides extraordinary courage and rational self-discipline under duress, the quintessential virtue exhibited by both Sir Thomas and Sir Charles is philanthropy—a term that Richardson uses carefully—as a matter of fact, only once in *Clarissa* and only three times in *Grandison*.<sup>23</sup> Sir Thomas's "charity to the oppressed, [is] evidenc'd in the liberal assistance he afforded to several Christian slaves in Sicily, and to those of Algiers and Tunis, &c. and in other charitable benefactions; for he made it a rule to share his fortune with the poor, to whom he allotted a tenth of his substance" (ix). Like his seventeenth-century ancestor, Sir Charles busies himself with various benefactions. He travels to Paris, for instance, to take on the role of executor for his deceased merchant friend Mr. Danby's legacy of three thousand pounds, "which he has directed to be disposed of to charitable uses, in France as well as in England" (pt. 2.7); and he enlists Dr. Bartlett to assist him in organising a charity to provide "little fortunes to young maidens in marriage with honest men of their own degree." Another charity concerns the "industrious poor, of all persuasions, reduced either by age, infirmity, or accident; Those who labour under incurable maladies; Youth, of either sex, capable of beginning the world to advantage, but destitute of the means" (pt. 2.12). Nearer to home, of course, Sir Charles also exerts

himself on behalf of needy but worthy women, like Mrs. Oldham, and even of dubious women, like Emily Jervois's mother, married to an Irishman, Major O-Hara. Halfway through the novel, Harriet Byron can hardly contain her enthusiasm over the hero's power of obliging others: "How much more glorious a character is that of The Friend of Mankind, than that of The Conqueror of Nations!" (pt. 2.70). But, of course, a Post-colonialist might argue persuasively that the "Friend of Mankind" is no more than a mask for "The Conqueror of Nations"—a subtle means of promoting British mercantile interests on the grounds of serving the poor and oppressed but ultimately making an alien society dependent on the British crown for its "protection."

Even though, ostensibly, Sir Charles Grandison's main dilemma as ambassador is in negotiating his way through to a marriage contract with the very proud, aristocratic, Roman Catholic Porreta family for the hand of Clementina, it turns out that, as far as her culture is concerned, an English Protestant is really nothing but an "Infidel" and thus no better than a "Mahometan." Nothing that even Sir Charles can do will erase this impasse between the two cultures; and Richardson implies ever so gently, in contrast to Conyers Middleton's hammer strokes, that the basic cause of this conflict is the ossification of a society after centuries-old decline and without any prospect of renewal:

Italy in particular is called, The Garden of Europe; but it is rather to be valued for what it was, and might be, than what it is. (pt. 2.325)

Italy is a "ruin," for the upper class English Grand Tourist to visit; for the discerning Sir Charles, it is also a resource to learn from, before returning to his supposedly vibrant meritocracy where talent and good character are rewarded. One important lesson, as his long negotiations on the Continent amply reveal, is that the women of Italy suffer in comparison to their counterparts in England:

their country, it seems, is in the same uncultivated state, as the minds of their women. The garden of the world, as Italy is called, is over-run with weeds: And, for want of cultivation, the very richness of its soil becomes its disease. (pt. 3.361)

But not only the Italian women suffer from this unweeded garden; even the most promising men, like Jeronymo della Porretta, are doomed by the wounds inflicted by their culture to miss their fulfilment in life. Thus, Sir Charles's negotiations in decadent Italy are directly parallel

to Sir Thomas's negotiations in decadent Turkey, when English commerce had so much to exploit from knowing the real weaknesses of these two illusory threats to the ascendant Protestant power.<sup>24</sup> No wonder, then, that Richardson listed the characters in his final novel under the following rubrics: "Men, Women, and Italians"! The Italians are the exotic Other whose pernicious influence within the sturdy Protestant English society needs to be exorcised, not by the racist violence of a Duke of Cumberland, but by the irresistible philanthropy of a Sir Charles Grandison.<sup>25</sup>

### Endnotes

- 1 Samuel Johnson, *The Idler and The Adventurer*, ed. W. J. Bate, John M. Bullitt, and L. F. Powell, The Yale Edition of the Works of Johnson, vol. II (New Haven and London: Yale University Press, 1963) 300; Samuel Richardson, *The History of Sir Charles Grandison*, ed. Jocelyn Harris, in three parts (London: Oxford University Press, 1972) pt. 2.291. Further references to *Grandison* are to this edition.
- 2 To determine distances in England here, I have consulted, whenever possible, *Paterson's Roads*, 18th ed., by Edward Mogg (1828) to allow for the measurements made according to the highways of that time. In addition, I have also consulted the English motor club Automobile Association's on-line distance finder. See the web site at <[http://www.theaa.com/travelwatch/planner\\_main.jsp](http://www.theaa.com/travelwatch/planner_main.jsp)>.
- 3 *The Torrington Diaries, Containing the Tours Through England and Wales of the Hon. John Byng (Later Fifth Viscount Torrington) Between the Years 1781 and 1794*, ed. C. Bruyn Andrews, 4 vols. (London: Eyre & Spottiswoode, 1934-38). In contrast to other itinerant contemporaries, like Arthur Young ("the farmer-tourist"), Humphry Repton ("the improver"), and Samuel Johnson (the moralist "Mr. Rambler"), John Byng, Viscount Torrington, had no clear purpose for travelling other than for its therapeutic value of escaping the City routine and finding an alternative pastime; and it is the guiltless indulgence in leisure that he means in styling himself a "tourist." Though sharing Johnson's lament in 1775 that England had already been so thoroughly traversed that "commerce has left the people no singularities" (II.321), Byng protests the scornful attack in *Idler* no. 97 on travellers' memoirs: "Why should not a man travell for health, and pleasure, without studying improvement?" (III.187).
- 4 Forster Collection, FM XII, 1, f. 82, in the National Art Library at the Victoria and Albert Museum, London.
- 5 Peter Sabor, "'A Safe Bridge over the Narrow Seas': Crossing the Channel with Samuel Richardson," in *All Before Them*, ed. John McVeagh (London and

- Atlantic Highlands, NJ: Ashfield Press, 1990) 167.
- 6 William M. Sale, Jr., *Samuel Richardson: Master Printer* (Ithaca, NY: Cornell University Press, 1950) 163. For all citations of Richardson's printing, I have relied on Keith Maslen's monumental study that has greatly updated Sale's pioneering work—*Samuel Richardson of London, Printer: A Study of His Printing Based on Ornament Use and Business Accounts* (Dunedin: Department of English, University of Otago, 2001).
  - 7 See John A. Dussinger, "Samuel Richardson's 'Elegant Disquisitions': Anonymous Writing in the *True Briton* and Other Journals?" *Studies in Bibliography* 53 (2000): 224. For Richardson's printing of the *Daily Journal*, see Maslen 28-29.
  - 8 FM XII, 1, ff. 99-100.
  - 9 Cf. "As therefore my general Studies had furnished me with a competent Knowledge of *Roman History*, as well as an Inclination to search more particularly into some Branches of its Antiquities, so I had resolved to employ my self chiefly in Inquiries of this sort; and to lose as little Time as possible, in taking notice of the Fopperies and ridiculous Ceremonies of the *present Religion* of the Place. But in this I soon found myself mistaken; for the whole form and outward Dress of their Worship seemed so grossly *idolatrous and extravagant* beyond what I had imagined, and made so strong an Impression on me, that I could not help considering it with a particular Regard ..." (Conyers Middleton, *A Letter from Rome* [London, 1729] 13).
  - 10 Upon hearing the report of Middleton's dying words that "he should die with composure of mind which he thought must be the enjoyment of every man who had been a sincere searcher after truth," Warburton remarked testily:

I do not see how the mere discovery of truth affords such pleasure. If this truth be, that the providence of God governs the moral as well as natural world, and that, in compassion to human distresses He has revealed His will to mankind, by which we are enabled to get the better of them by a restoration to his favour, I can easily conceive the pleasure that, at any period of life, must accompany such a discovery. But if the truth discovered be, that we have no farther share in God than as we partake of his natural government of the universe, or that all there is in his moral government is only the natural, necessary effects of virtue and vice upon human agents here, and that all the pretended revelations of an hereafter were begot by fools and hurried up by knaves; if this, I say, be our boasted discovery, it must, I think, prove a very uncomfortable contemplation, especially in our last hours. But every man has his taste. I only speak for myself. (John Selby Watson, *The Life of William Warburton, D.D., Lord Bishop of Gloucester from 1760 to 1779* [London: Longman, 1863] 392-93).
  - 11 Samuel Richardson, *Clarissa or The History of a Young Lady*, ed. Angus Ross (Harmondsworth: Penguin, 1985) 1145.
  - 12 See the appendix, where the entire text of the dedication to the Earl of Grandison is made available together with my analysis of the word and phrase frequencies that point toward Richardson's authorship.

- 13 *The Richardson-Stinstra Correspondence and Stinstra's Prefaces to Clarissa*, ed. William C. Slattery (Carbondale and Edwardsville: Southern Illinois University Press, 1969) 26.
- 14 *Biography Database, 1680-1830*, Issue 1, December 1995 (Newcastle-upon-Tyne: Averro Publications; Romulus Press, 1995).
- 15 Ogilvie's difficulties during the South Sea Bubble may have made him especially sympathetic to Richardson, who was active at this time in printing pamphlets by Archibald Hutcheson and other anti-Walpole writers. Richardson may have met the Earl of Grandison or, at least, have known about his exemplary domestic life. In 1729, he printed the private bill *Act for Settling the Estates of John Earl of Grandison in the Kingdom of Ireland* (Maslen 173-74, no. 1120). For Richardson's own involvement in a similar financial scandal concerning the Charitable Corporation, see Thomas Keymer, "Parliamentary Printing, Paper Credit, and Corporate Fraud: A New Episode in Richardson's Early Career," *Eighteenth-Century Fiction* 17 (January 2005): 183-206.
- 16 Cf. "If moral rectitude, if practical religion (your brother the Barone testifies this on his own experience) were lost in the rest of the world, it would, without glare or ostentation, be found in him" (Richardson, *Grandison* pt. 2.169).
- 17 Cf. Clarissa's reflections on her embarrassment at Mrs. Sinclair's over being taken as "Mrs. Lovelace":

The great Roman, as we read, who took his surname from one part in three (the fourth not then discovered) of the world he had triumphed over, being charged with a mean crime to his soldiery, chose rather to suffer exile (the punishment due to it, had he been found guilty) than to have it said, that Scipio was questioned in public on so scandalous a charge. And think you, my dear, that Scipio did not blush with indignation when the charge was first communicated to him? (Richardson, *Clarissa* 531)

- 18 Margaret Anne Doody, "The Godlike Hero: Sir Charles Grandison as an Eighteenth-Century Model of Virtue," in *A Natural Passion* (Oxford: Clarendon Press, 1974) 250.
- 19 My account here of Roe's career follows closely the information in the *Dictionary of National Biography*, under "Sir Thomas Roe."
- 20 As if almost envious of the power of the Muslim male over women, Richardson has his villain boast of his own imperialistic daydreams:

I am now here, and here have been this hour and half. What an industrious spirit have I! Nobody can say, that I eat the bread of idleness. I take true pains for all the pleasure I enjoy. I cannot choose but to admire myself strangely; for, certainly, with this active soul, I should have made a very great figure in whatever station I had filled. But had I been a prince!—To be sure I should have made a most *noble* prince! I should have led up a military dance equal to that of the great Macedonian. I should have added kingdom to kingdom, and robbed all my neighbour sovereigns in order to have obtained the name of *Robert the Great*. And I would have gone to war with the Great Turk, and the Persian, and Mogul, for their seraglios;

for not one of those Eastern Monarchs should have had a pretty woman to bless himself with, till I had done with her. (*Clarissa* 762)

- 21 Cf. "Sir Charles is, then, a Protestant patriot severely troubled by the enthusiasm of the Roman Catholics around him for the 'invader' and the invasion. Sir Charles is thus very safely on the right side—but then, if we look again, although the author has established himself and his hero as not Jacobite, there is a lack of venom in the account. There is no name-calling of the Chevalier, though there is a repudiation of his claim (Bonnie Prince Charlie is an *invader*). But there is no outrage—we may imagine if we like Sir Charles's outrage emerging in the 'debates' but it is not here. The debates are not recorded. If we compare this treatment with, say, Fielding's remarks in *Tom Jones* on the matters of 1745, this reference seems studiously calm and moderate" (Margaret Anne Doody, "Richardson's Politics," *Eighteenth-Century Fiction* 2 [January 1990]: 124).
- 22 Richardson to Edwards, 23 February 1755, FM XII, 1, ff. 134-35.
- 23 I am relying on the on-line Chadwyck-Healey database of Eighteenth-Century Fiction for my statistics here.
- 24 Cf. "You have often intimated as much, madam, tho' not so directly as now; but the religion of my country is the religion of my choice. I have a great deal to say for it. It will not be heard with patience by such strict professors as either of those you have named. Were I to be questioned on this subject before the Pope, and the whole Sacred College, I would not prevaricate: But good manners will make me shew respect to the religion of the country I happen to be in, were it the Mahometan, or even the Pagan; and to venerate the good men of it: But I never will enter into debate upon the subject as a traveller, a sojourner; that is a rule with me" (Richardson, *Grandison* pt. 2.155).

"Then, madam, and from the hints your Ladyship had given, I had little doubt that Clementina was in Love; and that religion was the apprehended difficulty. Zealous Catholics think not better of Protestants, than of Mahometans: Nor, indeed, are zealous Protestants without their prejudices. Zeal will be zeal, in persons of whatever denomination" (pt. 2.167).
- 25 After writing this paper, I came upon an essay that in many ways coincides with my argument here: Teri Doerksen, "Sir Charles Grandison: The Anglican Family and the Admirable Roman Catholic," *Eighteenth-Century Fiction* 15 (April-July 2003): 539-58. Following Doody's point, in *A Natural Passion*, about the positive representation of Roman Catholicism in this novel, Doerksen points out that Sir Charles "colonizes" the Italians to the extent that, in the end, he acts as the mediator for the della Porretta family's internal affairs. But Doerksen does not emphasise the theme in Richardson of Italy as a decadent culture, full of weeds.

## Appendix

Pietro Giannone, *The Civil History of the Kingdom of Naples*. Translated into English, by Captain James Ogilvie. Vol. 1. For W. Innys, G. Strahan, R. Willock, A. Millar, T. Green, J. Pote, J. Penn, A. Johnston, engraver, and sold by the booksellers of London and Westminster; and at Edinburgh, by A. Symmer. 1729.

TO THE  
RIGHT HONOURABLE the  
EARL of GRANDISON<sup>1</sup>

*My LORD,*

THE History of *Naples*, which I now lay at Your Lordship's Feet, I may venture to say is a valuable Piece, and worthy your Lordship's Protection, however it may have suffer'd in the Translation.

THE Author dedicates it to a Great \* Prince, and in Your Lordship I have found a Patron truly Great and Good. I speak from Experience; for your Lordship was no sooner apprised of the Change of my Circumstances, than I began to feel the happy Effects of your great Goodness. The fatal Year that involved so many in irretrievable Ruin, was the Date of my Misfortunes; and from that Time, to this Day, your Lordship, and your good Lady, have relieved me and my Family with a bountiful Hand; and, in a Manner so ingaging, as has left no Impressions upon me, but those of a lasting Gratitude and Veneration. It is certainly one of the greatest Afflictions of a depressed Condition, that it is commonly attended with Contempt and Scorn: But when your Lordship relieves, you consult the Modesty of the unfortunate Object, as well as the Distress. I should never make an end of my Acknowledgments for all the Goodness with which your Lordship treats me, and with the Sense of which my Heart is full charged; but as I know you love to do Good, rather than hear of it, I shall be grateful and silent. But I must give myself the Pleasure of reflecting upon the happy Situation of your Lordship's Affairs, within whose Gates nothing is seen but Magnificence and Splendor, under the Rules of that exact OEconomy and Order, with which your Lordship, and your excellent Lady, did so remarkably distinguish yourselves before the Accession of the ample Fortune of

\* The Emperor.



your Ancestors: Such a Conduct, my Lord, is a great and rare Example of Wisdom and Prudence; but the Virtues in which you both shine out, are the conjugal Harmony in which you live, mutually deserv'd, and mutually express'd. And next to that, the tender Affection to your Children, visible in the Care of their Education, and of which you have the Comfort to behold the happy Effects in your accomplish'd Daughters, adorned with that Modesty, and those Graces of their Sex, which, to indulgent Parents, must give the most exquisite Pleasure this World can afford.<sup>2</sup> These Felicities, my Lord, are the Fruits of Domestick Virtues, which though they don't make such Glare, as those that are acted upon the Publick Stage, have ever been thought to set a great and wise Man in the truest Point of Light. And among the *Romans*, \* one of the Greatest and Best is celebrated, not more for his Victories and Triumphs, than for his Behaviour among his Children, even in their Nursery, where some little Amusements of his have been represented by all Historians, as the most convincing Proof of the greatest good Nature and Humanity; which Qualities were always thought essential in the Composition of a Hero. But now I am talking of a great Man, it may be expected I should say something of the Nobility of your Lordship's and your Lady's Extraction: And I have at hand the noble Historian,<sup>3</sup> who, in his Catalogue of Heroes (great as many *Greece* or *Rome* ever produc'd) has not two more beautiful Characters, than those of *Falkland* and *Grandison*; but these Things, your Lordship does not call your own, any farther than as you think yourself oblig'd to imitate them; And may your Lordship's promising Sons, and their late Posterity, form their Lives by the Examples of their Great Ancestors; which is the hearty Prayer of,

*My Lord,  
Your Lordship's most oblig'd, most devoted,  
and most faithful humble Servant,*

JA. OGILVIE.

\* Scipio Africanus.

## Stylistic Analysis

As a way of presenting at least some basis for determining the probability of Richardson's anonymous authorship of some of the many works that came from his press during the 1720-30s, before he became an internationally known author, I have used the on-line Chadwyck-Healey database of Eighteenth-Century Fiction to determine the relative frequency of words and phrases in Richardson's works vis-à-vis the other seventy-two works included in this database. The first number represents the occurrences in Richardson's works as compared to the rest of the many novels in this database. In some cases, the first number is significant in showing Richardson's fondness for a particular usage and its relative scarcity among other early novelists.

“speak from Experience” – 1/4

[Although other writers use the phrase “from experience,” only four early novelists relate speaking with authority to experience.]

“apprised of the” – 6/10

“Change of Circumstances” – 1/5

“happy Effect” – 11/18

“your great Goodness” – 10/30

“Impressions upon” – 3/10

“Heart is full charged” – “over-charged heart” – 3/3

[The *Oxford English Dictionary* lists only two instances of “full-charg'd,” and neither is referring to the heart. Richardson, however, is the only early novelist to have invoked the idea of the heart overflowing.]

“distinguish themselves” – 4/9

“shine out” – 5/9

“have the Comfort to” – 3/7

“indulgent Parents” – 18/30

“this World can afford” – 4/10

“Domestick Virtues” – 1/3

“make such Glare” – 3/7

[A Boolean search with “make” and “glare” produced these results.]

“been thought to” – 7/10

“good Nature and Humanity” – 1/1

“it may be expected” – 2/2

“I should say something” – 1/2

“think yourself oblig’d” – 1/4

“by the Examples of” – 2/5

“hearty Prayer” – 2/3

## Endnotes

- 1 John Villiers, fifth Viscount Grandison, Earl Grandison of Limerick (died 14 May 1766).
- 2 “that Modesty, and those Graces of their Sex, which, to indulgent Parents, must give the most exquisite Pleasure this World can afford.” Cf. Richardson’s letter to Sarah Wescomb from Tunbridge Wells, in early August 1748: “I look not upon the sex with an undelighted eye, old as I am; nor with a very severe one— But modesty, humility, graciousness, are now all banished from the behaviour of these public-place frequenters of the sex—Women are not what they were.” On 2 July 1750, Richardson praised Sarah Wescomb’s exemplary behaviour toward her ailing mother: “An undutiful Child can break the Heart-strings asunder; can tear the Mind in pieces: While a dutiful one strengthens the Heart, and pours Balm into the Mind, of the indulgent and grateful Parent” (*The Correspondence of Samuel Richardson*, ed. Anna Laetitia Barbauld, 6 vols. [London, 1804] III:315 and 262).
- 3 “noble Historian”: cf. Edward Hyde, Lord Clarendon, *The History of the Rebellion* (Oxford, 1702-04).