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The Netherlands

The spiritual side of Samuel Richardson

Joling-van der Sar, Gerda J.

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The Influence of Cheyne's Thoughts on Richardson

As to the influence of Cheyne's thoughts on Richardson we find that certain more common medical topics, such as those concerned with gout and melancholia, extensively dealt with by Cheyne, found their way into Richardson's novels. We know that Clarissa's and Sir Charles's father suffered from gout, which badly influenced their moods.²²⁵ Clarissa tells us that her father, ill-tempered as the result of a "gouty paroxysm",²²⁶ (I. 22), insisted upon her marrying Solmes as an act of duty, set upon by her brother James (I. 60). Her mother was passive ("my mother never thought fit to oppose my FATHER'S will when once he has declared him determined", I. 60). Here we are at once introduced to one of the main themes in *Clarissa*, i.e. the issue of the freedom of the will. More explicitly, Clarissa explains to Miss Howe:

They were my father's lively spirits that first made him an interest in her gentle bosom. They were the same spirits turned inward ... that made him so impatient when the cruel malady seized him. He always loved my mother: and would not LOVE and PITY ... make a good wife (who was an hourly witness of his pangs, when labouring under a paroxysm, and his paroxysms becoming more and more frequent, as well as more and more severe) give up her own will, her own likings, to oblige a husband, thus afflicted, whose love for *her* was unquestionable? And if so, was it not too natural [human nature is not perfect ...] that the husband thus humoured by the wife, should be unable to bear control from anybody else? much less contradiction from his children? (I. 133)

Both Clarissa and Clementina show signs of severe "melancholia". Discussing in depth the subjects of melancholia and suicide, *The English Malady* may have influenced Richardson. For Clarissa writes in a letter to Lovelace:

O wretched, wretched Clarissa Harlowe! You have killed my head among you

²²⁵ Though not printed by Richardson, Cheyne's *Nature and due Method of Treating the Gout* (1720), strongly influenced by Thomas Sydenham (see footnote 190 above), is almost exclusively concerned with gout, but the subject is discussed in his other books as well.

²²⁶ *Clarissa*, (1747-48), Volumes I-IV, London, 1932, reprinted 1962, Vol. I. p. 22. All further references will be to this edition.

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- I don't say who did it! God forgive you all. I will neither eat nor drink. I shall never be myself again. Let me be carried out of this house, and out of your sight; and let me be put into that Bedlam privately which once I saw. (III. 211-212)

By not eating and drinking Clarissa may be perceived, at least in some sense, as trying to commit suicide. In *The English Malady's* preface Cheyne had elaborated on the title, which had been a reproach "universally thrown" on this island by foreigners and all "our neighbours" on the continent by whom nervous distempers are in derision called "the English Malady". He referred to the Greek, Roman and Arab physicians who had observed nervous distempers, but most probably in a lesser degree, for, Cheyne assumed, they were a stronger people and lived in warmer climates, where the "slow, cold and nervous Diseases" were less known. According to Cheyne, in the northern climates these nervous diseases seemed more numerous and he referred to Sydenham, who had made the "most particular and full" observations on them, and even established them into a "particular Class and Tribe" with a proper though different cure from other chronical distempers.²²⁷

Cheyne opened the first chapter of the *English Malady* by quoting a prophet who had asked who could bear a "wounded Spirit". Cheyne believed that a person of sound health, of strong spirits and firm fibres could struggle with and bear any misfortune, pain and misery of his mortal life, whereas the same person that is broken, dispirited by weakness of nerves, melancholy or age, is bound to become dejected, oppressed and peevish.²²⁸ It is clear that Clarissa suffered from a wounded spirit as a result of the cruel treatment she

²²⁷ For Sydenham, see footnote 225. Cheyne explained that his objective in *The English Malady* was to provide a remedy against the frequency of suicide resulting from nervous distempers, a subject he had briefly touched upon in *The Essay on Health and Long Life* (cf. *The Essay on Health and Long Life*, pp. 4, 5, 181). It is in *The English Malady* that Cheyne discusses the doctrine of spirits. He writes how the doctrine of spirits had been known from the Arab physicians to explain the animal functions and diseases. According to Cheyne, there was hardly anyone, "except here or there a *Heretick* of late", who had doubted this "Catholic Doctrine" (*The English Malady*, p. 77). He further explains how the existence of animal spirits, or some kind of fluid carried through the nerves, had been chiefly contrived to solve the appearance of nervous distempers, i.e. the obstructions of the nerves or their incapacity to act under certain circumstances (ibid., p. 86). Cheyne concludes what he calls this "dark" subject of animal spirits by stating that he only knows that the "dwelling so much upon" animal spirits has led physicians too much to neglect the mending of the juices, the opening of obstructions in the vessels, and the strengthening of the solids, which is the only proper and solid cure of nervous distempers. These physicians only apply volatiles and stimulants, which is like blowing up a fire, forcing it to spend faster and go out sooner: volatiles and cordials are only "Whips, Spurs, and pointed Instruments to drive on the resty and unwilling Jade" (ibid., p. 89). He tentatively suggests in *The English Malady* that the "fluid" carried through the nerves could be similar to the "Aether" described by Newton and in 1740 he writes that "for ought he knows", this might be the same as Sir Isaac Newton's infinitely fine and elastic fluid or spirit, or "Spiritus quidam subtilissimus", which he compared with Descartes's and Leibnitz's vortices, and with "Hugens's [sic] and Fatio's infinitely rare, rapid, subtil [sic] matter" (cf. *The Essay on Regimen*, p. 148).

²²⁸ *The English Malady*, p. 2.

experienced by both her family and Lovelace, for she writes that they had “killed her head”. I will return to this issue of melancholy later when discussing Clementina’s special case of religious melancholia.

To investigate further Cheyne’s influence on Richardson, I will only discuss those subjects in Cheyne’s works which have found their way into *Clarissa* and *Sir Charles Grandison*. As these subjects are of a spiritual nature I will frequently refer to Cheyne’s first important work, i.e. the *Philosophical Principles of Religion Natural and Revealed* (1705, 1715), and to the *Essay on Regimen* (1740).²²⁹ In these works we will come across several terms which are reminiscent of the *Theologia Germanica*, Jacob Boehme, Antoinette Bourignon, Fénelon and Madame Guyon.

Cheyne often used the word “signature”, which was one of Boehme’s favourite words, especially found in Boehme’s *Signatura Rerum* or *the Signature of All Things*, which had been translated by John Ellistone and published by Giles Calvert in 1651. Because of their quality Ellistone’s translations of Boehme as well as Sparrow’s were still read in the first half of the eighteenth century. In the preface to the *Signatura Rerum* Ellistone highly prizes self-knowledge as the greatest wisdom and the key to all knowledge. For man, so he writes, is the great mystery of God, the microcosm, or the complete abridgement of the whole universe. He goes on to state that man is a living emblem and hieroglyph (words repeatedly used by Cheyne) of eternity and time.²³⁰ Whoever wants to attain this wisdom, Ellistone argues on the basis of Boehme, must be reborn by and in the word of wisdom, Jesus Christ, for the divine essence which God breathed into the paradisaical soul must be revived. I will return to this subject in chapter 5.

The Principle of Reunion

When Cheyne discusses in both the *Philosophical Principles* and the *Essay on*

²²⁹ The first edition of part I of the *Philosophical Principles* appeared in 1705, while part II appeared in 1715. The second edition of part I was printed in 1715. In 1974 Bowles discussed some of the differences between the 1705 and 1715 editions. Guerrini did the same in 1985 and 2000. I will be using the third edition published by George Strahan, which was corrected and enlarged in 1724, as this is closer to the period with which we are concerned. Though this edition was certainly not printed by Richardson, we may, however, be fairly sure that Richardson was familiar with the *Philosophical Principles*. A fifth edition was printed in 1736 and John Byrom owned the eighth edition of 1753, cf. *The Private Journals and Literary Remains of John Byrom*, 2 Vols., ed. Richard Parkinson, Manchester, 1856-57, Vol. II, Part I, p. 308.

²³⁰ Cheyne described how all the integral parts of nature have a beautiful resemblance, similitude and analogy to one another and to their “mighty Original”, whose images they are (cf. *Philosophical Principles*, pp. 2 and 5). Cheyne believed that the whole foundation of “*Natural Philosophy*, is *Simplicity* and *Analogy*, or a Simple, yet Beautiful *Harmony*” which runs through all “Works of Nature” in an uninterrupted “Chain of Causes and Effects”, though always with “proper Limitations of Circumstances”. He added that if these principles would be superseded, or this chain broken, we could only expect “Absurdities and Inconsistencies in *Philosophy*” (cf. *The Philosophical Principles*, Part I, p. 42). Hence, Cheyne’s understanding of nature or what he called the vast, if not infinite “Machine” of the universe, the perfect and wise “Production of Almighty God”, consisting of an infinite number of lesser machines, everyone of which is adjusted by weight and measure.

Regimen what he called the "Principle of Reunion", we recognize Boehme's influence. In the *Philosophical Principles* Cheyne explained that God, the sole sovereign, a self-existent and independent being, had made "Creatures" to be "Partakers" of himself, images, emanations, effluxes and streams out of his own "Abyss of Being", and impressed upon them a central tendency toward Himself, a principal of "Re-union" with himself.²³¹ This principle of reunion or attraction of them towards God was analogous to the principle of gravitation in the great bodies of the universe. To believe otherwise, argued Cheyne, would amount to supposing a ray to be dissimilar to the sun, or the stream to the "Fountain-Head". He writes:

God has most certainly implanted something *Analogous to Attraction*, in the greatest *Central Body* of each *System* towards the lesser ones of the same; Or, a Principle of *Gravitation* in these lesser ones towards the greatest *Central* one, and towards each other. From hence, and from their directly impress'd Motions, all their comely, regular and uniform Revolutions, Appearances and Actions upon one another spring.

Cheyne describes in the *Essay on Regimen* how "infinite Wisdom, Power and Love" has impressed in the fund and essence of intelligent beings an infinite love to Him, and how they have an "insatiable and unextinguishable" desire, thirst and ardour to be reunited with Him at last.²³² This is reminiscent of Boehme's *Dialogue between an Enlightened and a Distressed Soul* which had been anonymously translated and published in 1645. It contained a discourse between a "Soul hungry and thirsty after the Fountain of Life", showing how one soul should seek out and comfort another, and bring it into the path of "Christ's Pilgrimage". In the hungry soul we recognize the isolated and persecuted Clarissa.

We can identify Sir Charles as the soul seeking out and comforting others. On the analogical level Sir Charles is the Comforter or Holy Ghost, comforting the distressed Clementina, showing her clemency or mercy. Cheyne returned to the concept of attraction or gravitation (principle of reunion) in the *Essay on Regimen* in which, discussing centripetal and centrifugal forces, he informs us that the sun is placed in the centre of our system, and is the material image of the deity. The planets revolve about him. They have no light in themselves, all is derived by reflection from him. Heat, light and attraction are his main properties, and by this attraction the planets are kept in their orbits.²³³

²³¹ *The Philosophical Principles*, 1724, Part I, pp. 46-47.

²³² *Essay on Regimen*, p. 217.

²³³ Cheyne also explains in the *Essay on Regimen* that there is a projectile force which gives the planets a constant tendency to recede from the sun and "to fly off in a Tangent". Knowing that attraction and projectile force are contrary to one another, and always act in opposite directions, Cheyne tells his readers that it is by the joined action of attraction and projectile force that the planets are kept in their orbits. However, Cheyne adds that it is supposed by the best philosophers

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This, according to Cheyne, strongly pictures the love of God, continually soliciting all intelligences to a nearer approach to him. The light of the sun is diffused through the whole system, representing "that Light which enlightens every Man that comes into the World". It is an emblem of him who "came forth from the Father of Lights, Godman". The sun's light is always accompanied with heat, which represents the Holy Spirit, the principal of spiritual life.²³⁴

Richardson may have been strongly influenced by these ideas, for he has Charlotte Grandison say that "Light is hardly more active than my brother, nor lightning more quick" (VI. 114). We find that in Volume II Harriet compares Sir Charles's "superior excellence" with sunshine (II. 375) and in Volume VI she depicts him as the sun:

Ah, my partial friends! You studied your Harriet in the dark; but here comes the sun darting into all the crooked and obscure corners of my heart; and I shrink from his dazling eye; and compared to Him ... appear to myself such a Nothing. (VI. 132)

I will discuss this in greater detail in chapter 7.

Considering Cheyne's fascination with the movements of the planets around the sun, which may have influenced Richardson, it is perhaps not surprising that Sir Charles owned an orrery which illustrates with balls of various sizes the movements of the planets around the sun.²³⁵ However, there may have been another reason that Richardson used the word "orrery", for there is a rather interesting connection between Captain Ogilvie, the translator of Giannone's *Civil History* and the Earl of Orrery,²³⁶ especially the latter's arrest in connection with a Jacobite plot and his association with the Duke of Wharton.

Describing Sir Charles's study in which there are books in all the sciences, Richardson refers to the "globes, the orrery, and the instruments of all sorts, for geographical, astronomical; and other scientific observations." (VII. 271) The influence of this imagery on *Sir Charles Grandison*, though by Jocelyn Harris attributed to Addison and to Edward Young (especially to his

that the solar attraction will at last prevail over the projectile force as a result of which the planets will be swallowed up and transformed into the substance of the sun (*Essay on Regimen*, pp. 233-236, 302-303).

²³⁴ See "Preface to the reader" in the Law-edition of the *Aurora* (Vol. I): "Neither can any one understand this, though he read of it in the Scriptures, but by the Holy Spirit within himself, which proceedeth from the Father and the Son in the soul of every one; and by the Word in the heart, the Word of faith, which is God and Christ, even that true, divine Light which lighteth every one that cometh into the world."

²³⁵ This complicated piece of mechanism was invented about 1700 by George Graham, who sent his model to Rowley, an instrument maker, to make one for Prince Eugene. Rowley made a copy of it for Charles Boyle (1676-1731), earl of Orrery, hence the name.

²³⁶ See p. 30 above.

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Night Thoughts), will become clear by the following scene.²³⁷ Depicting the wedding procession in Volume VI, Charlotte compares Sir Charles and Harriet as (primary) planets and all other characters as mere satellites (secondary planets revolving around a primary one):

Tho' Lady G. Lady W. and the four Bride-maids, as well as the Lords, might have claimed high notice; yet not any of them received more than commendation: We were all considered but as Satellites to the Planets that passed before us. What, indeed, were we more? (VI. 224)

The next day, when all the wedding festivities are over, Charlotte answers the question asked by some people whether there was no man like her brother:

He ... is most likely to resemble him, who has an unbounded charity, and universal benevolence, to men of all professions; and who, *imitating the Divinity*, regards the heart, rather than the head. (VI. 241) (Italics are mine)

The influence of Cheyne's principle of reunion becomes clear in Clarissa's allegorical letter (IV. 157) in which she describes her flight into the country as the return to "her father's house". The earthly Lovelace interprets this as a reference to a possible reconciliation with her family, whereas Clarissa refers to her approaching death, and reunion with God, her Father. I will return to this subject later.

Cheyne tells us that "as it is considered as a *theological* Virtue [the *Principle of Reunion*] is *Charity*":

When fully expanded and set at freedom, *Charity*, or the Love of the *Supreme Being*, and of all his *Images* in a proper Subordination, according to their Rank in the *Scale* of Subsistences, is the necessary Effect of this *Principle of Reunion*.²³⁸

Cheyne reminds his readers that charity is not founded on interest or on rewards or punishments. It is, he writes, in a higher degree what motion is in brute matter, or what the tendency of the planets is towards the sun and he

²³⁷ Harris writes that in Addison's hymn "the planets revolve ... about their benevolent and impartial sun". She further explains that the planets in Young's *Night Thoughts* were an emblem of millennial love and adds that: "So too in *Grandison* [Richardson] provided a vision which was indeed the completion of his whole plan, an ordered universe revolving about Sir Charles" (cf. *Samuel Richardson*, Cambridge, 1987, p. 163). Young's poem reads as follows: The Planets of each System represent / Kind Neighbours; mutual Amity prevails; / Sweet Interchange of Rays, receiv'd, return'd; / Enlight'ning, and enlighten'd! All, at once / Attracting, and attracted! Patriot-like, / None sins against the Welfare of the Whole; / But their reciprocal, unselfish Aid, Affords an Emblem of *Millennial Love*. (Edward Young, *Night-Thoughts*, (1742-45), ed. George Gilfillan, Edinburgh, 1853, p. 276, IX. 698-705). We may wonder how much Cheyne in fact influenced Young, who greatly admired Cheyne as well.

²³⁸ *Philosophical Principles*, Part II, pp. 91-92.

refers to Henry More's "cogent and just Argument" that held:

*"As the Object of the Intellect is that which is simply true, and is assented to as such, and not as true to this particular Intellect which contemplates it, so there is an Object that is simply Good and Lovely, and to be loved as such, without regard to the Party that thus loves it."*²³⁹

Hence, Cheyne concluded that the worship of and homage to the supreme being was founded entirely upon his own original perfection and not on his rewards and punishments, for there neither ever was or could be room for "Contracts or Pacts". The primary reason must be love.²⁴⁰

According to Cheyne "as a Rule of Action [the *Principle of Reunion*] is our natural Conscience".²⁴¹ From this Cheyne argued that we could derive the true and genuine nature of moral good and evil and of all the moral virtues and social duties of life. He had written earlier that:

Though defaced and buried by contrary attractions, sensuality and the violent wordly amusements, this was no argument to deny [the] existence [of the Principle of Reunion], just like the "Ideotism [sic] of Some is not an Argument against the Principle of Reason in Human Nature".²⁴²

Whatever retards or opposes this principle of reunion (the source of charity or brotherly love) is moral evil, and whatever promotes or advances it is moral good.²⁴³ Once we recognize this, it is clear that Lovelace, in killing his own conscience because it tried to "oppose him", represents moral evil. Lovelace describes his action as follows to Belford:

Lord, Jack, what shall I do now! How one evil brings on another! Dreadful news to tell thee! While I was meditating a simple robbery, here have I (in my own defence indeed) been guilty of murder! A bloody murder! So I believe it will prove. At her last gasp! Poor *impertinent opposer!* Eternally resisting! Eternally contradicting! There she lies, weltering in her blood! Her death's wound have I given her! But she was a thief, an imposter, as well as a tormentor. She had stolen my pen. While I was sullenly meditating, doubting, as to my future measures, she stole it; and thus she wrote with it, in a hand exactly like my own. Thus far had my *conscience* written with my pen; and see what a recreant she had made me! I seized her by the throat - *There! - There!* said I, thou vile impertinent! Take *that*, and *that!* How often have I given thee warning! Take *that*, for a rising blow! And now will *thy* pain, and *my* pain from *thee*,

²³⁹ Ibid., pp. 94-95.

²⁴⁰ Ibid., p. 96.

²⁴¹ Ibid., p. 91

²⁴² Ibid., pp. 88-89.

²⁴³ Ibid., p. 91.

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soon be over. Lie there! Welter on! Had I not given thee thy death's wound, thou wouldst have robbed me of all my joys. (III. 145-146) (Underlining is mine)

Cheyne argued that if we inverted the order of subordination and placed ourselves in the rank and order which belongs to God, which we do when we make our own happiness the sole motive, then we would become "guilty of the *most gross and blackest Idolatry*":

*Charity, or the pure and disinterested Love of GOD, and of all his Images in a proper subordination, is the end of the Law; the Accomplishment of all the Graces, and the consummate Perfection of Christianity. The whole of Christianity is nothing but Rules for attaining this Love, or Measures whereby to remove the Impediments that hinder this Principle of Reunion (the source of charity) from operating, or Means to destroy the contrary Attractions which disturb the natural Operation of this Principle of Reunion; which wou'd of it self, if not stifled, opposed, and counteracted, necessarily beget this Divine Charity, whereby the Soul wou'd instantly be united with it's [sic] Center, and ultimate End, the supreme and absolute Infinite.*²⁴⁴

Clarissa represents moral good in that she promotes the principle of reunion. She follows her conscience, the light within, against all opposition, both from her family and Lovelace. She explains that:

My soul disdains communion with [Lovelace]. The single life ... has offered to me, as the life, the *only* life, to be chosen. But in *that*, must I not *now* sit brooding over my past afflictions, and mourning my faults till the hour of my release? And would not every one be able to assign the reason why Clarissa Harlowe chose solitude, and to sequester herself from the world? What then, my dear and only friend, can I wish for but death? And what, after all, *is* death? 'Tis but a cessation from mortal life: 'tis but a finishing of an appointed course: the refreshing inn after a fatiguing journey: the end of a life of cares and troubles; and, if happy, the beginning of a life of immortal happiness. (III. 521)

If she should live longer, she would never marry this or any other man:

I ought not to think of wedlock; but of a preparation for a quite different event. I am persuaded ... that I shall not live long. The strong sense I have ever had of my fault, the loss of my reputation, my disappointments, the determined resentment of my friends, *aiding* the barbarous usage I have met with where I least deserved it, have seized upon my heart: seized upon it, before it

²⁴⁴ *Ibid.*, pp. 98-99. On p. 99 ff. Cheyne discusses "two Objections" made against "this Doctrine of pure Love".

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was so well fortified by *religious considerations* as I hope it is now. (III. 522)²⁴⁵

She is convinced that:

God will soon *dissolve my substance; and bring me to death, and to the house appointed for all living.* (III. 523)

I will return to this later when discussing the *Theologia Germanica*.

Like other mystics, Boehme expressed his Christ mysticism by using the metaphors of the soul's marriage to Christ, of the birth of Christ in us, and of our death and resurrection with him. He also uses the figure of the soul's marriage to Sophia, the Virgin Wisdom, which is indirectly also a marriage to Christ. Cheyne equates wisdom with the "divine Sophia" when he explains that power, subsistence, duration, knowledge, wisdom, goodness, beauty in created beings are the images of the omnipotence, necessary existence, eternity, omniscience, the divine Sophia, benignity, and infinite perfection in the divine nature.²⁴⁶ Richardson uses the image of wisdom in *Sir Charles Grandison*. Describing Harriet on her wedding day, Charlotte refers to her as the Goddess of Wisdom or Sophia:

We followed the ... Goddess of Wisdom [Such her air, her manner, her amiableness, seemed in my thought, at that time, to make her], never, never, was such graciousness! (VI. 213)

A Tripartite Division of the *Universitas rerum omnium* into Supreme Spirit, Rational Soul, and Body

Important for the correct understanding of Cheyne is his discussion in *The Philosophical Principles* of the tripartite division of the *Universitas rerum omnium* into the supreme spirit, enabling communication with the supreme infinite, followed by the rational soul, designed to communicate with the material world, and finally, by the senses of the body. This Behmenist concept is

²⁴⁵ For the parallels between Clarissa and Madame Guyon, see Michael de la Bedoyere, *The Archbishop and the Lady: The Story of Fénelon and Madame Guyon*, London, 1956. Madame Guyon had a jealous (half)-brother who was furious with her, perhaps because of the way in which she had disposed of the family fortune, "without consulting anyone" (pp. 35, 37). About her persecutions Guyon writes "I knew not what I would become, on what side to turn, being alone and abandoned by all, without knowing, my God, what You wanted me to do." In a lodging-house in Genoa she was taken for a prostitute (p. 41), and her letters were forged (p. 45).

²⁴⁶ *Philosophical Principles*, part II, p. 61. See also Ellistone's Preface to the Reader of the English translation of the *Signatura Rerum*: "Whosoever will be a nursling of Sophia, and learn to understand, and speak the language of Wisdome, must be born again of, and in, the word of wisdome, Christ Jesus, the Immortall Seed: the Divine Essence which God breathed into his Paradissicall Soul must be revived, and he must become one again with that, which he was in God before he was a creature, and then his Eternall Spirit may enter into that which is within the vail, and see not onely the literall, but the Moral, Allegorical, and Anagogical meaning of the Wise and their dark sayings And so he may step into the most inward and holiest place of Theosophical Mysteries" (*Signatura Rerum*, A3).

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extensively dealt with by the Boehme scholars Hans L. Martensen and Andrew Weeks.²⁴⁷ According to Cheyne, it is in the due subordination, the perfect harmony and perpetual concord of these three, that the perfection of beings consists. Degeneracy, corruption and the Fall are a result of their discord, confusion and rebellion one against the other.²⁴⁸

Cheyne believed that the rational soul is not fitted for the real kind of knowledge of spiritual objects.²⁴⁹ He argued that, as the light of the sun is the medium through which material things are seen and perceived, so the essential light of the supreme infinite is the sole medium by and through which his nature and infinite perfections can be understood. He wrote:

In the *Analogy of Things*, as the *Light of the Sun* (that noble and glorious *Representation, Image and Vicegerent* of the *Supreme Infinite*, in the *material World*) is the *Medium*, through which *material Things* are seen and perceived in our *System*, so the *essential Light* of the *supreme Infinite* himself, is the sole *Medium*, by and through which, his Nature and infinite Perfections are to be understood, and comprehended. And therefore, as certainly as the *Sun* sends forth his *Light* on the whole *material World* without bounds or limits, on *the just and on the unjust*, so certainly the *Sun of Righteousness*, the *Pattern and Archetype* of our *material Sun*, sends forth his enlightening and enlivening Beams on all the *System* of created intelligent Beings; and is, *that Light which enlightens every Man that cometh into the World.*²⁵⁰

The similarities between Sir Charles and the “Sun of Righteousness” are made clear by Richardson in the scene describing Grandison Hall, in which the words “boundless” and “no bounds” as well as “free” and “open” stand out:

The gardens and lawn seem ... to be as *boundless* as the mind of the owner, and as free and open as his countenance. The park itself is remarkable for its

²⁴⁷ Hans L. Martensen, *Jacob Böhme: Studies in his Life and Teaching*, ed. S. Hobhouse, London, 1949, pp. 61-61, 145 ff. More recent is Andrew Weeks, *Boehme: An Intellectual Biography of the Seventeenth-Century Philosopher and Mystic*, New York, 1991, p. 99.

²⁴⁸ *The Philosophical Principles*, Part II, p. 66. Cheyne believed that the faculties belonging to the rational soul are limited, like the powers of the body, but are of a higher rank than those of the body. Imagination and memory are faculties of the rational soul. The former can paint a larger idea than the eyes can see, and the latter can store more than all the senses can present at one time. It is the understanding that combines, disjoins, or perhaps even garbles them. Cheyne again reminds his reader that all the faculties of the rational soul are finite in their capacity. The will, which is free, can pick and choose, but is still limited to the ideas and images as they present themselves to the imagination and as they are found in the memory (*Ibid.*, p. 64).

²⁴⁹ Cheyne asserted that in this “anarchical and rebellious state of human nature” the faculties belonging to the material world, i.e. those belonging to the rational soul, presume to judge the nature of subjects that belong to the supreme spirit. In their “usurp’d Superiority” they force “their Captives and Slaves to comply with the practical dictates they prescribe, as a result of which the whole order of nature and the material system of things has become distorted, inverted and corrupted. (*Philosophical Principles*, Part II, pp. 107-108).

²⁵⁰ *Philosophical Principles*, Part II, p. 112. See p. 74 above, especially footnote 234.

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prospects. the excellent owner [contents] himself to open and enlarge many fine prospects. The orchards, lawns, and grass-walks ... *bounded only by sunk fences*, the eye is carried to views that have *no bounds*. (VII. 272-273) (Italics are mine)

By distinguishing between the supreme spirit and the rational soul, Cheyne accounted for the errors of Spinoza and Hobbes, and the mistakes of the “otherwise genius” Mr. Locke. The supreme spirit may be dark, dead, almost quite obliterated as to its overt actions, while the rational soul is full of ideas, pictures and images of things. On the other hand, the supreme spirit may be full of light, brightness, substantial knowledge, joy and peace, while the rational soul is weak, faint and languid, and almost empty of all ideas and images.²⁵¹

Religious Melancholy

Another subject which may have influenced Richardson was the one of religious melancholy, discussed by Cheyne in chapter VI of *The Essay of Health and Long Life*. Cheyne alleges that often the person so “distempered” has little solid piety. According to him, this form of melancholy is actually caused by disgust or disrelish of worldly amusements and creature comforts. He classifies it as a disease of the body, caused by a bad constitution in which the nervous system is broken or disordered, and the juices viscid and glewy. Those who suffer from religious melancholy, so Cheyne argues, are very ignorant as to how to govern themselves and it always leads to “Fluctuation and Indocility, Scrupulosity (a word used by Richardson in *Sir Charles Grandison*), Horror and

²⁵¹ Ibid., p. 125. Cheyne's admiration for Locke, if perhaps somewhat guarded, appears from *The Essay on Regimen* in which he writes: “the *human Spirit* is literally, and not in a mere Figure, a *Tabula Rasa*, a *Sheet of white Paper*, as it comes into the world at present, under its *planetary* Plaistering. And the *final Cause* of this reduceing the spiritual substance to a *Tabula Rasa*, by a gross Plaistering, and a temporary Imprisonment, in the dark, dismal, cadaverous *Dungeon* of this Body, seems to be not only for *Expiation* and *Punishment*, but that the *moral Powers* of the Soul, *Justice, Goodness* and *Truth*, or *Faith, Hope* and *Charity*, might feel no Interruption from the *Activity, Extent* and *Contrariety* of [the] natural Powers [*living, understanding* and *willing*], but that they might amicably, gradually, and, by *mutual Assistance* and *Support*, rise and grow together in similar *Steps*, and a regulated *Progression*, till they were confirm'd into a *Habit* ... to fit the Subject for the *last passive grand Operation* in the *Oeconomy of Jesus*.” This, he suggests, is “perhaps really and truly (as the Liturgy of the *Church of England* expresses it) communicated to us in the *worthy* receiveing of the *Sacrament of the Body and Blood of Jesus*.” The manner how, says Cheyne, is the “proper Subject of *Faith*, unconceivable to us, at least as we are at present, but the *Fact*, in general, or something of that kind, highly probable from *Analogy*, and evident from *Revelation*: For, [he thinks], no truly *humble Christian*, let him be in what State of *Perfection* he may, can think himself fit to be *united* and *commerciat* [sic] eternally with *infinet* [sic] *Purity* and *Perfection*, till some great Work be done in his *Soul*.” (Cf. *The Essay on Regimen*, 1740, pp. 318-322, 339). See Law's *Demonstration* for his interpretation of the Eucharist: “How justly are we said to eat Christ as the *Bread of Life*, to eat *his Flesh*, and drink *his Blood*, &c., when by faith we draw him into us, as our Principle of Life? For what can express the Nature of this *Faith*, so well as *Hunger* and *Thirst*? (*Works*, Vol. V, p. 112).

Despair”.²⁵²

We will see how Richardson used this theme of religious melancholy in *Sir Charles Grandison* when he depicts Clementina’s “madness”, especially her wanderings. In a last effort to convert Sir Charles, Clementina dresses up in her servant’s clothes and sets out on “God’s errand” to convince Sir Charles of his errors and so to save his soul (III. 202). She believes she has heard a voice from heaven bidding her to convert Sir Charles. Or, again, in the scene in which Clementina thought that God had laid his hand upon her (V. 573). Fearing a relapse, Sir Charles was not so convinced and called her in his letter to Dr Bartlett a “noble Enthusiast”.

In *Sir Charles Grandison* Richardson pays tribute to Cheyne in the scene describing how Sir Charles had decided to take two more doctors with him to Italy:

Two physicians eminent for their knowledge of disorders of the head, to whom he had before communicated the case of the unhappy Clementina; and who brought to him in writing their opinions of the manner in which she ought to be treated, according to the various symptoms of her disorder. [He] said very high things at the same time in praise of the English surgeons. As nervous disorders were more frequent in England, than in any country in the world, he was willing to hope, that the English physicians were more skilful than those of any other country in the management of persons afflicted with such maladies. As he was now invited over, he was determined to furnish himself with all the means he could think of, that were likely to be useful in restoring and healing friends so dear to him. (IV. 313)

The description of Clementina’s aching head and Sir Charles’s concern about the state of Clementina’s health, may have been influenced by *The English Malady*, in which Cheyne divided the nervous distempers into three degrees, although he warned he could not be very accurate in such a “Proteus-like” distempers.²⁵³ In *The English Malady* Cheyne explained that nervous distempers of the first degree were mainly confined to the stomach and bowels, often involving a pain in the “Pit of the Stomach”, and headaches “behind or over the Eyes”, like a “Puncturation”, with flies and atoms dancing before the eyes. Sometimes there would be a noise “like the dying Sounds of Bells” in the

²⁵² It is therefore something of a surprize that Porter writes that “major early Georgian texts on melancholy, such as George Cheyne’s *English Malady* (1733) hardly touch on religious melancholy.” He adds that “in Cheyne’s case the silence is almost deafening. For Cheyne himself was a depressive, suffering religious crises and personally proselytizing a chiliastic, quasi-mystic faith. Yet no discussion of souls in crisis appears in his medical work.” (Cf. *Mind-forged Manacles: A History of Madness in England from the Restoration to the Regency*, Cambridge, Massachusetts, 1987, pp. 80-81). The most probable reason why Cheyne did not mention religious melancholy in *The English Malady* in 1733 was that he had already discussed it in *The Essay of Health and Long Life*, written in 1724. And he had dismissed it, not for any obscure personal reasons, but simply because he believed that the person so “distempered” had little solid piety.

²⁵³ *The English Malady*, p. 196. The word “Proteus” is used by Richardson in *Clarissa*, Vol. II, p. 82.

ears and several other symptoms.

In the second stage of this distemper we encounter the same symptoms, but in a higher degree, as well as some new ones. There is now a fixed and deep melancholy, wandering and delusory images on the brain, despondency and horror, sometimes unaccountable fits of laughter and crying, which generally end in faintings. We have seen how Clementina had already "progressed" to the second stage when she set out on "God's errand", hearing voices from heaven. Cheyne believed that if this second stage was not cured, the third stage would begin and this generally involved a mortal and incurable distemper, such as dropsy, consumption, palsy and apoplexy, which may explain Sir Charles's concern for Clementina.²⁵⁴

Hence, Cheyne's conclusion that the "Vapours", which he admits to be a very loose term, are the symptoms of a real chronical disease, which, if neglected, will put an end to life.²⁵⁵ Though some may be born with such a constitution, neglecting it, or fuelling the disease by a mal-regimen would, according to Cheyne, certainly lead to those real distempers like dropsy, etc., mentioned above, and ultimately to death. Such mortal distempers are irremedial and admit of nothing else but a "palliative" cure to make the symptoms easy. Some of the suggestions made by Cheyne to cure the first stages of the vapours are gentle vomits, helped by "Ipecacuanha",²⁵⁶ familiar to the readers of *Clarissa*, because Lovelace took it to make himself sick so as to make Clarissa feel pity for him (Vol. II, 434-436, 455). Cheyne further suggests camomile tea to "throw off" the phlegm, as well as steel and water.

Mercury and Phlebotomy

As mentioned, Cheyne prescribed Ipecacuanha and camomile tea in the first stage of nervous distempers. In the second and, especially, the third stages, it was mercury and phlebotomy with which Cheyne attempted to restore the patient's health. He prescribed both to Richardson. More importantly, the practice of phlebotomy is described in *Sir Charles Grandison*. Some elaboration therefore seems appropriate.

In his works Cheyne mentions the curative qualities of mercury when he discusses palsy in the third stage of the nervous distempers. He states that anyone acquainted with nature and the "animal Oeconomy" knows why the same cause, mercury, should cure and yet also cause and produce, in different degrees and quantities, the same disease palsy. He explains how mercury in moderate doses will break, dissolve and attenuate the blood and the juices, whose viscosity and consequent compression on the nerves interrupt their vibrations and action and so cause palsy, which a "gentle Salivation" will remedy. But, he warns, when the active steams and small ponderous particles of mercury have entered and saturated the substance of the nerves and solids,

²⁵⁴ Ibid., p. 200.

²⁵⁵ Ibid., pp. 194, 203.

²⁵⁶ Ibid., p. 206.

they will spoil and change the whole substance and action, and thus cause a “universal” palsy.²⁵⁷ It is a warning found in chapter VIII of Boehme's *Signatura Rerum* in which Boehme describes mercury and advises physicians as to the use of it for medical purposes:

Here the physicians must observe, that they learn distinctly to know what kind of property is the strongest in each thing with which they would cure; if they do not know it, they will oftentimes give their patients death.²⁵⁸

Phlebotomy was another method contributing to the cure of the patient in the case of nervous distempers. To remove any misunderstandings about the scene in *Sir Charles Grandison* which describes how Clementina undergoes the eighteenth-century practice of phlebotomy, we have to understand that, according to Cheyne, it was the “whole Business of the Physician” to render the blood sufficiently fluid, sweet and balsamic, because only this could restore the patient's health. The physician could only try to improve the juices, because he could not do much for the solids after maturity. Cheyne explains that bleeding is absolutely fit and indispensable both with a quick, strong pulse or a weak, quick pulse and in headaches or when there is confusion. He does not believe that it matters much from which vein or artery the blood is taken, but that in the case of an immediate relief, the one nearest to the part of the body affected is better. However, he warns that too much bleeding could lead to lowness, faintness and a disability of motion, which should be avoided.²⁵⁹

²⁵⁷ Ibid., p. 241. On pp. 125-126 Cheyne advises “Calomel, Mercury alcalifated, Precipitat, Quicksilver, Silver-Water, Aethiops, Mineral, Cinnabar of Antimony, Antimony diaphoretic, Bezoar Mineral, crude Antimony, Bezoardicum joviale, Salt of tin, Ens veneris and the like”. Modern research has shown that the two main effects of acute exposure to mercury poisoning are neurological and renal disturbances (this is perhaps why Richardson complained about tremors and his shaky handwriting in later years (see John Carroll, *Selected Letters of Samuel Richardson*, Oxford, 1964, p. 342). The classic signs and symptoms of long-term exposure to mercury vapour are objective tremors, mental disturbances and gingivitis. This may explain Richardson's complaints about loosing his teeth, which caused him great distress. We find several references to “teeth” throughout his letters (cf. p. 28 of this study). In *Sir Charles Grandison* we are told that Sir Hargrave had lost three front teeth in the struggle with Sir Charles (I. 200) and wants revenge (I. 196). See also *Sir Charles Grandison*, I. 181: “I wonder what business a *man* has for such fine teeth, and so fine a mouth, as Sir Charles Grandison might boast of, were he vain”. Most of the antimony absorbed accumulates in the spleen, liver and bone. Workmen in a plant where antimony trisulfide was used exhibited increased blood pressure, significant changes in their ECG's and ulcers (see A. Ruiter, “Kwik”, in *Chemische Feitelikheden*, cd-rom Actuele Chemische Encyclopedie, Koninklijke Nederlandse Chemische Vereniging, Nov. 1998, and for the effects of mercury and antimony, see the World Health Organization, *International Programme on Chemical Safety: Guidelines for Drinking-Water Quality*, Vol. 2, 2nd ed., 1996).

²⁵⁸ *Signatura Rerum*, p. 79.

²⁵⁹ *The Natural Method*, pp. 138-140; for a warning against bloodletting see p. 251. See also *The Essay of Health and Long Life*, p. 191. Cheyne informs us how he uses a microscope to investigate the blood and refers to Dr Jurin's experiments, who, by chemical analyses, had found a great proportion of phlegm or pure water in the serum, and only a little salt, oil and earth. But Cheyne adds

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The subject of phlebotomy is for instance discussed in Cheyne's letter of 12 September 1739. We read that Cheyne is disappointed that Richardson's health had not improved as much as he had expected. He writes he is extremely concerned that Richardson should still have reason to complain, but adds that suffering is "the Fate of all honest Men in this Life, which is a State of Trial and Probation for another Mansion".²⁶⁰ However, in his next letter of 26 October 1739 he writes that Richardson's symptoms of pain, anxiety and discouragement were merely "nervous and hysterical", and as, in his views, "all nervous Distempers come from imperfect Digestion", he advises Richardson to stick to the diet he prescribes together with a regular vomit to "free the stomach from phlegm and choler", and a "little gentle bleeding once a quarter" which should do the trick to cure him.²⁶¹ He further writes that:

[He is] rejoiced Mr. Freke found your Blood so good; he is a very good Judge and therefore you need fear Nothing but breeding too much of it which little frequent Bleedings will always prevent.²⁶²

Freke was one of the select group of friends who read the manuscript of *Clarissa* in 1746.²⁶³ Moreover, Freke was a friend of both William Law and John Byrom.

It is clear from the above that the eighteenth century practice of *Phlebotomy* was seen as a medical operation of blood-letting, and, however unpleasant and unnecessary it must seem to us today, it was not related to any sado-masochistic predilection, as has been suggested by Albert J. Rivero, who thought that the bleeding of Clementina was "the most memorable incident

that he had little faith in the "Principles of any natural Bodies forced out by the Tortures of Fire in Chymistry, at least for the Purpose of Medicine". He also mentions the experiments of transfusion (*The Natural Method*, p. 140).

²⁶⁰ Mullett, *Op. cit.*, pp. 56-57.

²⁶¹ *Ibid.*, p. 58. Bleeding, or "little frequent Phlebotomies", both as a cleansing and diagnostic method, is mentioned on a very regular basis throughout the correspondence, see for instance on pp. 70 and 115.

²⁶² *Ibid.*, p. 58. The reference to Dr. John Freke is an interesting one. Freke (1688-1756) was a surgeon to the St. Bartholomew's Hospital from 1729 to 1755. Besides being one of the most important surgeons within the city of London, he was also known as a man learned in science. He had been elected Fellow of the Royal Society in 1729 and contributed various articles to the *Philosophical Transactions* of the Royal Society, which Richardson printed at least from 1752 until his death, and which after Richardson's death were printed by the famous William Bowyer the Younger (1699-1777). (See John Nichols, *Biographical and Literary Anecdotes of William Bowyer, Printer*, 1782). Freke made experiments in electricity and in 1748 he published *An Essay to show the Cause of Electricity and why some things are Non-Electricable, in which is also considered its Influence in the Blasts on Human Bodies, in the Blights on Trees, in the Damps in Mines, and as it may affect the Sensitive Plants*. This essay along with two others was republished in 1752 as *A Treatise on the Nature and Property of Fire*, which he sent to Law, because he had been influenced by Law's remark that "all is magnetism". In 1748 he published *An Essay on the Art of Healing* in which the causes of various diseases are accounted for both from nature and reason and in which he made some interesting remarks about breast cancer and the danger of not removing the infected lymphatics.

²⁶³ Cf. Eaves and Kimpel, *Samuel Richardson: A Biography*, Oxford, 1971, p. 207.

in the novel".²⁶⁴ When Clementina's health further deteriorates, her mother suggests that Clementina be bled. Clementina applies to Sir Charles because, quite understandably, she has a strong aversion against it, but Sir Charles, following eighteenth-century medical ideas, considers it merely the breathing of a vein (III. 192). She compares herself in this scene to Iphigenia about to be offered (III. 194). When Harriet is ill in Volume VII it is the much respected Dr. Lowther "who thought it advisable that [Harriet] should loose blood" (VII. 421).

Richardson in a Wider International Context

We have seen that, via Cheyne, Richardson was influenced by Boehme, Bourignon, Guyon and Fénelon. By a further examination of the Cheyne-Richardson correspondence, we will find that Richardson was familiar with some of the work of the French theologian Pierre Poiret, whose books were published by the Swiss/Dutch Henry Wetstein. The latter lived and worked in Amsterdam. Richardson had contacts with the French refugee Paul Vaillant, who was a bookseller in London. Moreover, Richardson knew the *Theologia Germanica* and was interested in the Far and Middle East.

But let us first turn to Pierre Poiret whose name appears in relation with one of Cheyne's last projects. In a letter dated 5 September 1742 Cheyne explains that he is looking for someone, he leaves it up to Richardson to find "such a Person", who would prepare a *Catalogue of Books for the Devout, the Tender, Valetudinarian and Nervous*.²⁶⁵ It was to be "judiciously collected by a Man of Virtue and Taste" and was to contain "a Character and short Contents of all the Books in English or French that are fit to amuse, divert, or instruct". The books would have to be on the side of "pure Virtue" without "much Love-Affairs". They would also have to be interesting and "gently soothing" the passions of "Friendship, Benevolence and Charity", and they would have to include a sufficient mixture of the "Probable and Marvelous" to keep the soul awake and suspend its too intense thinking on its own misfortunes. He believed that such a catalogue would be a "great Charity" and would be well received by the "Virtuous and Serious of all Parties". He also suggests that it might be called a "Catalogue of [Pamela's] Library".²⁶⁶

Of course, Cheyne hoped that Richardson would get involved in the pro-

²⁶⁴ As I have mentioned in the Introduction of this study, Albert Rivero argues that the bleeding scene in *Sir Charles Grandison* is a maimed rite, a dark romantic scene hinting unspeakable sexual transactions. (Cf. Albert J. Rivero, *New Essays on Samuel Richardson*, London, 1996, p. 221.)

²⁶⁵ Mullett, *Op. cit.*, Letter LXX, September 5, 1742, pp. 109-111.

²⁶⁶ *Ibid.*, pp. 109-110. Cheyne highly valued his own library (see p. 105 below) and in *Sir Charles Grandison*, Richardson extensively describes Sir Charles's library which contained books in all the sciences (VII. 271), as well as the servants library which was divided into three classes, "one [class] of books of *divinity* and *morality*: Another for *housewifery*: A third of *history*, true adventures, voyages, and innocent amusements. I, II, III are marked on the cases, and the same on the back of each book, the more readily to place and re-place them, as a book is taken out for use. They are bound in buff for strength"(VII. 286). The gardener had his own books in a little house in the garden (VII. 286).

ject of the catalogue as well for several reasons. First, Cheyne and Richardson shared an interest in spiritual and internal religion; secondly, Cheyne valued Richardson's opinion; and thirdly, Cheyne knew Richardson could also contribute in other areas, for instance in assisting to write the index and table of contents, which Richardson was very good at. Richardson had been highly complemented in the *History of the Works of the Learned* for his index to the first volume of *The Negotiations of Sir Thomas Roe*: "The Table of Contents is an excellent pattern, which the Publishers of such collections will always do well to imitate."²⁶⁷

In his letter of 17 September 1742 Cheyne recommends Poiret's work on the mystic writers as the best model he could propose for his own little catalogue. He notes how "finely and elegantly" Poiret had described the characters of the mystics in a small octavo in Latin, called the *Bibliotheca Mysticorum*, which had been published in 1708 by Henry Wetstein.²⁶⁸ Cheyne especially mentioned that it had been printed by Henry Wetstein and that Richardson could possibly get it at Mr Vaillant's shop in the Strand, at least that was where Cheyne had bought it himself.²⁶⁹ Paul Vaillant came from a Protestant family at Samur in Anjou, France, and had escaped to England at the time of the Revocation of the Edict of Nantes. He had settled as a bookseller in London around 1696 and obtained a good reputation since he became one of the publishers of John Mills's Greek Testament (1707). Vaillant was one of the publishers of Nathaniel Hooke's translation of A.M. Ramsay's *Life of Fénelon* (1723) and also of Fénelon's *Pious Thoughts* (1720). In 1743 Cheyne still bought books through Vaillant's shop, now run by his sons, for he asked Richardson to have James Leake junior, to go to Mr. Vaillant and send him a list of all the newest books, philosophical or entertaining.²⁷⁰

In his letter of 2 November 1742, Cheyne further elaborates on his project of the catalogue. He wants it to contain the "best, easiest, and most genuine Books in all the Arts and Sciences", such as the most approved spiritual and religious works of Christianity, books of "History Natural and Political", travel books and the "Accounts of all Countries and Nations". Moreover, those "allegorical Histories, Adventures and Novels" that are religious, interesting and probable, should be included, as well as divine and moral poetry and some plays, but only if they recommend "Virtue and good Manners". He also wants "Books on physic" to be included, because these are "absolutely necessary in such a Catalogue". He realizes that only "Lovers of pure Evangelical Virtue" ought to be employed, because others can have "neither Taste nor Judgment" in such a work.²⁷¹ He asks Richardson to talk about it "among the Brethren",

²⁶⁷ Alan Dugald McKillop, *Samuel Richardson: Printer and Novelist*, Chapel Hill, 1936, pp. 311-312, also p. 13.

²⁶⁸ Pierre Poiret, *Bibliotheca Mysticorum Selecta*, Amsterdam, 1708.

²⁶⁹ Mullett, *Op. cit.*, p. 111.

²⁷⁰ *Ibid.*, p. 124.

²⁷¹ *Ibid.*, p. 111.

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with whom he meant the booksellers and not some secret society or circle, as has been suggested by Guerrini.²⁷²

Cheyne specifically mentions that the size of the book had to be of a "reasonable octavo". Cheyne apparently did not approve of the smaller and cheaper duodecimo size.²⁷³ He wanted it to be the work of "Time and several Hands" which, he thought, might be "picked up among the Booksellers." He enclosed a sketch of the title page:

The Universal Cure of Lingering Disorders either of the Mind or of the Body.
The Characters, a brief Summary and Catalogue of the most approved Books, their Prices, and the Places where to be had, in all the Sciences fit to instruct in the Cure of Chronical Distempers, to Eradicate the black Passions, to bend the Vices to Virtue and Piety, to sooth Melancholy, Vapours and Pain, and to support the Spirits under Misfortunes or Bodily Ails. Either in the French or English Tongues. Collected and executed by a Society of Gentlemen, eminent respectively in the Theory of Physic or Cure of Bodily Distempers, in Speculative or Practical Divinity, in Ecclesiastical or Civil History, in Natural History or Natural Philosophy, in Travels or the Works of the Imagination. Which are fittest for the Use proposed. With a general Preface and Reflections on the Use and Benefit of such a Work and of such Writing as agreeably withdraw the Mind from Thinking.

Felix quem Faciunt aliena pericula Cautum.²⁷⁴

We have come across the name of Pierre Poiret several times, so now I will try to answer the question as to who he was and what he wrote, as well as discuss his connection with Henry Wetstein. More importantly, I will explain how Poiret may have influenced Richardson.

²⁷² Cheyne used the word "Brethren" in the same context in *The Essay of Health and Long Life* when he described Dr Pitcairne, who had thought himself ill-used by some of his "Brethren" of the profession (*The Essay of Health and Long Life*, Preface, p. ii, 1724). And again, in "The Author's Case" Cheyne wrote that he had been seized with a fever, which, notwithstanding all the "Skill and Care of my Brethren, the Physicians" lasted more than twenty days (p. 340 of *The English Malady*). In *Obesity and Depression in the Enlightenment: The Life and Times of George Cheyne*, Guerrini quite erroneously states that "Richardson was another member of what Cheyne referred to as "the Brethren", who shared mystical literature and opposed "meer Rationalists" on every front", quoting as her sources the same letters I have used, to be found in Mullett, *Op. cit.*, pp. 112 and 118 (Guerrini, *Op. cit.*, p. 156, n. 29 on p. 231). See also letter XLV of 24 October 1741 in which Cheyne uses the word "Fraternity" to refer to booksellers. He writes to Richardson on the subject of his last book, i.e. *The Natural Method*, as follows: "If [Strahan] would take the whole [book] and part it among his Fraternity as he thought fit he should have the Remainder of the Copies of the last Book with the whole Impression of this and the sole Property of Both paying the 80 [Pounds] I advanced to Leake and Rivington and 125 [Pounds] for this last" (cf. Mullett, p. 71). It is therefore unfounded to suggest that Richardson was a member of a secret "circle" called "the Brethren".

²⁷³ Mullett, *Op. cit.*, p. 115.

²⁷⁴ *Ibid.*, p. 126.

The Relation between Pierre Poiret and Henry Wetstein

Cheyne referred to Poiret's *Bibliotheca mysticorum* section V of which contains the *Catalogus plurimorum auctorum qui de rebus mysticis aut spiritualibus scripserunt*. It had been published in 1708 at Amsterdam by Poiret's close friend, Henry Wetstein. The *Bibliotheca mysticorum* was to become an important reference work for Protestants, and we find frequent references to it by Byrom and Law. We know Cheyne was also an admirer of Poiret. He certainly had most, if not all, of Poiret's works,²⁷⁵ and he may even have met him while in Leiden, for Poiret lived in Rijnsburg, a small village near Leiden.²⁷⁶

Poiret was a French Protestant spiritual writer and a keen student of mystics such as Thomas à Kempis and J. Tauler, but especially of Boehme, Fénelon, Guyon, and Antoinette Bourignon, whose companion Poiret had been until her death in 1680. Marjolaine Chevallier wrote an interesting biography entitled *Pierre Poiret (1646-1719): Du protestantisme à la mystique*, published in 1994.²⁷⁷ She also published an extensive bibliography of Poiret.²⁷⁸ Chevallier describes the group of friends surrounding Poiret and Wetstein, among whom George Cheyne, Dr James Keith in London, James and George Garden, Lord Forbes of Pitsligo, the diplomat Baron Wolf von Metternich, A.M. Ramsay, and the Philadelphian Francis Lee,²⁷⁹ not as a sect, but as a group of very spiritually-minded men ("âmes intérieures"), who exhibited a form of quietism typi-

²⁷⁵ In Dr James Keith's copy of James Garden's *Theologiae Pacificae* there is in Cheyne's handwriting an instruction referring to certain of Poiret's books and George Garden's *Apology for M.A. Bourignon*, which reads as follows: "Direct for Dr. Cheyne at Bath till the end of Octr [sic] at Mr. Skine's apothecary, after that for him at London to be left at Old Man's Coffee House near Charing Cross, Westminster" (cf. Henderson, *Op. cit.* p. 104). If Cheyne really spent some time in Leiden, it is perfectly possible that he met Poiret, who lived in Rijnsburg, as well as the printer Henry Wetstein and his younger brother Jean-Luc (see footnote 136 above).

²⁷⁶ Poiret lived in Amsterdam from 1680 until 1688 when he moved to Rijnsburg, "where the Collegiants, a small offshoot of the Remonstrants, held their meetings. The Collegiants, or "Rijnsburgers", held that the Church was an invisible society and every externally constituted Church a corruption. At the end of the eighteenth century most of the adherents of this sect were absorbed in the Remonstrants or the Mennonites. Chevallier describes Rijnsburg as "la bourgade pieuse" (Marjolaine Chevallier, *Pierre Poiret (1646-1719): Du protestantisme à la mystique*, Genève, 1994, p. 70).

²⁷⁷ *Ibid.*

²⁷⁸ Marjolaine Chevallier, "Bibliography of Pierre Poiret", in *Bibliotheca dissidentium, Répertoire des non-conformistes religieux des seizième et dix-septième siècles*, Tome V, Baden-Baden, 1985.

²⁷⁹ Marjolaine Chevallier, *Pierre Poiret (1649-1719)*, pp. 80-82, 97-98, 133-134, 136. The doctrines of the Philadelphians derived ultimately from Boehme whose ideas had been adopted by John Pordage and Jane Lead. As a religious sect the Philadelphian Society for the Advancement of Piety and Divine Knowledge had virtually disappeared after the death of Janet Lead in 1704. The term "Society" was preferred to "Church" because its members were expected to remain within their respective Churches. The Philadelphians professed a kind of nature pantheism and believed that their souls were illuminated by the Holy Spirit. The learned Francis Lee (1661-1719) was much impressed by Jane Lead's writings, which he had come across in the Netherlands. He became an ardent disciple, married Jane Lead's daughter, and was the key figure who spread Philadelphian doctrines on the Continent. A detailed description of the historical development of the Behmenists and the Philadelphians was made by Nils Thune in *The Behmenists and the Philadelphians: A Contribution to the Study of English Mysticism in the 17th and 18th Centuries*, Uppsala, 1948. Hans Schneider writes in "Der radikale Pietismus im 18. Jahrhundert" that in their statutes of

cal of Christians originally belonging to the Reformed Church, though they generally remained Protestant. Pure love and charity played a very important role.²⁸⁰

Chevallier uses Kolakowski's expression to describe Poirer as one of those "chrétiens sans Église" whose aim it was to disseminate the idea of a purified religion, using mainly literary means. Poirer did not condemn the whole world as did Antoinette Bourignon, nor did he predict the salvation of only a small community of saints. He suggested models which could be followed.²⁸¹ His main objective was to break down the barriers between the various confessions and to contribute to a true spirit of tolerance. The similarity between Poirer's objective and that of Richardson as expressed in Richardson's notes to his books is remarkable. An example is for instance to be found in the "Concluding Note by the Editor" to *Sir Charles Grandison*:

There is no manner of inconvenience in having a pattern propounded to us of so great perfection, as is above our reach to attain to; and there may be great advantages in it. The way to excel in any kind is, *optima quaeque exempla ad imitandum proponere*; to propose the brightest and most perfect Examples to our imitation. No man can write after too perfect and good a copy; and tho' he can never reach the perfection of it, yet he is like to learn more, than by one less perfect. He that aims at the heavens, which yet he is sure to come short of, is like to shoot higher than he that aims at a mark within his reach. (Appendix to *Sir Charles Grandison*, p. 466)

Another important contributor to the knowledge about Poirer is Gianluca Mori, whose intellectual biography of Poirer *Tra Descartes e Bayle. Poirer e la Teodicea*, is a synthesis of his earlier philosophical research.²⁸² He describes Poirer as follows:

Nel periodo considerato, lo vedremo, Poirer, continuamente all'opera, nell'ansioso tentativo di arrivare ad un "sistema" finalmente coerente ed armonico nelle sue parti.²⁸³

In his fight with Bayle (theology versus reason) Poirer concluded that silence was the only dignified answer. Mori describes this as follows:

1702 we explicitly find "das böhmistische Substrat der philadelphischen Theosophie ... (Makrokosmos-Mikrokosmos-Vorstellung, himmlische Sophia, "mittlerer Zustand" der Seelen nach dem Tod, Chiliasmus, Apokatastasis)." (Cf. in Martin Brecht et al., *Geschichte des Pietismus: Der Pietismus im 18. Jahrhundert*, Band 2, Göttingen, 1995, p. 112).

²⁸⁰ Marjolaine Chevallier, *Op. cit.*, pp. 146-147.

²⁸¹ *Ibid.*, p. 84.

²⁸² Gianluca Mori, *Tra Descartes e Bayle. Poirer e la Teodicea*, Bologna, 1990. (Cf. Chevallier, *Op. cit.*, p. 14.)

²⁸³ *Ibid.*, p. 11.

The Influence of Cheyne's Thoughts on Richardson

La teologia, semplicemente, è contraddittoria e inconcepibile per le limitate capacità della mente umana. L'unica risposta possibile alle argomentazioni di Bayle, allora, è il silenzio; un dignitoso silenzio che egli manterrà ... sino in fondo.²⁸⁴

Hardly anything has appeared about Poiret in either Dutch or English.²⁸⁵

In his youth Poiret briefly became an apprentice to the engraver Sébastien Le Clerc, which may explain his later interest in this area. He was for instance involved in getting new engravings which were to accompany Wetstein's publication of Spener's *Pia Desideria*.²⁸⁶ Poiret afterwards left Le Clerc to go to the Latin school in Metz. In 1664 he left Metz to go to the Erasmus College in Basel to study Greek, Hebrew, philosophy and, ultimately, theology with Johann Rudolph Wetstein (1614-1684), Professor of the New Testament from 1656 till his death.²⁸⁷ Poiret became friends with this very learned and famous family from Basel, especially with Johann Rudolph's sons Henry and Johann Rudolph (the Younger), whom he taught French. Henry Wetstein (1646-1726), a learned man, proficient in French, Italian, German, Dutch, Latin, Greek and Hebrew,²⁸⁸ would later go to Amsterdam, first to work for Daniel Elsevier from 1669 to 1676 and then to set up his own publishing business.

²⁸⁴ Ibid., p. 255.

²⁸⁵ E.G.E. van der Wall briefly mentions Poiret in *De mystieke Chiliast Petrus Serrarius (1600-1669) en zijn wereld*, Dordrecht, 1987, e.g. pp. 514, 522-523. As we have seen, Poiret is frequently mentioned in Byrom's letters and journal, as a result of which he occurs in Henry Talon's *Selections from the Journals & Papers of John Byrom, Poet-Diarist-Shorthand Writer 1691-1763*, London, 1950.

²⁸⁶ Marjolaine Chevallier, *Op. cit.*, p. 100.

²⁸⁷ Source for the Wetstein family: *Zedler Universal Lexikon*, Akademische Druck - U. Verlangsanstalt, Graz, Austria, 1962. The entry for Henry Wetstein in "mittelhochdeutsch" is as follows: Wetstein, Johann Heinrich, ein Bruder des jungern Johann Rudolph Wetsteins, geboren in Basel den 15 Merz 1646, legte sich in seiner Jugend nicht allein auf die Buchdruckeren und Handlung, sondern auch auf die Sprachen und andere Wissenschaften. Er liess sich zu Amsterdam nieder Er führte eine Briefwechsel in allerhand Sprachen, und machte sich nicht weniger durch seine Gelehrsamkeit, als durch seine vortrefliche Buchhandlung bekannt. For an overview of the publishing activities of Henry Wetstein and his sons Gerard and Rudolph, see I.H. van Eeghen, *De Amsterdamse Boekhandel 1680-1725*, Vol. IV, Amsterdam, 1967, pp. 168-182.

²⁸⁸ See Wetstein's obituary in the "Republyk der Geleerden", a journal published by his sons Rudolph and Gerard (March-April 1726, pp. 372-376). They announced their father's death as follows: "Dat de naam van den nu onlangs overleden Hre. *Hendrik Wetstein* in wezen zal blyven, en met lof gedacht worden, zo lange als het grote getal van fraaie drukken, door hem met vele kosten in het licht gebracht, als zo vele getuigen van zynen onsterfelyken roem, zullen gezien en getrokken, en door brave mannen in hun schriften aangehaald worden, is eene waarheit, die zelfs door zyne benyders onaangevochten zal blyven. Een kort bericht van het leven dezese geleerden Boekhandelaars byvoegen. Johan Rudolph Wetstein, de grootvader van onzen Hendrik Wetstein, [was] burgermeester des stadt Bazel. Johan Rudolph, ... de vader van onzen Hendrik, vermaard hoogleeraar in de Godgeleerdheit in de hogeschole te Bazel, en een der geleerdste mannen van zynen tyd. Verscheidene talen machtig, ... de Grieksche en Latynsche, de Hebreusche, de Fransche, de Italiaanse, en de Hoog- en Nederduitsche." Henry Wetstein remained active to the very last which appears from the March-April issue of 1724 of the "Republyk der Geleerden" (pp. 374-376) in which Rudolph and Gerard had advertised a few smaller works published in 1724 by

Wetstein published works by Boehme, as did his sons afterwards, for Geissmar informs us for instance that Rudolph and Gerard Wetstein had published a new collection of Boehme's work in 1718, called "Einleitung zum Wahren und gründlichen Erkänntnis ... , Amsterdam, zu finden bei R. und G. Wetstein".²⁸⁹ Wetstein also published all of Poirer's works, as well as works by Fénelon, Guyon, Bourignon and some translations of the Philadelphian Jane Lead's work in Dutch and German.²⁹⁰ This caused Bayle to write in 1698: "Le Libraire Wetstein ... est un peu prévenu des opinions des mystiques", but in 1684 Jean le Clerc had written to Bayle about Wetstein: "C'est un fort honnête homme et qui entend aussi bien son métier qu'aucun libraire d'Hollande".²⁹¹

As to Johann Rudolph the Younger (1647-1711), he followed in his father's footsteps and became a famous professor of the New Testament from 1703 till his death. The friendship between Cheyne, Poirer, Henry and Rudolph Wetstein would later include the youngest brother Jean-Luc Wetstein, who worked for Henry until 1698, when he joined Poirer in Rijnsburg.²⁹² Moreover, I have been able to connect Cheyne directly with Henry's sons, Rudolph and Gerard, for they announced in the "Republyk der Geleerden" (issues of 1725 and 1726) the forthcoming Dutch and Latin translations of Cheyne's *Essay of*

Henry Wetstein, i.e. "De Godlievende ziel" and "De gedurige Blydschap des Geestes; zynde het eigen juweel der genen, die den Vader aanbidden in geest en waarheit ... welker eerste [hoofdstuk] handelt van den uitwendigen en inwendigen mensch." It was written by Alethophilus, using the name of Hilarius Theomilus, both in the mystic-religious genre Wetstein so admired and probably written by Wolf von Metternich. Not only were Rudolph and Gerard Wetstein booksellers, they also had their own printing shop, as well as a type-foundry, from which they supplied Arabic types to publish a Malayan bible (see also I.H. van Eeghen, *Op. cit.*, pp. 170, 173, 176, 180).

²⁸⁹ Christoph Geissmar, *Das Auge Gottes. Bilder zu Jacob Böhme*, Wolfenbuttel Arbeiten zur Barockforschung, Bd. 23, Wiesbaden, 1993, pp. 39-40, see also plate 174 "Kransen van Leliën en Rosen". In the seventeenth century Hendrick Beets had been one of the first publishers to the German adherents of Jacob Boehme, later Henry Wetstein would become involved as well. See for Hendrick Beets, Willem Heijting's "Hendrick Beets (1625?-1708), Publisher to the German Adherents of Jacob Böhme in Amsterdam", in *Quaerendo* 3 (1973), pp. 250-280. See also F.A. Janssen, *Abraham Willemsz van Beyerland: Jacob Böhme en het Nederlandse hermetisme in de 17^e eeuw*, Amsterdam, 1986.

²⁹⁰ See for the connection between Fiore and the seventeenth century, Serge Hutin, who mentions that Jane Lead had read *A Revelation of the Everlasting Gospel Message which shall never Cease to be preached till the hour of Christ's Eternal Judgment Shall Come*, the German translation of which was published in Amsterdam in 1697 (*Les disciples anglais de Jacob Boehme, au XVII^e et XVIII^e siècles*, Paris, 1960, pp. 254, n. 39). As to the doctrine of the "Third Dispensation" and the reign of the Holy Spirit, cf. Hutin, *Op. cit.*, pp. 70, 75-76.

²⁹¹ I.H. van Eeghen, *Op. cit.*, pp. 169, 171-172. Wetstein was equally interested in science and the list of books he published in this area is impressive, such as the *Conamen novi Systematis Cometarum, pro motu eorum sub calculum revocando & apparitionibus praedicendis*, which appeared in 1682, and the *Dissertation e Gravitate Aetheris*, in 1683. Both were works by Jacob Bernoulli (1654-1705), who had travelled through the Netherlands and into England where he met, among others, Boyle and Hooke. It was said that the scientific result of his journeys was his inadequate theory of comets and a theory of gravity that was highly regarded by his contemporaries. It may have influenced Cheyne's theory of gravitation. In 1685 Wetstein published the works of Francis Bacon (see footnote 128 above).

²⁹² Chevallier, *Op. cit.*, pp. 112 and 118.

Health and Long Life (1724).²⁹³

It is interesting to see how all these pious people were able to find one another, for it was Johann Jacob Wetstein (1693-1754), another member of the famous Wetstein family and himself Professor at the Remonstrant Seminary in Amsterdam since 1736, who helped Zinzendorf translate the New Testament.²⁹⁴ Johann Jacob Wetstein was also mentioned in connection with the Stinstra affair by Van Eijnatten.²⁹⁵ He had studied with Johann Rudolph Wetstein (the Younger) in Basel and had worked for some time at Henry Wetstein's publishing and printing house in Amsterdam. Like the other members of the Wetstein family, Johann Jacob was also specialized in the New Testament. Byrom refers to him in his letter to his wife, dated 13 November 1733. It was Wetstein's *Prolegomena ad Novi Testamenti Graeci editionem accuratissimam a vetustissimis Codd. MSS. denuo procurandam* (1730) which was borrowed by John Byrom from his friend the Rev. John Kippax, Fellow of Clare Hall, Cambridge, on 26 August 1739.²⁹⁶

Returning to the *Bibliotheca mysticorum*, apart from the more well-known mystics section V mentions for instance Boehme, John Bunyan, Hiël, and Joachim of Fiore. It refers to Drexelius (*Drexelius, Hieremias, Auctor singulariter pius*), mentioned by Richardson in *Clarissa*: "A Drexelius on Eternity" (Vol. II. 256). Also included are Madame Guyon and Antoinette Bourignon. According to Chevallier it was not by an act of feminism that Poiret included female mystics in his catalogue, although he believed in the absolute equality of all human beings before God. He included women mainly because he thought they did not "suffer" from the handicaps of a deficient intellectual education: pretentiousness, complacency and pride. For Poiret the mystics,

²⁹³ They first announced in the July/August 1725 issue: "De Gebroeders Wetstein zyn bezig met te doen drukken ... uit het Engelsch in het Nederduitsch vertaald: *Proeven* ..., door M. Cheyne ... in Octavo." (pp. 183-184). Then Rudolph and Gerard announced in the March/April 1726 issue the following: "De Gebroeders Wetstein, die over eenigen tydt hebben laten bekend maken [Republyk van de maanden July en Augustus, 1725, bladz. 183, 184] dat het uitmuntende werk van den Hre. Cheyne, geneesmeester, en lidt van de koninklyke Maatschappy van Londen, van *de Proeven aangaande de gezondheid, en de middelen om het leven te verlangen*, by hen in de Nederduitsche tale gedrukt wordt. [Wij] hebben het zelve werk, door een bekwaam man, ten dienste van alle geleerden, in de Latynsche tale overgezet, tegenwoordig mede op de drukpersse gebragt, en zullen beide, om dat er zo zeer naar verlangd wordt, zo spoedig in het licht brengen, als eenigzins mogelyk is." The Dutch translation finally appeared in 1727 and was called *Eene Proeve om gezond en lang te leeven, geschreeven door den Heer George Cheyne, M.Dr. En Lid van het Koninklyke Genootschap der Genees-Heeren te Edenburg, midsgaders van de Koninklyke Maatschappy te London*. Uyt het Engelsch vertaalt, doorgaans vermeerderd, in beter orde gebragt, en met Bladwyzer verrykt, door Jan de Witt, Med. Doct., T'Amsterdam, By R. en J. [Jacob, Rudolph's son] Wetstein, en W. Smith [William, Rudolph's son-in-law], 1727. A Latin translation was published by Strahan and Leake in 1726, but it is not clear whether this translation is the one announced by Rudolph and Gerard.

²⁹⁴ *Zedler Universal Lexikon*, Graz, Austria, 1962, p. 1024.

²⁹⁵ Joris van Eijnatten, *Mutua Christianorum Tolerantia. Irenicism and Toleration in the Netherlands: The Stinstra Affair 1740-1745*, Florence, 1998, p. 55. See for Stinstra pp. 12 and 22 above.

²⁹⁶ Talon, *Op. cit.*, footnote 5, p. 142.

male and female, were always models who represented the true life.²⁹⁷ They were the essence of the evangelical doctrine of self-denial, mortification, imitation of Christ, exercise of virtue, love of God and dependence on Him.²⁹⁸

Poiret's views on learning are most clearly expressed in his religious-philosophical work *De Eruditione Solida, Superficiaria et Falsa*. The frontispiece rather tells it all (plate IX). It depicts an allegorical image of three types of learning. The first type, the *Eruditione Falsa*, is represented by quite a few people pressing together in a cave, occupying themselves with secret subjects and fanciful conceptions. Both the teachers and the students are blowing bubbles while showing off prestigious titles on their books. The domain of the *Eruditione Superficiaria* is symbolized by a precipitous and rocky mount with people falling down who tried to climb it too quickly. On top of the mountain we see a painting, a faint copy of the "Truth". To reach this painting the rays of the sun have to travel through thick clouds, representing pretentious Reason and its ideas. In the meantime we see the *Eruditione Solida*, solid and eternal, sitting on another mountain. In her right hand she holds the sun which drives away the darkness and obscurity. In her other hand she holds the reins with which she guides the souls. Those who try to reach her must leave behind their books and deny themselves. They must climb the mountain on their own, and not be discouraged. They will find a door through which to enter and then have to labour along a narrow and secret road, but they will be sustained by the fruit of the holy mountain. At the end of the road they will find the "Truth" and receive their reward.²⁹⁹ On the engraving of 1692 the pilgrim travelled alone, however, in the 1707 edition a woman and a child were added.³⁰⁰

Chevallier tells us that Poiret included only such mystics approved by those who were prepared to put (Christian) confessional differences in perspective or who were attracted by a piety imbued with mysticism.³⁰¹ Irenic by nature, Poiret rejected all religious controversies. His utopian vision was to contribute to a lasting peace among the various Christian parties which, he believed, could be achieved by a true spiritual tolerance, by recognizing the love of Christ among some "bonnes âmes", minorities and outcasts.³⁰² Moreover, he was very much opposed to the concept of determinism which denied any form of free will to men. His favourite subjects were the freedom of men, the birth of Christ in the soul, the difference between the established Churches and the true community of Christians, and the millenarian dream

²⁹⁷ Chevallier, *Op. cit.*, p. 257.

²⁹⁸ *Ibid.*, p. 253.

²⁹⁹ *Ibid.*, pp. 86-87.

³⁰⁰ *Ibid.*, p. 87, footnote 95. For Poiret's influence in England, see Byrom's *Journal*, Vol. II, Part II, p. 552. Many of Poiret's works were in Byrom's library (*Journal*, Vol. II, Part I, p. 216). For more details see the *Catalogue of the Library of the late John Byrom*, which was printed for private circulation only, London, 1848.

³⁰¹ *Ibid.*, p. 90.

³⁰² Pierre Poiret, *La Paix des Bonnes Ames*, Genève, 1998, p. 22.



IX. Frontispiece of Poiret's *De Triplici Eruditione Solida, Superficialia et Falsa* published by Wetstein, Amsterdam, 1707. Leiden University Library, Western Printed Books, no. 187 D 25.

of the final "rétablissement définitif des élus par le règne de mille ans".³⁰³ (I will return to the subject of millenarianism in chapter 6). It is therefore no surprise that Cheyne admired him.

As mentioned above, Poiret's works had found their way into Cheyne's library and so, when visiting Cheyne in 1742, Richardson may have seen the French version of Poiret's catalogue which had been published by Henry Wetstein only a few years earlier in 1700. It was called *Un Catalogue sur les Écrivains Mystiques* which appeared as a separate section in *La Théologie Réelle Vulgairement Dite la Théologie Germanique*.³⁰⁴ It is to the *Théologie Germanique* or the *Theologia Germanica* that I will turn next, for I will argue that it influenced Richardson.³⁰⁵ If he was unable to read the French text, at least he may have been captured by the engraving on the frontispiece, about which more later. We know that Richardson at least was aware of the existence of the English translation.

The Influence of the *Theologia Germanica*

Cheyne explicitly referred to the *Theologia Germanica* in his letter of 12 October 1742, when he asked whether Richardson could find for him among the booksellers the English translation of the "German Theology".³⁰⁶ He added that it had been translated into Latin by Luther,³⁰⁷ and that he had a French edition of it. The radical Reformer Sebastien Castellio had made an anonymous French translation of the *Theologia Germanica* in 1558,³⁰⁸ but because of the differences between sixteenth and seventeenth-century French, Poiret made a new translation in 1676, which was published in Amsterdam by Henry and Theodore Bloom. In 1700 Poiret made another translation which, as

³⁰³ Chevallier, *Op. cit.*, p. 152.

³⁰⁴ Pierre Poiret, *La Théologie Réelle, Vulgairement dite La Théologie Germanique, avec quelques autres Traités de même Nature; Une Lettre & un Catalogue sur les Ecrivains Mystiques. Une Preface Apologetique sur la Théologie Mystique, avec la Nullité du Jugement d'un Protestant sur la même Théologie Mystique*, Amsterdam, 1700. The *Catalogus* in the *Bibliotheca Mysticorum* is an extended version of the *Catalogue* included in the edition of the *Théologie Germanique*.

³⁰⁵ The *Theologia Germanica* was an anonymous medieval spiritual treatise, written in German and widely used by the Anabaptists. It stresses the priority of individual experience and insight in religious matters and therefore may be considered to represent a transition from medieval to modern history. The generally accepted view is that the work comes from the milieu of the Friends of God, associated with the fourteenth-century mystics Eckhart, Suso and Tauler, whose doctrines it reflects. It advises radical poverty of spirit and self-denial as the way of union in and with God, elaborating this against the Free Spirits, who thought that man could be God-like, living beyond ethical rules and laws and believing themselves to be above suffering and conscience. (Cf. Steven Ozment, *Mysticism and Dissent: Religious Ideology and Social Protest in the Sixteenth Century*, London, 1973, pp. 14-60).

³⁰⁶ Mullett, *Op. cit.*, pp. 115-116.

³⁰⁷ Luther edited it in 1516 and 1518, giving it the title *Deutsche Theologia*. Though initially he had admired it as in line with the Bible and Augustine, he would later come to regard it as "Schwärmerei". Calvin condemned it as poison of the devil and as "delirium anabaptisticum", while the Pope placed it on the Index of forbidden books.

³⁰⁸ Cf. Pierre Poiret, *La Théologie Germanique: Chapitres Choisis*, introduite par Sebastien Castellion, traduite par Pierre Poiret, Haarlem, 1950, pp. 39-40 and Steven Ozment, *Op. cit.*, pp. 14-60.

I have mentioned above, was published by Wetstein as *La Théologie Réelle, Vulgairement dite La Théologie Germanique*.³⁰⁹ The “best French edition” of the *Theologia Germanica* to which Cheyne refers is undoubtedly Poiret's translation of 1700.

Cheyne further writes that the *Theologia Germanica* had been “englished” long ago and he wants the English version for his family. In his letter of 2 November 1742, Cheyne refers to it again and writes to Richardson that he does not have to trouble himself any further about the “German Theology”, because it was a “Twelvepenny Book only” and he repeats that he had the best French edition. He adds, however, that should Richardson come across it after all, he would still love to have it.

We have seen earlier in this chapter that Cheyne believed that a “principle of reunion” is implanted in all human beings. Yet he admitted that this principle may be unknown or forgotten. Possibly inspired by the *Theologia Germanica* he wrote:

But Sensibility and Intelligence, being by their Nature and Essence *free*, must be *labile*, and by their *Lability* may actually *lapse*, degenerat [sic], and by Habit acquire a *second Nature*, opposit [sic] and contrary to this implanted *Byass* and Tendency towards a *Reunion* and permanent *Commerce* with their original and *first Cause*; and by *Selfishness*, inordinat [sic] Love and Idolatry of their *Fellow-Creatures*, sopit and extinguish this central *Byass*, at least as to *elicit Acts*, though not in the *Root* and *Fund*: And in this *Contrariety*, *Distraction* and tearing asunder of these *moral Powers* in *Spiritual Nature*, the Essence of *Misery* and *Hell* itself chiefly consists. So long as this contrary, habitual and foreign *Byass* lasts, so long must the *Unhappiness* and *Tortures* of such *sentient* and *intelligent* Creatures continue; like the *Chill* and *Cold* in the *Comets*, while in the Parts of their *Orbit* most distant from the *Sun*.³¹⁰

However, this contrary bias to reunion was only accidental, and only by habit confirmed into a second nature, and therefore the infinite love, wisdom and “Oeconomy” of the Son of God was designed to melt down, annihilate and destroy this foreign bias, so as to allow the original and innate bias to operate.³¹¹ The etymology of the word “bias” is very interesting in this context (*bifax*, *bi* and *facies*: looking two ways) and undoubtedly must have reminded Cheyne of the *Theologia Germanica*, in the seventh chapter of which we find a Platonic image describing “the two eyes of the soul of man” in relation to the concept of the impossibility of “serving two masters”. It explains the left and the right eye of Jesus' soul. The right eye is turned towards eternity and divinity, while the left eye is concerned with God's creatures and the differences that are between them, who is the best and who the worst. But the soul of man

³⁰⁹ Stephen Ozment, *Op. cit.*, pp. 39-41. See also Chevallier, *Op. cit.*, p. 67.

³¹⁰ *The Essay on Regimen*, pp. 218-219.

³¹¹ *Ibid.*

has also been created with two eyes, one of which can look into eternity, the other one can only see this world, its creatures and the differences between them. It is merely concerned with the body. These two eyes cannot both perform their work at the same time. For if the soul is looking with the right eye into eternity, the left eye must close itself and refrain from working, and be as if it was dead. Because if the left eye were fulfilling its task towards outward things, holding converse with time and creature, then the right eye will hinder its working (contemplation). Thus, to have the one, you must let the other go, for no man can serve two masters.³¹² This reflects the dilemmas of Clarissa and Lovelace, who, on the anagogical level, represent the right and the left eye of the soul respectively.³¹³

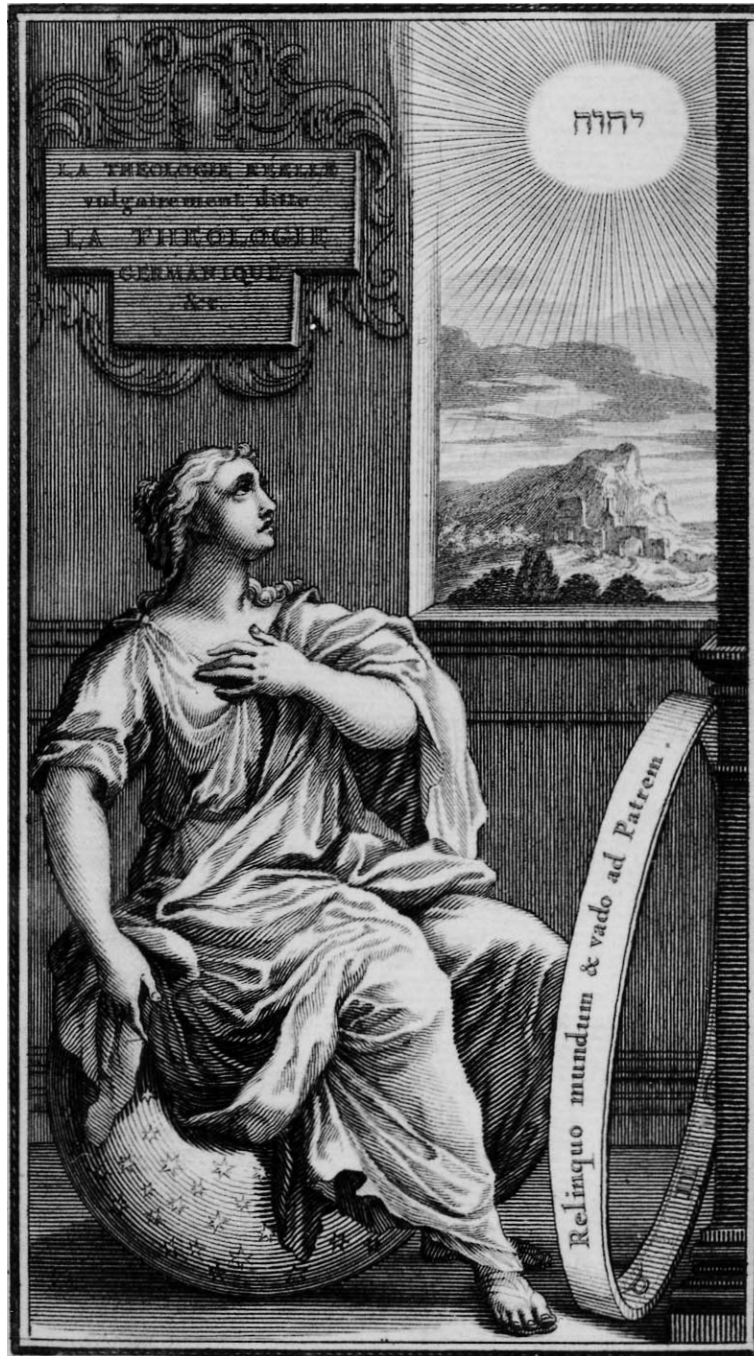
Discussing spiritual and internal religion,³¹⁴ Cheyne may have shown Poirot's translation of the *Theologia Germanica* to Richardson when the latter visited Cheyne in Bath. There is a beautiful engraving on the frontispiece of the *Théologie Germanique* which shows a girl sitting on a globe representing worldly vanities, looking out of the window towards the sun and the tetragrammaton (plate X). Next to her there is a wheel the outside of which contains the text "Relinquo mundum & vado ad Patrem" while the inside is engraved with the signs of the zodiac. Poirot gives the explanation to the figure himself:

Explication de la figure du Tiltre. Après avoir banni de soi l'esprit du monde, mis sous soi du loier toute prétension, ne regarder qu'à Dieu dans une paix profonde, Telle est du pur Amour la contemplation.

³¹² On dit que l'ame de Jesus Christ, a eu *deux yeux*, un *droit* & un *gauche*. Dès qu'elle fut créée, elle tourra l'oeil droit vers l'éternité & la divinité & elle s'y arrêta immuablement dans la contemplation & dans la jouissance parfaite de l'être divin & de la Perfection divine, sans que nuls des accidens extérieurs, nuls des travaux, nulles des émotions, des souffrances, des peines & des tourmens qui survenoient à son homme extérieur, pussent ébranler ou empêcher la fermetée de sa contemplation. Quant à l'oeil gauche, il en regardoit les créatures pour les connoître & pour observer la difference qui étoit entr'elles, ce qui y étoit le meilleur ou le pire, le plus ou le moins excellent, selon quoi Jesus Christ regloit son homme extérieur. L'ame de tout homme que Dieu a créé, a aussi deux yeux: l'un est, la faculté ou la puissance de vois dans l'éternité: & l'autre, celle de voir dans le temps & dans les créatures, pour connoître leurs differences, (comme on vient de le dire,) & pour en entretenir la vie corporelle. Mais ces deux yeux de l'ame ne sçauraient [maintenant] bien faire leurs fonctions en même temps. C'est pourquoi, si l'ame veut envisager l'éternité avec l'oeil droit, il est nécessaire que l'oeil gauche se défasse alors de tout son travail, & qu'il se tienne comme s'il étoit mort. Comme au contraire, si cet oeil gauche veut vaquer à ses fonctions extérieures, c'est à dire, s'occuper du temps & des créatures, il n'est pas possible que l'oeil droit n'en soit alors détourné de sa contemplation. (Cf. *La Théologie Réelle, Vulgairement dite La Théologie Germanique*, Amsterdam, 1700, pp. 16-19).

³¹³ Cf. the *XL Questions concerning the Soule*, in which Boehme describes the characteristics of the "left" eye. He writes that the "[whore of Babel] says she is the Eye, but she hath a false Eye, in Pride, Envie and Anger; and her seate ... is the averse left Eye: she boasteth upon the Crosse, but she entreth not into the Centre, she will not goe through Death into life. She oppreseth the Children that are borne upon the Crosse, and treadeth them under her feet." (*XL Questions*, 1:259-260). He continues as follows: "For when I search to the beginning of the Essence, then I finde the Eye which is God." (*XL Questions*, 1:263).

³¹⁴ Mullett, *Op. cit.*, p. 102. See footnote 7 above.



X. Frontispiece of Poiret's translation of the *Theologia Germanica*: *Theologie Réelle, Vulgairement dite La Théologie Germanique*, (Wetstein, Amsterdam, 1700). Leiden University Library, Western Printed Books, no. 512 G 14: 2.

Could this figure have inspired Richardson as early as 1742 to write *Clarissa*?

Clarissa's allegorical letter must clearly have been based on the "two eyes of the soul".³¹⁵ Lovelace's literal interpretation of Clarissa's "setting out to her father's house" perfectly agrees with his wrong bias (his "left eye"). Upon receiving this letter, Lovelace immediately set out for her father's house to await the "happy reconciliation and the charming hopes she had filled him with". However, Clarissa represents the "right eye" of the soul, for on the anagogical level she "returns" to God. She writes to Lovelace:

Sir, - I have good news to tell you. I am setting out with all diligence to my father's house. I am bid to hope that he will receive his poor penitent with a goodness peculiar to himself; for I am overjoyed with the assurance of a thorough reconciliation, through the interposition of a dear, blessed friend whom I always loved and honoured. I am so taken up with my preparation for this joyful and long-wished-for journey that I cannot spare one moment for any other business, having several matters of the last importance to settle first. So pray, sir, don't disturb or interrupt me - I beseech you, don't. You may possibly in time see me at my father's; at least, if it be not your own fault. I will write a letter, which shall be sent you when I am got thither and received: till when, I am, etc. (IV. 157)

We may even connect Clarissa's allegorical letter with Lovelace's dream which terrified him so much. Writing to Belford, Lovelace describes his dream in which he sees Clarissa, dressed in white, ascend to heaven, while he ends up in hell:

I awaked just now in a cursed fright. How a man may be affected by dreams! Methought I had an interview with my beloved. I found her all goodness, condescension, and forgiveness. [Lord M., Lady Sarah, Lady Betty and others] came ... to express their sorrow for my sins against her, and to implore her to forgive me. I myself, I thought, was upon my knees, with a sword in my hand, offering either to put it up in the scabbard, or to thrust it into my heart, as she should command the one or the other. At that moment her Cousin Morden, I thought, all of a sudden, flashed in through a window with his drawn sword. Die, Lovelace! said he, and be damned, if in earnest thou reparaest not by marriage my cousin's wrongs! I thought I would have clasped [Clarissa] in my arms: when immediately the most angelic form I had ever beheld, all clad in transparant white, descended in a cloud, which, opening, discovered a firmament above it, crowded with golden cherubs and glittering seraphs, all addressing her with: Welcome, welcome, welcome! and encircling my charmer, ascended with her to the region of the seraphims; and instantly, the opened cloud closing, I lost sight of *her*, and of the *bright form* altogether. And then

³¹⁵ See p. 75 above.

(horrid to relate!) the floor sinking under *me*, as the firmament had opened for *her*, I dropped into a hole more frightful than that of Elden;³¹⁶ and, tumbling over and over down it, without view of a bottom, I awaked in panic; and was as effectually disordered for half an hour, as if my dream had been reality. Wilt thou forgive me troubling thee with such visionary stuff? (IV. 135-136)

The English Translation of the *Theologia Germanica*

As to the English translation of the *Theologia Germanica* mentioned by Cheyne in his letter to Richardson, we know that the seventeenth-century theologian Dr Everard of Clare College, Cambridge, translated Castellio's Latin edition of the *Theologia Germanica* (1557) into English in 1628.³¹⁷ He called it *The Golden Book of German Divinitie*. Everard held ideas similar to those of the Quakers such as the inadequacy of university learning as a preparation for spiritual ministry and his works were read by Quakers.³¹⁸

In 1648 Giles Randall published a new edition of the *Theologia Germanica*, again translated from Castellio's Latin version, but showing some variations with the earlier one by Everard. He called it the *Theologia Germanica, or Mystically Divinitie: A Little Golden Manuall briefly discovering the mysteries, sublimity, perfection and simplicity of Christianity, in Belief and Practice*. In the introduction Randall explains that for a long time it had been "veiled and obscured" from the eyes of the "illiterate and unexpert", because of the fact that it was in Latin, but that several years ago "through the desires and industries of some of our own Countrymen, Lovers of the Truth", it was translated into English. He further states that this translation had never been sent to the press, but had only circulated in manuscript form. However, now in 1648, this "worthy work of piety and charity" could appear "without blush in the most publique way".³¹⁹ He writes that as:

The Eagle in flight is highest, swiftest, in sight clearest, in fight strongest; so this Tractate soareth aloft, buildeth on high, even above the starry Heavens, bearing her chickens the children of Truth, upon wing to the face of the Sun, speedeth unto the farthest end of truth, pierceth into the inwards and bowels

³¹⁶ Elden Hole is a deep chasm in the Derbyshire Peak, which was at the time reputed to be bottomless.

³¹⁷ Castellio's French translation of the *Theologia Germanica* appeared in 1558, published by Christopher Plantin at Antwerp. Castellio also translated the *Hermetica* as well as works of Dionysius, Tauler, Cusa, Sebastian Franck and *The Divine Pymander of Hermes Trismegistus*. Cf. R.M. Jones, *Spiritual Reformers in the 16th & 17th Centuries*, London, 1914, pp. 253-265 and Désirée Hirst, *Hidden Riches. Traditional Symbolism from the Renaissance to Blake*, London, 1964, pp. xiii and 108.

³¹⁸ R.M. Jones, *Op. cit.*, pp. 252-253.

³¹⁹ Giles Randall, *Theologia Germanica, or Mystically Divinitie: A Little Golden Manuall briefly discovering the mysteries, sublimity, perfection and simplicity of Christianity, in Belief and Practice*, p. A2-3. Some called Randall an Anabaptist or a Familist, who printed "very dangerous books" (R.M. Jones, *Op. cit.*, footnote 1 on p. 256 and p. 258.)

thereof, and over-powereth the mind with her veritie, chasing away deceitfull vanity.³²⁰

Randall adds that the subject is that of the new man or new creature, showing how he may be restored and revived from sin and return to God from whom he has strayed. This can only be achieved through a true and holy theology. Because man has fallen by his own will, he can only return to God and to righteousness by abandoning his own will and follow the will of God, since remedies are to be found through their opposites, and the will of man is the opposite of the will of God (Castellio wrote that “les remèdes des choses sont tousjours [sic] par leur contraire”, which was also one of Cheyne's maxims). Randall argues that it is impossible to serve two masters who are contrary to one another (Castellio wrote: “il est impossible ... de servir à deux Maitres contraires l'un à l'autre”).³²¹

Randall ends his preface by stating that the beauty of God is goodness itself, which is, he adds, what St. John calls “perfect love”. He then goes on to state that God himself is love, and that those who have obtained this love are deprived of all “Egoity” and love God only as he is good, as well as all things which “God loves himself”, that is “all things” anywhere, except sin: “for there is nothing which God loveth not, except sin”. Randall's translation is perhaps the “German Theology”, the twelve penny book, to which Cheyne referred in his letter of 2 November 1742.

Cheyne's interest in the *Theologia Germanica* may be explained by the fact that Boehme had been influenced by it. There is, for instance, a reference to fire in the first chapter of the *Theologia Germanica* which is interesting in relation to the fire-scene in *Clarissa*. It describes the “perfect” and the “imperfect”. Referring to St. Paul, the anonymous author of the *Theologia Germanica* states that when that which is perfect is come, that which is imperfect and in part shall be abolished. The perfect, which is “that thing which in itself, and in that which it is, comprehendeth and containeth all things”, is like a brightness or a flash of lightning, and its source is fire.

And yet it was not only a deep interest in spiritual matters which connected Cheyne and Richardson. Both men were much interested in foreign travel, especially in relation to the East.

Richardson's Interest in the Far and Middle East

We know that Richardson was not indifferent to accounts of foreign travel from the fact that he had for instance published *The Negotiations of Sir Thomas Roe* in 1740.³²² And earlier, in a letter dated 12 April 1739, Richardson had received a request from his friend Aaron Hill to allow him “the Favour of

³²⁰ Randall, *Op. cit.*, p. A4.

³²¹ *Ibid.*, p. A6; Pierre Poiret, *La Théologie Germanique: Chapitres Choisis*, Haarlem, p. 6.

³²² See p. 34 above.

a Second Inspection of the *Harris*, which you formerly sent me".³²³ According to Sale, this may have been John Harris's *Navigantium atque Itinerantium Bibliotheca or A Complete Collection of Voyages and Travels*, which had been first published in 1705.³²⁴ Plans for a second, revised and enlarged edition (consisting of the accounts of more than 600 writers) may have been contemplated as early as 1739 with John Campbell as the editor. Campbell had been associated with Richardson as one of the authors of the *Universal History*. The second and revised edition of Volume I appeared in 1744, and Volume II in 1748. Richardson was involved in printing both volumes.³²⁵ The booksellers for this large project were Thomas Woodward, who was on friendly terms with Richardson and whose shop was in Fleet Street near Salisbury Court, and Aaron Ward. The new maps for this second edition were drawn by Emanuel Bowen, the appointed engraver of maps for King George II and Louis XV of France (Plate XI).³²⁶ The preface states that:

The mind of man is so form'd, as scarce to admit of Amusement without Instruction. This kind of Reading ... charms us by a perpetual variety and keeps alive our Thirst of Inquiry.

Richardson's interest in the Far and Middle East may be reflected by the remark in Volume I of *Sir Charles Grandison* that, since the tour of Europe had not contented him, Sir Charles had visited some parts of Asia, Africa and Egypt (I. 181). It may also explain the scene in which Harriet comments on human nature as follows:

But is not human nature the same in every country, allowing only for different customs? - Do not love, hatred, anger, malice, *all* the passions, in short, good or bad, shew themselves by like effects in the faces, hearts, and actions of the people of every country. And let men make ever such strong pretensions to knowledge, for their far-fetch'd and dear-bought experience, cannot a penetrating spirit learn as much from the passions of a Sir Hargrave Pollexfen in England, as it could from a man of the same or like ill qualities, in Spain, in

³²³ Forster MSS, Folio XIII, 2, f.22, Victoria and Albert Museum, London.

³²⁴ A theologian, scientist and mathematician, John Harris had published in 1704 his *Lexicon Technicum* in two volumes, which is the earliest modern encyclopedia of science, containing the only writings of Newton on chemistry.

³²⁵ William Merritt Sale, *Master Printer*, Ithaca, 1950, pp. 100, 173.

³²⁶ The maps for the first edition of Harris's *Navigantium atque Itinerantium Bibliotheca* had been made by Herman Moll, a Dutchman who had moved to England in the 1680s. The new maps for the second edition were made by Bowen (fl. 1714-1767) who worked in London from approximately 1714 (cf. R.V. Tooley, *Maps and Map-makers*, (1949), 6th ed., London, 1982, pp. 55-56). Bowen had been involved in the *Universal History, from the Earliest Account of Time to the Present* as well, a project with which Richardson was concerned from 1736 until his death in 1761. Sale mentions that the authors of the Ancient Part of the *Universal History* were John Swinton, Archibald Bower (discussed in connection with Giannone on p. 30 above), John Campbell, George Psalmanazar, as well as George Sale, the Orientalist (see Sale, *Op. cit.*, p. 103).



XI. A new and exact map of Asia, Vol. II, Book III, p. 790. Compiled from "Surveys & authentick Journals assisted by the most approved modern Maps & Charts & regulated by Astronomical Observations. By Emanuel Bowen, Geographer to his Majesty." From John Harris's *Navigantium atque Itinerantium Bibliotheca or A Complete Collection of Voyages and Travels*, 2 volumes, (1705), 2nd ed. printed by Richardson in 1744, 1748. Royal Institute of Linguistics and Anthropology, Leiden, p. 790, no. bibl. 3 o 58.

The Influence of Cheyne's Thoughts on Richardson

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France, or in Italy? And why is the Grecian Homer, to this day, so much admired, as he is in all these nations, and in every other nation where he has been read, and will be, to the world's end, but because he writes to nature? And is not the language of nature one language throughout the world, tho' there are different modes of speech to express it? (I. 185)

Book III of Harris's *Navigantium atque Itinerantium Bibliotheca or A Complete Collection of Voyages and Travels*, containing travels through the empire of Persia and covering subjects such as manners and religion, may have inspired Richardson to write the scene in which Harriet describes Dr Bartlett talking about the ancient Persians and reciting "Brachman's prayer":³²⁷

Looking up to the rising Sun, which it was supposed they worshiped, these were the words of the Brachman: "O THOU (meaning the ALMIGHTY) by whom *Thou* (meaning the Sun) art enlightened, illuminate my mind, that my actions may be agreeable to THY Will". And this I will think of ... as often as my early hour, for the future, shall be irradiated by that glorious orb. (*Sir Charles Grandison*, II. 233)³²⁸

Cheyne, likewise, had been interested in the East. He referred to Arab physicians in his books and mentioned some friends in Turkey to whom he sent copies of *The Natural Method*. In *The Essay of Health and Long Life* Cheyne discusses "foreign Luxury" which had been brought to its "Perfection" in England and specifically refers to "a kind of Liquors" which "some great Doctors" had condemned by "*Bell, Book and Candle*", while others had "as extravagantly commended" it. With foreign luxury he means "*Coffee, Tea and*

³²⁷ It was the Neoplatonist Porphyry who associated "theosophy" (originally a Greek term denoting knowledge of divine things) with Indian philosophy; a connection which, according to scholars, suggests that it may be the Greek equivalent of the Sanskrit *brahmavidya* or divine knowledge. It is interesting to note that Richardson apparently also connected "divine knowledge" with Brahma, which shows that his interest in religious matters was not confined to Christianity.

³²⁸ We are informed about the priests, Brahmins, and their tenets in religion and how they believe in the transmigration of souls: "They hold *Pythagoras's* Doctrine, believing the *metempsychosis* [sic], or Transanimation, or passage of Souls into Beasts" (cf. Harris, *Op. cit.*, Vol. I, p. 412). This may account for Cheyne's defence of vegetarianism: he did not believe people to have such "cruel and hard" hearts, or those "diabolical" passions, which could have them tear and destroy their "fellow-creatures", at least not in the "first and early" ages before man had become so corrupted in every way and God had been forced to exterminate the whole race by a universal deluge in order to avoid that the earth would become a hell and a dwelling place for incarnate devils. (*Essay of Health and Long Life*, 1724, p. 92). Metempsychosis holds that souls migrate from one body into another until complete purification has been achieved. It forms an integral part of Hinduism and Buddhism and is also found in the Jewish Kabbalah, as well as with Plato and Pythagoras. However, it is fundamentally at variance with the Christian doctrine of the resurrection of the body and frequently attacked by Augustine. In Harris's *Navigantium atque Itinerantium*, Volume II, p. 394, we find a reference to "what [had been] taken notice of by Le Brun", a Dutchman (De Bruin) and a painter who spent a considerable time drawing the scenery and inhabitants of several regions of the world which he had visited. His *Voyages de Corneille le Brun par la Moscovie, en Perse et aux Indes Orientales* had been printed in 1718 by the Wetstein brothers.

Chocolate", the virtue of which, according to Cheyne, consisted in "*Custom*" and all their harm in "*Excess*".

Cheyne explains that coffee is a "mere *Calx* or a kind of *Horse Bean*", but lighter on the stomach, and informs us that the Turks used it. As to "this *Mahometan Custom*", he wrote that the complaint "for running into *Excess* in it" was altogether weak and groundless, for "those that do so there, suffer by it, as we do here". Moreover, those that debauched in it, would turn "*Stupid, Feeble and Paralitick*" by it, especially when they joined it with opium, "as they frequently do", just like those who "wallow" in opium do in England, and are as much "Despised and Expos'd by serious Persons as our *Topers* and *Brandy-Swillers* are here". All in all, Cheyne believed that "a Dish or two of *Coffee*, with a little *Milk* to soften it" is not only innocent, but a relief.³²⁹

A shared interest in the East may appear from Cheyne's letter to Richardson of 2 November 1742, in which Cheyne asks him for the sheets of a book of travels by Dr Charles Perry that Richardson was printing. Cheyne explicitly wrote how much he liked the subject, but that he was afraid the work itself would be a disappointment, because he did not highly regard his fellow physician Perry. It seems as if his doubts were justified, for on 19 November 1742 Cheyne writes to Richardson that he had received the sheets of Perry's book and that he indeed agreed with Richardson, whose "Judgment [was] very just as [he] really foresaw by some Visits", that the book was the "most trifling Stuff [he] ever met with and would not give it House Room in [his] Library."³³⁰ The book referred to was called *A View of the Levant: particularly of Constantinople, Syria, Egypt, and Greece*, and was published in 1743. Perry (1698-1780) was a traveller and medical writer, who had travelled between 1739 and 1742 in France, Italy, and the East, visiting Constantinople, Egypt, Palestine, and Greece. Upon his return he published the above mentioned book, illustrated with thirty-three plates.

Cheyne's strong orientation towards the East appears from his reaction to Richardson's complaint about the cold and frost, which causes Cheyne to write in his letter of 14 January 1742/43: "It is the laxity of your Solids from the Diet that makes Frost and Cold hurt and chill us so much; as our Diet is *Eastern*, so ought our Climate to be, to enjoy their Health and Spirits."³³¹

Just before his death on 13 April 1743, Cheyne asked in his last letter to Richardson of 24 March what sort of book it was that had been printed by "one Pocock".³³² This time he was referring to Richard Pococke (1704-1765), who had also been an enthusiastic traveller. From 1733 to 1736 he made tours in France, Italy and other parts of Europe. In 1737 he went to Egypt and Ethiopia and from there he continued his travels to Palestine, Cyprus, parts of Asia Minor and Greece. After visiting Naples, he returned to England in 1742. A year later

³²⁹ *The Essay of Health and Long Life*, pp. 60-61.

³³⁰ Mullett, *Op. cit.*, pp. 116-118. See also Sale, *Op. cit.*, p. 193.

³³¹ *Ibid.*, p. 121.

³³² *Ibid.*, p. 125.

he published the first volume of *A Description of the East*, dedicated to the Earl of Pembroke, containing observations on Egypt and "the journey of the Children of Israel". It also described many other subjects, such as the religion of Egypt, education, customs, dress, as well as hieroglyphs, embalming, vegetation, animals and the preparation of ice. Unfortunately, Cheyne never had a chance to read it, for he died only twenty days later.

The second volume of *A Description of the East* appeared in 1745. It was dedicated to the Earl of Chesterfield, to whom Pococke was domestic chaplain and who gave him the archdeaconry of Dublin, and includes Pococke's descriptions of Palestine, Syria, Mesopotamia, Cyprus, etc. Both volumes were printed by William Bowyer and contain 178 plates. The booksellers involved were John and Paul Knapton (also involved in Cheyne's last book, *The Natural Method*), William Innys (Law's bookseller) and Charles Hitch, Robert Dodsley and John Rivington (the booksellers involved in the publication of *Sir Charles Grandison*). Visiting his father Bishop Wilson in 1750, Thomas Wilson wrote in his journal that Dr Pococke had come from Dublin to the Isle of Man and presented Bishop Wilson with "his Travels, handsomely bound in morocco".³³³

It is interesting that in 1761 Pococke, by then Bishop of Ossory and Meath, published a sermon called "The Happiness of Doing Good", which he had preached before the governors of the Magdalen House Charity. Richardson was an annual governor of this institution and in 1761 appeared among the contributors. At the request of Lady Barbara Montagu, Richardson had printed *The Histories of Some of the Penitents in the Magdalen-House*, published anonymously in 1760. In the sixth edition of Defoe's *Tour Thro' Great Britain*, published in 1761, Richardson provided an account of this charity, stating that its purpose was "to reclaim and reform such unhappy Wretches as had not escaped the Snares of vile Men".³³⁴

Cheyne's Other Activities

As we have seen, Cheyne was a busy and active man. Besides writing books, he also pursued other projects concerned with "spiritual and internal religion", which involved Richardson. We find in Cheyne's letter to Richardson of 10 February 1738 a reference to the *Catechism* which Richardson had printed for him. Referring to the conflict between Pietism and Enlightenment, Cheyne writes that he thought it:

A pretty Thing for People sincerely disposed to be serious and in earnest about Religion. It will not go far with meer Rationalists, but I hope there will come a Time when such Instructions may relish even with them: that is when the Things of this World lose their Relish with them.³³⁵

³³³John Keble, *The Life of the Right Reverend Father in God, Thomas Wilson, D.D., Lord Bishop of Sodor and Man*, ed. John Henry Parker, Oxford, 1863, Vol. I, Part II, p. 948.

³³⁴Sale, *Op. cit.*, pp. 119-120.

³³⁵Mullett, *Op. cit.*, p. 36.

This Catechism is possibly *Le Catéchisme Spirituel*, one of the works of J.J. Surin (1600-1665), a Jesuit mystic and spiritual writer, admired by Madame Guyon. He advocated the practice of the presence of God and the prayer of contemplation in which the soul loses itself in the love of God. An Italian translation of the *Catéchisme* was placed on the Index in 1695 during the controversy surrounding Fénelon. Surin was regularly mentioned in the correspondence between Cheyne's friend and fellow-physician in London, dr James Keith, and Lord Deskford in Scotland.³³⁶

In his letter to Richardson of 23 August 1738 Cheyne enclosed a paper he had written on the character of Mr. George Baillie, who had recently died. He wanted Richardson to print about 250 copies. The text was also published in *The Gentleman's Magazine* of 1738. George Baillie of Jerviswood, was the son of the Baillies of Jerviswood martyred at the Restoration. Educated in Holland, he returned at the Revolution in 1688 and became an M.P. for Berwickshire. In 1716 Baillie stood bail for several imprisoned Jacobites.³³⁷ There are similarities between Baillie's character and Bishop Wilson and Earl Grandison (the real one),³³⁸ all admired by Richardson.

Apparently, Richardson found Cheyne's paper on Baillie so important that it also found its place in the small octavo containing everything relating to Cheyne. It is obvious that Richardson used parts of it to paint Sir Charles Grandison (the description of the "Gentleman who did honour to Humane Nature") and I will therefore quote it in some detail:

³³⁶ Henderson, *Op. cit.*, pp. 110, 148.

³³⁷ *Ibid.*, pp. 94, 123.

³³⁸ See p. 31 above. The connection between Cheyne, Garden, Baillie and the Jacobites may be explained through Cheyne's wife, Margaret (Peg) Middleton. My theory is that Margaret Middleton descended from Robert Middleton of Cauldham and Catherine Strachan of Thornton. Their son Alexander Middleton (?1610-1686), Principal of King's College, Aberdeen, may have been Margaret's grandfather, if we assume that Patrick Middleton (1662-1736), perhaps a younger son of Alexander, was Margaret's father. Another son of Robert Middleton was John Middleton (1619-1673), who became the first Earl of Middleton, a family who had strong connections with the House of Stuart. Robert Middleton's daughter, Isobel Middleton, was the mother of George and James Garden, which makes Margaret related to the Garden brothers. One of the ministers of St. Nicholas, the town parish of Aberdeen, George Garden was laid aside in 1692 because of his refusal to pray for William and Mary. Patrick Middleton also was a Scottish nonjuring clergyman, who was equally prohibited from exercising the ministry in 1692, because of his refusal to pray for William and Mary. In 1717 he refused to pray for King George and was for the second time discharged from preaching. Charles (1640?-1719), the second and last Earl of Middleton, played a significant role as head of the less extreme section of the Jacobites, going for a "restoration", but restraining James. He was secretary of state to James II, who tried to convert him. Charles's wife was a Catholic, but the earl was said to be "without much religion". An anecdote tells us that when a priest said to Charles: "You believe in the Trinity", he answered: "Who told you so?". After the threatened invasion of England by France in 1692, Charles was apprehended in disguise at a Quaker's in Goodman's Field on 17 May 1692. I have already shown earlier the connection between James II and William Penn: perhaps Charles's arrest at the house of a Quaker was another instance of some connection between the Jacobites and the Quakers. However, he was discharged on 19 August 1692. Early in 1693 he joined the court of James at St. Germain. James II died in 1701. By the titular James III Charles was created Earl of Monmouth.

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He was, I think, a Gentleman, who in this corrupt Age, did honour to humane Nature. Piety, Charity, Justice and Truth, being the base and Model of all public Transactions and Deliberations. He considered Mankind as his own Family, and each Individual as his Child, and as the Image of his Heavenly Father. He continued in his own Society and Church, ... but without Rigidity or Narrowness of Soul, believing Charity to be one of the highest of Christian Virtues, and a guarded Freedom of Mind to be essential. He was one of the best of Fathers, Husbands, Masters, Friends and Neighbours, as well as one of the best of Men and Christians. If Saintship were in Use amongst Us, he would have been made a Saint on Earth, as, I hope, he is now one in Heaven. with Truth [I] can affirm, I never knew his Superior in solid Virtue and just Thinking ... His Courage was undaunted, and yet his Patience was unalterable. His Piety unfeigned, and his Truth even to Precision; ...his Compassion was unbounded, even to those who were in Distress by their own Indiscretions. It was truly a Life hid with Christ in God, and he passed through several States of Purification and Trial, unknown to common and unexperienced Christians, which if published, might be subject to the Ridicule of the Profane, and those so severe ones, ... sufficient to annihilate Self in him in all its Mortifications and Subtilties. Considering the present Degeneracy and Lapse of Human Nature, the present deep Corruption of the Age and this Nation, ... he was the most perfect Instance of Humanity, Benevolence, Christian Fortitude, Perseverance, and Universal Charity, I ever knew, or can form any Idea of, under these Limitations and Circumstances; and I heartily wish his Example may influence and excite many of his Countrymen to follow it, and to imitate him, as he did his divine Master, who went about doing Good.³³⁹

The last literary project for which Cheyne sought Richardson's cooperation was the translation into English of a "little French book", entitled "L'Essence de le [sic] Extract de Religion Chretienne".³⁴⁰ In a letter dated 27 January 1742/43, he told Richardson that he was looking for any person "having a Taste of Spiritual Religion" to help him with this.³⁴¹ He would pay for

³³⁹ Mullett, *Op. cit.*, pp. 39-41; *The Gentleman's Magazine*, VIII (1738), 467.

³⁴⁰ George Rousseau states that this was "another of Poiret's Bourignonist compilations" which, he says, "describes the life and works of Mme. Guyon and was printed by Wetstein in Amsterdam" (cf. *Mysticism and Millenarianism: 'Immortal Dr. Cheyne'*", in *Millenarianism and Messianism in English Literature and Thought 1650-1800*, Leiden, 1988, pp. 111-112). I have not been able to confirm this. I could not find it in Chevallier's bibliography of Poiret, which lists all of Poiret's works and the works he edited, as well as the works of Guyon and Bourignon (cf. the "Avant-Propos" on p. 9). Nor could I find it in the British Library.

³⁴¹ Cf. his letters of 27 January 1742/43, 17 February 1742/43, and 4 and 24 March 1743. In his letter of 4 March 1743, Cheyne tells Richardson that he plans to write a preface to it and add so much "Entertainment both in Physic and Divinity" so as to obtain a sufficient number of readers. He also thinks of adding a catalogue of all the English books that are either "amusing or interesting with Innocence" or advance the mind in "mystical or spiritual Knowledge". If the translator is up to his task, Cheyne wants to use him to translate other parts of "this Author's Work" of which there are "10 or 12 Volumes, the most divine and instructive I ever met with" (cf. Mullett, *Op. cit.*, pp. 123-125).

both the translation and the printing “to give it away gratis”, because it was beyond “every Thing [he] ever saw ... [he] was sure it was sent from Heaven”. With the next letter of 17 February Cheyne sends his own copy, explaining that, though he initially promised to send his daughter’s copy, he did not want to wait for hers. He calls it “An Extract of the Essence of the Christian Religion” and tells Richardson that he wants it printed in a large type (always careful about his reader’s eyes) and on good paper.

A Mr Bernard is found among the French refugees, but Cheyne is very disappointed at the price Mr Bernard asks. He writes to Richardson that he had expected a specimen of Mr Bernard’s performance on the translation before he “pretended to set so exorbitant a Price on his Labours”. He finds that generally the French refugees are the most mercenary people, and he fears that his translation will prove “as bald as his Price is extravagant”.³⁴² As it turned out, Cheyne was not very happy with the translation and he writes in what was to become his last letter to Richardson, dated 24 March 1742/43, that he had received the translation, on the basis of which, though unwilling to hurt Bernard if he should be obliged to translate for a living, he believed that Bernard “neither understood English nor Spiritual Writers in any language”.³⁴³ Unfortunately, Cheyne never had a chance to see his last project finished.

I will close this discussion with one last example of Cheyne’s influence on Richardson. Those who have read Cheyne’s works know how very much he admired the natural world. In the *Philosophical Principles* he remarks that to admire the “manifold Wisdom of the Author of Nature”, one would only have to look at the variety of beautiful figures and colours of shells, petrifications, ores, minerals, stones, and other natural curiosities of which the noblest and largest collection now extant is to be seen in the possession of the “industrious and learned” Dr. Sloane (plate XII).³⁴⁴ Even this aside influenced Richardson, for he depicted Sir Charles’s brother-in-law, Lord G., as a collector of shells (IV. 417).

³⁴² *Ibid.*, p. 124.

³⁴³ *Ibid.*, p. 125.

³⁴⁴ *Philosophical Principles*, Part I, p. 293. The physician Sir Hans Sloane (1660-1753) had a taste for natural history specimens, manuscripts and books. His whole collection was moved to Chelsea in 1742. An account of it was given in the “Gentleman’s Magazine”. In his will he bequeathed his collections to the nation (on the condition that 20,000 pounds would be paid to his family, which was less than half of what it was worth) and so what is now known as the British Museum was founded. (Source *DNB*).



XII. Sir Hans Sloane (1660-1753). Engraved portrait dated 1780.