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## **The spiritual side of Samuel Richardson**

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## *Boehme's Direct Influence on Richardson*

Boehme was not an isolated figure, but a representative of a type of spiritual religion which had reappeared over and over again with peculiar and regional variations throughout the history of Christianity.<sup>424</sup> Much research has been done on Boehme's thoughts by such scholars as Alexandre Koyré and Hans Grunsky, while Nils Thune has explored the relationship between the Behmenists and the Philadelphians. Also relevant are earlier works, for instance Evelyn Underhill's *Mysticism* and Rufus M. Jones's *Spiritual Reformers in the 16th & 17th Centuries*. Much more recent is Andrew Weeks's *Boehme: An Intellectual Biography of the Seventeenth-Century Philosopher and Mystic*.<sup>425</sup>

We have seen in the previous chapters how Boehme's ideas reached Richardson through men like Cheyne and Law. However, Richardson was most probably also directly influenced by Boehme's works. Proof of this we find in a letter of 29 August 1742, in which Cheyne thanks Richardson for sending what appears to have been a work by or about Jacob Boehme. Cheyne writes:

I thank you for your Jacob Behemen [sic]; you will never have done with your Bribes. I wish I could do for you what you want and desire. All I can say, without Bribe or Entreaty, of mere Love and good Will, I shall ever do my best for you, and I shall beg of God to direct me in this particularly.<sup>426</sup>

We have no clue which of Boehme's works, all of which were translated into English during 1645-1662, could have been the one Richardson sent to Cheyne.

<sup>424</sup> See for instance "Die deutschen Spiritualisten des 17. Jahrhunderts" by Martin Brecht, in *Geschichte des Pietismus: Das 17. und frühe 18. Jahrhundert*, Band 1, Göttingen, 1993, pp. 205-240.

<sup>425</sup> Alexandre Koyré, *La philosophie de Jacob Boehme*, Paris, 1929; Hans Grunsky, *Jacob Böhme*, Stuttgart, 1956; Nils Thune, *The Behmenists and the Philadelphians: A Contribution to the Study of English Mysticism in the 17th and 18th Centuries*, Uppsala, 1948. As to the earlier works, there is Evelyn Underhill's *Mysticism*, (1911), London, 16th ed. 1948, and Rufus M. Jones's *Spiritual Reformers in the 16th & 17th Centuries*, London, 1914. More recent is Andrew Weeks's *Boehme: An Intellectual Biography of the Seventeenth-Century Philosopher and Mystic*, New York, 1991. In 1993 appeared his *German Mysticism from Hildegard of Bingen to Ludwig Wittgenstein: A Literary and Intellectual History*, New York, 1993, in which Weeks returned to Boehme.

<sup>426</sup> Mullett, *Op. cit.*, p. 107; the misspelling of certain words is due to the fact that the letters were copied for Richardson by a third person. See also footnote 371.

Boehme wrote his first book, the *Aurora* or *Morning Redness*, as a result of his vision of 1610, which he compared with the opening of a gate. It was a vision in which he saw "the Being of all Being" as well the Trinity, and the three worlds, i.e. the divine and the dark world as well as the "external and visible" world. He describes his experience as follows:

In this my earnest and Christian Seeking and Desire the Gate was opened to me, that in one Quarter of an Hour I saw and knew more than if I had been many years together at an University, at which I exceedingly admired, and thereupon turned my Praise to God for it. For I saw and knew the Being of all Beings, the Byss and the Abyss, and the Eternal Generation of the *Holy Trinity*, the Descent and Original of the World, and of all creatures through the Divine Wisdom: knew and saw in myself all the three worlds, namely, *The Divine*, angelical and paradisaical; and the *dark World*, the Original of the Nature to the Fire; and then, thirdly, the *external and visible World*, being a Procreation or external Birth from both the internal and spiritual Worlds. And I saw and knew the whole working Essence in the Evil and the Good, and the Original and Existence of each of them; and likewise how the fruitful bearing Womb of Eternity brought forth. .... For I had a thorough view of the Universe, as in Chaos, wherein all things are couched and wrapped up, but it was impossible for me to explain the same. Yet it opened itself to me, from Time to Time, as in a Young Plant.<sup>427</sup>

After the first book many others followed. As to the availability of Boehme's works much information can be obtained from the bibliography of Boehme's works by W. Buddecke's *Die Jakob Böhme Ausgaben*. Also by Buddecke is "Die Böhme Handschriften und Ihr Schicksal", an article which appeared in *The Jacob Boehme Society Quarterly*.<sup>428</sup> More recently, Willem Heijting wrote an article about Hendrick Beets who published a large proportion of the seventeenth-century German editions of Boehme's work in Amsterdam. Heijting also mentions, among other things, the Amsterdam merchant Abraham Willemszoon van Beyerland, who published Dutch translations of most of Boehme's work between 1634 and 1642.<sup>429</sup>

We can only speculate, and this is what I will proceed to do, as to which work of or about Boehme Richardson might have sent to Cheyne in 1742.

<sup>427</sup> Cf. Evelyn Underhill, *Mysticism*, London, 1948, p. 257. According to Boehme God the father is the Abyss (Ungrund), the indefinable matter of the universe, neither good nor evil, but containing the germs of either, unconscious and impenetrable. This "abyss" tends to know itself in the Son, who is light and wisdom, and to expand and express itself in the Holy Spirit.

<sup>428</sup> W. Buddecke, *Die Jakob Böhme-Ausgaben*, 2 Vols., Göttingen, 1937-1957, and "Die Böhme Handschriften und Ihr Schicksal", in *The Jacob Boehme Society Quarterly*, Vol. I, 1953, 4, 17-22. A short list can be found in Serge Hutin's *Les disciples anglais de Jacob Boehme, au XVIIe et XVIIIe siècles*, Paris, 1960, pp. 38-39.

<sup>429</sup> W. Heijting, "Hendrick Beets (1625?-1708), Publisher to the German Adherents of Jacob Böhme in Amsterdam", in *Quaerendo* 3 (1973), pp. 250-280.

Assuming that it was an English work, it could have been a book about Boehme, or it might have been an English translation of Boehme's works.

### The English Translators of Boehme

As mentioned above, all of Boehme's works had been translated into English between 1645 and 1662 by John Sparrow and John Ellistone, and printed by Humphrey Blunden and a few others.<sup>430</sup> The bookseller Giles Calvert was also involved in the publication of Boehme's works.<sup>431</sup> For the translation Sparrow used manuscripts from Van Beyerland, sent from Holland.<sup>432</sup> In the introductions to his translations Sparrow repeatedly asks his readers to allow the Inner Light, or Holy Spirit, into the heart, reminding them that light or darkness in life will extend into eternity.<sup>433</sup>

Boehme also had a profound influence on two Seekers, Charles and Durand Hotham. A Fellow of Peter-House, Cambridge, Charles Hotham wrote his *Introduction to the Teutonick Philosophie. Being a determination concerning the Original of the Soul, whether it be immediately created by God, and infus'd into the Body, or transmitted from the Parent. Englished by D.F.* His brother Justice Durand Hotham wrote *The Life of Jacob Behmen*, which was published by H. Blunden in 1654. Aware of his treading on dangerous grounds, Hotham explains his purpose which was not to prove that Boehme was a saint, but at least to change the opinion that Boehme was a "pestilent" heretic. He writes:

Yet it being my *happiness* to be born an *Englishman*, and my *Birth-right* to be judg'd by my *Lay-peers*, I shall try the *Danger* of a Relation of the *wonderfull Providences* wherein *this Man was conversant*; and though perhaps he may be accounted no Saint, yet it may lessen his esteem of being a pestilent Here-tick.<sup>434</sup>

<sup>430</sup> Many of these books can be found at the Ritman Library in Amsterdam and, of course, in the British Library.

<sup>431</sup> For Giles Calvert and some of his other publications, see "Giles Calvert's Publishing Career", in *The Journal of the Friends' Historical Society*, nr. 35, 1938, pp. 45-49. For his connection with Hendrik Niclaes, the founder of the sect called the Family of Love, see Alastair Hamilton, "Hiël in England 1657-1810", in *Quaerendo*, 15/4 (1986), pp. 287-290. For Calvert and his connection with the Ranters, see Norman Cohn, *The Pursuit of the Millennium: Revolutionary Millenarians and Mystical Anarchists of the Middle Ages*, (1970), London, 1978, pp. 310-323. On p. 319 we find a reference by Abiezer Coppe (1619-72), the most famous Ranter, to the *Eternal Evangel*, a work attributed to Joachim of Fiore. Coppe mentions the *Eternal Evangel* in his most significant work *A Fiery Flying Roll* for which he suffered imprisonment. Describing the imminence of the New Jerusalem, he writes: "Behold, he is now risen with a witnesse, to save *Zion* with vengeance, or to confound and plague all things into himself; who by his mighty Angell is proclaiming (with a loud voyce) that Sin and Transgression is finished and ended; and everlasting righteousness brought in with most terrible earth-quakes, and heaven-quakes, and with signes and wonders following."

<sup>432</sup> W. Buddecke, *Op. cit.*, pp. 66 and 129-130.

<sup>433</sup> See footnote 405 above.

<sup>434</sup> Durand Hotham, *The Life of Jacob Behmen*, 1654, p. B.1.

The translators, loyal to the Church, were deeply religious men, who hated the violent ideological conflicts caused by the civil war. The following text from 1716, a much later date, describes the first English translators of Boehme as learned and pious men who understood the "spirit of the author", (except perhaps for the more obscure passages):

The person that translated these writings was John Sparrow, barrister of the Inner Temple; Mr. Ellistone and Mr. Hotham also have translated one or the other treatise into English, though Sparrow is generally considered the real translator and editor: he was a man of true piety and seems to have penetrated very deeply into the spirit of the author. His translation is considered faithful and correct in most points, except in some of the most obscure passages, which probably he did not apprehend. .... As regards the period, they were all translated towards the end of the reign of Charles I, and printed ... during the Civil War, except the last volume, which was not printed till the Restoration of Charles II in 1661 and 1662. Some have alleged that King Charles I read and highly esteemed the writings of Boehme (it had been said that he supplied the funds for their publication, and that therefore they are printed so royally).<sup>435</sup>

The reference to King Charles I is interesting in relation to *Sir Charles Grandison*.

Shortly before his execution in 1649, Charles I read Sparrow's translation of the *XL Questions concerning the Soule* (1647)<sup>436</sup> and much admired it. His wife was the Catholic Henrietta Maria. This may explain why Richardson gave the protagonists in *Sir Charles Grandison* the names of Charles and Harriet. According to Sparrow, when asked to give his opinion about the book, King Charles answered:

That the Publisher in English seemed to say of the Author, that he was no Scholar; and if he was not, he believed that the Holy Ghost was now in Men; but if he was a Scholar, it was one of the best inventions that he ever read.<sup>437</sup>

Confirmation of this was given by Francis Lee who wrote to Pierre Poiret:

<sup>435</sup> The title of the document is *An Account from London Concerning the Writings of Jacob Boehme published in English; sent in 1716*. It contains the answer of an Englishman to questions from German Behmenists. The document is at Dr Williams's Library, London. Cf. Serge Hutin, *Op. cit.*, pp. 40 and 195, notes 21 and 22.

<sup>436</sup> The Latin translation of the *XL Questions of the Soul*, the *Psychologia vera I.B.T.* (Jacob Boehme Teutonicus), was made by Johannes Werdenhagen and published in 1632 in Amsterdam. It seems that the *Psychologia vera* was quite popular. According to Abraham von Franckenberg, forty copies were sent to Rome, where it was put on the Index of forbidden books in 1633. (Cf. Buddecke, *Op. cit.*, Vol. II, p. 1).

<sup>437</sup> See the prefatory notes to the *XL Questions*, 1665. Text from the William Law edition, Vol. II, 1764, p. 5.

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His [Boehme's] work, *Forty Questions of the Soul*, came out here in England a little before the martyrdom of King Charles the First, and was put in his hands and read by him, with great admiration, for he quickly perceived that something remarkable was concealed under the aenigmas (or emblems) of the writer.<sup>438</sup>

#### **Boehme's Concepts**

So as to achieve a better understanding of the influence of Boehme's concepts such as the soul and its destroyer, Light and Darkness, the Inner Light, the Holy Spirit, Wisdom, Sophia, music imagery, etc., I will discuss some of the English translations. In the *XL Questions concerning the Soule* we find a description of the image of the soul as well as of the Turba, the destroyer of the image, which may have helped to create the characters of Clarissa (as the soul) and Lovelace (as the Turba, the destroyer of the soul):

The distemper is nothing else but the *Turba*, which as a destroyer always insinuateth itself; beware of that (for the Old Serpent is subtle) and have a care, that you may be pure both in the beginning and in the End." (*XL Questions*, 1:299)

Boehme adds a few paragraphs later:

And thus wee understand the soule, to be a life awakened out of the Eye of God, its Originall is in the fire, and the fire is its life; but if it goe not forth out of the fire with its will and Imagination into the Light, viz. through the wrathfull death into ... the fire of Love; then it remaineth in its owne originall fire, and hath nothing for a body but the *Turba*; viz. the harsh wrath in the Desire in the fire, a consuming, and a hunger: and yet an Eternall seeking, which is an eternall Anguish. (*XL Questions*, 1:309)

In Ellistone's translation of *The Epistles of Jacob Boehme* (1649) we find one of Cheyne's favourite metaphors relating to music.<sup>439</sup> Attacking a religion of notions, Ellistone argues in the preface that religion can no more consist of the "bare letter" than that music can consist of a row of written notes. Instead they are a "direction" as to how the skilful musician "shall play on the instrument" and he continues: "so also our minde is as an Organ or Instrument: but it Sounds onely according to the Tune, and Note of that Spirit, that doth possesse and act it".<sup>440</sup>

<sup>438</sup> Hutin, *Op. cit.*, pp. 195-196, n. 24.

<sup>439</sup> In the *Essay of Health and Long Life* Cheyne likens the soul to a skilful musician in front of an instrument with keys within (the thoughts of the mind affecting the body), on which it may play, and keys without (the actions or sensations of the body affecting the mind), on which other persons and bodies may also play. (*Essay of Health and Long Life*, 1724, p. 144).

<sup>440</sup> *The Epistles of Jacob Boehme*, 1649, pp. A2-A3. Ellistone adds that "we doe convert, and assi-

In 1651 Ellistone translated the *Signatura Rerum* in which we find several concepts equally familiar to those who have read Cheyne's work, such as the mystery of God, macrocosm and microcosm, emblem, hieroglyph, wisdom, use of analogy, the imitation of Christ, rebirth and the kingdom of Heaven. In his preface to the *Signatura Rerum* Ellistone expresses his wish that the "little spark of breathing desire" within him for true knowledge (wisdom) will enable him to write an introduction worthy of Boehme's work. He believes that true knowledge is the best treasure that we can attain in this world, including the knowledge of oneself:

For Man is the great Mystery of God, the Microcosm, or the compleat Abridgement of the whole Universe: He is the *Mirandum dei opus*, Gods Master-peece, a living Emblem, and Hieroglyphick of Eternity and Time; and therefore to know Whence he is, and what his temporall and Eternal Being, and well being is, must needs be that ONE necessary thing, unto which all our chief Study should aym, and in comparison of Which all the Wealth of this world is but loss, and dross.<sup>441</sup>

Ellistone quotes Solomon who said that he who finds wisdom is happy and that gaining understanding is better than silver or gold. Wisdom is the "precious Pearl" whose beauty is more glorious and whose virtue is more supreme than the sun. He adds that it is a balsam for all sores and a panacea for all diseases, an anti-dote against all poison, even to death itself. In order to attain this understanding, Ellistone tells us that one has to follow Christ, deny oneself and take up his cross daily, for "unless ye be born again, ye cannot see the Kingdom of heaven."<sup>442</sup> It is something which no "sharp Reason" or worldly learning can reach, in whose eyes it is equal to enthusiasm, melancholy or even madness:<sup>443</sup>

The proud Sophisters, and wiselings of this world, have alwaies trampled it under foot with Scorn and contempt, and have called it Enthusiasm, madness, melancholy, whimsey, phancy, &c.<sup>444</sup>

mulate all things according to that Spirit, and will that is ruling, and predominant in us; and therein the minde, thoughts, and senses, are enkindled, and enflamed; for if we have a bare Astrall, Worldly, Carnall, Selfe-conceited, Contemning, Cavilling, Pharisaicall, Hypocriticall Spirit; accordingly we doe forme, and frame our Notions, Judgment, and Censure; and *pervert all things to a wrong sense and use*; but if the Divine Spirit of Love, Light, meeknesse, humility, selfe-denyall, syncerity, and *holy desires* doe dwell, rule, and act in us; then our understanding is accordingly *holy, Divine, and reall*: for *to the pure, all things are pure; but to the impure, all things are impure; for their very Mindes and Consciences are defiled.*

<sup>441</sup> *Signatura Rerum*, 1651, p. A2. See also p. 72 above.

<sup>442</sup> *Ibid.*, p. A2 reverse.

<sup>443</sup> See p. 49 above.

<sup>444</sup> *Ibid.*, p. A2 reverse. See also the postscript by Sparrow, in which he describes the "Sophisters" as wiselings of pedantic reason, who will carp and cavil at anything but what dances to their pipe, or agrees with their conceits. He adds that their letter-learned mock productions of science are to

Ellistone refers to the sons of Hermes and their "high School" of true magic and theosophy, who have always spoken "their hidden Wisdome in a Mystery" and couched it under parables and similies. He has no problem with this, because he believes that the mysteries of philosophy, divinity and theosophy should not be open to mere Reason, which turns everything into selfish pride, covetousness, envy, wrath and hypocrisy. Parables have a double meaning, he argues. They have a dark and a light side: they hide secrets from the rude and vulgar, who are not able or patient enough and only want to hear that which suits their common conceits and opinions, but they guide the mind of the true searcher into the depth of wisdom, or Sophia.<sup>445</sup> To be a "Nursling of Sophia", and to learn to understand, "one must be born again of, and in, the word of wisdome, Christ Jesus, the Immortal Seed", for the divine essence which God breathed into "his paradissicall Soul" must be revived so that he will be "one again with that, which he was in God before he was a creature." Only then will man be able to see beyond the literal meaning, and find the moral, allegorical and anagogical meaning of the wise and dark sayings. By this means man will enter into divine understanding and knowledge. This explains Cheyne's love of the "Art of Analogy".

But, more importantly for the purpose of this study, it explains Clarissa's allegorical letter.<sup>446</sup> The misinterpretation of this letter by both Lovelace and many of *Clarissa's* readers justifies Richardson's exclaiming in exasperation that few readers could see beyond the literal meaning of *Clarissa* and were only concerned with the surface level and whether or not Clarissa should marry Lovelace (i.e. eros versus agape).<sup>447</sup>

Ellistone further informs us that in the *Signatura Rerum* Boehme decipheres and represents the "Signature of all Things". He sets forth the birth, sympathy and antipathy of all beings, how they originally all arise out of one "Eternal Mystery". He also demonstrates how man has turned himself out of good into evil, and how he can change again out of evil into good. Moreover, the outward cure of the body is explained, i.e. how the outward life may be freed from sickness "by its likeness" and so be one again with its first essence. Ellistone writes how Boehme describes the Philosopher's Stone as a temporal cure and the "Holy Corner Stone", Christ, as the "everlasting cure", the regeneration and perfect restitution of all the "true, faithful, eternal Souls". He explains Boehme's aim to show to the reader the "inward Power and Property by the outward Sign", which is the language of nature. By doing so, Boehme tried to supply a cure for both the body and the soul.

Proof of a continued interest in Boehme may appear from the fact that,

be pitied, the courted shadows of their own amused fancy. This is similar to Poiriet's views, see p. 93 above. See also Harriet's views of learning (*Sir Charles Grandison*, I. 47-56).

<sup>445</sup> See p. 78 above.

<sup>446</sup> See pp. 75 and 99 above.

<sup>447</sup> See Richardson's letter to Susanna Highmore, dated 31 January 1754. (Cf. John Carroll, *Selected Letters of Samuel Richardson*, Oxford, 1964, p. 275).



some thirty to forty years later, Edward Taylor published *Jacob Behmen's Theosophic Philosophy unfolded* (1691).<sup>448</sup> Taylor also had a profound understanding of Boehme and he even made a glossary of some Behmenist terms, such as the one on *Sophia* which is described as the true noble precious image of Christ, viz. the wisdom of God, the Tincture of Light.<sup>449</sup> Boehme's book sent by Richardson to Cheyne in 1742 could equally well have been Taylor's *Jacob Behmen*.

I have mentioned above the art of analogy as an important instance of Boehme's influence on Richardson, which helps us to interpret Clarissa's allegorical letter correctly, but there are more examples as we shall see below.

### The Role of the Lily in Boehme and Richardson

Richardson's use of the lily to depict Clarissa may have originated in his familiarity with Boehme's concept of the Age of the Lily or *Lilienzeit*. We find Boehme's symbol of the lily in the first English treatise on Boehme of a mere seven pages which appeared in 1644 and was called *The Life of one Jacob Boehmen; who although he were a very meane man, yet wrote the most wonderfull deepe knowledge in natural and Divine things, that any hath been knowne to doe since the Apostles Times, and yet never read them, or learned them from any other man, as may be seene in that which followeth*. It was printed by L.N. for Richard Whitaker, and contains a brief relation of the "life and conversation of Jacob Boehmen, afterwards by learned men called Teutonicus".

In Whitaker's description of the wooden cross set up over Boehme's grave (plate XVI, slightly different from the description given by Whitaker)<sup>450</sup> we read that it "portrayed a Mysticall three-fold Figure":

<sup>448</sup> Hutin, *Op. cit.*, pp. 44, 198, note 47. The complete title is *Jacob Behmen's Theosophic Philosophy unfolded; in diverse Considerations and Demonstrations, shewing the Verity and Utility of the several Doctrines or Propositions contained in the Writings of that Divinely Instructed Author. Also, the Principal Treatises of the said Author Abridged. And Answers given to the Remainder of the 177 Theosophic Questions, Propounded by the said Jacob Behmen, which were left unanswered by him at the time of his Death. As a help towards a better Understanding the Old and New Testament. Also what Man is with respect to Time and Eternity. Being an Open Gate to the Greatest Mysteries*, London, 1691. It also contains a short account of the life of Boehme with a portrait. Sparrow's and Ellistone's translations form the basis of this work, though Taylor tried to deliver "[Boehme's] Sense in more usual and familiar words" (Bl. A2v). Taylor asserted that Boehme's works did not contain a new doctrine, but were "substantial, orderly, firmly and naturally founded on the immovable principles, and uncontrollable maxims of confessed Theology and Philosophy" (Bl. Av). On p. 285 we find Poirer's remarks: "Vires intendit omnes auctor, ut Boemiana principia e fundamentis aperiret".

<sup>449</sup> Hutin, *Op. cit.*, pp. 44, 198, note 48.

<sup>450</sup> For engravings of this cross, see the *Life of Jacob Behmen* (p. 685), by Durand Hotham, which was usually bound up with the English translation of the *Mysterium Magnum*, the first edition of which was published by H. Blunden in 1654, see p. 144 above. See also Buddecke, *Op. cit.*, Vol. II, nr. 131, pp. 158-161, esp. p. 159. The engraving is also found in Volume I (1764) of the William Law edition of 1764-1781, see Buddecke, *Op. cit.*, Vol. II, nr. 44 on p. 49 (a2r: "The Monumental Cross of Jacob Behmen").



XVI. Epitaph on the wooden cross set up over Boehme's grave in Görlitz. From "The Life of Jacob Behmen" (1654) by D. Hotham, attached to the *Mysterium Magnum*, 1656, p. 685. J.R. Ritman Library (Bibliotheca Philosophica Hermetica) in Amsterdam, B.P.H., no. 7119-5.

*Boehme's Direct Influence on Richardson*

An Eagle with a Lilly-Twigge  
A Lyon with a Sword  
A Lamb with a Mitre.

Underneath the “threefold Figure” we find the following words:

Unser Heil im Leben Iesu Christi In Uns.

Whitaker quotes Boehme’s motto, which was:

Borne of God  
Dead in Christ  
Sealed with the Holy Ghost.

Next a description follows of the southern eagle that stood upon a high rock with one foot upon a serpent’s head,<sup>451</sup> and with the other holding a palm, while it received with its beak a lily given by the sun. The northern lion was crowned and signed with a cross. In its right claw it held a fire-flaming sword, and in its left a fiery-heart. Lastly, Whitaker describes the lamb with its mitre as it walked quietly between the eagle and the lion. The lily reappears in Boehme’s seal as a hand out of heaven holding a lily. According to Whitaker, Boehme’s favourite lines were:

Wem Zeit is wie Ewigkeit	To whom Time is as Eternity
Und Ewigkeit wie die Zeit	And Eternity as Time,
Der ist befreit von allem Streit	He is freed from all Strife.

The same text is found, not in the first edition of 1647, but in the new edition of 1665 of the *XL Questions concerning the Soule*.

In the *Signatura Rerum* Boehme uses the word lily as follows:

Thus I have truly warned the Reader, and set before his eyes what the Lord of

<sup>451</sup> As to the serpent’s head, Boehme explains in the *Signatura Rerum* that “herein now lieth the Philosopher’s Stone, [to know] how the Seed of the Woman bruise the Serpents Head, which is done in the Spirit and Essence Temporally and Eternally; the sting of the Serpent is Gods Anger-fire, and the Womans Seed is Gods Love-fire, which must be again awakened, and illustrate the Anger, and deprive the Wrath of its might, and put it into the divine Joyfulness, and then the dead Soul, which lay availed in Gods Curse, doth arise” (cf. *Signatura Rerum*, 7:23). See also p. 122 above. The beasts are based on Rev. 4:7, and the lamb’s description is found in Rev. 5:6. In the apocryphal and pseudepigraphical 2 Esdras we find the following reference to lilies: “And as many fountains flowing with milk and honey, and seven mighty mountains, whereupon there grow roses and lilies, whereby I will fill thy children with joy. Do right to the widow, judge for the fatherless, give to the poor, defend the orphan, clothe the naked, heal the broken and the weak, laugh not a lame man to scorn, defend the maimed, and let the blind man come into the sight of my clearness. .... And I will give thee the first place in my resurrection. Abide still, O my people, and take thy rest, for thy quietness shall come” (2 Esdras 2:19-24).

all Beings hath given me; He may behold himself in this Looking-Glass both within and without, and find what and who he is: Every Reader shall find his profit therein, be he either good or evil: It is a very clear Gate of the Mystery of all Beings; with glosses and self-wit none shall apprehend it in its own ground; but it may well embrace the Real Seeker, and create him much profit and joy, yea be helpful to him in all natural things, provided that he apply himself thereunto aright, and Seeks it in the fear of God, being it is now a time of Seeking; for *a Lilly blossometh upon the Mountains and Valleys in all the ends of the Earth*: He that Seeketh Findeth. Amen. (*Signatura Rerum*, 16:40) (Italics are mine)

Richardson's image of Clarissa, on what seemed a failed quest for the freedom of conscience, as a half broken lily may have been inspired by Boehme. In the scene in which Clarissa asks for Lovelace's mercy (clemency), Lovelace compares Clarissa with a "half-broken-stalked" lily. He describes the scene to Belford as follows:

I see, I see, Mr. Lovelace, in broken sentences [Clarissa] spoke, I see, I see - that at last - at last - I am ruined! Ruined, if *your* pity - let me implore your pity! And down on her bosom, like a half-broken-stalked lily, topheavy with the over-charging dews of the morning, sunk her head, with a sigh that went to my heart.<sup>452</sup> (III. 193)

Though the issues of tolerance and freedom of conscience, or religion, figure largely in *Clarissa*, it is above all a story concerned rather with persecution and suffering, not with love and mercy. The age of the Holy Spirit (Boehme's "Lilienzeit") of tolerance and religious freedom had not yet arrived in *Clarissa*, and therefore, perhaps, Clarissa was depicted as a broken lily. It is only in *Sir Charles Grandison* that we find tolerance, love and mercy extended by Sir Charles, representing the eagle (the symbol of the sun) with the lily.

Boehme uses the imagery of the lily most often in the *Three Principles*. He explains that:

The Children of God, they shall perceive and comprehend this my writing, ... it may be proved by all the Creatures, yea in all things, especially in Man, who is an Image and Similitude of God: but it continueth hidden and obscure to the Children of Malignity or Iniquity, and there is a fast Seale before it;<sup>453</sup> and though the Devill dis-relish the smell and savour, and raise a storme from the East to the North: yet there will then in the wrathfull or Crabbed soure Tree, grow a Lilly with a roote as broad as the Tree spreadeth with its branches, and

<sup>452</sup> Interestingly, this phrase is found in German: "wie eine geknickte Lilie dastehen" (to be deeply distressed or heart-broken).

<sup>453</sup> A note adds: "A Seale that can be opened by no Academick, University, or Scholastick learning: but by earnest repentance ... and seeking in the sufferings of Jesus Christ by the Holy Ghost."

bring its scent and smell even into Paradise. There is a Wonderfull Time coming; but because it beginneth in the Night,<sup>454</sup> there are many that shall not see it, by reason of their Sleepe and great drunkennesse; yet the Sunne will shine to the Children at Midnight.<sup>455</sup> (*The Three Principles*, Preface, 20-21)

The twelfth chapter of *The Three Principles* opens with the words: "*The Golden Gate, which God affordeth to the last world, wherein the Lilly shall flourish [and blossome].*" In the last chapter of the *Three Principles* Boehme makes it explicitly clear that the lily will not be found in strife or wars, but in a friendly, humble, loving spirit, together with good sound reason which will dispel and drive away "the smoak of the Devill", adding:

Therefore let none thinke, that when strife goeth on, and he getteth the upper hand, now it is well and right: and he that is under, and subdued, let him not thinke, Sure I am found to be in the wrong, I should now goe to the other opinion or side, and help that party, to prosecute the other: no: that is not the way, such a one is meerely in *Babell*. But let every one enter into him selfe, and labour to be a righteous Man ... and doe right, and consider that this his worke shall appeare in Heaven before God, and that he standeth every moment before the face of God, and that all his works shall follow after him, and then the Lilly of God springeth and groweth. (*The Three Principles*, 27:32-33).<sup>456</sup>

Richardson uses the image of the lily again in the scene describing Clarissa's coffin. Here we find the persecuted Clarissa depicted as a white lily "snapped short off" and "falling from the stalk". Referred to as the emblem of eternity, the serpent also symbolizes renovation and healing or rebirth. Writing to Belford, Lovelace describes Clarissa's coffin as follows:

The principal device, neatly etched on a plate of white metal, is a crowned serpent, with its tail in its mouth, forming a ring, the emblem of eternity; and in the circle made by it is this inscription:

CLARISSA HARLOWE

April x

[Then the year]

Aetat. XIX

For ornaments: at top, an *hour-glass* winged. At bottom, an urn. Under the *hour-glass*, on another plate, this inscription: HERE the wicked cease from troubling; and HERE the weary be at rest. Job iii, 17. Over the urn, near the bot-

<sup>454</sup> A note adds: "Or great darknesse or blindnesse."

<sup>455</sup> A note adds: "Children of *Sophia* or Divine Wisdom."

<sup>456</sup> See also *The Three Principles* 13:61 and 15:54 as well as 25:95.

tom: Turn again unto thy rest, O *my soul!* for *the Lord hath rewarded thee.* And why? Thou has *delivered my soul from death;* mine eyes from tears; and my feet from falling. Ps. cxvi, 7, 8. Over this text is the head of a *white lily* snapped short off, and just *falling from the stalk;* and this inscription over that, between the principal plate and the *lily:* The days of man are but as grass. For he flourisheth as a flower of the field: for, as soon as the wind goeth over it, it is gone; and the place thereof shall know it no more. Ps. ciii, 15, 16. (IV. 257) (*italics are mine*)

Even the hour-glass may have a special significance, since this instrument for measuring time consists of a glass vessel having two compartments from the uppermost of which a quantity of sand, water, or mercury runs in an hour into the lower one. Richardson may have used this imagery to depict his works (the lower compartment) through which Boehme's vision of the "Lilienzeit" (the upper compartment) were disseminated. Perhaps we may compare Richardson's role with the narrow section between the two compartments.<sup>457</sup>

#### The Unusual Form of Sir Charles Grandison's House

Interesting in relation to our discussion of Boehme is the sketch of Sir Charles's house, which is built, not in the form of an I or an E, but in the rather unusual form of an H (VII. 271). The reference to an H may be one of those clues which Richardson liked to scatter throughout his works, some more subtle than others, such as Thursdays,<sup>458</sup> or threes and sevens. It may refer to the "heart" or to the "word". In the *Clavis* Boehme describes the H as the "Word, or breathing of the Trinity of God" (*Clavis*, XX:16) and in the *XL Questions concerning the Soule* we read, in answer to the eleventh question "How and where is the Soul seated in Man?":

Thus also is the soule; it is in God conceived in the Heart, and the Word which conceived it was in the Heart, viz. in the Centre; .... and so it is still at this Day.<sup>459</sup>

<sup>457</sup> Boehme occasionally uses the hour-glass as imagery to compare this world with the next, see for instance the *Aurora* 16:106 and in the preface to *The Three Principles*: "I will heere write plainly and clearly enough for the children of God; the world and the devill may roare and rage till they come into the Abyesse; for their Houre-Glasse is set up, when every one shall reape what he hath sowed: and the Hellish Fire will sting many sufficiently for his proud, spitefull, and despising haughtiness, which he had no belief of while he was heere in this life" (Preface, 18).

<sup>458</sup> See footnote 406.

<sup>459</sup> *XL Questions concerning the Soule*, 11:2. See also the fourth question which reads "What was the Breathing in of the Soule and when?", and especially 4:7: "The royall soule was breathed in from within, by the Holy Ghost into the heart, in the Holy Man, into its Principle, like an awakening of the Deity". For the "Heart of God", see also Boehme's *Three Principles* 12:3 ("There is no fire or thunder in the heart of God, but kinde love"); 23:10 (the Holy Ghost proceeded continually from Eternity, from the Father through his Heart [note adds: Sonne or Word]).

In the *Signatura Rerum* Boehme writes that the voice or breath of God continually and eternally brings forth its joy through the creature, as through an instrument, with the creature as the manifestation of the voice of God. And he adds that what God is in the eternal generation of his eternal word out of the great mystery of the Father's property, such is the creature in the image as a joyful harmony, with which the eternal spirit plays or melodises (*Signatura Rerum*, 16:13).<sup>460</sup> Richardson may have left this clue of the H for the perceptive reader to help him or her understand the purpose of what he believed to have been his "magnum opus".

The H is also reminiscent of the Holy Spirit or Ghost, representing Boehme's Third Age of the Holy Spirit, before the Last Judgement and the end of the world. If we allow the "world's end" not only to refer to space but to time as well, the following text may refer to the end of the world in an anagogical sense: Sir Charles will find "no difficulty", Lucy believed, to persuade Harriet to accompany him to the "world's end" (VII. 263). The phrase "world's end" could then be allowed to convey an eschatological message, referring to the end of the world described in the apocalyptic dream in the Book of Revelation in which the time pattern of the Six World Ages, with the Seventh (the Sabbath Age) usually located outside of time, was based on the Week of Creation in Genesis.<sup>461</sup> In the Book of Revelation we read that John sees the Lamb open the seven seals of the scroll. The opening of the seventh seal in particular brings destruction and death to the earth and its inhabitants. Only a small remnant of 144,000, sealed with the name of the Father and of the Lamb on their foreheads, are to be saved and gathered in the harvest of the earth (Rev. 7:3, 14:1). It is this remnant which, I believe, is to be identified with Sir Charles Grandison's Family of Love,<sup>462</sup> who will be led to the end of the Third Age, which signifies the end of world history, into the millennium, beyond world history, as described in the Book of Revelation:

And I looked, and, lo, a Lamb stood on the mount Sion, and with him an hundred forty and four thousand, having his Father's name written in their foreheads. And I heard a voice from heaven, as the voice of many waters, and as the voice of a great thunder: and I heard the voice of harpers harping with their harps. And they sung as it were a new song before the throne, and before

<sup>460</sup> It is interesting to compare the imagery of the eternal spirit "melodising" with Cheyne's imagery of the musician which explains that, when playing on a well-tuned instrument (the nervous system), the musician (the soul) will produce distinct, agreeable and harmonious music. However, if the instrument (the nervous system) is spoiled or broken, not duly tuned or correctly fitted, it will not answer the intention of the musician and will not yield any distinct sound or true harmony. (Cf. *Essay of Health and Long Life*, pp. 144 and 158). See also footnote 439 above.

<sup>461</sup> Marjorie Reeves, "The Development of Apocalyptic Thought: Medieval Attitudes", in *The Apocalypse in English Renaissance Thought and Literature*, Manchester, 1984, pp. 40-72. I use the word "apocalypse" in the sense that it unveils or reveals things usually hidden, and the word "eschatology" as concerned with the destiny of the individual soul as well as of the whole created order.

<sup>462</sup> See p. 186 and footnote 547 below.

the four beasts, and the elders: and no man could learn that song but the hundred and forty and four thousand, which were redeemed from the earth. .... These are they which follow the Lamb whithersoever he goeth. These were redeemed from among men, being the firstfruits unto God and to the Lamb. (Rev. 14:1-4)

I will further discuss Sir Charles Grandison's house and park in chapter 7.

### **Boehme's Perception of Free Will and *Clarissa***

*Clarissa* is very much concerned with the issue of free will, a concept of great interest to the English Behmenists. In the *Threefold Life of Man* Boehme writes that man has a free will. (The note adds that this means choice or liberty.) In the *Three Principles* he explains:

For man is weake, and ignorant [voyde of understanding], ... yet he hath the Imagination, and the choosing, or the free yeelding [to a thing]. (*Three Principles*, 20:75)

This free will especially applies when a choice has to be made between heaven and hell. Boehme states in the *Clavis* that the *Mysterium Magnum* is that "Chaos, out of which Light and Darkness" or the foundation of Heaven and Hell, is "flown" from Eternity, and made "manifest". He continues:

For that foundation which wee now call Hell, (being a Principle of itselfe), is the ground and cause of the Fire in the Eternall Nature; which fire, in God, is onely a burning Love: and where God is not manifested in a thing ... there is an Anguishing, a painfull, burning fire. .... This ground is called *Mysterium Magnum*, or a *Chaos*, because, good and evill ariseth out of it: viz. Light and Darknesse, Life and Death, Joy and grieve, Salvation and Damnation. (*Clavis*, 48-50)

And he adds:

It is a *ground of Heaven and Hell*, also of the visible world, and all that is therein: therein have laine all things in one onely ground: *as an Image lyeth hid in a peece of wood before the Artificer doth carve it out and fashion it.* (*Clavis*, 51) (italics are mine)

The word "carve" stands out and is connected with the issue of free will, with "choosing and refusing", which is an important issue in *Clarissa*.<sup>463</sup>

<sup>463</sup> In *The Natural Method*, printed by Richardson in 1742, Cheyne elaborates on the subject of the freedom of the will. Cheyne argues that the freedom and liberty of choosing and refusing, which we find in ourselves, is inconsistent with mechanism. Those who deny that we have any free will at all, only have to examine their own conscience to find that they are utterly mistaken. When



On the anagogical level we find that Clarissa has to choose between life and death. In order to choose "life" she had to follow her own will, which she believed to be God's will, the light within or her own conscience. It meant that she was to deny herself and to follow or "imitate" Christ. Though this would ultimately lead to her death, in a spiritual sense it restores her to life. Had she given in to her parents's choice, or to Lovelace's pressure, she would have chosen death. We can see from the following quotation how important the subject of free will was throughout Richardson's life. In his letter to Sarah Chapone from 18 April 1752, Richardson calls himself the "mistaken champion for the free will of women", probably because he was disappointed that so many women interpreted *Clarissa* rather on a literal than a spiritual basis (plate XVII):

But Clarissa is made to declare by her Mistaken Champion for the Free Will of the Sex, that were a Marriage to be attempted between her and Solmes, and her Hand forced into his, by all her assembled Friends, whom she revered, however, more than they merited, she would forcibly withdraw her Hand, and adjure in the most solemn Manner, the Minister not to proceed; and this whether she was carried to her Uncle's private chapel, or was offered to be imposed on her in her own or any other's Apartment. For, there was no Thought of prevailing on *her* to go to Church. .... It would have been a very hard Sentence, to pronounce upon her, that she incurred the guilt of Perjury, before God, for having been prevailed upon to give up her own Will to that of her Parents. Solmes was sure of her principles. He and her barbarous Friends declare that. And he was willing to be satisfied with her Fear, altho' he should not have her Love.<sup>464</sup>

In relation to the free will of human beings Richardson uses in *Sir Charles Grandison* the word "carver",<sup>465</sup> which Johnson inserted into his famous dictionary and explained as "he that chooses for himself".<sup>466</sup> Giving

they do so, they will find that, even if their reason tells them to do a certain thing, they have it in their power to do the contrary: they can rise or sit still, go backward or forward, to show their own freedom. Moreover, they can choose the time and place, the degrees and circumstances of all those actions that are called free. Cheyne admits that some of our natural actions are necessary, but that the ones which are commonly called "voluntary" are as free as the nature of things will permit them. (Cf. *The Natural Method of Cureing the Diseases of the Body, and the Disorders of the Mind depending on the Body*, London, 1742, p. 138.) Cheyne does not believe that freedom consists in doing anything or everything, but in varying and diversifying infinitely different ways how, where and what we do, and choosing without restraint or from any motive "foreign to the Party choosing". Without free will, Cheyne believes, virtue and vice, justice and injustice are merely empty words. If rational creatures are free, which Cheyne thinks they most certainly are, then this freedom is a downright contradiction to mechanism, since mechanism produces all its effects necessarily.

<sup>464</sup> John Carroll, *Selected Letters of Samuel Richardson*, Oxford, 1964, p. 207.

<sup>465</sup> *Sir Charles Grandison*, Vol. IV, p. 373 and Vol. VI, p. 133.

<sup>466</sup> *Dictionary of the English Language*, 1755. In his Preface to the *Dictionary* Johnson stated that he had departed from his intention never to cite living authors as testimony for words in the case



XVII. "Reflections on Clarissa Harlowe", a painting by Sir Joshua Reynolds of his niece Theophila Palmer reading *Clarissa*. It was engraved by G. Scorodoumow and published in London in 1775.

up his own happiness to make others happy, Sir Charles argues that in earthly matters "we must not be our own carvers" (IV. 373). Again, Harriet later says to Sir Charles "It is well that the best of us are not always to be our own carvers" (VI. 133). Richardson used the word "carver" in his letters on *Grandison* in which he explicitly refers to his own authorial reticence and his encouragement to the readers to become "Carvers" of the text.<sup>467</sup>

On the anagogical level the word carver is also used by William Law. Discussing heaven and hell in *A Demonstration of the Errors of a late Book*, Law believed, with Boehme, that everybody is his own maker, his own "carver", everybody is that which he wills:

If you have lived upon the Amusements of *Reason* and Speculation, your life has been worse than a *Dream*, and your Soul will, at the End of such a Life, be left to itself in its own *Darkness, Hunger, Thirst, and Anxiety*, to be for ever devoured by its *own Fire*. But if you have watched over that *Instinct of Goodness* which God planted in your Soul, and have exercised yourself in that *Penitence* for your Sins, and humble *Faith* in the *Mercy* of God ... then when your Body falls off from you, you will feel and know what a Kingdom of God lay hid in your Soul, you will see that you have a *Life* and *Strength* like that of Eternity, and the Fulness of God himself will be your everlasting Enjoyment. For Heaven and Hell stand ready to awake in you.

Law then adds "You are now your own *Carver*, and must be *that* which you shall have made of yourself," for:

If the Depth of your Heart has not in this Lifetime its proper Cure; if it has not something done to it, which your *Reason* can no more do, than it can create the Light, your Heart will become your Hell. And if you let the Light of the Gospel shine into it, and revive the *good Seed* of Life in it, then it will become the Seat and Habitation of your Heaven.<sup>468</sup>

For William Penn's use of the word "carver", see below.

### Boehme and the Quakers

As I have earlier suggested, Richardson's father may have had connections with the Quakers. We know that Richardson was certainly interested in them, since he printed in 1736 the *Papers Relating to the Quakers' Tythe Bill*. The Quakers also read Boehme, though some Quakers criticized the Behmenists, especially because the latter continued to use the sacraments, i.e. the "Water of Baptism" and "the Bread and Wine of the Supper". If there were early con-

of Samuel Richardson, because of the number of unusual or new words he used (see Eaves and Kimpel, *Samuel Richardson: A Biography*, Oxford, 1971, p. 334).

<sup>467</sup> John Carroll, *Op. cit.*, p. 296.

<sup>468</sup> *Works*, V, p. 100.

nections with the Quakers, Richardson may have come across Boehme's works rather early in life.<sup>469</sup>

In *A Looking Glass for George Fox*, published in 1667, we are informed that "Jacob Behmont's Books" were the chief books that the Quakers bought, because they contained "the Principle or Foundation of their Religion".<sup>470</sup> Although according to R.M. Jones, Fox never mentions Boehme or the Behmenists, it is Richard Baxter, who in describing the sect of the Behmenists, informs his readers that they are very similar to the Quakers for "the sufficiency of the Light of Nature, Inward Light, the salvation of the Heathen as well as Christians, and a dependence on revelations." Baxter adds that there are fewer Behmenists than Quakers, and that they show a greater "meekness" and "conquest of the passions" than the Quakers. He adds that their doctrines can be found in "Jacob Behmen's Books", by those who have "nothing else to do, than to bestow a great deal of time to understand him that was not willing to be easily understood."<sup>471</sup>

Francis Ellington, a Quaker of some importance, regarded Boehme as the "Prophet of the Lord" and quotes Boehme's words from *The Three Principles of the Divine Essence*, translated by Sparrow in 1648, as to how a lily would blossom in the "Northern Countries" and how, if not destroyed by the sectarian contention of the learned, it would become "a great Tree among you". Ellington believed that the lily referred to George Fox and the Quakers, and, moreover, Ellington stressed the similarities between Boehme's prophecies of spiritual religion and the "Children of the Light".<sup>472</sup> Perhaps the broken-lily image in *Clarissa* also refers to the persecution of the Quakers.

It is therefore interesting that Richardson mentions Pennsylvania several times in *Clarissa*. There is for instance the scene in which Richardson touches upon the possibility of Clarissa going to the "Plantations": "all your friends here ... now seem set upon proposing to you to go to one of the plantations" (IV. 107), or, more particularly, Pennsylvania (IV. 188, 270). In Arabella's words:

I have another proposal to make to you, and that in the name of every one in the family; which is, that you will think of going to Pennsylvania to reside there for some few years till all is blown over; and, if it please God to spare you, and your unhappy parents, till they can be satisfied that you behave like a true and uniform penitent; at least till you are twenty-one; and you may then come back to your own estate, or have the produce of it sent you thither, as you shall choose. A period which my father fixes, because it is the *custom*; and because

<sup>469</sup> R.M. Jones, *Spiritual Reformers in the 16th & 17th Centuries*, London, 1914, pp. 231-232.

<sup>470</sup> See "William Law and the Mystics", in *The Cambridge History of English and American Literature*.

<sup>471</sup> Jones, *Op. cit.*, p. 227.

<sup>472</sup> Francis Ellington quotes several passages from Boehme to show parallels between him and the Quakers in *Christian Information concerning these Last Times*, London, 1664, pp. 10-12. For details about this book and its connection with Ellington, see Buddecke, *Op. cit.*, nr. 73, pp. 98-99.

he thinks your *grandfather* should have fixed it; and because, let *me* add, you have fully proved by your fine conduct, that you were not at years of discretion at *eighteen*. (IV. 188-189)

During the 1670s the Quaker William Penn became increasingly interested in establishing a colony in America which would assure liberty of conscience for Quakers and others.<sup>473</sup> In 1682 he founded Pennsylvania, not named for Penn the Quaker, but for his father, the admiral Sir William Penn, who had received the land from Charles II. Penn drew up a constitution for Pennsylvania which permitted all forms of worship compatible with monotheism and religious liberty and sailed for America. In his *Primitive Christianity* (1696) Penn upholds the identity of Quaker principles with those of the early Church. How advanced his ideas were, appears from an earlier publication called an *Essay towards the Present and Future Peace of Europe* (1693), advocating the establishment of a European Parliament.

It is striking, and indeed additional proof that the Quakers read Boehme, that Penn uses the word "carver" in the following context:

There appears to me but three things upon which peace is broken, viz. to keep, to recover, or to add. First, to keep what is one's right, from the invasion of an enemy; in which I am purely defensive. Secondly, to recover, when I think myself strong enough, that which by violence, I, or my ancestors have lost, by the arms of a stronger power; in which I am offensive: or, lastly, to increase my dominion by the acquisition of my neighbour's countries, as I find them weak, and my self strong. To gratify which passion, there will never want some accident or other for a pretence: and knowing my own strength, I will be my own judge and carver.<sup>474</sup>

<sup>473</sup> When in prison, William Penn wrote *No Cross, no Crown* (1669), a recognized classic of Quaker practice.

<sup>474</sup> William Penn, *The Peace of Europe, The Fruits of Solitude and Other Writings*, London, 1993, p. 10. In *The Fruits of Solitude* Penn mentions "the voice of the dove" and "the olive branch of peace" on p. 15. He stresses the importance of education on p. 15: "The government [should be] solicitous of the education of their youth: Which, next to the present and immediate happiness of any country, ought of all things, to be the care and skill of the government. For such as the youth of any country is bred, such is the next generation, and the government in good or bad hands." And on p. 25 he criticizes contemporary education: "We are in pain to make them scholars, but not men! To talk, rather than to know; which is true canting." Penn describes wars as "duels of princes" on p. 21. He writes that the world is a "great and stately volume of natural things" and may be not improperly "styled the hieroglyphics of a better [world]" (p. 25). He discusses the equality of the sexes on p. 34. In his eyes the humble, meek, merciful, just, pious and devout souls are everywhere of one religion" (p. 60). He calls a man who does not have the feeling of the wants or needs of his own flesh and blood, a monster and hopes he may "never be suffered to propagate such an unnatural stock in the world" (pp. 85-86). The use of the word "monster" is reminiscent of Boehme's fifth question in the *XL Questions*, in which Boehme describes the "mond monstrum", or moon monster. He writes: "When a mother bringeth forth a child, it is an image of her, ... unless it belongeth to the *turba*, which many times awakeneth a monster according to the spirit of this world". (Cf. *XL Questions*, 5:1-2) These issues, reminiscent of Boehme, recur in the works of Cheyne, Law and Richardson.

Moreover, it is interesting that Daniel Leeds and William Bradford published in 1688 in Philadelphia, Pennsylvania, a work called *The Temple of Wisdom for the Little World, in Two Parts*,<sup>475</sup> in which Leeds in the preface to the first part writes that "most of what the diligent Searcher ... shall find dispersed in the whole Works ... of Jacob Behme [sic]", he will find here "collected, contracted and comprised in a little room". The second part of *The Temple of Wisdom* contained "A Collection of Divine Poems from Fr. Quarles", as well as the "Essayes [sic] and Religious Meditations of Sir Francis Bacon". All were "Collected, Published and Intended for a general Good".<sup>476</sup> These facts, and the connection between Penn and James II, as I have shown earlier, convince me that the mentioning of Pennsylvania in *Clarissa* is more than a mere happy coincidence and that Richardson was seriously interested in the activities of the Quakers.

What stands out in the above account is the dream or vision of a united Christendom. It was equally the dream of Comenius (who belonged to the Bohemian Brethren or Unitas Fratrum), who hoped for a Utopian Church which would unite all religions in Christian love, the "unum necessarium" with education as the surest way to its fulfilment. It is also the Utopian dream which the pietist Zinzendorf, founder of the eighteenth-century "Brüdergemeine", tried to realize first at Herrnhut and then Zeist in the Netherlands<sup>477</sup> as well

<sup>475</sup> See Buddecke, *Op. cit.*, nr. 74, pp. 99-101.

<sup>476</sup> William Bradford (1663-1752) was apprenticed to Andrew Sowle, chief London Quaker printer, and became a Quaker as well. It has been assumed that he accompanied Penn to America in 1682. He established a printer business at Philadelphia and opened a bookstore as well. In 1688 he printed the above mentioned *Temple of Wisdom*. He became involved in the turbulence caused by the schism led by George Keith, whose propaganda he printed. Though beyond the scope of my study, George Keith (c. 1638-1716), the founder of the "Christian Quakers", was born at Peterhead, Aberdeenshire, Scotland (like Dr James Keith, friend of the Garden brothers and Cheyne). Keith is of much importance in the history of American Quakerism. He was a scholar of marked ability, especially in mathematics and Oriental studies. Originally intended to enter the ministry of the Church of Scotland, he became a convinced Quaker in 1664. He and his wife travelled in 1677 with George Fox, William Penn and Robert Barclay on a missionary expedition through Holland and Germany. For refusing to take the oath he was imprisoned in 1682. Some five years later he emigrated to America and settled in Philadelphia in 1689 where he became head master of the school which William Penn was founding. He had been influenced by the teaching of Francis Mercurius van Helmont and had become a mild advocate of the transmigration of souls. After a serious quarrel with the Quaker leadership in Pennsylvania, Keith returned to London in 1694 where he rented a hall in London in 1695. Still wearing the Quaker garb, he preached and administered baptism and the Eucharist, issuing pamphlets against prominent Friends, especially against William Penn. In 1700 he conformed to the established Church and was ordained by Henry Compton, bishop of London. (Sources: Henderson, *Op. cit.*, pp. 57-58; *Dictionary of American Biography*, 1946, Vols. IX-X, pp. 289-290 as well as the *Dictionary of National Biography*. Also Charles P. Keith, *Chronicles of Pennsylvania from the English Revolution to the Peace of Aix-La-Chapelle 1688-1748*, 2 vols., Philadelphia, 1917.)

<sup>477</sup> Much impressed by the Herrnhut settlement, the pious Dutch princess Maria Louise allowed Zinzendorf to create a second Herrnhut in IJsselstein in 1735, plans which did not fully materialize as a result of which the settlement at Zeist was built several years later. (Cf. A. de Groot and Paul Peucker, *De Zeister Broedergemeente 1746-1996: Bijdragen tot de geschiedenis van de herrnhutters in Nederland*, Zutphen, 1996, pp. 31-32. For the connection between Zinzendorf and certain Mennonites in Amsterdam, e.g. the minister Joannes Deknatel, the widow Geertruid Beuning

as in Georgia, offering a place of refuge against the threat of persecution. Finally, it was the vision Richardson tried to convey in *Sir Charles Grandison*. These visions contain elements of radical Pietism within the circle of which we sometimes find millenarian expectations, as well as more or less unorthodox doctrines. But does that make these visionaries millenarians? I will explore this issue in the next chapter.

and her son-in-law Jacob Schellinger, see *De Zeister Broedergemeente*, p. 30.)