Richardson was not merely printing for booksellers: he bought shares in the copyright of books, he entered into partnerships with newspapers, secured government contracts, printed the Philosophical Transactions for the Royal Society, and obtained monopoly rights in the printing of law books. Because he was in some way emancipated from the booksellers, it is from the books Richardson printed that we can measure his preferences and his prejudices especially relating to the spiritual aspects of his life. To explore Richardson’s printing career we must return to William Merritt Sale’s Samuel Richardson: Master Printer. Sale states that the integrity of his press was always a matter of concern to Richardson, and that, though it would be “absurd” to contend that Richardson only printed works of authors whose position or cause he could support, it is difficult to find among the books that he printed any that he thoroughly repudiated.

Among the first authors who employed him in the 1720s was Archibald

72 Sale described Richardson’s relations with the printing trade quite extensively and explained that though Richardson was primarily a printer, he sometimes served as a “publisher” of books and sometimes, when he owned the copyright or part of the copyright in a book that he printed, as a “bookseller”. Sale relates how in the eighteenth century the term “publisher” and “bookseller” were used interchangeably, but that the difference between these terms referred to the role one man was playing in getting books into the hands of the purchaser. The situation was as follows. If the proprietor of a bookshop owned the copyright of a book, found a printer for it and then managed the sale to the public, his role was that of “bookseller”. If, on the other hand, the author (or printer) owned the copyright and secured the services of the proprietor of a bookshop in selling a book, then that proprietor was in the role of “publisher”. Some proprietors played exclusively the role of booksellers, but in general they were at times acting as booksellers and at others acting as publishers. The words “published” and “publisher” began to appear in imprints in the second quarter of the eighteenth century. According to Sale, Richardson never played the dual role of printer and publisher as conspicuously as did some others in his trade. In fact he was technically publishing only when he delivered to subscribers copies of subscription editions. This occurred for instance in 1729 with the first volume of Captain James Ogilvie’s translation of Giannone’s Civil History of the Kingdom of Naples, printed by Richardson and sold by subscription. More important than this role was the one Richardson played in printing books for which he owned the copyrights, or a share in the copyrights, as was the case with for instance his edition of the Negotiations of Sir Thomas Roe. Sale states that the size of shares held by Richardson in books other than those he wrote and the number of books in which he held such shares will probably never be accurately determined, especially since Richardson was often a hidden partner. Yet enough evidence exists to account for the fact that Richardson was occasionally referred to by men in England and on the continent as a “bookseller”. (Cf. William Merritt Sale Jr., Master Printer, Ithaca, 1950, pp. 86-91, 104-105; See also Charles Mullett, The Letters of Doctor George Cheyne to Samuel Richardson (1733-1743), Vol. XVIII, No. 1, Columbia, 1941., pp. 20-23).

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Hutcheson, Member of Parliament for Hastings. His pamphlets attacked the fiscal policy of Walpole (especially the South Sea scheme and stock) and exposed the Whig manipulation of elections. Richardson admired Hutcheson and had Lord M. quote him in *Clarissa*: “I remember what my old friend Archibald Hutcheson said; and it was a very good Saying”. From Richardson’s press came both pious and scientific works.

**Pious Works**

As to the pious works, we find that Richardson printed for James Hervey *Meditations among the Tombs, The Cross of Christ* and *The Christian’s Glory*. He also printed for the non-conformist John Leland, some of whose works were directed against Deism. From his press came many of the works of his friend and physician Dr George Cheyne, who was interested in mysticism as well as science. Essential to this study is Cheyne’s correspondence with Richardson to be discussed in the next two chapters.

Richardson printed *The Oxford Methodists* and *The Way to Divine Knowledge* for William Law. He printed for Law’s close friend John Byrom the poems *Enthusiasm*, containing an attack on Bishop Warburton, and *An Epistle to a Gentleman of the Temple*, which upholds William Law against the bishop of London, Thomas Sherlock, in a controversy concerning the fate of man. Law’s position was expressed in his *Spirit of Prayer*. Moreover, Richardson was actively associated with William Webster’s *Weekly Miscellany*, which gave an account of the religion, morality and learning of the times, and which was published from 1732 to 1741. According to Sale, Webster represented the simple piety of the eighteenth-century clergyman who leaned towards “neither deism nor dissent”. The *Weekly Miscellany* was one of the many presents which Richardson sent to Cheyne on a regular basis.

**Fénelon’s Works**

Another interesting title on Sale’s list of books from Richardson’s press in 1721 is the *Instructions for the Education of a Daughter*, the fourth edition of a translation by George Hickes of Fénelon’s *Traité de l’éducation des filles*, first published in 1687. Richardson’s association with Fénelon’s work is interesting, because Fénelon (Plate I) had met Mme. Guyon, the French Quietist writer, and was impressed by her account of her spiritual experiences (which he regarded as authentic) and especially by her doctrine of pure love and passive prayer. His defence of her got him into serious problems with the Roman Catholic Church, but he submitted unreservedly and later wrote in defence of the

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74 Ibid., pp. 120-121, 180-181.
75 Ibid., p. 126.
76 Madame Guyon (1648-1717) was a French Quietist writer. The unhappiness of her life with her husband and mother-in-law turned her increasingly to a life of intensive prayer and she began to have mystical experiences. In 1695 her writings were condemned and she was imprisoned first in various convents and finally in the Bastille in 1698. After her release in 1703 she spent the rest of her life under the close supervision of her son. She taught complete detachment from the world,
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I. François de Salignac de La Mothe Fénelon, Archbishop of Cambrai (1651-1715). Engraved by J. Thomsom from a picture by Vivien, Musée du Louvre.
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orthodox teaching. Appointed archbishop of Cambrai, Fénelon (1651-1715) had considerable influence in the eighteenth century, both inside and outside France, and among Protestants. We shall see below that Cheyne and his friends also admired Fénelon, as did John Wesley later. In the Netherlands Fénelon's work was published by Henry Wetstein, a friend of George Cheyne and Pierre Poiret, a French spiritual writer and companion of Antoinette Bourignon. In 1723 A.M. Ramsay's *Histoire de la vie de Messr. François de Salignac de la Motte-Fénelon* had appeared, with an English translation in the same year. Ramsay was a Scotsman who had been converted to Roman Catholicism by Fénelon and worked as tutor to Charles Edward and Henry Stuart. He also knew Poiret and Wetstein as well as Cheyne. Ramsay's best known work, written in imitation of Fénelon's *Telemachus*, was *The Travels of Cyrus*, the second edition of which was printed by Richardson in 1727-1728.

We can only speculate as to why Richardson printed the *Instructions for the Education of a Daughter*. Had he been genuinely interested in Fénelon's work? Did he know of Fénelon’s connection with Madame Guyon? In the introduction to *La Vie de Madame Guyon* Tourniac writes:

*En tous cas la filiation spirituelle entre les quakers et Madame Guyon avait déjà été relevée en 1727 par Aubraye de la Mottraye à propos du quiétisme; d’ailleurs, au temps de la persécution des quakers dans les pays anglo-saxons, chaque foyer quaker possédait les œuvres de Madame Guyon et de Fénelon.*

77 For information on Ramsay see for instance G.D. Henderson, *Mystics of the North-East, Including I. Letters of James Keith, M.D., and Others to Lord Deskford; II. Correspondence between Dr. George Garden and James Cunningham*, Aberdeen, 1934, pp. 18, 41, 51-55.


79 The story of Madame Guyon and Fénelon was familiar in England in the early eighteenth century. One of the first publications in English had appeared in 1698 (128 pages in octavo format). It was called *Quakerism A-la-Mode: or, A History of Quietism, particularly that of the Lord Archbishop of Cambray and Madam Guyon*, containing an account of her life, her prophecies and visions, as well as “an account of the management of that controversy, now depending at Rome, betwixt the Arch-bishop of Cambray and the Bishop of Meaux, by way of answer to the Arch-bishop’s book [the *Explication des maximes des Saints*].” It had been printed for a J.Harris and A. Bell in London in 1698. Later publications of Fénelon’s work were for instance *The Archbishop of Cambray’s Dissertation on Pure Love; with an Account of the Life and writings of the Lady [Madame Guyon] for whose sake the Archbishop was banished from Court*. This work, with a preface by a Josiah Martin, was published in London by Luke Hinde in 1735; a third edition appeared in 1750, and another edition was “printed and sold by Mary Hinde” in 1769.
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Pur amour, Eglise de l’Esprit, Eglise invisible des croyants, voilà les maillons d’une chaîne qui unira le cercle des fervents de Madame Guyon aux adeptes de George Fox.\(^{80}\)

Or did Richardson print the work because the nonjuring bishop George Hickes had made the translation? A man of great piety and wide scholarship, Hickes (1642-1715) had served as chaplain to John Maitland, Duke of Lauderdale (Charles II’s vice-regent in Scotland). Though opposed to the pro-Roman Catholic measures of James II, Hickes refused to take the oaths to William and Mary in 1689. Hickes’s elder brother, John, had joined Monmouth in 1685 and had been tried and executed at Taunton.\(^{81}\) From Richardson’s letter to Stinstra of 2 June 1753, we know that Richardson’s father had somehow been involved with Monmouth and Shaftesbury:

My Father’s Business was that of a Joiner, then more distinct from that of a Carpenter, than now it is with us. He was a good Draughtsman, and understood Architecture. His Skill and Ingenuity, and an Understanding superior to his Business, with his remarkable Integrity of Heart and Manners, made him personally beloved by several Persons of Rank, among whom were the Duke of Monmouth and the first Earl of Shaftesbury; both so noted in our English History. Their known Favour for him, having, on the Duke’s Attempt on the Crown, subjected him to be looked upon with a jealous Eye, notwithstanding he was noted for a quiet and inoffensive Man, he thought proper, on the Decollation of [the first-named] unhappy Nobleman, to quit his London Business and retire to Derbyshire; tho’ to his great Detriment; and there I, and three other Children out of Nine, were born.\(^{82}\)

Eaves and Kimpel refer to the same incidents, but conclude that Richardson either did not really know why and when his father left London and moved to Mackworth in Derbyshire or just did not want the facts to be known.\(^{83}\) Sale informs us that Richardson’s father had supported Thomas Wharton and therefore had been driven into a form of exile in Derbyshire, which may explain Richardson’s relations with the True Briton, a semi-weekly periodical directed against Walpole’s government, published from 1723 to 1724 and sponsored by Thomas Wharton’s son Philip.\(^{84}\)


\(^{84}\) Sale, Op. cit., p. 38. The True Briton had a strong Tory and Jacobite bias, even though Philip Wharton followed the principles of Old Whiggism which he had inherited from his father. Sale,
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The connection between Richardson’s father and the first earl of Shaftesbury still remains enigmatic, but the relationship between Shaftesbury and William Penn suggests a link with the Quakers. At one point during 1674 the interests of James, Duke of York, Shaftesbury and the nonconformists had been identical and it was then that Shaftesbury threw overboard his violent anti-catholic feelings, and met with James along with the Quaker William Penn, Owen, and other leading nonconformists. Apparently, the duke had been trying to bring Shaftesbury over to his side and spent three hours with him on 16 June 1674. It was also about this time that Shaftesbury rented Thanet House in Aldergate Street, close to where Samuel Richardson senior lived. In 1681 Shaftesbury reintroduced a bill for a repeal of the act which imposed penalties on protestant dissenters. Later that year Shaftesbury was seized at Thanet House, carried to Whitehall and committed to the Tower on the charge of high treason, of conspiring for the death of the king and the overthrow of the government. He was released from bail on 13 February 1682, but after this the penal laws against protestant dissenters were vigorously executed.

The Quakers were severely persecuted during the reign of Charles II, but on May 16, 1686, James II issued a warrant commanding that all Quakers who had been convicted on charges of praemunire, or for not swearing, or for not going to church, should be released. In this “Order of Release” is the name of John Bunyan, who was included in this Royal Pardon. George Fox describes the persecution and the subsequent release of “all prisoners for conscience’ sake” in chapter XX “The Seed Reigns over Death” of his autobiography. However, after the Revolution of 1688 the situation deteriorated again. Penn was held to bail as one of James’s adherents and in 1692 he was deprived of his Governorship of Pennsylvania. As to Shaftesbury, he left England for Holland on 28 November 1682 and died there on 21 January 1683. He may be regarded as the principal founder of the party which opposed the (Royal) prerogative and uniformity (in public worship and use of the Book of Common Prayer, especially that of 1662) on behalf of political freedom and religious tolerance. He was reputed a deist, but there is an anecdote which perhaps describes him most accurately. When asked by a lady as to his religion, he answered “Madam, wise men are of but one religion” and when she further pressed him to tell her what that was, he said “Madam, wise men never tell.” This is the kind of ambiguity or evasion which we sometimes also encounter with Richardson.

however, reminds us that the terms Whig and Tory were so variously used in this time that they lost all precise meaning. (Cf. pp. 35-38).

85 Most probably John Owen (1616-83), originally a Presbyterian, who had come to believe with John Milton that “new presbyter was but old priest writ large”, and took up the more tolerant Independent position. The Restoration drove him to London, where he continued to preach and write until his death.

86 George Fox’s Autobiography, Chapter XX, footnote 248 (from the Rufus Jones 1908 edition of George Fox’s Journal, repr. 1976, internet source Street Corner Society). Fox’s boyhood is described in the first chapter, called “A Seeker”, 1624-1648.
Returning to Fénelon, Richardson must have been fascinated by him. In 1728 he printed *The Adventures of Telemachus* in two volumes, in which Fénelon defended human rights and presented his vision of a universal peace. To the second Volume is added *A Discourse upon Epick Poetry* by Ramsay. Richardson refers to *Telemachus* as a prose epic in *Pamela* (plate on p. 32 reads: “What are you reading? - Sir, said he, stammering with the surprize, it is the French Telemachus”) and *Clarissa*. Clarissa had both a French and an English version.

**Richardson's Interest in the Quakers**

Richardson’s interest in the Quakers appears from another interesting work that came from his press in 1736, i.e. the *Papers Relating to the Quakers’ Tythe Bill*. In his article “Sir Robert Walpole, The Church of England, and the Quakers Tithe Bill of 1736” Stephen Taylor describes the political consequences of this Bill and establishes that historians have tended to overestimate the stability of Walpole’s administration. However, more important for the purpose of this study is Richardson’s involvement. The Quakers’ conscientious refusal to pay tithes until they had been subjected to the process of prosecution and distraint made them anxious for this process to be as quick and cheap as possible and that was exactly what the Quakers Tithe Bill aimed to do. The Bill had been introduced into the Commons by William Glanville on March 17, 1736, intended to relieve Quakers from “grievous Sufferings by Prosecution in the Exchequer, Ecclesiastical, and other Courts”. It therefore appealed to Whig support for toleration and opposition to persecution in religion. Already as early as October 1735 Walpole had promised the Quakers that he would approve their applying to parliament for relief. According to Taylor, Walpole had been aware that the dissenters generally had been consistent supporters of his government.

In the end the Bill was not passed, because of the clerical opposition, headed by Edmund Gibson, the ecclesiastical minister. Gibson had written “Remarks upon a bill now depending in parliament ... for the more easy recovery of tythes, church-rates, and oblations, and other ecclesiastical dues from the people called Quakers: and also remarks upon a printed paper, intitled, The case of the people called Quakers” to be found in *Papers Relating to the Quakers’ Tythe Bill*, pp. 18-19. Of course, the fact that Richardson printed the *Papers* does not say anything about whether Richardson himself was in favour of the Bill. What we can infer, however, is that Richardson knew about the case of the Quakers and about their suffering as a result of the persecution in-

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91 Ibid., p. 65.
flicted upon them by the Exchequer and the Church and other courts for their conscientious refusal to pay tithes. This may very well have caused him to write *Clarissa*, which, as I will show later, had as its main themes the freedom of conscience and religious liberty.

**Richardson’s Connections with the Moravians**

Richardson’s connection with the Moravian Society in London and the Moravians’ evangelical fervour may have originated as a result of his business relations with James Hutton. Hutton and Richardson’s friend Charles Rivington were booksellers for two religious works which Richardson printed, the first was George Whitefield’s “The Benefits of an Early Piety”, published in 1737, the second was Clement Ellis’s “The Scripture Catechist”, which appeared in 1738.92

The son of a High-Church clergyman, Hutton had been largely responsible for the beginning of the Moravian work in London, the aim of which was not to make Moravians but to help people to become better Anglicans.93 In 1736 James Hutton had set up his own business as a bookseller and founded a new religious society in his back parlour which became a centre of revival. Here he met and encouraged the Wesleys and Whitefield. When the room at this house became too small, Hutton hired a Baptist Hall in Fetter Lane, which became known as the Fetter Lane Society: “the main seed-bed from which the English Revival would spring”.94 He had also founded another society in Aldersgate Street. Both societies were just a few streets away from Richardson’s house in Salisbury Court. We can read about this in John Byrom’s journal for 1739.95 The ecumenical aim of the Moravians is perhaps best described by Colin Podmore:

> [They] recognized true Christians in every church, even in the Roman Catholic

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95 See for instance the entry dated June 21, 1739, in which Byrom mentioned he had met Mr Jacobi and that he had read the “Vorbericht to Count Zinzendorf’s Reden”. Both Byrom and Jacobi then went to “Mr. Hutton’s”. Also included in the *Journal is John Christian Jacobi’s letter to Byrom (in German), dated September 5, 1739* (The *Private Journals and Literary Remains of John Byrom*, 2 Vols., ed. Richard Parkinson, Manchester, 1856-57. Vol. II, Part I, pp. 247, 282). For Jacobi, see Podmore, *Op. cit.*, pp. 23, 26. I will regularly refer to Byrom’s journal, because it contains valuable information relating to this study. It was Henry Talon who revived Byrom in his *Selections from the Journals & Papers of John Byrom*, Poet-Diarist-Shorthand Writer 1691-1763, London, 1950. In the 1990s Joy Hancox explored Byrom’s life which, she thought, was full of paradoxes. In 1992 she published *The Byron Collection* in which she tells us how she discovered 516 architectural and mathematical drawings which Byrom held in the possession of the Cabala Club, which, she claims, he had formed in London in 1725. In 1994 she wrote *The Queen’s Cameleon*, a study of Byrom’s life in which she described him as an enigma: “a playboy, a philosopher, a poet, and possibly a spy, ... an active and secret Jacobite who had an affair with Queen Caroline”, all of which are beyond the scope of my study.
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Church and among the sects, and strove to establish fellowship with them. [They] deplored division between Christians and objected to the attitudes dominant within some of the existing denominations, but [they] nevertheless respected, indeed cherished, the traditions represented by the various national Churches, regarding their differences as important. ... [They were] neither [partisans] for one confession who regarded others as worthless, nor did [they] wish to blur differences; [they] deplored the making of a latitudinischer Mischmasch out of the variety of the Churches.96

Or in the words of Amedeo Molnár:

Das Licht des Evangeliums soll eben nicht mehr dem sakralen Raum der Einzelkirche vorbehalten bleiben, sondern der ganzen Welt leuchten.97

It is an aim which we find again in Sir Charles Grandison.

In 1737 Zinzendorf visited England and, while in London, he became acquainted with several leading Anglican figures, such as Archbishop Potter, some of whom he admitted to his Order of the Mustard Seed. The order aimed at the establishment of ecumenical fellowship among Christians and the carrying of the Gospel to the heathen. James Oglethorpe, the famous colonist of Georgia, and Bishop Thomas Wilson of Sodor and Man also became members.98 The latter accepted the “Presidency of the Anglican Tropus”, offered to him in 1749.99 Thomas Wilson (1663-1755) was well acquainted with the history of the Bohemian Brethren and had a copy of Comenius’s history of them,100 Wilson included among his friends both Richardson’s friends Skelton and Delany, and was also a friend of George Cheyne.101 Richardson very much admired Bishop Wilson and when the latter was succeeded by Mark Hildesley in 1755, Richardson wrote:

The late prelate was such a credit to religion, and kept so admirably right the people of his diocese, that I am glad so worthy a successor is given to them, and he [Hildesley] rejoices in the pleasure he shall have of finding so good

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order there, and that he shall have little to do, but to tread in the same path.\textsuperscript{102}

In 1741 Richardson printed Wilson’s essay designed to instruct the Indians in Christianity: *The Knowledge and Practice of Christianity Made Easy: or, an Essay towards an Instruction for the Indians*.\textsuperscript{103} It had been written at the request of James Oglethorpe and carried a dedication to the Trustees of the Colony of Georgia by Wilson’s son, Thomas Wilson Jr. (1703-84), for whom Richardson had printed as early as 1736. Wilson Jr. corresponded with the dissenter John Leland from 1742, inviting Leland’s criticism of his father’s manuals of religion. Leland’s chief work, *A View of the principal Deistical Writers*, was written as letters to Wilson, published at his expense, and printed by Richardson.\textsuperscript{104}

The Moravians were interested in Georgia, because they considered it a possible location for another Moravian settlement. James Oglethorpe (1696-1785) was an English army officer, philanthropist, and founder of the British colony of Georgia in America. He was educated at Oxford, entered the army in 1712 and fought the Turks in 1717. On his return to England in 1722 he entered Parliament. In 1729 he presided over a committee for prison reform and this gave him the idea of founding a new colony in America as a place where the poor and destitute could start a new life and where persecuted Protestant sects could find refuge. In 1733 he accompanied the first settlers and founded Savannah. He returned to England in 1743 where he resumed his parliamentary career.\textsuperscript{105} Richardson’s interest in the colonies may also appear from the fact that in 1738 he printed Sir William Keith’s *History of the British Plantations in America*, a book sponsored by the Society for the Encouragement of Learning, of which Oglethorpe had been a member since its formation in 1735. Its objective was to assist authors and promote the arts and sciences. Richardson was the printer for the Society, which finally expired in 1749, partly due to the opposition of the booksellers and their boycott of the Society’s publications.\textsuperscript{106}

Richardson’s contacts with the Moravians also appear from the fact that they had invited him to visit them. There is a letter from Lady Bradshaigh to Richardson, dated 21 August 1756, in which she refers to this invitation:


\textsuperscript{104} Ibid., p. 184. See also the Dictionary of Nationaly Biography for the relation between the younger Wilson and Leland, p. 142.

\textsuperscript{105} For further connections between Oglethorpe and the Moravians, see Podmore, *Op. cit.*, pp. 243-245.

I return the enclosed with thanks. I have heard very bad things of the sect, but do not understand their religion. However, I cou’d almost pronounce them good people from their admiration of your writings, but if I was to advise you to accept of an invitation, it shou’d not be of that from the Moravians. I find they wou’d be glad to engage your penn, and I wonder not at them.107

As a bookseller James Hutton may have helped to get several Moravian works published in England during the 1740s, such as their sermons, a *Manual of Doctrine* and a *Short History*, but we have no idea whether Richardson was involved in printing them. Podmore informs us that they were generally purchased by members, adherents and admirers through Hutton’s shop. William Whiston bought “a small Book of their Sermons”, but later wrote in his Memoirs that he did not like them and was “cured of [his] inclination to go to their publick Worship, and avoided it”.108 When he was at Tunbridge Wells in July and August of 1748, Richardson met Whiston whom he described in an undated letter to Miss Westcomb as follows:

Another extraordinary old man we have had here ... the noted Mr. Whiston, showing eclipses, and explaining other phaenomena of the stars, and preaching the millennium, and anabaptism (for he is now, it seems, of that persuasion) to gay people, who, if they have white teeth, hear him with open mouths, though perhaps shut hearts; and after his lecture is over, not a bit the wiser, run from him ... to flutter among the loud-laughing young fellows upon the walks.109

Richardson had some business relations with William Whiston’s son, John Whiston the bookseller, between 1738-1754, through the printing of Daniel Defoe’s *A Tour Through the Whole Island of Great Britain* and *Aesop’s Fables* both works Richardson had been the editor of.

**Richardson and Pietro Giannone**

Among the scholarly work that came from Richardson’s press was James Ogilvie’s translation of Pietro Giannone’s *Civil History of the Kingdom of Naples* (1729 and 1731). Some critics briefly commented on the connection between Richardson and Giannone. McKillop was the first who mentioned Giannone’s work in 1936.110 In an essay on *Sir Charles Grandison* written in 1956 McKillop returned to the subject when he asserted that the name of Grandison “suggests” the aristocracy.111 He believed that Richardson might

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have remembered Giannone’s History of Naples which was dedicated to Earl Grandison and, according to McKillop, his son Viscount Falkland, whereas in actual fact it was his brother-in-law. McKillop quotes from Ogilvie’s dedication to the Civil History of the Kingdom of Naples:

“I have at hand the noble Historian, who, in his Catalogue of Heroes (great as any Greece or Rome ever produc’d) has not two more beautiful Characters, than those of Falkland and Grandison.”

In 1974 Mary Ann Doody also discussed the origins of the name of Grandison, arguing that the names of both Grandison and Byron used in the novel suggest rank and station. She especially believes that “Grandison” is a felicitous choice, because of what the name itself suggests (true grandeur, greatness of mind, noble lineage), and because of its historic associations. Then she explains that William Villiers, Viscount Grandison, was one of the leading Royalists in the Civil War, praised in Clarendon’s History of the Rebellion as:

A young Man of so virtuous a habit of mind, that no temptation or provocation could corrupt him ... and of that rare Piety and Devotion, that the Court, or Camp, could not shew a more faultless Person.

Doody further adds that his descendant was Richardson’s contemporary, John Villiers, 5th Viscount Grandison and 1st Earl, husband of the Honourable Frances Carey, daughter of Viscount Falkland. She ends by concluding that “it was a trifle daring of Richardson to use a name so like a real title.”

The real reason for Richardson’s use of the name of Grandison could actually have been much more interesting. In 1996 Hugh Trevor-Roper wrote an article about the connection between Pietro Giannone and Great Britain. He describes how Giannone, a revolutionary thinker, had tried in the early eighteenth century to liberate Italy from the feudal power of the Roman Catholic Church with a further aim of freeing Christianity itself from the corrupting power of the political church. Trevor-Roper considers Giannone, the great Neapolitan lawyer and philosophic historian, as the real founder, if not protomartyr, of the “civil history” (philosophic) of the Enlightenment. He further informs us how Giannone’s writings were disseminated in Britain by the

112 Ibid., p. 124.
non-juring bishop and antiquary Richard Rawlinson, the learned Scottish journalist Archibald Bower, a former Jesuit and author of the *History of Popes*, as well as by some other Jacobites.

In 1705 Archibald Bower (1686-1766) went to Rome where he was admitted into the Society of Jesus in 1706. In 1726 he left Italy and went back to England. His enemies said that the reason for his return was his involvement with a nun, but Bower explained that it was the result of the horror he felt at the cruelties committed by the court of the inquisition at Macerata in which he acted as a counsellor or judge. In 1754 some letters were made public which were allegedly written by Bower to Father Sheldon, provincial of the Jesuits in England, as a result of which Bower was accused of being in fact a Roman Catholic while pretending to be an adherent of the Protestant faith. Other charges followed against Bower’s moral, religious and literary character. The pamphlets brought out by Bower in 1756-57 to defend himself were printed by Richardson. Richardson and Bower together with the fellow-Scot Andrew Millar had been associated from 1735 to 1744 in connection with the preparation and publication of the Ancient Part of *An Universal History*.

Giannone’s first book *Istoria civile del regno di Napoli* forced him to flee from Napels in 1723 and find safety in Vienna. This flight may have influenced Richardson to choose Vienna as a safe haven when Grandison had to flee Italy (Vol. III, pp. 174, 226). In 1723 Richard Rawlinson, who was strongly attached to the cause of the exiled James III, was in Italy. He was a collector of manuscripts, coins, medals and miscellaneous curiosities. Visiting Rome in 1724, he saw a copy of the bull pinned to the door of a church which condemned the *Civil History of Giannone*. He detached it to join it to his collection. He returned to England in 1726. Around this time he also obtained a copy of Giannone’s manuscript of which he coordinated what was to become the first translation of the book in any language. The publisher was Andrew Millar, the translator was Captain James Ogilvie (according to William Merritt Sale an officer of the Earl of Orrery’s Regiment of Scotch Fuziliers, but Trevor-Roper cannot add much information on the “mysterious” Captain Ogilvie), and the printer Samuel Richardson.

In the meantime Bower had also returned to England as stated above where he ran a periodical in which he enthusiastically reviewed Giannone’s

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116 This is confirmed by Sale, who tells us that in 1756-57 Richardson printed for Archibald Bower several pamphlets in which he defended himself against accusations of being a secret member of the Catholic Church (Sale, *Op. cit.*, pp. 103, 121, 152).

117 For biographical information about Giannone, see the *Dizionario Biografico degli Italiani*, Vol. 54, Rome, 2000.


119 According to Sale, Orrery had been arrested in 1723 for conspiracy in connection with the Jacobite plot in which Bishop Atterbury and his amanuensis George Kelly had been involved. He had also been associated with the Duke of Wharton in the early opposition to Walpole. Kelly’s speech in his own defence had been printed in five editions by Richardson, see Sale, *Op. cit.*, pp.
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Civil History as “the most perfect history of Naples that is extant in any language”. This review coincided with the publication in 1729 of the first volume of the English translation of the Civil History, and did much to boost the sale. When Giannone received Ogilvie’s translation of his work, he was surprised to find in Ogilvie’s preface a long list of subscribers, “milordi, arcivescovi, vescovi ed altre persone illustri”, all attracted to Giannone, according to Trevor-Roper, by his learning, his independence and his anti-clericalism. Indeed, the list of subscribers was impressive and contained seven dukes, two marquesses, sixteen earls, seven viscounts, thirteen barons, twenty baronets. More than half of the subscribers were Scots, especially from the Jacobite, Episcopalian North-East of Scotland which had made a number of contributions to the literature of mystical religion. There was not a negligible number of Jacobites from this area with mystical leanings, followers of Fénelon, Madame Guyon, Antoinette Bourignon and Poiret, who had no taste for religious controversy: intelligent men of good positions, the educated and the leisured, hoping for better days to come under Stuart rule, which, they thought, would allow for true inward personal religion associated with Episcopal forms of government and worship. These men disliked Presbyterianism which they associated with scholastic dogmatism and ecclesiastical tyranny as well as with puritanism. The list included names such as the Ogilvies (apparently a very large family, because there were seven of them on the list), Forbes, Arbuthnot, Gordon, etc., all of whom play a significant role in the letters of Dr James Keith (who had a medical practice in London and was a friend of George Cheyne) and others to Lord Deskford.

But now the question remains as to what was the link with Lord Grandison. It is in the preface and the dedication of this work that Ogilvie mentions Grandison. He writes how he had suffered a terrible “change of cir-

109, 182-183. This incident is also mentioned by Trevor-Roper in the same article, p. 664, footnote 13. Trevor-Roper describes Ogilvie as follows: “Fluent in French and Italian, financially ruined in a year fatal to many of his friends, travelling companion of an impoverished Jacobite peer, friend and collaborator of a migratory Jacobite hedge-bishop, translator of Catholic political propaganda in the Stuart interest - such is the character of the mysterious Captain Ogilvie which emerges from his own arcane admissions.” (Trevor-Roper, Op. cit., p. 665)


121 Mentioning Lord Deskford as another interesting member of the group who visited Madame Guyon at Blois, Henderson calls him: James Ogilvie, Lord Deskford, afterwards 5th Earl of Findlater and 2nd Earl of Seafield (p. 39). Then, a few pages later, Henderson mentions another Ogilvie. Referring to a collection of books and manuscripts which belonged to Lord Forbes of Pitsligo, Henderson informs us that these had belonged to him personally or to his friend James Ogilvie of Auchiries (cf. G.D. Henderson’s Mystics of the North-East, Including I. Letters of James Keith, M.D., and Others to Lord Deskford; II. Correspondence between Dr. George Garden and James Cunningham, Aberdeen, 1934, pp. 39 and 46). On p. 33 of the aforementioned book, Henderson discusses Dr George Garden and tells us that Garden was intimate with the Ogilvies and the Forbeses. James Ogilvie, the translator of Giannone’s Civil History, apparently was a member of this very extensive family.

122 These letters have all been printed in G.D. Henderson’s Mystics of the North-East. They include letters from Madame Guyon and her secretary A.M. Ramsay, who, together with the Garden brothers, was also a member of this group.
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cumstances” in the “fatal year that involved so many in irretrievable ruin” (he most probably referred to the Jacobite rebellion of 1715) and how he had been relieved by the generosit of Lord Grandison, to whom he now dedicated the first of his two volumes. He further explains how he had then travelled in Italy with Grandison’s brother-in-law, Lord Falkland, “from whom he received many favours” and to whom he had intended to dedicate the second volume, but that Falkland had died in the meantime and therefore he dedicated it to his son and successor in title. Trevor-Roper adds that whereas Falkland had been a committed Jacobite, Grandison, as an Anglo-Irish landlord, had been bound to support the Protestant establishment, though his sympathies seemed to have been Jacobite. As to Trevor-Roper’s question why British non-jurors and Roman Catholics would have welcomed a work condemned by the Roman Catholic Church, I can only suggest that they were probably all very concerned with the issues of freedom of conscience and religious liberty.

Richardson’s choice of the name of Grandison may have been caused by various reasons. First there is their connection with the Stuarts. John Fitzgerald Villiers, fifth viscount Grandison, was created Earl Grandison in 1721 and was married with Frances Carey, daughter of viscount Falkland. Grandison descended from the aristocratic Villiers family who had sided with Charles I during the civil war. Their very complicated family tree shows their roots going back to a companion of William the Conqueror. I will only briefly mention a few other members of this family. George Villiers, one of the half-brothers of Grandison’s great-grandfather, was the Duke of Buckingham, court favourite of James I. His father’s cousin was Barbara Villiers, Duchess of Cleveland, mistress of Charles II. Grandison’s sister, Lady Harriet Fitzgerald Villiers, was the mother of William Pitt (the Elder). William Villiers, another member of this extensive family and a contemporary of Lord Grandison, was also a Jacobite and had received a titulary earldom from the “old pretender”.

Secondly, there is the matter of Grandison’s management of his estate which was rather innovative. In 1677 Grandison’s father, Brigadier General Edward Fitzgerald Villiers, had married Katherine Fitzgerald (as a result of which Edward added Fitzgerald to his name). Katherine had inherited the Dromana estate in Ireland in 1664, the seat of one of the principal families of the south of Ireland. When Grandison inherited the estate, he did much to improve it, planting many thousands of trees, which is confirmed by Ogilvie who informs us about the “magnificence and splendour” as well as the “exact Oeconomy and order” of his household.123

Yet another reason why Richardson may have chosen the name Grandison could be the fact that in 1750 Grandison had started building the village of Villierstown, a Protestant colony, which housed weavers and other personnel needed for the linen industry which he had introduced. The plan of Villierstown is rather interesting in that it strongly resembles Zinzendorf’s

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“Nieuw-Zeist” which he designed and built after he had been able to purchase the Zeister castle in 1745. 124 Villierstown consisted of twenty-four houses, each of which had a garden. There was a school for boys and girls as well as a church. The houses were built on either side of a very wide street which ran towards Dromana House, Grandison’s residence. He obtained the epithet of “Good Earl John”. From the estate and business correspondence it appears that he had business dealings with a Quaker, called Thomas Leveing, about an arrangement to manufacture a compound manure, and with another Quaker, Samuel Pike, who supplied him with wine and lead. His Catholic sympathies appear from the correspondence of 1715-1716. In connection with the invasion scare of 1715 Grandison received directions to raise a militia and a warrant for seizing horses that belonged to “Papists”. He did not want to comply with these demands and protested against the seizure of plough horses belonging to Catholics. Moreover, we find an order for the release of people imprisoned merely on suspicion. 125

Scientific and Other Work

Among the scientific works that came from Richardson’s press we find that in 1735 he printed Edward Saul’s An Historical and Philosophical Account of the Barometer, which is still referred to by modern authorities on the subject. 126 He printed books on gardening by Philip Miller, such as The Gardener’s Dictionary and The Gardener’s Kalendar, printed in 1733 and 1737 and reprinted during the 1740s and 1750s. Miller was the head of the Chelsea Botanical Gardens and Fellow of the Royal Society. Richardson knew him personally. When Philip Erasmus Reich, a bookseller at Leipzig to whom Richardson had sent a copy of Sir Charles Grandison, visited Richardson in 1756 he found him at his country house, surrounded by a large company, all people of merit, among whom Miller. 127 It was during this visit that Reich said Richardson’s country home recalled his idea of the Golden Age. According to Sale, Richardson subscribed for and may have printed an edition of the Works of Francis Bacon, which was published in 1740 in four volumes. 128 Apart from printing for Dr

126 See English Barometers 1680-1860, Suffolk, 1992, the standard work on the subject today by Nicholas Goodison, who attended King’s College, Cambridge. He refers to Saul on several occasions.
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George Cheyne, Richardson printed in 1743 and 1745 Robert James’s *A Medical Dictionary including physic, surgery, anatomy, chymistry, and botany, in all their branches relative to medicine*. It was published by Thomas Osborne’s Society of Booksellers for Promoting Learning in which Richardson was a partner. From 1736 to his death in 1761 he was involved in a huge project to print *An Universal History, from the Earliest Account of Time to the Present*. For the modern part Tobias Smollett acted as general editor.

Richardson’s interest in history and travelling appears from the fact that he printed in 1732 Volume VI of *A Collection of Voyages and Travels*. Awnsham Churchill, a London bookseller, had collected the material for these volumes. Churchill also owned some of the manuscripts of Sir Thomas Roe (1581-1644). Richardson edited these manuscripts and printed them in 1740 as *The Negotiations of Sir Thomas Roe in His Embassy to the Ottoman Porte*. No longer in opposition to Walpole, he dedicated it to the King. Roe was ambassador to Constantinople when the Thirty Years War broke out in 1618 and the husband of King James’s daughter Elizabeth, the so-called Winter King (Frederick V of the Palatinate), lost both his new kingdom in Bohemia and his hereditary Palatinate after the Battle of the White Mountain in 1620.

A salient fact is that at the same time all Protestants were also exiled from Bohemia together with the last bishop of the Bohemian Brethren, the famous educationist Jan Comenius. It was the remains of this sect which, having survived for a hundred years, accepted in 1721 an offer from Zinzingdorf to join the Herrnhuter, with whom they amalgamated.

**Conclusion**

The picture we get from looking at Richardson’s printing career is definitely not that of an uneducated printer. Having discussed some of the spiritual and scientific work which came from Richardson’s press, representing the Inner

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129 Ibid., pp. 96-97, 182.
131 See p. 26 above.
132 Delno C. West states that the role of Joachite eschatology among the Taborites in Bohemia was great. The Taborites were the extreme party of Hussites who scorned all reasoned theology, had no churches and kept no feast days. They professed extreme social doctrines, demanding the abolition of oaths, courts of justice and all worldly dignities. The militant Taborites steadily lost influence after 1434, but the pacific and sectarian elements in their tradition were inherited by the Bohemian Brethren (cf.: Joachim of Fiore in *Christian Thought: Essays on the Influence of the Calabrian Prophet*, Vol. 1, New York, 1975, p. xi). It has also been suggested that the Bohemian Brethren were inspired by the Rosicrucian dream which owed something to the Joachimist prophetic programme and that Comenius (1592-1670) was influenced by the Rosicrucian ideas, which he brought to England. This great educationist hoped for a Utopian Church which would unite all religions in Christian love, and he saw education as the surest way to its fulfilment. Comenius set up schools in which men were to be formed into images of Christ by means of a pansophia, an organic development of all elements of Divine wisdom. Coercion was to be avoided; the senses were to be employed wherever possible, and everything to be learned was first to be properly understood. His ultimate aim was the development of the character on Christian lines. For a connection between Boehme and Comenius, see also Andrew Weeks, *Boehme: An Intellectual Biography of the Seventeenth-Century Philosopher and Mystic*, New York, 1991, pp. 101-102.
Light (the “heart”) and the Enlightenment (the “head”) respectively, it is now time to narrow down my research to the “spiritual” Richardson and focus on those friends who shared his interest in spiritual and mystical matters. I will therefore explore in the next chapters Richardson’s relationship with such men as Cheyne, Law and Byrom, starting with the examination of the role Cheyne played.